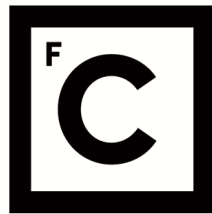


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**Ciências**  
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***Libri astrorum: The Astrological Book in Early Modern  
Religious Libraries***

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To Fábio, and in memory of my dear teacher, Helena.

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## ABSTRACT

In early modern Portugal, the Catholic Church played an instrumental role in shaping the nation's book culture. Libraries were an essential part of the vast network of monasteries and convents, serving as centers of both spirituality and scholarly activity. Religious congregations were dedicated to acquiring, preserving, and circulating books, amassing extensive collections that covered a wide array of disciplines. Amongst these, was the knowledge that interprets the movements of the heavens correlating them with events on Earth, i.e. astrology. Considering the complex relationship between the Catholic Church and astrology, the presence of widespread astrological content in a religious context may seem surprising. Yet, despite constraints and prohibitive attitudes surrounding the discipline, astrology books still found their place in the libraries of religious congregations.

Through an analysis of library catalogues, inventories, and modern collections tracing their origins to religious libraries, 687 astrological and astronomical texts were identified across 41 libraries belonging to 16 different religious orders. These findings reveal that the interest in astrology extended well beyond the Society of Jesus, already renowned for its engagement with astrology education. Notably, the Franciscan, Augustinian, and Theatine institutions housed the largest number of astrology books. Among these, the Theatine Library of the House of Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência and the Augustinian Library of the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça in Lisbon stand out as having the most extensive collections. A deeper look into religious astrological collections reveals a diverse selection of works produced by leading figures in the fields of astrology and astronomy. Among the most widely circulated astrological works was Antonio de Najera's weather forecasting manual, *Summa Astrologica* (1632).

This dissertation explores the astrology books preserved in ecclesiastical libraries up to their dissolution in 1834, offering new insights into the range and depth of astrological knowledge within Portuguese religious institutions.

**KEYWORDS:** astrology, astrology books, religious orders, libraries, scientific books.

## RESUMO

A Igreja Católica desempenhou um papel determinante na disseminação do conhecimento em Portugal ao longo da Idade Moderna. As bibliotecas eclesiásticas eram parte essencial da vasta rede monástica e conventual, profundamente dedicadas à aquisição, preservação e circulação de livros. As suas coleções foram o resultado de um processo de seleção contínuo e diligente, que refletiu os gostos e interesses das congregações religiosas portuguesas ao longo de séculos. Entre as diversas matérias representadas nas suas coleções, encontrava-se a Astrologia—a disciplina que interpreta os movimentos dos céus em correlação com eventos terrestres.

Na Europa, desde o início da Idade Média a prática e a influência da astrologia estendiam-se a todos os níveis da sociedade. A Astrologia estava bem estabelecida nas tradições filosóficas vigentes e tinha implicações no ensino da matemática, da filosofia natural e da medicina. Até o final da Idade Moderna, a astronomia e a astrologia eram complementares e correspondiam, respetivamente, às partes teórica e prática da mesma ciência. Astrólogos de corte, médicos, cosmógrafos, matemáticos e astrónomos praticaram e teorizaram sobre astrologia. Tal como aconteceu com outras áreas do saber, a invenção da imprensa no início do século XV amplificou a circulação do conhecimento astrológico e expandiu os seus estudos através da difusão de novas publicações e novos autores. Ao mesmo tempo, a Astrologia sofreu vários ataques e críticas que contestaram abertamente a sua legitimidade enquanto disciplina científica, especialmente a partir de finais do século XV.

Embora o debate sobre a legitimidade da disciplina perdurasse há vários séculos, foi a partir do século XVI que a Igreja Católica se posicionou firmemente na regulamentação das práticas astrológicas. O conjunto destas medidas estabelecidas—primeiramente pela integração da Regra IX no *Índice de Livros Proibidos*, e mais tarde pela emissão da Bula Papal, *Coeli et terrae*—determinaram os princípios básicos para a censura de publicações astrológicas, ao mesmo tempo que proibiam especificamente quaisquer previsões que desafiassem a doutrina católica e os princípios do livre-arbítrio. Estas ações dividiram a astrologia em duas categorias: a Astrologia Natural, permitida e associada às práticas preditivas da medicina, navegação e agricultura; e a Astrologia Supersticiosa, proibida, que abrangia o julgamento de natividades, eleições e interrogações.

Em Portugal, o Santo Ofício tornou-se o organismo responsável pela implementação destas políticas, garantindo ainda a sua eficácia. No que diz respeito à circulação do conhecimento astrológico através de livros, tudo isto se traduziu num controlo rígido sobre o que era publicado ou lido, que se materializou de várias formas: através da censura e expurgação de livros; a atribuição de licenças de publicação e de leitura; inspeções regulares a navios, bibliotecas e livrarias; e a imposição de punições a transgressores. Inevitavelmente, essas diretrizes geraram incertezas que resultaram num esforço árduo, porém criativo, tanto para o astrólogo quanto para o censor.

Apesar do ambiente restritivo e potencialmente perigoso, sabemos que a Astrologia continuou a ser praticada e ensinada ao longo dos séculos XVI e XVII. Este período, testemunhou um ressurgimento notável de textos astrológicos antigos, o florescimento de novas obras, mas também a disseminação de conhecimento astrológico num formato mais popular. Em Portugal, a prática da astrologia permaneceu vibrante, como exemplificado pelo caso de ensino de astrologia no Colégio de Santo Antão em Lisboa, pertencente à Companhia de Jesus. Tanto quanto sabemos, este parecia ser um caso singular de ensino astrológico numa instituição científica religiosa em Portugal, e que nos levava a questionar se o interesse pela astrologia seria um interesse exclusivo desta ordem religiosa. Porém, a abundância de livros de astronomia e astrologia provenientes de bibliotecas eclesiásticas nas coleções da Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal é um indicativo claro de ecletismo científico das ordens religiosas portuguesas.

A presente dissertação apresenta um estudo sobre os livros de astrologia que integraram as coleções das bibliotecas eclesiásticas em Portugal, desde a sua fundação até à dissolução das ordens

religiosas em 1834. No cerne deste estudo está a análise de catálogos e inventários, bem como o cruzamento de informações de volumes encontrados em coleções modernas que remontam às antigas bibliotecas. Considerando a relação entre a Igreja Católica e a astrologia, a presença generalizada de conteúdo astrológico num contexto religioso pode parecer surpreendente. Contudo, apesar das restrições e atitudes proibitivas em torno da disciplina, os livros de astrologia encontraram um lugar nas bibliotecas das congregações portuguesas.

O primeiro capítulo apresenta uma discussão sobre a relação complexa entre a Igreja Católica e a astrologia. O segundo capítulo explora as dinâmicas organizacionais das bibliotecas religiosas, examinando a forma como estas instituições adquiriam, preservavam e geriam as suas coleções. Seguidamente, são discutidas as características e limitações das fontes primárias de catálogos e inventários das bibliotecas religiosas portuguesas. Por fim, analisa-se o lugar da astrologia nestes documentos, olhando para o modo como as obras foram documentadas e avaliando a conformidade destes registos com os regulamentos e restrições associadas à disciplina neste período. No terceiro e último capítulo, apresentam-se os resultados principais da nossa investigação. É avaliada a distribuição dos livros de astrologia pelas várias bibliotecas religiosas, e caracterizada a extensão e a profundidade do conhecimento nelas preservado. As duas últimas seções deste capítulo desafiam a ideia de que essas coleções eram meramente acumulações passivas de livros, destacando uma análise comparativa das datas de publicação dos livros de astrologia, que sugere um esforço contínuo na aquisição de obras astrológicas, em alguns casos, ao longo de dois séculos. Por fim, através da inspeção de cópias pertencentes às antigas bibliotecas, é nos possível observar evidências não só do uso efetivo desses textos, mas também de um esforço deliberado para expurgar livros de astrologia, adaptando-os às regras inquisitoriais e, assim, tornando-os lícitos.

Desta investigação resulta a identificação de 687 obras astrológicas e astronómicas, pertencentes a 41 bibliotecas de 16 ordens religiosas. O estudo destas obras abre caminho para uma compreensão mais aprofundada sobre o papel essencial destas instituições na preservação e transmissão do conhecimento astrológico em Portugal. Surpreendentemente, apesar de promoverem o ensino da astrologia, os catálogos estudados das bibliotecas da Companhia de Jesus descrevem um número menor de obras em comparação com as fontes das bibliotecas de outras congregações. Entre as instituições dos Franciscanos, Agostinhos e Teatinos, possuidores do maior número de livros de astrologia, destacavam-se pela amplitude das suas coleções astrológicas, a Biblioteca da Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência (Teatinos) e a Biblioteca do Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça, em Lisboa (Agostinhos).

Um olhar mais aprofundado sobre estas coleções revela uma diversidade de obras produzidas por figuras ilustres da astrologia e da astronomia. Entre os mais populares encontram-se autores de “reportórios”, como André de Avelar, Jerónimo Chaves e Jerónimo Cortez; autoridades clássicas, como Ptolomeu e Firmico Materno; estudiosos árabes, como Alcabitius e Haly Abenragel; figuras medievais, como Alberto Magno e Guido Bonatti; assim como autores da Idade Moderna, como Magini, Rantzau, Argoli e Morin. Identificada em nove bibliotecas do país, *Summa Astrologica* (1632), o influente manual de previsão meteorológica de António de Najera, destaca-se como a obra mais difundida nas bibliotecas religiosas portuguesas.

O conjunto de evidências estudadas indicam que a astrologia ocupava um lugar significativo entre os interesses científicos das ordens religiosas. A ampla circulação de obras mais acessíveis, como os almanaques, e de tratados astrológicos mais sofisticados, reflete o envolvimento das comunidades religiosas tanto com os aspetos práticos como com os mais avançados da disciplina. Mais ainda, o empenho das congregações religiosas portuguesas em preservar obras complexas de astrologia, juntamente com diversos exemplares de efemérides ao longo do tempo, sugere um possível envolvimento destas instituições na prática astrológica num contexto religioso.

Espera-se com esta investigação, contribuir para uma melhor compreensão da circulação do conhecimento astrológico e das suas práticas de leitura, no contexto das instituições religiosas da sociedade Portuguesa da Idade Moderna.

**PARALVRAS-CHAVE:** astrologia, textos astrológicos, ordens religiosas, bibliotecas, livros científicos.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

### **LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES:**

ANTT—Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo

BA—Biblioteca da Ajuda

BACL—Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa

BGUC—Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra

BNP—Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal

BPE—Biblioteca Pública de Évora

BPNP—Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto

## INTRODUCTION

The Catholic Church was arguably the most influential and widespread gatekeeper of knowledge in early modern Portugal. Libraries played a pivotal role within the extensive monastic and conventual networks, serving not only as centers of spirituality and religious life but also as repositories and hubs of intellectual activity. Religious libraries were deeply involved in the acquisition, preservation, and circulation of scientific works, actively contributing to the dissemination of knowledge. Many of these libraries amassed substantial collections encompassing diverse fields such as natural philosophy, medicine, mathematics, cosmography, and astronomy. Among these disciplines was astrology—the knowledge that interprets the movements of the heavens and their correlations with events on Earth.

In Western Europe, the practice and the influence of astrology extended through all levels of society. From at least the beginning of the fourteenth century, astrology integrated the curricula of the finest Medieval and Renaissance universities.<sup>1</sup> There were court astrologers, physicians, cosmographers, mathematicians, and astronomers that practiced and theorized on astrology. Astrological knowledge was consolidated through centuries of practice, deeply rooted in a long tradition of works from the Classical to the Early Modern period. The invention of the printing press in the early fifteenth century amplified the circulation of astrological knowledge and expanded its studies through the works of various new authors. Yet not all aspects of this dissemination contributed to its acceptance. At the same time, specially through the end of the fifteenth century until the end of the seventeenth century, astrology would endure numerous attacks and criticisms that questioned its credibility and validity as a form of knowledge. The most celebrated of these attacks was undaughterly, the famous *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem* by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494).<sup>2</sup>

In the context of the Christian faith, although the debate about the legality of discipline had been going on for several centuries, it was from the sixteenth century onwards that the Catholic Church took a firm stand in the regulation of astrological practices. The general outcome of these actions specified the division of astrology into two categories, one licit and another illicit. The former entailed the predictive practices of medicine, navigation, and agriculture and was usually referred to as natural astrology. The latter comprised the judgment of nativities, elections, and interrogations, and was referred to as judicial or superstitious astrology. In the case of the circulation of astrological knowledge through books, this meant a tight control over textual publications that would materialize in many ways: by means of censorship and expurgation; implementation of regular inspections on bookshops and libraries; the instruction for segregation of books in locked or concealed locations; the attribution of licenses for publishing and readership; penalties for those who did not follow these regulations, along with others. Notwithstanding, these guidelines created several uncertainties that proved to be a truly creative yet laborious endeavor for both the astrologer and the censor. One significant reason for this, was the fact that the division between a licit and illicit practice derived from a theological perspective outside of the actual theory of astrology thus, even if the censor was familiar with the astrological

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<sup>1</sup> On the topic of the teaching of astrology in the university see: John David North, “The Quadrivium”, *A History of the University in Europe*. Volume 1: A History of the University in Europe, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 337–59; Steven Vanden Broecke, *The Limits of Influence: Pico, Louvain, and the Crisis of Renaissance Astrology* (Leiden: Brill, 2003): 12–17; Dag Nikolaus Hasse, *Success and Suppression: Arabic Sciences and Philosophy in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016): 23–26; H Darrel Rutkin, *Sapientia Astrologica: Astrology, Magic and Natural Knowledge, ca. 1250-1800: I. Medieval Structures (1250-1500): Conceptual, Institutional, Socio-Political, Theologico-Religious and Cultural*, Archimedes (Cham: Springer, 2019): 385–421.

<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola, *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem* (Bologna: B. Hector, 1496).

knowledge, the interpretation of what was considered lawful and unlawful could be extremely ambiguous.

Despite this restrictive and potentially dangerous environment, astrology continued to be practiced and taught throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In fact, we have a great example of sophisticated teaching of astrology in Portugal by one of the most influential religious orders of this period, the Society of Jesus, at the College of Santo Antão, in Lisbon.<sup>3</sup> As far as we know, this seems to be a singular case of astrological teaching in a religious scientific institution in Portugal. Previous studies have suggested the presence of prohibited scientific texts, including astrological works, within religious institutions. However, the full extent and importance of these controversial materials remained unclear.<sup>4</sup> This prompts several questions for further inquiry: Was astrology a subject of interest unique to the Jesuit order? To what extent did other religious orders engage with astrological studies? Can this interest be systematically characterized? Furthermore, what does this reveal about the ways in which religious orders navigated and complied with the restrictions imposed by the Index and the Inquisition? These inquiries will shape the discussions throughout this dissertation, providing deeper insights into the intricate relationship between astrology and the religious context of early modern Portugal.

This dissertation aims to address these questions by examining the astrological works that formed part of the book collections of the libraries of Portuguese old religious orders, up until the dissolution of religious orders in 1834. Through this analysis, we seek to uncover the scope and nature of astrological knowledge preserved within the libraries of the most influential religious institutions. To accomplish this, we adopted two main approaches, the first and most significant involved the detailed examination documents, relating to the catalogs and inventories from the libraries of Portuguese religious orders. The second, entailed the cross-referencing of volumes in contemporary collections that originated from these libraries. To achieve this, we have resorted to *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, a comprehensive compilation of religious library inventories and catalogues.<sup>5</sup> Through these approaches, we were able to assemble the Bibliographic Index, presented in the Appendix, a collections of scientific works related to astrological and astronomical knowledge. This index serves as a cornerstone of the research, offering valuable insights into the intellectual landscape of early modern religious institutions. Drawing on data from 320 documents, including catalogs and inventories of former Portuguese religious orders, as well as cross-referencing with volumes originating from religious institutions, 222 astrological works have been identified. Alongside these, related materials such as astronomy books, ephemerides, treatises on comets, critiques of astrology, and astrological instruments were compiled, culminating in a detailed list of 687 items from 41 libraries belonging to 16 religious orders, as outlined in the Appendix.

Chapter I introduces the general backdrop of the intricate relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and astrology by considering the key dynamics that led to the categorization of astrology as an outlawed discipline. It covers its beginnings, regulations and criticisms and reflects on the apparent contradiction that the existence of a pervasive account of astrology books in a religious setting suggests.

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<sup>3</sup> Luís de Campos Ribeiro, *Jesuit Astrology: Prognostication and Science in Early Modern Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2023).

<sup>4</sup> Henrique Leitão, *O Livro Científico dos séculos XV e XVI. Ciências físico-matemáticas na Biblioteca Nacional—Catálogo de livros científicos dos séculos XV e XVI* (Lisboa: Ministério da Cultura, Biblioteca Nacional, 2004). See also: Luana Giurgevich, “Visiting Old Libraries: Scientific Books in the Religious Institutions of Early Modern Portugal”, *Early Science and Medicine*, 21 (2016), 252–72.

<sup>5</sup> Luana Giurgevich and Henrique Leitão, *Clavis Bibliothecarum: Catálogos e inventários de livrarias e instituições religiosas em Portugal até 1834* (Lisbon: Secretariado Nacional para os Bens Culturais da Igreja, 2016).

Chapter II delves into the organizational and operational dynamics of religious libraries, examining how these institutions acquired, preserved, and managed their collections. This chapter opens with an exploration of the internal mechanisms that governed the acquisition and preservation of books, shedding light on the practices that shaped these repositories. It then proceeds with an overview of the role of scientific books within the context of religious library collections, highlighting their presence and significance. After expounding the characteristics and limitations of the catalogues and inventories of religious libraries, this chapter proceeds with a discussion centred on how these sources inform our understanding of their holdings while acknowledging their constraints. Chapter II concludes with a reflection on the place of astrology within these records, analysing how astrological works were documented and assessing whether the catalogues and inventories align with the regulatory frameworks and restrictions that governed the discipline during this period.

Chapter III presents the core findings of this research, focusing on the presence and significance of astrological knowledge within Portuguese religious libraries during the early modern period. The chapter begins by categorizing the key types of astrological texts produced during this era, providing a foundational context for assessing the scope and circulation of astrological literature within these collections. It also establishes the criteria and categories used in the study, offering a framework for the subsequent analysis. The data collected is then presented, encompassing both quantitative and qualitative perspectives. This includes an analysis of the distribution of book categories that shape the Bibliographic Index, alongside a detailed examination of how astrological works were distributed among different religious congregations and libraries. Special attention is devoted to identifying the most widely circulated works and authors, as well as the prevalence of ephemerides and planetary tables, which suggest practical applications of astrological knowledge.

To challenge the idea that these collections represented a mere passive accumulation of books, we adopted two main approaches, outlined in the final two sections of this chapter. The first focuses on analyzing the publication dates of astrology books associated with religious institutions. This included an in-depth examination of the largest astrological collections identified in the research, specifically those held by the Augustinian Library of the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça and the Theatine Library of the House of Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência. By studying catalog records and publication dates, we explored the acquisition patterns of Portuguese religious congregations, uncovering evidence of Jesuit astrological manuscripts circulating within these libraries. The second approach, assesses how astrology books were used within these religious orders by analyzing surviving copies, focusing on physical evidence such as marginalia, annotations, and signs of wear. Two pivotal case studies are presented, demonstrating that astrology books were not only utilized but also adjusted to comply with censorship regulations through expurgation. Together, these cases underscore the dynamic interaction between religious communities and astrological texts.

The circulation of astrological books in early modern Portugal remains a subject of which we know very little, but whose study cannot disregard the collections of the Portuguese Religious Institutions. Hopefully this research will provide a better understanding of the role of astrological knowledge and its reading practices as part of the scientific activity in the context of religious institutions in early modern society. Ultimately, this analysis will provide a nuanced perspective on the engagement with astrological knowledge—and potentially its practice—by religious institutions in early modern Portugal.

Without further ado, we will now turn to Chapter I.

## I. ASTROLOGY AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Throughout the medieval and the early modern periods, astrology was well established within Europe's philosophical traditions and had implications in the teaching and practice of mathematics, natural philosophy, and medicine.<sup>6</sup> Astrological practice demanded a deep understanding of both mathematics and astronomy to track planetary movements and calculate astrological charts, from which interpretations were derived. Ergo, astrology integrated the mathematics curriculum and was taught alongside astronomy as a central feature of the "science of the stars". Until the late early modern period, astronomy and astrology were complementary and corresponded, respectively, to the theoretical and practical parts of a single science.<sup>7</sup> Still, this did not prevent astrology from enduring numerous attacks and criticism that openly disputed its legitimacy and integrity as a scientific discipline.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, one of the most persistent challengers of astrology was the Roman Catholic Church, which imposed complex restrictions on the practice and dissemination of astrological writings as part of the strict religious policies of the Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent.<sup>8</sup> A complete discussion of the intricate relationship between astrology and the Catholic Church goes beyond the purpose of this dissertation.<sup>9</sup> However, the study of the circulation of astrology books, especially in a religious context, requires us to outline the general grounds of this relation so that we may better recognize what the presence of the book entries collected in this research represents.

### Early Christian Critic of Astrology: A Matter of Free Will and Inclination

From Antiquity to the end of the seventeenth century, astrology remained a central part of the human conception of the cosmos. The philosophical principles of the effects of the movements of the heavens with earthly events were widely accepted and astrology was the knowledge responsible for its study. Evidence of astrological interest among early Christians is supported by a variety of artifacts and imagery found across different religious sites. We find elements relating to astrology and other celestial phenomena within the Biblical Scriptures, perhaps most notably,

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<sup>6</sup> Astrology played a crucial role in the practice of medicine as a method for diagnosis and election of favorable moments for treatments or medical interventions. For a discussion of the use of astrology in medicine see: Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, eds., *Astro-Medicine: Astrology and Medicine, East and West*, (Firenze: SISMELE Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2008); Hiro Hirai, "The New Astral Medicine," *A Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance*, ed. Brendan Maurice Dooley (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 267–86. On the teaching of astrology in medicine course, see for example: Steven Vanden Broecke, *The Limits of Influence*, 43–46.

<sup>7</sup> H Darrel Rutkin, "Sapientia Astrologica: Astrology, Magic and Natural Knowledge, ca. 1250-1800: I. Medieval Structures (1250-1500): Conceptual, Institutional, Socio-Political, Theologico-Religious and Cultural", *Archimedes* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019): 367–388; Steven Vanden Broecke, "Astrology and Late Medieval Academics Culture. Louvain, 1425-1516", in *The Limits of Influence*, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2023), 29–52.

<sup>8</sup> Astrology's complex relationship with Christian institutions was not exclusive to the Roman Catholic Church. See: Robin Bruce Barnes, *Astrology and Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

<sup>9</sup> For an overview of this topic, see: Ugo Baldini, "The Roman Inquisition's Condemnation of Astrology: Antecedents, Reasons and Consequences", in *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Gigliola Fragnito (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 79–110; Ugo Baldini, Leen Spruit. *Catholic Church and Modern Science: Documents from the Archives of the Roman Congregations of the Holy Office and the Index. Volume I. Sixteenth-Century Documents*. Vol. 1. (Roma: Libreria editrice vaticana, 2009); Germana Ernst, "Astrology, Religion and Politics in Counter-Reformation Rome", in *Science, Culture, and Popular Belief in Renaissance Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 249–73; H Darrel Rutkin, "Is Astrology a Type of Divination? Thomas Aquinas, the Index of Prohibited Books, and the Construction of a Legitimate Astrology in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance", *International Journal of Divination and Prognostication* 1, no. 1 (2019): 36–74; Helena Avelar de Carvalho, "Preludes to the Inquisition: Self-Censorship in Medieval Astrological Discourse", *Annals of Science* 77, no. 1 (2020): 10–25; Neil Tarrant, "Reconstructing Thomist Astrology: Robert Bellarmine and the Papal Bull *Coeli et Terrae*", *Annals of Science* 77, no. 1 (2020): 26–49; Luís Campos Ribeiro, "The Bounded Heavens: Defining the Limits of Astrological Practice in the Iberian Indices", *Annals of Science* 77, no. 1 (2020): 50–70.

the pericope of the Magi and the star of Bethlehem in the Gospel of Matthew, a central element in the Scriptural account of the nativity story.<sup>10</sup> Although these texts do not exhibit any technical astrological doctrines or practices, they prompted early Christian writers to find creative means to deal with astrology.

Early Christianity approached astrology in different ways.<sup>11</sup> While many early Christians depict positive attitudes towards astrology and found ways to accommodate its elements within their theological systems, others were determined to dissuade their followers from astrological pursuits in order to reassure the truth of Christian doctrine over astrology. This ecclesiastical anti-astrological polemic derived from pre-Christian Greco-Roman sources on fatalism—the belief that the future is determined and that individuals were unable to alter their destiny—and was essentially focused on astrology’s ability to predict forthcoming events. The problem did not lay on astrology’s natural applications, but on the aspects of astrology that offered knowledge of future contingent events that affected individuals, and therefore, defied the Christian principles of divine authority and human free will. Christian doctrine’s clash with astrology was more than anything, a theological concern. If such astrological prognostications were possible, the individual’s fate would already be predetermined and so would his redemption and the possibility of salvation. As of consequence, astrology forecasting abilities were often assigned to demonic influence and the discipline was placed alongside magic, chiromancy, and other forms of divination. Naturally, Christian opponents of astrology were motivated by the fierce conviction that astrology posed a significant threat to Christianity.

Augustine of Hippo (354–430) was undeniably the most influential challenger of astrology from early Christianity. Augustine’s writings served as the back bones of the later Christian condemnation of astrological practices during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We find Augustine’s main arguments against astrology in *De civitate Dei*, *Confessiones*, and *De doctrina christiana*. Augustine condemned astrology as a false art, and explicitly asserted that any information received by the astrologer through this practice was of demonic origin.<sup>12</sup> He rejected any suggestion that humans could use the knowledge of the star’s motions to predict individual’s future actions or to define an individual’s character. Although his attacks were largely aimed at astrological practices related to prognostication, particularly those concerning human destiny, he also rejected the applications which fell under a general definition of “natural astrology.” Thus, astrological practices involving the election of propitious moments for performing specific activities, such as sowing, were ridiculed by Augustine’s suggestion that this required individual plants to have their own “moment of conception” (*momenta nascendi*).<sup>13</sup> Similarly, Augustine criticized astrological medical applications, rejecting the belief that the stars could affect the human body, and therefore, astrology’s reliability to forecast on an individual’s future health.

Another recurring argument, drawn from prior traditional Greco-Roman anti-fatalist argumentation, was the case of the different destinies of twins.<sup>14</sup> Augustine asserted that the

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<sup>10</sup> Mt 2: 1–12; *The Holy Bible: King James Version* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1769).

<sup>11</sup> For a deeper discussion on early Christians and astrology, see: Tim Hegeudus, *Early Christianity and Ancient Astrology* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 45–47; and Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science. During the First Thirteenth Centuries of Our Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923), 1:506–22.

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion on demonic interpretations of astrology see: Tim Hegeudus, “Astrology as the Work of Demons”, in *Early Christianity and Astrology*, 125. On Augustine of Hippo, see: Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Entre Science et Nigromance: Astrologie, Divination et Magie Dans l’occident Médiéval, XIIe-XVe Siècle* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), 208–10.

<sup>13</sup> Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 2: 21–22; idem, *De civitate Dei*, 5: 2–11, on planting and sowing see chapter 7.

<sup>14</sup> This argument appears most extensively in the opening sections of book 5 of, *De civitate Dei*. See: Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 5.6.

horoscope of twins ought to either account for all the disparities in the lives of twins completely or to override any possible differences between them. Because twins exhibit both similarities and difference, he bluntly underscored astrology's apparent failure, adding that even if we account for slight variations in their time of birth, thus producing different astrological charts, twins still share the same moment of conception which produces two individuals with two distinct lives.<sup>15</sup> Regarding twins of different sex, Augustine determined that astrology was as much incapable to deal with this major physical difference as it was at forecasting future events of their lives. Overall, in his critique, Augustine rejected most kinds of astrological prognostications and resorted to several arguments to support his diminish of astrology. Still and all, it is important to note that this attack rests on Augustine's own portrayal of astrology. The various misconceptions extracted from Augustine's argumentation reveals an incongruency between his personal understanding of astrology and ancient astrological views and practices. Moreover, Augustine did not typically concern himself with the technical details of the system of astrology. As Lynn Thorndike puts it: "But he [Augustine] could not have studied the books of the astrologers very deeply, as he ascribes views to them which many of them did not hold. Also, he seems never to have read the *Tetrabiblos* of Ptolemy. His attack upon and criticism of astrology was therefore narrow, partial and inadequate".<sup>16</sup> This instance, along with Augustine's inadequate portrayal of astrology, has supported scholar's rejection of the idea that Augustine was a professional astrologer during his youth.<sup>17</sup>

Despite Augustine's and other early Cristian writer's hostile arguments, astrology continued to occupy a significant position throughout early and pre-modern society across its many applications in social and political affairs, medicine, weather forecast, and navigation. The challenge to astrology's effectiveness was sustained by the philosophical principles of the celestial influence and the anti-astrological arguments were refuted by educated astrologers who relentlessly emphasized the disproportional and unrealistic nature of these critiques in contradiction with proper astrological practice. Among its most notable defenders is Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274). Aquinas's most significant views of astrology were comprised in three texts, *Summa contra gentiles*, *Summa Theologica* and the *De iudiciis astrorum*.<sup>18</sup> Over these works, Aquinas defends the notion that the stars could influence the lower faculties of the soul through their influence on the human body, thereby inclining humans towards specific actions without dictating them. According to this principle, by studying celestial influences, it was possible to predict potential future human actions without compromising the doctrine of free will.

Many of the arguments developed by Aquinas to justify astrology's validity derived from he's own interpretation of Augustine's writings. Several of these openly contradicted Augustine's views, others appear to find common ground. Attending to Cristian theological concerns, Aquinas

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<sup>15</sup> Here, Augustine assumes that twins are conceived by a single act of intercourse. This sub-argument seeks to contrast the effects of the horoscope of conception with those of the birth horoscope, whilst using the horoscope of conception as a point against the birth horoscope. However, such distinctions were not made in ancient astrology and the horoscope of conception had a less common practical significance. On the discussion concerning horoscopes of conception and of birth in ancient astrology, see: Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, "Chorographie Astrologique," *Melanges Graux. Recueil de Travaux d'erudition Classique. Dédié a La Mémoire de Charles Graux*, ed. Ernest Thorin (Paris: Libraire du Collège de France, 1884), 373–83.

<sup>16</sup> Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 1:519.

<sup>17</sup> Tim Hegedus, *Early Christianity and Ancient Astrology*, 60.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *On the Truth of the Catholic Faith. Summa Contra Gentiles. Book Three: Providence*, ed. Vernon J. Bourke (New York: Image Books, 1956), 1:274–78; Aquinas, *On the Truth of the Catholic Faith. Summa Contra Gentiles. Book Three: Providence*, ed. Vernon J. Bourke (New York: Image Books, 1956), 2:13–34; and Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (New York: Cosimo, Inc., 2013), 1:559–66. On the composition of *De iudiciis astrorum* and *Summa theologica* see: Jean-Pierre Torell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, trans. by Robert Royal, rev. edn, 2 vols (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 1:146–47.

drew a clear distinction between divination practices and astrological prognostication.<sup>19</sup> To do this, he centered his argumentation on Augustine's own remarks on the possibility of celestial influence and claimed that no corporeal body could make an impression on an incorporeal body such as the will, hence the stars could not directly influence human actions. Like Augustine, Aquinas too rejected predictions of contingent events (chance events e.g., accidents) and actions relating to human free will, and stressed that such prognostications ought to be considered divinatory and superstitious, and therefore, illicit. Similarly, Aquinas considered divination to entail the participation of demonic influences, acknowledging divination as a sin. However, Aquinas sustained astrologer's ability to legitimately predict the stars effects. To support this position, he alluded to predictions that originate from necessary causes, such as predictions of eclipses, and segregated them from the types of predictions that can be derived from false and vain opinions with possible demonic assistance. Unlike Augustine, Aquinas recognized that farmers could use astrology to elect a suitable time to sow or harvest crops since deliberations for these actions were depended on farmers observations of the Sun's movements. In a similar manner, Aquinas referred to seaman who relied on astrological knowledge, and physicians who determined the critical days of a patient's illness according to planetary configurations.<sup>20</sup> Aquinas went further and argued for the legitimacy of predictions related to true future human actions. Drawing from Aristotle's principles of the soul described in *De anima*,<sup>21</sup> Aquinas supported the claim on the notion that the stars could incline individuals through the connections between the body and soul, and thus were able to dispose individuals towards certain actions without compromising the individual's faculty to use their reason to overrule that inclination. This became one of Aquinas's most influential arguments for the possibility of astrological prognostication on human conduct. By recognizing the conditioning of the soul by the body, Aquinas allowed for the possibility of true astrological prognostication on human life. He explained that, since celestial bodies act directly on human bodies and that human actions tend to be driven by peoples "bodily passions", astrological judgements can be made on individual's temperaments and general behavior tendencies. Because most people follow their impulses, astrological predictions have even greater possibility of success. Across his considerations, Aquinas avoided astrological determinism and set the fundamental requirements for legitimate astrological knowledge. Throughout his writings, Aquinas often cited Ptolemy demonstrating his acquaintance with one of the leading authorities of astrological knowledge, whilst conveying a more consistent view of actual astrological principles.<sup>22</sup>

Augustine of Hippo and Thomas Aquinas positions defined the understructure of later attacks and defenses of astrology. Their fundamental premises shaped the significant regulations enforced on astrology by the Catholic church over the sixteenth century when, once again, astrology's legitimacy and the limits of an acceptable practice were put into question.

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<sup>19</sup> For Aquinas distinction between legitimate and illegitimate modes of knowing and predicting, see: *Summa theologiae* 2-2:92-95. Also, H Darrel Rutkin. "Is Astrology a Type of Divination?", 36-74.

<sup>20</sup> Regarding critical days see: Tzvi Langermann, "The Astral Connections of Critical Days", *Astro-Medicine*, ed. A Akasoy, C Burnett, and R Yoeli-Tlalim (Florence: SISME - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2008); Vivian Nutton, "Medicine in Medieval Western Europe, 1000-1500", in *The Western Medical Tradition 800BC to AD 1800*, ed. by Lawrence Conrad et al (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 139-205; Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990).

<sup>21</sup> *De anima* 3.4, 429b4.

<sup>22</sup> In *Summa Theologica*, I q.115 a.4 to 3, Aquinas quotes from *Cetiloquium*, sentences 1, 7 and 8. On *Summa contra gentiles*, III.84, the quote is from *Cetiloquium* sentence 38.

## The Early Modern Period: Pico's Critique of Astrology.

The advent of the printing press and its fast dissemination throughout the second half of the fifteenth century generated a major platform for both the diffusion of astrological knowledge and for continuing debates on astrology's legitimacy. Consequently, printed books accelerated the transmission of ideas and became a powerful tool for both defenders and critics of astrology. One of the harshest aspects of the diffusion of astrological knowledge is intrinsically tied to the phenomenon of popularization of astrology, galvanized by the numerous publications of popular almanacs.<sup>23</sup> Almanacs typically included annual weather predictions, annual prognostications for general social-political affairs and other celestial events such as comets, along with calendars and listings of astronomical events (i.e. lunations, eclipses and dates for the beginning of the seasons). As a heterogeneous genre, Almanacs ranged from more academically driven publications destined for professional practice and study, to more popular publications essentially targeted at commoners which often featured an amalgam of astrological concepts with common knowledge, novelties, and general calendars. The latter flourished in popularity across society and increased the profits of printing houses. This growing demand incited an excessive production of substandard almanacs that postulated over-simplified and exaggerated predictions. As the popular almanacs grew in visibility, so did its power to influence and provoke reactions across society.<sup>24</sup> By the end of the fifteenth century, the exaggerations and exploitation of astrology in popular prognostications triggered severe reactions from astrology's critics.

One of the most ferocious attacks on astrology was the famous *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem*, written by Pico della Mirandola. Composed in 1493–1494 from a draft version by his nephew, Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (c.1470–1533) and his physician, Giovanni Manardo (1462–1536), and was published posthumously in 1496.<sup>25</sup> Pico's critique and his relationship with astrology remains a complex subject which continues to capture the interest of many scholars.<sup>26</sup> Striving to weaken astrology's epistemic authority, Pico developed his attack thru many different perspectives. From astrology's natural philosophical foundations, by

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<sup>23</sup> On the role of almanacs in early modern culture see: Bernard Stuart Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London: Faber, 1979); Luís Miguel Carolino, *A escrita celeste: almanaques astrológicos em Portugal nos séculos XVII e XVIII*, Memória & saber (Rio de Janeiro: Access, 2002); Carolino, *Ciência, astrologia e sociedade: a teoria da influência celeste em Portugal (1593-1755)* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2003); Justin Rivest, "Printing and Astrology in Early Modern France: Vernacular Almanac-Prognostications, 1497-1555" (MA dissertation, Ottawa, Carleton University, 2004); William E. Burns, "Astrology and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England: King James II and the Almanac Men", *The Seventeenth Century* 20, no. 2 (2005): 242–53; Louise Hill Curth, *English Almanacs, Astrology and Popular Medicine, 1550-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

<sup>24</sup> On the impact of these predictions see: William Eamon, "Astrology and Society", in *A Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance*, ed. Brendan Maurice Dooley (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 142–51; Jonathan Green, *Printing and Prophecy: Prognostication and Media Change 1450-1550* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 139–50; Rivest, "Printing and Astrology in Early Modern France", 65–73; Luís Campos Ribeiro, "Transgressing Boundaries? Jesuits, Astrology and Culture in Portugal (1590–1759)", 14–15.

<sup>25</sup> Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola, *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem* (Bologna: B. Hector, 1496).

<sup>26</sup> Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*; Anthony Grafton, "Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola: Trials and Triumphs of an Omnivore", in *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers*, ed. Anthony Grafton (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 93–134; Sheila J. Rabin, "Kepler's Attitude Toward Pico and the Anti-Astrology Polemic", *Renaissance Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (1997): 750–70; Steven Vanden Broecke, *The Limits of Influence*; H Darrel Rutkin, "Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola's Early Reform of Astrology: An Interpretation of "Vera Astrologia" in the Cabalistic Conclusions", *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 10, no. 2 (2004): 495–98; Rutkin, "Mysteries of Attraction: Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola, Astrology and Desire", *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 41, no. 2 (2010): 117–24; Ornella Pompeo Faracovi, "Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola e La Riforma Dell'astrologia", *Philosophical Readings* VII, no. 1 (2015): 93–109; Ovanes Akopyan, "Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola and Astrology (1486–1493): From Scientia Naturalis to the Disputationes Adversus Astrologiam," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 21, no. 1 (2018): 47–66; and Akopyan, *Debating the Stars in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020), 72–105.

discussing the contradictions between astrological doctrine and the theory of celestial influence in Aristotelian physics, to the condemnation of fundamental doctrines of astrological practice, such as the principles of signs, houses, and planetary dignities. Other strategies targeted astrology's major authority figures, beginning with Ptolemy and the astrological doctrines offered in the *Tetrabiblos* and *Centiloquium*.<sup>27</sup> Pico persistently sought to expose the disparities between the teachings of the key astrological authorities and often used Ptolemy as a reference to compare with other ancient and medieval experts. Additionally, he fiercely undermined Latin authorities' practical experience in terms of the effects of celestial configurations and stressed the inexactness of astronomical calculations that would have led to numerous mistakes in astrologer's assessments.

Pico della Mirandola's astrological views remains one of the most intriguing aspects of his legacy. Some scholars have gone beyond the consideration of the *Disputationes* as a mere attack on astrology. According to Steven Vanden Broecke's analysis of the *Disputationes*, Pico's attitude towards astrology was more lenient than generally assumed. He proposes that Pico's primary objective was to dispute the new genre of popular prognostications based on astrological conjunction theories and acknowledges the possibility for considering Pico's work as a call for a reform on astrological practice.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, Pico's critique incited a series of subsequent attacks that drove the return of many of the central themes of early Christian discourse concerning the legitimacy of astrology. Coincidentally, the pervasive attacks fuelled the revisionist attitude that around the second half of the fifteenth century, began to trigger a major process of change in the core of the discipline. Prior to any legal prohibitions, many sixteenth-century authors endorsed a revision of astrological methods and concepts, seeking to achieve a more scientific and pristine form of the discipline. Such modifications generally implied the removal of the alleged irrational accounts deriving from Arabic tradition and the return to an idealized Greek-Ptolemaic version of Astrology.<sup>29</sup>

The *Disputationes* stands as one of the most influential works of the Renaissance. Although instrumental in the discourse against astrology, Pico's condemnation did not result in astrology's demise. Instead, it led many of the discipline's premium authorities, such as Lucio Bellanti, Giovanni Pontano and Gabriele Pirovano, to publish their own responses vindicating astrology.<sup>30</sup> Defenses of astrology typically relied on the use of historical cases of successful predictions, obvious instances of celestial influence and comparisons with the popular practices of medicine and navigation.<sup>31</sup> Astrology's advocates resorted to supporting their writings in earlier theologians and philosopher's, among them Abraham ibn Ezra, Peter of Limoges, Roger

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<sup>27</sup> H Rutkin H Darrel Rutkin, "The Use and Abuse of Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe: Two Case Studies (Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola and Filippo Fantoni)", *Archimedes* vol. 23 (2010): 135–149.

<sup>28</sup> Steven Vanden Broecke, *The Limits of Influence*, 60–63.

<sup>29</sup> The intricacies of this internal change in astrological doctrine have not been fully assessed. Scholars have suggested that its origin lies in the deep revision of the traditional sources that took place in this period. For an overall discussion on this topic see: H Darrel Rutkin, "Astrology", in *The Cambridge History of Science: Volume 3, Early Modern Science*, ed. Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 547–52; and Steven Vanden Broecke, "Astrology in the Early Modern Period: Practices and Concepts", in *Encyclopedia of Early Modern Philosophy and the Sciences*, ed. Dana Jalobeanu and Charles T. Wolfe (Cham: Springer, 2020), 1–11; Luís Campos Ribeiro, "Transgressing Boundaries?", 10–13.

<sup>30</sup> Lucio Bellanti, *Liber de astrologica veritate contra Johannem Picum Mirandulam* (Firenze: Gherardum de Haerlem, 1498); Giovanni Pontano, *De rebus coelestibus* (Napoli: Sigismund Mayr, 1512); Gabriel Pirovano, *Defensio astronomiae* (Milano: apud Alexandrum Minutianum, 1507). For studies on the responses to Pico's critique, see: Ornella Pompeo Faracovi, "In Difesa Dell'astrologia. Risposte a Pico in Bellanti e Pontano", in *Nello Specchio Del Cielo: Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola e Le Disputationes Contro l'astrologia Divinatoria*, ed. by Marco Bertozzi (Firenze: Olschki, 2008), 47–65. See also Akopyan, Ovanes, *Debating the Stars in the Italian Renaissance*, (Leiden: Brill, 2020), ch. 10, 11, and 12.

<sup>31</sup> On the discourses for defending astrology, see: Teri Gee, "Strategies of Defending Astrology: A Continuing Tradition" (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2012).

Bacon, Ramon Lull, Albertus Magnus, and naturally, Thomas Aquinas. Similar to astrology's critics, defenders fiercely condemned the "*falsa astrologia*" by bluntly calling out deceiving and ill-informed practitioners, distinguishing good and bad practices and advocating for a proper use of astrological knowledge. Additionally, recommendations for a dignified practice would be provided—often understood, as the best defense for the practitioner. As scholars have indicated, despite the vigorous dynamic of publications of attacks and defenses, most astrologers sustained a cautious attitude towards their practices and writings, thus distancing themselves from other forms of divinatory arts.<sup>32</sup>

Whereas moved by fear of condemnation by the Church, their own personal beliefs, or practical reasons, such as meeting up to patrons demands, many astrologers avoided sensitive matters to escape accusations and protect themselves against their critics. The complex intertwining's of publications of attacks and defenses of astrology expanded in number and visibility, and eventually culminated in the call for regulations of astrology on a juridic level.

### **The Early Modern Period: Regulating Astrology**

The validation of astrology as a legitimate discipline for prediction of natural and human events by crucial authority figures of Christian thought—if practiced within its proper boundaries—provided substantial flexibility to the practice, as well as solid theological and philosophical principles for astrologers to uphold the proficiency of the discipline. Hence, for a long period of the Cristian tradition of astrology, restrictions between what could be considered a legitimate or superstitious practice developed mainly on a theoretical level of discussion. By the sixteenth century, amid the vast diffusion of astrological knowledge sparked by the advent of printing, along with the aforementioned attacks on astrology, the Catholic Church assigned the Holy Office the implementation of severe boundaries to the discipline. Inquisition's measures towards regulating of astrology were first taken in the aftermath of the Council of Trent, with the establishment of the list of forbidden books. Firstly, the Paul IV's 1557 *Index of forbidden books*, followed by the 1559 Index and the 1564 Index of Pius IV. The latter was expanded in 1586 by the issuing of the bull *Coeli et terrae*, by Sixtus V, and further reaffirmed in the 1631 bull, *Constitutio contra astrologos iudiciarios*, also known as *Inscrutabilis iudicorum Dei*, issued by Urban VIII.<sup>33</sup> The details of the aspirations and effects of these documents have received great amount of scholarly attention in the last few decades.<sup>34</sup>

The ninth rule prefaced in the Index of 1564, set the core principles for the prohibition of forbidden books, and became the basis for censorship of astrological books and trials of astrologers that occur across the offices of the Roman Inquisition. In Rule IX, astrology is placed along with several divination practices. Yet, Astrology is set apart from these:

All books and writings on geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy, pyromancy, onomancy, chiromancy, necromancy, or those in which are contained the drawing of lots, sorceries, auguries, auspices, incantations of the magic art, are entirely rejected. But let the bishops observe carefully that books, treatises, indices on judicial astrology be not read or kept, which dare to affirm as certain that something is to happen regarding future contingents, or chance events, or those actions dependent on the human

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<sup>32</sup> Carvalho, "Preludes to the Inquisition: self-censorship in medieval astrological discourse", 10–25.

<sup>33</sup> Sixtus V, "Contra exercentes artem astrologiae iudiciariae," in *Magnum bullarium Romanum, a Pio Quarto usque ad Innocentium IX*, ed. Angelo Cherubini (Lovain: sumptib. Philippi Borde, Laur. Arnaud, et Cl. Rigaud, 1655), 2:515–517; Urban VIII, *Constitutio contra astrologos iudiciarios* (Rome: Typographia Reu. Cam. Apost., 1631).

<sup>34</sup> Baldini, "The Roman Inquisition's Condemnation of Astrology: Antecedents, Reasons and Consequences", 79–110; Germana Ernst, "Astrology, Religion and Politics in Counter-Reformation Rome", 249–273.

will. However, judgements and natural observations which are written for the purpose of aiding navigation, agriculture, or the medical art, are allowed.<sup>35</sup>

Accordingly, Rule IX simply rejected astrological judgements of contingent future events, chance events, and actions that undermined the Christian doctrine of human free will, allowing judgements and natural observations related to the practices of navigation, agriculture, and medicine. Therefore, astrology was merely forbidden to a certain extent, while the publications on any forms of divination or magic were strictly prohibited. Here we see resurfacing many of the central themes previously addressed in the first section of this chapter, relating to early Christian astrology's polemic on the implications of demonic assistance in predictions that challenged free will. Despite the apparent flexibility that allowed room for its interpretation, Rule IX became problematic for many aspects of astrological practice, namely the judgment of nativities, elections, and especially the branch of interrogations. The latter entailed the answering of all sorts of specific questions such as the descriptions of the quality of things, the location of a person or an object, the possibility of occurrence of an event and its timing, among others. The answer to the client's question was then assessed through the interpretations of the astrological chart of the moment the astrologer received the question. All in all, astrological judgments extended to all kinds of human affairs, from matters of career, marriage, alliances, children, and events. With the new rules prohibiting the treatment of many of these themes, a detailed assessment made by the astrologer could easily impinge on free will and predict contingent events.

The reference to "books, treatises, indices on judicial astrology" in Rule IX hinted at a fundamental matter concerning the classification of natural versus judicial astrology. Seeking to acclimate the aforementioned conflict between the principles of religious doctrine and astrological practice, a conceptual category branded as "natural astrology" was gradually incorporated in Catholic narratives. The concept was made to incorporate the idea of a lawful application of astrology and a proper practice for the Catholic astrologer, set in contrast with a superstitious and unlawful one. This distinction functioned as a regulatory measure that entailed the natural limits of astrology. The omission of the adjective "superstitious" in Rule IX, has led scholars to identify this as a motivating factor for the shift from the classification of natural versus superstitious to the classification of natural versus judicial astrology, recognized in late sixteenth and seventeenth-century theological texts.<sup>36</sup> Notwithstanding, scholars have also pointed to the distinctions between an illicit and licit form of judicial astrology found in other versions of the Rule published in the Iberian Indexes.<sup>37</sup> By the sixteenth century the notion of a licit and an illicit practice was already embedded in the astrological discourse. This is well attested by the compulsory apologetic introductions included in many astrological texts produced in the early modern Catholic context. It became a common custom for authors to present introductory essay rebukes to astrology's natural limits and methods. These were mainly attached to the part of the text addressing the most challenging parts of astrology and were less common amid the more technical and interpretative sections. As scholars have stressed, the categories of "natural" and

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<sup>35</sup> This corresponds to Ribeiro translation, see: Ribeiro, "Transgressing Boundaries?", 36. The original reads: *Libri omnes, & scripta, Geomantiae, Hydromantiae, Aeromantiae, Pyromantiae, Onomantiae, Chiromantiae, Necromantiae, siue in quibus continentur sortilegia, veneficia, auguria, auspicia, incantationes, artis magicae, prorsus reijciuntur. Episcopi verò diligentèr prouideant, ne Astrologiae iudicariae libri, tractatus, indices, legantur, vel habeantur, qui de futuris contingentibus successibus, fortuitis casibus, aut ijs actionibus, quae ab humana voluntate pendent, certò aliquid eventurum affirmare audeant. Permittuntur autem iudicia, & naturales obseruationes, quae nauigationis, agriculturae, siue medicæ artis iuuandae gratia conscripta sunt. Tomaso Antonio Degola, ed., *Index Librorum Prohibitorum juxta exemplar Romanum jussu Sanctissimi Domini Nostri [Gregory XVI.] editum anno 1835. Accesserunt suis locis nomina eorum qui usque ad hanc diem damnati fuere.* (Malines: Hanicq, 1838), xii.*

<sup>36</sup> Rutkin, "Is Astrology a Type of Divination?", 36–74.

<sup>37</sup> Ribeiro, "The Bounded Heavens", 50–70.

“judicial” are not inherent to the discipline of astrology, nor central to its definition or inner structuring. They represent an external division imposed by Catholic principles, intended for the regulation of astrological practices that challenged Catholic doctrine. Moreover, the use of these concepts may vary depending on the author’s stance or on the type of text in question. As such, this division must be carefully assessed within the proper historical contexts to prevent falling under an anachronistic perception of the concepts.<sup>38</sup>

The issuing of the bull *Coeli et Terrae*, by Sixtus V in 1556, added further challenges. In a lengthy discourse on the hazards of various sinful forms of divination and magic, Sixtus V directly targeted astrologers who, according to him, dared to profess “the vein and false science of the stars and constellations, and with incredible daring, seek to predict the order of the divine disposition”.<sup>39</sup> All around, the 1556 bull further reaffirms Rule IX’s position concerning both the application of astrology in the fields of agriculture, navigation, and medicine, and the aversion towards predictions that disregard contingent, chance events and the principles of human free will, thus continuing to stress the many of the anti-astrological principles set forth by Augustine of Hippo and others. Moreover, Sixtus V’s bull further extends the prohibitions on astrological judgments of human affairs even if they when were not stated as certain, thus amplifying the scope for condemnation of astrological predictions that were not solely based on natural causes. These added constraints further conditioned the more sophisticated practices of astrology. For instance, the judgments of nativities saw its practice reduced to simpler and contrived assessments of physical appearance and health, formulated by means of a judiciously crafted and inhibited interpretation of the native’s traits solely based on the natural temperament. Similarly, these limitations affected astrologer’s general predictions on the condition of the world, which traditionally went far beyond the general assessments of weather forecast. As a result, many of the predictions published in almanacs became utterly simplistic, and the scope of advice provided by court astrologers to their patrons was tremendously narrowed.

Still and all, with the support of Thomas Aquinas’s doctrine of natural inclinations—according to which the celestial bodies had substantial effects over the body and were able to produce certain bodily predispositions that could incline to specific behaviors without compromising the individual’s will, placed outside of these influences—astrologers could still perform a lawful practice that allowed making some predictions of human actions. As recent studies on the censorship of astrology in the Iberian Peninsula indicate, although Aquinas’s doctrine is left unmentioned in Rule IX of the Tridentine Index and in Sixtus V’s bull, there are strong references to it in the subsequent Portuguese and Spanish Indexes. In examining and comparing the Portuguese Indexes of 1581, 1597 and 1624 and the Spanish Indexes of 1583 and 1612 with the rules of the Roman Congregations, Luís Campos Ribeiro argues for an openness of the Portuguese and Spanish Inquisitions in its bold endorsement of Aquinas doctrine of inclinations.<sup>40</sup> The Spanish Index of 1583 appears to be stricter and more detailed than the Tridentine Index on the account of its specific prohibition of the branches of nativities, interrogations, and elections, as well as the specific condemnation of predictions of hidden or secret things. While the latter is not explicitly mentioned in Rule IX, it was a standard topic in most discussions on divination and was believed to be linked with demonic practice. The Spanish Index of 1612, further reasserted the previous prohibitions and referenced the doctrine of inclination, stating that astrologers were allowed to make judgments on the inclinations and bodily

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<sup>38</sup> Vanden Broecke, *The Limits of Influence*, 11–12. It is important to denote that it is only at the end of the seventeenth century, and in the first decades of the eighteenth century that the use of these terms shifts significantly, setting the prevalent historiography distinction between judicial and natural astrology.

