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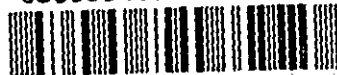
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**The Library of Étienne Pagès:
The Development and Use of a Collection
in the 18th and 19th Centuries**

by

Anthony Ward

A Doctoral Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award
of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of the Loughborough University of Technology

April 1991

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Abstract

Anthony Ward, The Library of Étienne Pagès : The Development and Use of a Collection in the 18th and 19th Centuries, PhD thesis 1991.

The thesis concerns the library formed by the abbé Étienne Pagès at Lyons in the early 19th century. Just as Pagès's life straddled the Revolution, so the study follows the body of books that he assembled in its passage from the 18th to the 19th century at Lyons, a city conscious of a long secular and Christian cultural tradition. The varieties of institutional, public and private libraries in 18th century Lyons are considered, in particular the private collections formed by priests. The Revolution at Lyons is outlined in its effect upon local libraries, together with the salient features of library reconstruction. Into this context is set the life and career of the Pagès, who after a decade as an émigré, settled at Lyons in the early years of the 19th century, and from 1809 was professor in the state faculty of theology. The study examines in detail his building up of a library quarried in large part from pre-Revolutionary Lyons book resources, the methods employed, and books acquired, and the uses made of them. It then recounts how the library passed to the Society of Mary, and traces the scale and focus of the Marists' aims and enterprises. Their interest in studies is assessed, and the usefulness to them of the resource represented by the Pagès library. The thesis concludes by relating their general purposes and book needs to a particular case: the mission to Western Oceania which they launched from a city with a deeply ingrained tradition of international and missionary interest.

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I should like to express my warm thanks to the Society of Mary for the time and facilities to pursue this study, and for much support to many Marists and to my family, especially to my sister Helen Lyth, who tracked down elusive printed material.

Of the many archives and libraries to which I have had recourse, particularly pleasant memories remain of the fine hospitality accorded me by Père Irénée Noye in the archives of the Company of Saint-Sulpice, and his patient advice and accurate learning, which saved me much time and opened up fruitful avenues. The staff of the French national archives, the Bodleian Library, the Cambridge University Library, the Pilkington Library at Loughborough, the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, the London University Library, in particular those of the Palaeography Room, and above all the staff of various departments in the British Library Reference Division have made research much less of a burden and not rarely a great pleasure.

A word of especial thanks to Fr Theo Kok, archivist general of the Society of Mary, for his enthusiasm for the project and for his great generosity in painstakingly making many suggestions, communicating much apposite material, and granting me exceptional facilities. I am likewise indebted to Fr George Skelton for much willing technical assistance.

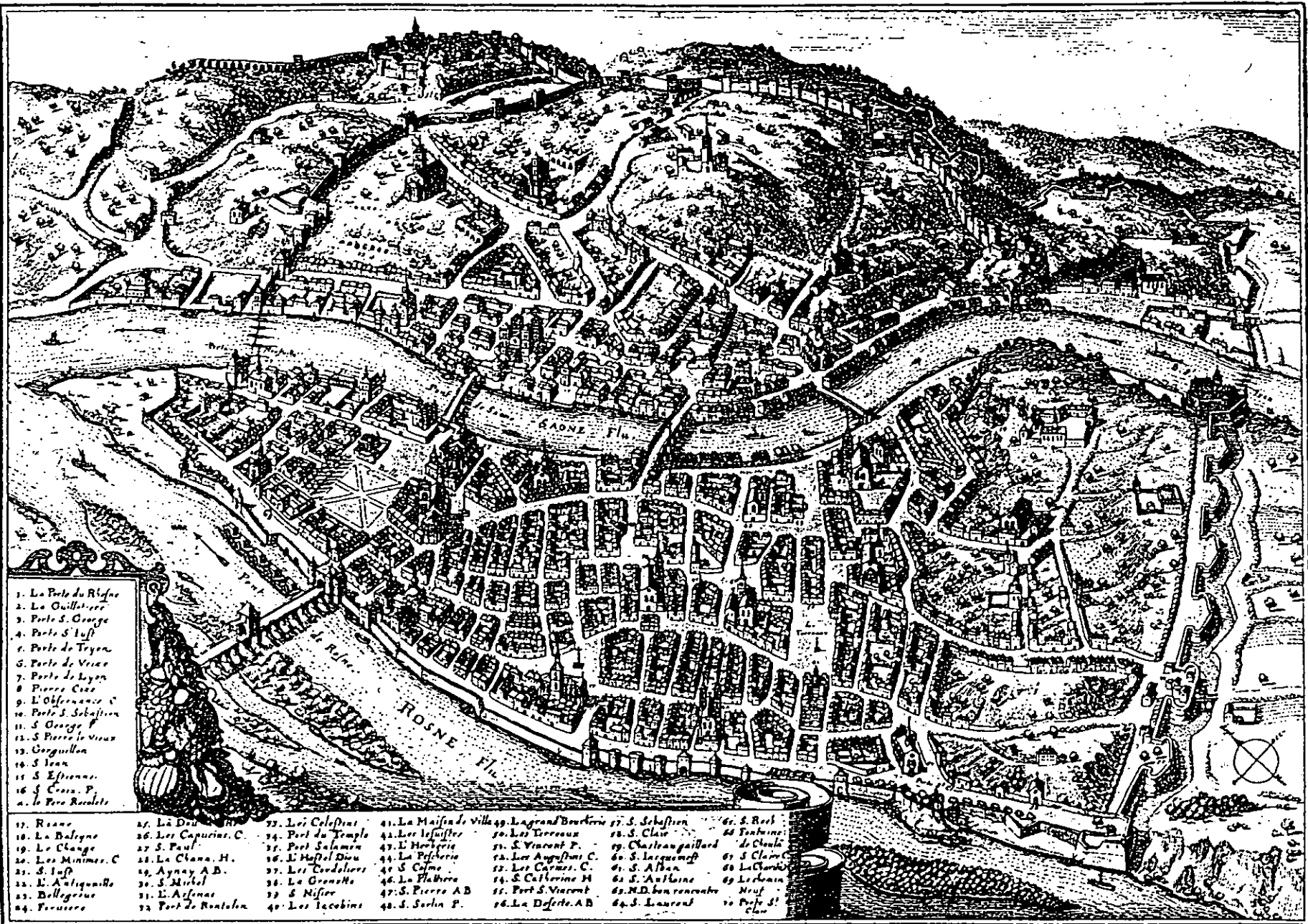
Finally, it has fallen to Professor John Feather to be my patient guide for nine long years. To his unflagging professionalism and cordial availability, to his frankness and encouragement I owe much of the shape and form of a great succession of partial drafts and of the final one, and numerous pointers to fruitful lines of research -- many motives for my abiding gratitude.

The Loughborough University of Technology as an institution has been very understanding of my particular circumstances and its staff in the various departments could not have been more helpful. I came to know it almost by chance circumstance, but have had much cause to count myself fortunate thereby.

Introduction

When the academicians of Lyons in the opening decade of the eighteenth century glanced up from their fine town houses around the newly laid out Place Louis-le-Grand, their eyes let upon the far heights of Fourvière, the Forum Vetus of Roman Lugdunum, and they fancied themselves the successors of those who had participated in the literary jousts of antique culture that Caligula had deigned to preside over.¹ As they pieced together their bibliophile collections, and exchanged fine editions and the latest literary talking pieces with one another, they thought of Rosianus Geminus planning, no less than 1600 years before, a volume to swell the wares of the Lyons booksellers, and soliciting copy for it from Pliny the Younger.² And while their minds travelled back to the glories of antiquity, at the same time they voyaged well beyond the confines of the city.

The first Christians who came to Lyons already in Pliny's day had been a Greek colony and their second bishop, the great doctor St Irenaeus (c.130-c.200), hailed from Asia Minor.³ As the centuries succeeded one another this wider canvas of the known world was never lost from view. As if in echo of the parade of Roman Emperors who had taken keen interest in the city, not long before his imperial coronation in Rome, Charlemagne sent in 798 from Aachen his trusty collaborator Leidrat of Freising to occupy the bishop's throne at Lyons and launch a great cultural revival through scriptorium and schools.⁴ As the venue for two of the twenty Ecumenical Councils, in 1245 the city witnessed the drama of the deposition of the Emperor Frederick II, at the First Council of Lyons, and in the course of the Second, in 1274, welcomed the embassies of the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus, and of the Great Khan.⁵ For a few short months in 1276, its archbishop Peter of Tarentaise, one of the greatest minds of his day, reigned as Pope Innocent V, and in 1305 and 1316 the city was the backdrop for the crowning of Popes Clement V and John XXII.⁶ Indeed, throughout the Middle Ages and beyond Lyons maintained a certain pre-eminence in Church life, and the caput Galliae was for long second in ecclesiastical importance in the West only to Rome, the caput mundi.⁷



Panorama of Lyons in the 17th century
 From Auguste Bleton, *Tableau de Lyon avant 1789*.
 Faux-fortes de Ch. Tournier, A. Storck, Lyon, [s.d.],
 facing frontispiece.

1. La Porte du Rhône
2. La Guillotière
3. Porte S. George
4. Porte S. Iust
5. Porte de Troyen
6. Porte de Veaux
7. Porte de Lyon
8. Pierre Cize
9. L'Observance S.
10. Porte S. Sebastien
11. S. George V.
12. S. Pierre le vieux
13. Gorguillon
14. S. Jean
15. S. Etienne
16. S. Croix. P.
17. La Vierge

18. Rioux
19. La Balagne
20. Le Change
21. Les Minimes. C.
22. S. Iust
23. L'Anthonette
24. Bellegrue
25. Frontiere

26. La Doune
27. Les Capucins. C.
28. S. Paul
29. La Chaux. H.
30. Aynay A.D.
31. S. Michel
32. L'Assommoir
33. Port de Rantoin

34. Les Celestins
35. Port du Temple
36. L'Hôtel Dieu
37. Les Cordeliers
38. S. Calme
39. La Platriere
40. S. Pierre A.D.
41. S. Serlin F.

42. La Maison de Ville
43. Les Jesuites
44. La Pêcherie
45. S. Calme
46. La Platriere
47. S. Pierre A.D.
48. S. Serlin F.

49. Le grand Brocserie
50. Les Yveroux
51. S. Vincent F.
52. Les Augustins C.
53. Les Carmes. C.
54. S. Catherine M.
55. Port S. Vincent
56. La Deferte. A.D.

57. S. Sebastien
58. S. Clave
59. Chateau gaillard
60. S. Jacques
61. S. Alban
62. S. Antoine
63. N.D. bon remembre
64. S. Laurent

65. S. Roch
66. Fontaine de Claude
67. S. Claude
68. La Charite
69. Lechaux
70. Prof. S. Clave

Strategically placed by fate on trade routes between Paris and the Low Countries, Germany and the Empire, Italy, and the Iberian Peninsula, Lyons in the fifteenth century had begun to enjoy an enormous boom through its great fairs, drawing the Medici and many another Italian or German banker, and establishing lively cultural contacts with Italian humanism. From 1473 the products of the Lyons's own printing trade joined the general movement of goods through the city: textiles and precious metals, leather and furs, saffron, spices and the silk of which in France Lyons had a virtual monopoly.⁸ When King Francis I commissioned the explorations of 1524-1529 that led to the sighting of the Eastern coastline of the North America, his chosen agents were the Florentine-Lyonese brothers Giovanni and Girolamo Verrazano, their expedition backed by the Lyonese bankers.⁹ The commercial bustle served only to finance and sustain the city's cultural life, in whose annals figured Gerson, Rabelais, Joost Bade, and Symphorien Champier, just as later did Voltaire and Ampère.

Buoyant Lyonese Catholic religiosity not only resisted the Huguenot coup of 1562, but sustained for long years the Jesuit missions to Acadia, Constantinople and China. Finally, blinkered as was the Ancien Régime in its last limping years, it nevertheless fielded at Lyons a high society in silks and powdered wigs whose talk was of the noble savage of distant climes and which still counted itself the natural host of numerous royal visitors from home and abroad, including Indian princes and a descendent of Genghis Khan. As to the Lyons printing trade, even in its eighteenth-century decline it looked far afield, aiming much of its wares at Spain and the Spanish Americas.¹⁰

All this is to say that there was in eighteenth-century Lyons consciousness of a cultural tradition traceable both on paper and in landscape back to classical antiquity, and still inextricably intertwined with Christian faith. Precious as its manifestations might sometimes become briefly in the early decades of the century, this consciousness was deeply ingrained, and vigorous enough to survive, and more than survive, the great Revolution. As it fell butchered by guillotine, canon-shot, sabre and bayonet in the 1790's, the Church of Lyons interpreted its suffering in the light of vividly recalled similar experience in the mid-second century, and when the city set about implementing the Napoleonic decrees for the foundation of a university

establishment, it could not but think both of its Roman Athenaeum and of the schools that had been restored within its walls under another Emperor of the West almost exactly a millennium before.

This study is concerned primarily with the history of certain book collections established in the city of Lyons in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and with their setting. Interest focuses in particular upon one specific library collection, the Bibliotheca PAGESIANA. By a quirk of fate, it is now housed in Rome, but it was assembled and first put to use in Lyons in the first eight decades of the last century. It cannot strictly be termed a Lyonese collection, since it would seem that the majority of its works are not, for instance, products of the Lyons printing trade, nor did they flow in their greater part from the pen of Lyonese authors, nor was the library put together by a native Lyonese. Yet in ways that we hope to uncover, its links with Lyons are profound, and it is only by reference to the Church of Lyons and to the city of Lyons that its significance can be understood.

Clearly, in the pursuit of this understanding it has not been possible here to draft a compendious history of the book at Lyons in the designated period, or even of the library collections present in the city, but only to undertake certain soundings. Some features of the history that emerges are not in any way unique to Lyons, though we have concentrated upon their exemplification in that city in order to offer a contribution that might widen the generally received picture, a picture that often concentrates heavily upon conditions at Paris.¹¹ Other features of our history are indeed peculiar to Lyons, and there are constants and shifting factors among them. We shall not take the path of describing in poetic terms the soul, psychology, or personality of the city of Lyons. Rather we shall try to advert as necessary to its historical features and eventually draw together some of the threads of continuity we find there.

We first concentrate on the main 'milieux' of the book in Lyons prior to the Revolution, surveying in particular the libraries in the hands of Church institutions, but seeking also to establish some overview of the different constituencies of the book until the point where in the latter eighteenth century there is a great burgeoning of private libraries.

Next we seek to establish a portrait of what the Revolutionary upheaval represented for libraries at Lyons, and to follow the main lines of reconstruction. Into this picture we bring a consideration of the personal odyssey and interests of the founder of our Bibliotheca Pagesiana, the manner in which he shaped his collection, and the aims that motivated him.

Finally we consider the body to which the collection passed. By an examination of what we know of its own particular interests and needs, we try to determine what significance the collection had for the Society of Mary, and what use the latter was able to make of the resources that the collection offered. At the same time, gradually parting company from the Pagès library as a distinct collection, we reflect upon the manner in which the new owners took up and carried forward concerns to be seen in earlier periods of Lyonese history.

As will become evident, the study makes use both of the literature of local history that accumulated in Lyons from the early years of the nineteenth century, and of more recent historical studies across the range of general history, ecclesiastical history and the history of the book in its various contributing fields. Archival material has also been readily drawn upon, from the Parisian and Lyonese repositories, and most heavily from the Roman archives of the Society of Mary. Wherever possible such sources are explicitly cited. When no particular debt is acknowledged, the information and impressions offered are drawn in a more general way from nearly a decade of daily activity, in translation, research and administration, in the Marist archives and in the Bibliotheca Pagesiana now annexed to them.

The man from whom our collection currently takes its name was the abbé Étienne Pagès, born at Saint-Urcize in the Cantal in 1763. We shall have occasion later to trace something of his life and times. From the early years of the century, not long after Napoleon had embarked upon his enterprise of Empire, Pagès established himself in Lyons. There he was to die, close to eighty years of age. Many of the intervening years were spent as 'Professor of Evangelical Moral' at the state faculty of theology in Lyons, and he was eventually to serve as the faculty's dean. He also brought to the light of day a small number of volumes, and was one of the re-founders of the city's chapter of the Linnaean Society. Yet it was not his teaching nor his writing nor his association with a

learned society which were to constitute his claim on history, but rather his great labour of love, the library that now bears his name. For the sake of clarity, let it be said at the outset that some sections of Pagès's library as it existed in late 1841 were subsequently lost. We shall use the term *Bibliotheca Pagesiana* to refer the library in its less extensive current state, though other locutions will invoke the fuller original collection, which can with some hesitations be reconstructed from surviving catalogues.

The Libraries of the Church Communities

Though not Lyonese by birth, in the first decade of the nineteenth century the abbé Étienne Pagès, as a mature man in his forties, came to make his own the ambience that Lyons afforded. In the Lyons of the early nineteenth century, and even more the eighteenth century, the Church's presence was still massive. While the Archbishop's temporal authority was in decline from the incorporation of the city into the Kingdom of France in 1312, he remained a dominant figure in many aspects of city life. Moreover, while on the broad ecclesiastical map, the splendour of Lyons did undoubtedly fade before the rise of Paris, still in Napoleon's time its prestige was sufficient for the Emperor's uncle Cardinal Fesch to prefer for himself the primatial see of the Gauls rather than the nouveau-venu royal capital.¹

This, then, is the setting for developments at Lyons, and the world in which Pagès quarried and assembled his library collection and passed it for its own distinctive uses to the Society of Mary. Yet what precisely was the situation of the libraries in Lyons just prior to the Revolutionary upheaval? What were the book-stocks that were to be the subject of tumultuous changes in the Revolutionary period and out of which in large part Pagès was able to garner?

In painting our brief picture, we must begin with an essential point of reference. In April 1562 the Huguenot troops of the baron des Adrets (1513-1568) launched a surprise attack on Lyons, overwhelmed all resistance, and set about frenetic destruction of ecclesiastical properties and religious monuments. The consequence for the libraries of the ecclesiastical communities was severe devastation, and indeed most often complete annihilation. The Calvinist theologian Theodore Beza (1519-1605) picked up from the debris of the sack of the ancient monastery of Saint-Irénée (6th cent.) a bilingual Greek and Latin New Testament codex, which he later presented to Cambridge University and which is now called after him. While not a product of the Lyons scriptorium, the codex was used there in the Carolingian renaissance, and as recently as 1546 had proved of interest to the Catholic reform

movement, being used at the Council of Trent by the Bishop of Clermont. It was subsequently employed by Henri Estienne for his edition of the New Testament issued at Paris in 1550, and may serve to illustrate the riches over which some of the Lyonese religious houses stood guardians. We have no mention of any library of worth at Saint-Irénée thereafter, though something existed to merit confiscation in 1790. In effect, the sack of 1562 meant that with only slender exceptions the corporate Lyonese ecclesiastical libraries had to be formed afresh after that date, and clearly what emerged must have been a rather different library world. The printing press, the triumph of humanism, and the Catholic reformation saw to that.²

Another factor to be borne in mind is the intervention of the famous Commission for Regulars, which visited Lyons in 1768, some two centuries after the Huguenot army, six years after the suppression of the Jesuits throughout the country. The commission's programme was basically one of rationalization, and it closed 458 of the 2,966 religious communities it inspected throughout the kingdom. We should note that it dealt only with certain categories of community, excluding secular canons and the more recent type of priestly group, such as the Vincentians or Sulpicians. Even more than the closures it enforced, this commission had a far-reaching effect through the measure by which it fixed a minimum age at which religious could take vows, 21 for men and 18 for women. Recruitment had already been in decline throughout religious communities, but this new measure was decisive, and formal entry into the religious orders dropped overall by 25% in the next decade, with consequent shrinkage and ageing of surviving communities. Garden devised a selective table for the decline in male religious communities in Lyons for the three decades 1759-1789 which in essence shows a total fall from 353 to 210 men, a decline of over 40%. However, this average masks the fact that the two branches of Carmelites declined by 53%, the Picpus Franciscans by 70%, while the Franciscans Recollects stood completely firm. We know also, that by way of exception to the trends of the period, the Carthusians were recruiting readily. Let us not forget, either, that the 18 male and 16 female religious communities in Lyons at the end of the Ancien Régime, still jointly owned no less than a third of the city.³

We cannot here consider in detail some forty institutions, but are able only to single out the more important ones in a brief sketch.

Among the communities are some about which we have little detail for the closing years of the Ancien Régime, but which had illustrious past histories. A library of some renown, for example, existed at the Ile-Barbe monastery just up the Saône from the city, from at least the period of the Carolingian reforms, but it would seem that when the monastery was secularized in the sixteenth century the dilapidated remains of its books went to the cathedral chapter archives.⁴ At the outbreak of the Revolution there were only two surviving male monastic foundations: of the Carthusians and the Feuillants. The charterhouse, La Chartreuse du Lys Saint-Esprit, was founded in 1584 and later endowed with a sumptuously magnificent baroque church. General evidence suggests that even recently founded Carthusian houses of the period were well-stocked with books and manuscripts, but there is no definite information about the book resources of the Lyons house.⁵ As to the library of the Feuillants, a Cistercian reform whose Lyons house dated to 1619, again we have few details except that some sort of library was confiscated at the Revolution.⁶

At Notre-Dame de la Platière there was but a single canon regular left by 1768. The regular chapter of Saint-Irénée fared better. It had managed to regroup after 1562, and in 1704 was restaffed by Génovéfains canons. In the eighteenth century these made efforts to overhaul their study programme, but as to the library at Lyons we have no information. The surviving orders of military origin represented in the city were few -- the Order of Malta itself; the Order of Saint-Lazare from 1672 (not to be confused with the Lazarists or Vincentians); and finally a reformed branch of the Trinitarians or Mathurins. None appear to have any considerable library collections.⁷

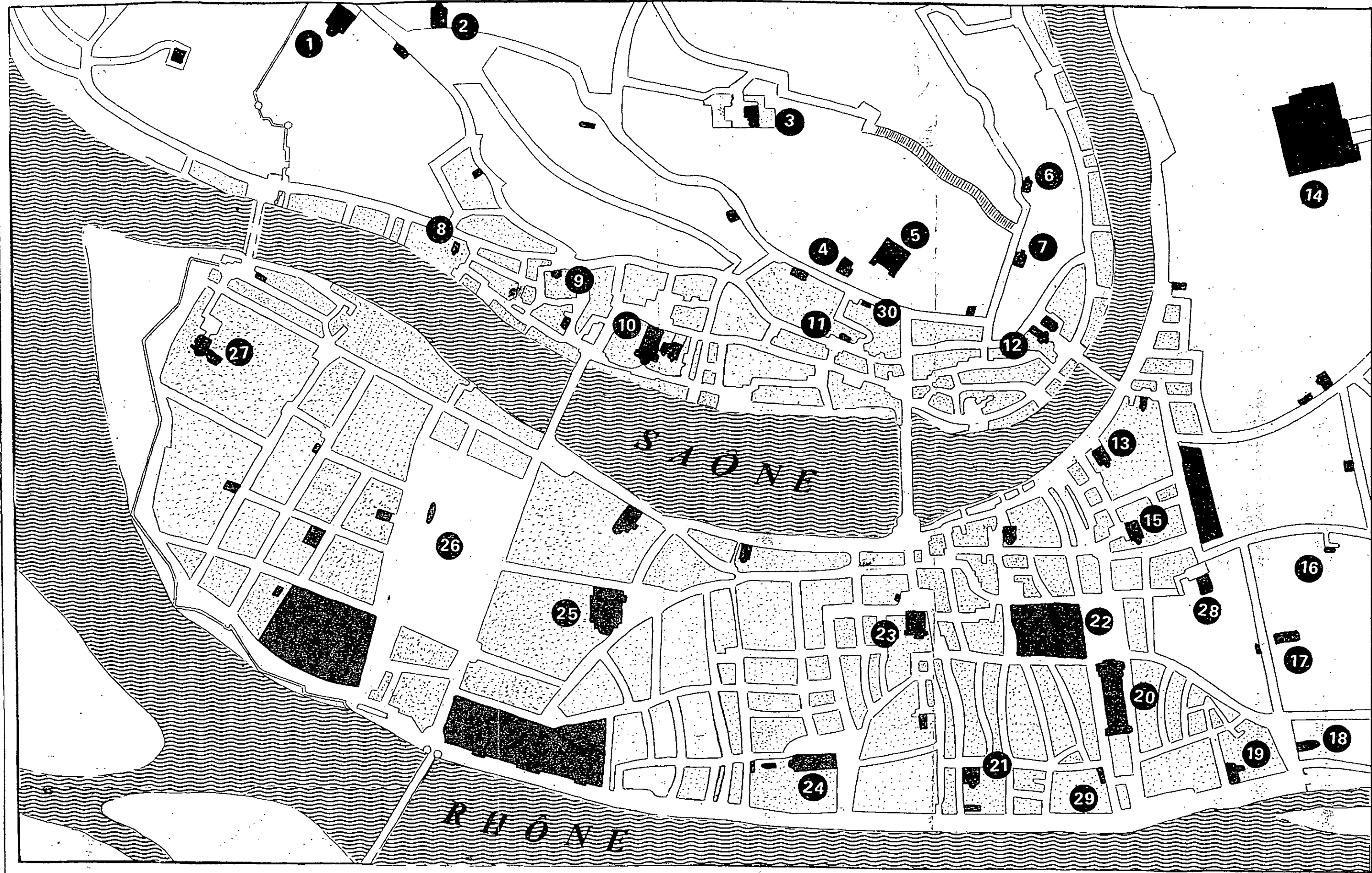
Important as these houses might have been at one period or another, they never at any point from the mid-twelfth century overshadowed the populous houses of the mendicants. By 1550 there were 536 French towns with at least one mendicant house, and 41 towns, including Lyons, had four or more.⁸

The greatest of the mendicant families, that of the Franciscans, founded its first Lyons friary, known locally as the Grands-Cordeliers, in 1220 or 1243, and from what we know of the order's practice would have had an internal school, as well as feeding the mendicant presence at the universities. From 1346 the Lyons convent had a formal studium

generale attached to it. The Franciscans everywhere cultivated great libraries as a resource for their activities in study and preaching. The history of the Lyons convent was lustrous, especially from 1274, when it possessed the body of St Bonaventure, and it played a great role in civic life. The friary was still populated and financially comfortable in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the library appears to have been rich at that time, and beautifully accommodated in a chamber overlooking the Rhône. It included no less than 164 manuscripts.⁹

We know that a further Franciscan house, called locally the Observance, saved only a few books from the sacristy in 1562, and although the house had some sort of school attached for Franciscan recruits the evidence, as we shall see, is that the library was slender on the eve of the Revolution.¹⁰ As to other houses of various Franciscan branches, we find the main Capuchin friary in the city, founded in 1575, and by 1790 endowed with a library of some 6,000 volumes. A second Capuchin house, at Petit-Forêt, and founded in 1622, was destined to feature in the history of Lyonese libraries under the Revolution. From a slow start, the Petit-Forêt friary grew to be a considerable establishment, and harboured some sort of internal school for theology. In 1790 there were 18 priests and 7 brothers in residence, but the house had a further 65 free rooms. As to its own library, this seems to have amounted to 3,500-5,000 volumes, almost all of theology. It is known that in the earlier part of the eighteenth century at least the Capuchins were among the best customers of the bookseller Bruyset.¹¹ A further Franciscan group, the Third Order Regular, often known as Picpus, were allowed to begin construction of a convent at La Guillotière in 1606. In 1768 they were populous -- with some variety of internal theology school -- but they were also poor. Still, their library reached a total of 5000, and was the workplace of Père Grégoire, i.e. Henri Marchand (1674-1750), the mathematician and geographer, who had constructed for it two globes measuring six feet in diameter.¹² Finally, the Franciscan Recollects managed to establish themselves in 1619 at Croix-Rousse, moving in 1622 to the house known as Sainte-Marie des Anges on the montée Saint-Barthélemy. Although in 1789 they were the largest and most stable of the male communities, with 54 men, we know nothing of library resources.¹³

The Dominicans, or Jacobins, were established in Lyons from their very earliest days, around 1215-1218, and their house was to remain a



Church Communities in 18th century Lyons
Legend

1. Saint-Just
2. Minims
3. Fourvière
4. Franciscan Recollects
5. Vincentians
6. Discalced Carmelites
7. Capuchins
8. Knights of Malta
9. Trinitarians
10. Primatiale Saint-Jean (cathedral)
11. Petit-Collège
12. Saint-Paul
13. Grands-Augustins
14. Carthusians
17. Oratorians
18. séminaire Saint-Irénée
19. Feuillants
20. Hôtel de Ville
21. Collège de la Trinité
22. Saint-Pierre
23. Saint-Nizier
24. Grands-Cordeliers
25. Jacobins
26. Place Louis-le-Grand (Bellecour)
27. Ainay
28. Capuchins of Petit-Forêt
29. prêtres de Saint-Joseph
30. séminaire Saint-Charles

The following were sited beyond the central areas depicted here:

Chapter of Saint-Irénée
Observance
Petits-Augustins
Picpus

The plan overleaf is based upon Auguste Bleton, Tableau de Lyon avant 1789: Eaux-fortes de Ch. Tournier, A. Storck, Lyon, [s.d.], p. 103.

powerful centre thereafter. Friar Peter of Tarentaise, a member of the community, subsequently Archbishop of Lyons, was elected to the papacy in 1276 as Innocent V. In the great cloisters of the convent Pope John XXII was elected on 7 August in 1316 and awaited his coronation in Saint-Jean on 5 September. The status of the Dominican convent was reflected in its increasing magnificence, and it was again rebuilt in grand style between 1713 and 1760. We have no great detail on the Dominican library at Lyons in any period. An 'insigne Bibliotheque' was completely destroyed in 1562, but it was later rebuilt and under the prior Père Noël Sabatier (b. 1697) was thoroughly reorganized. In 1704 came the important gift of the Lyons vicar general Paul de Cohade (1636-1726) which considerably augmented the collection, but there were other gifts, such as that by Canon Anthelme Tricaud (1671-1739) of Ainay in 1739, and bequests from community members.¹⁴ That the interest in books was more than formal can be supposed from the fact that large numbers of friars in the community were doctors in theology, and had served in various parts of France as influential preachers. Moreover, from earliest times the Dominicans, officially named the Order of Friars Preachers, had laid insistence upon books ('books are weapons, and without books nothing can be explained for certain in preaching or in hearing confessions'),¹⁵ evolving a detailed legislation on the subject and from the early fourteenth century erecting custom-designed library chambers in their priories.¹⁶

With an interval for the reconstruction in the eighteenth century the Lyons Dominicans had since their earliest days given courses in theology and philosophy and resumed the practice in 1759 with two professors for philosophy and two for theology. This prompted some general interest three years later at the time of the suppression of the Jesuits, when the city government, the consulate, proposed incorporating the Dominican teaching into a scheme including the two former Jesuit colleges. The Dominicans would teach the upper classes of rhetoric, philosophy and theology.¹⁷

The Lyons house of the Calced Carmelites, or so-called Grands-Carmes, dated to 1291. In 1495 it was prospering, and largely through the influence of a Carmelite royal confessor was able to construct a new church. In the seventeenth century the Carmelite friar Robert Berthelot, suffragan bishop for the diocese, in effect refounded the convent library by the bequest of his books in 1630. We know that

shortly afterwards, in about 1643, the community included the famous Père Louis Jacob (1608-1670), inveterate scholarly traveller and ardent bibliographer, who two years later began publication under the title Bibliographia Parisina of the annual volumes of what was to become the French national bibliography. In his Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques of 1644 he speaks of the Carmelite library as 'tres-considerable', and informs us that the original bequest was later greatly augmented by Père Étienne Molin. However, such claims ought perhaps to be viewed cautiously. In 1790, the library, half of which was theology, amounted to some 3,000 volumes, including only 12 manuscripts.¹⁸

Like other groups, the Carmelites were joined by brethren of a reform branch, and in 1618 a house at La Croix-Rousse was purchased for a community of Discalced Carmelites. What the library was like, we do not know, other than that in 1771 it included 18 manuscripts.¹⁹ The fact that in 1790 it was maintained in situ after confiscation suggests that it may have attained at least modest size. From it Pagès inherited at least one book, a 1678 work on episcopal rights.²⁰

The Grands-Augustins in Lyons was a 1269 foundation of the Order of Hermits of St Augustine. The importance of the Lyons house exceeded the meagre details we possess of its internal life, though we are aware that from the fourteenth century it harboured the studium of the order's province of Narbonne and Burgundy, which must have meant the presence of some qualified teachers at least and by the order's legislation, a library. This studium seems to have disappeared in the seventeenth century, but the house was nevertheless later reputed to have the finest library in Lyons after the Collège de la Trinité. There is no evidence of its having developed significantly before the eighteenth century, however. We do know that after 1711 a new library was constructed and a programme of book acquisition embarked upon by new librarians, one of whom, Père Rousset, mostly seems to have found the finance himself, through gifts from his family and his earnings from lectures and preaching. Among bequests we know of is the library of the rich merchant Pierre Gacon, a member of the Lyons Academy, who died in 1749. Part of a catalogue of the library survives that was drawn up in 1755 by the last librarian, the learned Lyonese Père Joseph Janin (1715-1794). It lists 250 manuscripts, but it is difficult on the basis of it to guess at the library's full extent. It may in fact be that the library showed more

vitality than the convent as a whole, where there seem to have been some decline towards the end of our period. The church more or less collapsed in 1755, and though it was speedily rebuilt, in 1768 there were only 9 friars in the community.²¹

A further male convent, of the Discalced Augustinians, known in Lyons as Petit-Augustins, was founded at La Croix-Rousse in 1624. Originally, it was to be limited to twelve friars, but soon expanded and reached as many as 50 in 1671, a number that by 1768 had fallen back to 17. As to the nature of their library, our information is patchy, if tantalizing. In the late seventeenth century the house possessed a rich collection of oriental manuscripts. About that time the friars had a catalogue of all their manuscripts printed, possibly with a view to sale, but possibly also in the hope of attracting scholars to the house and thus soliciting alms, their only income. The known manuscripts total 258. The library does not seem to have been dispersed before 1724, but most probably was sold off piecemeal in the course of the eighteenth century. We know of several manuscripts from it circulating on the market, some bought by the collector Baron Joseph Louis d'Heiss through the abbé Mercier de ySaint-Léger. This purchase was possibly his most important acquisition, and was a strong motive in the purchase of his library by the Marquis de Paulmy in 1781. Of the Lyons manuscripts their new owner retained some 83, which along with two others are now conserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.²²

Finally, let us consider the Order of Minims, a relative latecomer among the mendicants. The order had been invited to found a convent at La Croix de Colle in Lyons in 1553. We know that the invading Huguenots scarcely a decade later found an unpromising total of only six books in the house. The typical activity of the Minims, however, was in popular preaching and care of the sick, alongside a little teaching, and ministration to confraternities. We know that shortly after this the Minims were sending their students to study at the Collège de la Trinité, but their internal regulations from 1577-1581 do place stress on promotion of their own library. Delandine speaks of its containing at a later date treatises on mathematics and Newtonian physics sent from the French Minim convent at Rome, and coming from the pen of Père Sieur and Père Jacquier. For his part, Père Louis Jacob comments on the library's being 'non seulement belle pour son édifice; mais encore pour ses livres'.²³ Many Minims, in fact, were considerable authors, on a

variety of religious, juridical, historical and scientific subjects. A recent study of French Minim libraries shows that they varied quite notably in size from one convent to the next. That of Lunéville reached 1,026 volumes and was not the smallest, while that of La Place Royale in Paris in the seventeenth century already had 17,000. According to the report of the Commission for Regulars, the Minim convent at Lyons was by far the richest house of the order outside the Paris region, and the community was both popular and well-connected, the rich bibliophile Laurent Pianello de La Vallette (1643-1718) being buried in their church in 1718.²⁴

While our information is thus of varied consistency, it is clear in general that despite the losses of 1562 the friars continued in Lyons as elsewhere to possess notable library resources into the eighteenth century, among the most notable in the city. Moreover, we should not perhaps for the purposes of our present study linger over regrets at the Huguenot devastation. In 1400 the mendicants were still far better equipped with libraries than other religious orders and than other Church and secular institutions. Yet their lead was one that was easy to lose, in the sense that since the mendicants were involved in the cut and thrust of the controversy of the moment, and tailored their libraries to this end, their collections could easily date. By the time that they were called upon in the late fifteenth century to collaborate with the new Lyons printing presses, they furnished not so much books as qualified personnel, able and willing to select and to translate material from Latin into French. It might well have been the case that to meet the needs of the world of the late sixteenth century and beyond, the friars would in any case have needed to reconstitute in large part libraries that consisted in a biblical, homiletic and controversial literature firmly tied to times past. In any case, we are in general terms aware that the period of the Counter-Reformation (the dynamism of which ran into the 1740's) meant a vast revival and stocking of libraries as an essential tool of renewal in the Church, and that it is from around 1630 that we might expect the Lyonese libraries to show augmentations worthy of note.²⁵

The multiplicity of women's convents in Lyons ranged from the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Pierre-les-Nonnains, traceable in its origins to the sixth or seventh century, to the Sisters of Saint Joseph, established in Lyons in 1729. There is little real evidence that they

harboured library resources of any size at any point during this period. Many of these women's houses were not rich, and indeed several were exceedingly poor. They may have received gifts of books, just as they attracted donations of property, and doubtless as a practical measure they will have needed certain works beyond their own rules. It seems likely, however, that such books would have been largely devotional in character, for the sisters lacked the background to tackle the desiccated theology of their day, and the rule of many of these houses excluded the reading of all but religious literature, with tacit exception made for the odd work of horticulture, medicine, or cookery.²⁶

It is difficult to draw a simple conclusion as to tendencies in these different libraries of religious communities, though probably Michel Marion's finding regarding those of Paris holds good here too: as the century advances the libraries of religious communities are increasingly neglected, through lack of recruits, decline of means and perhaps disaffection of religious.²⁷ Nevertheless the efforts of such houses and the impact of whatever training they provided was not negligible. The friars, but also later institutes such as the Vincentians, worked for the most part directly with the people, as preachers, confessors or directors of confraternities. Hence the influence of whatever learning they possessed tended to be immediate and widespread. As regards the printing trade, it was the friars who had been among the first collaborators in feeding material to the Lyons presses at its beginnings, and strong links continued to the end, be it only in latter days as accomplices of the Lyons printers in their uneven struggle with the monopolizing Parisians.²⁸

In addition to the religious, another important group in the ecclesiastical garrison of eighteenth-century Lyons were the canons secular. Their chapters included some of the most ancient institutions in the city. First among them, as in any episcopal city, was the chapter of the cathedral canons, who in Lyons numbered thirty-two, each bearing the title of count, from ancient noble families. Six of the canons became pope and perhaps a hundred were made bishops. Their golden age was the second half of the fifteenth century, when intellectual activity among them was intense. The cathedral chapter must have had some sort of a common book collection for most of its history, though it was not necessarily in good condition. In 1511 the chapter was obliged to take measures to have its manuscript books (reported to be 'devastatos')

examined, and any in need of it repaired. The library presumably suffered in the crisis of 1562, since the chapter canons are known to have suffered particular harassment, their archives being thoroughly sacked.²⁹ It appears that at least in later centuries manuscript books were also kept in the archives and were safe but inaccessible. In the early eighteenth century the two Maurist Benedictine monks Edmond Martène (1654-1739) and Ursin Durand (1682-1771) visited Lyons on their Voyage littéraire, but record that access to the archives was not easy: 'nonobstant les fortes recommandations de monseigneur l'archevesque, nous eûmes bien de la peine à y entrer'.³⁰ When they succeeded, they saw manuscripts of the works of Augustine, Jerome, and other Fathers, together with writings from the time of Leidrat and his immediate successors, then already nine centuries old. However, an undated manuscript note drafted for Étienne Baluze (1630-1718) at about the same general period lists only 21 items.³¹

In 1733 the library of printed books available to the chapter was still lean, for in that year the canons were prompted by the bequest of their late dean, Antoine-Joseph de Chevrières, to talk about establishing a proper library, and they resolved to set aside the sum of 700 livres annually for acquisitions. It was an era when many cathedral chapter libraries were being established. The Bishop of Luçon, Henry de Barillon, for example, in 1723 left his chapter many books, including the library of his bibliophile predecessor Nicolas Colbert, brother of the great minister. In 1757 the Lyons canons tried to buy the library of the late archbishop, Cardinal de Tencin, but failed. However, they did manage to acquire the library of a widow Saunier for 483 livres in 1756, and in the 1760's and 1770's the librarian, Canon Montmorillon, bought regularly each year, usually from the bookseller Rossel, so that the chapter library was actively expanding on the eve of the Revolution. By June 1777 the total was 2792 manuscript or printed works. After its confiscation on 13 January 1792, no detailed trace of its fate remains. It must be presumed to have joined the mass of homeless books in the former abbey of Saint-Pierre.³² Pagès certainly managed to recuperate at least one work for his collection, an undated French-language history of civil law in the ecclesiastical domain.³³

The lesser secular chapters in Lyons were all subordinate to that of the cathedral and in various ways intermeshed with it in personnel and jurisdiction. Significantly, in the annual processions all the

canons secular walked as one body. In the eighteenth century, according to various sources, they numbered up two hundred. The canons of the lesser chapters might not have the status of those of the cathedral, but they were a world apart from rural clergy in the Lyons diocese and from other clergy in the town. A study of their wills between 1460 and 1500, for instance, shows that they leave 5-6 times as much coin and more than 3 times as much gold and silverware and jewellery, all have a household of servants and junior clerics, and twice as many of them bequeath books when compared with other clergy.³⁴

Saint-Nizier, an ancient foundation (6th century ?), had been refounded in 1303-1305 as a collegiate church. The small chapter on the heights of Fourvière had been founded in 1175-1180. That of Saint-Paul dated to c. 552 A.D., and was a secular chapter from the late eleventh century, in the Middle Ages intimately bound up with the ethos and fortunes of the middle classes from which it recruited its members. It was rich, and it was philanthropic, but we know nothing of any books there, and indeed none of these institutions give clear signs of library resources at any period. The further chapters included Saint-Just, a mid-fifth foundation on the Fourvière hill, and Saint-Martin d'Ainay, founded some time after the eighth century, an unimaginably rich Benedictine abbey, which after a progressive decline was transformed in 1686 into a secular chapter of noble canons. There are scattered traces of intellectual activity among the Ainay canons in the eighteenth century, particularly in connection with the Lyonese academies, as we shall see, and we have already mentioned Canon Anthelme Tricaud of Ainay (1671-1739) who in 1739 bequeathed books to various communities in the city.³⁵

The cathedral chapter required proof of sixteen quarterings of nobility, which targeted a very select group of ancient noble families. The Ainay chapter had to provide proof of nobility, and came largely from the relatively recent noblesse de robe and noblesse d'office. The other chapters had less stringent formal requirements, but the tendency was clear. A sounding by Maurice Garden has demonstrated clearly that it was from the younger sons of the great families of Lyons that the secular canons were recruited in the eighteenth century.³⁶ They were, as we shall see, a potent and leisured class, prominent in the cultural affairs of the city.

2.

The College de la Trinité and the Seminaries

The intellectual history of Lyons in the Middle Ages in one important respect was marked by failure. Never had Lyons in the centuries preceding the dawn of the Renaissance succeeded in formally establishing the sort of school that flourished in the great commercial cities of Italy and Flanders, and by the fifteenth century, with Lyons the second city of the kingdom after Paris, the lack was keenly felt. The most serious attempt to establish a real university foundered finally in 1453 on royal mistrust. Of course, there was tuition by preceptors, both clerical and lay. There were small schools among the religious houses, but a prestigious central institution, a focus of learning for the city, was ever lacking.¹

After an initial attempt in 1527-1562,² a college -- the Collège de la Trinité -- was in effect refounded in 1565 by the consulate, and entrusted to the Society of Jesus, which seems to have been determined to gain a stronghold there and deny the Huguenots the prize of Lyons, the ecclesiastical capital of the eldest daughter of the Church. From the side of the consulate, the choice of the Society of Jesus was both astute and fashionable. By 1600 there were some 300 Jesuit colleges worldwide, by 1650 perhaps 500. In 1749, the last year for which statistics are available prior to their expulsion from France in 1762, the Jesuits were directing 91 such colleges in France, with 3,000 Jesuits catering for 40,000 students, while worldwide there were no less than 669 such schools. In France, already by the mid-seventeenth century Jesuit-run colleges amounted to 1 in 4 or even 1 in 3. Such a body seemed well placed to give satisfaction in Lyons.³

The Collège de la Trinité, especially after the return of the Jesuits from a brief exile in 1604, was destined to be more than a secondary school in the senses in which the term has been employed in twentieth-century England. It supplied in many respects for the university which before the nineteenth century Lyons never had. By the terms of their return in 1604 the Jesuits committed themselves to giving courses in philosophy, rhetoric and 'humanité', and four classes of

grammar, in addition to lessons on moral and dogmatic theology, mathematics, astronomy and geography. The theology lectures were attended by young Jesuits and other candidates for the priesthood, the latter usually living with their families. Accompanying Hebrew courses were reported to be packed, and in the seventeenth century the pupils of the diocesan seminary attended philosophy courses at the Collège de la Trinité. In this respect the College's history links with that of the seminaries, which we shall consider shortly.⁴

The Jesuit staff numbered among them men of great ability, none more prolific as writers than the phenomenal Père Ménestrier, who published no less than 161 works on history, archeology, symbolism, heraldry, numismatics and hagiography. There were also numerous theologians of repute, historians, lexicographers, and acclaimed preachers and spiritual guides, including Blessed Claude de la Colombière (1641-1682). A pioneering chair of mathematics was instituted in 1604. One occupant was Père Honoré Fabri (1607-1688), who published in his day on optics, tides, meteorology, magnetism, astronomy, and the circulation of the blood. A succession of competent scientists taught at Lyons, and included astronomers such as Jean de Saint-Bonnet (1652-1702), the designer of the College observatory, which was founded in 1701. Many staff participated as members in the learned societies of their day.⁵

The College also played an inestimable religious role that went far beyond the academic sphere, the Jesuits exercising considerable influence with the wider public through preaching, the use of theatre, and the organization of numerous 'congregations', a sort of closely supervised religious fraternity.⁶ Père Coton summed it up for Louis XIII in a letter of 1625, speaking of the apostolic excursions of the Lyons Jesuits: 'pour prêcher par les villes et villages, confesser, disputer avec les dévoyés, visiter les malades, assister ceux qui meurent, ... bref pour toute sorte de charité'.⁷

The city was the centre of the Jesuit province of Aquitaine and from 1582 that of Lyons, which by 1610 numbered 437 religious. The College was also significant at a national level. Père Edmond Auger, virtual founder of the College, was confessor to the king in the years 1574-1587, as was Père Pierre Coton in 1604-1617, after teaching in Lyons from 1590. From the same Lyonese background came in succession

Pères Jean Arnoux (1617-1622), Gaspard de Séguiran (1622-1625), Jean Suffren (1625-1630), Charles Maillan (1630-1635), and in 1675 Coton's grand-nephew Père François de La Chaize, rector of the Collège de la Trinité since 1671 and prior to that of the Petit-Collège, who left his Lyons commitments to become one of the most famous of those to hold the office of royal confessor (1675-1709). The interest of the monarchs was publicly displayed in numerous visits to the College, such as those by Henry III in 1544, Louis XIII in 1623, and Louis XIV in 1658.⁸

But Jesuit horizons were broader still. It was in large part Père Coton who launched the French Jesuit foreign missions, and later the French Jesuits were to be totally enmeshed in the missionary activities. Indeed, it was a vast financial scandal linked to the missions in the faraway West Indies that precipitated their final downfall. From the Lyons College numerous teaching staff and Jesuit students were sent out on missions to destinations that included Constantinople, Canada, Muscovy, Syria, Tonkin, China, Japan, England, Scotland, Paraguay, Persia and Mexico.⁹

Back to France came missionaries' letters, which the Lyonese and Parisian presses rapidly diffused to a wide public, often in pocket-sized volumes which enjoyed great success. From the outset of his time at the College, in fact, Auger actively solicited packets of missionary letters from the Indies, 'for several of our friends take delight in reading them',¹⁰ and published at Lyons French translations of such material. The list of works of missionary interest printed under Jesuit influence at Lyons by 1630 is long. Sometimes publications went out to accompany particular events, such as the splendidly stage-managed visit to Europe in 1584-1588 of a delegation of Japanese Christians, or the two-year European fund-raising and recruiting tour embarked upon in 1616 by Père Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628), a missionary in China, who collected in one great boom funds, recruits, presents for the Chinese court, and books. These latter were destined to form a major library in Peking, and other libraries in subsidiary locations, all vital to the Jesuit strategy of gaining acceptance in China by the superiority of their learning in both arts and sciences.¹¹

What of the library of this great institution of the book? It was not usually starved of funds, but like its parent institution, received its share of considerable grants from the city government. The consulate

paid for it to be rebuilt in magnificent style in 1641. When a serious setback to development came in the form of a fire which damaged building and books in 1644, this was again compensated for with grants from the city, and in making a further grant in 1675, the consulate testified proudly that its library was 'l'une des plus belles et des plus grandes de l'Europe'.¹² Nièpce calculated that between 1478 and 1732 the city spent 349,171 livres on its College, of which in the two years 1670-1672 alone 8,858 livres went on books.¹³

There were also many benefactions throughout the College's history. As early as 1577 François Gérard, grand prévôt of Ainay, bequeathed his library to the College. In 1587 began a whole series of royal favours when Henry III responded to an appeal from the Jesuits, and donated various theological treatises, as did his successors Henry IV, Louis XIII and Louis XIV. Other notables followed the example of the court in their bequests of books and funds: Marc-Antoine Mazonod, échevin (1659), Archbishop Camille de Neuville de Villeroy (1693), an old boy of the College, Marc Perrachon (1700), Archbishop Jean d'Yse de Saléon of Vienne (1750). This latter case is interesting, and shows the power of Lyons to attract bequests from further afield at a time not without difficulties for the Jesuits, and when bishops elsewhere, like Jean-François de Lesdeure at Luçon (1723), or Massillon at Clermont (1742) were making donations of collections that were to mature into the local municipal library. At Lyons collections of value were occasionally acquired by purchase, such as part of that of the learned Lyonese Jean Grolier (1479-1565), former ambassador to the papacy and treasury, bought when it came up for sale in 1676 by the librarian Père Ménestrier on behalf of the city. Even though the Jesuits, as religious, would not usually have had private resources, and were therefore unlikely to make gifts even to their own institution, we know that Ménestrier on at least one occasion did so, and a gift of books was also made by Père Dominique Parennin (1665-1741).¹⁴

Some of the ablest of the Lyons Jesuits presided over a library that by 1762 totalled some 40,000 volumes. Understandably reluctant to see such a vital resource slip from their hands, the Jesuits when faced with exile launched an appeal to claim ownership of library and College buildings, but this was rejected on 6 August 1762. In fact many books were to be pillaged to the benefit neither of the Jesuits nor of the

city, for although the Jesuits did not finally leave until the end of that year, Père Charles Tolomas (1700-1762), the last Jesuit librarian, died on 21 September 1762, thus adding greatly to the uncertainty of the library's future. The Collège de la Trinité with its 40,000 volumes compared favourably with Parisian libraries such as that of the Sorbonne, 'une des plus considérables de Paris',¹⁵ which in 1788 had 30,000, while in 1789-1790 Saint-Germain-des-Prés had approximately 50,000 printed volumes, and Sainte-Geneviève some 60,000. Among Jesuit libraries, too, that of Lyons was notable. It vied with the estimated 30,000 volumes of the 'maison professe' at Paris and a figure of between 32,000 and 70,000 for the capital's Collège de Clermont, and was well in advance of the 16,000 of the Collège des Godrans at Dijon and the 25,000 of the college at Strasbourg.¹⁶

There is a considerable postscript to this Jesuit history of the Collège de la Trinité, for after the demise of the French Jesuits in 1762 it was entrusted -- after an interlude of some eighteen months of uncertainty and the refusal of the staff of the local seminaries of Saint-Charles, Saint-Joseph and Saint-Irénée -- to the Oratorians, in whose hands it met its end.¹⁷ While sympathetic to the caution of recent writers against presenting the pre-Jesuit and post-Jesuit periods of the Collège de la Trinité as of no real interest, we are obliged in effect to abstract from the considerable achievements of the Oratorians in the educational field, and to focus narrowly upon the salient details of their stewardship of the College library.¹⁸

The Oratorians were by no means indifferent to their libraries. All their colleges had a library, with regularly enforced statutes which stipulated that its catalogue be kept up to date and its expenses separately recorded. At Nantes the college library was from 1753, as in Lyons, also the library for the town. The library of the college at Juilly survived the Revolutionary period, and was until recently still in Oratorian hands. Its volumes from that period record many gifts from individual Oratorian professors, and show a lively interest in acquisition of learned journals, including some covering natural sciences. Lyons subscribed to journals such as the Journal des savants, Journal encyclopédique, Gazette de Leyde, Journal de Genève, and Année littéraire. Moreover the collections were open to the pupils themselves, which was not the case under the Jesuits at Lyons.¹⁹

After the departure of the Jesuits from the Collège de la Trinité the consulate decided to merge into the College library a collection known as the Bibliothèque des avocats, which had its origin in the sale of his private collection to the city by the lawyer Pierre Aubert (1642-1733) in 1731. The aim of the amalgamation was to spare the expense of duplicate library staff. Nevertheless, the strictly legal tomes were separated and housed at the Petit-Collège, which was more convenient for the city's lawyers. From 1765 the library of the Collège de la Trinité, now enlarged by some 4,000 volumes, became public, and from 1767 it benefitted from the gradual sale of duplicates beginning with a first lot of 1,206. All in all these sales realized 16,000 livres, money that was spent on further new acquisitions.²⁰ However, despite this progress, in 1772 a quarrel broke out between the Lyons consulate and the Oratorians, who were attempting to exclude the consulate from access to the library. The first échevin settled the issue by going to the College and obliging the door to be opened to him. A dedication was thereafter placed over the door by the consulate: 'Bibliothecam utiliti publicae dedicavit suam civit. lugd.'²¹ This may have been in part the reason for a book stamp from this era marking books as 'ex biblio privata collegii orator lugd'.²² In fact the Oratorians clearly kept several library collections for various uses, as we know from a 1672 edition of the canons and decrees of Trent in the Bibliotheca Pagesiana.²³ Dated 1785, it is specially inscribed with the name of the Oratorians, and marked for use of the theologians.²⁴

Later, as the Revolution progressed, the rumour went round that the Oratorians were planning to sell off part of the College property for their gain. On 29 September 1791, when Père Roubiès was librarian, the library, laboratories, observatory, and medal collection were sealed by the city to prevent this, though the seals were later removed by the order of the departmental Directory. The story eventually finished when the Oratorians themselves were suppressed in August 1792,²⁵ and with them a remarkable institution that served Lyons for some two and a half centuries with free education for thousands of boys, and with a great range of practical and cultural resources in addition. It was the chief repository of books in the city, and itself the originator of an abundant literature to feed the Lyons printing trade, and a major stimulus to intellectual life in the city.

