

Irish Catholics and Aristotelian Scholastic philosophy in early modern France, c.1600–c.1750

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While historians and philosophers have been reticent about studying early modern Aristotelian Scholasticism,¹ research on higher education curricula in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has emphasized repeatedly the enduring significance of a philosophy rooted in Aristotle and mediated through the great schools created in the Middle Ages.² This has important implications for assessments of the intellectual formation of Irish Catholics in the early modern period. From the middle of the sixteenth century until the end of the eighteenth Irish Catholic students attended universities, colleges and seminaries across continental Europe, where they were introduced to the debates and controversies which marked early modern Aristotelian Scholasticism.³ From the later seventeenth century they would have been acutely conscious of the challenges to the philosophy curriculum from versions of the 'new philosophy', though they would have noted too the resilience of the traditional curriculum which ensured that in many parts of Europe some form of Aristotelian Scholasticism remained important well into the eighteenth century. Moreover, the Irish were more than the passive receptors of existing curricula. Some Irish students found employment as university professors of philosophy and a smaller number published textbooks and treatises. Put simply, as students, readers, teachers and writers, Irish Catholics engaged with Aristotelian Scholasticism, often critically, throughout the early modern period. The present article draws attention to this phenomenon and offers a preliminary assessment. It focuses on Irish activity in France, the most significant centre for Irish Catholic student migrants, though it also ranges more widely as appropriate. The present state of research means that the article is more suggestive than

¹ For a comment on the difficulties inherent in describing 'Aristotelian Scholastics' see M.W.F. Stone, 'Aristotelianism and Scholasticism in early modern philosophy' in Steven Nadler (ed.), *A companion to early modern philosophy* (Oxford, 2002), p. 7. ² I.W.B. Brockliss, 'Curricula' in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A history of the university in Europe, volume two: universities in early modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Cambridge, 1996), pp 578–89. ³ There is no satisfactory general account of Irish student migration to early modern Europe, though there is a growing body of literature on particular Irish Colleges and student communities. For an introduction see T.J. Walsh, *The Irish continental college movement* (Cork, 1973).

conclusive, but it is hoped that it will help to open up a subject that has been neglected for far too long.

While early modern Aristotelian Scholasticism has always generated scholarly interest, as the work of the French historian of philosophy Étienne Gilson illustrates,⁴ in the past two decades it has begun to receive much closer attention.⁵ Recent historians and philosophers have argued strongly that Aristotelian Scholasticism was not the tired bulwark depicted by its opponents in the seventeenth century, but a fertile, complex and plural phenomenon. There was no agreement about what constituted 'Aristotelian' philosophy among its proponents, while those writing within particular 'Scholastic' traditions could diverge sharply.⁶ Moreover, Aristotelian Scholasticism has been scrutinized as the dominant intellectual influence against which the new philosophies of the period emerged.⁷ In France, it was Descartes and the Cartesians who offered the most serious challenge to the Aristotelian Scholastic mainstream. In recent years considerable attention has been devoted to the intricate debates which engaged Aristotelian Scholastics and Cartesians in the second half of the seventeenth century and into the early eighteenth century, especially as they battled for control of the philosophical curriculum in the universities. This scholarship has further emphasized the view that neither Aristotelian Scholasticism nor Cartesianism were monoliths. Just as there were Scholastic Aristotelianisms, so there were Cartesianisms, as well as attempts to integrate the two.⁸

4 Étienne Gilson, *Index Scolastico-Cartésien* (Paris, 1913); idem, *Études sur le rôle de la pensée médiévale dans la formation du système Cartésien* (Paris, 1930). For a mid-twentieth century approach see: Leonora Cohen Rosenfield, 'Peripatetic adversaries of Cartesianism in 17th century France', *Review of Religion* 22 (1957), 14–40. 5 For useful overviews see: Michael Edwards, 'Aristotelianism, Descartes and Hobbes', *Historical Journal* 50:2 (2007), 449–64; Jacob Schmutz, 'Bulletin de scolastique moderne (I)', *Revue Thomiste* 100 (2000), 270–341. 6 Stone, 'Aristotelianism and Scholasticism in early modern philosophy', pp 7–24; idem, 'Scholastic schools and early modern philosophy' in Donald Rutherford (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to early modern philosophy* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 299–327; Christian Mercer, 'The vitality and importance of early modern Aristotelianism' in Tom Sorrell (ed.), *The rise of modern philosophy: the tension between the new and traditional philosophies from Machiavelli to Leibnitz* (Oxford, 1993), pp 33–67; Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Boston, 1983). 7 For a good example in relation to Descartes see: Jorge Secada, *Cartesian metaphysics: the late scholastic origins of modern philosophy* (Cambridge, 2000). It should be noted that there is a tension between claims that early modern Aristotelian Scholasticism deserves scholarly attention *per se* and the fact that much recent work has been motivated by a desire to contextualize the *novatores* of the seventeenth century. For a comment see: Edwards, 'Aristotelianism, Descartes and Hobbes', 456–8. See also comments in Stone, 'Aristotelianism and Scholasticism in early modern philosophy', p. 8; idem, 'Scholastic schools and early modern philosophy', p. 301. 8 For overviews see: Edwards, 'Aristotelianism, Descartes and Hobbes'; Eric P. Lewis, 'Cartesianism revisited', *Perspectives in Science* 15:4 (2007), 493–522. Good examples include: Charles Alan Kors, *Atheism in France 1650–1729, volume 1: the orthodox sources of disbelief* (Princeton, 1990); Roger Ariew, *Descartes and the last scholastics* (Ithaca, 1999); Tad Schmaltz (ed.), *Receptions of Descartes: Cartesianism and anti-Cartesianism in early modern Europe* (Abingdon, 2005); Tad Schmaltz, *Radical Cartesianism:*

This brings us to a final preliminary point: the recognition that there were early modern Irish Aristotelian Scholasticisms. Scholars have long recognized the crucial role played by the Irish Franciscans in the revival, development and dissemination of Scotism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁹ The networks created around key individuals like Luke Wadding, as well as the colleges established by the Order in Louvain, Rome and Prague, ensured that the Irish Franciscan commitment and contribution to Scotism has received significant scholarly attention, and the four-hundredth anniversary of the establishment of St Anthony's College, Louvain, has encouraged a fresh wave of interest.¹⁰ Research on other aspects of Irish Scholastic Aristotelianism remains underdeveloped. In part, this is because there was no equivalent to the Irish Franciscan Scotist network for the other great school of the period, Thomism, which drew inspiration from the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas. While the Irish Dominicans and Jesuits were more likely to be formed within a Thomist framework, they did not have the philosophical commitment to Thomas to mirror the Franciscan commitment to Scotus, which was derived in large part from the knowledge that the Subtle Doctor was a Franciscan but also the conviction that he was an Irishman. The philosophical positions of the Irish secular clergy and laity are less clear again. The present article focuses on non-Scotist Irish Aristotelian Scholasticisms, while Irish Scotism is the subject of an important article elsewhere in this volume.¹¹

