III

THE BIBLE IN MAYNOOTH

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Introduction

The story of the Bible in Maynooth mirrors the separate yet parallel development of the translation, publishing and dissemination of the Scriptures by the two main Christian denominations in the post-Reformation period. Before the middle of the fifteenth century manuscript bibles were for the exclusive use of the clergy and nobility. The Latin Vulgate version reigned supreme, well under Church control. Some hundred editions of the Vulgate were printed by the end of the fifteenth century.[1] Many vernacular versions emerged in Europe from the mid-1450s onward. There were over 75 versions of Scripture in German, French, Dutch, Italian and Spanish before 1540. In the same period some 50 English versions were printed.[2] The emergence of these vernacular versions in European languages represents another strand in bible production. For a short period there were many versions of the Vulgate and increasing numbers in the vernacular being produced simultaneously. The bible collections in Maynooth, some 2,500 volumes, reflect these two groups, with an overlap up to the early sixteenth century.

The college collections were built up from the beginning of the nineteenth century by donation, bequest and judicious purchase.

Manuscript and incunable bibles are outnumbered by early printing in Greek and Latin from the well-known sixteenth-century scholar-printers. Polyglots such as Hutter's, printed in Nuremberg in 1599, Commelin's edition, printed in Heidelberg in 1586, and a late six-volume printing in 1854 at Bielefeld join the masterpieces of Christopher Plantin and Brian Walton in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively.

The second collection at Maynooth—that of the National Bible Society of Ireland, formerly the Hibernian Bible Society—contains many fine examples of all the above and much more.[3] The society was founded in 1806, two years after the founding in 1804 of the parent body, the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Bible Society collection contains examples of the publications of the British and Foreign Bible Society up to the 1960s, and signif-

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icant donations and bequests have enhanced the collection, which was given to St Patrick's College on permanent deposit in 1986.[4] This collection, to be discussed below, represents the Protestant missionary endeavour to give access to the Bible to all in their own language. Catholic versions were in Latin, the language of the Church and clergy. These were annotated, with volumes of commentary. The Bible message was interpreted for and conveyed to the people by their clergy. The largely Protestant way was to provide, using the Greek and Hebrew originals, versions for the people to read themselves, versions which were often given a particular slant in the translations.

Within sixty-odd years of the development of printing in Europe an extraordinary printing event took place in Alcalá de Henares, Spain, where the Complutensian Polyglot was printed in six volumes from 1514 to 1517, and published five years later. This delay partly enabled Erasmus to reap the honour of the

The great polyglots
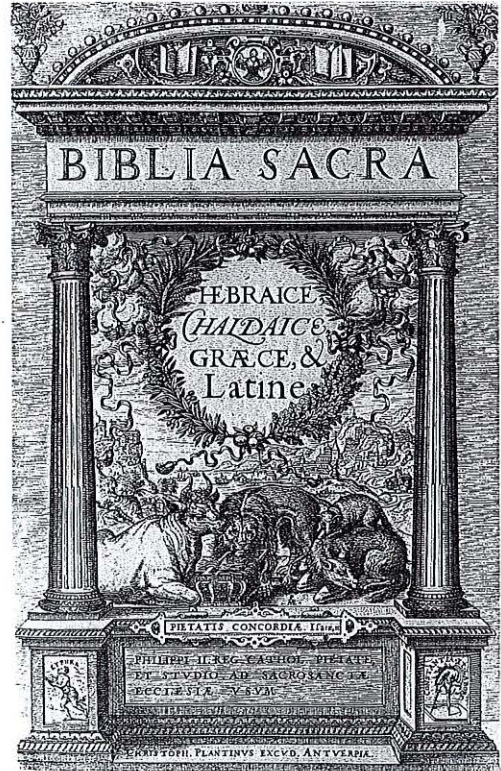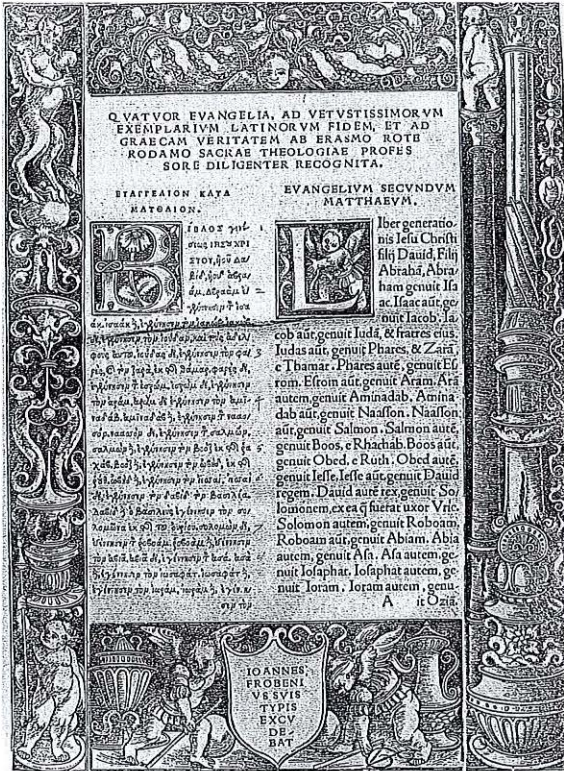
Moulded leather binding, cuir-bouilli, a nineteenth-century revival of an Anglo-Saxon process used for a special edition of the Bible published by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1873.

first *published* Greek Testament. His edition was published in 1516, whereas the polyglot version had been printed two years earlier.[5] Erasmus appears to have been determined to be first, editing and revising continually while the work was at the press. As a result there were many errors. However, although the text was inferior to the Complutensian it was available first and in a more convenient form, and so was widely circulated. An illuminating first-hand account of this production using documentary sources is to be found in Worth's *Bible translations.*[6]

The Complutensian Polyglot has been rightly praised as a triumph of pre-Reformation scholarship. It contains the first Catholic printing of the Hebrew Old Testament, the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament. It was produced under the patronage and at the expense of Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros (1436–1517), founder of the University of Complutum (Alcalá).[7]

Philip II of Spain's polyglot, printed by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp, was largely the work of Benedictus Arias Montanus (1527–98).[8] Printing took four years, from 1569 to 1572. The

number of languages was increased with the addition of Syriac. Nine hundred and sixty ordinary copies were printed, 200 superior, and smaller quantities of fine, superfine and vellum. Our copy is one of the 960. Many of the entire edition were lost at sea *en route* from Antwerp to Spain. It was a magnificent production, as one would expect from one of Europe's foremost scholar-printers. Papal sanction accorded in 1572 did not prevent fierce attacks on the edition by Spanish theologians at Salamanca and by the Jesuit theologian Juan de Mariana (1536–1624).

Lesser polyglots, such as the edition printed by the French scholar-printer Jerome Commelin (fl. 1560–97) at Heidelberg in 1586[9] and the twelve-language polyglot New Testament of Elias Hutter (1553–1602?),[10] are represented in the college collection. The additional languages are German, Bohemian, Italian, Spanish, French, English, Danish and Polish. The value of this work was much diminished by Hutter's somewhat cavalier editorial method of supplying missing passages from other versions. The two-volume work is bound in contemporary boards with stamped pigskin covering.

Pocket-sized testaments and gospel books in English, Japanese, Luganda, Swahili and French, produced by bible societies between 1900 and 1960.

