William Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*: Method, Function and Legacy

Rachel Ann Fletcher

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the

Degree of Master of Philosophy in English Language

School of Critical Studies

College of Arts

University of Glasgow

October 2017

Abstract

William Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* was the first published dictionary of Old English, appearing in 1659. This thesis investigates the *Dictionarium* both as a work in itself and as an important representative of early Old English scholarship. Particular attention is paid to how the content and design of the *Dictionarium* provide information about the methods used in its compilation, and to how these methods reflect the interests and priorities of Somner and his contemporaries in the study of Old English. However, the *Dictionarium* was not alone in being shaped by such interests and priorities; in its role as a work of reference, it was also in a position to transmit them to its users through the picture of Old English it presented to them. Accordingly, the thesis considers throughout what impression of Old English the content and design of the *Dictionarium* might have created for its audience, and how its content and function were influenced by Somner's understanding and intentions regarding who would use his dictionary and for what purpose. All these factors are considered primarily through their influence on the published *Dictionarium*, but the thesis also deals briefly with the influence of the *Dictionarium* after its publication.

The methodologies selected to address these questions are varied, aiming to cover as many aspects of the *Dictionarium* as possible in order to better understand it as a whole. For instance, the use in Chapter 1 of a large sample of entries allows the identification of broad themes in Somner's lexicography, but subsequent chapters use smaller, more targeted samples and individual entries to highlight features of particular interest and reconstruct the unique process of research that went into Somner's writing of each definition. Findings from these studies are contextualised by chapters dealing with the *Dictionarium*'s relationship to other studies of Old English and with the significance of the non-lexical material included in its front and back matter. Thus, this thesis combines various strands of investigation in order to build a picture of how the *Dictionarium* was shaped by, and was in turn able to shape, the development of Old English scholarship, in which it is a significant milestone.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my thanks for all the help – both academic and otherwise – that I received during the writing of this thesis. In cases where individuals offered me input and advice on specific points, I have done my best to acknowledge this in footnotes to the main text. In addition, many thanks are due to the librarians and archivists who assisted me with my research, especially Mrs Ashleigh Hawkins, Mr Daniel Korachi-Alaoui, Miss Helen Swinney and Mr Michael Smart at Canterbury Cathedral Archives.

As my supervisor, Dr Kathryn Lowe has been a constant source of encouragement, support and good advice, without which I would not have completed this. I am also grateful for the supervision of Professor Jeremy Smith, and particularly for his always-interesting suggestions of further reading. Many other University of Glasgow staff have also provided valuable help and thought-provoking discussion. Needless to say, all errors and omissions that remain are entirely my own.

I gratefully acknowledge the generosity of the editors of the *Historical Thesaurus of English*, whose funding of postgraduate research scholarships in English Language & Linguistics at the University of Glasgow enabled me to undertake this research.

Introduction

Although the scholarly study of Anglo-Saxon and Old English goes back to the sixteenth century and well-known figures such as Laurence Nowell, William Lambarde and Matthew Parker, it was not until 1659 that a dictionary of Old English was first published: the *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* of William Somner.

Somner (?1606-1669)[1] was a native of Canterbury, where he worked in the ecclesiastical courts (Kennett, 1726:6-7; Sherlock, 2004). Most of what is known about his life is thanks to the historian and bishop White Kennett, whose biography of Somner formed a preface to Somner's posthumously published *A Treatise of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent* (1693); a revised and expanded version appeared as a preface to the second edition of Somner's *A Treatise of Gavelkind* (1660, 2nd edn 1726).

The works mentioned above indicate Somner's antiquarian interests, which focused on the history of Kent and Canterbury. His first published work was the *Antiquities of Canterbury* (1640), which has been credited with being 'the first book devoted to the intensive study of an English cathedral' (Parry, 1995:182). It was this historical interest that led Somner to the study of Old English, through the encouragement of his friend Meric Casaubon, who had been struck by Somner's 'uncommon industry in investigating the antiquities of his homeland' (Casaubon, 1650:140).[2] Somner was eventually to become one of the most skilled scholars of Old English of his time, named by Hickes in the preface to his Old English grammar as one of only four Early Modern Anglo-Saxonists to have achieved an 'accurate knowledge'[3] of the language (Hickes, 1689:c4r).

As suggested by its full title, the *Dictionarium* uses Latin as its primary language of definition, at least in the order of presentation; the Early Modern English definitions are not necessarily translations of the Latin, and are sometimes fuller. Definitions are usually brief but occasionally more encyclopaedic in character, and frequently make reference to the lexicographical and antiquarian work of other scholars. The book also includes an edition of Ælfric's *Grammar* following the dictionary proper, as well as a *Glossary* that Somner attributes to the same writer.[4]

---

[1] See Urry (1977:vi-vii) for discussion of Somner's date of birth, which has also been put at 1598.
[2] 'industriam ejus non vulgarem in scrutandis patriis antiquitatibus' [My translation; all subsequent translations are mine unless stated otherwise.]
[3] 'accuratam… notitiam'
[4] On which see below, p.39.

Somner had been working on the *Dictionarium* for at least three or four years before its publication in 1659 (Considine, 2008:211), but in 1657 he received significant financial support for the project in the form of his appointment by Richard Spelman to the Anglo-Saxon lectureship at Cambridge (Kennett, 1726:87-8). Although not the first dictionary of Old English to be compiled, the *Dictionarium* was the first to reach publication, and as such marks an important step in the history of Old English scholarship in the Early Modern period. It combines Somner's own work with a synthesis of the lexicographical output of others that was circulating at the time in manuscript form (Considine, 2008:211).

The significance of the *Dictionarium*'s publication is underlined by the need felt at the time for a comprehensive and readily available dictionary of Old English. Despite several such projects having been begun in the sixteenth century, none had in Somner's day reached publication. Somner's biographer, Kennett, observes that 'this was yet wanting to the Saxon language, and was the reason why so few were masters of it. For men care not to travel without a guide in lands unknown' (Kennett, 1726:85). The lack was felt, too, by established antiquaries. For instance, Roger Twysden wrote in 1658, 'I am not so good at y^{e} Saxon as I wish I were… I will be content to stay tyll Mr. Somner's Dictionary come out' (Hamper, 1827:336-7).

The essential character of the *Dictionarium*, its primary and secondary sources and its relationship to previous, unpublished dictionaries of Old English have been described by previous researchers. Although, thanks to scholarly and technological progress (particularly easily searchable electronic corpora), more detail and accuracy of analysis can now be produced in answering some of these questions, this study aims to move beyond description of this kind to consider the *Dictionarium* as a reference work intended for readers of Old English. As the first dictionary of Old English to be published, it would have been the most accessible resource of this kind in the period from its publication in 1659 until the appearance of Lye and Manning's *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum* in 1772.[5] Those wishing to study the language and writings of Anglo-Saxon England, if they were not to rely on others' translations, needed to be able to read Old English, and so the *Dictionarium* was a potential mediating point between scholars and the original texts. In Julie Coleman's words, 'dictionaries do not just reflect the status of a

[5] Although Lye had previously brought to press Franciscus Junius' *Etymologicum Anglicanum* in 1743, this was, as the title suggests, a dictionary providing etymologies of contemporary English words; therefore, it was only of use in looking up an Old English term if one already knew its meaning.

language, they also play a symbolic function in shaping it' (2012:1). Although Coleman was referring primarily to dictionaries' role in the emergence of national standards of modern languages, the same issues of shaping a language apply equally to the case of early Old English scholarship.

The *Dictionarium* would thus have been well placed to influence how its users understood and interacted with Anglo-Saxon language and literature.[6] Thus, it is interesting to consider how the intended function and consequent form of the *Dictionarium* may have been shaped by Somner's knowledge, expectations and interests within Old English studies. A close consideration of the methodology and focus of Somner's work therefore has the potential to shed light on how Old English language and literature was studied in the Early Modern period, as well as on the development of Old English lexicography more generally.

The *Dictionarium*'s status as a foundational work in Old English studies has attracted the attention of a number of scholars. Historiographical accounts of early scholarship such as Douglas' work on English scholars (1951), Considine's on Early Modern lexicography (2008) and Adams' on Old English studies (1917) attest to the cross-disciplinary perception of the *Dictionarium* as an intellectual turning point and give accounts of the historical and biographical background to its compilation. Other studies have been more concerned with lexicographical detail, focusing on the primary and secondary sources of the *Dictionarium*, its relationship to previous, unpublished dictionaries of Old English, and the detail and accuracy of the linguistic information it contains. The most extensive research on this aspect of Somner's work has been carried out by Cook (1962) and Hetherington (1980), although various smaller studies such as Marckwardt (1947), Giese (1992) and Tornaghi (2007) are also of considerable use in tracing the *Dictionarium*'s relationship to individual dictionaries.

The following thesis seeks to expand on these earlier accounts of the *Dictionarium* by drawing on lexicographical research tools not available to previous generations of scholars. The use of these tools (and particularly of easily searchable electronic corpora) helps to reveal new connections and create a more detailed picture of issues such as the sources of

[6] Lowe (2000), through a study of the legal term *gavelkind* (referred to in the Dictionarium s.v. *gafel*) and its etymology, demonstrates that Somner's work seems to have been mostly disregarded by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century lexicographers. However, the failure of lexicographers in other fields to adopt his etymologies does not necessarily mean that Somner had equally little influence on those working directly with Old English texts.

the *Dictionarium.* By adopting an exploratory methodology incorporating in-depth individual case studies as well as more generalising accounts, I aim to particularise the lexicographical challenges faced by Somner and his responses to them by close analysis of a set of individual entries

However, I also aim to move beyond description of this kind to consider the *Dictionarium* in its wider intellectual context as a reference work intended for readers of Old English. As the first dictionary of Old English to be published, it would have been the most accessible resource of this kind in the period from its publication in 1659 until the appearance of Lye and Manning's *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum* in 1772.[7] Those wishing to study the language and writings of Anglo-Saxon England, if they were not to rely on the translations of others, needed to be able to read Old English, and so the *Dictionarium* was a potential mediating point between scholars and the original texts. In Julie Coleman's words, 'dictionaries do not just reflect the status of a language, they also play a symbolic function in shaping it' (2012:1). Although Coleman was referring primarily to the role of dictionaries in the emergence of national standards of modern languages, the same issues of shaping a language apply equally to the case of early Old English scholarship.

The *Dictionarium* would thus have been well placed to influence how its users understood and interacted with Anglo-Saxon language and literature.[8] It is therefore interesting to consider how the intended function and consequent form of the *Dictionarium* may have been shaped by Somner's knowledge, expectations and interests within Old English studies. A close consideration of the methodology and focus of Somner's work has the potential to shed light on how Old English language and literature was studied in the Early Modern period, as well as on the development of Old English lexicography more generally. In other words, I aim to describe how the *Dictionarium* functions within its scholarly context. Previous studies, referred to above, have done this largely from the point of view of the lexicographer, relating the production of the *Dictionarium* to developments in lexicography or Old English studies in general. Although I do not disregard this

[7] Although Lye had previously brought to press Franciscus Junius' *Etymologicum Anglicanum* in 1743, this was, as the title suggests, a dictionary providing etymologies of contemporary English words; therefore, it was only of use in looking up an Old English term if one already knew its meaning.

[8] Lowe (2000), through a study of the legal term *gavelkind* (referred to in the Dictionarium s.v. *gafel*) and its etymology, demonstrates that Somner's work seems to have been mostly disregarded by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century lexicographers. However, the failure of lexicographers in other fields to adopt his etymologies does not necessarily mean that Somner had equally little influence on those working directly with Old English texts.

perspective, I combine it with a consideration of the user's point of view: what might the *Dictionarium* have told its readers about Old English, and how might they have linked this to the other sources of knowledge available to them?

This study will fall into two main parts. The first aims to describe the character and general approach of Somner's *Dictionarium* and, in doing so, to add further detail to the accounts offered by earlier studies. Chapter One thus establishes a point of comparison for the *Dictionarium*: the *Dictionary of Old English,* which might be considered its modern equivalent. Chapters Two and Three move increasingly towards close analysis of individual entries in considering the relationships between the *Dictionarium* and other works and in illustrating with characteristic examples some of the themes in Somner's lexicography. Building on the observations made in this first section, the second part of the thesis assesses the internal evidence for the *Dictionarium*'s intended audience and purpose.

Chapter 1: The character of the *Dictionarium* – a comparative study

Brief comparative studies of the coverage of the *Dictionarium* have been carried out by previous scholars: Cook (1962) and Hetherington (1980). (The briefer account of the *Dictionarium* in Adams (1917:62-6), does not include a comparative element.) Their findings will be referred to below when relevant, but can be summarised briefly as follows. Both studies use as a comparison text the 1898 *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* of Bosworth and Toller, along with its later supplements. Unsurprisingly, the *Dictionarium* is less comprehensive in its coverage than Bosworth-Toller. Nevertheless, both Cook and Hetherington come to the conclusion that 'Somner's seventeenth-century scholarship compares rather well' with it (Hetherington, 1980:161).

Bosworth-Toller has now begun to be superseded by the publication of the *Dictionary of Old English* (Cameron et al., 2016; henceforth *DOE*). It is therefore appropriate to use this more recent work as the basis for another comparative study, which, as will be demonstrated, can offer a level of analysis not possible with Bosworth-Toller. The first fascicle of the *DOE* was published in 1986, and the dictionary is still in progress, having reached (at the time of writing) H, published in 2016. Like the *Dictionarium* before it,[9] the *DOE* aims to provide a comprehensive coverage of the lexis of Old English, and to do so, its editors, as Somner did, combine study of original Old English texts with consultation of older dictionaries. As was also the case for the *Dictionarium*, its production responded to a particular need among Anglo-Saxonists, in this case for 'the compilation of a new dictionary afresh from the texts' as replacement to Bosworth-Toller, in light of 'the great advances made in the study of Old English and in lexicography over the century since Bosworth began his work' (Leyerle, 1971:279).

This foundation of original analysis makes the *DOE* especially suitable for the purposes of comparison. Despite being 'shamelessly indebted to the other historical dictionaries of English… [and] dictionaries of other languages' (di Paolo Healey, 2004:140), the *DOE,* by referring in the first instance not to lexicographical tradition but to (re)analysis of original texts, breaks the chain of direct inheritance of material from earlier dictionaries, so that a comparison between the *Dictionarium* and the *DOE* is more clearly between two independent works. However, 'perhaps the most significant difference

[9] Cf. Somner's comments in his preface to the *Dictionarium*, *Ad Lectorem*, and particularly section 3.

between [the *DOE*] and most other lexicographic projects' is its use as a base for citations of an electronic corpus containing 'at least one copy of every known text in Old English' (diPaolo Healey, 2002:157). The result is that the *DOE* provides (for the letters A-H) the most comprehensive representation available of our current knowledge of the Old English lexicon and so can be placed in contrast to the more limited linguistic and lexicographical knowledge available to Somner. Also significant is that the *DOE*, originally published on microfiche, is now fully available and searchable online, as is the corpus on which it is based. This feature greatly increases the potential for tracing Somner's Old English sources.

Selection of entries for comparison

Following the examples of Cook and Hetherington, the next section uses a single letter of the Old English alphabet as the basis for a systematic comparison of the *Dictionarium* and the *DOE*. When choosing a sample for this case study, several factors had to be taken into consideration. The first and most limiting of these was the fact that the *DOE* currently covers only A to H. Carrying out a case study that overlapped with Hetherington's examination of L was therefore impossible, but Cook's selection of D for her study falls within the *DOE* coverage. Although it would therefore have been possible to re-examine Cook's selection, the current study aimed to explore new ground by using a different sample of entries.

Coleman and Ogilvie (2009:4) present convincing arguments in favour of using samples that cover the entire alphabetical range of a dictionary, citing the possibility of changes in methodology and phenomena such as 'alphabet fatigue', in which lexicographers show a tendency to become less thorough as they work through the alphabet. The availability and nature of the data prevented such an approach being used here. It is, however, reassuring to note that a consultation of the pre-print manuscript copy of the *Dictionarium* reveals that, even at a late stage, Somner was adding and amending entries throughout the work. [10] This suggests that the imbalance in methodology and thoroughness may be less for the *Dictionarium* than for some larger dictionaries. Even so, care had to be taken in choosing a suitable letter for the study, and it must be remembered that the results are not necessarily perfectly representative of the *Dictionarium* as a whole. Concentrating on a single letter also allowed a better overview of a feature especially

[10] Canterbury Cathedral Archives CCA-DCc/LitMs/E20-1; see below, p.32, for further discussion.

significant in the *Dictionarium*, that of variant spellings; in a sample taken piecemeal from the whole dictionary, it is inevitable that many connected "families" of variant spellings would be only partially represented.

Stability of orthography, then, was another important consideration. Somner was aware that the spelling of Old English was not regular (even by his own Early Modern standards), making specific reference to this in the *Ad Lectorem* to the *Dictionarium*, section 14 of which begins with the comment: 'It yet remains to add & note, that the English Saxons often confounded & indifferently used many severall letters'.[11] The *DOE* approaches the problem of irregular spelling by imposing an orthographical standard on headwords. The *Dictionarium*, however, is not so consistent, and so to get a full picture of Somner's lexical coverage it is necessary to consider words entered under spellings that may not match those of the *DOE*. This has the potential to cause difficulties when these variant spellings differ in their first letter; for instance, if Somner were to list under A a word that the *DOE*'s standard orthography would place under O, it would be impossible to compare the two directly given the current extent of the *DOE'*s coverage. As vowels show the most orthographical variation, it seemed preferable to choose a consonant to form the basis of the current case study (although in fact all letters not already ruled out on other grounds showed at least some orthographical variation as noted by Somner in section 14 of the *Ad Lectorem*).

Another issue arises from the dictionaries' differing treatments of Old English *ge-*. In the *DOE*, *ge-* in infinitives is disregarded for the purposes of alphabetisation, so that, for example, *geāxian* appears alongside *āxian* under A, while Somner lists it (spelt *geacsian*) under G. There are two consequences for the present study: first, studying the letter G in the *Dictionarium* would be impractical as so many of its entries would appear elsewhere in the *DOE* (including many in fascicles not yet completed); and second, any study of another letter would be forced to account for, or eliminate, *ge-* words listed by Somner.

[11] From *The Preface,* Somner's unpublished English version of the *Ad Lectorem*, now in Canterbury Cathedral archives, CCA-DCc-ChAnt/M/352. The published Latin equivalent runs as follows: 'Addendum restat & monendum, *Anglo-Saxones,* nonnullas literas... sæpe confudisse, easq; indifferenter usurpasse' Subsequent citations of the *Ad Lectorem* can be assumed to be the English text of CCA-DCc-ChAnt/M/352 paired with the published Latin version, unless stated otherwise. Somner's English version is not an exact equivalent of the Latin, and therefore the published Latin version will sometimes be cited in the main text when Somner's English corresponds to it only loosely or not at all.

Considering all of these factors, the letter selected for the current case study was C. It has not been the subject of a previous study, has orthographical variants (K and Q) that are easily identified and included, and is of a reasonable length for study.

Entry counting methodology

Although Cook (1962:86-8) and Hetherington (1980:160-2) offer brief studies of the entries under particular letters, neither discusses substantially the methodology they use to count entries. As the following discussion will show, this is a potentially significant matter without a single, unambiguously ideal approach. Methods of entry-counting have been discussed by Landau (1964; 2001:463, n.14), but his approach focuses on modern, commercial, monolingual English dictionaries and would require considerable adaptation to be useable here. To take one example, Landau's policy is that variant spellings should be counted as distinct entries. This is clearly unsuited to the case of Old English, which does not have a standardised spelling system. Lacking a predetermined methodology, I have used approaches I felt most appropriate for my data and described them below. This discussion will also serve to give a preliminary impression of the *Dictionarium*'s coverage and approach.

Somner's cross-referencing and its challenges for entry counting

It is necessary to describe Somner's general practice in cross-referencing entries. He could not help but be aware of Old English spelling variation, which, as mentioned above, he discusses explicitly in section 14 of the *Ad Lectorem*, asking his readers to excuse the 'many repetitions of the same word in this worke in a different way of spelling'.[12]

In the dictionary itself, we therefore find numerous entries consisting of no more than a direction to another headword. For this purpose, Somner uses Latin *i.e.*, *ut, vide*[13] (or simply *V.*), *i.* and (for adjacent entries) *idem*, seemingly indifferently. Somewhat confusingly, Somner uses the same system for entries that, although clearly etymologically distinct, he regards as synonymous; hence *cild-cradel,* for example, directs the user to *cilda-trog* 'cunabulum, a cradle'. Cross-referencing of orthographical variants and synonyms does not always lead directly to a main entry with definition; for instance, a

[12] 'in hoc opere… ejusdem vocis vario monendo scriptæ repetitiones'
[13] *Vide* is used both to refer the reader both to variant spellings of the same entry and (more conventionally) to other headwords that are semantically or etymologically connected, and it is sometimes difficult to tell which Somner intended.

reader looking up *ge-cneordlæcan* will be redirected to the spelling *ge-cnyrdlæcan.* This in turn does not offer a full definition but simply notes '*ut* cneordlæcan' – with, it might be noted, a reversion to the *-eo-* spelling.

Some entries, such as *cild-cradel,* consist only of a reference to another entry. Others, however, offer both a definition under the headword and a cross-reference to another entry. Sometimes this directs readers to a word that, though semantically or thematically connected, is otherwise distinct; for instance, the encyclopaedic entry s.v. *cniht* concludes with a note that 'We now casting off the old signification of the word, ordinarily understand by it *Eques auratus*, or as we vulgarly turne it, *Miles*. But in that notion I never find it used by the *English-Saxons:* after whose supplanting by the *Normans* it succeeded in the place of their ðegen, or *Thane. Vide* ðegen.' In other cases, it points the reader to a derived term, or to the source of a derived term, as when *cocnunga* is connected to *gecocnian*. Principal parts of verbs are occasionally linked to one another by cross-referencing, too, although principal parts may also be included in the same entry as the infinitive form. Frequently, however, principal parts are entered separately, without a link to the infinitive, or simply not given at all.

One kind of cross-referencing is distinct, since Somner uses a different system to indicate it; this is the supplying of antonyms, which are preceded by the symbol)(.[14] As might be expected, Somner's classification of antonyms is somewhat loose; for instance, s.v. *for woruld* he offers the antonym *for Gode* (fig. 1). It is easy to understand Somner's decision to enter this as an antonymous relationship, given the frequent occurrence in Old English of the collocation *for Gode and for worulde* (and similar), but it is debatable how exact the antonymy is in this case. Furthermore, as is Somner's habit in his other uses of

[14] The use of this symbol may be an innovation on Somner's part; I have been unable to find an example of its use in other dictionaries of the period. (My thanks to Professor John Considine, University of Alberta, for his input on this point.)

cross-referencing, the link between the two entries is only marked in one direction; i.e. there is no mention of *for woruld* as an antonym s.v. *for Gode*.

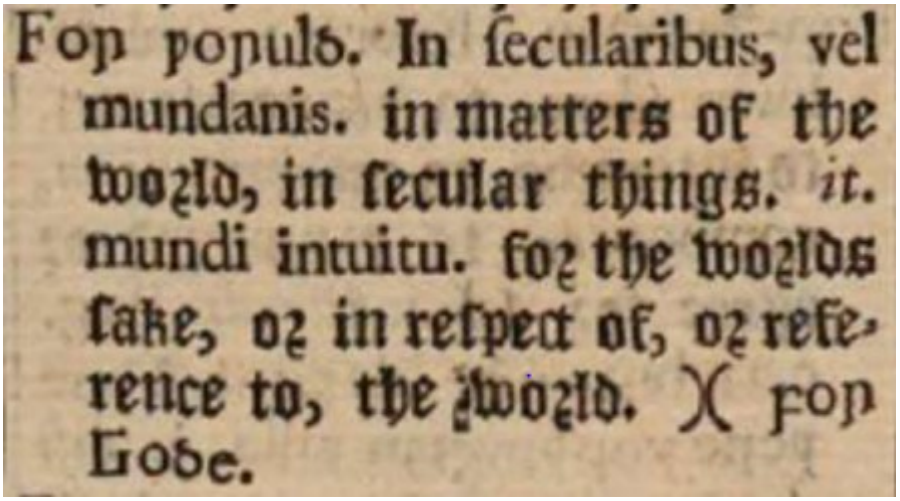
For populo. In ſecularibus, vel mundanis. in matters of the world, in ſecular things. it. mundi intuitu. for the worlds ſake, or in reſpect of, or reference to, the world.) for Gode.

Figure 1: Dictionarium s.v. *for woruld*

Given the multiple purposes for which Somner uses cross-referencing and the lack of consistency in the Latin terms he employs, the exact nature of the relationship that he intended to imply between entries is sometimes unclear. This is especially the case when two entries are linked but also have their own independent definitions. For example, Somner gives two headwords *connan* and *cunnan*, with the following definitions:

> Connan. Scire, noscere, cognoscere. **to know,** *Willeramo*, **bekennen.** *Kiliano*, **kennen.** *V.* cunnan.

> Cunnan. Callere, scire, noscere. **to know, to perceive, to ken.** cunnen, eodem sensu, *Willeramo*. we ne cunnan nan Englisc þærto. Nesciumus id Anglicè exprimere. **We know not how to say it in English.**

The considerable amount of overlap in the Latin and English definitions given for the two entries might imply that Somner did not view them as distinct lemmata but as orthographical variants of a single lemma. Nevertheless, it is also possible that the existence of two separate headwords reflects Somner's belief that *connan* and *cunnan* were distinct lemmata with distinct, albeit similar, meanings; this interpretation could be supported by the observation that Somner also cites different forms from Willeram as cognates for each. On the other hand, the reference to *cunnan* s.v. *connan* – and lack of a reference to take readers in the opposite direction, from *cunnan* to *connan* – might imply that the latter is being treated as a variant of the former. Unfortunately, however, Somner's cross-referencing is not generally consistent enough to be certain of this. Cases such as this

one, then, demonstrate how cross-referencing can create subjectivity in counting lemmata depending on our interpretation of Somner's intentions.

Entry counting and erroneous forms

The case of *connan* and *cunnan* raises another issue relevant to the methodology of entry-counting: how to treat Somner's errors of various kinds. No form <connan> with an -o- in the infinitive is attested in the *DOE* corpus. Rather, Somner seems to have reconstructed it on the model of attested forms such as <con>, probably also with influence from non-Old English texts.[15] Sometimes, an Old English word only appears in the *Dictionarium* under an incorrectly reconstructed infinitive or nominative form. In the case of *connan*, however, the *Dictionarium* includes not only the unattested infinitive form *connan* but the attested form *cunnan.* As a result, what is treated as a single word by the *DOE* accounts for two *Dictionarium* entries (which, as discussed above, may or may not have been intended by Somner to represent two distinct lemmata). Conversely, we can find examples of Somner entering two separate word-forms as one. This happens frequently with adjectives and adverbs in *-lic* and *–lice*, which are often combined as a single entry.

Main entries and sub-entries

One way of approaching the task of counting headwords, given difficulties such as those just described, is to be guided by the *Dictionarium*'s page layout. *Dictionarium* entries are presented as hanging-indented paragraphs, with only the first line of an entry, beginning with the Old English form, aligned with the column margin. If we assume that Old English forms marked in this way are the headwords of main entries (as opposed to sub-entries), the counting task become relatively simple. Using this approach, the *Dictionarium* contains 904 main entries under C (although many of these are simply variant spellings of other headwords; conversely, others contain further embedded entries). To these we can add a further 16 entries under K and 11 under Q, since Somner recognises both of these as variant orthographies for C-words. Unlike in the *DOE*, words which begin with the particle *ge-* are alphabetised under the prefix. This adds a further 82 main entries under *ge-*

[15] Compare the *Middle English Dictionary* entry *cŏnnen* (Lewis et al., 2001), and note also that, for both his headwords *connan* and *cunnan*, Somner refers explicitly to cognate forms found in Willeram – presumably meaning Francis Junius' *Observationes* (1655b) on the work of the Old High German writer Willeram of Ebersberg, though Somner may also have had access to the original text.

c- (there are none for *ge-k-* or *ge-q-*). Finally, one relevant entry – *kalca-ceaster* – is supplied in the addenda printed at the end of the *Dictionarium,* bringing the total to 1014.

However, we can also choose to disregard page layout and to include embedded entries, counting as an entry any word or phrase included by Somner (i.e. disregarding any distinctions between main entries and sub-entries). For the purposes of this count, variant spellings listed immediately after a headword were not included (e.g. 'cæg. cæge. cæige. Clavis. A key.') On the other hand, separate definitions given under a single main entry headword were counted as independent sub-entries; they can easily be identified as Somner separates these distinct definitions with the Latin note *item*, thus: 'cafortun. Atrium, mesaula, vestibulum. a porch or hall, a court-yard: an entry, passage or gallery. *item,* conseptum. an inclosure.' This separating use of *item* has been taken as a precedent for treating Somner's sense divisions as distinct from one another for the purposes of entry counting – although Somner rarely used the modern lexicographical practice of entering homonyms as independent main entries (with polysemy being represented by sense divisions within a single entry), and his use of *item* to separate senses does not necessarily correspond to the divisions between homonyms that are made by more recent dictionaries. Shorter Old English phrases for which both Latin and Early Modern English equivalents were offered were taken to be phrasal entries; longer phrases or passages, for which only a Latin translation were given, were not counted but instead treated as illustrative citations. Following these principles of counting sub-entries brings the total entry count up to 1281, although again this includes many variant spellings and inflected forms.

Findings

The following section provides a more detailed breakdown of the main entries and sub-entries identified above. It will give a more detailed picture of Somner's coverage and the meaningfulness of comparing it to that of the *DOE*, and, in doing so, identify significant characteristics of Somner's coverage of Old English vocabulary.

Of the 1014 main entries, I was able to match 592 to distinct *DOE* headwords; a further 51 are proper nouns, which the *DOE* does not cover. Of the remaining 371 main entries, I was unable to find any plausible match in the *DOE* for 105 of them. The rest were duplicates of other *Dictionarium* entries. When sub-entries were included as well as main entries, 626 from a total of 1281 could be matched to *DOE* entries. There were 64 proper nouns. I could not find a plausible match in the *DOE* for 183 of the remaining entries – a

significant proportion of these 183 unmatched entries (95, or 52%) were phrases, which are common in the *Dictionarium*, especially as sub-entries. (Five entries could not be matched to a *DOE* headword because they fell in a part of the alphabet outside the *DOE*'s current coverage.) This left 408 duplicate entries (representing between them 242 *DOE* entries).

The issue of duplicate entries will be discussed further below. After that, subsequent sections will consider what entry-counts can tell us about Somner's approach to two contrasting fields of vocabulary: proper nouns (which are not included in the *DOE*) and poetic terms (which are).

Duplicate entries

Around 40% of the main entries examined (the proportion was slightly smaller when both main and sub-entries were considered) were duplicates – that is, they represented a lemma that could be identified in a *DOE* entry, but that *DOE* entry corresponded to more than one entry in the *Dictionarium.* An example would be Somner's entries for *connan* and *cunnan* discussed above. In this case, it is unclear whether or not Somner believed the two headwords to be separate lemmata. Bearing in mind this uncertainty in the interpretation of cross-references, it is nevertheless worth noting that a significant amount of the duplicate entries are given cross-references by Somner: 219 of 408 (54%) of duplicate entries (main and sub-entries) next to 92 of 873 (11%) of non-duplicate entries.

Somner's extensive use of cross-referencing between different spellings – and sometimes between different lemmata – has been described above. Of the 1281 entries (main entries and sub-entries) examined in this case study, 311 are cross-referenced to another headword. 266 of these are those identified by the page layout as main entries (as described above).

The number of duplicate and cross-referenced entries is somewhat surprising in the light of Somner's stated intentions in the *Ad Lectorem* of avoiding repetition on the grounds of it being 'more indeed to the swelling of the booke, then to the profit of the reader'.[16] However, a closer reading shows that, in this, Somner was distinguishing between variations in case, mood and tense on the one hand and in orthography on the other hand. The former he considered superfluous – and indeed, his headwords are regularly, if not entirely consistently, standardised to the nominative singular or infinitive

[16] 'ad augendam mollem libri potius, quam lectoris utilitatem.'

form as appropriate. The latter he included, admittedly along with a wish that 'the ingenuous reader, thus advertised thereof, will not unwillingly excuse'.[17] Somner's decision to include variant spellings, in the face of his obvious unwillingness to be seen to be artificially inflating the size of his dictionary, could in part be due to the difficulty of standardising spellings throughout the work, but surely also indicates his awareness of the needs of dictionary users, who would encounter such variation in their reading. The same appeal to the needs of users could, of course, also be made to justify including declined forms of verbs, which Somner does not generally provide. This could perhaps be attributed to the fact that the declination of weak verbs tends to affect the end of the word rather than the beginning, so that readers of the alphabetically-ordered dictionary would find the infinitive close to the place that they were searching for an inflected form. (This would not hold for strong verbs, but Somner does not seem to have had much understanding of the principles of ablaut in strong verbs and might not have realised this.) More than the needs of users, it may simply be the case that the unsystematic presentation of orthographical variants, with no consistently applied standard, speaks to the fact that Somner's knowledge of Old English, and that of his contemporaries, was not advanced enough to permit the distinction between and study of Old English dialects (notwithstanding the tantalising observation in the *Ad Lectorem* of orthographical variation 'according to the various & varying dialect of the age or place').[18]

Proper nouns

The *Dictionarium*'s inclusion – and *DOE*'s exclusion – of proper nouns is a significant difference in methodology between the two dictionaries, though not one requiring particularly detailed analysis. The editors planning the *DOE* were contributing to an existing body of scholarship and reference work, and aware that their users can go elsewhere for information in these fields.[19] Somner, working in an earlier period, had fewer external resources to which he could direct his readers, arguably making the inclusion of proper nouns more important. However, his inclusion of these entries also leads to a more general observation about his preoccupations in compiling the *Dictionarium*. Proper nouns make up a significant proportion of the *Dictionarium*'s more encyclopaedic entries, and most of these have a topographical focus; of the 51 main entries for proper nouns

[17] 'apud benevolos lectores de eis sic præmonitos excusatum iri'
[18] 'pro variâ scilicet vel ævi vel loci dialecto'
[19] For instance, scholars interested in Old English place names might turn to *The Historical Gazetteer of England's Place-Names.*

examined here, all but one (*Carl*, which Somner enters as a personal name as well as a common noun) are either place names or demonyms. Indeed, in her article on Somner's use of transcribed Old English texts, Angelika Lutz concludes that two major texts, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the Old English *Orosius*, 'were used primarily by Somner on account of their name materials. These two sources are therefore significantly responsible for the encyclopaedic-historiographical character of the first Old English dictionary'[20] (Lutz, 1988:14-15). She estimates that around 70% of those words in the *Chronicle* transcript underlined for inclusion in the *Dictionarium* are the names of towns, rivers and peoples – though not, she notes, personal names; for the *Orosius*, she puts the equivalent figure even higher, at 110 out of 126 (87%) (Lutz, 1988:7, 12). The fifty place names and demonyms among the 1014 main entries studied here are only 5% of the entry total for this section, showing that other texts used by Somner contributed far fewer place name entries; even so, it is clear that Somner's interest in place names is significant enough to merit comment.