II

Irish students attending classes at a university or other higher education institution in early modern Europe would have followed a course of studies which began with humanities (essentially Latin), before progressing to philosophy and, for the most able and ambitious, culminating in one of the three higher faculties of law, medicine or theology. From the work of the historian Laurence Brockliss

the French reception of Descartes (Cambridge, 2002); François Azouvi, *Descartes et la France: histoire d'une passion nationale* (Paris, 2002). See also the works of Laurence Brockliss cited in note 12 below. 9 See, for example, D. de Caylus, 'Merveilleux éponouissement de l'école scotiste au XVII^e siècle', *Études Franciscaines* 24 (1910), 5–21, 493–502; 25 (1911), 35–47, 306–17, 627–45; 26 (1912), 276–88; Charles Balić, 'Wadding, the Scotist' in *The Franciscan Fathers* (ed.), *Father Luke Wadding commemorative volume* (Dublin, 1957), pp 463–507; Cathaldus Giblin, 'Hugh MacCaghwell OFM and Scotism at St Anthony's College, Louvain' in *De Doctrina Joannis Duns Scoti* iv (1968), 375–97; Benignus Millet, 'Irish Scotists at St Isidore's College, Rome, in the seventeenth century' in *De Doctrina Joannis Duns Scoti* iv (1968), 399–419. 10 See M.W.F. Stone (ed.), *From Ireland to Louvain: the achievements of the Irish Franciscans and their contribution to early modern philosophy and theology* (Leuven, forthcoming 2009). 11 See M.W.F. Stone, 'Punch's riposte: the Irish contribution to early modern Scotism from Maurice O'Fihely OFMConv. to Anthony Rourke OFMObs' in this volume.

on the French higher education system in the early modern period, we know that throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Irish students experienced a philosophy curriculum which was broadly Aristotelian Scholastic, though with important qualifications.¹² He argues that of the four components of the curriculum – logic, metaphysics, ethics and natural philosophy (or physics) – only the natural philosophy section changed radically. This is not to suggest that the courses offered in logic, metaphysics and ethics did not change at all. For example, Brockliss points out that the section of the logic course on ‘method’ (*de methodo*) greatly expanded in the late seventeenth century, clearly influenced by the challenge of Cartesianism.¹³ However, the impact of the work of Descartes and the Cartesians was most strongly felt in natural philosophy, culminating in the replacement of Aristotelianism, though this was a slow process. Brockliss offers two stages of development. First, between 1640 and 1690 ‘Aristotelianism went on the defensive.’¹⁴ Increasingly this meant discussing (if only to refute) aspects of the ‘new learning’. A small number of Parisian professors began to teach an eclectic mix of Aristotelian and Cartesian natural philosophy, reflected in the appearance of textbooks like Jean Baptiste du Hamel’s *Philosophia vetus et nova ad usum scholae accommodata* (4 vols, Paris, 1678). The second stage delineated by Brockliss spans the period 1690 to 1740. During the 1690s Aristotelian natural philosophy was increasingly replaced by Cartesian mechanism. However, in some quarters this process was very slow. Aristotelian Scholastic concerns about the apparent inability of Cartesians to provide a natural philosophy compatible with the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, as well as worries that Cartesianism opened the door to the dangers of Spinozism, ensured that as late as the 1720s and 1730s it is still possible to find courses in Aristotelian natural philosophy.¹⁵ It is also important to note that there was little agreement among Cartesian professors about what constituted a ‘Cartesian’ natural philosophy, and in any case they soon found themselves under attack from Newtonian professors.¹⁶ The pattern of development and change varied

¹² The following section draws on the work of L.W.B. Brockliss: ‘Philosophy teaching in France 1600–1740’, *History of Universities* 1 (1981), 131–68; idem, ‘Aristotle, Descartes and the new sciences: natural philosophy at the University of Paris 1600–1740’, *Annals of Science* 38 (1981), 33–69; idem, *French higher education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: a cultural history* (Oxford, 1987), pp 185–227, 337–90; idem, ‘Discoursing on method in the university world of Descartes’s France’, *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 3 (1995), 3–28; idem, ‘Descartes, Gassendi and the reception of the mechanical philosophy in the French *collèges de plein exercice*, 1640–1730’, *Perspectives on Science* 3:4 (1995), 450–79; idem, ‘The moment of no return: the University of Paris and the death of Aristotelianism’, *Science and Education* 15 (2006), 259–78.

¹³ Brockliss, ‘Philosophy teaching in France 1600–1740’, 136–7. See also: idem, ‘Discoursing on method in the university world of Descartes’s France’, 3–28. ¹⁴ Brockliss, ‘Philosophy teaching in France 1600–1740’, 147. ¹⁵ The significance of the Eucharist is discussed in J.-R. Armogathe, *Theologia Cartesiana: L’explication physique de l’eucharistie chez Descartes et Dom Desgabets* (The Hague, 1977) and Schmaltz, *Radical Cartesianism*. ¹⁶ Brockliss, ‘Philosophy

depending on the institution, but the key point is that Irish students experienced an Aristotelian Scholastic curriculum until the 1690s and, with qualifications, beyond then.

Analysing the attitudes of Irish students towards the philosophy curriculum they experienced in France, or elsewhere on the continent, is a difficult task, and much of the research required to do this has yet to be undertaken. However, it is interesting that Éamon Ó Ciosáin has identified a satirical and critical image of Irish students and scholars, which recurred in a number of French sources, and depicted them as backward and slavish Scholastics.¹⁷ A key text in the development of this stereotype was a satire published by Nicolas Boileau in 1671, in which the author poked fun at the attempts of the University of Paris, in the same year, to censor Cartesian ideas.¹⁸ As Ó Ciosáin has noted, Boileau particularly identified the Irish (*Hybernois*) with the Scholastic position.¹⁹ When, in 1722, the philosophy of the Angers Oratorian and Cartesian, Jacques Guillou, was censored in the local university a satirical response appeared criticising the censorship with the unlikely title: *Lettre des Hibernois et des Arabes à l'Université d'Angers* (s.l., s.d.).²⁰ A number of Enlightenment writers propagated the motif, most famously Montesquieu in his *Lettres Persanes*.²¹ A similar view found expression in Ireland. One visitor to Kerry in the late seventeenth century recorded that the local inhabitants were especially noted for 'their gaming, their speaking of Latin, and inclination to philosophy and disputes therein [...]. When they can get no one to game with them, you shall often find them with a book of Aristotles or some of the Commentators Logic which they read very diligently till they be able to pour out nonsensical words a whole day about *universale a parte rei, ens rationalis* [*sic*] and suchlike stuff.'²² Right at the end of the century Louis-Sébastien Mercier offered an explanation for the bewildering attachment of the Irish to Scholasticism in his utopian description of Paris, *L'an deux mille quatre cent quarante*: 'Nous avons découvert que les bancs sur lesquels s'assoient ces docteurs hibernois, étoient formés d'un certain bois, dont la funeste vertu dérangeoit la tête la mieux organisée, et la faisoit déraisonner avec méthode.'²³ There are a number of ways of explaining the recurring image of

teaching in France, 1600–1740', pp 150–1. 17 Éamon Ó Ciosáin, 'Attitudes towards Ireland and the Irish in Enlightenment France' in Graham Gargett and Geraldine Sheridan (eds), *Ireland and the Enlightenment 1700–1800* (London, 1999), pp 141–6. 18 [Nicolas Boileau], *Requête des maîtres es arts, professeurs, & regens de l'Université de Paris présentée à la cour souveraine de Parnasse: ensemble l'arrêt intervenu sur ladite requête* (s.l., 1671). 19 Ó Ciosáin, 'Attitudes towards Ireland and the Irish in Enlightenment France', p. 142; [Boileau], *Requête des maîtres es arts*, p. 12. 20 Jacques Maillard, *L'Oratoire à Angers aux XVII^eme et XVIII^eme siècles* (Paris, s.d.), pp 193–4, 224–5. For the seventeenth-century context: Roger Ariew, 'Oratorians and the teaching of Cartesian philosophy in seventeenth century France', *History of Universities* 17 (2001–2), 47–80. 21 Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, trans. C.J. Betts (1721; London, 1993), p. 90. 22 Cited in W.B. Stanford, *Ireland and the Classical tradition* (Dublin, 1984), p. 27. 23 Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *L'an deux mille quatre cent-*