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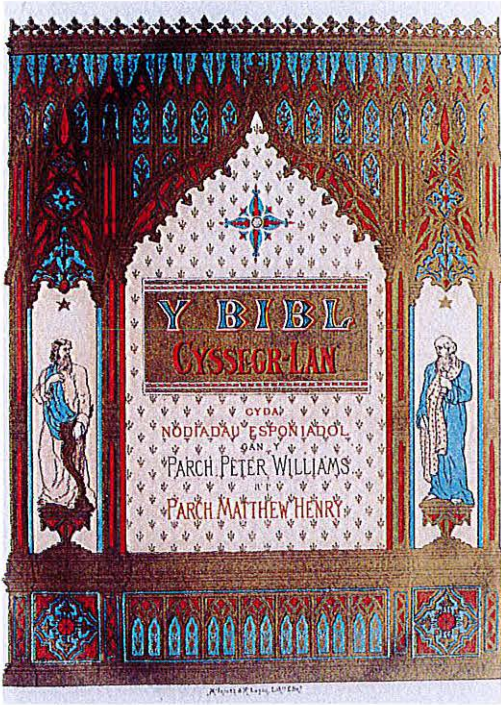
Left:
Title-page of a Welsh bible printed at Bangor in 1874 using the chromolithographic process.

Right:
Contemporary gold-tooled red morocco binding of John Baskerville's folio bible printed at Cambridge in 1763.

The London or Walton's Polyglot is the only polyglot work not printed under Catholic auspices. Its editor, Dr Brian Walton (1600–61), was a Cambridge-educated cleric who took up the study of oriental languages following his removal from his parishes in 1642. By 1647 he had drawn up a plan for his bible to be printed by subscription—an early example of this publishing method. Oliver Cromwell had allowed the paper to be imported free of duty. This favour was acknowledged in the original form of the preface, which exists in this so-called 'republican' form and also in the post-Restoration loyal form. There are two copies of the polyglot in the collections, both containing the loyal preface. Subscribers could chose to include or exclude the Apocryphal books, as Walton explains in a note after Nehemiah. In the preliminary notes, *Explication Idiotismorum . . .*, there are two interesting cancels, one pasted over the words *'vel summorum Pontificium'*. There is a fine engraved portrait of Walton by Pierre Lombart (1612–82) as frontispiece. The engraved title-page, maps and plans were drawn by the Czech engraver Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–77).[11]

German- and French-published polyglot bibles complete the examples in the collections. The *Polyglotten-Bibel* owned by Gerald Molloy (1843–1906), professor of dogmatic and moral theology at Maynooth, was printed in Bielefeld in the mid-1850s.[12] The French polyglot edited by the Abbé Fulcran-Grégoire Vigouroux was published at the turn of the present century.[13]

By the mid-fifteenth century there were already Bible translations in 33 languages, two thirds of them European.[14] One hundred years after the introduction of printing by movable type, complete bibles had been printed in only ten European languages.[15] The spread of printing was slow to increase this total, which numbered only 71 languages or dialects 350 years later. More translations were made between 1800 and 1830 than in the preceding 1,800 years altogether. These translations were in 86 languages, 66 of them from outside Europe. The causes of this phenomenal growth are to be found in the evangelical revival of the previous century and in the work of bible societies such as the American Bible Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The bible societies

It would be incorrect to assume that nothing happened in this period of slow growth up to the mid-nineteenth century. The printing of vernacular versions preceded the Reformation in many instances. A great deal of Catholic missionary activity arose out of the founding of the Society of Jesus in 1540, stimulated by the Reformation.

The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was founded in Rome in 1662 by Pope Gregory XV. The Congregation decided on locations for missionary activity and set up training colleges in Rome. Catholic missions were closely allied to the imperial expansion of Spain, Portugal and France. Later, as the Protestant nations' maritime powers were developed they concerned themselves with the conversion of their trading partners. The Dutch began the first translation of any part of the Bible into a non-European language—St Matthew's Gospel in Malay and Dutch was published in 1629 under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company.
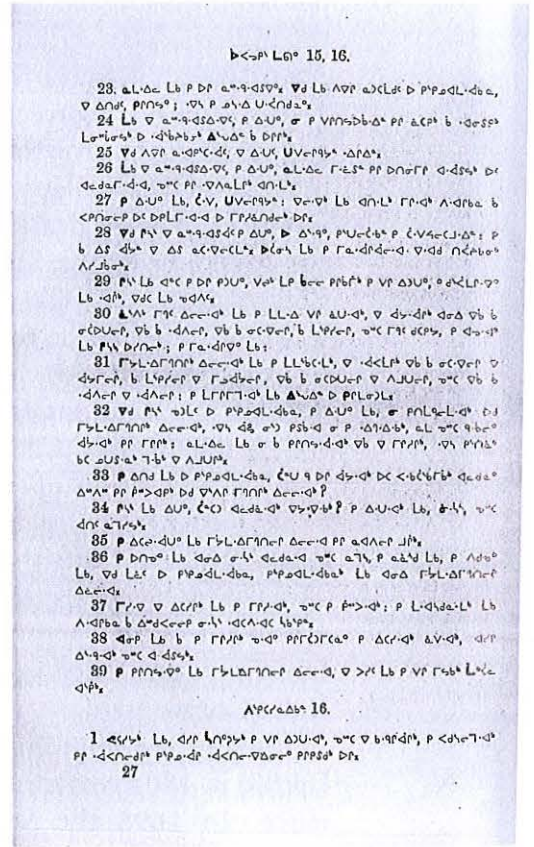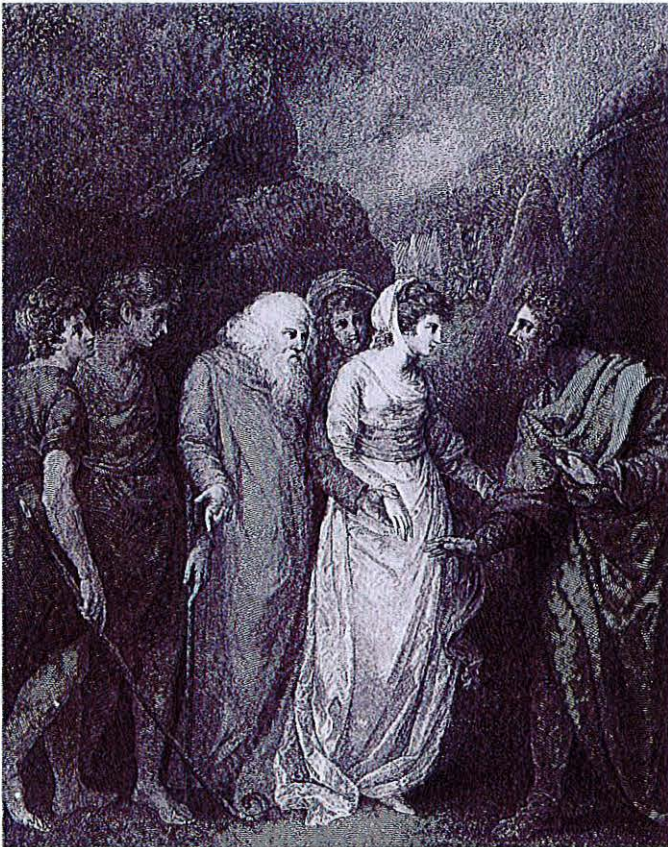
Prior to the founding of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) in 1804 two other influential societies were already in existence. In 1698 the Society for the Propagation of Christian

Knowledge was established, followed in 1701 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

The founding of the BFBS in 1804 began what was to become a worldwide movement of Bible translation, printing and distribution, and was followed twelve years later by the American Bible Society. The founders—William Wilberforce, Lord Teignmouth, Charles Grant and Zachary Macauley, known as the 'Clapham sect'—were for the most part evangelical in their religious convictions. The society was run by a committee formed of a mix of commercial, professional and financial interests and gentlemen. It was not a religious society as such and its stated aim was the widest provision and distribution of the Scriptures *without note or comment*. Interpretation was the preserve of the Churches. Bibles and Testaments were to be sold, not given away, albeit for a nominal sum. Its achievement in the nineteenth century was due to the

Left:
'Moses meeting his wife and sons': an engraving from Thomas Macklin's six-volume bible published in London in 1800.

