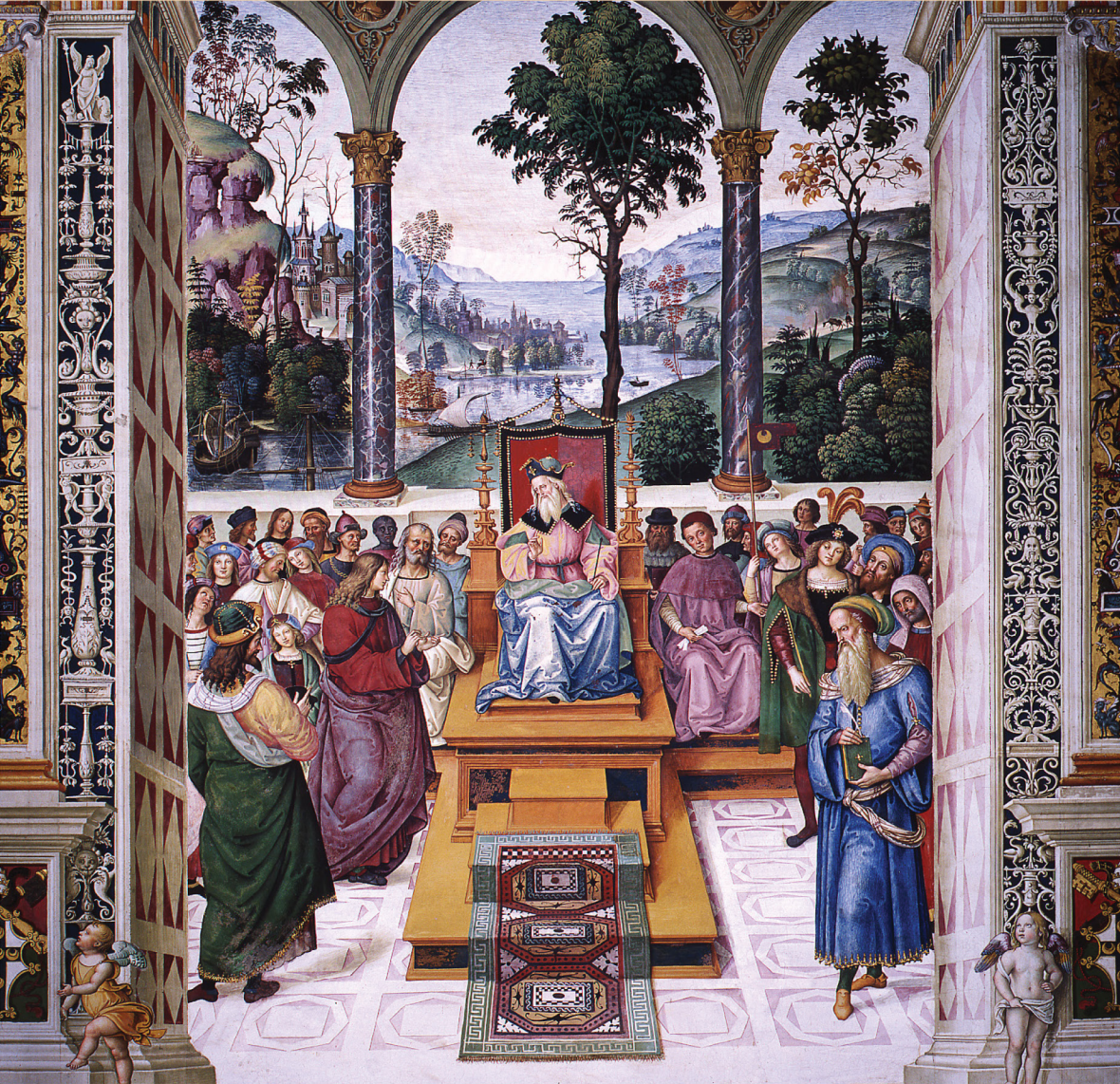
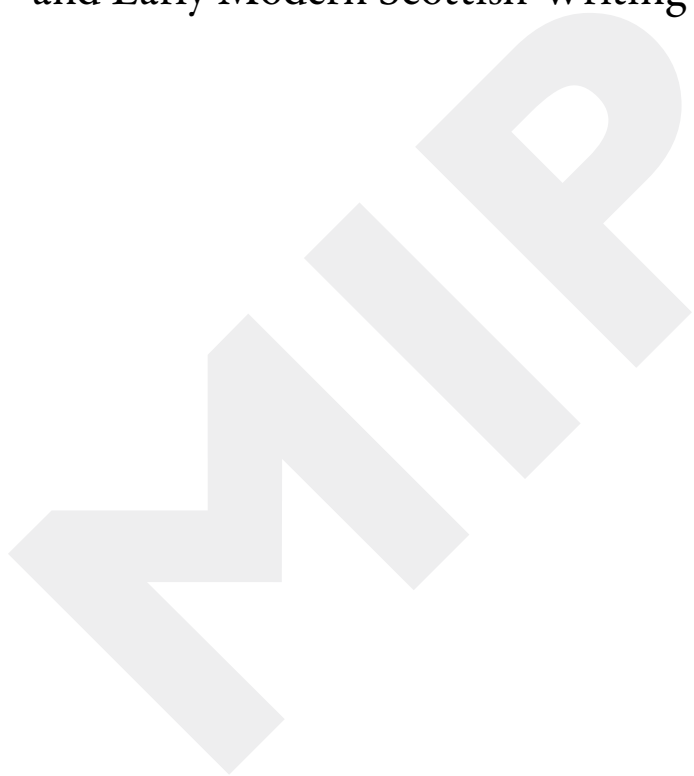