Irish scholastics in France. Like any migrant group, the Irish were particularly susceptible to stereotyping, especially so in the light of ill-informed French knowledge of Ireland. As Ó Ciosáin has argued, Irish migrants frequently had to live on their wits and may have gained a reputation for disputatiousness as a result.²⁴ It is interesting that the prominent writer Charles Perrault recalled that when he was student at the Collège de Beauvais in Paris in the early seventeenth century, he boasted to his professor of philosophy that 'mes argumens étoient meilleurs que ceux des *Hibernois*'.²⁵ The highly visible Irish Franciscan commitment to the philosophy of John Duns Scotus may have underlined the Irish-Scholastic connection to would-be satirists, like Boileau. Some of the key works emanating from this network were printed in France, including Wadding's edition of the *Opera omnia* (Lyons, 1639) and John Punch's forceful re-statement of Scotus' Irish background, *Scotus Hiberniae restitutus* (Paris, 1660).²⁶ Boileau may also have been targeting the Irish Scholastic philosopher Michael Moore, who was probably involved in the attempt to censor Cartesianism in Paris in 1671.²⁷ Indeed, Boileau was educated, like Perrault, at the Collège de Beauvais, where he may well have encountered the Irish professor of philosophy, Roger O'Moloy.²⁸

There are a number of ways of ascertaining the philosophical positions adopted by Irish students in the course of their studies and afterwards. Surviving student notebooks are an important, though almost entirely untapped, source. The philosophy notebook of Thomas Medus, compiled in 1622, begins with a two page poem in honour of Thomas Aquinas. It contains notes on the four sections of his philosophy course, beginning with logic (taking in Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's works), followed by physics (encompassing Aristotle's *Physica*, *De anima*, *De generatione et corruptione*, and *De coelo*) and finishing with sections on metaphysics and ethics. The notebook is dominated by logic and physics, while ethics accounts for by far the shortest section.²⁹ Alexius Stafford's philosophy notebook, dated 1667, shows that he studied the work of the Coimbra commentators in detail while he was a student in Lisbon.³⁰

quarante: rêve s'il en fût jamais (3 vols, [Paris], 1786), i, 65. 24 Ó Ciosáin, 'Attitudes towards Ireland and the Irish in Enlightenment France', p. 146. 25 Charles Perrault, *Mémoires de ma vie*, ed. Paul Bonnefon (Paris, 1909), p. 20. 26 For Irish Franciscan connections with France see Canice Mooney, *Irish Franciscans and France* (Dublin, 1964). 27 On this and related issues see Liam Chambers, 'Irish Catholics, French Cartesians: Irish reactions to Cartesianism in France, 1671–1726' in Eamon Maher & Grace Neville (eds), *Ireland and France: anatomy of a relationship* (Frankfurt am Main, 2004), pp 137–40. 28 L.W.B. Brockliss and P. Ferté, 'A prosopography of Irish clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse', *Archivium Hibernicum* 58 (2004), 32. 29 Thomas Medus, 'Philosophiae universae compendium per Thomam Medum Ibernium' (1622) (Marsh's Library, Dublin, MS Z3.5.16). It is not clear where he studied, but Paris is a possibility. A student with the same name was registered at the University of Paris in the mid-seventeenth century. See Brockliss and Ferté, 'prosopography', 156–7. 30 Alexius Stafford, 'In universam Aristotelis logicam' (1667) (Marsh's Library, Dublin, MS Z4.5.3). On

Source material like this is not lacking. The Russell Library, Maynooth, holds a large collection of philosophy notebooks, many compiled in eighteenth-century France by students residing at one of the Irish Colleges.³¹ The extensive early seventeenth-century philosophy notebooks of Cornelius Lery are available in Cambridge University Library and run to hundreds of pages. Lery's philosophy thesis is bound in with the same collection and points towards another significant, but again largely untapped, source.³² Philosophy theses sustained by Irish students may be found scattered among a number of French libraries. For example, surviving theses from the late 1650s and 1660s indicate that Irish professors of philosophy at the University of Paris (in this case Michael Moore and Roger O'Moloy) presided over the theses of their compatriots.³³ Works of philosophy also circulated in manuscript. A good example is a mid-seventeenth century Irish manuscript, which contains a lengthy transcription from Charles François Abra de Raconis' popular textbook *Summa totius philosophiae*, first published in 1617.³⁴ Manuscript philosophy treatises written in the seventeenth century by Nicholas French, the future bishop of Ferns, and Peter Pippard, an Irish Jesuit, survive, as do works by Spanish philosophers, which circulated in manuscript in early seventeenth-century Dublin.³⁵

Private libraries offer another indicator of philosophical attitudes. Michael Moore, the most prominent Irish Aristotelian Scholastic in Paris in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, unsurprisingly had a large collection

Stafford see: Richard Roche, 'Alexius Stafford: "the popish dean of Christ's Church"' in *History Ireland* 8:3 (2000), 32–4; Patricia O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590–1834* (Dublin, 2001), p. 95. 31 See the listings in Richard J. Hayes, *Manuscript sources for the history of Irish civilization* (11 vols, Boston, 1965), vi, 291 and *First supplement, 1965–75* (3 vols, Boston, 1979), ii, 289–90. 32 Commentaries of Cornelius Lery on various works of Aristotle, c.1630s (Cambridge University Library, MS 1804). 33 For example, Henri LeBrun, *Conclusiones philosophicae* (Paris, 1659); Peter Comminge, *Conclusiones philosophicae* (Paris, 1661); John Purcell, *Conclusiones philosophicae* (Paris, 1666). Further examples of philosophy theses are listed in Tony Sweeney, *Ireland and the printed word: a short descriptive catalogue of early books, pamphlets, newsletters and broadsides relating to Ireland printed 1475–1700* (Dublin, 1997). 34 Royal Irish Academy, MS 3.B.40. The transcription occupies fos. 1–119 and is followed by transcriptions relating to the history of the Fitzgerald and Butler families. 35 Nicholas French, Notebook containing sections on 'physica' and 'metaphysica', undated (Marsh's Library, Dublin, MS Z4.4.15). 'There is no title or date, which the library catalogue provides without explanation: 'Dictata physicalia et metaphysicalia' (1630). Walter Harris knew of the manuscript and noted that French 'wrote [...] a course of philosophy, which (I believe) was never thought worth printing': Sir James Ware, *The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, revised and improved*, ed. Walter Harris (2 vols, Dublin, 1739–45), ii, 166. In fact, this may be a student notebook. On French's student career see: Jeroen Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548–1797' in *Archivum Hibernicum*, 60 (2006–7), 62. Peter Pippard's treatise is: 'Disputationes in libros Aristotelis De Anima', early seventeenth century (Trinity College, Dublin, MS 437). For the works of Spanish philosophers see Juan José Pérez-Camacho, 'Late renaissance humanism and the Dublin scientific tradition (1592–1641)', in Norman McMillan (ed.), *Prometheus's fire: a history of scientific and technological education in Ireland* (Carlow, 2000), pp 56–7.

