

Archbishop Ussher's Reading List

By Harrison Perkins

INTRODUCTION

Most historians and theologians recognize Archbishop James Ussher (1581–1656) as an obvious polymath. His learning spanned disciplines from textual criticism, patristic and medieval ecclesiastical developments, historical chronology—which was masterful regardless of what you think of his conclusions in tracing that back to the creation events—constructive theology itself, and of course preaching. The manuscript transcribed for first-time publication here confirms the truth of his broad learning.¹ This document originated during Ussher's time in Oxford during the English civil war, which can be seen from several pieces of internal evidence. Bishop Thomas Barlow (1608–91) notated these lectures. Barlow left the physical manuscript to Queen's College, Oxford, which confirms that the manuscript certainly belonged to him, and the handwriting matches Barlow's. Barlow's notes mentioned that Ussher had not read John Davenant's commentary on Colossians, and that book was published in 1627. Ussher was not in England between 1626 and 1640, which means Ussher delivered the material recorded in Barlow's manuscript at least after 1640. Ussher spent the most time in Oxford during 1643–44 when he moved there during the English civil war to be with the royalist camp. Ussher's lectures that Barlow notated were mostly about various topics of theology, but the section transcribed here focused on the reading habits that Ussher thought that ministers-in-training needed to have.² In this section, Ussher began by outlining what he thought were necessary linguistic skills, then described what he thought were important devotional and preparational practices, and finally spoke at length about books that he recommended, approved, or disapproved for these students to be using. The transcription here contains full bibliographic notes to help readers decipher and make use of Ussher's recommended reading.

Some may question what value it is to publish a transcription of what amounts to a bibliography with some interspersed comments. Actually, there are several points of value. From a strictly academic perspective, this document provides access to material that tells us more about Ussher himself, more about the contours of early-modern Reformed theology, and more about the preparation for ministry in ages past. It is important to preserve documents that contain the indisputably personal views of significant intellectual figures, and publishing transcriptions of them both helps preserve the manuscript versions and allows more scholars to access them, if those scholars are not able to travel to the library where the individual manuscript is held. In an era when historical theology is a rapidly developing field, there is a continual need to improve our research methods. It used to be the case that researchers had to access a specific work by going to a particular library that has it and reading it there, but that need has disappeared through the embarrassment of riches

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1. I am grateful to the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Queen's College, Oxford for permission to publish the transcription of material from MS 217.

2. I have elsewhere defended the dating and origins of this manuscript extensively. Harrison Perkins, *Catholicity and the Covenant of Works: James Ussher and the Reformed Tradition* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming), 33–34; Harrison Perkins, "Manuscript and Material Evidence for James Ussher's Authorship of *A Body of Divinitie* (1645)," *Evangelical Quarterly* 89.2 (2018): 142–44. Another portion of this manuscript is transcribed in Perkins, "Manuscript and Material Evidence," 157–61, and the most substantial portion, which consists of lengthy theological lectures in Latin, is nearly ready for publication in an edition of Ussher's theological manuscripts.

that we have through online databases like the Post-Reformation Digital Library.³ The wide availability of resources means that historical research must now push further into its objects of inquiry than *simply* summarizing documents that most can freely access if it wants to remain at the forefront of technical investigation. At this point in the development of the historical-theology discipline, the best scholarship now has to engage in archive work to produce the most precise and informed conclusions. The publication of documents that were previously available only in manuscript form does help alleviate the costly travel burden for scholars to make use of material like that published here.

There is, moreover, a methodological concern that drives the investigation and publication of manuscripts like this one that contains extensive information about what sources Ussher demonstrably used and consulted. There is a common problem in historical theology, wherein scholars create links between two authors but do so arbitrarily and without demonstrable evidence to establish that link. For example, perhaps I suggest that, since Ussher lived in the seventeenth century and was a Reformed theologian, he consulted or drew material from works by the now well-known Reformed author John Owen (1616–83). There are, however, several problems with this proposal as it stands from a methodological standpoint. It was perhaps more understandable for a past generations of scholars who did not have access to countless titles through online databases since they had to rely on whatever primary sources they could access, but modern researchers in historical theology still make the significant mistake of assuming that just because a book is important to us in the modern era, it must have been equally valued in the early-modern period. That assumption is in many ways unsustainable, but even when it is sustainable as a conclusion, it rests on flawed methodological premises. Instead, we need to demonstrate that a title was valued in the early-modern period before we assume that it was influential. Even then, we cannot assume that an important work was valuable to everyone. To continue the example, Owen may have produced many works that were important to seventeenth-century readers, but we still have not demonstrated that any of his works were important to Ussher.

In addition to the flawed methodological assumption about importance, it is also easy to make methodological

mistakes about transmission. That same embarrassment of riches that we can so easily access through online databases could lead us to assume that everyone in the early-modern period had access to all of those titles as well, but that is again not the case. In Ussher's case, for example, he spent most of his ministry in Ireland. If a book was published in Amsterdam, and was even demonstrably important among theologians in England, it still has yet to be shown that it was even available for Ussher to read in Ireland. The dissemination of ideas in the early-modern period was far more bound to the limitations of distributing physical media than it is today and historians have to reckon with that fact if we are going to produce methodologically responsible conclusions.

In regards to these methodological concerns that intellectual historians argue for demonstrable links between various authors and texts that avoid the fallacies of assumed importance and assumed access, documents like Ussher's list of recommended reading are immensely valuable. It may not be overly exciting to read this list line-by-line for entertainment or for content, but this sort of document is supremely significant if you want to do any sort of historical research about Ussher. Although there are other ways to establish what books Ussher was or could have been using, since there are good records of the books that were in his personal library and his correspondence contains many discussions about various books and authors, this manuscript of Ussher's recommended reading offers insight beyond what he owned, to those he definitely read and at times even evaluated.⁴ In other words, this manuscript is a treasure trove for establishing without speculation those historically demonstrable links between Ussher and the works that he consulted. The publication of this manuscript, then, provides for the advance of Ussher research in facilitating ready access to those demonstrable links that will create the tightest and most informed conclusions about Ussher, his theology, his sources, and the developmental context for all of the above.

In addition to the strictly academic perspective, this manuscript should also have value to readers of this journal from an ecclesiastical viewpoint. The breadth of Ussher's reading is striking. Ussher was a Reformed conformist within the established Church of Ireland, but made positive and emphatic use of Presbyterian writers. More pointedly, Ussher also read and endorsed Lutheran writers and even Roman Catholic biblical commentators. There are historical lessons there and churchly lessons. Historically, the fact that Ussher was making such obvious, appreciative use of Presbyterian and Lutheran

3. The Post-Reformation Digital Library can be accessed free of charge at www.prdl.org.

4. Trinity College Dublin MS 5; *The Correspondence of James Ussher, 1600–1656*, edited by Elizabethanne Boran, 3 vols. (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2015).

theologians reveals more of the early-modern pan-Protestant dynamic. Undoubtedly, there were fiery debates between these camps, but men like Ussher were still able to see the immense doctrinal overlap between theologians within the Reformation heritage. This observation undermines, historically, the notion of “distinctly Reformed” approaches to various topics outside of those exact issues that separated the Reformed from other confessional traditions. Even then, Ussher, who was robustly anti-Catholic, was even still able to glean truth from Romanist authors. Again, historically, this point suggests that the early-modern Reformed understood that all truth is God's truth, no matter the source.

In terms of our own practice as confessional Presbyterians, Ussher's vast reading should show us that, if we are truly going to be the most diligent in arguing the truth, we need to be as well rounded as we can be. The fact that Ussher thought that “good skill in Greeke and some Hebrew, a litle Syriach and Chaldee” was the need for a normal minister easily shows how far things have progressed. Although I am personally not convinced that every minister needs knowledge of Syriac and Chaldean, good linguistic skills are certainly required. Beyond that, however, Ussher was in touch with secular history, the sciences, current philosophy, and theology outside his own narrow tradition. Although we can and should find great worth in the array of books (original or reprint) put out by narrowly Reformed publishers (and I am narrowly Presbyterian),

too many lay people and even ministers think that they are deeply well read because they have a shelf full of works from these publishers. That myopic focus actually damages our Reformed tradition because the lines of debate start to get drawn closer and closer. If we read *only* works from modern Presbyterians, then of course the Lutherans and genuinely Reformed Anglicans are the outright enemy, but even other Presbyterians who disagree about intra-confessional issues become the targets of heated dispute. There is certainly need for discussion and real debate, but that needs to be set within a wider awareness of theological trends and traditions. The scope of Ussher's reading reminds us that we are not the only ones with something to say, and, regardless if we were, it is good to be knowledgeable of what is happening widely in theology and even broader academics as much as possible.