The Impact of Latin Culture on Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing

Edited by
Alessandra Petrina and Ian Johnson



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STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN CULTURE



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Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Culture

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The Inventions of Sir Thomas Urquhart

Jeremy J. Smith

Urquhart and Scottish Prose

Whereas the effectiveness of present-day English expository prose is generally judged in terms of pithiness and perceived grammaticality, in accordance with aesthetic principles developed from the eighteenth century onwards, early modern English prose in the nations of Britain worked according to different canons of taste. Models for such prose, adopted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were classical, and correlated with the rise of humanistic culture linked to Renaissance Latinity.

Some, practitioners of so-called Ciceronian prose, attempted to transfer the syntactic structures of golden-age Latin to the vernacular; examples of such writers are the sixteenth-century Scot George Buchanan and the seventeenth-century Englishman John Milton. Ciceronian prose placed major demands on the ingenuity of its practitioners in, for instance, the deployment of verb-final clause-structures, and it is therefore not surprising that its adoption was comparatively rare. Other writers, more commonly, adopted so-called Senecan prose. More suited for a vernacular language with many fewer inflexional endings than its classical model, Senecan prose was a looser affair, in which short and long periods were varied in syntactic structures that seem to us much closer to usages characteristic of speech rather than of formal written expression. “Plain-style” Senecan writers, often like John Knox with a preference for reformed, “godly” religion, preferred simpler diction.

Other writers, such as John Donne or Jeremy Taylor, linked Senecan syntax, in line with other contemporary forms of artistic expression (such as “metaphysical” poetry), to a delight in verbal ornament. In doing so these latter produced what is now sometimes termed “the baroque style” in prose.¹ Perhaps the most famous — or notorious — practitioner of baroque prose in the Scottish literary canon is Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty (1611–1660). Urquhart was a member of the minor Scottish gentry, who

supported the Royalist cause during the civil wars of the seventeenth century. In 1650, Charles II landed in Scotland and was crowned at Scone in 1651; Urquhart joined Charles's army, and was captured at the Battle of Worcester in September. He was then imprisoned at Windsor Castle.

The conditions pertaining to Urquhart's imprisonment seem to have been fairly relaxed, and, while at Windsor, he composed most of his major works, including most famously his translation of Rabelais. He was released in 1655 and sent into exile in the Netherlands, where he died in 1660; tradition — perhaps suspiciously close to an anecdote repeated concerning Rabelais² — has it that he died of an apoplexy brought on by laughter on hearing of the restoration of Charles II. As this anecdote suggests, Urquhart was seen by contemporaries as primarily a humorous writer, a reputation he has sustained, and it is clear from his later critical reception that an element in this reputation derives from his perceived linguistic inventiveness. This inventiveness is suggested by his presence in the top thousand of cited sources in OED.