Somner's home town of Canterbury is a good example; he has separate entries for three different spellings (*cant-wara-burghe, cant-wara-byrig* and *cant-ware-buruh*), as well as two entries for the names of the inhabitants (*cant-wara* and *cant-wara-mægþe*). Within these various entries, he gives the contemporary English name, tells us that the Old English name is also used to refer to Rochester, gives several citations from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and discusses the role of Kent in the Christianisation of the British Isles and the origin of the phrase 'Kent and Christendom'.

Somner's interest in place names is consistent with his earlier studies, which from the beginning showed a leaning towards antiquarian local history, with his first publication being the *Antiquities of Canterbury* in 1640. He was not alone among early Anglo-Saxonists in this interest; for instance, a close attention to place names is also apparent in the work of Laurence Nowell,[21] whose dictionary Somner consulted – and indeed Somner clearly draws on Nowell for some of his place name entries. In some cases, such as the entry for *cone-ceaster*, the debt to Nowell is explicitly acknowledged; in other cases, such as Somner's entry for *corn-weala-mægðe*, no reference is made, but the headword is shared with Nowell while not being found in the *DOE* corpus, strongly suggesting that

[20] 'sind von Somner also in erster Linie wegen ihres Namenmaterials ausgewertet worden. Diese zwei Quellen tragen somit wesentlich zum enzyklopädisch-historiographischen Charakter des ersten ae. Wörterbuchs bei.'

[21] See Brackmann (2012) *passim*, but especially chapter 4.

Somner was drawing from Nowell for these entries. Somner also adds place name entries not in Nowell. [22]

Somner makes use of Nowell's place name entries but does not reproduce them exactly. Indeed, Nowell's own place name entries are sometimes even more encyclopaedic in character than Somner's, with entries such as *cone-ceaster* and *ceortes-ig* including information on historical events that occurred in that location. Somner sometimes retains this information but often focuses more on identifying the modern place names and on providing *Chronicle* citations. Nevertheless, overall we see that the *Dictionarium* fitted into an established tradition of antiquarian interest in place names, to which Somner contributed additional information. The focus on place names is significant enough to noticeably affect the character of the dictionary, effectively skewing it in favour of users working with texts (such as charters or the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle) that deal heavily with English geography.

Poetic vocabulary

For a contrast to Somner's treatment of place names, we can turn to an area in which he was much less comprehensive: poetic vocabulary. Cook's study of the letter D concluded that 'Somner's list lacks many of the OE words, particularly poetic ones, which appear in the later dictionary [Bosworth-Toller]' (Cook, 1962:88); Hetherington (1980:161) agrees. The current study of C supports this conclusion, clearly demonstrating that Somner's coverage of poetic vocabulary is particularly sparse.

This is partly because large numbers of poetic texts were simply unknown to him, and partly because of the particular difficulties he had in reading poetry. Of the four major poetic manuscripts, the Vercelli Book had not yet been found (Krapp, 1932). The Nowell codex had, of course, been owned by Laurence Nowell, whose dictionary of Old English Somner consulted in manuscript, but I have found no evidence that Somner ever saw the manuscript himself. The Exeter Book is similar – Nowell knew of it (Frank, 1998), but there is no evidence that Somner did. What is more, Somner could not draw much poetic vocabulary from Nowell's dictionary, which is 'almost completely verse-free' (Frank,

[22] Interestingly, Nowell also contains place name entries that are omitted in Somner. In some cases, it may be possible to reconstruct the reasoning behind the omission (see below, p.31), but in others, no pattern is apparent.

1998:210), though it does mark a single entry, *dogor*, with the label 'poetice', and Somner adopts this.

Somner did have access to, and even made a transcript of, the Junius manuscript,[23] but evidently found it frustrating. In the preface to his dictionary he describes its language as 'old, obsolete, uncouth, poeticall, swelling, effected, mysticall [and] ænigmaticall …; & so full of strange hyperbata, & transpositions… I was enfourced to plod much'.[24]

Somner was also familiar with several Old English poems found outside the four main poetic codices. He made corrections to an edition by Twysden of the poem *Durham* (O'Donnell, 2001:240-1), though I have been unable conclusively to trace any *Dictionarium* entries to this poem. Somner cites extensively from the *Menologium* in the *Dictionarium*'s entry for *halig-monað*, and would also have known the entries now recognised as poetic that are included in the two manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* he used in compiling the *Dictionarium*. However, these minor poems are relatively short and so do not have a large stock of vocabulary to contribute to the dictionary. What is more, Somner – maybe discouraged by the lack of Latin translations – does not appear to have investigated them as intensively as other texts. Thus, for example, the hapax legomenon *ben-tiid,* from the *Menologium*, has an entry in the *Dictionarium*, but *beorn-wiga,* another hapax legomenon from the same poem, does not.

Many poetic words are thus altogether unrecorded in the *Dictionarium*. In the sample of the *DOE* examined here (i.e. headwords beginning *c-* or *ge-c*, to mirror the selected *Dictionarium* sample), I found 83 headwords noted by the editors as being used wholly or frequently in poetry; only 17 of them, – that is 40% – are represented in the *Dictionarium*, and only seven of those 17 are found exclusively in poetry. For those poetic terms he does include, Somner is often noticeably hesitant about giving a definition. For example, *cumbol*, a banner or standard, appears 6 times in the Old English corpus, always in poetry. Somner had access to two of these tokens, one from *Daniel* (*cumble*) and one from *Exodus* (*cumbol*). He includes both but fails to recognise them as the same word. For the example in *Daniel* he offers two possible definitions, which he marks as uncertain with

[23] By the time of the *Dictionarium*'s publication there was also a printed edition of the Junius 11 MS available, edited by Somner's friend Francis Junius as *Cædmonis Monachi Paraphrasis Poetica* (1655a). Somner was aware of this edition and mentions it in the *Ad Lectorem*, but implies that his study of the text preceded the publication of Junius' edition. Somner's transcript is now Canterbury Cathedral Archives, MS Lit. C.5.

[24] 'veteri, obsolete, poetico, tumido, affectato, mystico & ænigmatico… tantaque abundarit insolitorum hyperbatorum & transpositionum copiâ… diu cogebra insistere'

the Latin expression *fortasse*; for the token in *Exodus*, he notes where it occurs in the Junius 11 manuscript but does not include any attempt at a definition.

Summary

The case study has demonstrated that although the *Dictionarium*'s coverage of Old English vocabulary is far from scanty, its usefulness to a reader of Old English varies significantly depending on the type of text concerned. Despite the limitations, discussed above, in taking a selection of adjacent entries as characteristic of the entire dictionary, we can conclude with some confidence that coverage in the *Dictionarium* as a whole is affected not only by the resources available to Somner (for instance, his lack of access to important poetic material) but also by his active effort to treat certain fields, such as place names, in particular detail. These tendencies in the inclusion of headwords are made clearer by the careful selection of entries for study, taking account of the various irregularities in the *Dictionarium*'s organisation that – while interesting in their own right as the inevitable outcome of the limited lexicographical methodologies and resources available to Somner – mean that the *Dictionarium* is not directly comparable with a modern dictionary such as the *DOE*. With this information, it is possible to begin building a picture not only of the purposes to which Somner's dictionary might have been most effectively put by its users but also of what knowledge already existed in the field at the time of its production. The following chapter will examine in more detail this latter point, firstly by investigating and illustrating the use made by Somner of pre-existing resources, and secondly by giving examples of how his own contributions to scholarship were taken up by others after the *Dictionarium*'s publication.

Chapter 2: The *Dictionarium* in context

Although it may be possible to investigate the *Dictionarium* in isolation, fuller understanding of its character requires contextualisation. Therefore, the following sections describe important relationships between Somner's *Dictionarium* and others' works, both earlier and later. Although also significant, Somner's own lexicographical activities outside the *Dictionarium* are not discussed here; an overview of these is given in Hetherington (1980:131-41).

The influence of earlier lexicography

It is important to remember that, although the *Dictionarium* was the first published dictionary of Old English, it was far from being the first dictionary of Old English to be compiled. Somner was therefore able to draw on earlier, unpublished dictionaries to assist him in his own work. That significant amounts of the material published in the *Dictionarium* were not Somner's original work does not undermine the *Dictionarium*'s significance as an insight into the development of English historical lexicography and into the dissemination of knowledge about Old English to a wider public. However, it does mean that, to understand the choices made by Somner in compiling the *Dictionarium*, we need to consider how he made use of earlier dictionaries.

In the *Ad Lectorem*, Somner mentions his use of 'certaine collections of Saxon words, dictionary wise digested, that namely of Mr Laurence Nowel, & another of Mr John Jocelin, (which Sir Simonds D'ewes had word for word transcribed) besides some other more ancient ones found & yet extant in that famous & noble treasury of antiquities & pretious rarities both foraine & domestick, that Library of Sir Tomas, sonne of Sir Robert Cotton, Baronet'.[25] The 'more ancient' dictionaries will be discussed below, but first I turn to the only two Early Modern dictionaries of Old English to be specifically listed by Somner among his sources: those of Nowell and D'Ewes.

[25] 'quibusdam vocum Saxonicarum collectionibus, in modum Dictionarii digestis, illa scil. *Laurentii Noëli,* alteraque *Johannes Jocelini,* (à D. *Simondsio Deuuesio,* Baronetto, verbatim exscriptâ) præter quasdam alias antiquiores in illustri illo & nobili antiquitatum & cimeliorum tum externorum tum domesticorum Thesauro, D. *Thomæ Cottoni,* Baronetti, *Roberti F.* bibliotheca'

Somner's use of Nowell

Laurence Nowell's unpublished *Vocabularium Saxonicum*[26] was an important source for Somner, and Marckwardt (1947) has shown that the *Dictionarium*'s indebtedness to Nowell was significantly greater than Somner made explicit (as he did intermittently by marking the entry with an 'N' for 'Nowell'). Therefore, it is important in discussing the choices that shaped the compilation of the *Dictionarium* to be aware of the ways in which Somner made use of Nowell. To this end, the following section will give a brief overview of how the *Dictionarium* relates to the *Vocabularium Saxonicum*, using as a test case the C- letter-range identified earlier in this study.

Since Nowell preceded Somner, it is hardly surprising to find that his dictionary is significantly less complete in its coverage than Somner's; around a third of the entries in the C- letter-range of the *Dictionarium* have an equivalent entry in the *Dictionarium*.

Nowell's dictionary appears to be the source for a number of those entries in Somner that do not appear in the *DOE*. These are often proper nouns, such as *ceortes-ig*, 'Chertsey', or phrases used as illustrative citations by Nowell but frequently incorporated into the *Dictionarium* as though headwords in their own right, as in the case of *caseres cwen* or *we ne cunnan nan Englisc þærto*.

Another way in which Nowell's *Vocabularium* influenced the *Dictionarium* is in the texts covered. For instance, several of Nowell's entries are marked with the abbreviation 'Lind.', referring to the Old English gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels. This abbreviation does not appear in Somner, and there is no evidence that Somner consulted the Lindisfarne Gospels directly – Cook (1962:20-53) does not list it in her chapter on the Anglo-Saxon sources of the *Dictionarium* – but several entries marked 'Lind.' by Nowell do appear in the *Dictionarium*, although with the 'Lind.' note stating their source omitted. In the case of some, such as *celment-man,* Somner does use the abbreviation 'N.' to signal that his entry is based on Nowell's.

Somner not only uses Nowell to expand his coverage of Old English texts, but also to provide additional cognates to his Old English headwords. As Somner tells his readers in the *Ad Lectorem* (section 10), some *Dictionarium* entries give an English dialectal cognate, marked with the abbreviation 'Lanc.': 'By Lanc. Is intended the Lancastrians, or

[26] Now available in a modern edition by Marckwardt (1952).

those of Lancashire, who (by Mr Nowels observation, that countryman, I take it) so speake at this day.'[27]

In other cases, the language appearing in the *Dictionarium* via Nowell is more problematic than the Lindisfarne Gospels gloss or Nowell's knowledge of Lancashire dialect. Among the entries in the *Dictionarium* not traceable in the *DOE*, of particular interest are those that can be identified as coming from a source outside the *DOE* corpus. In at least two cases in the section of the *DOE* investigated here, the evidence points to this source being a text that would by modern scholars be classified as Middle – rather than Old – English. The relevant entries in the Dictionarium are as follows:

> Cattes-mint. Mentha felina, *seu* cattaria. cat-mint.
> Cunt-heare. Fumaria. earth-smoke or fumitory.

Neither can be matched to a *DOE* entry, suggesting that they are either corrupted forms or else that they were taken from a text not included in the *DOE* corpus. The latter explanation seems the more likely, and indeed very similar glosses can be found in a thirteenth century trilingual (Latin, Anglo-Norman and Middle English) glossary of plant names found in British Museum MS Harl. No.978, fol. 24 vo.[28] Neither the orthography nor the Latin equivalents are an exact match for Somner's entries, instead reading as follows:

> *Nepta*, *i.* nepte, *i.* kattesminte.
> *Fumus terre, i.* fumetere, *i.* cuntehoare.

The different Latin glosses could perhaps be explained by the fact that Somner checked botanical names against a contemporary herbal: John Gerard's *The Herball, or, general historie of plantes* (1597, revised edn by Thomas Johnson 1633).[29] In favour of the Harleian glossary being Somner's ultimate source is the observation that both words are rare – both have only a single citation in the *Middle English Dictionary* (Lewis et al., 2001), s.v. *cat* and *cunte-hoare* respectively – and can be traced to the same text. What is more, other words from the same glossary also appear in the *Dictionarium*; examples are *guweorn*, used to gloss Latin 'spurgia', but found elsewhere with the OE spelling <giþcorn> (the <guweorn> spelling is noted as an error by the MED s.v. *guth-corn*), and

[27] 'Per Lanc. *Lancastrenses* intelligendi, qui (*Noëlo*, viro, ni fallor, *Lancastrensi,* observante) ita hodiéq; loquuntur.'
[28] Printed by Wright and Wülcker (1884:554-9).
[29] On Somner's use of Gerard, see Cook (1962: 55).

maiwe, an unusual and possibly mistaken spelling of ME *maithe*, OE *magoþe*. The variation in the spelling of the headwords is, at first glance, harder to explain, especially given Somner's general tendency to avoid standardising orthography.[30]

However, Somner was not consulting the Harleian glossary directly. Nowell's *Vocabularium* contains entries for both *cattesmint* and *cuntheare*, so spelt, though neither are given a definition beyond 'herba', which would explain why Somner's Latin equivalents differ from the original glossary. These headwords go on to appear in D'Ewes' dictionary (British Library, Harley MSS 8 and 9), where they are both given the attributing abbreviation 'Laur.', clearly referring to Laurence Nowell.[31] The natural conclusion, then, is that it was Nowell's work that first introduced these headwords into the lexicographical tradition. In doing so, Nowell must have adjusted the spellings, making them – especially in the case of *kattesminte* > *cattes-mint* – distinctly more Old English in character. This would not be unprecedented; the transcript (now Oxford, Bodleian MS. Laud Misc.201) of the *Ancrene Riwle* made by Somner's contemporary and fellow-antiquary William L'Isle even provides an example of a scholar systematically archaising his early Middle English source text to create an "Old English" version (Robinson 1993:208-1). Even though Nowell, not Somner, was the originator of the "Old English" spellings of his Middle English plant names, the point remains that in presenting them to his readers, Somner was passing on assumptions both about the texts counted as Old English and the expected forms that words in those texts would take.

Some headwords appearing in the *Vocabularium* do not have a corresponding entry in the *Dictionarium*, and this may also tell us something about Somner's aims and methods in his lexicographical work. In some cases, it is hard to see Somner's exclusion of a headword as anything other than oversight; for instance, Nowell gives an entry 'cat. A catte' that has no parallel in the *Dictionarium*, despite Somner's inclusion of the entries 'carl-cat. catus masculus. a boar-cat' and 'Cattes-mint. Mentha felina, *seu* cattaria. cat-mint' – for the latter of which, as has been discussed, he was in any case indebted to

[30] It is possible that Somner was drawing on a related glossary with different spellings, such as that said by Wright and Wülcker (1884:554) to be in British Library MS Sloane, No. 5. Countering this, however, we may note that MS Harley 978 was definitely known and consulted by sixteenth-century Anglo-Saxonists, as it is identified by Hetherington (1980:35) as a source for Joscelyn's Old English dictionary.

[31] D'Ewes' work gives more precise definitions for these entries than Nowell's ('Calamynt' and 'Fumaria. Fumus terræ. herbe fumitory' respectively), though still not the same in wording as Somner's. On the basis of these two entries, it is unclear whether in this case Somner was drawing directly from Nowell or from Nowell via D'Ewes. Indeed, Somner helped D'Ewes to compile his dictionary – including making entries in his own hand (Giese, 1992:148-9) – and so it is possible that the relevant entries in the Harley MSS were in fact made by Somner himself.

Nowell. (Neither *carl-cat* nor *cattes-mint* appear as entries in the *DOE*, although *cat, catte* does.)

In other cases, however, it seems more plausible that Somner is applying a deliberate policy of exclusion. Thus Nowell provides a (for him) lengthy entry s.v. *cærluel*, which runs as follows:

> The citie of Luel, Carlile now called. The Scottes called it Lugubalia, whiche is the same in Scottisshe or Irisshe that Cærluel is in Brytisshe, for baly in their tong signifieth a towne or citie.

Nowell's entry, although it relates to his onomastic interests, is incongruous in its inclusion in a dictionary of Old English, being clearly marked as Celtic in both its referent and its etymology. No corresponding entry appears in the *Dictionarium*, and it may be that Somner, despite sharing Nowell's interest in onomastics, chose not to include something so obviously not Old English.[32]

Somner's use of D'Ewes

Isolating characteristics of the *Dictionarium* arising from Somner's use of D'Ewes' dictionary is more challenging than considering his use of Nowell's dictionary, since, as has already been alluded to, D'Ewes' work incorporates both information from Nowell and additions by Somner.

As he did with Nowell, Somner uses D'Ewes as a source for *Dictionarium* entries, sometimes marking this with the abbreviation 'D.' and at other times incorporating the information silently. It is notable that D'Ewes' dictionary – much more so than Nowell's – is particularly thorough in its provision of illustrative citations; almost all of its entries cite at least one source text. Somner also uses illustrative citations, although not to the same extent (112 of 1281 entries examined in the C- portion of the *Dictionarium* either name an Old English source text or provide a quote from a text in which the lemma appears), but does not appear to draw on D'Ewes to source them. For uncommon words found in both dictionaries, it is unsurprising that the illustrative citations sometimes overlap, as is the case for D'Ewes' *mid calcum* and Somner's *calcan*, both of which refer the reader to an Old English translation of chapter 6, verse 9 of the Biblical book of Mark. Somner may

[32] Cf. the addition (given in the addenda to the *Dictionarium*) to the entry for *Wir-heala,* which does briefly discuss a possible Welsh etymology for a place name. However, the place in question is in England (rather than Wales) and is referred to in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, giving Somner more incentive to include it.

have used D'Ewes for this citation or found it himself – the *DOE* (s.v. *calc*[1]) lists only one occurrence of the lemma, albeit in multiple manuscripts.

An entry such as *crocca*, however, provides a clear example of Somner not following D'Ewes' illustrative citations. Unusually, Somner notes the word's appearance in a number of texts. He does not, however, mention the only source given by D'Ewes: 'Ælf.' (this being a reference to Ælfric's *Glossary*). This observation suggests either that Somner only consulted D'Ewes' dictionary at a late stage and did not have time to incorporate D'Ewes' illustrative citations, or that he chose not to include the citations despite being aware of them. The first of these scenarios seems unlikely; not only was Somner assisting D'Ewes with compilation of his own dictionary at least as early as January 1649 (Hamper, 1827:222-3), but he also added significant amounts of material to the *Dictionarium* even very late in its production.

Canterbury Cathedral Archives LitMS E20-21 represent Somner's fair copy of the *Dictionarium*; this was used in the typesetting process, as can be seen by the removal of the bindings, the marking-up of the text (often corresponding to page breaks in the printed *Dictionarium*) and the smudges of printing ink dirtying many leaves. These manuscripts provide evidence of Somner making final additions and adjustments to the *Dictionarium.* Some of these are entered on additional leaves, with instructions for insertion, and others are squeezed into the margins of the main text. (They are generally identifiable both by the resultant tight spacing and by slight changes in ink colour. All of them are, like the entries they supplement, in Somner's hand.) When Somner wished to add a longer passage (frequently an encyclopaedic entry), the lack of space prevented him from fitting it all into the margins; thus, many of the longer encyclopaedic entries in the *Dictionarium* can be found in LitMS E20-1 either on inserted leaves at the end of E21 or (often) written on the blank leaf at the end of each letter section. It seems likely, therefore, that Somner's failure to adopt D'Ewes' illustrative citations was not something forced on him by time constraints but rather a planned feature of the *Dictionarium*. What, then, might the motivation have been?

Perhaps most straightforwardly, Somner may simply have been aware of the need to keep the *Dictionarium* to a manageable size, and have chosen illustrative citations as an easy element to omit. However, we might also consider his approach to illustrative citations in the wider context of how he refers to sources of all types. Printed sources are generally identified at least by the author's name and often by a page number, chapter

number, or similar. The dictionaries of Nowell and D'Ewes, however, are manuscript sources and Somner treats them in a similar way to Old English manuscripts, sometimes identifying them with a letter but often introducing them without comment. As he writes in the *Ad Lectorem*:

> where at the end of any Saxon word, or the exposition of it, any of those notes or letters are found, viz MS: N: D: L.M: L. Sc: or the like, without further inlargement by way of conjecture, or otherwise: there I make & stand in some doubt, either of the word it selfe or of the exposition, and leave it upon the credit of my author, as not satisfied my selfe, & desirous that the reader should seeke out for clearer satisfaction on the point.[33]

If Somner kept explicit reference to his manuscript sources as a way of signalling his doubt about the correctness of an interpretation, this might also apply in his use of illustrative citations. It may be, then, that he was confident enough in the correctness of most of the headwords taken from D'Ewes to do away with the illustrative citations, which for him were a signal of doubt.

Somner's decision to provide his readers with the information necessary to form their own judgements where he himself was unsure suggests that he was writing the *Dictionarium* in the expectation that future scholarship would be able to improve on his work. At the same time, however, he did not give readers the means of checking the interpretation of those Old English words for which he was confident of his own judgement, suggesting that he expected his users to concentrate more on breaking new ground in the study of Old English rather that re-evaluating and refining what was already known.

Somner's knowledge of other dictionaries of Old English

Although the dictionaries of Nowell and D'Ewes are the only ones of their kind acknowledged as sources in the *Dictionarium*, Somner's awareness of other Old English dictionaries requires comment. Somner had previously collaborated with William Dugdale on the latter's own Old English-English dictionary, now MS Dugdale 29 in the Bodleian Library, which is dated to 1644 (Tornaghi, 2007:51). Two independent discussions of Somner's role in the making of Dugdale's dictionary, by Giese (1992) and

[33] 'ubi post vocem aliquam *Saxonicam,* sive expositionem ejus, hujusmodi notarum (vel, literarum) aliqua, viz. MS. N. D. L. M. L.Sc: aut similis alia, sine ulteriori per conjecturam, aut aliter, additione, reperiatur: ibi utique hærere, & incertum esse, aut de voce ipsâ, aut de exposition, authorémque meum ideo nominare, & fidem ejus testari, Lector intelligat.'

Tornaghi (2007), are in agreement that the definitions and techniques in this work anticipate those seen in the *Dictionarium.* Furthermore, it is clear that Somner was aware of the existence of other dictionaries that he was unable to consult directly. Section 4 of the *Ad Lectorem* mentions not only Nowell, but also John Joscelyn, Johannes de Laet and Abraham Wheelock as compilers of unfinished and unpublished dictionaries of Old English. Somner apparently considered the material in D'Ewes' dictionary to be a reliable reflection of Joscelyn's work, since he writes in the *Ad Lectorem* of the dictionary 'of Mr John Jocelin, (which Sir Simonds D'ewes had word for word transcribed)'.[34] If he also consulted Joscelyn's original, Somner does not mention this. Somner did make some effort to consult de Laet's dictionary himself; in a letter, dated May 9 1656, he asks William Dugdale, 'Be mindfull of me (I beseech you) as to Mr. Laet's Dictionary, w^{ch} I much long to see' (Hamper, 1827:310). However, judging from his phrasing in the *Ad Lectorem*, Somner was ultimately unsuccessful in this attempt, as he writes simply that, 'The same report [i.e. of having left behind on his death an unfinished dictionary of Old English] goes of Mr John de Laet of Antwerpe, a very learned man, & one much & of a long time conversant & expert in this language.'[35] Similarly, since all the *Ad Lectorem* says of Wheelock's Old English dictionary is that its compiler died 're infecta', it seems unlikely that Somner consulted it himself. Oddly, Somner makes no mention in the *Ad Lectorem* of the dictionary of Old English compiled by his friend Junius (now Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Junius 2-3) and I am not aware of any evidence to suggest that he consulted it; certainly Junius' dictionary contains a significant quantity of material not included in the *Dictionarium*, as demonstrated by the fact that the *Vocabularium* of 1701 draws on Junius to expand Somner's coverage (see below, p.80).

The influence of glossaries

It is easy to imagine the appeal that Anglo-Saxon glossaries must have had for early lexicographers and students of Old English, being already conveniently close to contemporary dictionaries in their presentation. Somner mentions in section 10 of the *Ad Lectorem* that he consulted two glossary manuscripts directly, both from the Cotton library; these are the Latin-Old English glossaries referred to in *Dictionarium* entries with the note 'MS' and described by Somner as 'an old manuscript Saxon Glossary or

[34] '*Johannis Jocelini,* (à D. *Simonsio Deuuesio,* Baronetto, verbatim exscriptâ)'
[35] 'Idipsum tradunt quidam de D. *Johanne Latio,* vulgo *de Laet, Antwerpiano,* viro quidem eruditiss. & in hac lingua longe diuque versatissimo.'

dictionary, whereof I found (& had the use of) a couple in Sir Tho. Cottons Library'.[36] Naturally, he was also familiar with the glossary he attributes to Ælfric and prints at the end of the *Dictionarium*, though he does not appear to have incorporated all of the information it contains in the *Dictionarium* proper.

Although these glossaries might in many respects seem to be natural sources for a dictionary, we should also note that they have certain distinctive features that significantly influence the character of a dictionary that draws on them extensively. The Anglo-Saxon glossaries are in a way more like the monolingual English dictionaries of Somner's time than the *Dictionarium* he was attempting to compile. That is, they deal primarily with hard words (however they might be defined for the target audience) rather than aiming to give an overview of the entire vocabulary of a language (whether Latin in the case of the Anglo-Saxon glossaries or English for the monolingual dictionaries). For Somner and other early Anglo-Saxonists, of course, all Old English words were in a sense hard words; though some were similar in form to known words in English or Latin, it was not possible to assume any significant prior knowledge of Old English among dictionary users. Accordingly, rather than focusing on "hard words", Somner defines even basic items of vocabulary such as *beon*, 'to be', and ones with obvious cognates, such as *cherubin*. In cases such as *cherubin*, which is defined by Somner as 'Cherubinus. a Cherubin', the provision of a gloss would hardly have helped any user genuinely unsure of the meaning of the Old English word, suggesting that the primary motivation behind the selection of headwords for the *Dictionarium* was to give a comprehensive picture of the known vocabulary of Old English, regardless of difficulty of interpretation. The spirit seems to be one of antiquarian preservation of as much material as possible. Nevertheless, in including significant amounts of glossary material, Somner also incorporates into the *Dictionarium* an element of the hard words approach to lexicography, and – although this a necessary part of any attempt at comprehensive coverage – does mean that the Old English presented is predominantly learned in character. Of course, this is a phenomenon that modern lexicographers of Old English must still deal with, but the point made here is that users relying on the *Dictionarium* for their understanding of the character of Old English would have received this inevitably skewed picture – in most cases presumably with a much less

[36] 'vetustum quoddam *Glossarium* sive *Dictionarium Saxonicum* manuscriptum; duplex illud, in bibliothecâ *Cottonianâ* repertum'. Note the Latin's stronger implication that Somner was dealing with a single glossary in two parts rather than 'a couple' of distinct ones.

explicit awareness of the low preservation rate of colloquial language than most modern dictionary users would bring to their research.

A related consequence of the glossaries' focus on hard words is that a significant number of their Latin headwords are also obscure; they were, after all, included in the glossaries in the first place precisely because they proved challenging enough to mediaeval readers to require explanation. Therefore, when Somner converts the Latin glossary headwords into *Dictionarium* definitions, he is occasionally unable to do more than observe that a certain Latin word and a certain Old English one co-occur, without offering an interpretation of either. Thus, for instance, the entry s.v. *cocor-mete* reads, 'Quadripartitum. MS. non intelligo'.[37] As this is a hapax legomenon in the Old English corpus, appearing only in a single glossary entry in MS. Cotton Cleopatra A.iii, the *DOE* is not able to go much further than Somner, offering as a definition, 'cooked food, glossing *quadripartitus,* the (exact) meaning of which is uncertain, perhaps a dish comprised of four ingredients, or perhaps *panis quadratus,* bread with a cross radially indented on the surface'.

Even when a Latin headword can be interpreted, the fact remains that in its glossary form it is presented out of context. It would originally have been drawn from a glossed word in a particular text, but once it has been excerpted into a glossary, later users cannot tell at a glance which of a range of homonyms and shades of meaning the Old English gloss was intended to interpret, whether the original glossator had understood the Latin text correctly or whether the Latin of the glossary entry had been corrupted. This ambiguity was thus ripe for misinterpretation by lexicographers of Old English, including Somner. The problem is well illustrated by his treatment of the entry *cip*, for which he gives the definition ‘Cadurcum, tabernaculum. a tent, a booth, a stall. *à* ceapan *fortè.’* The *DOE* gives *cip* as an attested spelling of the lemma *cipp*, which is defined as:

> 1. rod, stick; 1.a. wooden stock; 1.b. figurative: beam (cf. Mt 7:3); 2. share-beam of a plough; 3. weaver’s beam’

It also tells us that, of the eight occurrences of the lemma in the Old English corpus, it appears once in conjunction with the Latin *cadurcum*, in the Harley Latin-Old English glossary. On the basis of the contexts in which the other seven tokens of the word appear, the *DOE* suggests that *cadurcus* might be emended to *caduceus* (‘staff’). Somner, however, takes the *cadurcum* glossary entry in isolation and attempts to interpret it as it

[37] 'Quadripartitum. I do not understand the MS.'

stands. Turning to other Early Modern dictionaries, we find that one of the definitions given for *cadurcum* in Thomas Thomas' 1587 *Dictionarium Latinae Linguae et Anglicanae* is 'A litle house or cabbin, seruing for a merser'. Furthermore, the *Catholicon Anglicum* (ca. 1475) offers *cadurcum* as a gloss to the English 'a Buthe', and the *Ortus Vocabulorum* (1500) defines *cadurcum* as 'a tent'.[38] It is not possible to say for certain whether Somner consulted these exact sources, but his entry for *cip* was evidently based on these or others like them.[39]

It should also be noted that Somner makes a separate entry in the *Dictionarium* for *cyp*, listed by the *DOE* as one of the attested spellings of *cipp*. Somner, perhaps misled by the differing vowel (despite the awareness he demonstrates in *Ad Lectorem* paragraph 14 that <i> and <y> are often found in variation in Old English orthography), does not recognise this as the same word as *cip*, but this time draws his entry directly from D'Ewes: 'Trabs. a beam or great piece of timber. D.' The more successful definition here can be ascribed at least in part to the fact that D'Ewes was evidently drawing not on a glossary entry but on the appearance of *cyp* in the continuous prose of the Rule of Benedict, which is paraphrasing the Bible (Matthew 7:3). The comparison between D'Ewes' and Somner's handlings of the word is a reminder of the significant effects that the nature of glossary sources could have on the picture of Old English early lexicographers of the language presented to their readers.

The use of glossary sources leaves its mark in other ways that would have affected the user of the *Dictionarium*, whether this was consciously intended by Somner or not. There are, inevitably, errors in the interpretation of these difficult manuscripts, such as Somner's entry *gaele-geolo*; what Somner treats as two parts of a compound are two adjacent but separate Old English glosses to the Latin *crocus* in the original manuscript, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A.iii, f.84v.[40] But even beyond such cases of outright misreading, the nature of the source glossary occasionally affects the *Dictionarium*, as for instance when Somner does not separate multiple Old English glosses that were provided

[38] Dictionary citations via Lancashire et al. (2017)

[39] Interestingly, although both the *Catholicon Anglicum* and the *Ortus Vocabulorum* are related to the *Medulla Grammatice*, another early Latin dictionary of which there is a copy in Canterbury Cathdral archives annotated by Somner (LitMS D2), the *Medulla*, at least in the Canterbury recension, defines its headword *cadurcuus* as 'tentorium et membrum virile sed pocius femine' (McCleary, 1958:136). While 'tentorium' can be translated as 'tent', fitting Somner's definition, the rest of the *Medulla* entry is not represented in the *Dictionarium*'s definition of *cip*. The entry is not one of those annotated by Somner in the manuscript.