The critical transcription preserves everything as it was written in the manuscript with any expansions or emendations noted in square brackets. The modernized version, however, has been substantially edited for readability. Punctuation and spelling were standardized. Names were Anglicized at least to the most common way modern works refer to them. Book titles or phrases that were originally in Latin were translated in English. Book titles were also italicized. In some places, words have been added or phrases reworked for clarity and readability. Those who have scholarly interest in this work should consult and cite the critical version.

Transcription of Queen's College, Oxford MS 217, fol. 41v–42v

[41v] For a Divine there is necessary good skill in Greeke & some in the Hebrew, a litle Syriach & Chaldee would doe well too.

Thus Prepare

1 Reade [th]e Bible w[i]th 2 Readings. 1. Dayly 3 or 4 chapters to have gone over all [th]e Canonical Scriptures w[i]thin the yeare: then begin again, though you misse one daie, make amends [th]e next. This, though it seem but a superficiall kinde of reading, yet it will benefitt much. Use to give a prick at such a place as toucheth you. Reade [th]e doctrinall Bookes thrice over for the Historiall once, bec[ause] they are harder to be remembered

2 Reade it w[i]th Expositors, & here you need not be so tied to your dayly task, but reade as you have leasure: to this purpose, get Junius & Tremelius's

A Modernized text of Archbishop Ussher's Recommended Reading List

For a Divine, there is a necessity for good skill in Greek and some in Hebrew, and a little Syriac and Chaldean would do well too.

Thus Prepare:

1. Read the Bible with two Readings. (1) Daily read three or four chapters to have gone over all the Canonical Scriptures within the year, then begin again. Though you miss one day, make amends the next. This, though it seem but a superficial kind of reading, yet it will benefit much. Use it to give a prick at such a place as touches you. Read the doctrinal books three times for every one time in the historical because they are harder to remember.

(2) Read it with Expositors, and here you need not be so tied to your daily task, but read as you have leisure. To this purpose, get Junius and Tremelius'

notes and Geneva Notes, & Piscator all hee hath: Clearer on [th]e Proverbs & Cartwright on [th]e m. Ames on [th]e Psalmes. Mollerus on [th]e Psalmes & Isaiiah. The Psalmes & Isaiiah are oftener quoted then all [th]e rest of [th]e old Test[ament]. beside Ainsworth on [th]e Pentateuch & Psalmes. Hee is good for parallel places. Get Beza's notes on the N[ew]. Test[ament]. Printed without [th]e text. In yo[ur] owne reading set downe parallell places in your Bible: bec[ause] to expound Scripture by Scr[iptur]e is [th]e best com[m]ent.

2 For a body of Divinity gather it yo[ur]self out of these three & keep to them. viz[elice]t Zanchius, Sohnius in confessionem Augustina[m], & [th]e Epitomy

notes¹ and the Geneva Notes,² and Piscator—all that he has:³ He is clearer on the Proverbs⁴ and get Cartwright on them.⁵ Ames on the Psalmes.⁶ Möller on the Psalmes and Isaiiah.⁷ The Psalmes and Isaiiah are more often quoted then all the rest of the Old Testament. Beside Ainsworth on the Pentateuch and Psalmes,⁸ He is good for parallel places. Get Beza's notes on the New Testament,⁹ printed without the text. In your own reading, set down parallel places in your Bible because to expound Scripture by Scripture is the best comment.¹⁰

2. For a body of divinity, gather it yourself out of these three and keep to them, namely, Zanchi,¹¹ Sohn in the august confession,¹² and the epitome of Calvin's

1. *Biblia Sacra, Sive Testamentum Vetus, ab Im[manuel] Tremellio et Fr[anciscus] Junio ex Hebraeo Latinè redditum. Et Testamentum Novum, à Theod[ore] Beza è Graeco in Latinum versum.* (Amsterdam, 1634).

2. *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and New Testament. Translated According to the Ebrue and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in Divers languages. With Moste Profitable Annotations upon all the Lord places, and other things of great importance as may appear in the Epistle to the Reader* (Geneva: Rouland Hall, 1560).

3. Johannes Piscator (1546–1625) was a German Reformed theologian who taught in Strassburg, Heidelberg, Neustadt, and Herborn. Although he wrote many full-length commentaries on many books of Scripture, the most likely reference here is to a several-volume set of annotations on the Old and New Testaments. Since all the volumes that I located of this set, except the one on the New Testament, were all printed in the 1640s, clearly they were based on works that Piscator composed earlier such as the full commentaries on each book. *Johannis Piscatoris, Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti Tomus Primus: Quo continetur Pentateuchus Mosaica, videlicet: Genesis. Exodus. Leviticus. Numeri. Deuteronomium.* (Herbornae Nassoviorum, 1643); *Johannis Piscatoris, Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti Tomus Secundus: Quo continetur libri historici reliqui, scilicet Liber Joshuae. Liber Judicum. Liber Ruth. Libri Duo Samuelis. Libri Duo Chronicorum. Liber Esdrae. Liber Nehemiae. Liber Estherae.* (Herbornae Nassoviorum, 1643); *Johan[nis] Piscatoris, Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti Tomus Tertius: Quo continetur libri poetici, scilicet Liber Jobi. Liber Psalmorum. Proverbia Salomonis. Ecclesiastes. Canticum Cantorum.* (Herbornae Nassoviorum, 1644); *Johannis Piscatoris, Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti Tomus Quartus: Quo continetur omnes Prophetiae, majores & minores, videlicet Esaias. Jeremias. Ezechiel. Daniel. Hosea. Joel. Amos. Obadja. Jona. Michaea. Nahumus. Abacucus. Sophonias. Haggaeus. Zacharias. Malachias.* (Herbornae Nassoviorum, 1645); *Johann[nis] Piscatoris, Commentarii In Omnes Libros Novi Testamenti* (Herbornae Nassoviorum, 1613).

4. Johannes Piscator, *In Proverbia Salomonis, Itemque in Canticum Cantorum Commentarius* (Herborn: Nassoviorum, 1617).

5. Thomas Cartwright (1525–1603), *Commentarii succincti & dilucidi in Proverbia Salomonis* (Amsterdam: Henrici Laurentii, 1632).

6. William Ames (1576–1633), *Lectiones in Centumquinguinta Psalmos Davidis* (Amsterdam: Ionnem Janssonium, 1635).

7. Heinrich Möller (1530–89), *Enarratio Psalmorum Davidis*, 3 vol.

(Wittenberg: Johannes Crato, 1574); Heinrich Möller, *In Iesaiam Prophetam Commentarius* (Zurich: Officina Froschoviana, 1588).

8. Henry Ainsworth (1569–1622), *Annotations upon the five bookes of Moses, the booke of the Psalmes, and the Song of Songs, or, Canticles* (London: M. Flesher and J. Haviland, 1627).

9. This work was printed in Immanuel Tremellius (1510–80) and Francis Junius (1545–1602), *Biblia Sacra, Sive Testamentum Vetus, ab Im[manuel] Tremellio et Fr[anciscus] Junio ex Hebraeo Latinè redditum. Et Testamentum Novum, à Theod[ore] Beza è Graeco in Latinum versum.* (Amsterdam: Guiljel Janssonium Blaeuw, 1634).

10. It is worth noting that there was no mention of the annotations produced on the whole Bible by the committee commissioned by Parliament to develop a work to replace the comments from the Geneva Bible. Several men who served as members of the Westminster Assembly contributed to this work and Ussher actually contributed to notes on Genesis in a later edition. Instead of reading this as an intentional omission of endorsement, it is actually more likely another clue to the date of this manuscript. This is simply because these lectures were given at the latest in 1644, but the annotations were not printed until 1645. *Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament wherein the text is explained, doubts resolved, Scriptures paralleled and various readings observed by the joynt-labour of certain learned divines, thereunto appointed, and therein employed, as is expressed in the preface* (London: John Legatt and John Raworth, 1645). The later contributions Ussher made to additional notes on Genesis are in John Richardson, *Choice Observations and Explanations upon the Old Testament ... To which are added some further Observations upon the Whole Book of Genesis* (London: T.R. and E.M., 1655). See Richard A. Muller, “The “Whole Counsel of God” and “An Entire Commentary ... the Like Never Before Published in English,” in Richard A. Muller and Roland S. Ward, *Scripture and Worship: Biblical Interpretation and the Directory for Public Worship* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2007), 3–29.

11. The reference here is likely to Girolamo Zanchi (1516–90), *De Religione Christiana Fides* (Neustadt: Matthaus Harnisch, 1588). Zanchi, however, was a prolific writer and produced multiple volumes that covered much of the system of theology. Ussher elsewhere referred to several of them and his intent here could have been to point to many of Zanchi's works. Harrison Perkins, “Manuscript and Material Evidence for James Ussher's Authorship of *A Body of Divinity* (1645),” *Evangelical Quarterly* 89.2 (April 2018): 157.

