Dictionaries tell stories of many kinds. The history of dictionaries, of how they were produced, published and used, has much to tell us about the language and the culture of the past. This monumental work of scholarship draws on published and archival material to survey a wide range of dictionaries of western European languages (including English, German, Latin and Greek) published between the early sixteenth and mid seventeenth centuries. John Considine establishes a new and powerful model for the social and intellectual history of lexicography by examining dictionaries both as imaginative texts and as scholarly instruments. He tells the stories of national and individual heritage and identity that were created through the making of dictionaries in the early modern period. Far from dry, factual collections of words, dictionaries are creative works, shaping as well as recording early modern culture and intellectual history.

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For Sylvia
Contents

Acknowledgements

Conventions and abbreviations

1 Introduction

The heroic and indeed Herculean work: Dictionaries and the heroic
Far more than a mere recording of words: Dictionaries, the heroic
and heritage
The shape of this book

2 The classical heritage I: Philology and lexicography

The labours of Hercules: Lexicography and the classical heritage
at the time of Erasmus
You have remade things which had almost been obliterated: Guillaume
Bude and the origins of philological lexicography
Setting forth a hidden treasure: Robert Estienne and the classical heritage

3 The classical heritage II: Henri Estienne and his world

We began to babble in Latin: Henri Estienne and the inheritance
of languages
Emulous of my father’s diligence: Henri and Robert Estienne and
the heritage of scholarly achievement
The riches of Greek: Henri Estienne and the heritage of texts
The expense, and the loss of my youth: Henri Estienne’s dictionary
and the failure of philology

4 Vernacular heritages I: Germany and the Netherlands
1500–1618

The surest proove of peoples originall: The turn to the post-classical
and the discovery of the Germanic heritage
Our Teutonic language: The earliest study of the vernacular heritage
in German-speaking Europe
Piety and the glorification of the language of the fatherland: The study
of the Germanic vernaculars by Conrad Gessner and Georg Henisch
Contents

viii

Restoring its heritage to the fatherland: The Germanic heritage in the Low Countries 138

5 Vernacular heritages II: England to circa 1650 156

A fervent love to my Contrey: The rediscovery of Old English in the sixteenth century 156

That large ground of a kinde of Dictionary: The history of English institutions in the dictionaries of Cowell and Spelman 173

Our Countrymen (to whome so properly it belongeth): Dutch and English lexicographers of Old English 1605–1650 188

6 Vernacular heritages III: England and Scandinavia, circa 1650–1675 203

A most wise investigator of the antiquities of his fatherland: William Somner and Old English 203

The man who restored its ancient languages to the fatherland: The lexicographical thought of Franciscus Junius 216

Arameo-Gothic: The Germanic heritage in Denmark and Sweden 235

7 Post-classical heritages: Du Cange and his world 250

The middle time: The scholarly discovery of post-classical Latin and Greek 250

The customs of our forebears, nearly obliterated and buried in oblivion: The textual heritage of Charles du Cange 261

His studies were always directed towards the history of France: Du Cange and the French heritage 276

8 Shared heritages: Polyglot and universal dictionaries 288

Praise the Lord all ye nations: Polyglot dictionaries 288

Beyond that of any particular Countrey or Nation: Universal dictionaries 293

The most ancient language: Comparativism and universalism 306

Conclusion 314

Afterword 321

Bibliography 323

Index 375
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This book is not a reworked thesis, but it had one of its origins in work on Henri Estienne that I began as a graduate student, and that owed much to the advice of my supervisor, Robin Robbins, and of Peter Burke, Anthony Grafton, David Norbrook, Fred Schreiber, Michael Screech and Nigel Smith. Another point of departure was my experience of work on the staff of the Oxford English Dictionary, where Philip Durkin, Simon Hunt, John Simpson and Edmund Weiner helped me to understand how dictionaries are made. Robert Ireland introduced me to du Cange. I am very grateful to all of these friends and teachers.
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Most important of all has been the love and support of my parents, of my son Nicholas, and of Sylvia, to whom this book is dedicated.
Conventions and abbreviations

I have, except for some single words and very short passages, given translations or paraphrases of my sources in my main text and originals in my footnotes. Quotations from vernacular languages are given in old spelling, preserving i/j and u/v variation but normalizing, e.g., vv in English to w, ʒ in Old English to g. Use of accents, cedillas and other diacritics in vernacular texts has only been normalized in the case of superscript e in German, which has been replaced by the umlaut. Quotations from Latin are normalized by the removal of diacritics and the expansion of digraphs; & is retained for et, and the expansion of other abbreviations is indicated. Quotations from Greek are normalized by the expansion of all ligatured and abbreviated forms. Black-letter and Anglo-Saxon typefaces are given in italics. Underlinings in manuscript are represented by underlinings.