of Scholastic philosophy and theology, largely Thomist, but also including the works of Scotus. He donated the library to the Irish Collège des Lombards in the French capital on his death in 1726.³⁶ Clerical libraries of this period belonging to bishops Piers Creagh, William Daton and Luke Wadding, as well as the Dominican John Donnelly (who taught philosophy at Louvain) and the Augustinian community in Galway all reveal late Aristotelian Scholastic content.³⁷ The library of the Galway Augustinians indicates a preference for the works of their colleagues, presumably a feature of other libraries belonging to the regular clergy.³⁸ Dennis Molony, who graduated from the University of Paris as a master of arts in 1683, owned a copy of Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*, but also possessed the integrationist philosophy of Jean Baptiste du Hamel (mentioned above), which he may well have picked up as a student.³⁹

A small number of Irishmen were professors of philosophy at one of the colleges attached to the University of Paris in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴⁰ Eight found employment in the seventeenth century, Michael Moore straddles the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while three Irishmen were professors in the eighteenth century. Most gained a position very early in their career, perhaps in order to facilitate their theological studies, though it should not be assumed that these posts were easily acquired.⁴¹ This was especially

36 Liam Chambers, 'The library of an Irish Catholic émigré: Michael Moore's bibliothèque, 1726', *Archivium Hibernicum* 58 (2004), 210–42. 37 Canice Mooney (ed.), 'The library of Archbishop Piers Creagh' in *Reportorium Novum* 1:1 (1955), 126–7; Patrick J. Corish (ed.), 'Bishop Wadding's Notebook' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 29 (1970), 55–6, 58, 61, 64, 67, 79, 80, 84, 86; Hugh Fenning, 'The library of Bishop William Daton of Ossory, 1698', *Collectanea Hibernica* 20 (1978), 40, 46; idem, 'The library of a preacher of Drogheda: John Donnelly, O.P. (d. 1748)' *Collectanea Hibernica* 18–19 (1976–7), 73, 80, 84, 91–4, 97; Hugh Fenning (ed.), 'The library of the Augustinians of Galway in 1731', *Collectanea Hibernica* 31–2 (1989–90), 166, 170, 183, 184. Daton also had a copy of a work by Descartes (Fenning, 'The library of Bishop William Daton of Ossory, 1698', 37). 38 Fenning (ed.), 'The library of the Augustinians of Galway in 1731', 170, 183–4. 39 *A catalogue of the library of Denis Molony esq; late of Gray's-Inn, deceased* (London, 1728), p. 8. For an edition see John Bergin & Liam Chambers, 'The library of Denis Molony (1650–1726), an Irish Catholic lawyer in London' in *Analecta Hibernica* 41 (2008), forthcoming. 40 Malachy Queeley, Collège de Boncourt, 1617; Henry Stanihurst, 1622; Nicolas Pouerus (Power), 1622; John O'Molony, Collège des Grassins, 1623; Roger O'Moloy, Collège de Beauvais, 1629–70; Edouard Tirel, Collège des Grassins, 1635; James Dulaeus (Daly), Collège du Plessis, 1642–3; Nicolas Poerus (Power), Collège de Lisieux, 1650; Michael Moore, Collège des Grassins, 1663–70s, Collège de France, 1703–20; James Wogan, Collège de Navarre, 1729; Luke Joseph Hooke, 1736; James MacDonagh, Collège du Plessis, 1772. This list (including dates) is drawn from Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography', 32, 35, 81–2, 85, 87–90, 93, 105, 107–8, 113, 119. Some sources list other Irishmen as professors of philosophy in early modern Paris, but the evidence is not strong. For example, Richard Hayes asserts that Maurice Aherne was a professor of philosophy at the Collège de Navarre in the 1760s. See Richard Hayes, *Biographical dictionary of Irishmen in France* (Dublin, 1949), p. 2. 41 Boris Noguès, *Une archéologie du corps enseignant: les professeurs des collèges parisiens au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (1598–1793)* (Paris, 2006), pp 82–3. More generally: Brockliss, *French higher education*, pp 37–51.

pronounced in the seventeenth century when Irish students lacked strong connections within the university and were therefore unable to gain access to the institutionally and financially more elevated chairs of theology. By the next century, especially from the 1730s, Irishmen regularly progressed to chairs of theology. For example, James Wogan and Luke Joseph Hooke both began their careers teaching philosophy before progressing to theology. Moreover, the establishment of a permanent Irish College in Paris in the 1670s offered an alternative source of employment. Of the seventeenth-century philosophers, it is significant that many proceeded to successful careers. Queeley, O'Molony and Daly became bishops. Tirel, who provided an approbation for John Punch's *Scotus Hiberniae restitutus* (Paris, 1660), was superior of the Irish College (albeit a virtual institution) in the mid-seventeenth century.⁴² Roger O'Moloy was therefore unusual, for he was a professor of philosophy for his entire career.⁴³ In 1641 the doctor and writer Gui Patin recommended to a friend that he send his son to the Collège de Beauvais, 'parce qu'il y a un Hibernois excellent philosophe.'⁴⁴ Unfortunately, we know very little about O'Moloy's teaching activities, though we do know that he supervised the philosophy theses of a number of Irish students and played a prominent role in the Irish student and academic community in Paris.⁴⁵ In fact, only one Irish professor of philosophy at the University of Paris published works of philosophy during his career: Michael Moore. The most that we can say about the others is that they do not seem to have been controversial, which, for the seventeenth century at least, suggests that they taught a fairly orthodox Scholastic Aristotelianism.⁴⁶

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This makes the career of Michael Moore all the more important, for he provides an indication of an Irish response to the philosophical curriculum at a moment of dramatic change.⁴⁷ Born in Dublin around 1639, Moore was educated in Nantes and Paris. He began teaching philosophy at the Collège des Grassins (one of the teaching colleges attached to the University of Paris) in 1663, before switching to rhetoric in the 1670s when he also became vice-principal. Moore returned to

⁴² John Punch, *Scotus Hiberniae restitutus* (Paris, 1660), unpaginated. ⁴³ Brockliss, *French higher education*, pp 46–8. ⁴⁴ Gui Patin à M. Belin, 22 Août 1641 in Gui Patin, *Lettres de Gui Patin*, ed. Joseph-Henri Reveillé-Parise (3 vols, Paris, 1846), i, 81. ⁴⁵ Priscilla O'Connor, 'Irish clerics in the University of Paris, 1570–1770' (unpublished PhD thesis, NUI, Maynooth, 2006), pp 114–15; Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography', p. 32. For supervision of philosophy theses see above. ⁴⁶ However, it should be noted that Henry Stanihurst provided advice to Marin Mersenne concerning alchemy in 1625. See Antonio Clericuzio, *Elements, principles and corpuscles: a study of atomism and chemistry in the seventeenth century* (Dordrecht, 2001), p. 51. ⁴⁷ The following section draws on Liam Chambers, *Michael Moore, c.1639–1726: provost of Trinity, rector of Paris* (Dublin, 2005).