12. Georg Sohn (c.1552–89) taught at the universities in Marburg and Heidelberg. His theological works most immediately relate to

of Calvin's Institutions; Out of these take propositions w[hi]ch must be as so many Doctrines; & to p[e]rou[s] e [the]m by apposite Scripture use Chemnitius's Common places: add notes of your owne observac[i]on, as you meet with them, that so [th]e comon places may be full and furnished, & so your matter will be ready all but for dressing when you are to come to any auditory.

3 A Divine can[n]ot be compleat without much reading but 'tis [th]e Country makes a preacher: Hee must be able in controversies against [th]e Papiſts, eſpecially if hee live among such. Use onely Whitaker & Chamier. preach [th]e body of Divinity ([th]e 52 heads) over once a yeare, or as soon as you can.

[42r] In [th]e pulpit alwaies beware of

1 Heresies, never tell w[ha]t they were or who were ye Authors: for many had never knowne Arrianisme nor w[ha]t Arrius was, had not [th]e minister told them.

2 Controversies, state t[he]m but make not any objections, for many take such hold of that coming first that [th]e Answer does not satisfy t[he]m.

To set you right, often visit [th]e sick, & know how they use to be affected.

Practical Authours Suc[cessa]

Ought of Kemedontius is good but eſpecially so verbo Dei. All Rollock, Perkins, Dent's-pathway. Hildersham, reade him & hee will make you a preacher indeed.

his task of lecturing from the *Common Places* by Phillip Melancthon (1497–1560); *Loci Communes* (1521). The work to which Ussher referred here was most likely Sohn's *De Trinitate Personarum Divinarum Theses Theologicae* (Heidelberg: Jacob Mylil, 1585). Although the title is obscured by Ussher's reference, this work was determined by the reference he made to this book in this same manuscript when he outlined the fifty-two heads of divinity. Queen's College, Oxford MS 217, fol. 32r. Ussher's reference to Sohn's doctrine of the Trinity did come from this work, but in that place he called it "August Confession." These fifty-two heads were printed with precise bibliographic references in Perkins, "Manuscript and Material Evidence," 157–161.

13. John Calvin (1509–64), *An abridgement of the Institution of Christian religion* (Edinburgh: Thomas Vautrollier, 1585).

14. Martin Chemnitz (1522–86), *Loci Theologici* (Wittenberg: Wolfgang Meisner, 1615). Chemnitz was one of the leading second-generation Lutherans.

15. Ussher's point here was that a preacher needed to know the controversies of his own land so that he might refute the errors that surround him. This is clear from the next sentence when he emphasized the need to be able to refute Roman Catholicism "eſpecially if hee live among such." Undoubtedly, Ussher was thinking of his own homeland in Ireland, which was not only predominantly Roman Catholic, but had only recently exploded in the Irish Rebellion of 1641, which is exactly why he had needed to remain in England until the time that he was giving these lectures.

16. Ussher modeled this readiness in one of his early works, *An Answer to a Challenge Made by a Jesuite Living in Ireland* (Dublin: Society of Stationers, 1624). No doubt this published debate against William Malone was rooted in his earlier readiness as a young man

Institutes.¹³ Out of these take propositions, which must be as so many doctrines; and to peruse them by apposite Scripture use Chemnitz's *Common Places*.¹⁴ Add notes of your own observation, as you meet with them, that so the common places may be full and furnished, and so your matter will be ready all but for dressing when you are to come to any auditory.

3. A Divine cannot be complete without much reading but it is the country that makes a preacher.¹⁵ He must be able in controversies against the Papiſts, eſpecially if he lives among such.¹⁶ Use only Whitaker and Chamier.¹⁷ Preach the body of divinity (the 52 heads) over once a year, or as soon as you can.¹⁸

In the pulpit always beware of

(1) Heresies; never tell what they were or who were the authors. For many had never known Arianism nor who Arius was, had not the minister told them.

(2) Controversies; state them but make not any objections, for many take such hold of that coming first that the answer does not satisfy them.

To set you right, often visit the sick, and know how they are affected.

Practical Authors to be followed:

Aught of Kemedoncius is good but eſpecially so in *Concerning God's Written Word*.¹⁹ All Rollock,²⁰ Perkins,²¹ Dent's *Plain Man's Pathway*.²² Hildersham, read

to debate the Jesuit missionary to Ireland, Henry Fitzsimon, in person; Alan Ford, *James Ussher: Theology, History, and Politics in Early-Modern Ireland and England* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2007), 11–14.

17. William Whitaker (1548–95), *Disputatio De Sacra Scriptura; Contra Huius Temporis Papiſtas* (Cambridge: Thomas Thomas, 1588); Daniel Chamier (1565–1621), *Panſtratae Catholicae Corpus*, 4 vol. (Geneva: Roverianis, 1626).

18. Ussher did not practice *lectio continua* preaching. Rather, he worked his way through the doctrines of theology in a systematic fashion. This can be seen most clearly in the weekly sermons he preached in London in CUL MS Mm. 6.55. For the fifty-two heads he mentioned here, see Perkins, "Manuscript and Material Evidence," 157–161.

19. Jacob Kimedoncius (c.1550–96), *De Scripto Dei Verbo, Libri Octo* (Heidelberg: Abraham Smessmanus, 1595). Ussher's reliance on Kimedoncius has been examined in Richard Snoddy, "The Sources of James Ussher's Patristic Citations on the Intent and Sufficiency of Christ's Satisfaction," in Jon Balsarak and Richard Snoddy (eds.), *Learning from the Past: Essays on Reception, Catholicity and Dialogue in Honour of Anthony N.S. Lane* (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 112–18.

20. Robert Rollock (1555–99) was the first principal of the University of Edinburgh. Ussher recommended reading all his works.

21. William Perkins (1558–1602) was professor of theology at Christ's College, Cambridge and the preacher at St. Andrew's the Great in Cambridge. Ussher recommended his entire works.

22. Arthur Dent (1553–1607), *The plaine mans path-way to heauen* (London: Melchiside Bradwood for Edward Bishop, 1607).

Cartwright's last Booke, it goes [th]e preacher's way: Hee is good on Rhemish Test[ament]. Use Fulks notes chiefly for Apocalyps. Pareus is good about justification. Greenham's workes. Roger's 7 treatises. Dr. Airay on [th]e Philippians. Dod & Cleaver's sermons, Brinsley's true watch Whately Balle of faith. Dan.[iel] Dyke's works Thom.[as] Taylour Item suis in N.[ew] Test.[ament] Cameron de Ecclesia is good, for hee goes not [th]e leate[r] way.

him and he will make you a preacher indeed.²³ Cartwright's last book goes the preacher's way.²⁴ He is good on the Rhemish Testament.²⁵ Use Fulke's notes chiefly for the Apocalypse.²⁶ Pareus is good about justification.²⁷ Greenham's works.²⁸ Roger's *Seven Treatises*.²⁹ Dr. Airay on the Philippians.³⁰ Dod and Cleaver's sermons,³¹ Brinsley's *true watch*,³² Whately,³³ Ball of *faith*.³⁴ Daniel Dyke's works.³⁵ Likewise, Thomas Taylor's works in the New Testament.³⁶ Cameron *Regarding the Church* is good, for he goes not the later³⁷ way.³⁸

23. Although this statement does seem to be a general recommendation of Hildersham's works, the most likely referent here is either Arthur Hildersham, *Lectures upon the Fourth of John* (London: G.M. for Edward Brewster, 1629) or Hildersham, *CLII Lectures upon Psalm LI* (London: George Miller for Edward Brewster, 1635). These were the two works by Hildersham listed among Ussher's books when they were returned to Trinity College Dublin after his death; TCD MS 5, fol. 82r.

24. Thomas Cartwright (1534–1603) was a controversial English Presbyterian, who was not well received among the English establishment. He taught at Cambridge, but many of his later years were spent in full or quasi exile. Many of his works of biblical exposition were published after his death in multiple editions, released in several countries, which makes Ussher's exact reference here difficult to pinpoint. Cartwright's final work to be published in English was *A plaine explanation of the whole Revelation of Saint John Very necessary and comfortable in these dayes of trouble and affliction in the church. Penned by a faithfull preacher, now with God, for more private use, and now published for the further benefit of the people of God* (London: T.S. for Nathaniel Newbery, 1622). Given the emphasis even in the title on the preaching quality of this work, Ussher did likely mean this title, since he too emphasized that the book he was commending went "the preacher's way." For a very useful, even if older, account of Cartwright's writings, see A.F. Scott Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism 1535–1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), 398–406.

25. Thomas Cartwright, *A confutation of the Rhemists translation, glosses and annotations on the New Testament* (Leiden: W. Brewster, 1618).