<sup>39</sup> Ribeiro, “Transgressing boundaries?”, 37.

<sup>40</sup> Ribeiro, “The Bounded Heavens”, 50–70.

qualities of an individual, without affirming the prediction's certainty. As for the Portuguese Index of 1624, besides endorsing the theory of inclination, it explicitly forbade the construction and use of astrological talismans. Overall, the Portuguese Index of 1624 seems to be considerably more detailed and offers a more comprehensive set of instructions for the licit and illicit parts of astrology. According to Campos Ribeiro, the tolerance of the Iberian Index is further supported by the teaching of astrology in Jesuit colleges across the Iberian Peninsula during the seventeenth century.<sup>41</sup>

Inquisition's regulations continued to allow for grey zones and a certain openness for interpretation that led to several uncertainties. As mentioned, the division between a licit natural and an illicit superstitious astrology was unclear and utterly dependent on the author's philosophical account of "influence". Besides, if followed to the letter, the regulations imposed on astrological books would result in the prohibition of many valuable canonical Greek, Arabic and Latin works, as well as in the discredit of fundamental works of astronomy which were often merged with astrological content. Needless to say, the rules imposed on astrological practice and books were not free of objections from the Church's scholars who often requested explanations, with some cases encouraging the disregard of the bull's prohibition.<sup>42</sup> In 1592, Clement VIII ordered that Rule IX should take precedence over Sixtus V's bull on the prohibition of astrological books.<sup>43</sup> In the outturn of the debates on the difficulties of applications of the censorship of astrology, the Holy Office resorted to the use of experts (often actual astrologers) to act as consultants during trials and rulings of published books.<sup>44</sup>

In 1631, a new bull was published by Urbano VIII, *Inscrutabilis iudicorum Dei*. Although it added very little in terms of precise regulations for astrological practice, Urban's bull was clear-cut in its prohibition of astrological predictions concerning the Church, the Papal State, the life of the pope and his consanguineous relatives to the third degree. The convoluted set of events that sparked this publication are infamous and have been studied by many authors.<sup>45</sup> The Bull appears to have been a political move by Urban VIII, prompted by the circulation of predictions for his death. The rumors eventually impelled several cardinals to go to Rome in case the predictions were confirmed, thus starting the process of election of a new pope. The rising concerns over these prognostications led Urban VIII to request the Dominican friar, Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639), to conduct a ritual of natural magic to avert the fatal outcome. Although the ceremony was kept a secret, a similar account of this ritual was described, supposedly against the author's will, in Campanella's *Fato siderali vitand*, the seventh book of *Astrologicorum libri VII*

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<sup>41</sup> Regarding the teaching of Astrology by the Society of Jesus see: Ribeiro, "Transgressing boundaries?"; and Ribeiro, *Jesuit Astrology*; Ugo Baldini, "The Teaching of Mathematics in the Jesuit Colleges of Portugal from 1640 to Pombal", *The Practice of Mathematics in Portugal*, ed. Luís Saraiva and Henrique Leitão (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2004), 293–465.

<sup>42</sup> Reactions to the bull are discussed in Baldini and Spruit, *Catholic Church and Modern Science*, 457–467.

<sup>43</sup> Baldini, "The Roman Inquisition's Condemnation of Astrology: Antecedents, Reasons and Consequences", 94.

<sup>44</sup> This subject is discussed by Tayra Lanuza Navarro. Navarro explores the use of astrologers both as consultants during trials and as judges of published books, which led to a broader debate on the kind of scholarly experience necessary for an expert witness on astrology. This debate is attested not only by the documents related to the preparation of the catalogues of prohibited and expurgated books, but also in the inquisitorial trial records. See: Tayra Lanuza Navarro, "Astrology in Spanish Early Modern Institutions of Learning", in *Beyond Borders: Fresh Perspectives in History of Science*, ed. Josep Simon et al. (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), 93.

<sup>45</sup> Daniel Pickering Walker, "Campanella's Magic and Urban VIII", in *Spiritual and Demonic Magic: From Ficino to Campanella* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2000), 205–12; Brendan Dooley, "The Morandi Affair and Urban VIII's Rome", *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea*, 11, 2003, 145–66; Peter Rietbergen, "Urban VIII between White Magic and Black Magic, or Holy and Unholy Power", in *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies* (Tournhout: Brill, 2006), 336–75.

(1630),<sup>46</sup> causing further political distress.<sup>47</sup> The restrictions of the new bull fell heavily on public astrological predictions, especially those regarding astrological judgements on wars, death of kings and other key figures of society, usually transmitted through almanacs. The bull, *Inscrutabilis*, further supports the suggestion that the apprehensions of the Catholic Church over astrology went far beyond its defiance's to Catholic philosophical and theological principles and indicates the institution's continued ethical concern with the social and political impact of astrological predictions.

Despite the intricate weave of rules put forward by the Catholic Church, astrology and its practices were still widespread in the seventeenth century and remained a subject of discussion by key figures of modern science.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, in the first decades of the eighteenth century, astrology was still being taught in an academic setting, in the astrology lessons of the Jesuit College of Santo Antão, in Lisbon.<sup>49</sup> This has led scholars to defend that the Church's restrictions had a mild effect in the process of astrology's decline.<sup>50</sup> Yet, the effects these regulations had on the content of astrological books and by association, on astrological practice, stroke astrology's very own identity and authority as an accepted form of knowledge. The condemnation of core aspects of astrology's doctrine resulted in their gradual removal from books, their exclusion from the practice, and further encouraged the rise of the revisionist movement within astrology. While publications on astrology did not cease, they became a distinct popularized version of a once sophisticated body of knowledge. Gradually, with an essential part of its traditional content prohibited, books on the science of the stars became less concerned with astrological matters. Similarly, astrology underwent a slow removal from the educational system, being scaled down or completely removed from the mathematical programs of many universities and colleges.<sup>51</sup> By the first half of the eighteenth century, astrology was utterly distanced from the accepted branches of scientific knowledge, reduced to a symbol of ignorance and superstition, thus becoming a popular target for criticism by authors of the Enlightenment. The study of the marginalization of astrology remains a challenge for further research.

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<sup>46</sup> Tommaso Campanella, *Astrologicorum Libri VII. In quibus Astrologia omni superstitione arabum, & iudaeorum eliminata physiologicè tractatur, secundum S. Scripturas, & doctrinam S. Thomae, & Alberti, & summorum theologorum; Ita ut absque suspitione mala in ecclesia dei multa cum utilitate legi possint* (Frankfurt: Godefridus Tampachius, 1630).

<sup>47</sup> Some authors have presented this episode as a calculated move from the head of the Dominican Order to hinder Campanella's close relationship to the pope. See: Dooley, *Morandi's Last Prophecy and the End of Renaissance Politics*, 164.

<sup>48</sup> Carolino, *Ciência, astrologia e sociedade*; and Id., "The Jesuit Paradox: Intellectual Authority, Political Power, and the Marginalization of Astrology in Early Modern Portugal", *Early Science and Medicine* 22, no. 5–6 (2017): 438–63.

<sup>49</sup> Ribeiro, "Transgressing boundaries?", 58.

<sup>50</sup> Astrology's marginalization and its removal from the accepted branches of scientific activity was by no means a uniform process and is greatly related to the context in study. On this subject see: Patrick Curry, "Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England: The Making of a Vulgar Knowledge", in *Science, Culture, and Popular Belief in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Stephen Pumfrey, Paolo L. Rossi, and Maurice Slawinski (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 274–91; Vermij and Hirai, "The Marginalization of Astrology", Drévilion, *Lire et Écrire l'avenir*; for Italy see Casali, *Le Spie Del Cielo*; Rien Vermij and Hiro Hirai, eds., "The Marginalization of Astrology", *Early Science and Medicine*, 22 (2017): 470; H Darrel Rutkin, "How to Accurately Account for Astrology's Marginalization in the History of Science and Culture: The Central Importance of an Interpretive Framework", *Early Science and Medicine* 23, no. 3 (2018): 217–43.

<sup>51</sup> Rutkin, "How to Accurately Account for Astrology's Marginalization," 233–38; Tayra Lanuza Navarro, "From Intense Teaching to Neglect: The Decline of Astrology at the University of Valencia and the Role of the Spanish *Novatores*", *Early Science and Medicine* 22, no. 5–6 (2017): 410–37.

## The Early Modern Period: Censoring Astrology Books

For all its complexity, astrology has become an essential element for understanding the influence of the Inquisition on scientific activity in early modern Europe.<sup>52</sup> New approaches to notorious cases of inquisitorial trials, together with a shift of focus into other areas of knowledge, such as astrology, medicine, and alchemy have contributed to a richer comprehension of the intricate system of procedures and rules imposed by the Holy Office, as well as their actual impact regarding the censorship of science.<sup>53</sup>

Over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for the purpose of preventing the dissemination of inauspicious doctrines to Catholic orthodoxy, the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese Inquisitions created sophisticated mechanisms dedicated to the censorship of printed books. The details for these procedures were set by the publications of lists of prohibited books and lists of books for expurgation, that is, books which were not entirely prohibited but contained parts that ought to be censored.<sup>54</sup> The Holy Office became the organization responsible for the implementation of these policies and the insurance of their efficacy. To achieve this, the institution led regular inspections to ships, libraries, and bookshops, followed by legal prosecutions of transgressors. In Portugal, the Holy Office developed organized ecclesiastical control measures that demanded the expurgation of books and the establishment of a pre-publishing control system for the attributions of printing licenses.<sup>55</sup> The latter entailed a three-part system in which the publication of a book was contingent on obtained three printing licenses from three different entities: the Crown, the local Bishop, and the Inquisition. Publications of all categories and subject matters should be subjected to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. Yet, despite having completed the thorough process and obtained the mandatory printing licenses, a book could still be further examined, censored, and expurgated. Expurgation practices were carried out through different degrees of severity and entailed the removal of its harmful content. The more severe forms of expurgation included the complete expurgation of the text or images, the removal of whole pages and, in extreme cases, the destruction of the book. In less severe forms of expurgation, the censored content was, in practicality, still readable for it implied a “lighter” purge of the text or a simple indication of the text’s prohibitive nature.<sup>56</sup> Case studies on censorship of scientific books have also suggested that the form and degree of severity of book expurgation stipulated in the various Indexes changed over time and according to location.<sup>57</sup> These have allowed scholars to identify variations in the extent of expurgation practices in different copies of books from the same edition or between copies of different editions. A deeper study on the variations of censorship in astrology books remains a colossal task to be undertaken.

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<sup>52</sup> See especially Hannah Marcus, *Forbidden Knowledge*: (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2021). For the portuguese context, see Francisco Bethencourt, *O imaginário da magia: Feiticeiras, adivinhos e curandeiros em Portugal no século XVI* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2004); Luís Campos Ribeiro and Francisco Malta Romeiras, “Forbidden Books and Royal Horoscopes: The Practice and Censorship of Astrology in Early Modern Portugal”, *Early Science and Medicine* 29, no. 1 (2024): 52-88.

<sup>53</sup> The most known case is the one of Galileo. On the Galileo Affair see especially: Maurice A. Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason: Science, Religion, and Culture in the Galileo Affair* (Oxford University Press, 2019), and Thomas F. Mayer, *The Roman Inquisition: Trying Galileo* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2015). For recent studies on the relation between the Inquisition and relevant scholars in the early modern period see: Neil Tarrant, “Giambattista Della Porta and the Roman Inquisition: Censorship and the Definition of Nature’s Limits in Sixteenth-century Italy”, *British Journal for the History of Science* 46 (2012): 1–25.

<sup>54</sup> *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* and *Index Librorum Expurgatorum*.

<sup>55</sup> Maria Teresa Payan Martins, *A censura literária em Portugal nos séculos XVII e XVIII* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, 2005). On the Inquisition in Portugal see: Giuseppe Marcocci and José Pedro Paiva, *História da Inquisição Portuguesa: 1536–1821* (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2013);

<sup>56</sup> Francisco Malta Romeiras, “Putting the *Indices* into Practice: Censoring Science in Early Modern Portugal”, 71–95.

<sup>57</sup> Dov Front, “The Expurgation of Medical Books in Sixteenth-Century Spain”, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 75 (2001), 290–296.

In both cases of expurgation and obtainment of printing licenses, the inspections were carried out by censors recruited from among the most cultured members of the religious orders. Occasionally, actual astrologers were called to participate in this assessment.<sup>58</sup> An acquaintance with the subject under examination was essential, but not always met. Besides, the guidelines of the censorship of astrology presented several challenges.

As previously discussed, astrology's defiance to Catholic principles dwelt on the aspects of the practice regarding predictions of chance events and human actions, deemed to disregard the principle of free will and involve the participation of demonic forces. Astrological predictions should be limited to natural judgments related to medicine, navigation, and agriculture. Although Thomas Aquinas's doctrine of inclination allowed for some flexibility for astrologers to uphold the legitimacy of their predictions, the outcome of the Inquisition's regulations further emphasized the theoretical distinction between a licit natural and illicit superstitious astrology. Still, this distinction remained a conceptual division detached from both the practice and the fundamental written traditional sources of astrology. Consequently, the extent of censorship of the potential unlawful astrological content in a book were dependent on both the censor's understanding of the subject and on his position regarding the principle of inclination. Then again, the Catholic rules also revealed a persistent concern over the impact of astrological prognostications on society, which prompted the implementations of limits to predictions on sensitive matters. These types of prognostications were usually transmitted through almanacs and occasionally in publications of ephemerides. As such, almanacs and ephemerides were subjected to strict inspections and were reliant on provenance of printing licenses which, as above-mentioned, did not avert later censorship and expurgation. Given its wide circulations among all levels of society, it is common to find almanacs to be harshly censured in comparison to the larger books of astrological doctrine, destined for a more academic audience. In these cases, the censor would simply signal the forbidden parts of the book.<sup>59</sup> Notwithstanding, the removal of the unlawful parts of astrology deeply impacted the content of astrological books, as it implied the exclusion of central parts of the discipline. With that said, it also resulted in the addition of the apologetic discourse found across all sorts of astrological publications in the early-modern period, from the simple almanacs to treatises of astrology. Following Pico Della Mirandola's critique, many authors began to include an introductory essay intended to support astrology's legitimacy as a scientific knowledge. With the enforcement of the Inquisitorial restrictions, it became a common requisite for all astrological printed texts to include a type of introductory apologetic essay to obtain the printing permissions. These texts could vary in length and were strongly invested in asserting astrology's compliance with the Catholic principles, as well as securing astrology's position as a lawful and useful body of knowledge grounded in conventional philosophical principals.

Given the challenges within the process of censoring astrology, to what extent was astrology's censorship efficient in its application? A full assessment of this question remains to be made. Recent studies have sought to unravel the processes and the actual effectiveness of the Inquisitorial censorship of science in early modern Europe, suggesting that there seems to be a discrepancy between the rules of the Inquisition and their actual practicality.<sup>60</sup> In examining the Portuguese Indexes of 1547, 1551, 1561, and 1581, Francisco Malta Romeiras identifies the

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<sup>58</sup> Tayra Lanuza Navarro, "Astrology in Spanish Early Modern Institutions of Learning", 93.

<sup>59</sup> Ribeiro, "Transgressing boundaries?", 42.

<sup>60</sup> Anthony Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (London: British Library, 2012); Romeiras, "Putting the *Indices* into Practice", 71-95. Mario Biagioli, "From Book Censorship to Academic Peer Review", *Emergences: Journal for the Study of Media & Composite Cultures*, 12 (2002), 11-45; Robert Darnton, *Censors at Work: How States Shaped Literature* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014).

subjects of medicine, natural history, astronomy, superstitious astrology, and the divinatory arts as the main target of the Portuguese inquisitions.<sup>61</sup> Yet, his inspection of the expurgation practices of books belonging to the BNP collection indicates a relatively mild approach in the expurgation of astrology and other scientific books, at least in the sixteenth century. According to Romeiras, inquisitorial censorship practices appear to have generally prioritized the censorship of lascivious works and the expurgation of names of renowned Protestant, Jewish and heterodox Catholics authors then the actual expurgation of books of astrology. In the seventeenth century, however, the censorship of astrology books was carried with a renewed vigor.<sup>62</sup>

Given the early modern period's polemics regarding the boundaries of the discipline, it may be unexpected not to see prohibited books of astrology amongst the most expurgated titles in the BNP collection. The added fact that most of these titles bear the provenience marks of twelve different religious orders becomes more intriguing.<sup>63</sup> The possession of a variety of forbidden scientific books by religious orders, including books of astrology, disputes the historiographical tendency to portray these institutions as detached from an active participation in the production, circulation, and reading of scientific texts. This calls us to seek ways to further understand and hopefully characterize the extent of the interest of the different Portuguese religious orders on the discipline of Astrology.

To do this, we must delve deeper into the collections of religious libraries.

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<sup>61</sup> Romeiras, "Putting the *Indices* into Practice", 71-95.

<sup>62</sup> Luís Campos Ribeiro and Francisco Malta Romeiras, Ribeiro, "Forbidden Books and Royal Horoscopes: The Practice and Censorship of Astrology in Early Modern Portugal", *Early Science and Medicine* 29, 1 (2024): 52–88.

<sup>63</sup> Luana Giurgevich, "Visiting Old Libraries", 252–72.

## II. THE CATALOGUES AND INVENTORIES OF RELIGIOUS LIBRARIES

Ecclesiastical libraries were for many centuries the dominant institutions dedicated to the generation and preservation of lore and knowledge.<sup>64</sup> The denomination, “ecclesiastical libraries”, has been commonly used to describe the group of the diverse typologies of libraries connected to the Catholic Church, which may include: libraries of churches and cathedrals, diocesan and episcopal libraries, monastic and conventual libraries, colleges libraries and other religious learning institutions, as well as the private libraries of people related to the Church.<sup>65</sup> While their purposes and ambitions were primarily devoted to conveying “the word of God”, religious libraries grew into becoming true sanctuaries of knowledge and bibliographical patrimony.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Early Modern Period, Portuguese book culture was fundamentally reliant on Catholic institutions spread across the country. Their relevance can be attributed to three key factors: the volume of their book collections, the regularity of their purchases and the internationalism of the network of book suppliers. Notwithstanding the existence of other milieus and markets prompted by organizations and private collectors outside the Church, their numbers remained severely small when compared to the scale, number of readers, and financial investment of religious libraries. Only in the eighteenth century did the numbers of non-religious libraries begin to approximate those of the religious congregations.<sup>66</sup> The extent and longevity of ecclesiastical libraries’ collections can be ascribed to the implementation of an efficient set of norms and management systems, which included the appointment of administrators responsible for the applications of a complex set of rules and procedures, regularly evaluated and adjusted. For centuries, monasteries, convents, abbeys, and other religious institutions, such as colleges, remained the backdrop of an essential network of readership and book collection of the Portuguese early modern society.<sup>67</sup> Although the construction of religious libraries can be characterized as a long and steady process, the same cannot be said for the fate of their collections in the aftermath of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759, and later, the extinction of all male religious congregations in 1834. These events resulted in the dispersion of the intellectual patrimony of religious libraries in such a way that today it is practically impossible to reconstitute these collections. Yet, prospects of restoration of these collections can be managed, even if partially, through the inspections of the catalogs and inventories produced shortly before, or at the time of the religious libraries’ dispersion. In a few

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<sup>64</sup> On early Christians Libraries, see: Bastiaan Van Elderen, “Early Christian Libraries”, in *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition*, ed. John Sharpe and Kimberly van Kampen (London: The British Library, 1998), 45–59. On the subject of medieval libraries see: James Westfall Thompson, *The Medieval Library* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); G. H. Putnam, *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages* (New York: Hilary House Publishers Ltd, 1962); J. Tillotson, *Monastery and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1988); Richard Gameson, “The Image of the Medieval Library”, in *The Meaning of the Library. A Cultural History*, ed. Alice Crawford (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015), 31–71.

<sup>65</sup> António Joaquim Anselmo, *Bibliografia das bibliografias portuguesas*, (Lisboa: Oficinas Gráficas da Biblioteca Nacional, 1926). António Alberto Banha de Andrade, *A reforma pombalina dos estudos secundários (1759–1771). Contribuição para a história da pedagogia em Portugal* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1981), 1:331. Aires Nascimento, “As livrarias dos príncipes de Avis,” *Biblos*, 69 (1993): 265–287; Saul Gomes. “Livros e alfaias litúrgicos do Tesouro da Sé de Viseu em 1188,” *Humanitas*, 54 (2002): 269. Luana Giurgevich attributes the first reference to a category of “ecclesiastical libraries” to António’s Anselmo work, *Bibliografia das bibliografias portuguesas*, published in 1923. See: Luana Giurgevich, “Uma tradição de papel: Novas achegas para a história das bibliotecas clesíásticas em Portugal”, *Questão*, 25 (2019): 336.

<sup>66</sup> Leitão e Giurgevich, *Clavis bibliothecarum*, XV.

<sup>67</sup> Recently, the study of catalogs and inventories of Portuguese ecclesiastical libraries, within the context of the history of science, has been extensively researched by Henrique Leitão and Luana Giurgevich, as evidenced by several works cited throughout this dissertation.

instances, this knowledge can be supplemented, by way of tracing back books that bare marks of provenance, such as stamps, ex-libris, or handwritten annotations.

Until very recently, the history of Portuguese libraries was partial and fragmented.<sup>68</sup> Mostly related to particular instances, these studies considered specific collectors and very few institutions.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, early works on the history of ecclesiastical libraries, while they have produced works of significant intellectual value, delved into very specific realities, and their timeframe was limited.<sup>70</sup> As such, the existence of a sophisticate network of libraries, made up of almost 400 ecclesiastic institutions, remained unknown. The lack of attention given to religious libraries has been dictated in part by the —more or less fortunate—location of the catalogs and inventories of these collections.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, it is inherently linked to the idea of a cultural stagnation, with its origins on an anti-clerical discourse that lingered, strongly, within Portuguese historiography and thus, obstructed the real significance of these categories of libraries. The latter is particularly preeminent in the case of scientific topics within the religious context.

At last, a large-scale mapping of the complex network of religious libraries has been compiled in Luana Giurgevich and Henrique Leitão, *Clavis bibliothecarum. Catálogos e inventários de livrarias de instituições religiosas em Portugal até 1834*, published in 2016. A collective effort that comprises a collection of 901 inventories, and several related documents produced between the tenth and nineteenth century concerning 400 Religious Libraries. This work provides a fundamental tool that facilitates researchers a fast and organized access to a massive number of primary sources. The listings available in *Clavis bibliothecarum* bring to light a significant parcel of the existing documentation of the Portuguese monastic and conventual funds

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<sup>68</sup> In a more general historiographical context, scholars privileged the study of private libraries of important scientists or personalities with strong scientific interests. See, among others, Ellen B. Wells, “Scientists’ Libraries: A Handlist of Printed Sources”, *Annals of Science*, 40 (1983): 317–389; Julian Roberts and Andrew G. Watson eds., *John Dee’s Library Catalogue* (London, 1990); Anne Cherton and Marcel Watelet, “Catalogus”, in *Mercator Cosmographe*, ed. Marcel Watelet (1994), 403–413. In Portugal, the libraries of religious orders were not studied as much as their high potential of information might suggest. Portuguese historians have long been interested in libraries, yet some geographical and temporal restrictions remained. See: Paulo J.S. Barata, *Os livros e o Liberalismo: da livraria conventual à biblioteca pública* (Lisbon, 2003); Fernanda Maria Guedes de Campos, *Bibliotecas de História: aspectos da posse e uso dos livros em instituições religiosas de Lisboa nos finais do século XVIII* (PhD diss., Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2013); and Campos, *Para se achar facilmente o que se busca. Bibliotecas, catálogos e leitores no ambiente religioso (séc. XVIII)* (Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópico, 2015), 91–95. For a reflection on the Portuguese historiography of libraries see, Giurgevich, “Uma tradição de papel”, 331–353.

<sup>69</sup> Some examples of studies on particular collector’s include D. Frei Manuel do Cenáculo, see: Francisco Vaz and José António Calixto, *Frei Manuel do Cenáculo construtor de bibliotecas* (Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópico, 2006); and Vaz, *Os livros e as bibliotecas no espólio de D. Frei Manuel do Cenáculo: repertório de correspondência, róis de livros e doações a bibliotecas* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2009); Márcia Oliveira, “A biblioteca e os livros na obra de D. Frei Manuel do Cenáculo: notas sobre um bibliófilo”, in *As bibliotecas portuguesas na transição para a modernidade, 1800Z\_1850. Os intérpretes e as suas coleções* (Lisboa: BNP-CHC, 2014), 23–5. For studies on royal libraries see: Luís Ferrando de Almeida, “D. João V e a Biblioteca Real”, *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, 36 (1991) 413–438; Ana Isabel Buescu, “A Livraria Régia no tempo de D. Manuel. Alguns Aspectos”, *Actas do Congresso Histórico de Guimarães: D. Manuel e a Sua Época* (Guimarães: Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 2004), 4:263–279; e Buescu, “Livros e livrarias de reis e de príncipes entre os séculos XV e XVI. Algumas notas”, *Humanista: Journal of Iberian Studies*, 8 (2007), 143-170; Ricardo A. Varela Raimundo, “Leituras régias: A livraria de D. Pedro II (1648-1706)”, in *Las Relaciones Discretas entre las Monarquías Hispana y Portuguesa: Las Casas de las Reinas (siglos XV-XIX)*, ed. Martínez Millan, José Lourenço, Maria Paula Marçal (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2008), 3:1937–1958.

<sup>70</sup> António Gomes da Rocha Madahil, “D. Pedro da Encarnação e a Livraria de Santa Cruz de Coimbra”, *Arquivo Coimbrão*, 1 (1923-1924): 71–83; Madahil, “Inventário do mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra à data da sua extinção em 1834”, *O Instituto*, 101 (1942): 445–573; Artur de Magalhães Basto, “Memórias soltas e inventários do Oratório de Clemente das Penhas e do Mosteiro de Nossa da Conceição de Matozinhos, dos séculos XVI e XV, por Fr. João da Póvoa e outros (Ms. quinhentista do Arquivo Distrital do Porto)”, *Boletim cultural da Câmara Municipal do Porto*, 3 (1) (1940): 5-87; and Fernando Félix Lopes, “Lembranças avulsas da Livraria do Convento de S. Francisco de Xabregas”, *Itinerarium*, 24 (100) (1978): 30–54. Luís A. de Oliveira Ramos, “Os monges e os livros no século III o exemplo da Biblioteca de Tibães”, *Bracara Augusta*, 35 (79-80) (1981): 489–499; Campos, *Para se achar facilmente o que se busca*, 2015.

<sup>71</sup> Giurgevich, “Uma tradição de papel”, 334.

which include the heterogeneous collection of catalogs and inventories of religious libraries that serve as the essential instrument of the present research. Furthermore, Giurgevich's and Leitão's work represents the first comprehensive look into the characterization of scientific culture and practice in the early modern Portugal by means of the localizing, identifying, and studying of the extant catalogues and inventories of old religious libraries in Portugal.

Based on a comprehensive examination spanning six years of numerous bibliographic catalogs and inventories, Giurgevich and Leitão propose a classification for on the specific scope of ecclesiastical libraries, grouped into four distinct categories. According to the authors there were in Portugal 10 very large religious libraries (more than 20,000 volumes); 30 large libraries (between 5,000 and 20,000 volumes); 50 medium size libraries (between 2,000 and 5,000 volumes); and 300 smaller libraries (less than 2,000 volumes).<sup>72</sup> Any attempts to measure the size of ecclesiastical libraries remains a task affected by many limitations, as will be explained below. We must acknowledge that the figures extracted from the records of catalogs, inventories and other lists represent an incomplete assessment and that the actual numbers are far greater.<sup>73</sup> Still, even if we consider these figures as a rough calculation, we are able to comprehend the uniqueness of the world of religious libraries, especially when we take into account the absence of any similar number outside of the religious context during this period. In light of the existence of notable private libraries, their destiny was largely intertwined with that of religious libraries. Despite their private ownership, private collections played a role, whether directly or indirectly, in bolstering ecclesiastical libraries. The royal family and aristocracy regarded religious institutions as ideal venues for the development of universities and for the establishment and conservation of commendable book collections, which prompted their patronage to religious institutions and endorsed their educational endeavors.<sup>74</sup>

Beyond the impressive magnitude of these collections, we can identify a predominance of mother houses of the main religious orders amongst the largest libraries, as well as the libraries of educational religious institutions. Education was at center of congregation's concerns, and it benefited from large additional subsidies for their libraries. The combination of longevity and financial stability of Portuguese ecclesiastic institutions across the early modern period allowed for a consistent development of their libraries—a major aspect for the development of any cultural activities which other institutions did not benefit of. Hence, any attempt at identifying and characterizing astrology books within the world of Portuguese religious libraries collections demands an extensive inspection of these primary sources. Before revealing the results of our study, it is important to gasp a general account of the life of books within the religious context.

This chapter begins by addressing the inner workings of religious libraries and their internal organizational processes of acquisition and preservation of books. The following section provides an overview on the topic of scientific books within the context of the collections of religious libraries. This is followed by a few considerations on the characteristics and limitations of the catalogs and inventories of religious libraries. Lastly, we will examine the place of astrology within library catalogs and inventories of religious institutions, analyzing how astrological works were documented and whether these records reflect the regulatory frameworks governing the discipline.

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<sup>72</sup> On the size of religious libraries, see: Leitão and Giurgevich, *Clavis bibliothecarum*, XVIII–XXII.

<sup>73</sup> The number of libraries is likely to have been higher, with past researchers referencing 577 as the number of ecclesiastical libraries. See: Rómulo de Carvalho, *Da memória dos livros às bibliotecas da memória. I. Inventário da livraria de Santo António de Caminha* (Porto: Faculdade de Letras Centro Interuniversitário de História da Espiritualidade, 1998).

<sup>74</sup> For a comparison on ecclesiastical vs. non-ecclesiastical book collectors, see: Giurgevich, "Visiting Old Libraries", 262.

## The Inner Workings of Portuguese Religious Libraries

Religious catholic congregations were the main proprietors of books in early modern Portugal and encompassed a broad spectrum of libraries, from large libraries with dozens of thousands of books to smaller ones, with only a few hundred volumes. The assembling of these collections was the result of a particular set of acquisition and organization policies that valued books and their active reading as a significant facet of both the religious way of life, its mission, and the daily activities of the members of the various congregations.<sup>75</sup>

An acquisition plan was always essential in the keeping and growing of the congregation's book collections. In most cases, an annual budget was set for the purchase of books.<sup>76</sup> Due to their status, religious colleges and teaching institutions employed substantial sums to enhance their libraries, and even benefited from supplementary budgets, the engrossment of duplicated books from other libraries, and the incorporation of deceased clergyman's assets. Although we find disparities between the investments of each religious order, some of the amounts spent were equivalent and, in some cases, superior to those spent by universities and the royal house.<sup>77</sup> Additionally, book sales characterized a common practice and an efficient way to dispose of duplicated or useless books. In principle, any books sold ought to have been provided with strict authorizations. Nevertheless, this practice was not consistently adhered to, as there exists evidence indicating the illicit sale of numerous volumes.<sup>78</sup> As to the nature of book acquisitions, they embraced not only novelties but also recent and enhanced editions of renowned works. To do this, religious libraries turned to the national and international catalogs. Librarians and merchants were the intermediaries of a sea of purchases made by the religious congregations. This is attested by the well documented relationship between the religious orders and the international book markets, as well as the account of books produced in the most celebrated printing houses across Europe.<sup>79</sup> Still, the traditional circuits of bookselling were not the only channels used by the congregations, with many purchases being made through auctions and private sellers. Occasionally, entire private libraries would be bought or bestowed to the congregations, whereas by donation or following the death of church benefactors.<sup>80</sup> Over the years, a certain stability allowed ecclesiastical libraries to become absorbers of other smaller libraries which included libraries of both clerics and laymen, especially nobles, which made them rich repositories of knowledge.

Book loans were a common practice that can be traced back to the Middle Ages.<sup>81</sup> This practice was highly incentivized and occurred mainly between member of the same congregation.

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<sup>75</sup> On the functional systems and processes of Portuguese religious libraries see: Leitão and Giurgevich, *Clavis bibliothecarum*, XXIX-XXXVI, and Giurgevich, "Visiting Old Libraries", 268–269.

<sup>76</sup> Other spending costs related to any necessary repairs or interventions relating to the physical spaces of libraries were considered separately. See: Leitão and Giurgevich, *Clavis bibliothecarum*, XXVII.

<sup>77</sup> Leitão and Giurgevich, *Clavis bibliothecarum*, XXVII.

<sup>78</sup> Leitão and Giurgevich, *Clavis bibliothecarum*, XXX.

<sup>79</sup> Some examples include the Monastery of São Martinho de Tibães which, in 1770, turned to French Lisbon based book retailers such as, Claude Du Beux, João Baptista Reycend, Joseph Augustin Borel, among others. Similarly, the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra turned to the briançonnese retailer Paulo Martin and the active group of book retailers of Coimbra, António Barneoud, João Pedro Aillaud and Estevão Semeon. On the topic of French book retailers in Portugal see: Francisco da Gama Caeiro, "Livros e livreiros franceses em Lisboa nos fins de Setecentos e no primeiro quartel do século XIX", *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra*, 35 (1980): 139–167; Manuela D. Domingos, *Livreiros de Setecentos* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1999); and Diogo Ramada Curto, *As gentes do livro: Lisboa no século XVIII* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 2007). See also: Luana Giurgevich, "Dos Alpes ao Atlântico. As ordens religiosas e seus intermediários na compra de livros", in *Homo est minor mundus. Construção de saberes e relações diplomáticas luso-italianas (sécs. XV-XVIII)*, ed. Nunziatella Alessandrini, Mariagrazia Russo, Gaetano Sabatini (Lisbon: Fábrica da Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Loreto, 2017), 65–81.

<sup>80</sup> Leitão and Giurgevich, *Clavis bibliothecarum*, XXX.

<sup>81</sup> By the beginning of the XIII century, the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra and the Monastery of São Vicente de Fora had established the practice of loaning books, see: Francisco da Gama Caeiro, *Santo António de Lisboa* (Lisbon:

However, this was not exclusive, as they could involve individuals outside of the church.<sup>82</sup> While this practice may reveal a lenient attitude by religious congregations towards book circulation outside the religious setting, this activity was not without its own regulations. Loan rules involved not only time limits, but also limitations on the subject matters of book, according to the function of the clergyman involved in the loan. As such, specific licenses were attributed and strict recording of book loans were kept, so that to avoid the disappearance of books.<sup>83</sup> Book loans were considered one of the main causes of book losses from religious collections.<sup>84</sup> In the beginning of the eighteenth century, this led some congregations to forbid book loans outside the religious houses, with the application of penalties for the transgression of this rule. Naturally, as the size of religious collections increased, so did the concern of clergyman to protect and preserve their books from any irregularities, unauthorized reading, sales, loans, and robberies.

Religious houses often housed multiple libraries. Beyond the main library, numerous smaller, specialized libraries were maintained, each dedicated to particular fields of study. Books were distributed across several smaller, distinct libraries, that could include the small library, the manuscript library, the pharmacy library, the choir library, and the individual cell libraries of religious members, among others.<sup>85</sup> The dissemination of books within the religious space created the need to produce annual inventories of the common libraries and other places of use. Libraries were regarded as secure spaces that ought to be preserved by the head bookkeepers who should never let strangers alone with their books. As for readership control, restrictions were set according to specific reading spaces. Books for everyday readings existed in collective spaces, whereas books intended for individual use could be kept in one's cell. Expectedly, prohibited books were to be lodged in places of restricted access, reserved for the use of privileged members that possessed licenses for readership.<sup>86</sup> Specific instructions would be given for the preservation of such books.<sup>87</sup> Despite the increasing control of the Catholic Church and the surveillance of the Holy Office, forbidden books still managed to circulate and were a part of religious collections. The existence of forbidden books is particularly relevant in the study of astrology books within the larger collections of religious libraries.<sup>88</sup>

## Collecting Scientific Books

The connection between books and the production and diffusion of scientific knowledge is well attested by the historiography of science.<sup>89</sup> Recent studies have stressed that the relationship between books and science is much more subtle and complex than previously thought. In the case of early modern Iberia, the traditional emphasis on the idea of an Iberian conservative orthodoxy

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Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1995), 1:31–37; Nascimento, “Livros e claustro no séc. XIII em Portugal: o inventário da Livraria de S. Vicente de Fora, em Lisboa”, *Didaskalia*, (1) 15 (1985): 229–241.

<sup>82</sup> Leitão and Giurgevich, *Clavis bibliothecarum*, XXXII.

<sup>83</sup> Leitão and Giurgevich, *Clavis bibliothecarum*, XXXIII.

<sup>84</sup> Leitão and Giurgevich, *Clavis bibliothecarum*, XXXIV.

<sup>85</sup> Giurgevich, “Visiting Old Libraries”, 257.

<sup>86</sup> Specific instructions and accommodation were also provided for precious books, as seen in the example of the Catalogue of the Monastery of Alcobaça, which reports the existence of four bibles kept in a coffin called “das três chaves” (trans. *of the tree keys*). BNP, COD. 913, no. 13, *Index dos livros manuscritos que há no Real Mosteiro de Alcobaça, feito pelo D.or Fr. Manoel da Rocha, Anno 1723*, fol. 50v.

<sup>87</sup> Leitão and Giurgevich, *Clavis bibliothecarum*, XXXIV.

<sup>88</sup> As it has been discussed in the first chapter.

<sup>89</sup> For a review of studies on the history of science and book history, see: Adrian Johns, “Science and the Book in Modern Cultural Historiography”, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 29 (1998): 167–94; and Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine, *Books and the Sciences in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Andrew Hunter, *Thornton and Tully's Scientific Books, Libraries and Collectors: A Study of Bibliography and the Book Trade in Relation to the History of Science* (Aldershot, 2000).

shaped by inquisitorial authoritarianism that hindered the progression of science has recently proven to be exceedingly simplistic. Even though the development of the scientific activities has always been connected to its ability to expand across various contexts and settings, very little attention was given to the role of Portuguese religious institutions.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, by simply taking the production of scientific books as a measure for scientific activity, traditional historiography accepted the view given by historians of science who, when faced with the extremely low local production of scientific books, upheld the depiction of a severe lack of interest in scientific themes by early modern Portuguese society.<sup>91</sup> However, this narrative is too simplistic to explain scientific activity in early modern Portugal. To circumvent these accounts, education has 2 modest percentage is enough to provide us with a unique portrayal of religious orders' interests in scientific knowledge.

As previously mentioned, most of the libraries at the top of the ranking belonged to the mother houses of the congregations. Some interesting exceptions included the Jesuit College of Santo Antão of Lisbon.<sup>92</sup> Notorious for its teaching of scientific subjects and its scientific specialization, the library of Santo Antão possessed approximately 10,000 volumes at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759. The professors of mathematics at the Santo Antão College created specialized mathematical libraries and sustained a diverse and extensive collection of books authored by prominent scholars that covered a wide range of scientific disciplines.<sup>93</sup> The content and size of the Jesuit libraries would vary according to the requirements and interest of its teaching staff and their school programs. As is generally recognized, Jesuit colleges were of major significance in the context of Portuguese scientific activities, since the sixteenth century.<sup>94</sup> The College of Santo Antão represents a major instance of scientific activity and the teaching of mathematics in Portugal, which also included the teaching of astrology.

Once again, it is crucial to take into account that the size of the institutional library in a religious house does not necessarily reflect the actual number of books that were in circulation in that space. Religious houses typically contained multiple libraries, enabling the assembly of highly specialized scientific collections. In addition to the main library, books were maintained in several smaller, more specialized libraries.<sup>95</sup> The Public Library (*Livraria Pública*) of the Casa Professa of São Roque is known to have contained approximately 7,000 volumes. However, if we consider the books preserved in the additional *cubicula* of religious members, the total number

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<sup>90</sup> José Pardo Tomás, *Un lugar para la ciencia. Escenarios de práctica científica en la sociedad hispana del siglo XVI* (Tenerife: Fundación Canaria Orotava 2006).

<sup>91</sup> On the production of printed works in Portugal see: Anselmo, *Bibliografia das Obras Impressas*. On the lack of scientific books see: Jorge Borges de Macedo, "Livros impressos em Portugal no século XVI: interesses e formas de mentalidade", *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, 9 (1975): 183–22; see also: Leitão, *O livro científico em Portugal*.

<sup>92</sup> On the production of scientific activities in the College of Santo Antão, see: Baldini, "The Teaching of Mathematics"; Henrique Leitão, "Jesuit Mathematical Practice in Portugal, 1540–1759", in *New Science and Jesuit Science*, ed. Mordechai Feingold (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2003): 229–47; Leitão, *A ciência na Aula da Esfera no Colégio de Santo Antão, 1590–1759* (Lisbon: Comissariado Geral das Comemorações do V Centenário do Nascimento de S. Francisco Xavier, 2007); Leitão and Lúcia de Azevedo Martins, eds., *Sphaera Mundi: A Ciência na "Aula da Esfera". Manuscritos Científicos do Colégio de Santo Antão nas coleções da BNP* (Lisboa, 2008);

<sup>93</sup> Giurgevich, "Visiting Old Libraries", 162.

<sup>94</sup> On the role of the Jesuits in scientific activities see: Luís Carolino and Carlos Ziller Camenietski, *Jesuitas, ensino e ciência* (Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio, 2005); Luís Saraiva and Catherine Jami, eds., *History of Mathematical Sciences: Portugal and the East Asia, III. The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian Science (1552–1773)* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2008); Luís Saraiva, ed., *History of Mathematical Sciences: Portugal and East Asia, II. Scientific Practices and the Portuguese Expansion in Asia, 1498–1759* (Lisbon: CMAF-UL, 2001); Luís Saraiva, ed., *History of Mathematical Sciences. Portugal and East Asia, I. História das Ciências Matemáticas: Portugal e o Oriente* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2000); Henrique Leitão and Francisco Romeiras, "The Role of Science in the History of Portuguese anti-Jesuitism", *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2 (2015): 77–99; Romeiras, *Jesuits and the Book of Nature: Science and Education in Modern Portugal* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

<sup>95</sup> Luana Giurgevich "Visiting Old Libraries", 258.

of books doubles. According to the reconstructions made possible by the arrest inventories compiled under the Marquis of Pombal's directives, the library of São Roque ranked among the largest ecclesiastical libraries in eighteenth-century Portugal. In the Lisbon region, it likely housed the fourth largest collection, surpassed only by the libraries of the Augustinians (10,000 items in 1743), and the Oratorians (10,000 to 20,000 items, circa 1756–1759). Another example is the case of the Public Library of the Jesuit College of Coimbra. Surrounded by 40 private and specialized collections which included the libraries of various classes such as, the colleges' collection of forbidden books (which contained scientific items), and the library *ad usum* of the mathematics professors.<sup>96</sup> Naturally, this unique proliferation of books throughout the religious setting compelled the organization of annual inventories for both the communal library and the books stored in individual cells or other designated areas of use.<sup>97</sup>

Besides providing us with significant data on the circulation of specific scientific texts, the dissemination and reception of scientific knowledge within the context of religious orders, these collections illustrate a broad selection of scientific subjects, wider than any other institutional or private book collector in early modern Portugal. Current literature has already dismissed traditional misconceptions, namely on the apparent lack of Descartes's and Newton's treatises.<sup>98</sup> Further analyses of titles in these catalogs allow for more useful information about the disciplines and the scientific training that the religious orders pursued. Scientific book collections of ecclesiastical libraries of the various religious orders stand as the outcome of a continuous and diligent selection process, that mirrored the tastes and curiosities of the religious congregations, and the Portuguese book market. As essential parts of these collections, scientific books were exposed to the system of acquisition-selection-and-redistribution as such, their assimilation cannot be defined as a random or indiscriminating activity.<sup>99</sup> Each acquisition by the institutions, whereas by purchase, inheritance or donation was put through a rigorous process of selection in which its usefulness and relevance was subjected to evaluation. Any book which deemed to be irrelevant or outdated was to be resold or removed from the collection. As aforementioned, the formation of what came to be, in many cases, colossal collections did not limit itself to be the consequence of a practice of mere accumulation. Furthermore, contrary to a bygone historiographic portrait of dusty and uninteresting archaic libraries and ignorant clergymen, Portuguese libraries did not come to be deprived of the most complex scientific subjects, their authors, and the most recent editions of their publications.<sup>100</sup> As Giurgevich puts it, “amongst the quietness of the monasteries, new theories and groundbreaking ideas would come by means of books, converting into scientific habits and creating communities of anonymous and lesser-known partitioners”.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Giurgevich, “Visiting Old Libraries”, 258. On the documentation on the Professed House produced by the administration of Pombal in 1759, see: Lisbon, Arquivo do Tribunal das Contas (ATC), Junta da Inconfidência, N. 112.

<sup>97</sup> Giurgevich, “Visiting Old Libraries”, 259.

<sup>98</sup> Henrique Leitão, “Estrelas de Papel: livros de astronomia dos séculos XIV a XVIII (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2009); João Pereira Gomes, “As antigas livrarias dos Jesuítas em Lisboa”, *Brotéria*, 40 (1945): 153–161. in *Brotéria*, 175 (2012): 245–246. On the presence of Descartes amongst the Portuguese Jesuits see: Noël Golvers, *Portuguese Books and their Readers in the Jesuit Mission of China (17th-18th Centuries)* (Lisbon: CCCM-FCT, 2011), 23–24.

<sup>99</sup> As discussed in the previous segment. See: Giurgevich, Luana Giurgevich, “Templos da Ciência, e Jardins do Entendimento: As Bibliotecas das Instituições Eclesiásticas como Espaços de Conhecimento,” in *Ciência, Tecnologia e Medicina na Construção de Portugal 1: Novos Horizontes (Sécs. XV a XVII)* (Lisboa: Tinta da China, 2021), 325–345.

<sup>100</sup> Leitão, *O livro científico em Portugal*.

<sup>101</sup> Luana Giurgevich, “A ciência em lugar inesperado”, in *A Redondeza da Terra e Outras Histórias da Ciência e da Cartografia* (Lisboa: Público e Gradiva, 2019), 33.

## The Catalogs and Inventories of Religious Libraries: A Few Considerations

The impressive bibliographic patrimony of religious orders libraries no longer exists. On a scale unparalleled in Portuguese history, a sequence of a complex of events resulted in the relocation and appropriation of congregations' assets by the crown and the disappearance of almost all 500 ecclesiastical libraries. A significant portion of the catalogs and inventories compiled in *Clavis bibliothecarum*, upon which the present research is supported, originated from historical and cultural circumstances influenced by external events unrelated to the internal procedures of religious congregation libraries. The most severe consequence of these actions resulted in the direct destruction of books, driven by various geopolitical phenomena that developed across Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Any attempt to quantify the number of astrology books based on this documentary evidence is hindered by several factors and should be approached with caution. Hence, it is crucial to examine both the characteristics and limitations of these sources. In this section, we begin by outlining the events that prompted the extensive production of inventories, comprising nearly two-thirds of these libraries' records. Finally, we explore some considerations regarding characteristics and constraints of the catalogs and inventories, notwithstanding their substantial value as privileged sources for studying ecclesiastical libraries in early modern Portugal.

The history of religious libraries in Portugal was deeply marked by two major events. The first is the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759. The second is the extinction of all male religious congregations in 1834. Across this period, and even before, various decrees, laws, and orders of an external nature, independent of the rules of the religious institutions themselves, marked the crown's interest and intervention in the management of ecclesiastical libraries. In essence, these events entailed the dismantling of religious assets and the confiscation of their libraries, by means of an extensive external process orchestrated by the state.<sup>102</sup> This process can be divided into two major phases.<sup>103</sup> The first is related to Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo's administration—a pivotal era marked by significant reforms that arose a pronounced governmental intervention in library affairs alongside the implementation of numerous new policies.<sup>104</sup> Following the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1759, the government of the future Marquis of Pombal swiftly turned its attention to inventorying religious libraries, with a particular focus on the Jesuit collections. Pombal's allure for these libraries was motivated by various goals, but foremost among them was his interest in the educational reform. This was particularly evident in the establishment of the College of Nobles (Colégio dos Nobres), where access to high-quality books was deemed essential for advancing scholarly pursuits and underpinning the educational framework envisioned by the reforms.<sup>105</sup> Subsequently, the reforms of the University of Coimbra, initiated in 1772, brought significant changes and reforms to the educational landscape in Portugal, including within the religious orders.<sup>106</sup> Pombal's educational reforms were part of his broader

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<sup>102</sup> The history of the Portuguese libraries after the dissolution decree of 1834 is traced in, Paulo J.S. Barata, *Os livros e o Liberalismo*; and Barata, "As livrarias dos mosteiros e conventos femininos portugueses após a sua extinção: uma aproximação a uma história por fazer", *Lusitania Sacra*, 24 (2011): 125–152.

<sup>103</sup> For a detailed chronology of the main phases of inventorying the ecclesiastical libraries, between the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1759 and the extinction of all male regular orders in 1834, see: Leitão and Giurgevich, *Clavis bibliothecarum*, XXXVII.

<sup>104</sup> J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *O Marquês de Pombal e a Sua Época* (Lisbon: Clássica Editora, 1990); Kenneth Maxwell, *O Marquês de Pombal* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 2001); Ana Cristina Araújo, *A Cultura das Luzes em Portugal* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2003).

<sup>105</sup> Rómulo de Carvalho, *História da Fundação do Colégio Real dos Nobres de Lisboa* (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1959).

<sup>106</sup> Pombal's University reforms brought many changes to several aspects of educational activity inside the different religious orders, which resulted in the revision of the internal rules of each college according to the new royal dispositions. See: Banha de Andrade, *A reforma pombalina dos estudos secundários*; and José Eduardo Franco, "Marquês de Pombal Junta da Providência Literária", in *Compêndio Histórico da Universidade de Coimbra* (Porto, Campo das Letras, 2008), 21–23. On the consequences of the expulsion of the Jesuits and the effects of secondary and

efforts to modernize and secularize the Portuguese state and society, reflecting Enlightenment ideals. Notably preoccupied with consolidating state authority over the production and dissemination of books, as well as establishing secular censorship mechanisms, the creation of the Real Mesa Censória by Decree on April 5, 1768, represented another significant step in Pombal's policies.<sup>107</sup> Pombal aimed not only to control the printing and ownership of books in public and private libraries but also to regulate the circulation of works inside and outside of Portugal. As examined in Chapter I, until this point, censorship was carried out by the crown, the local bishop, and the Holy Office. However, Pombal's reforms transferred to the Crown the responsibility of determining what was suitable and valued for readership. Under the Real Mesa's directives, the submission of banned books by religious libraries became a common. Additionally, a unique format was created to be adopted nationwide by all parties involved in inventorying. The inventories were required to list books in alphabetical order within sections classified by format and subject matter. Each entry was to include comprehensive bibliographic details necessary for identifying the specific edition owned, including the author's name, the title of the work, the number of volumes and editions, as well as the place and date of publication. Likewise, books were to be organized into seven principal fields of knowledge: theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, mathematics, medicine, history, and belles-lettres. Nevertheless, even with predefined rules for cataloging, the inventory process was ultimately at the discretion of the book owners.<sup>108</sup> Although we find cases of catalogs and inventories of religious libraries left undated, it is possible to access an estimated date according to their unique features, particularly in the catalogs produced during Pombal's regime.

Finally, the second phase that spurred a renewed effort in inventorying religious libraries, was defined by the initiatives of the "Junta do Exame do Estado Atual e Melhoramento Temporal das Ordens Religiosas", established in 1789. During the latter part of the XVII century, religious congregations began to show signs of decline, which were notably exacerbated in the early 19th century due to looting by French invasions. Until the dissolution of male religious orders in 1835, the "Junta do Exame do Estado Atual" intermittently carried out the responsibility of inventorying religious assets. Overall, the measures implemented during these two phases can be characterized as a complex confiscation process that involved the cataloging and relocation of books, the pilfering of entire collections, and clandestine and public bookselling.<sup>109</sup> The seizure of ecclesiastical assets, the progressive interference of the Crown in Church libraries, and the secularization of teaching led to the disappearance of the vast network of ecclesiastical libraries. Paradoxically, the series of events that precipitated the dissolution of these vast collections—the expulsion of the Jesuits, the initiatives of the Real Mesa Censória, and the aftermath of catastrophic events like the 1755 earthquake and French invasions—resulted in the creation of numerous catalogs and inventories for the extensively scattered ecclesiastical libraries. In many

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university teaching reforms on education in Portugal, see Leitão and Romeiras, "The Role of Science in the History of Portuguese anti-Jesuitism", 86.

<sup>107</sup> On the gradual reduction of the Church's power in censorship activities after the establishment of the Real Mesa Censória, see: Maria Adelaide Salvador Marques, *A Real Mesa Censória e a cultura nacional: aspectos da geografia cultural portuguesa do século XVIII* (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, 1963), 91; and Marques, "Pombalismo e cultura média. Meios para um diagnóstico através da Real Mesa Censória", *Brotéria*, 115, no. 2–4 (1982): 181–208. See also: Maria Teresa Payan Martins, *A censura literária em Portugal nos séculos XVII e XVIII*, 61.

<sup>108</sup> Leitão and Giurgevich, *Clavis bibliothecarum*, XXXIX.