Dublin in 1686 and played a prominent role during the reign of James II. He was briefly provost of Trinity College, before a public attack on the king's ecclesiastical policies resulted in his return to France. During the 1690s the conflict between Aristotelians and Cartesians within the University of Paris, essentially over the content of the natural philosophy component of the course, reached a crescendo. In 1691 eleven propositions allegedly taken from the work of Descartes were banned by the university authorities. This represented a concerted, if ultimately futile, effort on the part of the church, the state and the university to determine the philosophy curriculum and reveals the extent of official antipathy to Cartesianism.⁴⁸ It was at this point that Moore published his most important work: *De existentia Dei et humanae mentis immortalitate secundum Cartesii et Aristotelis doctrinam disputatio* (Paris, 1692). Moore spent the 1690s in Italy, but he returned to Paris in 1701 where he was elected rector of the university and was appointed principal of humanities students at the Collège de Navarre (1702) and professor of Greek and Latin Philosophy at the Collège de France (1703). Two works based on his lectures at the Collège de France were later published: *Vera sciendi methodus* (Paris, 1716) and *De principiis physicis, seu corporum naturalium disputatio* (Paris, 1726). Moore retired in 1720 and died in Paris six years later.

Michael Moore's *De existentia Dei* contributed to the debates involving Aristotelian Scholastics and Cartesians in later seventeenth-century France.⁴⁹ He was especially concerned with the content of the philosophy curriculum at the *collèges de plein exercice* at the University of Paris and, by extension, the rest of France.⁵⁰ More specifically, he was targeting those philosophers, like Jean Baptiste du Hamel and his former colleague at the Collège des Grassins, Edmond Pourchot, who were arguing in the 1680s and 1690s that one could integrate aspects of Cartesianism with the existing Aristotelian curriculum.⁵¹ Moore's clear purpose was to show that no accommodation was possible. To do this he focused on Descartes' 'Arguments proving the existence of God and the distinction between the soul and the body arranged in geometric fashion,' penned in response to Marin Mersenne's (second) set of objections to the *Meditations on first philosophy*.⁵² This permitted Moore to range quite widely,

48 See Charles Jourdain, *Histoire de l'Université de Paris au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1862), pp 269–70. For attempts to censor Cartesianism in France see Roger Ariew, 'Darned if you do: Cartesians and censorship, 1663–1706', *Perspectives on Science* 2 (1994), 255–74; Thomas McLoughlin, 'Censorship and defenders of the Cartesian faith in mid-seventeenth century France', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 40:4 (1979), 563–82. On the 1691 censorship, see also the recent work of Tad Schmaltz, *Radical Cartesianism*, pp 217–20; idem, 'French Cartesianism in context: the Paris formulary and Regis's *Usage*' in idem (ed.), *Receptions of Descartes*, pp 80–95.

49 A fuller treatment may be found in Chambers, *Michael Moore*, pp 61–83. 50 See, for example, his comments on the 1601 statutes of the university, which demanded an Aristotelian philosophy course: Moore, *De existentia Dei*, pp 458–9. 51 Kors, *Atheism in France, 1650–1729*, pp 276–7; Mercer, 'The vitality and importance of early modern Aristotelianism', pp 58–9.

52 Moore, *De existentia Dei*, preface; René Descartes, *The philosophical writings of Descartes*,

while addressing the two metaphysical issues raised in the full title of the *Meditations*: 'the existence of God and the distinction between the human soul and body'.⁵³ In his dedicatory letter to the Sorbonne, Descartes claimed that he was motivated by the Fifth Lateran Council's assertion in 1513 of the philosophical truth of the immortality of the soul.⁵⁴ Moore's essential point was that neither of Descartes' alleged demonstrations stood up to close scrutiny.

The result is a lengthy and complex critique of Cartesian metaphysics. In book one of *De existentia Dei* Moore subjected each step in Descartes' 'Arguments' to a forensic analysis, in each case carefully unpacking Descartes' position, before offering alternatives (drawn especially from Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, but also from Plato and Augustine), and settling on a conclusion. In this way he analyzed the definitions, postulates, axioms and propositions (or demonstrations) which constituted the basic fabric of Cartesian metaphysics.⁵⁵ In book two he provided Aristotelian Scholastic demonstrations of the existence of God and the immortality of the human soul.⁵⁶ Moore's discussion of the soul is particularly interesting, for it underlines the need to think of plural Aristotelian Scholasticisms in the early modern period. Moore argued that Descartes' distinction between mind and body did not entail a demonstration of the immortality of the mind or soul. Challenged on just this point by Mersenne, Moore argued that Descartes had retreated into a kind of fideism.⁵⁷ Therefore Descartes was unable to provide a demonstration of an essential Christian truth 'despite his disciples' assertions'.⁵⁸ Moore's focus on the soul was a shrewd decision, given that, in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Cartesians were struggling to defend Descartes' rational demonstration of Christian truths.⁵⁹ Moreover, Moore recognized the difficulties with Aristotle's theory of the soul. For this reason he confronted head on the 'secular' or 'radical' (or Averroist) position adopted by Pietro Pomponazzi in his *De immortalitate animae* (1516). He had argued that Aristotle had not provided an argument in favour of immortality, a truth which had to be accepted on the basis of faith, not reason.⁶⁰ This would have undermined the superiority of the Aristotelian position and Moore rejected it. He adopted the Thomist

trans. J. Cottingham, R. Stoothoff and D. Murdoch, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1985), ii, 113–20.

53 This was the wording in the second edition. The first edition carried the wording 'in which are demonstrated the existence of God and the immortality of the soul.' Descartes, *The philosophical writings*, ii, 1. For a recent discussion on the publication history of and context to the *Meditations* see Desmond Clarke, *Descartes: a biography* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 184–217.

54 Moore also addressed his work to the dean and doctors of the faculty of theology: *De existentia Dei*, epistola. 55 Ibid., pp 7–330. 56 Ibid., 331–451. 57 Ibid., 321–30. 58 Ibid., 322. 59 Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: philosophy and the making of modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford, 2001), pp 491–4. 60 Pietro Pomponazzi, 'On the immortality of the soul', introduced by J. Herman Randall Jr, in E. Cassirer, P.O. Kristeller & J.H. Randall (eds), *The Renaissance philosophy of man: selections in translation* (Chicago, 1967), pp 257–381. For Moore's discussion of Pomponazzi, see *De existentia Dei*, pp 411–51.

position that the intellective part of the soul (*mens*) in humans is separable from the body because it has operations proper to itself.⁶¹ It is interesting that Moore drew Pomponazzi into the debate (he was still widely discussed in the late seventeenth century) and that he implicitly associated the dangerous ideas of the secular Aristotelian with the Cartesian.

While the natural philosophy courses at Paris largely succumbed to Cartesianism in the 1690s, the other parts of the philosophy curriculum were less dramatically affected and, in any case, some support for the Aristotelian position remained strong for the first two decades of the eighteenth century.⁶² Moore's courses at the Collège de France were an important indicator that Aristotelian Scholasticism had not disappeared and his position as *professeur royal* accorded his work significant status. Two books emerged from his teaching in the early eighteenth century. *Vera sciendi methodus* reflected the expansion of the 'method' section of the logic course in the face of Cartesian challenges. In this work Moore attacked the appeal to mathematics as the basis for the study of nature and the geometric method of demonstration, instead outlining an Aristotelian logic rooted in the syllogism. In *De principiis physicis* one finds a stripped down late Aristotelian natural philosophy, a re-statement of the importance of matter and form, his theory of the soul and an attack on the influential Oratorian Nicholas Malebranche. Throughout his work Moore stressed the Christian utility of Aristotelian Scholasticism and the dangers presented by Cartesianism. In his early eighteenth-century teaching and writing he led the call for a renewal of philosophy based on Aristotle and the Scholastic approach.⁶³ Moore is therefore especially important because he confronted the Cartesian challenge in natural philosophy and attempted to fight a rearguard action well into the eighteenth century.⁶⁴