Among the most important enactments of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) were decrees concerned with raising the spiritual quality of life among priests and with training them for a more suitable pastoral approach to care of the people. The chief measure decreed was the establishment of 'seminaries', but both official and unofficial acceptance of this was slow in France, and Lyons was no exception. While the French diocesan seminaries at a later period formed a privileged focus for the gathering of library collections, this was only weakly the case in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The chief reason was that the seminaries served not as a place of continuous years of study, but only as a centre to which ordinands repaired for short periods. Prior to Trent many priests who did not attend university were trained by a rough-and-ready sort of apprenticeship in parishes and collegial churches. In 1614 Archbishop Denys-Simon de Marquemond (1572-1626) of Lyons was tightening up previous practice when he required candidates for tonsure to be able to read and write and candidates for priesthood to know the catechism, their duties of state, and enough Latin to read the breviary. His visitation reports show that he had pitched his standards rather high! Seminaries were a necessary solution, and it has become clear from a considerable range of recent studies that there was a good deal of agreement at an ideological level about what a priest should be, and what in consequence the seminaries needed to do to shape a man.²⁶

As to the staffing of the seminaries, although the Jesuits were actively involved in such work, it was in a special sense the province of a new and distinctive type of congregation of priests, exemplified in the Sulpicians, the Vincentians (Lazarists), the Oratorians, the Eudists, the Spiritans, and the Missions Étrangères of Paris, all of which were founded in France on a basically common formula in the years from 1611 to 1703. These bodies were of a quite distinctive type that owed nothing to the mendicant model, but little either to the Jesuits. They were groupings specifically of priests, living in community, but without vows (at least without public vows), and were not, therefore, strictly speaking religious.

The Oratorians, whom we have seen in connection with their later venture at the Collège de la Trinité, were the first to try their hand at a seminary in Lyons, establishing their first house from 1618 in the cathedral precinct, where under the authority of the chapter they tried

to reorganize a sort of seminary for choirboys and young tonsured clerics attached to the cathedral. This first attempt was dogged by financial problems and finally finished off by plague in 1628. They made a further attempt in 1654-1674, but without great success, the chief problem being a lack of support from the clergy. The house itself survived as an Oratorian community until its seizure in 1790. The Vincentians or Lazarists first sought a house at Lyons in 1668, to be used as a staging post on various preaching tours. In 1673 they settled on the rue Saint-Barthélemy, and provided a small private seminary. Another kind of seminary, the séminaire Saint-Charles, was again a local initiative, one of the many undertaken by the abbé Charles Démia (1636-1689). This was not a seminary in the later sense, but a mixed establishment which received poor youths destined for the priesthood, but also laymen, both bachelors and widowers, who in turn were given charge of orphaned boys. The aim was to develop elementary education for the poor, and while it was modest in aims, resources, and numbers, it encountered a deal of success. Finally, a purely local congregation of missionaries, the Missioners of Saint-Joseph, was founded in 1652. They occupied a house in the rue du Garet, near the Hôtel de Ville, and kept a public church. They also tried to develop a seminary, which they handed over to the Company of Saint-Sulpice in 1659. We have no real information about libraries in any of these seminaries, except that of the Vincentian house -- in effect a school with 700 pupils and 50 teachers -- which at the Revolution was said to contain 4,600 volumes.²⁷ Several canonical works at least from it made their way into Pagès's collection.²⁸

With hidden support from the powerful Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, the Company of Saint-Sulpice accepted the challenge of establishing a major institution. The Sulpicians were a society of common life for secular priests who specialized in the manning of seminaries. While they numbered no more than 150 men in 1789, they were in charge of 23 major seminaries and 11 minor seminaries, and had often been pressed to accept more. Ernest Renan, writing to a friend in 1844 of his experience of Saint-Sulpice, spoke of 'une machine bien montée depuis deux cents ans'.²⁹ Certainly, the Sulpicians had their own style: very serious in matters of the spiritual life, not lax but nevertheless humane and untainted by Jansenism. They were academically able teachers, and safely Gallican in spirit. Both the nobility and the upper middle classes found them congenial. Their seminary in Paris was the training

ground of bishops, but they were generally men without personal ambition, and enjoyed the undying respect of their pupils. Throughout France their influence was great.³⁰

At first there was little in the way of courses at Saint-Irénée. When the seminary moved to the site at Place Croix-Paquet in 1663 the Lyons clerics still attended seminary for only three 10-15 day spells each year, and the students did their philosophy at least at the Collège de la Trinité. In fact, the Sulpician General, Tronson, took the deliberate decision not to offer internal philosophy courses, fearing that the seminary would slide into becoming a sort of college and would thereby arouse opposition from the Jesuits. This is exactly what did happen in the 1730's when an internal philosophy section was developed. After 1697 the seminary gradually began to put on a broad range of courses. In 1705 one year's residence was demanded, and by 1782 this had risen to two years. Most significant, perhaps, was the arrangement concluded in 1739 by which Saint-Irénée was affiliated to a university (Valence). From then on it came to run degree courses of five years' duration. Its professors in any case were all doctors of the Sorbonne, and enjoyed a high reputation. We know that the abbé Jean-Baptiste Poidebard (d. 1824), who in 1785-1786 taught mathematics at Saint-Irénée, had previously studied philosophy there and thus graduated from the University of Valence, as had the famous abbé François Rozier, who gained his doctorate in 1755. By the Revolution some at least of the seminarians at Saint-Irénée were also studying Botany and others topics such as Hydrostatics, and the seminary was equipped with some kind of cabinet for Physics and for Natural History. By the mid-eighteenth century Saint-Irénée prepared 150-200 seminarians for holy orders each year, with about 100 each of philosophy and theology students attending various courses.³¹

All this was no mean undertaking, yet while the period of instruction did gradually lengthen, and the range of subjects taught, it is unlikely that the intellectual content noticeably deepened. As in many seminaries before the Revolution, the need for extensive libraries hardly increased, and what libraries did exist were largely for the use of professors rather than the students. Moreover, seminaries suffered extremely constrained finance, and for books many had to rely on loans from the bishop's private library. In Lyons, the seminary lost out in this respect since as we have seen the only archbishop to bequeath a

library, Camille de Neuville de Villeroy (1606-1693), left his 12,000 volumes in 1693 by preference to the Jesuit College, even though his brother, the vicar general Antoine de Neuville (1595-1670), in 1670 became the first of an appreciable number of clerics to favour Saint-Irénée in this way. Many, but not all, of these bequests were admittedly small, yet even so by 1723 the library was sizeable enough to merit relocation and new shelving. It was to grow to 10,000 volumes, and boasted an adjoining cabinet de physique of some merit. The library at the Parisian séminaire de Saint-Sulpice had reached 28,000 or 30,000 volumes by the Revolution.³²

Thus by the end of the Ancien Régime alongside the polyvalent institution of the great Collège de la Trinité, there began to emerge ever more strongly another establishment. It never rivalled the College, especially not in its library, which remained fairly modest when set against the latter's 40,000 volumes (1762), but which when reconstructed after the Revolution was -- like many a seminary library -- to prove a major resource.³³

Finally it is necessary at least to mention several other modest centres of education that lay outside the direct influence of the Church, though several were housed in male convents at various periods. The most ancient was the institution of law lectures sponsored by the consulate, the origins of which lay in the High Middle Ages. The second was represented by the lectures in anatomy, chemistry and botany provided on a trimestral cycle by the agrégés of the Collège de Médecine, founded in the sixteenth century. Like other similar bodies, it was a college in the medieval sense of a corporation, and did not have its own permanent premises. Similarly in 1774-1775 a Collège de chirurgiens received letters patent and initiated lectures on physiology, therapeutics and osteology. There was also a school for midwives. In 1761 came an École vétérinaire, largely concerned with diseases in cattle, mules and horses. From the seventeenth century there was a small Académie du roi pour l'éducation des gentilshommes, with some teaching of mathematics and history, but mainly notions of military engineering and horse-riding, and later came an Académie d'équitation financed by the city. There was a Pépinière royale, an École d'agriculture, an École pratique pour l'éducation d'arbres fruitiers et forestiers, an École de dessin for manufacturing industry. Nearly all these offered at some stage public lectures, often free, in their area

of competence, and several achieved renown internationally, but they were all very small and in a state of flux, and in so far as they flourished in the later eighteenth century it was on the tide of interest in scientific subjects. Several also suffered setbacks when their rented premises were sacked in the riots of the last years of the Ancien Régime. One thing they do point to, however, is the increasing pressure in the realm of education for an approach geared far more to practical aims than was in general the Jesuit college system prior to 1762. As to institutional library resources, they had little if anything.³⁴

3.

Private Libraries and Learned Societies

Since our interest focuses on the library of a priest, we have so far been attentive in examining the libraries of the ecclesiastical institutions in eighteenth-century Lyons. The private libraries of the diocesan clergy in the years before the Revolution are also of keen interest to us. Enough progress has been made in the study of the private libraries to be found in France at various periods of history for it to be clear that it is no longer adequate to review the evidence of contemporary sales catalogues alone. A complete study of the libraries at Lyons in the eighteenth century would now require a vast statistical analysis of thousands of wills and other legal archival testimonies of the period. Such work remains to be done, but is beyond our scope here. Fortunately some soundings from these and other sources have been taken, and we shall try to profit from these at least to the point of sketching a general picture of what can so far be known.

The idea that secular priests should possess some books is hardly surprising. In a general sense, it was the privilege of the clerks to be custodians of the written word, and their trade involved at very least the use of the liturgical books and the keeping of official registers. As to private collections of books among the clergy, their presence is long attested in the Lyons area. At first, of course, evidence is modest. Fifteen per cent of the 4,300 wills registered by the officialité of Lyons in the period 1301-1545 were made by clergy. Out of the sample of 2,355 subjected to more detailed analysis, the 3% of testators who mention books are in the overwhelming majority clergy.¹ On a broader front, a study of a body of private libraries in the period 1480-1530 (drawn especially from Paris, Amiens, Avignon, and Rouen), has shown that 39% of the sample libraries belonged to clergy or lawyers, and that these two groups owned 75% of all the books inventoried.²

From what we have seen of the style of seminary education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it would not be expected that the clergy as a group were possessed of great personal culture. In fact among the lower ranks of clergy it seems that in the eighteenth century

the typical figure is the priest who cannot afford to buy a Bible rather than the man who bequeaths a library of 20,000 volumes.³ Bishop Massillon of Clermont (1663-1742) takes it for granted, in fact, that 'la plupart des curés de campagne [...] sont pourvu d'un revenu si modique qu'ils ne sont pas en état de se donner tous les livres nécessaires',⁴ Evidence everywhere points to cases such as the presbytery of Ergué-Gaberic in Brittany, which possessed only the Imitation of Christ, the Vie Dévote of St Francis de Sales and a book of Breton hours. A recent estimate of the average library of a parish priest in town or countryside at 20-30 volumes, would seem to be generous. Indeed, while they were by then probably a rare breed, it is known that even in the first decades of nineteenth century there were still parish clergy who spoke only the local patois and whose libraries contained but a breviary and a volume of lives of the saints.⁵

It would appear, however, that such libraries were in general increasing in size in the last four decades of the Ancien Régime. This growth stands in curious contrast to the severe economic problems which afflicted France. In Lyons the Collège de la Trinité was placed in grave difficulties through a diminution in the effective worth of its income from its properties and estates in the Lyons area. The people's staple diet, rye, rose steadily in price at Lyons throughout most of the century, increasing by 70% between 1728 and 1782, with notable surges in 1746 and 1770. Wages lagged well behind, rising only 28% for a builder's labourer in the same period. The people were at subsistence level, and in the country many priests came from and were dependent upon the people.

Yet at Lyons for this later period we do find libraries such as that of the abbé Jean-Baptiste Rivoiret, one of the lesser clergy of Saint-Paul, who in wills of 1761 and 1780 left his library to the séminaire Saint-Charles, or of the abbé Jacques-Philippe Gindre, chaplain to the Visitation nuns, who made a similar bequest in 1761, renewing it in 1766 and 1768. Many such libraries were doubtless pragmatic ones, following the lines of recommendations made to students in the seminaries, libraries which had been formed in earlier decades, had served pastoral clergy well and which they often tried to pass on to some intending student of theology, not rarely a nephew or cousin.⁶

We have some general confirmation of growing interest in libraries of this sort among priests. We might cite the study by Marion, who examined a total sample of 1001 catalogues, each numbering less than 1000 volumes, of sales at Paris in the course of the eighteenth century. He found that those of the clergy (15% of the total) increased steadily as the century progressed. Of course, the fact remains that in nearly all classes of society the overall number of libraries of modest size being formed was rising, but presumably, too, the improving standards of education among the clergy were having their effect, as was the inescapable phenomenon of the steady rise in book production.⁷

The higher clergy were an altogether different case from the humbler parish priests and curates. Only one French diocese, Senez, in 1789 had a bishop who was not an aristocrat. Many of these aristocratic bishops were part of nepotistic episcopal dynasties, and in any case in their manner of life and the administration of their possessions they not rarely acted more as members of their family than as heads of dioceses. While there are striking exceptions, many of their libraries are very modest, hovering around two hundred volumes each.⁸

Certainly at Lyons this was regularly surpassed, as we have had occasion to note. Already in the fifteenth century Amé de Talaru, Archbishop in 1415-1444, and Jean de Bourbon, Bishop of Le Puy, administrator at Lyons in the years 1449-1454, had great libraries. We found Bishop Robert Berthelot, carmelite friar, and suffragan bishop of Lyons in 1602-1630, refounding the Grands-Carmes library with his own books, and Archbishop Camille de Neuville de Villeroy bequeathing in 1693 a library of 5,000 volumes, worth some 19,000 livres.⁹ The Bibliotheca Pagesiana contains also a very fine set in seven volumes of the canonical works of Agostinho Barbosa, all bearing the ex-libris of Charles-François Chateauneuf de Rochebonne (1671-1740), Bishop of Noyon (1708-1731), later to be Archbishop of Lyons (1731-1740). These seem to have been acquired by the Oratorian Visitor Père Davey, and by him donated to the seminary of Saint-Magloire in Paris, run by the Oratorians.¹⁰ They suggest a splendid library. We know that Anthelme Tricaud (1671-1739 or 1741), canon of Ainay, opponent of the bull Unigenitus, left some parts of his library to Rochebonne, who had exiled him. In 1757 the library of the late archbishop, Cardinal de Tencin, a former minister of the crown, slipped from the grasp of the cathedral chapter. We know, too, that Archbishop Antoine Malvin de Montazet, a

courtier and seigneur on a grand scale, had a notably 'modern' library collection, well-stocked with works of the 'philosophes', as with the works of Jansenism, to which he was close.¹¹

From his survey of 3,708 inventories at Paris for the years 1750-1759, Marion found that some 23% overall mentioned books, while among the 96 clergy present as many as 63% had at least one book. These clergy with books were mainly (66%) from the lower ranks. We can, however, differentiate further. Marion found out of his total sample only 249 inventories with mention of collections that he considers to be real libraries. Of these, 37 belonged to clergy. While this means that only 15% of libraries were in the hands of clergy, the clergy number less than 3% of the total sample, and pressing further we note that in fact 39% among them have not only books but a library. Most of the clergy library owners would seem to be among the higher ranks of clergy. Otherwise put, none of the clergy with books have a fortune of less than 2,000 livres, and 60% of the library owners among the clergy have a fortune in the bracket between 5,000 and 50,000 livres. However, it appears not to be true that the richer the priest, the more extensive was his library. The poorest of priests like Nicolas Langlety, with a fortune of only 440 livres to his name, has invested much of it in his 343 books, whereas the abbé François de Vigier, bachelier en théologie, spent only a small portion of his vast fortune of 250,000 livres on a 1,508-volume library. The study by Christine Thomassery of 40 private libraries of ranking Parisian clergy (but not bishops) across the century found an average of about 1,500 titles.

Marion tends rather to the conclusion that the priests dying at Paris in the 1750's saw themselves as successors of the medieval clerks, and that in so far as they were financially able they were inclined to invest in books as part of the appurtenances of their office. Laymen of the lowest levels of wealth were certainly not nearly as attached to books. Clearly we cannot read here with absolute confidence Lyons for Paris, though we can read Lyons with more confidence than many another provincial city, even if in general the disparity between capital and provinces in clergy libraries of the eighteenth century does not seem to be great.¹²

Marion's study is satisfied with a fairly straight dichotomy of rank between higher and lower clergy, which doubtless was a practical

approach to the tumultuous situation of the capital. However, in the more settled world of Lyons there lay in between the great prelate on the one hand and the town or country parish priest on the other a well delineated third class of canons, which we have already encountered. If Archbishop de Neuville's library was worth 19,000 livres in 1693, a canon-count of Lyons cathedral chapter drew in the eighteenth century about 3,000 livres, as against the 900 livres received by the 'perpetuels' of the cathedral. Given that the cathedral canons were also drawn exclusively from well-established noble families, and not rarely held plurality of benefices, it is unlikely that this represents the full amount of their annual income. When we consider other indices, such as the annual income of 1000-1750 livres for a professor at the Sorbonne from 1720, or note that subsistence levels for a silk worker, his wife and eight children were calculated in 1769 at 25 sous a day, or about 460 livres a year, it follows that if he were inclined to do so, a canon had the means to acquire quite a decent library over the years, and indeed if Marion is right, he would have had some sense of the appropriateness of acquiring at least a basic professional library.¹³

The broader intellectual history of Lyons in the eighteenth century, in which the canons played no mean part, has been investigated with some thoroughness and related with increasing subtlety to social and economic developments.¹⁴ We must here presuppose these investigations, and seek merely to highlight certain features concerning more closely the matter of libraries, much of whose recorded history is bound up with the history of the Lyons academies.

An Académie des sciences et belles-lettres constituted itself at Lyons on 30 May 1700, the seven members drawn especially from legal families, but including two clergymen, the Jesuit scholars Thomas-Bernard Fellon (1672-1759), author of poetical works on magnets and coffee, and Jean de Saint-Bonnet, creator of the observatory. In fact this first group was a coalition of the Jesuits of the Collège de la Trinité with senior officers of the Cour des monnaies, the Sénéchaussée and the Présidial. Within two years, both priests were gone -- Père Fellon to a posting outside Lyons, and Père Saint-Bonnet killed in an accident on the construction site of his beloved observatory -- but as the body expanded, clergy recruitment ran at an average of 28-30%, with some 38% among them drawn from the Jesuits and the rest from the canons secular. Curiously, the cathedral canons never featured.

The Jesuits, of course, were eliminated completely after 1762, but in any case only one was recruited after 1730. Their influence undoubtedly lived on nevertheless: although the 'éloges' of only 35 academicians have survived, of these 70% were educated by the Jesuits at the Collège de la Trinité. The numbers of the academy's clergy members compared with a proportion of roughly 50% made up by lawyers occupying the great offices in the royal administration and the city. The other members were physicians and public officers, ennobled or not, of the second rank.¹⁵

A further academy, the Académie des beaux-arts, came into being by letters patent of 1724, by a recasting of the existing Société du concert. For a good decade this second academy continued to occupy itself as before only with music, but in 1736 it entered open rivalry by adopting statutes that reflected the wider scope of its title. The jostling lasted until 1756, when the second academy took by new letters patent the title Société des beaux-arts, and finally the two were amalgamated as the Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts. The membership here was rather different in tone. The proportions of recruitment from the bourgeoisie as against nobility soared from 1 : 6 to 7 : 3. More than half of this large bourgeois representation was drawn from the medical profession, which in the first academy had been represented by a meagre total of 4 physicians (5.4%), but in the second academy constituted over 25% and included pharmacists and surgeons. For their part, the clergy were fairly evenly balanced between secular canons and Jesuits at a joint total of 22%. It seems that after 1730 the Jesuits in general terms lent their support to the second academy, while on the other hand the officers of the Sénéchaussée, locked with them in conflict over control of the colleges from 1735-1740, polarized to the first academy.¹⁶

After the amalgamation of 1758, the statutes and ethos of the academy, now with a membership fixed at 40, were those of Société (académie) des beaux-arts. The proportion of the nobility fell to 17% and the bourgeoisie took up the vacated space, rising to 61.5%. The clergy maintained its presence overall at 21% of recruits, with the difference that in absolute terms after 1762 the Oratorians had to share the former Jesuit seats with the prêtres de Saint-Joseph. The secular clergy included two 'chevaliers de l'Église' or theologians attached to the cathedral, the abbé de Castillon, a canon of Saint-Just, and the abbé de Montmorillon -- a cathedral canon, but admitted in virtue, it

would seem, of his scientific interests -- and the abbé François Rozier, the last secular priest to gain admittance, who had won national renown by his editing of the Journal de Physique and his Dictionnaire d'Agriculture théorique et pratique, and was director of the Lyons veterinary school. At his reception by the Lyons academy in 1787, he was already a member of nine academies in France and eleven abroad.¹⁷

Until the years 1740-1750 fine private libraries are very few in number and found chiefly among members of the Académie des sciences et belles-lettres, or in other guise the great office holders in city and royal service, with the addition of only a few members of the senior Lyons clergy, such as the abbé Antoine Lacroix, grand obéancier of Saint-Just, who had a priory in Normandy and another near Lyons at Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey. He was also -- and perhaps most significantly -- trésorier de France, a post he inherited from his father. The inventory of Lacroix's possessions made after his death in 1781 amounts to the very considerable fortune of 80,134 livres.¹⁸

We must take for granted all the usual cautions regarding the documentation available to us concerning any particular library. Did, for example, valuable or compromising books disappear at the hand of servants, colleagues or relatives before an inventory after death was made, did a bookseller omit from a printed catalogue works he considered unsaleable or add others from his general stock? Let us take three priests from among the academicians. For the abbé Lacroix, one of the most active among the clergy in the affairs of the academies, we have a notarial inventory of 1781, which lists 4,207 volumes valued at 9,361 livres -- considerable totals when compared with libraries of lay academicians known to us from the 1780's, the other totals being 162, 375, and 436 volumes, worth respectively 220, 215, and 450 livres. Lacroix had invested a significant 11.7% of his fortune in his library. The relative proportions of subject matter were 20% Theology and religious matter, 40% History, only 5% Science, and 35% Literature. There is no Law. Without entering into his biography, we may say that his progressive views on education at least suggest that despite his earlier doctorate in theology, we are not dealing with a dyed-in-the-wool conservative.¹⁹

We know a fair deal about the library of the abbé de Montmorillon, a cathedral canon, and -- as we have seen -- actively in charge of his chapter's library in the 1760's and 1770's. His own books as analyzed by Chartier show a balance of 20% theology and religious matter, 11% Law, 26% History, 24% Science, and 19% Literature. We might compare this with the library of the abbé Rozier, listed in an VII, and made up of a mere 5% theology and religious matter, no Law, 28% History, a massive 40% Science, and 27% Literature. Rozier was a man with considerable income. Both these libraries distinguish themselves from those of the majority of academicians at Lyons by the space they give to contemporary works, especially the eighteenth-century philosophers and encyclopédistes.²⁰

Among other book-collectors was also the priest Jean-Ferdinand Michel (1675-1740), a canon of Ainay, bibliophile, and chemist, who assembled a notable library of 6,000 volumes, which he sold to the city in 1738 for 10,000 livres. About the same period his colleague in the Ainay chapter, Anthelme Tricaud (1671-1739 or 1741), left sections of his library to friends, the archbishop, and various religious houses in the city, including a considerable part to the Dominicans. Shortly after ordination he had become a canon and a member of the Academy, and spent his life as a scholar and writer on historical topics, dying in Paris, where Archbishop Rochebonne exiled him for his opposition to the bull Unigenitus. Marc-Eléazard de Valernod (1704-1778), likewise a canon of Ainay, and mathematician and member of the Académie de Lyon, also formed a library, but we have no details on it. The abbé Claude-Lambert Dugad-Mouton, a parish priest, had a mainly theological library whose 1780 sale catalogue lists 600 items, including however works of Bayle and Voltaire.

The abbé Dominique Perrichon (1722-1798), chamarier of Saint-Paul, had formed a library which contained 1406 items when sold in 1791, and realized for the owner 21,000 livres. He was a member of a family of city magistrates that had shown an interest in libraries for at least two generations. Grosclaude sees there alongside incunabula, many novels, the works of 'philosophes', as well as a goodly number of sensational, if not prurient, memoirs. Doubtless Perrichon represents in advanced form a tendency present among some sections of the clergy. However, the importance of such cases should probably not be exaggerated. Of the 37 priests with libraries surveyed by Marion from the 1750's, not one possessed a copy of any work of Voltaire or of the

Encyclopédie, and there is virtually no sign of scientific interest among their books, even if they may have gained something from the Mercure de France, which several possessed. There seems some toing and froing in the evidence, for Daniel Mornet (who has of course been vigorously criticized) discerned little influence from the 'philosophes' in his famous study of a sample of 500 Parisian catalogues from the latter half of the century. Moreover, he found 45 priests, of whom 10 showed markedly high proportions of theological works in their library. Of those 10, 3 priests had libraries containing 50% theology, and 6 containing between 33% and 50%. Sounding a note of caution against this reactionary picture, however, is the fact that some 11% of the sets of the quarto Encyclopédie subscribed at Besançon c. 1780 were destined for the clergy.²¹

By way of a general comparison with these libraries of Lyonese clergy, let us take the libraries of a number of the city's laymen, beginning with that of the harbour-master and bibliophile Pierre Adamoli (1707-1769). Adamoli made it his passion from 1734 to assemble a library of some 6,000 volumes that reputedly cost him 51,787 livres, and that he left to the city for the use of the Academy, which secured control of it after litigation with his heirs in 1778. The library ~~It~~ was to be open to the public one day a week, and the proportions represented were 15% Theology and religious matter, 3% Law, 28% History, 34% Science, and 20% Literature. The Science included ample coverage of Natural History. Before 1740-1750 rich library collectors from the mercantile classes, such as Adamoli, were rare, and it was the professional classes and office-holders who formed the majority among both the truly prosperous and the culturally aware.²²

Another collection which passed into public ownership was the library of Claude Brossette de Varennes (1671-1743) échevin, one of the founder members of the Lyons Académie des sciences et belles-lettres, and its secretary for 39 years. In 1733, when he sold his collection to the city, it was made up of 6% Theology and religious matter, 38% Law, 15% History, 11% Science, and 20% Literature. It joined that of the lawyer and échevin Pierre Aubert (1642-1733), already sold to the city in 1731 and forming the nucleus of the first formal public library in Lyons, established as the Bibliothèque des avocats at the Hôtel des Fléchères. The library continued to grow in the earlier part of the century, with the addition of collections bought from the soldier

Augustin-Nicolas Foy du Saint-Maurice (1734), from Claude-Ignace Morand, a mathematician and member of the Lyons Academy (1738), and from Canon Jean-Ferdinand Michel, whom we have already encountered (1738).²³

A further library of renown was that of Laurent II Pianello de La Valette (1644-1718), who as treasurer general at Lyons attempted to protect the local booktrade by seeking privately to obtain leniency for Lyonese printers caught counterfeiting Parisian editions, and formed with the greatest care a noteworthy bibliophile library plus collections of seals and other antiquities. He figured early in the annals of the Académie des sciences et belles-lettres. The La Valette library, already famous by the late seventeenth century, was by the later 1730's in the hands of the third generation, in the person of Laurent III (1707-1792), and was actively maintained by purchases at the rate of some 1,000 livres a year, a part of these books being acquired at Lyons, but the rarer and more exquisite volumes being obtained for the most part in Paris. On occasion prices as high as 300 livres were paid for a single work. While not by any means typical in the matter of its fine editions, the library is fairly typical in its contents of a certain milieu in Lyons. The La Valette library still contained 33% religious matter, 30% History, a 25% Literature, up to 8% Science, and perhaps 2% Law. Moreover, of the Literature the classics make up almost 50%, and authors of the Renaissance and the seventeenth century another 30% or so. Contemporary French authors barely amount to 20%. Handed down in the family, the collection followed them out of Lyons after 1758, only to be confiscated in 1794.²⁴

These laymen's collections were largely assembled in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, and come from a narrow group who are conditioned in essence by the cultural interests of the seventeenth century. They stand in contrast to the libraries formed in the second half of the century. The early group -- which had founded and sustained the Académie des sciences et belles-lettres -- was willing to keep privately abreast of contemporary literature, but would have hesitated to encourage its diffusion, and saw itself as a cultural élite forming a bastion of Catholic orthodoxy, opposed to libertinage and religious heterodoxy of any kind and to the theses of Voltaire and his like.²⁵

As the century progressed through its latter half, the evidence is that libraries were formed in considerable numbers by the same

bourgeoisie that had created for itself a distinctive social and cultural ambience, in particular outside the academy. Far stronger interest was directed towards the new currents of thought, whether social, political, industrial or scientific.²⁶ Though he probably dates the movement too late, and his own quantitative qualifications need to be stressed, Mornet's comment is in general still valid:

celui qui cent ans plus tôt ne se préoccupait que du jansénisme et des règles et du merveilleux chrétien, pense vers 1760 ou 1780 aux métamorphoses des insectes, à la fabrication des bas de soie, à la libre circulation des grains et à l'éducation des jeunes gens bien plus qu'à tout autant qu'au drame bourgeois et au poème en prose.²⁷

Bodies other than the Academy formed to service the new interests of this class, some of which we have already mentioned: in 1761 a Société royale d'agriculture, and a veterinary school, for the years 1778-1785 a Société littéraire, and in 1785, within months of Montgolfier ascending in his balloon from the Lyons suburbs, a Société philosophique des sciences et des arts utiles. These bodies are instruments of social as well as intellectual affirmation. They are seconded by a rapid development of freemasonry, of which Lyons became a major centre, with perhaps sixteen lodges, sometimes numbering as many as a hundred members each. Eight lodges had priests among their members. While these various movements are not totally mutually exclusive, we see a significant difference in the fact alone that very few merchants or manufacturers penetrate into the Academy without having some special title to entry, whereas the masonic lodges draw 60% of their membership from the commercial bourgeoisie. None of the canons of the lesser chapters became members of the Société royale d'agriculture, but two cathedral canons do (as landed nobles), and they were joined also by five of the lower secular clergy, admitted on the strength of their learned interests.²⁸

One particular subject within this new range of interests was botany. Until the eighteenth century botany at Lyons was an interest largely cultivated by professionals, principally physicians and apothecaries, though there were exceptions, such as the Dominican Barrelier or the Minim Plumier. From around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, there was a new wave of interest among amateurs drawn from gentry, local magistrates and the clergy. Many were scattered in

the surrounding district, but some, such as the abbé Rozier, were active at Lyons itself.²⁹

The shift of interests is measurable at Lyons and throughout France by many indices. In a survey of small libraries in the eighteenth century, Marion found a decline in the place of theology from 32% to 9% between 1701 and 1789, while literature rose correspondingly from 14% to 27%. In her study of 40 private libraries of ranking Parisian clergy Christine Thomassery likewise found a steady decline in the proportion of theology, even if not a dramatic one -- from 38% to 29%. Garden has attempted to represent the average proportions in the contents of libraries of the three categories of workers and craftsmen (I), tradespeople and bourgeois (II), and professions and public office holders (III). The part played by religious works falls from three quarters (I) to something like a third (II), then a quarter (III) of the whole. History is remarkably constant at around a fifth, while the former place of Religion is taken up among II and III by a tenth or so of Sciences and arts, by Literature at around an eighth (II) and a fifth (III), with legal works burgeoning from a fortieth part (II) to nearly six times as many (III). Furet calculated a drop among permissions publiques for Theology from 34% in 1723-1727 to 8.5% in 1784-1788.³⁰

In the world of the Lyons booktrade, the inventory of Pierre Valfray's bookshop in 1749 shows a stock still made up in greater part by religious works. In the same year the well-established family firm run by the brothers Pierre and Jean-Marie Bruyset registered only 37% of religious works. By the years of the expulsion of the Jesuits in the 1760's, the Perisse brothers were marketing a stock constituted by less than 30% of religious works, as was Bruyset in 1770, while Faucheux in the 1780's averaged only 13% religious matter in his stock.³¹

By the Revolution there was little left of a bibliophile booktrade at Lyons. While the surviving booktrade was directed beyond Lyons to outlying parts and to Italy, Spain and Portugal, its main sales in the city were in fashionable literature and small works of piety, which were also the products in which the remaining printers had been little by little forced to specialize. By the late eighteenth century there were only twelve printers left, with different specializations, mostly selling their products in their own bookshop. Some profit was also to be had from clandestine importations of Protestant, free-thinking, or

radical works from Switzerland and Holland. Nevertheless, in all 42 booksellers survived to be noted in the Almanach de la librairie for 1781, the largest concentration outside Paris.³²

The bookseller Jean-François Los Rios (1727-1820) -- despite his name Antwerp-born -- although not typical, seems to capture the spirit of the changes. An astute businessman with a well-frequented bookshop, he specialized in inexpensive secondhand books, which his publicity offered specifically to a newly prosperous bourgeoisie desirous of acquiring a library at knock-down prices. He also did a roaring trade in public sales of libraries. Of these sales of libraries Los Rios is said in the course of his career at Lyons to have organized no less than 150. His whole trade points to the scale of formation of libraries in and around Lyons in the second half of eighteenth century.³³

Garden took a sounding of 365 Lyonese inventories of goods after made after the death of their owners in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The sources, largely from the years 1750, 1760, 1770 and 1780, are limited in the sense that most inventories of this kind were compiled by people who had no interest in drawing up a catalogue of books present, but only in assessing their monetary worth along with other goods. However, some indications did emerge. Some 35% of the inventories mentioned books of some kind, and among these the most abundant presence was without any doubt among the professional men such as doctors, and the lawyers, who as a class included most of the holders of public office. While amounting to only 13% of the total sample, 74% of this group are found in the inventories to possess books. These books listed as in their possession total 5,750 volumes, an average of 164 volumes each, and constituting 63% of all books mentioned in the entire sample.³⁴

While some of this class managed only a few scattered volumes, most had several hundred arranged in a special room, and some might reach or surpass a thousand volumes, the finest being found among the lawyers and the officers of the Cour des monnaies, who were of course one of the principal founding groups of the Académie des sciences et belles-lettres. Typical would be the library set up by Antoine Trollier, conseiller at the Cour des monnaies, who was received into the Academy in 1733, and at the time of his death maintained a formally arranged library of 915 volumes at his chateau at Lissieu. It is noteworthy that

at this juncture these libraries still contained numerous religious books, but these were no longer predominant, and in the professional libraries of the lawyers and notaries (where the books were often employed as a prestigious decoration of professional premises) law was in the ascendant, even if in more private collections novels were not absent, and there were still works of history. With appropriate variations according to the profession, much the same tendencies are evident among medical men, architects, and the like.³⁵

Advocates were the wealthiest category among the lawyers, averaging fortunes of 37,600 livres according to soundings taken. Some 50% possessed fortunes hovering around 20,000 to 50,000 livres, 25% exceeded 50,000, and only a very few fell below 10,000. We should recall that the number of lawyers was static in eighteenth-century Lyons: 52 advocates, 63 procurators before the courts, and 40 notaries. While a few of them came from law families of the city, most were recruited from the surrounding countryside, but the profession was not an easy route to riches for men of modest means. To enter it required a capital outlay, since offices had to be purchased, as had the post of notary, the going rate being around 10,000 livres. Yet the minimalism that Marion ascribed to the clergy of Paris in the 1750's may also apply to the Lyonese lawyers. Many did not develop their libraries beyond a certain point. Thus Gabriel de Glatigny, conseiller at the Cour des monnaies, and a member of Academy, in 1756 left 749 items, and in the same year Rovière, trésorier de France honoraire, left 398. Two years later Cholier de Cibeins, président of the Cour des monnaies, left 1026 works, and in 1772 Michon, avocat at the Présidial left 1600 volumes, and in 1785 another lawyer, Benoît Goy, left 1,361 items.³⁶

As to the Lyons medical men, soundings suggest that over 50% had fortunes hovering around 10,000 to 20,000 livres, over 30% had fortunes exceeding 50,000, an average fortune across the board being some 14,000. They, too, could afford libraries, as indeed they had since the Renaissance. In 1743 the physician Pestalozzi, member of two academies, left a library amounting to 1416 items. By 1751 another physician, Martiny, had assembled 1,385 items.³⁷

What we know of the nobles suggests that only 10% fell below the threshold of a fortune of 50,000 livres, while 40% had to their credit 200,000 livres or more. They played a notable part in both Lyonese

academies, especially in the first part of the century, but they seem to be singularly ill-represented among owners of fine libraries. Curiously, the nobles in the latter part of the century at Lyons are close to the shopkeepers and other bourgeois in nature of their libraries. Among the latter, less than half have any books listed, and then rarely more than a few dozen volumes at most. The larger libraries in this group might have the first French dictionaries, but most are somewhat miscellaneous. The same is true of the nobility. It would seem that the book is not, as in the fifteenth century for instance, a mark of prestige. Rather, for most of those who possess them in late eighteenth-century Lyons, the evidence suggests that books are a pragmatic professional resource.³⁸

Doubtless, too, we should not underestimate the importance of initiatives such as the cabinets de lecture, which by the end of the Ancien Régime had established themselves in Lyons. The cabinet of Claude and François Morlet had some 1,200 works of fashionable literature, stretching from the writings of Voltaire to travel reports and sentimental novels. Several booksellers followed suit, such as Pierre Cellier, who operated one of the most noteworthy, with a rather advanced collection of 2,400 works.³⁹

Yet there were members of the bourgeoisie who formed their own libraries. One of the largest must have been that of Jean Bourgoïn, a man wealthy enough to have a country house, who kept books there and in two 'cabinets' of his town house. In all he possessed over 300 volumes, of piety and history. While these are valued at little, the 140 volumes of Aimé Guy are assessed at 120 livres, which amounts to some 29% of the value assigned to all books owned by his class. Bear in mind that evidence suggests for 1780-1789 that over 40% of this class taken as a whole were possessed of fortunes totalling between 20,000 and 50,000 livres, and that moreover they were enjoying prosperity in the second half of the century, with a notable increase in ownership of land and properties.⁴⁰

Darnton's research points by 1780 to no less than 1,079 subscriptions to the quarto editions of the Encyclopédie at Lyons as against 575 at Paris. In fact, at Lyons no less than 585 were marketed through Audrambron de Salacy & Jossinet. Moreover, the Lyons total does not include, for instance, the free copy given to the Lyons Academy. Doubtless the fact of being printed in the city made a difference, and

doubtless, too, many of these sets were destined for clients beyond Lyons, but even so it suggests a formidable battery of people anxious or willing to acquire a work that was a library in itself, planned in 32 volumes (it rose to 36) and selling by installments at a total of 344 livres. These sales were made also in the face of other editions, which must have effected their own inroads on the market.⁴¹

Finally, let us take a glance at the untypical but thought-provoking library of the Swiss Protestant merchant Barthélemy Huber in 1769. This gives reduced scope to religion of any kind (a mere 6%), and even then it is not simply that Protestant works replace Catholic ones. Rather the religious works are all heterodox in some sense, whatever their denominational affiliation. History constitutes 22%, Sciences and arts run at some 11%, Law at 5%. In Literature -- amounting to 50% of the library -- the classics fade notably, ceding their place to contemporary authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with ample space for Voltaire, Rousseau and d'Alembert. The Protestant Huber is far in many respects from the orthodoxies of the founding fathers of the Académie des sciences et belles-lettres. As to currents of Catholic and philosophical religious dissent at Lyons, particularly in the later part of the eighteenth century, we know only enough to be aware that we are far from fully informed.⁴²

We have, then, been able to see something of the libraries of priests in the shifting course of the eighteenth century at Lyons, and of the broader context of library formation. With the institutional libraries, nearly all were about to be plunged into the great melting pot.

It is important, as Fédou has stressed, not to exaggerate the magnificence of libraries at this or that epoch of Lyonese history before the Revolution struck, or to allow rhetoric to create an illusory golden age, for not only do we in that way falsify the details of such periods in themselves, but we undermine the accuracy of comparison with the periods which are our more especial concern. Often what was present was for the most part modest enough, and by no means all testimonies speak of a golden age. The lawyer Léonard Michon, abstracting from the fervour of the academicians, lamented in 1718 that 'Il n'y a point, je crois, de ville en France où l'éducation et les sciences soient plus négligées qu'à Lyon'.⁴³ In his 237 sample Parisian libraries of the

1750's, Marion found a mean of 1,084 volumes per library, and perhaps Lyons was not far different from the capital.⁴⁴ Yet for one reason or another what there was in Lyons proved enough to pass on the torch down the succession of generations, and that there were moments of extraordinary grandeur -- pace Michon -- is not in question.

4.

The Revolutionary Cataclysm

For our attempt at understanding the context in which Pagès pieced together his collection and eventually passed it to the Society of Mary, it is indispensable to grasp something of the effects of the Revolution on the situation of libraries in Lyons.

On 14 November 1789 the National Assembly first turned its attentions to religious houses, ordering that inventories were to be submitted of their library holdings, especially of manuscripts, and that the religious themselves were to be constituted guardians of their libraries on behalf of the nation. Some religious ignored the requirement, while others had the presence of mind to resort to delay or subterfuge: the prior of the Carmelite convent of Place Maubert in Paris thought best to declare only 1,834 volumes of a total of over 10,000 that his house possessed. Parallel cases were legion, and on 26 March 1790 came orders for a second wave of inventories to be taken, this time by the civil authorities. These were still mild measures, but the momentum was increasing and in October 1790 came the absolute suppression of all religious houses and the confiscation of their property by the nation. The first great harvest of books had been gathered, though custody of it was to be an uncertain issue.¹

While events in Lyons have been passed over in silence by recent surveys,² we are reasonably well informed as to their general course, though precise chronology is at times vague. On 5 fructidor an II (22 August 1794) one citizen Jousset reported that in the period prior to the Lyons uprising of May 1793 the libraries of the Collège de la Trinité, the Petit-Collège, the Discalced Carmelite friars, the Grands-Cordeliers, the Minims, the Vincentians, and the cathedral chapter remained in situ. That of the Augustinians remained in their house but piled up in a room adjoining the library chamber.³

In the same period three depositories were created. The libraries of the Dominicans, the Capuchins, the Petits-Augustins, the Carthusians, the Missioners of Saint-Joseph, the seminary of Saint-Irénée, and the

Oratorians (of the rue la Vieille-Monnaie, not the College) went to the centrally placed buildings of the former abbey of Saint-Pierre. Those of the libraries of the Feuillant Cistercians and the Grands-Carmes went to join that of the Capuchin house at Petit-Forêt, just beyond the perimeter of central Lyons. Those of the Observance and the Génovéfain Canons of Saint-Irénée, totalling jointly some 8,000-9,000, were taken to the cellars of the Petit-Collège on the far bank of the Saône and thence in the early summer of 1793 to Saint-Pierre, many suffering damage in the process. The figures given cover the works deemed useful and which some attempt had been made to arrange on temporary shelves. They are independent, for example, of the 30,000 or so volumes of fanatisme (religious matter) that we are told were piled on floors at Saint-Pierre.

By early 1792 the emigration of nobles had begun in earnest, and their chateaux had often been torched. On 9 February 1792 it was decreed that the property of émigrés would be seized, but there was some uncertainty about the place of libraries. The doubt was only resolved by a decree of the Convention on 13 October 1792, banning all sale of such works. For many libraries it was too late, for great quantities of books had in these months of uncertainty gone to light the pipes and fuel the braziers of irregular troops on guard duty. Municipalities had also in many places been swift to sell off the libraries of émigrés at derisory prices along with other contents of their confiscated houses in order to clear buildings so that they could be sold and creditors reimbursed from the proceeds. At Lyons there were to be other confiscations of books from enemies of the people in 1793-1794, and these were estimated at no less than 18,000-19,000 useful volumes.⁴

Experience very soon suggested that merely issuing exhortatory decrees was not an adequate approach to government. Fortunately by October 1790 enough people with concern for the question of books had the ear of the Constituent Assembly to press it to consolidate the whole issue. In particular, steps were taken to avoid the embarrassing spectacle of two of its committees issuing contradictory orders for the sale or conservation of libraries. A joint sub-committee, the 'Comités-réunis' was established, with the distinguished royal librarian, Anne-Louis d'Ormesson, président de Noyseau (1753-1794), among its six members. This in turn within less than a month had established an advisory commission of noted specialists, the group known

to history as the Commission des Quatre-Nations, meeting at the college of that name, seat of Mazarin's magnificent library. Together, at d'Ormesson's prompting, these two organs evolved a plan for the augmentation of the royal library (for the moment known as 'bibliothèque générale') by copies of any works it lacked, and for the compilation of a union catalogue of France, which was in the first place conceived largely as a stock-taking instrument that would facilitate a rational approach to disposal of the book stocks that were being amassed.

A series of measures were taken and communicated to authorities throughout the country from autumn 1790 to late spring 1791 and a secretariat set up in Paris to process and collate cataloguing slips as they arrived from the provinces. Even though instructions went into the greatest detail, and had been composed with an eye to provincial personnel who would have poor levels of personal culture and little acquaintance with the tasks required, resistance and delay of one kind or another was still widespread. Not a few of the catalogues that were submitted had deviated drastically from the Parisian prescriptions to the point where they were useless and had to be redone. Nevertheless, despite all setbacks and losses, considerable progress was made at Paris, and also, though unevenly, in the provinces. By 9 June 1791 the inventories taken had demonstrated a massive total of 4,242,970 volumes including 26,031 manuscripts. Of these 793,871 printed works and 22,106 manuscripts were in Paris.⁵

Where the work was executed with competence, it was often because it was placed in the hands of a capable priest, like Dom Gourdin in the Seine-Inférieure, Père François-Xavier Laire in the Yonne, or at Sées even the former Constitutional bishop, André Lefessier. In Paris the organizing force for the processing was for a time the abbé Hubert-Pascal Ameilhon, city librarian, who had already played a great role in the saving of the religious libraries of the capital, of which he was put in charge in August 1790.⁶

The Constituent Assembly gave place in the autumn of 1791 to the Legislative Assembly, whose work in the area of libraries was furthered by a Comité d'instruction publique. Fortunately, by careful planning and canvassing on the part of the previous organs, a good deal of continuity with the work of the Comités-réunis was achieved, the Commission des Quatres-Nations was maintained, and the project of cataloguing continued

with authority from the Legislative Assembly from January 1792. Unfortunately, there were also some overlaps in attributions, the Ministry of the Interior and the Directorate of the Caisse de l'extraordinaire (responsible for income from sale of biens nationaux) both becoming involved, and contributing to something of a bureaucratic fog.⁷

Again at the outset of 1792, the stipulations regarding the inventories were repeated, with the aim of facilitating equitable distribution among the regions. In the main, however, the struggle of responsible elements for an orderly reorganization was already a lost cause. The fate of the libraries of émigré nobles was a good deal less secure than that of the religious libraries eighteen months before, the atmosphere was wilder and the intrigues ever more ferocious. In the autumn of 1792, the new Comité d'instruction publique of the Convention relieved the Commission des monuments of direct supervision of the work, and as to d'Ormesson himself, he was in effect replaced by Urbain Domergue, a man not without learning, but cast more in the mould of the new men of the Convention.⁸

We cannot digress to a history of the successive Revolutionary régimes, but let us at least take note of the mood prevalent in the autumn of 1793, when in Paris a further new Comité d'instruction publique relieved the old one. Urbain Domergue, d'Ormesson's replacement, demonstrated his own credentials before it on 21 brumaire an II (11 November 1793) by a speech of unimpeachable radicalism in which he made ringing condemnation of the lack of Revolutionary fervour in the Commission des monuments:

Portons le scalpel dans nos vastes dépôts de livres et coupons tous les membres gangrenés du corps bibliographique [...] Nous envoyons justement à l'échafaud tout auteur ou complice de contre-révolution. Nos bibliothèques ont aussi leurs contre-révolutionnaires; je vote leur déportation. Rejetons au sein de nos ennemis le poison de nos livres de théologie, de mysticité, de royalisme, de féodalité, de législation oppressive [...]⁹

The masterplan he sketched was to trick the foreigner out of his gold, while selling him infected works that could only induce 'le vertige et le délire'.¹⁰ The infected works were to be selected by a three-man Revolutionary tribunal whose principal qualification was that they were definitely not to be book lovers. Fortunately the Revolutionary current

had already flowed on past its worst moments of lunatic destruction. Domergue's proposals were quietly buried in bureaucratic referrals, and by March 1794 he had been dismissed, and the Comité d'instruction publique had resolved firmly not to make any selection of books for retention till the whole catalogue was complete. Indeed, such was the changed mood that scarcely a month later the Commission des monuments was being accused of having allowed 'monuments' to be destroyed and lost to the nation on the pretext that they somehow merited destruction by their royalist insignia or provenance.¹¹

This change of mood came too late, however, for many of the books that had been confiscated in Lyons. Out of a mixture of provincial pride, religious fidelity, and general sentiments of reaction, Lyons had rebelled against the Revolutionary authorities in Paris on 29 May 1793. The reaction from Paris was swift and merciless. The city was besieged, and ravaged by intense cannon-fire. When it surrendered on 12 October, four days before the execution of Marie-Antoinette, its buildings were systematically demolished.¹² The city's name was peevishly eradicated, to be substituted by 'Ville-Affranchie', and a column erected with the inscription: 'Lyon fit la guerre à la Liberté; Lyon n'est plus.'¹³

During the siege, the bombardments severely damaged many books in the library of the Collège de la Trinité. According to reports publicized by the abbé Grégoire, the very first bullet fired against the city split one volume of an edition of Livy published at Venice in 1470 by Wendelin of Speyer, one of the municipality's prize possessions, a gift to the library from Père La Chaise in 1685, which in his day the duc de La Vallière had tried to acquire.¹⁴ The depository at Saint-Pierre, housing numerous religious libraries, now sustained widespread damage by bombardment in addition to the inroads of the Lyonese river fogs. To the same depository during the siege had been taken the libraries of the Observant Franciscans and the Canons of Saint-Irénée, which had till then been stored in the cellars of the Petit-Collège, and apart from the damage inflicted at Saint-Pierre, many books had already suffered badly in the course of transportation between depositories.