[40] In this case, the error does not seem to be Somner's own, but was probably inherited from Nowell's *Vocabularium*, which similarly fails to separate the adjacent glosses.

to a single Latin word, resulting in *Dictionarium* entries such as *sunu, vel meahte* (given as a gloss to *numen* in Cotton Cleopatra A.iii, f.67r). While it might appear that Somner has chosen to provide his readers with an Old English synonym here, perhaps to help users expand their Old English vocabulary, in fact this double entry is derived directly from the double gloss in the source, and we cannot confidently draw such a conclusion. Similarly, some of Somner's phrasal headwords, though they may indicate a focus on Old English phrases as part of his lexicographical approach, can also be explained as reflections of glossary entries in which a single Latin word required a longer Old English interpretation; thus, Somner's *brydelican gewrite* is also derived from the glossaries of Cotton Cleopatra A.iii, where it glosses the single word *drama* (as applied to the Biblical Song of Songs).

The impact of the *Dictionarium* on later scholarship

Kennett suggests that the *Dictionarium* was not a great commercial success: 'it appear'd so little the interest of the writer... at a time, when the oppressed Royalists were more tempted to write for bread, than for glory' (1726:97-8) and it seems that booksellers originally struggled to sell the volumes (Hamper, 1827:107)). Nevertheless, it seems to have been well received. To give a handful of examples from the seventeenth century: the Anglo-Saxonist Francis Junius owned two copies, which he used in his own lexicographical work (Considine, 2008:228); Marshall in his edition of the Old English gospels refers to the *Dictionarium* as a reliable reference work (Junius & Marshall, 1665:485-6); Blount in the Preface to his dictionary of legal terms speaks of 'That excellent *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* of Mr. *Somner*' (Blount, 1670:sig. a1v); Skinner both praises it and repeatedly cites it in his etymological dictionary (Skinner 1671:sig. c4r *et passim*). The *Dictionarium* also proved useful to lexicographers working outside the field of English and its historical varieties; for instance, it is repeatedly referred to in Du Cange's *Glossarium* of mediaeval Latin to explain borrowings from Old English (Du Cange, 1678: passim; cf. Cook, 1962:137-8).

It was also in demand as a teaching text, judging by a letter written in 1698 or 1699 by Edward Thwaites, the newly-appointed Anglo-Saxon preceptor at Queen's College, Oxford: 'We want Saxon Lexicons. I have fifteen young students in that language, and but one Somner for them all' (quoted in Nichols, 1812:141 from an original in British Library, Harley MS 3782). Demand for copies of the *Dictionarium* was enough to prompt the publication in 1701 of a second edition with abridgements and additions, attributed to

Thomas Benson.[41] The existence of transcriptions of both Somner's original edition and the 1701 version is a further suggestion that copies of the *Dictionarium* were much sought-after (Hetherington, 1980:177-8).

Although no longer a standard work of reference, the *Dictionarium* has influenced Old English lexicography in ways that can still be seen today. Bosworth and Toller's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1898), together with its supplements (Toller, 1921; Campbell, 1972), is currently the most complete dictionary of Old English available. A search of its online version, which includes both the original dictionary and Toller's Supplement, yields more than 3000 entries containing 'Som.', indicating that Somner's *Dictionarium* is being cited or referred to.[42] In some cases words are admitted purely on the authority of the *Dictionarium* with no other source being offered, although Toller's *Supplement* (1921) generally amends such entries either by adding citations or by deleting the headword.[43]

The *Dictionarium* had a wider influence on Bosworth-Toller than individual entries alone; its legacy can be seen throughout Bosworth and Toller's dictionary (and its later supplements) in the form of the citation 'Ælf. Gl.' This does not refer to the text commonly called Ælfric's *Glossary*, as printed in the standard edition by Zupitza (1880), but rather to a different glossary printed by Somner under this name in the *Dictionarium*, the 'so-called *Archbishop Ælfric's Vocabulary*',[44] which Somner took from a transcript given to him by Francis Junius (Ladd, 1960:353).[45] Junius had conflated distinct glossaries found in a single manuscript (now MS. No. 16.2, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, and British Museum Add. MS. 32246), which share some material with Ælfric's *Glossary* proper, and which Junius (and, following him, Somner) took to be the work of Ælfric, Archbishop of

[41] However, Hearne (1885:248) asserts that the bulk of the work was done not by Benson, but by his teacher Edward Thwaites. Thwaites' claim to the editorship seems to be confirmed by the existence of a copy associated with Thwaites and containing an 'ex dono editoris' inscription parallel to that in a copy of Thwaites' 1698 edition of the Old English Heptateuch. I would like to thank Professor John Considine, University of Alberta, for supplying me with this information.

[42] Yet more instances can be found where the citation is of Lye and Manning's 1772 *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum*, but the entry in that work itself draws on Somner; see Rosier (1966), especially pp.295, 299-301.

[43] Baker (2003:109) cites *hweop*, 'whip' as an example of a headword entered in Bosworth-Toller on the authority of the *Dictionarium* and later marked for deletion in the *Supplement*. *Áðexe* 'lizard, newt' is an example of an original citation being added in the *Supplement*. These are arbitrary examples; numerous others can be found by searching Bosworth-Toller entries citing Somner.

[44] It is also referred to in scholarship as the 'Antwerp-London' or 'Plantinus' glossary or glossaries.

[45] In his biography of Somner, Kennett does in fact draw attention to the association of multiple glossaries with Ælfric's work and, in doing so, suggests that Somner's contemporaries were equally confused about their correct attribution (Kennett, 1726:91).

Canterbury, who was in turn erroneously assumed to be the same person as the grammarian whose name he shared (Ladd, 1960:360).

It might be argued that the dependence of Bosworth-Toller on Somner's work is not necessarily indicative of the *Dictionarium*'s wider continued relevance. Both Bosworth and Toller, aiming to create as comprehensive a dictionary of Old English as possible, would presumably have seen the importance of consulting the Dictionarium; as an important work of Old English lexicography, it would have been relevant to their own project regardless of whether it was still in everyday use among students and scholars of Old English. However, there is also evidence of the *Dictionarium* being a valued reference work in its own right, at least to some scholars, well into the eighteenth and even the nineteenth centuries. Two cases illustrating this are outlined below.

The first case demonstrates that the *Dictionarium* was in use in the latter half of the eighteenth century. It also indicates that, as Somner had hoped, his dictionary was a useful tool to scholars outside England. Kilpiö (2011:135) identifies the *Dictionarium* as a source for Old English etymologies in Christfrid Ganander's *Nytt Finsk Lexicon* of 1787, which was 'the first etymological Finnish dictionary' (Kilpiö, 2011:131). The University of Turku, Ganander's home institution, later acquired a copy of the *Dictionarium* thanks to Ganander's friend and fellow Anglo-Saxonist, Henrik Gabriel Porthan (Kilpiö, 2009:4). This must have been after 1795, when Porthan wrote in a letter to the University Librarian of Uppsala:

> 'I now take the liberty to inquire in writing if the academic library there [in Uppsala] has an Anglo-Saxon dictionary (e.g. by Somner, Benson or Lye)... I would need to consult such a dictionary which is to be found neither at home in Turku nor here in Stockholm.' [Translated by Kilpiö, 2009:3]

Evidently, Porthan was eager to obtain whatever dictionary of Old English he could, but it is nevertheless worth noting that his inclusion of Somner in his list of lexicographers implies that he felt that the *Dictionarium* still had value and had not been rendered obsolete by the publications of Benson and Lye-Manning.

The second case brings us to the continued relevance of the *Dictionarium* in the nineteenth century, with an 1838 publication by the manuscript collector Thomas Phillipps. This is an edition of Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary* from a copy in the archives of Worcester Cathedral, along with a twelfth-century poem on the soul and body from the same source. Phillipps' comments in the preface make it clear that the *Dictionarium* was

still serving as his point of reference for Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary*. He begins by announcing his 'discovery of Ælfric's Glossary, written at a later period than that published by Somner', and concludes with the note that 'this work has been printed in the small folio form, to correspond with Somner, with whose work it may be bound up' (Phillipps, 1838, i). Evidently Phillipps not only made use of the *Dictionarium* himself, at least for its edition of Ælfric, but also expected a considerable proportion of his readers to own, and use, copies of it. Phillipps' encouragement to his readers to bind his edition of Ælfric up with the *Dictionarium* would only make sense if doing so would have made it convenient to consult – in other words, if users were still keeping Somner's work to hand.

Summary

In this chapter, I have shown that Somner's approach to Old English lexicography was significantly influenced by previous work in the field, on which he drew substantially. Although it is easiest to identify the use of one dictionary by another though tracing distinctive shared errors or quirks, such as the unusual "Old English" forms derived from Nowell's *Vocabularium*, Somner's use of previous lexicographers was generally critical, as can be seen from the emendations explicitly proposed in a number of his entries. Somner inherited from his predecessors many of their eclectic preoccupations, while at the same time including and excluding material in line with his own interests. Examples of the *Dictionarium*'s later influence show that some of these approaches have left their mark on much later dictionaries; the legacy of the *Dictionarium* likely to be of most interest to present-day Anglo-Saxonists is probably its influence on the Bosworth-Toller Old English dictionary, a reference work still consulted today. However, Somner's work was also influential in other areas – ranging from Finnish etymology to the study of the writings of Ælfric – in which the *Dictionarium* was also found to be of use by later scholars. From these examples of how Somner's work was valued by later users, we gain some impression of which aspects would have added most significantly to existing knowledge at the time of the *Dictionarium*'s publication. Some of these influences are ones of general approach and organisation, such as Bosworth-Toller's 'Ælf. Gl.' label. As was the case when tracing Somner's use of earlier dictionaries, however, the *Dictionarium*'s later influence is sometimes best demonstrated by showing the direct inheritance of distinctive individual entries. The following chapter continues this theme by turning the focus specifically to individual entries, demonstrating how they can tell us not only about the *Dictionarium*'s relationship to other works but also its general approach to significant themes and issues in the study of Old English.

Chapter 3: Themes in the *Dictionarium* – case studies

As demonstrated in Chapter One, a statistical overview of a large sample of Somner's entries can give a general impression of his coverage and of the kinds of Old English texts the *Dictionarium* was especially suited to studying. However, just as every word has its own history, so too does every dictionary entry have its own history, which can be used to shed light on particular aspects of Somner's lexicographical practice. The following section presents a series of these.

Fangen and *faul*: Somner's use of literary sources

In his entry for *fangen,* Somner offers evidence of the word's survival past the Old English period by quoting a 'Poet of our own, in the Northerne Dialect'. Further investigation reveals that Somner must have found the quotation in Alexander Gil's *Logonomia Anglica* (1619, 2nd edn 1621)*,* an English grammar and proposal for spelling reform which Somner evidently knew well; Cook (1962: 78) counts 22 explicit references to the *Logonomia* in the *Dictionarium*, and the quotation s.v. *fangen* demonstrates that Somner made wider use of it than his acknowledged citations reveal. It is also a reminder of the interconnectedness of Somner's intellectual circles; Junius, who corresponded with Somner and supplied him with materials for the *Dictionarium*, was familiar with the *Logonomia Anglica* and – presumably from philological interest – marked in his own copy (presumably the one now in the Bodleian, MS Junius 81) the passage that must have served as Somner's source (Dundas, 2007: 43). It may even be that one of the two men pointed out the passage to the other. Unfortunately, the ultimate source of the poem is obscure; in her dissertation on the *Logonomia*, Dixon notes that she was unable to discover more about it (Dixon, 1951: 419).

Another literary quotation can be found shortly after, s.v. *faul*, where Somner cites an 'old rhythmical version of the Lord's prayer' in support of his conjectured definition. Once more, the quotation can be traced back to one of the texts referred to frequently by Somner, in this case William Camden's *Remaines of a greater worke, concerning Britain* (1605).[46] In a popular passage, quoted by numerous subsequent works such as Chambers' *Cyclopædia* (1728: s.v. *English*), Camden illustrates the development of English with several translations of the Lord's Prayer, arranged in chronological order. The ultimate source of the couplet quoted by Somner appears to be a Middle English Lord's Prayer found in London, British Library MS Harley 3724 and Cambridge, University Library MS

[46] See Hetherington (1980:210), Somner's mention of the *Remaines* in section 4 of the *Ad Lectorem*, and Cook's assessment of Somner's extensive use of another of Camden's works (1962:61-2).

Gg.4.32, which is published by Patterson (1911:108). Somner's treatment of the Middle English is perhaps worthy of comment here. He recognises it as old, both explicitly by his comment 'in veteri rythmica Orationis Dominicæ versione' and implicitly by his expectation that its usage can provide an insight into the semantics of his Old English headword. Nevertheless, the couplet (like the verse s.v. *fangen*) is printed in the same black-letter that Somner uses for his own Early Modern English, thus establishing a clear distinction between the Middle English text and the Old English that is the object of Somner's study in the *Dictionarium*.[47] The same approach is used in Somner's quotations from Chaucer (e.g. s.v. *agrisan*), but the longer example here suggests more clearly that Somner's primary purpose in including Middle English in the *Dictionarium* was to use the later stage of the language to help his readers understand Old English, rather than to use a word's Old English history to shed light on its Middle English sense. Of relevance here is Cook's observation (1962:142) that Somner 'points to a similarity between his headword and the vocabulary of "our Chaucer" at least 135 times. Chaucer's writings contained many an obscure word, even for scholars over three centuries closer than we to his age. The discovery, therefore, of literally hundreds of OE source-words for the mediaeval vocabulary of Chaucer was certain to increase understanding of his language, and Somner, as is evident from his many references to Chaucerian terms, saw the relevance of Old to Middle English'.[48]

Taken together, the examples of these two entries demonstrate Somner's thorough use of secondary sources, showing how he was able to draw on a broader knowledge of older and regional English than his own reading could provide. That his literary quotations are drawn from other writers on the English language might also confirm our sense that Somner's personal interests and priorities were more linguistic than literary.

Gamol: poetic vocabulary and later users of the Dictionarium

Somner's definitions, though frequently successful, do sometimes err, and these errors can prove useful in tracing both Somner's use of existing material and his influence on later users. His entries for *gamol* and its compounds provide a good illustration of this, and of the gap that sometimes existed between the purposes for which the *Dictionarium* was

[47] This policy is mostly consistent throughout the *Dictionarium*, though cf. the entry for *unnan*, in which an acknowledged Middle English text appears in black-letter.

[48] Contrast Somner's fellow-scholar Francis Junius, who, despite his close familiarity with both Old and Middle English, hardly mentions Old English in his extensive annotations to the works of Chaucer (Bremmer, 2001:51).

designed and the uses to which it was put. The error made by Somner in this case is striking; he defines *gamol* (an adjective meaning 'old') as 'a Camel'.

Somner's use of external sources in defining poetic vocabulary

Examining the information Somner had at his disposal gives a useful insight into how he dealt with hard-to-interpret words. Robinson, who discusses the *Dictionarium*'s mistranslation of *gamol*, comments that 'One can only marvel at the ingenuity of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century readers of Old English who could contrive to account for the presence of a camel in each context where the word *gamol* "old" occurred' (Robinson, 1993:285). The ingenuity required may not have been so great after all; consulting the *DOE* reveals that all 29 occurrences of *gamol* in the Old English corpus, as well as all three of *gamol-feax* and the single instance of *gamol-ferhð,* are in poetic texts, many of which were unavailable to Somner and his contemporaries, as discussed above p.24. Nevertheless, it is odd that Somner, in preparing the edition of "Ælfric's" glossary printed at the end of the *Dictionarium*, was apparently untroubled by its entry (p.59 of his edition) 'Camelus *vel* dromeda. olfend'; indeed, in the *Dictionarium* proper, *olfende* is defined as 'Elephas. an elephant' (though *oferit olfenda* also appears as 'Dromedus. MS. *i.* Dromas. a kind of small swift Camell').

Equally strangely, when we consult the fifteenth-century Latin dictionary owned and annotated by Somner (now Canterbury Cathedral Archives LitMS D2), we find a marginal note, seemingly in Somner's hand, s.v. *Camelus*, giving the OE equivalent *oluend*. That Somner's spelling here differs from both the form printed in the *Dictionarium* and that printed in the attached glossary suggests that he may have had at least three separate manuscript sources for the word. In two out of three cases he defined the word correctly, and yet there is no indication of this in the *Dictionarium* entry. (I am not aware of any precise dating for Somner's glossing in LitMS D2 and so cannot conclusively rule out the possibility that the *oluend* gloss was added after the *Dictionarium*'s 1659 publication. However, it seems more likely that such glossing would have been carried out as preparatory work for the compilation of a dictionary, and even if this were not the case, the correct entry in "Ælfric's" glossary cannot be discounted in the same way.)

This is not to say, however, that Somner did not use external sources to support his readings. Somner is mistaken in supplying the definition of 'camel' for *gamol*; nevertheless, when discussing its compounds, he does attempt to rationalise this interpretation. Thus, *gomol-feax-hæleþ* is defined as 'vir magna vel promissa cæsarie: *vel,*

cæsariei magnitudine notabilis: cæsariatus, comatus. bush-haired.'[49] – that is, presumably, with lots of hair, like a camel. Somner's rationalisation of *gamol-ferhð* provides a good example of how he drew from a wide range of sources and fields to support and illustrate his studies in Old English; he devotes a considerable amount of space to discussing metaphorical interpretations of camels and how these might be applied to the single instance of *gamol-ferhð,* used to describe Abraham in *Genesis A:*

> Fortasse, aut quod, cum Camelo, ad onera ferenda (i. ærumnas vitæ) idoneus: aut quod magni fuerit animi vel spiritus vir. Camelus enim, ut *Matt.* 23. 24. pro re magna, ut Culex ibi pro parva ponitur. Huc facit proverbium illud: *Camelus vel scabiosa complurium Asinorum gestat onera*, de iis qui in ægritudine aut aliis rebus fractis, robustos alios & integro statu utentes vincunt & antecellunt. Talis autem *Abrahamus* ille.[50]

As elsewhere, Somner uses the Bible as an important source of contextual information. The proverb he cites, on the other hand, goes back to a classical source. It is one of the many Greek and Latin proverbs collected and commented on by the Renaissance humanist Erasmus, though, as these circulated widely,[51] it is not clear whether Somner took the proverb directly from Erasmus or through an intermediate source.

Ultimately, indeed, it seems that Somner's exploration of secondary sources led him to the right interpretation of *gamol* in its two recorded compounds *gamol-ferhð* and *gomol-feax.* The following note is printed as the fourth paragraph of his addenda to the *Dictionarium*:

> In voce Gamel-ferhð, adde jam dictis, Fortasse tamen gamol-ferhð, gravior natu animus: uti gamol-feax, alias gomol-feax, canus, vel homo cano notus capillitio. *i.e.* canitie spectabilis. Lexicon enim Runicum *Gamal-ælder,* Senium: *Gamalær,* Delirus senex, Latine reddit.[52]

---

[49] 'A man with great or flowing hair: or remarkable for the size of his hair: flowing-haired, long-haired. bush-haired.'

[50] 'Perhaps either one who, like a camel, is suited to bearing burdens (i.e. the afflictions of life): or a man with great soul or spirit. For the camel, as in Matthew 23.24, stands for a large thing, as a gnat there stands for a small thing. Hence that proverb: *Even a mangy camel can bear the burdens of many donkeys*, of those who, weakened by illness or other circumstances, defeat and surpass others who are strong and enjoy an uninjured condition. Such, moreover, was Abraham himself.'

[51] See e.g. Suringar (1873), which provides examples of Erasmus' proverbs circulating in vernacular proverb collections all over Europe in the sixteenth century, and Rummel (1994), which demonstrates the popularity of Erasmus' collection in sixteenth-century England, including the references made to it by several sixteenth-century lexicographers (1994:23).

[52] 'In the entry Gamel-ferhð, add to what has already been said: "Perhaps, however, gamol-ferhð, a mind born more serious: so that gamol-feax, or gomol-feax, canus [Latin: grey, old, wise], or a man notable for having grey hair, *i.e.* outstanding for his grey hair. Indeed, the Lexicon Runicum renders *Gamal-ælder,* Senium [Latin: old age]: *Gamalær,* Delirus senex [Latin: senseless old man].'

The 'Lexicon Runicum' referred to is that included by Ole Worm in his work on Old Norse literature (1636, 2nd ed. 1651). Somner makes considerable use of this elsewhere in the main body of the *Dictionarium* (Cook, 1962:69) but presumably did not notice these particular entries until a late stage. Once more we see Somner linking his dictionary to international philological scholarship and using it to improve on his own work.

Later users

Whatever the reason for Somner's confusion regarding *gamol*, it seems that later users of the *Dictionarium* took him at his word when reading the main *Dictionarium* entry. Thus, when in 1700 Humfrey Wanley wished to commemorate the death of the eleven-year-old William, Duke of Gloucester, he wrote a poem in Old English in which he calls the young boy a 'Gamol feax Hæleð'; this was included in a volume published by Oxford University, *Exequiæ Desideratissimo Principi Guilielmo Glocestriæ ab Oxoniensi Academia Solutæ*. Robinson explains that Wanley was doubtless consulting a copy of the *Dictionarium* and hence had in mind a meaning closer to 'flowing-haired' (Robinson, 1993:285).

Wanley's poem demonstrates that the *Dictionarium* was still being used more than forty years after its publication.[53] However, we might well ask whether Somner had this kind of use in mind when he compiled it. Wanley's composition is not wholly original; the phrase 'Gamol feax Hæleð' is in fact taken directly from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* poem *The Death of Edgar.* Here Wanley must have been using the *Dictionarium* to guide his selection of suitable half-lines to incorporate into his own poem, but in other lines may have been composing more freely and, presumably, using the *Dictionarium* to translate what he wished to express into Old English. Wanley was not the only contemporary or near-contemporary of Somner to compose in Old English. The same volume in which Wanley's poem was published contained another Old English verse on the same theme by William Elstob (brother of Elizabeth Elstob, the writer of an early Old English grammar).[54] Nor would compositions of this kind have been unknown to Somner when he was working on the *Dictionarium*; even without the aid of a published dictionary, several writers had

[53] Indeed, Somner's 'camel' for *gamol* appears as late as Bosworth's 1838 *Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language*, along with 'camel-spirit' for *gamol-fehrð*, although the erroneous definition for *gamol-feax* is no longer present.

[54] A corresponding volume published in the same year by the University of Cambridge (*Threnodia Academiæ cantabrigiensis in immaturum obitum illustrissimi ac desideratissimi principis Gulielmi ducis Glocestrensis*) is similar to the Oxford *Exequiæ* in containing poems in Latin, Greek, Arabic and Hebrew; unlike the Oxford volume, however, it contains no Old English, a reminder that, despite Somner's association with Cambridge (and that of Abraham Wheelock before him), the centre of Old English scholarship shifted in the late seventeenth century to Oxford. On this point, see further Douglas (1951:57-72).

already attempted to produce poetry in Old English; examples can be found in the *Irenodia Cantabrigensis* (1641:a4r, g4r) and the *Musarum Oxoniensium* (1654:91-2, *recte* 71-72).[55] Even if Somner had not read these works, the concept of composing occasional verse in earlier forms of English must have been familiar to him, since a poem in Middle English dedicated to him was published in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, a collection of historical texts to which he was a contributor (see below p.88). There is also evidence for the composition of Old English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for other purposes such as reconstructing lost texts and inventing titles for existing ones (Robinson, 1993).

An unplanned application of the *Dictionarium*?

Despite the precedent for composing in Old English, the *Dictionarium* remains steadfastly unidirectional. Admittedly, there is a brief comment s.v. L noting that many Old English words beginning with *hl-* correspond to Early Modern English *l-*, and that 'voces igitur ejusmodi in H quærendæ'.[56] This certainly suggests that Somner was envisaging users carrying out Early Modern English-Old English lookups at least occasionally. Nevertheless, this isolated comment would hardly have enabled any kind of systematic Early Modern English-Old English translation and seems more likely to have been a way of directing readers in search of etymological information while at the same time making a general observation on the phonemic structure of Old English.

The inclusion of "Ælfric's" glossary of course makes it possible to look up a small number of words in Latin to find their Old English equivalent, but there is no indication that Somner made any choices designed specifically to facilitate the process; for instance, he allows opaque or erroneous Latin headwords to stand as they are, only providing a comment or correction at the end of the entry, thus: 'Paraclitus, bedrida, *legendum forte.* paralyticus.' (p. 72 of Somner's printing). This practice suggests that Somner's intention was to present the glossary text as he had received it, rather than to make of it a functional tool for Latin-Old English translation. Somner also seems content to print the Latin headwords in their jumbled and inconsistently thematic ordering, when alphabetical ordering would surely have assisted readers wishing to use the *Dictionarium* as a Latin-Old English translation tool.

[55] For discussion of the latter poem - and its illustration of the strength of the relation believed to exist between Old English and Dutch – see Considine (2008:194).
[56] 'Words of this sort are therefore to be sought in H.'

In any case, Wanley's usage of *gamol-feax* indicates that he did not consult the glossary in enough depth to notice the inconsistency (or that, if he did, he must have been happy to assume that *gamol* and *olfend* were synonymous).

Somner and the grammarians

On the whole, Somner's treatment of Old English grammar in the main body of the *Dictionarium* is infrequent and tentative. Presumably he felt that this information could be gathered by his readers from the *Regulæ Saxonicæ* (taken from Wheelock) with which he concludes the *Ad Lectorem*, and of course from Ælfric's *Grammar.* This appears to have been at least in part a deliberate policy rather than one forced by the paucity of information available to him. Even though in Somner's time 'the problems of OE verb-gradation and noun-declensions had scarcely been touched' by scholars (Cook, 1962:195), his lexicographical predecessors, Joscelyn and D'Ewes, both attempt to illustrate declension patterns by reproducing paradigms from Ælfric's grammar. Somner, however, does not adopt these (Hetherington 1980:167), though individual declined forms (some of which, such as the *mec* form of the first-person singular accusative personal pronoun, are not found in the *Regulæ Saxonicæ*) can be found scattered throughout the entries in the *Dictionarium*. Thus, Somner's conception of the *Dictionarium*'s use presumably involved a lot of movement between dictionary and *Grammar* to check the information that was available. It should be remembered that, at the time of the *Dictionarium*'s publication, no comprehensive grammar of Old English was available; although Joscelyn had written an Old English grammar, this was lost at an early stage of its history (Hetherington, 1980:186-8).

Although Somner does not systematically lay out his own grammatical findings, some *Dictionarium* entries can give us a glimpse of how he approached the challenges posed by Old English grammar. As Cook notes, Somner is at his most confident describing the declensions of verbs when they are regular and weak (1962:173, 184). Nevertheless, it is possible to find examples of Somner addressing the issue of irregular verbs, and the entry s.v. *eode* is a particularly good example of this. That it receives its own entry, rather than being included under the infinitive *gan*, is typical of Somner's approach in the *Dictionarium*, which, as mentioned, rarely presents material in paradigms. Even so, Somner clearly relates *eode* to its infinitive:

> Hic observandum venit, quod ut hodie vulgo dicimus in præsenti, **I go, thou goest, he goeth:** & pluraliter, **we go, ye go, they go:** in præterito autem, **I went,** &c. sic *Anglosaxones* dixerunt ic gan, in præsenti: sed in præterito, ic eode, *vel* geeode.[57]

Somner recognised that the irregularity of the Old English paradigm parallels that of its Early Modern English equivalent, and made use of the connections between the language he was recording in the *Dictionarium* and later English, not only in lexis but also in grammar. Nor did he limit himself to identifying parallels with his own Early Modern English; also in the entry for *eode*, notes the form's later survival as *yed, yod.* This information was taken from an Early Modern English grammar, the *Logonomia Anglica* of Alexander Gil. However, Somner was not simply blindly copying Gil's work; the survival of these forms in northern English dialects is noted in chapter 6 of Gil's work (1621:17), but Somner's quotation demonstrating the use of *yod* in Spenser's *Fairy Queen* is taken from Gil's chapter 20 (1621:106), where it is used to illustrate the unrelated phenomenon of periphrasis. It appears to be Somner himself, therefore, who recognised the relevance of this passage to his discussion of *yod* and hence to the Old English *eode.* In drawing together these disparate elements of Gil's work, Somner may also have influenced later scholars; in John Ray's *A Collection of English Words Not Generally Used*, first published in 1674, the entry s.v. *Yewd* or *Yod* not only follows Somner in including the Spenser quotation, but also uses in this the reading 'till all his army', shared by Gil and Somner, but given in other editions of *The Fairy Queen* as 'till that his army' (Ray, 1674:55-6). Ray's work cites Somner explicitly elsewhere, confirming the connection (1674:28, 30, 35, etc.).

Given Somner's general tendency to present specific forms rather than general patterns, it is all the more striking that he does provide an entry for the strong masculine and neuter genitive singular case ending *-es*. He gives entries elsewhere in the *Dictionarium* for various suffixes, but this appears to be the only instance of a case ending receiving its own entry. Thus, although he acknowledges it to be singular,[58] he provides no equivalent entry for the genitive plural *-a*.

This may reflect ease of identification; the *-es* case ending would also have been easy to recognise because of its similarity to Modern English enclitic *–'s*. It is this diachronic connection that appears to have inspired Somner's entry, the majority of which is devoted to a summary of contemporary grammarians' discussions of the possessive,

[57] 'Here it comes to be said that just as today in the vernacular we say in the present tense, "I go, thou goest, he goeth", and in the plural, "we go, ye go, they go", but in the preterite, "I went" etc., so the Anglo-Saxons said "ic gan" in the present but in the preterite "ic eode" or "geeode".'

[58] He makes no mention either of gender or of the distinction between strong and weak nouns; the former is only rarely touched upon in the *Dictionarium* and the latter is not treated at all.

referring to [Charles] Butler, Ben Johnson and [John] Wallis. The inclusion of such material raises several points about the intended purpose of the *Dictionarium*. In his discussion of the usage of *–'s*, Somner summarises contemporary grammarians' arguments without making any explicit reference to Old English; there is nothing to suggest that these comments are intended to help the reader better understand the use of the Old English genitive, save for the brief observation that Old English *Abrahames God* shows the same possessor-first order that is found in Early Modern (and Modern) English. Rather, the Old English case ending appears to serve primarily as a pretext for the introduction of contemporary material.

In terms of the *Dictionarium*'s intended use, we might say that, rather than the discussion of Early Modern English being presented as a means of shedding light on Old English, Somner is presenting Old English as a resource for the better understanding of contemporary language use. In this case, the Old English *-es* serves as evidence that the Early Modern English possessive marker is indeed (as Somner calls it, quoting Butler) a 'Teutonick termination' with its own pedigree, not simply a recent corruption of older *his*. This is consistent with one half of the double purpose to learning Old English that Somner declares at the beginning of the *Ad Lectorem*: 'a discovery as well of our English Antiquities, as of the original of our mother tongue'.[59]

Nevertheless, Somner does not always base his grammatical entries around this kind of diachronic comparison, as illustrated by the entry s.v. *wið,* which illustrates various possible uses of the function word with a large number of example sentences, translated into both Latin and Early Modern English.[60] No explicit connection is drawn between Old English *wið* and Early Modern English *with*, although the latter is given as the first definition in the entry, and no contemporary grammarians are cited.

Law in the *Dictionarium*

Somner's knowledge of and interest in the law was not confined to his study of Old English. Somner's father, whose name was also William, was a registrar of the court of Canterbury, and the younger Somner began his career as a clerk to his father (Kennett, 1726:7); the archives of Canterbury Cathedral preserve, in addition to his antiquarian papers, many documents written or witnessed by him in the course of his work there

[59] 'tum ad Antiquitates *Anglicas* cujuscunq; generis, tum ad vernaculæ linguæ originationes indagandas'
[60] Some of these do not appear to be attested in the Old English corpus and may well be inventions, either by Somner himself or (perhaps more likely) by one of his sources.

throughout his life. As early as the 1640s, Somner was in correspondence with Sir Roger Twysden about his edition of the *Laws of Henry I,* published by Wheelock in an edition of Lambarde's *Archaionomia* (Hetherington, 1980:127). The best-known intersection of Somner's legal and philological studies is probably his work on the word *gavelkind*, a technical term relating to Kentish land inheritance laws. A brief allusion is made to this in the *Dictionarium* s.v. *gafel*, but as the term *gavelkind* is not attested in Old English texts, it is not discussed at length. However, Somner published elsewhere on the term, first in his glossary to Twysden's *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X* and ultimately in his own independent work, *A Treatise of Gavelkind.* Somner's definition of *gavelkind*, and the use made of his work in this area by subsequent scholars, is discussed in detail in an article by Lowe (2000).

However, there are other legal terms that receive fuller treatment in the *Dictionarium* itself, and the entry for *ordæl* is a good example of this. In it, Somner discusses at length the historical practice of trial by ordeal. Somner had already written on the subject in his glossary to the *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X*, s.v. *ordalium*, in which he argued for the Old English origin of the term before going on to describe how the procedure was carried out. In the *Dictionarium* entry, Somner directs his readers to this glossary. This is not unusual; Cook (1962:273) counts a total eighty references made in the *Dictionarium* to this earlier work by Somner. In this way Somner was able to save space in the dictionary while still making his earlier studies available to his audience – or at least to those members of his audience able to obtain a copy of Twysden's work, though Somner evidently considered them numerous enough for the reference to be worth making. However, the majority of the *Dictionarium* entry, unlike the equivalent glossary entry, is not in Somner's own words but consists of lengthy quotations from two antiquarian sources: Lambarde's *Archaionomia* (1568, 2nd edn 1644) and Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1634:65). That Somner chose to quote from these works directly rather than merely providing a page reference, as he did for his own glossary entry, reflects how central these quoted passages are to his definition. The glossary entry is primarily concerned with the Latin *ordalium* rather than the Old English *ordæl*. By contrast, the passages from Lambarde and Verstegan are used to describe and categorise different kinds of trial by ordeal, thus expanding the definition into a fully encyclopaedic entry. Somner does not, however, grant these passages the status of absolute authority; at the end of the entry, he comments on and criticises Verstegan's claims, using his own experience of Old English law codes to argue that not all the types of ordeal recognised by Verstegan were

practised in the Anglo-Saxon period. This is not the only instance in the *Dictionarium* of Somner proposing corrections to his sources, but it is an especially detailed one, doubtless a reflection of Somner's particular interest in this area. This would also have appealed to Somner's audience; understanding the history of England's legal system was a significant motivation for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century antiquaries,[61] and the passages quoted from Lambarde and Verstegan were particularly popular. Verstegan's *Restitution* had already gone through five editions (in 1605, 1628, 1634, 1653 and 1655)[62] by the time the *Dictionarium* was published. Lambarde's *Archaionomia* had been revised and reissued by Abraham Wheelock in 1644, and the same passage quoted here by Somner was also included by the Danish antiquary Ole Worm in his *Danicorum monumentorum libri sex* (1643:77).