26. William Fulke (1538–89), *In sacram diui Ioannis Apocalypsim praelectiones* (London: Thomas Puroetij, 1573).

27. Either David Pareus (1548–1622), *Roberti Bellarmini Politiani Societatis Jesu Theologi Cardinalis De justificatione impij Libri V* (Heidelberg: Johannem Lancellotum, 1615) or David Pareus, *Positiones Theologicae de Iustificatione fidei & operum* (Heidelberg: Johannem Lancellotum, 1603). The former is more likely given Ussher's proclivities.

28. Richard Greenham (c.1542–94), *The works of the reuerend and faithfull seruant of Iesus Christ M. Richard Greenham* (London: Felix Kingston for Robert Dexter, 1599). Ussher did not here endorse Greenham's full corpus, as he did with Perkins and Rollock, since it appears that he was actually referring to specific volume of Greenham's collected works.

29. Richard Rogers (1551–1618), *Seven Treatises containing such direction as is gathered out of the Holie Scriptures, leading and guiding to*

true happines, both in this life, and in the life to come (London: Felix Kyngston, 1603).

30. Henry Airay, *Lectures upon the Whole Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians, delivered in St. Peter's Church in Oxford* (London: Edward Griffin and Richard Field for William Bladen, 1618).

31. John Dod (1550–1645) and Robert Cleaver (c.1561–c.1614) jointly published a number of sermon collections. *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Chapters of the Proverbs of Solomon* (London: Roger Jackson, 1608); *Seven Godlie and Fruitfull Sermons* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1614); *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandments*, 15th ed. (London: Richard Field, 1622); *Ten Sermons, Tending chiefly to the fitting of men for the worthy receiving of the Lords Supper* (London: Thomas Harper, 1634).

32. John Brinsley (1581–1624), *The true watch Or A Direction for the Examination of our Spirituall Estate* (London: G. Eld, for Samuel Macham and Matthew Cooke, 1606).

33. Since Ussher was here recommending works of practical divinity and the surrounding books were primarily published sermons, it is most likely that he had in mind the published sermons by William Whately (1583–1639). *The Redemption of Time* (London: T. East for Thomas Man, 1606); *Sinne no more* (London: George Edwards, 1630); *The New Birth: Or, a Treatise of Regeneration Deliuered in Certaine Sermons; and Now Published* (London: Thomas Man, 1630).

34. John Ball (1585–1640), *A Treatise of Faith*, 3rd ed. (London: Edward Brewster, 1637).

35. Daniel Dyke (d.1614), *The Workes of that Late Reverend Divine Master Daniel Dyke, The First Part* (London: John Beale, 1635); Daniel Dyke, *The Second and Last Part of the Workes of the late faithfull Servant of God Daniel Dyke* (London: Robert Milbourne, 1633). In this instance again, Ussher was not necessary endorsing Dyke's whole corpus, but a specific published collection of his works. Ussher apparently had some correspondence with Dyke; *Correspondence*, 1:79, 88.

36. Thomas Taylor (1576–1632) published many works of biblical exposition, but none of them were titled as a full New Testament work. Ussher most likely referred either to *A commentarie vpon the Epistle of Saint Paul written to Titus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1619) or *Christ revealed: or The Old Testament explained* (London: Miles Flesher for R. Dawlman and L. Fawne, 1635).

37. It is possible that the word here was "beate[r]," as Barlow's cursive "l" and "b" could look remarkably similar. Admittedly, the rendering "later" in the modernized version is interpretive.

38. This work is found in John Cameron (c.1579–1625), *Praelectiononi in Selectiora Quaedam Novi Testamenti Loca*, 3 vol. (Salmurii, 1626), 1:57–316.

For Catechising (a thing very necessary) use Balles Catechisme and Crookes Guide.

For Fathers. 1. Greeke. Get Chrysostom and his Expositor Theodoret. 2 Latin. Cyprian, Augustine, especially his 4th tome.

For History. 1. Ecclesiasticall, Eusebius with Socrates, Evagrius, Sozomen &c. 2 prophane History of Augustus, put out by J. Gruterus.

For cases of conscience, Ames, Perkins, Rivet on [th]e 20th of Exodus.

For method of preaching, see Perkins's Art of prophesying, Bernards Faithfull Shepherd.

Chronologie, Sethus Caluisius, Dr. Pies hourglasses of time.

For body of divinity reade Sohni[us], Perkins on [th]e Creed & Ursin's Catechisme

For Catechizing (a thing very necessary) use Ball's *Catechism*³⁹ and Crooke's *Guide*.⁴⁰

For Fathers. 1. Greek. Get Chrysostom⁴¹ and his Expositor Theodoret.⁴² 2. Latin. Cyprian,⁴³ Augustine, especially his fourth volume.⁴⁴

For History. 1. Ecclesiastical, Eusebius with Socrates and Evagrius,⁴⁵ Sozomen⁴⁶ etc. 2. Prophane, the history of Augustus, put out by J. Gruter.⁴⁷

For cases of conscience, Ames,⁴⁸ Perkins,⁴⁹ Rivet on Exodus 20.⁵⁰

For method of preaching, see Perkins' *Art of Prophesying*,⁵¹ Bernard's *Faithfull Shepherd*.⁵²

Chronology: Seth Kalwitz,⁵³ Dr. Pie's *houreglasse of time*.⁵⁴

For body of divinity: read Sohn,⁵⁵ Perkins on the Creed,⁵⁶ and Ursinus' *Catechism*.⁵⁷

39. John Ball, *Short Questions and Answers Explaining the common Catechisme in the Booke of Common Prayer* (London: E.G. for Henry Overton, 1639).

40. Samuel Crooke (1575–1649), *The Guide unto True Blessednesse* (London: John Pirdley, 1613). Samuel Crooke's catechism was one of the books that Ussher named as a source of material to compose his own *Body of Divinitie* (London: M.F. for Thomas Downes and George Badger, 1645); *Correspondence of James Ussher*, 3:880.

41. John Chrysostom (d.407) was the famous "golden-mouthed" preacher in Constantinople.

42. Theodoret of Cyrus (c.393–c.457) wrote works of biblical exposition, although he was entangled in the Nestorian controversy.

43. Cyprian (c.200–58) was the bishop of Carthage, who is likely most notable for his contributions to the doctrine of the church while she experienced persecution.

44. It seems clear that Ussher was referring to the fourth volume of St. Augustine's collected works, most likely Aurelius Augustine (354–430), *Opera omnia*, edited by Desiderius Erasmus, 10 vols. (Basel: Froben, 1528).

45. Eusebius (c.260–c.340), Socrates (c.379–c.440), and Evagrius (b.536) were ancient historians. An early-modern edition of their work would have been available as *The Auncient Ecclesiastical Histories of the First Six Hundred Yeares after Christ* (London: Richard Field, 1619). Ussher also referred to this work in a letter to Francis Junius (July 3, 1651); *Correspondence*, 3:1002.

46. Salminius Herias Sozomenus (c.400–c.450) was an ancient historian, who built upon the history by Socrates et al. Still a useful introduction to this work is Henry Wace and Philip Schaff (eds.), *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*, 14 vols. (Oxford: Parker and Company, 1891), 2:191–232. Ussher also referred to this work in letters to Thomas Jones (October 19, 1609) and to Francis Junius (July 3, 1651); *Correspondence*, 1:68; 3:1002.

47. Jan Gruter (1560–1627), *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis romani*, 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1603). Ussher also referred to this work in a letter to Francis Junius (July 3, 1651); *Correspondence*, 3:1002. It is interesting that Ussher mentioned all three of the historical works that he cited in this section of the lectures in that same letter to Junius.

48. William Ames, *Conscience with the power and cases thereof Divided into V. bookes* (Leiden and London: W. Christiaens, E. Griffin, J. Dawson, 1639).

49. William Perkins, *A discovsrse of conscience: wherein is set downe the nature, properties, and differences thereof: as also the way to get and keepe good conscience* (Cambridge: John Legate, 1596).

50. André Rivet (1572–1651), *Praelectiones in Cap[ut] XX Exodi* (Leiden: Franciscum Hegerum, 1632).

51. William Perkins, *The arte of prophesying, or, A treatise concerning the sacred and onely true manner and methode of preaching* (London: Felix Kyngston for E.E., 1607).

52. Richard Bernard (c.1568–1642), *The faithful shepherd* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1609).

53. Sethus Calvisius (1556–1615), *Opus Chronologicum*, 3rd ed. (Frankfurt: Johann Thymius, 1629).

54. Thomas Pie (1550–1610), *An houreglasse contayning I. a computation from the beginning of time to Christ by X. articles. II. A confirmation of the same for the times controuersed before Christ* (London: John Wolfe, 1597).