As to what remained when hostilities ceased, the Paris authorities sent emissaries to confiscate many rare books and manuscripts for despatch to the capital from a city deemed unworthy of them. In the

event, out of a total of twenty-seven cases seized, only thirteen found their way to Paris to be deposited in the library of the Chamber of Deputies. The other fourteen cases were lost -- some shipped down the Rhône to Vienne, and some are supposed to have gone as far as London. Thereafter, the library remained unprotected and the troops billeted on the College, illiterate and with instructions to burn religious works, indiscriminately fed their stoves with the library's holdings for some four months. With sad inevitability other works were pilfered and sold for petty sums.¹⁵

The ferocity of what happened to the books was more than matched by the treatment of persons. Amid the general bloodbath, the guillotine claimed the lives of the librarians Père Lazare Roubiès of the Collège de la Trinité (along with the observatory director P. Billet), the octogenarian Père Joseph Janin of the Augustinians, and the abbé Jean-André Mongez of the Adamoli collection. These were even lucky in the sense that soon, impatient of the guillotine, the authorities resorted to mass executions in the Les Brotteaux district of hundreds of prisoners at a time by canon, rifle volley, cavalry sabre and bayonet. The corpses accumulated to the point where the only practical expedient was to fling them unceremoniously into the river. All in all, perhaps 2000 people perished, including 135 priests. Even after these massacres, destruction continued with an attempt at demolition of all but the houses of the poor and of known patriots, and confiscation of their belongings, including, as we have seen, books.¹⁶

In the capital, something of the current intentions of the Comité was sketched in a programmatic speech made to the Convention by the deputy Jacques-Michel Coupé (1737-1809) on behalf of the Commission de l'Instruction publique on 3 pluviôse an II (22 January 1794). There were great riches, out of which new libraries could be provided. From past ages 'il y existe un fonds précieux qu'un sage discernement saura conserver', and

Ces antiques dépôts se grossissent encore des bibliothèques particulières délaissées par les émigrés [...] Ces trésors littéraires, ainsi amassés et répandus dans chaque département, restent encore, la plupart, sans ordre, comme des matériaux bruts; ils dépérissent ou sont exposés aux dilapidations. Il est temps de les disposer pour une grande destination, et d'en faire jouir tous les citoyens.

The response was to take up the request already received from various groups to be allowed to set up local libraries. There was henceforth to be one library in each district, in the chief town, drawing on the accumulated reserves, the basis being not a programmatic distribution from the centre, but a pragmatic consideration of what local holdings there were. These could then be shaped and augmented. The aim was popular education:

Vous avez décrété que l'enseignement est libre, il suffit de mettre le génie de la Liberté dans cette grande carrière. [...] Chaque bibliothèque doit devenir l'école de tous les citoyens, leur présenter le tableau des siècles et des nations, et les agrandir de tous les travaux et de toutes les pensées de l'esprit humain.¹⁷

Set against these heady notions, Coupé's reference to the degradations being inflicted on many of the books that had been seized was a discreet call to take stock of the realities.

It should be borne in mind that at the various stages of the Revolution central government was not always in full control of the regions. Even where it did have authority, there were considerable delays in execution of orders from Paris. At the local level, too, there was often wide scope for collusion and personal profit. Certain it is that very early on throughout France many books were syphoned off to the profit of individual religious, clergy, and officials. In many cases, once the books were liberated into the market, they were of course snapped up by astute booksellers, and of that the result from very early on was a turmoil on the book market, with collectors from abroad feverish to profit from the situation, and even the royal library not averse to benefiting from the times.¹⁸

The losses to the nation from unauthorized sales were to continue into the 1820's, and were all the graver where venality allied itself with ignorance. The greater part of the library of Pontigny Abbey was auctioned off for a pittance, attracting only derisory offers based on the weight of paper. In many other places, too, local authorities quietly sold off their problem, or claimed disingenuously, as at Montmarault in the Allier, that they had no libraries at all. The government was alive to what was going on, and tried from the end of 1790 to prevent the sale of 'livres nationaux', if only on the grounds that to sell them in present conditions would bring virtually no income.

It seems, however, that in various localities the sales continued largely unimpeded through 1791, and as late as autumn 1793 the Côte-d'Or was proposing to sell off its books by weight.¹⁹

A problem in persuading authorities to carry out the cataloguing was the presence of a great number of liturgical, devotional and religious polemical books in the libraries of religious houses. Such material seemed of no interest whatsoever, and departments such as Nièvre and Yonne asked for authorization to sell it off rather than waste time and expense cataloguing it.²⁰ From Blamont in the Meurthe the local authorities declared: 'il n'a fallu rien moins que la Loi pour vaincre la répugnance que nous ressentons à coucher sur papier les titres ridicules de la plupart de ces répertoires de folies plus propres à égärer notre raison, qu'à la diriger vers le bien ...'²¹ In other places idleness and indifference meant that the books of a religious house were simply left to rot there, open to all comers in an abandoned and deteriorating property for many years. In 1794 the fate for many such works was to be delivered to the arsenal, as at Cherbourg, or to the local artillery unit, as at Nantes, to be used in the making of cartridges. At Gaillac in the Tarn it was the hard-working librarian, Blaney Laisné, who cut up the blank margins of 'un vieux antiphonaire gothique' to make his catalogue slips and was set to turn its five companions into theatre scenery. It did indeed take much vituperation and all the force of the law to bring local authorities to heel.²²

In various localities such as Seine-et-Oise the authorities had gone beyond instructions received and physically hauled together in the administrative seat the books in their care. It was, however, apparently not immediately evident in the provinces that part of the plan was to put together rich local libraries, and many a district that had rejoiced to see its problem books transported into oblivion in the chief town of the department, later expended much energy lamenting their loss. At departmental level, on the other hand, the suspicion that their books might be confiscated by Paris had been a weighty motive in delaying serious attempts at cataloguing.²³

In fact already by July 1792 the work of collating the catalogue slips so far received from the provinces had been sufficiently advanced for the issue of selling duplicate copies of printed books to be considered, which in turn raised the question of how many libraries were

to be set up. The most precise answer that the Comité d'instruction publique could give at the time was that there would clearly be one seminary and one 'établissement d'instruction générale' in each of the 83 departments plus various lycées and colleges. This clarified things fairly well for theological works, but left all else vague. The Commission des Quatre-Nations, now generally referred to as the Commission des monuments, decided at one point on a provisional policy by which it would keep a minimum of 300 copies of basic works of instruction, and for the moment keep all incunables, the editio princeps of the ancient authors, and other works distinguished by special features such as the fame of the printer, the richness of binding or illustration, and all works in foreign languages. This preliminary work would have entailed reading through all the collated slips and marking them, and then proceeding to a definitive sieving once the catalogue slips from all departments had been collated. However, the uncertainty as to the number and type of libraries to be catered for was too great and the plan was not implemented.

Now the modified project of a library in each district of each department, despite its limitations, at last aroused some interest in the provinces, for it highlighted in concrete terms the benefit to the local community. Even towns that were not the seat of district administrations applied for permission to set up a library, and for a time there was a more wholehearted show of willingness to help with the completion of the long-delayed union catalogue. There is little doubt that many public libraries trace their beginning to their foundation as district libraries under the decree of 8 pluviôse an II (27 January 1794), later becoming libraries of the écoles centrales, and from about 1803 municipal libraries.²⁴

The mantle of promoter of the cause of libraries at this time fell upon the shoulders of the fascinating Henri-Baptiste Grégoire (1750-1831), Constitutional bishop of Loir-et-Cher, a booklover who had shown interest as a parish priest in providing local public library services.²⁵ In his famous report to the Convention of 22 germinal an II (11 April 1794), he stressed the educational function of the libraries:

L'instruction étant le besoin de tous, la Convention nationale veut la faire filtrer dans tous les rameaux de l'arbre social: les bibliothèques et les musées formés avec choix sont en quelque sorte les ateliers de l'esprit humain.²⁶

And in a passionate speech on the floor of the Convention he dotted the i's and crossed the t's on the motives of the government's concern: printing was 'ce bel art qui n'eut pas d'enfance, qui ne vieillera pas, qui a fait notre révolution et qui la soutiendra'.²⁷ Elsewhere the directory of Albi echoed him in less restrained terms, 'Rendre les bibliothèques publiques, c'est propager l'esprit public; propager l'esprit public, c'est dissiper les nuages ténébreux, malfaisants et perfides du fanatisme.', And it exhorted the Comité, 'Représentants, achevez votre ouvrage au milieu même des poignards et vous serez les sauveurs de l'Europe entière.'²⁸

In all this, of course, a major problem, as Grégoire acknowledged, alongside parochialism and sheer barbaric ignorance, was the disappearance of a whole class of experienced librarians. In a report to the Comité on 7 prairial an II (26 May 1794) Bardel, the former Fécamp Benedictine who had succeeded Domergue in charge of the secretariat, proposed a radical increase in staff and some changes of method with a view to completing the catalogue within the year. These were approved and put into execution. However, in the provinces even the new enthusiasm was not equal to the practical difficulties, which centred precisely in many respects upon the lack of suitable staff. There was, moreover, a range of other problems, and the more conscientious cataloguers reported them, often graphically. They faced considerable hostility from local authorities, and in many places, for instance, the material conserved had been heaped into dispiritingly miscellaneous depositories, in conditions often filthy and a danger to health, with no space or shelving to re-sort books. Occasionally these were piled so perilously high as to threaten to fall and crush staff as they worked.²⁹

When it came to contents, the nobles and gentry had not rarely employed their books principally for prestigious decorative effect, distributing their collection among their different houses in such a way that sets were split. There was also a great imbalance in distribution between Paris and the provinces, and the great bibliographic treasures that had been expected outside the capital were rarely encountered in the public depositories.³⁰

All the possible abuses in the custody of books that continued to emerge in the course of a vast correspondence were listed in his report

on 'vandalism' of 14 fructidor an II (31 August 1794) by the abbé Grégoire, who drew upon vivid reports of officials on the spot: 'Nous venons d'apprendre qu'à Arnay les livres ont été disposés dans des tonneaux. Des livres dans des tonneaux!'³¹ Of Arles it was reported more generally what could be said of most of the country: 'Les livres ont été dilapidés et jettés dans des coins. La poussière et les rats les dévorent.'³² That same day the government issued a promulgation commending to all good citizens the safety of libraries and national monuments of science and art. Other measures followed to put right some of the crassness with which separation of manuscripts in archives and books in libraries had been carried out, and finally to order the surrender of books in the national depots to departmental libraries by way of gift, sale or exchange.³³

With the changing political fortunes, life was complicated further by the demands by ex-detainees for return of their personal libraries, as conceded by a circular of the Commission d'instruction publique on 23 pluviôse an III (11 February 1795), and by parishes for the restitution of their liturgical books after the granting of freedom of worship on 3 ventôse an III (21 February 1795). Among the various claimants the government soon conceded that it recognized many priests, detainees of earlier date. Further decrees added to the list of those entitled to restitution various categories of people who had been guillotined, or exiled, or who had emigrated.³⁴

Finally, the new constitution of an III decided to abolish the districts into which the departments had been divided, seeing them as hotbeds of radical fervour. It was the final step towards chaos, since it was the district which had been the basis of all the work of organization of libraries that had been effected. With the coming of the Directory, a circular from the ministry of the interior dated 9 ventôse an IV (28 February 1796) ordered the local authorities to abandon the cataloguing for the bibliography, and the slips conserved in Paris were put to miscellaneous use.

The work achieved at Lyons on the cataloguing of the libraries of the Observance, the Grands-Augustins, the Grands-Carmes, the Discalced Carmelite friars, the Carthusians, the Feuillant Cistercians, the Petit-Collège, the cathedral chapter, was annulled at a stroke. A great movement had ground in many respects to a standstill. If carried to its

term, after massive investment of time and energy by so many people, the project of the national bibliography might eventually have permitted a rational sorting of books throughout French public libraries. The rough-and-ready substitute of sorting on the spot meant the loss of a great many works, and was not complete in many places until well into the Restoration. In Lyons, its final phase was the sale of 1831-1833 from which, as we shall see, Pagès profited handsomely.³⁵

New Libraries at Lyons in the Nineteenth Century

As part of the more reasoned measures that followed on the main phases of active destruction in the wake of the siege, a great depository of books, instruments and works of art had been created in the buildings of the abbey of Saint-Pierre. A sign of hope was that the work of cataloguing on cards of a number of these libraries was by the summer of 1794 making varying but discernible progress. Still, permanent resolution of the main problems was destined to be slow in coming.¹

Already before the siege of Lyons, in October 1792, an Institut d'instruction publique, had been set up in the buildings of the Collège de la Trinité. An eventual total of 18 professors provided public lectures on a range of subjects, including Applied Design, Agriculture, and Medicine, but the siege ended the experiment. A year later a milestone was reached for the country as a whole with a decree of 3 brumaire an IV (25 October 1795), which set up for pupils aged from 11 or 12 establishments to be known as écoles centrales, each of which was to have a library attached. These libraries, the details of which were specified by instructions of 25 floréal an IV (5 May 1796) and 20 pluviôse an IV (9 February 1796), were conceived as having the double function of serving both the school and the public. Of the 108 planned, only a third were successfully established and establishment of a school did always guarantee success of establishing an accompanying library.²

In Lyons such a school was set up in the buildings of the Collège de la Trinité, with use of the library, observatory, and cabinets for physics, chemistry and natural history. It was in this school, officially established on 19 September 1796, that the mathematician and electrical engineer André-Marie Ampère was to teach, as also briefly in the lycée that succeeded it, and that in a later reincarnation would eventually be named after him. The new library, to double as elsewhere as a public library for the city, would be formed from surviving books on the premises and from others drawn from the Saint-Pierre depository. There would be two librarians, one for the humanities and one for the sciences, and it would open to the public on alternate days, in winter

from 8 a.m. to 12 noon and from 2 to 5 p.m., and in summer from 2 to 7 p.m. In fact the operation was slow to establish itself, not least since the buildings of the old College were occupied by the military till as late as September 1799, but also because the school charged fees and was faced with competition from the private tutors who had gained a foothold in the three years when there was no school in the city at all.³

With the change of régime and approach, the differing situations of Paris and the provinces called forth differing solutions on the book front. By the law of 26 fructidor an V (12 September 1797) duplicates from Parisian depots were eventually to be sold off or exchanged with libraries abroad. In the provinces a reserve was to be maintained in the department to replace books worn by use and to furnish new collections when necessary. Exchanges and sales were to be sanctioned only after the completion of summary catalogues. The écoles centrales could request works they lacked from the ministry of the interior, which would try to supply them from various depositories.⁴

These movements should have produced their effect, but instead many depositories in the provinces rotted untouched or vanished, and despite all the prohibitions, some were sold. Only where a dynamic local official was at work were libraries properly established. This was more or less exactly the course of events in Lyons, where orders were given in March 1796 to seal Saint-Pierre, to prevent further losses from pilfering. Although the physical seals were later removed for fear of leaving undisturbed the ravages of damp and pests, the depository was effectively closed off and its stocks unprocessed for some years. It was not until 1802 that the new city librarian Delandine began the immense work of rescuing from the depot the works he judged appropriate for the city's library.⁵

As to the confiscated libraries in other locations around Lyons, their condition was deteriorating rapidly, as the joint librarians François Tabard and Sébastien Brun reported in June 1796. Moreover, their loss en bloc was threatened by the pending sale of the buildings in which they were still lodged. In this category were the libraries of the Vincentians, valued at 20,000 francs, and of the Discalced Carmelites (120,000 francs), and the depository at Le Petit-Forêt, valued at somewhere between the two others. The librarians made practical suggestions for transport, for the re-use of some of the

redundant shelving and the sale of the rest to meet removal costs, and took the opportunity to protest at non-payment of their salaries. Their appeal had more of a hearing in Paris than in Lyons, the national government ordering the gathering of duplicates in a single depot, a measure which finally prompted action in Lyons itself. A series of further measures rationalized the situation as regards shelving, and under further pressure from Paris the city authorities eventually moved the 50,000 as yet still not fully catalogued books from Saint-Pierre to the attics, infirmary, and other miscellaneous areas of the former Collège de la Trinité. These partial depositories of remaining duplicates would be legally sealed for use when other copies wore out, and as a resource for the formation of other new libraries at a future date.⁶

In 1802, with Bonaparte Consul for life, came the unlamented suppression of the Lyons école centrale and the erection in its stead of a Lycée. Now the introduction of the system of lycées throughout the Empire, which by one of those curious cycles of history echoed the intention of Charlemagne almost exactly a millennium earlier, aimed at producing the necessary administrative, technical and military personnel for the régime's strategies. At Lyons the refurbishment of premises never completely reoccupied by the école centrale, involved heavy expense, and the difficulties of dislodging numerous commercial tenants. In the autumn came further orders that the libraries of the écoles centrales be sealed, while a decree of 8 pluviôse an XI (28 January 1803) ceded them to the municipalities.⁷

In effect, the imperial government reversed the policy that had been in force since the Revolution and abandoned responsibility for the greater part of the library system. In the years after 1802 the government in Paris maintained nominal contacts and in 1806 sent out a major circular asking for reports, but for over a generation the state took little real interest in the provincial libraries, apart from the creation in 1828 of a legal copyright deposit at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève from which the minister of the interior could send books to the provinces, and the appointment of an Inspecteur général des bibliothèques et dépôts littéraires du royaume, who seems to have done little.⁸

The immediate results of this policy varied from disruption to disaster. In Poitiers, where good work had been done by the former Benedictine Dom Mazet on reconstituting a library, the pressure from the new lycée for space led to shunting the books from one location to another and large sections were sold off. At Carcassonne, where the reconstitution of a library had had a shaky start already, a blow was dealt from which the library did not recover until the 1830's. In Lyons, however, the new laws of 1802 and 1803 coincided with the arrival of a new and competent librarian, Antoine-François Delandine (1756-1820), who embarked upon the task of rescue and sorting which was his initiation into the experience of many a librarian over the previous decade. It soon became evident that among the printed works, to name one example, there were innumerable incomplete sets and often six or seven duplicates of a single work. Delandine was undaunted. He formulated a plan of attack, and concentrated progressively on the manuscripts, and the incunabula, then the folios, and the quartos. Despite the undoubted energy and intelligence that he brought to his labours right up to his death in 1820, it was not until April 1831 that a sale catalogue was issued.⁹

Meanwhile in Paris a vast process went on by which works were fed from the stocks into the Bibliothèque nationale (some 800,000 by 1818) and the other major libraries. New collections were also established in conjunction with various public bodies, libraries were restored to private persons and after the Concordat to Church authorities, depositories amalgamated, and sadly a great number of duplicates of theological works went to cartridge factories. Probably the authorities would have proceeded more swiftly to auctions, but for the opposition of booksellers, who still feared ruin from a swamped market. Some books were given as rewards for public service or to pay off government debts, and this practice became unrestrained after the advent of Lucien Bonaparte as Minister of the Interior.¹⁰

In 1827, according to the incoming librarian Antoine Péricaud (1782-1867), the municipal library held 90,000 volumes, which after the sale of the duplicates and the withdrawal of the 8,200 books of the Adamoli collection for restitution to the Academy in 1825, was reduced to 41,000 works in 70,000 volumes. Of these, some 43,000 volumes were held in public rooms, the rest in closed stacks. At about this period, when drafting his statistics for library holdings throughout France,

Bailly put the total higher, at 117,000 volumes, to be compared, say, with 110,000 at Bordeaux, and 80,000 at Aix.¹¹

The rise and fall of political regimes apart, it would appear that in the late 1820's something began to stir in the realm of libraries. Individual activists like Alexandre Buchon made representations about their present state, and Buchon was in consequence commissioned by the government to produce a survey of libraries. In towns throughout the country, too, the local authorities seem to have woken up to the issue.¹²

The last wave of library confiscations under the Revolution had been the sequestering of libraries of the learned societies and academies on 21 thermidor an I (8 August 1793), which had virtually completed the process which put all major library collections in public hands. With Napoleon at the helm, an Athénée, later restored to its former title of Académie de Lyon, was formed and first met in 1800, with sections for literature and science. The activities were not as mutedly provincial as might be thought. On 24 December 1801 a presentation by Volta prompted the first impromptu public airing of some of his ideas by Ampère.¹³

In Lyons the July Revolution of 1830 brought to the post of Mayor of Lyons an energetic organizer and able bibliographer, Gabriel-Victor Prunelle (1774-1853). The splendid buildings of Saint-Pierre had been designated in Napoleon's early years as the Palais des arts. Now Prunelle set about organizing there a second library, centred around the nucleus provided by the Academy's Adamoli collection. To this he added the collections of the École de dessin and the natural history museum, and smaller sections from a sort of consortium of the libraries of a number of other learned societies: the Société d'agriculture, the Société de médecine, and within a short time the Société linnéenne -- of which, as we shall see, Pagès at one point had been librarian -- and the Société de pharmacie. These collections were maintained as distinct units, and were supplemented with 5,600 suitable duplicates from the Bibliothèque de la ville that had previously been earmarked for sale.

This new composite library was opened to the public in 1831. It was a notable civic initiative, and not typical of the situation elsewhere. In 1836 a government statement was still commenting that

since the Revolution 'les bibliothèques des corps savants n'existent plus: celles des villes sont distribuées au hasard et peu fréquentées'.¹⁴ A statistic of 1844 from the librarian reported that the holdings at the Palais des arts then consisted of 10,000 volumes belonging to the city, the 8,200 of the Adamoli collection, and respectively 800, 1000, 400 and 100 from the societies named above, plus over 25,000 prints and engravings. The library of the Société linnéenne, by the early 1870's numbered 2,380 volumes, almost 1900 of them gifts from corresponding societies, but in 1849 the Society, along with the Société d'agriculture, and the Société de pharmacie, withdrew its collections from the collaborative scheme.¹⁵

There were other collections of learned or professional societies outside the framework of the Palais des arts collections. For instance, there was that of the Société d'éducation de Lyon, founded in 1829, reorganized in 1835, meeting in the Palais Saint-Pierre. Member and in 1845 president was the abbé Louis-Antoine Pavy (1805-1866) a former student of the Lyons theology faculty, Pagès's colleague, his eventual successor as dean, and from May 1846 Bishop of Algiers. Its library may not have been extensive, as in the early 1870's it amounted only to 1,200 volumes. There was also the Bibliothèque des avocats, refounded in 1810, which by the early 1870's held 4,000 volumes. As regards the faculties of the University represented in Lyons, however, it must be said that in the faculties of theology, law and medicine the emphasis was on practical professional training, not research, with the result that no great library collections were formed in this period. In 1842 the professor in the faculté des lettres at Lyons had no facilities other than a lecture room in the Petit-Collège and for examinations had to use various public rooms on an ad hoc basis.¹⁶

The various soundings conducted in the wake of that of Buchon had shown up real problems in the current state of the libraries. Accordingly, a royal ordinance of 11 October 1832 placed libraries under the responsibility of the education ministry, and official inspectors were sent to report on the situation with a view to the preparation of new legislation. The inspections, concentrated in the North, reported that some libraries had competent and well organized librarians, but more typical were lack of trained staff, great neglect of manuscripts in particular, and many inadequate situations, largely the haphazard results of events in the Revolutionary period. Recommendations included

measures for the cataloguing of manuscripts, provision of new libraries, rectification of the historical imbalance by which many libraries were heavily theological in content, and inculcation of a taste for reading among the general public. Initiatives in respect of libraries were matched by moves in the field of primary education.¹⁷

From then on the situation did improve under government pressure. Larger acquisition budgets were provided, acquisitions were geared more appropriately to local needs, opening hours were extended, and more trained staff engaged, many supplied after 1829 by the revived the *École des chartes*. The impetus continued under the minister Salvandy in the late 1830's, with an exchange system whereby libraries traded duplicates for legal deposit copies distributed by the government, a revived project for a union catalogue, and a more rational distribution of government-sponsored publications. There was further consolidation in 1839, and by the turn of the decade, the situation was progressing rapidly, though Charles Louandre reported in 1846 that France had only 195 municipal libraries, with holdings of some 2,600,000 volumes, or 13,300 volumes per library, one volume per fifteen inhabitants. Lyons was a good deal more fortunate.¹⁸

One final milieu for book collection deserves our attention, in view of what we have seen of Lyons's past. For a further resource and one-way trap for books in circulation at the period was constituted by the libraries of ecclesiastical foundations in the city and surrounding area.

We traced something of the development of the library of Lyons major seminary before the upheaval. While not strictly a public library, it was a scholarly resource, and most probably served after the Revolution in some sense as a back-up for the use of local clergy, among them Étienne Pagès. Moreover, it was the resource which fed the studies of the first group of Marists. The seminary had been re-established in 1801 with 34 students, but by 1812 the number had risen to 271, and in the period 1801-1815 the seminary produced 415 priests, an average of 29-30 a year. After existing in temporary accommodation, it returned to its former premises in November 1805. We have seen that in 1807, with the help of pressure from the Minister of the Interior Jean-Baptiste de

Champagny, Cardinal Fesch had succeeded in extracting from the Mayor of Lyons, de Sathonay, 1,742 works of theology, classed as a sort of loan. He also set about acquiring further works from sales and the like, as well as by string-pulling, and here he was occasionally more successful than he had been in his episcopal city. In November 1807, for instance, he succeeded in halting a sale of some 1400 books at Perpignan and in having them donated to his seminary. From the allied invasion of France on 1 January 1814, however, Fesch was on the road to permanent exile, and had little time to reflect on libraries. His achievement had been modest -- doubtless matching his budget -- since in 1817 the library totalled barely 5,000 works.¹⁹ Nearly all were theological, subdivided as follows: Sacred Scripture 573, Tradition 227, Theology 1387, Canon Law 243, Liturgy 106, 'Droit et police civile' 44, Ascetical works 691, History 1231, Chronology 55, Sermon Collections, 362.²⁰

As to the religious houses in Ancien Régime Lyons, they were beyond recovery, and of the orders that had operated them many had been virtually wiped out. The general scene of devastation was only highlighted by the occasional reclaiming of their damaged chapels to serve as ad hoc replacements for the many parish churches that had been destroyed. So it was, for example, that the church of the Grands-Cordeliers from about 1803 was cleaned up and pressed into service, soon becoming the parish church of Saint-Bonaventure. The church of the Knights of Malta became the parish church of Saint-Georges, but had to be rebuilt in 1844. The church of the charterhouse became the modern parish of Saint-Bruno in 1803, and similarly for other chapels of religious houses. As to the houses themselves, a very few were acquired by the archbishop, like the premises of the Carthusians, which lent their name to the 'Chartreux' missionaries housed there, or the house of the Minims, which served for a time to house a school. Others here and there in the course of the century became women's convents. But a restoration of what had been was quite out of the question, and as regards books, the wealth that had once financed their purchase was totally lacking.²¹

One of the few new bodies to establish itself was the group of diocesan missionaries known as the 'Chartreux', to whom we have already referred. From 1825 they occupied part of the former charterhouse and seem to have been concerned actively with the formation of a library. This was progressively augmented by bequests of books from Cardinal

Maurice de Bonald, Archbishop of Lyons, from the founder of the house, Jean-Marie Mioland, Pagès's former pupil and later Archbishop of Toulouse, from the abbé Beaujolin, the abbé Marduel, and others. By the early 1870's it amounted to some 20,000 volumes. Another community was that of the Brothers of Christian Schools, who dated from before the Revolution, but had never at that time been present in the city. From 1801 they established themselves there by Bonaparte's decision, and had considerable influence in elementary education, but it is improbable that they would have proved a major player in the Lyons book market.²²

As to other religious, they were few in number and late in establishing themselves. Although a Jesuit province of Lyons was formally established in 1836, and Jesuits had privately been active in the city since in 1814, no formal house was opened till 1832, and no school till 1873. In 1836 the Jesuits purchased the bibliophile collection of some 10,000-12,000 books owned by the abbé Marduel. The Dominicans returned only in 1856, and the reappearance of the other surviving orders was also relatively late. The religious orders and congregations would not be a real factor to be reckoned with on the Lyons library scene for many a year.²³

That the early nineteenth century was also a period of rebirth for private libraries, there can be no doubt. As Nièpce, put it: 'on étala des quantités énormes d'excellents ouvrages anciens, débris des bibliothèques saccagés, ou vendues, à vil prix, par leur propriétaires ruinés par les évènements.'²⁴ Yet though the freeing of secondhand books may have been by plunder or at a pittance, their reacquisition was not always cheap. The Lyonese bibliophile Claude Bréghot du Lut (1784-1849) reported in 1806 from Paris to his friend, cousin, and later brother-in-law, the librarian Antoine Péricaud (1782-1867):

Les livres sont fort chers dans cette ville, et je crois t'avoir dit que le plus mince bouquiniste est meilleur bibliographe que nos premiers libraires. Aussi peut-on pas espérer de faire dans leurs boutiques de bons marchés, il ne s'en fait guère que dans les ventes publiques.²⁵

Not only were prices of worthwhile books high, but a note of caution should be sounded regarding the proportion occupied by works of value among the mass of printed publications on the market. Not all the institutional libraries on the eve of the Revolution had been of great worth, and as we have seen many private libraries had given much space

to devotional works and the sentimental novels of the later part of the century. There were also disproportionately large quantities of theological and legal writings, much of which survived, unlike the not inconsiderable body of unwelcome pre-Revolutionary political literature, which was systematically destroyed.²⁶

It lies beyond our present purposes to portray the market for books in the Lyons of the first four decades of the nineteenth century, and some glimpses of it will in any case emerge when we consider what is known of Pagès's life, his book acquisitions, and his controversies. Certainly, there were enough works in circulation to make it worthwhile restarting pre-Revolutionary firms such as Rusand and Perisse. Already under the Empire, publishing experienced a modest revival for certain categories of book, especially strong in 1812, and the growth was to continue at a notable rate of acceleration to a peak around 1826, and thereafter was never to fall below 5500 books per annum. In the field of second-hand works, the sale of duplicates from public collections continued as late as 1845. In Lyons, as we shall see, the major sale took place in 1831. Naturally, there were also illegal sales, and it was not surprising that Lyons, a major centre, saw an influx of purloined works. Félix Ravaisson, Inspecteur général des bibliothèques, visiting Brest in 1840 discovered that a library that amounted to 25,000 volumes in 1798 had been entirely disposed of piecemeal, and one of 20,000 at Morlaix. We know for a fact that books in the depository at Billom in the Puy-de-Dôme were sold to a Lyons bookseller in 1828 without the prefect's authority.²⁷

The flow of works from private collections into ill-financed public libraries was limited, and probably in the period leading up to Pagès's death in 1841 was represented chiefly by the occasional bequest of a collection to the libraries. There were such bequests, but on nothing like the scale of the Ancien Régime, and generally speaking they followed in the wake of that of Antoine Artaud (1767-1838), former director of the École royale des beaux-arts and the Musée des antiques de Lyon, who died in 1838 leaving his library and medal collection to the city. Note however, that some of these books were assigned not to the municipal library, but to the second public library, that of the Palais des arts, and that other inherited libraries, such as those of Antoine Lambert (1850), Gabriel-Victor Prunelle (1853), and Jean Rongnard (1865), were to go to library at the Palais des arts which

Prunelle had created during his time as mayor. Over the sixteen years from 1844 to 1860, the Palais des arts library was to treble in size, to a total of 60,000 volumes. Fine as this was, we should not lose sight of the fact that already in 1762 the library of the Collège de la Trinité amounted to 40,000 volumes and was to expand by perhaps 10,000 more before 1770.²⁸

As regards the nature of the private collections being built up in the Lyons area at the time, there was wide interest among the well-heeled in forming what were known as cabinets, usually bibliophile collections based on criteria such as rarity or fine bindings. The aim here was not scholarly exploitation. It would seem that the first private library to be formed in post-Revolutionary Lyons was of this type. It belonged to Nicolas Yéméniz (1783-1871), a Greek by birth, who established himself at Lyons as a silk manufacturer. His was a specialist collection consisting of a small Lyonese section alongside choice works of early French literature for which the owner commissioned sumptuous bindings. When sold at his death in 1867 it numbered 3,954 volumes but realized no less than 725,000 francs.²⁹

Yet there were numerous other collectors who, while knowing their editions and bindings, had other objects in view. Nièpce, the historian of the Lyonese libraries, says of his own mentor, Breghot du Lut, that he purchased his books 'non parce qu'ils étaient rares, mais parce qu'ils lui étaient nécessaires ... non pour leurs vignettes, leur papier ou leurs reliures, mais pour ce qu'ils renfermaient.'³⁰ The sales catalogue of the Breghot de Lut library resorts in part to generic lots, with the result that a calculation of its size is difficult, but the figure may hover around 3,000-4,000 volumes. He was an active writer with numerous works to his name.³¹

Another famous private collection was the specialist Lyonese library of Louis Coste (1784-1851), which at his death contained 18,641 items, including rare printed ephemera and manuscripts, that had been bought for some 100,000 francs. His brother sold the library to the city for 40,000 francs. Coste's approach had been nothing if not methodical. In 1838 he published a catalogue of his desiderata, and he personally travelled in Italy and Great Britain in search of rare books.³²

Many other collections were less clearly defined, being not rarely simply the miscellaneous acquisitions of men with a taste for reading, or private reserves of books for the professional use of doctors, lawyers and priests. The published information is scant, and we must limit ourselves to some impressions.

The sales of the Napoleonic period appear either very small or are derived most probably from collections somehow preserved during the Revolution, like that sold in 1812, from the former émigré Richard de Montbard (1743-1812), consisting of 1832 valuable works. By the 1830's the flow appears more considerable, but many libraries are modest in size, at least by the time they reach the public sales: 426 items for the lawyer Antoine-Eugène Allard (1796-1830) in 1830, 613 for the journalist Pierre Louis Devilliers (1798-1837) in 1831. In 1833 957 items were sold from the bibliophile collection of the architect Joseph Gay (1755-1832). In 1835 the lawyer Jean-Baptiste Boissieux (1743-1831) left 500 items.³³

There were, however, larger collections, some in the hands of priests. In 1834 came the sale of an extensive historical collection belonging to the abbé Honoré Greppo (1788-1863), historian, numismatologist, vicar general of the Belley diocese. As a boy, we may recall, Greppo had had Pagès as a tutor. In the same year appears another historical collection of 1736 items, that of the lawyer Nicolas Cochard (1763-1834), who had been a pragmatic collector of historical source works, of printed ephemera, autographs, and other manuscripts. In 1836 came the death of Pagès's colleague the abbé Vital Chouvy, and the sale of his library, to which we shall return to shortly. In the same year the abbé Jean-Baptiste Marduel sold his rich collection to the Jesuits. In March 1839 the library of an anonymous lawyer went on sale, consisting of 800 works in 3000 volumes, and fairly general in scope.³⁴

Not all libraries were sold, and some prestigious collections were handed on in families, such as that of the Morel de Voleine family, and a local collection of the Baudrier family that seems to have dated in part from Ancien Régime days and by the 1870's amounted to some 8,000 volumes. Also in the early 1870's Louis-Maurice Antoine Bresson (1817-1893) possessed 2,000 volumes of a collection begun in 1820 by his father. By 1830 it had numbered some 600 volumes, and was concerned especially with architecture.³⁵

We know from subsequent sales of still further collections that were being formed during Pagès's lifetime. Among library sales in the 1850's, for instance, at least seven came from elderly priests, ranging in size downwards from the 1372 books of the abbé Plasson, and the 1379 of the abbé André Perrin. Finally, one of the most considerable collections we know of from this period is that of 12,000 volumes of scientific and literary works bequeathed to his son in 1852 by Étienne Récamier. It is clear, then, that there was a lively interest in the building of private libraries at Lyons in the years 1800-1841, though the Pagès library would seem from available evidence to have been one of the most sizeable.³⁶

Like other cities, but with its own rhythm, by its own modalities and in the face of its own difficulties -- especially the terrible episode of Ville-Affranchie -- Lyons managed to conserve something of the wealth of its libraries. It was fortunate not only in the richness of the collections present in the area at the time of the Revolution, but also in that it found competent librarians at least from 1802 onwards to shape what was available into collections for public use. In one of his famous interventions, the abbé Henri-Baptiste Grégoire summed up the situation as he found it in 1794, and his remark could be applied more generally to the whole history of the French libraries in the period 1789 to 1841 that has interested us, and in particular of those of Lyons: 'Malgré les destructions opérées par les étourderies de l'ignorance et les crimes de la malveillance, nous avons d'immenses richesses.'³⁷

Pagès, the Man in his Times

It is into the setting of the last years of the Ancien Régime and the Revolutionary upheaval that we must now attempt to place Étienne Pagès, the assembler of the library that bears his name. Pagès¹ first saw the light of day on 20 February 1763, at Saint-Urcize,² which most printed sources reasonably describe as situated in the arrondissement of Saint-Flour, itself within the bounds of the department of the Cantal. Of course, for the inhabitants of Saint-Urcize in 1763, the mental map looked rather different and somewhat less rational. Saint-Urcize was a small town or village in the Province of the Haute-Auvergne, the bailliage of Saint-Flour, the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris, and in matters financial the généralité of Riom.³ The transition from that great knot of Ancien Régime jurisdictions to the clear lines of those substituted by the Revolution points to the many deeper adjustments that Pagès had to make in the course of his troubled times.

As to the social standing and wealth of the family we know little, other than that the father, Jean, was a merchant or trader of some kind, that they were clearly not ennobled, and that at the same time they were sufficiently far from destitution to have something that could be confiscated from them when Étienne and his brother, who served in the armies of the Prince de Condé, were proscribed.⁴ With a son a soldier and another a priest, the Pagès family were hardly anything other than conventional for their day. Regarding any book-collecting in the family in Pagès's youth, no evidence or memory remains.⁵

In complex interrelation with all the other local jurisdictions of the day, Saint-Urcize formed part of the diocese of Saint-Flour. Although the Saint-Flour diocesan seminary had been rebuilt in the eighteenth century, it was to that of the neighbouring diocese of Le Puy that Pagès gravitated for his studies. In 1789 the Saint-Flour seminary was staffed by 5 Vincentians, while that of Le Puy was staffed by the Sulpicians, as it had been already in 1652, during the lifetime of the founder, Jean-Jacques Olier (1608-1657). In 1789 it had a staff of six Sulpicians. Entering this seminary was for Pagès the first of a long

train of Sulpician contacts, but no documentation of his stay has survived, since the archives of the Le Puy diocese perished in a fire of 1880, those of the seminary date only from 1817, while the Le Puy papers of the Sulpician general archives and those of the diocese of Saint-Flour have nothing to offer.⁶

We are aware of some details from general studies undertaken. We know, for example, that the seminarians at this period were for the most part drawn from among the sons of the middle classes, of shopkeepers, barber-surgeons, 'policemen', and other such. Pagès would have been at home among young men of his own background, engaged in studies for perhaps a number of years and put through the hoops of a serious but sensible spiritual régime. We can presume that he would have begun piecing together a small collection of the books recommended by his professors for use during his ministry. Overall, the Le Puy seminary was doubtless not as important as that at Lyons, but the ethos must have been substantially similar.

Seminaries as such were not in their original conception nor in their pre-Revolutionary realization intended to be run on the style of a university college. Indeed, when we think of the plight of many European universities in the eighteenth century, including Oxford and Cambridge, this would not necessarily have been even an academic advantage. While courses of study were offered in the seminaries, they were slow to develop and of a practical and spiritual, rather than of an intellectual nature. As late as 1780 the Archbishop of Auch, Claude d'Apchon, issued an instruction concerning his seminary that contained the following stipulation:

L'étude doit faire l'occupation d'un sujet qui est au séminaire, non pas précisément l'étude des questions théologiques, ce n'est pas leur temps, il faut avoir appris ces choses avant d'y venir, mais celles de l'écriture, des saintes règles de l'Eglise, que l'administration des sacrements, surtout celui de la pénitence, des mœurs, des sentiments, du langage de l'intérieur, de l'extérieur d'un digne prêtre dans tous les divers états.⁷

In fact the more academically orientated courses in philosophy and theology were often taught at the level of secondary education. While presumably the views of the Archbishop of Auch were being resisted by the introduction of academic courses into the seminary (or he would not have spoken out), his wishes reflected the intentions of the Council of

Trent and the reality of many seminaries in France right up to the eve of the Revolution.

We may recall, however, that we found seminarians at Lyons studying Botany, Physics and Natural History. In 1789 Pagès, his own studies now finished, began to teach Mathematics and Physics alongside his masters, but the tranquil situation could not last long. Precisely when Pagès would have started his teaching is unsure, but the repercussions of a rapid sequence of events could not have been long in making themselves felt. On 5 May the Estates General met at Versailles, on 20 June the Third Estate declared itself a National Assembly, and a week later the distinction between the Estates was abolished. On 11 July Louis XVI staged a rash royalist coup by dismissing Necker, and on the 14th the Paris mob stormed the Bastille. Other events followed with increasing momentum: abolition of the feudal system (4 August); declaration of the rights of man (27 August); transfer of the royal family to Paris (5-6 October); nationalization of Church property (2 November). Already by October the aristocracy were emigrating in droves.⁸

On 12 November the administrative map was redrawn into 80 departments, and on 12 July 1790 the State abolished the traditional Church jurisdictions, and assigned a single diocese to coincide with each department. The new positions were intended to be occupied by incumbents of the 128 former dioceses, but the intention was never realized. For one thing, the Ancien Régime bishops, with a single exception as we have said were aristocrats, and a prime instinct among them was class solidarity. From May 1791, Marie-Joseph de Galard de Terraube, Bishop of Le Puy, was an émigré in Switzerland, supplanted in his diocese by Étienne Delcher, Constitutional bishop of Haute-Loire, who arrived to take possession of Le Puy on 7 May 1791. Pagès's own bishop, Claude-Marie de Ruffo de Laric of Saint-Flour, installed some ten years before the Revolution at the age of 33, was not long in fleeing into exile.⁹

The history of the Church as this period is complex, but nowhere more so than in the various categories of priests created by the different oaths exacted by political regimes, accepted or refused by the clergy, tolerated and condemned by bishops and popes. In the midst of humiliation, fear, pain and death, many priests also endured



Portrait of the abbé Etienne Pagès
From an engraving in the General Archives
of the Society of Mary

bewilderment and confusion. In Pagès's case, the brevity of his reference to the period in surviving documentation suggests a clear-cut refusal to take the proffered oaths, and in the absence of other evidence all we can suppose is that he declined and fled. In doing so he saved himself from immediate arrest and from the mass executions that faced clergy of all ranges of opinion, initiated by the killing of the first priest at Limoges on 14 July and begun in earnest with the massacres of non-juring prisoners in Paris in early September.¹⁰

In his flight, Pagès was no more adventurous or farsighted than the majority, heading to Chambéry, capital of the French-speaking Duchy of Savoy, which was under the sovereignty of the King of Sardinia. In his own varied accounts, Pagès is consistent in maintaining that within a few days of his arrival he was 'entrusted with an education', that of a nephew of comte de Maistre. Comte Joseph de Maistre had succeeded his father as second holder of the title in 1789, and had from the age of 21 been well established in increasingly important positions within the Sardinian judicial and political system. Our information about Pagès's dealings with the family comes from official forms that Pagès filled in for the education ministry in pursuit of financial claims and pension rights. According to the needs of the case being argued, and to the dictates of his pride, Pagès seems to stress either the continuity of his involvement in education since 1789 or his political and moral purity in having avoided during the Revolutionary period any involvement with the educational enterprise of the state and those whom he vilifies as 'prêtres révolutionnaires, schismatiques, ou apostats'.¹¹

There is no knowing whether he did in fact serve in these years as a true preceptor or private tutor, or whether he later chose to upgrade for public consumption what had in fact been a humbler position as an occasional coach. It is true that since settling in Savoy from Nice a generation before, the de Maistre family had employed tutors,¹² and these priests. Generally, however, they functioned as occasional teachers or tutors for specific disciplines, rather than acting as permanent household preceptors. It may be that Joseph's fortunes, and those of his clan (known to have been modest but improving),¹³ were by that period sufficient to afford the status symbol of such an employee at an economic price. By all accounts, Pagès would have been lucky indeed to find any such niche, for many émigré priests and their titled betters, clerical and lay, were reduced wherever they fled to mending

shoes and weaving, or even to begging openly in the streets.¹⁴ It is well also to recall the ample evidence that exists from the whole breadth of eighteenth-century Europe that tutors and domestic chaplains, whether in the persecuted solidarity of English recusants, or in the Lutheran lands of the North, were generally left in no doubt that their position was merely that of a servant, not a quasi-member of the family.¹⁵ There might just have been an additional selling point for Pagès's services in that he was a former teacher of physics. It is known, for instance, that when Joseph de Maistre went into exile in Lausanne, he spent most of his time studying among other things physics in the public library.¹⁶

In Savoy, de Maistre kept a library whose catalogue is extant, as are details on its development. The library's core was the receipt of two inheritances. The first, consisting of some books on law and classics, came to him when he was 16, and from an upturn in his fortunes in 1774 till his flight in 1792 he built it up, sometimes travelling to Geneva and other places for purchases. By July 1788 it amounted to 1,400 volumes, and he bought a further 61 works in 156 volumes for it by June 1792. On 28 August 1791 de Maistre received a further bequest, from the abbé Joseph Victor. Little is known of this priest. He was probably de Maistre's teacher, seems to have been teacher at some stage to the future King Frederick Augustus I of Saxony, made a will in 1777, and was 86 when he died, leaving a library that amounted to 275 works in 1132 volumes.¹⁷

In 1792 the de Maistre collection amounted to some 937 titles in 2,621 volumes. In Pagès's areas of particular interest it had 46 works of Moral and Philosophy, 47 of Physics and Natural History, 25 of Mathematics, and 71 of Theology or Scripture. While hardly vast, the collection as a whole was considerably larger than the libraries of men of similar position in Savoy at that time, and de Maistre cultivated it with a lively mind.¹⁸ It may have been that Pagès's enforced leisure imbued him there with a taste for the building up of a book collection of his own. We do know that the Chambéry public library placed another ecclesiastical collection within his easy reach at this period: that of the Jansenist sympathizer, the abbé Philibert-Amédée de Mellarède, who had in 1780 bequeathed a private library of some 8,000 volumes, half of them theology, which had been assembled from Paris with the help of the Maurist Dom Charles Clément.¹⁹ Whether Pagès amassed any books of his own during these years, there is no means of knowing, and the mists

enfold us again until, as we shall see, we have evidence of Pagès's own buying in the Lyons of the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Whatever the full details of Pagès's stay in Chambéry, it was in any case not destined to last long. The French forces crossed the borders of Savoy on 18 July. Despite rumours of invasion that had been circulating in Turin since March, little had been done to prepare the Sardinian army, and there was a total rout. Concerning Pagès's personal history at this point, we encounter a puzzle. In his pension claims of the late 1820's, Pagès consistently maintains that he left Savoy with the comte de Maistre in April 1793, which he speaks of as the moment of the French invasion. In actual fact the majoronslaught was in September 1792, and it is known that de Maistre left Chambéry for a twenty-five year exile on the evening of 22 September 1792, slipping back from 12 January to 22 February 1793 in search of his wife and child.²⁰ Presumably Pagès has conflated these confused events in some way, either by lapse of memory or for some motive at present undiscoverable.

Certainly Pagès is right in claiming that de Maistre went to Lausanne, where there were 1,200 émigrés (of whom 128 priests), many living in poor circumstances that de Maistre and his family shared, though they were never indigent, since they apparently benefited from loans made by Baron Vignet des Étoles, a compatriot, friend of the family, and Sardinian Minister to the Republic of Berne.²¹

By no means all the de Maistre family emigrated, though of those who stayed none enjoyed the title of count. It is just conceivable nevertheless that Pagès did stay in Savoy with some branch of the family until the date he gives. The carnets of de Maistre, in an entry for 16 February 1793, record that 17 priests (in Savoy?) had taken the civil oath, which may mean that the delay in restructuring the administration, both civil and ecclesiastical, of a Savoy now annexed and renamed the département of Mont Blanc had postponed for a time the rigorous application of measures long in vigour in France. In an obscure entry dated 19 February de Maistre records having written a letter of recommendation to two gentlemen at Aosta on behalf of an 'abbé P.', who might just be Pagès. In any case, with de Maistre's help, the uncertainty begins to clear to some extent shortly afterwards. Pagès says that soon after his flight to Lausanne he was summoned by Vignet des Étoles to be his chaplain and secretary, and from explicit entries

in the de Maistre carnets, beginning 20 May 1794, and usually of the type 'Écrit au B[aron] Vignet, à l'abbé Pagès, à Berne,' his presence in the post is soon confirmed. There are similar entries dated 17 and 23 December 1794, and 8 January 1795. Then on 6 March follows another entry confirming Pagès's general story: 'ce soir l'abbé Noiton me quitte et va à Berne remplacer l'abbé Pagès, auprès du Ministre du Roi' and an entry for 14 March mentions a visit from Pagès, which in the context seems to be only one of a sequence of house-calls.²²

Pagès says that he returned to France to assist his family in June 1795, in the face of the confiscations mentioned earlier,²³ staying with them and returning in October that year to Chambéry. De Maistre mentions only that on 27 March he wrote to Pagès (where?), passing on a letter of the Baron, and next that on 12 July Pagès has left for Savoy via Evian, with several items of mail and a copy of de Maistre's Lettres d'un royaliste savoisien à ses compatriotes for the comte Salteur. Silence follows until on 5 October de Maistre records writing to Pagès, care of M. Delord, who from other entries appears to be at Geneva. No published correspondence of de Maistre to the Baron mentions Pagès, but we know (it) through nineteenth-century editions, the earliest by his son Rodolphe, and it bears all the evidence of having originally been written and later faithfully edited to exclude all but high-flown considerations. The published chronicle of De Maistre's correspondence in the years 1796-1816 is also silent on Pagès, as are official Church sources at this period.²⁴

Pagès's story is that once in Savoy again he was entrusted with the education of another nephew of the comte and that this arrangement lasted until the June of 1799 when, 'Sa présence étant devenue dangereuse pour les parents de son élève' -- a reference to the murderous anticlerical persecution unleashed by the régime of 18 fructidor (4 September 1797) -- he came to Lyons.²⁵ This may have been so, but in fact relief for the Catholic Church came within weeks, with Bonaparte's overthrow of the Directory on 18 brumaire an VII (9 November 1799), and it is not to be excluded that it was really that event which prompted Pagès to leave Savoy.²⁶ The Lyons to which he headed was the major city in his home area, and we know that the de Maistre family had social and business links close by. Whatever the motives for his arrival there, Pagès was fixing his last and his major domicile, for he was to remain there for the next 42 years.