<sup>109</sup> On this topic, see: Paulo J.S. Barata, "Roubos, extravios e descaminhos nas livrarias conventuais", *Lusitania Sacra*. XVI (2004): 319–343. On the dismantling of religious assets, see: José Matoso, *História de Portugal. Volume 5: O Liberalismo (1807–1890)* (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1993), 353; Luís Espinha da Silveira, "A venda dos bens nacionais (1834–1853): Uma primeira abordagem", *Análise Social* 16, no. 61–62 (1980): 87–110; Silveira, *Revolução liberal e propriedade: a venda dos bens nacionais no distrito de Évora (1834–1852)* (PhD diss., Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1988); Fernanda Maria Guedes de Campos, "Bibliotecas de História", 390.

cases, the sole surviving records of their existence. Despite the significant losses stemming from these events, it remains crucial to consider the subsequent losses incurred during the transportation and inadequate storage of these extensive bibliographic collections. The challenge of managing such an extensive number of books across the country, particularly in terms of storage, persisted despite the establishment of depositories and the redirection of these collections to various libraries. The sheer volume of books involved, coupled with neglect, mishandling, and unsuitable accommodations, contributed to the destruction of numerous books that cannot be accurately quantified.<sup>110</sup>

Extracting data from these sources, even if empirically grounded, remains a complex and risky task. Any estimation of the extent of ecclesiastical libraries or of a specific subject matter, based on available information, is inherently flawed. Therefore, the following factors and conditions should be considered. In sum these are fundamentally diverse sources and comprehend an extensive array of textual evidence produced between the 10th and 19th centuries. This diversity can be observed even in the broad range of terminology that the sources themselves use to describe these documents: “catálogo” (catalog), “inventário” (inventory), “index”, “sumário” (summary), “rol” (list), “clavis”, and “radiolus”, among other designations. These terminologies can often combine characteristics that concerned to catalogs with others more typical of inventory processes. Furthermore, these documents can include meticulously crafted catalogs by experienced librarians, extinction inventories documenting various types of materials, as well as lists of acquisitions and book sales. This variety tells very different stories. When analyzing these materials, it is crucial to consider that certain documents reflect the internal operations of the library, emphasizing the asset management concerns of religious congregations, the specific interests of individual religious institutions, or the personal and intellectual backgrounds of particular librarians. Conversely, other documents stem from external interventions and motivations that extend beyond the interests of the religious congregations, aimed at acquiring knowledge and assets from these institutions. Hence, it is crucial to recognize that each piece of documentary evidence captures only a specific moment in the life of a library influenced by numerous factors during the record process, including the precision of the individual undertaking this challenging task and their familiarity with the subject matter. Additionally, we must be mindful of frequent cases of omissions and other forms of censorship.

There is also the matter of the ambiguous descriptions of the catalogs and inventories of religious libraries. As mentioned, these source vary greatly in the degree of their elaboration. The accuracy and detail of the information provided may vary significantly within the same historical context and within a certain format. Understanding the internal practices of religious libraries is facilitated by the analysis of the catalogues and inventories created at various moments within the religious institutions. The inventories, or lists, are valuable sources for identifying the contents of these libraries, yet they generally do not provide as much insight into the organizational practices of libraries. Inventories typically list existing works in an abbreviated format, as their primary purpose is immediate identification or recognition, often for the purposes of recording the religious order assets. They were not compiled according to consistent rules that would ensure regular and systematic access to the library. This aspect can be particularly problematic in instances where we seek to identify specific book editions from the title registers in these sources. While generally inventories only indicate the author and book title in an abbreviated form, omitting other bibliographic or typographic information, some catalogues provide rich and wide-ranging descriptions on the bibliographic patrimony of the libraries, allowing for the identification

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<sup>110</sup> Leitão and Giurgevich, *Clavis bibliothecarum*, XXIV. This phenomenon was not unique to Portugal; it took place across multiple European countries, albeit at different periods, see Campos, “Bibliotecas de História”, 391.

of specific book editions. Such detailed accounts present valuable opportunities for discovering unknown scientific texts. The wide dissemination of the printed books during the early modern period did not inhibit the circulation of manuscripts. In fact, Monastery were themselves important spaces of *scriptoria*. To further complicate this matter, some lists and documents mention titles, while others refer to volumes. Additionally, the term “books” is sometimes used, which can mean either titles or volumes. As such, it's not feasible to figure out the number of volumes solely based on the number of titles, or vice versa.<sup>111</sup> Once again, we must account for the fact that the size of the institutional library of a religious house did not necessarily match the number of books that circulated within the compounds of these institutions. Beyond the main library, books could be kept in a variety of other smaller libraries, including the *cubicula* of the clergymen.<sup>112</sup> On some occasions, it is possible to find information on the physical spaces of libraries and the locations for conservation of books. The catalog of the library of the Monastery of Alcobaça provides an interesting example, with some catalogs offering us with visual representations of the library<sup>113</sup>. Other instances, give us information on books that were lost. In the Catalogs of The Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça of Lisbon, of the order of the Hermits of Saint Augustine, we find the reference to book lost in the earthquake of 1755. Additionally, information on the state of conservation of books can be provided, by means of annotations describing their condition: “meio uso” (moderately used), “muito usado” (heavily used), “bom” (good), etc. as is the case of the Convent of São Francisco do Monde de Santa Maria Maior de Viana do Castelo. Overall, the demanding nature of the processes of cataloging and inventorying these libraries, left many books unregistered, and we know that the real number exceed the numbers listed.<sup>114</sup>

Lastly, there are several questions that catalogs fail to answer. There is an obvious difficulty in understanding what was the actual scientific practice within the monasteries just from analyzing these sources. Besides, these catalogs do not offer information on how books were handled. Only the books as a material object themselves identified through annotations or provenance marks, such as *ex libris* or stamps, can provide considerable supplementary information about the concerns and reading habits of their former owners. Notwithstanding these factors, records of the catalogs and inventories of religious libraries remain a valuable glimpse into a world that we would otherwise not be able to access, offering us a worthy representation of the interests and priorities of Portuguese religious congregation. While the catalogs and inventories have inherent limitations, they remain indispensable resources, offering rare insights into the priorities and intellectual interests of these communities. In the final section of this chapter, we will focus on these sources, examining how astrology is represented within the catalogs in hopes of uncovering intriguing perspectives on religious communities’ views toward astrology.

### **The Place of Astrology in the Catalogues and Inventories of Religious Libraries**

Before embarking on the analysis of our survey, which will be presented in the following chapter, it is essential to first examine how astrology was documented within the catalogs and inventories

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<sup>111</sup> The correlations between volumes and items are discussed in: Campos, *Para se achar facilmente o que se busca*, 91–95. Given the discrepancies between the catalogs and inventories, Leitão’s and Giurgevich’s survey in *Clavis bibliothecarum* refers to the number of items rather than the number of volumes.

<sup>112</sup> The Public Library (*Livraria Pública*) of the Casa Professa of São Roque in Lisbon kept a detailed record of the circulation of book, see: Giurgevich, “Visiting Old Libraries”, 257.

<sup>113</sup> BNP, COD. 7382, fol. 3r.

<sup>114</sup> As emphasized by Henrique Leitão and Luana Giurgevich, estimating the size of libraries based on past listings consistently results in an underestimation relative to reality.

of Portuguese religious order libraries. Considering all aspects related to the characteristics and limitations of these documents, we will seek to ascertain the place of astrology; how astrology works were documented; and whether these records reflect the regulations imposed on the discipline.

As previously demonstrated, there is significant variability in both the extent and content of the primary sources comprising the catalogues and inventories of religious libraries. Both showcase vast collections of books, particularly from preeminent religious orders, illustrating a rich and diverse range of subjects. In contrast, others may be less extensive in their volume, diversity, and provide fewer details about the items. Essentially, inventories or lists can serve as valuable tools for identifying content but often lack systematic detail and typically present works in a condensed format. Catalogues exhibit diverse organizational frameworks, with some excelling in comprehensive and detailed descriptions of the library's patrimony, offering valuable insights into book editions and internal organizational practices. The meticulous organization evident in certain catalogues can reflect the librarian's expertise, presenting bibliographic references in an impeccable and even aesthetically pleasing manner. Among these sources items are often organized alphabetically by the author's first name or surname. Titles of anonymous works can be listed either separately or grouped together with their attributed authors. Additionally, within each alphabetical section, there may also be further classification on the format or subject matter. In fact, regarding the latter, libraries established classification systems to effectively inform users about the contents of their collections. This practice not only facilitated an understanding of the subjects covered by the works but also aided in the physical organization of books on shelves. Naturally, these classification systems vary between different sources and have evolved over time.<sup>115</sup> To illustrate, the edict issued by the Real Mesa Censória on July 10, 1769, stipulated that all owners of books or libraries were required to submit a catalogue of their holdings organized into seven categories: Theology, Jurisprudence, Philosophy, Mathematics, Medicine, History, and Belles-Lettres.<sup>116</sup> Fundamentally, the creation of a catalogue aimed to make available a physical repository of knowledge. Whether it included extensive grouping and sub-grouping or not, the primary goal was to logically present a comprehensive list of bibliographic references that incorporated the collection of books from a particular library. Once more, it is important to emphasize that most of these documents originate from external prompts outside the libraries. They were intended to document the assets of religious institutions and thus reflect different attitudes towards the task of recording religious book collections. In light of these considerations, let's now examine the placement of works of astrology within the classification categories utilized in the catalogues and inventories of religious libraries.

Our research has enabled us to recognize that in cases where catalogues and inventories are organized thematically, with astrology works predominantly listed under Mathematics. In fact, the category of mathematics encompassed a broad range of disciplines, including technical works on mathematics itself, as well as on astronomy, nautical sciences, and cosmology. It also included literature on instrument-making and architecture, among other topics. The placement of astrology within this category is evident in several sources. The catalogue of the library of the

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<sup>115</sup> In the eighteenth century, the rise in typographic production, the increase in the diversity of subjects, and the popularization of collecting habits led to the refinement of organizational systems in both private libraries and large ecclesiastical or secular collections. See: Roger Chartier and Daniel Roche, "Les pratiques urbaines de l'imprimé", in *Histoire de l'édition française*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (Paris: Promodis, 1984), 2:403–429. On the classification systems of the Portuguese religious libraries see: Fernanda Maria Guedes de Campos, "As Bibliotecas de Instituições Religiosas: modelos, práticas e representações", in *Bibliotecas de História: aspectos da posse e uso dos livros*, 175–279.

<sup>116</sup> For a transcription of the edict see: Maria Adelaide Salvador Marques, *A Real Mesa Censória e a cultura nacional: aspectos da geografia cultural portuguesa do século XVIII* (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, 1963).

Monastery of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon,<sup>117</sup> belonging to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, reflects this categorization. Similarly, two instances of catalogues from the Convent of Santa Maria de Jesus in Xabregas, of the Order of Friars Minor, also demonstrate this organization.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, catalogues from the Order of Saint Augustine, such as those from the College of Nossa Senhora da Graça in Coimbra<sup>119</sup> and the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Penha de França<sup>120</sup> in Lisbon, also place astrology works within Mathematics. Additionally, astrology works are categorized under Mathematics in three sources related to the Society of Jesus, namely: the seizure inventory of the College of Jesus in Coimbra (1766),<sup>121</sup> the catalogue of the library of the College of Santo Antão in Lisbon,<sup>122</sup> and the catalogue of Professed House of São Roque in Lisbon.<sup>123</sup> In the latter, items are organized alphabetically by the author's first name within the section, *Mathematicorum Nomina*. Additionally, astrology is grouped under the Mathematics section in catalogues from monastic orders: the Monastery of Santa Maria de Alcobaça,<sup>124</sup> of the Cistercian Order, the Monastery of São Bento da Vitória in Porto<sup>125</sup> and the Monastery of São Bento in Lisbon, both belonging to the Order of Saint Benedict<sup>126</sup> Although our research as allowed us to identify works dealing with medical astrology, we did not identify any instances where medical astrology works are classified under the category of Medicine, in the sources we have examined.

On a few occasions, we also identified astrology works under Philosophy. This is evidenced in the catalogue of the Convent of Santo Agostinho in Santarém, (Augustinians)<sup>127</sup> and the catalogue of the manuscripts of Casa de Nossa Senhora de Divina Providencia in Lisbon, of

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<sup>117</sup> *Catalogo dos Livros da Livraria do Real Mosteiro de S. Vicente de Fora dividido em Sette Classes*, 148 fls. (BNP, COD. 7405).

<sup>118</sup> *Catalogo da Livraria do Convento de S. Francisco de X.<sup>as</sup> feito sendo Vigario Prov.<sup>al</sup> o N. R.<sup>mo</sup> P. M. Fr. Jozé de S.<sup>ta</sup> Rozalia Queirós, Por Fr. Ignacio de S.<sup>ta</sup> Maria dos Anjos Quintanilha, Preg.<sup>or</sup> Jub.<sup>o</sup> Bibliothecario, Anno 1786*, 516 fls. (BNP, COD. 8384); and, *Segundo tomo do Catalogo, contem da Letra = L.thê-Z Sermonarios latinos, italianos, Francezes, Castelhanos e Portuguezes, Manuscriptos, e Folhetos volantes*. (BNP, COD. 7446). These catalogues correspond to *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 471.

<sup>119</sup> *Catalog. da livrar. do Collegio da Graça de Coimb.* (BNP, COD. 8386). See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250, and INV. 95.

<sup>120</sup> *Catalogo dos Livros Impressos, e Manuscriptos da Livraria do Convento de N. Snra de Penha de França, dos Religiozos de Santo Agostinho extra muros desta Cid.<sup>e</sup> de Lisboa*, 150 fls. (BNP, COD. 7320). See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 274.

<sup>121</sup> *Livraria do Collegio da Companhia de Jesus de Coimbra* (ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 61). See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710, and INV. 298.

<sup>122</sup> *Index Librorum Bibliothecae Collegii Ulyssiponensis Divi Antonii Magni, Societatis Iesus, Ano MDCCXXXV*, 237 fls. (BA, 51-XI-44). See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 723, and INV. 304.

<sup>123</sup> *Index Bibliothecae D. Rochi*, 379 fls. (BA, 51-XI-37); *Index Bibliothecae Domus Professae Ulyssiponensis Jesu*, 394 fls. (BA, 51-XI-45). The catalogues correspond to *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 703 and INV. 704, respectively.

<sup>124</sup> *Index e summario dos livros que contem esta livraria de Alcobaça com o Epitome e declaração de todas as Tarjas, Emblemas, e quadros, de que está ornada, a qual liuaria foi ampliada e renouada pello grande zello do Nosso Reuerendissimo P<sup>e</sup> Frei Manoel de Moraes Abbade Geral deste Real Conuento, Em a era de Christo de 1656, Escrito por o R. P. F. Antonio de Arayjo natural da Villa Rua do Bispado de Lamego, e filho do insigne Mostr<sup>o</sup> de Santa Maria de Salzedas foy Abb.<sup>e</sup> do Mostr.<sup>o</sup> de P<sup>o</sup> das Aguias, e faleceo em Euora sendo Confessor do Mostr.<sup>o</sup> de S. Bento no Anno de 1679*, 241 fls. (BNP, COD. 8388); *Aurea clavis reserans Bibliophilacium hoc Magnum Alcobatiae, Anno 1701*, 22 pp., 313pp. (BNP, COD. 7412). See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 95 and INV. 98.

<sup>125</sup> *Catalogo dos Livros da Livraria de S. Bento da Victoria da Cidade do Porto: Cathalogo que em observância da Ley de S. Magd<sup>e</sup> expedida pelo seu Tribunal da Real Meza Censoria aos 10 de Julho de 1769 se fes dos Livros pertencentes à Livraria do Mosteyro de S. Bento da Victoria da Cidade do Porto* (ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, Biblioteca, Temas diversos, caixa 499, doc.421). See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 60.

<sup>126</sup> *Catalogo do Livros da Livraria do Mostr.<sup>o</sup> de S. Bento da Saude, que se apprezenta na Real Meza Censoria em cumprimento da Regia Ley de 10 de Julho de 1769* (ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, caixa 118, n. 443). See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 51.

<sup>127</sup> *Index Librariae Conventus S. P. N. Augustini Schalabitanenssis In quatuor divisus partes, et in quatuor quatripartitus abcedarios a prime revisus, factos anno domini MDCCXLVII* (BNP, COD. 7404). See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 281.

the Theatine Order.<sup>128</sup> Other sources place works of astrology, astronomy, philosophy, medicine, mathematics and other scientific and technical domains, under the broader category of “Sciences and Arts”. This is attested in two instances of catalogues pertaining to Casa de Nossa Senhora de Divina Providência in Lisbon (Theatines).<sup>129</sup>

Instances where Astrology is given its own dedicated section are sporadic. Still, a notable example can be found in the catalogue of the Convent of Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Franciscans).<sup>130</sup> Produced in 1830, this library catalogue is structured thematically, featuring five major classes or categories, divided in multiple sections and sub-sections. Within each section, entries are meticulously arranged alphabetically by authors’ name or by the titles, in the case of anonymous works. The catalogue is organized in five major categories. Mathematics belongs to the third major category together with: Philosophy, Physics, Medicine, Natural History, Sciences, Liberal Arts and Mechanics. The mathematics category in then organized as follows:

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| - Arithmetic, Algebra, and Geometry (Arithmetica, Algebra e Geometria);  | - Optics (Optica);                                       |
| - Astronomy and Sphere (Astronomia e Esphera);   | - Statics (Statica);                                     |
| - Astrology (Astrologia);  | - Hydraulics (Hydraulica);                               |
| - Gnomonics, also dealing with Quadrants and Clocks (Gnomica, onde se trata também dos Quadrantes e Relogios); | - Dynamique e Mechanica;                                 |
| - Hydrography (Hydrographia);  | - Music (Musica);  |
|  | - Miscellany (Miscelanea)                                |
|  | - Mathematical Dictionaries (Diccionarios Mathematicos); |
|  | - Supplement (Suplemento);                               |

As we can see, astrology takes its own section, and is the third subject within the books of mathematics, following astronomy, arithmetic, algebra and geometry. The books of astrology listed comprise a total of fifteen items, ordered alphabetically by the author’s first name or, in the case of anonymous works, the publication’s title. The collection of astrology items essentially includes works that fall under the category of astrological treatises, with a few instances of almanacs and *prognosticos*. Other publications, such as planetary tables, and *Reportorios* (Repertoires), can be found in the section of astronomy (*Astronomia e Esphera*). Interestingly, the first item to described in the astrology section is Alessandro De Angeli’s anti-astrological text, *In astrologos coniectores libri quinque* (Lyon, 1615).<sup>131</sup> As a reputed member of the Collegio Romano, De Angelis’s publication became highly influential among the Jesuit anti-astrological discourse. De Angelis’s publication stands out for its thorough discussion of several fundamental concepts of astrological doctrine. By focusing exclusively on the principles of astrology, he ensures that his critical analysis remains undiluted by the inclusion of other forms of divinatory arts, which possess entirely different natures.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>128</sup> Catalogo dos Mss. que pertecem à Doação que fizeram os P. P. Caetanos, extrahido dos Bilhetes, que se encontrarão com a letra C., 1824, 57 fls. (BNP, COD. 13438). See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 768.

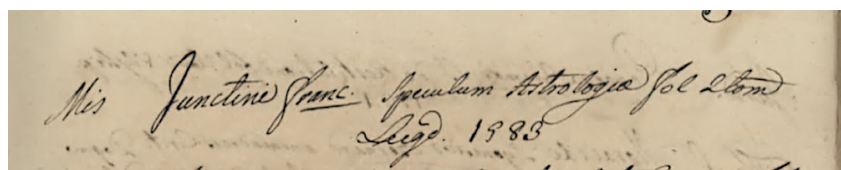
<sup>129</sup> *Catalogo dos Livros que se escolherão da Livraria dos Clérigos Regulares da Divina Providencia Para a Real Bibliotheca Publica da Corte No Anno de 1796*, 188 fls. (BNP, COD. 7350); and, *Catalogo methodico dos livros que a Comunidade dos Clerigos Regulares da Divina Providencia de Lisboa doou à Real Bibliotheca Publica da Corte no anno de 1796, Tom. I Que Contem os livros Impressos de Historia*, 2 vols. (Vol. 1: 294 fls.; Vol. 2: 237 fls.; Vol. 3: 283 fls.) (BNP, COD. 12935-12937). These catalogues correspond to *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.767 and INV. 766.

<sup>130</sup> *Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa, Catalogo Methodico dos Livros da Livraria do Convento de N. Senhora de Jesús de Lisboa pertencente aos Religiosos da 3ª Ordem da Penitencia do N. P. S. Francisco*, 1830, 9 tomos (Tomo 1: 667 pp.; Tomo 2: 788 pp.; Tomo 3: 440 pp.; Tomo 4: 896pp.; Tomo 5: 720 pp.; Tomo 6: 604 pp.; Tomo 7: 734 pp.; Tomo 8: 661 pp.; Tomo 9: 514 pp.). (BACL, Série Vermelha, Ms. 975). See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 416.

<sup>131</sup> Alessandro De Angelis, *In astrologos coniectores libri quinque. Auctore Alexandro de Angelis, in Collegio Romano Societatis Iesu, studiorum praefecto* (1615).

<sup>132</sup> Ribeiro, “Transgressing boundaries?”, 69.

The inventory of Professed House of São Roque in Lisbon (1760) is another noteworthy example.<sup>133</sup> In this case the items appear arranged in a somewhat indiscriminate manner, without concern for alphabetical order of works of authors. However, alongside these items, on the left, are annotations that designate their respective categories. Concerning astrology, this inventory assigns astrology works to two distinct categories. Some items are indicated as falling into the category of “Miscellanea”, while others are indicated as belonging to Mathematics. For instance, Francesco Giuntini’s, also known as Junctinus, *Speculum Astrologiae*—here detailed as the 1583 edition, published in Lyon (Lugduni)—is listed under the “Miscellanea” category (see Figure 1).<sup>134</sup> In contrast, *Reportório dos Tempos* by André de Avelar and *Chronografia* by Jerónimo Chaves (see Figure 2) are listed under “Mathem.” highlighting their categorization within the Mathematics category.<sup>135</sup> However, on another occasion, a different classification of Junctinus’s work emerges: in the catalogue of the Monastery of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon,<sup>136</sup> a 1573 edition *Speculum Astrologiae* is categorized under Mathematics.<sup>137</sup> These are, in fact, different formats of astrological publications. The first is a renowned treatise on astrology, featuring the Greek text and Latin version of Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos*, along with Junctinus’s commentary, a collection of aphorisms, and his synthesis of astrological theory and techniques from Arabic authors, all illustrated with a vast collection of horoscopes. As for Avelar and Chaves’s publications—detailed in this catalogue, respectively as the *Reportorio dos Tempos* (Coimbra, 1590) and the *Chronografia* (Seville, 1572)—fall into a category of astronomic and astrological publications that may resemble almanacs, but are in fact more sophisticated and substantial works. These type of publications could address various issues related to the philosophical and cosmological frameworks of their period, whilst exploring practical aspects of the fundamental principles of astronomy, medicine, and astrology. Regarding these instances, we may surmise this divergence in placement of publications dealing with astrological matters as natural symptom of the profuse nature of the discipline. As aforesaid, throughout the early modern astrological principles were embedded in the social, philosophical and scientific structures and stood as critical elements of medicine, agriculture, navigation, weather forecasting, among other scientific practices. While some works deal with more practical components of the discipline, others, like treatises, provide a deeper theoretical account of the fundamentals and techniques of the discipline. Furthermore, it is important to recognize that the classification and organization of items in a catalogue are invariably influenced by the purpose and expertise of those responsible for its creation.



**Figure 2.1 – Francesco Giuntini’s *Speculum Astrologiae* at the Library of São Roque. Source: BNP, COD. 7431, fol. 141r.**

<sup>133</sup> *Catalogo da Biblioteca de S. Roque, Julho 18 de 1760*, 208 fls. (BNP, COD. 7431). See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 705.

<sup>134</sup> Francesco Giuntini, *Speculum Astrologiae* (Lyon: Philippus Tinghus, 1583).

<sup>135</sup> André de Avelar, *Reportorio dos tempos*, (Coimbra: Antonio de Barreyra, 1590); Jerónimo Chaves, *Chronographia o Reportorio de los tempo* (Sevilla: Alonso Escriuano, 1572).

<sup>136</sup> *Catalogo dos Livros da Livraria do real Mosteiro de S. Vicente de Fora dividido em Sette Classes*, 148 fl. (BNP, Cod. 7405). See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 219.

<sup>137</sup> Francesco Giuntini, *Speculum Astrologiae* (Lyon: Philippus Tinghus, 1573). This is first edition of the work, and does not contain any Ptolemaic text. David Juste, “Francesco Giuntini, In duos posteriores Ptolemaei Quadripartiti libros absolutissima commentaria,” updated April 21, 2022, Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus, <http://ptolemaeus.badw.de/work/102>.

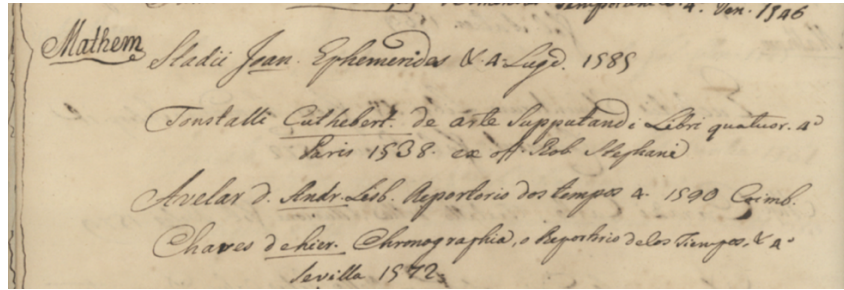


Figure 2.2 – André de Avelar’s *Reportorio* and Jerónimo Chaves’s *Chronographia* in the Library of São Roque. Source: BNP, COD. 7431, fol. 47v.

In these sources, we often encounter references to the presence of prohibited books. While catalogs of forbidden books are occasionally provided, explicit listings of astrology books as prohibited are less common than perhaps one might expect. Considering the complexities surrounding these sources, we must examine how catalogs may or may not reflect the rules imposed on the discipline of astrology. To explore this, we analyzed two instances where astrology works are specifically labeled as prohibited items. The first instance relates to the Catalog of the Monastery of Salvador da Serra do Porto (Canons Regular of Saint Augustine). On the top of the folio, we can read: “Livros prohibidos que com licença se conservão fechados na livraria” (prohibited books that are kept closed in the library with reading permits) (Figure 3).<sup>138</sup> From this list, two scientific works are referenced. The first item that is described relates to an *Atlas Mundi*, by an anonymous author, published at 1493.<sup>139</sup> The second, corresponds to Manuel de Figueiredo’s *Chronographia: reportorio dos tempos* (Lisbon, 1603).<sup>140</sup> The latter, entails a comprehensive account that covers various scientific topics such as cosmography, navigation, astronomy, and astrology. However, just a few folios prior to this list of forbidden books, in the *Mathematica* section of the catalogue, we find another work of the similar genre, *Chronographia o reportorio de los tiempos* by Jerónimo Chaves (Lisbon, 1576).<sup>141</sup> Although differing in content, both publications share a common structural framework. Despite its alignment in genre and structure with Figueiredo’s *Reportorio*, Chaves’s work is listed in the Catalogue without any mention of prohibition or reading permits. Notably, both publications appear in the 1624, *Index of Forbidden Books*. Manuel de Figueiredo’s *Reportorio* is listed as forbidden unless it is expurgated according to the specified instructions.<sup>142</sup> The same applies to Chaves’s *Reportorio*, if the work is amended, it ceased to be forbidden, as demonstrated by the copy from the College of Braga.<sup>143</sup> However, examining the catalogue alone fails to determine whether Chaves’s

<sup>138</sup> *Catalogo Que á Real Meza Cesoria se envia dos Livros da Livraria, e mais Religiozos de S. Agostinho do Mosteiro da Serra de Villa Nova da Cidade do Porto*, 111fls. (ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, 623). See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 184.

<sup>139</sup> *Catalogo Que á Real Meza Cesoria se envia dos Livros da Livraria, e mais Religiozos de S. Agostinho do Mosteiro da Serra de Villa Nova da Cidade do Porto* (ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, 623), fol. 32v.

<sup>140</sup> *Catalogo Que á Real Meza Cesoria se envia dos Livros da Livraria, e mais Religiozos de S. Agostinho do Mosteiro da Serra de Villa Nova da Cidade do Porto* (ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, 623), fol. 33r. This item refers to Manuel de Figueiredo, *Chronographia: reportorio dos tempos* (Lisbon: Jorge Rodriguez, 1603).

<sup>141</sup> *Catalogo Que á Real Meza Cesoria se envia dos Livros da Livraria, e mais Religiozos de S. Agostinho do Mosteiro da Serra de Villa Nova da Cidade do Porto* (ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, 623), fol. 25v. The item refers to Jerónimo Chaves, *Chronographia o Reportorio de los tiempos* (Lisbon: António Ribeiro, 1576).

<sup>142</sup> “Manuol de Figueiredo. O seu Repertorio, não se emendando o que no Expurgatório se aponta.” (Manuol de Figueiredo. His Repertoire, if not corrected as mentioned in the Expurgatory). See, *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Pedro Craesbeeck: Lisbon, 1624), 158. Instruction for expurgation of Figueiredo’s *Reportorio* can be found on p. 884.

<sup>143</sup> *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Pedro Craesbeeck: Lisbon, 1624), 124. Instruction for expurgation can be found on 680–681. On the case of the expurgated copy of Chave’s *Reportorio* belonging to the College of Braga see: Ribeiro and Romeiras, “Forbidden Books and Royal Horoscopes”, 86.

*Chronographia* was in fact expurgated in accordance with the Index's directives, thereby legitimizing it, and whether Figueredo's work was not, thus making it prohibited. Still, it is reasonable to suggest that the contrasting treatment of these works may stem not only from differences in their content but also from varying interpretations and judgments applied by censors or other regulatory bodies.

Another case in point is found in the Catalogue of the College of Graça in Coimbra (Augustinians).<sup>144</sup> Within the section of books prohibited by the Roman Index—"Livros que estavam prohibidos pelo Indice Romano"—items appear organized by subject matter.<sup>145</sup> In the section regarding forbidden books of mathematics, two works on astrology stand out (see Figure 3). The first item is described by the short title *Astronomicon* (Venice, 1599) and is attributed to the Roman author Julius Firmicus Maternus. As illustrated by Figure 4, this item is further labeled with the indication of the existence of a license for its readership: "Astronomicon: tem licensa a livraria oara uzar delle." (the library holds a permit to use it). These annotations serve as a compelling example of adherence to censorial procedures concerning prohibited works and illustrate how forbidden texts remained accessible for use as long as regulatory procedures were adhered to. Before delving into the second item listed under the mathematics section of forbidden books, further clarification regarding this item description is called for.

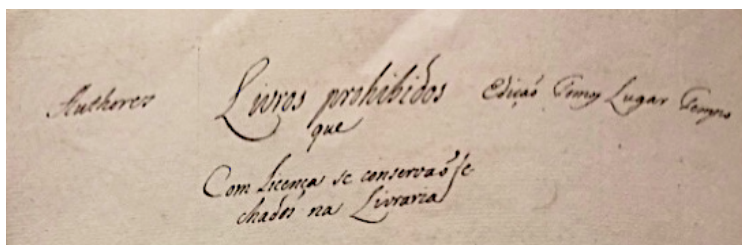


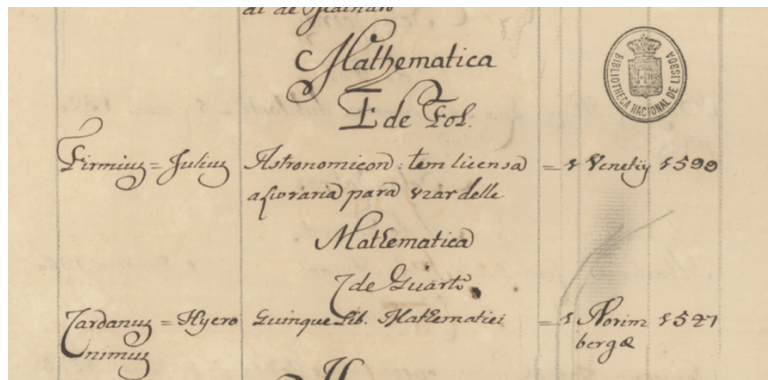
Figure 2.3 – List of Forbidden Books in the Catalogue of the Monastery of Salvador da Serra do Porto.  
Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, 623, fol. 32v.

Firmicus Maternus was a Roman lawyer of the senatorial class, native of Sicily, who flourished during the reigns of Constantine the Great and his sons. Two works are extant under his name. The first is *On the Error of Profane Religions*, addressed to Constantius and Constans (340–350 A. D). The other is *Mathesis*, here registered as *Astronomicon*, a work on the rudiments and on the history of astrology. However, an error in dating this item likely occurred during the cataloguing process. We know that the first edition of *Mathesis* was published at Venice, in 1497, followed by the Aldine edition, also published at Venice in 1499. The description of the item in this catalogue matches the Venice edition, indicating an error in the attribution of the date of publication as the year 1599 instead of the correct date, 1499. As such, the referenced item likely pertains to Maternus's section or to the entirety of the substantial incunable (376 pages), published by the Venetian press of Aldus Manutius in 1499—also known *Scriptores astronomici veteres*.<sup>146</sup> This publication represented a significant endeavour to reconstruct ancient astronomical and astrological wisdom by presenting the original texts of ancient authors.

<sup>144</sup> *Catalog. Da livrar. Do Collegio da Graça de Coimb.* (BNP, COD. 8386). See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250, 95.

<sup>145</sup> *Catalog. Da livrar. Do Collegio da Graça de Coimb* (BNP, COD. 8386), fol. 102 v.

<sup>146</sup> This item refers to Julius Firmicus Maternus, *Scriptores astronomici veteres* (Aldus Manutius: Venice, 1499).



**Figure 2.4 – List of Forbidden Mathematics Books in the Catalogue of the College of Graça in Coimbra.**  
**Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 104v.**

The second work on astrology listed in the mathematics section of forbidden books of the Catalogue of the College of Graça in Coimbra is the work, *Libelli quinque*,<sup>147</sup> here described as “*Lib. Quinque Matimatiici*”, published at Nuremberg, in 1547, and authored by the polymath Girolamo Cardano (1501–1576).<sup>148</sup> This influential work features a compilation of one hundred astrological charts and is part of a widely popular genre that compiled collections of horoscopes, playing a significant role in the dissemination of astrological knowledge during the sixteenth century.<sup>149</sup> As a highly controversial figure accused of heresy, Cardano had his works explicitly prohibited in the Indexes.<sup>150</sup> Therefore, it is unsurprising to encounter his work listed here. Yet, within the same catalogue, amidst various other items lacking explicit prohibition or licensing, one discovers further astrology works by Maternus and Cardano. More specifically, we find an item relating to a later publication of *Astronomicon*, here titled as *Astronomia* (Basel, 1551).<sup>151</sup>

However, we also find another work by Cardano, this time, a commentary on Ptolemy’s *Tretabiblos*, here described as *In Ptolomæum* (1585). Yet, to our knowledge, there is no existing edition of a commentary on Ptolemy by Cardano published at this date, and Cardano’s publications concerning Ptolemy’s fundamental astrological treatise correspond to the 1554 (Basel), 1555 (Lyons), and 1578 (Basel) editions. There is, however, an edition of another work by Cardano, *Somniorum Synesiorum*, a treatise on the interpretation of dreams, dated 1585 and published in Basel.<sup>152</sup> It is possible that a recording error occurred during the cataloguing process, or perhaps both works were attached together. Unfortunately, this is one of those cases where catalogue records alone fail to provide further clarification. Nevertheless, the examples we have just presented effectively illustrate two instances of different approaches to book regulatory practices regarding the same authors within the same catalogue.

<sup>147</sup> The item pertains to Girolamo Cardano, *Libelli quinque*, (Nuremberg: Johannes Petrejus, 1547).

<sup>148</sup> For a chronology of Cardano’s works, see: Ian Maclean, “A chronology of the composition of Cardano’s works”, in *Girolamo Cardano, The Libris propriis. The editions of 1544, 1550, 1557, 1562, with supplementary material*, ed. Ian Maclean (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2004), 43–111. On the genesis of Cardano’s *Libelli quinque*, see: Ornella Pompeo Faracovi, “Introduzione”, in *Girolamo Cardano, Come si interpretano gli oroscopi* (Pisa and Rome: Istituti Editoriali e Ooligrafici Internazionali, 2005), 9–22.

<sup>149</sup> Girolamo Cardano is recognized for pioneering this genre in printed form, see: Monica Azzolini, “Refining the Astrologer’s Art: Astrological Diagrams in Bodleian MS Canon. Misc. 24 and Cardano’s *Libelli Quinque* (1547)”, *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 42, 1 (2011): 1–25. For an in-depth study of Cardano’s life and work, see especially: Anthony Grafton, *Cardano’s Cosmos: The Worlds and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

<sup>150</sup> On the censorship of Girolamo Cardano’s see, Jonathan Regier, “Reading Cardano with the Roman Inquisition: Astrology, Celestial Physics, and the Force of Heresy”, *Isis*, 110 (2019): 661–79.

<sup>151</sup> Julius Firmicus Maternus, *Astronomicon libri VIII* (Johann Herwagen: Basel 1551). Notice that in the catalogue Julius Firmicus Maternus’s name appear even misspelled (See figure 5).

<sup>152</sup> Girolamo Cardano, *Somniorum Synesiorum* (Sebastian Henricpetri: Basel 1585).

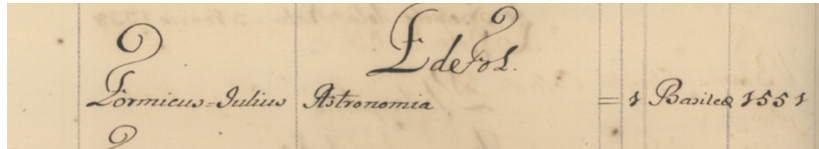


Figure 2.5 – Firmicus Maternus in the Library of College of Graça in Coimbra. Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 64v.

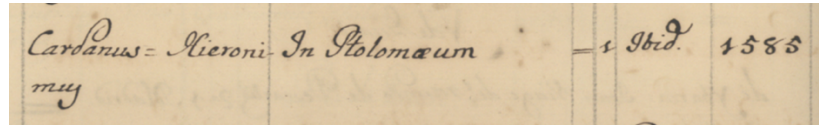


Figure 2.6 – Cardano in the Library of College of Graça in Coimbra. Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 61v.

In this section, we sought to outline how astrology was described and organized in the catalogues and inventories of religious libraries. Through a systematic presentation and comparative analysis of examples from both the same and disparate documents, we have determined that the record-keeping of the discipline exhibits considerable diversity in its placement amid the various organization systems of the catalogues and inventories. To this, we argued that the different categorizations of astrological publications in these sources can be understood as a natural outcome of the discipline's extensive and multifaceted nature. Overall, astrological publications encompassed a wide range of topics, theories, practices, and perspectives, which naturally lead to variations in how publications on the subject are categorized, organized and even censored. Moreover, our examination also revealed instances of indications of prohibited works and the presence of licenses for readership associated with astrology works, among the catalogues of religious book collections. This analysis allowed us to gain valuable insights into the diverse and often contradictory attitudes towards astrological literature and its authors, once again emphasizing the disparity between the rules imposed on the discipline of astrology by the Holy Office and their actual application. Lastly, it is essential to stress once again that both the classification and organization of items in a catalogue, as well as the issues related to forbidden works, are profoundly influenced by the intent, precision, and knowledge of the individuals responsible for their creation. It can even be asserted that the catalogues and inventories of religious collections are not merely neutral records but are shaped by the subjective decisions and expertise of those who compile them.

By this stage, it is our hope that a clear and compelling picture has emerged of these institution's steadfast dedication to the careful curation and systematic organization of their collections. The benefits of examining religious libraries in the context of scientific knowledge creation and distribution are now beyond question. Exploring these religious environments has deepened our insight into their organizational structures and highlighted the scope and influence of scientific book collections maintained by Portuguese religious orders within the broader framework of early modern Portugal. Was the interest in astrology confined solely to the Society of Jesus, or did it extend to other religious congregations? What was the nature of this engagement with astrology? Moreover, what do the records of astrological works in these inventories and catalogues reveal about the discipline's broader significance in Portuguese culture? These questions, along with others, will guide the investigation in the next chapter.

### III. HEAVENLY KNOWLEDGE: Astrology in Religious Libraries

Astrology's enduring presence from antiquity to the late seventeenth century upholds its profound influence on the European intellectual tradition, with its long-lasting legacy providing authors a solid foundation to explore and expand upon its principles. Despite facing continuous criticism from scholars and the Catholic Church, astrology persisted and experienced significant developments during the early modern period. This era witnessed a remarkable resurgence in the exploration of ancient astrological texts, fueled by the advent of the printing press which enabled the flourishing of new astrological writings and the widespread dissemination of popular astrological literature. Notably, the practice of astrology remained vibrant in Portugal, as exemplified by the sophisticated teaching of astrology at the College of Santo Antão in Lisbon, belonging to the Society of Jesus. This singular case of astrological education within a religious institution, combined with the collection of astronomical and astrological texts at the BNP, deriving from various religious libraries, had already provided historians hints of a more pervasive interest in astrology among religious communities than previously acknowledged. As we explored in the previous chapter, the role of religious libraries is critical in understanding the production and dissemination of astrological and scientific knowledge in Portugal during the early modern period. The literary landscape of this time was heavily influenced by the interests of Catholic institutions, which amassed significant collections that included a diverse array of specialized scientific works.

In this chapter, we examine astrological literature found within religious library collections. To this end, we will present the results of our systematic analysis of the astrology books that belonged to the collections of the old libraries of religious Portuguese congregations, spanning the early modern period through their dissolution in 1834. Focusing on astrological texts, we aim to evaluate their distribution across religious libraries while also characterizing the scope of astrological knowledge they possessed. We will accomplish this by considering the data gathered from our inspection of primary sources, as presented in the Bibliographic Index (Appendix)—a compilation of scientific works related to astrological and astronomical knowledge, a key outcome of this research. The data collected in this study was gathered through two primary research approaches. The first and most significant, involved the examination of a total of 320 documents pertaining to the catalogs and inventories from the libraries of Portuguese religious orders. To aid us in this endeavor, we resorted to *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, a comprehensive compilation of inventories and catalogues from religious libraries. We prioritized accessing archives and libraries in Lisbon, as well as utilizing digitized sources available on respective online platforms.

Identifying and analyzing astrology works within the extensive bibliographic collections of religious order's libraries is a complex task, as detailed in Chapter II. In sum, the items compiled in these sources are significantly influenced by the circumstances prevailing at the time of their creation, the underlying motivations, and the expertise and accuracy of the individuals responsible for compiling these records. These documents capture just a fleeting moment in the ever-evolving life of a library. Furthermore, when examining these sources to study the subject of astrology, it is imperative to acknowledge that astrology was, in some of its elements, a prohibited subject, with its practice and readership censored and regulated by the Catholic Church. Once more we stress, the importance of considering that throughout the early modern period, astrology underwent a complex transformation, culminating in its removal from the realm of scientific disciplines by the end of the seventeenth century. Another significant factor concerns the practical challenges associated with examining these primary sources. This includes the extensive effort required to scrutinize these diverse sources which are dispersed across both public

and private contemporary libraries and archives. Despite these challenges, the catalogues and inventories of religious libraries are indispensable tools for gaining insights into these collections and to deepen our understanding of the interests of Portuguese religious institutions in the discipline of Astrology.

Considering the above, we explored additional ways to complement the information gathered from our exam of these primary sources. This involved surveying the records of historical scientific book collections in contemporary libraries and archives, with the goal of identifying volumes that disclosed ownership marks indicating their previous association with the old religious congregations. By employing this strategy, we were able to gather additional data, verify and cross-reference the editions listed in the catalogs, with the existing volumes. Through these two research approaches, we identified 222 astrological works within the collections of the most prominent religious orders in early modern Portugal. At first glance, these figures strength the recurrent impression that, despite the constraints and prohibitive attitudes surrounding the discipline, astrology books still found their place in the libraries of religious congregations, ultimately suggesting an interest in astrology within these communities. As our sources reveal, this interest extended well beyond the collections of the Society of Jesus—already recognized for its vested relevance in astrology teachings.

As we hope will become evident during our analysis, the records of astrology books within religious libraries reveal a substantial body of astrological knowledge preserved in these collections. In some of the most notable cases, the scope of astrological literature is remarkably diverse, encompassing both advanced scholarly texts and accessible popular works authored by prominent national scholars, esteemed classical authorities on astrology, as well as the leading figures of the early modern period. While the focus of this dissertation is the identification and analysis of astrology works, we recognized that our research would benefit from not only cataloging astrology works in isolation but also examining them against the backdrop of the broader subjects encompassed within the category of “the science of the stars”. To this end, in addition to the astrology books, we also collected astronomy book, ephemerides, books on comets, books on instruments, and books in defense and criticism of astrology. This census resulted in the identification of 687 items, all of which are organized into the categories and listed in the Appendix. The items from categories outside of astrology are examined in a more general and less exhaustive manner, still, their inclusion remains essential for contextualizing our research on astrology books. As we will demonstrate, some of the most influential religious libraries held the essential texts needed for an in-depth study of astrology and, if intended, its practice.

At the beginning of this chapter, we will establish a foundation for evaluating astrological knowledge within Portuguese religious libraries by providing an overview of the key types of astrological texts produced during the early modern period. This will allow us to assess the astrological literature extant in these collections, shedding light on the scope of astrological knowledge that circulated and was valued at the time. Next, we will outline the criteria and categories of books included in this study, establishing a framework to guide our analysis.

Following this, we present the data gathered from our investigation, addressing both quantitative and qualitative aspects to characterize the scope of astrological knowledge within the libraries of the most influential religious orders. We begin by analyzing the percentages of various book categories that shaped the Bibliographic Index, providing an overview of the results. From there, we narrow our focus to the primary subject of this study, examining the distribution of astrological works across different religious congregations and their libraries. Building on this survey, we then examine how astrology books are distributed across Portuguese libraries, identifying which orders hold the most titles and which libraries have the largest collections. We will then try to assert the most widely circulated works and authors. Additionally, we will explore

the widespread presence of ephemerides and planetary tables in religious collections. When considered alongside the presence of astrology books, this may ultimately suggest a genuine interest in astrological knowledge and a possible commitment to its practice.

In the fourth section, we unravel the astrology collections of the religious institutions identified in our research as holding the largest number of astrology works: the Library of the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça and the Library of the House of Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência. Drawing on our examination of catalog sources that detail the publication dates of astrology books, we will seek to uncover further insights into the interests and acquisition patterns of Portuguese religious congregations. Despite their distinct profiles, the collections of the Augustinians and the Theatines reveal an intriguing aspect: the circulation of Jesuit astrological manuscripts from the professors of the College of Santo Antão.

In the final section of this chapter, we will examine selected cases of books from the religious collections, focusing on the presence of marginalia and other annotations made by previous owners. By highlighting specific examples, we aim to underscore the engagement of Portuguese religious congregations with astrological knowledge and to provide valuable insights reinforcing our argument regarding a solid interest in astrology within the Portuguese religious communities.

## **Astrological Readings**

The preservation and development of astrological doctrine over centuries attest to its enduring influence. Beginning in the Classical period and continuing through Late Antiquity, astrological principles were transmitted to Europe by medieval scholars, primarily through works in Arabic and Latin. Over the centuries, new writing and methodologies built upon the foundations laid by their predecessors, continually drawing from and reinforcing the authority of earlier scholars.

The early modern period represents a captivating chapter in the history of astrology, defined by a profound engagement with astrological practices and shaped by significant cultural transformations brought about by the Renaissance, nautical global explorations, and the advent of the printing press. Despite enduring intense scrutiny and criticism from both scholarly critics and the Catholic Church, astrological practices continued to flourish and experienced significant developments. This period witnessed a significant revival in the study of ancient astrological texts and was simultaneously marked by a prolific production of new astrological works, as well as a widespread diffusion of popular works in vernacular, such as the almanacs. Popular almanacs were the most widely circulated astrological writings, making astrology accessible to the general public by emphasizing its calendrical, medical and agricultural aspects.<sup>153</sup> Still, almanacs did not encompass the full range of astrological practices and literature. In contrast, scholarly texts, aimed at a more educated audience, provided a comprehensive and nuanced exploration of the discipline. In this section, we offer an overview of the literary landscape within the field of astrology during this period, highlighting key works in the field, exploring various genres of astrological literature. Our goal is to provide a foundational understanding of what one might find in a library on the subject of astrology.

Astrology was deeply embedded in the fabric of early modern European culture and was integral to the development of mathematical and astronomical traditions, playing a significant role in scholarly and intellectual pursuits. Due to its close ties with astronomy, many astronomers and mathematicians were well-versed in astrology, with many actively practicing it as well.

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<sup>153</sup> Other publications dealt with annual prognostications and prognostications related to occasional events such as comets. See: Bernard Stuart Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500–1800* (London: Faber, 1979), 180–214.

Notable figures from this period were both prominent astronomers and practitioners of astrology, namely Galileo Galilei, Tycho Brahe, and Johannes Kepler.<sup>154</sup> Astrological practice demanded a medium to advanced level of astronomical knowledge to ensure accurate computations and manage the more complex aspects of the craft. Hence, astrology held a prominent place in the academic programs of European universities from at least the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>155</sup> Universities integrated astronomy and astrology into the unified course of "science of the stars." The course was divided into Astronomy, focusing on describing and predicting the motions of celestial bodies, and Astrology, dealing with the impacts of celestial events on human affairs. Students were expected not only to be familiar with foundational astronomical texts, such as Johannes de Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera* (On the Sphere), but also gained insights into astrological theory. Astrology courses remained a staple in many European university *curricula* well into the seventeenth century. In Italy, several prominent figures made significant contributions to the field of astrological education. Domenico Maria Novara (1454–1504), a distinguished professor at the University of Bologna, and Luca Gaurico (1476–1558), who founded a renowned school of astrology in Ferrara, were among the early contributors.<sup>156</sup> Giovanni Antonio Magini (1555–1617) later continued this tradition as a professor at the University of Bologna, where he taught astrology and produced influential works on the mathematics and medical courses until his death.<sup>157</sup> Andrea Argoli (1570–1657), another key figure, taught astrology at the University of Rome, La Sapienza, from 1622 to 1627, before moving to the University of Padua, where he taught from 1632 to 1656 and wrote several mathematical textbooks and compiled widely circulated publications of ephemerides.<sup>158</sup> In Spain, universities also incorporated astrology into their programs. The University of Salamanca created a chair of astrology in 1561, held for many years by the distinguished Valencia astronomer Jerónimo Muñoz (1520–1591). Additionally, astrology chairs were also established at the universities of Alcalá de Henares and Valencia. In Portugal, astrology continued to be taught until the end of the seventeenth century at the Jesuit College of Santo Antão in Lisbon, despite of the condemnation of astrology by Pope Sixtus V in the 1586 bull *Coeli et Terrae*.

As it is to be expected, in an educational context, numerous texts and handwritten works were produced. The advent of the printing press severely transformed text communication, yet it did not, at least completely, obliterate the role of manuscripts in communication. Manuscripts related to astrology classes, as well as the personal manuscripts of astrologers, represent key sources for the study of the history of astrology, offering a privileged insight into the discipline.<sup>159</sup> As previously discussed, printed books were heavily regulated and subject to the scrutiny of the Inquisition. In contrast, the manuscript tradition offered a more open medium with less censorship. The lessons from the astrology Classes of Santo Antão were widely distributed, with numerous manuscript copies circulating throughout Portugal and Spain. As we will further explore, these manuscripts also found their place in the libraries of religious congregations.

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<sup>154</sup> See: Nicholas Campion and Nicholas Kollerstrom, *Galileo's Astrology* (Bristol: Culture and Cosmos-Sophia Centre for the Study of Cultural Astronomy and Astrology, 2003); Noel M. Swerdlow, "Galileo's Horoscopes", *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 35 (2004): 135–41; H Darrel Rutkin, "Galileo Astrologer: Astrology and Mathematical Practice in the Late-Sixteenth and Early-Seventeenth Centuries", *Galilaeana*, 2 (2005): 107–43; Dorian Gieseler Greenbaum, *Kepler's Astrology* (Bristol: Culture and Cosmos, 2011).

<sup>155</sup> For studies on the teaching of astrology, see note 10.

<sup>156</sup> Novara is believed to have played a role in instructing Copernicus, see: Robert S. Westman, *The Copernican Question: Prognostication, Skepticism, and Celestial Order* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 76.

<sup>157</sup> On Magini, see: Angus Clarke, "Giovanni Antonio Magini (1555–1617) and Late Renaissance Astrology" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1985).

<sup>158</sup> H. Darrel Rutkin "Astrology", 541–561.

<sup>159</sup> For research on personal manuscripts of astrologers, see: Helena Avelar de Carvalho, *An Astrologer at Work in Late Medieval France*, (Leiden: Brill, 2021); and Ribeiro, *Jesuit Astrology*.

During the early Renaissance, many professional astrologers pursued a university education or received instruction from private tutors, and held prominent positions within the courts of princes, kings, and popes. Astrologers exerted considerable influence on powerful figures, not only by safeguarding their health and well-being through medical astrology but also by aiding in political and social matters. They did so by forecasting on conflicts and their outcomes, as well as predicting potential threats from rivals and subjects.<sup>160</sup> Astrological practice involved two primary components: mathematical calculations and symbolic interpretations, or judgments. Astrological judgments were categorized into four primary branches or divisions, each defined by the subject in analysis. These included, the branch of Revolutions, also known simply as “revolutions”, which dealt with broader collective issues, such as weather prediction and the social and political conditions for a given year; Nativities, focused on interpreting an individual's birth chart to assess their nature and potential, as well as timing of manifestations of the latter; Interrogations, which pertained to the answering of specific questions by analyzing the chart for the exact moment the query was posed to the astrologer; and lastly, the branch of Elections, which concerned itself with determining the most favorable times to undertake various actions according to celestial configurations.