55. The work by Sohn, the theologian who ended up lecturing at Heidelberg after Ursinus died, that Ussher most likely had in mind was Georg Sohn, *Synopsis Corporis Doctrinae* (Heidelberg, 1588).

56. William Perkins, *An exposition of the Symbole or Creed of the Apostles* (Cambridge: John Legatt, 1595).

57. Zacharius Ursinus (1534–83) was one of the leading theologians in Heidelberg during the early confessional period. Ussher may have been referring to a few of his works though. It may have been the actual confessional document known as the Heidelberg Catechism, which Ursinus wrote with Caspar Olevian (1536–87) as a public document; *Catechesis Religionis Christianae* (Heidelberg: Joannes Mayer, 1563). It also may have been Ursinus' own published smaller or larger catechism; *Catechesis Minor in Opera Theologica*, ed. by Quirinus Reterus, 3 vols. (Heidelberg: Johannes Lancelot, 1612) 1:34–39; *Catechesis Summa Theologiae per Quaestiones et Responsiones Exposita in Opera*, 1:10–33. Most likely, however, since Ussher was recommending full treatments of the body of divinity, he intended Ursinus' lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism; *Doctrinae Christianae Compendium: seu Commentarii Catechetici* (London, 1586).

More Authours—Babington, Bifield, Will.[iam] Coupor, Downam's Warefare. Gataker. Gouges whole Armor. Goodwin. Harris. Hieron. King on Jonah. Pemble [42v] Dr. Reignolds, especially against Hart. Rivet. Sanderson, Sands. Dr. Sibs. Wilson on [th]e Romanes. Scavenius on [th]e Rom[ans] can be bad. Scharpii

More Authors—Babington,⁵⁸ Byfield,⁵⁹ William Cowper,⁶⁰ Downame's *Warfare*.⁶¹ Gataker.⁶² Gouges whole Armor.⁶³ Goodwin.⁶⁴ Harris.⁶⁵ Hieron.⁶⁶ King on Jonah.⁶⁷ Pemble.⁶⁸

Dr. Rainolds, especially against Hart.⁶⁹ Rivet.⁷⁰ Sanderson,⁷¹ Sandys.⁷² Dr. Sibbes.⁷³ Wilson on the Romans.⁷⁴ Scavenius on the Romans can be bad.⁷⁵ Scharp

58. Gervase Babington (c.1549–1610) was a Reformed conformist, who wrote several works of biblical exposition that Ussher likely had in mind here. *A very fruitfull exposition of the Commaundments* (London: Henry Middleton for Thomas Charde, 1583); *A profitable exposition of the Lords prayer* (London: Thomas Orwin for Thomas Charde, 1588); *Certaine plaine, briefe, and comfortable notes upon everie chapter of Genesis* (London: A. Jeffes and P. Short for Thomas Charde, 1592); *Comfortable notes vpon the bookes of Exodus and Leuiticus* (London: H. Lownes and T. Purfoot for Thomas Chard, 1604).

59. Nicholas Byfield (1579–1622) was a prolific writer, who published several works of biblical exposition, which were most likely to what Ussher referred here.

60. William Cowper (1568–1619) was probably most known for his *Heaven Opened* (London: William Stansby, 1632).

61. John Downame (1571–1652), *The Christian Warfare* (London: Felix Kyngston for Cuthbert Burby, 1604).

62. Thomas Gataker (1574–1654), was a controversial participant in the Westminster Assembly, who opposed the doctrine of the imputation of Christ's active obedience. Ussher took issue with his theology on that point, but apparently appreciated it on others.

63. William Gouge (1575–1653), *The whole-armor of God* (London: John Beale, 1619).

64. Ussher was undoubtedly referring to Thomas Goodwin (1600–80), who was a prominent Independent theologian during the civil war and Interregnum period, a member of the Westminster Assembly, and a major contributor to the Savoy Declaration (1658) along with John Owen (1616–83). The alternative would be John Goodwin (c.1594–1665), who was a staunch Arminian, but this Goodwin's anti-Reformed theology makes it unlikely that Ussher would have recommended him. Ussher did not name any of Goodwin's specific works and put him here under the heading of "more authors," so it is impossible to know which of Goodwin's works, if any, he had particularly in mind.

65. Ussher's reference here was most likely to Robert Harris (1580/1–1658), who was a member of the Westminster Assembly and the later president of Trinity College, Oxford. He published numerous sermons.

66. Samuel Hieron, minister of Modbury in Devon, was a highly regarded but nonconformist puritan whose pieces against conformity were not included in his collected works: *The Workes of Mr. Samuel Hieron, the late Pastor of Modbury in Devon*, 2 vol. (London: William Stansby and John Beale, 1635).

67. John King (d.1621), a Reformed conformist, *Lectures upon Jonas delivered at Yorke in the yeare of our Lord 1594* (London: Humphrey Lownes, 1611).

68. William Pemble (c.1591–1623) wrote several theological treatises.

69. John Rainolds (1549–1607), *Summa Colloquii Johannis Rainoldi cum Johanne Harto De Capite & Fide Ecclesiae* (London: John Norton, 1611); English version in John Rainolds, *The summe of the conference betwene John Rainoldes and John Hart touching the head and the faith of the Church* (London: John Wolfe, 1584). John Hart (d.1586) was a Roman Catholic missionary to England; Mordechai Feingold, "The Reluctant Martyr: John Hart's English Mission," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 6 (2019): 627–50.

70. More likely André Rivet, whose commentary on Exodus Ussher had recommended above, rather than that Rivet's brother, Guillaume Rivet (1580–1651). Ussher had also recommended André Rivet's book on the Sabbath in a letter to William Twisse (c.1636); *Correspondence*, 2:707; André Rivet, *Dissertatio de origine sabbathi* (Leiden, 1633). Ussher also sent letters to this Rivet, although there are no extant replies; *Correspondence*, 3:870–72, 874–75. André Rivet was a French Reformed theologian who taught at Leiden and then became the first rector at the Orange College of Breda when it was founded in 1646. Rivet was involved in drawing up the very influential collaborative work, *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae*, 3rd ed. (Leiden: Elzevier, 1642) that was widely used in the early-modern Reformed world. It is notable that the Rivet brothers co-authored a polemical book against Moses Amyraut (1596–1664), who advocated a revised explanation of God's decrees that incorporated a use of middle knowledge; André Rivet and Guillaume Rivet, *Epistolae Apologeticae, Ad Criminationes et Calumnias Mosis Amyraldi* (Breda: Joannis a Waesbrge, 1648). Ussher's recommendation of Rivet's work, which well may have been in regard to this book against Amyraut, because older scholarship linked Ussher's versions of hypothetical universalism to Amyraldianism; Brian G. Armstrong, *Calvin and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth-Century France* (Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969). Ussher clearly appreciated authors who refuted Amyraldianism, and this appreciation is further reason to draw a starker contrast between Amyraldianism and versions of hypothetical universalism held by Reformed theologians. Ussher may also well have been referring to André Rivet's anti-Catholic works, but his recommendation of either work is not necessarily mutually exclusive; *Catholicus Orthodoxus, Oppositus Catholico Papiſtae*, 3 vols. (Geneva: Petri Chouët, 1644).

71. Robert Sanderson (1587–1663) was a prolific Reformed conformist.

72. Edwin Sandys (c.1516–88) was a Reformed Church of England clergyman. Some of his sermons were published; *Sermons made by the most reuerende Father in God, Edwin, Archbishop of Yorke* (London: Henrie Middleton for Thomas Charde, 1585). Sandys was at times called Sands, as Ussher referred to him here; *A proposal of union amongſt Proteſtants, from the laſt-will of the moſt Reverend Doctour Sands ſometime Archbiſhop of Yorke* (London 1679).

73. Richard Sibbes (c.1577–1635) was a well-known Reformed preacher. Ussher recommended Sibbes for his preaching more than any given published work in a letter to George Abbot (January 10, 1627); *Correspondence*, 1:383.

74. Thomas Wilson (c.1562–1622), *A Commentarie upon the Moſt Divine Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Romanes containing for matter, the de-generation of our nature by Adams Fall; and the reſtauration thereof, by the grace of Chriſt* (London: W. Iaggard, 1614).

75. Petrus Scavenius (1623–85) was a Danish Roman Catholic, who actually wrote to Ussher a few times; *Correspondence*, 3:963–65, 969–70; Nicholas Hardy, *Criticism and Confession: The Bible in the Seventeenth Century Republic of Letters* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), 296–304.