Although Pagès himself is silent on the matter, the article by Collombet speaks of his acting as tutor to the brothers Frèrejean, of a local family of industrialists, and to Honoré Greppo (1788-1873). The Greppos had a chateau of some kind at Montellier, but whether Pagès resided there is not known.²⁷ The arrangement cannot have lasted too long, since Greppo and his friend Jean-Marie Mioland (1788-1859) were from 1803 pupils together in the establishment of a certain layman called Rey.²⁸ The two pupils certainly entered the seminary of Saint-Sulpice in Paris in the autumn of that year (the academic year beginning on November 1st). Pagès supplied a letter of recommendation for Greppo to the Sulpician General, M. Émery, but it has not survived.²⁹

Lyons was a rather sad place to repair to, not only because of the general physical destruction wrought after the siege, but also on the ecclesiastical front. Virtually every religious house was empty of the former communities, many churches had been demolished or desecrated, some were in use as animal stalls, but in human relations, too, there was ruin, confusion and a good deal of bitterness. The tangle is a complex one, but amidst all the factions of priests who had sworn the state oaths, retracted, been condemned by Rome or a bishop, there were also those who had joined the schismatic Constitutional Church. There were still others who adhered to a further schism, known as the Petite Église, endured at Lyons into the middle of the twentieth century.³⁰

Whatever his activity in Lyons at this time, it seems that in 1806 Pagès became secretary to Marie-Nicolas Fournier (1750-1834), nominated Bishop of Montpellier by Napoleon on 31 May 1806. Fournier was a Sulpician, who had begun to teach moral theology at Lyons in 1789, just as Pagès began to teach at Le Puy. He was well-connected, but suffered persecution under Napoleon from the minister of police, Fouché. His appointment to a bishopric seems to have been one of those curious whims of the Emperor. Ordained on 8 December 1806, by Cardinal Fesch, Archbishop of Lyons, assisted by the Bishops of Versailles and Ghent, Fournier entered his diocese on 15 January 1807, to begin a conciliatory and exploratory tour. The diocese was racked by dissension and schism.³¹ On this tour Pagès, by his own account, accompanied Fournier as secretary. Of this there is strangely no evidence one way or the other in the archives of the Montpellier diocese,³² but on the title page of his works from 1819 Pagès gives himself as an honorary canon of

Montpellier, a title he would not have dared claim publicly without the authorization of a bishop still vigorously active. His alleged cooperation with Fournier in the manner described is the only conceivable motive for the granting of the title. It may well be that the Sulpician and Lyonese connections of the two men, and their common interest in moral theology had smoothed the path to the appointment. We can do little more than fall back on speculation to flesh out the bare facts.

Certain it is that by May 1808 Pagès was in Lyons again, now once again one of the major cities of Europe, with a revived population of over 100,000, rivalled in France only by Bordeaux, Marseille and Rouen, outstripped only by Paris, and in Europe as a whole by Amsterdam, London, Naples and Vienna. He was appointed curate in the parish of Saint-Bonaventure, newly established in the former chapel of the Grands-Cordeliers. From the point of view of the situation in Lyons, it is conceivable that other reasons than discord between Fournier and his secretary may be behind the move, in the shape of one or other educational project in the wind at Lyons. The first was a humble one, the establishment at Saint-Bonaventure of a parish school, one of many organized by Fesch, in which Pagès may have been intended to take some part, given his background. The second project was on a rather different scale. In the months of Pagès's arrival in Lyons, Napoleon decreed the implementation of an earlier decree of 10 May 1806, which had established the Imperial University, in effect a new educational system incorporating local tertiary academies, secondary lycées, less lustrous communal secondary schools, and an inspectorate to supervise primary education. By 17 March 1808 this had evolved to mean the end of independent private secondary schools, and thus closed one avenue in education for Pagès. The academies were each to have various faculties, including one for theology. It was in this astute measure to channel all intellectual activity to the benefit of the regime that Pagès was destined to take a part.³³

One step in putting flesh on the skeleton of the basic decree came when on 12 December 1809, the Emperor erected a faculty of theology at Lyons and appointed the abbé Étienne Pagès to the chair of evangelical moral theology. Pagès was later to protest that his acceptance was only out of obedience to the Archbishop,³⁴ and certainly the system was that nominally the bishops put forward candidates for formal appointment by

the Emperor, but probably the precise interplay of influences will never be fully revealed. Clearly the Emperor for his own political reasons was interested in a clergy not overly inclined to accept the intervention of the pope in French Church affairs, and to this end clergy appointed in the University were supposed to undertake on oath to teach the principles represented by the Gallican articles of 1682, but it is unsure whether the professors at Lyons were held to this or whether it would have been repugnant to Pagès. It is known that the first Grand Master of the University, the Catholic layman Fontanes, used his position to appoint large numbers of clergy considered from a Napoleonic standpoint to be too favourable to the pope and even the exiled king, and so much so that under the Restoration he actually retained his post.³⁵

Outside the university ambit, in 1820 Pagès was one of those who participated in a revival that recalls forcefully the fashionable interests of Lyons before the Revolution. In 1785, in fact another learned scientific society had been founded in the city in the form of a colonie of the Parisian Linnaean Society. This was a natural history society named, like many others in various countries, after Carl Linnaeus (von Linné), the distinguished Swedish botanist (1707-1778), deviser of systems for the classification of flora and fauna. The new group now styled itself the Société linnéenne de Lyon, and Pagès was seemingly proud of his membership. He became the society's first vice-president, making a speech at the inaugural meeting on 28 December 1822. At this period he was by no means the only clergyman active in the field, for his virtually exact contemporary the abbé Gaspard Dejean de Saint-Marcel (1763-1842) was for several years to 1817 director of the newly founded botanical garden, and several others were actively teaching the subject in the diocesan minor seminaries.³⁶

The Linnaean Society was not vast. In 1836 it numbered only twenty-one members, in addition to which five more are listed as former resident members now living elsewhere, and nine as deceased members, a total of thirty-five. To these are added seventy-five living or dead 'corresponding members'. In the society's printed Annals for that year, Pagès is listed as both librarian and as donor of a work given as the 'Dendrologie de Jonsthon', along with other books. At that date, too, he was still proudly giving himself out as a member. By 1840 at the very latest he had been replaced as librarian.³⁷

However, in Pagès's case the commemorative discourse given by Noël-Antoine Aunier at the Society's meeting of 28 December 1841, while entirely respectful, tells a discreetly eloquent tale of a lack of real commitment to scientific pursuits. While he may have been an enthusiastic in the society's early years, when he himself was turning sixty, in later years he was regularly absent from the society's monthly meetings. Pagès's natural history collections, too, were purchased, rather than being the fruit of personal quests, for he had bought several collections from Lyonese collectors and was in contact with various vendors of plants and shells. He had also purchased botanical drawings from the widow of the botanist Baron Ambroise de Palisot de Beauvois.³⁸

After appointment to his chair, Pagès ceased to hold other ecclesiastical appointments right up to his death in 1841, but even in the haven of the University, life did not always run smooth. The Empire was destined to fall before the decade was out, but Pagès, a former émigré whose brother died for Condé, had little to fear from the Bourbon Restoration. He was also to survive the July monarchy of the citizen-king Louis-Philippe from 1830. However, the faculty had its grave problems, especially under Louis-Philippe. The Restoration, feeling itself after some reflection unable to abolish the University it had inherited, handed it over to some extent to the influence of the Church, but even then a Sulpician bishop, Denis-Antoine-Luc Frayssinous, in control as Grand Master from 1822 to 1828, did not succeed in overcoming the bishops' coolness. This diffidence became more or less open boycott under the July monarchy, with a generalized refusal to present candidates for royal nomination to the various chairs as they fell vacant. In Lyons as elsewhere staff grew depleted and students numbers dwindled. The government tried one approach and then another, a royal ordonnance of 1835 requiring all ecclesiastical students to attend the faculties of the University, but without effect.³⁹ The fact was that the government's attempts ran counter to a whole change of mood in the Church, especially a move from Gallican to ultramontane principles, from moral rigorism to the more humane approaches advocated by Saint Alphonsus Ligouri.⁴⁰

Sensing the failure of its present tack, the government decided at least from March 1837 to try alternatives for improving the prevailing situation or, as the Journal de Paris put it, for rescuing the

theological faculties 'du néant où elles sont aujourd'hui tombées'.⁴¹ The Grand Master, the comte de Salvandy, made a series of conciliatory gestures such as authorizing the archbishops to transfer faculty lectures to the major seminary for a provisional period. It was little, and did little to remedy other problems such as the apparent mediocrity of the professors and alienation of potential students. An inspection at Lyons in July 1838 revealed an attendance of only 20 in moral theology, and in the Church history class of the young abbé Pavy only 30.⁴²

It was about this period of the mid and late 30's that Pagès, now one of the few remaining professors, and by a royal ordonnance of 3 January 1828 the faculty dean, intervened.⁴³ A firm opponent of Pagès's in his various pamphleteering skirmishes, the former vicar general Simon Cattet remarks that Pagès 'set himself up as intermediary' between Salvandy and the Archbishop Administrator of Lyons, Gaston de Pins.⁴⁴ Difficulties persisted in the formulation of the respective rights of the University and the bishops and were destined never to be fully resolved. Pagès himself was soon out of the business, for his eighth decade was drawing to its close. An endorsement from the pen of M. Soulacroix, rector of the local Academy, for a financial claim Pagès submitted to the minister on 21 September 1839, testifies that 'il conserve toutes ses facultés' and 'il n'y a pas lieu de l'admettre à la retraite', but the testimony cannot be considered totally impartial since other documents in the Pagès file show Pagès lending reciprocal support to Soulacroix.⁴⁵ Moreover, there is no doubt that for a total of several years Pagès intermittently paid a stand-in to take his faculty classes, being himself impeded by some sort of throat malady that also affected the lungs and stomach.⁴⁶ Whatever his state in September 1839, a final bout of illness was to prompt him to make his dispositions in the autumn of 1841 and at 5.30 p.m. on 3 December he gave up the ghost.⁴⁷

Pagès was not, then, a great protagonist in the astounding events of his age, but he lived them with the usual shifting balance of loss and gain that affect any man in the circumstances of his life. Auvernat by birth, costly experience led him to become Lyonese by adoption, and so he entered into a distinctive intellectual context deriving from an impressive tradition.

The Constitution and Scope of Pagès's Library

We have sketched what can be known of the life and activity of Pagès against the background of his times. At a distance of 150 years from his death, the gleanings are not especially plentiful. What remains above all is the library, and to that we must now direct our attention.

When and how did Pagès assemble his library collection?

Circumstances would seem to have militated against his forming any substantial collection before the turn of the century. He appears, as we have seen, to have led an itinerant life until 1799, when he established himself in the Lyons area. In the intervening period he had managed to find some sort of support, but there is no reason to think his life was necessarily settled or comfortable, and indeed for parts of it he was under considerable threat. Certainly, it was not the ideal setting for establishing a personal library, whatever influence the book-collecting of the de Maistre clan may have had upon him. We have evidence, as we shall see, that he made some purchases as early as 1803, but he probably did not have much opportunity to indulge such interests on any scale until he settled at Saint-Bonaventure, or perhaps as a professor at the faculty.

We have no sure idea of Pagès's total means at this period, but we do have some information on his salary as a university teacher. From an ordinance of 19 April 1820 dealing with pensions, Pagès's salary emerges at 3,000 francs per annum.¹ This seems to have remained fixed, or at least the same amount was payable as late as 1836 and 1837.² It was a standard salary for state employees, corresponding, for instance, to that of the Dubeux, 'premier employé' in the department of printed books in the Bibliothèque royale in 1832. The 'premier employé' at the Lyons library in 1838 managed only 900 francs, while the substitutes who taught in Pagès's stead for various lengthy spells received 1500 francs out of his salary, leaving him half. To take another comparison, around 1827 the largest category of parish clergy, the curates-in-charge, averaged 900-1000 francs as their annual salary each year. Late in life, a ministerial confirmation of 4 April 1838 of Pagès's post as dean --

which he had provisionally occupied for the previous decade -- was worth to him an extra 1000 francs a year.³

To what use did Pagès put the means at his disposal ? The only reports we have of him are that he kept a housekeeper, as did virtually every priest, that he lived in accommodation near the faculty, and that he had a reputation for living austerely. It would seem, in any case, that basic expenses of life were often modest: a year's supply of bread might cost around 58 francs in 1826, firewood 29 francs, and a supply of candles and lamp-oil around 20 francs. So Pagès's major public expense seems to have been his library. Books were not particularly cheap: in the 1820's and 1830's one figure for the average price of an octavo volume is 7.50 francs. Nevertheless, in 1831, as we shall see, Pagès did well enough to buy works in varying format and often multi-volumed for an average of 4.20 francs.⁴

What sort of collection did Pagès assemble with the financial means at his disposal ? Père Jeantin, who as we shall see had much to do with the Bibliotheca Pagesiana in the latter half of the century, allowed himself an exuberant passage on Pagès and his collection which it seems worthwhile quoting:

L'oeuvre de sa longue vie et de ses rares connaissances bibliographiques fut la formation d'une bibliothèque, qui pût lui fournir des livres sur toutes les questions capables d'intéresser l'esprit humain, particulièrement sur les questions religieuses. Les livres qu'il recherchait n'étaient pas des ouvrages quelconques, mais les bons, et autant que possible les meilleurs. Ce n'était pas assez: il lui fallait les meilleures éditions, ou du moins les éditions bonnes et estimées. Bien plus, le choix de l'exemplaire, l'impression, le format, la reliure, étaient de sa part l'objet d'une attention particulière. Dans ce but, il ne reculait devant aucun sacrifice: voyages en France et à l'étranger, correspondance épistolaire, dépenses, recherches, peines de tout genre; il n'épargnait rien pour enrichir sa bibliothèque [...] Les notes qu'il a laissées sur les principaux livres de sa bibliothèque excitent un vif intérêt et révèlent un bibliophile consommé.⁵

Apart from the largely uninformative page and a half dedicated to it by Nièpce in 1876,⁶ this reference of c. 1896 to the Pagès library is the most explicit in print to date, and the only one which ventures to say anything of Pagès's activity as a collector. Père Jeantin was an astute and capable man who knew the library and had known it intimately for two decades. One hesitates to discount what he says out of hand, yet he writes the quoted passage as part of a work whose perspectives are not

perhaps universally hagiographical but at least elevating in tone. Pagès is here spoken of in the context of Jeantin's enumeration of generous benefactors of the Society of Mary and the dominant instinct for Jeantin seems to be to speak well of whatever and whoever he can. We shall see what corroboration we can discover of his remarks.

Jeantin says nothing specific of purchases from the catalogues of booksellers. Yet it is fortunate that despite the passage of time, there are conserved in the Bibliotheca Pagesiana a mostly unbound set of catalogues of booksellers and catalogues of book sales which provide us with not a little material concerning the source of Pagès's books and how he pieced together his collection. Given the number of these catalogues, we cannot hope to examine all the details they contain, but we can survey the general evidence they represent. A good number, in fact, contain some tick or cross against a selection of books, and occasionally we find a totting up of books that Pagès actually acquired from a particular catalogue.⁷

What in particular of the years of Pagès's post-Revolutionary career? Of the 70 sales catalogues that survive in the Bibliotheca Pagesiana, those for the period after 1800 number 56. Of these only 34 bear annotations made by Pagès or someone else, and consisting of marks or prices placed against particular items. These catalogues feature as [C01]-[C34] in the main bibliography. The number of catalogues from which Pagès appears to have acquired at least one book is further reduced, to 21. These are listed in the Table.

In order to orientate ourselves in this material, and reflect on its value, let us take two catalogues dating from the period prior to 1810, when we can presume Pagès's appointment to the University became effective. The first [C01] is from the noted Parisian bookseller Guillaume de Bure, who having survived the Revolution, in March 1802, with Napoleon now First Consul, announced the sale of the library of a citizen L'héritier de Brutelle. There are jottings of prices and some books are marked, but there is no way of knowing if these figures are from Pagès's hand and certainly no book marked is found in his library catalogue. It is notable that this library contained a significant number of works on botany.⁸ The second catalogue we encounter, printed at Lyons, from an unnamed bookseller, concerns the auction to be held on 3 prairial an XI (23 May 1803) of the library of a physician named Pitt

[C02]. Some books are marked, of which eleven are in the Bibliotheca Pagesiana.

Here we face squarely an ambiguity that must qualify what these catalogues can hope to tell us. Does the fact that a book is found marked in a bookseller's catalogue preserved in the library and is also represented by a copy in the Bibliotheca Pagesiana mean that Pagès necessarily obtained the book in question from that source? Clearly this is not by any means certain. For one thing, we have no assurance that Pagès did in actual fact make a bid for all the books he pinpointed in booksellers' catalogues. Even if he was in a buying mood, he may well, like many collectors, have marked a number of books in a first reconnoitre, reconnoitre, and then made a selection of the more important ones. Or he may have marked up a catalogue then simply not got around to pursuing the matter. We cannot even be sure, in any case, that the catalogues were marked by Pagès. He may have obtained them after the event, already annotated for some other purpose, from a local bookseller intent upon maintaining good relations by giving Pagès a catalogue with jottings to show some interesting prices, or from a friend who had attended a sale and passed on the catalogue for Pagès to peruse. Pagès had a very distinctive handwriting when it came to continuous prose, but his arabic numerals have nothing distinctive about them at all, and follow standard forms of his age. Hence we can hardly judge in most cases whether the figures are from his hand or not. There is also no guarantee whatsoever that the collection of booksellers' catalogues now in Bibliotheca Pagesiana represents a total archive of all those that Pagès received and from which he bought. Indeed, it seems unlikely. After all, what survives averages out at little more than one catalogue a year for most of his active career.

Considerations such as these constitute rather severe qualifications, yet they do not completely discount the booksellers' catalogues as a source of information. At the very least the fact that a given book is marked in one or more catalogues and then later found in the Pagès library suggests some active search for works. An examination of the catalogues in chronological order shows on the whole what appears to be one and the same man marking what is at times a fairly consistent list of books. In some cases, he seems to make repeated attempts to buy a copy of one particular work. In other cases, he may try to secure a run of works by a particular author, or to complete a partial set of

such works that he already possesses. Again, the attempt may be to cover a particular topic, or a certain branch of learning. Accordingly, the presumption will be made here, against the background of these qualifications, that we can have some general idea of the books that Pagès bought and his methods of acquisition from some particular catalogues that have survived.

Of the 34 annotated catalogues 18 are from Lyons, 15 from Paris, with only one from elsewhere, namely Milan. Of the catalogues from which it would seem that Pagès did acquire at least one work, 13 are from Lyons, 7 from Paris, and one from Milan. It is difficult to draw secure conclusions from such evidence, but it suggests that on balance Pagès made the greater part of his purchases locally, an impression greatly reinforced by a count of the number of works acquired: 451 from Lyons, 60 from Paris, 13 from Milan. It goes without saying that the purchase from the Lyons library in 1831 [C17], greatly swelled the Lyons numbers with its 228 works, but even abstracting from this one sale, 223 other works were bought at Lyons as opposed to the 60 from Paris. Among the Paris purchases, there is a slight preponderance of sales from the 1830's, but the largest Paris purchase, of 24 works, dated from 1819.

As regards chronology, there are 78 purchases from the 1800's, 139 from the 1810's, a mere 9 from the 1820's, 274 from the 1830's (of which 228 came from the Lyons library sale), and 3 from 1840, with 21 from unknown dates. Given the haphazard nature of our sources, and that these purchases taken together represent only 7.5% of Pagès's total library, it would be difficult to draw firm conclusions, except perhaps to note that there is little doubt that Pagès was still actively acquiring books in the last decade or so of his life, and his sources still included Paris catalogues.

What was Pagès actually buying from these catalogues? If we return to the early sale of the Pitt library in 1803 [C02], Pagès seems to have bought a collection of sermons by Mascaron, Bishop of Agen, a work on astronomy by Bailly, two medical manuals, an etymological dictionary of Latin, five works of ancient classical authors in French translation, and a commentary on Cicero by président Bouhier.

An overall impression of the subject areas favoured by Pagès, can be seen in the Table. It leaves little doubt that by far the greater

Table

**CONTENTS BY SUBJECT AREA OF PAGES'S PRESUMED PURCHASES
FROM THE SURVIVING SALES CATALOGUES**

L = Lyons bookseller, M = Milan bookseller, P = Paris bookseller.

Ecclesiastical History and Canon Law are grouped with profane counterparts in categories History and Law.

The figures given are for works, each of which may be multi-volumed.

		<u>Religion</u>	<u>History</u>	<u>Law</u>	<u>Science</u>	<u>Literature</u>	
[C02]	L (1803)	1	0	0	3	7	= 11
[C03]	L (1803)	25	6	2	4	12	= 49
[C04]	L (1806)	2	1	0	0	1	= 4
[C05]	L (1809)	11	2	0	0	1	= 14
[C07]	L (1812)	11	3	0	0	5	= 19
[C09]	L (1815)	20	4	6	1	3	= 34
[C11]	L (1816)	31	14	3	4	10	= 62
[C12]	P (1819)	9	14	0	1	0	= 24
[C13]	P (1820)	4	0	0	1	0	= 5
[C16]	P (1826)	2	2	0	0	0	= 4
[C17]	L (1831)	176	30	20	0	2	= 228
[C19]	P (1832)	0	1	0	2	0	= 3
[C23]	L (1836)	2	6	0	0	1	= 9
[C24]	L (1836)	0	2	0	1	0	= 3
[C27]	L (1837)	1	6	0	0	0	= 7
[C28]	P (1837)	2	0	2	1	2	= 7
[C29]	P (1838)	4	6	0	0	1	= 11
[C30]	P (1839)	0	5	0	1	0	= 6
[C31]	L (1840)	2	0	0	0	1	= 3
[C33]	L (?)	4	2	0	0	2	= 8
[C34]	M (?)	12	0	1	0	0	= 13
TOTALS		319	104	34	19	48	= 524

part of Pagès's acquisitions were in the area of religious works -- at 61% -- with History accounting for a further 20%. Legal works ran at only some 7%, scientific interest at barely 4%, and literature at 9%. If we consider the kind of works found within these broad categories, we see that among religious works the editions of Church Fathers, of later classic Catholic authors, and of technical theological treatises predominate. There are few works of devotions, for example. As the Table notes, the category of historical works calculated here includes religious biography and ecclesiastical history in general, but does not by any means exclude numerous histories of French cities (among them Lyons), and curiosities such as the abbé de Guasco's De l'usage des statues chez les anciens: essai historique,⁹ and the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher's China monumentis qua sacris, qua profanis [...] illustrata.¹⁰ The legal works include a large proportion of material treating either of canon law or of French law as relating to religious questions. The scientific material is varied: including, for instance, 6 works on botany, two medical manuals, a work on extinct volcanos in the Vivrais and the Velay (near Lyons), and one on agriculture. Finally, the literary works include some dictionaries, and a few volumes of recent French poetry, but there are no novels, and the large proportion of classical Latin and Greek authors in translation puts Pagès rather with the libraries of the early eighteenth-century than those of the closing decades of the Ancien Régime. For purposes of comparison with other studies, it would have been of interest to examine the proportions of publications from various periods of printing history, but the existing catalogues of the Pagès library are too inaccurate in their recording of dates of publication to make such calculations feasible.

We cannot examine all the annotated catalogues of which we have made mention. Instead, we shall consider a small number that offer some special interest. The sale catalogue of an anonymous library to be held by Perisse on 13 June 1803 is one of these [C03]. It is heavily annotated, with lines drawn along the margin, and marks against some books, and occasionally a price is written in. Most of the works marked --which include some off-beat ones -- are in the library. The total amounts to no less than forty-nine works, including editions of Church Fathers, treatises on moral theology, canon law, botany and physics, studies such as Rollin's Histoire ancienne des égyptiens, des carthaginois, des assyriens, des babyloniens, des mèdes et des perses, des macédoniens, des grecs,¹¹ and curiosities such as a history of

playing cards.¹² We find Pagès here engaged in his first major documented purchase, and it is interesting to note that the works acquired include some of the pre-Revolutionary sales catalogues conserved in the Bibliotheca Pagesiana.

In 1831 came an event of no mean significance for the Pagès collection. By that date the long years of reconstruction and organization of the municipal collections had reached a point where duplicates could be disposed of. A catalogue [C17] was prepared by the librarian Antoine Péricaud, his brother-in-law Claude Bregnot du Lut, MM. Janon, Chouvy, Coste, Duplessis, Gauthier, Hodieu, and Rostain,¹³ and by decision of the city council of 9 January 1829 was issued to the public in view of a sale organized by Joseph Janon at Lyons throughout the month of June. The stiff cardboard covers enclose a stout catalogue of no less than 6978 items, rounded off by an alphabetical index of authors. Copies were placed widely on sale to the public at one franc fifty centimes, and copies were available for consultation in the mairies of the main towns of France. The decree fixing details of the sale was also published in the major towns throughout the country. The aim was to raise funds to enable the library to make new acquisitions. As to Pagès's annotations in this catalogue, 531 items in all are marked with a variety of signs that do not seem to amount to a consistent system. In the endpapers is a summary of expenses in what is recognizably Pagès's own hand. We know that the total revenue from the sale was 32,771 francs 40 centimes,¹⁴ of which Pagès, according to his own calculations, had paid 720 francs 60 centimes for something just over 172 works. Which is to say that of the total sale approximately 2.2% by cost and 2.7% by title went to Pagès. While he was thus very far from monopolizing the great opportunity this sale represented, he did profit by it to a fair extent, and spent something like a quarter of his annual salary on it. It is noteworthy on the other hand that this, Pagès's biggest documented purchase, accounts for less than 1% of his total acquisitions.

In the spring of 1836 came the sale of the books of Pagès's sole surviving colleague in the moribund theology faculty, the abbé Vital Chouvy. This former Carmelite friar was 84 years of age when he met his death on 29 October 1835 as a result of a bad fall on the way across the place Bellecour from the new Lyons railway station, where he had just arrived from Le Puy.¹⁵ The books were sold off by the bookseller

Sauvignet of the rue Mercière from 8 March 1836 and, as a handwritten annotation on the catalogue cover tells us, 'dans l'appartement de M. Chouvy, place et maison du Collège' [C24]. Some bequests had been made from the library, including the presentation to the major seminary of Saint-Irénée of whatever Bibles and works of the Church Fathers he had possessed. Pagès marked 64 out of 4238 items, but as it happens seems to have bought only three works. Perhaps it was a matter of public decency as much as real interest. Then again, the programme for the sale was planned to stretch from 14 March to 7 May (according to a handwritten correction it began early, on 8 March), which may have been too gruelling for the 73 year-old Pagès. Or it may have been that he was not in the buying mood. There is one further catalogue for 1836 [C25], relating to a sale of the library of a Monsieur Raetzel at Paris on 3 November, but only one work is marked, and it is not listed in the Pagès collection.

The last catalogue of our sequence in which Pagès showed an interest appears to be for a sale in Paris by Merlin of the library of a Professor Bernard Lori in April and May 1840 [C32]. Two items are marked but seem not to have been acquired. We should add that in the Bibliotheca Pagesiana there are two undated catalogues. The first, from Perisse of Lyons [C33], concerns stock from an anonymous library, out of which the Bibliotheca Pagesiana seems to have acquired eight works. The second is a catalogue [C34] from further afield, that of the bookseller Dumolard of Milan, from which Pagès appears to have bought some thirteen items.

A fair number of the catalogues have been addressed to Pagès, such as that of the 'bibliothèque d'un amateur', sold on 8 January 1816, which is addressed on the cover to 'Mr Pagès, Professeur de Théologie' [C11]. Other examples are the catalogues of March 1835 [C21], and of January 1840 [C31]. In other cases it may simply be that a local bookseller passed on a catalogue received from an established Paris firm to Pagès, who was known locally as a collector.

The ratio of books marked to books successfully acquired varies greatly, and the annotations are likewise various in the information they convey. Let us consider some examples. The sale catalogue for an anonymous collection of April 1809 [C05] has a good many books marked, but only fourteen of the markings correspond to works in the Bibliotheca

Pagesiana. Other sales catalogues have indications of cost. That issued by Charvin for the library of the Lyonese bookseller Pierre Bernuset from February 1836 [C23] contains a slip of paper listing nine books and their prices, a total (including 5% commission) of 153 francs 10 centimes. In the endpapers of a catalogue from Merlin for a sale on 27 November 1837 of the books of a Dr Gottl Hulsmann, Pagès noted 'J'ai demandé les numéros suivants', and calculated the total expense for 7 works at 217.90 francs plus 10.90 costs with 11.40 commission [C28]. The catalogue for Merlin's sale at Paris on 7 May 1838 of a section of the library that had belonged to an abbé Dulieu, contains jottings showing a total cost of 117 francs 50 [C29].

The total number of acquisitions from twenty-one catalogues discussed here is 524. What of the rest of Pagès's acquisitions? We know little. Certainly the number of works that Pagès thus can be shown to have acquired via sales catalogues is proportionally small. Père Jeantin, who must have seen the sales catalogues, perhaps without averting to their significance, says nothing of them, but speaks rather of other methods of acquisition: 'voyages en France et à l'étranger, correspondance épistolaire, dépenses, recherches, peines de tout genre.' Here we can say very little. Jeantin had certainly known the first generation of Marists, those who had known Pagès, and it may be that he had some general oral information from Pagès's contemporaries. It may be, too, that there once existed some fund of Pagès's papers to justify what Jeantin says, but there is no mention of them in any known documentary source, and certainly there are none presently housed with the Bibliotheca Pagesiana. As to journeys throughout France and abroad, Pagès had travelled, but there is scant evidence for travel during the period of his professorship, except for a reference to a holiday visit to Paris in 1826,¹⁶ and no mention that its purpose was the purchasing of books.

As to other assertions of Jeantin, that Pagès was 'un bibliophile consommé', it is hard to judge, but certainly Pagès does seem to have had some works that would have been capable of feeding bibliophile interest. The Bibliotheca Pagesiana was by no means lacking in general bibliographies. From the eighteenth century there are specialist bibliographical tools such as Quirini's Liber singularis de optimorum scriptorum editionibus, quae Romae primum prodierunt (1761),¹⁷ François-Xavier Laire's Index librorum ab inventa typographia ad annum

1500 (1791),¹⁸ or Cailleau's Dictionnaire bibliographique, (1790).¹⁹ From the nineteenth century, too, there are various works of bibliographers such as Gabriel Peignot²⁰ or Beaune's Dictionnaire bibliographique.²¹

As part of an early substantial purchase [C03] that we have already considered Pagès acquired a number of bibliographical aids. They included a broad-ranging multi-volume work, Guillaume de Bure's Bibliographie instructive, but also heavily annotated sales catalogues for the libraries of the abbé Charles d'Orléans de Rothelin (1691-1744) in 1746,²² of Pierre Randon de Boisset (1708-1776) in 1777,²³ and of part of the incalculably valuable library of the duc de La Vallière (1708-1780) from 1783.²⁴ These were joined by those of the libraries of Parisian Jesuit houses of the Collège de Clermont²⁵ and the maison professe²⁶ (sold in 1763 and 1764), that of Jean-Baptiste-Paulin d'Aguesseau, doyen du conseil in 1785 (many of the works went to the Marquis de Paulmy),²⁷ and of the abbé Sépher the following year.²⁸ Several of these were taken as a reference point for future collectors. The second part of the sales catalogue of the duc de La Vallière's library was reprinted in two permanent editions in 1784 and 1788, and the sale was referred to in commerce for a century.²⁹ Finally, the Bibliotheca Pagesiana also has catalogues for two of the finest libraries of eighteenth-century Lyons, which we have already considered: those of the abbé Antoine Lacroix (which has the prices marked),³⁰ and of the abbé Dominique Ferrichon (which is without annotation).³¹

This by no means exhausts the bibliographical instruments present in the Bibliotheca Pagesiana, which include subject bibliographies and works dealing with various categories of pseudonyma and anonyma such as those of Adrien Baillet (1690),³² Richard Simon (de Sainjore, 1708),³³ and Johannes Christophorus Mylius (1740).³⁴ While Pagès may not have had a complete collection of such works, then, he was by no means bereft of them and seems to have put what he had to practical use. Many, such as those of de Bure and Quirini, and the catalogues of Rothelin and La Vallière, are still recommended as standard resources in nineteenth-century compendia, like Étienne Psaume's Dictionnaire bibliographique, of 1824 or even Jacques-Charles Brunet's Manuel du libraire.³⁵

'Les notes qu'il a laissées sur les principaux livres de sa bibliothèque,' says Jeantin, 'excitent un vif intérêt et révèlent un

bibliophile consommé.' The comment is not free from ambiguity. A great many of the works still in the Bibliotheca Pagesiana do bear brief annotations in his distinctive handwriting, usually of a very basic kind but implying recourse to specialist knowledge, such as 'ouvrage très rare', 'seule édition', or supplying the name of the author.³⁶ or giving a reference to some related publication. For instance, examining a copy of a work of the Carthusian General Père Innocent Le Masson (1628-1703),³⁷ Pagès notes interestingly in the endpapers: 'Très-rare. vendu 63£. 10s à la vente de la bibliothèque de la maison profès des Jésuites en 1763, no 2744 du catalogue.' There are also many similar notes in the manuscript catalogue dating from c. 1842. This catalogue is not from Pagès, but it may have been based upon some previous catalogue stemming from him and bearing annotations. It is unlikely that any Marist at the time was the author of appreciative comments of this kind.

Nevertheless, it seems inaccurate to portray Pagès as the ultimate bibliophile sophisticate, as can be seen in various ways. For instance, where bindings are concerned, virtually no information is given on these in the surviving sales catalogues from which he bought. Thus of perhaps 13,500 works in his library, over 500, that is over 3.5%, were bought with no real information on bindings available, if indeed Pagès was relying solely on the catalogues. Similarly, although Pagès added a copious note in the flyleaves of a volume that had previously belonged to the historical and literary author the abbé Nicolas Lenglet-Dufresnoy (1674-1765),³⁸ he had no way of knowing from the catalogue of the sale of 8 January 1816 [C11] (discussed above) that the volume he was ordering had a well-known previous owner.

An full examination of the sales catalogues in chronological order does seem to reveal Pagès searching for particular works, which sometimes he bids for or at least marks several times. Of some works only one edition existed, and so we can draw no conclusions, but in other cases he seems willing to accept a substitute edition. This conveys the impression that he is interested predominantly in content. Yet we must set against this the not inconsiderable number of other instances where Pagès makes a bid for a work, evidently fails to get it, and makes no further documented attempt to obtain it. Some of the interest of this kind seems to be related to works of curiosity value.

In other instances, the presence of a run of works by an author in a catalogue, seems to inspire him to try to collect that author's works. An instance would be the works of the abbé Jean-Baptiste Thiers. Pagès seized upon nine of them in the catalogue of 8 January 1816 [C11], and went on to collect some 25. He first came upon a run of three works of the Jesuit Jeremias Drexelius in the Lyons duplicates sell-off of 1831 [C17], but went on eventually to collect thirteen. In other cases an author's works are scattered in various sections of one and the same catalogue, and Pagès seems to mark them all. We cannot, of course, build up a complete picture of acquisition since our only information covers only a small proportion of works from a limited source, but these two instances chosen at random almost thirty years apart are suggestive.

The methods and interests thus revealed largely fail to provide corroboration for Jeantin's assertion that Pagès was out for good editions, even the best, and paid attention to questions such as format and binding, though the evidence cannot be regarded as conclusive. We should, however, mention what was said in the commemorative discourse for Pagès given before the Lyons Linnaean Society in 1841. Having given generic praise to the Pagès library's theological sections, the speaker goes on to mention a less voluminous but precious section on Natural History, especially Botany: 'il avait réuni toutes les publications des pères de cette science, les meilleurs ouvrages des auteurs modernes, et recherchait aussi ceux dont le principal mérite est dans la rareté'.³⁹ While not as positive as Jeantin's presentation, and indeed possibly snide, this does seem to give Jeantin some support. So some qualification needs to be placed against the designation of Pagès as a bibliophile, yet if we accept a distinction between bibliophile and bibliomaniac (bibliomane) on the basis of presence or absence of interest in the content of books, Pagès does end up generically in the category of bibliophile, whatever the details of his interest in form.⁴⁰

It does certainly appear that Pagès's collection was known and that it enjoyed some reputation. We shall see the attitude of the Linnaean Society later. Jeantin⁴¹ speaks of an unsuccessful bid by Bishop Frayssinous (1765-1841), the Sulpician Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs under the Restoration, and very nearly Pagès's exact contemporary, to buy the collection from Pagès. Though in Frayssinous's papers there is no trace of this,⁴² the Sulpician and University connections add some verisimilitude to the notion that some approach

might have been made to Pagès. It is, however, difficult to suggest a date for such a bid. Frayssinous was minister only from 1824 to 1828, and thereafter in the political wilderness. The most likely time for such an approach would be perhaps be after the sacking of Frayssinous's apartment in the Revolution of July 1830, but the years that followed were vagabond years, and from 1838 Frayssinous was a sick man.

Pagès's collection at its 1841 extent numbered some 7,064 works in perhaps as many as twenty thousand volumes. We saw earlier a broad analysis of the subject areas of his documented acquisitions. Working from an analysis of the earliest catalogue, we can say that overall the library's proportions in terms of the conventional categories are: Religious works 43%, History 24%, Law 6%, Sciences 16%, Literature 11%.⁴³ These proportions are not those of a scientific or literary library of the type that was the fashion at the end of the Ancien Régime, and of which we have found examples even among the clergy. If Pagès is to be taken as a moral rigorist, we would not have expected the sort of literary broadmindedness we have seen in the abbé Perrichon, but his interest in botany might have been expected to swell the proportion of scientific works to a level fashionable by 1789. This is not the case. Far rather, Pagès appears on one level to be a respectable priest, forming a professional theological library, with some interest in scientific subjects, especially botany, and dabbling in translations of classical literature. On another level, viewing the historical context, he seems to be among the successors of those whom Mornet found to be still numerous in the last decades of the Ancien Régime, keeping alight the torch of a conservative and traditional culture in opposition to many if not all elements of the Enlightenment movement. As Darnton's image has it, there were among them, as with Pagès, mountainous deposits of traditional culture standing in contrast to a few rivulets of modernity.⁴⁴

Pagès's Use of his Library

In his not overtly sympathetic notice on Pagès in Michaud's dictionary, the Lyonese writer François-Zénon Collombet (1808-1853) tells of the beginnings of Pagès's career in print.¹ Collombet's basic story may well in substance be true, though he misses some significant elements regarding the circumstances, which revolve around Pagès's web of Sulpician contacts. Moreover, as we shall see, Collombet dates the appearance of Pagès in print to 1819, little realizing that Pagès had already entered the public forum as early as by 1801, with the publication of a manuscript of the abbé Jean-Noël Coste.

The abbé Coste was born in Tulle on 29 September 1751, and was parish priest of Hauteffage, now in the Corrèze, when in 1790 he fled into Switzerland and Italy, where he was received by Pius VI. In 1796 Pius appointed Coste apostolic administrator of the see of Tulle, vacant since 1791, and he was en route for his diocese when he died at Ancona on 12 September 1796.²

It seems that Coste had with him on his final journey the draft of a manual for missionaries or travelling preachers, of which other copies or other drafts may have circulated among the numerous exiled French clergy in the Papal States. The copy in his own possession was brought into France by one of his companions, with the intention of having it printed. But in the meantime it circulated in handwritten copies. One of the people to whom it was lent went ahead on his own initiative and printed his copy. All this we know from a publisher's introduction to the so-called third edition.³

The person who published the copy he received on loan can only have been Pagès. Although it cannot at the moment be found, there is no doubt that even in recent decades the Bibliotheca Pagesiana contained a manuscript copy of the work. The library also contains still two copies of the edition put out by Pagès, with its thinly veiled anonymity: 'Corrigé, augmenté et publié par Etienne P** , prêtre du diocèse de Saint-Flour'.⁴ So, Pagès published the manuscript, preempting a printer

who had been lined up (presumably) by the same companion of Coste who brought the manuscript back to France. The third edition speaks of the work having been published in Italy and in France, hence its own claim to be third. The copies I have examined of Pagès's edition all seem to be marked as printed at Rome. However, it is not to be excluded that this was just a printer's ploy, and that the work was in fact printed and distributed in France.

The anonymous printer of the third edition rightly notes that Pagès changed the title, prefixing a main title of his own devising (Manuel), to the original one (Essai). Significantly, he also fails to condemn Pagès for rushing the manuscript into print, concentrating instead on justifying his own edition somewhat hesitantly: 'Quant à nous, qui tenions en quelque sorte de M. Coste lui-même la copie de son manuscrit ...'. To his own edition he adds a laudatory letter of the respected Archbishop of Vienne, Charles-François d'Aviau du Bois-Sauzay (1736-1826), dated 22 September 1800 and addressed in fact to Pagès.⁵ This sounds as though the printer was in some sort of contact with Pagès himself, since the letter does not appear in Pagès's edition and must have been elicited by it. So much for Pagès's first entry into the world of publishing, at the very turn of the century.

A good number of years were then to go by, and Pagès was well into his university career, before he embarked upon his second publishing project, the one noted by Collombet. It seems that Pagès was in contact with Jean-Jacques Cartal (1756-1840), a Sulpician who like Pagès had been educated at Le Puy (c. 1777-1781). Cartal had then been director of philosophers at Saint-Irénée in Lyons in 1785-1789, and after the Revolution had returned to Lyons in 1803 to teach dogma until he retired through ill-health in 1811. This priest possessed a set of notes by another Sulpician, Arnaud Labrunie (1742-1803), also in his time professor at Lyons (1769-1773), and these included a dissertation on the morality of commercial loans. There was at least one other manuscript of 54 pages on this topic by Labrunie, once conserved in the major seminary at Toulouse.⁶

Cartal, who himself had written on the issue,⁷ prompted Pagès to print this work by Labrunie. We do not know at what date he made the suggestion, but in 1817 there had been published a volume entitled Exposition de la Morale chrétienne,⁸ which seems to have been the

provocation. Labrunie's work appeared under Pagès's name and with the title Dissertation sur le prêt in 1819.⁹ The issue was one that was still being debated when the guillotine of the Revolution fell on Ancien Régime France, namely the ethical problem of taking interest on loans. This practice is specifically forbidden in some scriptural texts¹⁰ and the ban was still part of the current teaching of the Church and the law of the land in eighteenth-century France, though a recent study (which draws upon the resources of the Bibliotheca Pagesiana) has demonstrated that among the merchants of Marseilles at least, it was in practice already a dead letter. One of the motives of the merchant classes of Lyons in attempting to prevent the Oratorians in 1763 from taking over the Collège de la Trinité was precisely that they were known to be vociferous in their condemnation of usury, a finesse of conscience that did not appeal to the commercial sector.¹¹

The author of the treatise that came into Pagès's hands had been active before the Revolution, and it might have been expected that in 1819, after such momentous upheaval in Church and society, the question would look a little different. Nevertheless, apparently the little work attracted some interest, and there began a complex and long-lasting controversy that involved a wide variety of partisan questions, locally and nationally, and expressed itself in many pamphlets and extensive commentary in the press. To follow the gyrating byways of these arguments would take us far afield. We shall limit ourselves to tracing the part of Pagès, and that principally in order to focus on his interests and their relation to the library he amassed.

Noting the public interest in his first edition, in 1820 Pagès had it reissued in a second edition almost twice as stout.¹² Interest became sharpened controversy, the views of the treatise being attacked by the writer Antoine Faivre (d. 1844),¹³ and defended against him by the abbé Clément Villecourt (1787-1855), later Bishop of La Rochelle and cardinal.¹⁴ Emboldened by these developments, Pagès put out another edition in 1822, this time adding to the volume a Dissertation sur le contrat de rente and a Discours préliminaire.¹⁵ Fuel was added to the flames by the appearance of a commentary on the controversy by a certain abbé Jean-Baptiste Nolhac, under the title Lettres écrites après la publication de trois brochures (those of Pagès-Labrunie, Faivre and Villecourt). In 1823 came a further reprint of Pagès's main work¹⁶ and also a printing of the Dissertation sur le contrat de rente as a

pamphlet, to which was added a comment on two decisions relating to usury handed down by Cardinal Caprara at Paris.¹⁷ Caprara had been the papal legate invested with vast powers by Pius VII to resolve all problems caused by the Revolution in the period when Napoleon assumed the imperial title. His decisions dealt with many legal and moral quandaries arising from alienation of Church property, marriage of clergy, civil marriage of Catholics, and the like.

In 1826 followed a fourth edition of Labrunie's work, designated now as the first part.¹⁸ From an inserted leaf that Pagès must have had printed, it appears that he sent a copy of this edition to Pope Leo XII and received a brief Latin reply dated 7 June 1826. Though this was couched in blandly polite terms, Pagès must have felt it gave him some prestige. While his work was at the printers, he was attacked fairly viciously by the abbé Julliard, in two brochures with identical titles.¹⁹ However, Pagès made no direct reply, doubtless feeling himself sufficiently justified by the papal Brief. Ten years were to pass before Pagès's next publication, and in the introductory material to his Discours préliminaire of 1838, he speaks of a long and grave illness followed by two years of convalescence, and of the disruptive effect of the advent of the July Monarchy.²⁰ When he did reappear in print it was with a curious piece entitled Notice sur les études longues et profondes qu'il fallait faire anciennement dans la faculté de théologie de Paris pour parvenir au doctorat,²¹ which Collombet claims was written at the request of the education minister.

In 1838 came the fifth edition of Labrunie's work, prompted, it would seem, by further pamphleteering developments elsewhere, including the publication of a piece which Pagès approved of, called Discussion sur l'Usure.²² Now Pagès's work was much amplified and more embattled in tone. Once again public controversy was swift to follow. There was already discontent among local clergy, to the extent that within days of its appearance, the pamphlet's publisher Perisse declined to handle it further.²³ A Canon Challamel of Annecy paid a passing visit to Lyons, only to find Pagès's work, in which he himself was mentioned. Enraged, he wrote a pamphlet on the spot, and it appeared four days later, on 16 October.²⁴

Just at that moment another printer had in hand a stouter pamphlet, also aimed at Pagès. This volley was an anonymous piece De la

grande hérésie du prêtre à l'intérêt signalé par M. Pagès, an attack in 108 pages both on Pagès and on the Lyons vicar general the abbé Cholleton for supporting him.²⁵ This aspect of the controversy embroiled various figures, including the abbé Julliard and the abbé Vuillerme, local parish priests, and the abbé Courbon, late vicar general, and it raked over the still smouldering embers of a bout of earlier controversy in 1829.²⁶ Two neighbouring bishops, Alexandre-Raymond Devie of Belley, and Maurice de Bonald of Le Puy, sent out circulars cautioning against it. Pagès, already smarting under other attacks, received these episcopal interventions with bad humour and replied with a mordant piece under the title Observations, in which he showed himself particularly indignant that Bishop de Bonald of Le Puy had issued his circular merely on the strength of a prospectus for the book.²⁷

The Archbishop Administrator of Lyons, already severely embarrassed, could not let this attack on two respected bishops pass without comment and he reproved Pagès in a printed circular of 26 June 1839. To this Pagès replied in kind on 13 July,²⁸ venturing the surmise that the Administrator's letter had only been signed by him in a moment of inadvertence, and was the work of one of his staff (presumably meaning the abbé Simon Cattet, once Pagès's colleague at the faculty, and later vicar general). The final shots were fired by the abbé Pierre-Denis Boyer (1766-1842), a noted professor at Saint-Sulpice.²⁹ In 1839 came his pamphlet, Défense de l'Église de France contre les attaques de l'auteur de la Dissertation [...],³⁰ then his Lettre [...] à un théologien de province.³¹ In the first, Boyer pays fleeting and ambiguous tribute to Pagès's positive qualities, including austerity of life, and then begins to elaborate an analysis of what Pagès is about and to set forth a rebuttal. The basic thesis is that Pagès is in fact rounding on the whole world, from the state education system to many instances of Church authority. He prints part of a letter from the late vicar general Courbon to the abbé Julliard (presumably of some decade and a half before) that includes a rather clipped but possibly not inaccurate summing up of Pagès when he speaks of 'Les déclamations réitérées ad nauseam d'un professeur qui n'a rien autre chose à faire ...'³² The second Boyer pamphlet is concerned with developing a point regarding the workings of the Roman Curia and scarcely refers to Pagès except to call upon him to 'mettre fin à sa polémique dégénérée en diatribe contre les plus respectable de nos prélats'.³³ Pagès had lived in the shadow of Saint-Sulpice all his days. In the isolation of his

later life he had found support from Cholleton, another pupil of Saint-Sulpice,³⁴ but perhaps now this sustained if for the most part measured broadside from Saint-Sulpice's major theologian hit home. Perhaps his health did not permit further involvement. At any rate Pagès published no more.

It would not be fair to categorize Pagès as the only one to insist on superannuated positions at this period or to present him simply as a crank. As regards publications, for instance, the Jansenistic lawyer Ambroise Rendu, who was later to enter the upper echelons of the Imperial University, had put out a conservative work on the subject,³⁵ and we know of an unpublished Traité sur l'Usure by the former Lyons businessman Alexandre Bergasse (1754-1820) in much the same sense.³⁶ So Pagès was not a lone voice in his age, even if he was one of a small and scattered band, wading against the tide. Writing in the seventeenth century, La Bruyère had fired his refined darts at the anti-usurists, 'Il y a depuis longtemps dans le monde une manière de faire valoir son bien, qui continue d'être pratiquée par d'honnêtes gens, et d'être condamnée par d'habiles docteurs.'³⁷ Bergasse was discouraged enough to abandon the thought of publication, 'parce que je crois que nous prêcherions dans le désert'.³⁸ Pagès would probably have done well to take the same view, though in our own times there would be not a few radicals, Christians and others, ready to give him a hearing.

When it comes to Pagès's character, even the somewhat hostile Collombet speaks of him as a 'bon prêtre', 'd'humeur facile et douce' on all matters except his favourite topic. His polemics were for the most part civilly expressed, and it must be said that it was not rare in those times even for bishops to attack one another in a volley of public letters, so that Pagès's pamphleteering was consonant with the spirit and practice of an age. As to publishing another man's tract under his own name (he did rework at least part of the material), here too he was following a common practice in a still slow-moving and parochial world where manuscripts of that kind were often reused again and again. Many teachers simply read the notes that they had themselves taken from the lectures of their own masters, and many priests preached the sermons they had copied from a predecessor or a more self-confident neighbour. This latter practice was common among the first Marists, and Jean-Claude Colin even forbade Marists to lend sermons to diocesan priests for

copying, in case the texts became so widespread that preachers risked making themselves look ridiculous by using them.³⁹

Let us now examine Pagès's work at its fullest and most original. For the purposes of a sounding here, I have taken the latest and fullest exposé of his views, his Discours préliminaire of 1838. This work runs to over 750 pages of text, much of which consists in the reproduction in extenso of official Roman documents, but in parts it becomes a review of published opinions on a particular point, or a theological argumentation or even a polemic against Pagès's opponents. Our interest is not so much in its line of argumentation, as in the use it makes of earlier literature, and the extent to which this literature is represented in the Pagès library. The precise perspective is, to put the matter the other way round, the use to which Pagès puts the books he has amassed and his possible interest in other books of similar type that he does not possess.

Before beginning a survey, let us note that Pagès in most instances gives very exact references to the pagination of specified editions of an author's work, a fact that greatly facilitates our research. In other cases, for a work as common as Thomas Aquinas's Summa theologica, for example, he refers simply to the numerous standard subdivisions of the work. I have examined each of the instances where he gives a precise reference either in the footnote or the text, and compared these references with the catalogue of Pagès's library. I have not included in the survey individual decrees of the popes, of the Roman curia or of bishops, which abound in Pagès's references, but are mostly very brief items included in larger documentary collections or published as short booklets. The sets of documents of this latter kind that are now to be found in the Bibliotheca Pagesiana bound up in volumes have not been individually listed in the library's available catalogues, and it does not seem worthwhile for our purposes to pursue the labour their inventorying would involve.

Overall, Pagès in his Discours préliminaire makes 182 references to 99 different works that he possesses. He makes a further 31 references to 28 works that given the present state of the catalogue and actual shelving of the works in the Bibliotheca Pagesiana are not discoverable; in fact it is possible that he never owned them. In all,

he refers on a total of 213 occasions to 127 distinct works. We shall concentrate in what immediately follows on the works he possessed.