Astrological judgments could only be undertaken after the astrological figure was correctly calculated. This began with the determination of the specific positions of the planets within the Zodiac signs and was achieved through direct observation with the help of astronomical instruments, such as astrolabes and celestial globes (specially designed to aid in astrological calculations), or by consulting planetary tables and ephemerides.<sup>161</sup> Astrology's reliance on intricate and precise astronomical data fuelled a regular publication of ephemerides and planetary tables. Likewise, the demand for specific astrological requirements strongly influenced the evolution of the components of these publications. During the Latin Middle Ages, the first astronomical tables were rooted in Arabic canons and tables. They emerged in the early eleventh century and were compiled by Adelard of Bath. About fifty years later, Petrus Alphonsi (Moses Sephardi), reputedly the physician of Henry I, “the Lion of Justice”, produced his own tables. The period culminated with the Toledan Tables which were then, substituted, during the first half of the fourteenth century, by the Alfonsine tables which remained widely in use until Copernican times.<sup>162</sup> Beginning in the late fifteenth century, a variety of editions of Regiomontanus's tables were published, featuring commentaries and enhancements by notable scholars such as Erasmus Reinhold,<sup>163</sup> Luca Gaurico, and Cyprian Leowitz. By streamlining numerous calculations and reducing manual computation, the tables simplified many aspects of astrological work. Moreover, many of these publications also integrated more complex fundamentals of astrological theory, providing not only planetary positions for several decades following their release but also included fundamental features of astrological practice and interpretation. Once calculations were completed, astrologers proceeded to the interpretation phase. This involved combining three key elements—planets, signs, and houses—according to established rules, to produce various insights and make predictions. To do this, astrologers would turn to the established tradition of principles

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<sup>160</sup> Steven Vanden Broecke, “Astrology and Politics”, 195.

<sup>161</sup> Regarding instruments and astrology see: Richard Dunn, Silke Ackermann, and Giorgio Strano, eds., *Heaven and Earth United: Instruments in Astrological Contexts* (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2018).

<sup>162</sup> Giuseppe Bezza, “The Ephemerides and the Tables of the Primum Mobile”, in *A Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 66.

<sup>163</sup> *Iohannis de Monte Regio mathematici clarissimi Tabulae directionum projectionumque totam rationem primi motus continentes et non tam astrologiae iudicariae quam tabulis instrumentisque innumeris fabricandis utiles ac necessariae. Denuo nunc editae et pulchri-ore ordine dispositae multisque in locis emendatae. Eiusdem Regiomontani tabula sinuum per singula minuta extensa universam sphaericorum triangulorum scientiam complectens. Accesserunt his Tabulae ascensionum obliquarum a 60 gradu elevationis poli usque ad finem quadrantis per Erasmum Reinholdum Salvendensem supputatae* (Wittenberg: 1606).

and techniques, compiled in various forms of astrological treatise, across different periods. From the classical era through the early modern period, astrological techniques and associations were extensively discussed, with their limitations and applications carefully evaluated. These debates led to the adoption of certain tools and methods, while others were discarded as less effective or accurate. Over the course of time, scholars produced extensive works aimed at establishing a comprehensive foundation for astrology. These texts provided in-depth explanations of overarching astrological theory and could cover the full range of branches of astrology or be focused on one or two specific areas, such as meteorology or medicine.

Astrology and astronomy were among the earliest subjects to be printed in book form. The *Tetrabiblos* was the first of Ptolemy's works to be printed, appearing in Latin alongside the pseudo-epigraphic *Centiloquium* (1484).<sup>164</sup> In the Western tradition, practitioners and scholars strengthened astrology's credibility by grounding their arguments in natural philosophy, especially Aristotelian physics and Ptolemaic cosmology. The nature and influence of each planet were understood within the geocentric Ptolemaic universe and operated according to the concept of the four elements, with interplanetary interactions explained by classical optics.<sup>165</sup> This approach played a central part in defending astrology's claim to scientific legitimacy. Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, remained a pivotal text from Antiquity through the seventeenth century, and coded many astrological principles that would be further developed by later scholars.

In the domain of Arabic astrology, the contributions of the 9th-century scholar Abū Maʿṣar (Albumasar) are of particular significance.<sup>166</sup> His seminal work, *Flores Astrologiae*, was first published in 1488, and quickly followed by his *Introductorium* and *De magnis coniunctionibus*, both published in 1489. Among the notable works by Arab scholars was the *Introductorium* (1473), also known as *Introduction to the Art of Astrology*, authored by the tenth-century Arab astrologer Alcabitius (Abu al-Saqr Abd al-Aziz ibn Uthman ibn Ali al-Qabisi). Serving as a fundamental textbook on astrology for many centuries, *Introductorium* laid out basic astrological principles, making it a crucial resource for students of astrology. Additionally, *De iudiciis astrorum*, or *On the Judgments of the Stars*, by Haly Abenragel (Ali ibn Ridwan al-Misri), represented a significant work in the field. First printed in 1485, this treatise offered a comprehensive guide to astrological predictions and interpretations. However, the humanist movement of the Renaissance introduced a substantial body of new astrological literature, marking a significant shift from medieval traditions. While medieval astrology was largely influenced by Arabic authorities, the humanists reintroduced European scholars to a broad array of Greek astrological texts. This transition signified both a move away from medieval practices and a direct engagement with Classical teachings. Consequently, the discipline underwent profound changes, particularly in its philosophical implications. The revival of Ptolemaic astrology during the Renaissance led to notable modifications in the field's technical terminology, including the replacement of many Arabic terms with new ones derived from Ptolemaic sources.<sup>167</sup> This resurgence of Ptolemaic astrology significantly impacted the discourse, leading to a clearer

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<sup>164</sup> Prior to the sixteenth century, *Centiloquium* was widely believed to have been authored by Ptolemy, which contributed to its influence. See: Ornella Pompeo Faracovi, "The Return to Ptolemy", in *A Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 91.

<sup>165</sup> Ribeiro, "Transgressing boundaries?", 54.

<sup>166</sup> Abū Maʿṣar's *Little Introduction* was translated into Latin by Adelard of Bath in 1120. His *Great Introduction* was translated twice: first by Johannes Hispalensis in 1133 and later by Hermannus de Carinthia (Hermannus Dalmata) in 1140. Abū Maʿṣar's *Flores Astrologiae*, which was first printed in 1488, and his *De Revolutionibus Nativitatum*, translated into Greek in the tenth century, were translated into Latin by Hieronymus Wolf in 1559. See: Wolfgang Hübner, "The Culture of Astrology from Ancient to Renaissance", in *A Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 21.

<sup>167</sup> On the Ptolemaic revisionist movement in astrology, see: Ornella Pompeo Faracovi, "The Return to Ptolemy", 87–98; and H Darrel Rutkin, "The Use and Abuse of Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*", 135–49.

distinction between legitimate and dubious forms of astrology. The renewed focus emphasized a purer, less superstitious form of astrology, free from Arabic influences and divinatory practices. This became increasingly apparent among the new authors of the sixteenth century, including the notably influential Girolamo Cardano. Among the Latin texts on astrology, Firmicus Maternus's *Mathesis* stands out as a key work. Not only for being the only comprehensive Latin introduction to astrology from antiquity but also for its preservation due to Firmicus's later conversion to Christianity. In *Mathesis*, Firmicus draws upon the final book of Manilius's *Astronomica*, a didactic poem from the late Augustan period. This poem was rediscovered in 1517 by Poggio Bracciolini during the Council of Constance. Its revival sparked significant interest, driven both by its poetic elegance and its rich astrological content.<sup>168</sup> This style of poem inspired Renaissance scholars to create their own works in a similar vein. Notably, Giovanni Pontano's (1426–1503), didactic poem *Urania* which is celebrated as one of the finest poems on the stars from the Renaissance.<sup>169</sup>

Beyond the return to the classical sources, the early modern period witnessed the emergence of several original texts that quickly gained influence across Europe. Prominent astrological treatises, by scholars such as Pedro Ciruelo (1470-1548), Luca Gaurico (1475-1558), Johannes Schöner (1477-1547), Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576), Francesco Giuntini (1523-1590), and Johannes Garcaeus (1530-1574), presented innovative pedagogical methods, by means of a modern language style.<sup>170</sup> Their works introduced novel theories regarding the division of astrological houses, advanced calculation methods, and shaped the ongoing discourse about the use, origins, and validity of key aspects of astrological doctrine. Their influence was profound and established new standards for the study and practice of the field. Until the end of the seventeenth century, scholars kept the production of innovative and sophisticated works on various aspects of astrology. In the Portuguese context, *Summa Astrologica* (1631) by António Najera must be reference. This work stands not only as the most comprehensive guide on astrometeorology, but also as the only astrological treatise written in Spanish, and published in Lisbon. Other sophisticated astrological works included treatises dedicated to medical astrology. Astrology had long served as a complementary tool to medicine, offering additional guidance for diagnosing, and treating illnesses. From antiquity, scholars developed detailed accounts that integrated astrological principles with medical diagnosis and treatment. Although scepticism regarding astrology was not uncommon among physicians, medical astrology continued to be a flourishing practice well into the eighteenth century. A significant work within the framework of late fifteenth-century Portuguese astrological practice is *Tratado breve de las influencias del Cielo*, by the well-known physician and astrologer from Salamanca, Abraão Zacuto (1452-1515).<sup>171</sup> Written in Spanish in 1486, it consists of a concise manual with rich content that covers the fundamental principles of astrological doctrine, specifically aimed at physicians who were also astrologers.

Another noteworthy category of advanced astrological books popular in the early modern period was collections of nativities of notable figures. These volumes, featuring both historical and contemporary individuals, were essential for authors to showcase the practical application of astrological principles, whilst providing detailed case studies that illustrated the theoretical

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<sup>168</sup> Hübner, "The Culture of Astrology from Ancient to Renaissance", 23.

<sup>169</sup> Hübner, "The Culture of Astrology from Ancient to Renaissance", 51; Giovanni Pontano, *Urania sive de stellis libri quinque. Meteororum liber unus. De hortis Hesperidum libri duo (...)* (Venice: 1505).

<sup>170</sup> Ribeiro, "Transgressing boundaries?", 13.

<sup>171</sup> Zacuto was hailed as the foremost astronomer in the Iberian Peninsula during the late Middle Ages, Zacuto is best known for his *ha-Hibbur ha-gado l* (The Great Composition), an extensive Hebrew treatise that includes meticulously calculated astronomical tables. For an in-depth study of Zacuto's *Tratado*, see: Eunice Santos, "O *Tratado Breve de las Influências del Cielo* (1486), de Abraão Zacuto" (MA diss., University of Lisbon, 2021).

underpinnings of astrology. By means of presenting nativities of notable figures, they not only provided concrete examples of astrology “in action”, but also contributed significantly to the pedagogical framework of the discipline serving as key resources in the education and professional development of aspiring astrologers. Some examples include, the works of Cardano, Gaurico,<sup>172</sup> Garcaeus<sup>173</sup> and the influential Danish governor of Schleswig-Holstein, Heinrich Rantzau (1526–1598).<sup>174</sup>

Well into the seventeenth century, European astrologers continued their efforts to reshape the discipline. In France, Jean-Baptiste Morin (1583–1656) produced what is considered one of the most comprehensive attempts to theorize and organize astrology's tradition.<sup>175</sup> Morin acknowledged the Renaissance critique of astrology by Pico della Mirandola, agreeing that much of traditional astrology was misguided and a tool of deception that misled Christians. He believed that genuine astrology had yet to be fully realized in modern times and sought to bring this vision to life through his work *Astrologia Gallica* (1661), published after his death.<sup>176</sup> This leads us to another significant category of publications related to astrology: the critical works, which challenged and scrutinized astrological practice. As explored in Chapter I, the critique of astrology has a long historical lineage. Soon after the first astrological books were printed at the end of the fifteenth century, strong rebuttals to astrological beliefs emerged. As previously discussed, the most prominent of these attackers, was Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's. Pico's critique of astrology played an important role in shaping the public and intellectual discourse on astrology, questioning its validity, methodologies, and influence within broader scientific and philosophical debates. Anti-astrological writings often presented a mixed and unstructured critique of astrology, with a tendency to blend various forms of criticism without clear distinction.<sup>177</sup> They generally point the inadequacies of some practitioner's knowledge and ethical concerns, whilst accusing practitioners of malice and pointing to flaws in astrological techniques. Furthermore, these attacks were frequently reinforced with theological arguments, inherently disconnected from the scientific and empirical aspects of astrology. Contemporary with Pico, Girolamo Savonarola also presented his critique of astrology in the vernacular, *Contra l'astrologia divinatrice*.<sup>178</sup> Moreover, Pico's nephew, Gianfrancesco Pico (1470–1533), who edited the *Disputationes* after his uncle's untimely death, also offered a critique of astrology in his work *Examen vanitatis doctrinae gentium*.<sup>179</sup> Among the various anti-astrological texts, several were authored by members of religious orders, particularly those affiliated with the Collegio Romano of the Society of Jesus.<sup>180</sup> Notable examples include *Adversus fallaces et superstitiosas artes, id est, De magia, de observatione somniorum, et de divinatione astrologica*

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<sup>172</sup> Lucas Gaurico, *Tractatus Astrologiae Iudiciariae de nativitatibus virorum*, (Nuremberg, 1540); Gaurico, *Tractatus astrologicus in quo agitur de praeteritis multorum hominum accidentibus per proprias eorum genituras ad unguem examinatis* (Venezia, 1552) (160 nativities).

<sup>173</sup> Johannes Garcaeus, *Astrologiae Methodus* (Basel: Henric Petrina, 1576); here Garcaeus presents 400 nativities.

<sup>174</sup> Henrich Rantzau, *Catalogus imperatorum, regum ac principum, qui artem astro-logicam amarunt, ornarunt et exercuerunt* (Antwerp, 1580); Rantzau, *Exempla, quibus astrologicae scientiae certitudo (...)* (Cologne, 1585) (87 horoscopes). On Heinrich Rantzau, see: Günther Oestmann, *Heinrich Rantzau und die Astrologie* (Braunschweig: Landesmuseum, 2004).

<sup>175</sup> Steven Vanden Broecke, “Astrology in the Early Modern Period: Practices and Concepts” in *Encyclopedia of Early Modern Philosophy and the Sciences*, 7 (2020): 7.

<sup>176</sup> Jean-Baptiste Morin, *Astrologia Gallica principiis et rationibus propriis stabilita atque in XXVI libros distributa* (The Hague: Adrian Vlacq, 1661).

<sup>177</sup> Ribeiro, “Transgressing boundaries?”, 73.

<sup>178</sup> Girolamo Savonarola, *Opera singulare contra l'astrologia divinatrice* (Venice, 1536).

<sup>179</sup> Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola, *Examen Vanitatis Doctrinae Gentium, Et veritatis Christianae Disciplinae: Distinctum in Libros sex* (1520).

<sup>180</sup> For an overview of the Jesuits anti-astrological discourse, see: Ribeiro, “Transgressing boundaries?”, 63–74.

(1590) by Benito Pereira (1535–1610),<sup>181</sup> and *In astrologos coniectores libri quinque* (1615) by Alessandro De Angelis (1559–1620).<sup>182</sup> Another frequently cited author, was the Jesuit theologian Martín Antonio Del Rio (1551–1608), best known for his seminal work, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* (1599–1600). Del Rio explores multiple forms of divination. While astrology is referenced throughout the text, particularly in relation to magic, it is examined in detail in Book Four, Chapter Three, Question One, which is specifically titled “On Divination from the Stars” (*De Coniectatione ex astris*). Further treatises against astrology, included Jacques de Billy’s *Le tombeau de l’astrologie judiciaire* (1657) and Gian Battista Noceto’s *Astrologia ottima, indifferente, pessimal* (1663)—both written in vernacular languages rather than Latin.<sup>183</sup>

Notwithstanding the criticism that emerged, astrologers swiftly responded with their own works and texts. Several figures played a significant role in defending astrology. Lucio Bellanti (c. 1450–1499), a professor of medicine and astrology at Siena, robustly supported astrological practice in his *Liber de astrologica veritate*, proudly noting his accurate prediction of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola’s death before age 33.<sup>184</sup> Among the prominent defenders were Pontano with his *De rebus coelestibus*,<sup>185</sup> Cardano, Schöner with his comprehensive manual *De iudiciis nativatum*,<sup>186</sup> and Rantzau in his *Tractatus astrologicus*.<sup>187</sup> Other supporters included Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535) with *De occulta philosophia*.<sup>188</sup> This tradition of defending astrology persisted into the seventeenth century, with significant contributions from Morin, and Antonio Francesco Bonatti (c. 1295–c. 1375), *Liber Astronomiae*. A common feature in most astrological works was the inclusion of an introductory section outlining the fundamentals of the discipline, particularly in larger volumes aimed at establishing the legitimacy of astrology.<sup>189</sup> These prefaces aimed to differentiate astrology from the dubious practices of unskilled practitioners. Authors often positioned astrology within the broader landscape of scientific knowledge and accepted cosmological principles. Additionally, they addressed common misconceptions and criticisms. In more detailed introductions, authors went further, underscoring astrology’s value by highlighting its solid scientific foundation and practical relevance to human affairs.<sup>190</sup> Another key element of these introductions was the cautionary tone regarding astrology’s limits in relation to Church doctrine. In Christian contexts, particularly after the establishment of the Index’s regulations and the issuance of the first papal bull on astrology, any astrological text—from simple almanacs to comprehensive manuals—required some form of justification to secure printing approval and avoid strict censorship.

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<sup>181</sup> Benito Pereira, *Adversus Fallaces & Superstitiosas Artes, Id Est de Magia, de Observatione Somniorum & de Divinatione Astrologica Libri Tres* (Lyon: ex officina Juntarum, 1590).

<sup>182</sup> Alessandro De Angelis, *In astrologos coniectores libri quinque. Auctore Alexandro de Angelis, in Collegio Romano Societatis Iesu, studiorum praefecto* (Lyon: Horatio Cardon, 1615).

<sup>183</sup> Jacques de Billy, *Le Tombeau de L’astrologie Judiciaire* (Paris: Michele Soly, 1657); Giovanni Battista Noceto, *Astrologia Ottima, Indifferente, Pessima* (Paris: Enrico Sara, 1663).

<sup>184</sup> Bellanti, Lucio. *Liber de astrologica veritate contra Johannem Picum Mirandulam* (Firenze: Gherardum de Haerlem, 1498). See, Vanden Broecke, *The Limits of Influence*, 24–27.

<sup>185</sup> Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, *De rebus coelestibus libri XIII*. The first part was published between 1475 and 1477, with the second part released after Pico’s *Confutatio*, between 1494 and 1495. Although unfinished, it was printed in the year of Pontano’s death, in Basel (1503), and subsequently in Venice (1519), Basel (1530), and again in Basel (1566). Book XII, which was added later, addresses the refutation of astrology, see: Hübner, “The Culture of Astrology from Ancient to Renaissance”, 53.

<sup>186</sup> Johannes Schöner, *De iudiciis nativatum libri tres, item Praefatio Philippi Melanthonis* (Nuremberg, 1545).

<sup>187</sup> Henrich Rantzau, *Exempla, quibus astrologicae scientiae certitudo* (Cologne: Apud Maternum Cholinum, 1585) (87 horoscopes); and Rantzau, *Tractatus astrologicus de genethliacorum thematum iudiciis pro singulis nati accidentibus* (Frankfurt: 1602).

<sup>188</sup> Agrippa von Nettesheim, *De occulta philosophia libri tres* (Lyon, 1510).

<sup>189</sup> See: Gee, “Strategies of Defending Astrology: A Continuing Tradition”.

<sup>190</sup> Ribeiro, “Transgressing boundaries?”, 43.

Despite the longstanding condemnation from intellectuals and theologians, the nature of criticism against astrology underwent a significant transformation in the latter half of the sixteenth century. While earlier critiques of astrology were essentially constructed around philosophical arguments, the late Renaissance criticisms increasingly resorted to outright ridicule of the discipline. This shift is also evident in the numerous parodies of almanacs published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reflecting the changing tone of criticism towards astrology during this period.<sup>191</sup> Still, these attacks had little impact on the practice of astrology, and astrological publications continued to enjoy wide popularity. One significant category of astrological publication that drew sharp criticism from both astrology's detractors and its advocates were the widely circulated almanacs. Almanacs not only provided astrological predictions, but also integrated local cultural, social and political concerns, catering both educated and more popular audiences. In some instances, these publications postulated alarming predictions on both global and local events. The sensational nature of such predictions provoked intense criticism from both critics and reputable astrologers, who challenged their credibility and accuracy.<sup>192</sup>

Whenever an extraordinary astronomical event occurred, such as a comet, an eclipse of the sun or moon, or a planetary conjunction, numerous texts emerged offering astrological predictions related to these phenomena. This was a widespread practice across Europe throughout the Middle Ages and Early Modern period. In broad terms, publications that fall under the category of almanacs, generally included three main components: a calendar featuring church festivals, feast days, markets, and fairs, sometimes supplemented by a selective chronology of historical events or a list of rulers; information on the year's astronomical occurrences; and a series of astrological prognostications predicting weather, crop yields, health issues, and political or religious developments.<sup>193</sup> Additionally, some almanacs provided practical features such as town routes and basic astrological medical principles, including the zodiacal man illustrating the planetary influences and their effects on the human body.<sup>194</sup> Overall, these publications served as versatile reference tools and addressed a wide range of practical needs for their readers.

However, in the context of the Iberian Peninsula, what we commonly refer to as almanacs, can also be sorted into several categories such as, lunar calendars, annual prognostications, works on comets, predictions related to other phenomena, and critical or satirical works. Although the term "almanaque" originally meant "calendar," it eventually became widely associated with the annual astrological prognostications. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Iberian Peninsula, the title "lunario" also became the predominant designation for astrological works featuring annual prognostications. Initially, "lunario" referred to "tables of the Moon," which were used for ephemerides. As scholars emphasize, not every publication titled *lunario* or "lunar calendar," and not every almanac, contained astrological content.<sup>195</sup> Some lunar calendars from the seventeenth century were purely ephemerides, while some almanacs were simply liturgical

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<sup>191</sup> On the Portuguese context, see: Carolino, *A escrita celeste*, 73–80.

<sup>192</sup> One of the most notorious examples of the impact of popular prognostications in almanacs, was the case of the flood prediction for 1524 regarding the planetary conjunctions of Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn in the sign of Pisces. Here, a commentary published in Johann Stöfler and Jakob Pflaum's ephemeris of 1499 was inflated and erroneously reproduced as a prediction of deluge, which resulted in a wave of panic throughout Europe. See: Ribeiro, "Transgressing boundaries?", 14–15.

<sup>193</sup> On the structure of Almanacs and Prognostication see: Phebe Jensen, *Astrology, Almanacs, and the Early Modern, English Calendar* (New York: Routledge, 2021), 57–136.

<sup>194</sup> William Eamon, "Astrology and Society", in *A Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 161.

<sup>195</sup> Lanuza-Navarro, "Astrological Literature in Seventeenth-Century Spain", 121. Several works cited across this dissertation have explored the role of almanacs in the context of Early Modern England. Some studies indicate that, after the Bible, almanacs were among the most widely read forms of literature in seventeenth-century England. On this, see also: Curry, *Prophecy and Power*, 21.

calendars. In sum, the heterogeneous group of publications that encompassed “almanques”, lunários, *prognosticos*, *reportorios*, among others, varied widely—from scholarly works intended for professionals to popular editions aimed at a broad audience. Nevertheless, they became indispensable readings for people seeking insight into future events and the rhythms of the natural world. The close linguistic ties between Old Portuguese and Castilian greatly expanded the circulation of these publications across the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, the use of vernacular, over Latin, significantly broadened the appeal and accessibility of these publications, making astrological knowledge available to a wider spectrum of society and amplifying their distribution and popularity throughout the region. This factor brought astrology into the cultural mainstream, setting the widespread understanding of celestial influences on earthly affairs among the general public.

Among the various authors of Portuguese astrological almanacs, we find some of the most renowned astrologers of the time who were dedicated to this craft. Among the most prominent are the infamous Manuel Gomes Galhano Lourosa and the royal physician Francisco Guilherme Casmach (1569–16-?).<sup>196</sup> Scholars have noted the comparatively limited depth of astrological analysis in Portuguese almanacs relative to their English and German counterparts, attributing this to factors such as lack of investment and issues related to censorship.<sup>197</sup> Nevertheless, there are exceptions, notably the almanacs published by Casmach, namely *the Almanach prototypo, e exemplar de prognosticos* (1644), and *Brachylogia astrologica* (1646).<sup>198</sup> Other portuguese authors of popular publications also included; Gaspar Cardoso de Sequeira, Antônio Pais Ferraz, Gomes Rodrigues de Sequeiras, Francisco Lopes Serrão, Francisco de Espinhosa, and Jerónimo Avelar.

Throughout the seventeenth century, Iberian literature prominently featured numerous works focused on comets and other astronomical events. These included treatises that frequently explored astrological prognostications concerning various phenomena.<sup>199</sup> Among the most notable events that stimulated Portuguese scholarly debates, was the comet of 1618. The resulted in significant academic discussion which invigorated the Portuguese publishing market, leading to the publication of a considerable number of treatises on comets. One of the most prominent figures in this field was André de Avelar, a professor of mathematics at the University of Coimbra. Avelar expanded on his observations of comets in his *Discurso Astronómico e Astrológico do Cometa que Apareceu por Novembro de 1618 em Coimbra*.<sup>200</sup> He had previously documented his awareness of new astronomical observations of comets and novas in his influential work *Chronographia* or *Reportório dos Tempos*, a widely recognized text on the fundamentals of astronomy and rustic astrology. Another example was Antonio de Najera’s *Discursos Astrológicos sobre o Cometa*, (1619), which extends to twenty-six pages and is structured into

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<sup>196</sup> For a study on the Portuguese almanacs and Casmach and Lourosa works see: Carolino, *A escrita celeste*, 42–43, 52–61; and Id., *Ciência, astrologia e sociedade*, 223–24; On the infamous quarrel between Casmach and Lourosa, see: Carlos Ziller Camenietzk and Luís Miguel Carolino, “Astrologers at War: Manuel Galhano Lourosa and the Political Restoration of Portugal, 1640-1668”, *Culture and Cosmos*, 13 (2009): 68–70.

<sup>197</sup> Helena Avelar de Carvalho and Luís de Campos Ribeiro, “As Práticas Astrológicas em Portugal”, in *Ciência, Tecnologia e Medicina na Construção de Portugal* (Lisboa: Tinta da China, 2021), 1:388.

<sup>198</sup> Francisco Guilherme Casmach, *Almanach prototypo, e exemplar de pronósticos (...)* (Lisboa: Paulo Craesbeeck, 1644); and Casmach, *Brachylogia astrologica e apocatastasis. (...)* (Lisboa: Paulo Craesbeeck, 1646).

<sup>199</sup> In many instances, these observations were made using instruments. A notable example from this period is a manuscript that incorporates telescope observations from 1649, which are uniquely integrated into the astrological prognostication and provide an interpretation of the solar eclipse of 1652. For further details, see: Luís Campos Ribeiro and Henrique Leitão, “Astrology with New Eyes: The Telescope in Astrological Prognostication”, *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 49, no. 3 (2018): 345–362.

<sup>200</sup> André de Avelar, *Discurso Astronómico e Astrológico do cometa que apareceu por novembro de 1618 em Coimbra* (Lisboa: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1619).

several discourses.<sup>201</sup> Overall, most discussions about the nature of comets, both among professional astronomers and astrologers, adhered to the Aristotelian theory of their meteorological origin. However, other scholars contested this theory and offered their own evaluations of the phenomenon.<sup>202</sup> Among them was Manuel Bocarro Francês (1588–1668), a physician of Jewish descent and a notable figure in Portuguese culture of the sixteenth century, also known as Jacob Rosales.<sup>203</sup> Bocarro Francês published a treatise on comets titled *Tratado dos Cometas que Apareceram em Novembro Passado de 161* (Lisbon, 1619). In addition to this work, he authored several other notable publications that combined astrology and prophecy, including *Anacephaleoses da Monarchia Luzitana* (1624) and *Luz Pequena Lunar e Estellifera da Monarchia Luzitana* (1626).

Across the early modern period, astrology was a highly developed field, distinguished by its broad conceptual framework, sophisticated data analysis methods, and diverse array of tools. As we have aimed to demonstrate, this period witnessed a diverse array of astrological publications, ranging from comprehensive treatises that explored the various branches of the discipline to more accessible annual prognostications and popular almanacs. Astrology's utter dependency on precise and complex astronomical data, stimulated the production and publication of other formats such as ephemerides and planetary tables. Overall, this diversity in formats and the varying levels of complexity highlight the comprehensive scope of astrological knowledge. In examining astrology books within Portuguese religious libraries, it is essential to assess these various types of publications so that we may gain a more thorough understanding of the astrological knowledge that was disseminated and valued in this historical context. We will now proceed to the analysis of the results from our research.

### **Astrology Books in Religious Libraries: Criteria**

Early modern astrology was an exceptionally rich discipline, characterized by extensive theoretical concepts, data processing techniques, and the use of various instruments. As discussed in the first part of this chapter, the advent of printing enabled the rapid dissemination of astrological knowledge, beginning with the publication of planetary tables and ephemerides, essential for astrological calculations. This was soon followed by the printing of numerous traditional astrological texts that laid the foundation for astrological doctrine. Until the end of the seventeenth century, scholars dedicated themselves to producing both sophisticated works on astrology and more practical, popular texts. For this investigation, we have organized astrology books into two main categories: *astrological treatises* and *almanacs*. Almanacs, generally accessible to the masses, were often written in the vernacular and had a more popular tone, while astrological treatises were typically complex works intended for scholars and written in Latin. While these categories may seem somewhat simplified or even overlapping, they serve a critical function in assessing the level and nature of astrological knowledge valued by religious congregations. Throughout this dissertation, references to the number of “astrology books” encompass both almanacs and astrological treatises; distinctions between them will only be made when discussing each category separately.

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<sup>201</sup> António Najera, *Discursos Astrológicos sobre o Cometa, que Apareceu em 25 de Novembro de 1618* (Lisboa: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1619); Lanuza-Navarro, “Astrological Literature in Seventeenth-Century Spain”, 127.

<sup>202</sup> Luís Miguel Carolino, “Cometas, Estrelas Novas e Matéria Celeste em Portugal”, in *Ciência, Tecnologia e Medicina na Construção de Portugal* (Lisboa: Tinta da China, 2021), 1:360.

<sup>203</sup> On Bocarro's work and life see: Carlos Ziller Camenietzki, Luís Miguel Carolino, and Bruno Martins Leite, “A disputa do cometa: Matemática e Filosofia na controvérsia entre Manuel Bocarro Francês e Mendo Pacheco de Brito acerca do cometa de 1618”, *Revista Brasileira de História da Matemática*, 4, no. 7 (2004): 3–18.

Still, astrological content was not limited to almanacs and more specialized astrological texts. As repeatedly emphasized throughout this study, astrology and astronomy were historically intertwined as branches of the same scientific tradition. In antiquity and the Middle Ages, the study of celestial bodies encompassed both the observation of astronomical phenomena and their astrological interpretations. The methodologies and frameworks developed for astronomical observations were often employed to support astrological predictions and vice versa. This reflected a unified worldview where the cosmos was understood as a coherent system. Hence, to fully grasp the presence of astrology in the context of libraries, one must recognize its presence in broader scientific literature, specially until the end of the seventeen century. This included astronomical treatises on the “Sphere”, works on cosmography, navigation, and astronomical theory, as well as works on scientific instruments, natural philosophy, chronology, and the description and prediction of astronomical phenomena.

To address this question without diverting from the primary focus of this dissertation—namely, the analysis of astrology books within the collections of Portuguese religious libraries—We decided to broaden our assessment of the books related to religious collections. This decision led to the compilation of the Bibliographic Index, presented in the Appendix, which includes not only astrology books but also a selection of works from categories closely related to astrology and astronomy. Although the data related to the supplementary categories will be analyzed in a more general and less exhaustive manner, it allowed us to examine astrology works within a broader framework that includes a fuller account of all the aspects underpinning its practice and theoretical foundation.

Understanding that the boundaries between astrological and astronomical literature are often fluid and overlapping, we organized the books collected into the following categories:

- **Astrological Books** (framed into two main categories)
  - **Astrological Treatises:** This category includes sophisticated works that compile the fundamental principles and techniques essential for practicing astrology. These treatises can focus on specific branches, such as Medical Astrology or Meteorology. We have considered a wide range of astrological texts, including both printed works and manuscripts.
  - **Almanacs and Repertories:** this category encompasses popular almanacs, known as “lunários,” and annual prognostications, which may vary greatly in complexity. Additionally, we have included publications referred to as “Reportórios”. These works, widely circulated throughout the Iberian Peninsula, offer more advanced content on agricultural, meteorological, navigational, astronomical, and astrological practices.
- **Planetary Tables and Ephemerides:** Recognizing the deep reliance of astrological practice on precise astronomical data and complex mathematical calculations, we acknowledged the presence of ephemerides within the collections of religious libraries. While these publications are not exclusively astrological, they often include significant astrological content and play a crucial role in the practice of astrology.
- **Books of Criticism of Astrology:** Although critiques of astrology do not constitute astrological works themselves, their inclusion in religious libraries warrants

consideration. It is essential to investigate whether these critiques existed alongside the astrological publications they targeted and to explore the implications of this coexistence.

- **Books in Defense of Astrology:** This category encompasses works that may critique astrology and other divinatory practices but simultaneously advocate for a ‘responsible’ approach to the practice of astrology.
- **Books on Comets:** This category encompasses works that explore the nature, observation, and significance of comets within both astronomical and astrological frameworks. These texts often discuss the historical and cultural impact of comets, their appearances, and their interpretations in relation to celestial events.
- **Astronomy Books:** This category includes foundational texts that delve into the principles and theories of astronomy, covering topics such as celestial mechanics, the behavior of celestial bodies, and observational techniques. These works are critical for understanding the scientific underpinnings of astrological practices, as they provide the essential astronomical knowledge required for accurate astrological calculations and interpretations.
- **Books on Instruments:** This category features publications that discuss the various instruments used in astronomical observations and astrological practices. These may include astrolabes, armillary spheres, telescopes, and other tools that facilitated the measurement and analysis of celestial phenomena.

Once more, it is important to note that these categories are not rigid classifications but serve as organizational tools to facilitate the investigation. Their purpose is to help us evaluate and distinguish between the various levels of astrological knowledge, as well as other forms of scientific literature related to the study of celestial phenomena. Hopefully, adopting these categories will allow us to have a more nuanced assessment of astrology’s presence within religious collections, whilst upholding the fundamental notion of astrology as a multifaceted discipline deeply intertwined with the intellectual and cultural fabric of its time.

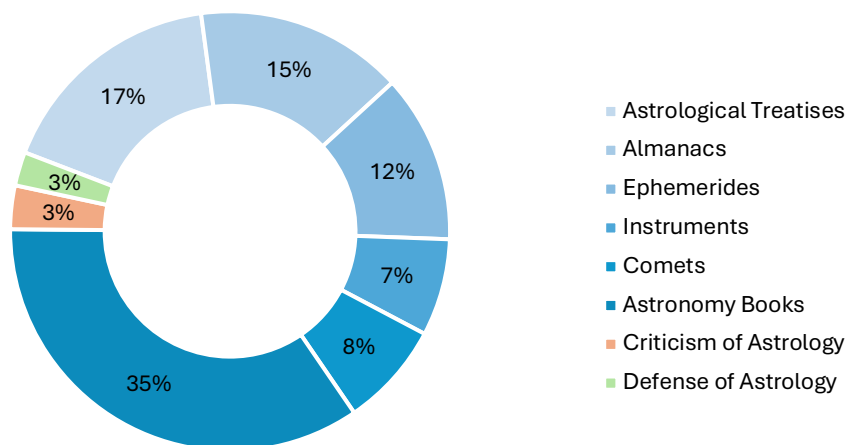
### **Astrology Books in Religious Libraries**

We now turn to the core of our study: an in-depth examination of the astrological collections within Portuguese religious libraries, spanning from the early modern period until their dissolution in 1834. Our aim is to map both quantitative and qualitative elements to capture the breadth of astrological knowledge present within the libraries of the most prominent religious orders. As outlined earlier, our research rests on two primary approaches. The first, and most significant, entailed the inspections of the record of catalogs from old religious libraries. In a second approach, we cross-referenced these findings with scientific book collections preserved in contemporary libraries. Unless otherwise noted, the items identified and presented throughout our dissertation, pertaining to a specific library, may come from one or multiple sources. Whenever an item appeared in more than one source from the same library, it was counted only once, except in cases where distinct editions were specified.

From the data extracted from the 320 documents pertaining to the catalogs and inventories of former Portuguese religious orders and cross-referencing with the volumes originating from religious institutions, we were able to identify 222 astrological works among the religious

collections.<sup>204</sup> Along with the astrology work, we cataloged other related materials—astronomy books, ephemerides, books on comets, books on defense and criticism of astrology and astrological instruments—which culminated in a the list of 687 items across 41 libraries belonging to 16 religious orders, detailed in the Appendix. It is hoped that this additional evidence will support our research and enrich our understanding of the broader significance astrological literature within the context of Portuguese religious collections. As our findings will demonstrate, several religious libraries housed comprehensive scientific collections, suggesting an effective interest in the preservation of both astronomical and astrological knowledge. Ultimately, this evidence will offer a nuanced perspective on the engagement with astrological knowledge—and perhaps even its practice—within religious institutions in early modern Portugal.

Our analysis begins with an examination of the percentages of different categories of books that contributed to the formation of the Bibliographic Index, namely: Astrological Treatises, Almanacs, Ephemerides, Instruments, Comets, Astronomy Books, Criticism of Astrology, and Defense of Astrology. Following this, the focus will shift to the primary subject of our dissertation: Astrology Books, categorized into two main types—astrological treatises and almanacs. At this point it is important to emphasize that, even in the largest collections, scientific books typically accounted for only around 10% of the total holdings. As such, the numbers presented hereafter should be interpreted with this in mind. Additionally, throughout our inspection of religious library catalogs and inventories, we noticed a recurring pattern: whenever we encountered a notable presence of scientific books—such as natural philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy—it became more likely that we would also find astrological titles. In many cases where libraries had a smaller number of astrology books, we found that these were often libraries with few scientific works overall. In some cases, the only scientific books present were one or two almanacs or an ephemeris. Next, we will examine the distribution of these works across various districts in Portugal. Following this, we will explore the data in greater depth, examining and comparing the prevalence of astrological texts among the different religious congregations and within their respective libraries.



**Graph 3.1 – Percentage of Astrology and Astronomy Books Identified**

<sup>204</sup> In this dissertation, the term “astrology books” refers collectively to both almanacs and astrological treatises. Distinctions between these categories will be specified only when discussing them individually.

Graph 3.1 presents the percentage distribution of 687 items listed in the records of 41 libraries associated with sixteen religious orders—organized into the established categories for this study. Overall, the graph illustrates that religious institutions held a rich and diverse collection of works encompassing a wide range of topics related to the study of celestial phenomena. The percentage of astronomy books comprise the largest segment of the collection, accounting for 35% of the total number of items collected.

Based on our research, the most popular author of astronomical works found in religious libraries was Johannes de Sacrobosco (ca. 1190–1256). We identified 34 works attributed to Sacrobosco, a number that reflects mostly the numerous editions the authors treatise *De Sphaera*. Of the author's works, the oldest edition identified dates to 1485 and is titled *Sphericum Opusculum*, listed in a catalog associated with an unidentified library belonging to a Dominican convent.<sup>205</sup> The most recent edition identified is the 1591 printing of *Sphaera Ioannis de Sacro Bosco Emendata*, as evidenced by a copy in the BNP collection, originating from the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça in Lisbon, a library of the Augustinian order.<sup>206</sup> Additionally, there are also the commentaries by Christoph Clavius (1538–1612) on Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera*. A total of 13 items attributed to Clavius were identified. These findings underscore the enduring influence and widespread dissemination of Sacrobosco's works, along with the successive commentaries by later authors, not only in scholarly circles but also within religious contexts. As for the most circulated edition of astronomical works, it appears to have been the 1621 edition of *Collecta Astronomica* by Christoforo Borri.<sup>207</sup> A total of 12 copies of this work were identified across libraries belonging to seven different religious orders. Works by Tycho Brahe were also prolific, with seven items identified across various libraries. Other prominent authors include Giovanni Antonio Magini (1555–1617), Orontius Fineus (1494–1555), Gemma Frisius (1508–1555), Alessandro Piccolomini (1508–1578), and Georg von Peurbach (1423–1461). The works of the notorious Galileo (1564–1642), Regiomontanus (1436–1476), Copernicus (1473–1543), and Isaac Newton (1643–1727) also found their place in Portuguese religious collections, underscoring the diversity and depth of these libraries. Johannes Kepler's (1571–1630) works were particularly well-represented, with 10 items identified in sources related to the Mathematics Library of the Colégio de Santo Antão, but primarily associated with the Oratorian libraries of Nossa Senhora das Necessidades in Lisbon. This same library also housed a collection of four works by Johannes Hevelius (1616–1687), demonstrating the Oratorians' dedication to preserving and expanding their collection of pioneering works in the field of astronomy. Regarding national authors, António Carvalho da Costa (1650–1715) stands out with 14 items identified. Notably, his 1676 edition of *Via Astronómica*, published in Lisbon, was documented in sources related to six religious libraries.<sup>208</sup> Similarly, André de Avelar emerges as another prominent national author, with his 1493 edition of *Sphaerae Utriusque* found in the catalogs of nine religious libraries across seven different orders.<sup>209</sup> Beyond the prominence of international authors, this evidence also underscores the widespread dissemination and influence of national authors in the field of astronomy within Portuguese religious collections.

Astrological treatises and almanacs comprise 17% and 15% of the collection, respectively, underscoring a notable coexistence of complex astrological works alongside more

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<sup>205</sup> Johannes de Sacrobosco, *Sphericum opusculum*. (Venice, 1485). BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 288r. *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>206</sup> Johannes de Sacrobosco, *Sphaera Ioannis de Sacro Bosco emendata* (Coloniae: apud Gosuinum Cholinum, 1591). BNP, RES. 4847 P.

<sup>207</sup> Christoforo Borri, *Collecta Astronomica*. (Ulysiopone: apud Matthiam Rodrigues, 1631).

<sup>208</sup> António Carvalho da Costa, *Via astronómica* (Lisboa: officina de Francisco Villela, 1676).

<sup>209</sup> André de Avelar, *Sphaerae vtriusq. tabella ad Sphaerae huius mundi faciliorem enucleationem* (Coimbra, 1593)

accessible texts within religious libraries. It is interesting to note that, if we consider the combined percentages of almanacs and astrological treatises, it becomes evident that these categories nearly equal the percentage of astronomy books. This observation suggests a similar interest in both disciplines of astrology and astronomy. Furthermore, the presence of ephemerides, comprising 12%, strengthens the case for a genuine interest in these subjects, suggesting a potential interest by religious congregations in astrological practices—a topic we will explore further. Their significance to the latter, lies in its role in providing precise astronomical data, essential for astrological practice and accurate horoscope casting. As our analysis will reveal, many of the collected volumes of ephemerides contained a wealth of astrological knowledge, often presenting condensed versions of the fundamental principles of astrology, along with precise methodologies for astrological delineation.

Graph 3.1 further illustrates that books on comets constitute 8% of the collection. Building on the earlier discussion, publications on comets gained considerable popularity during the early modern period, particularly during times of notable comet activity, when such celestial events captured public interest and scholarly inquiry alike. Several of these publications not only provided valuable insights into the observation and calculation of comets but also offered astrological interpretations of these phenomena. The books on comets listed in the Bibliographic Index attest to the extensive circulation of such works, particularly those authored by prominent Portuguese astronomers and astrologers, including Manuel Bocarro Francês, Lourosa, Manuel Gomes Galhano, Luís de Avelar (father of André de Avelar), and Vitorino José da Costa. Likewise, religious collections also featured works on comets by esteemed European authors such as Hevelius, Liceti, Fortunio, Muñoz, Jerónimo, and Camerarius, among others, showcasing the breadth and diversity of these holdings.

Books on astronomical instruments represent 7% of the total collection, underscoring the practical aspects of celestial studies. Mastery of tools for celestial observation and time measurement was essential for advancing the study of astronomy and the practice of astrology. This percentage attests to the circulation of works dedicated to the construction and use of various types of astronomical instruments within religious collections. Among the authors of works on astrolabes are prominent figures such as Christoph Clavius (1538–1612), Gemma Frisius and Johann Stöffler (1452–1531). The data collected in this study also shows ownership by the library of the Professed House of São Roque of Petrus Apianus's *Astronomicum Caesareum*, a renowned and exceptionally costly work distinguished by its intricate design, including twenty-one of its 36 woodcuts featuring volvelles.<sup>210</sup> Our analysis also points to a continued interest of religious orders in acquiring works from the late 17th century. Notable examples include Nicolas Bion's (1652–1733) *L'Usage des globes célestes et terrestres et des sphères* (1699) and the 1685 edition of Joannes Zahn's (1641–1707) *Oculus Artificialis Teledioptricus*, both prominently featured in religious collections. Additionally, there is substantial evidence of works on time calculation and clock construction.

Lastly, the even representation of books defending and criticizing astrology, each accounting for 3% of the collected items, reflects a modest yet prevailing interest in works engaging with the debates surrounding astrology's legitimacy. Texts opposing astrology were often found within works condemning other practices such as magic, geomancy, and chiromancy. A prominent example is Martinus Antonius Del Rio's (1551–1608) *Disquisitionum Magicarum*, a widely circulated work in religious libraries. Prominent anti-astrology authors, such as Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) and Alessandro De Angelis (1559–1615), were also well-

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<sup>210</sup> This information can be found in two catalog sources: BNP, COD. 7431, fol. 50r, and BA, 51-XI-37, fol. 249v, corresponding respectively to *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 703 and INV. 705.

represented among religious collections. Pico's *Disputations* was identified in six religious libraries. Works defending astrology, as classified here, include texts in which authors seek to define the boundaries of legitimate astrological practice while simultaneously denouncing its superstitious elements and improper applications. Naturally many of the authors of such works were practitioners of astrology themselves. A significant example is Pedro Ciruelo, who first assessed astrology in his *Apotelesmata* (1521), intended for a scholarly audience, and later expanded on the topic in his *Reprobación de supersticiones y hechicerías*, first published in 1537, written in the vernacular to reach a broader audience.<sup>211</sup> According to our data, the latter enjoyed wide circulation among Portuguese religious collections, while the former was not identified.

Notably, the very texts that condemned astrological practices, particularly judicial astrology, were often found alongside unmistakable works of judicial astrology. For instance, the library of the House of Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência, belonging to the Theatines, housed a significant collection of astrological works, including texts both defending and criticizing astrology—a dynamic we will explore further ahead. Furthermore, alongside critiques of astrology produced by Pico della Mirandola, Sixtus ab Hemminga, and Giovanni Battista Noceto, the Theatine collection also included works defending a proper practice of astrology. Significant among these, was Giovanni Battista Grasseti's *La vera e falsa astrologia*, which also featured an essay distinguishing between the true and false forms of chiromancy.<sup>212</sup> This coexistence highlights the presence of both texts that harshly challenged astrology's validity and those advocating for its legitimate practice. As will become evident, no astrology books were identified in the sources accessed for female religious institutions.<sup>213</sup> However, we were able to confirm the presence of Pedro de Acevedo's critique of astrology, *Recreación del Alma y Defensa del Evangelio contra la supersticiosa Astrología* (1570), in the library of the women's Convent of Santo Alberto in Lisbon (Discalced Carmelites).<sup>214</sup> Ultimately, this body of evidence underscores the complexities inherent in astrological literature, revealing a rich tapestry of intellectual discourse where opposing perspectives actively engaged with one another.<sup>215</sup>

This broad assessment of diverse works on celestial phenomena has provided valuable insights into the scientific landscape within Portuguese religious collections. Building on this foundation, we now shift our focus to a deeper and more detailed analysis of the astrology books in these collections.

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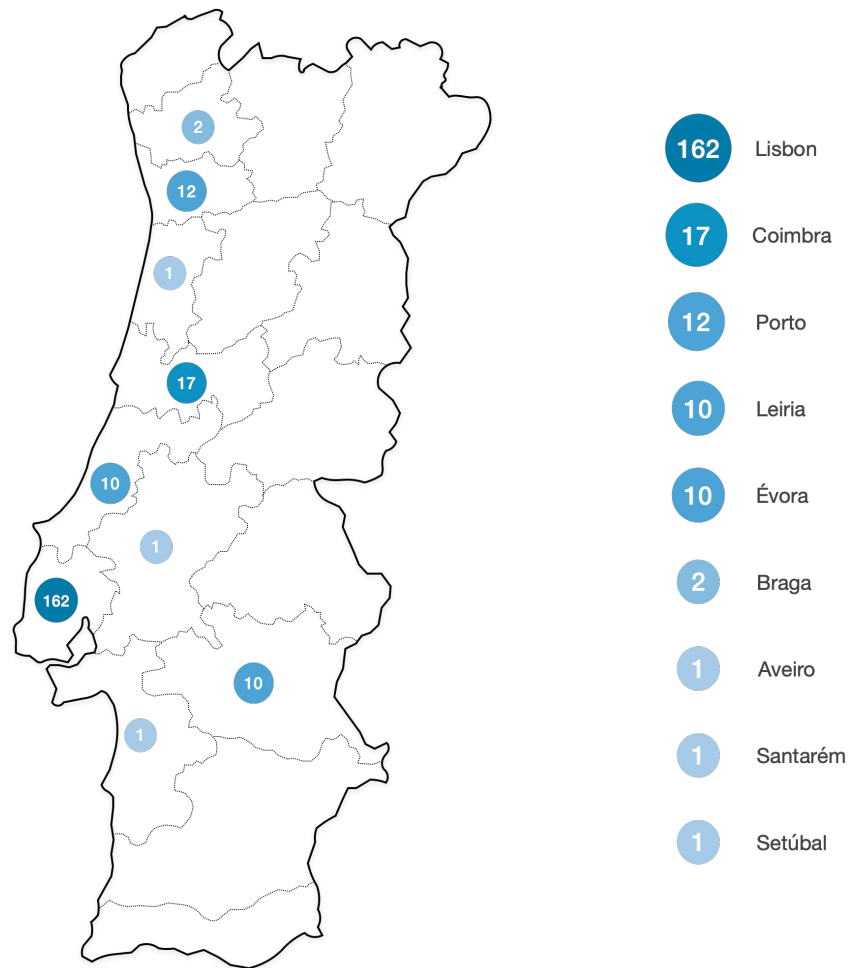
<sup>211</sup> Tayra Lanuza-Navarro, "Pedro Sánchez Ciruelo: A Commentary on Sacrobosco's *Tractatus de sphaera* with a Defense of Astrology," in *De sphaera of Johannes de Sacrobosco in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Matteo Valleriani (Cham: Springer, 2020).

<sup>212</sup> Giovanni Battista Grasseti, *La vera, e falsa astrologia. Con l'aggiunta della vera, e della falsa Chiromanzia* (Roma: Giuseppe Corvo, 1683). Source: BNP, COD. 7429–7430, fol. 526r. *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763.

<sup>213</sup> On the reading practices of Nuns, see: José Adriano Moreira de Freitas Carvalho, "Do recomendado ao lido direcção espiritual e prática de leitura entre franciscanas e clarissas em Portugal no séc. XVII", in *Via Spiritus* (Porto: Centro Interuniversitário de História da Espiritualidade-Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1997): 4:7–56; Olímpia Maria da Cunha Loureiro, "Os livros das monjas do Convento de S. Bento da Ave-Maria do Porto (finais do século XVIII)", in *I Congresso Internacional del monacato femenino en España, Portugal y America (1492–1992)* (Leon: Universidad de Leon, 1993), 719–730; and Loureiro, "Ler no feminino: memórias", *Poligrafia*, 7–8 (1998–1999): 87–92; Zília Osório de Castro, "Bibliotecas femininas", *Congresso O Marquês de Pombal e a sua época. Actas* (Oeiras-Pombal: Câmara Municipal, 2001), 447–484.

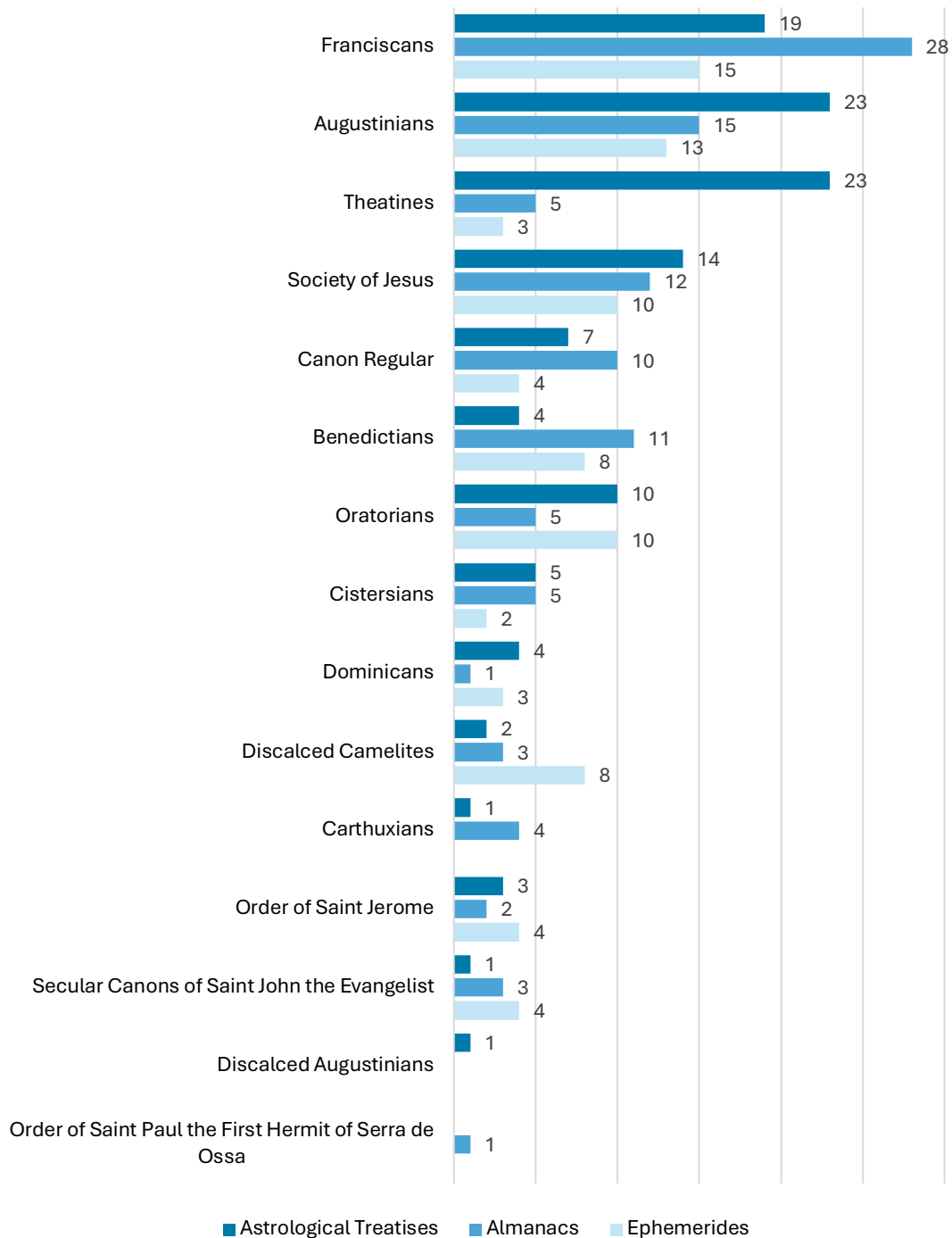
<sup>214</sup> As evidence by a copy extant at the BNP, RES. 1738 P.