Contextualising history in the *Dictionarium*

The treatment of legal terminology illustrates well how, in its more encyclopaedic sections, the *Dictionarium* serves as much as a source of historical information as of linguistic information. Other entries offer a glimpse into Somner's presentation of other aspects of the past. Somner does not present the Anglo-Saxons in isolation, but instead situates them and their language within a wider historical framework.

Unsurprisingly, the most clearly imagined part of this framework relates to the Roman settlement of Britain.[63] For instance, the entries for *Wætlinga-stræte* and *Welinga-ford* both use these Old English place names to illustrate the Anglo-Saxons' interaction with the Romano-British past. The former discusses at some length Watling Street's origins as a major Roman road and speculates on possible analyses of the Old English name. In the latter entry, Somner shows how Anglo-Saxon sources can serve a wider antiquarian purpose by noting how information about this location recorded in the Old English *Orosius* identifies it as the location of Julius Caesar's crossing of the Thames with his army. Further expanding the chronological coverage of his historical sources, Somner then strengthens this argument by turning to the account of the Norman Conquest given by the chronicler William of Poitiers in his *Gesta Guilielmi Ducis Normannorum.*

[61] See further below, p.69. Brackmann (2012:189-223) provides a detailed discussion of how Laurence Nowell and William Lambarde, working in the sixteenth century, first began to make use of Anglo-Saxon laws as part of the construction of English national identity.
[62] This information from the *English Short Title Catalogue*.
[63] Somner showed scholarly interest in this period outside his work on the *Dictionarium,* as exemplified by the posthumous publication of his *Treatise of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent* (1693).

Another historical culture clearly of particular interest to Somner and his readers, although less clearly defined, is that of the Gaulish druids. The entry s.v. *wæs-hale* begins by linking both the term of greeting and the associated custom to the legendary Anglo-Saxon past in the following etymological speculation:

> A ceremony (as is probably conjectured) in use among the *Saxons* before that of *Ronix* (daughter of *Hengist*) her drinking to King *Vortigerne* by these words Louerd King was heil,[64] whereunto the beginning of it is vulgarly referred.

This detail appears to be derived from the sixth book of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae,*[65] although Somner may well have come across it indirectly through Selden's *Illustrations* to Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612:153), to which Somner refers elsewhere in the *Dictionarium* (Cook, 1962:272). However, although the association with Hengist, well-known as the supposed leader of the Anglo-Saxon settlers in Britain, establishes *wæs-hale* as Old English, Somner goes on to suggest that the custom also has some links to a New Year's custom 'to this day continued in many parts of *France*' that can be traced back to the druids. He expresses the same connection with greater certainty earlier in the *Dictionarium* s.v. *dry*:

> But hereof enough: onely here I am to note, that our *Wassaile* is of some (not improbably) conceived to have sprung from hence [i.e. the druidical celebration], whereof hereafter in Wæs-hale.

Somner evidently found the potential connections between Anglo-Saxons and druids interesting enough that it was worth some reaching to include them. There is no strict reason for Somner to have included a lengthy discussion of druids s.v. *dry* at all; rather, it is prompted by the brief etymological note for *dry* that 'nomen *fortasse* a Druidibus'. Similarly, in his entry for *ac-mistel,* Somner, although this is not necessary to his definition, immediately directs his readers to the same description of druids, written by Pliny, that is reproduced s.v. *dry*, as well as to the same section of Selden's *Illustrations* to the *Poly-Olbion* cited s.v. *Wæs-hale*.

In contrast, another culture with which the Anglo-Saxons had much more direct and well-attested contact receives very little attention in the *Dictionarium*: that of the Viking Age Scandinavians. It is clear that Somner was aware of the impact of Viking raids on Anglo-Saxon England; his comments s.v. *eorl* also indicate that he was open to

[64] As printed in the *Dictionarium*, Ronix's words appear in Anglo-Saxon type, emphasising (in spite of their late orthography) their status as Old English.

[65] It is worth noting that this passage from the Historia has been copied out in full on a small leaf inserted at the end of the copy of the *Dictionarium* now catalogued as Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Junius 7.

considering their linguistic impact, although they suggest a fairly imprecise grasp of the chronology of Scandinavian raids and settlement, since he states definitively that the laws of King Alfred were written 'ante Danorum ingressum'.[66] An entry is provided in the *Dictionarium* for the term *Wicenga*, but in this case, it is not even clear that they are associated with Scandinavian raiders; on the authority of Camden, Somner instead connects the term to the early Anglo-Saxon kingdom of the Hwicce:

> Wicenga. Incolæ, habitatores. **dwellers, inhabitants, especially in townes and villages:** Pagani. *item* Piratæ. **pirats, sea-rovers.** Latino-barbaris, *Wicingi, & Wiccingi*: sic autem appellati quod loca maritima, & præsertim sinus maris (ut olim *Saxones.* V. *Orosium,* lib. 7. c. 32.) incolerent, & ibi prædam agerent, unde alias flot-men dicti. **Upon this ground partly (their inhabiting the parts all about and neer the Severns mouth abounding with hollow banks and creeks) Mr** *Camden* **judiciously conceives those of Worcestershire,** &c. **to have been anciently called** *Wiccii.*

Even the entry s.v. *Dæna*, 'Danes', is short and lacking in detail, although it does refer the reader to some secondary historical sources.

A final historical theme worth tracing in the *Dictionarium* concerns Somner's understanding of the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. For him, this seems to be marked by the decisive dividing line of the Norman Conquest of 1066. For instance, s.v. *cniht*, Somner makes the following comment:

> We now casting off the old signification of the word, ordinarily understand by it *Eques auratus*, or as we vulgarly turne it, *Miles*. But in that notion I never find it used by the *English-Saxons*: after whose supplanting by the *Normans* it succeeded in the place of their ðegen, or *Thane*.[67]

The choice to take the Anglo-Saxons' 'supplanting by the Normans' as a linguistic turning point is a natural one. In *The Antiquities of Canterbury*, published nearly two decades earlier, Somner takes a similar approach to dating the changes in other fields, such as architecture. Throughout the work, the Norman Conquest (frequently referred to as such) is used as a historical landmark, with Somner dating buildings and suchlike to either before or after this culturally-decisive event (Somner, 1640: *passim*). Implicit in Somner's comment s.v. *cniht* is the assumption that the political transition from Anglo-Saxon to Norman rule aligns unproblematically with the linguistic transition, exemplified here by the semantic shift of *cniht*, from Old English to Middle English (as we would now call them, although Somner does not use these terms). Of course, this is not the case. The *DOE*

[66] 'before the arrival of the Danes'

[67] This comment may be intended in part as an answer to D'Ewes, who gives 'miles' as a possible definition s.v. *cniht* in London, British Library Harley MS 8.

states that it 'defines the vocabulary of the first six centuries (C.E. 600-1150) of the English language', thus formally identifying the end of the Old English language as coming almost a century after the end of Anglo-Saxon rule in England. As Hogg (1992:9) states neatly in his introduction to *The Cambridge History of the English Language*:

> It is most reasonable to suggest that the most important immediate effect of the Norman Conquest was political and that the most important long-term effects were cultural. This is to imply that the Norman Conquest itself had rather less immediate effect on the linguistic structures of English than is often supposed.

However, that this observation appears in a book with the subtitle *The Beginnings to 1066,* shows that Somner's approach, while a historical and linguistic simplification, is nevertheless one that has been judged useful by later scholars.

From the evidence provided by *Dictionarium* entries such as those just analysed, we can begin to build a picture of how Somner provided his readers with the historical context they would have needed to engage with Old English texts, while also taking the opportunity to include material of more general interest. As in so many other places in the *Dictionarium*, the preoccupations thus revealed point to the appeal Old English would have had to antiquaries, even those who were not particularly focused on this language and period. Appropriately for such an audience (although doubtless also influenced by his own expertise), Somner's historical notes tend to be more extensive when relating to better-documented and more-studied periods, such as the Roman occupation of Britain.

Summary

The entries examined in this chapter illustrate the variety to be found in Somner's methods of approaching the challenges of Old English lexicography. Some of these methods were more successful than others, but taken together they indicate the often eclectic character of Somner's interests as reflected in the *Dictionarium*, and the large amount of incidental and encyclopaedic (though sometimes unsystematically organised) information that an attentive reader could have gleaned from the work. Chapter 2 discussed how Somner used existing works of lexicography as a source for the *Dictionarum*; Chapter 3 has added to this observation by providing examples of the variety of other sources on which he drew and demonstrating how he adapted them to his own ends. From examples such as these, we can begin to appreciate how the *Dictionarium* had the potential to influence not only how users translated individual words (such as *gamol*) but also how they understood broader concepts ranging from the grammatical structure of Old English to the historical

significance of the Norman Conquest. Furthermore, the nature of the secondary sources used by Somner suggests the intellectual context in which he was writing; although it is possible to use the *Dictionarium* without a detailed knowledge of this context, readers familiar with sources such as Pliny, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Camden and Butler would have been able, as they used the *Dictionarium*, to make connections between the new information it contained and their existing knowledge, and thus to form or reinforce ideas about how the study of Old English fitted into a wider context of scholarly investigation. Although the example of Humphrey Wanley's Old English verse shows that the *Dictionarium* could be turned to purposes for which it was seemingly not specifically designed, nevertheless Somner's implicit expectation that users of his work would bring to it a certain degree of familiarity with the sources he makes use of is significant to our understanding of the *Dictionarium* and its function. Therefore, the primary focus of the remainer of this thesis is on the expectations and purposes lying behind the *Dictionarium*'s compilation, beginning with the question of who would be using it. In addition to providing important information about the *Dictionarium* itself, this direction of investigation will, it is hoped, yield observations about the aims of the seventeenth-century scholarly activity of which Somner's work is an example.

Chapter 4: Audience and purpose

From the investigations described above, it has been possible to draw some preliminary conclusions about factors shaping the *Dictionarium*. This was done on the basis of information gathered about the *Dictionarium's* entries, whether by examining which parts of the Old English lexicon were most comprehensively treated or by considering the sources and methods underlying the writing of individual entries. Doing so highlighted two issues of interest for further investigation. The first concerns the intended audience of the *Dictionarium*: what kind (or kinds) of users did Somner envision for his work? The second is the related question of what texts Somner anticipated that his users would be reading. To my knowledge, Somner did not explicitly specify this, unlike his predecessor Wheelock, who seems to have had clear ideas about how his own (never completed) dictionary might be used, writing to his patron Spelman in 1639: 'I haue since the time you^{re} worship bade me prepare for the Lecture[ship], beene diligent in notinge the especial wordes out of those bookes that I have read: togither with the fol. & the line: which work when I haue finished it ... may be instar thesauri, or rather, clavis Saxonici, *for the vse of those bookes especiallie here in Cambrige*' (London, British Library Add. MS 34600, fol. 174r, quoted in Lucas, 2003:358, emphasis mine).

Looking at the coverage and sources of entries is not the only way of gathering evidence to answer these questions. The *Dictionarium* also provides another source of information on the intentions and assumptions behind its production, in the form of Somner's commentary on the material he was working with. Some of this commentary is found within definitions, and my final chapter will use evidence of this kind to answer the question of what texts Somner expected his users to be reading. As the primary focus of this thesis is on the *Dictionarium* as it would have appeared to its users, I do not attempt to collect or analyse any comments that may be found in Somner's personal correspondence about the *Dictionarium*'s intended purpose or audience, although this might be a fruitful direction for further investigation.

First, however it is necessary to get a better idea of who these users were. The following section of this study begins by investigating how comments in the front and back matter of the *Dictionarium* can give an impression of the work's intended audience. It then goes on to consider how this picture can be supplemented by investigating the *Dictionarium*'s relationship to another, later, dictionary.

Front and back matter in the *Dictionarium*

The prefatory material of the *Dictionarium* would have given most readers their first impression of Somner's work. As such, it is an important source of information on how Somner understood and presented the field of Old English studies. In addition to the *Ad Lectorem*, certain extracts from which have already been discussed above, this material consists of the title page, the dedication, and four poems addressed to Somner. A list of subscribers to the *Dictionarium* is given at the end of the work. Some of these elements were written by Somner himself, and he presumably approved the inclusion of the others. They can thus provide information about how Somner wished the *Dictionarium* to be seen. The following section offers, in order of their appearance, a description of each of the *Dictionarium*'s prefatory elements and uses close reading to investigate how they present Somner's work, and Old English more generally, to readers.

Title page

DICTIONARIVM

Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum

VOCES, PHRASESQUE PRÆCIPUAS

ANGLO-SAXONICAS,

E LIBRIS, SIVE MANUSCRIPTIS, SIVE TYPIS EXCUSIS, ALIISQUE MONUMENTIS TUM PUBLICIS TUM PRIVATIS, MAGNA DILIGENTIA COLLECTAS; CUM LATINA ET ANGLICA VOCUM INTERPRETATIONE COMPLECTENS.

Adjectis interdum Exemplis, vocum etymologiis, & cum cognatis linguis collationibus, pluriminque in gratiam linguæ ANGLOSAXONICÆ Studiosorum Observationibus.

OPERA & STUDIO

GULIEL. SOMNERI Cantuarienſis.

ACCESSERUNT ÆLFRICI ABBATIS

GRAMMATICA

LATINO-SAXONICA,

CUM

GLOSSARIO

SUO EJUSDEM GENERIS.

Seneca, Epiſt. 59.

Sæpe dum putamus excolere linguam, amittitur emphaſis vetuſta.

OXONII,

Excudebat GULIEL. HALL pro AUTHORE.

Proſtant LONDINI, apud DANIELEM WHITE, ad inſigne ſeptem ſtellarum, ex Aquilone Templi S. Pauli.

Anno Dom. M. DC. LIX.

Figure 2: Dictionarium title page in Munich, Baayerische Staatsbibliothek 2 L.g.sept. 11 c (digital facsimile)

We cannot look to a title page for a detailed discussion of the *Dictionarium*'s purpose or nature. However, the fact that it contains a limited amount of information makes the title page of interest in another way; it can be assumed that whatever information is given here was especially selected, either to represent the contents of the *Dictionarium* or to appeal to potential readers and purchasers.

Bearing this in mind, it is worth noting that Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary* are advertised almost as prominently as the dictionary itself. Modern scholars, interested primarily in the development in Old English scholarship represented by Somner's lexicography, have generally paid less attention to the *Grammar* and *Glossary*. However, the prominence given to these on the *Dictionarium*'s title page suggests that they were seen as an important part of the work's contribution to the field.[68] This impression is supported by the evidence of later use seen in several copies of the *Dictionarium*. For instance, a copy owned by the philologist Francis Junius, now Bodleian MS Junius 7,[69] has occasional corrections made to the main body of the dictionary, but these are minimal when compared to the thoroughness with which the *Grammar* and *Glossary* have been annotated. This includes the addition of numbered chapter headings, the collation of readings from at least three different witnesses to the text, and the writing out in full of additional passages from other witnesses. These corrections were evidently still considered to be of interest in the 1820s and 1830s, when they were replicated in another copy of the *Dictionarium*, now Bodleian (Vet.) 3024 c.1. A note to the *Glossary* in this latter copy observes that the corrections were made against 'the copy of Somner corrected by Junius, & now in the Bodleian Library Oxford' and is signed 'J.B.' This is Joseph Bosworth, whose *Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language* (a precursor to the more well-known Bosworth-Toller) was published in 1838.[70] It might of course be argued that Junius was making corrections throughout the *Dictionarium*, and that the density of these in the *Glossary* and *Grammar* does not reflect a disproportionate interest so much as the availability of other versions of the text, allowing the collation of variant readings. Even if this were the case, however, it

[68] Presumably at least in part because, with no full grammar of Old English having yet been published, the *Grammar* in particular was an invaluable tool for learners of the language. The edition of this text in the *Dictionarium* was, to my knowledge, the first one published.

[69] It is, of course, a printed book rather than a manuscript, despite being catalogued as part of a manuscript collection.

[70] I would like to thank Jo Maddocks of the Bodleian Library for confirming this attribution by tracing a note in the Bodleian's cataloguing system. I am also grateful to Professor Dabney Bankert of James Madison University, who confirmed that my conclusions were consistent with her own research into Bosworth's lexicography.

would not account for the interest in this part of the *Dictionarium* demonstrated by the printing of Phillipps' folio booklet. (See p.38.)

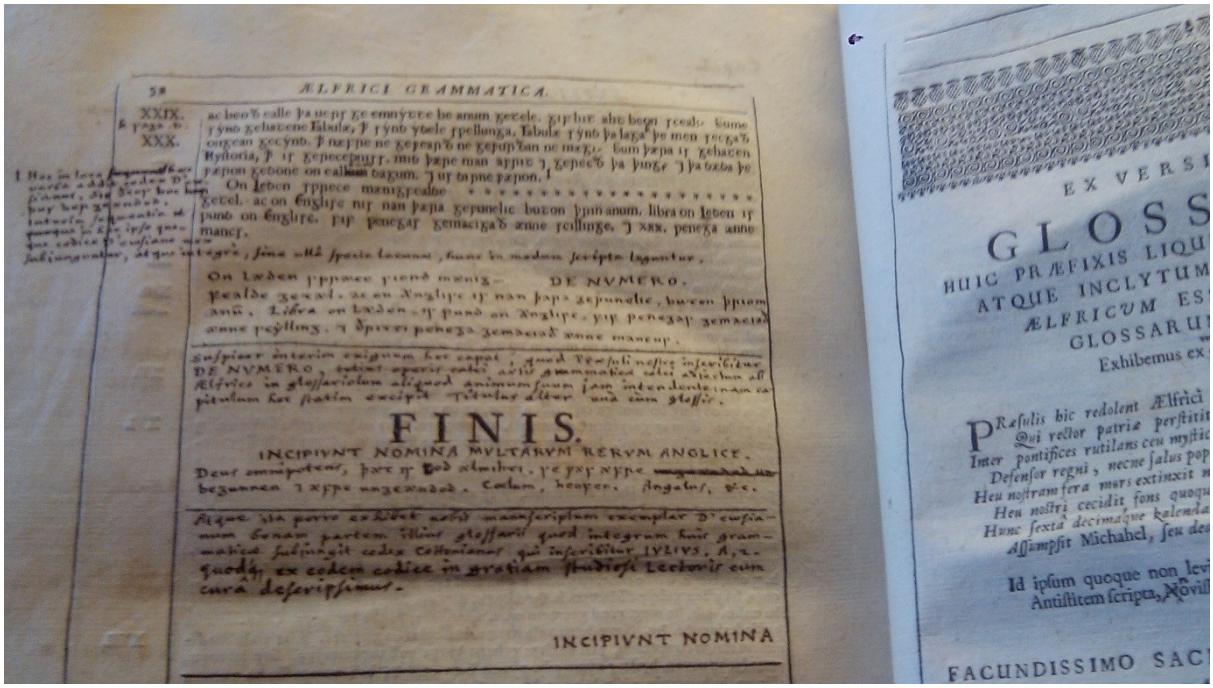

Figure 3: Additions to Ælfric's Grammar in Oxford, Bodleian MS Junius 7

Nevertheless, despite the clear importance of the *Grammar* and *Glossary*, it is the dictionary itself that takes pride of place on the *Dictionarium*'s title page. It is also described on this page in much more detail than are the *Grammar* and *Glossary*, and it is useful to consider which aspects of the dictionary are highlighted by this description. Emphasis is placed on the variety of Old English sources used. We are told that the entries are taken 'e libris, sive manuscriptis, sive typis excusis, aliisque monumentis tum publicis tum privatis, magna diligentia collectas',[71] a reminder that, despite the significant gaps in coverage highlighted in the letter-based study, Somner intended to create a comprehensive work, and indeed believed that he had done so.

> The title page then adds in a smaller typeface:
>
> Adjectis interdum Exemplis, vocum etymologiis, & cum cognatis linguis collationibus, plurimisque in gratiam linguæ Anglosaxonicæ Studiosorum Observationibus.[72]

[71] 'from books, whether manuscripts or printed type, and other records both public and private, collected with great diligence'

[72] 'Occasionally with added examples, etymologies of words, and collations of cognate languages, and with very many observations in service of those studious of the Anglo-Saxon language'

The encyclopaedic and etymological elements of Somner's work, which were identified in case studies as important elements of the *Dictionarium,* were likewise considered significant enough to be mentioned here. Interestingly, despite the *Dictionarium*'s relatively strong focus on place names, these are not specifically advertised on the title page. Presumably, however, this does not so much indicate that they were considered irrelevant as it suggests that they were being treated as a subset either of common noun entries or of encyclopaedic entries.

Dedications

The *Dictionarium* contains two dedications. The first, a single page, dedicates the book to 'universis & singulis linguæ Saxonicæ, Anglis Olim Vernaculæ Studiosis, domesticis & exteris præsentibus & posteris'. It is worth translating this dedication in full:

> Universis & singulis linguae Saxonicae, Anglis olim vernaculae, studiosis domesticis & exteris praesentibus & posteris: Imprimis autem ornatissimis bonarum literarum cultoribus, quorum ope et supetiis hoc opus impressum: Gulielmus Somnerus Cantuariensis, hosce labores suos, linguae illius in dies evanescentiis instaurandae studio susceptos, et pro marte suo jam tandem absolutos: Qualescunque sunt: aequi bonique consulendos: Omni quo par honore, & gratiarum actione: libens meritoque, dat, dicat, dedicat, consecratque.
>
> To each and every person (at home and abroad, in the present and the future), studious of the Saxon language formerly native to the Angles, but above all to the most distinguished supporters of good literature, with the help and aid of whom this work was printed: William Somner of Canterbury willingly and deservedly gives, devotes, dedicates and consecrates these his labours, taken up with a zeal for that language which is daily vanishing and needs to be restored, completed now at last by his own toil/struggle, to be consulted for the best whatever they are like, with all the honour and thanks that are befitting.[73]

Although it is addressed to the 'most distinguished supporters of good literature, with the help and aid of whom this work was printed' this seems likely to be more an expression of courtesy towards Somner's patrons than an earnest statement of the *Dictionarium*'s intended audience. The rest of the dedication is, if anything, notable for its inclusiveness in defining an audience for the *Dictionarium*; rather than attempting to identify any particular group who might be interested in learning Old English, it emphasises the dictionary's appeal to all those people 'studious of the Saxon language'. Such an approach certainly makes sense in a context where the organised and formally-defined study of Old English was limited, and reinforces the impression gained elsewhere that Somner probably

[73] I would like to thank Dr Steven Reid of the University of Glasgow and Dr Rosalind Love of the University of Cambridge for assisting me with this translation.

envisaged the *Dictionarium* being used by an audience with broad interests. Nevertheless, the emphasis remains firmly on the study of language; although the *Dictionarium* includes encyclopaedic elements of potential relevance to the study of Anglo-Saxon history and culture, not to mention an edition of an important text in the form of Ælfric's *Grammar*, the other purposes to which these elements might be put are subordinated to the aim of language learning. Indeed, the learning of Old English is presented, not in terms of its practical applications in providing access to Anglo-Saxon documents, but as an end in itself; the only reason given is that the language is 'daily vanishing'. Despite the indications found in the case studies earlier in this thesis that Somner's lexicography was significantly influenced by research extending beyond the purely linguistic, it is the study of language that Somner chooses to emphasise in this first dedication.

The second dedication takes the form of a dedicatory letter addressed to Roger Spelman. His grandfather, Henry Spelman, had established the Anglo-Saxon lectureship at Cambridge to which Somner was appointed to support his completion of the *Dictionarium*. Unsurprisingly, then, much of the dedicatory letter is given over to the acknowledgement of this. However, the connection to Spelman does not seem to have had any obviously disproportionate impact on the form or content of the *Dictionarium*. Henry Spelman's work is frequently cited – Cook (1962:273) counts forty-two references – but the citations are relevant and I see nothing to suggest that Somner artificially inflated his use of them in response to the support he received from Spelman.[74] Nevertheless, it is undeniable that Somner saw the value of associating the *Dictionarium* with the Spelmans' distinguished patronage. Indeed, he makes this clear in the dedicatory letter itself, writing of the 'meliorem apud omnes accep[ta]tionem & existimationem'[75] that his work will derive from a connection to the Spelman family name.

As in the shorter dedication page, reference is made to the anticipated general utility of the *Dictionarium*, and indeed the two dedications share turns of phrase, such as calling Old English 'daily vanishing' ('in dies evanescentem'). The letter also expands on the shorter dedication's address to 'domesticis & externis' in its discussion of the utility of learning Old English, saying that 'linguam scil. Saxonicam rei antiquæ apud *Anglos* (quid

[74] Hetherington (1980:164) does make the cautious suggestion that, in his discussion of the voicing of <ð> and <þ>, Somner's reluctance to offer his own opinion may be 'avoiding offense to Spelman's grandson', since Henry Spelman was one of those to suggest, incorrectly, that <ð> represented voiceless /θ/ and <þ> voiced /ð/.

[75] 'better acceptance and reputation among all'

si *Germanos* addiderim?) studioso adeo necessariam esse'.[76] With this, Somner makes it clear that he sees the main audience for the *Dictionarium* outside his own country as being in Germany.[77] The clear etymological connections between Old English and other Germanic languages would naturally have made the *Dictionarium* appealing to this wider audience; Cook (1962: 156-62) shows that Somner's use of West Germanic, including Old High German, cognates in the *Dictionarium* is particularly extensive.

Ad Lectorem

Frequent references have already been made in this thesis to various sections of the *Dictionarium*'s *Ad Lectorem*. Despite this, it is worthwhile considering its overall structure, content, and message to readers of the work. It is for the most part very practical in its focus; Somner tells his readers that it will set out 'some few things, both concerning the Worke, & my inducements to the undertaking of it'.[78] The majority of its contents provides readers with information, for instance on sources, orthography and abbreviations, that readers will need when using the dictionary.

However, Somner specifically declines to use the *Ad Lectorem* to present an argument in favour of the study of Old English:

> That I should here ingorge, or further inlarge in my discourse of the Saxon language, with an intent to show the antiquity, amplitude, utility, or other properties of it, I hope is not here expected. For my owne part, I conceive this taske so well already undertaken, & so happily & fully performed by severall learned men, & particularly of late by my learned & ever honoured friend, Dr Casaubon... that I should but actum ager, & seeme to write Iliads after Homer, or to thrust my sickle into other mens harvest, to enter into any such discourse.[79]

That Somner does not feel the need to restate these arguments suggests not only that he was satisfied with the portrayals of Old English offered by Casaubon and others, but that he was confident enough of their circulation among potential readers of the *Dictionarium*

---

[76] 'the Saxon language indeed is a necessity for the zealous student of antiquities among the English (might I even add among the Germans?)' I would like to thank Dr Fraser Dallachy and Dr Kathryn Lowe of the University of Glasgow for their help with this translation.

[77] Of course, this does not correspond perfectly with the present-day country, whether geographically, politically or linguistically.

[78] 'paucula quædam, tam de suscepto opere, quam de meis ad id suscipiendum rationibus'

[79] 'Ut prœemium istud extendam expleamve, *Saxonicæ* linguæ antiquitatem, amplitudinem, utilitatem, aut alias ipsius dotes & merita prosequendi & enarrandi gratiâ, nemo hominum speramus expectat. Meo certe judicio, hoc pensum a pluribus viris longe doctissimis, & præsertim (ut alios taceam) ab eruditissimo & æternum honorando amico, D. *Merico Casaubono*... tam bene susceptum, & adeo fœliciter jam est absolutum, ut si illud aggrederer, non aliud quam actum agere, & post *Homerum* Iliadem scribere. messem deniq; in alienam falcem meam immittere, merito judicari possem'

that merely alluding to them was enough to serve his purpose. This adds to a general impression that he expected users of the *Dictionarium* already to be aware of Old English and to bring to the work their own motivations for studying it, rather than envisaging his dictionary as introducing Old English to a tabula rasa audience.

In addition, the *Ad Lectorem* contains some scattered references to its intended readers, which for ease of reference have been collected in the following table:

Latin text (published *Dictionarium*)	**English text (Canterbury, Cathedral Archives CCA-DCc-ChAnt/M/352)**
9. Proximo, in tyronum & aliorum in hac lingua prorsus imperitorum, aut parum versatorum, gratiam & utilitatem Saxonicorum in Latinum sermonem translationes meas plerunque verbatim dedi	Next, for the gratifying & better satisfying of Novices, & such as are altogether inexpert, or but little versed in the language, I have for the most part made my translations into Latin almost verbatim
15. ... Et quamvis ipse laudem & æstimationem haud quæsiturus sim ab aliorum vituperatione… mei tamen oficii credidi (occasione tam pulchra data magis quam captata) lectori potius consulere, ne errata ejusmodi, haud voluntaria licet, non mediocris tamen ut plurimum momenti, incautus imbiberet	… And although I desire not any credit to my selfe by discrediting other men… yet I thought my selfe bound (on this faire occasion offered rather then taken) to prevent the readers seduction into error, by suffering him to swallow those (for the most part) material, though doubtless involuntary, Errata.
… Regulas illas Saxonicas, sive observationes grammaticales, Bedæ suo [i.e. Wheelock's] Saxonico-Latino præfixas; quas ego tanti quidem æstimo, ut eas linguæ istius studiosis, ut eis apprime utiles, non solum habeam commendatas; set & in eorum gratiam, ac authoris laudem, easdem regulas… verbatim exscripserim, & hic infra conjunctim denuo publicaverim	… those Saxon Rules, or Grammatical Observations prefixed to his [i.e. Wheelock's] Saxon-Latin Bede, which seriously I do so much esteeme, that (as very usefull to the students[80] of this language) I not onely recomend the same unto them; but for their sakes & in honor to the author… I have verbatim written them out, & have below of new jointly represented them.

[80] Note that the equivalent of this word in the published Latin text is 'studiosis'; the intended meaning is clearly people who are engaged in the pursuit of knowledge rather than school pupils.

17. … Hoc autem in Glossario non pauca vocabula in Lexico nostro penitus omissa, ut nusquam alibi nobis occurrentia, non sine grato linguæ istius studiosorum emolumento, sparsim exhibentur… Erratis interim & mendis non vacat... majora quidem, & animadversione magis indigentia, ut plurimum annotanda, cætera Lectori, ut aut in corrigendo ingenium, aut in condonando clementiam exerceat, relinquenda duximus.	[No equivalent passage. The Latin may be translated as follows: 'However, in this Glossary there are not a few words that were completely omitted from our Lexicon, as occurring to us nowhere else, not without welcome benefit to those studious of that language... Meanwhile, it is not free from errors and faults... indeed, we decided that the largest and most in need of noticing should be annotated, the rest left for the reader to use either his talent in correcting or his mercy in condoning.]
[No equivalent passage]	But since I am fallen upon the mention of Synonymas, this furthermore remains to be observed, that in rendring the English-Saxon words into Latin, I have not always gott or brought together all the Synonymas that I might: which neverthelesse, as they are few, so withall to every one, though but meanly acquainted with that language, so obvious, that soon the least diligence of the reader, wherof I nothing doubt, will serve for a supply.

From these comments, it seems that, though Somner apparently expected his readers to know *of* Old English, he did not expect them to know it, instead addressing an audience of potential 'Novices' who would need to be steered carefully away from the confusing and potentially misleading information about the language available from other sources. Despite this, Somner asks readers to bring to the *Dictionarium* the 'ingenium' to make corrections where necessary. It could be argued that the claims he makes of leaving ambiguities to the judgement of the reader are not so much an expression of confidence in his readers' critical skills as they are an excuse for failing to provide definitive answers to these difficult problems of interpretation. However, even if this is the case, the result is that the *Dictionarium* presents itself to the reader as a text for confident scholars who, though

without significant prior knowledge of Old English, are nevertheless capable of using the lexical data provided to them to form their own conclusions when required.

Poems

Immediately preceding the text of the *Dictionarium* proper are four dedicatory poems addressed to Somner and celebrating his work on the dictionary.[81] Basic information about them is summarised in the following table:

Title	**Language**	**No. of lines**	**Author**
To his worthily esteemed friend, and learned Antiquary, Mr William Somner, on his elaborate Treasury of the *Saxon* tongue intit'led *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*	English (followed by a Latin couplet)	78 (+2 Latin)	*Ioannes de Bosco,* Hodiensis
To Mr *William Somner* on his *Saxon Dictionary*	English	32	Hen: Hugford
In Philologiam *Anglo-Saxonicam* Amici *sui doctiss*. Guil: Somneri, *de Repub. literariâ merentis optimè*	Latin	36	Joshua Childrey, Pædotriba *Chillingensis*
To the Much Admired Antiquary, my honoured friend, Mr *William Somner,* the great *Restorer of the Saxon Tongue*	English (followed by a Latin couplet)	60 (+2 Latin)	Guliel: Jacob φιλίατρος

The author of the first poem can be identified as John Boys (*bap.* 1621, *d.* 1661) of Hode (or Hoad) Court in Kent. Boys was known as having antiquarian interests and was a keen Royalist, as he overtly expresses in his 'principal contributions to the field of letters', his translations of two books of Virgil's *Æneid* (Knottenbelt, 2004). This identification can be further confirmed by the appearance of the same poem (with only very slight variation in wording from that printed in the *Dictionarium*) in a collection of miscellaneous writings on Royalist themes included at the end of Boys' translation of Book VI of the *Æneid*

[81] At least one extant copy, 2 L.g.sept. 11 c in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, omits the first of these poems, but it is unclear whether this was due to an error in printing, deliberate removal, or something else. I would like to thank Milena Fein of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek for confirming this information.

(Boys, 1661:230-2). Although the translation was published after the *Dictionarium*, a note at the end of the 1661 version dates the poem's original composition to September 30th, 1656, in Canterbury. The 1661 version of the poem also differs from the *Dictionarium*'s printing in its inclusion of a subtitle: 'a Satyr'. This is certainly appropriate to the tone of the poem, which is distinctly more irreverent than the three that follow it in the *Dictionarium*, as well as being more politically pointed in its condemnation of the 'Reformers' who 'build up Christ by letting Churches fall'.