What are these works he cites ? They vary greatly, but we can make some attempt to group them into categories. First in terms of literary chronology comes Cicero, the only classical author cited. Pagès specifies no separate edition of the exact work, but seems to have possessed two editions of the complete works: a 1661 Elsevier edition and another by Wetsteen of Amsterdam from 1724. Then, after many biblical quotations in Latin, for which he cites no specific editions, comes a parade of Fathers of the Church:⁴⁰ from the West come Cyprian of Carthage, (1; 1726), Ambrose (1; 1689), Augustine (13; 1679), Optatus of Mileve (1; 1700), Leo the Great (2; 1753), Vincent of Lerins (2; 1731 & 1837), Lactantius (1; 1754), Prosper of Aquitaine (1; 1732), and Avitus of Vienne (1; 1643); from the East, Lyon's own illustrious Irenaeus (2; 1710), Origen (1; 1733), Basil the Great (1; 1721), Gregory Nazianzen (1; 1630), Gregory of Nyssa (2; 1638), Theodoret (1; 1642), and John Chrysostom (4; 1718). Generally speaking, references in these cases are to the classic editions, many of them prepared by the Maurists. We may add to them the post-patristic author Rhabanus Maurus (1; 1627) and Hincmar of Rheims (1; 1645).

From the High Middle Ages come authors such as Bernard of Clairvaux (1; 1690), Antoninus (1; 1740), Bernardine of Siena (1; 1650), Pope Innocent III (1; 1682), and Thomas Aquinas. As regards the latter, Pagès quotes almost certainly from the 1582 Turin edition of the Quaestiones quodlibetales (1), but his three explicit references to the Summa theologiae could refer to any one of a variety of editions that he possessed, from the 1594 Venice editions of the 'Opera omnia', to any one of five seventeenth-century editions of the Summa from Paris, Lyons or Cologne, not to mention a variety of annotated and commented texts, all presently in the Bibliotheca Pagesiana.

To these standard monuments, we may add references to classic legal collections such as Gratian's Corpus iuris canonici (1; 1624), and the conciliar collections of Labbe (12; 1671) and Mansi (1; 1748).

From post-medieval authors, Pagès quotes liberally, especially since he is particularly interested in theological controversy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We find repeatedly Benedict XIV's

De Synodo diocesana (6; 1755), his De Canonizatione (1; 1743), and references too many to note to his bullarium (1746). Other authors are Henry of Saint Ignatius (1; 1709), the Dominican Daniele Concina (1686-1756) with his Theologia christiana dogmatico-moralis (2; 1762), Usura contractus trini (2; 1746), and In epistolam encyclicam Benedicti XIV (2; 1746), Brocard of Saint Nicholas (1; 1762), Bishop Louis Abelly, with his Enchiridion (2; 1668) and Sacerdos christianus (1; 1661), Honoré Léotard (1; 1647), Pietro Ballerini (1; 1747), the Jesuits Tirso Gonzalez de Santalla (1624-1705) (2; 1694), Paul-Gabriel Antoine (1; 1779), Franciscus Zech (3; 1751), and Paulus Laymann (1574-1635) (1; 1690), the Dominicans Guillaume Pérault (1; 1668), Fulgenzio Cuniliati (1; 1777), and Charles-René Billuart (1; 1768), the Franciscans Lucio Ferraris (1; 1767) and Anacletus Reiffenstuel (2; 1755), and the Minim Emmanuel Maignan (2; 1673). All these, it will be noted, are ecclesiastical works, covering mostly moral theology and canon law, and written in Latin.

As to move to the later period, we find that with the decline of Latin, and also the opening up to a wider readership of issues relating to commercial practice, vernacular works come into prominence. These, too, are well represented in Pagès's references, with Bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704) heading the list. A great variety of Bossuet's works are referred to, of which most are included in his complete works (19; 1815), though Pagès does also possess a variety of earlier editions of individual works. Then come works of controversy dealing in French mostly with the specific issue of usury: authors such as the Lyonese Jesuit André de Colonia (1; 1675), the abbé Pierre Rullié (1; 1782), the Eudist General Pierre Le Coq (1; 1767), an anonymous writer,⁴¹ (2; 1746), Robert-Joseph Pothier (1; 1777), the Jesuit Jean-Joseph Rossignol (1; 1787), the abbé Le Correur (1; 1684), Louis Bulteau (1; 1671), Paul-Timoléon de la Forest (1; 1777), Jean Domat (1; 1777), the abbé Baronnat (1; 1822), the abbé Brionne (1; 1836), the abbé A. Blazy (1; 1837), Claude-Étienne Delvincourt (2; 1819), the abbé Moralet (1; 1836), and Cardinal César-Guillaume de La Luzerne (8; 1823). To these we should add Italian controversialists such as the Barnabite Cardinal Giacinto Sigismondo Gerdil (3; 1806), Scipione Maffei (6; 1746)⁴² and Marco Mastrofini (1763-1845) (2; 1831).⁴³

Also represented are editions of the Lyons diocese Ritual (1542, 1692, 1724, 1788), the Lyons catechism of 1715, the statutes of the

Tarentaise diocese (1; 1697),⁴⁴ the 1829 Conférences ecclésiastiques of Angers (2) and miscellaneous secondary studies such as Mathieu Souverain on Platonism (1; 1700), Cobbett (in translation) on the Reformation in England (1; 1827), Collet's Vie de Saint Vincent de Paul (1; 1748), the abbé Liévin-Bonaventure Proyart on Bishop Louis d'Orléans de la Motte (1; 1788), and Antoine Touron on Thomas Aquinas (1; 1737). These complement four standard reference works: Jean Pontas's Dictionnaire des cas de conscience (1; 1734); comte Philippe-Antoine Merlin's Répertoire universel et raisonné de jurisprudence (1; 1812), Jacques Quétif and Jacques Echard's Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum (1; 1719); and the abbé Bergier's Dictionnaire de théologie (1; 1826).

Finally, we encounter, somewhat in a category of its own, the pastoral manual of Moral Theology by St Alphonsus de Liguori (1696-1787) in its Latin version (1; 1767).

As to the works which Pagès cites and which we have not traced in the Bibliotheca Pagesiana of our day, they are very largely post-medieval controversy, with the exception of four periodicals, and editions of three minor patristic writers.

This analysis of Pagès's major publication does allow us to gain an impression of the use to which he personally put the library collection that he amassed. The Discours préliminaire shows Pagès sieving through the works at his disposal to put together for printing a documentary file on issues that interest him, quoting liberally from reputable editions. It also shows him referring to secondary works on an author, tracing the publication history of a major work, noting its appendices and supplements, and detailing the jousts of controversy in which its author was involved, identifying the authors of anonymous works, and in general displaying considerable appreciation of the unfolding of public debate in his field, though all of it is with a view to sustaining his own standpoint.

As to the question of the constitution and use of Pagès's library, doubtless there was some interplay for Pagès between the impetus towards buying books he wished to cite in his opus and citing works that he happened to have at hand. However, we can note with some interest that Pagès seems to have had some notion of assembling a controversial arsenal not only for his own immediate use, but as a kind of monument to

his line of argument. For at one point in his Discours préliminaire, he actually declares his readiness to furnish proofs from his library: 'J'ai dans ma Bibliothèque ces éditions originales; et si quelqu'un vouloit par lui-même s'assurer de la vérité, je me ferai un plaisir de les lui communiquer.'⁴⁵ So, we have not only discovered Pagès making use of the theological and legal material in his library, but using the collection itself as a sort of controversial tool.

It is worth noting here that an examination of the chronological periods from which come the 77 identifiable editions that Pagès cites out his own library reveals that 24 come from the seventeenth century, 22 from the first half of the eighteenth century, 19 from the second half, and 12 from the nineteenth century. The total percentages by century are respectively 31, 53, and 16%. If we count in a similar fashion the number of citations of works from each of these periods we find that of 159 citations 51 come from the seventeenth century, 36 from the first half of the eighteenth century, 29 from the second half, and 43 from the nineteenth century. The total percentages by century are respectively 32, 41, and 27%. The citations from the nineteenth century are greatly swollen by 19 citations from an 1815 edition of the complete works of Bossuet (1627-1704). Pagès is using editions in overwhelming proportion (73% by citation, 84% by edition) from the Ancien Régime and the nineteenth century material chiefly concerns controversial works in moral theology. If we recast our calculations to focus on a straight divide at the year 1750, 46 (60%) of editions come from before and 31 (40%) from after, while as to citations, the balance is 87 (55%) against 65 (45%). These are crude measures, but they may suffice to show the extent to which in his own professional field of moral theology Pagès was drawing on pre-Revolutionary resources, and also the weight of his interests there.

Pagès also dabbled in an area outside the theological field, namely natural history. For completeness we need to consider briefly the use made of the section of his library which covers that subject. It must be said straight away that we know of no writings in this field from Pagès's pen. We have seen, however, that he belonged to the Linnaean Society, being one of the founding members and serving as its librarian. Speaking in general of Pagès's collection half a century later, Jeantin says: 'A Lyon, les hommes d'étude aimaient à recourir à cet arsenal scientifique.'⁴⁶ Despite Pagès's offer just noted, Jeantin

may well be exaggerating, yet there is general confirmation as regards the works on botany. In the concluding part of his commemorative discourse on Pagès to the Linnaean Society, Noël-Antoine Aunier says to his fellow members, 'Espérons [que la bibliothèque] ne sortira pas de Lyon, et qu'il serait permis aux amis des sciences que cultivait notre Collègue de les consulter à leur gré.'⁴⁷ This wish does not seem to have been a mere formality, for the Marist general archives house a copy of a reply from the superior general Jean-Claude Colin to the society, giving them assurances on just this point, in terms that are culled directly from those of Aunier: 'Il entre parfaitement dans mes intentions que la précieuse bibliothèque dont nous sommes devenus les propriétaires ne sorte pas de Lyon, et qu'il soit permis aux amis des sciences que cultivait votre Collègue de la consulter à leur gré.'⁴⁸

The Linnaean Society's own library was by no means vast. We have already encountered it in the composite arrangements at the Palais des arts. By 1876, when membership had risen to over 200, the library still numbered only 2,380 volumes, almost 1900 of them gifts of publications made by corresponding societies from France and abroad, and the rest being books, also donated. By way of comparison, the Société d'éducation de Lyon, founded in 1829 and reorganized in 1835, whose president in 1845 was Pagès' younger colleague the abbé Pavy, had by the early 1870's amassed a library of 1,200 volumes, while the Bibliothèque des avocats, refounded in 1810, by the early 1870's held 4,000 volumes. We can set against this the fact that at his death in 1841 Pagès possessed 528 works on Natural History, and 144 works of Civil Law backed by 281 of Canon Law, a total of 425 on Jurisprudence. While Pagès's holding were not vast, they were certainly respectable when compared with these learned societies.⁴⁹

We can say, then, that the library Pagès collected was certainly in active use as a professional library, presumably of use in the devising of Pagès's courses, and certainly in his professional theological writings. Sections covering such activity would include the theological sections in general, together with works treating civil ecclesiastical law, commerce, and the like. On the other hand, Pagès's library is the library of his hobbies and interests, especially in the mathematical and natural sciences. It would seem here that apart from the use to which Pagès himself put it in pursuit of these interests, it

was available also at least to fellow members of the Linnaean Society,
an organization still in existence today.

The Society of Mary: Emergence and Enterprises

We have to this point traced the emergence of the Pagès library against the background of Lyons library history and considered something of its nature and the use made of it by Étienne Pagès himself. Yet the history of the Bibliotheca Pagesiana stretches well beyond the death of its collector, and accordingly it seems well to pick up the threads of its later history and consider the library's role in an altogether new enterprise launched from Lyons and district during Pagès's lifetime but enduring beyond it.

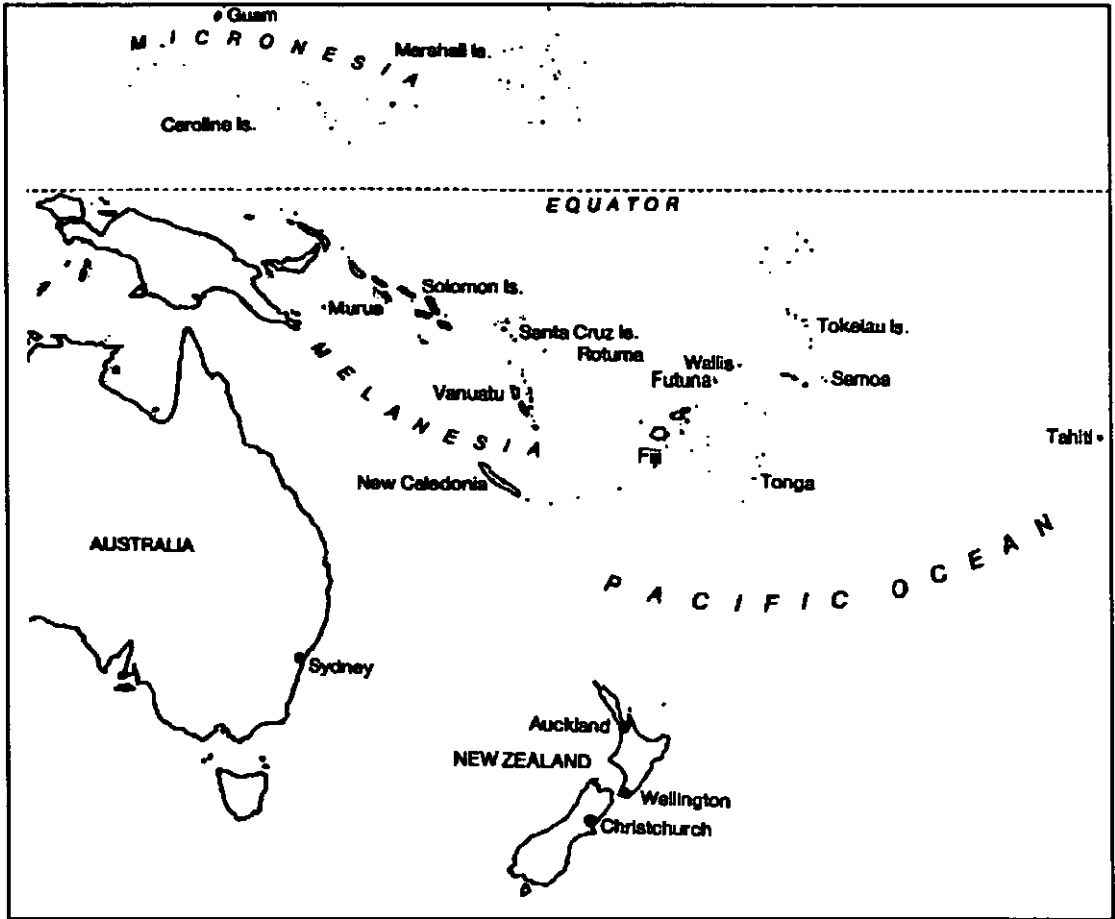
Clearly, the purpose of this study is far removed from the drafting of a history of the Society of Mary. Yet it was the Society of Mary that by the vicissitudes of fate became the custodian of the Pagès library from 1841 to the present day, and hence it is indispensable that we consider first just who the Marists were, so as to be able to discover the interest that the Pagès library might have held for them and the practical use they were able to make of it.

In brief terms we can say that out of the same maelstrom of circumstance that broke in upon the settled inevitability of the career of the twenty-seven year old Pagès came a movement that aimed at the establishment of a new religious congregation. This movement, one of many arising at the time, crystallized around the name Society of Mary. Those involved in it had been caught up in infancy in the upheaval of Revolution and Terror, and had chosen to pursue a life as religious. Their personal stories were diverse, but were destined to have certain points of convergence, one of the most significant of which was the bold programme of education for future priests launched within his vast diocese by the Archbishop of Lyons, Cardinal Fesch. As the outcome of quite heated struggles with the Imperial government of his nephew, Fesch succeeded in establishing and for a time protecting a network of minor seminaries,¹ variously sited at Alix, Argentière, Bourg, Lyons, Meximieux, Montbrison, Roche, and Saint-Jodard, which fed a well-populated major seminary, that of Saint-Irénée in Lyons.

Caught in the net of this campaign to turn out new members for the depleted clergy of the giant diocese, were the boys and young men who were to initiate the Society of Mary. By the end of the school year 1816, a group of some twelve or so young clerics had formed in Saint-Irénée, and on 23 July, the morning after a number of them had concluded their ecclesiastical training with ordination to the priesthood, they all climbed the hillside to the ancient shrine of Notre Dame de Fourvière and made a ceremonial pledge to found the Society of Mary. The group then dispersed, many being sent to the different parishes of the diocese. Some lost contact with the group, others joined it. Collateral branches were formed of teaching Brothers, of Sisters, and of tertiaries or associated lay people. Among the priests, some progress was made towards grouping into common residence, centred especially on the headquarters of the Marist teaching Brothers and upon first a roving band of preachers operating in the Bugey mountains of the Ain, and then later the staff of the diocesan minor seminary of Belley.

In order to be independent of diocesan structures, it was necessary to gain formal approbation from the papal authorities as a religious congregation.² From 1822 a variety of contacts were made with Rome to this effect, but bore little fruit until 1835, when the Roman authorities began to show concern for a missionary thrust in the islands of the Western Pacific, where the maritime Powers were making their presence felt, and where in the wake of the British, various Protestant groups were already establishing themselves. Through a chain of coincidence, interest suddenly focused again upon the as yet partly formed Society of Mary, and after some hesitations on Rome's part, a bargain was struck.³ If the Marists would accept responsibility for the mission of Western Oceania, they would be approved as a fully-fledged religious congregation by papal authority. The papal Brief Omnium gentium salus was issued from Rome on 29 April 1836. In order to comply with it and benefit from it, the Marists had to organize themselves as a religious congregation by electing from among themselves a superior general and each taking the three traditional vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. This they did on 24 September 1836, as a group of twenty clerics from whose number Jean-Claude Colin was elected general. The first missionaries set sail before the end of the same year.

We cannot hope here even to summarize the story of the Marist missionary undertaking in the Western Pacific.⁴ The vast mission



The Marist Mission of Western Oceania
Adapted from John Hosie, Challenge: The Marists in Colonial Australia, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, London, & Boston, 1987, p. 14.

territory the Marists accepted was in Rome called Western Oceania, a name devised to cover an area stretching from New Guinea in the West to Samoa in the East, from the Marianas in the North to New Zealand in the South. A first band of 4 priests and 3 brothers left Le Havre on Christmas Eve 1836 under the leadership of the newly-ordained Bishop Jean-Baptiste Pompallier (1801-1871), who as a young priest had been associated with the Marist project since 1829. The original territory was in the event subdivided successively from 1842, and other bishops appointed, all fully-fledged Marists, while the staffing of the whole mission field was reinforced with successive bands of missionaries from France.

In January 1850 Western Oceania as a whole had a total of 57 clerics and 32 brothers. There was a bishop, a scholastic, 12 priests, and 8 brothers in New Zealand; a bishop, 18 priests, and 9 brothers in Central Oceania (with a further 5 priests, one scholastic and 3 brothers bound for it but still on the high seas); in Melanesia, a bishop, 6 priests, and 3 brothers; in New Caledonia a bishop, 6 priests, and 8 brothers (plus a further 4 priests and a brother en route); and 2 priests at the procure in Sydney. In 1860, after various tragedies and the abandonment of Melanesia, there were one bishop and 10 priests in New Zealand; a bishop and 26 priests in Central Oceania; 17 priests in New Caledonia, and 10 priests in Sydney -- making in all 65 clerics. By 1901 the Society of Mary had sent 445 priests and 40 brothers to Oceania.⁵

To provision this enterprise was clearly a difficult business. Some funds were received from the Holy See's Congregation of Propaganda Fide, and most of the rest came from the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, an enterprise launched by the Lyonese laywoman Pauline Jaricot (1799-1862) and organized and sustained by a number of very competent Catholic laymen in centres at Lyons and Paris.⁶ In many respects they were the successors of the members of the pre-Revolutionary Jesuit-led Congregations, and several of those at Lyons had close links with the Marists. An independent Marist office termed the procure was established in Lyons to process requests from missionaries for material effects, and to liaise with the Association. This liaison included soliciting and editing quantities of missionary letters that were inserted in the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, a regular periodical put out by the Association to sustain the interest of

its benefactors. The psychological needs were in this respect the same as those perceived by Père Auger in the sixteenth century. The Marists involved in this work were of the very highest calibre, none more so than Père Victor Poupinel (1815-1884), who ran the office in Lyons and toured the Oceania mission inspecting conditions, and Père François Yardin (1824-1904), who similarly directed operations from Lyons and was to die in New Zealand.

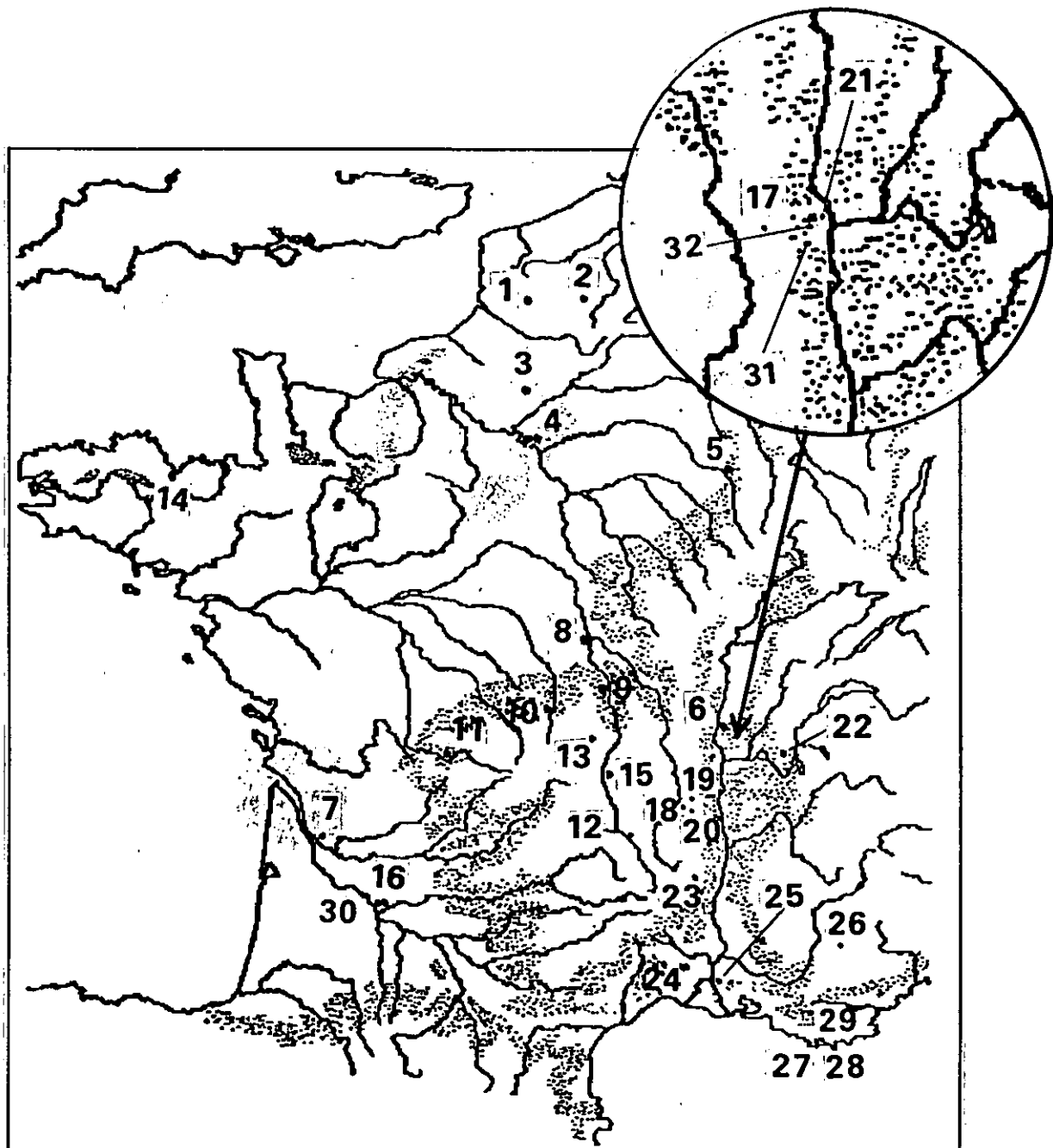
Finally, we have mentioned the connections of the Marists with the Association for the Propagation of the Faith. The Marists attracted to themselves as lay collaborators men and women who were deeply involved in the work of the Association and in the missions. We can give here only two striking indications of the vitality of such groups. Firstly, in November 1845 a lone woman, Françoise Perroton, actually set sail for Oceania despite positive discouragement from Colin. Other women followed, and their courageous presence forced the Marist superiors and bishops to organize what became only in 1931 an independent Marist religious congregation, but remained for 74 years a series of pragmatic groupings of semi-religious under the authority of Marist priests.⁷ The second is that after his religious conversion in 1841, Captain Auguste Marceau (1806-1851), a dedicated Marist layman, served a *Compagnie française de l'Océanie* into which were enrolled the French king and queen, Pope Gregory XVI, fifteen cardinals and eighty-eight bishops. In support of the Oceania mission, Marceau sailed the high seas in his ship the Arche d'Alliance with a crew of pious salts who punctuated their days on board with periodic interludes of prayer.⁸

In weighing the Marist contribution, we should not allow our awareness of the scale of the Western European missionary thrust undertaken by nearly all religious denominations by the latter part of the nineteenth century to cloud our perception of what the Marists did from 1837 onwards. In the early years of the century the missionary activity of the Catholic Church was well nigh stagnant. The Society of Jesus, a major force whose activity in this field we have seen in our consideration of the Collège de la Trinité, had been suppressed in France from 1762 and almost everywhere except in Prussia and the Russian Empire from 1773. It was not restored until 1814. These suppressions occasioned Catholic missions worldwide the loss of first some 200, then 3,000 Jesuit missionaries. Dominance of the high seas by Catholic states had effectively ended in 1713 with the Treaty of Utrecht between

Protestant Britain and Protestant Holland, with consequences for Catholic missionary endeavour. The Revolutionary turmoil and then the Napoleonic campaigns had totally disrupted the despatch of Catholic missionaries, and had brought the seizure of all the funds and properties out of which Propaganda Fide was able to finance its projects. Its revenues had in any case been in a decline that followed that of the Catholic powers Portugal and Spain. In 1800 there were only 500 missionary priests at work throughout the world, and in 1844 still only 1,200. The French Jesuits were fielding only 8 missionaries worldwide in 1829 and only 35 in 1840, though the number had soared to 403 in 1850.⁹ Small as the Marists were in the beginning, they were by no means too small to be of considerable interest to the Holy See.

From early in the July Monarchy individuals such as Lacordaire and Montalembert agitated to lift restrictions in secondary education that imposed everywhere the heavy hand of the University, functioning despite modifications in a manner true to its Napoleonic origins, as a restrictive police system. It is not that clerical religious congregations were completely excluded from secondary education in the years 1830-1850. We have mentioned already that the Marists, though they were not yet at that stage a religious congregation, had early connections with the Belley College, a mixed establishment that was legally classed as a minor seminary but in fact also served the town as a boys' day-school. In 1829 Jean-Claude Colin became its head, and over the years that followed the small staff of priests and aspirant clerics became almost exclusively Marist. In 1836 the Marists abandoned effective control, leaving only one of their men on the staff, but two years later took it up again and retained it until 1845. From 1834 to 1840 the second Marist house in Belley, the former Capuchin Franciscan convent La Capucinière, sheltered a tiny Marist-run boarding school for the Belley bourgeoisie.¹⁰ In their recruitment the Marists had also acquired men with some educational experience.

In 1845 the Marists started a new venture, opening a school in their premises at Valbenoîte. The venture was fronted by Père Alexis Cormiolle-Delaunay, who as one of a group of laymen associated with the Society of Mary had run a small school at La Favorite, an outlying location to the South West of the Lyons city centre. Two years later, in 1847, the Marists went on to assume direction of the run-down municipal



Some Marist Houses in 19th Century France

- | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Amettes | 13. Riom | 22. Belley |
| 2. Valenciennes | 14. Saint-Brieuc | 23. Aubenas |
| 3. Senlis | 15. Brioude | 24. Rochefort du Gard |
| 4. Paris | 16. Agen | 25. Arles |
| 5. Bar-le-Duc | 17. La Neylière | 26. Digne |
| 6. Chaintré | (near Lyons) | 27. Toulon |
| 7. Verdélais | 18. Valbenoîte | 28. La Seyne (Toulon) |
| 8. Nevers | (St-Etienne) | 29. Montbel |
| 9. Moulins | 19. Saint-Chamond | 30. Bon-Encontre (Agen) |
| 10. Montluçon | 20. Hermitage | 31. Sainte-Foy-lès-Lyon |
| 11. Limoges | (La Valla) | 32. La Favorite (Lyon) |
| 12. Langogne | 21. Puylata (Lyon) | |

college of Langogne, a village of some 3,000 inhabitants. In March 1849, after three years of legal preliminaries, they opened a little boarding school at their residence at La Seyne-sur-Mer near Toulon.¹¹

Nevertheless the legal status of such undertakings was precarious, and there were a number of severe restrictions on the teaching of senior pupils, coupled with taxes on school fees. Accordingly Colin had taken a keen interest in the Church's campaign for educational freedom of 1842-1843 and was to show himself ready to profit from the opportunities that presented themselves.¹²

In March 1850, with the July Monarchy gone, and the Prince-President feeling his way to an imperial throne, the projects of earlier years came to fruition with the passing of the Falloux Law, opening the way for clerical religious congregations in general to enter secondary education. It has been calculated that over a thousand 'free' schools were created in the space of four years. The Jesuits geared themselves to take on 11 colleges, refusing 52 others.¹³ The Marists accepted two former municipal colleges, at Saint-Chamond in 1850 (transferring there the foundation existing at Valbenoîte), and in 1853 at Brioude, and likewise in 1853 they founded a new college at Montluçon. Numerous other schools were refused.

These were small schools, totalling in 1853-1854 some 520 pupils, of which the largest establishment was at La Seyne, with 140. Yet the commitment to them in terms of Marist personnel was high -- 73, a teacher-pupil ratio of little over 1 : 7, which was probably further enhanced by the occasional presence, as at Valbenoîte, of Marist scholastics near to ordination and sent there to gain pastoral experience. This high staffing level we may take as an index of Marist seriousness in systematically building up a presence in education.

It is by no means the only index. Already in 1850 Père François Morcel (1813-1892) was appointed director of studies with a brief to tour the Marist schools inspecting standards. But more especially in September 1850 the Marists geared themselves to the changed circumstances and the launch of their reinvigorated educational enterprise with five days of special study session at Puylata, involving superiors and directors of Marist schools, the Society's principal officers, and a number of other men destined to be associated with

education. The programme included study groups on the planning of syllabuses, the use of gymnasia, and various other topics. A basic working text in thirty pages had been drafted by Colin himself. It was worked and reworked in the course of the group meetings and general sessions. At the end of the week, having satisfied himself that a common mind had been arrived at, Colin collected and destroyed all written drafts so as not to hamper flexibility of development in a nascent enterprise.¹⁴

As early as 1829 Colin had drafted a *modus operandi* for the College at Belley, and its principles were doubtless largely common practice among Marists from then on.¹⁵ As to the main points covered in the 1850 conferences, it seems likely that their substance eventually found its way into print in a work entitled Programme d'enseignement des collèges de la Société de Marie, published in 1865 by Père Gabriel Germain (1820-1880), whose text in turn was later developed into the unfinished Règlement d'un collège chrétien, which circulated in proof in 1868.¹⁶ The same general lines were definitively fixed when incorporated into the Marist Constitutions as the article De Puerorum Educatione in Collegiis after 1873.¹⁷

Part of these general principles codified a distinctive Marist approach, a humane manner that aimed at a family atmosphere permeated with a Christian practice that was relaxed without being diluted.¹⁸ Links were created between the various Marist schools, there were regular visits of Marist superiors and departing or returning missionaries, and exploits of the missionaries were closely followed. There are many reminiscences here, of course, of the running of the Collège de la Trinité in its Jesuit days. While university degrees among Marist educators at the period were rare, as throughout secondary education at the time, results open to outside validation were generally good, and the Marist Fathers' reputation for education soon spread, doubtless enhanced by the increasingly massive presence in the field of the Marist teaching Brothers, who were juridically separated from the priests only in 1851. Eventually other schools were to follow in a wider and wider radius, such as that at Arles (the Marist staff were moved from Langogne in 1855), Toulon (1856), Riom (Marist staff and numerous pupils transferred from Brioude in 1856), Bar-le-Duc (1859), Dundalk in Ireland (1861), Dublin (1867), Senlis (1869), Limoges (1885), Battincourt in Belgium (1887). To these schools we can add the minor

seminaries owned by the dioceses and run by Marists at Digne (1853-1870) and Aubenas (1879-1895).¹⁹ By way of general comparison we may note that all in all in 1878-1879 Jesuits ran 27 schools in France with a combined staff of 732 Jesuit priests catering for 10,128 boys.²⁰

A double class apart were the establishments that were classed as seminaries: minor seminaries covering much the same age-range as secondary schools, and catering for boys already considering the priesthood; and major seminaries, for tertiary level students embarking upon the actual courses leading to orders. By their nature these establishments were set up and moderated by the dioceses. We have seen some of the struggle to establish them in pre-Revolutionary days in the Lyons diocese. In the nineteenth century they often presented practical problems for bishops of small dioceses, and a solution then as in previous centuries was to confide their running to a congregation of priests. The Marist educational apostolate had begun in the minor seminary cum college of Belley, for which, as we have said, the Society of Mary had varying responsibility from 1829 to 1845. In 1853 it also accepted the minor seminary of Digne. More weightily still, it took on successively the major seminaries of Moulins (1847), Digne (1849), Nevers (1852), Agen (1854), and Saint-Brieuc (1860). Colin's intention was in part that of promoting theological studies in the Society of Mary and creating a pool of experienced personnel.²¹ Yet coming in addition to their own formation houses, this was a not inconsiderable enterprise for the Marists to support. To take some brief statistics, we can note that in 1850 nine Marist priests were active in diocesan seminaries, while in 1860 this had doubled. In those same years there were respectively 14 and 21 men teaching in Marist formation houses, making totals involved in the direction of priestly and religious training of 25 and 39 men.

Later, the Marists were to continue to build upon what with enthusiasm Colin had launched, and in this they were notably successful. Despite the setbacks of 1880, and although it was unknowingly on the threshold of still more ferocious persecution, the Society of Mary in 1900 maintained in France alone 192 priests in schools and tertiary houses of formation, out of 300 priests in France, and 729 throughout the world, percentages running at 64% and 26%. In 1950 some 58% of the 305 Marist priests in France were still engaged in some level of

education, including the servicing of 13 secondary schools and an apostolic school.²²

Finally, to complete our panorama of works undertaken in France, we should note that the Marists had begun pastoral work in common in 1825 in the form of parish missions in the poor and isolated parishes of the Bugey region near the Piedmontese border. It was a work that they continued in various forms, maintaining numbers of men who spent the winter months travelling in small bands preaching in country parishes, and returning to base during the summer in order to rework their sermons, study, pray intensively, and rest. To accommodate such men, residences were established at Puylata (1837), Marcellange (1842-1845), Agen (1843-1846), Moulins (1845), La Seyne (near Toulon, 1845-1849), Bon-Encontre (near Agen, 1847), Valenciennes (1852), Toulon (1852), La Neylière (near Lyons, 1852), Riom (1853), and Saint-Brieuc (1861), while there were other ventures, sui generis, such as the existence from 1843 of a house in Paris that was used as a staging post for general business, especially the passage of missionaries, and as a base for Marists acting as preachers and confessors to nuns (1843). There was also a poor parish and mission procure in the East End of London (1850), a French national chaplaincy in London (1865), a college of confessors at the Parisian church of Notre-Dame des Victoires (1862-1871), a shrine and country parish at Verdélais (1838), at Rochefort du Gard (1846) and at Amettes (1862). From many houses Marists served as chaplains to hospitals, workhouses, barracks, groups of workers, or of pious women, and the like. In this connection we should note that beyond the scope of activity concerned with the support of the foreign missions, the Marists attracted to themselves lay collaborators organized in spiritual groups and men and women caught up in numerous charitable and pious works.

Something of the extent of this lay Marist penumbra, especially in Lyons, but also in other locations, has been documented recently.²³ The full story remains to be written. There was already in the 1830's the group of 'tertiary Brothers' who ran the school at La Favorite, and there was a grouping known as the 'Christian Virgins'. These were both bodies of lay Marists, consciously living according to Marist principles. In addition there were numerous pious groupings under the direction of the Marists: such as the networks for Eucharistic adoration by night in the home, for prayer for the clergy, for young workers engaging in charitable works and catechesis of children, and the Oeuvre

des Hospitaliers-Veilleurs, founded the year after the demise of the Jesuits in 1763 and embracing various sections who engaged in prayer, taught catechism or visited the sick and the imprisoned. By 1896 there were calculated to be 800 members of the various Third Order groups around Lyons, plus over 6,000 in Eucharistic adoration, to say nothing of the others. Similar works were to develop at Paris.²⁴

As regards the 'First Order', in 1854 there were in Europe some 73 priests working in schools, 25 in seminaries, 17 in Marist formation houses, and 78 in residences engaged in a variety of works, a total of 193, plus the 60 labouring in Oceania. Already between 1836 and 1850, 387 novices had entered novitiates in Belley and Lyons, and figures were to mount so that by 1901 some 2120 novices had entered Marist novitiates as clerics, and 402 as brothers. We should also note that between 1836 and 1854, Père Colin was obliged to turn down at least thirty-two foundations of colleges, missionary residences and seminaries throughout France together with proposals from abroad, at Glasgow, Plymouth, Limerick and Galveston in Texas.²⁵

There were already glimmerings of international openings beyond France and even beyond the Oceania mission. As early as 1842-1846 the Belley house had been training two Spaniards, one Hanoverian, two Italians, a Swiss and four Irishmen.²⁶ With wider international contacts, the need of English-speaking personnel for British colonies in Oceania (eventually also German-speaking Marists for German colonies), and with the contacts that came from presences in the British Isles, the United States, Italy, Belgium, and Spain, this non-French intake was to expand, but the French-speaking element was dominant throughout the century, and whatever restrictions there might be on activity in France at different periods, it was from France that the recruits continued to flow in numbers, and the predominant culture remained that of France.

Marist Aims and Study Programmes

The Papal Nuncio, Vincenzo Macchi (1770-1860), writing in 1826 of the situation in France, gave as his assessment of the clergy that, 'En toute vérité on peut dire que la France n'a jamais eu de pasteurs plus édifiants et plus vertueux. On pourrait seulement souhaiter qu'ils fussent plus doctes et plus instruits.'¹ A generation that had partaken in the turmoil of the Revolution had suffered in its intellectual training as in other ways. Of that generation were the first Marists.

They had trained largely at the reborn séminaire Saint-Irénée, which from the suppression of the Sulpicians in 1808 had been staffed by a very young group of diocesan priests. However, since these were Sulpician-trained, they carried forward the Company's traditions. Among the staff in the 1810's were Pagès's pupil Mioland and Pagès's later confessor Cholleton, who also lent his support to the young would-be Marists. With a staff of 6 deputed to cater for a student body of 240, it was inevitable that there would be limitations on the quality of education imparted.² The Revolution had already disrupted the elementary education of many, a fact which rendered somewhat halting their progress through studies conducted for a major part in Latin. No one was more alive to these problems than Cardinal Fesch, who for all his efforts to raise the standard of the seminaries had from the outset taken a pragmatic approach: 'Il vaut mieux que le champ du Seigneur soit labouré par des ânes que de demeurer en friche.'³

Jean-Claude Colin, the driving force behind the Marists in later years, was more than conscious of the limitations of the education he had received. His difficulties in approaching pastoral problems often reminded him of it in his early years as a curate in the Cerdon hill country (1816-1825). However, there was a local resource, in the shape of a private library owned by the local mayor, who was said to have inherited it from a priest uncle. Colin made eager use of this, poring over mariology and moral theology sometimes as late as two o'clock in the morning.⁴ It is not surprising, therefore, that in the extant drafts of early Rules for the Society of Mary made by Colin in this period, the

question of studies was not by any means overlooked. The principal tasks of the superior general are defined to include the fostering of studies, and the very earliest surviving text speaks of instruction in Sacred Scripture, the Church Fathers, Theology, Philosophy, Mathematics, History, Literature and Languages.⁵ Such interest was later to become a common concern throughout the French Church, but not at this early date. In 1825 the government agreed to provide 300,000 francs for the foundation of an institute of higher ecclesiastical studies, but if the nuncio and the government were convinced, the bishops were not, and the grant was never taken up.⁶

When the Society of Mary was formally constituted and Colin elected to the post of General in 1836, we find him in his draft Rules and his exhortations promoting the question of studies with some vigour. To take but a few examples, in 1843 he decreed a year of studies for all Marists, which meant a campaign of especial intensity during the summer: 'Pendant cet été, (1843) ah! j'ai tenu l'épée dans les reins à nos confrères, et pour la théologie et pour la prédication à la fin ils n'en pouvaient plus. On a donné un bon coup de collier.'⁷ In 1847, doubtless prompted by the prospect of increased entry of the Marists into secondary education, Colin undertook a number of measures, including a further personal campaign of exhortation to study. Speaking of the lack of learning of its first members, he remarked, 'La Société devait commencer ainsi [i.e. with those lacking sustained education]. Mais sans la science elle est perdue; je n'ai pas foi à son avenir sans la science.'⁸ Moreover, it seems that it was in August that year that he decided to subscribe to three sets of Migne's patrology,⁹ and launched an appeal to the various houses to finance this step: 'Il faut revenir à l'étude des pères.'¹⁰ In the selfsame year, presumably during the summer recess, he led a two-month campaign on French grammar: 'Quant au style, aujourd'hui tout le monde écrit bien. Pour la grammaire française, la plus petite demoiselle qui a reçu un peu d'éducation possède sa langue à fond et remarquera toutes les fautes que fait un prêtre dans son sermon.'¹¹

The subscription to the patrologies was part of a number of measures concerning book resources. In 1844, at a time when the house at Belley could scarcely pay for food, he had nevertheless encouraged the purchase of books, and promised an annual financial subsidy for that purpose.¹² In October 1847 he arrived at La Favorite in the company of

the superior of the school at Valbenoîte, and proceeded to select from the house library -- not, the contemporary Marist chronicler Mayet stresses, from the Pagès collection, which was sacrosanct -- a large quantity of books likely to be of use to the younger Marists teaching at Valbenoîte and to their pupils, 'des ouvrages de tous les genres, de littérature, d'histoire, de science, d'histoire naturelle, des livres en langues étrangère, enfin de toutes sortes; il y joignit aussi des livres de piété, d'ascétique, des vies de saints [...]'.¹³ Typically, he made use of the occasion to give an impromptu exhortation to the members of the La Favorite community:

Sans livres nous ne ferons rien du tout. Nous sommes sans cesse à dire qu'il faut que nous devenions savants, que nos jeunes maristes s'instruisent. Mais ce n'est pas en creusant dans leurs têtes qu'ils s'instruiront. Qu'y trouveront-ils? Il faut des livres. Qui veut la fin veut les moyens. C'est une économie mal entendue que de ne pas avoir de livres.¹⁴

Jeantin summed up Colin's general practice in glowing terms:

Ami de bons livres et partisan des fortes études, non seulement le R. P. Colin ne résistait pas aux demandes, que lui exprimaient les professeurs, d'avoir tels et tels ouvrages de grande valeur, mais encore il allait au devant de leurs désirs. On le voyait, malgré ses occupations sans nombre, aller lui-même chez les libraires qu'il savait bien fournir en livres anciens, et faire des acquisitions qui s'élevaient à des sommes considérables. C'est ainsi que les scolasticats de la Société recevaient de sa libéralité les grands théologiens, les grands commentateurs de l'Écriture Sainte, les grands Canonistes, les Pères de l'Église, les Mystiques principaux, etc., etc. Quand il arrivait dans une maison, il aimait lui-même à lire les auteurs qui traitent à fond les matières dont ils parlent, et priait le bibliothécaire de lui apporter les ouvrages dont il avait besoin, pour élucider une question qui le préoccupait.¹⁵

Colin himself had given an eloquent rationale of the drive for educational standards in 1846, when he was grappling with the problem of a course of higher studies at Puylata. He remarked publicly:

Oui, pour faire le bien aujourd'hui il faut beaucoup plus d'instruction qu'avant la révolution. Il y a beaucoup d'incrédules, et ces incrédules ont de l'instruction sur toutes sortes de choses, excepté sur Dieu; car ce qui est de Dieu on l'ignore complètement. Il faut donc que le clergé se tienne à leur hauteur, pour s'en faire écouter et les ramener. On peut même dire qu'aujourd'hui la connaissance de la physique, des Mathématiques, de la chimie et des sciences du temps est nécessaire pour la chaire. Autrement on avance sur ces matières en chaire une chose hasardée qu'on aura lue dans un livre, -- que les récentes découvertes auront laissé en arrière: un jeune homme se trouvera là (et aujourd'hui les jeunes gens apprennent toutes ces sciences), et il s'en va en méprisant le prédicateur.¹⁶

In other words, the acquisition of a proper education was not simply in order to fulfill formal requirements of certain teaching posts, but was in view of a deeper religious and cultural task: 'Les philosophes

attaquent aujourd'hui de toutes leurs forces le Christianisme par leurs systèmes. Il faut donc s'instruire; le temps est venu.'¹⁷ For all that he may not have been original, Colin was certainly energetic in trying to provide a remedy.

On the issue of the publication of books by Marists, Colin was always in favour of it, departing in this from the views of one of his models, St Vincent de Paul.¹⁸ He later encouraged Père Jean-Joseph Huguet (1812-1884), a prolific composer of pious works,¹⁹ and spoke of leaving men in posts such as novice master long enough for them to perfect their courses and then publish them.²⁰ In fact until 1853 it seems that no Marist published a book, partly no doubt by sheer circumstance, but also partly probably as a matter of policy to avoid attracting unwelcome public notice. The life of Pierre Chanel by Père Antoine Bourdin, for example, completed in about 1844, was blocked by Colin and not published until 1867. From the beginning of Julien Favre's generalate in 1854, however, an increasing number of Marists did go into print, and in 1866 the General Chapter provided detailed regulations in seven paragraphs.²¹ As to a catalogue of books written by Marists, only partial lists exist.²² However, for the period prior to 1900 I have been able to identify 383 works, which while perhaps not complete, probably indicates the general magnitude of production.

Certainly, it cannot be said that the Marists of nineteenth-century France produced theologians or other academics of great renown. Although Colin was to say in the late 1860's that he was in favour of accepting university teaching posts, such had not been the policy of his generalate, it did not become a practical possibility till the year of his death, and it was not the thrust of Marist efforts.²³ Their aims were practical, and they had no goal of establishing themselves at the forefront of scholarship for its own sake, a position they were content to leave to other groups such as the Jesuits.²⁴

So far we have spoken largely of pragmatic undertakings. Yet the Society of Mary had come into existence not simply as a kind of administrative grouping for the convenient practical organization of a certain number of priests, but because a group of men who were in a sense largely catered for in this respect by existing structures resolved to step outside those structures in order to pursue a defined range of goals. It would be the role of theological and spiritual

literature to define those goals at any great length. However, we need to summarize here something of their general lines.

Despite their early Bourbonist fervour,²⁵ the Marists soon realized the need to distance themselves from the crassly triumphalistic manifestations of the restored alliance of Throne and Altar,²⁶ which often fostered deeper resentment in the people. An approach was evolved which spoke of personal spiritual depth. The words of a circular from the Oratorian General on 25 May 1746, urging his men to 'fuir ce qui brille, à ne chercher que l'édification et la sanctification',²⁷ were close to Colin's instincts. The approach was also psychologically and politically astute. The opposition to the Jesuits was massive in France in the first half of the century, and a great polemic was unleashed against them in the July Revolution of 1830.²⁸ The last thing the Marists needed was publicity of this sort.

The Marists in fact had a developed view of the Jesuits. The whole genesis of the idea of the Society of Mary was bound up with a contrasting parallel with the Society of Jesus. Jean-Claude Courveille, one of the first promoters of the idea of a Society of Mary, in an experience at Le Puy in 1812 felt that the Virgin Mary was telling him:

Comme, dans le temps d'une hérésie affreuse qui devait bouleverser toute l'Europe, il suscita son serviteur Ignace pour former une société qui porta son nom en se nommant Société de Jésus et ceux qui la composaient Jésuites, pour combattre contre l'enfer qui se déchainait contre l'Église de mon divin Fils, de même je veux, et c'est la volonté de mon adorable Fils, que dans ces derniers temps d'impiété et d'incrédulité, il y ait aussi une société qui me soit consacrée, qui porte mon nom et se nomme la Société de Marie ey que ceux qui la composeront se nomment aussi Maristes [...]²⁹

The Jesuits had arisen in answer to the crisis of the Reformation, yet while the Marists regarded the Jesuits highly from the point of view of their dedication and corporate effectiveness, and excluded any sort of anti-Jesuit polemics, they were determined to adopt a very different style, the essence of which was what would be called nowadays a low profile, coupled with an eirenic spirit. As Colin put it one day, speaking of the Jesuits, 'Je les vénère; mais ce qui est bon en un temps n'est pas bon pour l'autre; ce peut être bon en soi; ce n'est pas toujours bon pour nous.'³⁰

Finally, the Marists saw the complex currents of Gallicanism, which had in various ways asserted the independence of the Church of France from the authority of Rome, as part of the rot of the Church of the Ancien Régime. Its theology was suspect, tainted with Jansenism, and barren, and on the principle of 'by their fruits you shall know them' it could not be absolved from contributing to the outbreak of what the Marists saw as an orgy of godlessness, the French Revolution. With the French bishops, the Marists would be unfeigningly respectful and cooperative, but they saw in Rome the guarantor of a sure theology and a balanced view of Christian realities. While there was nothing to be gained and everything to lose from poor relations with the local bishops, the Marists' affective and intellectual pipeline was to Rome.

His own interior struggles had sensitized Colin to man's need for divine mercy, and his experience in dealing with the intimate problems of both simple country people and the sophisticates of the bourgeoisie brought home to him the universality of such need and the utter inappropriateness of the rigorous positions on moral theology that he himself had been taught in the seminary.³¹ God would meet the superabundance of evil in the present age with a superabundance of mercy, 'C'est le règne de la miséricorde; la miséricorde ici est sans limites. La justice aura son cours dans l'autre monde.'³² We have Colin's commentary on the notorious case of the Comte de Montlosier, who in 1838 was rejected by the Church on his deathbed because of his unwillingness to make public retraction of a vigorous polemical work he had written against the Jesuits. Colin avoided direct criticism of the Church authorities, but said nevertheless, 'Je ne sais pas ce que j'aurais fait, mais j'aime mieux que ce soient d'autres qui aient agi de cette manière que si c'était moi. Voilà cependant une âme qui, au moment d'entrer dans son éternité, a été poussée à bout, et qui sans cela se serait peut-être sauvée.'³³ For Colin mercy was not in any way toleration of moral laxity, but a conviction that to show acceptance and encouragement of the person in all the imperfection of their present situation is the channel for communication of a divinely given strength for moral improvement.