<sup>215</sup> This additional approach corroborates our earlier findings. Previously, we reached this conclusion through our analysis of astrology's classification in catalogs and inventories. By examining how astrology was categorized and noting that certain forbidden books were either omitted entirely or inconsistently labeled as prohibited, we observed varied attitudes toward different works and authors. See page 37.



**Figure 3.1 – Astrology Books Across Portugal’s Districts**

Figure 3.1 depicts the geographical distribution of astrological publications housed within religious libraries across the districts of Portugal. As anticipated, the most significant concentrations of astrological are found in the capital city, Lisbon, which historically served as a central cultural and intellectual hub of the country. Additionally, districts with strong academic affiliations, such as Coimbra and Évora, exhibit a noteworthy account of astrological literature in the libraries of their district’s congregations. This evidence attests not only to the presence of astrological works within religious academic settings, affirming astrology’s place in intellectual circles, but also underscores the interconnectedness of religious educational institutions and the pivotal role these scholarly environments played in preserving and disseminating scientific knowledge within Portugal’s broader cultural landscape. A discernible trend emerges from this example, which we will further substantiate as we analyze the astrology books housed in each religious library (see Graph 3.2). This trend indicates that the libraries with the largest collections of astrology texts—alongside significant scientific collections—are predominantly located in the motherhouses of religious orders. As illustrated in the map above, the distribution of astrology books across the Portuguese districts aligns with those directly connected to the motherhouses. Consequently, we observe a substantial presence of such texts in the districts of major cities, in stark contrast to the more modest representations and even outright absences of astrology books in libraries situated in other regions of Portugal.



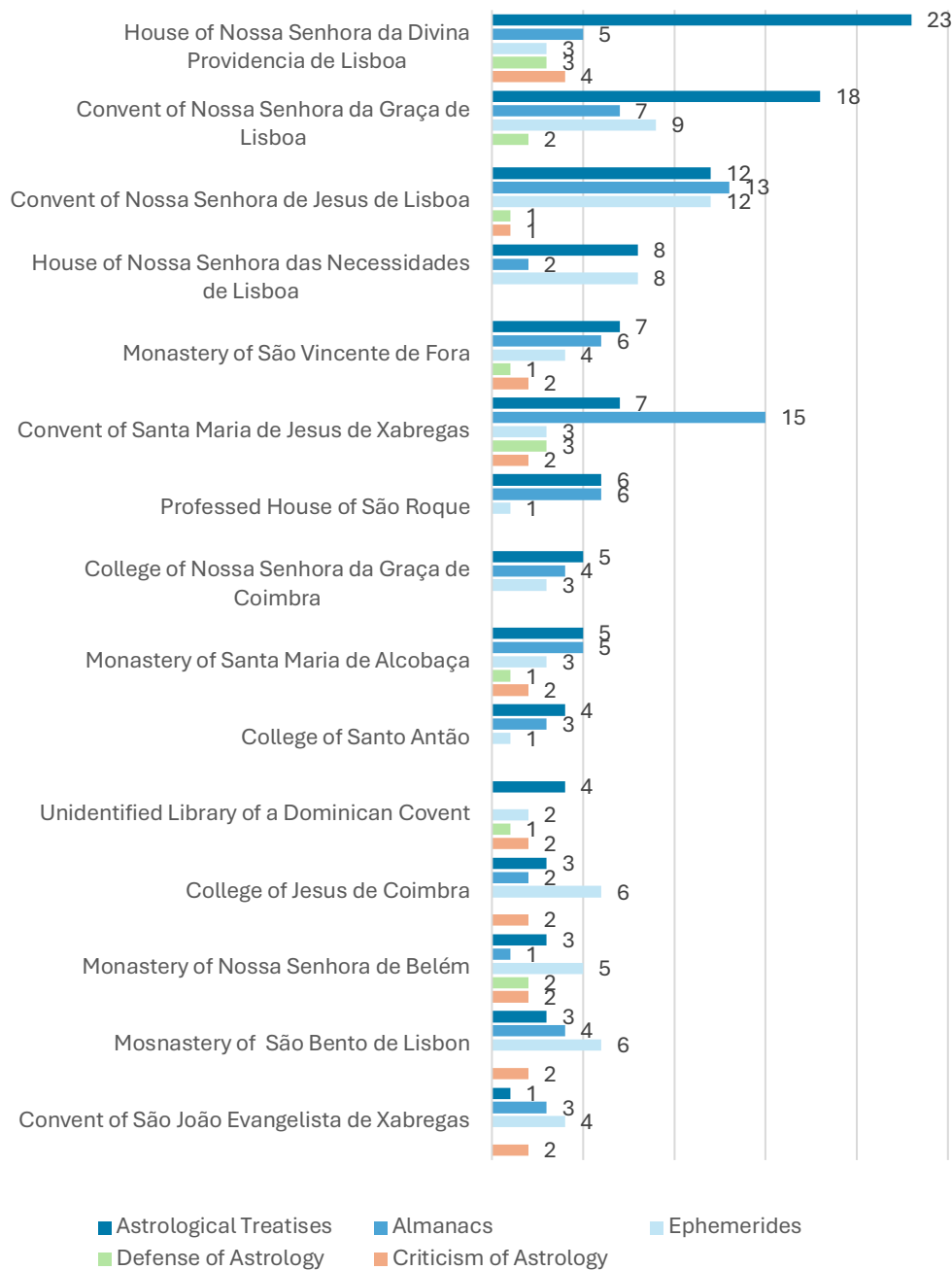
**Graph 3.2 – Religious Orders by Volume of Astrology Books in Their Libraries**

Graph 3.2 presents the religious congregations identified as holding the largest collections of astrology books. To shed light on the depth of knowledge represented in these collections, figures are shown for both astrological treatises and almanacs—with the count of ephemerides provided for additional context. Based on the data collected, the Franciscan Order emerges as the congregation with the largest collection of astrological materials, with a substantial number of 28 *Almanacs*, followed by 19 *Astrological Treatises*. The Augustinians and the Theatines also hold significant collections, each with a high concentration of the two categories, but with fewer ephemerides. The Society of Jesus and the Canon Regular show balanced collections, featuring a

variety of astrological treatises, almanacs, and ephemerides. We know that the Society of Jesus actively promoted the teaching of astrology; however, the number of astrology books found in their catalogs is not as extensive as those in other religious orders. This brings to light an important consideration that must be kept in mind throughout our research. Catalogs and inventories are highly variable sources and come with several limitations. Moreover, as discussed in Chapters I and II, astrology books represented sensitive materials, and were subject to various restrictions. These limitations remind us that while such documents provide valuable insights, they do not always offer a complete or uniform picture of the collections held by different religious institutions.

Though fewer in number than treatises and almanacs, ephemerides appear consistently across the collections of various orders. Their presence is particularly significant, as these publications served as essential repositories of extensive astrological content, and were indispensable for the practice of astrology. Their presence in religious collections is noted even when the quantity of more theoretical astrological works is limited. For example, the libraries of Carmelites hold eight ephemerides, yet only five astrology publications could be accounted for. This pattern, seen across multiple congregations—with differing emphasis on astrological treatises, almanacs, and ephemerides—displays a spread interest in the preservation of astrology within the libraries Portuguese religious institutions. In fact, several religious orders, including the Franciscans, Augustinians, and Theatines, amassed substantial collections of both almanacs and astrological treatises. This is a significant finding, as it suggests that, beyond the Society of Jesus, other religious institutions not only possessed the resources but also demonstrated a keen interest in assembling sophisticated astrology collections. The presence of treatises, which demanded a high level of literacy and intellectual commitment, implies that within these congregations there was not only an interest in astrology but also a possible audience familiar with its more intricate and theoretical aspects.

We now turn to an analysis of the libraries with the largest collections of astrology books, illustrated in Graph 3.3. From the outset, as reiterated earlier, it is evident that most astrology books were identified in libraries affiliated with educational institutions and the main houses of religious orders. This further reinforces the clear connection between astrological literature and religious institutions dedicated to education and intellectual pursuits.



**Graph 3.3 – Largest Collections of Astrological Works in Religious Libraries: Including Treatises, Almanacs, Ephemerides, and Books of Critique and Defense of Astrology.**

The library of the House of Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Theatines) and the library of the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça, in Lisbon, (Augustinians) stand out with two the largest collections of astrology books, and included both astrological treatises, 23 and 18 works, respectively, alongside a smaller but significant numbers of almanacs. The library of the Convent of Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Franciscans) appears right behind with a balanced number of astrology treatises (12), almanacs (13) and ephemerides (12). According to our sources, this Franciscan institution also holds the largest collection of ephemerides associated with any single library in our study. Other libraries from prominent religious orders, such as the Monastery of São Vicente de Fora (Regular of St. Augustine), the Monastery of Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Cistercians), and the Convent of Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Franciscans),

held well-stocked collections of astrology books and ephemerides. Among the sources examined by us, the catalog of an unidentified Dominican library was the only one from the Dominican order where works on both astronomy and astrology were identified.<sup>216</sup> Although it contained a smaller number of astrological works compared to other libraries, it represents an intriguing case as it includes a noteworthy collection of both astronomical works and four astrological treatises. Noteworthy examples include the medical treatise by the censured author Tommaso Campanella, *Medicinalium iuxta propria principia libri septem* (1635), and Giovanni Pontano's (1426–1503) commentary on Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*.<sup>217</sup>

It is known that the Jesuits were actively engaged in the practice of astrology, particularly through its teaching in the context of the Aula da Esfera at the College of Santo Antão, in Lisbon. However, the sources pertaining to libraries of their teaching institutions, namely the library of the College of Santo Antão and the College of Jesus in Coimbra, are not as substantial as those from other religious orders which we did not, at least initially, associated as strongly with astrology. A testimony from an Inquisition proceeding dated June 1614, concerning the sale of forbidden astrology books by a Flemish merchant named Nicolas de Locatori, reveals the complexities surrounding the ownership of astrological texts in Jesuit libraries.

In the testimony it is described the existence of numerous prohibited books on judicial astrology in the library of the College of Santo Antão.<sup>218</sup> It states that the Master of Mathematics, Professor Sebastião Dias, had a habit of lending these sorts of books to certain friends. The testimony further mentions that the professor had in his possession *Apotelesmata astrologiae christianae* by Pedro Ciruelo and *De astrologica veritate liber quaestionum* by Lucio Bellanti. Additionally, the testimony references the existence of a book by Albumasar on judicial astrology, describing it as a large volume containing other works by Abraham the Jew and Abraham ibn Ezra, among others (which are not detailed). The statement further states that forbidden books on judicial astrology were found not only in the library of the College of Santo Antão but also in the Professed House of São Roque. Lastly, two volumes by Luca Gaurico on judicial astrology are stated as part of Santo Antão's collection. Notable, of the works mentioned, we were able to verify two volumes of Gaurico's work currently extant in the Library of Ajuda, carrying the provenance mark of the Mathematics Library of Santo Antão.<sup>219</sup> Once again, we must acknowledge that the sources available to us offer an incomplete picture, often marked by significant gaps. Therefore, we must always consider the circumstances surrounding the legality astrology books as well as the inherent limitations and inconsistencies in these sources, as they were compiled under different directives and at various moments in history.

Overall, our examination of religious library catalogs and inventories revealed a consistent tendency: libraries with a substantial collection of scientific works—such as those on natural philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy—were more likely to include astrological texts as well. In other cases, libraries with a smaller number of astrology books often reflected a general scarcity of scientific works at large. Despite their limited quantity, the astrology texts in some of these collections, even those held by religious orders not traditionally associated with astrology, stood out for their exceptional quality. An example of this is found in the catalog of the Convent of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios in Lisbon, belonging to the Discalced Carmelites.<sup>220</sup> This source

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<sup>216</sup> This corresponds to, *Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada*, BNP, COD. 7458. *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>217</sup> BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 99r. and fol. 443r. (respectively).

<sup>218</sup> ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, liv. 203, fols. 560r–567v). For a detailed transcription of the testimony see: Ribeiro, *Jesuit Astrology*, 271–272.

<sup>219</sup> Source: BA 37-XIV-16.

<sup>220</sup> BNP, COD. 7408, *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 350.

reveals a relatively minor collection of scientific books, including nine astronomy treatises, one ephemeris, and two astrology treatises. What makes this example compelling is that the astrological treatises listed are particularly intricate, highlighting a notable interest in rich astrological literature within such a small collection. The first item listed is Paolo Giovanni Gallucci's (1538–1621), *Theatro del mundo, y del tiempo* (1612).<sup>221</sup> Written in Spanish, this book provides extensive theoretical content on the celestial sphere and constellations, alongside fundamental astrological concepts such as the calculation of critical days and planetary hours, as well as, highly elaborated computation methods of prediction such as, profections and directions.<sup>222</sup> What sets this volume apart is its use of intricate volvelles—dynamic, rotating paper instruments—that present complex concepts through visual representations of astrological calculations. The second example relates to another elaborate edition, *Ad Astrorum Judicia Facilis Introductio* (1557) by Claude Dariot.<sup>223</sup> This comprehensive introductory manual on astrology, dwells the main aspects of astrological doctrine, again, by means of detailed illustrations and intricate volvelles. These elaborate mechanisms, not only enhanced the instructional value of such books but also significantly increased its production cost, elevating it to the status of a prestigious item. The inclusion of these two sophisticated works in such a collection suggests a deliberate intent, subtly hinting at the Carmelite institution's interest in refined astrology books.

Returning to Graph 3.3, we find that the data effectively demonstrates how most libraries housed works advocating for a responsible practice of astrology alongside those that critique it. Although these volumes are notably fewer than the astrology books and ephemerides, their presence is meaningful. Additionally, we observe that in religious collections, works refuting astrology coexisted alongside a significantly larger number of astrological treatises and almanacs, most of which fell into the illicit category of judicial astrology, with many also subjected to expurgation and censorship. To the latter, we must not forget that ephemerides were often targeted for expurgation, either for being authored by Protestant scholars or for containing astrological content that conflicted with Christian principles and the guidelines of the Index. Yet again, we can say that the coexistence of texts that challenge astrology alongside those which it criticizes and those who support it introduces a fascinating layer of complexity to these collections, revealing the nuanced and varied intellectual landscape within these religious libraries.

It is essential to recognize the heterogeneity of religious institutions: some were established in the Middle Ages during the era of manuscript culture, others emerged during the advent of print, and still others were founded in the 17th and 18th centuries, reflecting the evolving cultural and intellectual landscapes of their respective periods. Still, in so far, our examination has substantiated the suggestion for a widespread circulation of astrology books across the collections of various religious orders—most notably among the most influential orders in Portugal. Moreover, within the religious communities, the interest in astrology appears to have encompassed both intricate theoretical texts and more accessible works, suggesting a rich and layered engagement with astrological knowledge.

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<sup>221</sup> Paolo Giovanni Gallucci, *Theatro del mundo, y del tiempo* (Granada, 1612).

<sup>222</sup> Profections are an astrological technique used to progress elements of a birth chart over time, advancing each element by one entire zodiac sign (thirty degrees) each year. In contrast, directions offer a more intricate approach, both in their concept and their calculation. Directions refer to a method of astrological prediction that measures the ascensional movement of the planets from the time of birth to forecast significant events in an individual's life. See: Luís Campos Ribeiro, "Transgressing boundaries?", 359.

<sup>223</sup> Claude Dariot, *Ad astrorum iudicia facilis introductio* (Lyon: apud Mauricium Roy, & Ludouicum Pesnot, 1557).

**Table 3.1 – Overview of Astrology Works by Language and Place of Publication**

PLACE OF PUBLICATION	PORTUGUESE	LATIN	ITALIAN	FRENCH	SPANISH	TOTAL
Alcalá de Henares					2	2
Amsterdam		1				1
Antwerp		2				2
Barcelona					1	1
Basel		9				9
Burgos					5	5
Coimbra	8					8
Cologne		6				6
Évora	2					2
Florence		4	1			5
Frankfurt		2				2
Graet		2				2
Granada					3	3
The Hague		3				3
Hamburg		1				1
Heidelberg		1				1
Leipzig		1				1
Lisbon	45				10	55
Lyon		15				15
Madrid					3	3
Mexico					1	1
Middelburg		1				1
Nuremberg		2				2
Padua			1			1
Pamplona					2	2
Pavia		2				2
Paris		3		2	1	6
Rouen		3				3
Salzburg		1				1
Zaragoza					3	3
Seville					9	9
Turin				1		1
Unknown	12	16			10	38
Valencia		1			2	3
Venice		16	2			18
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>218</b>

The table above, provides an overview of astrological works categorized by the language and place of publication. It details a total of 218 works across five languages—Portuguese, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish—with publications originating from a wide variety of European publishing centers. Items published in Lisbon and in Latin dominate. Lisbon leads with 55 works (mostly in Portuguese and some in Spanish), underscoring Portugal's central role in the

publication of astronomical repertories and almanacs. Other notable publication centers include Venice (18 works), Lyon (15 works), and Basel (9 works), primarily in Latin, highlighting key European cities contributing to astrological scholarship. As for the prevailing languages, Latin is the most common, with 92 works, indicating a sophisticated and educated orientation, as Latin was the academic lingua franca of this period. Portuguese follows with 67 works, reflecting local interest and production, particularly of astrological publications such as almanacs, “lunários” and “reportórios”. Spanish, with 51 works, shows a similar tendency, reflecting both its linguistic proximity and the exchange of printed works between Portugal and Spain. Italian and French are less represented, with only 4 and 3 works, respectively. These figures relate to the items where the edition was possible to be identified. The publishing place of a considerable number of works (38) could not be identified, still we are able to identify that Latin and Portuguese lead as the main languages of these unidentified works. The diversity of publication locations indicates a wide geographical spread of astrological interests. Our analysis of the dominant languages in astrological works reinforces the observation that a significant portion of astrological materials in religious library collections included both sophisticated texts for an intellectual audience and more accessible works for readers with a moderate level of knowledge. The latter further highlights the extensive circulation of Portuguese almanacs within the collections of Portuguese religious orders.

A surprising publication location on this list, was found in two catalogs of the Convent of Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Franciscans)<sup>224</sup>, and refers to the medical astrology treatise *Verdadera medicina, cirugia y astrologia en tres libros dividida* by Juan de Barrios (1562–?), published in 1607 and printed in Mexico.<sup>225</sup> This is particularly interesting as it provides evidence for the circulation of medical astrology work produced in the Southern Hemisphere, amongst a Franciscan library, thus illustrating the wide reach of such texts.

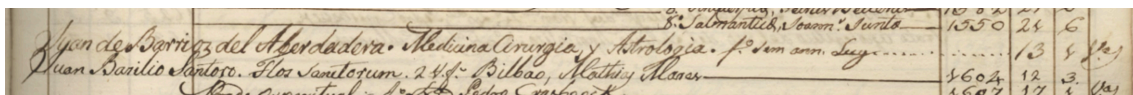


Figure 3.2 – Juan de Barrios, *Verdadera medicina, cirugia y astrologia* in the Catalog of the Convent of Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas. Source: BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 96r.

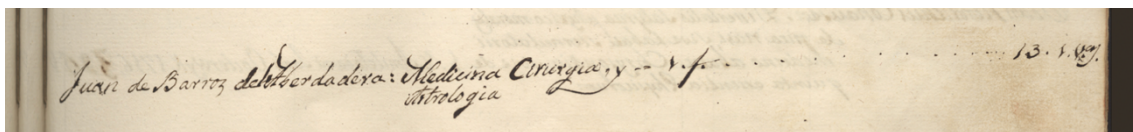


Figure 3.3 – Juan de Barrios, *Verdadera medicina, cirugia y astrologia* in the Catalog of the Convent of Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas. Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 461r.

<sup>224</sup> BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 102v. and 461r.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 96r. See also: *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and 472.

<sup>225</sup> Juan de Barrios, *Verdadera medicina, cirugia y astrologia en tres libros dividida* (Mexico: Por Fernando Balli, 1607).

**Table 3.2 – Authors of Astrology in Religious Libraries**

AUTHORS	WORKS	AUTHORS	WORKS
Gaspar Cardoso de Sequeira	21	Manuel Bocarro Francês	2
Jerónimo de Chaves	13	Valentim Estancel	2
André de Avelar	13	Albertus Magnus	2
Jerónimo Cortez	13	Fridericus Grisogono	1
António de Najera	9	António Torquato de Ferrara	1
Gaio Julio Hygino	7	Claude Saumaise	1
Francesco Giuntini	6	Marsilius Ficinus	1
Giovanni Pontano	6	Guido Bonatti	1
Theobaldo de Jesus Maria	6	Leopold, Duke of Austria	1
Alcabitius (d. 967)	6	Sancho Salaya	1
Manoel de Figueiredo	6	Juan Aleman	1
Julius Firmicus Maternus	6	Schwartz, C. G.	1
Giambattista della Porta	5	Jean de Lichtenberg	1
Andrés de Li	5	Mercurii Trimesgisti	1
Levinus Lemnius	4	Juan de Barrios	1
Girolamo Cardano	4	Philippus van Lanbergen	1
Paolo Giovanni Galucci	4	Jean Albert Belin	1
Valentim de la Hera y de la Varra	4	Otto Aicher	1
Henrik Rantzau	3	Antoine Mizauld	1
Valentin Nabod	3	Hieronymus Faventinus Salius	1
Jean-Baptiste Morin	3	Alonso de Fuentes	1
Luca Gaurico	3	Thomas Boderius	1
Claudius Ptolemaeus	3	Rutilio Benincasa	1
Tommaso Campanella	3	Bartolomeo Albizini	1
Francisco Vicente de Tornamira	3	Juan de Carmona	1
Francez Damião	3	Alejandro Tramonte	1
Marcus Manilus	3	Nostradamus	1
Rodrigo Zamorano	2	Bernardo Pérez de Vargas	1
Immanuel Rosales	2	Claude Dariot	1
João Delgado	2	Philipp von Zesen	1
Haly Abenragel	2	Francisco de Vasconcelos, Sande Corte Real	1
Joseph Juste Scalinger	2	Simão Fallon	1
Andrea Argoli	2	Anonymous Authors	10

Table 3.2 presents a list of authors, and the total number of astrology works identified during our examination of various catalog sources from religious libraries, as well as through research into contemporary libraries housing books with ownership marks. Through this, we can highlight several key aspects of the distribution and nature of astrological literature in these collections.

The first notable aspect is that the four authors most frequently represented in religious collections are those who dedicated themselves to producing works that fall under the category of Almanacs and *reportorios*. Gaspar Cardoso de Sequeira leads the list with 21 works, which embrace the various editions of his *Thesouro de Prudentes* and *Prognostico Geral Lunario Perpétuo*. However, it is important to note that not every edition of these works qualifies as a major astrological publication, as they often addressed broader topics such as mathematics and calendrical matters, with only rudimentary astrological content included. Other prominent figures featured in these collections include André de Avelar, Jerónimo Chaves, and Jerónimo Cortez, each credited with an impressive 13 works. The scarcity of astrological manuals published in Portuguese and Spanish made almanacs and *reportorios* the primary source of astrological knowledge for non-Latin readers. Their accessibility broadened their appeal, likely contributing to their widespread dissemination and earning them a meaningful place within religious collections. The significant presence of these works in religious library collections underscores their importance and distinguishes them from the ephemeral astrological pamphlets or simplistic almanacs commonly circulated during this period. Although their content was relatively limited, most *reportorios* were authored by esteemed mathematicians and cosmographers. While there were variations in the quality and depth of information, the works of Avelar, Chaves, Cortez, and others offered valuable introductory sections on key astrological themes, such as the structure of the world, the planets, and other foundational principles of astrology. Though less advanced than some other publications, these works still demanded a reasonable level of instruction and comprehension, making them an effective tool for teaching and disseminating astrological knowledge. As previously discussed, the use of the vernacular language, coupled with their widespread popularity, brought the *reportorios* under the scrutiny of the Inquisition.

Another key insight from this table is the diverse selection of authors represented in religious libraries, spanning various periods and regions. What emerges is a comprehensive list of key authorities in the field of astrology. From the classical Greek and Roman period, figures such as Ptolemy, Hyginus, Marcus Manilius, and Firmicus Maternus, to prominent Arabic scholars like Alcabitus and Haly Abenrangel, as well as medieval authorities, represented here by Albertus Magnus, Leopold of Austria, and Guido Bonatti. Overall, this assemblage of authors suggests a well-curated conservation of astrological tradition within these collections. One that incorporates both the authors who established the theoretical underpinnings of the discipline and those who later expanded upon its doctrines. Additionally, although we observe a theoretical departure from Arabic sources of astrology beginning with the Renaissance, evidence suggests that Arabic authorities maintained a notable presence within religious collections. As previously discussed, the discipline of astrology underwent profound changes during the early modern period, particularly with the revival of Ptolemaic astrology during the Renaissance. This renewed focus emphasized a purer, less superstitious form of astrology, stripped of Arabic influences and divinatory practices—a shift that became increasingly evident among sixteenth-century authors. Through our research, we identified three editions of Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*. However, to these, we must add five additional volumes of commentaries on this seminal work, found across various religious libraries, including those of the Oratorians, Theatines, Augustinians, Dominicans, Jesuits, and Cistercians. These include two instances of Andrea Argoli's commentaries, two by Girolamo Cardano, and one by Giovanni Pontano and Hieronymus Salius Faventinus.

Beyond the return to classical sources, the early modern period also witnessed the emergence of several original texts that shaped the intellectual landscape of Europe. These works, many of which are listed in Table 2, demonstrate the breadth and diversity of early modern authors represented in Portuguese religious collections. The table includes some of the most influential scholars of the period, such as Francesco Giuntini, Giovanni Pontano, Giambattista della Porta,

Valentim de la Hera y de la Varra, Valentim Nabod, Andrés de Li, Levinus Lemnius, Henrik Rantzau, and Jean-Baptiste Morin, offering a vivid illustration of the period's rich intellectual debates on the discipline. Interestingly, a significant portion of these authors and their works would have been deemed illicit under the guidelines of the Holy Office. In fact, some authors, namely, Girolamo Cardano and Tommaso Campanella, were subjected to scrutiny or even persecution. Similarly, authors like Alcabitius, Haly Abenrangel, Guido Bonatti, and Luca Gaurico were explicitly prohibited by the Portuguese Indexes. Nevertheless, despite these restrictions, their works are now known to have occupied a place in Portuguese religious collections. As discussed in the previous chapter, these items were often cataloged without any mention of their prohibited status, once again illustrating the nuanced and complex relationship between inquisitorial rules and the discipline of astrology.

**Table 3.3 – Most Popular Editions of Astrology Books in Libraries of Portuguese Religious Orders**

ITEM	AUTHORS	No. COPIES
<i>Summa Astrologica</i> (1632)	António de Najera	9
<i>Chronographia: Reportorio dos Tempos</i> (1603)	Manoel de Figueiredo	6
<i>Chronographia, ó, Reportorio de los tempos</i> (1576)	Jerónimo de Chaves	5
<i>Chronographia ou reportorio dos tempos</i> (1602)	André de Avelar	4
<i>Physiognomoniae coelestis libri sex</i> (1650)	Giambattista della Porta	4
<i>Speculum Astrologiae</i> (1583)	Francesco Giuntini	3
<i>Astronomicon</i> (1499)	Marcus Manilus	3
<i>Enarratio elementorum astrologiae</i> (1560)	Valentin Nabod	3
<i>Thezouro de Prudentes</i> (1712)	Gaspar Cardoso de Sequeira	3
<i>Astrologia Gallica</i> (1661)	Jean-Baptiste Morin	3

To determine the “bestseller” publications among the astrological collections of Portuguese ecclesiastical libraries, we considered the ten most frequently found editions of astrology books, including treatises and almanacs, across libraries of various religious orders, as listed in Table 3.3. Leading the list is the astrological treatises on weather forecasting, *Summa Astrologica* 1632), with nine copies. Authored by 17th-century cosmographer and astrologer, António de Najera, *Summa Astrologica* represents the first astrological treatises to be printed in Portugal. Little is known about Najera himself, still he was reputed as a skilled mathematician, dedicated to both the production of text on astrology and navigation.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>226</sup> Namely, the work *Navegacion Especulativa y pratica* (1628), see: Albuquerque, Luís de. “Uma tradução portuguesa da «Navegacion Especulativa» de António de Naiera”, *A Náutica e a Ciência em Portugal. Notas sobre as navegações*, 25-41. Lisbon: Gradiva, 1989. (1628).<sup>226</sup>Antonio Nájera and his astrological texts are currently the subject of study in a PhD dissertation by Eunice Santos.

**Table 3.4 – Antonio Najera’s *Summa Astrologica* (1632) in Libraries of Religious Orders**

Religious Libraries	Religious Order	No.
House of Nossa Senhora da Necessidades de Lisboa	Oratorians	1
Congregations of Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Estremoz	Oratorians	1
Convent of Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa	Franciscans	1
Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa	Augustinians	1
Convent of Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas	Canon Regular of St. Augustine	1
Professed House of São Roque	Society of Jesus	1
Monastery of Santa Maria de Alcobaça	Cistercians	1
Monastery of Santa Maria de Scala Coeli	Carthusians	1
Monastery of São Bento da Vitória do Porto	Order of St. Benedict	1

As detailed in Table 3.4, we identified Najera’s works in nine religious libraries across the country, including those of the Oratorians, Franciscans, Canons Regular, the Society of Jesus, two Augustinian libraries, as well as the libraries of monastic congregations such as the Cistercians, Carthusians, and Benedictines. Owing to its exclusive focus on astrological weather forecasting and its connection to practical and agricultural concerns, *Summa Astrologica* was unlikely to have faced severe censorship, as its content aligned more closely with pragmatic rather than contentious matters. It is possible that this work circulated in additional religious libraries. For example, its connection to the library of the Congregation of Nossa Senhora da Conceição Estremoz (Oratorians) was established only through the discovery of an extant copy in the Public Library of Évora, bearing the ownership mark of that institution.<sup>227</sup> It is important to reiterate that the figures presented here offer only a partial perspective—limited by the constraints previously discussed—on what was likely a much broader integration of astrology into religious collections.

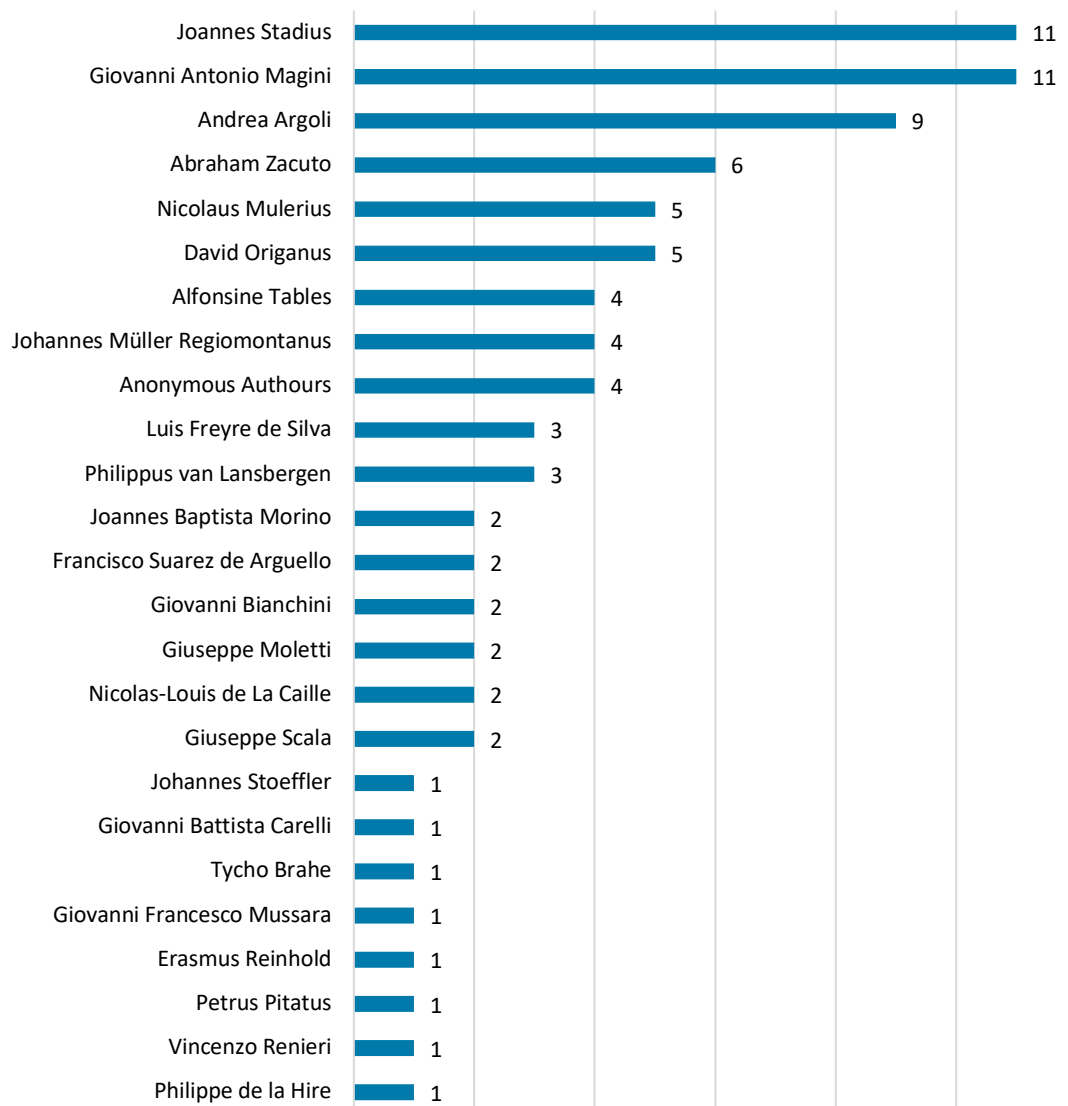
Following closely behind *Summa Astrologica*, are the widely circulated editions of *reportorios* produced by Portuguese and Spanish authors. Namely, *Chronographia: Reportorio dos Tempos* (1603) by Manoel de Figueiredo, 6 copies; *Chronographia, ó, Reportorio de los tiempos* (1576) by Jerónimo de Chaves, 5 copies; and *Chronographia ou Reportorio dos Tempos* (1602) by André de Avelar, 4 copies. Additionally, among the most popular editions of astrology publications are notable works of more complex astrological content, such as the 1650 edition of *Physiognomoniae Coelestis Libri Sex* by Giambattista della Porta. This edition stands out as a compelling example of an astrological medicine work, focusing on the correlation between physical features and astrological configurations, with three copies identified: one in the Theatine library of the House of Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência and two copies in Franciscan libraries in Lisbon.

Five other editions of sophisticated astrological publications are each represented by three copies found in various libraries. These include the 1583 edition of *Speculum Astrologiae* by Francesco Giuntini, the 1499 edition of *Astronomicon* by Marcus Manilius, the 1560 publication of *Enarratio Elementorum Astrologiae* by Valentin Nabod, and Joannes Baptista Morin's *Astrologia Gallica*, published posthumously in 1661. Once again, we can observe a diverse distribution of astrological knowledge within the Portuguese religious library collections. More accessible texts, particularly those written in the vernacular, appear to have a slightly higher

<sup>227</sup> BPE, RES. 0721.

prevalence. Nonetheless, Latin editions of astrological treatises are also well-represented, a compelling observation given their greater complexity and their intent for a scholarly audience.

As has been consistently discussed, almanacs and the *reportórios*, often included introductory sections on foundational principles of astrology and other essential matter such as the celestial sphere and the planets. Yet, while these publications varied in the quality and quantity of information they provided, the astrological content was generally not advanced in certain aspects of astrological practice. This is particularly true in areas related to the calculation and interpretation of nativities, and elections. In fact, the level of information available to the general population through these almanacs was not comparable to the sophisticated context offered by specialized ephemerides used by professionals.<sup>228</sup> As we have seen so far, the presence of ephemerides in the collections of religious libraries is a recurring theme and is often accompanied by books on astronomy and astrology. All of this invites us to explore more deeply the most prominent and widely regarded authors of ephemerides.



**Graph 3.4 – Most Popular Authors of Ephemerides in Religious Libraries**

<sup>228</sup> Ribeiro, “The Bounded Heavens”, 15.

As illustrated in the begging of our discussion (Graph 3.1), ephemerides account for 12% of the items identified in religious library collections in our research. This represents a substantial proportion, comparatively to the other categories. It is also worth noting that the authors of ephemerides were among the most prominent astronomers and astrologers of their time, many of whom also devoted themselves to producing various texts and manuals on astrology. Ephemerides were indispensable tools for both the study and practice of astrology, serving as the backbone for precise astrological calculations. These texts provided detailed astronomical data, such as the positions of celestial bodies, which were essential for computing horoscopes, predicting eclipses, and performing other astrological analyses. Beyond their utility for computation, ephemerides often contained extensive astrological knowledge, including explanations of planetary influences, astrological doctrines, and guidelines for interpreting celestial phenomena. The inclusion of ephemerides, along with other astrological and astronomical works, in the libraries of religious congregations suggests more than just a theoretical curiosity—it points to a genuine interest in the practical application of astrology as well.

Graph 5 illustrates the authors of ephemerides found in religious libraries, showcasing a varied range of prominent figures in the field. Notably, Johannes Stadius and Giovanni Magini stand out with the highest representation, with 11 works featured in the collections each. Closely following is Andrea Argoli, with 9 copies. There is an important point that needs clarification. The numbers attributed to Zacuto in the table above (6 in total), as well as in the Bibliographic Index, do not, in fact, refer to the works of Zacuto himself but rather to the *Almanach Perpetuum*, attributed to José Vizinho and published in Leiria, Portugal, in 1496, along with subsequent editions. This work comprises a set of canons and tables. As it is known, the canons of the *Almanach Perpetuum* differ from those in Zacuto's major astronomical work, the *Ha-Hibbur ha-Gadol (The Great Composition)*, although the tables are largely derived from the latter. Therefore, these are distinct works, and the *Almanach Perpetuum* should not be regarded as a direct translation of Zacuto's *Hibbur*.<sup>229</sup>

Nicolaus Mullerius and David Origanus are also among the most popular authors, along with Regiomontanus. These authors listed above, illustrated the leading authorities of their time, providing essential astronomical and astrological data that would have been invaluable for both practical and scholarly purposes in religious contexts for example, ephemerides by Giovanni Magini or David Origanus included highly detailed sections on the foundational principles of astrology, offering a level of sophistication and depth that went far beyond the information available in popular almanacs. For this reason, ephemerides were often subjected to censorship and expurgation—not only for their astrological content related to judicial astrology but also because many of these works were authored by Protestant writers. A compelling example can be found in the censored edition of ephemerides by Giuseppe Moleti (1531–1588), published in 1564, which is preserved in the old scientific collection of the BNP.<sup>230</sup> This edition, originally from the library of the Jesuit College of Coimbra, bears the inscription “expurg. 1629” on its title page and is heavily annotated and extensively censored. Similarly, books on instruments were also subjected to expurgation. An example of the removal of an author's name can be found in a copy of Stöffler's *Elucidatio fabricae*, originally from the Jesuit College of São Tiago de Elvas, where the Jesuits erased Melanchthon's name as part of their censorship practices. In contrast, a

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<sup>229</sup> Santos, “*O Tratado Breve de las Influências del Cielo* (1486), de Abraão Zacuto”, 4–5.

<sup>230</sup> BNP, S.A.1781 V. The item related to: Giuseppe Moleti, *Ephemerides Iosephi Moletti Mathematici Annis viginti inseruientes, incipientes que ab anno 1564, & desinentes ad annum 1584* (Venezia: apud Franciscum Francischium Senensem, 1564).

copy from the library of the Convent of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios of the Discalced Carmelites remains free from expurgation.<sup>231</sup>

All things considered, the evidence presented suggests that astrology held significant value within Portuguese religious communities, fostering both widespread appeal and more advanced scholarly interest. On one hand, the abundance of almanacs indicates a widespread interest in astrology that was more accessible to the general public. On the other, the presence of extensive collections of treatises and ephemerides reflects a more scholarly and technical engagement, showcasing a profound interest in the advanced, complex dimensions of astrology that demanded rigorous study and mastery of astrological and astronomical principles. Indeed, those who turned to religious libraries had access to a rich repository of precise tools essential for astrological calculations, as well as the profound knowledge required for advanced astrological practices.

### **The Acquisition of Astrology Books Over Time**

Despite the limitations of our sources and acknowledging that most of these records provide only a partial view of the collections, our understanding of the true number of books in these religious libraries remains incomplete, with the actual number probably being higher. Nevertheless, there is no room left to doubt that astrology was a prevalent subject within the collections of Portuguese religious libraries.

As we hope to have demonstrated throughout the discoveries presented in this dissertation, the astrological knowledge represented in religious libraries demonstrates a clear and genuine interest in assembling collections that included both academically oriented works, as well as more accessible practical texts written in the vernacular. Still, to dispel any notion that this was merely a passive accumulation of books, it is essential to delve deeper into the items that we have gathered. To achieve this, we have sought to examine the publication dates of astrology books identified as belonging to religious institutions. Although the precise publication dates for the books listed in the catalogues are not always provided, when available, this information allows us to identify specific editions. In the following analysis, we focus on the books held in the libraries identified by our research as containing the largest collections of astrology works—the Theatine Library of the House of Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência and the Augustinian Library of the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça in Lisbon.

It can be asserted that the Augustinian and Theatine Orders offer us distinct profiles of religious congregations, starting, for example, with their founding dates. The Augustinians are part of a much older order, founded in the year 1244. In contrast, the Theatines were established much later, in the year 1524. As previously discussed, these two institutions are identified as having the largest collections of both astrology treatises and almanacs. The detailed nature of the catalogues related to these two libraries allows for the identification of the editions of most of the astrology works they contained. This is especially valuable as it offers deeper insights into the acquisition patterns of astrological works by religious libraries.

In the case of the library of the Convent of Graça in Lisbon, the oldest astrological work identified in this collections refers to the 1491 edition of Guido Bonatti's *Liber Astronomicus*. Meanwhile, in the Library of the House of Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência, the earliest astrology work dates back to the 1499 edition of Marcus Manilius's *Astronomicon*. As

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<sup>231</sup> BNP, RES. 825 A. and BNP, RES. 824//2: These item refers to: Johannes Stöffler, *Elucidatio fabricae Vsusque astrolabii*, Ioanne Stoflerino (Oppenheim: in aedibus I. Cobelii, 1524). On the disparities in book censorship among religious congregations, see: Romeiras, "Putting the Indices into Practice", 17–25.

demonstrated in the list below, from this point forward, we observe a consistent presence of astrological publications spanning the 16th century and extending into the final decades of the seventeenth century. For the Augustinian library, the most recent astrological text identified is Alejandro Tramonte's *Tractatus de Septem Planetis*, published in 1677. In the case of the Theatine library, the latest astrology work identified is the 1685 edition of *Uranophilus Caelestis* by Valentim Estancel.

**Table 3.5 – Publication dates of Astrology Books in Augustinian and Theatine Libraries**

AUGUSTINIANS CONVENT OF NOSSA SENHORA DA GRAÇA		THEATINES HOUSE OF NOSSA SENHORA DA DIVINA PROVIDÊNCIA	
ITEMS	DATE	DATE	ITEMS
Alejandro Tramonte, <i>Tractatus de septem planetis</i>	1672	1685	Valentim Estancel, <i>Uranophilus caelestis</i>
Jean-Baptiste Morin, <i>Astrologia Gallica</i>	1661	1662	Philipp von Zesen, <i>Coelum astronomico-poeticum</i>
Simão Fallon <i>Astrologia Judiciaria</i>	1640	1659	Andre Argoli, <i>Ptolemaeus parvus in genethliacis junctus Arabibus</i>
Antônio de Najera, <i>Summa Astrologica</i>	1632	1658	Jean Albert Belin, <i>Traité des talismans ou Figures astrales</i>
Tommaso Campanella, <i>Astrologicorum Libri VII</i>	1630	1654	Immanuel Rosales, <i>Fasciculus trium verarum propositionum astronomicae, astrologicae, et philosophicae</i>
Giovanni Gallucci, <i>Theatro del Mundo, y del Tiempo</i>	1611	1650	Giambattista della Porta, <i>Physiognomoniae coelestis libri sex</i>
Jerónimo Cortez, <i>Lunario perpetuo</i>	1606	1641	Gaspar Cardoso Sequeira, <i>Prognostico geral, e lunário perpetuo</i>
André de Avelar, <i>Reportorio dos tempos</i>	1602	1629	Benincase Ruttilio, <i>Almanacho perpetuo</i>
Rodrigo Zamora, <i>Cronologia y repertorio de la razon de los tempos</i>	1594	1623	Giambattista della Porta <i>Della fisonomia dell'hvomo</i>
Tornamira, <i>Chronographia, y repertorio de los tiempos</i>	1585	1620	Tommaso Campanella <i>De Sensu rerum et magia</i>
Francesco Giuntini, <i>Speculum Astrologiae</i>	1581	1607	João Delgado, <i>Astrologia Practica</i>
Jerónimo Chaves, <i>Chronographia, ó Reportorio de los tiempos</i>	1576	1602	André de Avelar, <i>Reportorio dos tempos</i>
Thomas Boderius, <i>De ratione &amp; vsu dierum criticorum</i>	1555	1585	Henrik Rantzau, <i>Exempla, quibus astrologicae scientiae certitudo</i>
Ptolemy, <i>Quadripartitae</i>	1541	1584	Bartolomé Here y dela Varra <i>Reportorio del mundo particular</i>
Alchabitius, <i>Preclarum summi in astrorum scientia principis alchabitii</i>	1521	1584	Henrik Rantzau, <i>Catalogus imperatorum</i>
Leopold Duke of Austria <i>De astrorum scientia</i>	1520	1544	Mnauel Bocarro Francês, <i>Regnum astrorum reformatum</i>
Andrés de Li <i>Reportorio de los tiempos</i>	1518	1526	Giovanni Pontano, <i>De rebus coelestibus</i>
Joannes de Saxonia (Alchabitius), <i>Comentaria in Alchabitii Astrologia</i>	1503	1520	Giovanni Pontano, <i>De rebus coelestibus</i>
Andrés de Li <i>Reportorio de los tiempos</i>	1493	1513	Julio Gaio Hygino, <i>Higinus de stellis</i>
Guido Bonatti, <i>Liber Astronomicus</i>	1491	1513	Julio Gaio Hygino <i>Poeticon Astronomicum</i>
		1499	Marcus Manilius, <i>Astronomicum</i>

A closer look into the book collections of these two religious institutions further underscores the diversity of astrological works they contained. The list of books presented above highlights a wide range of texts, both in terms of content and authorship, including introductory manuals of astrology, medical treatises, didactic astrological poems, works on weather forecasting, and various editions of almanacs. Additionally, it provides further evidence of these institutions' active engagement with astrological literature, demonstrated by the acquisition of multiple editions of celebrated astrology works. For instances, the Augustinians acquired several editions of Alcabitius's astrological works (1503 and 1521 editions), along with multiple editions of *reportorios* over time—the oldest being the 1493 *Reportorio de los Tiempos* by Andrés de Li. Similarly, the Theatines collected two distinct editions of Giambattista della Porta's work on astrological configurations and human physiognomy, as well as two editions of Pontano's *De Rebus Coelestibus*.

From all this, we are able to draw several preliminary conclusion. Firstly, the chronological range depicted by the list of book editions held in the Theatine and Augustinian libraries suggests a sustained interest by these institutions in, possibly, acquiring astrological knowledge over nearly two centuries. This perspective challenges the notion of passive accumulation of books and provides compelling evidence of a continued interest in the discipline of astrology. Secondly, the diverse scope of astrological knowledge and authors present in both collections showcases a well-curated selection that suggests an intentional and sustained effort to acquire a wide range of sophisticated astrological texts. Lastly, with regard to the latter point, we observe that most of the astrology works featured in both the Augustinian and Theatine collections fall within the illicit category of judicial astrology, with several authors explicitly prohibited. This further demonstrates that, despite the strict regulations imposed on astrology by the Roman Index, the Tridentine Rules, and various papal bulls, Portuguese religious congregations continued to acquire astrology books, including obvious works of judicial astrology. Notably, this practice persisted well beyond the final publication of the Index in 1624. This evidence supports earlier scholarly claims that these regulations were not as rigorously enforced as commonly assumed and, more importantly, that they failed to diminish interest in or engagement with astrology, even within a religious scholarly context.<sup>232</sup>

Building on this, another intriguing aspect comes to light: the evidence in the catalogs of both Augustinian and Theatine libraries for the circulation of the astrology manuscripts authored by Jesuit professors Simon Fallon and João Delgado from the College of Santo Antão.<sup>233</sup> Jesuits were one of the most influential religious orders of the early modern period, deeply aligned with the power of the Church. Between 1590 and 1759, the Jesuit college in Lisbon offered a notable mathematics course that included teachings on judicial astrology. The manuscripts of the astrology manuals from Santo Antão stand as examples of a refined teaching of astrology, including a clear debate as to its legitimate limits and prohibitions. These lessons became a cornerstone for acquiring astrological knowledge in Portugal, profoundly influencing the practices and writings of numerous Portuguese practitioners throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>234</sup>

As detailed in Table 3.6, two sources from the library of the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça mention Simão Fallon's *Astrologia Judiciaria* (1640). Further evidence of Jesuit manuscript circulation within Augustinian institutions was also found in Coimbra, specifically in a catalog from College of Nossa Senhora da Graça, which includes João Delgado's *Astrologica*

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<sup>232</sup> Romeiras, "Putting the Indices into Practice", 25–26.

<sup>233</sup> These works are highlighted in blue in the Table 5.

<sup>234</sup> Ribeiro, *Jesuit Astrology*.

*Pratica* (1607) and *Tratado da Esfera*, the latter being a commentary on the celestial sphere. João Delgado's work is also listed under the “Philosophy” section of the manuscript catalogue belonging to the Theatine library in Lisbon. In this catalogue, immediately following Delgado’s entry, is the item, *Interrogatórios e Respostas de Adivinhação sobre a Fortuna do Homem e Outros Acidentes da Vida Humana* (Interrogations and Answers of Divination about the Fortune of Man and Other Accidents of Human Life). Although we were unable to determine the authorship of this particular manuscript, it is highly plausible that it represents another Jesuit astrology text, this time focusing on the subject of interrogations—one of the core branches of astrology and the most severely condemned by the Catholic Church. This branch of astrology sought to answer specific questions, such as determining the quality of objects, locating a person or item, evaluating the probability of an event occurring, and estimating its timing, among other inquiries.

**Table 3.6 – Jesuit Astrological Manuscripts in the Theatine and Augustinian Libraries**

ITEM	LIBRARY	SOURCE:
Simão Fallon <i>Astrologia Judiciaria</i> , 1640.	Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Augustinians)	BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 and 7461, fol. 105r.
João Delgado, <i>Astrologia Pratica</i> , 1607.	College of Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Augustinians)	BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65r.
João Delgado, <i>Astrologia Pratica</i> , 1607.	House of Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência (Theatines)	BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65r.
«Interrogatorios e respostas de adivinhação sobre a fortuna do homem e outros accidentes da vida humana»	House of Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência (Theatines)	BNP, COD. 13438, fol. 22r.

The extensive collection of astrological authors and texts within the libraries of the Augustinian and Theatine Orders—particularly the astrological treatises and the Santo Antão manuscripts—provides compelling evidence of a profound interest in astrology held by these religious institutions. An examination of the publication dates of the works reveals that astrology continued to be actively integrated into these collections throughout the seventeenth century. As discussed in Chapter II, religious congregations employed various methods to expand their collections and support their intellectual, educational, and spiritual endeavors, including the purchase, inheritance, and donation of books. Each method involved diverse strategies and engagement with both national and international networks. In all instances, additions to the collections underwent a rigorous selection process in which the usefulness and relevance of each book were carefully evaluated. Hence, the astrology books in these collections are far from mere accumulations; rather, they represent a deliberate and strategic engagement with astrology by religious institutions throughout the early modern period in Portugal, showcasing their active role in curating, preserving, and utilizing astrological knowledge as part of their broader intellectual pursuits.

### Assessing the Use of Astrology Books

One method for assessing the use of astrology books that once belonged to religious orders is through the examination of physical evidence of wear, marginalia, and other annotations found in the surviving copies. Many of these volumes are now preserved in various Portuguese libraries.