Right:
Moose Cree New Testament, printed in syllabic characters in 1876 by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Book of Exodus. Latin. Thirteenth-century manuscript.

BOOK HOA MATTHEW.

KETH NSEH.	CHAP. I.
BOOK tre ba uborr u Jesus Krist, traak Davy, traak Abram.	THE book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.
2 Abram kum Isaac, ngha Isaac kum Jakob; ngha Jakob cum Judah ngha epintre woa tre;	2 Abraham begat Isaac; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Judas and his brethren;
3 Ngha Judah kum Phares ngha Sarah ha Thamar; ngha Phares kum Esron; ngha Esron kum Aram;	3 And Judas begat Phares and Zara of Thamar; and Phares begat Esrom; and Esrom begat Aram;
4 Ngha Aram kum Aminadab; ngha Aminadab kuun Nahasson; ngha Nahasson kum Salmon;	4 And Aram begat Aminadab; and Aminadab begat Naasson; and Naasson begat Salmon;
5 Ngha Salmon kum Boas ha Rahab; ngha Boas kum Obed ha Ruth; ngha Obed kum Jesse;	5 And Salmon begat Booz of Rachab; and Booz begat Obed of Ruth; and Obed begat Jesse;

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The only complete book of the Bible, St Matthew's Gospel, in Bullom, a language of Sierra Leone; printed in 1816 by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

adoption of business methods in all aspects of the work.[16] Early in its history the society had its share of controversy. One such controversy led to the secession of the Scottish members and to the form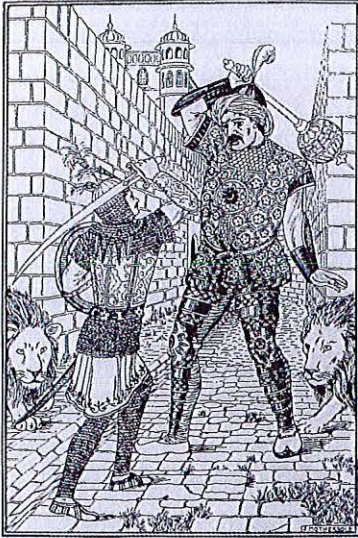ing of their own society. The question of the status of the Apocryphal books had long been a problem for Protestants, especially Calvinists. After much debate the Bible Society agreed to accept the difference of opinion and included the Apocrypha in bibles for countries where they were customarily included.

The society's first publication was of St John's Gospel in Mohawk, published in their founding year. In their third annual report (1807) the following transaction is noted: 'Dec 17 To the Mohawk nation 2000 copies of the Gospel of St John bound in calf . . . £204.9.96'. In the next hundred years 186,680,000 copies of the Scriptures had been printed and distributed in 378 languages and dialects.

The society was run as a commercial, not philanthropic, business. The profits were ploughed back in to the production of fresh translations. Auxiliary associations were set up to collect money and distribute the bibles. From a very early date women were the backbone of the society, forming ladies' bible associations. They were more successful than men at door-to-door collecting and distribution. This method of selling by itinerant hawkers or peddlers was used extensively on the Continent and in Britain from the society's jubilee in 1853. Colporteurs were active in cities, selling at fairs, at street corners, and in public houses. One even had a free pass on the Great Northern Railway.[17] George Borrow's account of his time as a BFBS agent, *The Bible in Spain,* published in 1843, proved very popular and went into many editions.[18] American-born Asenath Nicholson, described as 'a humble and forgotten colporteuse', travelled through Ireland in 1844 and 1845 to learn what she could about the peasantry, their religion and their needs prior to becoming a missionary amongst them.[19] She met and disagreed with the Nangles, who ran a mission and a press on Achill Island. The Nangles' mission, though philanthropic, was rigid and

সিংহের নিকট দিয়া গমন।	৮৩

সত্য বলিতে কি, সিংহ দুইটার ভয়ঙ্করতা, এবং তাহাদের উৎসাহ-
দাতা এই অহুরটার উদ্ভাব প্রযুক্ত সম্প্রতি এ পথে যাত্রীদিগের
বড় একটা গতিবিধি হয় নাই। এই জন্য রাস্তায় ঘাস গজাইয়া
উঠিয়াছিল।

এমন সময়ে শ্রীশ্রীয়ানী বলিল, "যদিও রাজপথে এত দিন
লোক চলে নাই, যদিও পথিকদিগকে প্রতিদিন উপপথ দিয়া যাইতে
হইয়াছে, এখন আর তেমন হইবে না ; আমি ইস্রায়েলের মধ্যে
মাতৃস্বরূপা হইয়া উৎপন্না হইলাম" (বিচা ৫ ; ৬, ৭)।

ইহা শুনিয়া উগ্রমূর্তি সিংহদের নামে দিয়া বলিল,
"পালাও, পালাও, এ পথ দিয়া তোমরা যাইতে পাইবে না।"

কিন্তু পথদর্শক মহোৎসাহ অগ্রসর হইয়া, উগ্রমূর্তিকে খড়্গ
দ্বারা এমন জোরে আঘাত করিলেন যে, তাহাকে
পিছে হটিয়া যাইতে হইল, গিয়া বলিল, "তুমি
আমার নিজ অধিকারে আসিয়া আমায় কাটিয়া
ফেলিবে না কি ?"

মহোৎ। আমরা এখন রাজার অধিকারে আছি ; তুমি কি
না তাহারই পথে এই সিংহ দুইটা রাখিয়া দিয়াছ। কিন্তু দুর্ব্বল
হইলেও এই দুটী স্ত্রীলোক এবং বালকেরা এই পথ দিয়া যাইবে ;
দেখা যাউক, তোমার সিংহেরা কি করে।

এই বলিয়া তিনি আবার তাহাকে এক কোপ ঝাড়িলেন, তাহাতে
সে উবুড় হইয়া পড়িয়া গেল, ও তাহার শিরস্ত্র ভাঙ্গিয়া গেল। আর
এক কোপে মহোৎসাহ তাহার হাত এক হাত কাটিয়া ফেলিলেন। তখন
অহুরটা এমন বিকট গর্জ্জন করিয়া উঠিল যে,
তাহা শুনিয়া স্ত্রীলোকেরা চমকিয়া গেল ! কিন্তু
অহুরটাকে মাটিতে গড়াগড় দিতে দেখিয়া তাহারা বড় সন্তুষ্ট হইল।
সিংহ দুটী শিকলে বাঁধা ছিল, সুতরাং আর কিছু করিবার সাধ্য ছিল
না। এ দিকে সে দুইটার সাহায্যকারী উগ্রমূর্তিও মরিয়া গিয়াছে,
তাই মহোৎসাহ যাত্রীদিগকে বলিলেন, "এখন আমার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে

(illustration captions)
উগ্রমূর্তির সহিত মহোৎসাহের যুদ্ধ !
উগ্রমূর্তি সহিত মহোৎসাহের যুদ্ধ।

John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in Hindi, published by Calcutta Missionary Press in 1925, with illustrations by Jessie Mothersole.

virulently anti-Catholic, as evidenced by their periodical publica-
tion *The Achill Missionary Herald*.[20] Rev. Edward Nangle
(1800–83) was a native speaker of Irish who printed an Irish gram-
mar in addition to his missionary output.