Symphonia indifferent. Good. Reignerus Predini[us]. Gallatius in Exod.[us] Levit.[icus] Hiperii methodus Theologie. Scarcerius Lutheran good Pagninus's great Lexicon is best for [th]e Old Test.[ament]

Buxtorf's Bibles. Arca Noe. Schindleri Pentaglotton Paulus Fagius his Notes on [th]e Chaldes Paraphrase; On [th]e Pentateuch. Mercer. Masius Septuagint, Vulgar Latine, for [th]e Papiſts use it. Bradwardine de ca[us]a Dei. Field of [th]e church. B[isho]p Jewel's Workes put out by one [tha]t was B[isho]p of Norwich after. Dudley Fenner is good, but hee will trouble you with distinctions. Hooker is good on ceremonies.

These are disliked or at least not so well approved of. Elton on [th]e Colossians. B[isho]p Hall.

76. Johannes Scharpius (1572–1648), *Symphonia prophetarum et apostolorum*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Petri Chouët, 1623).

77. Regnurus Praedinius (c.1510–59) was a Dutch humanist scholar in Groningen who sought to unite secular science and theology; *Opera Omnia* (Gronigen, 1567); F. Poſtma, "Regnurus Praedinius (c.1510–1559), Seine Schule und Sein Einfluss," in F. Akkerman, G.C. Huisman, and Arjo J. Vandejat (eds.), *Wessel Gansfort (1419–1489) and Northern Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 291–324.

78. Nicolas des Gallars (c.1520–81), *In Exodum, Qui secundus est liber Moysis* (Geneva: Jean Cresin, 1560). Des Gallars' commentary on Exodus was an important publication in its time; E.A. de Boer, "Origin and Originality of John Calvin's 'Harmony of the Law'; The Expository Project on Exodus–Deuteronomy (1555–1563)," *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 10 (2008): 41–69. I have not been able to locate a commentary that he wrote on Leviticus.

79. Andreas Hyperius (1511–64), *Methodi Theologiae, siue praecipuorum Christianae religionis Locorum Communium* (Basel, 1574).

80. Erasmus Scarcerius (1501–59) was a Lutheran professor at Nassau. His name was alternatively spelled Scarcerius and Scarcerius. Since Ussher was naming works on interpretation and grammar in the proximate section, the work he likely had in mind here was Erasmus Scarcerius, *Methodus divinae Scripturae locos praecipuos explicans* (Halle, 1539). Below Ussher mentioned that he had not consulted his commentaries on Paul's epistles.

81. Santes Pagnino (1470–1536), *Thesaurus linguae sanctae sive lexicon hebraicum* (Leiden: Sebastianus Gryphius, 1529). Pagnino, a Roman Catholic, also composed a briefer Hebrew lexicon, which is why Ussher referred to his "great lexicon;" *Epitome thesauri linguae sanctae* (1609).

82. Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) was a Protestant Hebraist who compiled an edition of the Hebrew Bible from the Masoretic Text and the Aramaic Targum; *Biblia Sacra Hebraica & Chaldaica* (Basel: Ludovici König, 1618).

83. Most likely a reference to the work Johann Jakob Grynaeus (1540–1617), *Anagoge Prior, de Arca Noe* (Basel: John Oporin, 1587).

84. Valentin Schindler (1543–1604), *Lexicon Pentaglotton* (Hanover: Johannis Jacobi Hennei, 1612). Schindler was a Lutheran Hebraist at the university in Wittenberg and Helmstedt.

85. Paul Fagius (1504–49), *Thargum, hoc est, Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in sacra Biblia* (Strassburg: Georgium Machaeporeum, 1546). Fagius was a Lutheran Hebraist, who taught in Strasbourg, Heidelberg, and Cambridge.

86. Jean Mercier (c.1510–70) was a Roman Catholic Hebraist, whose commentary on Genesis Theodore Beza prefaced; *In Genesis* (Geneva:

Symphonia is indifferent.⁷⁶ Good: Regnerus Praedinius.⁷⁷ Gallars in Exodus and Leviticus.⁷⁸ Hyperius' *Method of Theology*.⁷⁹ Scarcerius Lutheran [is] good.⁸⁰ Pagninus' bigger lexicon is best for the Old Testament.⁸¹

Buxtorf's Bibles.⁸² *Ark of Noah*.⁸³ Schindler *Pentaglotton*.⁸⁴ Paul Fagius his Notes on the Chaldean Paraphrase;⁸⁵ On the Pentateuch, Mercer.⁸⁶ Masius' Septuagint,⁸⁷ the Latin Vulgate, for the Papiſts use it.⁸⁸ Bradwardine *Regarding God's Cause*.⁸⁹ Field, *Of The Church*.⁹⁰ Bishop Jewel's *Works* put out by one that was Bishop of Norwich after.⁹¹ Dudley Fenner is good, but he will trouble you with distinctions.⁹² Hooker is good on ceremonies.⁹³

These are disliked or at least not so well approved of. Elton on the Colossians.⁹⁴ Bishop Hall.⁹⁵

Matthaei Berjon, 1598). He also had a book on the Ten Commandments; *In Decalogum commentarius doctrina et eruditione non carens* (Paris: R. Stephani, 1568).

87. Andreas Masius (1514–73) was a Roman Catholic Hebraist who produced a new critical text of the Greek text of the book of Joshua; see Theodor Dunkelgrün, "The Hebrew Library of a Renaissance Humanist Andreas Masius and the Bibliography to his 'Iosuae Imperatoris Historia' (1574), with a Latin Edition and an Annotated English Translation," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 42/43 (2010–2011): 197–252.

88. Ussher likely meant here to consult the Latin Vulgate so that Protestant ministers would be familiar with the specific text of Scripture to which Roman Catholics appealed.

89. Thomas Bradwardine (1300–1349) was a medieval theologian who taught at Oxford. He was known for reviving Augustinianism. This work, although an early modern edition, is Thomas Bradwardine, *Thomae Bradwardini Archiepiscopi olim Cantuariensis, De causa Dei, contra Pelagium, et De virtute causarum, ad suos Mertonenses, libri tres* (London: Ex officina Nortoniana, apud Ioannem Billium, 1618).

90. Richard Field (1561–1616), *Of the Church, Five Bookes*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: William Turner, 1628).

91. John Jewel (1522–1571), *The Works of the Very Learned and Reverent Father in God John Jewell, not long since Bishop of Sarisburie* (London: John Norton, 1609). This collection was edited by Daniel Featley (1582–1645), who had correspondence with Ussher during the Westminster Assembly.

92. Dudley Fenner (1558–1587) wrote several works on a variety of topics. Ussher most likely meant Fenner, *Sacra theologia, sive, Veritas quae est secundum pietatem ad vnicam & versae methodi leges descripta & in decem libros* (S.L.: T. Dawson, 1585); Fenner, *The whole doctrine of the Sacraments plainlie and fullie set downe and declared out of the word of God* (Middelborg: Richard Schilders, 1588); or Fenner, *The artes of logike and rethorike plainelie set forth in the English tounge* (Middleburg: R. Schilders, 1584). Richard Snoddy claimed that Ussher's critique that Fenner used too many distinctions may have indicated that Ussher had moved past his fondness for heavily dichotomized writing; Richard Snoddy, *The Soteriology of James Ussher: The Act and Object of Saving Faith* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 141n15.

93. Richard Hooker (1554–1600), *Of the lawes of ecclesiasticall polittie eight bookes* (London: John Windet, 1604), bk. 4.

94. Edward Elton (c.1569–1624), *An Exposition of the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Colossians*, 2nd ed. (London: Felix Kyngston, 1620).

95. Joseph Hall (1574–1656) was a member of the British Delegation

Marlorat. Henry Mason. Mayer's Catechisme, and on [th]e N.[ew] Teſt.[ament] Reeues on [th]e Church Catechisme. Topsall. Weeme's Christian Synagogue, yet it takes Boyes. Berchorii opera. Hee never saw Bucer's com[m]on places nor Parre's grounds. Canisuis. Erasmii An[n]otationes in N.[ew] Teſt.[ament] & his paraphrase. Rogers on Judges. Hee never saw Sarcerius in Epiſtolas. Canini[us] Eſtius Schottus. Stella Primoda. A Lapide. Fer[us] Lorinus. Aquinas. Scotus Arrimensis. Flacius Illir[ius] in NT. Selnecorim Gen. Fabricius in

Marlorat.⁹⁶ Henry Mason.⁹⁷ Mayer's *Catechism*,⁹⁸ and on the New Teſtament.⁹⁹ Reeve's on the Church Catechism.¹⁰⁰ Topsell.¹⁰¹ Weeme's *Christian Synagogue*, yet it takes Boyes.¹⁰² Berchori *Opera*.¹⁰³ He never saw Bucer's common places,¹⁰⁴ nor Parr's *Grounds*.¹⁰⁵ Canisuis.¹⁰⁶ Erasmus' *Annotations* in New Teſtament¹⁰⁷ and his paraphrase.¹⁰⁸ Rogers on Judges.¹⁰⁹ He never saw Sarcerius on the epiſtles.¹¹⁰ Caninius¹¹¹ Eſtius¹¹² Schott.¹¹³ Eſtella¹¹⁴ Primaudaye.¹¹⁵ A Lapide.¹¹⁶ Ferus¹¹⁷ Lorin.¹¹⁸ Aquinas.¹¹⁹ Scotus Arrimensis.¹²⁰ Flacius

to the Synod of Dort (1618–19). Michael Robarts, a student who would have known Ussher by studying Trinity College Dublin and at Oxford when Ussher was there, wrote to Ussher in commendation of Hall's work; *Correspondence*, 2:412. Ussher ſpoke well of Hall's work when he wrote to Hall; *Correspondence*, 3:931.