The physical condition of the books—such as marginalia, binding repairs, and signs of handling—offers valuable insights into how these texts were engaged with by their original readers. Yet, several important considerations arise in such an analysis. As discussed in Chapter II, religious institutions often implemented strict regulations regarding the use of books, particularly prohibiting writing or annotating in them. Another significant challenge in this type of preliminary analysis, lies in determining whether the markings were made before or after the period of the book’s ownership by a specific individual or institution. An in-depth study of annotations and marginalia in astrology books distributed across current Portuguese libraries remains to be done. This task goes beyond the purpose of this dissertation, nevertheless, we will seek to highlight a few cases which we hope will help to further solidify our argument regarding the broader interest of Portuguese religious congregations in astrological knowledge during the early modern period.

The first case is a copy of *Alchabitius Cum Commento*, by Ioannes Hispalensis (John of Hispalis), extant at the BNP, and identified and originated from the Public Library of the Company of Jesus in Braga.<sup>235</sup> This copy features marginal annotations written in Latin, offering commentaries on various parts of the main text, as well as several notes highlighting specific sections, including symbols related to zodiac signs, planets, and other astrological elements, such as the Lot of Fortune. In the final pages, there are also several notes.

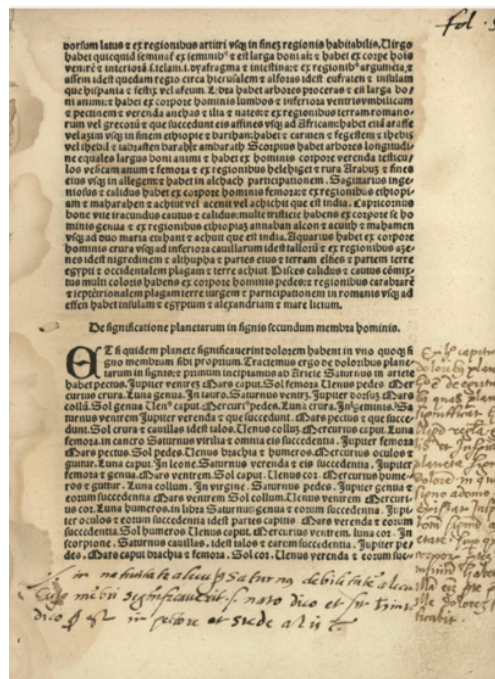


Figure 3.4 – Marginalia Page from John of Hispalis’s *Commentary*. Source: BNP, RES. 2892 V, fol. 5r.

The second example concerns a copy of André de Avelar’s *Reportorio dos Tempos* (1594), preserved in the BNP collection, which formerly belonged to the Monastery of Santa Maria de Scala Coeli, of the Carthusian Order.<sup>236</sup> Similar to the works of Chaves and Figueredo, Avelar’s publication appears in the 1624 *Index of Forbidden Books*, with detailed instructions for its expurgation.<sup>237</sup> Upon comparing the expurgation instructions with the

<sup>235</sup> BNP, RES. 2892 V.

<sup>236</sup> BNP, RES-6344-P. The item pertains to André de Avelar, *Reportorio dos Tempos* (Lisbon: por Simão Lopez, 1594).

<sup>237</sup> “Andre de Avelar o seu repertorio, impresso no anno de 1590 ou 1594 ou 1602 ou qualquer semelhante, não se emendando como está no Expurgatorio.” (Andre de Avelar, his repertoire, printed in the year 1590 or 1594 or 1602 or any similar one, is not being corrected as it stands in the Expurgatorio). See: *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, 92.



Another notable example can be found in Book 6, which examines the effects of eclipses on various regions, particularly in the section featuring the *Taboa das terras e cousas em que os signos mostram seus efeitos, e significação* (Table of the Lands and Things in Which the Signs Show Their Effects and Significance).<sup>242</sup> Up to this point, the expurgation guidelines were followed meticulously. Here, in accordance with the instructions, several activities, professions, and locations associated with specific signs have been crossed out. The directive to remove these words reflects a deliberate effort to sever the links between everyday matters—such as specific places, activities, and objects—and astrological elements like zodiac signs. Nevertheless, these correlations were an essential component of astrological practice, often appearing in expressly forbidden files such as Interrogations. It can be speculated that these measures were intended to remove any associations that allowed for deterministic predictions about human affairs. However, the expurgation instructions concerning the table were followed inconsistently. While most parts of the text were crossed out as directed, some omissions remain.

Lastly, this copy also provides a case of censorship that goes beyond astrological and linguistic concerns to include the expurgation of imagery that might challenge moral standards. Two illustrations, depicting the naked human body and its associations with the zodiac, have been censored (see Figures 3.9 and 3.10). The nearly perfect compliance with the expurgation rule provides, stipulated in the Index, reveals a strong commitment to transforming the text into one suitable for licit readership.



Figure 3.7 – Censored *Homo signorum* (Zodiacal man), in Avelar’s *Reportório dos Tempos*. Source: BNP, RES-6344-P, fol. 162v.



Figure 3.8 – Censored naked body, highlighting the veins on the front part of human body, Avelar’s *Reportório dos Tempos*. Source: BNP, RES-6344-P, fol. 163r.

We can also see instances of marginalia in this copy, as well as other parts of the text that are underlined. In Book 4, Chapter 14, on page 168, titled *Da Confortação das Quatro Virtudes Naturais, Segundo Astrologos* (*On the Strengthening of the Four Natural Virtues, According to Astrologers*), we observe a handwritten note in the right margin of the main text which summarizes the specific aspects discussed in text. The annotation reads: “Note: The attractive

<sup>242</sup> Avelar, *Reportório dos tempos*, fol. 151r.–152v.

virtue is strengthened by warmth and dryness. The digestive by warmth and moisture. The retentive is reinforced by cold and dryness. The expulsive is strengthened by cold and moisture.”<sup>243</sup>

Overall, this evidence hits at a genuine interest in Avelar’s astrological work, particularly in its medical aspects. By meticulously adhering to censorship guidelines—whether through crossing out and replacing specific passages with deterministic tones or altering anatomical illustrations—Avelar’s *Reportorio*, originally housed in the Carthusian Monastery of Santa Maria de Scala Coeli, displays a deep commitment to adapt the book for lawful use within a religious library context.

Previous studies have highlighted inconsistencies in the processes of book expurgation of scientific works belonging to old religious collections, noting that fewer astrological texts were expurgated than might have been anticipated. Instead, greater emphasis appears to have been placed on censoring indecent engravings and obscene passages. By all accounts, once expurgated, banned books were likely to be incorporated into the public libraries of their colleges.<sup>244</sup> Similarly, the cases presented here demonstrate that the practices of expurgation were highly variable. In alignment with recent studies, a plausible explanation for Avelar’s work appearing so compliant with the rules for its expurgation can be that censorship practices became significantly more severe following the introduction of new censorship mechanisms in the sixteen century, which were implemented—albeit imperfectly—over the subsequent centuries, particularly during the seventeen century.<sup>245</sup> These actions left a lasting imprint on both the readership and the trade of books. In Portugal, following the publication of the latest edition of the Index in 1624, the Inquisition began sending inspectors to bookshops and libraries to enforce compliance, with instances of librarians prosecuted for selling forbidden astrology books.<sup>246</sup> Nevertheless, as the evidence demonstrates, this did not bring an end to the acquisition and active engagement with astrological knowledge, until the mid-eighteenth century.

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<sup>243</sup> The original sentence reads: “Nota. A virtude atractiva confortase com quente seco. A digestiva por quente e humido. A retentive se corrobora por frio e seco. A expulsiva se conforta por frio e húmido”.

<sup>244</sup> Romeiras, “Putting the Indices into Practice”, 25.

<sup>245</sup> A trend highlighted by Teresa Payan Martins in her work, *A Censura Literária em Portugal nos Séculos XVII e XVIII*, 283–299, and one that continues to appear in recent case studies; see Ribeiro and Romeiras, “Forbidden Books and Royal Horoscopes”.

<sup>246</sup> As was the case of the bookseller, Nicolao de Locatoria. On this case see: Pedro de Azevedo, “Uma denúncia em 1614 contra dois livreiros de Lisboa”, *Boletim Bibliográfico da Academia das Ciências*, 1 (1911), 1–14.

## CONCLUSION

This study has delved into the astrology books that belonged to Portuguese religious libraries, through the analysis of sources spanning the early modern period up to the dissolution of these institutions in 1834. Although previous research has hinted at the presence of prohibited scientific books, including astrological works, within religious institutions, the extent and significance of such controversial materials in these communities had remained largely unknown. Our goal was to understand the extent and nature of astrological knowledge preserved in the libraries of the most prevalent religious orders. To achieve this, we employed two main approaches: first, the examination of catalogues and inventories belonging to the religious institutions, and second, the cross-referencing of volumes in contemporary collections that originated from these libraries.

Scientific books, even within the largest collections, typically accounted for only about 10% of total holdings. Hence, the figures presented in this investigation were interpreted within this framework. Furthermore, during our inspection of religious library catalogs and inventories, a consistent pattern emerged: collections with a notable presence of scientific books—such as those on natural philosophy, mathematics, or astronomy—were more likely to include astrological works. Conversely, in libraries with fewer astrology books, we often noticed a general scarcity of scientific literature. Additionally, we observed that astrology, like other scientific disciplines, is not uniformly represented in the sources of documents studied. As explored throughout, there is significant variation in both the scope and depth of these sources. At one end of the spectrum, we encounter detailed catalogues from prominent religious orders showcasing extensive and meticulously organized collections. At the other end, we find very modest collections and inventories compiled in a more hasty and incomplete manner. Our analysis revealed that the likelihood of encountering titles related to astrology increases in catalogues and inventories that include a wide range of scientific works, particularly those featuring astronomical texts. Still, even sources that describe a smaller number of astrology-related titles can provide surprises by detailing sophisticated and unexpected works, such as astrology works, published in the Southern Hemisphere, as observed in the catalog of the Carmelites.

The evidence presented in this dissertation underscores the prominence of astrological works within Portuguese religious collections during the early modern period, as reflected by the identification of 222 texts across the holdings of various religious libraries. Beyond astrology books, we also examined other textual materials, ranging from astronomy books and ephemerides to treatises on comets, astrological and astronomical instruments, and books of critique and defense of astrology—resulting in a comprehensive list of 687 items distributed across 41 libraries belonging to 16 religious orders, detailed in the Appendix. This compendium served as the cornerstone of our analysis, enabling a deeper assessment of the circulation of astrological knowledge in early Portugal. From this analysis, it was ascertained that religious libraries maintained extensive scientific collections, reflecting their active interest in preserving both astronomical and astrological knowledge. Notwithstanding the contentious nature of the discipline, our findings reveal that astrology held a significant place within Portuguese religious collections, from advanced texts intended for educated audiences to more accessible works designed for a broader readership.

As discussed in Chapter I, despite enduring criticism and challenges to its legitimacy from both scholars and the Catholic Church, astrology remained a pervasive subject of intellectual and popular interest until the early decades of the eighteenth century. The early modern period represented a fascinating chapter in the history of astrology, characterized by a deep engagement with astrological practices and shaped by profound cultural transformations. This era witnessed a resurgence of interest in ancient astrological texts, spurred by the invention of the printing press,

which facilitated the widespread dissemination of new astrological writings. However, the mass production of overly simplistic and exaggerated predictions in almanacs contributed to a distorted perception of astrology, provoking sharp criticism from its detractors. By the sixteenth century, the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese Inquisitions had established intricate mechanisms for the censorship of printed materials, aiming to prevent the spread of doctrines deemed incompatible with Catholic orthodoxy. These actions ultimately led to the formal distinction of astrology into two categories: one considered permissible and the other regarded as illicit. This distinction played a pivotal role in shaping the circulation of astrological knowledge, impacting both the audiences who engaged with it and the nature of the texts that were produced. Despite these constraints, the production and dissemination of astrological works persisted. Moreover, as we have sought to demonstrate, the prohibitive stance toward astrology did not prevent its incorporation into religious library collections, even encompassing texts that unequivocally belonged to the illicit category of judicial astrology.

The inclusion of religious libraries in the study of scientific knowledge production and dissemination in Portugal is of undeniable significance. Throughout the Early Modern period, Portuguese book culture was profoundly shaped by the literary and intellectual pursuits of Catholic institutions spread across the country. Many religious congregations devoted themselves to curating remarkable collections that encompassed a wide array of subjects. Among these, as evidence shows, were works dedicated to the study of celestial phenomena, spanning both astrology and astronomy, authored by leading figures in these fields during early modern Europe.

As explored in Chapter II, the implementation of rigorous management practices and detailed regulations was instrumental in ensuring the longevity and comprehensiveness of these ecclesiastical collections. Over centuries, these libraries adopted diverse organizational models, each leaving a distinct imprint on the intellectual and cultural life of the societies they served. Still, while the creation and maintenance of religious libraries can be seen as a long and steady process, the same cannot be said for the fate of their collections following key historical events. Any attempts to gain insight into these collection's hinged on the careful examination of records and inventories compiled during the period of their dispersal. However, as discussed throughout this study, these sources must be approached with caution, as they reflect the circumstances, intentions, and limitations of their conception. Catalogues and inventories are shaped by the expertise and biases of those who compiled them, and thus offer only a snapshot of a library's ever-changing collection. Yet, in addition to this, the identification of astrological works within the extensive bibliographic records of religious libraries demands even greater care and deliberate attention, as astrology was a censored and closely regulated subject under the vigilant scrutiny of the Catholic Church. Naturally, the circulation of astrological knowledge within a religious context was influenced not only by the intellectual pursuits of its members but also by the restrictions and controls governing its readership and practice. To explore this dynamic, we began by analyzing how astrological works were recorded and categorized in the catalogues of religious collections, searching for insights into their classification and treatment.

As demonstrated by the findings outlined in the concluding section of Chapter II, catalogues and inventories frequently employed diverse organizational frameworks, with some offering comprehensive and detailed descriptions of a library's holdings. Evidence suggests that astrology-related items were documented in various ways, often classified under different categories. In sources organized by subject matter, astrology books were most frequently categorized under Mathematics, occasionally under Philosophy, and, in rare instances, assigned their own distinct section—as seen in the catalogue of the Convent of Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa of the Franciscan Order. This fluctuation in categorization, we argue, reflects the discipline's extensive and multifaceted nature. Astrological publications spanned a wide range of

topics, theories, practices, and perspectives, which naturally led to variations in how these works were categorized, organized, and even censored. Further examination of these catalogues revealed instances of lists of prohibited works and licenses for readership related to astrological texts, offering valuable insights into the complex and often contradictory attitudes toward astrological literature and its authors. While catalogues of forbidden books occasionally included astrology texts, explicit listings of such works as prohibited were less common than one might expect. In two cases, astrological works were explicitly marked as prohibited, illustrating how such texts remained accessible under strict regulatory procedures. These instances revealed differing approaches to book regulation practices, even within the same catalogue, providing a compelling illustration of the nuanced and inconsistent treatment of astrological authors.

In the third and final chapter, we presented the key findings of our investigation. Our analysis of 320 documents, including catalogues and inventories from former religious orders, allowed us to identify a collection of 222 astrological works, distributed across 41 libraries belonging to 16 different religious orders. Our analysis began with an examination of the proportional representation of various categories of books that constituted the Bibliographic Index: Astrological Treatises, Almanacs, Ephemerides, Instruments, Comets, Astronomy Books, Criticism of Astrology, and Defense of Astrology. This collection revealed a rich diversity of texts on celestial phenomena, with astronomy books making up the largest share (35%). Astrological treatises (17%) and almanacs (15%) nearly matched the percentage of astronomy books, signaling an equivalent interest in astrology and astronomy.

Although fewer in number compared to the combined instances of treatises and almanacs, ephemerides were consistently identified across the collections of various religious institutions. The presence of ephemerides in religious library collections is particularly significant, accounting for 12% of the identified items. Ephemerides were indispensable tools for the study and practice of astrology, serving as the foundation for precise astrological calculations. They provided detailed astronomical data, such as the positions of celestial bodies, which were essential for computing horoscopes, predicting eclipses, and performing other astrological analyses. In addition to their computational use, ephemerides frequently included extensive astrological knowledge, offering explanations of planetary influences, astrological doctrines, and interpretive guidelines for celestial phenomena. As such, the inclusion of ephemerides, alongside other astrological and astronomical works, suggests more than a theoretical curiosity on the part of religious institutions. Instead, it points to a genuine engagement with the actual practice of astrology.

Books on comets (8%) reflected public and scholarly interest during notable celestial events, with works by Portuguese and European authors widely circulated. Books on astronomical instruments (7%) underscored the practical aspects of celestial studies, with works by Clavius, Frisius, and Stöffler prominently featured. Additionally, evidence revealed that religious libraries often housed texts defending and critiquing astrology. Moreover, works condemning astrological practices, particularly judicial astrology, were found to coexist with definitive examples of judicial astrology within the same collections. Notably, no astrology books were identified in sources pertaining to female religious institutions, with one exception—a critique of astrology by Pedro de Acevedo found in the Convent of Santo Alberto. The inventories of female religious orders considered in this dissertation reveal an absence of scientific texts. Although there might have been exceptions they did not surmise in this study. Considering that the number of astrological and astronomical texts is intimately dependent on the overall number of scientific books, it is unsurprising that the female libraries featured in this dissertation did not include any astrological writings.

When examining the distribution of astrological works across religious libraries in Portugal, we find the highest concentrations in the capital, Lisbon, as well as in academic centers such as Coimbra. This pattern underscores the strong connection between religious institutions and scholarly endeavors, highlighting their pivotal role in preserving and disseminating scientific knowledge. Furthermore, libraries with the largest collections of astrology texts were primarily located in the motherhouses of religious orders in major cities, contrasting sharply with the more modest or absent collections in libraries from other regions. This pattern underscores the centrality of key religious and academic hubs in fostering astrological scholarship. The diversity of publication locations indicates a wide geographical spread of astrological interests. Our analysis of the dominant languages in astrological works reinforces the observation that a significant portion of astrological materials in religious library collections included both sophisticated texts for an intellectual audience, written in Latin, and more accessible works for readers with a moderate level of knowledge, written in Portuguese and Castilian.

Based on the data collected, the Franciscan Order stands out as the congregation with the largest holdings of astrological materials in their libraries. The Augustinians and Theatines also maintained notable collections, with significant collections of both astrological treatises and almanacs. The Society of Jesus and the Canons Regular follow closely, with the data showing a similar number of treatises, almanacs, and ephemerides in the collections of these two congregations. This evidence revealed that, although the Society of Jesus is well-known for actively promoting the teaching of astrology, the catalogues inspected describe fewer astrology works compared to those of the Franciscans, Theatines, and Augustinians—religious orders that, until now, might not have been associated with a significant interest in astrology in their intellectual pursuits. Despite the inherent limitations of our sources and the incomplete nature of these records, it is evident that astrology was among the scientific interests reflected in the most influential Portuguese religious book collections. While our understanding of the full scope of these collections remains partial—given that the actual number of books was likely higher than documented—these findings leave little doubt about the prominence of astrology within religious collections.

The libraries belonging to the most influential religious orders housed both academically oriented works and more accessible, practical texts in the vernacular, demonstrating a deliberate and systematic effort to curate diverse astrological collections. A deeper look into the publications and authors within these collections also reveals that, across the categories of astrology, astronomy, and ephemerides, Portuguese religious libraries featured a rich array of prominent figures in these fields. The most frequently represented authors of astrological works in religious collections were those who specialized in producing the more accessible publications known as, “reportorios”, published in both the Portuguese and Spanish. Notable among them was André de Avelar and the Spanish authors Jerónimo Chaves and Jerónimo Cortez. Beyond the Iberian authors, religious collections also showcased a remarkably diverse selection of international figures from various periods and regions, featuring key authorities in the field of astrology. These included classical authors such as Ptolemy, Hyginus, Manilius, and Firmicus Maternus; renowned Arabic scholars like Alcabitius and Haly Abenrangel; and medieval authorities such as Albertus Magnus, Leopold of Austria, and Guido Bonatti. Among the early modern authors featured in religious astrology collections were renowned figures such as Pontano, Magini, Gaurico and Giuntini; explicitly forbidden scholars like Cardano and Tommaso de Campanella; Protestant authors such as Rantzau and Levinus Lemnius; as well as later contributors to astrological literature, including Argoli and Morin.

The authors of astrology books preserved in the collections of Portuguese religious libraries represent a thoughtfully curated selection of the astrological tradition, which included

both foundational figures who established the discipline's theoretical framework and those who later expanded and refined its doctrines. As for the astrological publication with the widest circulation among religious libraries, it appears to be *Summa Astrologica* (1632), the astrological manual on weather forecasting by António de Najera. Our research allowed us to identify Najera's work in nine religious institutions across the country, spanning a diverse array of orders, including the Oratorians, Franciscans, Canons Regular, the Society of Jesus, two Augustinian institutions, within monastic libraries of the Cistercians, Carthusians, and Benedictines.

To dispel any notions that this was merely a passive accumulation of books, we employed two primary strategies. The first involved examining the publication dates of astrology books identified as belonging to religious institutions. This analysis focused on the libraries identified as having the largest astrological collections: the Theatine Library of the House of Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência and the Augustinian Library of the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça in Lisbon. This approach revealed a chronological range of astrology texts extending from the late fifteenth century to the late seventeenth century, suggesting a sustained commitment to collecting astrological knowledge spanning nearly two centuries. Beyond revealing a well-curated selection of astrological knowledge and prominent authors, our analysis of the astrology book collections in the Augustinian and Theatine libraries uncovered compelling evidence of the circulation of astrology manuscripts authored by Jesuit professors, Simão Fallon and João Delgado, from the College of Santo Antão.

The second strategy focused on assessing the use of astrology books within these religious orders by examining surviving copies. Two cases were analysed. The first was a heavily annotated copy of *Alchabitius Cum Commento by Ioannes Hispalensis*, originating from the Public Library of the Company of Jesus in Braga. This copy contained extensive marginal notes, including commentaries on various sections of the main text and markings that highlighted key passages, such as symbols associated with zodiac signs, planets, and other astrological elements. The second example was a copy of André de Avelar's *Reportorio dos Tempos* (1594), formerly belonging to the Monastery of Santa Maria de Scala Coeli of the Carthusian Order. In this case, we examined the censorship regulations stipulated in the 1624 edition of the *Index of Forbidden Books*, to observe that the copy closely adhered to its prescriptions. Among the prescribed expurgation guidelines were the detailed removal of deterministic passages, their replacement with suitable alternatives, and the censoring of anatomical illustrations to conform to doctrinal standards. Beyond these amendments, the copy also included marginal notes that suggested a thoughtful engagement with the text. The annotations not only reflected a commitment to complying with censorship regulations but also demonstrated a genuine engagement with the textual material itself. Furthermore, they support the idea that astrology books in religious collections were not merely acquired and stored but were actively read, annotated, and adapted to meet doctrinal requirements, offering a deeper insight into the dynamic relationship between astrological literature in religious institutions.

In line with previous research, these instances further indicate that regulations against astrology were less strictly enforced than commonly assumed and, more significantly, did not suppress the engagement with astrology, even within a religious scholarly environment. As revealed through our study, religious congregations sought to include astrological works within their scientific book collections, many of which fell under the category of judicial astrology, including those authored by explicitly forbidden writers. This persisted despite severe restrictions imposed by the Roman Index, the Tridentine Rules, and various papal bulls against the discipline. As verified by the examples studied, this practice continued well beyond the final publication of the Index in 1624. These findings underscore the dual role of religious libraries as repositories of astrological knowledge and as institutions that navigated complex relationships with censorship

and doctrinal compliance. There is still much to be explored in this field, and a detailed examination of the surviving astrology books preserved in current libraries could further enhance our understanding of astrological practices and the dissemination of astrological knowledge, particularly within religious contexts, throughout early modern Portugal.

Despite the sources available providing only an incomplete glimpse into the full scope of knowledge preserved in the old Portuguese religious libraries, the volume of information they reveal is nevertheless impressive. The evidence collected demonstrates that astrological publications were a fundamental component of the intellectual patrimony of the most influential religious orders. On one hand, the prevalence of almanacs highlights an interest in astrological knowledge that was accessible to a broader audience. On the other hand, the significant collections of complex astrological treatises and ephemerides suggest scholarly pursuits and indicate a deeper commitment to the more sophisticated aspects of the discipline, suggesting an active engagement with its practice. The physical signs of book usage, alongside the chronological and thematic scope of these collections, further underscore the continued investment in astrological knowledge by religious congregations as they built their collections.

Ultimately, the corpus of astrology and astronomy works identified in this study demonstrates that Portuguese religious libraries not only provided access to precise tools for astrological calculations but also preserved the profound knowledge necessary for mastering advanced astronomical and astrological practices, highlighting their pivotal role in the transmission and cultivation of scientific thought during the early modern period.

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## APPENDIX: BIBLIOGRAPHIC INDEX

### Explanatory Note

- The list of items presented here represent the bibliographic references of Astronomy and Astronomy works identified as having belonged to religious Portuguese libraries. This data was gathered through two methods: The first involved inspecting 320 documentary sources, including catalogues and inventories from former Portuguese religious libraries. The second entailed assessing surviving copies of volumes currently housed in contemporary libraries, confirmed to have belonged to these institutions.
- In total, 687 works were identified. These works are organized into the following categories:
  - Astrological Books
  - Ephemerides
  - Books of Criticism and Defense of Astrology
  - Books on Comets
  - Astronomy Books
  - Books on Instruments
- The works appear organized alphabetically by the author's name. Anonymous works are grouped under “Anonymous”, within each category.
- In some instances, works were registered in multiple primary sources pertaining to the same library. When an item appeared in more than one source pertaining to the same library, it was counted only once, except in cases where the records describe distinct editions. If multiple editions of a work were identified, they are presented in chronological order.
- Whenever possible, we refer to the item by the bibliographic references corresponding to the respective edition. In cases where the records did not specify the editions, the item was transcribed as found in the source material and enclosed in quotation marks (« »).
- The corresponding Library where the item belonged is listed in bold, below each item. And subsequently, below the name of the institutions is the sources reference from which they were identified.
- To access the vast list of sources reference of catalogues we have resorted to the aid of the work, *Clavis Bibliothecarum*. To facilitate future research, each source reference includes a footnote with the inventory number of the work from *Clavis Bibliothecarum*.
- Items highlighted in blue correspond to works not found in the original catalogs of religious libraries but identified through inspection of the catalogs of books currently housed in BNP (National Library of Portugal), BA (Library of the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon), BPE (Public Library of Évora), and BA (Library of the Academy), confirmed to have originated from former religious institutions.

## ASTROLOGY BOOKS

AICHER, Otto (1628-1705)

1. *Zodiacus Vitae, sive iter ethicum, continens symbola moralia de hominis vita, studio ac Moribus optimè instituendis, ex Libris Ethicorum Aristotelis deducta.* Salisburgi: Johann Baptist Mayr, 1697.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL 11 337 43.

ALBIZZINI, Bartolomeo (?-1703?)

2. «Albizini Bartholomeo. Trattato astrologico di quanto influiscono le stelle dal cielo a pro, e danno delle cose inferiori per tutto l'anno 1702. Firenze, da Ant. Maria Albizini»

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 - 7430, fol. 9r.; and BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 116r.<sup>247</sup>

ALCHABITIUS (d. 967)

3. «Astrologia = V<sup>e</sup> Valerium Superchium» «Comentaria in Alchabitis Astrologia = v<sup>e</sup> Valerium Superchium»

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol.8 and fol. 128v.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 100v.<sup>248</sup>

4. *Alchabitus Cum Commento. Venetiis: per Ioannem et Gregorium de gregorijs fratres, 1503.*

**Livraria Pública da Companhia de Jesus (Braga) (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, RES. 2892 V.

5. *Joannes de Saxonia, Comentaria in Alchabitis Astrologia.* Venetiis, 1503.<sup>249</sup>

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 and 7461, fol. 116r.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol.100v.<sup>250</sup>

6. *Opus ad scrutanda stellarum magisteria isagogicum.* Venetis: 1521.

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 22; BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 93r.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 767.

<sup>248</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>249</sup> In the catalog of the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa, BNP, COD. 7459, 7460, and 7461, Fol. 19r., the item is listed simply as «Alcabitius, Astrologia». However, in the catalog BNP, COD. 7409, Fol. 100v., what can possibly be the same item is described in more detail, specifying the author, title, place, and date of publication as «Joannes de Saxonia, *Opus Alchabitium*, Venetti, 1503». Given that these catalogs pertain to the same library; for the purpose of assessing the number of astrology works, we have decided to treat them as the same item.

<sup>250</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>251</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218 and INV. 219.

7. *Preclarum summi in astrorum scientia Principis Alchabitii Opus scrutanda Stellarum Magisteria isagogicum pristino Candori. Joannis de Saxonia Comentario. Venetiis per Melchiorem Sessam & Petrum de Ravanis sócios, 1521.*

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 51-XI-5, fol. 264r.<sup>252</sup>

8. *Preclarum summi in astrorum scientia principis alchabitij opus ad scrutanda stellarum magisteria isagogicum pristino candori nuperrime restitutum ab excellentissimo doctore antonio de fantis taruisino. Venetijs: Petri Liechtenstein, 1521.*

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 and 7461, fol. 47r.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 99v.<sup>253</sup>

ALEMAN, Juan (15<sup>th</sup> century.)

9. *Repertorio de los tempos, Alcala Henares, 158(?)*

**Mosteiro de São Bento da Vitória do Porto (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, Biblioteca, Temas diversos, caixa 499, doc. 421, fol. 88v.<sup>254</sup>

ANONYMUS

10. «Anónimo Astrologia»

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7113, fol. 38v.<sup>255</sup>

11. *Astronomica Veterum Scripta Isagogica Graeca & Latina*

**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7431, fol. 52v.; BA, 51-XI.38, fol. 15v.; BA, 51-XI-45 fol. 302r.<sup>256</sup>

12. «Chronographia dos Tempos»

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 63r.<sup>257</sup>

13. «Interrogatorios e respostas de adivinhação sobre a fortuna do homem e outros accidentes da vida humana» (Manuscript)<sup>258</sup>

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 13438, fol. 22r.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

<sup>253</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>254</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*. INV. 60.

<sup>255</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 714.

<sup>256</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*. INV. 702, INV. 704 and INV. 705.

<sup>257</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*. INV. 218.

<sup>258</sup> The translation reads: "Questions and answers of divinations about man's fortune and other accidents of human life".

<sup>259</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 768.

14. «L' Astrologie Naturele»  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora de Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BPE, Cód. CXII/2-28, fol. 2r.<sup>260</sup>
15. «Libro del R. d. A<sup>o</sup> e sabio sobre las estrelas»  
**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7113, fol. 32v.<sup>261</sup>
16. «Livro que trata de los Planetas»  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 102r.<sup>262</sup>  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**
17. «Lunario Antigo»  
**Colégio de Nossa Senhora dos Anjos de Montemor-o-Velho (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: ANTT, Ministério das Finanças Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Anjos de Montemor-o-Velho, caixa 2239, [processo n.273], fol. 71r.<sup>263</sup>
18. «Lunário Perpetuo»  
**Convento de São Domingos de Évora (Ordem dos Pregadores)**  
 Source: BNP, MSS. 208, n. 73, fol. 680v.<sup>264</sup>
19. *O Cego astrólogo: Antonio Pequeno, filho bastardo do Sarrabal Saloyo: Prognóstico particular para o anno de 1746, segundo depois do bissexto.* Offic. de Miguel Rodrigues, 17??.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BACL, 11 377 54.
20. *O preto astrólogo: Prognóstico diário...para os annos de 1758.* Coimbra: Na Offic. de Antonio Simoens Ferreira, 1757.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BACL 11 377 54.
21. «Reportorio — dos tempos com as estrelas dos signos...LX<sup>a</sup> Ant.<sup>o</sup> Gonçalo.157»  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 212r.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 759.

<sup>261</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 714.

<sup>262</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52.

<sup>263</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 255.

<sup>264</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 684.

<sup>265</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.766.

ARGOLI, Andrea (1570-1657)

22. *Ptolemaeus parvus in genethliacis junctus Arabibus*. Lugduni, 1659.

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: ANTT, Ministério das Finanças, Convento de Santa Maria de Alcobaça, caixa 2192, (processo n. 5], fol. 304r.; BNP, COD. 7412, fol. 74r.<sup>266</sup>

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 - 7430, fol. 95r.; BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 28r.; BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 117r.<sup>267</sup>

AVELAR, André de (1546-1623?)

23. *Chronographia ou reportorio dos tempos*. Lisboa: Simão Lopez, 1594.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Piedade de Cascais (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8387//2.<sup>268</sup>

**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7435 fol. 11v.<sup>269</sup>

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Scala Coeli (Ordem da Cartuxa)**

Source: BNP RES. 6344 P.

24. *Chronographia ou reportorio dos tempos*. Lisboa, 1602.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 23r.<sup>270</sup>

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 - 7430, fol. 87r.; BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 27v.; BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 202r.<sup>271</sup>

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 101v.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 26r.<sup>272</sup>

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: ANTT, Ministério das Finanças, Convento de Santa Maria de Alcobaça, caixa 2192, (processo n. 5], fol. 305r.; BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 94v.<sup>273</sup>

25. «Reportorio dos Tempos»

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 23r.<sup>274</sup>

**Colégio de Santo Antão de Lisboa (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BA, 51-XI-44, fol. 8r.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 98 and INV. 106.

<sup>267</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763, INV. 765 and INV. 767.

<sup>268</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 348.

<sup>269</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52.

<sup>270</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260.

<sup>271</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763, INV. 765 and INV. 766.

<sup>272</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>273</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 96 and INV. 106.

<sup>274</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710.

<sup>275</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 723.

26. *Reportorio dos tempos*. Lisboa, 1585.

**Mosteiro de São Miguel de Bustelo (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: BPMP, Ms. 1666, fol. 138r.<sup>276</sup>

27. *Reportorio dos tempos*. Lisboa: M. de Lyra, 1590.

**Mosteiro de São Bento da Vitória do Porto (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, Biblioteca, Temas diversos, caixa 499, doc. 421, fol. 88v.<sup>277</sup>

**Congregação do Oratório de Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Estremoz (Oratorianos)**

Source: BPE, RES. 0089.

28. *Reportorio dos Tempos*. Coimbra, 1590.

**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7393, fol. 145r.; BNP, COD. 7431, fol.47v.; BA, 51-XI.38, fol. 6r.; BA, 51-XI-37. fol. 247r.; BA, 51-XI-45, fol. 304r.<sup>278</sup>

BARRIOS, Juan de (1562-?)

29. *Verdadera medicina, cirugia y astrologia en tres libros dividida*. Mexico: Por Fernando Balli, 1607.

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 102v. and fol. 461r.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 96r.<sup>279</sup>

BELIN, Jean Albert (1610-1677)

30. *Traité des talismans ou Figures astrales dans lequel est monstré que leurs effets, & vertus admirables sont naturelles*. Paris: chez de Bresche, 1658.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 23r.; BNP, COD. 7350, fol.132r.<sup>280</sup>

BENINCASA, Rutilio (1550-1625)

31. *Almanacho perpetuo di Rutilio Benencasa cosentino*. Venetia: Appresso li Iunti, 1629.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BPE, Cód. CXII/2-28, fol. 5r.; BNP, COD. 7350, fol.117v.<sup>281</sup>

BOCARRO FRANCÊS, Manuel (1588-1662)

32. *Anacephaleoses da Monarchia Luzitana*. Lisboa: por Antonio Alvarez, 1624

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 37v.; BNP, COD. 6963, fol. 180v.<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 80.

<sup>277</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.60.

<sup>278</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 701, INV. 702, INV. 703, INV. 704 and INV. 705.

<sup>279</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>280</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 765 and INV. 767.

<sup>281</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 759 and INV. 767.

<sup>282</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218 and INV. 223.

33. *Regnum astrorum reformatum, cujus fundamentum, caelestis astronomiae praxis.* Hamburgi: ex officina typographica Henrici Werner, 1544.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 201r.<sup>283</sup>

BODERIUS, Thomas (16<sup>th</sup> century)

34. *De ratione & vsu dierum criticorum opus recens natum, in quo mens tum ipsius Ptolomaei, Tum aliorum astrologorum hac in parte dilucidatur.* Parisiis: apud Andream Wechelum, 1555.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

BNP, S.A 2899 A.

BONATTI, Guido (ca.1210-ca.1296)

35. *Registrum sive Liber Astronomicus, cum figuris.* Aug. Vindel, 1491.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 24v.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 99r.<sup>284</sup>

CAMPANELLA, Tommaso (1568-1639)

36. *Astrologicorum Libri VII.* Lugduni, 1630.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 129r.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 99v.<sup>285</sup>

37. *De Sensu rerum et magia.* Francofurti: Apud Egenolphum Emmelium, 1620.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429–7430, fol. 160r.<sup>286</sup>

38. *Medicinalium iuxta propria principia libri septem.* Lugduni, 1635.

**Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada (Ordem dos Pregadores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 99r.<sup>287</sup>

CARDANO, Girolamo (1501-1576)

39. «*Cardanus=Hieronimus. In Ptolomaeum=I. Lugd. 1585*»

**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 61v.<sup>288</sup>

40. *Hieronymi Cardani Medici Mediolanensis, Libelli quinque.* Norimbergae: Petreius Nürnberg 1547.

**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 104r.<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 766.

<sup>284</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>285</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>286</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763.

<sup>287</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>288</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>289</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

41. *Hieronymi Cardani Mediolanensis. Opera omnia.* Lugduni, 1668.  
**Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada (Ordem dos Pregadores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 103r.<sup>290</sup>

42. «in Ptolom. de astros Judic. X<sup>a</sup> Basilae 1554»

**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7393, fol. 49r.; BNP, COD. 7431, fol. 46v.; BA, 51-XI-37. fol. 248.  
BA, 51-XI-45, fol. 304r.<sup>291</sup>

CARMONA, Juan de (1534-?)

43. «*Astrologia ansit Medicis necessaria*» (*Ioannis de Carmona medici atque philosophi Hispalensis (...) Tractatus an astrologia, sit medicis necessaria.*)

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 and 7461, fol. 105r.<sup>292</sup>

CAUSSINO, Nicolas (1583-1651)

44. *Domus Dei. In qua de mirabilibus coeli, totaque astrologia*

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7412, fol. 75r.<sup>293</sup>

45. *Domus Dei. In qua de mirabilibus coeli, totaque astrologia.* Parisiis: Apud Dionysium Bechet, 1650.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 98r.<sup>294</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 340 4.

46. *Ephemeride astrologica, et histórica.* Bologna: per Carlo Zaneto, 1652.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 - 7430, fol. 181r.<sup>295</sup>

47. «*La corte divina o Palacio celestial*»

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Torres Vedras (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: ANTT, Ministério das Finanças, Convento da Nossa Senhora da Graça de Torres Vedras, caixa 2257, [processo n.400], fol. 67v.<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>291</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 701, INV. 702, INV. 704 and INV. 705.

<sup>292</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260.

<sup>293</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 98.

<sup>294</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>295</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763.

<sup>296</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 267.

48. *Corte divina, ó, Palacio Celestial*. Madrid 1675.  
**Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada (Ordem dos Pregadores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 116r.<sup>297</sup>  
**Hospício de Nossa Senhora da Assunção de Monção (Congregação do Oratório)**  
 Source: BNP, MSS 208, n. 73, fol. 1r.<sup>298</sup>  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8383. fol. 96r.<sup>299</sup>

CHAVES, Jerónimo de (1523-1574)

49. *Chronographia, o, Reportorio delos tiempos, el mas copioso y preciso que hasta agora ha salido a luz*. Sevilha: En casa de Juan de Leon impressor a Sancta Marina, 1548.  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 38v.–39r.; ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, caixa 118, n. 443, fol. 88r.<sup>300</sup>  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8383. fol. 128v.<sup>301</sup>
50. *Chronographia o reportório de los tempos*. Sevilha: por Christoval Alvarez, 1550.  
**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Scala Coeli (Ordem da Cartuxa)**  
 Source: BNP, RES. 344 V.
51. *Chronographia, o Reportorio delos tempos*. 1566.  
**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 229v.<sup>302</sup>
52. *Chronographia, o Reportorio de los Tiempos*. Sevilha, 1572.  
**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7393, fol. 23v.; BNP, COD. 7431 fol. 47v.; BA, 51-XI-37. fol. 248v. BA, 51-XI-45, fol. 304r.<sup>303</sup>
53. *Chronographia, ó, Reportorio de los tiempos, el mas copioso y preciso que hasta ahora ha salido a luz*. Lisboa: por António Ribeiro, 1576.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 177v.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 99v.<sup>304</sup>  
**Mosteiro do Salvador da Serra do Porto (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 623, fol. 25v.<sup>305</sup>  
**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 60v.; BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 93r.<sup>306</sup>  
**Biblioteca Publica do Colégio da Companhia de Jesus de Braga (Companhia de Jesus)**

<sup>297</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>298</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 884.

<sup>299</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 472.

<sup>300</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 51 and 52.

<sup>301</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 472.

<sup>302</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 96.

<sup>303</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 701, INV. 702, INV. 704 and INV. 705.

<sup>304</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>305</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, NV.184

<sup>306</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218 and INV. 219.

Source: BNP, RES. 679 V.

**Congregação do Oratório de Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Estremoz**

Source: BPE, RES. 0085.

54. *Chronographia, o Reportorio de los tempos*. Sevilla: Fernando Diaz, 1584.

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 380r.<sup>307</sup>

**Mosteiro do Santíssimo Sacramento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Paulo Primeiro Eremita da Congregação da Serra de Ossa)**

Source: BNP, RES. 1471 P.

55. *Chronographia, o Reportorio de los tempos*. Sevilha: en casa de Fernando Diaz: a costa de Francisco Estevan Mercader, 1588.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 429r.<sup>308</sup>

CORTE REAL, Francisco de Vasconcelos e Sande, O.M.A.

56. *Nova instrucçam filosofica, estabelecida em varios experimentos, systemas, e observaçoens pertencentes á mathematica, principalmente a artilheria, astrologia, metheoros, e musica*. Lisboa: na officina de Antonio Vicente da Silva, 1761.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 55-V-10 no7.

CORTEZ, Jerónimo (ca. 1530-ca. 1611)

57. «*Lunario Perpetuo*»

**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7393, fol. 23v.<sup>309</sup>

58. *Lunario perpetuo*. Saragoça, 1601.

**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 46v.<sup>310</sup>

59. *Lunario perpetuo*. Alcala, 1606.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 101r.<sup>311</sup>

60. *Lunario y pronostico perpetuo general y particular para cada reynos y provincias*, Saragoça. 1613.

**Mosteiro de São Bento da Vitória do Porto (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, Biblioteca, Temas diversos, caixa 499, doc. 421, fol. 88v.<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

<sup>308</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>309</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 701.

<sup>310</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52.

<sup>311</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>312</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 60.

61. *Lunario y prognostico perpetuo, geral y particular*. Saragoça: Pedro Caesbeck, 1617.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 380r.<sup>313</sup>
62. *Lunario y prognostico perpetuo, geral y particular*. Barcelona, António Sacavalleria, 1682.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 380r.; BNP, COD. 8383. fol. 80r.<sup>314</sup>
63. *Lunario perpetuo*. Lisboa, 1699.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 102v. and fol. 380r.<sup>315</sup>
64. *El non plus ultra del lunario, y pronostico perpetuo general y particular para cada reyno y prouincia*. Valencia, 1672.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Penha de França (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7320, fol. 86r.<sup>316</sup>
65. *El non plus ultra del lunario, y pronostico perpetuo general y particular para cada reyno y prouincia*. En Valencia: por Geronimo Vilagrassa, 1663.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BACL, 11 377 43; BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 431r.<sup>317</sup>
66. *O non plus ultra do lunario e prognostico perpectuo, geral e particular para todos os reynos, e provincias*. Lisboa: por Miguel Manescal, 1703.  
**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantas de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 94r.<sup>318</sup>  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 102v. and 380r.; BNP, COD. 8383. fol. 20v.<sup>319</sup>
67. *O non plus ultra do lunario, e pronostico perpetuo geral e particular para todos os reynos e provincias*. Lisboa, 1757.  
**Mosteiro de São Miguel de Bustelo (Ordem de São Bento)**  
 Source: BPMP, Ms. 1666, fol. 99r.<sup>320</sup>  
**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**  
 Source: ANTT, Ministério das Finanças, Convento de Santa Maria de Alcobaça, caixa 2192, (processo n. 5], fol. 305r.<sup>321</sup>

<sup>313</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

<sup>314</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>315</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

<sup>316</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 274.

<sup>317</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>318</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 219.

<sup>319</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>320</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 80.

<sup>321</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 106.

DAMIÃO, Francez

68. *Prognóstico curioso para o anno de 1716, bissexto*. Lisboa: Na Offic. Real Deslandesiana, 1715.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 377 54.

69. *Prognostico metaforico e curioso lunario para o anno de 1751, depois do bissexto o terceiro: Com todos os principaes aspectos dos planetas*. Lisboa: Na Officina de Pedro Ferreira, 1750.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 377 41.

70. *Prognóstico metafórico e curioso lunário para o anno de 1761*. Lisboa: Na Offic. de Antonio Rodrigues Galhardo, 1761.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 377 54.

DARIOT, Claude (1533-1494)

71. *Ad astrorum iudicia facilis introductio*. Lugduni: apud Mauricium Roy, & Ludouicum Pesnot, 1557.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios de Lisboa (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços).**

Source: BNP, COD. 7408, fol. 57v.<sup>322</sup>

DELGADO, João (1553-1612)

72. *Astrologia pratica*. 1607. (Manuscript)

**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP COD. 8386, fol. 65r.<sup>323</sup>

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 13438, fol. 22r.<sup>324</sup>

ESTANCEL, Valentim (1621-1705)

73. *Uranophilus caelestis*. Gandavi: apud heredes Maximiliani Graet, 1685.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7350 fol. 121r.<sup>325</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 374 21.

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<sup>322</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 350.

<sup>323</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>324</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 768.

<sup>325</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 767.

FALLON, Simão (?-1642)

74. *Astrologia. Judiciaria.* 1640. (Manuscript)

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 105r.<sup>326</sup>

FERRARA, Antonio Torquato de, and Cañete, Cristóbal de

75. Pronostico del maestro Antonio Torquato de Ferrara doctor en medicina y astrologo doctissimo de la eursion de Europa, que dirigio al serenissimo Matias rei de Vngria, año de 1480. Madrid, 1623.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 462r.<sup>327</sup>

FICINUS, Marsilius (1433-1499)

76. *Opera & quae hactenus extitere & quae in lucem & quae in lucem nunc primum prodire omnia in duos tomos digesta. Una CUM Gnomologia.* Parisiis: Bechet. 1641.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 12935-12937 fol. 205r.<sup>328</sup>

FIGUEIREDO, Manoel de (1568-1630)

77. *Chronographia: reportorio dos tempos.* Lisboa: Jorge Rodriguez, 1603.

**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65r.<sup>329</sup>

**Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BPMP, RES-XVII-A-274.

**Mosteiro do Salvador da Serra do Porto (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 623, fol. 33r.<sup>330</sup>

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Scala Coeli (Ordem da Cartuxa)**

Source: BNP, COD. 910-912, fol. 13v.<sup>331</sup>

**Livraria de Matemática do Colégio de Santo Antão (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BA, 50-X-23.

**(Congregação do Oratório de Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Estremoz)**

Source: BPE, RES. 0784.

FIRMICUS MATERNUS, Julius (?-ca. 348)

78. *Mathesis.* Venetiis: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, 1499.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7350 fol. 122r.<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>326</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260.

<sup>327</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>328</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 766.

<sup>329</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>330</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 184.

<sup>331</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 171.

<sup>332</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 767.

79. *Astronomicon*. Basiliae, 1535.<sup>333</sup>

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 61, fol. 86v.<sup>334</sup>

80. *Astronomicon*. Basiliae: per Ioannem Heruagium, 1551.

**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 64v.<sup>335</sup>

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Conceição do Monte do Olivete (Congregação dos Agostinhos Descalços)**

Source: BNP, S.A 668 A.

81. *C. Iulii Hygini Augusti Liberti, Fabularum Liber, Ad Omnium Poetarum Lectionem Mire Necessarius, & Nunc Denuò Excusus. Eiusdem Poeticon Astronomicon Libri Quatuor*. Basileae: ex officina Heruagiana, per Eusebium Episcopium, 1570.

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, H.G. 5015//1 A.

82. *Astronomicon Venetiis, 1599*

**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 104r.<sup>336</sup>

FUENTES, Alonso de (1515-1550)

83. *Summa de Philosophia natural, en la qual assi mismo se tracta de Astrologia y Astronomia, y otras sciencias*. Sevilla: Juan de León, 1547.

**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, caixa 118, n. 443, fol. 88r.<sup>337</sup>

GALLUCCI, Paolo Giovanni (1538-1621)

84. «*Theatro del Mundo, y del Tiempo*»

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 61, fol. 92r.<sup>338</sup>

85. *Theatro del Mundo, y del Tiempo*. Granada, 1606.

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 116v.; BNP, COD. 7402, fol. 118v.<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>333</sup> This catalog does not specify the publication date of this work. However, the National Library holds a copy of *Astronomicon* published in 1535 (Basel), which once belonged to the Library of the College of Jesus in Coimbra. For this reason, we have assumed that the item in the catalog corresponds to the copy held at the BNP. The copy is also bounded together with the work *Ioannis Boccatii De Certaldo Insigne Opus De Claris Mulieribus* (Bern, Switzerland: printed by Matthias Apiarius, 1539). Source: BNP, RES. 4221 V.

<sup>334</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710

<sup>335</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>336</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>337</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 51.

<sup>338</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710.

<sup>339</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 220 and INV. 218.

86. *Theatro del Mundo, y del Tiempo*. Granada: Sebastian Muñoz, 1611.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 98r.<sup>340</sup>

87. *Theatro del mundo, y del tiempo*. Granada, 1612.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios de Lisboa (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7408, fol. 57v.<sup>341</sup>

GAURICO, Luca (1475-1558)

88. *Sphaerae tractatus Ioannis de Sacro Busto (...) Ejusde questio nunquid sub aequatore sit habitatio. Ejusde oratio de invetoribus & laudibus astrologie*. Venetiis: in aedibus Luce Antonii Juntae Florentini, 1531.

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 99r.; BNP, COD. 7446 fol. 33r. BNP, COD. 8383. fol. 117r.<sup>342</sup>

89. *Tomus I[-III]. Operum omnium quae quidem extant L. Gaurici Geophonensis episcopi astronomici praestantissimi, vatisque celeberrimi, omnium bonarum ac humanitatis artium inprimis vero mathematicae & iudiciariae seu praenotionis scientiae*. Basileae: Ex officina Henricpetrina, 1575.

**Livraria de Matemática do Colégio de Santo Antão (Companhia de Jesus)**  
Source: BA, 37-XIV-16.

90. *Tomus II. Operum Lucae Gaurici Geophonensis ac civitatensis episcopi, scientiae astrologiae praedictivae peritissimi, vatiq'ue Astrorum praestantissimi*. Basileae: Ex officina Henricpetrina, 1575.

**Livraria de Matemática do Colégio de Santo Antão (Companhia de Jesus)**  
Source: BA, 37-XIV-17.

GIUNTINI, Francesco (1523-1590)

91. *Speculum Astrologiae*. Lugduni, 1573.  
**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 156v.; BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 93v.<sup>343</sup>

92. *Speculum Astrologiae*. Lugduni: Simphorianum Beraud, 1581.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 252r.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 98v.<sup>344</sup>  
**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 330–331.<sup>345</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>341</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 350.

<sup>342</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470, INV. 471 and INV. 472.

<sup>343</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218 and INV. 219.

<sup>344</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>345</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

93. *Speculum Astrologiae*. Lugduni, 1583.  
**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7431, fol. 141r.  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
 Source: BA, 51-XI-5, fol. 36r.<sup>346</sup>  
**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 330–331.<sup>347</sup>

GRISOGONO, Fridericus (1472-1538)

94. «*Speculum astronomicum*» (*Speculum astronomicum*. Venetiis: De Soardi, 1507.)  
**Colégio de Santo Antão de Lisboa (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: BA, 51-XI-44, fol. 48v.<sup>348</sup>

HERA Y DE LA VARRA, Bartolomé Valentim de la (16<sup>th</sup> century)

95. «Reportorio del mundo particular»  
**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: BA, 51-XI.38, fol. 18r.<sup>349</sup>  
**Convento de São João Evangelista de Xabregas (Congregação do Cónegos Seculares de São João Evangelista)**  
 Source: BNP, P. 300 A.; BNP, COD. 7437, fol. 266v.<sup>350</sup>

96. *Reportorio del mundo particular*. Madrid: en casa de Guillermo Druy impressor de libros, 1584.  
**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65r.<sup>351</sup>  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BNP, RES. 468 P.

HYGINO, Gaio Julio (64 BC-17 AD)

97. «Higinus Astronomus. De mundi Sphaera»  
**Convento de São João Evangelista de Xabregas (Congregação do Cónegos Seculares de São João Evangelista)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7437, fol. 46v.<sup>352</sup>
98. *Higinius de stellis*. Papiae, 1513.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 118r.<sup>353</sup>

<sup>346</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

<sup>347</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

<sup>348</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 723.

<sup>349</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 702.

<sup>350</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 241.

<sup>351</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>352</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 241.

<sup>353</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 765.

99. *Clarissimi Hygini Astronomi De mundi et sphaera ac vtrivsq; partium declaratione cum planetis et variis signis historiatis*. Venetis: Melch. Sessa: Petrus de Ravanis, 1517.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 376 23.

100. *Poeticon Astronomicum*. Papiae: Impressus arte & industria Iacob Paucidrapensis de Burgofranc, Papiae, 1513.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares)**

Source: BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 207r.<sup>354</sup>

101. *Poeticon Astronomicum*. Coloniae, 1534

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BNP, RES. 2140 A.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 373 11.