The Hibernian Bible Society was founded in 1806, two years
after its parent body. The constitution of the society 'admitted the
co-operation of persons of all religious denominations'.[21]
Although it was a separate society and not a branch it was accord-
ed the privilege of obtaining Scriptures at cost and given a gov-
ernment grant of £100 in 1807 by the BFBS. Ten years later there
were 57 branch associations and ladies' auxiliaries, particularly in
Counties Kildare, Kerry, Offaly and Galway. By 1830 there were
73 auxiliaries, 294 branches and 256 associations. As in the BFBS,
women played an important role. The society's directions for the
formation of a ladies' association include the following advice: 'In
making application to females to become members of the
Committee, it should not be alone to the higher circles of society,
but all should be invited of respectable and religious character,
who are willing to devote a little of their time to the interesting
duties of the Association'.[22] The annual report of the HBS for 1808

had stated that 'A very general desire to purchase and read the Bible prevails in Ireland; and yet in several parts of the country, the Bible cannot be obtained, at least by the lower classes'.

The parent organisation deliberated for a number of years before finally publishing in 1810 their first edition of the New Testament in Irish. It was issued in roman type in an edition of 2,000 copies,[23] and 5,000 copies of the Bible followed in 1817.[24] Both were edited by James McQuige. Irish character versions of the New Testament and the Bible were printed in 1818 and 1827 respectively.[25] In 1830 the HBS published their own editions of the Bible and New Testament. These versions were edited for the society by Roman Catholic scholar and lexicographer Edward O'Reilly (c. 1770–1829), who had pointed out the 'innumerable errors' in the earlier editions.

Bible translators had many difficulties to contend with, especially in dealing with non-European languages. The original languages of the Bible—Hebrew, Greek and Latin—were often not familiar to them either. Even if the language had a written orthography, and many did not, there were problems with the characters themselves. An example from the collections illustrates this point. Cree syllabic characters were first invented in the 1840s by a Wesleyan missionary, James Evans.[26] The syllabary was used by John Horden of the Church Missionary Society, later first bishop of Moosonee, in his Moose Cree translation of the New Testament, printed by the BFBS in 1876.[27]

The missionary translator had to combine the functions of lexicographer, grammarian and phonetician.[28] Frequently the first dictionaries and grammars in a language were by-products of the translation work. In the case of Bullom, a language of Sierre Leone, a spelling book was produced in 1814, followed by the first and only complete book of the Bible printed in that language. Both were prepared by G.R. Nyländer of the Church Missionary Society. Bullom has since been supplanted by Timne and Mende.[29] Some languages have many or no words to describe a concept. Nupé in northern Nigeria, for example, has a hundred words for greatness. Ponapean, the language of Ponape Island, has no word for father but has four for brother. Animals native to Palestine and central to some Bible stories are not to be found in other geographical areas. Errors, often comical, can unwittingly creep in.

Translations in African and South American languages and dialects now exist for tribes who are extinct. When the language and culture are oral, the translator has arguably been their creator and preserver. Missionaries and translators may also have been the means of their demise. To date, portions of the Bible have been translated into 2,062 languages, with 1,000 unwritten languages still awaiting a translation.

The early production of the Bible in the vernacular caused problems for the Church in the sixteenth century. Printing had begun in Germany in the 1450s. By the close of the fifteenth century bibles had been printed in fourteen languages, among them German, Italian, French, Czech, Dutch, Catalan, Chaldee, Spanish, Portuguese and Serbo-Croat. These were closely followed by Ethiopic and Arabic. All of these were printed before the appearance of the first version in English in 1525.

The Catholic Bible in English

The multiplicity of these versions, some ten in Italian alone, and the numerous editions in Hebrew, Greek and Latin led the Roman Catholic Church to declare the supremacy of the Vulgate at the Council of Trent in 1546. The Council ordered the preparation of an official revised edition of the Vulgate. This, prepared by Sixtus V, was published in 1590, and was quickly withdrawn by his successor, Clement VIII, who issued a newly corrected version, the Clementine Bible, in 1592. The Septuagint or LXX, first printed in the Complutensian Polyglot, was also issued in a revision under the auspices of Sixtus V in 1587.[30] These editions were to remain for three centuries the official texts from which versions and translations could be made.

The first Catholic version of any part of the Bible in English was published at Rheims in 1582.[31] Tyndale's version of 1525 had been the first English translation. The post-Reformation period produced some six translations, from Coverdale in 1535 via the long-lasting Puritan Geneva Bible of 1560 to the Bishop's version in 1568. William, later Cardinal, Allen (1532–94) stated the need for such a Catholic version, pointing out that educated Catholics had no knowledge of Scripture except in Latin. Clerics found difficulties with extempore translation in preaching. In addition there was the existence of so many versions in English. The full title of the Rheims New Testament indicates this concern. The

work is printed with 'arguments of bookes and chapters, annotations, and other necessarie helpes, for the better understanding of the text, and specially for the discoverie of the corruptions of divers late translations . . .'. The translator of this new Catholic Bible was English-born, Oxford-educated and exiled to the English college at Rheims. Gregory Martin (d. 1582) translated from the Vulgate and his version, although criticised for its Latinisms, exerted on the Authorised Version of 1611 an influence both in style and phraseology which is plain to see. In the lengthy preface to the New Testament Martin explains: 'In this our Translation, because we wish it be most sincere, as becometh a Catholike translation . . . we are very precise and religious in folowing our copie, the old vulgar approved Latin; not onely in sense, which we hope we alwaies doe, but sometime in the very wordes also and phrases'.[32]

It was the combative preface and the textual annotations rather than the translation itself which provoked many attacks on the version. Here Martin accuses Protestants of false and heretical translations. He reinforces his argument with examples of additions, deletions and changes in their texts, all of which and more he sets out in his *A discoverie of the manifold corruptions of the Holie Scriptures by the heretikes of our daies . . .,* a publication which was printed virtually simultaneously with the New Testament translation.[33] This combination was not allowed to pass unnoticed. Attempts at refutation were largely unsuccessful, even those of the heavyweight Puritan William Fulke (1538–89). Fulke's defence of the 'sincere true translations' as against the Rheims New Testament was published in 1583.[34] Six years later he published a work which ironically gave greater publicity to the Catholic version than would otherwise have been the case. His New Testament brought before the reading public, in four folio editions (1589, 1601, 1617 and 1633), the Rheims text in roman character in parallel columns with the Bishop's version in italic.[35] The work included Fulke's systematic refutation of the notes, annotations and references in Martin's preface, the text of which was printed alongside. The campaign by Protestant reformers against the Rheims Testament and Douay Bible continued well into the seventeenth century and beyond.

The Douay Old Testament had been translated first but was

not published until 1609–10.[36] This delay was due in part to lack of funds, but also to the publication of the Sixtine Vulgate in 1590 and editions of the Clementine Vulgate from 1592 to 1598. Cardinal Allen was associated with all of these publications. The preface to the Old Testament is less controversial and the annotations by Thomas Worthington are fewer. A second edition was printed at Rouen in 1635. This was the latest edition until the revisions of Dr Challoner (1691–1781) between 1749 and 1772, well over 100 years later.[37] The debate regarding versions was kept alive by the publication in 1688 of Ward's *Errata of the Protestant Bible.* This work was reprinted four times between 1810 and 1841.[38]

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the need for a new translation was felt. It was provided by Dr Cornelius Nary (1660–1738), parish priest of St Michan's, Dublin. This new translation, not a reprint or revision of the Douay version, was published in 1718. The need for this translation arose out of the antiquated language of existing versions, 'the words so obsolete, the orthography so bad, and the translation so literal, that in a number of places it is unintelligible'.[39] Nary's concern about cost, size and availability was shared by Challoner, who later in the century provided for the first time versions which could be described as 'portable, cheap and readable'. Challoner revised the Old Testament twice and the New Testament five times between 1749 and 1772, and his text was used and used again for the next 200 years.