Urquhart's verbal facility is famously demonstrated in the following notorious passage from *The Jewel*.³ The transcription below is taken from the 1652 edition, reflecting the printed source's deployment of punctuation and italics. The italics indicate that — whoever was responsible for deciding so to flag them in this way — contemporaries saw something remarkable about the words so distinguished.

Thus for a while their eloquence was mute, and all they spoke, was but with eye and hand; yet so perswasively, by vertue of the inter-mutual unlimitedness of their visotactil sensation, that each part and portion of the persons of either, was obvious to the sight and touch of the persons of both; the visuriency of either, by ushering the tacturiency of both, made the attrectation of both co[n]sequent to the inspection of either: here was it that Passion was active, & Action passive; they both being overcome by other, and each the conquerour. To speak of her *hirquitalliency* at the *elevation* of the *pole* of his *Microcosme*, or of his luxuriousness to erect a *gnomon* on her *horizontal* dial, will perhaps be held by some to be expressions full of obscoeness, and offensive to the purity of chaste ears: yet seeing she was to be his wife, and that she could not be such without consummation of marriage, which signifieth the same thing in effect, it may be thought, as *definitiones logicae verificantur in rebus*, if the exerceed act be lawful, that the diction which suppones it, can be of no great transgression, unless you would call it a *solacisme*, or that vice in grammar which imports the copulating of the masculine with the feminine gender.⁴ (125–26)

From such passages it is fairly clear what this remarkable characteristic was. The passage just cited contains several words which seem — from citations in the online *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) and *Dictionary of the Scots Language* (DSL) — to be unique to Urquhart:

hirquitalliency “loudly-expressed excitement” (OED only, offering an etymology from Latin *hirquitallire* “(of infants) to acquire a strong voice,” from *hircus* “he-goat” + *-ency*).

tacturiency “desire of touching” (OED and DSL; OED relates to a reconstructed Latin form **tactūrīre*, a desiderative form derived from the past participle stem, i.e., *tact-*, of *tangere* “touch” + *-ency*)

visotactil “involving both sight and touch” (not in OED; DSL derives from Latin *visus* “sight” and *tactus* “touch”)

visuriency “desire of seeing” (OED and DSL, both giving an etymology from a reconstructed desiderative Latin verb **visūrīre*, derived itself from *vīsere*, a frequentative of *vidēre* “to see”).

Such forms represent one of the most notable, and most discussed, features of Urquhart’s baroque style: his substantial and learned deployment of polysyllabic Latin- and Greek-derived vocabulary, adopted in this case for (it seems hardly necessary to say) humorous purposes. Indeed, the use of italics in the 1652 edition seems to flag that contemporaries themselves perceived words such as *hirquitalliency* as in some sense marked, masking potentially pornographic description behind the veil of high style. Quite simply, such words were intended to raise a laugh amongst those readers who had a facility for Latin.

Unlike the Victorians, of course, modern critics are aware that “high seriousness” — perceived by Matthew Arnold as lacking in Chaucer, whom Arnold thus classified as “not of the first rank” — is not isomorphous with solemnity. It should therefore be possible for us to re-evaluate Urquhart as more than an ingenious purveyor of louche double-entendres. It is an argument of this essay that — while certainly humorous and inventive (in a modern sense) — Urquhart’s baroque vocabulary relates to similar (if perhaps less egregious) stylistic behaviors found in many of his contemporaries, not always deployed in a humorous fashion. I therefore argue that Urquhart’s readers would have seen his usage as not detached from contemporary discourses but deeply, and knowledgeably, engaged

with them. Such readers would have appreciated the mixture of humor and seriousness that Urquhart deployed even in the title-page of *The Jewel*, perhaps his most remarkable work, with its sophisticated, jesting title linking gold with dung, its complex ironies, and its hostility to perceived extreme religious cant:

Εκκυβαλαυρον: | OR, | The Discovery of | A most exquisite JEWEL, |
more precious then Diamonds | inched in Gold, the like whereof |
was never seen in any age; found in the | kennel of *Worcester*-streets,
the day | after the Fight, and six before the Au- | tumnal Æquinox,
anno 1651. | Serving in this place, | To frontal a VINDICATION |
of the honour of *SCOTLAND*, | from that Infamy, whereinto the
Rigid | *Presbyterian party* of that Nation, | out of their Covetousness
and | ambition, most dissembled- | ly hath involved it. |⁵

Urquhart in Lexicography

As might be expected from his long-standing reputation as a linguistic innovator, Urquhart occupies a prominent position as a source of citations in the two principal British historical dictionaries: the OED (now online), and the online DSL (the latter combining the resources of the *Scottish National Dictionary* = SND and the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* = DOST). According to OED, of the 1441 citations from Urquhart recorded, in 363 cases his writings provide the first evidence for a word and in 601 cases the first evidence of a particular meaning.

However, these statistics also indicate that, in 840 cases, Urquhart is not the first authority cited in OED for a word's usage in form and/or meaning, and the passage just cited above bears this out. It will be noted from the 1652 edition's deployment of italics, reproduced in the quotation given, that *hirquitalliency* is not the only word to be so flagged; other words so distinguished are *gnomon*, *solacisme*, *microcosm*, *horizontal*, *elevation*, *pole*. But, although *hirquitalliency* is clearly an oddity, the others are more commonplace. The latter four at least are still part of well-established present-day English usage, as witnessed by their appearance in modern desk-dictionaries based on up-to-date corpora, such as *Collins Cobuild* (1987), designed explicitly for language-learners; and all six words, according to the OED, had a fairly wide currency in seventeenth-century texts. Accordingly to the recently-developed EEBO-TCP resource, which offers a large corpus of searchable printed texts from the

period, the form *gnomon* occurs 774 times in 215 distinct records, and it is clear from the OED citations from the period, now supplemented by EEBO-TCP, that the lexemes *gnomon*, *microcosm*, *horizontal*, *elevation* and *pole* cluster semantically as terms in astronomy; OED, for instance, gives a 1650 citation: “The distance between places may be known by the elevation of the pole” (James Howell, *Instructions for Forren Travell*). The deployment of italics by Urquhart’s printer, even if non-authorial, would seem to represent a contemporary reader’s acknowledgement of the metaphorical frame in question.

An analysis of other lexemes where either DSL or OED, supplemented by EEBO-TCP, cite solely Urquhart is illuminating. Many of the forms for which his is the first or only attestation are simply transferences from Rabelais, for instance, such as

sphagitid “one of the arteries in the neck”: DSL and OED cite only Urquhart, relating to Rabelais’s *sphagitide*, as does EEBO-TCP. The form is clearly simply transferred from the original.

spiroil “kind of cannon” (a direct transfer of Rabelais’s *spirole*): DSL and OED cite only Urquhart. The form is not recorded in EEBO-TCP.

It is moreover notable that many other citations given in OED are recorded in another dictionary that was clearly by Urquhart’s side: Randle Cotgrave’s *A Dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (1611). Cotgrave is known to have been a resource from which Urquhart repeatedly drew, especially when translating Rabelais,⁶ and another major source for the OED with 5870 citations in 5127 entries. The *Dictionarie*, dedicated to Cotgrave’s employer Lord Burghley, went through no fewer than five editions during the seventeenth century (1611, 1632, 1650, 1670, and 1673), attesting to its popularity as a resource for contemporaries; it was, according to Cotgrave’s entry in ODNB, “the most extensive French word-list of its time ... [and] the seventh most quoted source for earliest citations in the second edition of OED (1989).” It is the obvious work for a translator of Rabelais to use, since over 750 citations from that writer appear in Cotgrave. However, Urquhart also seems to have ransacked Cotgrave for other forms as well, and, even when DSL and/or OED do not refer to Cotgrave, the form in question is often to be found there, for example:

abastardized “degenerate”: OED cites only Urquhart, although the verb from which the adjective is derived is found in other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century citations, and there are a few occurrences of the form in EEBO-TCP, including the citation from Urquhart. The form is not recorded in DSL. However, the form does occur in Cotgrave’s *Dictionarie*, although not cited from there in OED.