102. *Poeticon Astronomicum*. Basiliae 1535.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 51-XI-5, fol. 21v.<sup>355</sup>

IBN ABI AL-RIGAL / ABENRAGEL (ca. 965-post. 1037)

103. «*De iudiciis astrorum*»

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho).**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 61v.<sup>356</sup>

104. *Haly de Judiciis. Preclarissimus in Judiciis astrorum Albohazen Haly filius Abenragel, noviter impressus et fideliter emendatus*. Venetiis: Luce Antonii de Giunta Florentini, 1520.

**Livraria de Matemática do Colégio de Santo Antão (Companhia de Jesus).**

Source: BA, 37-XIV-15.

JESUS MARIA, Theobaldo de (Theodosio Ubaldo) (1669-17--)

105. *Prognostico e lunario perpetuo tirado das doutrinas do Sarrabal Milanez : Calculado ao meridiano das nobelissimas cidades e corte de Lisboa, em quanto às lunações somente, com os eclipses e notícia de seus efeitos*. Lisboa Occidental: Officina de Joseph António da Sylva, 1582.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL 11 377 12.

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<sup>354</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 766.

<sup>355</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

<sup>356</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260.

106. *Prognostico e lunario perpetuo tirado das doutrinas do Sarrabal Milanez: calculado ao Meridiano das nobelissimas cidades e corte de Lisboa (...)*. Lisboa Occidentia: Na Offic. de Joseph Antonio da Sylva, 1728.  
**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 210r.; BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 94v.<sup>357</sup>
107. *Microcosmo ou mundo abreviado, no qual como em limitado Mappa se dá noticia da portentosa fabrica do Universo*. Lisboa: na Offic. Joaquiniana, 1734.  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**  
 Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, caixa 118, n. 443, fol. 88r.<sup>358</sup>  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7446 fol. 202r.<sup>359</sup>
108. *Mundo abreviado no qual, como em limitado mappa se dá noticia da portentosa fabrica do Universo*. Lisboa: Na Officina de Pedro Ferreira, 1745.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BACL, 11 377 34.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7446, fol. 202r.<sup>360</sup>

LANSBERGEN, Philippus van (1561-1632)

109. *Philippi Lansbergii Uranometriae Libri Tres: In quibus Lunae, Solis & reliquorum Planetarum, & inerrantium Stellarum distantiae a Terra, & magnitudines, hactenus ignoratae perspicuae demonstrantur*. Middelburgi Zelandiae: Romanus, 1631.  
**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 93v.<sup>361</sup>

LEMNIUS, Levinius (1505-1568)

110. *«De Astrologia»*  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BPE, Cód. CXII/2-28, fol. 1v.; BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 334r.; BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 118r.<sup>362</sup>
111. *«Levini Lemnii Libelli três»*  
**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: BA, 51-XI-45 fol. 302.; BA, 51-XI-37. fol. 249r.<sup>363</sup>

<sup>357</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218 and INV. 219.

<sup>358</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 51.

<sup>359</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 471.

<sup>360</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 471.

<sup>361</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 219.

<sup>362</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 759, INV. 763 and INV. 765.

<sup>363</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 703 and INV. 704.

112. *Levini Lemnii Libelli três*. Antuerpia: apud Martinum Nutium, 1554.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BACL, 11 377 38; BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 460r.<sup>364</sup>  
**Congregação do Oratório de Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Estremoz (Congregação do Oratório)**  
Source: BPE, RES Séc. XVI, 0138.

LEOPOLD, Duke of Austria (1292-1326)

113. *Compilatio Leupoldi, ducatus Austrie filii, de astrorum scientia*. Venetiis: per Melchiorem Sessam et Petrum de Ruanis socios, 1520.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: BNP, RES. 669 V.; BNP COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 226r; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 99r.<sup>365</sup>

LI, Andrés de (d. ca.1521)

114. *Repertorio de los tempos*. Burgos: Fabrique Aleman, 1491.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 101v.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 9v and fol. 62v.<sup>366</sup>
115. *Addiciones al Repertorio de los tempos, Burgus*, Burgos, 1493.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 102r.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 10r.<sup>367</sup>
116. *Lunario en el qual se contienen las conjunciones, y oposiciones, lis eclipses del Sol y Luna, fiestas movibles desde el año de 1493 hasta 1550. Extat em livro de Sermões de Roberto de Licio*. Burgos: Fabrique Aleman de basilae, 1493.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 166v.<sup>368</sup>  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 25r.<sup>369</sup>
117. *Repertorio de los tempos*. Burgos: Alonso de Melgar, 1518.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 25.; BNP, RES. 621 P.<sup>370</sup>

LICHTENBERG, Jean de (1458?-1503)

118. *Prognosticatio Johannis Liechtenbergers, quam olim scripsit super magna illa Saturni ac Jovis conjuncione, quae fuit anno 1484*. 1530.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 145v.<sup>371</sup>

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<sup>364</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>365</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>366</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>367</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>368</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

<sup>369</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260.

<sup>370</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260.

<sup>371</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 472.

MAGNUS, Albertus (ca. 1200-1280)

119. «*Speculum astronomicu' in quo de libris licitis, et illicitis*»

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 74r.<sup>372</sup>

120. *Speculum astronomicum in quo de libris licitis, et illicitis*. Venetis: Octavian. Scotus, 1517.

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 101v.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 4v.<sup>373</sup>

MANILIUS, Marcus (fl. 1st century AD)

121. *Astronomicon*. Venetiis 1499.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BPE, Cód. CXII/2-28 fol. 9v.; BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 359r. BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 145r.<sup>374</sup>

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 51-XI-5, fol. 107r.<sup>375</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 444 1.

MIZAULD, Antoine (1510-1578)

122. *Planetologia, rebus astronomicis, medicis et philosophicis erudite referta: ex qua, coelestium corporum cum humanis, et astronomiae cum medicina*. Lugduni: Bonhomme, Matthias, 1551.

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 102v.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 17v. and fol. 191r.<sup>376</sup>

MORIN, Jean-Baptiste (1583-1656)

123. *Astrologia Gallica*. Hagae-Comitis: Ex Typographia Adriani Ulacq, 1661.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 100r.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 98r.<sup>377</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 370 6; Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 460r.<sup>378</sup>

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 51-XI-5, fol. 150v.<sup>379</sup>

NABOD, Valentin (1523-1593)

124. *Enarratio elementorum astrologiae: in qua praeter Alcabitii, qui Arabum doctrinam compendio prodidit*. Coloniae: apud haeredes Arnoldi Birckmanni, 1560.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

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<sup>372</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 96.

<sup>373</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>374</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 759, INV. 763 and INV. 765.

<sup>375</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

<sup>376</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470, and INV. 472.

<sup>377</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>378</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>379</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

Source: BACL, 11 375 46; Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 460r.<sup>380</sup>

**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 124r.; ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, caixa 118, n. 443, fol. 88r.<sup>381</sup>

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 210r.; BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 93r.<sup>382</sup>

NAJERA, António de (d. 1618-1632)

125. *Summa Astrológica*. Lisboa: Por Antonio Alvarez, 1632.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460, 7461, fol.41r.; BNP, COD. 7409. fol. 99r.<sup>383</sup>

**Mosteiro de São Bento da Vitória do Porto (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, Biblioteca, Temas diversos, caixa 499, doc. 421. fol. 88v.<sup>384</sup>

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Scala Coeli (Ordem da Cartuxa)**

Source: BNP, COD. 910-912, fol. 20v.<sup>385</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 460r.<sup>386</sup>

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 101v.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 18r.<sup>387</sup>

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

ANTT, Ministério das Finanças, Convento de Santa Maria de Alcobaça, caixa 2192, [processo n. 5]. fol. 303v.<sup>388</sup>

**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BA, 51-XI-45, fol. 304 v.; BA, 51-XI-37, fol. 247r.; BA, 51-XI-38, fol. 11r.<sup>389</sup>

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 51-XI-5, fol. 158v.<sup>390</sup>

**Congregação do Oratório de Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Estremoz (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BPE, RES. 0721.

NOSTRADAMUS (1503-1566)

126. *Les veritables propheties de Michel Nostradamus*. Turin: Chez Reycends & Guibert, 1720.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 462r.<sup>391</sup>

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<sup>380</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>381</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 51 and INV. 52

<sup>382</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218 and INV. 219.

<sup>383</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>384</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 60.

<sup>385</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 171.

<sup>386</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>387</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>388</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 106.

<sup>389</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 703 and INV. 704

<sup>390</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

<sup>391</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

PONTANO, Giovanni (1426-1503)

127. *Commentariorvm in centum Claudij Ptolemæi sententias, libri duo.* Basilaë, 1532.  
**Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada (Ordem dos Pregadores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 443r.<sup>392</sup>
128. «*De rebus coelestibus libri XIVs*»  
**Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada (Ordem dos Pregadores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 443r.<sup>393</sup>
129. *De rebus coelestibus.* Florentiae, 1520.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 179r.<sup>394</sup>
130. *De rebus coelestibus.* Florentiae, 1526.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 444r.; BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 128v.<sup>395</sup>
131. *Ioannis Iouanni Pontani Dialogus Sanequam Venustus: quo docetur quatenus coelestium prognosticorum significationes procedant.* Lugduni: apud Mathiam Bonhomme, 1551.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BNP, RES. 3255//2 V.; BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 459v.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 145r.<sup>396</sup>
132. «*Ptolemaei sententiae ad Syrum Fratrem Expositiones*»  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 444r.; BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 179r.; BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 128v.<sup>397</sup>

PORTA, Giambattista della (1535-1615)

133. *Della fisonomia dell'hvomo del signor Gio. Battista dalla Porta Napolitano libri sei.* Padova, 1623.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora de Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 180r.<sup>398</sup>

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<sup>392</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>393</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>394</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 765.

<sup>395</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 767.

<sup>396</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>397</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763, INV. 765 and INV. 767.

<sup>398</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 765.

134. *Physiognomoniae coelestis libri sex*. Rothomagi: Sumptibus Joannis Berthelin, 1650.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BACL, 11 377 26; BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 461r.<sup>399</sup>  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8383. fol. 145r.<sup>400</sup>  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 446r. BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 179v.<sup>401</sup>
135. *La Fisionomia dell Homo, et la Celeste: libri sei*. Venetia: per Nicoló Pezzana, 1668.  
**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 535.<sup>402</sup>

PTOLEMAEUS, Claudius (ca. 90-ca. 168)

136. *Claudii Ptolemaei Quadripartiti lib. III et IV*. Norimbergae: apud J. Petreium, 1535.  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
 Source: BA, 51-XI-5, fol. 163v.<sup>403</sup>
137. *«Liber quadripartitus de Scientia Judiciorum, et Astrorum, ac de aliis»*  
*«Ptolemaeus=Claud, = Astrologia=ed=t.1»*  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 49r.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 98v.<sup>404</sup>
138. *Claudii Ptolemaei Pelusiensis Alexandrini, Omnia Quae Extant, Opera (...) De iudicijs astrologicis, aut, ut, uulgò uocant, Quadripartitae constructionis*. Basilae: apud Henricum Petrum, 1541.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, RES. 2140 A.

RANTZAU, Henrik (1526-1598)

139. *Henrici Ranzovii clarissimae et pervetustae nobilitatis viri, exempla, quibus astrologicae scientiae certitudo*. Coloniae, 1585.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 129r.<sup>405</sup>
140. *Tractatus astrologicus*. Francofurti: Francofurti: excud. W. Hoffmannus: sumpt. haeredum Ionae Rosae, 1633.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BACL, 11 377 44; BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 462r.<sup>406</sup>

<sup>399</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>400</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 472.

<sup>401</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 765.

<sup>402</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

<sup>403</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

<sup>404</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>405</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 767.

<sup>406</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

141. *Catalogus imperatorum, regum ac virorum illustrium, qui artem astrologicam amarunt.*  
Leipzig: Georg Deffner, 1584.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 185r.<sup>407</sup>

ROSALES, Immanuel (fl. 1653)

142. *Fasciculus trium verarum propositionum, astronomicae, astrologicae, et philosophicae.* Typis Francisci Honuphrij: Florentiae, 1654.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 476r.; BNP, COD. 12935-12937 fol. 201r.<sup>408</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 744 8; BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 460r.<sup>409</sup>

SALAYA, Sancho (ca. 1469-ca. 1542)

143. *Reportorio de tiempos nuevamennte corregido por el famoso Sancho de Salaya.*  
Lisbona: en casa de Luys Rodriguez librero del Rey nuestro Senhor, 1543.

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Scala Coeli (Ordem da Cartuxa)**

Source: BPE, RES. 0010.

SALIUS, Hieronymus Faventinus (d.1509)

144. *Quadripartitum etc., Lat. Ed. Hieronymus Salius.*

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 66v.<sup>410</sup>

SCALINGER, Joseph Juste (1540-1609)

145. *«Manili Astronomicon libri quinq cum commentario Joseph Scalinger».* 1570.

**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7393, fol 60r.; BNP, COD. 7431, fol. 49r.; BA, 51-XI.38, fol. 67v.; BA, 51-XI-37. fol. 249r.<sup>411</sup>

146. *In Manilii quinque libros Astronomicon commentarius et castigationes.* Heidelberg: Officina Sanctandreaana, 1590.

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 210r.; BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 94v.<sup>412</sup>

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<sup>407</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 765.

<sup>408</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 766.

<sup>409</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>410</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260.

<sup>411</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 701, INV. 702, INV. 703 and INV. 705.

<sup>412</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218 and INV. 219.

SAUMAISE, Claude (1588-1653)

147. *Cl. Salmasii De annis climactericis et antiqua astrologia*. Lugduni Batavorum: ex officina Elzeviriorum, 1648.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 377 15; BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 462r.<sup>413</sup>

SEQUEIRA, Gaspar Cardoso de (15??-16??)

148. *«Thesouro de Prudentes»*

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 61, fol. 89r.; ANTT, Ministério das Finanças, Mosteiro de Salvador de Paço de Souza, caixa 2241, [processo n. 292], fol. 87v.<sup>414</sup>

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Piedade de Cascais (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8387//2.<sup>415</sup>

**Mosteiro de São Jerónimo de Penha Longa (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**

Source: BNP, MSS. 208, n. 73, fol.14v.<sup>416</sup>

**Convento de São João Evangelista de Xabregas (Congregação do Cónegos Seculares de São João Evangelista)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7437, fol. 272r.<sup>417</sup>

149. *Thesouro dos Prudentes*. Coimbra: Nicholau Carvalho, 1612.

**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65r.<sup>418</sup>

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 347v.; BNP, COD. 8383. fol. 116r.<sup>419</sup>

150. *Thesouro de prudentes*. Coimbra: Nicolao Carvalho, impressor del Rey, 1626.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 38-IV-12.

151. *Thezouro de Prudentes*. Coimbra, 1651.

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 229r.<sup>420</sup>

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 93r.<sup>421</sup>

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<sup>413</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>414</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710.

<sup>415</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 348.

<sup>416</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 140.

<sup>417</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 241.

<sup>418</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>419</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 471 and INV. 472.

<sup>420</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 96.

<sup>421</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 219.

152. *Thezouro de Prudentes*. Lisboa: oficina de João Galvão, 1686.  
**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 618.<sup>422</sup>
153. *Thezouro de Prudentes*. Évora, 1702.  
**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7431, fol. 52v.; BA, 51-XI.38, fol. 51r.<sup>423</sup>
154. *Thezouro de prudentes*. Lisboa: 1705.  
**Convento de Santa Teresa de Jesus de Setúbal (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**  
 Source: BPN, MSS. 2, n. 2, fol. 8v.<sup>424</sup>
155. *Thezouro de Prudentes*. Lisboa 1712.  
**Mosteiro de Salvador de Paços de Souza (Ordem de São Bento)**  
 Source: BPMP, Ms. 1788, fol.052.<sup>425</sup>  
**Mosteiro de São Miguel de Bustelo (Ordem de São Bento)**  
 Source: BPMP, Ms. 1666, fol. 159r.<sup>426</sup>  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 191.<sup>427</sup>
156. *Thezouro de Prudentes*. Lisboa, 1713  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 347v.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 116r.<sup>428</sup>
157. *Thezouro de Prudentes*. Évora, 1766.  
**Mosteiro do Salvador da Serra do Porto (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 910-912, fol. 70v.<sup>429</sup>
158. «*Pronostico geral, e lunario perpetuo*»  
**Colégio de Santo Antão de Lisboa (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: BA, 51-XI-44, fol. 58v.<sup>430</sup>
159. *Prognostico Geral Lunario Perpétuo*. Coimbra: Nicolao Carvalho, 1614.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Penha de França (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
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**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 229r.<sup>432</sup>

<sup>422</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

<sup>423</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 705.

<sup>424</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 353.

<sup>425</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 25, and INV. 26.

<sup>426</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 80.

<sup>427</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>428</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 471 and INV. 472.

<sup>429</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 171.

<sup>430</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.723.

<sup>431</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 274.

<sup>432</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 96.

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SCHWARTS, C. G.

161. *Le Zodiaque explique ou recherches sur l'originé et la signification des Constellations de la Sphère Grecque*. Paris, 1808.  
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TORNAMIRA, Francisco Vicente de (1534-1597)

162. *«Chronographia, y repertorio de los tempos»*  
**Convento de Santo Agostinho de Santarém (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7404, p. 145, p.254, p .246.<sup>435</sup>
163. *Chronographia, y repertorio de los tiempos, a lo moderno, el qual trata varias y diversas cosas: de cosmographia, sphaerea, theorica, de plantetas philosophia, computo y astronomia, donde se conforma la astrologia con la medicina*. Pamplona: T. Porrális de Sauoya, 1585.  
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**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 246r.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 100v.<sup>437</sup>

TRAMONTE, Alejandro

164. *Tractatus de septem planetis*. Valentiae: typis Hieronymi Vilagrassa, iuxta molendinum de Rovella, 1672.  
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165. *Mercurii Trismegisti liber de potestate et sapientia dei e Graeco in Latinum traductus a Marsilio Ficino Pimander incipit*. Parisiis, 1622.  
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<sup>433</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 766.

<sup>434</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 106.

<sup>435</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 281.

<sup>436</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>437</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>438</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>439</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*. INV. 218.

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ZAMORANO, Rodrigo (ca.1542-?)

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**Convento de São João Evangelista de Xabregas (Congregação dos Cónegos Seculares de São João Evangelista)**

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**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

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<sup>440</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*. INV. 703, INV. 704 and INV. 705.

<sup>441</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>442</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763.

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171. *Tabulae astronomicae Alphonsinae*. Venetiis, 1521  
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Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 66v.<sup>443</sup>
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Source: ANTT, Ministério das Finanças, Casa da Cruz de Guimarães, caixa 2219, [processo n. 182], fol. 12v.<sup>445</sup>
174. «Ephemerides Motuum Celesti»  
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175. *Pronostico verdadeiro e serto calendario com todos os aspectos do sol, da lua, e conjunçoe[n]s dos planetas, e dos signo celestes a todo o nobilissimo reyno de Portugal, e ao meredianno da famosa cidade de Lisboa para o anno bissexto de 1753: que depois delle findado, e acabado ficará perpetuo até ao fim do mundo / mal composto, e runhado por hum curioso çapateiro de obra groça, natural de Caparica, a quem chamam por antonomazia o insigne Astolfo dos bigodes grandes, que tudo adevinha*.  
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176. «Tabulae Rudolphinae astronomicae, Tiph. Lagne 1629»  
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<sup>443</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>444</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52.

<sup>445</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 806.

<sup>446</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 39.

<sup>447</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 767.

ARGOLI, Andrea (1570-1657)

177. «Andreas Argolus Ephemerides»  
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Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 22v.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 99r.<sup>450</sup>
180. *Ephemerides exactissimae caelestium motuum ad longitudinem almae urbis: et Tychonis Brahe hypotheses, ac deductas è caelo accuratè observationes ab anno MDCXLI ad annum MDCC*. Lugduni: Sumptib. I.A. Huguetan, & M.A. Ravaud, 1659.  
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**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**  
Source: ANTT, Ministério das Finanças, Convento de Santa Maria de Alcobaça, caixa 2192, (processo n. 5], fol. 304r.; BNP, COD. 7382, fol. 94r.<sup>452</sup>  
**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 32r.<sup>453</sup>
181. *Ephemerides juxta tychonis hypotheses*. Lugduni: Sumptibus Joan. Antonii Huguestan, 1677.  
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Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 16r.; BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 92v.<sup>454</sup>
182. «Primi mobilis tabulae»  
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Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 22v.<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>448</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 241.

<sup>449</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710. This catalog does not specify the publication date of this work. However, the National Library holds a copy of *Ephemerides Andreae Argoli* published in 1621 (Rome), which once belonged to the Library of the Society of Jesus in Coimbra. Here, we have assumed that the item in the catalog corresponds to the copy held at the BNP.

<sup>450</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>451</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>452</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 106 and INV. 96.

<sup>453</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

<sup>454</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218 and INV. 219.

<sup>455</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260.

183. *Tabulae mediorum Motuum*, Wittebergae, 1634.  
**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 32r.<sup>456</sup>

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**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Piedade de Cascais (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**  
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**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 423r.<sup>458</sup>

BIANCHINI, Giovanni (1410-ca. 1469)

185. *Tabulae Joannis Blanchini Bononiensis.* Venetiis, 1526.  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 24r.; ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, caixa 118, n. 443, fol. 87.<sup>459</sup>
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BRAHE, Tycho (1546-1601)

187. *Tabulae Rudolphinae.* Ulmae, 1627.  
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CAILLE, Nicolas-Louis de La (1713-1762)

188. *Ephemerides des mouvemens celestes, pour dix années, depuis 1745 jusqu'en 1755.* Lisboa, 1751.  
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**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
Source: BA, 51-XI-41, fol. 16r.<sup>462</sup>

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<sup>456</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

<sup>457</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 348.

<sup>458</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>459</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 51 and INV. 52.

<sup>460</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>461</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 219.

<sup>462</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 819.

CARELLI, Giovanni Battista (16<sup>th</sup> century)

189. *Ephemerides ad annos XIX. incipientes ab anno Christi 1557 usque ad annum 1575.* Venetiis: Constantinus, 1557.

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Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 54r.<sup>463</sup>

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190. *Tabulae astronomicae, Ludovici Magni jussu et munificentia exaratae et in lucem editae.* Parisiis: apud Montalant, typographum & bibliopolam, 1727.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 51-XI-6, fol. 55v.<sup>464</sup>

LANSBERGEN, Philippus van (1561-1632)

191. *Philippi Lansbergii Commentationes in motum terrae diurnum, and annum: verum ad spectabilis caeli typum.* Middelburgi: Apud Zachariam Romanum, 1630.

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Source: BA, 51-XI-5, fol. 55r.<sup>465</sup>

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**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 51-XI-5, fol. 55v.<sup>466</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 744 9.

MAGINI, Giovanni Antonio (1555-1617)

193. *«Tabulae primi Mobilis»*

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 51-XI-6, fol. 102r. and fol. 102v.<sup>467</sup>

194. *«Ephemerides coelestium motuum»*

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Torres Vedras (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: ANTT, Ministério das Finanças, Convento da Nossa Senhora da Graça de Torres Vedras, caixa 2257, [processo n.400], fol. 67v.<sup>468</sup>

195. *Ephemerides coelestium motuum, ad anos XL. Ab anno Domini 1581.* Venetiis: apud Damianum Zenarium, 1582.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Conceição do Monte Olivete (Congregação dos Agostinhos Descalços)**

Source: BNP, RES. 1829.

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<sup>463</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218.

<sup>464</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

<sup>465</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

<sup>466</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

<sup>467</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

<sup>468</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 267.

196. *Ephemerides coelestium motuum*. Venetiis: apud Damianum Zenarium, 1599.  
**Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada (Ordem dos Pregadores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 337r.<sup>469</sup>  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 444r.<sup>470</sup>
197. *Jo. Antonii Magini patavini mathematicarum in almo bononiensi gymnasio professoris: Tabulae primi mobilis*. Venetiis: apud Damianum Zenarium, 1604.  
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 Source: BA, 37-XIV-19; BA, 51-XI-44, fol. 79r.<sup>471</sup>
198. *Continuatio Ephemeridum Coelestium Motuum... ab anno domini 1620 ad 1630*. Venetis: apud Haeredem Damiani Zenarii, 1607.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
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199. «*Ephemerides Caelestum motum ab anno 1608. usq. 1630= secundum Copernici observationes correctae. Isagogae in Astrologiam. De usu Ephemeridu de annis Revolutionibus er de stellis fixis tractatus. Astrologia circa agriculturam, et navigatoriam observationes, et de mutatione aeris libellus. Francofurti: Joan' Theobal, 1608.*»  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 102v. and 459r.<sup>473</sup>
200. *Ephemerides coelestium motuum Jo. Antonii Magini Patauini ab anno Domini 1608. usque ad annum 1630*. Venetiis: apud Haeredem Damiani Zenarij, 1609.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Piedade de Cascais (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8387//2.<sup>474</sup>
201. *Ioannis Antonii Magini Patavini, Ephemeridvm Coelestivm Motvvm*. Francoforti: Schönwetterus, 1610.  
**Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada (Ordem dos Pregadores)**  
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202. *Antonii Magini Patavini in Bononien ... Tabvlae novae iuxta Tychonis rationes elaboratae quibus directionum conficiendar*. 1619.  
**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 396.<sup>476</sup>

<sup>469</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>470</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.414

<sup>471</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 723.

<sup>472</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.414

<sup>473</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

<sup>474</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 348.

<sup>475</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>476</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

MOLETTI, Giuseppe (1531-1588)

203. *Ephemerides Iosephi Moletti Mathematici Annis viginti inseruientes, incipientes que ab anno 1564, & desinentes ad annum 1584.* Venetiis: in Officina Pacis: apud Franciscum Francischium Senemsem, 1564.

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP S.A. 1781 V.

204. *Ephemerides, Isagogicum sive, Introductorum Astronomicarum.* 1589.

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 64v.<sup>477</sup>

MORIN, Jean-Baptiste (1583-1656)

205. *Tabulae Rudolphinae ad Meridianum Uraniburgi.* Parissis, 1650.

**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 444.<sup>478</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 375 45.

MULERIUS, Nicolaus (1564-1630)

206. «Tabulae Frisicae lunae-solares quadruplices»

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 61, fol. 90v.<sup>479</sup>

207. *Tabulae Frisicae lunae-solares quadruplices.* Jacob Meesterus Alcmariae, 1611.

**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65r.<sup>480</sup>

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 328v.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 100r.<sup>481</sup>

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 395r.; BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 118r., fol. 159r.; BNP, COD. 12935-12937 fol. 209r.<sup>482</sup>

208. «Judaeorum annus lunae-solaris, et turc-arabum annus mere lunaris.»

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

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MUSSARRA, Giovanni Francesco (1649-1718)

209. *A.M.D.G. Astronomia breviter exposita.* Messanae: Typis D. A. Maffei, 1702.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 377 42.

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<sup>477</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 96.

<sup>478</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

<sup>479</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710.

<sup>480</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>481</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>482</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763, INV. 765 and INV. 766.

<sup>483</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

ORIGANUS, David (1558-1628)

210. «Ephemerides por David Origano»  
**Mosteiro do Salvador de Travanca (Ordem de São Bento)**  
Source: ANTT, Ministério das Finanças, Mosteiro de Santa Maria do Carvoeiro, caixa 2203, [processo n. 84], fol. 8v.<sup>484</sup>
211. *Ephemerides novae annorum XXXVI, incipientes ab anno ... 1595, quo Joannis stadii maxime aberrare incipiunt et desinentes in annum.* Francofurti ad Viadrum: Eichornius, 1599.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Piedade de Cascais (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8387//2.<sup>485</sup>
212. *Ephemerides Motuum Caelestium ab anno 1595 usque ad annum 1655.* Prague, 1605.  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 59v.<sup>486</sup>
213. *Ephemerides Brandenburgicae coelestium motuum, et temporum.* Francofurti, 1609.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 99r.<sup>487</sup>  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Piedade de Cascais (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8387//2.<sup>488</sup>

PITATUS, Petrus

214. *Supplementum Ephemeridum, Venetiis: apud haeredes Lucacantonii Iuntae, 1542.*  
**Convento de São João Evangelista de Xabregas (Ordem de São João Evangelista)**  
Source: BNP, S.A. 1909 V. ; BNP, COD. 7437, fol. 80r. and fol. 266v.<sup>489</sup>

REGIOMONTANUS, Johannes Müller (1436-1476)

215. *Tabulae directionum profectionumque,*<sup>490</sup>  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 212r.<sup>491</sup>

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<sup>484</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 39.

<sup>485</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 348. A copy of this edition is held at the Nacional Library, with the indication of having belonged to the Jesuit teacher of astrology, João Delgado. See: BN S.A. 4781 A.

<sup>486</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52.

<sup>487</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>488</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 348.

<sup>489</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 241.

<sup>490</sup> A copy of this edition is currently held at the National Library; BN: INC. 34. The copy bears indications of having belonged to a Theatine cleric, D. José Barbosa, and Pedro Nunes (pert: Dr. Pedro Nunes; D. José Barbosa, Theatine cleric, July 3, 1734).

<sup>491</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 766.

216. *Tabulae Directionum et Profectionum*. Venetiis: ingenio ac impensa Petri Liechtensteyn Coloniensis, 1504.

**Biblioteca Publica do Colégio da Companhia de Jesus de Braga (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, RES. 1161 P.

217. *Tabulae Directionum et Profectionum*. Witebergae, 1584.

**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 120v.<sup>492</sup>

218. *Tabulae Directionum et Profectionum*. Witebergae, 1606.

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 93v.<sup>493</sup>

REINHOLD, Erasmus (1511-1553)

219. *Prutenicae tabulae coelestium motuum*. Tubingae, 1551.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, S.A. 797 A.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 100v.<sup>494</sup>

SILVA, Luis Freyre de (17<sup>th</sup> century)

220. «Efemerides generales»

**Convento de São João Evangelista de Xabregas (Congregação do Cónegos Seculares de São João Evangelista)**

Source: BNP, S.A. 1602 V; BNP, COD. 7437, fol. 267r.<sup>495</sup>

221. *Efemerides generales de los mouimientos de los cielos por 64 años, desde el de 1637 hasta el de 1700, segun tycho y Copernico*. Barcelona: por Pedro Lacauallera, 1638.

**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: BNP, S.A. 1602 V; BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 70r.<sup>496</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 375 50.

SCALA, Giuseppe (1556-1585)

222. *Ephemerides Iosephi Scalae ... ad annos duodecim, incipientes ab anno Domini 1589*.

Venetiis: apud Iuntas, 1589.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 452r.<sup>497</sup>

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, S.A. 801 V.

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<sup>492</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52

<sup>493</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 219.

<sup>494</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>495</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 241.

<sup>496</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52.

<sup>497</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

STADIUS, Joannes (1527-1579)

223. «Ephemerides»

**Convento de São João Evangelista de Xabregas (Congregação do Cônegos Seculares de São João Evangelista)**

Source: BNP, P. 300 A.; BNP, COD. 7437, fol. 55 and fol. 266v.<sup>498</sup>

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 61, fol. 92.<sup>499</sup>

224. *Ephemerides Nouae et exactae Iannis Stadii Leonnouthesii Ab Anno 1554 ad Annum 1570*. Coloniae Agrippinae: apud Haeredes Arnoldi Birckmanni, 1556.

**Casa do Espírito Santo da Pedreira (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BNP, S.A. 2528 V.

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 150r.<sup>500</sup>

225. *Ephemeris anno Christi 1554*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Apud hæredes Arnoldi Birckmanni, 1560.

**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, caixa 118, n. 443, fol. 88v.<sup>501</sup>

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 51-XI-6, fol. 264.; BA, 37-XIV-21.<sup>502</sup>

226. *Ephemerides Iosephi Scalae*. Coloniae Agrippinae: apud Haeredes Arnoldi Birckmanni, 1581.

**Casa do Espírito Santo da Pedreira (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BNP, S.A. 8938 V.

227. *Ephemerides Joannis Stadii*. Antverpiae longitudinem ab anno 1583.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 100v.<sup>503</sup>

228. *Ephemerides Ioannis Stadii*. Lugduni: in officina Q. Philippi Tinghi: apud Simphorianum Beraud et Stephanum Michelem, 1585.

**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7431, fol. 47v.; BA, 51-XI-37. fol. 249r.; BNP, S.A. 2527 V.<sup>504</sup>

**Convento de Nossa Senhora do Carmo de Braga (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, MSS. 2, n.1, fol. 27r.<sup>505</sup>

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<sup>498</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 241.

<sup>499</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710.

<sup>500</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 472.

<sup>501</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 51.

<sup>502</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

<sup>503</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>504</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.703 and INV. 705.

<sup>505</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 337.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios de Lisboa (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7408, fol. 58r.<sup>506</sup>

STOEFFLER, Johannes (1452-1531)

229. *Ephemeridum opus Ioannes Stoeffleri Iustingen ... a capite anni ... M.D.XXXII. in alios XX. proxime subsequentes.* Tubingae: Morhart, 1533.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 375 51.

RENIERI, Vincenzo (1606-1647)

230. *Tabulae Mediceae secundorum mobilium universales quibus per unicum prosthaphaereseon orbis Canonem Planetarum calculus exhibetur. Non solum Tychonicè iuxta Rudolphinas Danicas & Lansbergianas, sed etiam iuxta Prutenicas Alphonsinas & Ptolemaicas.* Florence: Amador Massi and Lorenzo Landi, 1639.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 98v.<sup>507</sup>

ZACUTO, Abraham (ca. 1450-ca. 1532)

231. *Almanach perpetuum.* Leiria: Abraham d'Ortas, 1496.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol.7r.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 100v.<sup>508</sup>

**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65v.<sup>509</sup>

232. *Almanach perpetuum.* Venetiis: per Petrum Liechtenstein Coloniensem, 1502.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Piedade de Cascais (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, RES. 493 P.

233. *Almanach perpetuum.* Venetiis: Lucas Antonius Iunta, 1525.

**Livraria Pública. (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, RES. 493 P.

234. «Zacute Tabolas Celests»

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 61, fol. 89v.<sup>510</sup>

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<sup>506</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 350.

<sup>507</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>508</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>509</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>510</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710.

235. «Zacuti Almanach Perpetum Coelestium noticum 1494»  
Source: BPE, Cód. CXXIX/1.16, N.7., fol. 3r.<sup>511</sup>  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

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<sup>511</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 422.

## BOOKS OF CRITICISM AND DEFENSE OF ASTROLOGY

ACEVEDO, Pedro de (15--)

236. *Recreation del Alma y Defensa del Euangelio, del doctor Pedro de Azeredo Theologo, de nascion Canario, contra la supersticiosa Astrologia.* Sevilla: em casa de Alonso Escriuano, 1570.

**Convento de Santo Alberto de Lisboa (F) (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, RES. 1738 P.

ANGELIS, Alessandro de (1559-1615)

237. *In astrologos coniectores libri quinque.* Lugduni, Sumptibus Horatii Cardon, 1615.

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 94r.<sup>512</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 460r.<sup>513</sup>

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 61, fol. 88v.<sup>514</sup>

ANONYMUS

238. *Anti-reportorio, ou impugnação dos reportórios.* Porto: Oficina de Francisco Mendes, 1759.

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 99r.<sup>515</sup>

CIRUELO, Pedro (1465-1548)

239. «Reprobacion de las Supersticiones, y Hechicerias. Salamanca»

**Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada (Ordem dos Pregadores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 127r.<sup>516</sup>

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 67v.<sup>517</sup>

240. *Reprobacion de las Supersticiones, y Hechicerias.* Salamanca, 1541.

**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 153v.<sup>518</sup>

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<sup>512</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 219.

<sup>513</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>514</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710.

<sup>515</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

<sup>516</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>517</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218.

<sup>518</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

241. *Reprobacion de las Supersticiones, y Hechicerias*. Madrid, 1547.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 838, fol. 203r.<sup>519</sup>
242. *Reprobacion de las Supersticiones, y Hechicerias*. Medina del Campo, 1551.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, Ms. 972-980, fol. 191r.<sup>520</sup>
243. *Reprobacion de las Supersticiones, y Hechicerias*. Salamanca, 1556.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 203r.<sup>521</sup>
244. *Tractado en el qual se repruevan todas las Supersticiones, y Hechicerias*. Barcelona 1628.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7429 - 7430, fol. 190r.<sup>522</sup>  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 40v.<sup>523</sup>

DEL RIO, Martinus Antonius (1551-1608)

245. «Idem del Rio Na. 6817. Desiquiritionum Magicarum libri sex.»  
**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 235r.<sup>524</sup>
246. «Martinus del Rio. Disquisitionum Magicarum»  
**Convento de São João Evangelista de Xabregas (Congregação do Cónegos Seculares de São João Evangelista)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7437, fol. 70v.<sup>525</sup>  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8383, fol.187r.<sup>526</sup>
247. *Disquisitionum Magicarum, Libri Sex*. Venetiis, 1606.  
**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 85r.<sup>527</sup>
248. *Disquisitionum Magicarum, Libri Sex*. Monguntiae, 1612.  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol.184r.<sup>528</sup>

<sup>519</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 472.

<sup>520</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>521</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 472.

<sup>522</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763.

<sup>523</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52.

<sup>524</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 96.

<sup>525</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 241.

<sup>526</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

<sup>527</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218.

<sup>528</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52

249. *Disquisitionum Magicarum, Libri Sex.* Demen, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1679.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7429 - 7430, fol. 220r.; BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 203r.<sup>529</sup>
250. *Disquisitionum Magicarum, Libri Sex.* Venettis, 1746.  
**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 91v–92r.<sup>530</sup>

GRASSETI, Giovanni Battista (1609-1684)

251. *La vera, e falsa astrologia. Con l'aggiunta della vera, e della falsa Chiromanzia.* Rome: Giuseppe Corvo, 1683.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 526r.<sup>531</sup>

NOCETO, Giovanni Battista (1586-1682)

252. *Astrologia ottima indifferente, péssima.* Pariggi, 1663.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7429–7430, fol. 407r.; BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 126v.<sup>532</sup>

PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, Giovanni Franceso (1463-1494)

253. «Opera omnia. Disputationes Astrologia. Sine edit. in fol.»  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 386r.; BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 155r.<sup>533</sup>
254. «Picus Mirandula: Opera Omnia»  
**Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada (Ordem dos Pregadores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 288r.<sup>534</sup>
255. *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem.* 1496.  
**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 519r.<sup>535</sup>

<sup>529</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 766.

<sup>530</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

<sup>531</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763.

<sup>532</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 767.

<sup>533</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 765.

<sup>534</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>535</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.133.

256. *Ioannis Pici Mirandulae omnia opera*. Parisiis: Ioannis parui, 1517.  
**Convento de São João Evangelista de Xabregas (Congregação do Cónegos Seculares de São João Evangelista)**  
 Source: BNP, P. 300 A.; and BNP, COD. 7437, fol. 266v.<sup>536</sup>
257. *Opera Omnia*. Impressum Venetiis: per Gulielmum de Fontaneto de Monteferrato, 1519.  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol.141r.; BNP, RES. 2634 A.<sup>537</sup>
258. «Opera Omnia Varia» 1557.  
**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8382.<sup>538</sup>

SAVONAROLA, Girolamo (1452-1498)

259. *Reprobacion de la Astrologia judiciaria o diuinatoria, sacada de Toscano en lengua castellana*. Juan de Junta, 1546.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 212r.<sup>539</sup>

SIXTUS AB HEMMINGA (1533-1586)

260. *Astrologia, Ratione et Experientia refutata*. Antuerpiae: ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1583.  
**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 61, fol. 90v.<sup>540</sup>

TANNER, Adam (1572-1632)

261. «Astrologia Sacra em dozi»  
**Colégio de São Tiago de Elvas (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 61, fol. 3r.<sup>541</sup>

<sup>536</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 241.

<sup>537</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52

<sup>538</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 96.

<sup>539</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.766.

<sup>540</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710. The catalog does not specify the exact edition of this work. However, a copy is held at the National Library, marked as belonging to the Jesuit College library in Coimbra, leading us to assume its correspondence to the item in the catalog. See: BN S.A. 1681 V.

<sup>541</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710.

## BOOKS ON COMETS

AHLERS, Francisco Henrique (ca. 1758)

262. *Instrução sobre os corpos celestes, principalmente sobre os cometas*. Lisboa: Officina de Miguel Manescal da Costa, 1758

**Mosteiro de São Bento da Vitória do Porto (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, Biblioteca, Temas diversos, caixa 499, doc. 421, fol. 88v.<sup>542</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 421r.<sup>543</sup>

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 166v.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 96r.<sup>544</sup>

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 55-IV-26, no. 3.

ANONYMUS

263. *Chronologia dos cometas : que appareceram desde o an. 480 antes do nascimento de N. S. J. Christo até ao tempo presente ... Criticaõ-se algumas opinioens; e se extende a mesma doutrina ao cometa presente*. Lisboa: Na Officina de Antonio Vicente da Silva, 1759.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 429r.<sup>545</sup>

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7446, fol. 355r.<sup>546</sup>

264. *Relaçam notavel de hum cometa, que novamente appareceo em Africa sobre a praça de Tangere : noticia que de algumas cartas vindas á cidade de Londres se communicou a esta de Lisboa*, Lisboa: na offic. de Domingos Rodrigues, 1756.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 55-V-9, no. 10.

265. “Vários AA, Portuguesses Juizo dos Cometas”<sup>547</sup>

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7113, fol. 38v.<sup>548</sup>

AVELAR, Luis de (15??-16??)

266. *Nox attica. Hoc est. Dialogus de impressione metheorologica, et cometa anni domini 1618*. Conimbricæ: apud Nicolaum Carvalho, 1619.

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8388, fol. 119v.; BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 94v.<sup>549</sup>

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<sup>542</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 60.

<sup>543</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>544</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 472.

<sup>545</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>546</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 471 and INV. 472.

<sup>547</sup> The translation of the item reads, “Various Portuguese Authors, [on the] *Judgment on Comets*.”

<sup>548</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 714.

<sup>549</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 95 and INV. 96.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 199r.<sup>550</sup>

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 40-IV-22.

BARTYHOLIN, Rasmus (1625-1698)

267. *Erasmii Bartholini De cometis anni MDCLXIV et MDCLXV opusculum, e observationibus Hauniae habitis adornatum*. Hafniae: typis Matthiae Godicchenii: impensis Petri Hauboldi, 1665.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 366 14.

CAMERARIUS, Joachim, o Velho (1500-1574)

268. *De eorum qui Cometae appellantur, nominibus, natura, causis, significatione, cum historiarum memorabilium illustribus exemplis, disputatio atque narratio (...)*. Lipsiae: imprimebat Iohannes Steiman, 1578.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, S. A 2915 P.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 96r.<sup>551</sup>

CARVALHO, José Monteiro de

269. *Noticia astronomica, ou discurso do cometa, que na noute de vinte e outo de Dezembro, se vio sobre esta cidade de Lisboa : onde se poem patente, a geraçaõ, producçaõ, e influxos de todos os cometas em geral*. Lisboa: na Offic. Alvarense: vende-se na mesma officina, e no terreiro do Paço, 1744.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source. BA, 55-IV-26, no 8.

CASSANI, José (1673-1750)

270. «Tratado de la naturaleza, origen, y causas de los Cometas, Madrid.»

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 428r.<sup>552</sup>

COSTA, Vitorino José da, (?-1750)

271. *Prognostico novo do cometa, e mais impressoens metereologicas do anno 1737 até o presente de 1742 / que offerece ao Senhor Capitam Joseph Luis da Silva o P. Vitorino Joseph*. Lisboa: na officina de Miguel Rodrigues, impressor do Senhor Cardeal Patriarca: vendese no Terreiro do Paço, e na logea de Guilherme Dinis na Cordoaria velha, 1742.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 55-IV-26, no. 9.

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<sup>550</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 166

<sup>551</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>552</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

272. *Chronologia dos cometas, que appareceram desde o an. 480 antes do nascimento de N. S. J. Christo até ao tempo presente (...)*. Lisboa : na officina de Antonio Vicente da Silva, 1759.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 55-IV-26, no. 2.

273. *Dissertaçam historico fisico mathematica da causa, e effeitos dos eclipses : noticia de hum que ha de haver em 24 de Janeiro : referem-se varias opinioens que tem havido nesta materia: e finalmente se propõem a verdadeira.* - [S.l. : s.n., 1757?].

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 55-IV-25, no. 5.

BOCARRO FRANCÊS, Manuel (1588-1662)

274. *Tratado dos cometas que appareceram em Novembro passado de 1618 / composto pello Licenceado Manoel Bocarro Frances, medico, & astrologo, natural desta cidade de Lisboa.* Lisboa: por Pedro Craesbeeck, 1619.

**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7393, fol. 43v.; BNP, COD. 7431 fol. 42v.; BA, 51-XI.38, fol. 76r.; BA, 51-XI-45 fol. 302.; BA 50-X-47.<sup>553</sup>

275. *Juicio philosophico, astrologico, theologico, moral, politico sobre el phenomeno, que en el dia 16 de Diciembre de el año 1737 apareciò sobre el horizonte septentrional à las cinco de la tarde poco mas ò menos: y subsistiò hasta las siete de la mañana de el dia diez y siete : instruccion philosophica, astrologica, theologica, moral, y politica, para quantas impressiones meteorologicas sucedieren hasta el fin del mundo: con la que se extinguiràn temores, y admiraciones, quedando los vulgares instruidos, y los pusilanimos alentados / por un curioso.*

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 55-IV-27, no. 2.

FIENUS, Thomas (1567-1631)

276. *De cometa anni 1618. Dissertationes Thomae Fieni et Liberti Fromondi, in quibus tum istius motus, tum aliorum omnium essential.* Antverpiae: apud Guglielmum á Tongris, 1619

**Casa de Nossa Senhora de Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 248v.; BNP, COD. 13437, fol.118r.<sup>554</sup>

LICETI, Fortunio (1577-1657)

277. *De cometæ an. 1652. 1653. obseruationibus astronomicis, Europa fere tota peractis, & omnia sideris accidentia detegentibus: loco elementari physice, mathematiceque demonstrato.* Vtini: ex Typographia Nicolai Schiratti, 1653.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 721 12.

<sup>553</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 701, INV. 702, INV. 704 and INV. 705.

<sup>554</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 765.

278. *Fortunii Liceti Genuensis in Bononiensi archigymnasio philosophi ..., De lucidis in sublimi ingenuarum exercitationum liber: In quo disseritur de radiis solis directis ... de duplici galaxia, ... de cometis in caelo, ... de cometarum eclipsi.* Patavii : typis Cribellianis, 1641.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 721 13.

HEVELIUS, Johannes (1616-1687)

279. *Prodomus cometicus, quo historia, cometae anno 1664 exorti...necnon dissertatio de cometarum omnium motu, generatione variisque phaenomenis exhibetur.* Gedani: Auctoris typis, & Sumptibus: Imprimebat Simon Reiniger, 1665.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 39-XIV-47, no. 1

280. *Descriptio cometae anno aere Christ. M. DC. LXV. exorti cum genuinis observationibus, tam nudis, quam enodatis, mense Aprili habitis Gedani: cui addita est Mantissa prodromi cometici, observationes omnes prioris cometae MDCLXIV.* Gedani: Auctoris typis, & Sumptibus: Imprimebat Simon Reiniger, 1666.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA 39-XIV-47, no. 2.

281. *Cometographia.* Gedani: Auctoris typis, & Sumptibus: Imprimebat Simon Reiniger, 1668.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 39-XIV-48.

LOUROSOSA, Manuel Gomes Galhano (fl. 1643-1674)

282. *Cometographia metheorologica do prodigioso e diuturno cometa que appareceu em Novembro do anno de 1664.* Lisboa: por António Craesbeeck de Mello, 1666.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 269r.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 100r.<sup>555</sup>

283. *Polymathea exemplar do Cometa, q appareceu em Nobembro no anno de 1664.* Lisboa: por Pedro Craesbeeck, 1666.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Penha de França (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7320, fol. 86r.<sup>556</sup>

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 248r.; BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 89r.; BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 240r.<sup>557</sup>

LUCIANO, António

284. *Discurso mathematico, sobre los dos cometas que se han parecido, en las cuales se declaran los efectos que muestran por los signos y señales, adonde se vieron primero. El*

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<sup>555</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>556</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 274.

<sup>557</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763, INV. 765 and INV. 766.

*uno desde doze de Noviembre deste presente año de 1618.* Valencia: en la impresion de Felipe Mey, junto a S, Estevan, 1618.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 55-III-18, no. 1.

MOLERIUS, Elias

285. *De ostento prodigioso, sev de cometa novo anni a Christo incarnatio.* Bernae Helvetiorum: excudebat Ioannes le Preux, 1608.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 721 61.

MORGANTI, Bento (1709-?)

286. *Breve discurso sobre os cometas, em que se mostra a sua natureza, sua duração, seu movimento, sua influencia, e a sua região.* Lisboa: na officina de Francisco Borges de Sousa, 1757.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 462 94.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 55-IV-26, no. 4.

287. *Carta em resposta ao discurso sobre os cometas / escrita por Jozé Acursio de Tavares, estudante scalabitano.* Lisboa: na officina de Francisco Borges de Sousa. (Letter, dated: Azeitão, September 22th, 1757.)

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 55-IV-26, no 5.

288. *Noticia de hum cometa que apareceu nos montes de Dedez situados no reyno de Marrocos em o mez de Janeiro deste presente anno de 1754.*

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 55-III-31, no 6.

MUÑOZ, Jerónimo (1515-1591)

289. *Libro del nuevo cometa, y del lugar donde se hazen.* Valencia: per Pedro de Huete, 1573.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 126.<sup>558</sup>

PEDEGACHE, Miguel Tibério (1730?-1794)

290. *Conjecturas de varios filosofos ácerca dos cometas / exposta, e impugnadas por Miguel Tiberio Pedegache.* Lisboa: na Officina Patriarcal de Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1757.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 430 and 431.<sup>559</sup>

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

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<sup>558</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 767.

<sup>559</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

Source: BNP, COD. 7446, fol. 78r.<sup>560</sup>

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 55-IV-26, no 1.

PEDRO, D<sup>os</sup> Miguel

291. «Juizio, y presagio natural de los cometas q han aparecido nem mez de Noviemmbro de 1618 Çaragoças, por Pedro Gil. 1618 in 8»

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 127v.<sup>561</sup>

PINGRÉ, Alexandre Guy, (1711-1786?)

292. *Cométographie ou Traité historique et théorique des cometes*. A Paris : De l'Imprimerie Royale, 1783-1784.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 373 6/I-II.

PIMENTA, António (1620-1700)

293. *Sciographia da nova prostimasia celeste, & portentoso cometa do anno de 1664*. Lisboa: na officina de Domingos Carneiro, 1665.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 55-IV-27, no 1.

RAGAYNE, Ludovico de la Picottière

294. «De cometa ann. 1664. & 1665. Observationes mathematicae»

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 29.<sup>562</sup>

RAXO, Francisco Fernandez (16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century)

295. *De Cometis, et prodigiosis eorum portentis, libri quatuor*. Madriti, 1578.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 463r.; BNP, COD. 7350 fol. 121v.<sup>563</sup>

**Colégio de São Patrício dos Irlandeses de Lisboa (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 62 n. 2, fol. 20v.<sup>564</sup>

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<sup>560</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 471.

<sup>561</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 767.

<sup>562</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763.

<sup>563</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV.767.

<sup>564</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 737.

ROSSETTI, Donato (1633-1686)

296. *Cometa di Donato Rossetti canonico di Livorno dottore in S. T. gia lettore di filosofia nell' Universita di Pisa*. In Torino: per la Vedova Gianelli: Domenico Paolino, 1681.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 230r.<sup>565</sup>

SANCHES, Francisco (1550-1622)

297. *Carmen de cometa anni 1577...Lugduni: apud Ant. Gryphium, 1578.*

**Colégio de São Patrício dos Irlandeses de Lisboa (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 62 n. 2, fol. 20v.<sup>566</sup>

SANTIAGO, Jerónimo de (1644-1720)

298. *Tratado do cometa que appareceo em Dezembro passado de 1680 / composto pello P. M. Fr. Jeronymo de Santiago...monge de S. Bento*. Em Coimbra: na impressã de Manoel Diaz impressor da Universidade, 1681.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 55-IV-27, no 8.

SANTUCCI, Antonio (?-1613)

299. *Trattato nuovo delle Comete*. Fiorenza, 1611.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares)**

Source: BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 222r.<sup>567</sup>

TAVARES, José Acursio de

300. *Carta em resposta ao discurso sobre os cometas*. Lisboa: na Officina de Francisco Borges de Sousa, 1757.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 462 94.

TORES, Diego de

301. «Juicio y pronóstico del Cometa em 7 de Enero 1744.»

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 87v.<sup>568</sup>

VIEIRA, António, (1608-1697)

302. *Cartas / do Padre Antonio Vieira da Companhia de Jesus : tomo terceiro*. Lisboa Occidental: na Regia Officina Sylviana, e da Academia Real, 1746.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 70-III-20.

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<sup>565</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>566</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 737.

<sup>567</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 765.

<sup>568</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 472.

303. «Discurso do Cometa que se vio na Cidade da Bahia 27 de Outubro de 1695»  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 99v.; BNP, COD. 8383. fol. 22r.<sup>569</sup>

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<sup>569</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 472.

## ASTRONOMY BOOKS

ALEMBERT, Jean le Rond d' (1717-1783)

304. *Recherches sur la précession des equinoxes, et sur la nutation de l'axe de la terre, dans le système Newtonien.* Lisboa, 1749.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 421r.

*Recherches sur différens points importants du système du monde.* Paris, 1754.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 422r.<sup>570</sup>

ALFRAGANUS (ca. 800-ca. 870)

305. «Alfragani Astronomorum»

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 and 7461, fol.10r.<sup>571</sup>

306. *Elementa astronomica, Arabicè & Latinè.* Amstelodami: apud Johannem Jansonium à Waasberge, & viduam Elizei Weyerstraet, 1669.