Bernard MacMahon (d. 1816), a Dublin priest and editor of Butler's *Lives of the saints,* played an important part in bible production. His edition of the New Testament was published in 1783. In 1791 his revised Bible appeared, reissued in folio by Reilly of Dublin in 1794.[40] MacMahon's emended edition of Challoner's revision of the Rheims New Testament was printed by H. Fitzpatrick, printer and bookseller to the R.C. College, Maynooth, in 1810.[41] At this time the Irish Church was almost exclusively in control of bible production for the British Isles, and it was MacMahon's editions with archiepiscopal approval which were circulated from 1811.

In the early part of the nineteenth century there were also editions printed by Coyne in Dublin and Haydock in Manchester. In 1815 a New Testament was issued without notes by the London-

based Roman Catholic Bible Society. Five years later, in 1820, a similar society in Dublin issued a New Testament, again without note, comment or reference. The 'Society for circulating the Roman Catholic version of the New Testament' was multidenominational. Its aims were set out in *Saunders Newsletter* (7 January 1820):

It is desirable that the poor should be placed upon a footing with the rich, by having an edition of the Scriptures at a price that will bring it within the attainment of those amongst them who may be desirous of reading them. Hitherto the poor Protestant has enjoyed this advantage; but as Roman Catholics entertain conscientious objections to the Protestant version, they are not, in this respect, on an equal footing; and it appears therefore desirable to place within their reach a Version to which they will entertain no such objection.[42]

The work was printed by the Catholic printer Coyne, and the Hibernian Bible Society circulated the edition via their colporteurs.

Dr Murray (1768–1852), archbishop of Dublin, produced a compact bible printed by Coyne in 1825. The plates were used to print many editions and were still in use in 1855.[43] Five hundred copies were purchased by the Maynooth trustees for the use of students of the college. The bibles were kept in the library and sold from there at moderate prices.

A new version of the Gospels was published anonymously in 1836.[44] Its translator, John Lingard (1771–1851), was an eminent Catholic historian and cleric. Cotton speaks highly of the notes, which were uncontroversial but scholarly. The work was coldly received by leading theologians and clerics, as can be seen in the review written by Cardinal Wiseman under the title 'Catholic versions of Scripture'.[45]

The Bible in the Irish language

The story of the printed bible in Irish begins in 1602. An earlier translation is said to have been made by Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh (1347–66), and subsequently lost. A catechism in Irish was printed in 1571, using a fount of type made at the expense of Elizabeth I. John Kearney, clerk and treasurer at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, printed *Aibidil Gaoidheilge agus caiticiosma,* and this was the first use of the Queen Elizabeth
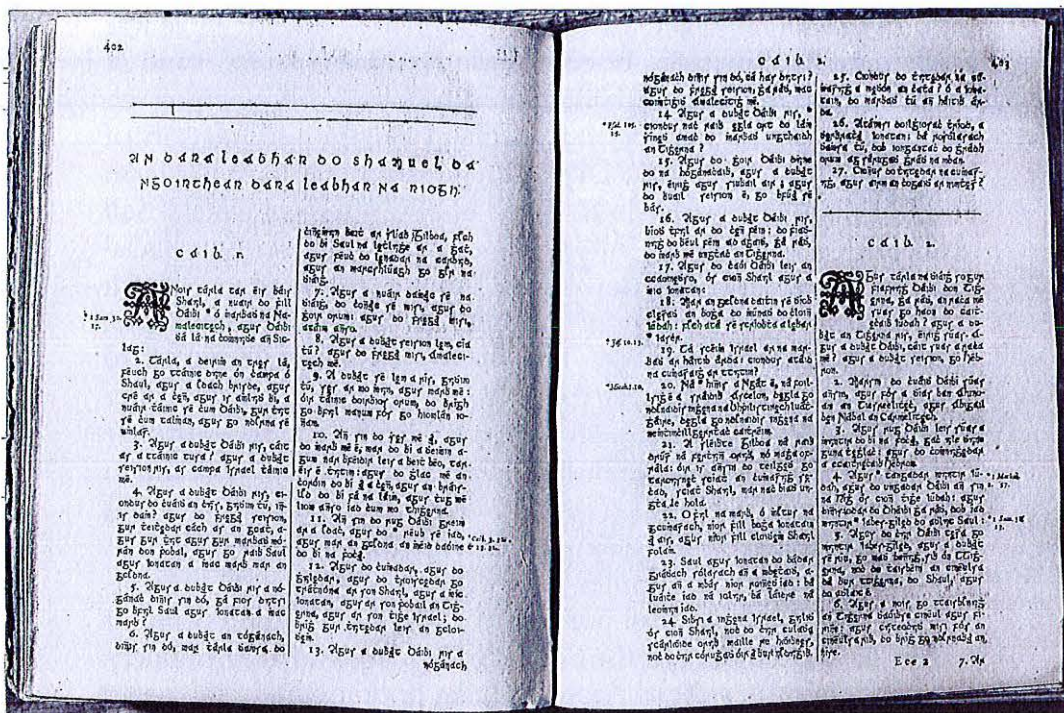
type.[46] In 1602 the first New Testament in Irish was printed in an edition of 500 copies. The translation was begun by Nicholas Walsh, chancellor of St Patrick's and afterwards bishop of Ossory, and completed by William O'Donnell, later archbishop of Tuam. A second edition was printed in London by Robert Everingham in 1681. There are three copies in the Maynooth collection.

The library holdings include a number of fine copies of the *editio princeps* of the Old Testament, London, 1685.[47] Its instigator was William Bedell (1571–1642), bishop of Kilmore, who took up the study of the language late in life to undertake the project, which had the approval of James Ussher (1581–1656), archbishop of Armagh. Murtagh King was the principal translator. King, a convert from Catholicism, had previously translated the Psalms. His association with Bedell had begun in Trinity College. Corrections and editing were the work of James Nangle.[48] The translation was made from the Bible in English. Some found fault with this method, the only practicable one given the scarcity of scholars in both Hebrew and Irish. The entire project came to a halt once translation was completed in 1639/40 owing to a combination of

Leabhuir na Seintiomna, the *editio princeps* of the Old Testament in Irish, translated by William Bedell and printed in London in 1685.

[79]

the outbreak of rebellion and Bedell's death in 1642. The bible was finally published in 1685. Robert Boyle (1627–91) took a hand in rescuing the manuscript, which had been damaged in the interval. Boyle, natural philosopher and chemist, was the seventh son of Richard, first earl of Cork. Drs Andrew Sall and Narcissus Marsh undertook this restoration work at Boyle's expense.[49] Sall (1612–82) was educated in Salamanca and had been provincial superior of the Jesuit Mission before joining the reformed church in 1674. Marsh was provost of Trinity College, later archbishop of Dublin and then of Armagh. The Walton's Polyglot was used to check the translation against the original languages. Boyle further facilitated the publication with new type cut by Joseph Moxon.[50] This was first used in a catechism printed by Robert Everingham in 1680. In the preface to the *Tiomna Nuadh* of 1681 Sall writes that Robert Boyle 'has caused a new set of fair Irish character to be cast in London, and an able printer to be instructed in the way of printing this language'. A small portion of the edition of 500 copies is said to have been sent to the Scottish Highlands to allay the deficiency of Scriptures there. A one-volume pocket edition in roman type was printed mainly for Scotland in 1690.