Hen[ry] Hugford, the author of the second poem, does not appear to have an entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and his name is hard to trace. The third author, Joshua Childrey, has an entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Courtney, 2004); he is said to have lived from 1625–1670 and to have been a schoolmaster in Faversham, Kent (as is also stated in a footnote to his poem in the *Dictionarium*). Given the Kent connections of both Boys and Childrey, it seems likely that William Jacob, author of the fourth and final poem, was the same man elected Member of Parliament for Canterbury in 1679. The Greek word φιλίατρος following his name means ‘a friend of the art of medicine’ (Liddell & Scott, 1940), and Jacob is noted to have been a physician as well as an MP (Henning, 1983:276).

Manuscript versions of the poems by Hugford, Childrey and Jacob are included in the fair manuscript copy of the *Dictionarium*, Canterbury Cathedral Lit MS E.20; those by Childrey and Jacob are written in Somner’s hand. This is good evidence that Somner was directly involved in the inclusion of the dedicatory poems, and that the impression they convey of the *Dictionarium* was, if not planned, at least approved by him. Even if he had not been involved, of course, the dedicatory poems would still be relevant as an element shaping the impressions of the *Dictionarium*'s users. However, with Somner’s own involvement we are taken one step closer to his editorial intentions in creating the dictionary.

Unsurprisingly, all four poems are concerned in various ways with setting out Somner’s credentials as a scholar. To this end, Childrey’s poem (l.6) presents the *Dictionarium* as an extension of Somner’s previous publications (of, we are told, the *Antiquities of Canterbury* and a glossary). Childrey, then, may have been of the opinion that Somner’s already-established reputation as an antiquary and linguist was enough to give the *Dictionarium* a respectable pedigree. Similarly, Boys’ poem calls the *Antiquities of Canterbury* ‘a tast; which onely wak’d our sence’ in anticipation of the *Dictionarium.*

Elsewhere, however, the dedicatory poems go further in making connections between the dictionary and other scholarly works that readers would have known. Thus, for instance, Childrey concludes by declaring to Somner:

> Quamvis Elysios *Seldenus* obambulet hortos,
> Tu mihi *Seldeni* sanè *Holiokus* eris.
>
> Although Selden may traverse the Elysian gardens, truly you will be to me Selden's Holyoake.

The Holyoake referred to here is presumably the lexicographer Francis Holyoake, reviser of Rider's English-Latin dictionary (1st edn 1589, revised 1606), or maybe his son Thomas, who produced a further expanded version (McConchie, 2008). In either case, the comparison is clearly intended to convey Somner's building on and improving the work of a preceding, respected scholar.[82] Furthermore, in referring both to the legal historian Selden and the lexicographers Rider and Holyoake, Childrey neatly suggests the *Dictionarium*'s blending of the linguistic and the encyclopaedic.

Similarly, Hugford expresses the wish that the publication of the *Dictionarium* will allow Somner to be named 'Among those radiant *Starrs*, those *Suns* of *Fame,* / Our English Varros'; a marginal note identifies the 'radiant *Starrs*' as Camden, Cotton and Dugdale.

Here it is worth pausing to note that, despite their Germanic subject matter, the dedicatory poems are still part of a tradition that looked to classical sources as models of scholarship. Thus they give Somner and his work further dignity, not only by comparing him to the Roman scholar Varro, but by presenting his entire lexicographical enterprise in the terms of classical myth and legend, as a '*Herculean toile*' (Hugford) as well as a 'piety that farre / Exceeds *Anchises* gratefull Son [Æneas]' (Jacob).[83] But although references such as these serve as conventional signals of the prestige and respect that the poets wish to bestow on the *Dictionarium*, there is also an awareness that the language and history of the Anglo-Saxons is fundamentally distinct from that of ancient Greece or Rome, and may even be in opposition to it. Thus Jacob says, of Old English, that 'To these commanding

[82] The account of Holyoake given in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (McConchie, 2008) criticises his lexicographical plagiarism; however, given the positive tone of the rest of Childrey's poem, it seems unlikely that this was the intended association.

[83] The *Dictionarium* is far from the only Early Modern dictionary to be presented as a heroic enterprise, especially in its reference to Hercules; for an overview of this association between lexicography and the heroic, see Considine (2008: *passim* but especially chapter 1).

sounds great Empires threw / Their Scepters downe' and envisages Somner's scholarly reputation as eclipsing those of not only Casaubon and Spelman, but also the Greek Stoic philosophers Zeno and Cleanthes. This is in contrast, however, to Boys' more pessimistic picture of the role to be played by Old English in the seventeenth century, which ironically presents all ancient languages as equally irrelevant to the political situation of the time:

> Thy Barb'rous *Saxon*, with the heathen *Greek*
> And profane *Latine,* buyers may go seek:
> Together with the *Hebrew,* and the rest,
> Which are the language of that *Romish* beast.

Nevertheless, in their different ways, both Boys and Jacob are expressing an important idea that runs through all four dedicatory poems, of the study of Old English being an expression of patriotism and pride in one's national heritage. For Jacob, this takes the form of emphasising the distinct Germanic identity of the English language and people:

> We are your Owne, you Ours; wee'l now forget
> Our femal *French,* and *Norman* Sibbolet.

He goes on to show the practical benefit of such linguistic patriotism:

> Hence *Moot; Vous-avez* hence: for now we heare
> Our Lawes with an Intelligible Eare;
> [...]
> Old-*English* gave *Pannoia* law, with *Greece,*
> And all the Tract from *Spaine* to th'*Hebrides.*

A knowledge of Old English not only gives readers access to the history of the English legal tradition, but in doing so allows them to recognise its superiority over those of other countries. The significance of being able to lay claim, through language, to this heritage is well-described by Considine: 'Lexicography... became a means by which to understand heritage... Sixteenth-century English gentlemen could seldom trace their family trees back to the Anglo-Saxon period. They could, however, sat that the Anglo-Saxons had lived in the same landscape as them, owned the land that they owned, and even shaped some of the laws that governed them, and also that Old English was the ancestor of their own language' (Considine, 2008:109-10).[84]

[84] For a more focused discussion of the purposes to which the study of Old English and Anglo-Saxon England was put by English scholars before Somner, see Brackmann (2012). For more general accounts of the development of Old English scholarship and its motivations, see for instance Adams (1917) and Frantzen (1990).

For Jacob, there is no question that the English-speakers of his own day have some special claim to the Old English language and the texts preserved in it, which are presented as a cultural patrimony demanding appropriate respect:

> But thy more filial shoulders stooping bend,
> Do reverence at once, and succour lend
> To all our Fathers dust, which Time, alas!
> Had bury'd deepe ith' bottome of his glasse.

Though Boys does not give as much emphasis to setting up (Old) English in opposition to other languages and peoples, he nevertheless clearly presents the Anglo-Saxons as ancestor figures – 'Grandsires' – for his audience. The passage in which he does so is also interesting for the parallel it draws between, on the one hand, the physical 'Monuments' inherited from these ancestors and, on the other, the intangible monument that is the Old English language:

> Last, think'st that we, who have destroy'd what e're
> Our Grandsires did, will with their language bear?
> That we (who have all famous Monuments
> Raz'd, and defeated thus all good intents
> Of former Piety:) will honour give
> To antique Characters?

Somner himself was interested in preserving the physical monuments of the past as well as the linguistic ones, as we are reminded by his reference in section 1 of the *Ad Lectorem* to 'that then famous & flourishing, howeuer since, by the dismall rage of a Culmerian crue, miserably deformed, Canterbury-Cathedral'.[85] These interests overlapped in a practical sense, as Old English was preserved in manuscripts, that is to say physical artefacts. [86] More generally, though, antiquarian interests are presented by Boys as fundamentally opposed to the iconoclastic disdain for the past shown by those Somner refers to in section 1 of the *Ad Lectorem* as 'Novatores', that is 'innovators'.

Childrey, too, strikes a somewhat pessimistic note on the preservation of the country's Anglo-Saxon heritage, lamenting that:

> In vivis si nunc esset trux *Horsa, Britannos*

[85] 'tunc temporis insigni & florente, nunc autem horrenda Novatorum rabie, Culmeriana scil… misere deformata Ecclesia *Cantuariensi*'

[86] Similarly, Kennett in his biography of Somner writes of the latter's work to reconstruct a working knowledge of Old English from the surviving 'monuments of it' – that is, manuscripts containing Old English (Kennett, 1726:27).

> Censeret *Persas* jure, suosq; *Scythas.*
> Usq; adeo variamur ut haud agnoscere posset
> Ora pater nati, filius ora patris.
>
> If the fierce Horsa were now among the living, he would justly suppose the British to be Persians, and his own people, Scythians. We change to such an extent that the father would not understand the child's speech at all, or the son the speech of the father.[87]

As he goes on to elaborate, it is of course the *Dictionarium* that will allow readers to again interpret Old English with ease. It is particularly interesting that Childrey in this section chooses the legendary figure of Horsa to represent the Anglo-Saxons. As was observed above, all four dedicatory poems are predominantly classical in their allusions. Presumably, this was to a large extent a matter of practicality; a relatively small number of texts relating to Anglo-Saxon England were available, while the authors of the dedicatory poems would have been very familiar with important classical texts and allusions, and have expected their audience to be likewise familiar. If we accept this, it follows that the reference to Horsa in Childrey's poem reflects that his story was, at least to a certain extent, in the realm of general knowledge. This impression is further strengthened by a separate reference at the beginning of Boys' poem:

> … or matters it
> What *Hengist* utter'd, or how *Horsa* writ?

Hengist and Horsa, legendary brothers who led the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain, are well-suited to being used as synecdochic representatives of Anglo-Saxon culture as a whole (though one wonders to what extent either Childrey or Boys was aware of the extent to which the language spoken at the time of the Adventus Saxonum would have differed from Old English as it is recorded in the *Dictionarium*). The effectiveness of this reference, however, depends on its being recognised. The narrative, which is related in several sources including Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, would have been relatively accessible to a seventeenth-century audience even without a knowledge of Old English. Though by no means implying a general familiarity with, say, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the appearance of this allusion in the *Dictionarium*'s dedicatory poems provides an interesting glimpse into what might have

[87] My thanks to Dr Rosalind Love of the University of Cambridge for help with this translation.

sprung to the minds of an educated seventeenth-century audience as being representative of the Anglo-Saxons and their language.

As the preceding discussion might suggest, the dedicatory poems are more concerned with the abstract academic or symbolic achievement represented by the *Dictionarium* than with describing in detail its intended function. Despite this, they do provide us with some suggestions of the uses to which Somner's work might be put. I have already mentioned Jacob's acknowledgement of the utility of Old English in understanding legal history. Hugford envisages a different use:

> Now may we find, with far-more Ease and hast
> The Dark *Meanders* of those *Ages* past.
> Cradle *Originalls* will hence appeare,
> And *Etymologies* run much more cleare.
> No satisfaction now, since we are sped
> With such a *Guid,* but from the *Fountain Head.*
> Whose *Streams* no whit transparent, once, now shine,
> And turn from *Jeat* to be pure *Chrystalline.*

For him then, the emphasis is on how the *Dictionarium* increases the opportunity to read Old English texts in their originals. The reference to the 'Fountain Head' recalls the humanist principle of tracing 'ad fontes' – that is, returning to the 'original undistorted truth of the classical authors' (Gadamer, 1994:502). In this case, however, the pure source of knowledge is not Greek or Latin but Old English. He also specifically mentions the *Dictionarium*'s potential value to etymologists, although he way well have in mind here not the academic study of etymology but (as the context, describing the reading of original texts, might imply) simply the potential value to a language-learner of recognising an etymological connection between one's native tongue and the target language. For a final, intriguing, suggestion of the applications envisaged for the *Dictionarium,* we must return to Jacob, whose poem concludes with an exhortation to Somner to 'Take up your roome ith' schooles'. This may be no more than conventional praise, but it is nevertheless a tantalising anticipation of the *Dictionarium*'s productive future as a teaching text, and it would be interesting to know whether the idea is Jacob's own or whether the possibility was already under general discussion that Old English, having been set out in the *Dictionarium*, might begin to find a place in taught curricula.

Subscribers

As Kennett goes to some lengths to justify in his biography of Somner (Kennett, 1726:81), the printing of the *Dictionarium* was funded by public subscription; accordingly, there appears at the end of the work a list of those who contributed. This list is a potentially valuable source of information about who would have been interested in the *Dictionarium*, as well as about Somner's networks and how he made use of these connections to present the *Dictionarium* in a favourable light.

Of course, we cannot take it for granted that all – or even most – of those who contributed to the cost of producing the *Dictionarium* did so because they wished to make use of it. Nevertheless, a significant proportion of those subscribers who could be identified in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* do have recorded antiquarian interests. These include Thomas Cotton (son of Robert Cotton, founder of the Cotton Library), John Marsham (who had written the *Propylaeon* to Roger Dodsworth and William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655)), Dugdale himself, Roger Twysden, Elias Ashmole, and several more. Several fellows and librarians of Oxford and Cambridge are also included in the list, not to mention the fourteen Cambridge colleges that subscribed as institutions. The association of such figures with the *Dictionarium* clearly establishes the book as a significant scholarly and antiquarian publication, even if only some of them actually used it in practice.

Despite this, the list emphasises subscribers' relevant academic interests less than it does their social standing; thus, for instance, Twysden's rank of baronet is noted, while his publication of the *Historiae anglicanae scriptores X* (1652), to which Somner contributed a glossary, goes unmentioned. Likewise, a number of doctors, lawyers, landowners, members of Parliament and so on are listed, even though there is no evidence to be found that suggests their active involvement in antiquarian studies. That this should be the case is perhaps not surprising. Still, it shows how, to succeed, the *Dictionarium* had to address a wider audience than Anglo-Saxonists (to the extent that such a specialised discipline can even be said to have existed at this time) or antiquaries. The publication of the *Dictionarium* relied at least as much upon Somner's social connections as it did on general demand for a dictionary of Old English, however genuine this demand was. In this respect, it seems likely that Somner benefited greatly from the help of 'my noble friend, Mr. *William Dugdale*: one (to do him right) without whose most active and effectual assistance in the publication of it, this work had never seen the light' (Somner, 1659: s.v. *hlæwe*).

Certainly, a number of the subscribers (including Simon Archer, Walter Chetwynd and Edward Bysshe) had connections to Dugdale, who may well have introduced them to Somner. However, Somner seems to have made use of his own connections as well, as evidenced by the large number of Kentish subscribers (who may have known him personally or from his previous publications on local history). One of these, in fact the first to be listed, is John Warner, bishop of Rochester. He would have been known to Somner as the donor to Canterbury Cathedral of a font which, according to Kennett, Somner later rescued from Parliamentarian iconoclasts (Kennett, 1726:94).

To a certain extent, some of the subscribers may have been motivated by political ties; certainly the list contains a considerable number of men known for their Royalist sympathies, including John Boys (*bap.* 1607, *d.* 1664), a Royalist army officer.[88] Of course, it is hard to say whether this represents anything more significant than a general overlap between Royalist and antiquarian interests in this period. It certainly did not rule out the involvement with the *Dictionarium* of several prominent Parliamentarians including William Lilly and Edward Bysshe.

It remains to note that various copies of the *Dictionarium* contain later amendments to the list of subscribers. Some of these changes are relatively minor; for instance, the correction of printed *Widgham,* given as the home of Henry Palmer, to *Wingham,* or the emendation of *Acadam. Cantabrig.* to *Academ. Cantabrig.* In some copies, however, the names of entirely new subscribers have been added. These are:

> Gulielmus Rechford, A.M. de *S. Albano* in Com. *Hartford.*
> Thomas Cater de Papworth in Com. Cantabr. Arm.

These additions suggest that the susbscribers' list went through a series of corrections at a late stage. In some copies (e.g. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius A.16.17) Rechford's name has been added but not Cater's, and there is also variation from copy to copy in whether Rechford's name is printed on a pasted in correction slip, as in the Gonville and Caius copy, or handwritten, as it is in Cambridge, University Library 625.k.14 (though all additions of Cater's name that I have found so far are manuscript, suggesting that his name was added later than Rechford's). The existence here of various stages of corrections is

[88] Not the same man as the writer of the dedicatory poem; there are in fact four separate men bearing this name included in the list of subscribers, evidently relatives.

consistent with what can be found in other parts of the *Dictionarium*, which also exist in multiple versions, uncorrected, hand-corrected and corrected in print.

I was unable to trace significant biographical information for Thomas Cater or to find any reason for the late and inconsistent entry of his name. Although I am similarly unsure why Rechford's name was initially omitted, his subscription to the *Dictionarium* is nevertheless interesting in its own right, as his is a rare case in which it is possible to say with some confidence not only that he used his copy, but even what he used it for. The Rechford of the *Dictionarium* must be the same as the 'Guil. Retchford, Art. Bac. Aul. Clar.' who contributed a poem in Old English to the 1641 *Irenodia Cantabrigensis* (g4r). William Retchford was admitted to Clare College, Cambridge, in 1635, studied with Abraham Wheelock and went on to take up a position in the vicarage of St Peter's at St Albans, which he held from 1647 until 1661 (Lucas, 2003:344-5); this timeline therefore fits with the *Dictionarium*'s evidence that he was based in St Albans in or around 1659, when the *Dictionarium* was published. What is more, he was clearly familiar with the *Dictionarium* soon after its publication, as he refers to one of its definitions in a marginal note made to the Anglo-Saxon laws in British Library MS Harley 438 (Lucas, 2003:355). Somner was at the least aware of Retchford's work on Old English, as evidenced by the existence of corrections in his hand to work with which Retchford was associated (Lucas, 2003:355-6), and indeed he may have known Retchford personally. Here, then, is an instance of the *Dictionarium* being both supported and used by a contemporary scholar who was not only an antiquarian but clearly had at least some level of interest in Old English for its own sake as well as for its usefulness in interpreting historical documents.

The *Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum* (1701)

By the end of the seventeenth century, the demand that the *Dictionarium* had been produced to meet had not disappeared; on the contrary, the teaching of Old English in universities, and particularly what Douglas (1951:57) describes as the 'efflorescence of Old English studies at Oxford between 1600 and 1730' must have enlarged the market for such works. As a result, the *Dictionarium* became 'rarum... nec nisi gravi ære redimendum' (Benson, 1701:a2r).[89] As a result, the year 1701 saw the publication of a new Old English dictionary.[90] The title-page attributes it to Thomas Benson of Queen's

[89] 'rare and not to be purchased unless for a great price'

[90] An earlier, but clearly related, specimen (consisting of a title-page and first page of entries) is Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Rawl. D 377 (ff.80,81); the Bodleian's catalogue dates this to 1690, but the English

College, Oxford, although evidence suggests that much of the work was done by Edward Thwaites, also of Queen's, assisted by other members of the college (Hearne, 1885:248 and see above p.38 n.41).[91] However misleading the attribution to Benson may be, the work's debt to Somner is made very clear in its full title: *Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum, lexico Gul. Somneri magna parte auctius*. Indeed, the *Vocabularium*'s dependence on the *Dictionarium* – and its prominent acknowledgement of this fact – is such that it could be said to be a second edition rather than an independent work, notwithstanding the changed title. The existence, then, of this closely-related work, published just over forty years after the original version of the *Dictionarium*, is a valuable opportunity to investigate how the *Dictionarium* was received and adapted by its users, and what this can tell us about its intended use.

There would be value in a study focused solely on the *Vocabularium*. Although it does not have the *Dictionarium*'s distinction of being the first published Old English dictionary, its impact on Anglo-Saxon studies is worth investigating in its own right. That it was produced to meet demand for the increasingly hard-to-source *Dictionarium* suggests it had a wider reach than Somner's original publication, and this impression is supported by the distribution of extant copies; The English Short Title Catalogue has records for 111 copies of the *Vocabularium* in libraries worldwide, as opposed to 64 copies of the *Dictionarium*. However, for reasons of space, the following discussion will focus primarily on comparing the *Dictionarium* and the *Vocabularium* and considering how the differences between the two works reflect a shift in focus that could help, by contrast, to clarify the *Dictionarium*'s original focus.

A 'student's dictionary'?

Hetherington, in her characterisation of the *Dictionarium*, concludes that it 'is not a scholar's or a theorist's dictionary, but a practical, student's dictionary' (1982:86; see also Hetherington, 1980:145). She does not state explicitly the exact grounds for this conclusion, but the context of the discussion suggests that they are related to Somner's incorporation of information from earlier dictionaries and his sparing use of direct citations from Old English sources. It is true that Somner provides fewer citations than we would expect to find in a modern scholarly reference work. Nevertheless, the *Dictionarium* is, in

Short Title Catalogue gives a date of 1699. (The date printed on the specimen is partly illegible, but appears more likely to be 1699.)

[91] For the sake of convenience, however, references to the work in this thesis will be given under Benson's name.

its general character, far more than a basic student's dictionary. This can be clearly demonstrated by a comparison between the *Dictionarium* and the 1701 *Vocabularium*.

While the *Dictionarium* is a trilingual dictionary, the *Vocabularium* has been reduced to a bilingual one, with definitions given in Latin only. In them, even Somner's most encyclopaedic entries are replaced with single-word Latin equivalents, or at most with short phrases. The following table gives some illustrative examples:

***Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*, 1659**	***Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum*, 1701**
Æ-hlype. LL. Æthelstani R par. 1. c. 6. legis transgressio vel violatio. a breach, transgression, or violation of the law. Cogita tamen. fortè, injustus impetus. a wrongfull or unlawfull assault or force.	Æ-hlype. legis transgressio.
Adruged. adrugod. adrugud. adruwod. adruwud. Siccatus, arefactus. dried, withered. V. adrigan.	Adruged, -god, -gud, -wod, -wud siccatus.

Many features of the *Dictionarium* are, of necessity, lost in this abridgement. Somner's references to contemporary scholarship, which were identified above as making a significant contribution to the overall character of the work, are gone. Gone, too, are the references to related forms in Old English or cognate languages. What is more, the citations of Old English sources have also been completely removed. Despite Hetherington's comments that the paucity of citations in the *Dictionarium* make it 'inferior' to the earlier dictionaries of Joscelyn and D'Ewes (as well as Nowell, although his name is not explicitly mentioned here by Hetherington) (Hetherington, 1980:145), I would argue that the difference between the *Dictionarium*'s scattered citations and the *Vocabularium*'s complete lack of them is more noticeable than the difference between the citations provided in the *Dictionarium* and those in the work of (for instance) Nowell. It will be recalled that, for Somner, providing citations was a way of signalling his uncertainty about the correct interpretation of a headword. By stripping out all citations, therefore, the *Vocabularium* loses this distinction in the confidence of definitions. As Somner's frequent and characteristic use of expressions of doubt, such as *forte* and *fortasse*, is also not preserved in the *Vocabularium*, the impression given by the 1701 text

is one of definitive certainty, even in cases where Somner was merely offering a hypothesis.[92] For a small number of headwords in the *Dictionarium*, Somner was, it seems, not confident enough even to attempt a definition, and instead cited the Old English source with no further comment (e.g. *ciric-ragu, clof-wyrt*). The *Vocabularium*'s general policy for dealing with these headwords appears to be to delete them altogether. Moving beyond the scope of dictionary entries, the *Vocabularium* also omits entirely the *Dictionarium*'s edition of Ælfric's *Grammar* and the accompanying glossary.

Why make cuts of this kind? One obvious motivation is that of reducing costs. Less extensive entries meant a smaller volume and hence lower printing costs. To reduce the size of the work still further, the *Vocabularium* does not set out each headword on a new line, but groups entries together into paragraph-like blocks. This policy is described in the preface to the *Vocabularium* (1701:a2v): 'typis arctius paulo dispositis, lineis fere per totum integris, nec, pro Lexicorum more, ad nova quæque vocabula fractis ac intercisis... ut jam vili satis pretio ad manum tibi sit'.[93] The same concern was echoed by Thwaites, who, before the publication of the *Vocabularium*, wrote: 'It will not exceed 3d price, I hope.' (Cited in Murphy, 1982:10) Reducing the size of the volume also made it more portable. The *Vocabularium* is printed in octavo, in contrast to the *Dictionarium*'s folio format. This consideration, too, is noted in the preface to the *Vocabularium*, which calls the work 'exiguæ molis libellum... quod in sinu quotidie gestare liceat, ac quavis de occasione consulere'.[94]

However, reducing the complexity of definitions may also have been an end in itself, if the material removed was considered unnecessary or even distracting to the *Vocabularium*'s target users. The Latin equivalent of an Old English headword can be extracted from the *Vocabularium* straightforwardly and rapidly, with no need to comb through a long selection of possible definitions or any of the additional information Somner includes in his entries. It is easy to imagine that this could be an advantage to the user, for instance to quickly check the meaning of a word encountered when reading a text. An examination of the same range of headwords investigated in the *Dictionarium* (see

[92] Examining in the *Vocbularium* the same range of headwords – (ge)c-, (ge)k- and (ge)q- – used in the case study of the *Dictionarium* yielded only a single entry – *clawunge* – that retains Somner's expression of doubt.

[93] 'the type set tightly together, the lines almost entirely whole, not, according to the custom of a dictionary, broken and severed at each new word, so that now [it] may be available to you at a cheap enough price'

[94] 'a booklet of little weight... that it would be possible to carry daily in one's pocket, and consult at any occasion'

above, chapter 1), showed that the Latin words taken by the *Vocabularium* to define Old English headwords are most frequently simply the first Latin word (or words) appearing in the *Dictionarium*'s definition.[95] This might be taken as an indication of the *Vocabularium'*s rapid and fairly uncritical composition, or – more charitably – as a reflection of the compilers' belief that the Latin word entered first by Somner would most effectively convey the general meaning of the Old English.[96] Where the choice of Latin definition varies from this pattern, I was unable to identify any significance to the affected headwords, either in terms of semantics or of the texts in which they appear. In some cases, however, the selection of a different Latin definition may have been an attempt to avoid ambiguity. For instance, *calfian* is defined by Somner as 'foetare, vitulum edere. To calve, to bring forth a calfe'. 'Foetare', the first Latin equivalent given by Somner, is frequently applied to other animals than cows. It may be for this reason that the *Vocabularium* opts for 'vitulum edere' as more explicitly conveying the particular application of *calfian*. While Somner is able to use four terms in two languages to give users a sense of the meaning of *calfian*, the *Vocabularium*, working with greater limits of space, must select the term that conveys its meaning most effectively and unambiguously.

Bearing in mind that the *Vocabularium* was produced in a university setting – specifically, at Queen's College, Oxford, known as a centre of Old English teaching as well as research, and the home of a 'profluvium of Saxonists springing all from the same fountain' (Mores, 1778:26) – it is tempting to theorise that the simplifications and abridgements made in the *Vocabularium* were done specifically with student users in mind. It is certainly plausible that cheapness, portability and simplicity of use would have been desirable characteristics for a student's dictionary. If this is the case, it follows that the changes were made because the *Dictionarium* was felt to be lacking in these characteristics and less suited to student use. The natural conclusion is that – however it may compare to modern scholarly lexicography – the *Dictionarium* was considered by Somner's near-contemporaries to be a work for scholars more than for students.

It is worth noting that this conclusion implies that by the time of the *Vocabularium*'s publication in 1701 there was felt to be a difference between – on the one hand – theoretical, scholarly study of Old English of a kind best served by a detailed work

[95] Where the *Dictionarium* recognises sense divisions within an entry, the *Vocabularium* usually takes the first Latin word from each section.

[96] The failure of the *Vocabularium* to incorporate material (such as the place names *dona-feld* and *kalca-ceaster*) from the *Dictionarium*'s addenda and errata, however, seems hard to attribute to anything other than oversight.

of reference such as the *Dictionarium*, with its etymologies, encyclopaedic entries, and frank acknowledgement of areas of doubt remaining in the field, and – on the other hand – a more basic, practical and student-like approach calling for the more utilitarian lexicography of the *Vocabularium*. The point may seem trivial, but it is a reminder that the *Dictionarium*'s publication came at the time of – and played a role in – a broadening of interest in Old English that would gradually take the study of the language beyond the predominantly antiquarian circles it inhabited in the seventeenth century. When Somner refers in the *Ad Lectorem* of the *Dictionarium* (section 15) to 'the students of this language [sc. Old English]',[97] he is doubtless thinking of any person studying Old English in any capacity. With the publication of the *Vocabularium*, however, it could be argued that we are beginning to see the idea that a dictionary of Old English might be specifically aimed at students in the most salient modern sense of the word.

'Magna vocabulorum vis inobservata': the *Vocabularium*'s additions to Somner's material

As has been described, the *Vocabularium* makes numerous cuts to the text of the *Dictionarium*. However, it also contains significant amounts of material not given by Somner. As has been shown, the *Dictionarium* was not comprehensive in its coverage of Old English vocabulary, or even of Old English vocabulary attested in texts available to scholars in England in the mid-seventeenth century. Accordingly, the preface to the *Vocabularium* announces the intention to supplement the *Dictionarium*'s coverage with some of the 'magnam... vocabulorum vim inobservatam... ad quæ in percurrendis hujus linguæ monumentis impingunt studiosi'.[98] In the section of C-headwords that was investigated, 237 of the 1267 entries in the *Vocabularium* were not present in the Dictionarium. According to Hearne, 'the Additions [were] taken from Mr. Junius's Papers in the Bodlejan Library'. (1885:248) The Junius collection in the Bodleian Library is large, and without knowing which of Junius' many papers Hearne was referring to, it would be a challenging task to discover what proportion of the additions in the *Vocabularium* are derived from Junius' work. However, it seems likely that a significant source was Junius' own dictionary of Old English, now Bodleian MSS Junius 2-3. Whether they came directly from the Old English sources or indirectly via Junius, some of the headwords can be traced to specific texts – for instance, the hapax legomenon *candelwyrt* to the Antwerp-London

[97] 'eas linguae istius studiosis'
[98] 'great, unobserved strength of vocabulary that the studious encounter in reading through the monuments of this language'

glossaries,[99] or the unusual spelling of *carclife* (cf. DOE *gār-clife*) to the Cotton MS Julius A.II copy of Ælfric's *Glossary*. Many, however, are less distinctive, often filling in alternative spellings or participial forms omitted by Somner. In other cases, the *Vocabularium* adds new Latin interpretations to Somner's headwords; for instance, it defines *kyrriole* as 'hymnus choralis', taking the place of a long, encyclopaedic entry by Somner that did not offer a direct translation of the term.

Direct evidence of Thwaites' interaction with the *Dictionarium* is available in the form of a manuscript copy of Somner's work, now Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ballard 51. To its title page (in other respects a copy of that printed in the *Dictionarium*) is added the note, 'To which is added a very large Collection of Anglo-Saxon words by Mr. Edward Thwaites, of Queens College, Oxford.' Only the main body of the *Dictionarium* is copied; Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary* are excluded, as is all of the front and end matter of the *Dictionarium* save for a note at the end of the manuscript explaining the abbreviations used for various sources, which has been copied verbatim from section 10 of the *Ad Lectorem*. However, the additions made to the dictionary by Thwaites are, as the title page suggests, substantial. Added headwords are indicated in the text by underlining (although a few more, presumably the results of a later phase of research, are instead written in the margins); my brief examination of the underlined additions suggests that at least the majority, and maybe all of them, also appear in the *Vocabularium*. It seems most likely, then, that MS Ballard 51 represents a stage in Thwaites' study to prepare the *Vocabularium*. However, there is no indication that it is yet being viewed as an independent work; not only does it reproduce the *Dictionarium*'s title page, but it includes almost all of the material omitted from the published *Vocabularium*. (Some of the *Dictionarium*'s longer encyclopaedic entries, such as *dry* and *es*, that quote at length from secondary sources, have been shortened in the manuscript copy.) The list of errata printed in the *Dictionarium* is also reproduced, although the addenda appear to have been disregarded. The existence of this copy supports the evidence given above (p.38 n.41) that Thwaites was the main editor of the *Vocabularium*. Furthermore, the underlining in MS Ballard 51 of additional headwords not included in the *Dictionarium* shows that, at least in private if not in the *Vocabularium* as published, a clear distinction was being made between material taken from Somner and material derived from another source.

The most striking addition to the *Vocabularium*, however, is not represented in MS Ballard 51: a short appendix, only a page and a half in length (152 entries), entitled, 'Voces

[99] See the *DOE* s.v. *candel-wyrt* and also Porter (2001).

poeticæ cum interpretamentis, è Grammatica D. *Georgii Hickesii,* S.T.P.' This list of poetic terminology drawn from Hickes' 1689 *Institutiones Grammaticae Anglo-Saxonicae et Moeso-Gothicae* is a reminder that by 1701, the use of the *Vocabularium* could be supplemented with other reference works about Old English. Somner included Ælfric's *Grammar* in the *Dictionarium* to help his readers understand Old English grammar, meaning that the *Dictionarium* took on the role of conveying to users an idea not only of the lexis but the whole linguistic structure of Old English. Hickes' *Institutiones Grammaticae* reduced the need for this by providing a grammar of Old English that was designed for purpose and available as a separate volume. It seems likely that this contributed to the decision to omit Ælfric's *Grammar* from the *Vocabularium*.

Most interesting, however, is the fact that the appendix is specifically intended as a list of poetic words, which, as has been shown, received scanty treatment in the *Dictionarium.* It demonstrates an increasing awareness among Anglo-Saxonists that Old English poetry has its own distinctive lexis requiring specific treatment. It also suggests that the *Dictionarium*'s coverage was felt by Thwaites and his colleagues to be particularly lacking in this area. Some of the entries included in the appendix are unusual in form (e.g. *droore*, defined as 'cruor', which is clearly a form of Old English *drēor*, though not one I could find in any corpus),[100] perhaps suggesting some corruption in transmission. Of those entries that could be traced, some are from texts used by Somner for the *Dictionarium* (e.g. *abal* from *Genesis B, aldorlege* from *Daniel* and *fæsl* from *Genesis A*); the *Vocabularium* represents a re-visiting of already-examined sources. However, there are also some interesting hints that the appendix may represent the vocabulary of other poetic texts not used by Somner. The headword *afor* is defined as 'invisus [Lat. hated/unseen]'. The *DOE,* s.v. *āfor*, notes fourteen attestations of the word, mostly in medical recipes, where it means 'harsh' or 'bitter'; this is the sense Somner gives in the corresponding *Dictionarium* entry. A more plausible origin for the *Vocabularium*'s entry is the poetic sense 'fierce'. The two citations for this sense come from *Guthlac A* 517 (in the form <afrum>) and *Judith* 253 (in the form <afor>). Both of these poems are found uniquely in manuscripts apparently not used by Somner: respectively, the Exeter Book and the Nowell Codex. On the basis both of form and the fact that Thwaites had himself produced an edition of the poem (1698:21-26, paginated together with the Gospel of Nicodemus but separately from the rest of the work), *Judith* seems the more likely source, but in either case, the *Vocabularium* entry would

[100] For another entry, 'krehe. homo', I am uncertain as to the Old English lemma to which it might be related.

suggest an interesting early influence of a major poetic manuscript other than Junius 11 on the Old English lexicographical tradition.