**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 445.

307. *Rudimenta astronomica Alfragani: item Albategnivs astronomvs peritissimvs de motv stellarvm.* Norimbergae, 1537.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 422r.<sup>572</sup>

ALIACO, Petri de

308. *Questiones de Spaera.* Paris, 1516.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 422r.<sup>573</sup>

309. *Questiones. Ext in Sacrobosco.* Venetis, 1531.

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7446, fol. 138v.<sup>574</sup>

AMORT, Eusebius (1692-1775)

310. «Systema Planetarium»

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 422r.<sup>575</sup>

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<sup>570</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>571</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260.

<sup>572</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>573</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>574</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 471.

<sup>575</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

ANONYMUS

311. *Anonymus persa de siglis Arabum & Persarum astronomicis*. Londini, 1648.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 423r.<sup>576</sup>
312. «Astronomia do Pe. Francisco Bufarra em latim»  
**Colégio de São Francisco Xavier de Beja (Companhia de Jesus)**  
Source: ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 62 n. 2, fol. 25v.<sup>577</sup>
313. «Canones Astronomici=ed.=T.1= 1551.»  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 101r.<sup>578</sup>
314. *Sphaerae atque astrorum coelestium ratio, natura & motus: ad totius mundi fabricationis cognitione fundamenta*. Basel: Joannes Valderus, 1535.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BACL, 11 374 26.

APIANUS, Petrus (1495-1552)

315. «Cosmographia»  
**Convento de São João Evangelista de Xabregas (Congregação do Cônegos Seculares de São João Evangelista)**  
Source: BNP, P. 300 A.; BNP, COD. 7437, fol. 78r. and fol. 266v.<sup>579</sup>
316. *Cosmographicus Liber*. Antuerpiae, 1533.  
**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 28r.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BACL, 11 365 4.
317. *De principis Cosmographiae et Geographiae*. Parisiis, 1551.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7446, fol. 138v.<sup>580</sup>
318. *La cosmographia de Pedro Apiano, corregida y añadida por Gemmo Frisio*. Anvers, 1575.  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 8r.<sup>581</sup>  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 12935-12937 fol. 199r.<sup>582</sup>

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<sup>576</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>577</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 728.

<sup>578</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>579</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 241.

<sup>580</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 471.

<sup>581</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52.

<sup>582</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 166

319. *Intrumentum Primi Mobilis, à Pedro Apiano*. Norimbergae: apud Ioannes Petreium, 1534.

**Biblioteca Publica do Colégio da Companhia de Jesus de Braga (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, RES. 2137 A.

320. *Cosmographia de Pedro Apiano*. Anvers: I. Withagio, 1575.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 260r.; BNP, COD. 13437, fol.85r.<sup>583</sup>

**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65r.<sup>584</sup>

321. *Cosmographia, siue Descripyio vniuersi Orbis*. Antuerpiae: ex officina Ioannis Withagij, 1584.

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Scala Coeli**

Source: BNP, RES. 791 V.

ARISTARCHUS, Samius

322. *Aristarchi De magnitudinibus, et distantis Solis, et Lunae, liber*. Pisauri: apud Camillum Francischinum, 1572

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 423r.<sup>585</sup>

AVELAR, André de (1546-1623?)

323. *Sphaerae vtriusq. tabella ad Sphaerae huius mundi faciliorem enucleationem*. Coimbra, 1593.

**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65v.<sup>586</sup>

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 101r.<sup>587</sup>

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Penha de França (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7320, fol. 85v.<sup>588</sup>

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 16r.; BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 92v.; BNP, COD. 7402, fol.14.<sup>589</sup>

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 27v.; BNP, COD. 7429 - 7430, fol. 87r.<sup>590</sup>

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<sup>583</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 865.

<sup>584</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>585</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>586</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>587</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>588</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 274.

<sup>589</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218, INV. 219 and INV. 220.

<sup>590</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 765.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora do Carmo de Braga (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, MSS. 2, n.1, fol. 27r.<sup>591</sup>

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 94v.<sup>592</sup>

**Congregação do Oratório do Porto (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, Biblioteca, Temas diversos, caixa 498, doc. n.218, fol. 2r.<sup>593</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 368 62.

SOLENSIS, Arati,

*Arati Solensis Phaenomena, siue Apparentia.* Basilae: Per Henricum Petri, 1561.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 423r.<sup>594</sup>

BAROZZI, Francesco (1537-1604)

324. *Cosmographia in 4 libros distributa, Venetiis : Perchacinus, 1585.*

**Convento de Nossa Senhora do Carmo de Braga (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, MSS. 2, n.1, fol. 27r.<sup>595</sup>

325. *Sphaera mundi, seu, Cosmographia.* Mutinae: Ex typographia Andreae & Hieronymi Cassiani, 1653.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 371 17.

BIANCANI, Giuseppe (1566-1624)

326. *Planisphaerium stellatum seu vice. globus coelestis in plano delineates.* Norimbergae: sumptibus Pauli Fürsten: excudebat Christophorus Gerhardus, 1661(?).

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 376 38.

BICARDO, Ariele

327. *Quaestiones nouae in libellum de sphaera Ioannis de Sacro Bosco.* Paris: apud Gulielmum Cavellat, in pingui gallina, ex adverso collegi Cameracensis, 1552

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL 11 377 9.

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<sup>591</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 337.

<sup>592</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 96.

<sup>593</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 885.

<sup>594</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>595</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 337

BLAEU, Willem Janszoon (1571-1638)

328. *Guilielmi Blaeu Institutio astronomica de usu globorum et sphaerarum coelestium ac terrestrium*. Amsterdami, 1642.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 426r.<sup>596</sup>

329. *Guilielmi Blaeu Institutio astronomica de usu globorum et sphaerarum coelestium ac terrestrium*. 1652.

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 94v.<sup>597</sup>

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 347v.; BNP, COD. 8383. fol. 47v.<sup>598</sup>

330. *Guilielmi Blaeu institutio astronomica de usu globorum & sphaerarum caelestium ac terrestrium*. Amstelaedami: apud Joannem Blaeu, 1655.

**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 23v.<sup>599</sup>

331. *Guilielmi Blaeu Institutio astronomica de usu globorum et sphaerarum coelestium ac terrestrium*. Amstelaedami. 1668.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora do Carmo de Braga (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, MSS. 2, n.1, fol. 86r.<sup>600</sup>

332. *Guilielmi Blaeu Institutio astronomica*

**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 32r.<sup>601</sup>

333. *Theatrum orbis terrarum, sive Atlas novus*. Amesterdam, 1644.

**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 23v.; ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, caixa 118, n. 443, fol.88r.<sup>602</sup>

BOBYNET, Pierre (1593-1668)

334. *L'horographie curieuse*. Paris: chez Jean Dupuis, 1665.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7350 fol. 132r.<sup>603</sup>

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<sup>596</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>597</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 96.

<sup>598</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>599</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52.

<sup>600</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 333

<sup>601</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

<sup>602</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52.

<sup>603</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 767.

BORRHAUS, Cellarius Martin (1499-1564)

335. *Elementale cosmographicum: quo totius et astronomiae et geographiae rudimenta. A Parisiis: apud Gulielmum Cavellat, 1551*

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 368 23.

BORRI, Christoforo (1583-1632)

336. «Collecta Astronomica»

**Convento de São João Evangelista de Xabregas (Congregação do Cónegos Seculares de São João Evangelista)**

Source: BNP, P. 300 A.; and BNP, COD. 7437, fol. 266v.<sup>604</sup>

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8388, fol. 41r.,<sup>605</sup>

337. *Collecta Astronomica*. Ulysipone: apud Matthiam Rodrigues, 1631.

**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7431 fol. 52v.; BA, 51-XI.38, fol. 25v.<sup>606</sup>

**Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios de Lisboa (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7408, fol. 57v.<sup>607</sup>

**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 91v–92r.<sup>608</sup>

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 - 7430, fol. 134r.; BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 38r.; BNP, COD. 7350, fol.117.<sup>609</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 230r.<sup>610</sup>

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 136v.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 101r.<sup>611</sup>

**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65r.<sup>612</sup>

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 211r.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 50r.<sup>613</sup>

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 37-VII-55.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, CP-I-20.

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<sup>604</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 241.

<sup>605</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 95.

<sup>606</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 702 and INV. 705.

<sup>607</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 350.

<sup>608</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

<sup>609</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763, 765 and INV. 767.

<sup>610</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>611</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>612</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>613</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

BOSCOVICH, Ruggiero Giuseppe (1711-1787)

338. *De Solis ac lunae defectibus libri V, P. Rogerii Josephi Boscovich...: ibidem autem et astronomiae synopsis, et theoria luminis newtoniana.* Venetiis: typis Antonii Zatta, 1761.

[Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa \(Ordem dos Frades Menores\)](#)

Source: BACL, 11 368 24

BRAHE, Tycho (1546-1601)

339. *Tychonis Brahe Astronomiae Instauratae Mechanica.* Noribergae: apud Levinum Hulsium, 1601.

[Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa \(Ordem dos Frades Menores\)](#)

Source: BACL, 11 375 23.

340. *Tychonis Brahe Astronomiae Instauratae Mechanica.* Noribergae: apud Levinum Hulsium, 1602.

[Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa \(Eremitas de Santo Agostinho\)](#)

Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 98r.<sup>614</sup>

[Livreria de Matemática Colégio de Santo Antão \(Companhia de Jesus\)](#)

Source: BA, C-XXXIV-4.

341. *Epistolae astronomicae.* Francofurti, apud Godefridum Tampachium, 1610.

[Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa \(Eremitas de Santo Agostinho\)](#)

Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 99v.<sup>615</sup>

342. *Tychonis Brahe Dani, De Mundi Aetherei Recentioribus Phaenomenis. Liber Secundus.* Francofurti: apud Godefridum Tampachium, 1610.

[Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra \(Companhia de Jesus\)](#)

Source: BNP, S.A 778 A.

343. *Historia Coelestis, ex libris commentariis manuscriptis observationum vicennialium.* Augustae Vindelicorum : Apud Simonem Utzschneiderum, 1666.

[Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa \(Ordem dos Frades Menores\)](#)

Source: BACL, 11 371 13/I-II.

CAILLE, Nicolas-Louis de La (1713-1762)

344. *Leçons élémentaires d'astronomie géométrique et physique.* Paris: H.-L. Guérin: L.-F. Delatour, 1761.

[Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa \(Ordem dos Frades Menores\)](#)

Source: BACL, 11 375 25.

CARBONE, João Baptista (1694-1750)

345. «Observationes astronomicae habitae Ulyssipone.»

[Biblioteca de São Roque \(Companhia de Jesus\)](#)

Source: BA, 55-II-6, no 7.

[Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa \(Ordem dos Frades Menores\)](#)

Source: BACL, 11 463 26.

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<sup>614</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>615</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

CASSINI, César François (1714-1884)

346. *La meridienne de l' observatoire royal de Paris vérifiée dans toute l' étendue du Royaume par de nouvelles observations*. Paris: Chez Hippolyte-Louis Guerin & Jacques Guerin, 1744.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 428r.<sup>616</sup>

CASSINI, Jacques (1677-1756)

347. *Éléments d'astronomie*. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1740.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 1 7 5; BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 428r.<sup>617</sup>

348. *Tables astronomiques du Soleil, de la Lune, des Planetes, des etoiles fixes, et des satellites de Jupiter et de Saturne*. Paris, 1740.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 428r.<sup>618</sup>

CELLARIUS, Andreas (1596-1665)

349. *Harmonia macrocosmica seu atlas universalis et novus, totius universi creati cosmographiam generalem, et novam exhibens*. Amstelodami: apud Joannem Janssonium, 1661.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 52-XIV-31.

CLAVIUS, Christoph (1538-1612)

350. *Commentarios in Sphaeram Joan. Sacrobosco*. Rom. 1575.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 99v.<sup>619</sup>

351. «In Sphaera Sacro Bosco»

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

352. *In Sphaeram Ioannis de Sacrobosco*. Romae: apud Victorium Helianum, 1579.

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, RES. 4836 P.

353. *Christophori Clavii. In Spaeram Ioannis de Sacro Bosco commentaries*. Romae: Zanettum, 1581.

**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 162v.<sup>620</sup>

**Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios de Lisboa (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

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<sup>616</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>617</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>618</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>619</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>620</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 28.

Source: BNP, COD. 7408, fol. 57v.<sup>621</sup>

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, S. A. 2734 P.

354. *Christophori Clauui ... ex Societate Iesu In sphaeram Ioannis de Sacro Bosco*. Romae: ex officina Dominici Basae, 1585.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 119v.<sup>622</sup>

**Convento de Nossa Senhora do Carmo de Braga (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, MSS. 2, n.1, fol. 27r.<sup>623</sup>

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 68r.<sup>624</sup>

**Biblioteca Publica do Colégio da Companhia de Jesus de Braga (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, S. A 2735 P.

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, RES. 3103 V.

355. *In Sphaeram Joannis Sacro Bosco*. Lugduni, 1607.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 429r. and fol. 230r.<sup>625</sup>

356. *In Sphaeram Joannis Sacro Bosco Commentarius*. Venetis: apud Joan. Bapt. Ciotum, 1691.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 - 7430, fol. 191r.; BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 54v.; BNP, COD. 7350 fol. 119v.<sup>626</sup>

COPERNICUS, Nicolaus (1473-1543)

357. «Nicolau Copernici Torinensis Astronomia instaurata»

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429-7430, fol. r.; BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 202r.<sup>627</sup>

358. *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium libri VI*. Norimbergae: apud Joh. Petreium, 1543.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, Reservado 3-17; BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 431r.

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<sup>621</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 350.

<sup>622</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 767.

<sup>623</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 337

<sup>624</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218.

<sup>625</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>626</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 767.

<sup>627</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763, INV. 765 and INV. 766.

359. *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium Libri VI*. Basilae, 1566.  
**Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada (Ordem dos Pregadores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 144r.<sup>628</sup>

CORTESIUS, Petrus

360. *Discursus astronomicus nouissimus*. Panormi: ex typographia Alphonsi de Isola, 1642.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BACL, 11 376 53.

COSTA, António Carvalho da (1650-1715)

361. *Via astronómica*. Lisboa: na officina de Francisco Villela, 1676.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7429 - 7430, fol. 167r.<sup>629</sup>  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 99v.<sup>630</sup>  
**Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada (Ordem dos Pregadores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 108r.<sup>631</sup>  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 102r.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 13v.<sup>632</sup>  
**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 72r.; BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 93r.<sup>633</sup>  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
Source: BA, C-XXI-10, no 1.

362. *Via astronomica: segunda parte*. Lisboa: por Antonio Craesbeeck de Mello impressor de Sua Alteza, 1677.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7429–7430, fol. 167r.<sup>634</sup>  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
Source: BA, CP-XXX-110.  
**Colégio de Santo Antão de Lisboa (Companhia de Jesus)**  
Source: BA, 37-VII-58; and BA, 51-XI-44, fol. 8v.<sup>635</sup>
363. *Astronomia methodica*. Lisboa, 1682.  
**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

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<sup>628</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>629</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763.

<sup>630</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>631</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>632</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>633</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218 and INV. 209.

<sup>634</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763.

<sup>635</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 723.

Source: ANTT, Ministério das Finanças, Convento de Santa Maria de Alcobaça, caixa 2192, (processo n. 5], fol. 303r.<sup>636</sup>

364. *Astronomia methodica*. Lisboa: na officina de Francisco Vilella, 1683.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 119r.<sup>637</sup>  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
Source: BA, C-XXI-10, no 2.  
**Colégio de Santo Antão de Lisboa (Companhia de Jesus)**  
Source: BA, 37-VII-59.

DELGADO, João (1553-1612)

365. «Tratado da Esfera»  
**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65r.<sup>638</sup>  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BCAL, Vermelho 491.

FINEUS, Orontius (1494-1555)

366. *De Mundi sphaera sive cosmographia, primave Astronomiae parte*. Parisiis: ex officina Simonis Colinaei, 1542.  
**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**  
Source: ANTT, Ministério das Finanças, Convento de Santa Maria de Alcobaça, caixa 2192, (processo n. 5], fol. 303r.; BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 32r.; BNP: BN S.A 662.<sup>639</sup>
367. *Orontii Finei Delphinatis, Liberalium Disciplinarum Professoris Regii, Prothomatesis*. Parisiis: impensis Gerardi Morrhiij & Ioannis Petri: Vaenundatur Ioannem Petrum, 1532.  
**Biblioteca Publica do Colégio da Companhia de Jesus de Braga (Companhia de Jesus)**  
Source: BNP, S.A 663 A.
368. *Orontii Finei Delphinatis, regii mathematicarum professoris, de mundi sphaera, sive cosmographia, primave astronomiae parte. Libri V*. Parisiis, 1542.  
**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 64v.<sup>640</sup>
369. *Orontii Finei Delphinatis, Regii Mathematicarum Lutetiae professoris In eos quos de Mundi sphaera conscripsit libros, ac in Planetarum theoricis, Canonum Astronomicorum libri 2*. Lutetia: apud Michaellem Vascosanum, 1553.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BACL, 11 376 24; BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 448r.<sup>641</sup>

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<sup>636</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 106.

<sup>637</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 767.

<sup>638</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>639</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

<sup>640</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>641</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

370. *Sphæra mundi, sive Cosmographia*, Paris, 1552.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8383. fol. 198r.<sup>642</sup>

FONTANA, Francesco (ca. 1580-1656)

371. *Novae coelestium terrestriumque rerum observationes*. Neapoli: apud Graffarum 1646.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 and 7461, fol. 251v.; BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 99v.<sup>643</sup>

FRISIUS, Gemma (1508-1555)

372. *Gemma Phrysius De Principiis Astronomiae & Cosmographiae*. Antuerpiae: apud Gregorium Bontium sub scuto Basiliensi; & Louanii: apud Pterum Phalesium, 1545.

**Biblioteca Publica do Colégio da Companhia de Jesus de Braga (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, RES. 3858 V.

373. *Gemma Phrysius De Principiis Astronomiae & Cosmographiae*. Antuerpiae: in aedibus Ioannii Steelsii, 1548.

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Scala Coeli (Ordem da Cartuxa)**

Source: BNP, RES. 1191 P.

374. *Arithmeticae Practicae Methodus facilis (...) Eiusdem item de Factionibus Astronomicis compendium: Et de cognoscendis per memoriam Calendis, Idibus Nonis, Festis mobilius, & loco Solis & Lunae in Zodiaco*. Parisiis: apud Gulielmum Cauellat, in pingui gallina, ex aduerso collegij Cameracensis, 1550.

**Convento de Santa Rita de Cássia de Lisboa (Congregação dos Agostinhos Descalços)**

Source: BNP, S.A 1325 P.

375. *Gemmae Frisii, Medici et Mathematici, De Radio Astronomico & Geometrico liber*. Lutetiae: apud Gulielmum Cauellat, in pingui gallina, ex aduerso collegij Cameracensis, 1557.

**Colégio de Vila Nova de Portimão (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, RES. 6008 P.

376. *El libro de la cosmografia*. Enveres en casa de Gregorio Bontio, 1548.

**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, caixa 118, n. 443, fol. 88r.<sup>644</sup>

**Mosteiro de São Bento da Vitória do Porto (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, Biblioteca, Temas diversos, caixa 499, doc. 421, fol. 89r.<sup>645</sup>

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<sup>642</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 472.

<sup>643</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260 and INV. 261.

<sup>644</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 51.

<sup>645</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 106 and INV. 96.

377. *Cosmographia*. Antuerpiae: apud Ioan. Bellerum, ad insigne Aquilae aureae, anno 1584.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios de Lisboa (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7408, fol. 58r.<sup>646</sup>

GALILEU, Galilei (1564-1642)

378. *Galilaei Galilaei Lyncei, Academiae Pisanae Mathematici, serenissimi magni-ducis hetruriae philosophi & mathematici primarij Systema cosmicum*. Lugduni: Ioan. Antonij Huguetan, 1641.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 206r.<sup>647</sup>

379. *Galilaei Galilaei ... Systema cosmicum. In quo dialogis IV. de duobus maximis mundi systematibus. Ptolemaico & Copernicano*. Lugduni: apud Fredericum Haaring et Davidem Severinum, 1699.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429–7430, fol. 268r.; BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 206r.<sup>648</sup>

380. *Systema cosmicum...in quo dialogis IV*. Lugduni Batavorum : apud Fredericum Haaring : Davidem Severinum, 1699.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 376 10.

381. *Il saggiaiore nel quale con bilancia esquisita e giusta si ponderano le cose contenute nella Libra astronomica e filosofica di Lotario Sarsi Sigensano*. In Roma: appresso Giacomo Mascardi, 1623.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 375 48.

GASSENDI, Pierre (1592-1655)

382. *Institutio astronomica iuxta hypotheseis tam veterum, quam Copernici, et Tychois*. Parisiis: apud Ludouicum de Heuqueuille, 1647.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL 11 374 20.

GIAN-PRIAMO, Nicolao, S.I.

383. *Specula parthenopaea uranophilis juvenibus excitata duplici constructione ordineque disposita seu Astronomicae pro motibus primi*. Neapoli: excudebat Regino Typographus Seraphinus Porfile, 1748.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 369 18.

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<sup>646</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 350.

<sup>647</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 766.

<sup>648</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 766.

HAJKU, Tadeáš Hájek z (1525-1600)

384. *Dialexis de novae et prius incognitae stellae*. Francofurti, 1574.

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 93r. and fol. 93v.<sup>649</sup>

HERONIS, Alberti

385. *Sphaera Ioannis De Sacro Bosco : Emendata. in eandem Francisci Iunctini Florentini, Eliae Vineti Santonis & Alberti Heronis Scholia*. Antuerpiae, 1582.

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 4v.<sup>650</sup>

HEVELIUS, Johannes (1616-1687)

386. *Mercurius in Sole Gedani, anno Christiano M DC LXI*, 1622.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 39-XIV-46.

387. *Annus climatericus*. Gedani: Sumptibus Autoris: Typis Dav. Frid. Rhetii, 1685.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 39-XV-35.

388. *Johannis Hevelii Firmamentum Sobiescianum, Sive Uranographia*. Gedani: Typis Johannis Zachariae Stollii, 1690.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 39-XV-34, no 2.

389. *Prodomus Astronomiae*. Gedani: Typis Johannis Zachariae Stollii, 1690.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 39-XV-34, no 1.

HERBIN, Johann (1633-1676)

390. *Famosae, de solis vel telluris motu, controversiae examen, theologico-philosophicum, ad S. Sanctam Normam, institutum a Johanne Herbinio*. Ultrajecti: apud Johannem à Waesberge, 1655.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 368 37.

HORROCKS, Jeremiah

391. *Jeremiae Horroccii, ... Opera posthuma, videlicet Astronomia kepleriana defensa et promota : Excerpta ex epistolis ad Crabtraeum suum*. Londini: Typis Gulielmi Godeid: Impensis J. Martyn, 1673.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 375 24.

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<sup>649</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 219.

<sup>650</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 472.

HUGES, Isaac (17<sup>th</sup> century)

392. *Traitté astronomique reduit en sommaire. Selon la methode d'Isaac Hugue.* 1655.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 234r.; BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 132r.<sup>651</sup>

HUES, Robert (1553-1632)

393. *Tractatus de globis, coelesti et terrestri eorumque usu.* Francofurti ad Moenum: Aubrius & Schleich, 1627.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios de Lisboa (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7408, fol. 58r.<sup>652</sup>  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**  
Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, caixa 118, n. 443, fol. 89r.<sup>653</sup>

HUYGENS, Christiaan (1629-1696)

394. *Christiani Huygenii [Kosmotheōros], sive, De terris coelestibus, earumque ornatu, conjecturae.* Hagae-Comitum: apud Adrianum Moetjens, 1699.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora de Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 118r.<sup>654</sup>

KIRCHER, Athanasius, S.J. (1602-1680)

395. *Ars magna lucis et umbrae, In X libros digesta : quibus Admirandae Lucis et U.mbrae in mundo.* Amstelodami: apud Joannem Janssonium à Waesberge : haeredes Elizei Weyerstraet, 1671.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BA, CL, 11 369 11.

KEPLER, Johannes (1571-1630)

396. *Ad Vitellionem Paralipomena, quibus Astronomiae pars optica.* Francofurti: apud Claudium Marnium & Haeredes Ioannis Aubrii, 1604.  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
Source: BA, 51-XI-5, fol. 41r.<sup>655</sup>  
**Livraria de Matemática do Colégio de Santo Antão (Companhia de Jesus)**  
BA, CP-XXXII-61.
397. *Joannis Keppleri...Phaenomenon singulare seu Mercurius in Sole.* Lipsiae: impensis Thomae Schureri bibliopolae, 1609.  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
Source: BA, 94-II-5, no 7.

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<sup>651</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 767.

<sup>652</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 350.

<sup>653</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 51.

<sup>654</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 765.

<sup>655</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

398. *Astronomia nova...seu Physica coelestis, tradita commentariis de motibus stellae Martis, ex observationibus G. V. Tychoonis Brahe / plurium annorum pertinaci studio elaborata Pragae.* Pragae, 1609.  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
 Source: BA, G-III-35.
399. *Ioannis Keppleri...Strena seu De Nive Sexangula.* Francofurti ad Moenum: apud Godefridum Tampach, 1611.  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
 Source: BA, 94-II-5, no 8.
400. *Ioannis Keppleri...Dioptrice seu demonstratio eorum quae visui & visibilibus propter conspicilla non ita pridem inventa accidunt.* Augustae Vindelicorum: Typis Davidis Franci, 1611.  
**Livraria de Matemática do Colégio de Santo Antão (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: BA, CP-XXXII-61.
401. *Joannis Keppleri Mathematici Eclogae chronicae ex epistolis doctissimorum aliquot Virorum, & Suis mutuis, quibus examinatur tempora nobilissima.* Francofurti: Typis Ioannis Bringeri: Impensis vero Godefridi Tampachii, 1615.  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
 Source: BA, 94-II-5, no 1.
402. *Prodromus dissertationvm cosmographicarvm,* 1621.  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
 Source: BA, 51-XI-5, fol. 41r.<sup>656</sup>
403. *Joannis Keppleri...Chilias logarithmorum ad totidem numeros rotundus, praemissâ demonstratione legitima ortus logarithmorum eorumq' usus.* Marpurgi: excusa Typis Casparis Chemlini, 1624.  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
 Source: BA, 94-II-5, no 2.
404. *Joannis Keppleri...Suplementum Chiliadis logarithmorum continens praecepta de eorum usu.* Marpurgi: ex officina Typograph ica Casparis Chemlini, 1625.  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
 Source: BA, 94-II-5, no 3
405. *Epitome Astronomiae Copernicanae,* Francofurti, 1635.  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
 Source: BA, 94-II-5, no 3.

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<sup>656</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

406. *Joh. Kepleri Mathematici olim Imperatorii Somnium, seu Opus posthumum de astronomia lunari*. Sagani Silesiorum, absolutum Francofurti: sumptibus haeredum authoris, 1634.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 94-II-5, no 5.

LA LANDE, Jérôme de (1732-1807)

407. *Abrégé d'astronomie*. Paris: chez Les Libraires Associés, 1775.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 375 7.

LEFÉVRE D' ÉTAPLES, Jacques (1450-1536)

408. *In Hox Libro continetur. Introductorium astronomicum*. Parisiis: ex officina Henrici Stephani, 1517.

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, RES. 877 A.; BNP, RES. 923 A.

LEVERA, Francesco (1628-1668)

409. *Francisci Leveræ Romani Prodromus universæ astronomiæ restitutæ De anni solaris, & siderei*. Romae: Ex Typographia Angeli Bernabò, 1663.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 334r.; BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 124v.<sup>657</sup>

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 98r.<sup>658</sup>

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 37-XIV-9.

LIMA, D. Luiz Caetano de (1671-1757)

410. *Gnomónica Universal, e método para toda a casta de relógios Regulares, e Irregulares, Astronómicos, Judaicos, Babilónios, e Itálicos com grande número de figuras*. 1704.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 208r.<sup>659</sup>

LONGOMONTANUS, Christian Sørensen, (1562?-1647)

411. *Astronomia Danica*. Amsterdami: Apud Ioh. & Cornelium Blaeu, 1640.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 371 14.

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<sup>657</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 767.

<sup>658</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>659</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 766.

MAGINI, Giovanni Antonio (1555-1617)

412. «*Novae coelestium orbium theoricæ*»

**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 61, fol. 90v.<sup>660</sup>

413. *Novae coelestium orbium theoricæ congruentes, cum observationibus N. Copernici.* Venetiis, 1589.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 100r.<sup>661</sup>

**Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada (Ordem dos Pregadores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 337r.<sup>662</sup>

**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: Source: BNP, COD. 7393, fol. 60r.; BNP, COD. 7431 fol.47v.; BA, 51-XI-37. fol. 248r.<sup>663</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 374 19; BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 445r.<sup>664</sup>

MAUROLICO, Francesco (1494-1575)

414. «*Cosmographia*»

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7382, fol. 75.<sup>665</sup>

MERCATOR, Gerardus (1512-1594)

415. «*Orbis Terra compendiosa arque universalis descriptio.....Duisburgi*»

**Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada (Ordem dos Pregadores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 361r.<sup>666</sup>

416. *Atlas, sive Cosmographiae*, Amesterdolami, 1613.

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 343v.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 116r.<sup>667</sup>

MINAYA, Franciso Velazques

417. *Esfera, forma del mundo, con una breve descripcion del Mapa.* En Madrid: por la viuda de Luis Sanchez, impressora del Reyno, 1628.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios de Lisboa (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7408, fol. 58r.<sup>668</sup>

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<sup>660</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710.

<sup>661</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>662</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>663</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 701, INV. 703 and INV. 705.

<sup>664</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.414

<sup>665</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 98.

<sup>666</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>667</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>668</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 350.

MORIN, Jean-Baptiste (1583-1656)

418. *Astronomia iam a fundamentis integre et exacte restituta : Complectens IX. Partes hactenus optatae scientie longitudinum coelestium*. Parisiis, 1640.

**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 444.<sup>669</sup>

419. *Coronis astronomiae: iam a fundamentis integrae et exacte restitutae*. Parisiis : apud Authorem, tum apud Ioannem Libert viâ D. Ioannis Lateranensis, 1641.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 375 44.

420. *Longitudinum terrestrium necnon coelestium*. Parisiis: apud Authorem, tum apud Ioannem Libert viâ D. Ioannis Lateranensis, 1634.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 375 44.

MÜNSTER, Sebastian (1489-1552)

421. *Organum Uranicum*. Basiliae: apud Henricum Petrum, 1536.

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, RES. 2098//2 A.

NAJERA, António (fl. 1618-1632)

422. *Navegação especulativa, y practica*. Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1628.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 99r.<sup>670</sup>

**Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios de Lisboa (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7408, fol. 57v.<sup>671</sup>

NEWTON, Isaac (1643-1727)

423. «De mundi systemate liber»

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 51-XI-6, fol. 163r.<sup>672</sup>

424. *Opuscula Mathematica*, Lausannae: Apud Marcum-Michaelem Bousquet & socios, 1744.

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 102v. and 460r.<sup>673</sup>

**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65v.<sup>674</sup>

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<sup>669</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

<sup>670</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>671</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 350.

<sup>672</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

<sup>673</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

<sup>674</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

425. *Principia Mathematica*, Coloniae Allobrogum: Philibert, 1760.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 102v. and 460r.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol.157r.<sup>675</sup>

NUNES, Pedro (1502-1578)

426. *Tratado da Esphera, com a Theorica do Sol, e da Lua*. Lisboa: per Germão Galharde, 1537.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 742 –7430, fol. 409.<sup>676</sup>

ORTELIUS, ABRAHAM (1527-1598)

427. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Antuerpiae, 1570.  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol.130v. <sup>677</sup>

PICCOLOMINI, Alessandro (1508-1578)

428. «De sphaera libri quatuor»  
**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**  
Source: ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 61, fol. 89v.<sup>678</sup>

429. «De la sfera del mondo»  
**Colégio de Santo Antão de Lisboa (Companhia de Jesus)**  
Source: BA, 51-XI-44, fol. 8v.<sup>679</sup>

*Della Sfera del Mondo*. Venetia: per Giouanni Varisco, 1561.

- Casa de Nossa Senhora de Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 211r.

430. *Della sfera del mondo libri quattro*. Venetis. 1561.  
**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**  
Source: ANTT, Ministério das Finanças, Convento de Santa Maria de Alcobaça, caixa 2192, (processo n. 5], fol. 187v.; BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 64v.<sup>680</sup>

431. *La sfera del mondo*. Venetia: Giovanni Varisco & Compagni, 1566.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios de Lisboa (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7408, fol. 57v.<sup>681</sup>

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<sup>675</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>676</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763.

<sup>677</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52

<sup>678</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710.

<sup>679</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 723.

<sup>680</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 106 and INV. 96.

<sup>681</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 350.

432. *La prima parte de le theoriche o vero speculationi de i pianeti*. In Vinegia: Appresso Giouanni Varisco: Paganino Paganini, 155(?).

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 376 40.

PEURBACHIUS, Georg Von (1423-1461)

433. «*Novae Theoricae Planetarum*»

**Convento de São João Evangelista de Xabregas (Congregação do Cónegos Seculares de São João Evangelista)**

Source: BNP, P. 300 A.; BNP, COD. 7437, fol. 266v.<sup>682</sup>

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Ordem dos Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 12r.<sup>683</sup>

434. «*Theorica Solis de passionibus Planetarum diversis, de montu octavae*. 1490»

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 347v.<sup>684</sup>

435. «*Sphaera: ext Joanne Sacro Bosco. Venetis*. 1531.»

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 347v.<sup>685</sup>

436. *Theoricae novae planetarum*. Venetis: per Ioan. Anto. de Nicolinis de Sabio: Sumpt. & requisitione D. Melchioris Sessae, 1537.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 377 35.

437. *Theoricae Nouae Planetarum*. Parisiis: apud Christianum Wechelum, sub Pegaso, in uico Bellouacensi, 1550.

**Convento de Santa Rita de Cássia de Lisboa (Congregação dos Agostinhos Descalços)**

Source: BNP, S.A. 1325 P.

438. *Theoricae Nouae Planetarum*, Coloniae Agrippinae: apud Haeredes Arnoldi Birckmani, 1581.

**Colégio do Espírito Santo de Évora (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, S.A. 2923.

POSTEL, Guillaume (1510-1581)

439. Gullielmi Postelli De Universitate libri duo : in quibus astronomiae, doctrinaeve coelestis compendium. Lugduni Batavorum: ex officina Joannis Maire, 1635.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 368 59.

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<sup>682</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 241.

<sup>683</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260.

<sup>684</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

<sup>685</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

REGIOMONTANUS, Johannes Müller (1436-1476)

440. *Disputat in Spheram*. Venetis, 1492.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 459v.<sup>686</sup>
441. *Disputationes contra theoricis*. Venetis, 1531.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 459v.<sup>687</sup>
442. *Epitoma Johannis de Monte Regio in Almagestum Ptolemaei*  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
Source: BA, 51-XI-6, fol. 9r.<sup>688</sup>  
**Colégio de São Paulo de Évora (Ordem de São Paulo Primeiro Eremita da Congregação da Serra de Ossa)**  
Source: BPE, Cód. CLXVIII/2-19, fol. 435r.<sup>689</sup>
443. *In Ptolemaei Magnam Compositionem*. Noribergae: apud Ioannem Montanum, & Vlricum Neuberum, 1550.  
**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**  
Source: BNP, S.A. 773 A.; ANTT, Ministérios dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e Justiça, caixa 50, maço 61, fol. 88.<sup>690</sup>

RESTA, Francesco (17<sup>th</sup> century)

444. *Meteorologia de igneis aereis aqueisq. corporibus authore P. Francisco Resta a Talleacotio cler. reg. minor*. Romae: Franciscum Monetam, 1644.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7429–7430, fol. 466r.; BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 129v.<sup>691</sup>

RICCIOLI, Giovanni Battista, (1598-1671)

445. *Almagestum novum astronomiam*. Bononiae: Ex typographia Haeredis Victorii Benatij, 1651.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BACL, 11 370 4/I-II.
446. *Astronomia reformata*. Bononiae: Ex typographia Haeredis Victorii Benatij, 1665  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BACL, 11 370 3.

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<sup>686</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

<sup>687</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

<sup>688</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

<sup>689</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 146.

<sup>690</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 710.

<sup>691</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 767.

ROSSETTI, Donato (1633-1686)

447. *Antignome fisico-matematiche con il nuouo orbe, e sistema terrestre*. Livorno: Giovanni Vincenzo Bonfigli, 1667.

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 246r.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 90r.<sup>692</sup>

SACRBOSCO, Johannes de (ca. 1190-1256)

448. *Sphericum opusculum*. Venice, 1485.

**Índice da Livraria do Convento de S. Domingos não identificada (Ordem dos Pregadores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7458, fol. 288r.<sup>693</sup>

449. *Disputationum Ioannis de monte regio contra cremonensia in planetarum theoricas deliramenta*. Impressum Venetiis: Bonetus Locatellus: mandato & expensis Octauiani scoti, quatro nonis octobris, 1490.

**Convento de São Francisco de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, INC. 810.

450. *Disputationum Ioannis de monte regio contra cremonensia in planetarum theoricas deliramenta*. Impressum Venetiis: per Guilielmum de Tridino de Monteferrato, 14 Ianuarii, 1491.

**Convento de São João Evangelista de Xabregas (Congregação do Cónegos Seculares de São João Evangelista)**

Source: BNP, INC. 812.

451. «Sphaera mundi»

**Colégio de São Paulo de Évora (Ordem de São Paulo Primeiro Eremita da Congregação da Serra de Ossa)**

Source: BPE, Cód. CLXVIII/2-19, fol. 516r.<sup>694</sup>

**Convento de São João Evangelista de Xabregas (Congregação do Cónegos Seculares de São João Evangelista)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7437, fol. 266r.<sup>695</sup>

452. *Textus de Sphaera Ioannis Sacrobosco*. Impressum Parisiis: in officina henri Stephani, 1516.

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, RES. 877 A.

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<sup>692</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>693</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 682.

<sup>694</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.146.

<sup>695</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 241.

453. *Esfera Mundi*. Venetiis, 1518.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Piedade de Cascais (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8387//2.<sup>696</sup>  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 99r.<sup>697</sup>
454. *Sphera mundi Nouiter recognita cum commentariis*. Venetiis: impensis Luce antonij de giunnta Florentini, 1518.  
**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**  
 Source: BNP, RES. 877 A.
455. «Sacrobosto Joannis de Sphera Tractatus 2 T. 1531»  
**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 92v.<sup>698</sup>  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 99r and fol. 459v.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 149v.<sup>699</sup>
456. *De Spheara Mundi*. 1526.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 99r.<sup>700</sup>
457. *Textus de Sphaera Ioannis de Sacrobosco*. Parisiis: Vaenit apud Simonem Colinaeum, 1534.  
**Livraria de Matemática Colégio de Santo Antão (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: BA, 37-XIV-7; BA, 51-XI-44 fol.79r.<sup>701</sup>
458. *Tratado da sphaera: com a theorica do sol & da lua*. Lisboa: per Germão Galharde, 1537.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 211r.
459. *Textus de Sphaera Ioannis de Sacrobosco*. Parisiis: vaenit apud Simonem Colinaeum, 1538.  
**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 92v.<sup>702</sup>  
**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: BNP, RES. 2005 A.

<sup>696</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 348.

<sup>697</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

<sup>698</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 219.

<sup>699</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470 and INV. 472.

<sup>700</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>701</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.723.

<sup>702</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 219.

460. *Sphaera*. Antuarpiae, 1548,  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 162v.; ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, caixa 118, n. 443, fol. 89r.<sup>703</sup>
461. *Sphaera Ioannis de Sacro Busto cum commentariis Petri a Spinosa Artium Magistri (...)*. Salmanticae: excudebat Ioannes Iunta, 1550.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, RES. 4842 P.
462. *Sphaera Ioannis de Sacro Bosco, emendata*. Lvtetiae : apud Gulielmum Cauellat, 1564.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 101r.<sup>704</sup>
463. *Sphaera Ioannis De Sacro Bosco Emendata*. Lugduni: apud Haeredes Iacobi Iunctae, 1564.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios de Lisboa (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços).**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7408, fol. 57v.<sup>705</sup>  
**Convento da Santíssima Trindade de Lisboa (Ordem da Santíssima Trindade)**  
 Source: BNP, RES. 4840 P.
464. *Sphaera Ioannis De Sacro Bosco Emendata*. Antuerpiae: apud Ioannem Richardum, 1566.  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 162v.<sup>706</sup>  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Conceição do Monte Olivete (Congregação dos Agostinhos Descalços)**  
 Source: BNP, RES. 4838 P.
465. *La sphaera traducida*. 1668.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 130r.<sup>707</sup>  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 100v.<sup>708</sup>
466. *Sphaera Ioannis de Sacro Bosco emendata*. Antuerpiae: apud Petrum Bellerum, sub Scuto Burgundiae, 1582.  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios de Lisboa (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8387//2.<sup>709</sup>

<sup>703</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 51 and INV. 52.

<sup>704</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>705</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 350.

<sup>706</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52.

<sup>707</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 767.

<sup>708</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>709</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 348.

**Mosteiro de Salvador de Paços de Souza (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, Biblioteca, Temas diversos, caixa 499, doc. 421, fol. 88v.<sup>710</sup>

**Biblioteca Publica do Colégio da Companhia de Jesus de Braga (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, RES. 4839 P.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 377 10.

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 459v.<sup>711</sup>

467. *Sphaera emendate*. Venetis: apud Hieronymi Scoti, 1586.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 130r.<sup>712</sup>

468. *Sphaera Ioannis de Sacro Bosco emendata*. Coloniae: apud Gosuinum Cholinum, 1591.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, RES. 4847 P.

469. *Nota eorum quae in hoc libro continentur. Oratio de laudibus astrologiae habita a Bartholomeo Vespucio florentino in almo Patauio Gymnasio anno. M. s. vi. Textus Sphaerae Ioannis de Sacro Busto*. Impressio Veneta: per Ioannem Rubeum & Bernardinum frates Vercellenses as instantiam iunctae de iunctis florentini, 1508.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, RES. 4847 P.

SANTRITTER, Johannes Lucilius (fl. 1492)

470. *Canones in tabulas Alfonsinas, et illis aliquae novae tabulae adjectae. Ext. Joan de Sacro Bosco*. Venetis, Joan Hamman, 1492.

**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 459v.<sup>713</sup>

STOEFFLER, Johannes (1452-1531)

471. *Joannis Stoeffleri iustingensis mathematici eruditissimi, facileque omnium principis, in Procli Diadochi, authoris gravissimi sphaeram mundi, omnibus numeris longe absolutissimus commentarius*. Tubingae, 1534.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 51-XI-6, fol. 112r.<sup>714</sup>

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<sup>710</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 60.

<sup>711</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

<sup>712</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 767.

<sup>713</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 470.

<sup>714</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

VIRDUNG, Johann, (ca. 1465-ca. 1535)

472. *Tabulae resolutae de supputandis siderum motibus*. Norimbergae: apud Iohan Petreium, 1542.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 376 55.

ZARAGOZA, José (1627-1679)

473. *Esphera en comun celeste y terráquea*. Madrid: Por Iuan Martin del Barrio, 1675.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora do Carmo de Braga (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, MSS. 2, n.1, fol. 27r.<sup>715</sup>

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<sup>715</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 337

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AGUILERA, Joannes de

474. *Canones astrolabii universalis*. Salmanticae, 1554.  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**  
Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, caixa 118, n. 443, fol. 88v.<sup>716</sup>

APIANUS, Petrus (1495-1552)

475. «Astronomicum Caesareum»  
**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7431, fol. 50r.; BA, 51-XI-37. fol. 249v.<sup>717</sup>

BION, Nicolas (1652-1733)

476. «L'usage des astrolabes tant universels que particuliers»  
**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7459, 7460 e 7461, fol. 112v.<sup>718</sup>
477. *L'usage des globes célestes et terrestres et des sphères*, Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1699.  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora de Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 12935-12937, fol. 199r.<sup>719</sup>
478. *L'usage des globes celeste et terrestre et des sphères*. Paris, 1751.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 426r.<sup>720</sup>

CLAVIUS, Christoph (1538-1612)

479. *Astrolabium*. Romae: ex Typographia Gabiana: impensis Bartholomaei Grassi, 1593.  
**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7431, fol. 47r.; BA, 51-XI.38, fol. 25v.<sup>721</sup>  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 7429 - 7430, fol. 191r.; BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 54v. BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 120r.<sup>722</sup>  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BACL, Série Vermelha, ms. 953-971, fol. 429r.<sup>723</sup>  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
Source: BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 74v.<sup>724</sup>

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<sup>716</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 51.

<sup>717</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.703 and INV. 705.

<sup>718</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 260.

<sup>719</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 166

<sup>720</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>721</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.702 and INV. 705.

<sup>722</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763, INV. 265 and INV. 767.

<sup>723</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 414.

<sup>724</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 472.

480. *Gnomenices Libri Octo*. Romae: apud Franciscum Zanettum, 1581.  
**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: BNP, S.A. 807 A.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BACL, 11 371 8.
481. *Horologiorum noua descriptio*. Romae: apud Zanettum, 1599.  
**Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: BNP, S.A. 1835 V.
- CLEOMEDES (fl. ca. 400 AD); Roberti Balfore (ca. 1553-1621)  
 482. «Cleomedis Meteora graece et latine, 1605»  
**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 64v.<sup>725</sup>
- COSTA, Antonio Carvalho da (1650-1715)  
 483. *Tratado compendioso da fabrica e uzo dos relogios do sol*. Lisboa: na officina de Antonio Craesbeeck de Mello, 1678.  
**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Scala Coeli (Ordem da Cartuxa)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 910-912, fol. 172r.<sup>726</sup>
- ESTANCEL, Valentim (1621-1705)  
 484. *Orbe affonsino, ou Horoscopia Universal*. Évora: Na Impressão da Uniuersidade, 1658.  
**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 210r.; BNP, COD. 7405, fol. 94r.<sup>727</sup>  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7429–7430, fol. 191r.; BNP, COD. 12935–12937, fol. 204r.<sup>728</sup>
- FAJARDO, Leandro de Figueiroa (15??-16??)  
 485. *Arte do computo ecclesiastico segundo a nova reformação de Gregorio XIII / posto novamente em taboas perpetuas, e reduzido todo á mão esquerda por Leandro de Figueiroa Fajardo sacerdote theologo : com algu[m]as outras coriosidades tocantes ao movimento do sol e lua*. Universidade de Coimbra: por Manoel de Araujo impressor delRei, 1604.  
**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**  
 Source: BA, 50-X-27.
- FERNANDEZ, Manuel Dias  
 486. *Copia de carta escrita de la ciudad de Constantinopla, a un cavallero de esta de Sevilla, en que le dá noticia del más horrendo cometa que hasta aora se ha visto y de las ruynas*

<sup>725</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 96.

<sup>726</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 171.

<sup>727</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218 and INV. 219.

<sup>728</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 766.

*que ameaça al Imperio Octomano*. Lisboa: na officina de Antonio Craesbeeck de Mello, impressor de Sua Alteza, 1671.

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source BA, 55-IV-27, no 7.

FINEUS Orotius (1494-1555)

487. *De solaribus horologiis et quadrantibus*. Parisiis: apud Gulielmum Cavellat, 1560.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 259r.; BNP, COD. 13437, fol. 79r.; BNP, COD. 7350, fol. 127r.<sup>729</sup>

FLOUTRIÈRES, Pierre de

488. *Traitté d'horologéographie*. Paris: Isaac Dedin, 1638.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 376 36.

FRISIUS, Gemma (1508-1555)

489. «De astrolabio catholico»

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, N. 580, fol. 118 v.<sup>730</sup>

490. *Gemmae Frisij (...) De astrolabio catholico liber quo latissime patentis instrumenti multiplex versus explicatur (...)*. Antuerpiae: Ioan. Steelsii, 1556.

**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65v.<sup>731</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 368 69.

GUARINI, Guarino (1624-1683)

491. *Guarini Guarinii Mutinensis ... Coelestis mathematica*. Mediolani, 1683.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora de Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 289r.<sup>732</sup>

LOBKOWITZ, Juan Caramuel (1606-1682)

492. «Solis et artis adulteria»

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7412, fol. 75r.<sup>733</sup>

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<sup>729</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 764 and INV. 767.

<sup>730</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 218.

<sup>731</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>732</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763.

<sup>733</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 98.

493. *Solis et artis adulteria*. Lovanii: apud Andream Bouvetium, 1644.  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BACL, 11 744 19.
- MARCI, Joann Marcus (1597-1667)
494. *Index horarius in tres libros distributus, quo construendorum horologiorum praecepta, non traduntur modo, sed etiam demonstrantur*. Londini: apud Gulielmum Leybourn, 1662.  
**Convento de Santa Maria de Jesus de Xabregas (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8384, fol. 459v.; BNP, COD. 8383, fol. 146r.<sup>734</sup>
- MÜNSTER, Sebastian (1489-1552)
495. *Compositio horologiorum, in plano, muro, truncis, anulo, concavo, cylindro et variis quadrantibus, cum signorum zodiaci et diversarum horarum inscriptionibus*. Basel: Henricus Petri, 1531.  
**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65v.<sup>735</sup>  
**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**  
 Source: BACL, 11 376 50.
496. *Horologiographia*. Basilaee, 1533.  
**Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belém (Ordem de São Jerónimo)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8382, fol. 306r.<sup>736</sup>
- PADOVANI, Giovanni (b. ca. 1512)
497. *De temporum computatione et diuisione*. Veronae: apud Sebastianum à Donnīs, 1586.  
**Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 8386, fol. 65v.<sup>737</sup>
- PINI, Valentino (16<sup>th</sup> Century)
498. *Fabrica De Gl'Horologi Solari*. Venetia, Appresso Marco Gvariso, 1598.  
**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7402, fol. 299.<sup>738</sup>
- SARMIENTO, Juan de Rojas (?-1577)
499. *Commentariorum in Astrolabium libri sex*, Lutetiae, 1551.  
**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**  
 Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 157r.; ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, caixa 118, n. 443, fol. 88v.<sup>739</sup>  
**Biblioteca Publica do Colégio da Companhia de Jesus de Braga (Companhia de Jesus)**  
 Source: BNP, S.A. 1840 V.

<sup>734</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV.470 and INV. 442.

<sup>735</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>736</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 133.

<sup>737</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 250.

<sup>738</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 220.

<sup>739</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 51 and INV. 52.

SCHÖNER Johann (1477-1547)

500. *Gnomonice Andreae Schoneri Noribergensis, Hoc est: De Descriptionibus Horologiorum.* Norinbergae: apud Ioannem Montanum, & Viricum Neuberum, 1562.

**Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa (Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, RES. 2098 A.

STOEFFLER, Johann (1452-1531)

501. «Elucidatio Fabricae Ususque Astrolabii»

**Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (Ordem de Cister)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7382, fol. 64v.; BNP, COD. 7412, fol. 75r<sup>740</sup>

502. *Elucidatio Fabricae Ususque Astrolabii.* Oppenheim: J. Koebel, 1513.

**Mosteiro de São Bento da Vitória do Porto (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, Biblioteca, Temas diversos, caixa 499, doc. 421, fol. 88v.<sup>741</sup>

503. *Elucidatio Fabricae Ususque Astrolabii.* Oppenheim: in aedibus Iacobi Cobelii, 1524.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios de Lisboa (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, RES. 824//2 A.

**Colégio de São Tiago de Elvas (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, RES. 825 A.

504. *Traité de la composition et fabrique de l'astrolabe, et de son usage : avec les preceptes des mesures geometriques: le tout traduit du latin de Jean Stofler.* A Paris: chez Guillaume Cavellat. 1560.

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 368 68.

505. *Elucidatio fabricae ususque astrolabii.* Parisiis: Apud Hieronymum de Marnef, & Gulielmum Cauellat, sub Pelicano, monte D. Hilarij, 1568.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios de Lisboa (Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7408, fol. 58r.<sup>742</sup>

TURRI, Raffaele de (17<sup>th</sup> century)

506. *Astrolabio di stato: da racogliere le vere dimensioni de i sentimenti di Cornelio Tacito ne gl'Annali.* Genova: Per Pier Giouanni Calenzani, 1647.

**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7435, fol. 159v.<sup>743</sup>

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<sup>740</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 96 and INV. 98.

<sup>741</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 60.

<sup>742</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 350.

<sup>743</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 52.

VOEL, Jean (1541-1610)

507. *De horologiis sciothericis: libri três.* Tournon, 1608.

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429 – 7430, fol. 555r.; BNP, COD. 7350 fol. 133r.<sup>744</sup>

**Convento da Nossa Senhora de Jesus de Lisboa (Ordem dos Frades Menores)**

Source: BACL, 11 376 44.

ZAHN, Joannes (1641-1707)

508. *Oculus artificialis teledioptricus.* Herbipoli, 1685.

**Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa (Eremitas de Santo Agostinho)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7409, fol. 99r.<sup>745</sup>

509. *Oculus artificialis teledioptricus sive telescopium.* Norimberga, 1702

**Casa da Nossa Senhora das Necessidades de Lisboa (Congregação do Oratório)**

Source: BA, 51-XI-6, fol. 264r.<sup>746</sup>

510. *Oculus artificialis teledioptricus sive telescopium.* Norimberga, 1762.

**Mosteiro de São Bento de Lisboa (Ordem de São Bento)**

Source: ANTT, Real Mesa Censória, caixa 118, n. 443, fol. 87r.<sup>747</sup>

511. «Telescopium. 1685.»

**Biblioteca de S. Roque (Companhia de Jesus)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7431, fol. 145v.<sup>748</sup>

**Casa de Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência de Lisboa (Congregação dos Clérigos Regulares Teatinos)**

Source: BNP, COD. 7429–7430, fol. 569; BNP, COD. 12935-12937 fol. 234r.<sup>749</sup>

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<sup>744</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 767.

<sup>745</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 261.

<sup>746</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 817.

<sup>747</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 51.

<sup>748</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 705.

<sup>749</sup> *Clavis Bibliothecarum*, INV. 763 and INV. 767.