IV

Moore was not the only Irish writer to publish works of (non-Scotist) Aristotelian Scholastic philosophy in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In the early seventeenth century Bernard Morisani published a textbook, *In Aristotelis logicam physicam ethicam apotelesma* (Frankfurt, 1625), as well as a commentary on the medieval astronomy of John de Sacrobosco: *In spheram Joannis de S. Bosco commentarius* (Frankfurt, 1625).⁶⁵ Christopher

61 Moore, *De existentia Dei*, pp 350–1. 62 L.W.B. Brockliss, 'Aristotle, Descartes and the new sciences', p. 52. 63 For fuller analysis see Chambers, *Michael Moore*, pp 116–29. 64 For an interesting discussion of the historiographical issues thrown up by early modern Aristotelian natural philosophy see: Christoph Lüthy, 'What to do with seventeenth century natural philosophy: a taxonomic problem', *Perspectives on Science* 8:2 (2000), 164–95. 65 Charles H. Lohr, 'Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors L–M', *Renaissance Quarterly* 31:4

Hollywood had produced an Aristotelian-Ptolemaic work over a decade earlier: *De meteoribus* (Paris, 1613).⁶⁶ James Piers, an Irish professor of philosophy at the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux, published a work on Aristotelian logic: *Brevis atque dilucida in logicam introductio quam vulgo summulus appellant* (Bordeaux, 1635).⁶⁷ Perhaps the most significant Irish Aristotelian Scholastic textbook (written outside the Scotist tradition) was the Galway Jesuit Richard Lynch's *Summa Philosophica Scholastica* (Lyons, 1654).⁶⁸ Irish writers produced polemics as well as textbooks. Peter Talbot, the archbishop of Dublin, published two strong attacks on the English neo-Aristotelians Thomas White (alias Blacklow) and John Sergeant.⁶⁹ The Dominicans had a particular investment in the Thomist school and a number of Irish friars made important contributions. Dominic Lynch, a Dominican from Galway, who taught for most of his career in Seville, published a full Aristotelian Scholastic course in France, his *Summa philosophiae speculativae juxta mentem & doctrinam Divi Thomae & Aristotelis* (4 vols, Paris, 1666–86).⁷⁰ In a long medieval and early modern tradition of rhyming philosophy treatises, another Dominican, Michael Corcran, published his *Rythmus pan-sophicus* (Morlaix, 1690).⁷¹ Outside France, James Arthur had prepared a projected twelve-volume commentary on the *Summa* by the time of his death. Only two volumes appeared, under the title: *Commentaria in totam fere S. Thomae de Aquino Summam* (2 vols, Lisbon?, 1665).⁷² John Baptist Hacket, a well-connected Irish Dominican who resided in Rome, published a series of philosophical texts in the mid-seventeenth century: *Synopsis summulistica* (Rome, 1659), *Synopsis physica* (Rome, 1659) and *Synopsis meteorica* (Rome, 1659), as well as a *Synopsis philosophiae* (2 vols, Rome, 1662). The latter was an abridgement of the philosophy of John of St. Thomas (João Poinset), one of the most important Thomists of the seventeenth century.⁷³ Of course, some of these

(1978), p. 599. 66 For a short discussion see Pérez-Camacho, 'Late renaissance humanism and the Dublin scientific tradition (1592–1641)', pp 57–60. 67 Sweeney, *Ireland and the printed word*, p. 568. 68 Thompson Cooper, 'Lynch, Richard (1610–1676)', rev. G. Martin Murphy, *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17258>, accessed 21 July 2008]. Lynch's philosophy is discussed in: Sven K. Knebel, *Wille, Würfel und Wahrscheinlichkeit: Das System der Moralischen Notwendigkeit in der Jesuitenscholastik 1550–1700* (Hamburg, 2000). 69 Blacklonae *haereses olim in Pelagio et Manichaeis damnatae* (Ghent, 1675); *Scutum inexpugnabile fidei adversus haeresem Blacklonam et clypeum septemplicum Joannis Sargentii* (Lyons, 1678). For context and some comment see Dorothea Krook, *John Sergeant and his circle: a study of three seventeenth-century English Aristotelians*, ed. Beverley C. Southgate (Leiden, 1993), pp 163–8. 70 Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana, sive historia Provinciae Hiberniae Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Cologne, 1762), p. 545; J. Hardiman, 'The pedigree of Doctor Domnick Lynch [...] 1674', *Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society* 1 (1846), 44–90. 71 Sweeney, *Ireland and the printed word*, p. 184. 72 Ware, *The whole works of Sir James Ware*, ed. Harris, ii, 160. 73 Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 542–4; Ware, *The whole works of Sir James Ware*, ed. Harris, ii, 201; Thomas S. R. O'Flynn, 'Hackett, John Baptist (c.1606–1676)', *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11838>, accessed 21 July 2008]; Stone, 'Scholastic schools and early modern philosophy',

authors, such as John Baptist Hacket and Richard Lynch, published important works of Scholastic theology as well.⁷⁴ Dominic Lynch had prepared a full course of Scholastic theology for publication, before it was lost at sea en route from Spain to France.⁷⁵ Indeed, the writings of a series of Irish Scholastic theologians deserve much closer attention. One of the best examples is Augustine Gibbon de Burgo, who published major works of Scholastic theology at Erfurt in the 1660s and 1670s.⁷⁶ The works of at least some of these authors found their way into the libraries of their compatriots. For example, the Irish bishop, Piers Creagh, owned a copy of Hacket's *Synopsis philosophica*, while the Dominican John Donnelly, at his death in 1748, owned a copy of Dominic Lynch's *Summa*.⁷⁷

There is some evidence that Irish Catholic attitudes to Aristotelian Scholasticism were changing towards the end of the seventeenth century and into the early eighteenth century, in line with developments across the continent. The work of William O'Kelly of Aghrim (Aughrim) provides a good example of a shift in attitude. Educated in Paris, at least according to Walter Harris with whom he corresponded in the early 1740s, O'Kelly arrived in Prague in 1698 and was later appointed professor of philosophy and heraldry in Vienna. He wrote a string of works on philosophy, heraldry and Irish history, as well as compositions in Latin verse, during the late 1690s and early eighteenth century.⁷⁸ His major philosophical work was *Philosophia aulica juxta veterum, ac recentiorum philosophorum placita* (New Prague, 1701). The title seems to place it in within attempts to accommodate the 'old' and 'new' philosophies, though the presentation was relatively traditional (described by the author as 'the Parisian manner'), covering in turn logic, ethics, physics and metaphysics. The text was sympathetic to the 'new' philosophies of Galileo, Gassendi and Descartes. O'Kelly even incorporated the text of Boileau's 1671 satire in his introduction, though he silently expunged the references to the Irish.⁷⁹ Around 1741 O'Kelly

p. 309. ⁷⁴ For example, in the case of Richard Lynch, *Universae theologiae scholasticae tomus primus* (2 vols, Salamanca, 1679). ⁷⁵ Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 545. ⁷⁶ On Gibbon de Burgo see John Hennig, 'Augustine Gibbon de Burgo: a study in early Irish reaction to Luther', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th ser. 69 (1947), 135–51; Erich Kleineidam, 'Augustinus Gibbon de Burgo, OESA, und die Wiedererrichtung des theologischen Studiums der Augustinereremiten an der Universität Erfurt', *Analecta Augustiniana* 41 (1978), 65–112. For other authors see Benignus Millet, 'Irish literature in Latin 1550–1700' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin & F.J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland: iii, Early modern Ireland 1534–1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 575–9. ⁷⁷ Mooney (ed.), 'The library of Archbishop Piers Creagh', pp 125–6; Fenning, 'The library of a preacher of Drogheda', p. 97. ⁷⁸ Ware, *The whole works of Sir James Ware*, ed. Harris, ii, 287; Brockliss and Férty, 'Prosopography', p. 124; David Coakley & Zdenek Kalvach, 'Doctors in exile: William MacNeven O'Kelly (1713–1787) and William James MacNeven (1741–1841)', in Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (ed.), *Migrating scholars: lines of contact between Ireland and Bohemia* (Dublin, [1998]), pp 82–3. Some of his works are listed in: Hedvika Kucharová & Jan Páez, 'Po stopách Irských emigrantů u ve fondech strahovské knihovny v Praze' in *ibid.*, pp 174–6. ⁷⁹ O'Kelly, *Philosophia aulica*, unpaginated.