Furthermore, the inclusion of the appendix is an indication that the texts from which its entries are taken were at this point recognised as verse rather than prose. This includes texts such as the *Battle of Brunanburh,* (presumably the source for the appendix's entry '*cnear, cnearr*. navigum'). Somner knew this as part of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (cf. his sub-entry for *nægled cnearr* in the *Dictionarium,* s.v. *cnear*) but gave no sign of distinguishing it from the surrounding prose. Aside from the note 'poetice' to the entry *dogor*, which he inherited from Nowell, Somner seems rarely if ever to explicitly acknowledge a source text as verse, another indication that, in contrast to the *Vocabularium*, he did not recognise a need for targeted coverage of the distinctive poetic vocabulary of Old English. In contrast, the *Vocabularium* sent a clear message to its users that certain Old English texts, by virtue of being poetic, potentially differed significantly from the rest of the corpus in form, function and vocabulary. It is worth noting that the majority of words from the *Vocabularium*'s appendix that I was able to connect to a *DOE* entry are indeed acknowledged by the *DOE* as being mostly or exclusively found in poetry, though some (e.g. *fean, feon*, in the *DOE* as *fēogan, fēon*) appear frequently enough in non-verse texts that their poetic nature is not noted by the *DOE*.

Summary

The preceding chapter has demonstrated how implicit or explicit assumptions about the *Dictionarium*'s audience are reflected not only in entries but throughout the dictionary, as well as in the treatment of *Dictionarium* material by subsequent editors. These findings give an insight into what preconceptions about his readers might have influenced Somner's entry writing. They suggest an audience made up of both specialists and educated non-specialists. For the most part Somner appears to be writing with the assumption that Anglo-Saxonism is sufficiently established that neither group needs much explicit persuading of the purpose or value of studying Old English, although the dedicatory poems, which are rather more effusive in this respect, emphasise factors such as the antiquarian and patriotic appeal of the subject.

Expectations about the users and use of the *Dictionarium* may have influenced the form taken by the *Dictionarium*; equally, users of the *Dictionarium* would have been able to pick up on these cues to form an impression of the emerging field of Old English and

why, how and by whom it might be studied. In the same way that, on the level of individual word definitions, Somner, by including the material of earlier scholars such as Nowell, passed it down to subsequent dictionaries, so too is the impression given by the *Dictionarium* of Old English as a discipline both shaped by the context of its production and a potentially important influence on subsequent perceptions.

Expanding on the ideas developed in Chapter 4, the fifth and final chapter considers in more detail the question of the intended audience, and of the knowledge assumed of this audience, but this time with a more specific focus on how the *Dictionarium* presents Old English as a field of study. In doing so, it also returns to some of the concerns of the first chapter by taking as its focus a particular semantic field identified there as being treated with less detail than many in the *Dictionarium*.

Chapter 5: The Old English canon from a seventeenth-century perspective – a thematic study

Some kinds of Old English text are much better represented in the *Dictionarium* than others, as can be seen from a list of its Old English sources (Cook, 1962:20-53). For instance, as has been discussed above, the *Dictionarium*'s coverage of poetic vocabulary is distinctly limited and based almost entirely on the Junius 11 manuscript. In contrast, Somner's coverage of medical and botanical terms, though also drawn primarily from a single manuscript, London, British Library, Royal MS 12 D XVII, is relatively thorough, often drawing on later sources to clarify the identity of particular plants. As a result, a user browsing the *Dictionarium* would (for instance) encounter a large number of medical and botanical terms and hence conclude that medical and botanical texts formed a significant part of the Old English corpus. Conversely, the lack of coverage given to poetic vocabulary might have suggested to users either than poetry was an insignificant element of the Old English corpus or that its lexis was much closer to that of prose than is in fact the case.

It is important to consider how Somner's definition-writing reinforces or adds nuance to these initial impressions of the scope of Old English texts. This is particularly true given the semi-encyclopaedic nature of the Dictionarium; especially in Somner's more extensive entries, words are not presented in isolation, but instead provide information about the historical and cultural phenomena to which they refer. At times, these encyclopaedic elements become so extensive (for instance, the entry s.v. *ge-drenc*, which fills almost an entire page) that it is hard to imagine that they were not intended and used as much for information about Anglo-Saxon culture as about Old English vocabulary. The following study considers the *Dictionarium*'s definitions of a range of headwords related to different kinds of text, writing and literary activity, and asks how their definitions (whether simple or encyclopaedic) present users with an impression of Anglo-Saxon textual culture. What features of Old English texts are suggested to be of interest? The initial set of headwords to be examined was selected with the help of the *Historical Thesaurus of English*; the following section therefore describes the nature of this resource and the decisions made in choosing words for the study.

The *Historical Thesaurus* and the selection of headwords

The *Historical Thesaurus,* produced by the University of Glasgow, is a presentation of the vocabulary of English from Old English to the present day, conceptually arranged (Kay et

al., 2017). This approach makes it possible to search for lemmata according to the semantic fields to which they belong. Although the *Historical Thesaurus'* primary source of vocabulary is the second edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary,* its coverage of Old English has been significantly expanded by its inclusion of material from the related *Thesaurus of Old English* (*TOE*). The *TOE* can be searched independently of the *Historical Thesaurus*, but is not the most up-to-date treatment of Old English lexis. Though it uses as its source material a selection of older dictionaries and other works, it does not incorporate information from the *DOE* (Roberts & Kay, 2015). The Old English portions of the main *Historical Thesaurus* have been more thoroughly updated to take account of what has been published so far of the *DOE* and so are used as the basis of the current study (Alexander & Kay, 2016). However, as the *DOE* is still incomplete, the *Historical Thesaurus* still relies upon the same older sources as the *TOE* for those parts of the Old English lexis not yet covered by the *DOE.* This limitation should be borne in mind when interpreting *Historical Thesaurus* data, but was not considered likely to pose a significant problem for the study undertaken here.

The initial dataset for the study consisted of the Old English vocabulary contained in section 03.13.03.04 ('Literature') of the *Historical Thesaurus,* along with its subsections.[101] For each *Historical Thesaurus* word, a search was made of the *Dictionarium,* including likely variant spellings. This yielded a list of words in the *Dictionarium* that, across the entire Old English corpus, have at least one attested use falling within the semantic field of 'Literature' as defined by the *Historical Thesaurus.* The *Dictionarium*'s representation of non-literary texts will be returned to below, but the justification for the initial choice of literature as a semantic field is partly that it is easier to identify in the *Historical Thesaurus* than a sample encompassing non-literary texts, which are categorised according to the function they perform rather than their status as a written text. This focus also enables a consideration of what value Somner saw in Old English texts; if he was interested in reading them as literature, we would expect to find greater attention given to this semantic field than if his primary interest in them was as a source of linguistic or historical evidence.

The list thus compiled contained many polysemous words for which Somner did not document a literary meaning. For others, he did not provide enough discussion to prove that he was aware the word was used in a literary as well as a more general context. (For

[101] I would like to thank Professor Marc Alexander of the University of Glasgow for supplying me with the Old English portion of the *Historical Thesaurus* data.

instance, an adjective such as *scort* can be used of a text, meaning 'concise', and Somner's definition of it as 'Brevis. short' neither excludes nor explicitly acknowledges the possibility of that interpretation.) [102] In all, seventy-one entries from the 'Literature' section of the *Historical Thesaurus* had a corresponding *Dictionarium* entry that unambiguously acknowledged a literary meaning for the word in question; these entries are listed in Appendix IV. However, it is also the case that some headwords connected to the semantic field of literature in their *Dictionarium* definitions do not fall within section 03.13.03.04 of the *Historical Thesaurus.* This may be because they are misdefined by Somner, or simply because any system of semantic classification is inevitably shaped by the choices of its compilers, and there is no reason to expect the (implicit) classifications used by Somner in his definition-writing to map neatly onto the (explicit) classifications of the *Historical Thesaurus*. For instance, Somner defines *woðbora* as 'Rhetores. Rhetoricians, eloquent Orators'; in the *Historical Thesaurus,* the word appears in the 'Literature' sample, in category 03.13.03.04.06.08, 'Poet'. The *Dictionarium'*s entry for *soð-bora* gives this term the similar meaning 'Rhetor. a rhetorician', but the *Historical Thesaurus* only has listings for it in the sense (also offered by Somner) of a soothsayer or practitioner of divination; consequently, it is not included in the 'Literature' sample. Another issue is that, throughout the *Dictionarium*, Somner occasionally enters phrases as headwords, and these are generally not found in more recent and rigorously word-based reference works. Thus, for instance, Somner's entry *sarlic-leoð,* defined as 'Elegia, threnodia, threnos. an elegy, a song of lamentation. *it.* Tragœdia. a tragedy,' is appropriate in sense for inclusion in this study but could not be found by consulting the *Historical Thesaurus*, which does not recognise this noun phrase as a distinct item. For reasons such as these, the study that follows makes no claim to being exhaustive. Rather, it is a starting-point for identifying *Dictionarium* headwords that may be of interest when answering the questions posed in this thematic study.

The treatment of literary text types

However, even this non-exhaustive sample provides evidence of a wide range of terminology. Somner has entries for a variety of literary text types and functions: prose (e.g. *geræde-spræce*), poetry (*leoð*) and glossing (*glesing*); chronicles (*gewrit*), antiquarian writings (*eald-writere*), sermons (*spræce*), expositions (*trahtnunge*), elegies (*heaf-sang*), tales (*talu*) and proverbs (*big-spel*); eloquent language (*getinge*), rhetoric (*woðbora*) and

[102] <scort> is the spelling used in the *Historical Thesaurus*; Somner has entries for both <scort> and <sceort>.

the use of tropes (*hiwlice*), and several more. [103] How confidently can we conclude from this that Somner was asserting the existence of these kinds of text in Old English? On the one hand, Somner includes no discussions or usage notes that would suggest to the reader that these concepts did not apply to vernacular writings. On the other hand, many of the sources from which these headwords are drawn are concerned with or related to Latin texts. The use of Latin-Old English glossaries has been discussed above, p.34. In other cases, a Latin equivalent to the text was available, as was the case for Bede's *Ecclesiastical History,* the Old English *Pentateuch* and the *Orosius*, all used by Somner to supply entries for the *Dictionarium*. Some Old English texts had already been translated into Latin by Early Modern scholars; in the *Ad Lectorem,* Somner mentions using translations of Old English texts made by William Lambarde and Abraham Wheelock.

Thus, many of the texts with which Somner was working were filtered through the interpretation of a Latin version. Furthermore, even a text composed in Old English might discuss Latin, rather than vernacular, literary tradition.[104] For this reason, the appearance of a concept in the *Dictionarium* does not necessarily imply that it *applied to* Old English texts, only that it was *discussed in* them. If Somner gave consideration to this distinction, however, it is not reflected in the *Dictionarium*. However, the lack of discussion of potential differences between Latin and Old English texts is itself telling, suggesting as it does an unquestioned assumption that what applied to the former would apply equally well to the latter. This serves as a reminder of the close connections between classical and Anglo-Saxon studies in Somner's time.

Somner's lack of discussion of the potential differences between native and Latinate textual culture is not unusual in the context of his general treatment of the semantic field of literature; very few entries provide anything more than simple, undiscussed Latin and Early Modern English equivalents of the Old English headwords. The general impression gained from the brief treatment of this field is that Somner was simply not especially interested in the topic. By way of comparison, we can turn again to a similar entry on a subject in which Somner had a known interest. Before the publication of the *Dictionarium*, Somner had supplied texts and translations of 'the Charters of *Christ-Church,* and St. *Augustin's* in *Canterbury...* [and] the original Charter of King *Stephen* to the Abby of *Feversham*' for inclusion in the *Monasticon Anglicanum,* a major publication on the history of English monasteries (Kennett, 1726:83; Dodsworth & Dugdale, 1655).

[103] All spellings here are as given by Somner.
[104] Cf. Ælfric's *Grammar*, an Old English work designed for teaching Latin grammar.

The Old English term *landboc*, denoting a charter, is not included within the section of the *Historical Thesaurus* examined here, but is clearly closely connected to the theme of different types and functions of Old English texts. In the *Dictionarium* entry for the term, Somner cites two documents from the archives of Canterbury Cathedral as evidence for the use of the term in Latin texts, and directs users seeking further information to Spelman's *Concilia*, a collection of Church documents, which provides another example of *landboc* appearing in a Latin matrix text (Spelman, 1639:333). This full treatment, in contrast to Somner's brief discussion of literary texts, supports the hypothesis that Somner's detail of definition is connected to his own (lack of) expertise and interest in a given field.

Nevertheless, a handful of entries from the *Historical Thesaurus* sample do contain something more than the minimum amount of detail. Of these, the entry for *leoð* is perhaps most interesting in the context of the current study. Somner's definition runs as follows:

> Carmen, pœan, oda, celeasma. **a verse, a song, a song of rejoycing, an ode or psalm, the shout or noise which mariners make when they doe any thing together, or when the Master doth call and encourage them.**

The first three definitions supplied in the Latin, and the first four in English, are relatively typical for Somner's entries. They briefly identify a basic meaning for the Old English term, but do not indicate in detail either the character of an Old English *leoð* or the contexts in which one might be encountered or composed. In contrast, the last definition is surprisingly specific; it is the only part of the entry to follow the traditional model of defining by means of a genus that identifies the category to which the definiendum belongs (here, a *leoð* is said to be a type of 'shout or noise') and the differentiæ that distinguish it from other members of that category (unlike other shouts or noises, a *leoð* is made by a specific group of people, mariners, in specific circumstances).[105] What is more, it is unlike the other definitions given for this headword in that it does not indicate that a *leoð* is a musical or poetic form. The increased specificity and (in Early Modern English) length of this definition might lead readers to interpret this sense as having particular significance. In fact, the definition appears to be derived from a single glossary entry in London, British Library Cotton Cleopatra A.III, which reads, 'Celeumatis sæleoþes'. The *Dictionarium* also contains an entry for *sæleoð,* defined as follows:

> Celeusma. **the mariners shout, noise, or cry in hoisting anchor or sail.**

[105] On this approach to definition, see Atkins & Rundell (2008:414).

It seems natural to conclude that Somner was influenced in both cases by the glossary entry for *sæleoð.* This implies that he recognised the element *-leoð* as being common to both and so had successfully analysed the compound into its constituent parts. Interestingly, however, he still carried the maritime sense from *sæleoð* into his definition for *leoð* (though it lacks the element *sæ-,* 'sea'). What is more, despite recognising a *leoð* as being a kind of song, or having musical associations, he does not apply this knowledge to his definition of *sæleoð* as a 'shout, noise, or cry'.

The Cleopatra glossary supplied Somner with the Latin equivalent for *sæleoð* (and hence for *leoð*); the lengthiness of the Early Modern English, however, is evidently due to the fact that Somner was working closely from a Latin-English dictionary. It is hard to be certain which of the many such dictionaries in circulation, which often had considerable overlaps in content, Somner would have worked from, but a clearly related entry can be found s.v. *celeusma* in a Latin-English dictionary from the sixteenth century:

> Cĕleūsma, or Celeuma, atis, n.g. Mart. The showt or noise that mariners make, when they doe anie thing togeather with ioyned strength, as in drawing the anchor, &c. or when the Master doth call and encourage them (Thomas, 1587).

Another source that presumably helped Somner define these headwords is Canterbury, Cathedral Archives LitMS/D/2, a fifteenth-century manuscript of the Latin dictionary (with sporadic Middle English glosses) known as the *Medulla Grammatice*. This particular copy was well used by Somner, who added copious glosses providing the Old English equivalents of the Latin headwords, as well as inserting additional Latin headwords when he wished to provide an Old English word that did not already have a Latin equivalent in the *Medulla.*[106] It appears that that Somner did not prepare this material for publication, and therefore that his additions probably represent his private work in studying Old English and preparing the *Dictionarium.* In the Canterbury *Medulla*, we find the following entry:

> Celeuma. tis id est clamor nauticus et cantus (McCleary, 1958:169)[107]

[106] A diplomatic edition of LitMS D2, including Somner's additions, has been produced by J. Marie van Zandt McCleary (1958).
[107] 'Celeuma. tis that is naval shouting and singing'

This is annotated by Somner with the Old English *sæleoþ,* suggesting that the *Medulla*'s definition of the Latin *celeu(s)ma* may have been another influence on Somner in writing his *Dictionarium* definitions.[108]

This case serves as an example of how the impression Somner gives of Old English texts was determined at least as much by the secondary sources available to him as by his first-hand experience of them. The same effect can be seen in other entries in the semantic field of literature. For instance, Somner includes a relatively large number of terms – at least eight entries in total – relating to rhetoric and the use of rhetorical tropes. We do not have to take this as an indication that Somner found the Old English texts he was reading highly rhetorical; rather, it reflects the good coverage given to such terminology both in Latin-Old English glossaries of the Old English period and in later reference works available to Somner.

Another interesting point raised by the case of *(sæ)leoð* is Somner's relative carelessness in distinguishing between verse and prose. He must have been aware that Old English enables a distinction to be made between these two types of text (although how this distinction would have been understood and applied by native speakers of Old English is a question this paper will not attempt to address). As well as including headwords such as 'geræde-spræce. Prosa, sermo solutus. prose,' in the *Dictionarium*, Somner shows himself in the preface to the *Dictionarium* to have been familiar with Bede's story of 'that Cedmon, Cædmon, or Ceadman, mentioned by venerable Bede, Hist. ecclesiast. Li.4. c.24'.[109] From this, and from his belief, following Francis Junius (Junius, 1655a:248), that Cædmon was the author of Oxford, Bodleian MS Junius 11 – which, as mentioned above, was Somner's primary verse source for the *Dictionarium* – Somner would have had plenty of evidence to suggest that verse was an important mode of expression in Old English, and distinctive enough to be worthy of comment. Despite this, Somner's apparent lack of interest in consistency when it comes to defining *(sæ)leoð* as a (non-)poetic form goes along with the general lack of discussion about what makes an Old English text poetic (in its use of form or of distinct poetic vocabulary). As a result, the development of this area of study was largely left to later scholars.[110]

[108] Hetherington (1980:148-9) notes a single explicit reference made to the *Medulla* in the *Dictionarium,* s.v. *niþing*. However, as has been seen elsewhere, Somner is not exhaustive in his citation of such sources, so this observation does not rule out his having drawn silently on the *Medulla* in other entries.
[109] '*Cædmono* illi, *Ceadmano,* vel *Cedmono,* cujus meminit *Beda,* Histor. Eccles. li. 4. cap. 24.'
[110] See, for instance, the overview in Payne (1982).

Compounds with *boc*

The thematic study carried out above focused on the semantic field of literature, passing over many more functional types of text. Due to the arrangement and quantity of *Historical Thesaurus* data, identifying all Old English words that could refer to different types of text would be impractical. Instead, a different method of selection was adopted to produce a second sample of Old English vocabulary that, though more limited in its detail, would offer an overview of a wider range of text-types. The case of *landboc* was used above to illustrate how Somner's treatment of apparently similar terms could vary significantly in accord with his particular focus as a lexicographer. The second sample of Old English vocabulary to be considered in this chapter is therefore based on the various compounds of *boc,* 'book', that are recorded in the *Dictionarium.* To what extent does the greater level of detail in Somner's entry for *landboc* reflect an interest in that particular term, and to what extent is it an indication that terms for other types of book – physical artefacts, as opposed to abstract types of text – receive in general fuller treatment in the *Dictionarium*?

Although the *DOE* does not at present cover the entire alphabet, those headword entries that are already complete contain cross-references to related forms, whether or not their entries have been published. Thus, it is possible to find in the *DOE*'s entry for *boc* a list of 79 compounds and derived forms. As was done for the sample of words taken from the *Historical Thesaurus*, these were matched to *Dictionarium* headwords to allow investigation of how Somner defines them. Around half had a corresponding *Dictionarium* headword; these are listed in Appendix V. This investigation offers an insight into Somner's presentation of a wider range of text types, particularly non-literary texts. These include terms for legal texts (*æ-boc*, *dom-boc*) and for books used in a religious context (*bletsing boc, sealm-boc*). From Old English glosses to Aldhelm's *De Laude Virginitatis*, Somner draws two words for an itinerary or account of a journey: *for-boc* and *siþ-boc.* In addition, there are several terms relating to the production and use of books.

Many of the *Dictionarium*'s entries for these headwords contain information beyond a simple translation. Especially interesting in this respect is the entry for *hierde-boc*: 'liber pastoralis. The book called S. Gregories Pastoral; translated either by K. Alfred, or some other by his command.' As far as I can tell, this is the only instance in the *Dictionarium* of a specific Old English text being mentioned, not as the source for a citation, but as part of the definition itself. In this way, the *Dictionarium* marks the translation of the *Pastoral Care* as a key Old English text. In doing so, it also draws users'

attention to the significance of the Alfredian translation movement, which was particularly significant to Somner's lexicographical work as a source of Old English equivalents of existing Latin texts, and hence of easily-interpreted vocabulary items for inclusion in the *Dictionarium.*

The investigation carried out above into the semantic field of literature led to the conclusion that literature-related entries in the *Dictionarium* very rarely supply information on the cultural context of such terms; for instance, headwords glossed as meaning 'poetry' do not specify the defining characteristics that would allow a user to recognise an Old English poem. In contrast, a couple of the *boc* headwords examined do specify what is distinctive about the referent in an Anglo-Saxon context. These are the entries for *boc-fel* and *boc-read*:

> Boc-fel. pergamena. **Parchment, velume, skinns to write on: paper being not with them in use.**
>
> Boc-read. minium. **A kind of red colour now called Vermilion, much used of old in limming and trimming of books.**

In both cases, the entry highlights a difference between the techniques used 'of old' and those of Somner's own time. It may be significant that both these entries refer to physical manuscripts rather than to more abstract qualities of the texts preserved in those manuscripts; perhaps this was an area in which Somner felt more comfortable. In any case, these entries serve to illustrate how the *Dictionarium* could inform readers on subjects beyond simply the lexis of Old English. In this instance, they also remind us that Somner and his peers often worked closely with original manuscripts, as relatively few printed editions of Old English texts had yet been produced; an awareness of characteristic features of Anglo-Saxon manuscript production would have been an advantage for those reading or collecting such manuscripts.

Nor are these the only entries that draw on the knowledge of seventeenth-century antiquaries. In the entry for *boc-hord*, Somner makes an explicit comparison between the documents of the Old English period and those of his own day, defining the term as 'chartophylaceum. a place where books, papers, writings or other like monuments be kept, as the Rowles.' These 'Rowles' must refer to the rolls, or administrative documents, kept by the Court of Chancery in London; as a repository of legal documents dating back to the twelfth century (Hanworth, 1935), it would have been well-known to Somner and others who shared his interests. From this we can see that, in addition to drawing attention to the

differences between Old English text and documents and those of the seventeenth century, Somner was also alluding to a continuity of tradition that linked the two periods.

The use of Leofric's donation list

Somner only infrequently gave precise citations of the Old English source texts from which he took his headwords. Nevertheless, in the list of *boc* compounds, one citation appears four times; the entries for *cristes-boc* (found as a sub-entry s.v. *boc*)*, ræding-boc, scrift-boc* and *spel-boc* all direct the user to page 222 of the *Monasticon Anglicanum* (Dodsworth & Dugdale, 1655). This was a collection of texts relating to monastic history, to which Somner had himself contributed (see above, p.88). The Old English text appearing on page 222 is of the celebrated list of books donated by Bishop Leofric (died 1072) to Exeter Cathedral.[111] The fact that these four headwords all cite the same source is a clear indication that this part of the *Monasticon* was mined for vocabulary, especially (given the focus of the text) vocabulary relating to different types of liturgical books. Of the four entries, *cristes-boc,* 'gospel-book', is slightly unusual in not referring explicitly to the book's liturgical function; the headword is rendered into Latin as *Christi liber*, but it is not clarified what kind of 'book of Christ' this might be. Instead, Somner focuses on the occasional use of such books for recording legal transactions (cf. *DOE* s.v. *cristes-bōc*), suggesting that in this case he supplemented the uncontextualised attestation of *cristes-boc* in Leofric's donation list with knowledge from elsewhere, probably first-hand experience with similar charters in the Cottonian library, or in other libraries to which he had access.

Of course, not all the Old English terms for such texts happen to be compounds containing the element *boc*. Therefore, to investigate in more detail the contribution of Leofric's donation list to the *Dictionarium*'s coverage of the vocabulary of religious texts, a third sample of headwords was taken. Identifying all of the words used in the donation list to refer to various kinds of books, and then searching for them in the *Dictionarium* yielded the following results:

The donation list as printed in the *Monasticon* makes reference to forty-eight categories of books.[112] Some of these are named volumes (e.g. *Cantica canticorum*, the Biblical Song of Songs). Some generic types of book appear in the list more than once; for

[111] The text survives in two manuscripts: one is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.16, fols. 1-2. The second is now attached to the Exeter Book (Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3501, fols. 1-2). The *Monasticon* edition is based on the Bodleian MS, though it omits a few entries, presumably unintentionally.
[112] Cf. the commentary on the donation list in Lapidge (1985:64-9).

instance, there are references both to a 'niht sang' and, separately, to a 'forealdodne niht-sang'. Eliminating both these categories gives the following generic types: *ad te leuaui, bletsing boc, canon, capitulare, collectaneum, cristes boc, expositio, glose, mæsse boc, martyrlogium, niht sang, passionalis, pistel boc, ræding boc, regula canonicorum, saltere, sang boc, scrift boc, spel boc, tropere, ymnere*. Of these twenty-one, ten are represented in the *Dictionarium*: *bletsing boc,* [113] *canon, cristes-boc, niht-sang, ræding-boc, saltere, scrift-boc, spel-boc, tropere, ymnere*.[114] For two of these, *canon* and *niht-sang*, the *Dictionarium* entry does not record the sense of a type of book; *canon* is defined as the rule rather than as the book in which it is recorded, and *niht-sang* is only defined with reference to the canonical hour, not to the book used at one. Clearly, then, Somner did not make a comprehensive record of the vocabulary in Leofric's donation list. This may be a deliberate choice; most (though not all – cf. *pistel boc, sang boc*) of the words omitted from the *Dictionarium* are those with a clearly Latinate form. Alternatively, it may simply point to Somner making patchy and inconsistent use of this particular source.

The *Dictionarium*'s entries for *bletsing boc, saltere, spel-boc* and *ymnere* are all brief, but in the case of *cristes-boc, ræding-boc, scrift-boc* and *tropere*, Somner evidently felt that his users would require additional clarification. As mentioned above, he interprets *cristes-boc* primarily as a kind of charter, and so the additional material in this entry has less to do with clarifying the nature of the text than with a speculation on the possible origins of this application of the term:

> Cristes-boc. *Monasticon. Anglic.* p.222. Christi liber. Charta vero (sive instrumentum donationis) ibidem sic appellatur. Num autem a Crucis signo, in doni confirmationem, chartæ aut præfixo aut subscripto: num quod res inibi monachis collatæ, Christi gratia, aut quasi ipsi Christo, fuerint donatæ, non satis mihi liquet.
>
> Cristes-boc. *Monasticon Anglicanum* p.222. Book of Christ. In truth a charter (or instrument of donation) is so called there. But whether from the sign of the Cross, either prefixed to or written below a charter in confirmation of a gift; or because the things gathered together in there by the monks were given by Christ's favour, or as if by Christ himself, is not sufficiently clear to me.

The remaining three entries, however, provide interesting evidence that Somner was not only defining for his users the terms they would encounter in Old English texts, but, at least incidentally, supplying them with information about the nature and content of the texts they might find themselves reading. It is still unclear whether Somner was envisaging

[113] Although *bletsing boc* appears in both the *Dictionarium* and Leofric's donation list, Somner does not cite the *Monasticon* in his entry.
[114] For identification and discussion of the liturgical books used in Anglo-Saxon England, see Gneuss (1985).

these kinds of texts being in Old English or Latin, or whether he simply had not considered the question. However, it could be argued that, whatever the language in which these liturgical books were written, or thought to be written, their nature and content would have been of interest to the antiquarian students of Old English texts and religion who were presumably Somner's audience for these definitions.

The entries for *cristes-boc, ræding-boc* and *scrift-boc* all refer to the *Monasticon*'s edition of Leofric's donation list. It may be that Somner envisaged that their co-occurrence in this text would help users to understand their meaning, even though the list rarely elaborates on the items it mentions. In the case of *tropere* he goes further; rather than citing the *Monasticon*, Somner directs users to a selection of external sources:

> Troparia, liber sic dictus, prosas continens sive sequentias ecclesiasticas, de quo vide Cl. *Vossii* Gloss. [Vossius, 1645:631] a kind of liturgicall book: whereof, and of the use of it, see further in the learned *Seldens* Notes upon *Hengham* [Selden, 1616], pagg. 141. 142. and in Dr *Watts* Glossary in *Troparia* [Wats, 1640:309].

Note, however, that even here, Somner does not point the reader directly towards a particular troper that would provide a concrete example of this kind of liturgical book, and nor do the brief discussions in the sources he lists.

Summary

This thematic study suggests that Somner was aware, at least to a certain extent, of the existence of significant differences between the books and texts of the Anglo-Saxon period and those of his own day, and took steps to explain them to his readers. However, his treatment of literary and relatively abstract concepts tends to lack detail and is strongly shaped by Latin (or Latin-influenced) sources. This is particularly noticeable when we turn to entries dealing with more physical and practical aspects of Anglo-Saxon textual culture, which provide more examples of detailed treatment and a greater tendency towards encyclopaedic discussion. The overall impression we receive here of the *Dictionarium* is much more that of a handbook for a classically-trained antiquary than the student of English literature we might think of today as the target audience for a dictionary of Old English. Of course, it would not be possible to prove that, for instance, equipped with a dictionary more sensitive to literary text-types, early Anglo-Saxonists would have done more work on the literature of Old English. Nevertheless, if we speak on a more general level, we can observe that the *Dictionarium*'s strengths and weaknesses in this area are

indicative of the antiquarian spirit driving the study of Old English in the seventeenth century.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have described how the manner of the *Dictionarium*'s compilation reflects its purpose and determines how it presents Old English to its users. Through use of the *DOE* I have been able to add detail to the descriptions of the *Dictionarium*'s content offered by earlier studies, and thereby attempted to move towards a discussion of the *Dictionarium* that is not simply focused on sources and statistics, but considers Somner's work as a product of, and an insight into, its scholarly context. I have demonstrated that the work's coverage and entry style are variable, shaped not only by the availability of sources but also by Somner's own academic interests, which are often typical of wider trends in Early Modern scholarship. Somner seems to have expected his readers to share his own background and motivation of antiquarian study, and at times the *Dictionarium* verges on being a collection of all the information Somner had about a particular subject, with encyclopaedic entries apparently included more on a principle of association than because of their importance to an effective definition of the headword.

Nevertheless, the *Dictionarium* is clearly a serious and scholarly attempt to provide an overview of the Old English language. Even when it is in error, it is often possible to trace the logic of Somner's interpretation, as I have attempted to show in several case studies. Furthermore, although various elements that would help a user, such as cross-referencing and citation, are not employed as fully as in later dictionaries, Somner nevertheless seems to have devoted some thought to the needs of his audience, as demonstrated, for instance, by the predominantly practical focus of his comments in the *Ad Lectorem*. I have illustrated how the focus given to certain topics would have had the potential to propagate implicit assumptions about the kinds of Old English texts the *Dictionarium*'s users would encounter and find of interest. Ultimately, however, the *Dictionarium* aims towards being comprehensive rather than specialised. It records both commonly and rarely attested vocabulary and is not limited to a core selection of words for which users might frequently seek a translation; it also includes words with close formal similarity to Latin or Early Modern English, the meaning of which could be readily deduced without a dictionary, and, conversely, words for which Somner himself failed to find a suitable definition.

The *Dictionarium* does not stand alone, but builds on the Old English scholarship that preceded it. This can be seen in the considerable volume of entries inherited or adapted from the work of Somner's predecessors. However, it is also possible to see a continuity in

the assumptions it makes about how, why and by whom Old English was being studied. The *Dictionarium* is more comprehensive and more polished than Laurence Nowell's *Vocabularium* of the century before it, but is similar in its general approach. Nevertheless, as the first published dictionary of Old English, the *Dictionarium* also stands at the beginning of a new period in the study of Old English; as has been demonstrated by various examples of its later use, *Dictionarium* was used for a considerable time after its publication in a wide variety of applications, both refining existing knowledge and breaking new ground. This can be seen not only in the university teaching of Old English but more generally in the increasing awareness of Old English shown by scholars who were not themselves dedicated Anglo-Saxon specialists, or the direct acquaintances of such specialists. Somner did not necessarily plan the *Dictionarium* with this specific aim in mind. Nevertheless, his work provides an important example of many of the developments that would allow Old English to expand its audience: the *Dictionarium*, being more (albeit not perfectly) systematic in its presentation of available knowledge than its predecessors, offered a ready point of reference for information about Old English, all the more so because, unlike the dictionaries of Nowell, D'Ewes and others, it was published and so could be circulated significantly more widely. In addition, it is easy to imagine how the air of validity lent to Old English by the completion of such a monumental work would have increased the perceived importance of scholarship in the field.