Although Colin himself came upon it only in his thirties, and many of his companions even later in life, there was afoot in those years a movement of change in moral theology. The master to whom the clergy were slowly to rally, in France as elsewhere, was the founder of the

Redemptorist Fathers, St Alphonsus de' Liguori (1696-1787), who championed a more humane attitude that took less account of manuals of philosophical rules, and more of the facts of human weakness. This pastor-theologian came to have the support of official opinion in Rome, and to gain increasing influence in France. In the diocese of Belley, where many of the first Marists were active, the new trend was espoused by Bishop Alexandre-Raymond Devie.³⁴ It was from Devie that Colin took his enthusiasm for Liguorian doctrine. He subsequently made use of visits to Rome to confirm the trend of Liguori's teaching, and made strenuous efforts to inculcate it in the Society of Mary, opposing those Marists who questioned it, and supporting those who promoted it. This was never more the case than when in the summer of 1843 Colin organized a series of talks for Marists on moral theology.³⁵

Another matter on which Colin adopted a decisive viewpoint related to liturgy. France still had a variety of liturgies, many stemming from Gallican if not Jansenist currents in Ancien Régime France. The Roman liturgy was being promoted as the sound alternative by some of the same people who were diffusing the works of Liguori, including the abbé Thomas Gousset, later Archbishop of Rheims, and the abbé Prosper Guéranger, later Abbot of Solesmes and the founder of the Liturgical Movement, which Gousset supported. Both were estranged disciples of Félicité de Lamennais. Colin's backing for Guéranger was nothing short of vehement, and while largely based on ultramontane theological grounds, also implied support for a whole enterprise of historical scholarship launched by the liturgical movement, and which had immense practical consequences into modern times.³⁶

The early Marists adopted the same means as the rest of the clergy in supplementing what they had received in their seminary years with a variety of in-service training, generally referred to as 'conferences'. These were a sort of discussion group where after an exposé by one of the company, the others debated the points raised. Such exercises were being promoted by the French bishops, including those of Lyons and Belley, in the 1820's and 1830's, and the itinerant Marist preachers during their rest periods devised similar sessions for themselves and conducted them at times daily and at length. The conferences were enshrined in successive drafts of the Rule and were a constant in Marist practice at least through the nineteenth century.³⁷

These were rudimentary measures, however, which could not substitute for a full formal training programme. For a religious order or congregation this training is traditionally divided into two stages: the novitiate, a year of spiritual formation; and the scholasticate, for those who are destined for the priesthood, and consisting in theological courses and some instruction in the practicalities of priestly ministry.

In its earliest years the Society of Mary, not yet formally approved as a religious order, maintained no novitiate programme in a formal sense. In so far as it was already a recognizable body with a central superior, it was recruiting both priests and non-priests. These latter, if they were destined for the priesthood, had to be catered for as far as the completion of their theological studies (scholasticate) was concerned. After the formal act of constitution of the Society of Mary as a religious order on 24 September 1836, membership was no longer by casual association but by vows, and provision had to be made for a novitiate to prepare in future for the taking of such vows. Once the news of the approbation was received, this became a pressing preoccupation,³⁸ and rightly. In ten years that followed the Society of Mary would recruit 150 members and in the 64 years to the turn of the century would receive into spiritual and theological formation no less than 2400 candidates to its ranks.³⁹

By virtue of an arrangement made with the Belley diocese on the strength of property they had inherited, the Marists took possession of the former house of the Capuchin Franciscan friars in Belley in November 1832.⁴⁰ As we have seen, from 1834 to 1840 this house sheltered a small boarding school, and alongside it was an embryonic scholasticate, inaugurated by theology courses taught by Père Jean-Baptiste Chanut (1807-1875). La Capucinière functioned thereafter as both novitiate and scholasticate, until 1860, when the novitiate transferred to the new house at Sainte-Foy-lès-Lyon. It continued as a scholasticate till the expulsions of 4 November 1880, and was to survive as a Marist house until 1958. Up to 1846, however, philosophy was studied at the Belley College, after which courses were given at La Capucinière itself. As in most other seminaries of the time, the philosophy course lasted one year and theology three years.⁴¹

After the troubled events of the 1848 Revolution, it was decided to open a further house, to serve as an annex to Belley.⁴² This

functioned first with a maximum of a dozen or so students from 1848 to 1853 at Bon-Encontre, near Agen, a house already in existence as a residence for itinerant Marist missionaries from the previous year. From there, the annex was subsequently transferred in 1853 to Montbel. Belley and Montbel until 1880 received between them almost all French scholastics, apart from a few who went to Dundalk after 1861. In 1880 the expulsions caused the Marists to send their students over the French borders in various directions, and foundations were eventually made in Italy, Spain and England for formation purposes.

These arrangements concerned the training of those who entered the Society of Mary as laymen, and therefore needed to begin or complete a full course of ecclesiastical studies. However, at this early period many entered the Society of Mary as priests, and did not need to study theology proper. For these a novitiate was opened in rented property on the montée Saint-Barthélemy at Lyons in 1836, shortly after the constitution of the Society of Mary. This early novitiate did not function in an altogether strict fashion, and the novices were involved to some extent in active ministry. In 1838, when the lease on this first property expired, the priest-novices moved to the nearby house known as Puyлата, which the Society of Mary purchased that year.

A country house on the edge of Lyons, known as La Favorite, had been in the Marist ambit since August 1833, when it was bought for a small school run by a group of dedicated laymen linked to the Society of Mary. The school closed at the end of the academic year 1840-1841, the property passed to the Society of Mary, and the priests' novitiate was transferred from Puyлата that autumn. The general location had been considered as a possible novitiate for the Society of Mary as early as 1836, and it was in fact used as such from 1841 till 1855. The first superior of the La Favorite novitiate was Père Jean Cholleton, the former Lyons vicar general, who had encouraged the setting up of the former school, and had recently himself become a Marist.⁴³

We gain some impression of the way the venture was viewed by those entering the novitiate from a surviving letter of one of them, Gilbert Roudaire (1813-1852), describing the delights of the house itself, with its garden laid out by Le Nôtre. He presents the house's new function as a novitiate as being in direct continuity with its previous service as a school and centre for earnest laymen and depicts the 'company' of the

novitiate as being drawn from the same kind of professional men: 'des notaires, des peintres, des mecaniciens, des ingénieurs, qui s'étant dégoûtés du monde veulent servir Dieu en devenant prêtres. Ils font leur théologie; on reçoit avec plaisir des personnes de cette sorte.'⁴⁴ This account reads almost as if stress being is laid upon that fact that these enterprising professional laymen and others of their class are now transforming themselves into Marist priests. It is not to be discounted that such a group would have had a particular interest in the Pagès library. One of the original group at the school, Jean-François Viennot (1797-1877), an established notary of some means, had already entered the Society in 1839 and donated to it an estate and house at Marcellange in the Allier. A decade later he bought for the Marists the estate of La Neylière in the Lyonnais.⁴⁵ It may even be that he also had a hand in financing the acquisition of the Pagès library.⁴⁶

As it happened, the La Favorite novitiate was relatively short-lived. In 1855 the Marists took possession of a chateau at Chaintré outside Mâcon, that had been donated by two new recruits, the brothers Félicien and Augustin de Verna (1816-1866, 1823-1886), and transferred to it their novitiate, reselling La Favorite to the Demoustier family.⁴⁷ Chaintré, too, was to function only briefly for this purpose, for in 1860 a large purpose-built establishment was opened at Sainte-Foy-lès-Lyon, on the hilly outskirts of Lyons. It was eventually to meet various needs, but initially it provided a single novitiate for those all those entering the Society, whether as priests or young clerics or laymen. It was to this house that the Pagès Library was to be transported, but relatively late -- in 1879 -- and there housed in special accommodation built for it. Aside from the interruptions caused by government persecutions and by wars, Sainte-Foy was in various forms to remain a major centre for the education of Marists for over a century. From 1880, or more precisely from 1884, it was the seat for two decades of the general administration of the Society of Mary.

As to the method of study in these houses, the system followed was broadly based on the practices of the Sulpician seminaries, energetically enforced by Colin: tutorial or seminar groups, formal half-yearly examinations, oral defence of theses at the end of the year, weekly recapitulative orals before a panel of professors. The subjects taught in earlier years were limited to Dogma, Moral, and Sacred

Scripture, as was usual in France. Canon Law and Church History were covered in passing on particular points touched upon by the taught courses, but otherwise were left largely to private study, supplemented by the public reading of historical works during meals.⁴⁸

The favoured authors were those approved by the Holy See, and which were the spearhead of the theological renewal at the time. In practice this amounted to the works of St Thomas Aquinas, and for pastoral questions of moral theology St Alphonsus Liguori. Since it was impossible to provide all students with sets of these authors, and since in any case the pedagogical methods of the epoch called for a more compact synthesis, class work centred around the use of a manual. The one chosen was that of Bishop Bouvier of Le Mans,⁴⁹ in preference to that of Louis Bailly which was in widespread use,⁵⁰ or the so-called Théologie de Poitiers, dating from 1708, which in 1814-1815 Cardinal Fesch was still keen to promote, his keenness being translated into action with an order for 800 copies in the summer of 1815.⁵¹ As to Church History, Colin saw to it that the compendious history by the ultramontane Rohrbacher was extensively employed, in deliberate preference to others such as those of Fleury and Berault Bercastel which were common in seminaries, but considered tainted by Gallican sentiments.⁵²

In 1845 the General Chapter decreed a fourth year of studies for scholastics of above average ability, and foresaw a more intensive extra year for selected able candidates. This resolution, however, was slow in its implementation and it was only in 1849, after the unrest of 1848 had settled, that Colin managed to establish at Belley a fourth year (grand cours) of theology, based upon a study of the Summa theologica of St Thomas Aquinas, conducted by means of written dissertations on particular points prescribed by the professor. There were other initiatives. In addition to an attempted course in Hebrew, Père Colin introduced from 1847 courses in French grammar and pronunciation, and in Latin prosody for young religious at both Puylata and La Favorite, while at Puylata Étienne Mulsant of the Lyons Lycée (later president of the Linnaean Society and city librarian) gave courses in Natural History and Physiology from December 1846. From October 1850 Père Marchal gave a course on Church History, and Colin's plan was progressively to augment the courses further.⁵³

At different periods over a considerable length of time, the Marists made up for the lack of effective contact with university-level courses by themselves establishing teacher-training courses for the growing number of their men in education, such as at Chaintré in 1856-1859, at Sainte-Foy in 1869 and in 1875-1877, the latter aiming also at preparation for university courses, since in 1875 'free' Catholic faculties had been authorized by the state.⁵⁴

Doubtless there were also many less clearly profiled initiatives, such as the placing of a group of young priests at Puyлата in 1848 to prepare for ministry,⁵⁵ and it is known that at various periods Colin took pains at Lyons to facilitate the attendance of young Marists at sermons in the city churches with a view to learning the trade.⁵⁶ In 1847 Bossuet's sermons were read during meals at Puyлата and then discussed.⁵⁷ In November 1848 Père Poupinel was entrusted with a course for all the Puyлата community on ceremonies.⁵⁸ Although details are hazy, it is known that after 1864 Sainte-Foy also received alongside other brethren young priests undergoing some kind of preparation for preaching.

Finally, from 1874 it became possible at long last to hold at Montbel what became thereafter the traditional practice of a period of spiritual retraining (known among Marists as the second novitiate) for mature men in their active prime.

Despite the rapidity of this survey, there can be no doubt that the Marists made energetic efforts from 1836, and even before, to educate themselves to educate priests and laymen to play an active role in the shaping of society within the borders of France, and well beyond them. They had characteristic viewpoints, and took consequent measures to inculcate and reinforce them, measures that hinged in great part around the acquisition and use of books.

Marist Resources and the Acquisition of the Pagès Library

The resources of the Society of Mary to meet these future challenges were as of 24 September 1836 few indeed. It had legal ownership of a house in Belley, and had exchanged use of that house for use of another, known as La Capucinière. Marists not lodged at La Capucinière had to some extent the use of the Belley College (which was the property of the diocese of Belley), of rooms at The Hermitage, property and mother-house of the Marist Brothers, and of lodgings in a property at Valbenoîte which we shall consider below. They had little in the way of income, and found themselves faced with the essential responsibility for the mission in Western Oceania, though as regards this enterprise they could reasonably hope for financial support from outside bodies such as Propaganda Fide in Rome and especially the Association for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyons.

Moreover, the Society of Mary had certain debts, such as that represented by the vow to have 3000 masses said when the number of Marists reached thirty. This number was reached by the summer of 1838.¹ Again, having obliged itself under the diplomatic arrangements worked out between the group from the Lyons diocese and that from Belley to establish its headquarters in Lyons,² the Society immediately faced the need to acquire premises there. Income was uncertain, for ministries undertaken brought in little more than the cost of basic keep, and no further assistance from the dioceses of Lyons and Belley was available to the now independent Society.³ Whatever money might be brought with them by the small number of men entering the Society on trial could not be regarded as more than a temporary loan that might have to be restored to them should they leave again.⁴

An index of the lack of prospects in the matter of premises, is the somewhat onerous arrangement entered into at Valbenoîte near Saint-Étienne whereby the Marists would supply curates for his lifetime to the parish priest, the abbé Jean-Baptiste Rouchon (1761-1844), in exchange for the bequest of the buildings of the former monastery. Since Rouchon survived for another 13 years, dying only in 1844 at the grand

age of 84, the arrangement proved costly. It also brought many incidental difficulties in tow.⁵

Naturally this poverty of resources extended to the question of books. The arrival in October 1836 and January 1837 of the abbé Benoît Lagniet (1806-1884) and of the abbé Jean Balmet (1798-1877) as novices at the temporary Lyons house rented on the Montée Saint-Barthélemy was welcome if for no other reason than that they brought with them their small libraries.⁶ Men joining the Society might be expected to bring a few personal books with them, but as today, it might well be anticipated that they would need to retain most of these for their individual use, and that in any case an accumulation of these private holdings would produce not a library of interest, but a collection of multiple copies of the same basic works. It would seem that such small collections were carefully kept, for books from early Marists such as the Colins, Benoît Lagniet, St Peter Chanel, and St Julian Eymard, are still conserved in the Marist general archives.

As long as the Society had connections with the Belley College, it had the use of the College library such as it was, but efforts were soon made to withdraw from there and so the same level of access could no longer be regarded as a permanent resource. This could not but prove a severe constraint on the development of training programmes. Later, funds were to become available through benefactions, but these were never in great abundance, and were generally applied to basic living conditions, along with purchases of property and building extensions.

On the general subject of books and libraries in early Marist history, the evidence is fragmented and no systematic studies have so far been undertaken. Certainly, for the period prior to late 1841, relatively little survives. However, that year there occurred the outstanding event in Marist library history.

In the autumn of 1841, the abbé Pagès was 78 years of age and in ill-health. His burst of energy in 1838 with regard to the state theological faculties had brought no great hope of a revival of his own faculty at Lyons, which was frozen in a state of permanent opposition to the diocesan major seminary. In his lifetime not a few priests who possessed libraries had died in the city, and their collections had promptly been sold off by their families for its monetary value. Pagès

himself, Colin asserts, had fifty nephews, whose interest in an inheritance was public knowledge.⁷

As recently as 1838 Pagès had, as we have seen, given a lashing in print to the French bishops en bloc and in particular to Bishop Devie of Belley, to which came vigorous replies in episcopal mandements.⁸ While Archbishop de Pins of Lyons had been succeeded by Maurice de Bonald in 1839-1840, de Bonald had featured as Bishop of Le Puy in the recent polemic and there was no reason why Pagès's relations with him should improve to any dramatic extent. In Lyons at that time, apart from the diocese itself, there were few other bodies of priests represented. One was the 'Chartreux missioners', but they were under the authority of the Archbishop, another was the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), but they were loathed by Pagès for their views in moral theology and their existence in Lyons as elsewhere in France was still uncertain. Neither would have seemed a safe and worthy haven for his library. Moreover, it was just this goal which Pagès, now in many respects a man at loggerheads with dominant opinion in the Church and even with the very age he lived in, must have been actively pursuing.

Jeantin recounts how Pagès's housekeeper Marguerite Viard regularly attended the Marists' chapel at Puyata, and it is said to have been this woman who suggested the Marists as possible inheritors of the library.⁹ At first sight this choice seems a curious one, since the Marist General had taken anything but kindly to Pagès's public asperities against Bishop Devie in particular.¹⁰ Jeantin, however, intelligently points out that the abbé Jean Cholleton (1788-1852), vicar general under de Pins, and the only member of the diocesan administration for whom Pagès seems to have had any regard ('le plus habile Théologien du diocèse'), was close to Pagès in his views on moral theology.¹¹ An anonymous pamphlet we have seen earlier tells us that Cholleton was his confessor, and accomplice in polemics.¹² Now, Cholleton had been professed as a Marist on 25 September 1841 and immediately named superior of the house at La Favorite. It may well be that these events in particular persuaded Pagès that the Society of Mary should be entrusted with his library after his death. Cholleton, writing to de Pins in the latter's retirement at La Grande Chartreuse speaks of it being done 'sur les recommandations de Votre Grandeur', though this may simply be said out of the instinct to attribute all good to the

devising of superiors.¹³ Pagès and de Pins were scarcely intimate friends.

A bargain was struck involving the sale of the library by notarized instrument on 9 October 1841 to Jean Cholleton, the Colin brothers and Claude Girard, all Marists. Pagès was to retain use of the library at his own house for the rest of his days, the Marists were to pay outright 20,000 francs, and in addition to provide his housekeeper with a pension for life, an obligation which they faithfully met until her death on 3 April 1867. As to the cash price, this has always been thought to be well below the market value of the collection,¹⁴ and it may even be that part of the price was informally waived. It is likely that the device of a sale before death was chosen by Pagès to avoid problems that might arise from the contestation of a bequest, say by Pagès's family. In the event, some of the family did not take the loss of the library without protest, and approached the Marists for compensation, but did not pursue the matter when it was refused.¹⁵

Pagès died within a very short space of time, on the afternoon of 3 December, and caused something of a flurry among the Marists, who had to make speed to transfer their library to Marist property, at La Favorite. This location had been agreed with Pagès, and inspected by him.¹⁶ Once at La Favorite, the Pagès collection became the 'main library', distinct according to contemporary practice from the novitiate library.¹⁷ Colin kept an eye on it, 'would not allow a single book to be removed' from it,¹⁸ and even contemplated such draconian measures as the outright excommunication of anyone illicitly borrowing books.¹⁹ As it was, he laid down that only with written consent of four or five members of his council could a book be borrowed from it. He himself declined to exercise privilege by borrowing from the Pagès Library a copy of one of his favourite spiritual works.²⁰

In the summer of 1849 the Pagès Library was moved to the house at Puyлата. It seems to have passed for at least some of the years that followed through a doldrums period. The sections concerning natural sciences for a time being transported to Belley, and then returned. Manuscripts were dispersed, and no one was officially charged with the library's supervision.²¹ We have no clear information as to whether this neglect set in during Colin's generalate, or only after his resignation in 1854. That the library was not completely forgotten by the Marist

authorities, however, is evident for example from discussions about renewal of insurance relating to it.²²

The tide turned decisively in any case in the mid 1870's, when Père Jean Jeantin was given charge of the library. Receipts surviving from 1878 onwards show that he was soon engaged in active buying for it.²³ He also supervised its piecemeal transfer in the years 1877-1879 to Sainte-Foy-lès-Lyon, where special accommodation had been built to receive it. While it was to suffer the fate of other Marist property at the time of the expulsions in 1880, it seems to have been sheltered safely in the house of a woman friendly to the Marists in the Lyons area.

The new custodian, Jeantin, had joined the Society in 1845. From his ordination to the priesthood in 1848, he served at first as theology professor and assistant novice-master, passing the years 1853-1855 in this latter charge at La Favorite. Very widely respected by his fellow Marists, and a local superior from 1859-1864, he spent the years 1864-1871 at La Capucinière, and after a brief spell as local superior elsewhere was in the summer of 1873 elected an assistant general, and was to hold the position for twenty years. The years of anticlerical persecution 1880-1884 he spent in company with other Marists in the La Favorite house, which the Demoustier family had been lent back to the Marists as a shelter in their hour of need. From 1884 Jeantin resided at Sainte-Foy-lès-Lyon, in the enormous building constructed as combined novitiate, scholasticate, and general house. In the summer of 1894 he became superior of La Neylière (by then home of the De Pins Library), having relinquished his post as assistant general in the previous year. A man of great abilities, Jeantin seems to have combined these other duties with his custodianship of the Pagès collection almost until the time of his death, which came at La Neylière on 30 December 1895.²⁴ Within seven years the library was on its way to Rome.

In December 1902 it was transported with the rest of the Sainte-Foy library (including one of the sets of the Patrologia Latina to which Colin had subscribed) to the Roman house at Via Cernaia 14, which since 1898 had served as residence for the procurator general (representative of the Marists to the Holy See) and for the Marist students who began in those years to attend the Roman universities.²⁵ The library's arrival at New Year 1903 was hailed as 'un grand bien pour

la Société dans le présent et dans l'avenir'.²⁶ At this period, too, considerable acquisitions were at least occasionally made, such as Mansi's mammoth edition of the Councils.²⁷

In the years after the First World War, as part of a general reorganization of the Society of Mary, a new general house was built overlooking Rome, on the heights of Monteverde. It was there that the Pagès library was transferred in April 1926, to rooms again specially constructed to receive it, with a view of the pyramid-tomb of Caius Cestius. It is there still, incorporated into the library sections of the Marist general archives. Sad to relate, by an act of great crassness, the sections concerning natural science, which had been separated from the rest at some point, were alienated for a pittance within the last generation.

The acquisition of the Pagès library was a major boost, in resources, but also in morale. It was henceforth to be a constant point of reference for the development of book resources in the Society of Mary. Our knowledge of library resources in the various houses is shadowy, but there is one principal concentration of library resources about which we do know a good deal, that of the library of Sainte-Foy as it evolved till the turn of the century. In the Marist general archives until the 1950's were preserved the multiple folio-sized volumes of a catalogue containing a listing in a double sequence of the holdings of the Sainte-Foy library circa 1900. The first sequence was by subject classification, the second by author. While the latter -- most unfortunately for the progress of the present research -- was deliberately destroyed in the 1950's, the former survives. The number of works listed there totals 17982, a figure which includes the 7064 works of the Pagès collection. This means that in the important house of Sainte-Foy, which existed since 1859, and had received the Pagès collection in 1879, and undergone disruption in the government persecution of 1880, it had nevertheless been possible to add 10,918 works -- almost 11,000 -- to the core collection. And indeed it is clear that the Pagès library was used as an active core collection at Sainte-Foy, its volumes being integrated with more recent acquisitions. It is only in recent decades that they were once again separated and shelved apart.

As to other houses, library catalogues and annexed documentation were doubtless generally seen as working records rather than resources for conservation in perpetuity, and little has survived. We do have indications that where in the middle years of the nineteenth century internal école normale courses formed, attempts were made also to build up suitable book collections, and that in general Marist houses were not deprived of books, but no detailed information has been unearthed.²⁸

There is one notable, if partial, exception. On receipt of the Pagès library, Colin had spoken of his desire for 'two more libraries of this kind',²⁹ and his desire was fulfilled in 1850, when the retired Archbishop de Pins died, leaving a will under which Colin was named principal beneficiary. Colin renounced the greater part of the bequest in favour of the Lyons diocese, but made an exception for the bishop's library, which he welcomed and had transferred to La Neylière, the new house in the hill country of the Lyonnais where he intended to retire.³⁰ La Neylière over the years served as virtually every variety of religious house, and doubtless the de Pins library was used by the novices, philosophers, theologians, administrators and missionaries who were housed there at various periods. By the middle of the twentieth century it was in a state of serious neglect and what remained was disbanded and transported to Lyons. Unfortunately no historical records have survived even as to its original size, still less its contents.³¹

Usefulness of the Pagès Library to the Marists

Part of the question of the usefulness of the Pagès library must hinge on what alternative resources were open to Pagès himself and to his Marist successors. As regards Pagès's theological interests, we have been able to see something of the meagre fare that other ecclesiastical libraries were able to offer. By far richer in theology was the municipal library, but we know that it was not fully organized until the 1830's. Even though Lyons was probably a deal more fortunate than many locations in provincial France, it seems fair to conclude that individuals such as Pagès living in the provinces would have been hard put to it to find all the resources they sought in public collections. We have, in fact, already seen something of the slow start given to the public libraries and those of the learned societies.

As to the Marists, it was only to be expected from what we have seen of his general policies, that Colin would view the acquisition of the Pagès library as a great boon, even a signal act of divine Providence: 'L'homme ne sait pas que Dieu fait vouloir à sa créature tout ce qu'il veut. Ah! l'homme n'est rien; il croit agir: c'est Dieu qui le pousse.'¹ It would seem that his interpretation was shared by Pagès's old sparring partner, Bishop Devie.² The chronicler Mayet with a year or so of hindsight put it thus:

M. Pagès [...] fit don [...] de sa fameuse bibliothèque, une des plus célèbres et des plus complètes qu'il y ait en France, enrichie de ces savans ouvrages et de ces grands théologiens qu'on ne trouve plus et qu'on ne réimprime pas.³

And not only theologians, for we have noted that according to Père Jeantin, the sections concerning natural sciences were of sufficient interest to be lodged for a time at Belley in the years 1849-1879, a period when the main Pagès collection was housed at Puyrata.⁴ Belley was then a scholasticate, and it would seem that there must have been some notion of making use of this library section for teaching purposes, according to the sort of recommendation we have earlier heard from Colin's lips.⁵ Moreover, in speaking of the Pagès library shortly after it passed into Marist hands, Colin had remarked that 'il désirait encore

deux bibliothèques dans ce genre, une pour la maison de théologie de Belley, l'autre pour la maison professe de Lyon [Puyata]'.⁶

However, despite such enthusiasm, are we to regard the Pagès library in 1841 as wildly out of date ? Considering Colin's remark as just reported, we must presume that from his viewpoint it was not. He clearly placed great store by having a similar resource in each of the major formation houses. What indications can we discover of the views of other contemporaries ? We can hazard some general assessments of the contents.

The classic works of French secular literature, or historical works, including travel literature would hardly have been the main concern of the libraries potential users, the Marists, but interest should not be excluded, especially for men conscious of the need to acquire a general culture for teaching. Over four hundred works regarding the history of Lyons and the surrounding region are still of paramount interest. Works on topics such as philology and grammar retained a good deal of their value.

As to works that more narrowly regard theological topics, Scripture studies had hardly made any progress in the half-century since the fall of the Ancien Régime, and Marist students in the 1830's and 1840's were being fed a diet of the classic authors such as the Jesuits Cornelius a Lapide (1567-1637) and Juan Maldonado (1534-1583), just as students had been before the Revolution.⁷ It follows that the sections of Sacred Scripture (292), and certainly Sacred Philology (94) were likely to be of current interest.

As regards the prime category, Theology, something of a cloud might hang over a proportion of the sections Dogma (384 works), Catechetics (78), Polemics (132), and especially Moral Theology (377), which amounted to 971 works (13.8%). Indeed a number of them may well have appealed to Pagès a deal more than they did to Colin and the Marists. Jeantin takes from Mayet the anecdote of how Colin as a young man inadvertently read a Jansenist work, and realizing his error thereafter avoided Jansenist writings like a pestilence ('Ces malheureux glissaient leur venin partout pendant deux siècles.').⁸ However, by no means all the theological and pious works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were Jansenist, though a good many treatises were

admittedly Gallican in sentiment, and certainly to that the Marists were just as much opposed as they were to Jansenism. Yet the pre-Revolutionary theological controversies, especially concerning grace and moral theology were far from forgotten in the first half of the nineteenth century, and while discounted theses would not have been rehearsed in detail in seminary classes, it would be expected that a competent professor would have a grasp of the historical background. Well out of date were the many works dealing with pre-Revolutionary civil law in its own right and in its relation with canon law. We have seen that such works were a bookseller's nightmare. Yet once again there might have been some residual historical interest.

The authors in different branches of philosophy might no longer be the latest fashion, but they still likewise stood as witnesses to the history of their discipline, though Colin was inclined to polemicize against the 'philosophes'.⁹ Certainly, the great source sections Liturgy (303), Councils (91), Church Fathers (316), and Mystical Theology (727) are by their nature of perennial value, and even the section 'Théologiens séparés de l'église romaine' (131) might not be without interest for those who were likely to encounter Protestant clergy in the areas near the Swiss border and more especially in the mission territories. Of similarly current interest still in 1841, though they increasingly less so as the century wore on, were many works of hagiography. On miscellaneous subjects such education, we cannot assume obsolescence. For instance, in drawing up his regulations for the Belley College in 1829, Colin made active use of the work of Charles Rollin (1661-1741) entitled Traité des études and published in 1726,¹⁰ just as he was to make use in 1844 of a work of Juan Maldonado (1533-1583) on the study of theology.¹¹

On the basis even of considerations as general as these, we can say that if we follow Pagès's own classification system, out of a total of some 7,064 works in the whole collection, Literature and History, accounted for 770 (10.9%)¹² and 1,703 (24.1%) works, or 2,473 works in all, which is some 35%. These were not the sections of very greatest interest, but they were of value to the early generations of Marists, conscious of the need to work at their own general education. The Jurisprudence section, though still of value for Roman Canon Law, contained doubtless much dead material, particularly in French civil law

which in the subtotal of 425 works legal works (6.0%) constituted about a third.¹³

In Pagès's fourth category of Arts and Sciences miscellaneous works on the occult sciences (57 works) and other curiosities (61) would hardly be of major interest. On the other hand, depending on the rate of development in scientific research the material on Natural History (90), Botany (325), Zoology (113), Medicine (137), and Mathematics (70) might well be of interest. This is the section which was transferred for a time to Belley. In all, these areas would account for 735 works (10.4%). The section is completed by works on Philosophy (86), Moral (49), and Economics (103), totalling 238 (3.4%), whose usefulness cannot be excluded, but as we have seen might be variable.

If we range the useful against the suspect or redundant sections, we arrive at a distribution something like this: of 7,064 works in the library, 5,543 (78.5%) were of likely interest, 1,209 (14.6%) of uncertain interest, 262 (3.7%) of definitely little real interest to the Marists.

To some degree these considerations remain generalized surmise, but even in summary we can adduce weighty supporting considerations. The first of these concerns the output of the printing houses operated by the abbé Jacques-Paul Migne (1800-1875). Migne is best known for his 'patrologies', magnificent if ill-named (they extend well beyond the patristic age and contain much more than the Fathers).¹⁴ The series latina totalled 221 volumes between 1844 and 1864, the series graeca 161 volumes between 1857 and 1866.¹⁵ While they are often now generally encountered only in research libraries, it is easy to forget that they were aimed not at major libraries, but at the average priest, and there must have been a ready market, given that the print-run sometimes rose to 10,000.¹⁶ The main issue of the series graeca, which consisted of Greek texts with a facing Latin translation, was insufficient to saturate the market, and Migne was able as a viable proposition to issue a further set, of the Latin translation alone in 85 volumes in 1856-1861. Simply for the patrologies, then, we reach 467 volumes. Good friends and trusted advisers of Migne, such as Dom Pitra, later cardinal, pressed him to be patient and wait for new critical editions to be prepared. Migne would not listen. His strategy, carried through unflinchingly, was quite simply to reprint the existing pre-Revolutionary editions. In many respects he was right: a century and a half later we are still waiting

for the replacement critical editions to emerge for many of his texts. Putting this another way, we can say that the original editions of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries on which Migne drew have in many cases not been bettered by modern scholarship. Hence we can affirm unhesitatingly that the editions of patristic and medieval writers collected by Pagès were with few exceptions still current in the 1840's, as many are even today.

Migne, however, was not the man to stop at a mere 467 volumes of patrology. His Scripturae sacrae cursus completus, which assembled the chief post-medieval biblical commentaries, ran to 28 volumes, the companion Theologiae cursus completus, with the main theological treatises, similarly totalled 28 volumes, while the series Démonstrations évangéliques, grouping in French translation what Migne's contemporaries would have called 'apologetics', reached 20 volumes. His Encyclopédie théologique of the years 1844-1866 was a series of religious and profane dictionaries, some in as many as four volumes. Among them a number were commissioned from contemporary writers, but quite a few were reprints of pre-Revolutionary works. The Encyclopédie théologique amounted to a further 52 volumes, followed by a second series of 53, and a third of 66. Even this did not exhaust Migne's industry, for we know of at least 30 sets of the complete works of a variety of authors from St Augustine to figures of the nineteenth century, again several in multi-volume sets, and making a total of 112 volumes. These he backed up with two series of his Collection intégrale et universelle des orateurs sacrés in 90 volumes. In other words, in addition to the 467 volumes of patrology, Migne issued 449 volumes in other series, or a grand total of 916 volumes published between 1837 and 1866.

Foreswearing to pause too long in astonishment at such a man, let us pursue the implications for our own topic. Migne's volumes were by far more economical on space than the original editions they drew upon. It is not hard, then, to see that the abbé Migne in 25 years of the mid-nineteenth century reissued to an avid public the main works that had been of ecclesiastical interest in pre-Revolutionary France. Migne was not a fool, nor was his enterprise a failure. We can only conclude that the mainstream of ecclesiastical literature of Ancien Régime France was still largely current at the time when Pagès pieced his library

together from it, and at the time when the Marists gleefully took that library over.

It is certainly the case that in the Discours préliminaire published by Pagès in 1838 he was using these classic editions without apology. Moreover, we have two studies relating to the sources of the sermons of St Jean-Marie Vianney (1786-1859) a country parish priest of the Belley diocese who had Marist links, and to those of the moral sermons of Jean-Claude Colin. Both studies are agreed that both men -- and doubtless many contemporaries -- made heavy active use of pre-Revolutionary sermon collections,¹⁷ and point in turn to the likelihood that in general terms the Pagès library section of 100 such sermon collections was still of current interest in 1841 at least. Vianney certainly drew heavily upon collections of sermons such as those of Bishop Claude Joly of Agen (1610-1678), the abbés Joseph Chevassu (1674-1752), Pierre-Hubert Humbert (fl. 1762), and the Oratorian Père Jean Lejeune (1592-1672), as well as lives of the Saints by the Jesuit Père Pedro de Ribadeneira (1527-1611) and the Minim Père François Giry (1635-1688). Ribadeneira's work dated from 1599, appeared in French in 1645, and was last republished in French in 1872, while Giry dated from 1683 and was republished as late as 1866.¹⁸ Colin, while declaring that he would not in 1848 dare to preach the texts of Bishop Jean-Baptiste Massillon of Clermont (1663-1742), as he had in the first years of the Restoration, still made heavy use of François Babin (1651-1734), Père Louis Bourdaloue (1632-1704), François de Paule Bretonneau (1660-1741), Jacques Brydaine (1701-1767), Claude de la Colombière (1641-1682), Daniel de Paris (d. 1746), Bishop Louis-Albert Joly de Choin (1702-1759) and, like Vianney, Père Jean Lejeune. These were the self-same authors republished en masse by Migne. Bourdaloue was being read at meals at Puyrata in 1850, presumably as a practical training in sacred oratory for young priests.¹⁹

Finally, we can adduce other supporting evidence of the mood and taste of the times. Alexandre Buchon, reporting privately in 1837 on libraries in the Vienne,²⁰ considered that hitherto neglected depositories of pre-Revolutionary books could form the useful basis of further local libraries. Indeed, in those years a good deal of energy and money was expended by local authorities in various parts of France on resurrecting and making available to the public surviving depositories of books that had been confiscated during the Revolution,

even if such books were to be supplemented with modern works. This happened, for example at Aubenas, where a public library was reassembled with 5,000 volumes from the Revolutionary confiscations.²¹ Moreover, while there was undoubtedly a good deal of activity in the publishing business in the early decades of the nineteenth century, there are indications that libraries in general had not placed great store on the acquisition of such recent works. Just such a criticism is levelled at the great Parisian libraries in a report by the minister Salvandy in February 1839: while at the epoch of their Revolutionary re-foundation they were then well abreast of contemporary learning, they have now fallen seriously behind.²² If the holdings of Pagès's collection at the time of his death were still predominantly pre-Revolutionary, this was no more than the general case with the public libraries too.

The attitudes to older books that such documentation reveals confirm that the stress in librarianship during the years of the July Monarchy was predominantly upon preservation and conservation, and that the library was viewed more especially as a book museum.²³ In so far as Pagès's collection shared in general the characteristic of being composed largely of older works, it seems that it paralleled many other libraries, and is likely to have been evaluated positively by contemporary professionals.

One last consideration, however, may have tended to restrict the general usefulness of the Pagès library to the Marists, though no more than it would have restricted that of a totally contemporary collection. We cannot here go into the question in any detail, but we should remind ourselves that not all books on the market were considered suitable for reading as the Marists, and that the category of unsuitable literature extended well beyond indecent publications.

General canon law required submission to the famous Index of Prohibited Books issued periodically by the Holy See's Congregation of the same name. This index covered heterodox theological works, but also, as became notorious, works such as Dumas's The Three Musketeers (on the grounds that it was a glorification of the immoral practice of duelling). The Marists were certainly sensitive to Roman injunctions, and doubtless some works were withheld from general use. There were no widespread faculties for Marists as a whole to permit reading of prohibited books, such as those formerly possessed by the Jesuits.²⁴ The

custom of the time was to have a special locked section known as 'hell' or 'purgatory', where such works were secluded. Yet, in nineteenth-century France the Index hardly constituted an oppressive régime. Moreover, it was relatively easy to obtain due permission to consult for scholarly purposes banned books. In France, in fact, as Colin notes, the opinion was that the Index was not legally binding, though Colin insisted that the Marists regard it as such.²⁵ In 1851, when still superior general, he wrote a circular letter banning a manual of canon law recently placed upon the Index.²⁶

More significant that these formal restrictions would be the self-censorship exercised by the Society of Mary on its own members and on its charges, an extension of the supervision of reading matter traditionally exercised in regard to what were considered to be vulnerable groups. Colin saw to it, for example, that books available to novices were checked and unsuitable ones locked in a cupboard, while he did not allow the Marist Sisters of Belley to read St Teresa of Avila, and in general was opposed to anyone under the age of thirty reading powerful works of mystical theology. His attitude was based upon traditional practice, and this was not so much censorship as spiritual guidance, but once again it would tend to restrict general usefulness of any library resource.²⁷

Marist Use of Book Resources: The Oceania Mission

It is a quirk of history that among the first witnesses to the definitive passage of the Pagès library into the hands of the Society of Mary we find a future missionary, Père Gilbert Roudaire, then a novice at La Favorite.¹ To conclude our study, let us take our cue as it were from this accident of history and make one final sounding into the interest that the Marists could have had in such a collection and the use that they made of it. To do so, I propose to examine as it were the extreme case: that section of the Society of Mary which tackled the challenging mission of Western Oceania.

One of the most fascinating characters to play a role in the Marist missionary enterprise of the nineteenth century was without doubt Xavier Montrouzier (1820-1897), a native of Montpellier.² As a boy in his native city he was an activist in one of the first local groups of the social movement launched under the patronage of St Vincent de Paul by the Catholic layman Frédéric Ozanam,³ and this was to be only a foretaste of an extremely active life. His studies took him at the age of 15 to the Lycée Louis-le-Grand in Paris, where one of his principal interests was Natural History, and to additional routine preparation work in the laboratories of the Sorbonne.

He was back in his native Montpellier, already a student for the priesthood in the diocesan seminary, when in December 1842 he heard a talk by a visiting Marist missionary, Père Antoine Freydier Dubreul, which sparked what was to be a passion for foreign missionary work.⁴ In 1844 he was in the novitiate at La Favorite, where the Pagès collection, with its not inconsiderable section of material on Natural History was housed.⁵ The previous year, 1843, the Marists had begun missionary work in New Caledonia, later to be the major French colony in the Western Pacific (off what is now the East coast of Australia), and as a result of various subdivisions of the missionary territories two further Marist missionary bishops were appointed to tackle the evangelization of Melanesia, apart from New Caledonia, where the Marist Bishop Guillaume Douarre was already active.⁶ A new group of missionaries destined for

missionary work in the Solomon Islands of Melanesia set off in February 1845, and in their number was Xavier Montrouzier, ordained priest the previous July, armed in addition to his religious intentions with a mandate from such as François Arago of the Académie des sciences to contribute what he could to the development of scientific knowledge. There were high expectations of this 25 year-old.⁷

Montrouzier and the others reached the mission via Sydney and New Caledonia, but the beginnings were disastrous. In one of the first beach landings their bishop, Jean-Baptiste Épalle, was axed to death, and it was not long before Montrouzier receive a spear wound in the back which required almost a year's convalescence in New Caledonia. He was thereafter to spend six years labouring in the Solomons, before an interlude in Sydney when he wrote his Essai sur la faune de l'île de Woodlark ou Moïou,⁸ and his eventual transfer to the New Caledonia mission after the abandonment of the Solomons as too dangerous. For the rest of his life he continued serving as a front-line missionary, mostly in isolated locations.

The technical details of the enormous industry of scientific work for which Montrouzier found time in addition to his pastoral duties cannot even be summarized here.⁹ In spite of the unimaginable practical difficulties (even before they left his mission, many of the specimens that the isolated naturalist was able to harvest were ransacked and destroyed in the attacks of hostile tribes), he supplied sizeable collections of shells to the Bordeaux Museum, some 667 plant specimens to the science faculty in his native Montpellier, and further materials to the Lyons medical faculty and to other establishments besides, including the Marist college at Saint-Chamond.¹⁰ The shipments were matched by a profusion of articles,¹¹ in which he put his gifts of observation to profit, doing detailed descriptive work that would enable others with better facilities to enter into the appropriate comparative analysis and formulation of classificatory hypotheses. Most of this publishing activity, it should be noted, was conducted in conjunction with various learned societies of which he was a member, including Pagès's old group, the Lyons Linnaean Society.

With his fellow missionaries Montrouzier was obliged to cope with a succession of local languages without any linguistic manual. One of the few published traces of this aspect of his activity is a little

lithographed book of catechism, prayers and hymns in a local language that appeared in 1855. It was a work of collaboration with Père Pierre Rougeyron and Père Mathieu Gagnières, and is the oldest local printed product.¹²

Yet there is more. On his island missions, Montrouzier kept up what amounted over the years to a considerable correspondence, of which part survives. It shows the missionary requesting the shipment of remarkable amounts of books, usually for some specific purpose. In 1858 the call goes out for religious books to win over a French naval officer or an Anglican clergyman, in 1873 he wants quantities of books to pursue his 'apostolate of good books' among the ex-Communard convicts sentenced to transportation, and later the same year he needs money, because he has spent all he had on books for the convicts: if they refuse to listen to sermons, he will reach them with books.¹³

Not all the books are to be given away to others. A letter to his brother in 1887 tells of his delight at being able to arrange a room at the hospital where in his advancing years he is chaplain for the books that he has amassed as his personal library. In 1874, in case they had so far missed the point, he stresses to his family that the greatest pleasure they can give him is to send books. On other occasions, in 1861 we find him asking for works to pursue his research on natural history, in 1866 for law books to combat the colonial government's persecution of the mission, in 1878 for recent works on the colony to prepare a defence of the role of the missionaries. Within six months he was writing to acknowledge the arrival of the latter. In one of his last surviving letters to his family, in 1886, he makes no bones about advising that they pack the shipments of books in stronger cases, this despite their acquired expertise of over thirty years! Yet his family seem to have caught the fever in their own right. In 1885 negotiations were underway, for instance, for his brother Gabriel, a priest, to donate his personal library to the New Caledonia mission.¹⁴ Moreover, Montrouzier's lively correspondence and his insistent requests for opinions on moral and canonical casus bear out the wisdom of Colin's assertion in the 1840's of the need for missionaries to have an especially solid grasp of their theology.¹⁵

If we have delayed on Montrouzier, it is because his interests are relatively fully documented, and because he displays most strikingly the

mettle of some of the men who joined the Society of Mary in its early years. He may well not have been the average representative, but he is a significant example of the kind of candidate who was becoming a Marist in the years immediately following the acquisition of the Pagès library.¹⁶

Other evidence of the interests and needs of the Oceania missionaries is scattered in the vast correspondence conserved in archives in Rome and throughout the Pacific. We can only piece together here occasional references, such as the requests transmitted to France in 1860 for a good French dictionary and the multi-volume biographical dictionary of Feller for Père Pierre Rougeyron, a treatise on architecture and some sound manuals on weaving and agriculture for Père Jean-Baptiste Vigouroux on his mission at Saint-Louis in New Caledonia, a set of the theology of St Alphonsus Liguori and the French Bible of Carrières with commentary by Menochius for the mission of Ovalau in the Fiji Islands, and another copy plus Bergier's dictionary and a biblical concordance for Père Léon Gavet, while some months later the procurator himself makes bold to add a request for Dom Guéranger's great multi-volume liturgical commentary, L'Année liturgique.¹⁷

In 1980 caches of books were discovered at two missions in Tonga, buried in the sand below the priest's house, and thus perfectly preserved.¹⁸ At Ha'apai mission there were 25 works, nearly all published before 1870. They included the full set of Migne's Scripturae Sacrae Cursus Completus in 28 volumes, and multi-volume sets of the Christian Perfection of Rodriguez, the Sermons of Bossuet, the complete works of Bourdaloue, those of St Francis de Sales (incomplete), Rohrbacher's Histoire de l'Église, and Ribadaneira's Les Vies des saints et fêtes de toute l'année, along with a medical manual of 1836.¹⁹ At Vavai were found no less than 61 works, of which 39 were from the years 1900-1937, but the cache included various nineteenth-century works, such as the Bollandiste life of Saint Teresa of Avila, in 2 volumes, and the French edition of her works by Marcel Bouix in 3 volumes, the apostolic letters of Pope Leo XIII in 7, the abbé Joseph-Louis Jouve's Le Missionnaire de la campagne, in 4, and a two-volume exegesis of the Apocalypse.²⁰ Considering the daunting conditions the missionaries laboured under, and the fact that these works had all travelled round half the circumference of the globe, such discoveries hint at an amazing picture of voracious and scarcely casual or flippant reading.

It is impossible to make a complete survey here of the intellectual pursuits of these men, but they should not be underestimated. Let us take but one field we have mentioned in Montrouzier's case, that of linguistics. Like the European Jesuit missionaries in China almost three centuries before,²¹ the Marists found themselves faced with the problem of creating a whole new range of language in each tongue to encompass the realities of the Catholic faith, sifting existing words and re-endowing them with distinctive meanings, or adapting European terms. There was often little or no help and a missionary had to work completely alone. A member of the first group of Marist missionaries, St Peter Chanel, records his 'work on the language' in his journal on Futuna with a fidelity that speaks eloquently of both his courage and of the terrible monotony of the undertaking.²² The situation was far more complex still in the Melanesian territories where Montrouzier laboured, for there a very great number of distinct languages are in use. In New Caledonia alone, for instance, there are at least 30 main languages, each spoken by anything from a dozen to several thousand people.²³ In 1949 a brief tour of the stations in the New Hebrides vicariate alone by Père Patrick O'Reilly provided an inventory of almost 50 surviving dictionaries, grammars and other linguistic works, some in several hundred pages, all produced on the spot by missionaries of the past.²⁴ Some linguistic works did reach a printer, and in particular the Marist Père Antoine Colomb was commissioned in the latter part of the nineteenth century to prepare various works of missionaries for publication, but these attempts represent only a fraction of the manuscript material. More likely for practical reasons to arrive in print were the translations made in their hundreds of collections of biblical readings, prayers, catechisms, hymns and school texts, the work of the missionaries of Oceania and printed either on their own presses, or sent by them to printshops in Sydney or in Europe. The complete range of these rare printed pieces has yet to be investigated.²⁵

The missionaries also noted other features of local life, for publication in missionary journals, or for a more scholarly public. One such was Père Pierre Lambert (1822-1903),²⁶ who carried forward scholarly investigations in a less striking fashion than Montrouzier, but not without effect. A genial man of considerable abilities, he arrived in New Caledonia in October 1855. Prompted by Xavier Montrouzier, his first interest was in conchyology, and he located and

shipped considerable and valuable collections to museums in Paris and Bordeaux. Later he widened his field with articles about social custom among the local people which appeared in missionary magazines put out under the auspices of the Society of Mary and the Association of the Propagation of the Faith in Lyons, articles which were later gathered shortly before his death into a work of 367 pages entitled Moeurs et superstitions des néo-calédoniens.²⁸

It has not proved possible to trace in syllogistic fashion a dependence of the Marist enterprise upon the resource represented by the Pagès library that they acquired in 1841. We have, however, been able to sketch the extent and rapid growth of their undertakings into the 1880's, to examine the great stress placed by their leadership on study and the need for learning, together with their attempts in those years to organize and develop programmes of studies commensurate with their developing responsibilities. The aim of these efforts was not the attainment of public scholarly reputations, nor esoteric academic research, but rather the practicalities of pastoral ministry. In this respect the approach was notably different from that, say, of the Jesuits, and this as a matter of deliberate policy. In politically unstable times, characterized by a society rent by social and philosophical conflict, it was necessary to get on with the pastoral task and avoid all that might prove a hindrance to it, including personal renown. The most significant area we have investigated has been as it were the extreme case: the very serious efforts of the missionaries of Oceania.

A purely literary yardstick is a crude one, and perhaps too often overrated. We cannot overlook another yardstick that better accords with the pragmatism of the Marist aims: the number of works offered to the Marists, their rate of recruitment, and their success in establishing a firm and lasting presence in preaching, in secondary and tertiary education, and in Oceania mission, a presence that persisted in France despite the numerous changes of régime and two harsh persecutions, and which transplanted itself successively to numerous countries in Western Europe, North and Central America, and the Antipodes.

There was a coherent policy, there were characteristic theological positions, and sustained programmes of studies, and in the whole

enterprise learning of the sort for which the Pagès collection and other resources were a suitable support played its undoubted part.

Conclusion

René Fédou has said of the historian of the intellectual life in mediaeval Lyons that he does not so much harvest as glean.¹ At many points in the study we have set forth we have found ourselves in that position. Yet even these gleanings have brought to light some threads of continuity which I should like to stress here by way of conclusion.

The first is the relationship between Lyons and the book. We have been obliged here to pass over with barely a mention many fascinating chapters in that history which have yet to find a satisfactory expression. We might think of the schools of the fifth and sixth centuries, which nurtured Sidonius Apollinaris,² and drew Wilfrid of York,³ the cultural revival that marked at Lyons the Carolingian renaissance, the scholarship of the friars in thirteenth and fourteenth-century Lyons, the rich world of private libraries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the launch of printing at Lyons, the devastation of 1562, the scientific contribution of the Jesuits, a full picture of private libraries in early nineteenth-century Lyons, and the cultural standards among the clergy of city and diocese at that time. As yet but scantily charted are the beginnings of printing, and education and the re-expression of Christian biblical culture by men of Lyons in Oceania. Yet even what little we have been able to say from the perspective of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries may serve to underscore that the book at Lyons has run an extraordinary course for the greater part of two millennia.

The second is the fact of Lyons's open horizons. From the confluence of two great rivers, and a strategic emplacement between the regions of Western Europe, its vistas stretched to the Mediterranean basin, to the great Asian deserts and China, to the Eastern coastlands of North America, and the West Indies, to Scotland, to the scattered islets of Western Oceania.

Coupled inseparably to both of these dimensions is that of religion. From St Pothinus and his companions in the mid-second century

to the Christians who fell under the blades and bullets of the Revolution in the late eighteenth century, and by lance and axe in Polynesia and Melanesia in the mid-nineteenth, Lyons proved an extraordinary ferment of religious belief, a belief that directed itself on an amazing scale in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries towards missionary activity. Moreover this missionary enterprise was not simply an undertaking of the clergy, but was sustained and increasingly directed by lay men and women.

It is clear that the sections of the Pagès library that were of greatest interest to Pagès himself and to the Marists were those regarding either original works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or editions of patristic and medieval authors published in those years. Despite the Enlightenment and the Revolution, it would seem that some sections at least of the French Church -- and Pagès and the Marists were by no means of one mind on other issues -- were making a bridge in mentality to the French religious world as it existed prior to 1750.

From a Marist point of view, we have already stressed in its place the parallel that in general terms the first Marists saw between their work and that of the Jesuits three centuries before them. Had they known more of the detail of what the Jesuits had done at Lyons, they might have elaborated the parallel even further, to include especially the decisive missionary thrust of the first generation of Jesuits at Lyons, and their educational efforts to renew society by re-engendering a new generation in values drawn from the depths of God.