The next century saw little scripture publishing in Irish. The Book of Common Prayer was printed for the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in 1712.[51] Parts of the liturgy are in both languages, with the Gospels, Epistles and psalter in Irish only. The final three pages contain 'The elements of the Irish language'. Throughout the early decades of the nineteenth century Bible translations often contained information on spelling, pronunciation and grammar. For example, Thadeus Connellan's *An Irish spelling book* of 1823 included three pages of a polyglot *'Beatus vir'* in Greek, Hebrew, Irish, English, Welsh and Latin.[52] Connellan also produced, possibly for use as a reading book, *The Acts of the Apostles and the life of Joseph . . .*, printed by Richard Watts in 1840, which contained 36 pages of grammar and dictionary.[53] Owen Connellan's Irish version of St John's Gospel in 1830 had a short introduction to Irish pronunciation and an eighteen-page appendix consisting of familiar conversations.[54]

The introduction of stereotyping allowed edition size to increase. This process, originally invented in the early 1700s, was commercially viable only from the beginning of the nineteenth

'Adoration of the Magi': wood-engraving by Antonio Tempesta from the first edition of the New Testament in Arabic, published in 1590 in Rome.

century. Wear on type was reduced and the plates could be stored for reuse. It was an ideal process for setting large amounts of text such as bibles. The BFBS printed by this method 2,000 copies of the *Tiomna Nuadh* in 1810, and 5,000 of *An Biobla Naomhtha* in 1817.[55] Editions in Irish character followed in 1818 and 1827. Several Hibernian Bible Society editions were published in 1830, edited by Edward O'Reilly.[56]

The Munster dialect was catered for by Riobeárd Ó Catháin of Carrigaholt, Co. Clare. His translation of the New Testament was published in 1858 by Hodges Smith and printed by M.H. Gill at Dublin University Press. Effective use is made by the printer of the two-line drop initial capitals of Petrie B type.[57] Archbishop John MacHale of Tuam (1791–1881) published his Irish translation of the Book of Genesis in 1859. Our copy was owned by Eoghan Ó Graimhnaigh, professor of Irish at Maynooth (1863–99), who comments unfavourably on the translation. The translation was from the Vulgate, with a corresponding English version 'chiefly from the Douay'. In his preface MacHale deplores the lack of Catholic versions in Irish, suggesting that an Irish orthodox trans-lation of the Scriptures by a competent hand would have con-tributed much to the 'fixity of a standard language'.[58]

A hundred years after their first Irish language publications the

Hibernian Bible Society produced a rewritten O'Donnell version. This modern Irish translation was by Ernest E. Joynt. The Gospels and Acts were published from 1932 to 1937 and the New Testament in 1951, printed by Tempest of Dundalk. The most recent publishing development in the history of the Bible in Irish took place in Maynooth with the publication of *An Bíobla Naofa* in 1981.[59] The culmination of 40 years' work, it appeared almost 300 years after the first printing of the Bible in Irish.

The New Testament Translation Commission had been set up by the Catholic hierarchy in 1945. From this date translation of the Gospels had begun, though publication was delayed until the 1960s. At this time the Second Vatican Council decrees *De Divina Revelatione* and *De Sancta Liturgia* placed greater importance on the provision of official versions of the Scriptures and the liturgy in the vernacular. A decision was taken in 1966 to produce an Irish version of the whole Bible from the original Greek and Hebrew. A steering committee was formed of biblical and Irish scholars. Its secretary was Padraig Ó Fiannachta, then professor of early and medieval Irish at Maynooth, who was charged with seeing the work through to publication. In the preface to *An Bíobla Naofa* Tomás Cairdinéal Ó Fiaich describes the cooperation between scholars of Irish and of Scripture. The former ensured that rich, natural yet standard Irish was used, so that the text would be intelligible to Irish-speakers at home and abroad. Scripture scholars working from the Greek original produced a text which was clear and precise. Thus through the publication of the *Leicseanáir* in 1970 and of *An Bíobla Naofa* in 1981 the means were provided whereby the objectives of the hierarchy in their pastoral statement of 13 October 1981 could be fulfilled: that 'every clerical student . . . should be conversant with our indigenous culture . . . The ability to instruct, preach and celebrate the liturgy and the sacrament in Irish must be part of the equipment of clerical students for dioceses where Irish-speaking communities, especially Gaeltactaí, are to be found.'[60]

Provenance and some printing history

We have the bible collections, and we know their printing and publishing history and the reasons for their existence. What of their owners? In both the National Bible Society of Ireland and Russell Library collections it is possible to determine provenance

in many cases. The Bible Society sheaf catalogue contains dates, names and addresses of all donors and donations. Very many of these were clergy. The books themselves provide further clues. In 1927 the British and Foreign Bible Society presented the Dublin branch with a large number of their duplicates—perhaps to replace what had been lost in the destruction of their headquarters in Upper Sackville Street in 1922.[61] Some of these volumes can be traced using Darlowe and Moule's *Historical catalogue . . .* (1903). Many bear armorial and other book-plates, signatures and other signs of ownership. One of the earliest examples of provenance in a scriptural work in the collection is to be found in a thirteenth-century MS Book of Exodus, whose initial 'H' of *Hec sunt nomina filiorum Israel . . .* is illustrated. On the final leaf is a note of its purchase by Monsignor Philip de Othen, *'prior huius loci 1412'*. Both the text itself and its accompanying volume of commentary were bound by Philip Tisen in 1721, *'hunc librum religavit D. Philippus Tisen huius Monasterii Religiosus et Cantor'.*[62]

Cambridge academic Charles Tabor amassed a very impressive collection in the latter part of the nineteenth century, including many of the earliest editions of the Scriptures in Latin. One such, printed in Leiden in 1528, was the earliest Latin version of the Bible in modern times, made from the original Hebrew and Greek.[63] Proper names are accented as an aid to pronunciation and listed in the appendix *'Liber interpretationum nominum'*. It is also a first in dividing the text into numbered verses. The Theological Faculty at Louvain was ordered to prepare authorised editions in Latin, French and Dutch to replace editions prohibited by imperial edict. The Bible in Latin was the first to appear, in 1547.[64] It was practically the authorised version until the Sixtine Bible of 1590. Tabor's collection also contained the *editio princeps* of both the Gospels and the New Testament in Arabic. The edition of the Gospels printed in Rome in 1591 is the interlinear version with Latin translation.[65] This printing-office was established by Cardinal Ferdinando de Medici (1549–1609). Sixty-seven woodcuts are used to provide 149 illustrations in the text. These are the work of Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630), painter and noted wood-engraver, amongst others. The Arabic type was designed by Robert Granjon, a sixteenth-century typographer. The Arabic New Testament of 1616 in Tabor's collection was edited and pub-
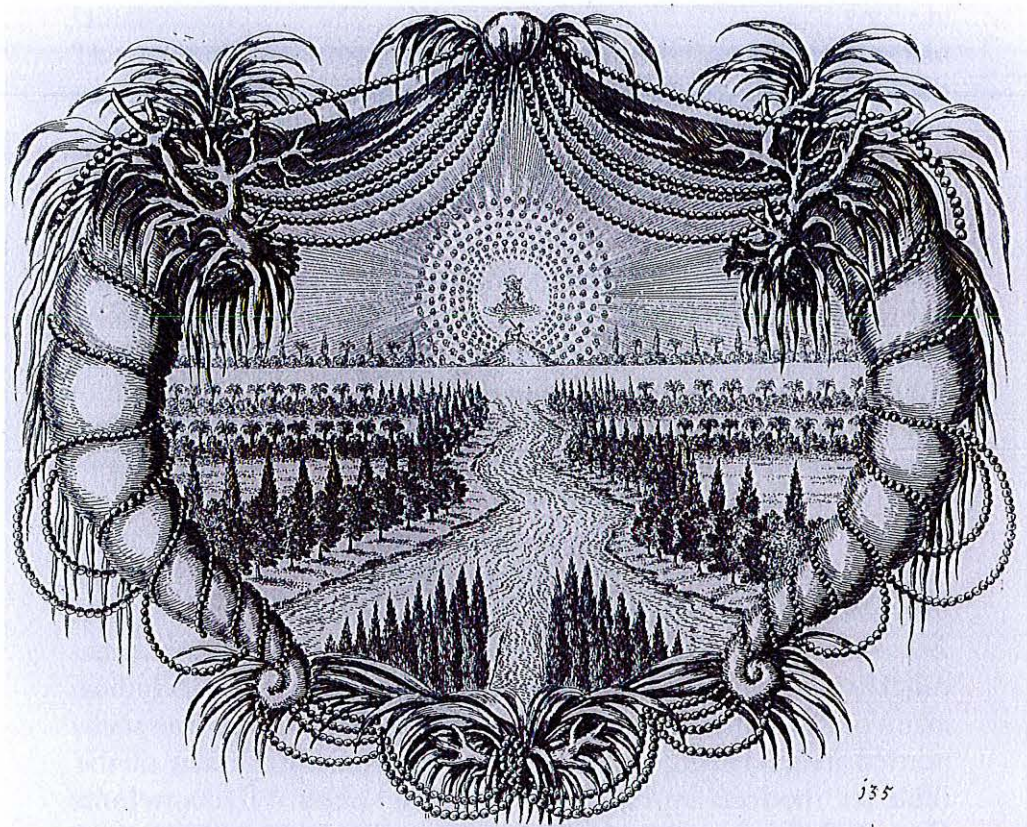
The *Historischer Bilder-Bibel* was published by Johann Ulrich Kraus in Augsburg in the year 1700. The final engraving in Revelations depicts the Tree of Life and the River of the Water of Life.