Just as the *Dictionarium* was not the final word on Old English, so this study cannot claim to be the final word on the *Dictionarium*. Although in selecting material for analysis I have attempted to represent the variety of sources and influences seen in the *Dictionarium*, numerous important connections have doubtless been overlooked. A digitally searchable edition of the text of the *Dictionarium* is a desideratum for a more fully contextualised discussion of the work that would account more completely for Somner's relatively frequent inclusion of significant, encyclopaedic discussions under unexpected headwords. Similarly, it is important to acknowledge that, though our present-day understanding of Old English may not be as limited as Somner's, it is still incomplete and dependent on surviving sources that are not historically representative. In most cases, this thesis has taken the *DOE* and its corpus as representative of what Old English was "actually like", using it as a yardstick against which to measure the incompleteness of Somner's understanding. In fact, the *DOE* is neither complete, nor objective, nor infallible, and the same applies to any other source of information about Old English. As such, it should be emphasised that any discussion of how Old English was studied in the past

inevitably describes relative changes in understanding rather than a development towards complete accuracy.

Some sources used in this thesis could be investigated in more detail to provide further insights into aspects of the *Dictionarium.* The case studies carried out above have demonstrated the potential of close and systematic comparison of the *Dictionarium* and its secondary sources, such as the dictionaries of Nowell and D'Ewes, as a way of understanding more about Somner's influences and working method. Expanding these comparisons to cover more *Dictionarium* entries would no doubt reveal further information. Another underused source of information on these topics is the archival material relating to Somner and the *Dictionarium* that is held in Canterbury Cathedral. Systematic examination of Somner's transcriptions of Old English texts – already carried out in part by Lutz (1988) - of books and manuscripts owned or used by Somner, and of the manuscript (Canterbury Cathedral Archives LitMS E20-21) from which the *Dictionarium* was typeset could all provide a more comprehensive picture of the *Dictionarium*'s production than was possible within the current study.

Finally, this thesis, though making some observations on the use of the *Dictionarium* by later scholars, focused by design on Somner's work in its seventeenth-century context. It is nevertheless clear that there is much of interest to be found in the later life of the *Dictionarium*. One important source of such information is the corrections and annotations made to extant copies of the *Dictionarium*. I have examined several of these, as detailed in Appendix I, but numerous others remain. The investigation could be further expanded if copies of the 1701 *Vocabularium* were also included, although it would also be possible to make a case for undertaking a complete study of the *Vocabularium* in its own right, rather than simply treating it as a continuation of the *Dictionarium*. A fuller account of the later use of the *Dictionarium* would also require investigation of how it was used by writers of other works, not simply by lexicographers of Old English. Furthermore, the case studies in this thesis have clearly demonstrated that – as is the case elsewhere in the history of lexicography – not all subsequent uses of the *Dictionarium* were explicitly acknowledged. However, such cases of silent influence are also important to understanding the *Dictionarium'*s considerable impact on the study of Old English, and merit further study. Accordingly, I hope that this thesis has opened up new paths of investigation for scholars interested in the early history of Old English studies.

Appendix I: Copies of the *Dictionarium* consulted

Reproductions:

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Digital reproduction of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 2 L.g.sept. 11 c
<http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10495851.html>

Early English Books Online Digital reproduction of San Marino, Huntington Library call no. 226542
<https://data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=eebo-ocm12940561e>

Scolar Press (Menston, 1970) Printed facsimile of Newcastle, Thomlinson Library 3143, class 429

Copies consulted in person:

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College	A.16.17	
Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College	A.3.4	Noted in library catalogue to be a subscription copy.
Cambridge, Trinity College	III.2.35	Bound together with *Fragment of Ælfric's Grammar, Ælfric's Glossary, and a poem on the soul and body* (Phillipps, 1838).
	Grylls 18.128	Extensive annotations on the first three pages of the dictionary proper give Modern English cognates of the Old English headwords; these additions are only very occasional thereafter.
Cambridge, University Library	Bury 17.10	
	Bb* 8.43(c)	

Canterbury Cathedral Archives	LitMS E20-1	Manuscript of the *Dictionarium* used by typesetters. LitMS E21 is missing the leaves containing headwords *niwod* to *on-bryrdan* (inclusive). These must have been separated from the rest of the manuscript before it was foliated on March 1st 1966; the missing leaves would fall between 24v and 25r in the modern foliation.
London, British Library	71.g.13	
	General Reference 625.k.14	
Oxford, Bodleian Library	(Vet.)3024.c.1	Annotated by Joseph Bosworth; see p.57 of this thesis and Bankert (2010:54 *et passim*).
	(OC)302.w.1	
	MS Ballard 51	Edward Thwaites' manuscript copy of the *Dictionarium*, with additional vocabulary. Ælfric's *Grammar* and the accompanying *Glossary* are omitted, as is front and end matter aside from the titlepage and list of errata.
	Douce S 291	Contains miscellaneous insertions including *Proposals for publishing by subscription, in one volume quarto, the Anglo-Saxon versions and glosses of the Holy Gospels, by B. Thorpe, F.S.A. translator from the Danish of Rask's Anglo-Saxon Grammar* and a map of 'Britannia Saxonica' signed 'MBurghers Sculp.Un.Ox.'

Appendix II: Dedicatory letter

VIRO VERE GENEROSO,

ET MIHI UNICE OBSERVANDO

Rogero Spelmanno

ARMIGERO,

S.P.

EGREGIUM illud & immortale (Vir ornatissime) Familiæ suæ decus, hujusque seculi, & Gentis lumen, atque ornamentum, D. *Henricus Spelmannus,* Eques auratus, ὁ μακαρίτης avus tuus, quemadmodum omnifariâ claruit doctrinâ, & à rei antiquæ, sive ad Ecclesiam, sive Rempublicam, domi forisve, spectantis, (quamplurimis optimæ notæ scriptis quibus Rempub. literariam locupletavit, id abundè testantibus:) scientiâ singulari, nunquam satis laudandus: sic etiam omni quo potuit idoneo incitandi & cohortandi modo, eundem in aliis animum excitare, idemque in eis studium promovere pariter & fovere semper laboravit.

The late Henry Spelman's encouragement of antiquarian study.

Hinc autem experientiâ propriâ hoc tandem comperto, linguam scil. *Saxonicam* rei antiquæ apud *Anglos* (quid si *Germanos* addiderim?) studioso adeo necessariam esse, ut nisi admoto prius & adhibito ipsius lumine, *Antiquitates Anglicæ* aut omnino manerent incognitæ, aut (ut in multis *Germaniæ* partibus) plenâ saltem & perfectâ carerent illustratione; magna admodum & singularis optimi viri in hujusmodi manuductionis, & directionis lumine accendendo proponendoque cura fuit studiumque: serii & seduli ejus in linguam illam pene deperditam, desuetam, & in dies evanescentem, resuscitandam, propagandamque conatus.

The necessity of Old English to antiquarian studies in England and Germany.

Quem in finem, ut aliis ipse boni publici promovendi bonum proponat exemplum, *Saxonicam* apud *Cantabrigienses,* prælectionem suis sumptibus ordinandam, & (ne Lampas ab eo sic accensa oleo quo foveatur, & ardeat unquam careret:) publicum ejusdem linguæ ibidem professorem perenni præmio & stipendio dotandum instituit. Doctissimus ille, nuper autem morte (heu!) sublatus *Abrahamus Whelocus,* ob eximiam in hac inter alias linguas eruditionem, nobilissimi Equitis delectu, id muneris primus adeptus est: quod tantâ cum suâ & Patroni laude, tantoque Reipub. literariæ obivit bono, ut stipendio ejusmodi ad mortem usque meritò cohonestaretur.

Henry Spelman's endowment of an Anglo-Saxon lectureship in Cambridge, and his appointment of Abraham Wheelock to the post.

Cujus quidem bono ipsemet ad idem studium non parum incitatus exemplo, atque quorundam amicorum cordatorum opinione, fælici tandem in eâdem linguâ addiscendâ, adipiscendâque progressu facto, de *Dictionario Saxonico* (quod à pluribus etiamsi promissum, à nemine tamen publicatum, licet ab omnibus fere desideratum animadverti:) adornando & publicando mecum cogitavi. Eodem itaque *Abrahamo Wheloco* defuncto, meque deinceps viri cujusdam amplissimi [115] literis & testimonio Dominationi tuæ commendato, (Saxonici mei de quo supra instituti intuitu, quo multo magis quam Academicâ prælectione, ut verisimile fuit linguam essem promoturus:) eidem in stipendii quadam parte qui succederem non indignus judicatus sum. Hoc autem non sine illius assensu & consensu, (Quod absque debitâ erudito [116] ingenuo viro [117], ob ipsius erga me benevolentiam, gratiarum actione, non omnino memorandum:) quem nullâ hactenus de me Dom. tuæ factâ mentione, eidem. *Abr. Wheloco* successurum designaveras.

Somner's desire to write a dictionary of Old English, and his appointment, after the death of Wheelock, to the Anglo-Saxon lectureship. Thanks given to the Archbishop of Armagh, who recommended Somner to Roger Spelman for the post, and Samuel Foster, who gave up his prior claim to a part of the endowment.

[115] D. Archiep. Armanchanus.
[116] In some copies, '&' is inserted here in manuscript.
[117] D. Samuel Foster.

Sic autem (bonitate & munificentiâ pii admodum nepotis in avi & patris honoratissimi vestigiis inhærentis, & cum patrimonio & fortunis animi & virtutum hæredis) laborum meorum qualiumcunque præmio donates; animoque mecum reputans, quod recipientis gratitudo quandam addantis[118] beneficentiam habere debeat proportionem: quod ampla & eximia beneficia angustis & modicis recognitionibus non sint rependenda: satis sperabo quamplures quos hoc in opere publicando inveni adjutores, generalem & conjunctam accepturos gratiarum actionem, dum (pro majori obligationum mearum modo) Dom. tuæ gratias interim habeo magis speciales, tanquam meo non in præsens solum, sed & perpetuo studiorum meorum Patrono & Mecænati, cujus insignioris opis & bonitatis influentiæ & calori, cæteri benefactores mei hoc (qualecunque sit) ad linguam nostram vernaculam pene antiquatam revocandam instaurandamque adjumentum sive instrumentum publicum sui generis primum, imprimis debent & debebunt.

Somner's gratitude and obligation towards the Spelmans and the reading public. The role to be played by the *Dictionarium* in reviving the Old English language.

Hoc opus igitur eis conjunctim dedicatum, Dom. tuæ nominatim consecratur: nec hoc solum aut tui honoris aut meæ gratitudinis ergo; sed in operis meliorem apud omnes acceptionem[119] & existimationem, à Dom. tuæ præfixo nomine, quod (à constanti Pietatis, Eruditionis & morum suavitatis inferentibus,[120] seipso scil. & progenitoribus tuis per longam gentis seriem, conjunctione:) si non cum illis veræ nobilitatis partibus, & proprietatibus synonymum, ab eis tamen prorsus inseperabile videtur. Et ut per omnes futuras prosapiæ tuæ germinationes ita permaneat, ejus ex corde votum est, qui cum Dom. tuæ pro hoc veluti susceptoris officio tibi imposito veniâ, ut Parentem incæptis bonitatis tuæ fructibus beare pergas, impense rogat: quique sicut hactenus Dom. tuæ de facie est incognitus, ita & aliis nullo magìs quàm hoc saltem titulo innotescere cupit,

The joint dedication of the *Dictionarium* to its users and to Roger Spelman. The good reputation of the Spelman family as contributing to the favourable reception of the work.

[118] In some copies, this is corrected to 'ad dantis'.
[119] In some copies, this is corrected to 'acceptationem'.
[120] In some copies, this is corrected to 'in ferentibus'.

Tui scil. & præclaræ famil. tuæ

Cultoris Devotiss.

GULIEL. SOMNERI.

Appendix III: *The Preface [Ad Lectorem]* (Canterbury, Cathedral Archives, CCA-DCc-ChAnt/M/352)

NOTE: In the following transcription, abbreviations have been silently expanded. Where Somner uses <þ> in writing Early Modern English, this has been silently replaced with <th>. Old English, written by Somner in Anglo-Saxon characters, is here transcribed in italics. The manuscript shows occasional addition or correction of words within the main body of the text, apparently made in the course of writing, and these have likewise been silently incorporated. Somner's marginal notes to the text are given here in footnotes. Unlike the published Latin, the English is not divided into numbered sections (although its paragraphing is equivalent); to facilitate comparison between the two versions, I have added section numbering (in square brackets) corresponding to the divisions in the Latin.

Not to breake custome, nor disappoint those who expect (even of course) some entertainment on the Porch, somewhat to be spoken by way of preface, I shall here promise some few things, both concerning the Worke, & my inducements to the undertaking of it, beginning not improperly with the latter.

[1.] So it is then, that now almost 20 yeares since, by the courteous condescension of that reverend, & (both for his eminency in the choicest literature, & singular affection to me) never enough esteemed person, Dr. Meric Casaubon, (one of that truly venerable Society of Canons in that then famous & flourishing, howeuer since, by the dismall rage of a Culmerian crue, miserably deformed, Canterbury-Cathedral:) I was happily taken into his good, intimate & almost daily acquaintance: and soone after, by his persvasion & advice (upon some ouvertures of my great affection to Antiquities, those especially of the middle age & amongst them such chiefly as were domestick, respecting my owne country & the place of my nativity. Applying my selfe to the studie of the English-Saxon language, I quickly found (according to what that worthy Dr for any easier inducement to the study, with some assurance, promised me:) an ample requital of my pains, both by the sutablenesse of it with my Genius, and the daily growing light proceding from it towards a discovery as well of our English Antiquities, as of the original of our mother tongue.

[2.] Thus prompted then & encouraged to a prosecution of that study, I tooke all opportunities of spare & vacant houres from any other occasions & employment in the place or office of a Register, (a profession of good account in those times, however

sithenne, by an unhappy change of times, decried, & to my very great damage in particular, abolished:) to verse my selfe in all sorts of Saxon monuments, whether manuscript, or printed, that I could meet with; transcribing many of the former sort, & amongst them some whole volumes: as Ælfricks Latin-Saxon Grammar: a Saxon Physick booke: (both which I borrowed out of the late Kings Library at St. James:) a very ancient Saxon Paraphrase upon some parts of the old & new Testament, since that time at Amsterdam printed & published; and (for the publick sake) would I could add, translated, by the learned Francis, the sonne of Fr. Junius, one truly emulous of his fathers praise & parts: the Pentateuch in Saxon: (whereof, from the very same forme of concluding the preface in both, I am induced to bileeve the above-named Ælfrick to be the Interpreter:) Orosius also translated into Saxon (as is generally conceived) by King Alfred, together with a Saxon Chronology (sometime, I take it, belonging to Abbingdon Abbey) bound up with it, & with the former lent one out of Sir Thomas Cottons best replenished Library: not to mention other smaller tracts & transcripts from Textus Roffensis, and the like. These, I say, I transcribed; & then made my selfe master & owner of the Saxon Lawes, published by that learned Countryman & able Antiquary, Mr Lambard: the Saxon Gospells: the little treatise concerning a Saxon sermon or homily on Easter day &c published both by it selfe & in Mr Foxes Acts & Monuments: Ælfricks Saxon treatise of the old & new Testament, set forth & translated by Mr William Lisle, a gentleman highly deserving of his language: the Saxon Psalter, published by John Spelman esquire late sonne & heire of Sir Hen. Spelman Kt: venerable Bedes ecclesiasticall history, with the Saxon Chronology annexed of Mr Whelocks edition: the Proæmium as well of the Regularis Concordia set out by that great Clerke, Mr Selden, in his Notes upon Eadmerus; as of S. Gregories Pastoral, first published & translated by our famous Mr Camden, & eftsoones by the no less famous Bonaventura Vulcanius: Sir Hen. Spelmans Glossary & councils: Verstegans Restitution of English Antiquities, & some here & there scattered & dormant Saxon fragments. And having gotten these together, I became very conversant in them: perusing them (whether with more delight or diligence I cannot say) more then once.

[3.] Other, many other, Saxon pieces I know there are, both in the publick Libraries of our severall Universities, & in those more private, yet (by the good favour of their noble keepers) to me as publick, & to my accesse as free: such as Sir Thomas Cottons, (the none-such indeed, for the kind) the late Earle of Arundells, the Lord Hattons, Mr Seldens, Sir Simonds D'ewes, Mr Elias Ashmole, &c : some of which I have seene, borrowed, & turned over & yet thought it not so needful to transcribe them; partly in regard of one

single mans insufficiency, in point both of labour & leisure, for so great a taske: and partly also, because in these pieces, though for number many, & for the variety of their subjects, & the age of the authors, different; yet I was not like to find (as I conceived) any other language, nor almost any other words than what I had already met with in those many & manifold other wherewith I was so well already stored. In which opinion I became in no small measure afterwards confirmed, when I had procured & perused certaine collections of Saxon words, dictionary wise digested, that namely of Mr Laurence Nowel, & another of Mr John Jocelin, (which Sir Simonds D'ewes had word for word transcribed) besides some other more ancient ones found & yet extant in that famous & noble treasury of antiquities & pretious rarities both foraine & domestick, that Library of Sir Tomas, sonne of Sir Robert Cotton, Baronet; the Collectors of all which (as appeared from their quotations) having had the use of those or mist if those monuments which I wanted, yet produce & take notice of very few other words than what my owne collections had furnish'd me withal.

[4.] Truth is, Mr Nowel (that most diligent searcher of antiquities, & so stiled by learned Mr Lambard) as Mr Camden, or who els is the author of those British Remaines by common opinion ascribed to him, pag. 23. plainly intimateth, had gotten such a Collection together as he intended to have published, in the name of a Saxon Dictionary; but (through what occasion diserted or prevented, I know not) never did. A strong & credible reporte there is that Mr Jocelin, by reverend Mr Bishop Parkers incouragement, whose Secretary he was, had the same intention also: whose collection was swollen into a more larger volume than the others: but as the former, he dies also & never sets it forth. The same report goes of Mr John de Laet of Antwerpe, a very learned man, & one much & of a long time conversant & expert in this language. Afterwards, Mr Abraham Whelock, the late learned Arabick professor at Cambridge, encouraged to the study of this language by a singular loving master thereof, that noble, learned, & pious knight, Sir Henry Spelman, (who, according to Mr Gills true character of him, by variety of learning & especially by his great knowledge in antiquity, added much to that dignity he had by knighthood) arrived at much proficiency therein. And as for the more advancing & better propagating the language, he sets forth the old Saxon translation of venerable Bedes ecclesiast. History, ascribed (& not without good warrant) to K. Alfred, together with large notes, full of larger quotation from the Saxon homilies, & a Saxon Chronology, with a Latine translation of his owne annexed: so at the close of his preface before his new edition of the Saxon Laws,

bound up in the same volume with the former, he promises a Saxon Glossary of his owne composing: but dies also re infecta.

[5.] Some years before his death the aforesaid, & never without honour to be named friend of mine, Dr Casaubon, is in that treatise of his of the ancient English language, he had in generall spoken much in my comend[ation],[121] so also did he there give the world some notice in particular of my intention, so as once I were incouraged by more favourable times, to publish a Saxon Dictionary. Some other friends withall, privy to my studies, gave their friends some hopes, & put them into some kind of expectation thereof; which was, I perceive, not lessened, but augmented rather, by my Glossary at the end of the old writers of the English History not many yeares ago set forth by Cornelius Bee of London book-seller, (one truly, for divers of the better sort of books by his proper care & cost imprinted, very well deserving of learning & learned men, and bee-like so industrious, that his name as well becomes him) wherein frequent occasion was administred of dealing & medling in Saxon words & expressions: to say nothing of my translating such Saxon pieces into Latine as occurre in the Monasticon Anglicanum. Indeed since that time I have beene much sollicited, & even daily by many importuned, for the undertaking & absolving of such a worke as this, with assurances from not a few very intelligent, judicious & noble friends,[122] sensible of my slender fortunes, & therefore, as benefactors, ready to excuse me of the charge of the impression) of its very good acceptance, as ere at home, so also abroad, with such especially there as are studious, either of the Teutonick antiquities, or of that ancient tongues original, wherein our English-Saxon doth partake with it, as being both originally the same, although with some variation & diversity in point of dialect. To all which was added this one encouragement more, a certaine annual salary or stipend, which as upon a like account it was by the bounty of Sir Hen. Spelman of happy memory conferred on Mr Abraham Whelock, & by him enjoyed till his death; so by the heire as well of the philologicall parts as fortunes of that most noble Worthy, his renowned grand-child, John Spelman Esquire, sonne of Sir John Spelman Knight., a most worthy scion of such a stocke, hath bin (though unwillingly enough, as being very conscious of my insufficiency for such a weighty taske & province:) nor willing any longer to deliberate or delay, at

[121] The remainder of this word, almost certainly 'comendation', has been obscured by a library stamp.
[122] Amongst whom Ger. Langbaine, Tho. Smith Nevill of Cambridge, Wm Dugdale of Warwickshire, & Jo. Boys of Canterb. (prime men all, & besides their great learning & sweetnes of disposition, burning with an incredible desire of advancing the Com. Wealth of Letters, and Antiquities:) I acknowledge to be chiefe. [Footnote Somner's own.]

length I betooke my selfe to the worke; nor afterwards desisted, untill (to my power) I had brought it to perfection.

[6.] Addressing therefore my selfe to the taske with all intention of mind, (so farre as my leisure would permitt:) although I distrusted not my owne endeavours, & had already sufficient matter by me whence to fetch what might suffice & serve my turne, yet to neglect nothing that might further my designe, I diligently perused both Jocelins & Nowels collections, gleaning from each whatever I found to be wanting in my owne. And because upon examination & triall I found that none almost of the fore-named authors, nor any other Saxon monuments whatsoever, whether in publick or private Libraries, had escaped them & their inquiry, my part & busines I conceived chiefly to consist in this, to be most industrious & conversant in & about such pieces as were to them either not at all or but little knowne such as that Physick booke in the late Kings Library: such likewise as that Saxon Paraphrase, (the use whereof I thankfully acknowledge my selfe to owe to that most reverend Primat of Ireland, James Usher, late Archbishop of Armagh, a man indeed incomparable, & most worthy to be had in perpetual memory:) & not a few Charters, grants, or deeds, (Land-books, as called in that age) found in the Registers & other repositories of Cathedral Churches & other religious houses: whereby how much this worke hath been advanced & inlarged, the thing it selfe, (though I were silent) will sufficiently declare.

[7.] Those two books indeed (the Physicke-booke & Paraphrase) found me much worke. For not being translated, (as all or most of the other were:) and the latter of them (especially) written in such an old, obsolete, uncouth, poeticall, swelling, effected, mysticall, ænigmaticall style & phrase; & so full of strange hyperbata, & transpositions, (wherewith, as the learned Wormius, Literatura Runica, pag. 192. will observe, the veterum cantilenæ, the songs & sonnets of the ancients, do very much abound, to the puzling of a very intelligent reader oftentimes) I was enfourced to plod much & dwell very long upon many (I might say, the most) of the words & phrases in them both, the latter especially, before ever I could master them. Nor with all my pains, patience & skill could I sometimes expedite or extricate my selfe: insomuch as I am faine very often to passe over & wave positive & certaine, and with a fortasse rove onely at a probable & conjectural exposition of the word.

[8.] And thus am I come to speake of the Worke it self, & to give the Reader an account of some particulars necessary to forewarne him of, for his more easy understanding &

better profiting by this booke. First then I would have him to know, that although I have not followed the former collections of others, abounding (especially Mr Jocelins, followed by Sir Simonds D'ewes in his copy) with repetitions of the same word, varied, if a nowne, into cases; if a verbe, into moods & tenses, very impertinently (I take it) and superfluously; more indeed to the swelling of the booke, then to the profit of the reader: yet is there not any one word, (not fowly mistaken, or so corrupted & obscure as past my understanding) either in former collections or elswhere, in any Saxon monument, I meane, exposed to my perusall, that I have wilfully omitted, or bin sparing to rectifie it, if mistaken, or to illustrate it, if uncouth & darke, with pertinent examples: adding most on end the Teutonick word in Kilians (as sometimes in Dasypodius) Lexicon, where at least I found it of affinity with the Saxon, as very oft it is; & no marvell, both, as erewhile I noted, together with the Belgick, Danish, Swedish, Islandish, Norwegian, & other like adjoining tongues, being of the same common original & descent. Upon which account it is also, that I take so much notice of Otfridus, Willeramus, Chaucer, & some other authors of venerable standing & antiquity.

[9.] Next, for the gratifying & better satisfying of Novices, & such as are altogether inexpert, or but little versed in the language, I have for the most part made my translations into Latin almost verbatim: studiously declining that polite & elaborate style so much indeed affected of Mr Lambard, in his version of the Saxon Laws, as that his reader is thereby little benefited in the knowledge of the original, the Saxon.

[10.] In the third place he is to understand, that by P.S. I intend that Saxon Paraphrase, lent me, as I said, by the late Rd Primat, Usher, & of Mr Junius, in his Observations on Willeramus, pag. 24d. so highly celebrated, & not without much judgement & sagacity ascribed of him to that Cedmon, Cædmon, or Ceadman, mentioned by venerable Bede, Hist. ecclesiast. Li.4. c.24. & by L.M. I meane that Liber medicus, (or medicinalis, as intit'led in the front) borrowed from the late Kings library, divided into 3 parts, & each part into severall chapters. By L. Sc. Or Lib. Scint. & the like, Liber Scintillarum, which I found in Sir Simonds D'ewes Library. By N. that vocabulary or collection of Saxon words by Mr Nowel; as by D. that of Mr Jocelins, transcribed & copied by Sir Sim. D'ewes. By MS. An old manuscript Saxon Glossary or dictionary, whereof I found (& had the use of) a couple in Sir Tho. Cottons Library; one longer but thinner, in a narrow folio; the other shorter but thicker, in Octavo. By Lanc. is intended the Lancastrians, or those of Lancashire, who (by Mr Nowels observation, that countryman, I take it) so speake at this

day. By N.L. the old Latine formula, Non Liquet: as by E.G. & V.G. Exempli, and Verbi gratia.

[11.] Add thereunto, that where at the end of any Saxon word, or the exposition of it, any of those notes or letters are found, viz MS: N: D: L.M: L. Sc: or the like, without further inlargement by way of conjecture, or otherwise: there I make & stand in some doubt, either of the word it selfe or of the exposition, and leave it upon the credit of my author, as not satisfied my selfe, & desirous that the reader should seeke out for clearer satisfaction on the point.

[12.] Note also, that as throughout the whole worke adjectives ending in *lic*, or *lice*, are also adverbs & adverbially used: so participles active or of the present tense (which end on *end*, &c) become also, as with the Latine, nouns substantive & are substantively used: whilest the participles passive & verbs of the preter tense are of one & the same termination, alike ending in *ed*, &c.

[13.] Observe moreover, that what words, verbs especially, verbals & participles passive are not found simply by themselves, or in their bare simples, are to be sought in one or other of those words which are compounded of *a, be, for, ge,* or *to*; or to which those augmenta initialia, or inseparable prepositions are p*re*fixed.

[14.] It yet remains to add & note, that the English Saxons often confounded & indifferently used many severall letters, vowels especially & diphthongs: as (for instance) *a* & *æ*: as in *acer, æcer,* ager: *ac, æc,* quercus. Also *æ* & *e*: as *æce, ece,* æternus, *æa, ea,* aqua. Also *æ* & *ea*: as *æl, eal,* omnis. So also *æ* and *œ*: as *æghwær, æghwer*, ubique: *æghwelc, æghwelc,* unusquisque. So likewise *æ* & *y:* as *ælc, ylc,* quisque. Also *e*, *i,* & *y*: as *egland, igland, ygland,* insula: *eldan, ildan, yldan,* cunctari: *efel, yfel,* malus: *embe, imbe, ymbe,* circa, circum, &c. And hence it comes to passe that their comparatives indifferently end in *ar, ær, er, ir, or, ur, yr,* as their superlatives in *ast, æst, est, ist, ost, ust, yst:* their participles also of the present tense in *and, ænd, end,* &c: as those of the preter tense in *ad, æd, ed,* &c. plainly according to the various & varying dialect of the age or place. Nor was this usuall with them in their vowels & diphthongs only, but in some also of their consonants. For example, *b, f,* & *v*: as in *ober, ofer, ouer*, super, ultra, trans: *fot, uot,* pes. Also *c* and *k*: as *cyning, kyning,* Rex: *cyð, kyð,* cognatio, *acer, aker,* ager. As also *c* & *q*: as *cwen, quen,* Regina, uxor, mulier: *cwið, quið* matrix. So also *g* & *j* consonant: as *gagul-swillan, jagul-swelgan,* gargarizare: *geo, jeo,* olim, quondam: *geoguð, jeoguð,* juventus, &c

with many more of that sort every where obvious in their writings: to the occasioning of many repetitions of the same word in this worke in a different way of spelling. Which thing as I could not avoid, so my hope is the ingenuous reader, thus advertised thereof, will not unwillingly excuse. Some primitives also now & then occurred without derivatives, as contrary-wise some derivatives without primitives, as in my reading I met with them. For albeit, by the helpe of analogy, the one may easily for the most part be formed & made out by the other, especially verbs & participles: yet I durst not take that liberty, nor indeed could I thinke I safely might: well remembering what many have observed, that all or most languages rest not so much upon analogy as (what is often contrary to it) custome: so that I thought I should do both myself & the reader more right to content my selfe & present him with such & so many words only as I found.

[15.] It may not be forgotten, that the reason why I more frequently quote the Saxon Chronology published & translated by Mr Whelock, than most other Saxon books or monuments, except the L.M. & P.S. is because I found his version in all or most of those places very faulty. And although I desire not any credit to my selfe by discrediting other men, by discovering (I meane) their slips & sphalmata, especially if men of so much learning, candor & modesty as he: yet I thought my selfe bound (on this faire occasion offered rather then taken) to prevent the readers seduction into error, by suffering him to swallow those (for the most part) material, though doubtless involuntary, Errata. In the meane time, that I may not seeme either uncivilly to insult over such a worthy mans ghost, or in the least measure to detract or derogate (farre be it from me) from the fame of his learning & parts never to be forgotten, I do willingly acknowledge, & ingenuously confesse, that by his publishing that worke, he hath singularly deserved of this language, of my selfe, & of the publick; & that thereby I have not a little profited in his study: but especially by those Saxon Rules, or Grammatical Observations prefixed to his Saxon-Latin Bede, which seriously I do so much esteeme, that (as very usefull to the students of this language) I not onely recomend the same unto them; but for their sakes & in honor to the author, although the most of them, with many more, besides what are above laid downe, are by my selfe observed & scatteringly delivered in this worke, yet I have verbatim written them out, & have below of new jointly represented them.

[16.] Neither let the Reader find fault with me, in that for the exposition of Saxon words, I have sometimes inserted certain barbarous Latin words, altogether unheard of amongst good & classic authors. For he may know the same neither were of me devised, nor willingly used; but were such as I found in one or other, sometimes in all, the Glossaries

above mentioned, whose compilers, as I verily believe, fetched them from the old translations (in such languages as suted with the age) of the English-Saxon monuments into Latin. I would not therefore, nor as I conceive ought I, to change them, much lesse to omit them: and yet for their explication, I have for the most part added some Synonyma, some words (more passable with better Latinists) of the same sense and signification. But since I am fallen upon the mention of Synonymas, this furthermore remains to be observed, that in rendring the English-Saxon words into Latin, I have not always gott or brought together all the Synonymas that I mights: w*hi*ch neverthelesse, as they are few, so with all to every one, though but meanly acquainted with that language, so obvious, that soon the least diligence of the reader, wherof I nothing doubt, will serve for a supply.

[There is no equivalent in the manuscript version to the published section 17.]

[18.] That I should here ingorge, or further inlarge in my discourse of the Saxon language, with an intent to show the antiquity, amplitude, utility, or other properties of it, I hope is not here expected. For my owne part, I conceive this taske so well already undertaken, & so happily & fully performed by severall learned men, & particularly of late by my learned & ever honoured friend, Dr Casaubon, in his accurate Treatise De Lingua Anglica vetere sive Saxonica, (a worke, together with the author, celebrated with the highest of encomiums by a man of high parts[123]) that I should but actum ager, & seeme to write Iliads after Homer, or to thrust my sickle into other mens harvest, to enter into any such discourse.

This is what I thought fit to admonish the Reader of here at his entrance.

[123] V. D^ni^ Gul. Burtoni, Regio-vicensii, Græcæ linguæ Historiam, pag. [Footnote Somner's own. He does not give a page number for the book mentioned. 'Regio-vicensis' is a reference to Kingston, where Burton was a schoolmaster (Boran, 2004).]

Appendix IV: *Historical Thesaurus* 'Literature' entries with a corresponding literary sense recorded in the *Dictionarium*

A full explanation of all the abbreviations and sources referred to by Somner in the following entries would be considerably beyond the scope of the current thesis. The most complete studies of these aspects of the *Dictionarium* are to be found in the work of Cook (1962) and Hetherington (1980).