cestrin “yellow stone,” used for beads; OED cites only Urquhart, although referring to Cotgrave in the etymology, and EEBO-TCP gives only these references. The form does not occur in DSL.

plasmature “form, mold”: DSL only cites Urquhart, but OED gives an earlier seventeenth-century citation, to a scientific work on surveying (William Folkingham’s *Feudigraphia*, 1610). Cotgrave, not acknowledged by OED, has *plasmateur* “potter.” OED and DSL cite not only Urquhart (“The sovereign plasmator God Almighty”) but also Gavin Douglas and Sir David Lyndsay for the use of *plasmator* (from post-classical Latin *plasmator*) for “a creator, a shaper; spec. God;” OED’s most recent citation is from Ezra Pound’s *Quia Pauper Amavi* (1919).

provection “advancement”: DSL only gives a citation from Urquhart, as does EEBO-TCP. OED gives Urquhart as the first citation, with another near-contemporary reference from 1660 to a treatise on episcopacy; the word appears again with philological senses in the nineteenth century, and has been retained by modern linguists to refer to consonantal devoicing, especially in Celtic languages. The form, however, appears in Cotgrave (not acknowledged by OED), glossed “well growne in age.”

sluggingly “slothfully”: DSL and OED cite only Urquhart for the adverb, but OED gives citations (not including Urquhart) from ca. 1430 for *slugging* “slothful.” One of these citations is from Cotgrave: “*Dormir*, The slugging or sleepe Cat at length awakes.”

turlupin (translating Rabelais’s *tirelupin*, cf. medieval Latin *turlupinus*) “member of a heretical sect, later, an upstart, a person of no value”: DSL cites only Urquhart, and flags a discussion in Cotgrave to the effect that it refers to people who eat lupin-flowers, presumably

a false etymology; OED cites Urquhart but also others, cited by EEBO-TCP, who use the form with a more general meaning.

unstone “castrate”: DSL cites only Urquhart. OED cites Urquhart but also Cotgrave: “*Escouiller*, to geld, lib, vnstone, cut away the stones of.”

unstopple “remove stopper or plug from”: DSL cites only Urquhart; OED again cites Urquhart, but also Cotgrave: “*Destoupé*, vnstopped, vnstopelled.”

It seems likely, moreover, that Urquhart derived further forms from Cotgrave even though they are recorded in OED from other witnesses, e.g. *coursy*, *depucelate*, *duggishly*, *fambling*, *huff-snuff*, *madpash*, *resuscitative*, *tamin*, *victorial*. Of these forms, DSL records only *tamin* and *victorial* (these last two are more commonly used, in addition to Urquhart).

Two other dictionaries, Gaule’s *Pousmantia* (1652)⁷ and Blount’s *Glossographia* (1656), the former a specialist work on magic and astrology, are also likely major subsidiary sources for Urquhart. As an illustration, we might note for instance the entry for the form *sternomancy* “divination by the breast-bone”: DSL cites only Urquhart, while OED, giving Rabelais’s *sternomantie* as the direct source, cites Urquhart and also Gaule. Both Urquhart and Gaule may have themselves independently plundered Cotgrave, as flagged by the form *circumbilivagination* “circumambulation,” which is cited from Cotgrave, Urquhart and Blount; Cotgrave, although not cited by OED, glosses the form “divination by a mans breast.” Seventeenth-century lexicographers were of course enthusiastic plagiarizers.⁸ Several other forms in *-mancy* indeed clearly derive from Urquhart’s engagement with contemporary lexicographers. Thus the following “methods of divination” in *-mancy* are also cited from Urquhart in OED, mostly also with citations from Blount and/or Gaule: *alphitomancy* “by means of meal, flour, cakes or bread” (also Gaule), *anthropomancy* “human entrails” (also Gaule), *axinomancy* “an axe-head” (Holland’s translation of Pliny, 1601),⁹ *captotromancy* “a mirror” (Purchas’s *Pilgrimage*, 1613), *ceromancy* “wax figures” (also Blount, Gaule), *gastromancy* “sound of belly” (also Blount), *ichthyomancy* “heads/entrails of fish” (also Blount), *metopomancy* “face/forehead” (also Blount), *onomatomancy* “names” (also Gaule), *onymancy* “fingernails” (Purchas’s *Pilgrimage*, 1613, and Saunders’s *Physiognomie*, and *Chiromancie*, *Metoposcopie*, 1653; cited as *onychomancy* by Gaule), *sciomancy* “spirits of the dead/shadows” (also Blount), *tephro-*