informed Walter Harris that he was working on a new edition of the *Philosophia aulica*, though no work appeared before his death ten years later.⁸⁰ O'Kelly's approach clearly contrasted with the Scotist philosophy and theology emanating from the Irish Franciscan College in Prague, which was beset by internal conflicts in the late seventeenth century.⁸¹ Some Irish Catholics educated on the continent went further than O'Kelly. Bernard Connor, an Irish Catholic doctor educated in France in the 1680s and early 1690s, explicitly rejected Aristotelianism (and Galenism) in work published in the later 1690s, in favour of a mechanical theory of the human body, a theory which drew on Cartesianism. It is interesting therefore that Connor had settled in England and conformed to the Established Church in 1695, before publishing his most controversial work: *Evangelium medici: seu Medicina mystica; de suspensis naturæ legibus, sive de miraculis* (London, 1697).⁸² The work of Connor and O'Kelly marked a shift away from Scholastic Aristotelianism on the part of some Irish thinkers on the continent and prefigured the emergence of Irish philosophers and mathematicians like Joseph Ignatius O'Halloran in Bordeaux and Patrick D'Arcy in Paris who were able, in the mid-eighteenth century, to embrace Newtonian mathematics and physics.⁸³

There is also some evidence that the debates about the relative merits of Aristotelian Scholasticism and Cartesianism found expression among Catholics in Ireland. In 1731, Dennis McCarty published a short pamphlet in Dublin defending Descartes.⁸⁴ The work was the first of five projected 'philosophical conferences', though the author was concerned 'that some envious, malicious, and dwarf understandings [...] will endeavour rather by calumniating me (according to their actual manner) and nibbling at, and censuring what they understand not, to ruin and render abortive my design, than to confute it in

80 Ware, *The whole works of Sir James Ware*, ed. Harris, ii, 287. However, O'Kelly had earlier published another work of philosophy, presumably another edition or re-print of the *Philosophia aulica*, with the title: *Examen philosophicum: iuxta saniora veterum, ac recentiorum philosophorum placita* (2 vols, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1703). 81 Jan Perez, 'The Irish Franciscans in seventeenth and eighteenth century Prague', in Thomas O'Connor & Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602-1820* (Dublin, 2003), p. 109. 82 See Liam Chambers, 'Medicine and miracles in the late seventeenth century: Bernard Connor's *Evangelium medici* (1697)' in Fiona Clark (ed.), *Ireland and medicine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (forthcoming). 83 John Ferrar, *The history of Limerick: ecclesiastical, civil and military* (Limerick, 1787), pp 370-1; 'Eloge de M. le Comte D'Arcy', *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*, 1779 (1782), pp 54-70. 84 Dennis MacCarty, *A vindication of Monsieur Descartes: in five philosophical conferences* (Dublin, 1731). The identity of the author is not known, but it seems likely that he was a Catholic. In the dialogue, one of the two characters suggests repairing to a tavern called the 'London' (MacCarty, *Vindication*, p. 6). The 'London Tavern' was run by Tim O'Sullivan, originally from Kerry, in early eighteenth-century Dublin and was a meeting place for Kerry natives, perhaps suggesting the author's origins. See: Andrew Carpenter, *Verse in English from eighteenth century Ireland* (Cork, 1998), p. 87; J.T. Gilbert states that the tavern was destroyed by fire in 1729. See J.T. Gilbert, *A history of the city of Dublin* (3 vols, Dublin, 1854-9), i, 67.

publick writings by good and solid natural reasonings; but I hope that they will not succeed, and that *the impartial publick* will rather disappoint them, than listen to their calumnies.⁸⁵ The work involved a dialogue between Claude (a Cartesian) and Gusman (his friend). At the start of the text Gusman welcomes Claude back to 'this country', presumably Ireland, but soon recoils in horror: 'I am very glad to see you – welcome to this country – let me embrace you – but good God pardon me for this crime I have just now committed, for I have caress'd a person who is, as I am inform'd, not only a Jansenist, an Heretick, but also an Atheist.'⁸⁶ Gusman explains that he believes Claude to be an atheist because he is a Cartesian and that he has heard reports that Descartes' denial of substantial forms is essentially heretical. Claude responds that, in fact, substantial forms are the road to atheism, while Cartesianism offers proof of God's existence. There follows a discussion on the proposition 'God alone is the true and efficient cause of all motion, being a preparatory proposition, in order to confute substantial material forms', in which Claude outlines the Cartesian position and offers solutions to various objections.⁸⁷ He draws not only from Descartes, but also from the Jesuit Ignace Gaston Paradies' *Discours de la connaissance des bestes* (Paris, 1672) and the Oratorian Nicholas Malebranche's *De la recherche de la vérité* (2 vols, Paris, 1674–5).⁸⁸ In the end, the larger work containing the remaining conferences did not appear, but this short pamphlet nonetheless points to the development of a *public* debate among Irish Catholics in the early eighteenth century about fundamental philosophical issues and a challenge to Aristotelian Scholasticism.⁸⁹

V

Irish writers were involved in all aspects of early modern Aristotelian Scholasticism. However, research on the subject remains underdeveloped. At a basic level, there is no prosopography of Irish Catholic professors of philosophy in the early modern period.⁹⁰ Despite recent advances we still do not know enough about Irish interactions with philosophy curricula on the continent. For example, how important were the Irish Colleges in fostering philosophical attitudes? It is not surprising that there is evidence for a strong Aristotelian Scholastic influence among at least some Irish student communities. Balthasar

85 MacCarty, *Vindication*, p. 3. My italics. 86 Ibid., pp 5–6 87 Ibid., pp 7–27. 88 Ibid., pp 19–20, 22–3. 89 Despite the author's comments that 'This pious and godly doctrine, God alone, &c. is peculiar to the Cartesians, unless it be common to them with St Thomas and his Disciples, as I believe it is', the pamphlet is clearly an attack on what he calls 'Peripatetics [...] and all other anti-Cartesians' (ibid., p. 3). 90 For a list of ninety-four Irish Scotist philosophers who were students and/or professors at St Isidore's College, Rome, see Millet, 'Irish Scotists at St. Isidore's College, Rome, in the seventeenth century', pp 412–19; also this book, pp 185–91.