The forms of names are always a problem in the intellectual history of this period. If in doubt as to whether to cite a given name in vernacular or classicizing form, I have generally preferred the one that seemed more familiar to me. (For what it’s worth, my earlier intention was to give vernacular forms wherever this would not be positively absurd, i.e., Melanchthon rather than Schwarzerd but van Gorp rather than Goropius and Zsámboky rather than Sambucus – but as the years went by, this arrangement seemed increasingly unsatisfactory, and Goropius and Sambucus, among others, had their learned names restored to them.) I have given alternative forms of some names in parentheses where they first appear. Classical Greek names and a few later ones have generally been Latinized, and a few Greek and Latin names have been Anglicized, familiarity being the criterion again: Marcus Musurus, not Markos Mousouros; Aristotle, not Aristoteles. The form of Byzantine Greek names generally follows the usage of the Oxford dictionary of Byzantium.

References in footnotes are to author and short title, plus date or other publication details when these are particularly significant or are necessary to distinguish editions; fuller bibliographical information has been
provided in the bibliography. This is divided into three sections: manuscripts and annotated copies of printed books; printed books written before 1800; printed books written after 1800. The identifications of publishers in the imprints of early printed books have been reported in their original form, since they may convey significant information; ‘ex officina Roberti Stephani’ in 1536 and ‘ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi Regii’ in 1543 certainly say different things, as does ‘Oliva Roberti Stephani’ in 1538, and the form of words ‘excudebat Robertus Stephanus in sua officina’ in 1538 may also have been selected deliberately. Although this policy leads to bibliographical records in which the vernacular and classicizing forms of a name both appear, e.g., ‘St Justin Martyr, Epist[ola] ad Diognetu[m], & Oratio ad Graecos. Ed. Henri Estienne. [Geneva:] excudebat Henricus Stephanus, 1592’, I think this inconsistency is an acceptable price to pay for the presence of the imprint. The names of publishing towns have been given in the vernacular, and Anglicized where appropriate.

Quotations from and references to classical sources generally follow what I understand to be the modern textus receptus and division into books, chapters, etc., and particular editions have therefore not been specified. Translations from classical sources are my own unless otherwise stated, but owe a general debt to Loeb translations where those have been available. Translations from post-classical sources and texts in modern languages are my own unless otherwise stated. Quotations from patristic sources are accompanied by references to the Patrologia graeca and Patrologia latina. Quotations from and references to the Bible follow the New RSV unless otherwise specified.

In citations, facsimile, microfilm and digitized reproductions of early printed books are not generally distinguished from originals: often the same edition has been consulted in several different forms at different times, and identifying them all would not have been particularly useful. However, where I have discussed an individual copy of a book for the sake of its annotations and I know it to be available in facsimile or on microfilm, I have said so; I have also identified locations or facsimiles of one or two particularly elusive items. I have made particular use of the reproductions of English books in the microfilm series Early English books 1475–1640, The Thomason Tracts, Early English books 1641–1700, and The eighteenth century (and of the digitized images of these microfilms available in the databases Early English books online and Eighteenth-century collections online), and of continental printed books in the IDC microfiche series Philological tools and Harmonia linguarum and in the Gallica
collection which the Bibliothèque Nationale generously makes freely available online.

I have tried to disencumber footnotes of the following: (i) gratuitous identifications of mistakes or omissions in the work of others; (ii) general bibliographical information, e.g., ‘for a good overview of the subject, see X, Y and Z’ as opposed to the identification of the sources for the statements I have made; (iii) references to the standard sources of bibliographical, bibliographical and lexicographical information, unless these are actually being quoted directly. Standard sources which I have consulted routinely include the following.

Biographical: for antiquity, the *Oxford classical dictionary*, 3rd edn, and the *Neue Pauly*; for the Byzantine world, the *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*; for early modern writers, Bietenholz and Deutscher’s *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, Maillard, Kecskeméti and Portalier’s *L’Europe des humanistes* (xvi–xvii siècles), and the *Oxford encyclopedia of the Reformation*, the Dictionary of scientific biography, the *Biographic nationale* and the *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* for the Low Countries; the *Oxford dictionary of national biography* for the British Isles; the extant volumes of the *Dizionario biographico degli italiani* for Italy; those of the *Neue deutsche Biographie* for Germany; the *Nouvelle biographie française* for France; and the predecessors of all these.

Bibliographical: the *English short-title catalogue* and the printed volumes of *STC* and *Wing*; the catalogues of libraries in the United Kingdom available online through COPAC; the printed catalogues of the British Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale; the Swedish library catalogues available online through LIBRIS; the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*; the published volumes of the *Index aureliensis*; the *National union catalog*; the catalogues available online through OCLC WorldCat.

Lexicographical: the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Liddell and Scott’s *Greek lexicon*, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd and revised online editions (*OED*); the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, the *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, and the standard dictionaries of patristic and medieval Latin; the *Trésor de la langue française*; the *Woordenboek der Nederlandse taal*.

I have used the following abbreviations:

- **ASD** Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami (see bibliography s.n. Erasmus)
- **BL** British Library, London
- **BN** Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
- **Bodl.** Bodleian Library, Oxford
- **CWE** Collected Works of Erasmus (see bibliography s.n. Erasmus)
- **HCS** History of classical scholarship (see bibliography s.n. Pfeiffer)
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