lished by Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), professor of Arabic and Hebrew at Leiden.[66]

A metrical version of the Psalms in Greek hexameters with a literal Latin translation, printed in Cambridge by John Field in 1666, has passed through many hands.[67] The book's first mark of ownership, dated 1677, is that of Edward Nicholas, possibly the son of Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state to both Charles I and Charles II of England. The version was made by James Duport (1606–79), who was granted a fourteen-year royal privilege by Charles II. Two centuries later it was owned by Tabor.

Other bibles came to the collection via the Huth sales before the First World War. Henry Huth (1815–78), banker and bibliophile, was a discriminating collector. His son Alfred Henry (1850–1910) continued to add to the collection. Fifty of the choicest items were bequeathed to the British Museum. Many of the remainder were

dispersed by the sales to the United States of America. A late seventeenth-century edition of the so-called Bordeaux Testaments was purchased at the Huth sale at Sothebys.[68] Bearing the Huth Library label, it may have belonged in the eighteenth century to J. Bryett of Clare College Cambridge, whose signature is dated 1757 and who has thoroughly annotated the work in Latin and Greek. An example is 1 Cor. iii, 15: 'ainsi toutefois comme par le deu du Purgatorie' as against 'sic tamen quasi per Ignem'.

An unusual bible, represented in the collection by two examples, is composed almost entirely of engravings. The *Historischer Bilder-Bibel* was designed and engraved by Johann Ulrich Kraus (1645–1719) and published in two editions at Augsburg in 1700 and 1705.[69] The Maynooth collection includes the first edition of the Great Bible, also known as Henry VIII's Bible, printed in 1539.[70] Thomas Cromwell, acting on the king's instructions, ordered the bible to be placed in every church where 'your parishioners may moste comodiously resorte to the same and read it'. It is a large folio volume illustrated with woodcuts. The title-page woodcut places the king in a prominent position distributing bibles along with Cranmer and Cromwell. The people, shouting 'Vivat Rex', are crowded together at the foot of the page. Some authorities have a poor opinion of the cuts, suggesting that Holbein, who was working at court at the time, would have produced a more polished result. This bible was particularly noted by Sir Francis Head, a visitor to the college in 1852.[71]

John Knott (1853–1921), medical doctor and author of thousands of scientific articles, had a large private collection of books. Many of the bibles bearing his minute, distinctive signature are in the HBS collection. Lastly, the first full-time librarian, Fr Seán Corkery, made important purchases for the library, not least of scriptural works, at the Markree Castle sale in 1954.[72]

Collecting manna: a woodcut from the first edition of the 'Great Bible', also known as Henry VIII's Bible, printed in 1539.

NOTES

1. See L. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum* . . . (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1826–38).

2. Based on an analysis of entries in T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule, *Historical catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Vol. 2. Polyglots and languages other than English* (London: BFBS, 1903–11), and A.S. Herbert, *Historical catalogue of printed editions of the English Bible 1525–1961* . . . (London: BFBS, 1968) (hereafter abbreviated to HC and Herbert respectively).

3. Hibernian Bible Society hereafter abbreviated to HBS.

4. *The archive collection of the Hibernian Bible Society: catalogue of an exhibition held in the Library, St Patrick's College, Maynooth, 7 May 1986.*

5. [Bible. N.T. Greek] *Nouum instrumentum omne* . . . (Basileae: in aedibus Ioannis Froben, 1516), HC 4591.

6. R.H. Worth, *Bible translations: a history through source documents* (Jefferson, North Carolina/London: McFarland, 1992), 52–65.

7. The fount of type used gives the polyglot a modern look, based as it was on the contemporary formal upright hand, without ligatures. Its production required a wide range of typographical equipment and skills in compositing. It is not represented in the Maynooth collections.

8. [Bible. Polyglot. 1569–72] *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* . . . (8 vols; Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1569–72), HC 1422.

9. [Bible. Polyglot. 1587] *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Graece et Latine* ([Heidelberg]: ex officina Sanctandreana, 1587), HC 1424.

10. [Bible. N.T. Polyglot. 1599] *Novum Testamentum* . . . (2 vols; Noribergae: E. Hutter, 1599), HC 1430.

11. [Bible. Polyglot. 1655–7] *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* . . . (6 vols; London: Thomas Roycroft, 1655–7), HC 1446.

12. [Bible. Polyglot. 1851–4] *Polyglotten-Bibel zum praktischen Handgebrauch* . . . , bearbeitet von R. Stier und K.G.W. Theile (6 vols; Bielefeld: Belhagen und Klafing, 1851–4), HC 1470, describes a mixture of the third and fourth editions; our copy is the first edition.

13. [Bible. Polyglot. 1900–9] *La Sainte Bible Polyglotte* . . . , avec des introductions, des notes, des cartes et des illustrations par F. Vigouroux (8 vols; Paris: Roger et Chernoviz, 1900–9), HC 1477.

14. E.A. Nida (ed.), *The book of a thousand tongues* . . . (rev. edn; London: United Bible Societies, 1972); see introduction.

15. Latin, German, Italian, Catalan, Czech, Dutch, French, English, Swedish and Danish.

16. For a detailed study of the BFBS and its place in publishing and society in the nineteenth century see L. Howsam, *Cheap bibles: nineteenth-century publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge: University Press, 1991).

17. Howsam, *Cheap bibles,* 167.

18. G. Borrow, *The Bible in Spain or the journeys, adventures, and imprisonments of an Englishman, in an attempt to circulate the Scriptures in the Peninsula* (London: Oxford University Press, 1906; originally published in 1842).

19. A. Nicholson, *The Bible in Ireland (Ireland's welcome to the stranger or excursions through Ireland in 1844 and 1845 for the purpose of personally investigating the condition of the poor)*, ed. A.T. Sheppard (London: Hodder and Stoughton, [1934]).

20. *The Achill Missionary Herald* was printed from 1837 to 1869.

21. *Twenty-fifth report of the Hibernian Bible Society* (1831), 2.

22. *Appendix to the twenty-eighth annual report of the Hibernian Bible Society*, 7–8: 'Hints for the formation and conducting of auxiliary societies and associations'.

23. [Bible. N.T. Irish] *Tiomna Nuadh . . . ar na tharruing . . . go Gaoidheilg* (Shacklewell and London: T. Rutt, 1810), HC 5540.

24. [Bible. Irish] *An Biobla Naomhta . . .* (London: J. Moyes, 1817), HC 5543.