Tellez published a major textbook, *Summa universae philosophiae* (Lisbon, 1642), while he was superior of the Irish College in Lisbon.⁹¹ The Irish Aristotelian James Piers was the superior of the Irish College in Bordeaux during the 1620s.⁹² Malachi Kelly, who edited the philosophy textbook of his professor François Le Rées, was one of the founders of the Irish Collège des Lombards in Paris.⁹³ Also in the French capital, the professors of philosophy Roger O'Moloy and Michael Moore played a leading role in the Irish student community.⁹⁴ It is interesting that the first foundation (*fondation*) for Irish students in Paris was established by the royal professor of philosophy Jean Perreau in 1645 and stipulated *inter alia* that students would attend lectures in philosophy at the Collège de France. Four students were admitted to the *bourses* at a time, including two Irish, who were nominated by the superior of the Irish College, at the time of the establishment of the foundation Eduoard Tirel, himself a former professor of philosophy.⁹⁵ Where courses were taught internally, philosophical formation was clearly more amenable to supervision and control. This was the case at the colleges of Irish regular clergy, where philosophy courses must have mirrored the prevailing tendencies of their order. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the course of philosophy followed by the Irish Dominicans at San Clemente in the eighteenth century was firmly Thomist.⁹⁶ However, many Irish Colleges did not provide courses of study, and students attended class and sat examinations at the local university. At some Irish Colleges a practice evolved whereby *conférences* (essentially revision lectures or classes) were provided, which permitted the monitoring of opinions picked up outside. For example, in 1773 a theology student resident at the Irish Collège des Lombards in Paris explained to a correspondent in Ireland how the daily timetable worked:

Up at five and a half in the morning we meet at prayer at six, which finishes at six and a half, we then retire to our rooms untill eight and a quarter when the philosophers are called away to class where they continue till ten and a half. I have done with this disagreeable part of our duty as I am now in Theology. The divines study in their chambers until they are called away to

91 Charles H. Lohr, 'Renaissance Latin Aristotle commentaries: So-Z', *Renaissance Quarterly* 35:2 (1982), 191; O Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon*, p. 39. 92 T.J. Walsh, 'Some records of the Irish College at Bordeaux', *Archivum Hibernicum* 15 (1950), 106; idem, *The Irish continental college movement*, p. 98. 93 Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists, 1600-70: religion and politics in Flanders, France, Ireland and Rome* (Dublin, 2008), p. 205. 94 Brockliss and Ferté, 'Prosopography', p. 32; Chambers, *Michael Moore*. On Moore see also the comments of the playwright Michael Clancy who met him in Paris in 1716: *Memoirs of Michael Clancy, M.D.*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1750), i, 27. 95 Collège de Reims, Fondation Perreau, 1645-70 (Archives Nationales, Paris, M 187, pièces 10-11); Henri Dacaille, *Étude sur le Collège de Reims à Paris, 1412-1763* (Reims, 1899), pp 51-4. 96 Hugh Fenning, 'SS. Sisto e Clemente, 1677-1797' in Leonard Boyle, *San Clemente Miscellany I: The community of SS. Sisto e Clemente in Rome, 1677-1797* (Rome, 1977), p. 49.

the several churches in which they officiate, and as they return breakfast at different hours. Dinner is served at twelve, at one the conference in philosophy, with which I have the misfortune to be charged for the ensuing year; at two the philosophers go to class 'till four.⁹⁷

In general terms, it would appear that the location of the student and the nature of the institution he attended was crucial in forming (though not determining) intellectual attitudes. For example, the strong Jesuit influence on the Irish Colleges in the Iberian peninsula would suggest a significant Thomistic Aristotelian influence until well into the eighteenth century. However, much more research is required before stronger conclusions can be drawn.

We also need to know more about the relationship between philosophical attitudes and related social, cultural and political concerns. In *ancien régime* France the state and church required an intellectually satisfying philosophy curriculum, but also one which reflected their interests: the formation of rounded Christian subjects capable of taking their place within society, and especially the apparatus of the church and state.⁹⁸ For these reasons Cartesianism was viewed in some quarters with suspicion and even hostility until the early eighteenth century. In this context Irish philosophical orthodoxy, as represented by Michael Moore for example, was pragmatic and arguably reflected the Irish Catholic experience in the seventeenth century. Further afield, while William O'Kelly of Aghrim introduced readers to 'new' opinions, he was careful in his presentation.⁹⁹ The positions adopted by those who grappled with Aristotelian Scholasticism and the challenges it faced in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were important beyond the classroom. In recent work Laurence Brockliss has suggested that the overthrow of centuries of Aristotelian natural philosophy in favour of the Cartesian alternative in 1690s France *did* undermine *ancien régime* intellectual, political and social structures. 'In an important sense', he writes, 'the Cartesian revolution at the University of Paris was one of the initial stages on the road to 1789.'¹

97 John [Baptist] Walsh to Vere Hunt [jun.], 30 August 1773 (Limerick City and County Archive, De Vere Papers P22/1/8). My thanks to Ursula Callaghan for bringing this letter to my attention. The practice of revision lectures was not new. The community of 'Escholiens Hybernois' observed a similar system in the late seventeenth century: 'Ceux qui étudieront en Philosophie ou en Theologie seront tous les mois une Conférence sur leurs Etudes, ou l'un d'eux soutiendra quelques Theses prises des cahiers qu'ils auront écrits ce mois là sous leurs Professeurs, & les autres disputeront contre luy, le Prestre qui sera chargé de leur conduite assistera à ces Conférences, ceux qui estudient aux Humanitez seront aussi tous les Samedis en sa presence des repetitions de ce qu'ils auront appris pendant la semaine' ('Reglemens que doivent observer les pauvres Escholiens Hybernois, qui composent la Communauté établie à Paris', Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 23494, f. 227). 98 Noguès, *Une archéologie du corps enseignant*, pp 190–3. 99 O'Kelly, *Philosophia aulica*, pp 111–17 (physics section). Each of the four sections of the work is paginated separately. 1 Brockliss, 'The

Engagement with Aristotelian Scholasticism was an important feature of the history of Irish migration to early modern Europe and Irish writers were very conscious of their intellectual and educational antecedents. For example, in the early seventeenth century David Rothe drew attention to the contributions of the medieval Irish scholars, John Scottus Eriugena and Clemens Scottus (Clement of Ireland), on the Continent.² This is not to suggest that there was no room for alternatives. For example, some Irish clergy on the Continent implicitly challenged the credentials of the Scholastic approach to philosophy and theology, especially during the early- and mid-seventeenth century, and placed more emphasis on scriptural and patristic sources of authority instead.³ Others, like William O'Kelly or Bernard Connor, engaged positively with Cartesianism and other new philosophies. A fuller assessment of the significance of Irish Aristotelian Scholasticism in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries will await a closer study of textbooks, treatises, theses and student notebooks. This will enable us to place Irish *Aristotelian Scholasticisms* within the emerging field of 'Irish philosophy', as well as the history of philosophy in early modern Europe.

moment of no return: the University of Paris and the death of Aristotelianism', p. 274. ² David Rothe, *Brigidia thaumaturga* (Paris, 1620), pp 77–81. Around the same time Bernard Morisani claimed the astronomer and mathematician John de Sacrobosco (d. c.1236) for Ireland in his *In spheram Joannis de S. Bosco commentarius* (Frankfurt, 1625). On the grammarian Clemens Scotus see V.A. Law, 'Clemens Scottus (fl. c.814–826)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5599>, accessed 15 Sept 2008]. ³ On this subject see: O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*. I would like to thank the Revd Professor James McEvoy, Professor Martin Stone and Dr Thomas O'Connor, who generously read and commented on earlier drafts of this essay.