96. Auſtin Marlorat (1506–60) was a French Reformed theologian, who wrote many works of biblical exposition.

97. Henry Mason (c.1575–1647) was an Arminian theologian.

98. John Mayer (1583–1664), *The English Catechism Explained* (London: Aug. Matthewes for John Marriot, 1623).

99. John Mayer, *A Commentarie upon the New Teſtament* (London: Thomas Cotes for John Bellamie, 1631).

100. Edmund Reeve (d.1660), *The Communion Book Catechisme Expounded* (London: Miles Fleſher for Humphrey Mosley, 1636).

101. Edward Topsell (1572–1625) wrote several histories of various animal ſpecies.

102. Ussher's reference here was to John Weemes (c.1579–1636), *The Christian ſynagogue*, 4th ed. (London: Thomas Cotes for John Bellamy, 1633) and to the works of John Boys (1571–1625). It is difficult, however, to determine precisely what Ussher meant by “yet it takes Boys.” It could be that Ussher thought that Weemes had borrowed from Boys' works in composing his *Christian Synagogue*, but the nature of Boys' works focused on exposition of biblical texts used in the eſtablished church's liturgies. On the other hand, Ussher may have meant that Weemes' book, which was about the true nature of interpreting and teaching Scripture, needed to be supplemented with Boys' expositions of liturgical passages; John Boys, *An Exposition of Al the Principal Scriptures Used in our English Liturgie* (London: Felix Kyngſton, 1610); John Boys, *An Exposition of the Dominical Epiſtles and Goſpels Used in our English Liturgie* (London: Felix Kyngſton, 1610); John Boys, *An Exposition of the Laſt Pſalme Delivered in a Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse the fifth of Nouember, 1613* (London: Felix Kyngſton, 1613); John Boys, *An Exposition of the Feſtiuall Epiſtles and Goſpels Used in our English Liturgie* (London: Edward Griffin, 1615).

103. Petri Berchori (or Pierre Bersuire, c.1290–1362), a French medieval classiſt, *Opera Omnia*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1620).

104. Martin Bucer (1449–1551) was firſt generation Reformed theologian. Apparently, a student asked Ussher if he had ever conſulted Bucer's *Loci Communes*, but Ussher had not. The work to which is being referred here was likely one of two books: Martin Bucer, *Enarrationes In Evangelia Matthaevi, Marci, & Lucae: Loci communes ſyncerioris Theologiae ſupra centum* (Herwagen, 1527); *De regno Chriſti Ieſu ſervatoris noſtri, Libri II* (Baſel: Joannem Oporinum, 1557), which has the subtitle *Habes hic, candide Lector, praeter complura haud vulgaria, locum communem de coniugio & divortio*.

105. Elnathan Parr (1577–1622), *The Grounds of Divinitie Plainely Discovering the Miſteries of Christian Religion* (London: John Norton for Samuel Man, 1633).

106. Peter Canisius (1521–97) was a Jeſuit theology and prolific author in defense of Roman Catholicism, e.g. *Summa Doctrinae Christianae* (Vienna, 1555); *Summa Doctrina Christianae per Quaestiones Tradita et Ad Captum Rudiorum Accomodata* (Ingolſtadt, 1556); *Catechismus Minor seu Parvus Catechismus Catholicorum* (Vienna, 1558). Canisius' catechetical works went through many editions, often published under ſlightly different titles.

107. Deſiderius Erasmus (c.1466–1536), *In novum Teſtamentum ... annotationes* (Baſel, 1527).

108. Deſiderius Erasmus, *Tomus primus Paraphraseon Des. Erasmi Roterodami in Novum Teſtamentum* (Baſel, 1541); Deſiderius Erasmus, *Tomus secundus continens Paraphrasim D. Erasmi Roterodami in omnes epiſtolas apoſtolicas* (Baſel, 1532). Erasmus' paraphrases of New Teſtament books were originally published individually.

109. Richard Rogers, *A commentary upon the whole booke of Iudges* (London: Felix Kyngſton, 1615). Ussher above had recommended Rogers' *Seven Treatises*.

110. Erasmus Sarcerius, *In Epiſtolam ad Romanos Scholia* (Frankfurt: Chr. Egenolphus, 1541); Erasmus Sarcerius (1501–59), *In epiſtolas D. Pauli ad Philippenses, Colossenses, et Theſſalonicenses* (Frankfurt, 1542).

111. Angelo Caninius was a ſixteenth-century grammarian who taught in Paris; Pierre Bayle, *A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical*, 10 vols. (London: James Bettenham, 1736), 4:94–95.

112. Guilielmus Eſtius (1542–1616) was a Roman Catholic professor of theology at Douai.

113. Gaſpar Schott (1608–66) was a German Jeſuit who worked in the natural ſciences.

114. Diego de Eſtella (1524–78) was a Spanish Franciscan.

115. Pierre de la Primaudaye (1546–1620) was a French Proteſtant who wrote an influential book about the ſtate of natural and philoſophical ſciences in France; *L'Académie Française* (Geneva: Chouët, 1617). The work became popular in English translation; *The French Academie Fully diſcourſed and finiſhed in foure bookes* (London: Thomas Adams, 1618).

116. Cornelius a Lapide (1567–1627) was a prolific Roman Catholic commentator.

117. Johann Ferus (1495–1554) was a Roman Catholic commentator.

118. Jean de Lorin (1559–1634) was a Roman Catholic commentator, who wrote numerous commentaries on Old and New Teſtament books.

119. Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) was a medieval theologian who taught in Paris (twice) and Cologne, and is now moſt famous for his *Summa Theologiae*. Ussher drew from Thomas' theology in ſeveral ways; Perkins, *Catholicity and the Covenant of Works*, *passim*.

120. The reference(s) here are difficult to pinpoint precisely. Firſt, it could be read as a ſingle reference “Scotus Arrimensis” or it could be taken as two ſeparate references “Scotus [full ſtop] Arrimensis [full

Psal. Bullinger in Isa. Luther. Melanchthon. Zwinglius. Husse. G. Gualter[us] is indifferent. Maimonides. P. Galatinus. Sigoni[us] de Rep.[ublica] Hutteri Miscellanea. Munsters notes & on [th]e Old Test. Lyras glosses is starke nought.

Broughton. Bibliotheca Patrum.

Hee said nought to Fox his Martyrpology. Sir Walter Rawleigh's History Sextus Senensis has nothing but out of the Fathers and Schoolmen. Gerard's worke

Illyrius in New Testament.¹²¹ Selnecker *Genesis*.¹²² Fabricius in Psalms.¹²³ Bullinger in Isaiah.¹²⁴ Luther.¹²⁵ Melanchthon.¹²⁶ Zwingli.¹²⁷ Huss.¹²⁸ Gravius Gualterus is indifferent.¹²⁹ Maimonides.¹³⁰ P. Galatinus.¹³¹ Sigonio *On the Republic*.¹³² Hutter Miscellanea.¹³³ Munster's notes¹³⁴ and on the Old Testament. Lyras glosses is stark naught.¹³⁵

Broughton.¹³⁶ *The Library of the Fathers*.¹³⁷

He said naught to Fox, his Martyrology.¹³⁸ Sir Walter Raleigh's *History*.¹³⁹ Sextus Senensis has nothing but out of the Fathers and Schoolmen.¹⁴⁰ Gerhard's

stop.] If taken as two separate references, they may have been to John Duns Scotus (1265/6–1308), a medieval theologian who taught at Oxford and Paris, and Gregory of Rimini (c.1300–58) – also known as Gregory Ariminensis – a medieval Augustinian who taught in Paris. The reference to Rimini would be expected among Ussher's recommendations, but this is a mixed list in regards to Ussher's approval, so the mention of Scotus is not ruled out. It also simply could have been that the reference was incorrectly said/heard/written and that Ussher meant Gregory of Rimini. If this is a single reference, then Ussher most likely meant Marianus Scotus (1028–82), a medieval Irish chronicler. This section of the manuscript is regularly punctuated, so the dual reference faces that difficulty, even though the reference to Rimini by "Arrimensis" is most satisfying in terms of what is written on the page. The single reference has the perhaps greater difficulty in explaining how "Marianus" became construed as "Arrimensis." On the other hand, Ussher did have known plans to publish an edition of Marianus Scotus, which makes the demonstrable link between Ussher and this Scotus' work tighter; e.g. *Correspondence*, 2:477. Ultimately, the point of these notes is more to give readers and scholars direction for future investigation rather than to untangle these mysteries completely. Thanks to Michael Lynch and Richard Snoddy for their crucial input on this reference.