25. [Bible. N.T. Irish] *An Tiomna Nuadh . . .* (London: printed by Richard Watts for BFBS, 1818), HC 5544; [Bible. O.T. Irish] *Leabhuir an tSean Tiomna . . .* (Dublin: printed by G. & J. Grierson & M. Keene for the BFBS, 1827), HC 5555.

26. J.C. Pilling, *Bibliography of the Algonquian languages* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1891), 186, 238.

27. [Bible. N.T. Cree] *. . . The New Testament, translated into the Cree language by . . . John Horden . . .* (London: BFBS, 1876), HC 3123.

28. Nida, *The book of a thousand tongues*, introduction.

29. [Bible. N.T. Gospels. Bullom] *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew, in Bullom and English* (London: BFBS, 1816), HC 2349.

30. F.J. Crehan, 'The Bible in the Roman Catholic Church from Trent to the present day', in S.L. Greenslade (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the present day* (Cambridge: University Press, 1963), 199–233.

31. [Bible. New Testament. English] *The Nevv Testament of Iesvs Christ, translated faithfvlly into English, out of the authentical Latin . . .* (Rhemes: Iohn Fogny, 1582), Herbert 177.

32. H. Pope, *English versions of the Bible*, revised . . . by S. Bullough (London: B. Herder Book Co., 1952), 256.

33. G. Martin, *A discoverie of the manifold corruptions of the Holie Scriptures by the heretikes of our daies . . .* (Rhemes: I. Fogny, 1582).

34. W. Fulke, *A defense of the sincere and true translations of the Holie Scriptures into the English tongue . . . against the . . . impudent slanders of Gregory Martin* (Cambridge: University Press, 1834; originally published in 1583).

35. [Bible. N.T. Bishop's Version] *The text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated out of the vulgare Latine by the Papists of the traitrous seminarie at Rhemes . . .* (2nd edn; London: R. Barker, 1601; first published in 1589), Herbert 265.

36. [Bible. English. Douai Version] *The Holie Bible faithfully translated into English . . .* (2 vols; Doway: Laurence Kellam, 1609–10), Herbert 300.

37. H. Cotton, *Rhemes and Doway. An attempt to show what has been done by Roman Catholics for the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in English* (Oxford: University Press, 1855), 47–52.

38. T. Ward, *Errata of the Protestant Bible; or, the truth of the English translations examined* . . . (Dublin: Coyne, 1810).

39. [Bible. N.T. English] *The New Testament . . . newly translated out of the Latin Vulgat . . . together with annotations . . . and marginal notes* . . . ([Dublin]: [n.p.], 1718), HC 951.

40. [Bible. English. Douai Version] *The Holy Bible, translated from the Latin Vulgate* . . . (Dublin: J. Reilly, 1794), Herbert 1385.

41. [Bible. N.T. Rheims Version] *The New Testament . . . translated from the Latin Vulgat* . . . (Dublin: H. Fitzpatrick, 1810), Herbert 1538.

42. Cotton, *Rhemes and Doway*, 121.

43. Cotton, *Rhemes and Doway*, 124–5.

44. [Bible. N.T. Gospels. English] *A new version of the Four Gospels; with notes critical and explanatory . . . by a Catholic* . . . (London: J. Booker, 1836), Herbert 2437.

45. [N. Wiseman] 'Catholic versions of Scripture', *Dublin Review* 2 (1837), 475–92.

46. N. Williams, *I bprionta i leabhar: na protastúin agus prós na Gaeilge 1567–1724* (Baile Átha Cliath: Clóchomhar, 1986), 21–6.

47. [Bible. O.T. Irish] *Leabhuir na Seintiomna arna ttarruing go gaidhlig tre chúrum agus dhúthracht an Doctúir Uilliam Bedel* . . . (London, 1685), HC 5534; purchased by the HBS in 1934 for £6.10.0.

48. Williams, *I bprionta in leabhar*, 43–55.

49. R.E.W. Maddison, 'Robert Boyle and the Irish Bible', *John Rylands Library Bulletin* 41 (1958), 81–101.

50. D. McGuinne, *Irish type design: a history of printing type in the Irish character* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1992), 51–8.

51. [Book of Common Prayer. Irish] *Leabhar na Nornaightheadh Comhchoitchionn* . . . (London: E. Everingham, 1712).

52. T. Connellan, *An Irish spelling book, rendered into English, for the use of his majesty's Irish subjects* . . . (London: Richard Watts, 1823).

53. [Bible. N.T. Acts of the Apostles. Irish] *The Acts of the Apostles and the life of Joseph* . . . (London: Richard Watts, 1840), HC 5563n.

54. [Bible. N.T. St John's Gospel. Irish] *The Gospel according to St John, in Irish with an interlined English translation* . . . (Dublin: M. Goodwin for R.M. Tims, 1830), HC 5561.

55. See notes 23 and 24.

56. [Bible. Irish] *An Bíobla Naomhtha air na tharruing ó na teangthaibh bunadhúsacha go Gaoighilig* (Dublin: Goodwin, Son and Nethercott, 1830), HC 5559.

57. McGuinne, *Irish type design*, 108.

58. [Bible. O.T. Genesis. Irish] *An Irish translation of the Book of Genesis, from the*

Latin Vulgate. With a corresponding English version, chiefly from the Douay . . . (Tuam: sold by James Duffy, 1859), vii.

59. [Bible. Irish] *An Bíobla Naofa arna aistriú ón mbuntéacs faoi threoir ó Easpaig na hEireann* . . . (Maigh Nuad: An Sagart, 1981).

60. *Announcing the Irish Bible/Foilsiú an Bhíobla Naofa* (Maigh Nuad: An Sagart, 1982), 5.

61. Bible House, the headquarters of the HBS, was first located at 9, then 10, Upper Sackville Street, Dublin. Nos 9–17 were destroyed in 1922. The society was in temporary accommodation at 20 Lincoln Place from 1923 until 1926. The move to the present headquarters at 41 Dawson Street took place in 1927.

62. J. Ainsworth, 'Report on the non-Gaelic Mss in Maynooth College' (unpublished report, 1973).

63. [Bible. Latin] *Biblia* . . . (Lyons: Antonius du Ry, 1528), HC 6108.

64. [Bible. Latin] *Biblia ad vetustissima exemplaria nunc recens castigata* . . . (Louvain: Bartholomaeus Graevius, 1547), HC 6129.

65. [Bible. N.T. Gospels. Arabic] . . . *Evangelium Sanctum Domini nostri Iesu Christi conscriptum a quatuor Evangelistis Sanctis idest, Matthaeo, Marco, Luca, et Iohanne* . . . (Rome: Typographia Medicea, 1590), HC 1636.

66. [Bible. N.T. Arabic] . . . *Novum* . . . *Testamentum Arabice* (Leiden: Erpeniana Linguarum Orientalium, 1616), HC 1642.

67. [Bible. O.T. Psalms. Greek] Δαβίδης εμμετορς, *sive metaphrasis Libri psalmorum Graecis versibus contexta* . . . (Cambridge: Ioannes Field, 1666), HC 4703.

68. [Bible. N.T. French] *Le Nouveau Testament* . . . *traduit de Latin en François, par les théologiens de Louvain* (Bordeaux: Elie Routier, 1686), HC 3770.

69. J.U. Kraus, *Historischer Bilder-Bibel* (Augsburg: [n. pub.], 1700).

70. [Bible. English. 1539] *The Byble in Englyshe* . . . (London: Rychard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, 1539), Herbert 46.

71. F.B. Head, *A fortnight in Ireland* (London: John Murray, 1852), 79–80.

72. *Catalogue of sale by auction of valuable printed books, manuscripts* . . . *including the property of Commander E.F.P. Cooper R.N., Markree Castle, Co. Sligo* . . . (Dublin: Town and Country Estates, 2–5 February 1954).

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