Yet while stressing the aspects of continuity, it would be a mistake to pass the sponge over the numerous discontinuities. To take one, it is arguable that while the Reformation and its Lyonese repercussions in the sack of 1562 changed much on the religious scene, it did not approach the momentous changes wrought by the happenings of the decade 1789-1799. The Jesuits in Lyons in 1565 were still surrounded by numerous male religious communities, even if these were dusting themselves off from the fray, and rebuilding their libraries resources afresh. For the Marists in 1816 and 1836 there was scarcely another congregation on the local horizon, with the exception of the small band of Chartreux missionaries. Almost everywhere they established themselves in France, they occupied the premises and in some sense took over the

functions of other orders that had definitively vanished from the scene. In Riom, they took over an old Oratorian college, at Moulins a Jesuit one, Senlis had been in the hands of the Génovefains, Langogne in those of the Benedictine monks, Valbenoîte was a former Cistercian abbey, the early residences in Belley and at La Seyne had been Capuchin friaries.

The world of the early nineteenth century was fragmented, too, in ways that the Ancien Régime had not known. Whatever energy the Church might generate, it would never again occupy its former position in a society where whole categories lived their lives without reference in thought or deed to Church teaching. Education was henceforth imparted on an unprecedented scale and if the Church played a role there, that role was tenuous, and exercised at the grace and favour of a wholly independent and tightly organized state.⁴ Among the myriad subjects which a concomitantly productive printing trade would cover, theology as a technical discipline could never again henceforth aspire to anything remotely like its former ascendancy.

Hence it is hopeless to seek to portray a new golden age in the early nineteenth century, or invest the Marists with the mantle of the Jesuits, who had passed with ease through the most cultured circles of contemporary society, moving confidently from the rectorship of their near-university in Lyons to the side of a monarch in Paris or Muscovy. What drew the Marists when they looked as best they might into the world of Ancien Régime Lyons was far rather the work of another class of Jesuit: St Francis Régis, tirelessly tramping across the countryside from one dejected poor village to another to address simple and earnest words and ministrations to simple people.⁵ They took their cue rather, and to an extent far greater than anyone has yet been able to measure in detail, from Oratorians and Vincentians and Sulpicians, who they felt instinctively had moved already under the Ancien Régime in those regions and aspects of society that more closely approximated to the conditions of their own latter days.

Yet in the midst of these powerful changes, and abstracting from all idyllic constructs, there is the stark concrete fact of the reconstruction of a library by Pagès, of the provenance of those volumes in the variegated library world of the Ancien Régime, of the moral and practical impetus they were able to impart to those eager young men, 'des notaires, des peintres, des mecaniciens, des ingénieurs', of La

Favorite in 1841-1842,⁶ and to others of their kind, an impetus that in a sense bore some of them into trials and exhilaration of missionary life in Oceania. There they began, many of them men of Lyons, to assemble not the prestigious collections that Trigault solicited for his Jesuit mandarins, but libraries that if more modest were nonetheless precious, and scarcely less vital.

The edge of what we have been able to say could certainly be sharpened by further research. For the Bibliotheca Pagesiana, that research might lead into an examination of the provenance of all the surviving books, into a detailed statistical reflection on the proportions by publication date and subject matter. For the Marists, it might lead into a closer study of the course of their individual careers in education, in the missions of Oceania and North America, as in other sectors, and an exact portrait of their formation houses. For Lyons, a full study of the booktrade in the city is a great lack, especially in the face of rich archival material.⁷ As to numerous other areas, the Codex Pagesianus, autographed by Leidrat of Freising, would merit the most careful examination,⁸ while the issue of private libraries at Lyons might occupy a lifetime of enquiry.

The Bibliotheca Pagesiana represents in a certain sense both Pagès's working resource and his own monument to himself, and in so far as the library has survived to date, his efforts may in the 150th anniversary year of his death be adjudged not entirely unsuccessful. While paying brief tribute to the man, the Marists have been more concerned with the resource. It serves them still, and has been inspirational not only as a focus for the present study, but as a resource by means of which they have been able to make contact with their own roots and origins in the Lyons and the France of the early nineteenth century and backwards in time. In that sense it remains a powerful contribution to their future.

In the seventeenth century the Jesuit Père Pierre Labbé (1594-1660) composed for the house of the Grands-Augustins in Lyons an inscription to be placed above their library door:

HIC HOMINES VIVUNT SUPERSTITES SIBI
HIC TACENT ET ADSUNT
HIC LOQUUNTUR ET ABSUNT.⁹

It was an acute exercise in wit, yet in placing it here almost at the conclusion of my study I should like to evoke those ultimately mysterious interrelations between the destinies of men and women, the curious circles and spirals and curves of historical events, and the power of the book to be more than an industrial or craft artefact, more than a commercial product, more than a possession. Books, runs Milton's famous phrase, 'are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are'.¹⁰ Thus beyond the particularities of this study, I should like to think that its merit may be that, in echo of the enduring fact of the Bibliotheca PAGESIANA itself, it attempts to speak of the perdurance of the human spirit.

Abbreviations

- AFM = Rome, Archives des frères maristes, the General Archives of the Marist Brothers.
- AN = Paris, Archives nationales.
- APC = Léon Lecestre (ed.), Abbayes, prieurés et couvents d'hommes en France: liste générale d'après les papiers de la Commission des Réguliers en 1768, Alphonse Picard, Paris, 1902.
- APAF = Jean Beyssac, Abbayes et prieurés de l'ancienne France: Recueil historique des archevêchés, évêchés, abbayes et prieurés de France, t. X: Province ecclésiastique de Lyon, 1ère partie, Diocèses de Lyon et de Saint-Claude, Abbaye Saint-Martin, Ligugé / Picard, Paris, 1933.
- APM = Rome, Archives des pères maristes, the General Archives of the Society of Mary.
- ATC = Antiquiores Textus Constitutionum Societatis Mariae, Romae, 1955, 7 fascicles. Cited ATC Intr., ATC1, ATC2, etc.
- BAM = Léopold Nièpce, Les Bibliothèques anciennes et modernes de Lyon, Henri Georg, Lyon, 1876.
- [C] [C01], [C02], [C03], etc. refer to the list of annotated catalogues in the main bibliography.
- EJF = Pierre Delattre, Les Établissements des jésuites en France pendant quatre siècles (1540-1900), Institut supérieur de théologie, Enghien, 1940-57, 9 vols. Cited EJF1, EJF2, etc. with column numbers.
- ES = Jean-Claude Colin (Jean Coste, ed.), Entretiens Spirituels de Jean-Claude Colin, choisies et présenté par Jean Coste sm, Rome, 1975. English trans.: Jean Coste (ed.), A Founder Speaks: Spiritual Talks of Jean-Claude Colin, selected and introduced by Jean Coste, translated by Anthony Ward, Rome, 1975.
- HBF1 = André Vernet (ed.), Histoire des bibliothèques françaises, t. I: Les bibliothèques médiévales du VI^e siècle à 1539, Promodis / Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie, Paris, 1989.
- HBF2 = Claude Jolly (ed.) Histoire des Bibliothèques françaises, t. II: Les Bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, Promodis / Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie, Paris, 1988.
- HECL = Jean-Baptiste Martin, Histoire des églises, et des chapelles de Lyon, Lardanchet, Lyon, 1908, 2 vols. Cited HECL1, HECL2.
- HEF = Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier & Jean-Pierre Vivet, Histoire de l'édition française, Promodis, Paris, 1982-1986, 4 vols. Cited HEF1, etc.
- LAM = Léon Boitel (ed.), Lyon ancien et moderne, par les collaborateurs de la Revue du Lyonnais, Léon Boitel, Lyon, 1838-1843, 2 vols. Cited LAM1, LAM2.
- LEP = Louis Trénard, Lyon, de l'Encyclopédie au préromanticisme: Histoire sociale des idées, Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1958 (= Collections des Cahiers d'histoire 3), 2 vols. Cited LEP1, LEP2.

- LL = Maurice Garden, Lyon et les lyonnais au XVIIIe siècle, Belles Lettres, Paris, 1970 (= Bibliothèque de la faculté des lettres de Lyon 18).
- LOJ = Arthur Kleinclausz (ed.), Lyon des origines à nos jours: La formation de la cité, Masson, Paris, 1925.
- Mayet = APM 921.121, Gabriel-Claude Mayet, Mémoires, multi-volume bound manuscript. See OM 2, pp. 95-98.
- OM = Jean Coste & Gaston Lessard (edd.), Origines maristes (1786-1836), Rome, 1962-1967, 4 vols. Vols cited OM1, OM2, etc.
- QS = Gabriel-Claude Mayet (Jean Coste, ed.), Quelques Souvenirs sur Jean-Claude Colin, choisies et présenté par Jean Coste sm, Rome, 1981. English trans.: A Founder Acts: Reminiscences of Jean-Claude Colin by Gabriel-Claude Mayet, selected and introduced by Jean Coste, in an English translation by William Joseph Stuart and Anthony Ward, Rome, 1983.
- RFHL = Revue française d'histoire du livre (NS).

NOTES

ENDNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

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² Pliny the Younger, Letter IX, ii, available in Roger Aubrey Baskerville Mynors (ed.), C. Plini Caecilii Secundi Epistularum libri decem, E typographeo Clarendoniano, Oxonii, 1963, p. 263.

³ Johannes Quasten, Patrology, Spectrum, Utrecht & Brussels, 1950, vol. I, 287-313.

⁴ See Leidrat's letter to Charlemagne, in Jacques-Paul Migne, (ed.) Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Migne, Paris, 1851, t. 99, 871D; Pierre Riché, 'De la Haute Époque à l'expansion du réseau monastique', in HBF1, 19, redates the text from c. 813-814 to c. 800. See also Elias Avery Lowe, 'Codices Lugdunenses Antiquissimi: Le scriptorium de Lyon, la plus ancienne école calligraphique de France', in Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon: documents paléographique, typographiques, iconographiques, Aux dépens des Amis de la Bibliothèque de Lyon, Lyon, fasc. 3-4 (1924) 5-52; S. Tafel, 'The Lyons Scriptorium', in Palaeographia Latina 2 (1923) 66-73; 4 (1925) 40-70; Philippe Lauer, 'Observations sur le Scriptorium de Lyon', in Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 86 (1928) 380-387; James Westfall Thompson, The Medieval Library, Hafner, New York, 1939, pp. 90-91.

⁵ Hans Wolters & Henri Holstein, Lyon I et Lyon II, Éditions de l'Orante, Paris, 1966; a convenient summary in English is Philip Hughes,

The Church in Crisis: A History of the Twenty Great Councils, Burns & Oates, London, 1961, pp. 193-206, 221.

⁶ Arthur Kleinclausz, 'Saint-Jean, Saint-Paul et Saint-Georges', in LOJ, 104.

⁷ André Latreille (ed.), Histoire de Lyon et du Lyonnais, Privat, Toulouse, 1975, pp. 81-82.

⁸ Latreille, Histoire, p. 139; Paul-François Geisendorf, 'Lyon et Genève du XVIIe au XVIIIe siècle: les foires et l'imprimerie', in Cahiers d'histoire 5 (1960) 65-76.

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¹⁰ LEP1, 72-73, 83.

¹¹ Louis Trénard, 'Sociologie du livre en France (1750-1789)', in Actes du cinquième congrès de la société française de littérature comparée, Paris, 1962, p. 149.

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⁴ Honoré Fisquet, France Pontificale (Gallia Christiana), Histoire chronologique et biographique des archevêques et évêques de tous les diocèses de France [...]: Métropole de Lyon et de Vienne, Repos, Paris / Lyon, [1867], p. 713; Antoine-François Delandine, Mémoires bibliographiques et littéraires, Renouard, Paris, [1812], pp. 4, 25; Tafel, in Palaeographia Latina 2 (1923) 70. The sale of books from the Ile-Barbe in 1784, which Grosclaude comments upon, came from the retirement house for priests known as the séminaire Saint-Pothin, which had made use of former Ile-Barbe property. See Pierre Grosclaude, La Vie intellectuelle à Lyon dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle: Contribution à l'Histoire littéraire de la Province, Picard, Paris, 1933, p. 347.

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⁶ HECL2, 215.

⁷ APC, 50; Camille Germain de Montauzan, 'Fourvière et Saint-Just', in LOJ, 91; APAF, 89-90, 154-156; Plongeron, Vie, 165; Vachet, Anciens couvents, 59-70; Arthur Kleinclausz, 'Les Cordeliers, les Jacobins, les Célestins', in LOJ, 155; Arthur Kleinclausz, Histoire de Lyon, Masson, Lyon, 1939-1952, t. 1, 271; HECL1, 269; Richard Wilder Emery, The Friars in Medieval France: A Catalogue of French Mendicant Convents, 1200-1550, Columbia University Press, New York & London, 1962, p. 105; Fisquet, 466; Paul Deslandres, L'Ordre des trinitaires pour le rachat des captifs, Privat, Toulouse / Plon & Nourrit, Paris, 1903 t. 1, 528, 610-613.

⁸ Emery, 4-6.

⁹ Louis-Antoine Pavy, Les Cordeliers de l'Observance à Lyon, ou L'Église et le couvent de ce nom, Sauvignet, Lyon, 1836, esp. pp. 27-32; Emery, 105; HECL1, 414; John Richard Humpidge Moorman, Medieval Franciscan Houses, Franciscan Institute, St Bonaventure University, St Bonaventure, New York, 1983, p. 279; John Richard Humpidge Moorman, A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1968, pp. 366, 469; Jacquemin, 70, 73, 75-76; HECL1, 417; Auguste Molinier & Félix Desvernay, Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements, t. XXX, Lyon, Plon, Nourrit & Cie, Paris, 1900, pp. XI-XVI; Delandine, 26; John M. Lenhart, History of the Franciscan Libraries of the Middle Ages, Franciscan Education Conference, Washington D.C., 1954, pp. 187, 140ff; Kauffmann, 'Les Grands Cordeliers et l'Église Saint-Bonaventure', in LAM1, 461-473.

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¹¹ Lexicon Capuccinorum: Promptuarium historico-bibliographicum ordinis fratrum minorum capuccinorum (1525-1950), Bibliotheca collegii internationalis S. Laurentii Brundusini, Romae, 1951, col. 1010; Vachet, Anciens couvents, 185-191; HECL2, 344; LEP1, 120, 131, 133; Laurent Dugas François Bottu de Saint-Fons 26 June 1731, in François Bottu de Saint-Fonds & Laurent Dugas (William Poidebard ed.), Correspondance littéraire et anecdotique entre Monsieur de Saint-Fonds et le président Dugas, membres de l'Académie de Lyon, 1711-1739, Paquet, Lyon, 1900, t. 2, 85, cited by LL, 463.

¹² Aimé Vingtrinier, Henri Marchand et le globe terrestre de la bibliothèque de Lyon, Glairon-Mondet, Lyon, 1878; HECL1, 239, 241; Delandine, 27.

¹³ APAF, 54; HECL1, 354.

¹⁴ Marius Audin, Bibliographie iconographique du Lyonnais, Rey, Lyon, 1909-1913, t. 1, 64; [Claude Breghot du Lut], Mélanges biographiques et littéraires pour servir à l'histoire de Lyon, J. M. Barret, Lyon, 1828, pp. 175.

¹⁵ C. Douais (ed.), Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, [s.n.], Romae, 1898-1899, p. 319, para. 9; cited in Kenneth William Humphreys, The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars 1215-1400, Erasmus, Amsterdam, 1964, p. 18.

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²⁰ Antiquis et maioribus Episcoporum causis liber [...] auctore Theologo Parisiensi, doctore sorbonico, Joannes Matthaëus Howi, Liège, 1678 : 'Fratres Disc[alceati] Carm[elitani] conventus lugdun[ensis]'.

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⁴⁰ LL, 459, 461, 737; Chartier, 'Académies', 165.

⁴¹ Trénard, 'Sociologie', p. 175; Darnton, Business, 64, 279-280, 589, 593, 595; Daniel Roche, 'Les Éditeurs de l'Encyclopédie', in HEP2, 194-197.

⁴² LL, 461, 466, 471-472.

⁴³ Léonard Michon, Journal de Lyon ou Mémoires historiques et politiques (1675-1746), cited by LEP1, 89-90. It appears to be a manuscript.

⁴⁴ Marion, Bibliothèques privées, 118.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 4:

¹ Collection générale des lois, proclamations, instructions et autres actes du pouvoir exécutif, publiées pendant l'Assemblée Nationale et Législative, Paris, 1792 an III [1795], vol. 1, 346, 607; BAM, 96-98; Franklin, t. 2, p. 9.

² Despite all its fascination, the study by Pierre Riberette, Les Bibliothèques françaises pendant la Révolution (1789-1795), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1970, makes not a single mention of Lyons.

³ Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS Coste 1407, printed in BAM, 126-131.

⁴ Corps du droit français, Bureau du Corps du droit français, Paris, 1833, t. 1/ 1, p. 661; t. 1/2, p. 860; Riberette, 40-41.

⁵ Riberette, 13-14.

⁶ Riberette, 25, 79; Paul Pisani Répertoire biographique de l'épiscopat constitutionnel (1791-1801), Picard, Paris, 1907, pp. 184-189; Hélène Dufresne, Erudition et esprit public au 18e siècle: Le Bibliothécaire Hubert-Pascal Ameilhon (1730-1811), Nizet, Paris, 1962.

⁷ Riberette, 31-32.

⁸ BAM, 98.

⁹ 'Let us bear the scalpel into our vast book depositories and let us cut out all the gangrenous members from the body bibliographic [...] We rightly send to the scaffold any author or accomplice of counter-revolution. Our libraries also have their counter-revolutionaries; I vote for their deportation. Let us cast into the bosom of our enemies the poison of our books of theology, mysticism, royalism, feudalism, and oppressive legislation; [...]' Quoted by Riberette, p. 46.

¹⁰ 'dizziness and delirium'. Riberette, 46.

¹¹ Riberette, 47, 49.

¹² C. Riffaterre, Le Mouvement antijacobin et antiparisien à Lyon et dans le Rhône-et-Loire en 1793 (29 mai - 15 août) A. Rey, Lyon / A. Picard, Paris, 1912, 1928; Edouard Herriot, Lyon n'est plus, Hachette, Paris, 1937-1939, 3 vols.

¹³ According to artt. 4-5 of the decree laid before the Convention nationale by Bertrand de Barère de Vieuzac on 12 October 1793, text in François-Alphonse Aulard, Recueil des Actes du Comité de salut public, Imprimerie nationale, t. VII, 375-376; see Herriot, t. 1, 369-405.

¹⁴ Titus Livius, Historiae Romanae decades, Vindelinius de Spira, Venetiis, 1470 (Hain-Copinger n. 10130). The first volume was mutilated and is now Paris, B.N. Vélins, 704-705, see Catologue générale des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale, Auteurs, t. CXC, Imprimerie nationale, Paris, 1964, p. 155; Henri-Baptiste Grégoire, Convention Nationale, Instruction publique, Rapport sur la Bibliographie par Grégoire. Séance du 22 Germinal l'an 2 de la République [...] Imprimés et envoyés, par ordre de la Convention nationale, aux administrateurs et aux sociétés populaires, p. 10, reprinted in 'Oeuvres de l'abbé Grégoire, Kraus Thomas Organisation, Nendeln, Liechtenstein / Ed. d'histoire sociale, Paris 1977, vol. 2, p. [208]; BAM, 91-92, and most recently in Frank Paul Bowman (ed.), L'abbé Grégoire, évêque des Lumières, Ed. France-Empire, Paris, 1988, p. 159; de Colonia, t. 2, 758; André Clapasson, Histoire et description de la ville de Lyon, de ses antiquités, de ses monumens & de son Commerce; avec des notes sur les hommes célèbres qu'elle a produits, Jean-Marie Bruysset, Lyon, 1761, p. 86; Delandine, 14. A page of this work is reproduced in Frederick R. Goff, 'Illuminated Woodcut Borders and Initials in Early Venetian Books (1469-1475)', in Gutenberg Jahrbuch (1962) 387.

¹⁵ BAM, 90-91; Delandine, pp. 19-20.

¹⁶ BAM, 85, 95, 133-134, 601; Histoire du siège de Lyon ou Récit exact des événemens qui se sont passés dans cette ville, sous le commandement du général Précý, et des horreurs qui s'y sont commises par ordres des

Proconsuls Collot d'Herbois, Albitte, Fouché (de Nantes) et autres scélérats. Par un officier de l'état-major du siège, échappé au carnage, et retiré en Suisse, [s.n.], Lausanne, 1795, pp. 90-91; Herriot, t. 3, 166-207; Albert Champdor, Lyon pendant la Révolution 1789-1793, Albert Guillot, Lyon, 1983, p. 109; Comby, 113. A list of the clergy is given in Adrien Vachet, Les Paroisses du diocèse de Lyon, Abbaye de Lerins, 1899, pp. 340-548.

¹⁷ Jacques-Michel Coupé, Convention National, Rapport sur les bibliothèques nationales, Imprimerie nationale, Paris, [1794], pp. 2-3: 'there exists a precious fund that a wise discernment will be keen to conserve [...] These ancient depositories are still being augmented by the private libraries abandoned by the émigrés [...] These treasures of literature, mounting throughout the departments, remain for the greater part in disorder, as crude materials. They are perishing or a prey to dilapidation. The time has come to put them to a great use, to the benefit of all citizens [...] You have decreed free education. It will be enough to unleash the genius of Liberty to that end. [...] Each library must become a school for all citizens, must offer to them a portrait of every age and nation, and enrich them with every undertaking and every thought of the spirit of man.'

¹⁸ Riberette, 11.

¹⁹ Riberette, 10, 13, 26-27, 34, 47.

²⁰ Riberette, 27.

²¹ 'nothing less than the Law could have overcome the repugnance that we feel in committing to paper the preposterous titles of the greater part of these inventories of follies, more apt to lead reason astray than guide it towards the good...', quoted Riberette, 65.

²² Riberette, 65, 77, 83-84.

²³ Riberette, 27, 34.

²⁴ Riberette, 53.

²⁵ Claude Jolly, 'La Bibliothèque de l'abbé Grégoire', in Daniel Roche & Roger Chartier (edd.), Livre et Révolution, Colloque organisé pour l'Institut d'histoire moderne et contemporaine (CNRS), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 20-22 mai 1987, Aux amateurs de livres, Paris, 1988, pp. 209-220, esp. p. 210.

²⁶ Grégoire, Rapport sur la Bibliographie, p. 5 (Oeuvres, vol. 2, p. [201]). On Grégoire's reports see Eugène Despois, Le vandalisme révolutionnaire: Fondations littéraires, scientifiques et artistiques de la Convention, Baillière, Paris [1868], pp. 229-260; James Guillaume, Etudes révolutionnaires, P.V. Stock, Paris, 1909, 2ème série, pp. 348-424; Marcel Cornu, 'Le père du vandalisme révolutionnaire', in Europe, t. 34, nn. 128-129 (1956), pp. 123-129.

²⁷ 'this fine art which knew no infancy and will not age, which made our revolution and will sustain it', Cited in BAM, 105-114 (italics mine).

²⁸ 'Opening the libraries to the public means promoting public understanding; promoting public understanding means dispelling the dark, evil-doing and treacherous clouds of fanaticism [= Christianity] [...] Representatives, complete your work, even in the thick of daggers, and you will be the saviours of all Europe.' Letter of 11 messidor an II (29 June 1794), quoted Riberette, 52.

²⁹ BAM, 105-114; Riberette, 71-72.

³⁰ Riberette, 64.

³¹ 'We have just been informed that at Arnay the books have been stashed in tubs. Books in tubs!', Grégoire, Convention Nationale, Instruction publique, Rapport sur la Bibliographie par Grégoire. Séance du 24 Frimaire l'an III de la République [...] Imprimerie nationale, Paris, Frimaire an III, p. 14 (Oeuvres, vol. 2, p. [305]). It was Grégoire who coined the term 'vandalism'.

³² 'the books have been damaged and thrown into corners. Dust and rats devour them.' Grégoire, Convention Nationale, Instruction publique, Rapport sur les destructions opérées par le Vandalisme, et sur les moyens de le réprimer par Grégoire. Séance du 8 Brumaire l'an III de la République [...] Imprimés et envoyés, par ordre de la Convention

nationale, aux administrateurs et aux sociétés populaires, p. 6
(Oeuvres, vol. 2, p. [326]).

³³ BAM, 101-102.

³⁴ Riberette, 100-102.

³⁵ BAM, 130.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 5:

¹ BAM, 119, 126-128, 130.

² Chabot & Charléty, 27-32; Graham Keith Barnett, The History of Public Libraries in France from the Revolution to 1939, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor / London, 1984, p. 113; Jules Loiseleur, 'Les Bibliothèques communales. Historique de leur formation. Examen des droits respectifs de l'Etat et des villes sur ces collections', in Mémoires de la Société d'agriculture, sciences, belles-lettres et arts d'Orléans, 2e série, t. XXIX (1890) 192; Howard Clive Barnard, Education and the French Revolution, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1969, pp. 179-210.

³ BAM, 121-125, 141-143; Chabot & Charléty, 36-37.

⁴ Barnett, 125.

⁵ Barnett, 129; BAM, 133-135.

⁶ BAM, 136-139, 141-143.

⁷ Chabot & Charléty, 41, 56; Ulysse Robert, Recueil de lois, décrets, ordonnances, arrêtés, circulaires, etc. concernant les bibliothèques publiques communales, universitaires, scolaires et populaires, H. Champion, Paris, 1883, p. 74.

⁸ Barnett, 145, 152-154.

⁹ Barnett, 159; on Delandine see BAM, 146, fn 1.

¹⁰ Jean-Baptiste Labiche, Notice sur les dépôts littéraires et la révolution bibliographique de la fin du dernier siècle, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Parent, Paris, 1880, p. 75; Barnett, 130-135, 138, 140, 197.

¹¹ BAM, 153-154; Jean-Louis-Arnaud Bailly, Notices historiques sur les bibliothèques anciennes et modernes, suivies d'un tableau comparatif des produits de la presse de 1812 à 1825, et d'un recueil de lois et ordonnances concernant les bibliothèques, Rousselon, Paris, 1828 -- all three cities had libraries before the Revolution.

¹² Alexandre Buchon, Rapport sur les institutions municipales de littérature, sciences et arts, Everat, Paris, 1829; Barnett, 190.

¹³ Corps, t. 1/2, p. 1029; Barnett, 68; Michelle Goupil, 'Ampère et la chimie physique', in Lyon, cité de savants, 106.

¹⁴ 'the libraries of the learned bodies no longer exist: those of the towns have been distributed randomly and are little used'. Procès-verbaux des séances de la Chambre des Députés, mai 1836, p. 557, quoted in Barnett, 215.

¹⁵ BAM, 153-155, 159-160, 162, 167, 449-452; [Jean-Baptiste Montfalcon], Rapport sur les livres et estampes des Bibliothèques du Palais des Arts, Perrin, Lyon, 1844.

¹⁶ Ritzler & Sefrin, vol. 7, 68; L'Épiscopat français depuis le Concordat jusqu'à la Séparation (1802-1905), Librairie des Saints-Pères, Paris, 1907, pp. 33-34; BAM, 472-476, BAM, 513-526; John F. Camp, 'Libraries and the Organization of Universities in France, 1789-1881', in The Library Quarterly 51 (1981) 174-175; anonymous note in Revue du lyonnais 15 (1842) 93.

¹⁷ Barnett, 204-205.

¹⁸ Barnett, 194-195, 228-230; Art. 39, in Robert, 57-66; Charles Louandre, 'La Bibliothèque royale et les bibliothèques publiques', in Revue des Deux mondes 15 mars 1846, pp. 1045-1067, quoted by Barnett, 262.

¹⁹ See the typescripts in APM: David Grange, Le Recrutement au séminaire de Lyon de 1801 à 1815, [1963 ?], pp. 37-38, 68-69; and Luis Alonso, La Formación intelectual de Juan Claudio Colin en el seminario de S. Ireneo de Lyon 1 nov. 1813 - 22 julio 1816, [s.d.], p. 2.

²⁰ The headings are those of the catalogue of the time, reproduced in a manuscript in the seminary archives (MS Desloges 2. IV, p. 34) and cited by Grange, 38.

²¹ Jacquemin, 79, 119, 186-187; HECL1, 36.

²² BAM, 349, 389; Georges Rigault, Histoire de l'institut des frères des écoles chrétiennes, Plon, Paris, 1940, t. 3, 533.

²³ Delattre, 'Lyon, 3. La Maison Saint-Joseph', 1588-1589; Pierre Delattre, 'Lyon (Province de) XIXe siècle', in EJF2, 1497; BAM, 404; HECL1, 47.

²⁴ 'on display were enormous quantities of excellent second hand works, the debris of libraries plundered or sold off at a pittance by owners who had been ruined by events,' BAM, 242.

²⁵ 'Books in this city are very dear, and I think I told you that the holder of the sparsest of bookstalls is a more expert bibliographer than our leading booksellers. So there is no hope of finding bargains on their stalls, and they are more or less only to be had in public sales.' Letter of 7.XII.1806, quoted BAM, 243, fn 1; [Adrien Vachet], Lyonnais d'hier 1831-1910, [s.n., s.l., s.d.], pp. 54-55, 282.

²⁶ Claude Jolly, 'Unité et diversité des collections religieuses', in HBF2, 11; Barnett, 76-77.

²⁷ BAM, 242-243; Estivals, 415; M. Lecocq & Henri-Jean Martin, 'Le Cas de Lyon', in HEF3, 160-161; Aimé Vingtrinier, Histoire de l'imprimerie à Lyon des origines jusqu'à nos jours, Storck, Lyon, 1894, p. 429; Barnett, 157, 188; Félix Ravaisson, Rapports au ministre de l'instruction publique sur les bibliothèques des départements de l'Ouest, suivis de pièces inédites, par. M. Félix Ravaisson, inspecteur général des bibliothèques du royaume, Joubert, Paris, 1841, p. 108, cited Barnett, 238.

²⁸ [Vachet], Lyonnais, 10-11; BAM, 168-170.

²⁹ [Vachet], Lyonnais, 380; BAM, 250-255; Bogeng, Bd. I, pp. 180-181.

³⁰ 'not because they were rares, but because he had need of them ... not for their illustrations, their paper or their bindings, but for what they contained.' Italics original, BAM, 263.

³¹ BAM, 263-265.

³² Léon Boitel, 'Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. Coste', in Revue du Lyonnais NS 8 (1854) 40-49; BAM 156, 273ff, 286.

³³ BAM, 288-289, 531-532, 599; [Vachet], Lyonnais, 128, 175.

³⁴ [Vachet], Lyonnais, 95, 191; Marius Audin, t. 1, 63, 109, 139; BAM, 309-310, 314, 404, 533-534.

³⁵ BAM, 402-417, 506-513; [Vachet], Lyonnais, 55, 259; Humbert de Terrebonne, Morel de Voleine, sa vie et ses oeuvres, Lyon, 1894; Marius Audin, t. 1, 23.

³⁶ BAM, 420-425, 541-542, 547; [Vachet], Lyonnais, 289; HECL2, 61-63.

³⁷ 'In spite of the destructions wrought by ignorant stupidities and evil crimes, we are possessed of immense riches.' Grégoire, Convention Nationale, Instruction publique, Rapport sur la Bibliographie par Grégoire. Séance du 22 Germinal l'an 2, p. 10, (Oeuvres, vol. 2, p. [208]).

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 6:

¹ From the 19th century there are three brief articles: a partly imaginative obituary by Noël-Antoine Aunier in Annales de la Société Linnéenne de Lyon, 1841, pp. 41-44; a notice François-Zénon Collombet, 'Pagès, Étienne', in Michaud, t. 31, 613-614); and an article based entirely on Michaud, in the 1874 edition of Pierre Larousse, Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe, Paris (t. XII, p. 24). None of this material is particularly sympathetic to Pagès. There are also scattered incidental references to Pagès in a number of works of varying date and scientific rigour. All these we shall cite in their place.

² Archives départementales du Rhône, Régistre de baptême, église paroissiale de Saint-Urcize.

³ Dictionnaire des communes de la France, Hachette, Paris, 1864, s.v. Urcize (p. 2101); François-David Aynès, Nouveau dictionnaire de géographie ancienne et moderne, Rusand, Lyon, 1804, t. 3, 300, sub nom. Urcise; Abel Hugo, France pittoresque, Delloye, Paris, 1835, t. I, 233.

⁴ Detail of christening entry, Archives départementales du Rhône, Régistre de baptême, église paroissiale de Saint-Urcize; Pagès's own account, AN, F¹⁷ 21424, dossier 'Pagès, Étienne'.

⁵ As has emerged from correspondence with various present-day members of the Pagès family.

⁶ Collombet, 'Pagès, Etienne'; [Etienne-Michel] Faillon, Vie de M. de Lantanges, Le Clerc, Paris 1830, p. 56, n. 1; Pierrard, 35-42; La France ecclésiastique pour l'année 1789, pp. 139, 238; OM1, pp. 39, 44.

⁷ 'Study should be the occupation of a subject in the seminary, not exactly the study of theological issues -- it is not the proper time for these, and they should be learnt before arrival in the seminary -- but rather questions regarding the Scriptures, the holy rules of the Church, such as those which concern the administration of the sacraments

(especially the sacrament of penance), and the behaviour, opinions, and expression, both public and private, in all circumstances, of a worthy priest.' Claude Marc-Antoine d'Apchon, Instruction pastorale, quoted by Plongeron, Vie, 56.

⁸ Collombet, 'Pagès, Etienne'; Joseph Camelin, Les Prêtres de la Révolution, Badiou-Amant, Lyon 1944, with the relevant decrees, pp. 349-360.

⁹ Léon & Albert Mirot, Manuel de géographie historique de la France, Picard, Paris, 2e. éd., 1980, pp. 324ff; Augustin Sicard, L'Ancien Clergé de France, Les évêques avant la Révolution, Lecoffre, Paris, 1912, 5e édition, esp. p. 7; Augustin Sicard, Le Clergé de France pendant la Révolution, Gabalda, Paris, 1927, t. 2, 122; François Descostes, Joseph de Maistre pendant la Révolution, Tours, 1895, p. 305; Henri Leclercq, L'Église constitutionnelle, Letouzey et Ané, Paris, 1934, p. 191; Ritzler & Sefrin, vol. 6, 217.

¹⁰ AN, F¹⁷ 21424, dossier 'Pagès, Étienne'; Pierre de la Gorce, Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution française, Plon, Paris, 1911, t. 2, 222ff; Louis Misermont, Le Serment de Liberté-Égalité, Gabalda, Paris, 1914, p. 17ff; Charles Ledré, L'Abbé de Salomon, Vrin, Paris, 1965, pp. 159ff.

¹¹ AN, F¹⁷ 21424, dossier 'Pagès, Étienne'; Charles M. Lombard, Joseph de Maistre, Twayne, Boston, 1976, p. 12.

¹² René Johannet, Joseph de Maistre, Flammarion, Paris, 1932, p. 21. According to family tradition. Joseph himself had had Jesuit 'professeurs libres'.

¹³ Robert Triomphe, Joseph de Maistre: Études sur la vie et la doctrine d'un matérialiste mystique, Droz, Genève, 1968, pp. 54-55, n. 84.

¹⁴ Georges Andrey, Les Emigrés français dans le canton de Fribourg (1789-1815), Éd. de la Baconnière, Neuchâtel, 1972, pp. 132ff.

¹⁵ John Bossy, The English Catholic Community 1570-1850, Darton, Longman & Todd, London, 1976, p. 236; Basil Hemphill, The Early Vicars Apostolic of England, Burns & Oates, London, 1954, pp. 89-91; Leo Gooch, 'Priests and Patrons in the Eighteenth Century', in Recusant History 20 (1990)

207-222; a rumbustious presentation of the situation is found in J. M. R. Lenz's play Der Hofmeister, oder Vorteile der Privaterziehung (1774).

¹⁶ Claude-Joseph Gignoux, Joseph de Maistre, Prophète du passé, historien de l'avenir, Nouvelles éditions latines, Paris, 1963, p. 74.

¹⁷ Jean-Louis Darcel, 'Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Joseph de Maistre', in Etudes maistriennes 1 (1975) 1-92, esp. 5-8; Joseph de Maistre, Les Carnets du comte Joseph de Maistre: Livre-Journal 1790-1817, Vitte, Lyons, 1923, pp. 207, 314-318.

¹⁸ Darcel, 'Catalogue', 15; Jean-Louis Darcel, 'Les Bibliothèques de Joseph de Maistre, 1769-1821', in RFHL 56 (1987) 304, 310-311; Jean Nicolas, La Savoie au XVIIIe siècle, Maloine, Paris, 1978, p. 1005.

¹⁹ M. J. Cantarelli, 'La Bibliothèque de Mellarède', in La vie culturelle et artistique en Savoie à travers les âges, (Congrès des sociétés savantes de Savoie 1972), [s.n.], Chambéry, [s.d.], pp. 85-87; Joannès Chetail, 'Un Janséniste savoyard: l'abbé Mellarède, comte de Bettonet', in Cahiers d'histoire 14 (1969) 80.

²⁰ Adolphe Thiers, Histoire de la Révolution française, Furne, Paris, 1859, t. 1, 393ff; Gignoux, 56, 67. On 22 Sept. de Maistre noted in his carnet, 'Invasion des Français, pluie horrible, fuite infâme de la troupe. Trahison ou bêtise des généraux, déroute incroyable [...]', quoted in François Vermale, Joseph de Maistre, émigré, Dardel, Chambéry, 1927, p. 38.

²¹ Jean-Louis Darcel, 'Joseph de Maistre et la Révolution française', in Revue des études maistriennes 3 (1977) 36; Vermale, 41, 50; Triomphe, 159.

²² Triomphe, 59, n. 95; de Maistre, Carnets.

²³ Apparently Cantal was one of the safest areas for priests, many of whom remained hidden in the area, cf. de la Gorce, t. 2, 321f; t. 5, 166.

²⁴ Les Lettres et les opuscules inédits du Comte Joseph de Maistre, Vaton, Paris, 1851; Oeuvres complètes, Vitte, Lyons, 1884-1887, of which t. IX (Correspondance 1786-1805) might have been expected to yield material. See Triomphe, p. 603; J.-L. Darcel, 'Registres de la Correspondance de Joseph de Maistre', in Revue des Études maistriennes 7 (1981) 1-268.

²⁵ AN, F¹⁷ 21424, dossier 'Pagès, Étienne'.

²⁶ De la Gorce, t. 5; François-Désiré Mathieu, Le Concordat de 1801, Perrin, Paris, 1903. Information about the situation in Lyons is scattered. As part of a nationwide enquiry, the Prefect of the Rhône replied in the summer of 1801 that there were 134 'prêtres soumis et y exerçant', but added 'Il y a un très grand nombre de prêtres insoumis' - AN, AF IV 1065, quoted by Sicard, Clergé, t. 3, 539.

²⁷ Cf. [François] Cattin, Mémoire pour servir a l'histoire ecclésiastique des diocèses de Lyon et de Belley, [s.n.], [s.l.], [s.d.], p. 83; Louis Alloing, Le Diocèse de Belley, histoire religieuse du pays de l'Ain, Chaduc, Belley, 1938, pp. 442, 503, 641.

²⁸ Or 'Ray', cf. [Claude-François-Amédée] Desgeorges, Vie de Mgr Mioland, Josserand, Lyon, 1871, pp. 19-27, and OM4, pp. 315-316, sub nom. Mioland.

²⁹ According to the learned assurance of Père Irénée Noye, archivist of the Company of Saint-Sulpice, 17 Oct. 1983.

³⁰ Charles Ledré, Le Culte caché sous la Révolution, Les Missions de l'abbé Linsolas, Bonne Presse, Paris, 1948; André Steyert, Nouvelle Histoire de Lyon et des provinces de Lyonnais, Forez, Beaujolais, Franc-Lyonnais et Dombes, Bernoux et Cumin, Lyon, 1899, t. 3, esp. pp. 487-546; Charles Monternot, Yves-Alexandre de Marbeuf, Lardanchet, Lyons, 1911, esp. pp. 40-367; Camelin, 18f; Fisquet, 547-551.

³¹ Jean Leflon, Monsieur Émery, Bonne Presse, Paris, 2e éd., 1944, esp. t. 2, 132ff; Henri Tribaut de Morembert, 'Fournier (Marie-Nicholas)', in Roman d'Amat, Dictionnaire de biographie française, Letouzey & Ané, Paris, t. XIV (1972) coll. 848-850 (with bibliography); Épiscopat

français, 372-373; Gerard Cholvy (ed.), Montpellier, Beauchesne, Paris, 1976, pp. 175, 189-195.

³² Information kindly communicated by the archivist of Montpellier diocese, M. l'abbé Gérard Alzieu, 14 April 1983.

³³ Mols, t. 2, pp. 47, 514; Vachet, Paroisses, 736; HECL2, 426ff; Félix Ponteil, Histoire de l'enseignement en France 1789-1964, Sirey, Paris, 1966, pp. 123ff; Louis Grimaud, Histoire de la liberté d'enseignement en France, Rousseau, Paris, 1946, 2e édition, esp. tt. 4-6; Chabot & Charléty, 84ff; François-Alphonse Aulard, Napoléon 1er et le Monopole universitaire, Colin, Paris, 1911, esp. p. 168; Stephen d'Irsay, Histoire des universités françaises des origines à nos jours, Picard, Paris, 1933-1935, t. 2, p. 171. The theological faculties first emerge in a dictated note of the Emperor dated 28 January 1808.

³⁴ 'Il ne sollicita pas cette place et il ne l'accepta que par obéissance aux ordres de Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Lyon, comme il peut le prouver par des pièces authentiques', AN, F¹⁷ 21424, dossier 'Pagès, Étienne'. The entry is here undated.

³⁵ Aulard, Napoléon 1er, 206, 315-317.

³⁶ Although independently researched here, the general details are confirmed in the more recent article by Jean Fiasson, 'Histoire de la Société Linnéenne de Lyon', in Lyon, cité de savants, 129-133.

³⁷ Société Linnéenne de Lyon, Annales de la Société Linnéenne de Lyon, Perrin, Lyon, 1836, 38, 50; Société Linnéenne de Lyon, Compte-rendu des années 1839 et 1840, Perrin, Lyon, 1841, p. 11. See also the titlepage of Pagès's Notice sur les études of 1836.

³⁸ Bange, 136-137; Société Linnéenne de Lyon, Compte-rendu des travaux de la Société Linnéenne de Lyon, pour l'année 1841, Perrin, Lyon, 1842, p. 43.

³⁹ Adrien Garnier, Frayssinous, son rôle dans l'Université, Picard, Paris, 1925, passim; Adrien Garnier, Les Ordonnances du 16 juin, 1828, De Gigord, Paris, 1929; Louis Trénard, Salvandy en son temps 1795-1856, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de

l'Université de Lille, Lille, 1968, esp. p. 457. In August 1838 the chairs of Dogma and Hebrew had been vacant since 1826, cf. Soulacroix-Salvandy, 29 August 1838, AN, F¹⁷ 2671.

⁴⁰ Jean Guerber, Le Ralliement du clergé français à la morale liquorienne, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Rome 1973.

⁴¹ 'from the void into which they have fallen in our day', Journal de Paris, issue of 16 December 1837, quoted in Trenard, Salvandy, p. 458.

⁴² Trenard, Salvandy, p. 458. Cf. the estimates 29-30 and 40-50 given for the year 1837-38, Soulacroix-Salvandy 29 August 1838, in AN, F¹⁷ 2671.

⁴³ Letter Pagès-Salvandy of 2 November 1835, announcing death of his sole surviving colleague, M. l'abbé Vital Chouvy, after a fall on the way from the new railway station at the age of 84 (AN, F¹⁷ 2671); A. N. F¹⁷, 21424, dossier 'Pagès, Étienne'.

⁴⁴ Trenard, Salvandy, p. 458, and the key Mémoire au Concile provincial de Lyon, [s.n.], [s.l.], 1850, by Simon Cattet, who is inaccurate in placing the intervention about 1838. Cattet's pamphlet is wrongly identified in the catalogues of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris as the work of a (non-existent) 'Simon Cholleton'. He receives a reciprocal savaging from Pagès in the latter's comments to Salvandy on candidates proposed to the government by the Archbishop Administrator of Lyons: 'Partout il s'est fait détester' (letter Pagès-Salvandy, 9 December 1836, AN, F¹⁷ 2671). A letter of the Archbishop Administrator to the Prefect of Lozère dated 14 May 1836 suggests Cattet for the post of professor of Dogma for the Lyons Faculty (AN, F¹⁷ 2671).

⁴⁵ AN, F¹⁷ 21424, dossier 'Pagès, Étienne'; AN, F¹⁷ 2671.

⁴⁶ Cf. AN, F¹⁷ 2671, applications Pagès-Salvandy 29 January 1836, Soulacroix-Salvandy 10 December 1836, and Pagès-Salvandy, 25 October 1837, where he is given as 'empêché de faire son cours par une affection au larynx'.

⁴⁷ Archives municipales de Lyon, État civil de décès: 1841, t. 2, No. 5440.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 7:

¹ Dossier 'Pagès, Étienne', AN F¹⁷ 21424.

² Pagès's colleague abbé Chouvy at his death was receiving the same amount, AN, F¹⁷ 2671, Sheet of notes regarding professors salaries.

³ Jean-François Foucaud, La Bibliothèque royale sous la monarchie de juillet, (1830-1848), Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 1978, p. 33; LAM, 1, 320; Guillaume-André de Bertier de Sauvigny, La Restauration, Flammarion, Paris, nouv. éd. 1955, p. 417; AN F¹⁷ 2671, Minute Salvandy-Soulacroix, 6 April 1838.

⁴ Harry Earl Whitmore, 'The Cabinet de Lecture in France, 1800-1850', in Library Quarterly 48 (1978) 22.

⁵ 'The endeavour of his long life and of his exceptional bibliographical learning was the formation of a library capable of providing him with books on all issues that may engage the human mind, and especially in religious matters. The books he sought out were not any sort of book, but good books, and if possible the best. And that was not enough: he insisted on the best editions, or at least good and reputable ones. Moreover, the selection of a copy, of a printing, of the format, the binding, was for him a matter to which he paid the most particular attention. To this end, he did not balk at any sacrifice: journeys in France and abroad, correspondence by letter, expense, searches, and all manner of exertion; he spared nothing in augmenting his library [...] The notes he has left on [in ?] the main works in his library are of the very greatest interest and reveal a consummate booklover.' [Jean Jeantin], Le Très révérend père Colin, fondateur et premier supérieur général de la Société de Marie. Sa vie, ses oeuvres, ses instructions, ses vertus, son esprit, Vitte, Lyons, 1895-1898, t. 2, 21-22.

⁶ BAM, 371-372.

⁷ We shall see from the study that follows that among the catalogues from the period of Pagès's post-Revolution career some are annotated. For the sake of clarity, we refer in the case of these annotated catalogues 1803-1840 to the numbers assigned to them in the main bibliography, printing these numbers in the text rather than in endnotes. The references are in the form [C05], [C17], etc.

⁸ Pierre-Gustave Brunet, Dictionnaire de bibliologie catholique, Migne, Paris, 1860 (= Troisième et dernière encyclopédie théologique, t. 5), col. 482.

⁹ Bourbers, Bruxelles, 1768.

¹⁰ Waesberge, Amsterdam, 1667.

¹¹ Veuve Estienne, Paris, 1740.

¹² [Bullet], Recherches historiques sur les cartes à jouer; avec des notes critiques intéressantes, Deville, Lyon, 1757.

¹³ BAM, 270.

¹⁴ BAM, 133.

¹⁵ Letter Pagès-Salvandy of 2 November 1835, announcing the event (AN, F
¹⁷ 2671); notice in the sale catalogue [C24], p. 6.

¹⁶ Dissertation sur le prêt à intérêt, dans laquelle l'encyclique Vix pervenit de Benoît XIV, sur la matière de l'usure, est clairement exposée et victorieusement défendue contre les fausses interprétations et les vaines attaques des modernes apoloquistes des prêts usuraires [...] Cinqième édition, Augmentée d'un Discours préliminaire de la seconde Partie dans lequel on établit les Principes fondamentaux qui ont été ébranlés à l'occasion des Réponses récentes des Congrégations Romaines sur la matière de l'Usure: Discours préliminaire, Perisse Frères, Lyon & Paris, 1838, (xii + 770 pp.), p. (7).

¹⁷ Jacobus Otto, Lindaugiae, 1761.

¹⁸ Vidua et filius P Harduini Tarbé, Sens, 1791.

¹⁹ André-Charles Cailleau, Dictionnaire bibliographique, historique et critique des livres rares, Cailleau et fils, Paris, 1790.

²⁰ Gabriel Peignot, Dictionnaire critique, littéraire et bibliographique des principaux livres condamnés au feu, supprimés ou censurés [...] tome premier, Antoine Augustin Renouard, Paris, 1806; Répertoire bibliographique universel, Antoine Augustin Renouard, Paris, 1812; Manuel du bibliophile ou traité du choix des livres, Victor Lagier, Dijon, 1823.

²¹ Dom Beaune, Dictionnaire bibliographique, ou nouveau manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres, Ponthieu, Paris, 1824.

²² Gabriel Martin, Catalogue des livres de feu M. l'abbé d'Orléans de Rothelin [mort le 17 juillet 1744], par G. Martin, Gabriel Martin, Paris, 1746. See Bogeng, Bd. I, pp. 141-142; Michel Marion, 'Une Bibliothèque ecclésiastique: les livres de l'abbé Rothelin', in *RFHL* 55 (1987) 201-221.

²³ [Pierre-Louis-Paul Randon de Boisset], Catalogue des livres du cabinet de feu Mr Randon de Boisset, receveur général des finances dont la vente se sera [...] le lundi 3 février 1777, De Bure, fils aîné, Paris, 1777.

²⁴ Guillaume de Bure, Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu Mr le duc de La Vallière; 1ère partie [...] par Guillaume de Bure, fils aîné, Guillaume de Bure, fils aîné, Paris, 1783; see Richard Copley Christie, 'The Catalogue of the Library of the Duc de la Vallière, in *The Library Chronicle* 2 (1885) 153-159, and the recent resumé by Dominique Coq, 'Le parangon du bibliophile Français: le duc de la Vallière et sa collection', in *HBf2*, 317.

²⁵ Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque des ci-devant soi-disans jésuites du collège de Clermont, dont le vente commencera le lundi 19 mars 1764, Saugrain et Leclerc, Paris, 1764; see Mech, 63.

²⁶ Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de la maison professe des ci-devant soi-disans jésuites, Pissot et Gogué, Paris, 1763.

- ²⁷ Catalogue des livres imprimés et manuscrits de la bibliothèque de feu Monsieur d'Aquesseau, doyen du conseil [...], Gogué & Née de la Rochelle, Paris, 1785; see Henry Martin, Catalogue, t. 8, 274-278.
- ²⁸ Catalogue des livres rares et singuliers de la bibliothèque de M. l'abbé Sépher, docteur de Sorbonne [...], dont la vente sera le lundi 6 mars 1786 [...], Fournier, Paris, 1786.
- ²⁹ See Jean-Luc Nyon, Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le duc de La Vallière; Seconde partie disposée par Jean-Luc Nyon aîné [...], Jean-Luc Nyon, Paris, 1784, 6 vols. This second part, however, was bought en bloc by the marquis de Paulmy and passed to the Arsenal, thus being effectively withdrawn from future markets, see Coq, 'Paragon', 317, 330. On the reference use of sales catalogues, see Archer Taylor, Book Catalogues, Their Varietiy and Uses. Second edition, revised by Wm. P. Barlow, Jr., St. Paul Bibliographies, Winchester, 1986, esp. pp. 248-249, 259.
- ³⁰ Catalogue des livres de feu M. l'abbé Lacroix, obéancier de St Just, Joseph Sulpice Grabit, Lyon, 1784.
- ³¹ Bibliothèque choisie, ou notice de livres rares, curieux et recherchés qui font partie d'une bibliothèque de province appartenant à M. L. P., J. B. Delamollière, Lyon, 1791.
- ³² Adrien Baillet, Auteurs déguisés sous des noms étrangers, empruntez, supposez, feints à plaisir, chiffrez, renversez, retournez, ou changez d'une lanque en une autre, Antoine Dezallier, Paris, 1690.
- ³³ [Richard Simon], Bibliothèque critique, ou recueil de diverses pièces critiques dont la plupart ne sont point imprimées, ou ne se trouvent que très-difficilement, publiées par M de Sainjore, Jean Louis De Lormes, Amsterdam, 1708-1710, 4 vols.
- ³⁴ Johannes Christophorus Mylius, Bibliotheca anonymorum et pseudonymorum ad supplendum et continuandum Vincentii Placcii Theatrum et Christophori Augusti Heum Heumanni Schediasma de anonymis et pseudonymis collecta et adornata a M Johanne Christophoro Mylio, Christoph Wilhelm Brandt, Hamburg, 1740.