121. Matthias Flacius Illyrius (1520–75) was a Lutheran scholar; *Novum Testamentum* (Basel, 1570). Ussher also made use of Illyrius' historical works; *Correspondence*, 1:98, 210 [mistakenly identified as Marcus Illyrius Flaccus].

122. Niklaus Selnecker (1532–92), *In Genesis* (Leipzig: Rhambau, 1569).

123. Stephanus Fabricius (1569–1648), *Sacrae conciones in centum quinquaginta Psalmos Davidis regis* (Geneva: Franciscus Nicolaus, 1622).

124. Heinrich Bullinger (1504–75), *Isaias Excellentissimus Dei Propheta* (Zurich: Christophorus Froshoverus, 1567).

125. Martin Luther (1483–1546).

126. Phillip Melanchthon (1497–1560), *Loci Communes Theologici* (Strassburg: Johan Albrecht, 1536).

127. Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) was a first-generation Swiss Reformer.

128. Jan Huss (c.1372–1415) was a Czech Reformer and often considered to be a precursor to Protestantism.

129. Gravius Gualterus was a sixteenth-century Dominican prior who wrote treatises against Erasmus; e.g. *Apologiam adversus libros Erasmi* (Antwerp, 1525).

130. Maimonides, also known as Moses ben Maimon (1138–1204), was a medieval Jewish philosopher. Thomas Aquinas interacted with his works. Ussher cited Maimonides in reference to work on the Hebrew Masoretic Text; *Correspondence*, 3:1035.

131. Pietro Colonna Galatinus (1460–1539) was a Roman Catholic philosopher and theologian. Ralph Skynner mentioned Galatinus'

work on the Talmud in a letter to Ussher (January 26, 1624); *Correspondence*, 1:296.

132. Carlo Sigonio (c.1520–84), *De Republica Hebraeorum* (Frankfurt: Andrea Wecheli, 1583).

133. Ussher most likely referred here to Leonard Hutter (1563–1616), a Lutheran scholastic theologian, who wrote a tremendous number of books, but none of them were titled *Miscellanea*. Ussher likely meant that Hutter's various works were mixed in quality. Hutter did write works against Robert Bellarmine, which Ussher would of course appreciate; Leonard Hutter, *Roberti Bellarmini libri II de sacrificio Romanensium missatico* (Wittenberg: Zacharius Schurenius, 1604); Leonard Hutter *Controversiae duae Theologicae: 1. De Verbo Dei scripto, & non scripto. 2. De persona Christi Jesu Servatoris nostri unici* (Wittenberg: Gormannus, 1610). He also wrote works addressing "Calvinism;" Leonard Hutter, *Calvinista Aulico-Politicus: Das ist Eigentliche Entdeckung, vnd gründliche widerlegung, etlicher Calvinische[n] Politischen Rathschlege, durch welche Johann von Münster* (Helwig, 1613).

134. Sebastian Munster (1488–1552), a theologian at Heidelberg, published a Hebrew Bible with corresponding Latin translation in a parallel column, and notes for each chapter. *Biblica Latina Planeque Nova* (Basel, 1534).

135. Nicolaus de Lyra (c.1270–1349), *Biblia Sacra cum glossis*, 7 vols. (Lyon, 1545). The first four volumes contain the Old Testament coverage that Ussher mentioned here.

136. Richard Broughton (1558–1634) was a Roman Catholic historian in England, who wrote several works on antiquity, especially as it related to Britain. Several of this Broughton's historical works may possibly have been in Ussher's mind, and certainly they would be of interest to Ussher, even if just to refute them. Hugh Broughton (1549–1612), a Reformed Hebraist, was often mentioned in Ussher's letters; *Correspondence*, 1:317, 328, 336, 360; 2:689; 3:1116, 1154. Ussher's next recommendation is a book about history, which makes the former Broughton the more likely reference here.

137. Marguerin de la Bigne (1546–95), *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, 13 vols. (Cologne: Anthony Hierat, 1618).

138. The reference here was to John Foxe (c.1516–87), *Actes and Monuments of These Latter and perillous dayes* (London: John Day, 1563), which Ussher apparently did not mention. For analysis of this work's historical relevance, see Crawford Gribben, *The Puritan Millennium: Literature and Theology, 1550–1682*, rev. ed. (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2008), 61–71. Ussher's neglect of this title could well have related to its implied anti-royal polemic.

139. Sir Walter Raleigh (1552–1618), *The History of the World* (London: William Stansby for Walter Burre, 1614).

140. Sextus Senensis (1520–69), *Bibliotheca Sancta ex Praecipuis Catholicae Ecclesiae Auctoribus Collecta* (Venice, 1566). Ussher also

P. Arisius but indifferent. He never saw Davenant on [th]e Coloss[ians].

Reade no Jesuits at all for they are nothing but ostentac[i]on and never understood [th]e Scr[iptur]es.

Scaliger did too much presume upon his owne knowledge, w[hi]ch layd his errours open to his Adversaries. I may repent my time I spent in his booke de emendatione temporum. Dr. Reynolds is too rhetorical, a pen full of inke. Ascham's Epistles have many state matters in them.

work.¹⁴¹ P. Aresius but indifferent.¹⁴² He never saw Davenant on the Colossians.¹⁴³

Read no Jesuits at all for they are nothing but ostentation and never understood the Scriptures.

Scaliger did too much presume upon his own knowledge, which laid his errors open to his Adversaries.¹⁴⁴ I may repent my time I spent in his book *Regarding the Emendation of Times*.¹⁴⁵ Dr. Reynolds is too rhetorical, a pen full of ink.¹⁴⁶ Ascham's *Epistles* have many state matters in them.¹⁴⁷ ■

referred to this work in a letter to Francis Junius (July 3, 1651); *Correspondence*, 3:1002.

141. Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) was a highly significant Lutheran theologian who taught in Jena. One of his more important works was his multi-volume treatment of divinity; Johann Gerhard, *Locorum Theologicorum Cum Pro Adstruenda Veritate, Tum*, 9 volumes (Jena, 1610–1623).

142. Paulus Aresius (d. 1645) was the Roman Catholic bishop of Tortona, who wrote a commentary on Song of Solomon: *De Vero Sacri Cantici Salomonis tum Historico tum Spirituali Sensu Novae Quaedam Velitationes* (Milan, 1640); also the later published *Velitationes in Apocalypsim* (Milan, 1647). One may somewhat expect that the reference would be to the more famous and respected Benedictus Aretius (1505–74), the Reformed theologian who taught Greek, Hebrew, and theology at Bern, and wrote numerous commentaries. However, this requires a greater degree of misspelling on Barlow's part, and the clarifying "P." as well as Ussher's indifference, seem to preclude this.

143. John Davenant, *Expositio epistolae D. Pauli ad Colossenses, per reverendum in Christo Patrem Ioannem Sarisburiensem Episcopum jam primum edita* (Cambridge: Thomas and John Bucke, 1627).

144. Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) was a French Protestant

historian, who taught in both Geneva and Leiden, and worked extensively on chronology, which was of course one of Ussher's many interests. Clearly, Ussher disapproved of his chronological work in tone and content, as the next sentence clarifies.

145. Joseph Scaliger, *Opus de Emendatione Temporum* (Leiden: Franciscus Raphelengij, 1583). Ussher also commented on his dissatisfaction with this book in a letter to Arnold Boate (June, 1651); *Correspondence*, 3:1001. He critiqued some of Scaliger's chronological specifics in a letter to John Selden (November 30, 1627); *Correspondence*, 2:403–7.

146. Edward Reynolds (1599–1676) was a preacher at Lincoln's Inn (1622–27), a member of the Westminster Assembly who sided with Presbyterians, dean of Christ Church, Oxford and vice-chancellor of the university (1648–50/1). He later became chaplain to Charles II (1630–85), the bishop of Norwich, and contributed to the Book of Common Prayer. He was a prolific author and it is not obvious which particular work(s) Ussher had in mind here.

147. One of two works: Roger Ascham (c.1515–68), *A panoplie of epistles* (London: Henry Middleton, 1576); Roger Ascham, *Disertissimi viri Rogeri Aschami Angli, Regiae olim Maiesitati à Latinis epistolis, familiarium epistolarum* (London: Henry Middleton, 1578).