***Dictionarium* headword**	**Definition**
awritan	Scribere. **to write**. *it*. edere, digerere. **to publish, to dispose, digest or set in order.** awriten. *part*. scriptus, &c. **written**, &c.
beacnenge, beacnunge	Nutus. **a signing, nodding to, becking or beckening.** *item*, Tropologia. **a speaking by tropes or figures.**
beacniendlice	Allegoricus. **allegoricall, mysticall, of a dark or obscure signification.**
bi-spel, big-spel	Parabola, proverbium, paradigma. **a parable, a byword, a proverb, an example, a pattern.** *Kiliano*, **by-spel**.
boc	Liber, codex, tomus, schedula. **a book, a volume, a tome, a scrowle.** *Scotis*, **buike.** Cristes-boc. *Monasticon Anglic.* p.222. Christi liber. Charta vero (sive instrumentum donationis) ibidem sic appellatur. Num autem a Crucis signo, in doni confirmationem, chartae aut praefixo aut subscripto: num quod res inibi monachis collatae, Christi gratia, aut quasi ipsi Christo, fuerint donatae, non satis mihi liquet.
boc-cræft	Literatura. **learning, knowledge of letters.**
bocere	Scriba, secretarius, tabellarius, scriptor. **a scribe, a writer, a scrivener, a secretary, a writer of books.**
byrgen-leoð	Epitaphium. **An Epitaph: also a funerall song or verse.**
clysing	Claustrum. **a cloyster.** *it. c*onclusio. **a closing or conclusion.** *it.* clausula. **a clause.**
dihtan	Parare, procurare, instituere, instruere. **to prepare, to procure, to provide, to appoint, to furnish.** *item*, disponere, componere, exarare. **to dispose, to set in order, to compose, to write, to endite.** dihtan æn ærend-gewrit; dictare epistolam. **to endite a letter. Hence (saith *Verstegan*) our name of Ditties for things that be dighted or made in meeter.**

eald-writere	Antiquarius. **an antiquary, one that writeth of old or ancient matters.**
fers	Versus. **a verse.**
fersian	Versificare. **to make verses.**
fore-rim	Prologus. **a prologue.**
fore-sæcgednesse	Præfatio, proæmium. **a preface, a preamble.**
galdor	Incantatio. **an inchantment, a charme.**
gebicnigendlic	Indicativus. **that whereby any thing is shewed.** gebicnigendlic gemet. modus indicativus. **the indicative mood.**
gebicnunge	Præsagium. **a presage, a prophecy, a betokening.**
gedda	Cantica, cantilenæ. **Songs.**
gedde	Proverbium. **a proverb, a common saying. from** giddian, *canere*: **because old proverbs are mostly rythmicall, or running in ryme: from whence also,**
geddunga	Ænigmata, similitudines. **riddles or dark sentences, similies, or similitudes.**
gediht	Dictatum. **a dictate, a thing endited.**
gemetu	Metrum. **metre, verse.**
geræccan	Declarare, exponere. **to declare or tell, to expound, to set out or forth.**
geræde-spræce	Prosa, sermo solutus. **prose.**
gereccednysse	Historia, narratio. **a history, story, narration or report.**
getacnigendlice	Typicus, figurativus. **typicall, figurative, significant.**
getæl	Series, numerus, computatio. **an order, course or race: also number: also an account, reckoning, or tale.**
getinge	Lepor, facundia, eloquentia. **pleasantnesse, good grace of speech, eloquence.** *it. adject.*
getingelice	Lepidus, affabilis. **pleasant in speech, affable, courteous, complementall.** *item,* loquax, rhetoricus. **full of tongue, rhetoricall, or eloquent.**
getingnysse	*ut* getinge. *substant.* dumbum he forgeaf getingnesse. *mutos fecit eloquentes.*
gewrit, gewrite	Scriptura quævis, gramma. **any kind of writing.** *item,* Historia. **a chronicle or history.** *item,* frutetum. *MS.* **a young orchard or grove: a heap or tuft of trees or plants.** *V.* gewrid. & wridan. halig gewrit. Sacra Scriptura. **the holy writ or scripture.** ofer-gewrit. Titulus. **a title, a superscription.** riht gewrit. Orthographia. **orthographie, or right writing.**

gidde	Elogium, eulogium. **a report or testimony of ones praise or dispraise.** *it.* proverbium, parabola, carmen. **a proverb, a parable, a verse.**
giddian	Canere, cantare, psallere. **to sing.** *item*, ludere, versificare. **to versifie or rime.** se scop þa ongan singan ⁊ giddian. Tunc Poeta canere, & versificare incepit.
giddung	Parabola, divinatio, eulogium. *V.* gedde & geddunga.
glesing	Glossa. **a glosse or exposition.** þonne man glesð þa earfoðan word mid eaðran ledene. Sic *Ælfricus.* i. *quando vocem difficiliorem* (vel *obscuriorem*) *faciliore* (vel *planiore*) *voce latina quis exposuerit.*
heaf-sang	Lamentum. **lamentation.** *item*, Elegia. **an elegie, a lamentable song.**
hiwlice	Tropicus. **tropicall, figurative.**
hleoðor-cwyde	*fortasse*, Oraculum, vaticinium, præsagium, prædictio, sermo propheticus. *P.S.* p.109. þa þ wif ahloh. wereda drihtnes. nalles glædlice. ac heo gearum frod. þone hleoðor-cwyde husce [*lege* hucse] belegde. on sefan swiðe. i.e. forte: *tunc risit mulier*, [Sara] *non autem ex animi lætitia: sed ipsa vetusla existens, sermonem illum propheticum Domini exercituum valde ironice corde coarguit.*
	him god sealde gife of heofnum. þurh leoðor-cwyde haliges gastes. &c. De *Daniele* dictum, *P.S.* p.179. id est, forte: *Ei gratiam* (vel, *donum*) *de cælo dedit Deus, per suggestionem Spiritus sancti.*
leoð	Carmen, pœan, oda, celeasma. **a verse, a song, a song of rejoycing, an ode or psalm, the shout or noise which mariners make when they doe any thing together, or when the Master doth call and encourage them.**
leoð-cræft	Canendi ars, ars metrica vel poetica. **poetry, poesie.** *item*. Poema. **a poem.**
leoð-cwidas	Carmina, cantica. **sayings or songs of Poets.**
meter, metre	Metrum. **metre, verse.**
meter-cræft	Ars metrica. **poetry, poesy.**
meter-cund	Metrum catalecticum. **that kind of metre wherein one syllable lacketh.**
meter-fers	Metrum, rithmus, versus heroicus. **meter, rithme, heroic verse.**
meter-wyrhta	Metricus. **a rimer, a maker of rimes or verses.**
race	Historia, expositio, narratio, lectio, ratio, allegatio, argumentum, tractatus. **an history or story, an exposition, a narration or report, a reading or lesson, a reason, an allegation, an argument, a treatise.**
scop	poeta. **a Poet.**

scop-cræft Poetica, poesis. **poetry, poesy.**

secgan Dicere, loqui, referre. **to say, to speak, to rehearse, to report, to tell.** *Willeramo*, **sagon.** *Kiliano*, **segghen.** secgend. *part.* item, relator. **a reporter, a rehearser, a teller.**

settan Ponere, constituere, decernere, statuere, sancire**. to put, to set, to constitute, to decree, inact, ordain or appoint.** *it.* locare, collocare. **to place.** *it*. componere. **to make, to compose, to devise, to write.** *Kiliano*, **setten.** Salomon gesette ðreo ðusend bigspella. ⁊ v. hund leoða. i. Solomon *composuit tria proverbiorum millia, & quingenta carmina* [vel, cantica.] *item*, Pastinare. **to digge and delve for planting.**

soð-saga Historia. **a story or history.** *item*. Veriloquia. **true sayings, reports or speeches.**

spel Historia, sermo, fabula**. a story or history, a speech, a rumour, a fable, a tale, discourse.** *item*, Doctrina. **learning, doctrine, knowledge, teaching.** Hinc nostratium *spell*, pro incantationis genere per sermones vel verba. Plura nos olim in Notis ad Gloss. *Lipsii*, in vocibus *Bispilla*, & *Spel*.

spellunge Colloquium. **conference, communication.** idel spellunga. **fabulæ. fables, idle tales.**

spræce Colloquium, disputatio. **a conference, a disputation.** *it*. verbum, eloquium, locutio, loquela. **a word, speech, a speaking, an oracle.** *it*. sermo, homilia. **a speech, a sermon, a homily.** *it*. causa, lis, controversia. **a cause or suit in law: strife controversy: a plaint or plea.** *item*, **fama. a rumor, report, fame or common speech.** *Kiliano*, **spraecke.** gyltlice spræce. Blasphemia. **blasphemy.** leden spræce. Sermo latinus, lingua latina. **the latine tongue or speech.**

stæflice Literalis, literarius. **literall, perteining to letters or learning.**

stæf-writere Grammaticus. **a grammarian.**

talu Fabulæ. **tales.**

ðeawlice Rite, de more, ex more, pro more. **fashionably, according to custome, order or manner, mannerly.** ðeawlice spræce. Tropologia. **a figurative manner or fashion of speaking.**

traht Expositio, commentarius tractatus. **an exposition, a commentary, a treatise.**

traht-boc *idem.*

trahtere Interpretes, commentator, &c. **an interpreter, expounder, commentator.**

trahtnian	Tractare, interpretari, exponere. **to treat of, to interpret or expound, to comment upon or write commentaries.**
trahtnunge	Tractatus, interpretatio, expositio. **a treatise, interpretation, exposition.**
word	Verbum, dictio, oratio, locutio, sermo, vox. **a word, a saying, a speech.** *Kiliano*, **waerd, woord.** dædlic word. verbum activum. **a verb active.** þrowigendlic word. verbum passivum. **a verb passive.** naþres cynnes word. verbum neutrum. **a verb neuter.** alecgende word. verbum deponens. **a verb deponent.**
woð	Eloquentia, facundia. **eloquence.**
woðbora	Rhetores. **Rhetoricians, eloquent Orators.**
writan	Scribere. **to write.**
writere	Scriptor. **a writer.**
wyrd-writeras	Historici: Poetæ. **Historians: Poets.**

Appendix V: *boc* compounds with a corresponding *Dictionarium* entry

***Dictionarium* headword**	**Definition**
æ-bec	Codices juris. **Law-books.**
ærend-boc	*i.e.* ærend-gewrit. [ærend-gewrit is defined as 'Epistola, literæ. **an epistle, letters, or a message in writing.** *it. Commonitorium.* **letters mandatory.** *it.* Pyctacium. **a paper pf short notes: a brief or short writing containing the summe of things, a summary.**']
bletsing boc	Liber benedictionum formulas continens.
boc-æceras	*i*. boc-land.
boca-streon	Bibliotheca. **a Library.**
boc-cræft	Literatura. **learning, knowledge of letters.**
bocere	Scriba, secretarius, tabellarius, scriptor. **a scribe, a writer, a scrivener, a secretary, a writer of books.**
boc-fel	Pergamena. **parchment, velume, skinns to write on: paper being not with them in use.**
boc-hord	*idem*. [the reference is to *boca-streon*, above] *item*, chartophylaceum. **a place where books, papers, writings or other like monuments be kept, as the Rowles.** *verbatim*, librorum horreum.
boc-land	Possessio, possessiuncula, territorium, fundus, ager, prædium. **a possession, an inheritance, a territory, a farme or house with land belonging to it, a close, a field or soile.** *it.* Allodium. **free-hold, land of an opposite nature to fief, or fee: as that whereof the owner hath not onely** *utile,* **but** *directum dominium,* **as Lawyers phrase it.** *q.d.* **charter-land.** *Vide Glossar.* Nostrum in voce *Feodum*. Hinc land-gebocan, *vel* gebocian. *i.e.* terram, *vel* fundum, scripto dare *vel* conferre. Scriptum autem ejusmodi land-boc vocarunt, *q.d.* fundi codex, charta, *vel* (ut illius ævi vocabulo utar) *telligraphum. V.* land-boc. & *Glossar.* nostrum, in hac voce, *Lambardum* etiam, in verb. *Terra ex scripto.*

boc-leden Sermo Latinus, lingua Latina. **the Latine tongue,** on boc-leden. Latine. **in Latine.**

boclice Biblicus, biblius. **of or belonging to books.**

boc-ræder Lector. **a reader of books.**

boc-rædinc Lectio. **a reading of books.**

boc-read Minium. **a kind of red colour now called Vermilion, much used of old in limming and trimming of books.**

boc-scamul Pluteus ecclesiæ, *vulgo, Lectorium*. **a reading desk or seat.**

boc-staf Litera, character. **a letter, a character.** *plur*. boc-stafas. Literæ, epistolæ. **letters, an epistle.** *Kiliano*, **boeck-staf.** De vocis etymo *Vide* Cl. *Olai Wormii Literaturam Runicam*, p. 6.

boc-tale *LL. Canuti R*. p.2. c.35. *al*. boc-tæcing. Scripta. **writings.** *Lambardus*. Sacra Scriptura. **holy writ or scripture.** *Bromptonus*. Sacros ipse Canones intelligo, sive librum illum judicialem dom-boc dictum, de quo *infra*.

bocude Inscriptus, in librum relatus. **written in or upon a book, set, written or entred down in a book, booked, committed to writing.**

bocunge Scriptura, inscriptio. **a writing, an entring or setting down in a book, a booking.**

cneoris-boc Liber genealogicus, Genesis. **a book of genealogies or pedigrees.**

cristes-boc *Monasticon Anglic.* p.222. Christi liber. Charta vero (sive instrumentum donationis) ibidem sic appellatur. Num autem a Crucis signo, in doni confirmationem, chartae aut praefixo aut subscripto: num quod res inibi monachis collatae, Christi gratia, aut quasi ipsi Christo, fuerint donatae, non satis mihi liquet.

dom-boc Liber judicialis. *Legg. Edovardi* Regis senioris, c.8. bete swa dom-boc tæce. *i. compenset sicut liber judicialis statueris*. **Some book of Statutes or decrees proper to the** *English-Saxons***: such happily as that wherein the Lawes of former Saxon Kings were contained: that chapter seeming to referre to the Lawes of King** *Ina*, cap. 29.

for-boc Itinerarium. **a journall-book.**

gebocian *Vide* boc-land. gebocod. *part*. Chron. *Sax*. ad ann. 854. ⁊ ðy ylcan geare gebocude Æþelwulf cyning teoþan dæl his londes ofer eal his rice Gode to lofe. ⁊ him selfum to eccere hælo. *i.e*. *Et eodem anno* Ætheluulfus *Rex decimam terræ suæ partem, omni munere tutam,* (libere scilicet, &

	jure perpetuo possidendam) *per universum regnum suum, in laudem Dei, & animæ suæ salutem æternam, charta super ea re confecta* (Deo & Ecclesiæ) *dicavit.*
hals-bec	Phylacteria. **phylacteries.**
hand-boc	Enchiridion. **a manual.**
hierde-boc	Liber pastoralis. **the book called S.** *Gregories* **Pastoral; translated either by K.** *Alfred*, **or some other by his command.**
land-boc	Charta, codicillus, instrumentum donationis quo quis prædio cedit. **a charter, deed or writing whereby land is conveyed or given.** Epistola *Gaufridi* Supprioris & Monachorum ecclesiæ *Cant.* ad *Henric.* regem secundum, in Archivis ejusd. Ecclesiæ: *Et hoc attestantur scripta vetustissima, quæ lingua* Anglorum, **Land-bokes,** *id est, terrarum libros, vocant.* His adde quod in eisdem Archivis descriptum reperi: *Anno Domini.* 995. Ascuinus, Dorcestrensis *ecclesiæ Christi in* Dorobernia, *&* Elfrico *Archepiscopo Metropolitanæ sedis terram de* **Hrifberghe***, cum libro ejus terræ, qui vulgariter dicitur* **Land-boc,** *quam terram.* &c. Vide Cl. *Spelmanni* Concilia, ad ann. 822.
ræding-boc	Lectionarium, liber qui legitur in liturgia: is autem duplex: unus, æstivalis, *Saxon*. sumer ræding-boc: alter, hyemalis, *Saxon*. winter ræding-boc. *Monastic. Anglic*. pag. 222.
scrift-boc	Confessionale: liber scil. confessionum formulas, vel confitendi & corrigendi leges & canones continens. Monastic. Anglican. Pag.222.
sealm-boc	Psalterium. **a psalm-book or psalter.**
seonoð-boc	Liber synodalis. **a book wherein the statutes or decrees made in a Synode are registred.**
siþ-boc	Itinerarium. **a journal-book.**
spel-boc	Homilarium liber. **a book of homilies.** Monastic. Anglican. p.222.
ðenung-boc	Leviticus. **the book so called for or in respect of the Leviticall services and sacrifices prescribed in it.** ðening (*al*. ðenung) bec. Libri officiales, in quibus scil. de officiis tractatur ecclesiasticis. **Service-books, such as those of common prayer and administration of the sacraments,** &c.
traht-boc	*idem*.

[The reference is to *traht*, which is defined as ‘Expositio, commentarius, tractatus. **an exposition, a commentary, a treatise.**’]

yrfe-boc Testamentum. **a will or testament.** yrf-bec. *plur. it.* chartæ, codicilli, donationum tabulæ vel instrumenta. **charters, evidences, deeds, or conveyances of land.**

Bibliography

Adams, Eleanor N. 1917. *Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800.* Yale Studies in English 55. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Alexander, Marc & Christian Kay. Published online 2016. Publications and Bibliography. *About the Historical Thesaurus of English.* Glasgow. <http://historicalthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/publications-and-bibliography> accessed 5 May 2017.

Atkins, B.T. Sue & Michael Rundell. 2008. *The Oxford Guide to Practical Lexicography*. Oxford; New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.

Baker, Peter S. 2003. Toller at school: Joseph Bosworth, T. Northcote Toller and the progress of Old English lexicography in the nineteenth century. *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 85(1). 95-114.

Bankert, Dabney. 2011. Legendary Lexicography: Joseph Bosworth's Hidden Debt to Henry J. Todd's Edition of Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language*. In Michael Adams (ed.) *Cunning passages, contrived Corridors*: *Unexpected Essays in the History of Lexicography,* 22-55. Milan: Polimetrica Press.

Benson, Thomas. 1701. *Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum, lexico Gul. Somneri magna parte auctius.* Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre.

Blount, Thomas. 1670. *Nomo-Lexicon: A Law-Dictionary. Interpreting Such Difficult and Obscure Words and Terms, As Are Found either in Our Common or Statute, Ancient or Modern Lawes*. London: Thomas Newcomb.

Boran, Elizabethanne. Published online 2004. Burton, William (1609–1657). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/4142> accessed 4 July 2017

Bosworth, Joseph. 1838. *A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language: Containing the Accentuation – the Grammatical Inflections – the Irregular Words Referred to Their Themes – the Parallel Terms, from the Other Gothic Languages – the Meaning of the Anglo-Saxon in English and Latin – and Copious English and Latin Indexes, Serving as a*

Dictionary of English and Anglo-Saxon, as Well as of Latin and Anglo-Saxon. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman [etc.]

Bosworth, Joseph & Toller, Thomas Northcote. 1898. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Boys, John. 1661. *Æneas his descent into Hell: As it is inimitably described by the Prince of Poets in the sixth of his Æneis.* London: R. Hodgkinsonne.

Brackmann, Rebecca. 2012. *The Elizabethan Invention of Anglo-Saxon England: Laurence Nowell, William Lambarde and the study of Old English*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

Bremmer, Rolf. 2001. Franciscus Junius reads Chaucer; but Why? and How? In Tom Shippey and Martin Arnold (eds) *Appropriating the Middle Ages: scholarship, politics, fraud.* Studies in Medievalism XI, 37-72. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

Camden, William. 1605. *Remaines of a greater worke, concerning Britaine.* London: printed by G[eorge] E[ld] for Simon Waterson.

Cameron, Angus, Ashley Crandell Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey et. al. (eds). 2016. *Dictionary of Old English: A to G.* <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/dict> accessed 26 September 2017.

Campbell, Alistair. 1972. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Enlarged addenda and corrigenda*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Casaubon, Meric. 1650. *De quatuor linguis commentationes pars prior, quae, de lingua hebraica et de lingua saxonica.* London: typis J. Flesher, sumptibus Ric. Mynne.

Chambers, Ephraim. 1728. *Cyclopædia, or, An universal dictionary of arts and sciences*. London: printed for J. and J. Knapton.

Coleman, Julie. 2012. Using Dictionaries and Thesauruses as Evidence. In Terttu Nevalainen and Elizabeth Cross Traugott (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English,* 98-110. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coleman, Julie and Sarah Ogilvie. 2009. 'Forensic dictionary analysis: principles and practice'. *International Journal of Lexicography* 22(1). 1-22.

Considine, John. 2008. *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe: lexicography and the making of heritage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cook, Sr. Mary Joan. 1962. *Developing Techniques in Anglo-Saxon Scholarship in the Seventeenth Century, as They Appear in the 'Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum' of William Somner*. Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto.

Courtney, W. P., rev. Patrick Curry. Published online 2004. Childrey, Joshua (1625–1670). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/5300> accessed 18 April 2017.

diPaolo Healey, Antonette. 2002. The Dictionary of Old English: from manuscripts to megabytes. *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America* 23. 156-179.

di Paolo Healey, Antonette. 2004. Polysemy and the *Dictionary of Old English*. In Coleman, Julie and Anne McDermott (eds) *Historical Dictionaries and Historical Dictionary Research: Papers from the International Conference on Historical Lexicography and Lexicology at the University of Leicester, 2002*. 137-47. Tübingen : M. Niemeyer.

Dixon, Dorothy. 1951. *Alexander Gil's Logonomia anglica edition of 1621 translated with an introduction and critical and explanatory notes*. PhD thesis: University of Southern California. <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll3/id/391405> accessed 27 September 2017.

Dodsworth, Roger & William Dugdale (eds) 1655. *Monasticon anglicanum, sive pandectae coenobiorum benedictinorum, cluniacensium, cisterciensium, carthusianorum, a primordiis ad eorum usque dissolutionem*. 3 vols. London: typis Richardi Hodgkinsonne.

Douglas, David C. 1951. *English Scholars 1660-1730*, 2nd edn. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.

Drayton, Michael. 1612. *Poly-olbion*. With *Illustrations* by John Selden. London: printed by Humphrey Lownes for M. Lownes, I. Browne, I. Helme & I. Busbie.

du Cange, Charles du Fresne, sieur. 1678. *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*. Paris: typis Gabrielis Martini, prostat apud Ludovicum Billaine.

Dundas, Judith. 2007. *Sidney and Junius on poetry and painting: from the margins to the center*. Newark: University of Delaware Press.

English Short Title Catalogue <estc.bl.uk> accessed 27th May 2017.

Frank, Roberta. 1998. When Lexicography Met the Exeter Book. In Peter S. Baker & Nicholas Howe (eds) *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson.* 207-222. Toronto, Ont.; London: University of Toronto Press.

Frantzen, Allen J. 1990. *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English, and Teaching the Tradition.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Gadamer, Hans-Georg. 1994. *Truth and Method.* 2nd edn rev. and trans. Joel Weinsheimer & Donald G. Marshall. London: Continuum.

Gerard, John. 1597. *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes*. London: printed by Edm. Bollifant for Bonham Norton and John Norton. 2nd edn ed. Thomas Johnson, 1633. London: printed by Adam Islip, Joice Norton & Richard Whitakers.

Giese, L.L. 1992. An anonymous seventeenth-century Bodleian manuscript dictionary: its authorship and significance to Old English studies. *Bodleian Library Record* 14(2). 145-57.

Gil, Alexander. 1619 (2nd edn 1621). *Logonomia Anglica qua Gentis sermo facilius addiscitur.* London: excudit Johannes Beale.

Gneuss, Helmut. 1985. Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English terminology. In Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (eds) *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, 91-142. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hamper, William (ed.) 1827. *The life, diary and correspondence of Sir William Dugdale, Knight*. London: Harding, Lepard & co.

The Right Hon. Lord Hanworth. 1935. Some Notes on the Office of Master of the Rolls. *The Cambridge Law Journal* 5. 313-31.

Hearne, Thomas. 1885. *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne* vol. 1, ed. Charles Edward Doble. Oxford: Clarendon.

Henning, Basil Duke. 1983. *The House of Commons, 1660-1690* vol. 1. London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Secker & Warburg.

Hetherington, M. Sue. 1980. *The Beginnings of Old English Lexicography*. Spicewood, TX: published by the author.

Hetherington, M. Sue. 1982. The Recovery of the Anglo-Saxon Lexicon. In Carl T. Berkhout & Milton McC. Gatch (eds) *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship: the first three centuries*. 79-89. Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall & co.

Hickes, George. 1689. *Institutiones Grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ et Mœso-Gothicæ*. Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre.

The Historical Gazetteer of England's Place-Names. [no date]. <http://placenames.org.uk> accessed 27 September 2017.

Hogg, Richard M. (ed.) 1992. *The Cambridge History of the English Language: The Beginnings to 1066*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Irenodia Cantabrigiensis ob paciferum serenissimi Regis Caroli e Scotia reditum mense Novembri 1641. 1641. [Cambridge]: ex officina Rogeri Daniel, almae academiae typographi.

Junius, Francis. 1743. *Francisci Junii Francisci filii Etymologicum anglicanum*, ed. Edward Lye. Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre.

Junius, Francis (ed.). 1655a. *Cædmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica Genesios*. Amsterdam: apud Christophorum Cunradi, typis & sumptibus editoris.

Junius, Francis. 1655b. *Observationes in Willerami Abbatis Francicam Paraphrasin Cantici Canticorum.* Amsterdam: apud Christophorum Cunradi, typis & sumptibus editoris.

Junius, Francis & Thomas Marshall (eds) 1665. *Quatuor D.N. Jesu Christi Evangeliorum versiones perantiquæ duæ, Gothica scil. et Anglo-Saxonica: quarum illam ex celeberrimo Codice Argenteo nunc primum depromisit Franciscus Junius F.F. hanc autem ex codicibus MSS. Collatis emendatius recudi curavit Thomas Mareschallus, Anglus, cuius etiam*

observationes in utramque subnectuntur. Dordrecht: typis & sumptibus Junianis, excudebat Henricus & Joannes Essaei.

Kay, Christian, Jane Roberts, Michael Samuels, Irené Wotherspoon, and Marc Alexander (eds) *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Published online 2017. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. <http://historicalthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk> accessed 27 September 2017.

Kennett, White. 1726. Life of Mr. Somner. In William Somner, *A Treatise of gavelkind*, 2nd edn, separately numbered 1-136. London: printed for F. Gyles in Holborn, J. Woodman & D. Lyon in Russel-Street Covent-Garden.

Kilpiö, Matti. 2009. Introduction. In Matti Kilpiö, Leena Kahlas-Tarkka, Jane Roberts & Olga Timofeeva (eds) *Anglo-Saxons and the North: essays reflecting the theme of the 10th meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists in Helsinki, August 2001*, 131-152. Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.

Kilpiö, Matti. 2011. Old English Etymologies in Christfrid Ganander's *Nytt Finskt Lexicon* (1789). In Olga Timofeeva & Tanja Säily (eds) *Words in Dictionaries and History; essays in honour of R.W. McConchie*, 1-10. Amsterdam; Philadelphia, Pa.: John Benjamins Pub. co.

Knottenbelt, E.M. Published online 2004. Boys, John (*bap.* 1621, *d.* 1661). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/3145> accessed 18 April 2017.

Krapp, George Philip (ed.) 1932. *The Vercelli Book*. Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, vol. 2. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Ladd, C.A. 1960. The "Rubens" manuscript and *Archbishop Ælfric's Vocabulary*. *Review of English Studies* 11(44). 353-64.

Lambarde, William. 1568. *Archaionomia, sive de priscis Anglorum legibus libri*. London: Ex officina Ioannis Daij.

2nd edn 1644, ed. Abraham Wheelock. Cambridge: ex officina Rogeri Daniel.

Lancashire, Ian, et al. (eds) Published online 2017. *Lexicons of Early Modern English*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Library and University of Toronto Press. <www.leme.library.utoronto.ca> accessed 27 September 2017.

Landau, Sidney. 1964. The numbers' game: dictionary entry count. *RQ* 4(6). 13-15.

Landau, Sidney. 2001. *Dictionaries: the Art and Craft of Lexicography,* 2nd edn. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lapidge, Michael. 1985. Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England. In M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (eds) *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday,* 33-89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lewis, Robert E. et. al. (eds). 2001 (published online 2007). *Middle English Dictionary*. <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med> accessed 24 August 2017.

Leyerle, John. 1971. "The Dictionary of Old English": A progress report. *Computers and the Humanities* 5(5). 279-283.

Liddell, Henry George & Robert Scott. 1940. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, *revised and augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones. with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0057> accessed 27 September 2017.

Lowe, Kathryn. 2000. "The oracle of his countrey"? William Somner, Gavelkind, and lexicography in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Graham, T. (ed.), *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 289-310. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University.

Lucas, Peter J. 2003. William Retchford, pupil of Abraham Wheelock in Anglo-Saxon: "He understands the Saxon as well as myself". *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 12(4). 335-361.

Lutz, Angelika. 1988. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte von William Somners *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*. *Anglia* 106. 1–25.

Lye, Edward & Owen Manning. 1772. *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum*. London: Edm. Allen.

McCleary, J. Marie van Zandt. 1958. *The Medulla Grammatice Latin-English Dictionary. A Diplomatic Transcription.* Doctoral thesis, University of Chicago.

McConchie, R.W. 2004 (published online 2008). Holyoake, Francis (1566x73–1653). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/13627> accessed 25 Sept 2017.

Marckwardt, Albert H. 1947. Nowell's *Vocabularium Saxonicum* and Somner's *Dictionarium*. *Philological Quarterly* 26. 345-51.

Marckwardt, Albert H. (ed.) 1952. *Laurence Nowell's Vocabularium Saxonicum*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Mores, Edward Rowe, eds Harry Carter & Christopher Ricks. 1778 [1961]. *A Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies*. Oxford: The Oxford Bibliographical Society.

Murphy, Michael. 1982. Antiquary to Academic: the progress of Anglo-Saxon Scholarship. In Carl T. Berkhout & Milton McC. Gatch (eds) *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship: the first three centuries*. 1-17. Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall & co.

Musarum Oxoniensium Ἐλαιοφορία, *sive, ob faedera auspiciis serenissimi Oliveri.* 1654. Oxford: excudebat Leonardus Lichfield, academiae typographus.

Nichols, John. 1812. *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 4. London: Nichols, Son & Bentley.

O'Donnell, Daniel Paul. 2001. Junius's Knowledge of the Old English Poem *Durham*. *Anglo-Saxon England* 30. 231-45.

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Published online 2004. Oxford: Oxford University Press. < http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk> accessed 27 September 2017.

Parry, Graham. 1995. *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Patterson, Frank Allen (ed.). 1911. *The Middle English penitential lyric: a study and collection of early religious verse.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Payne, Richard C. 1982. The Rediscovery of Old English Poetry in the English Literary Tradition. In Carl T. Berkhout & Milton McC. Gatch (eds) *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship: the first three centuries*. 149-66. Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall & co.

Phillipps, Thomas (ed.). 1838. *Fragment of Ælfric's Grammar, Ælfric's Glossary, and a poem on the soul and body, in the orthography of the 12th century: discovered among the archives of Worcester Cathedral by Sir T. Phillipps*. London: W. Clowes and sons.

Porter, David W (ed.). 2001. *The Antwerp-London Glossaries.* Publications of the Dictionary of Old English, 8. Toronto: Pontifical Institue of Medieval Studies.

Ray, John. 1674. *A Collection of English Words Not Generally Used.* London: H. Bruges for Tho. Barrell.

Rider, John. 1589. *Bibliotheca Scholastica*. Oxford: Joseph Barnes.

1606 revised edition by Francis Holyoake published as *Riders Dictionarie, Corrected and Augmented*. London: Adam Islip.

Roberts, Jane & Christian Kay. Published online 2015. The Source Dictionaries. In *About A Thesaurus of Old English.* Glasgow: University of Glasgow. <http://oldenglishthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/source-dictionaries> accessed 5 May 2017.

Robinson, Fred C. 1993. The Afterlife of Old English: A Brief History of Composition in Old English after the Close of the Anglo-Saxon Period. In Robinson (ed.) '*The Tomb of Beowulf' and other Essays on Old English*. 245-303. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Rosier, James L. 1966. Lexicographical genealogy in Old English. *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 65(2). 295-302.

Rummel, Erika. 1994. The Reception of Erasmus' *Adages* in Sixteenth-Century England. *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*. New Series / Nouvelle Série. 18(2). 19-30.

Selden, John. 1616. Notes upon Sir Ralph de Hengham. In Sir John Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Angliae,* 117-59. London : for the Companie of Stationers.

Sherlock, Peter. Published online 2004. Somner, William (*bap.* 1598, *d.* 1669). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/26030> accessed 27 September 2017.

Skinner, Stephen. 1671. *Etymologicon linguae Anglicanae*. London: typis T. Roycroft, & prostant venales apud H. Brome sub signo Bombardæ ad occidentale.

Somner, William. 1640. *The antiquities of Canterbury, or, A survey of that ancient citie, with the suburbs and cathedrall, etc*. London: printed by I. L. for Richard Thrale.

Somner, William. 1660 (2nd edition 1726). *A Treatise of Gavelkind.* London: R. and W. Leybourn.

Somner, William. 1693. *A Treatise of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent.* Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre.

Spelman, Henry (ed.) 1693. *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones, in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici*. London: excudebat Richardus Badger, serenissimi principis Walliæ typographus.

Suringar, W.H.D. 1873. *Erasmus over Nederlandsche spreekwoorden en spreekwoordelijke uitdrukkingen van zijnen tijd.* Utrecht: Kemink en zoon.

Thomas, Thomas. 1587. *Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae.* Cambridge: ex officina Thomae Thomasii, inclytæ academiæ typographi.

Thwaites, Edward (ed.) 1698. *Heptateuchus, liber Job et evangelium Nicodemi anglosaxonice; historiae Judith fragmentum dano-saxonice*. Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre.

Toller, T. Northcote. 1921. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Tornaghi, Paola. 2007. Certaine Things to be Considered & Corrected in Will. Dugdales Saxon-Lexicon. In Considine and Iamartino (eds) *Words and Dictionaries from the British Isles in Historical Perspective*, 50-80. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Twysden, Roger (ed.) 1644. *Leges Henrici primi*. In Abraham Whelock (ed.), William Lambard, *Archaionomia,* 175-223. Cambridge: ex officina Rogeri Daniel.

Twysden, Roger (ed.) 1652. *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores X.* London: typis Jacobi Flesher, sumptibus Cornelii Bee. (Somner's *Glossary* is found on sigs.x3r-Dd7v.)

Urry, William. 1977. Introduction: William Somner and his *Antiquities*. In repr. of Somner (1640) Wakefield: E.P. Publishing.

Verstegan, Richard. 1605. *A restitution of decayed intelligence in antiquities concerning the most noble and renowned English nation.* Antwerp: Robert Bruney.

Vossius, Gerardus. 1645. *De vitiis sermonis et glossematis latino-barbaris, libri quatuor.* Amsterdam: apud Ludovicum Elzevirium.

Wats, W. (ed.) 1640. *Matthaei Paris Monachi Albanensis Angli, Historia Major*. London: excudebat Richardus Hodgkinson.

Worm, Ole. 1636 (2nd edition 1651) *RUNIR, seu Danica literature antiquissima, vulgo Gothica dicta luci reddita.* Copenhagen: typis Melchioris Martzan.

Worm, Ole. 1643. *Danicorum monumentorum libri sex.* Copenhagen: Joachim Moltke.

Wright, Thomas, and Richard Paul Wülcker (eds) 1884. *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, 2nd edn. London: Trübner.

Zupitza, Julius (ed.) 1880. *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar. 1. Abt., Texte und Varianten*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.