³⁵ [Etienne Psaume], Dictionnaire bibliographique, ou nouveau manuel du libraire et de l'amateur des livres, Ponthieu, Paris, 1824, t. 1, 230, 233-235, 241; Jacques-Charles Brunet, Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur des livres, Dorbon-Ainé, Paris, [5e éd., 1860-1880], t. 6, coll. 1819-1820.

³⁶ As in the case of the Jesuit Etienne Binet, Quel est le meilleur gouvernement, le rigoureux ou le doux, pour les supérieurs des religions, Veuve Hérissant, Paris, 1776.

³⁷ [Innocent Le Masson], Explication de quelques endroits des anciens statuts de l'ordre des Chartreux avec des éclaircissements donnés sur le sujet d'un libelle qui a été composé contre l'ordre et qui s'est divulgué secrètement, André Galle, La Correrie, 1683.

³⁸ Pierre Dupuy, Commentaire de M. Dupuy sur le Trait des libertez de l'Eglise Gallicaine de M. Pierre Pithou, Jean Musier, Paris, 1715, 2 vols.

³⁹ 'he had gathered all the publications by the fathers of this science, the best works by modern authors, and sought out also those whose principal merit is in their rarity', see Société Linnéenne de Lyon, Compte-rendu [...] 1841, p. 43.

⁴⁰ See Raymond Darricau, 'Pour une histoire des bibliophiles de France', in RFHL NS 1 (1978) 782; see also Louis Bollioud-Mermet, De la bibliomanie, [s.n.], Den Haag, 1765, a work Pagès possessed. Bollioud (1709-1793) was a member of the Lyons Academy (Bregnot du Lut & Péricaud, p. 41.).

⁴¹ [Jeantin], t. 2, 22.

⁴² Assurance of Père Irénée Noye, archivist of the Company of Saint-Sulpice, 17 Oct. 1983.

⁴³ The percentages are rounded. The absolute figures, taken from a count made from the 1841 catalogue, are: religious works 3,025, history 1,703, law 425, sciences 1,108, and literature 770.

⁴⁴ Mornet's general conclusions, despite criticism, seem to have been largely vindicated, see Darnton, 'Reading', 220-221, 225.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 8:

¹ Collombet, 'Pagès, Étienne'. It is not to be excluded that Collombet had had Pagès as a teacher. He studied at Saint-Irénée 1827-1830 and was a tonsured cleric when left to return to a lay career. See P. Faure 'Collombet (François-Zénon)', in d'Amat, t. 9 (1961), col. 305.

² For these summary details, see A. Trin, 'Coste, Jean-Noël' in d'Amat, t. 9 (1961), col. 803.

³ Jean-Noël Coste, Essai sur la conduite que peuvent se proposer de tenir les prêtres appelés à ravaller au rétablissement de la religion catholique en France, par feu M. Coste, curé de Haute-Fage, et Administrateur du Diocèse de Tulle, Troisième édition, à laquelle on a ajouté un petit Ouvrage de piété du même Auteur, [s.n., s.l.], 1801, p. VII.

⁴ Jean-Noël Coste, Manuel des missionnaires, ou essai sur la conduite que peuvent se proposer de tenir les prêtres appelés à travailler au rétablissement de la religion catholique en France: ouvrage posthume de Jean-Noël Coste, curé de Haute-Fage [...] Corrigé, augmenté et publié par Etienne P**, prêtre du diocèse de Saint-Flour, Rome, 1801.

⁵ J.-N. Coste, Essai sur la conduite, p. VI.

⁶ Louis Bertrand, Bibliothèque sulpicienne, Picard, Paris, 1900, t. 2, p. 3.

⁷ See Bertrand, t. 2, 129, for mention of a manuscript treatise by Cartal formerly at Saint-Sulpice, but now untraceable (communication of Père Irénée Noye, archivist of the Company of Saint-Sulpice, 17 Oct. 1983).

⁸ Exposition de la Morale chrétienne, Rusand, Lyon, 1817, 2 vols.

⁹ Dissertation sur le prêt à intérêt, où, après avoir déterminé d'une manière claire et précise en quoi consiste le prêt usuraire, on expose les circonstances qui autorisent à percevoir un intérêt à l'occasion d'un prêt, A. Leclère, Paris, 1819 (xii + 108 pp).

¹⁰ Exod. 22: 25; Lev. 25: 36-37; Deut. 23: 19-20; Neh. 5: 7, 10; Ps 15: 1-2, 5; Prov. 28: 8; Ezek. 18: 5, 8-10, 13-17; 22: 12.

¹¹ Marcel Courdurié, La Dette des collectivités publiques de Marseilles au XVIIIe siècle: Du débat sur le prêt à intérêt au financement par l'emprunt, Institut historique de Provence, Marseilles, [1974]; Bernard Plongeron, 'Du modèle jésuite au modèle oratorien dans les collèges français à la fin du XVIIIe siècle', in Église et enseignement, Colloque d'avril 1976, L'Institut d'Histoire du Christianisme, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1978, pp. 93ff.

¹² Dissertation sur le prêt à intérêt, où, après avoir déterminé d'une manière claire et précise en quoi consiste le prêt usuraire, on expose les circonstances qui autorisent à percevoir un intérêt à l'occasion d'un prêt, 2. éd. considérablement augmentée, Guyot, Lyon, 1820 (xv + 218 pp).

¹³ Antoine Faivre, Du placement d'argent à Intérêt, ou Examen critique d'un ouvrage intitulé, Dissertation sur le prêt à intérêt, Louis Rivoire, Lyon, 1820.

¹⁴ [Clément Villecourt], Lettres à M. Faivre, Précédées d'une analyse critique de sa réponse à M. Paqès, suivies d'une lettre d'un curé à son neveu, d'un extrait du synode diocésain de Benoît XIV sur l'usure, de la lettre encyclique du même pontife, et de quelques autres pièces relatives à cette matière, chez S. Darnaud-Cutty, Lyon, 1821; Épiscopat français, 526-528.

¹⁵ Dissertation sur le prêt à intérêt, dans laquelle, après avoir déterminé d'une manière claire et précise en quoi consiste le prêt usuraire, on expose les circonstances qui autorisent à percevoir un intérêt à l'occasion d'un prêt [...] Troisième édition corrigée et augmentée d'une dissertation sur le contrat de rente, et d'un discours préliminaire dans lequel l'auteur démonte que la doctrine de ses adversaires est exactement la même que celle qui a été condamnée par

Benoît XIV, dans son encyclique Vix pervenit [...], S. Darnaud, Lyon, 1822 (cclvii + 268 pp).

¹⁶ Dissertation sur le prêt à intérêt, où, après avoir déterminé d'une manière claire et précise en quoi consiste le prêt usuraire, on expose les circonstances qui autorisent à percevoir un intérêt à l'occasion d'un prêt, Guyot, Lyon, 1823.

¹⁷ Dissertation sur le contrat de rente, suivie de quelques observations sur deux décisions en matière d'usure, données à Paris par. S. É. le cardinal Caprara, Périsset, Lyon, 1823, (iv + 8 pp.).

¹⁸ Published by Rusand, Lyon, 1826.

¹⁹ Questions sommaires sur ce qu'on nomme improprement prêt de commerce ou prêt à jour, Pitrat, Lyon, 1826.

²⁰ Dissertation sur le prêt à intérêt [...] Cinquième édition, Augmentée d'un Discours préliminaire, p. 1.

²¹ Notice sur les études longues et profondes qu'il fallait faire anciennement dans la Faculté de théologie de Paris pour parvenir au doctorat, [Périsset, Lyon,] 1836 (iv + 36 pp.).

²² Abbé Moralet, Discussion sur l'Usure, Lyon, 1838.

²³ He even paid for a new frontispiece to be printed, with the name of Sauvignet, its new vendor. See De la Grande Hérésie du prêt à l'intérêt signalée par M. Pagès, Boursy fils imprimeurs, Lyon, octobre 1838, pp. 63-64

²⁴ Abbé Challamel, Quelques mots de réclamation sur l'ouvrage de M. Pagès, Imprimerie de Pélagaud et Lesne, Lyon, 1838.

²⁵ De la Grande Hérésie. It was also a cross-strain with polemics concerning the position of the Apostolic Administrator, Archbishop de Pins, who bore the title of a titular see, Amasia in Pontus. The faction that opposed him resorted to lampooning an 'Asian' administration.

²⁶ [Jean-Mathieu] Chausse, Vie de M. [Jean-Louis] Duplay, Delhomme & Briquet, Lyon / Paris, 1887, t. 1, 283ff.

²⁷ Observations sur des circulaires de Mgrs les évêques du Puy et de Belley, relatives à la matière de l'usure, Lyon, chez l'auteur, 1839, (iv + 39 pp.); however, the prospectus, distributed in 9,000 copies, seems to have been fairly provocative, see De la Grande Hérésie, p. 1.

²⁸ A pamphlet survives which is presumably Pagès's publication, giving condemnation and reply: Lettre de Mgr l'archevêque d'Amasie à M. l'abbé Pagès -- Réponse de M. l'abbé Pagès, imprimerie de Veuve Ayné, Lyon, [s.d.], (8 pp.).

²⁹ Bertrand, t. 2, 140-149.

³⁰ [abbé Pierre-Denis Boyer], Défense de l'Église de France contre les attaques de l'auteur de la Dissertation sur le prêt à intérêt: Ouvrage où l'on explique les dernières décisions de la Pénitencerie relative à l'usure, Gaume frères, Paris, 1839.

³¹ [abbé Pierre-Denis Boyer], Lettre de l'auteur de la Défense de l'Église de France contre M. Pagès à un théologien de province qui avait demandé des explications sur le chapitre V de ce même écrit, Gaume frères, Paris, 1839.

³² 'The utterances repeated ad nauseam of a professor who has nothing else to do ...', [Boyer], Défense, 83.

³³ 'put an end to his polemics, which have degenerated into a diatribe against the most respected of our prelates'. [Boyer], Lettre, p. VI.

³⁴ He entered Saint-Sulpice as a pupil in 1809, see Catalogue des élèves qui son entrées au séminaire [...] depuis 1801 jusqu'en 1809, in the Archives de Saint-Sulpice.

³⁵ [Ambroise Rendu], Considérations sur le prêt à intérêt, par un jurisconsulte, Eberhardt, Paris, 1806.

³⁶ Louis Bergasse, 'L'Église et le prêt à intérêt d'après un ouvrage inédit du début du XIXe siècle', in Revue des sciences religieuses 25 (1951) 179-186.

³⁷ 'There has long been in society a manner of reasserting one's interests which continues to be practised by gentlemen and to be condemned by clever doctors', Jean de La Bruyère (ed. Robert Garapan), Les Caractères de Théophraste traduits du grec avec les Caractères ou les Mœurs de ce siècle, Garnier, Paris, 1962, p. 425.

³⁸ 'because I believe we would be preaching in the wilderness', writing on 9 June 1817, cited Bergasse, 186.

³⁹ Mayet 1, 70-71 in the margin (published in QS doc. 371).

⁴⁰ In brackets are given the number of citations, followed by the date of the edition where it is identifiable.

⁴¹ Examen théologique du traité de la pratique des billets et du prest d'argent entre les négociants, Prault, Paris, 1746.

⁴² Pagès refers both to the Italian work : Scipione Maffei, Dell'Impiego del danaro libri tre, Giambattista Bernabò, Roma, 2nd ed. 1746, and to the French translation: De l'Emploi de l'argent, [s.n.], Avignon, 1787.

⁴³ Pagès refers both to the Italian work : Marco Mastrofini, Le usure tre discussioni dell'abate Marco Mastrofini, Roggioli, Roma, 1831; and to the French translation by the abbé Challamel, Discussion sur l'usure, Guyot, Lyon, 1834. On Mastrofini (1768-1845) and his activity, see for instance, the extensive note of Carlo Falconi, Il giovane Mastai: Il futuro Pio IX dall'Infanzia a Senigallia alla Roma della Restaurazione 1792-1827, Rusconi, Milano, 1981, p. 753, n. 61.

⁴⁴ Acta seu decreta tarentasiensis Ecclesiae ab illustrissimis et reverendissimis D D Anast Germonio, B. Th. de Chevron et F. A. Millet de Charles, ab anno 1619 ad an 1696, promulgata, Lyon, 1697.

⁴⁵ 'I have in my Library these original editions; and should anyone wish to assure himself of their truth, I should be happy to show them to

him.' Pagès, Dissertation sur le prêt à intérêt [...] Cinquième édition, Augmentée d'un Discours préliminaire, p. 576.

⁴⁶ 'At Lyons, scholars loved to have recourse to this arsenal of learning', [Jeantin], t. 2, p. 22.

⁴⁷ The expression is not grammatically consistent: 'Let us hope [that the books] will not leave Lyons, and that friends of the sciences that our Colleague cultivated will be allowed to consult them freely.' See Société Linnéenne de Lyon, Compte-rendu [...] 1841, p. 43.

⁴⁸ 'It is perfectly in line with my intentions that the precious library of which we have become the owners should not leave Lyons, and that friends of the sciences that your Colleague cultivated be allowed to consult them freely.' Letter of J.-C. Colin, 8 May 1842, APM DG 224, dossier 'Bibliotheca'. The Société Linnéenne had sent a copy of Aunier's notice.

⁴⁹ BAM, 449-450.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 9:

¹ Minor seminaries roughly covered modern British secondary school age-groups; Paul Dudon, 'Le Cardinal Fesch et les séminaires lyonnais', in Études 96 (1905) 499-526; Colombani, p. 178.

² While the term 'religious order' is used in common parlance, the Council of Trent forbade the multiplication of new orders. Thereafter religious groups that were founded and gained official recognition were known by other terms, most often 'congregation', which had previously been used for major subdivisions of the ancient old orders.

³ Ralph Wiltgen, The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania, 1825 to 1850, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1981, p. 107.

⁴ See OM1; Jean Coste, Lectures on Society of Mary History (Marist Fathers) 1786-1854, Rome, 1965, pp. 1-123; Wiltgen; Claude Rozier, 'Les Missions d'Océanie', in S. Delacroix, Histoire universelle des Missions catholiques, Librairie Grund, Paris, 1956-1958, t. 3, 355-376; Reiner Jaspers, Die missionarische Erschliessung Ozeaniens: Ein quellengeschichtlicher und missionsgeschichtlicher Versuch zur kirchlichen Gebietsaufteilung in Ozeanien bis 1855, Aschendorff, Münster, 1972, esp. pp. 186-195, 226-282; Mauro Filipucci, La Ripresa dell'attività missionaria nel primo Ottocento: La Società di Maria e l'Oceania 1836-1842, doctoral dissertation, Università degli Studi di Bari, 1984, typescript, APM; John Hosie, Challenge: The Marists in Colonial Australia, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, London & Boston, 1987.

⁵ APM 301.41, lithograph doc. 'Listes des Membres de la Société de Marie et leur Division par leurs diverses résidences au 1er Janvier 1850'; printed sheet, 'Listes des PP. de la Société de Marie, Années 1859-1860', with manuscript annotations. The records for that year do not include the non-ordained Marists.

⁶ See the provisional biography by Georges Naïdenhoff, Pauline Jaricot, Médiaspaul, Paris / Editions paulines, Montréal, 1986.

⁷ This story is told in Marie-Cécile de Mijolla, Les Pionnières maristes en Océanie: aux origines des soeurs missionnaires de la Société de Marie 1845-1931, Rome, 1981 (English trans. Origins in Oceania: Missionary Sisters of the Society of Mary 1845-1931, Rome 1984.

⁸ [Gabriel-Claude Mayet], Auguste Marceau, Capitaine de Frégat, Commandant de l'Arche de l'Alliance, par un père mariste, René Vatou, Paris, nouvelle éd. 1882, pp. 29ff.

⁹ Delacroix, 'Déclin', 363-394; Simon Delacroix, 'Conclusion', in S. Delacroix, Histoire, t. 3, 405; Joseph Schmidlin (Matthias Braun, trans.), Catholic Mission History, S.V.D. Mission Press, Techny, Illinois, 1933, pp. 550-552; Paul Duclos (ed.), Dictionnaire du monde religieux dans la France contemporaine, t. 1: Les Jésuites, Beauchesne, Paris, 1987, p. 17.

¹⁰ Jean Coste, 'Une maison d'éducation à Belley sous la monarchie de juillet ... Le Pensionnat de la Capucinière (1834-1840)', in Bulletin d'Histoire et d'Archéologie du diocèse de Belley 25-26 (1970-1971) 61-90.

¹¹ See the biographical sketch prefixed to the edition of Delaunay's poems by his pupil Joseph Carsignol, Poésies de M. Alexis C. Cormilliolle-Delaunay, Briday, Lyon, 1861. An extract is published in OM4, doc. 911; OM4, pp. 250-252; Claude Rozier, Cent ans d'éducation mariste à Toulon, Toulon, 1956, pp. 10ff.

¹² [Jeantin], t. 4, 247-250.

¹³ John W. Padberg, Colleges in Controversy: The Jesuit Schools in France from Revival to Suppression, 1815-1880, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969, p. 1.

¹⁴ Mayet 8, 369-375 (published in QS doc. 380).

¹⁵ APM 311.2: 'Avis à Messieurs les professeurs, préfets, directeurs et supérieur du petit séminaire de Belley' (edition in ATC1, 25-40). See

commentaries by Franco Gioannetti, Uomini nuovi per un mondo nuovo, [s.n.], Roma, 1989; and François Drouilly, Les Avis de Jean-Claude Colin au personnel du petit séminaire de Belley, Centre d'études maristes, Rome, 1990.

¹⁶ QS doc. 380: 7 fn 3.

¹⁷ APM 314.3: Constitutiones Presbyterorum Societatis Mariae 1873, nn. 276-290 (edition in ATC5, 66-73).

¹⁸ The ethos and practice is investigated by [Jeantin], t. 4, 241-276, and by Gioannetti, Uomini, 16-24.

¹⁹ For many of these details I am indebted in the first instance to typewritten notes of Père Marc Perrot, conserved in APM L 200.

²⁰ Padberg, 283-284.

²¹ See Mayet 7, 543-545.

²² See Index Societatis Marie, Rome, 1950.

²³ Charles Girard, Maristes laïcs: Recueil de sources historiques, Centre d'études maristes, Rome, 1988.

²⁴ [Louis Grenot], Société de Marie. Annales des résidences, des séminaires, des collèges et autres oeuvres en Europe et en Amérique (1815-1901), Casterman, Tournai, [1903], t. 2, 19, 72.

²⁵ See [Jeantin], t. 2, 210ff; and the documentation preserved in APM 490.

²⁶ Coste, Lectures, pp. 200, 204.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 10:

¹ 'In all truth it can be said that France has never had more edifying and virtuous pastors. One could only wish that they were more learned and better educated.' Quoted by Bertier de Sauvigny, 306.

² Alonso, 4-5.

³ 'Better that the Lord's field be worked by asses than that it lie fallow', cited by Alonso, 12.

⁴ Mayet S2, 40-41, published in OM2, pp. 481-482.

⁵ APM 311.1, 'Summarium Regularum Societatis Mariae', n. 119 (published ATC1, p. 85).

⁶ Adalbert-G. Hamman, Jacques-Paul Migne: Le Retour aux Pères de l'Eglise, Beauchesne, Paris, 1975, p 47.

⁷ 'This summer (1843), ah! how I kept our confreres' noses to the grindstone, both for theology and for preaching. In the end they were exhausted. They made a real effort.' Mayet 5, 166-167 (reported with reworking in [Jeantin], t. 4, 103-104).

⁸ 'The Society had to begin this way [i.e. with those lacking sustained education]. But without learning it is doomed. I have no faith in the future without learning.' Mayet 6, 432 (published in QS doc. 361: 4).

⁹ Published from 1844. On Migne see Hamman.

¹⁰ 'We must return to the study of the Fathers.' Mayet 1, 59 (published in footnote to QS doc. 363: 1). See also Mayet 7, 189 (published in ES doc. 141: 22).

¹¹ 'As to style, these days everyone knows how to write properly. In French grammar, any little miss who has had a bit of education knows how

to speak properly and she will avert to all the mistakes that a priest makes in his sermon.' Mayet 6, 652-653 (reported with very heavy reworking in [Jeantin], t. 4, 111).

¹² Mayet 7, 822 (published in QS doc. 363: 2 and with reworking in [Jeantin], t. 4, 119).

¹³ 'books of every kind: literature, history, science, natural books, books in foreign languages, books of all sorts [...] books on piety, asceticism, the lives of the saints', Mayet 7, 822 (published in QS doc. 363: 5).

¹⁴ 'Without books we shall accomplish nothing. We are constantly saying how much we must become scholars, that our young Marists must improve their minds. But they will not educate themselves just by racking their brains. What are they going to find there? We need books. To will the end is to will the means. It is a great misunderstanding of economy to deprive ourselves of books', Mayet 7, 821 (published in QS doc. 363: 4).

¹⁵ 'As a friend of good books and a proponent of sound studies, not only could Father Colin not oppose the requests made to him by the professors to have this and that valuable work, but he even anticipated such requests. We used to see him, despite all his many occupations, go in person to booksellers that he knew to be well stocked in second-hand works, and make purchases that amounted to considerable sums. It was in this way that the Society's scholasticates received from his generosity the great theologians, the great commentaries on Sacred Scripture, the great canonists, the Fathers of the Church, the leading mystics, etc., etc. When he arrived in a house, he used to like to read for himself the authors who had treated in depth the questions under discussion, and he would ask the librarian to bring him the works he needed, to cast light on some issue that was engrossing him.' [Jeantin], t. 2, 251.

¹⁶ 'Yes, in order to do good nowadays, much greater learning is necessary than before the Revolution. There are many unbelievers and these unbelievers have learning about all sorts of matters, except about God. For the things of God are completely unknown to them. The clergy, then, must keep on their toes, if they are to gain a hearing with these people and bring them back to the fold. You could even say that in our time a knowledge of physics, mathematics, of chemistry and the sciences

of the day is a necessity in the pulpit. Otherwise people go out on a limb in the pulpit with something they have read in a book on these matters, but that recent discoveries have overtaken. A young man sitting there (and nowadays the young study all such sciences) will go away harbouring contempt for the preacher.' Mayet 6, 652-653 (reported with reworking in [Jeantin], t. 4, 104).

¹⁷ 'The philosophers, through their systems, are nowadays attacking Christianity with all their might. We must therefore study hard, the hour has come.' Mayet 6, 653 (reported in [Jeantin], t. 4, 105).

¹⁸ On 4 Dec. 1847, reported by Mayet 4, 452-453 (published in ES doc 146: 4).

¹⁹ Letter Colin - Huguet 14 Jan. 1864, known only through [Jeantin], t. 4, 121. On Huguet, see [Grenot], t. 2, 3-36. Huguet's works fill twenty-three columns in the Catalogue général des imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale, Imprimerie nationale, Paris, 1921, t. LXXIV, coll. 894-916.

²⁰ [Jeantin], t. 4, 122.

²¹ Jean Coste, 'Historical Commentary on the Constitutions of the Society of Mary: Articulus IX : De Scientia' in Acta Societatis Mariae 4 (1956-1957) 421-425.

²² Dr Karim Diallo is currently working on a scientific bibliography of these works.

²³ [Georges David & Jean Jeantin], Notes Explicatives sur les Constitutions recueillies de la bouche même du T.-R. P. Fondateur par les pères qui l'ont aidé en qualité de secrétaires, Pitrat, Lyon, 1870, p. 7, reprinted ATC6, p. 160; René Aigrain, Histoire des universités, Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1949, p. 86.

²⁴ Mayet 7, 651m, printed with retouching in [Jeantin], t. 4, 250.

²⁵ See the pledge of 23 July 1816, AFM casier 2, dossier 31 and APM 111; critical edition in OM1, doc. 50.

²⁶ On the parish missions of the time, see Ernest Sevrin, Les Missions religieuses en France sous la Restauration (1815-1830), Saint-Mandé, 1948 & 1950, esp. vol. 2, 103-111, 314-329; cf. Colin's approach, Mayet 5, 405-425, (published in ES, doc. 102), and further OM4, pp. 567-569.

²⁷ 'to flee all brilliance, to seek only edification and sanctification', circular of 25 May 1746, cited in Paul Lallemand, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'ancien Oratoire de France, [s.n.], Chatillon-sur-Saône, 1888, p. 173.

²⁸ See, for example, Padberg, 6-12.

²⁹ 'When a fearful heresy threatened to convulse the whole of Europe, my Son raised up his servant Ignatius, to form a Society under his name, calling itself the Society of Jesus, to fight against the hell unleashed against his Church. In the same way in this last age of impiety and unbelief, it is my wish and the wish of my Son that there be another Society to battle with hell, one consecrated to me, one which will have my name, which will call itself the Society of Mary, whose members will call themselves Marists [...]', APM 921.131.2 Mayet, copy C, t. 4, 2653 (critical edition in OM2, doc. 718: 5); also the oral remarks of Jean-Claude Colin on this topic, for example those reproduced in Mayet 1, 12-13 in the margin (published in ES, doc. 80); Mayet 6, 64-66 (ES, doc. 98); Mayet 7, 652 (ES, doc. 172: 23).

³⁰ 'I admire them, but what is good in one age is not good for another. It may perhaps be good in itself, but it is not always good for us.' Mayet 7, 354 (published in ES, doc. 155: 6). Remark made on 30 January 1848, just before the outbreak of the 1848 Revolution.

³¹ Franco Gioannetti, A Spirituality for our Time: Jean-Claude Colin, Founder of the Society of Mary, Centre for Marist Studies, Rome, 1988, chs. 1-2; Jan Snijders, The Age of Mary, Centre for Marist Studies, Rome, 1988, pp. 42-71.

³² 'This is the kingdom of mercy; here mercy is boundless. Justice will take its course in the next world.' Mayet 6, 618 in the margin (published in QS, doc. 385: 2).

³³ 'I do not know what I would have done, but I would rather it was they who acted that way than I. You see, a person at the very moment of entering eternity was being pushed beyond his capacity, and perhaps he might otherwise have been saved.' Mayet S1, 67 (published in ES, doc. 14: 3-4). For broader commentary on the affair see Robert Casanova (ed.), Montlosier et le parti prêtre, Robert Laffont, Paris, 1970.

³⁴ Théodule Rey-Mermet, Le Saint du Siècle des Lumières. Alfonso de Liguori (1703-1787), Nouvelle Cité, Lyon, 1982; Guerber, Ralliement. For Devie's activities, see Guerber, 123ff, and Philippe Boutry, Prêtres et paroisses au pays du curé d'Arg, Cerf, Paris, 1986, pp. 408-422.

³⁵ On the Roman visits see Mayet 1, 166 in the margin (edition in OM2, doc. 588); 1, 130 (edition in OM2, doc. 517); Mayet 3, 146 (edition in OM2, doc. 564: 3); Mayet S2, 201-202 (published in QS, doc. 301: 5-6). On promotion of Liguori, see esp. account in Mayet 5, 294-296 (published in QS, doc. 254); also Mayet S1, 66-73 (published in ES, doc. 14).

³⁶ The most complete study is Cuthbert Johnson, Prosper Guéranger (1805-1875) A Liturgical Theologian, An Introduction to his Writings and Work, Pontificio Istituto Sant'Anselmo, Rome, 1984; see also [Paul Delatte], Dom Guéranger, Abbé de Solesmes, Plon-Nourrit, Paris, 1901, t. 1, p. 136ff; Guerber, 341ff; Anthony Ward, 'The Liturgical Diet of Jean-Claude Colin and Early Priest-Adherents to the Marist Project', in L'Etude de la spiritualité mariste, [s.n.], Rome, 1984, pp. 195-237; Anthony Ward, 'Jean-Claude Colin on Prosper Guéranger', in Ephemerides Liturgicae 103 (1989) 418-434.

³⁷ See Mayet 1, 55 (edition in OM2, doc. 462) and Colin-Champagnat 22 Oct 1830, (AFM, lettres Colin, edition in OM1, doc. 221: 2); Coste, 'Historical Commentary [...] De Scientia', 302-312.

³⁸ See letter Colin-Champagnat 23 June 1836, (AFM lettres Colin, edition in OM1, doc. 396: 5).

³⁹ See in first instance the photocopied sheet of notes by Père Léon Dubois, 'Cent ans de développement mariste dans les différentes parties du monde' [1936], and the anonymous Ms analysis 'Au moment où nous écrivons ces mémoires, 1900', at APM 301.41.

⁴⁰ A summary sketch on Marist training will be found in Coste, Lectures, 203-205, based largely upon Jeantin's work, as cited variously below. As to La Capucinère, many of the details on its history were researched by Père Philibert Gobillot, and are to be found in a manuscript work conserved in APM 923.386; Patrick O'Reilly, 'Le Couvent des Capucins de Belley', in Le Bugey, 25 (1933) 329-349; [Jeantin], t. 1, 244-245; see also OM1, pp. 747-749, 372-376.

⁴¹ [Jeantin], t. 2, 248.

⁴² [Jeantin], t. 2, 253-254.

⁴³ [Grenot], t. 1, 490-492; OM4, pp. 188-189, 233-235, 272-273, 400-401; Ms jotting of Delaunay c. 1841, APM fonds frères tertiaires de Marie (edition in OM4, doc. 906); Letter Jean Forest - Marcellin Champagnat 20 July 1836, (AFM, casier 1, dossier 17; edition in OM1, doc. 400: 2).

⁴⁴ 'notaries, painters, engineers, who have lost their taste for the world and wish to serve God by becoming priests. They are doing their theology. It is with pleasure that this kind of person is welcomed.' Gilbert Roudaire - Marie-Louise Boutarel, 3 Oct. 1841, APM dossier 'Roudaire, Gilbert'.

⁴⁵ OM4, p. 360.

⁴⁶ The suggestion was recently made in conversation by Père Claude Rozier, in October 1990.

⁴⁷ OM4, pp. 400-401.

⁴⁸ Cf. [Jeantin], t. 2, 248-253.

⁴⁹ Jean-Baptiste Bouvier, Institutiones theologicae ad usum seminariorum, 1836, 6 vols.

⁵⁰ Louis Bailly, Theologia dogmatica et moralis ad usum seminariorum, 1789, 8 vols., reprinted at Lyons in 1804 and 1829. See Alonso, 40-47.

⁵¹ Compendiosae institutiones theologicae ad usum seminarii Pictaviensis, Poitiers, 1708-1709, 4 vols. See on Fesch's interests,

Letters Gardette-Fesch 28 Nov. 1814 (published in OM1, doc. 34: 4);
Fesch-Gardette 15 Jan. 1815 (OM1, doc. 35: 3).

⁵² René-François Rohrbacher, L'histoire universelle de l'Eglise catholique, Garnier, Paris, nouv. ed. 1842-1849, 29 vols; Claude Fleury, L'histoire ecclésiastique, P. J. Mariette, Paris, 1691-1738, 36 vols (many reprints); Antoine-Henri de Berault Bercastel, Histoire de l'Église, Moutard, Paris, 1778-1790, 24 vols; nouv. ed. Gauthier, Besançon, 1820, 16 vols, and other editions.

⁵³ APM 321.251, sessions of 10 Sept 1845, at 11.00 am and 3.00 pm; Coste, Lectures, 202f, [Jeantin], t. 2, 248; t. 4, 104; Mayet 5, 552-553, reported in [Jeantin], t. 4, 113; Mayet 8, 398c.

⁵⁴ Aigrain, 86-87.

⁵⁵ Mayet 5, 552-553; S2, 209f, reported [Jeantin], t. 4, 109.

⁵⁶ As for example, in Lent 1845. See Mayet 4, 605 (published in ES doc. 99: 14-16).

⁵⁷ Mayet 5, 543 in the margin.

⁵⁸ Mayet 5, 710 in the margin.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 11:

¹ See a surviving ms. note on the subject in APM 111 (edition in OM2, doc. 749). This vow took till approximately 1852 to acquit.

² Reminiscence by J.-C. Colin in 1850: Mayet 8, 428 (edition in OM2, doc. 709: 2).

³ See, for instance, [Jeantin], t. 2, 11.

⁴ See, for example, the case of Jean-Baptiste-Justin Chanut, who upon his dismissal in 1843 had 24,000 francs restored to him, a sum exceeding the asking price for the Pagès library. Cited in Mayet S1, 142m.

⁵ Details summarized in OM4, pp. 426-428.

⁶ On the renting of the house, see [Jeantin], t. 2, 5-10. The APM conserve still 4 volumes inscribed with Lagniet's name, all published before this date, and hence quite possibly part of the small collection he brought.

⁷ [Jeantin], t. 2, 250-251.

⁸ See echoes of this, and the horror of the Marists in Mayet 1, 117 (published in ES, doc. 11: 1).

⁹ [Jeantin], t. 2, 23.

¹⁰ See Mayet 1, 177 (published in ES doc. 11).

¹¹ Pagès-Salvandy, 9 Dec. 1836, in AN, F¹⁷ 2671; [Jeantin], t. 2, 23.

¹² De la Grande Hérésie, p. 2 and passim.

¹³ Letter Cholleton de Pins of 5 November 1841: APM fonds de Pins. A rather eclectic selection of the greater part of the papers which de

Pins bequeathed to Jean-Claude Colin in 1850 was donated to the diocese of Lyons in 1960.

¹⁴ Details are given in Mayet 1, 642-643 (published in QS, doc. 212: 1-2, with detailed commentary by Jean Coste).

¹⁵ Mayet 3, 283 (published in QS, doc. 330: 3).

¹⁶ See Dominget-Jeantin, 15 January 1877, APM 921.302. This document was partially edited in OM3, doc. 891, omitting details that interest us here: 'Quant à M. Pagès, avant de nous vendre sa bibliothèque, il est venu à la Favorite voir le local qu'on lui destinait.' See also letter Cholleton-De Pins 5 Nov 1841, in APM Fonds de Pins.

¹⁷ Novices were traditionally not to indulge in intellectual studies, but to have only books concerning the spiritual life at their disposal.

¹⁸ Mayet 7, 821 (published in QS, doc. 363: 3).

¹⁹ Mayet 1, 645 (published in QS, doc. 212: 4).

²⁰ Mayet 1, 645 in the margin (published in QS, doc. 212: 4, fn 1); Mayet 4, 621 (edition in OM2, doc. 554: 3).

²¹ See Dominget-Jeantin, 15 Jan 1877 (APM 921.302): 'La partie relative aux sciences naturelles fut plus tard transféré à Belley, d'où elle est revenue à sa place. Malheureusement, personne n'était chargé officiellement de veiller sur cette magnifique bibliothèque. On a laissé les vers ronger des livres précieux. Des manuscrits étaient dispersé [...] Vraiment je souffrais de ce désordre, et je suis heureux de voir qu'enfin on y remédie.'

²² APM, Registre du Conseil général, entry of 21 Jan. 1868.

²³ APM DG 224, dossier 'Bibliotheca'.

²⁴ See brief biographical sketch in OM3, pp. 915-920.

²⁵ Notes for the completion of customs formalities record a total of 428 packages weighing together 28,045 kilos gross APM DG 224, dossier

'Bibliotheca'. The documentation preserved shows that the books were crated by the publisher-bookseller Vitte at Lyons and encountered some difficulties at the customs point in Modane, given that different rates of duty applied to bound and unbound books. Some solution was negotiated and the journey from Lyons costs some 8450 francs, of which half was custom duties, a cost that staggered the Marist authorities.

²⁶ 'a great thing for the Society, both for the present and for the future', Letter Le Cerf Martin (?) of 22 November 1902 in APM DG 224, dossier 'Bibliotheca'.

²⁷ Receipt dated 1914 in APM DG 224, dossier 'Bibliotheca'. This receipt incidentally bears an offer to complete the other three sets of Mansi in other Marist houses.

²⁸ See APM P 200, typescript by Maurice Sérol, 'Notes historiques concernant les maisons de la Province de Paris', p. 23.

²⁹ Mayet 1, 643-644 (published in QS, doc. 212: 3).

³⁰ [Jeantin], t. 2, 251.

³¹ Assurance of Père Michel Desvignes, present superior of La Neylière, on 8 Feb 1988, confirmed by my own searches there, at Rome, Lyons, and Paris.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 12:

¹ 'Man does not realize that God makes his creatures desire what he himself wills. Man is nothing. He thinks he is acting, but it is God who is pushing him forward.' Mayet 1, 643 (published in QS, doc. 212: 2).

² Mayet 1, 642 (published in QS, doc. 212: 1).

³ 'M. Pagès [...] made a gift [...] of his famous library, one of the most celebrated and most complete in France, enriched by those masterly works and great theologians that we no longer come across and whose works are out of print.' Mayet 1, 642 (published in QS, doc. 212: 1).

⁴ Dominget-Jeantin, 15 Jan 1877 (APM 921.302): 'La partie relative aux sciences naturelles fut plus tard transféré à Belley, d'où elle est revenue à sa place.'

⁵ 'aujourd'hui la connaissance de la physique, des Mathématiques, de la chimie et des sciences du temps est nécessaire pour la chaire'. Mayet 6, 652-653 (reported with reworking in [Jeantin], t. 4, 104).

⁶ 'he needed two more libraries of this kind, one for the community of the professed in Lyons [Puylata]', Mayet 1, 643-644 (published in QS, doc. 212: 3).

⁷ Coste, 'Historical Commentary [...] De Scientia', 288.

⁸ 'Those wretches insinuated their venom everywhere for two centuries', Mayet 4, 458m, cited in [Jeantin], t. 4, 118.

⁹ See for instance, Mayet 6, 463-465 (published in ES doc. 161: 5).

¹⁰ Drouilly, pp. 28-33.

¹¹ Mayet 5, 375-376 (published in QS doc. 268: 5, 10).

¹² These percentages express the proportion the individual sections represented against the size of the whole Pagès library.

¹³ In precise figures, 144 as against 281 works.

¹⁴ To 1216 for the West and 1439 for the East.

¹⁵ The details that follow are largely taken from Hamman. The entries in the catalogues of the Bibliothèque Nationale are incomplete, and so final totals remain uncertain.

¹⁶ Hamman, 69-70.

¹⁷ See Jacqueline Genet, L'Énigme des sermons du curé d'Ars: Étude sur la prédication de saint Jean-Marie Vianney suivie de l'analyse critique et du texte de six sermons transcrits à partir des originaux, Ed. de l'Orante, Paris, 1961; Gérard-Majella Bouchard, La prédication morale de Jean-Claude Colin (1818-1829), doctoral thesis, Accademia Alfonsiana, Pontificia Università Lateranense, Rome, 1973 (typescript in APM).

¹⁸ Pedro de Ribadeneira, Flos sanctorum, Luis Sanchez, Madrid, 1599; Pedro de Ribadeneira, Les Fleurs des vies des saints, de la Mare, Rouen, 1645-1646; François Giry, Vie des saints [...], F. Leonard, Paris 1683-1685, 2 vols.

¹⁹ Mayet 5, 409 in the margin (published in ES doc. 169); Mayet 4, 647ff.

²⁰ Jean-Alexandre Buchon, 'Rapport sur les bibliothèques du département de la Vienne', in Journal général de l'instruction publique vol 7, n. 31, p. 178, cited by Barnett, 225.

²¹ Claude Laporte, 'Historique de la bibliothèque municipale d'Aubenas', in Revue du Vivarais 77 (1973) 18-32.

²² Barnett, 228.

²³ Barnett, 275.

²⁴ Robert Lemoine, L'Époque moderne 1563-1789: Le monde des religieux, Cujas, Paris, [s.d.], p. 158; François de Dainville, 'Pour l'histoire de l'Index: L'ordonnance du P. Mercurian sur l'usage des livres prohibés (1575) et son interprétation lyonnaise en 1597', in Recherches de science religieuse 43 (1954) 86-98.

²⁵ In 1842, Mayet 1, 210 (published in ES doc. 48: 1); see Claude Savart, Les Catholiques en France au XIXe siècle: Le Témoignage du livre religieux, Beauchesne, Paris, 1985, pp. 252ff.

²⁶ Circular of 20 Oct. 1851.

²⁷ de Dainville, 'Pour l'histoire', 97-98; Mayet 3, 324m (published in QS doc. 266: 3); Mayet 1, 528 (published in ES doc. 35: 7); Mayet 1, 526 (published in ES doc. 35: 7).

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 13:

¹ Gilbert Roudaire Marie-Louise Boutarel, 9 Dec. 1841, APM dossier 'Roudaire, Gilbert'.

² See the recent resumé by Patrick O'Reilly in his Calédoniens: Répertoire bio-bibliographique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Société des Océanistes, Paris, 2nd ed. 1980, pp. 278-280; Patrick O'Reilly, 'Un Missionnaire naturaliste, Xavier Montrouzier (1820-1897)', in Revue d'histoire missionnaire, 8 (1931) 5-27; and, with caution, Hugh Laracy, 'Xavier Montrouzier: A Missionary in Melanesia', in James Wheeler Davidson & Deryck Scarr (edd.), Pacific Island Portraits, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1970, pp. 127-145, 314-317.

³ Information kindly supplied on the basis of his personal research in the Montpellier diocesan archives by Dr Frédéric Angleviel.

⁴ See letter to his brother of 5 December 1842, APM dossier 'Montrouzier, Xavier'; Mayet 3, 334-337 (published in QS doc. 269, see also the accompanying notes there).

⁵ He moved later to Puyлата, see Mayet 3, 346-349 (published in QS doc. 270).

⁶ The details are found in the standard work, Wiltgen.

⁷ The religious aspect of this missionary enterprise in the Solomons has been traced in terms that are not indulgent towards Montrouzier in Hugh Laracy, Marists and Melanesians: A History of Catholic Missions in the Solomon Islands, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1976, pp. 11-31.

⁸ A version was published at Lyons in Annales de la Société d'Agriculture de Lyon, 7 (1855) 1-14; 8 (1855) 393-416, 417-504 and later appeared Essai sur la faune de l'île de Woodlark ou Moiou,

Dumoulin, Lyon, 1857. For the circumstances see O'Reilly, 'Missionnaire naturaliste', 9-10.

⁹ See Paul Fournier, Voyages et découvertes scientifiques des missionnaires naturalistes français a travers le monde pendant cinq siècles, Lechevalier, Paris, 1932, pp. 213-219; a recent summary of botanical work in New Caledonia by Hugh Shaw McKee, 'Les étapes de la connaissance botanique de la Nouvelle Calédonie', in Bulletin de la Société d'études historiques de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, 54 (1983) 44-54; on one area of Montrouzier's work, see A. Guillaumin & G. Beauvoisin, Species Montrouzierianae, Rey, Lyon, 1914.

¹⁰ APM dossier 'Montrouzier, Xavier': letters to his family of 10 Sept. 1872.

¹¹ See bibliography in O'Reilly, 'Missionnaire naturaliste', 25-27; and Robert Streit & Johannes Dindinger, Bibliotheca Missionum: t. 21, Missionsliteratur von Australien und Ozeanien 1525-1950, Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1955, pp. 169-172.

¹² Ba Comuli Kristiano nam nielaïu, [Imprimerie de la mission], Balade, New Caledonia, 1855. See Streit & Dindinger, t. 21, 147; Patrick O'Reilly, Bibliographie méthodique, analytique et critique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Société des Océanistes, Paris, 1955, p. 150, with a reproduction of the frontispiece on p. 151. The work is known in a single copy, conserved in APM.

¹³ APM dossier 'Montrouzier, Xavier': letters to his family of 24 Mar. 1858, 15 Aug. 1858, 16 May 1873, 10 July 1873.

¹⁴ APM dossier 'Montrouzier, Xavier': letters to his family of 10 Mar. 1887, 26 Feb. 1874, 19 Feb. 1861, 5 Jan. 1866, 30 July 1878, 18 Jan. 1879, 8 May 1885.

¹⁵ See Mayet 2, 386.

¹⁶ The library was taken into possession in December 1841, Montrouzier joined in early 1844.

¹⁷ APM OP 418, Letters Victor Poupinel - François Yardin, 9 & 25 Jan. 1860 and 30 May 1860.

¹⁸ The discoveries were made in May 1980 by Fr Theo Kok who kindly communicated to me on 17 Sept. 1990. His notes are conserved in APM OC 200.

¹⁹ Manuel de médecine et de chirurgie, à l'usage des soeurs hospitalières, Nantes, 1836 2 vols.

²⁰ Histoire de Ste Thérèse d'après les Bollandistes, Paris 1885, 2 vols; Marcel Bouix (ed.), Oeuvres de Ste Thérèse, Julien & Lanier, Paris, 1854, 3 vols; Lettres apostoliques de SS Léon XIII, Maison de la Bonne Presse, Paris, 7 vols; Joseph-Louis Jouve, Le Missionnaire de la campagne, Tolra, Paris, 1896, 4 vols; A. Chauffard, L'apocalypse et son interprétation historique, Paris, 1888, 2 vols.

²¹ Joseph Dehergne, 'Travaux des jésuites sur la Bible en Chine', in Belaval & Bourel, Siècle, pp. 211-228.

²² See, for instance, APM 712, his journal entries for 1838 at April 3, 14, 16, 17, 24, 25, critical edition in Claude Rozier (ed.) Écrits de S. Pierre Chanel, Rome, 1960, pp. 338-345.

²³ See the classic work by Maurice Leenhardt, Langues et dialectes de l'Austro-Mélanésie, Institut d'Ethnologie, Paris, 1946.

²⁴ Patrick O'Reilly, 'Travaux inédits de linguistique des missionnaires maristes aux Nouvelles-Hébrides', in Journal des Océanistes 7 (1951) 249-253.

²⁵ Partial lists are found in Streit & Dindinger, t. 21, passim, and in the works of Patrick O'Reilly, too numerous to list here. See Serge Kakou, 'L'Oeuvre du Père O'Reilly', in Bulletin de la Société d'études historiques de la Nouvelle Calédonie n. 77 (1988) 6-24.

²⁷ The most recent resumé regarding him is by O'Reilly, Calédoniens, 213.

²⁸ Nouvelle imprimerie nouméenne, Noumea, 1900. It was re-published subsequently at Lyons.

ENDNOTES TO CONCLUSION

¹ Fédou, 'Imprimerie', 9.

² Alfred Coville, Recherches sur l'histoire de Lyon du Ve siècle au IXe siècle (450-800), Auguste Picard, Paris, 1928, pp. 33-75; Courtenay Edward Stevens, Sidonius Apollinaris and his Age, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1933, p. 10.

³ Eddius Stephanus, Vita sancti Wilfrithi, c. 6, in Bertram Colgrave (ed.), The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus: Text, translation and notes, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1927, pp. 13-15.

⁴ Chadwick, op. cit., is eloquent on this incipient process of separation already under Ancien Régime throughout Europe.

⁵ See OM4, p. 545, references at SH171.

⁶ 'notaries, painters, engineers', Gilbert Roudaire Marie-Louise Boutarel, 3 Oct. 1841, APM dossier 'Roudaire, Gilbert'.

⁷ Darnton, Business, found copious quantities. See pp. 611-614.

⁸ See my preliminary study, 'A Galliae Capite ad Caput Mundi: A Little Known Witness at Rome to a Lyonese Revival', in the forthcoming Festschrift for Cardinal Giuseppe Casoria, Rome, 1991.

⁹ 'Here men survive unto themselves, here they keep silence and are present, here they speak and are absent.' Quoted in BAM, 23. A longer version was apparently in service at Carpentras: see Taylor, 171.

¹⁰ Areopagitica: A Speech of Mr John Milton for the Liberty on Vnlicensed Printing, To the Parliament of England, [s.n.], London, 1644, p. 4. Reprinted in Complete Prose Works of John Milton, vol. II 1643-1648, Yale University Press, New Haven / Oxford University Press, London, 1959 p. 492.

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MS Coste 1407, printed in BAM, 126-131.

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F¹⁷ 2671, Pagès - Salvandy, 2 November 1835.

F¹⁷ 2671, Pagès - Salvandy, 29 January 1836.

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F¹⁷ 2671, Pagès - Salvandy, 25 October 1837.

F¹⁷ 2671, Salvandy - Soulacroix, 6 April 1838

F¹⁷ 2671, Soulacroix - Salvandy, 10 December 1836.

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APM 110

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APM 300

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:: 311.1: 'Summarium Regularum Societatis Mariae' (edition in ATC1, 65-87).

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- :: Jean Forest - Marcellin Champagnat 20 July 1836, (edition in OM1, doc. 400).

II.

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[C02] Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. Pitt, docteur-médecin à Lyon [vente le lundi 3 prairial an XI], Imprimerie Ballanche père et fils, Lyon, 1803.

[C03] Catalogue des livres d'une bibliothèque choisie, provenant d'un amateur dont la vente se fera [...] le lundi 24 prairial an XI (13 juin 1803), Frères Perisse, Lyon, 1803.

[C04] Catalogue des livres de feu M. P. H. Suchay, ancien directeur honoraire de l'école de dessin de Lyon [...] dont la vente se fera [...] lundi 1er décembre 1806, Bergé, Lyon, 1806.

[C05] Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque d'un amateur dont la vente se fera [...] lundi 10 avril 1809 [...], [s.n.], Lyon, 1809.

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[C08] Catalogue des livres de la Bibliothèque, vases de porcelaine de la Chine, et machines d'astronomie, etc de feu Jean Dupoux dont la vente se fera [...] le 23 janvier 1815, Imprimerie J. B. Kindelem, Lyon, 1815.

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[C11] Catalogue des livres provenant de la bibliothèque d'un amateur dont la vente se fera en détaille et à l'enchère le 8 janvier 1816 [...], J. B. Kindelem, Lyon, 1815.

[C12] Catalogue des livres provenant d'une grande bibliothèque dont la vente se fera [...] le premier avril 1819 [...], Beaucé-Rusand, Paris, 1819.

[C13] Catalogue de livres imprimés et manuscrits composant la bibliothèque de M B D M dont la vente se fera le mardi 23 mai 1820, J. S. Merlin, Paris, 1820.

[C14] Catalogue des livres de la Bibliothèque de feu S. E. le cardinal César-Guillaume de La Luzerne dont la vente se fera le lundi 4 mars 1822, Bleuet, Paris, 1822.

[C15] Catalogue des livres imprimés et manuscrits, la plupart rares et précieux, composant la bibliothèque de M. B. D. G. dont la vente se fera le lundi 29 mars 1824, J. S. Merlin, Paris, 1824.

[C16] Catalogue des livres dont plusieurs très rares et très précieux composant la bibliothèque de feu M. L. A. B. qui seront vendus le jeudi 27 avril 1826 [...], J. S. Merlin, Paris, 1826.

[C17] Catalogue des livres doubles de la bibliothèque de la ville de Lyon, dont la vente aura lieu en détail et aux enchères au mois de juin prochain, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Lyon, 1831.

- [C18] Catalogue des livres de M A B de Lyon qui seront vendus incessamment février 1832, P. Rusand, Lyon, 1832.
- [C19] Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. P. collection curieuse de livres [...] la vente de ces livres commencera le lundi 25 juin 1832 [...], J. S. Merlin, Paris, 1832.
- [C20] Catalogue des livres imprimés et manuscrits composant la bibliothèque de feu M. J. P. Abel-Rémusat [...] dont la vente se fera le lundi 27 mai 1833 [...], J. S. Merlin, Paris, 1833.
- [C21] Catalogue d'une bibliothèque dont la vente aura lieu le mardi 10 mars et jours suivant [...], rédigé et mise en ordre par J. Janon, Louis Perrin, Lyon, 1835.
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- [C27] Catalogue des livres imprimés et manuscrits, provenant de la bibliothèque de M de B. dont la vente se fera le 1er mars prochain [...], Louis Perrin, Lyon, 1837.

[C28] Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de M le docteur Gottl Hulsmann dont la vente se fera le lundi 27 novembre 1837 [...], Merlin, Paris, 1837.

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