mancy “ashes blown or thrown in the air” (also Blount, Gaule), *tyromancy* “cheese” (also Blount, Gaule). Further examples of Urquhart’s usage likely to derive from his lexicographical researches include:

compartition “laying out of plan” (architecture): cited in OED (and EEBO-TCP) from several sources, including Blount (1656). Not cited in DSL.

genethliac, i.e., adjective from noun *genethliac* “horoscope” (Gaule). Not cited in DSL.

oneiropolist “interpreter of dreams” (Gaule). The form is not cited in DSL.

opisthograph “text written on both sides of a slab/a piece of parchment”: various possible sources, but it seems likely that Urquhart derived the form from Blount’s adjectival form *opisthographical*. DSL does not cite the form.

petarade “an act of breaking wind”: beside Urquhart, OED cites only Phillips’s *New World of Words* (1658), but the form is also found in Cotgrave, deriving from Rabelais’s *petarrade*. The form is not cited in DSL.

predial “rural,” cf. Blount “*Predial Tythes*, are those we call great Tythes, as of Corn and Hay.” Not cited in DSL.

sacriful(e) “a priest.” The form does not seem to appear in Blount, Cotgrave, or Gaule; OED cites (in addition to Urquhart) only Robert Cawdrey’s *Table Alphabeticall* (1604). Not cited in DSL, not in EEBO-TCP.

salsitude “brackishness.” OED cites Henry Cockeram’s *English Dictionarie* (1623), but again the form appears in Cotgrave. Not cited in DSL, and with the exception of the example in Cockeram all citations in EEBO-TCP post-date Urquhart’s writings.

squinant “schoenanth, camel’s-hay (plant)”: DSL cites only Urquhart. OED offers citations from Urquhart, from three herbals (Turner’s *Names of Herbes*, 1548, and a later version of 1568, and Gerard’s

Herball, 1597), and two dictionaries already mentioned (Blount's *Glossographia*, 1656, and Phillips's *New World of Words*, 1706 — the latter including large-scale plagiarism from Blount). EEBO-TCP in addition offers citations predating Urquhart from a series of surgical works (including John Banister's *A needful, new, and necessarie treatise of chyrurgie*, 1575, Philip Barrough's *The method of phisicke*, 1563, and James Hart's *Klinike*, 1633), from *Batman vppon Bartholome* (the 1582 translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum*), and from Peter Levins's English-Latin dictionary, *Manipulus vocabulorum* (1570).

squirt “void excrement forcefully”: DSL cites only Urquhart. OED cites Urquhart and Cotgrave (“*Foirer*, to squirt, to shite thinne as in a laske” — the form *shite* had yet to acquire fully its modern taboo-status), and in addition John Palsgrave's *Lesclarcissement* (1530), a textbook on French, and John Florio's *Worlde of Wordes* (1598), the first Italian-English dictionary.

tenebrio “night-prowler,” “night-spirit” (Blount). DSL does not cite the form.

vaticinator “prognosticator” (Gaule). Not cited in DSL.

vellication “twitching.” OED cites Cockeram, but the form also occurs in Cotgrave (not cited by OED). The form is recorded in DSL, but no citation from Urquhart is given.

Moreover, several forms where Urquhart is cited in OED or DSL as the sole witness are clearly related to forms used by other writers. Some of the items listed as unique by OED/DSL are derived from rather commoner forms recorded elsewhere, e.g., *miniardly* (cf. *miniard*), *monasterially* (cf. *monasterial*), *sanctrel* (cf. *sanct* “saint”), *spink* (cf. *goldspink*), *swinking* (cf. *swink*), *thumpatory* (cf. *thump*), *tribunian* (cf. *tribune*), *unmaiding* (cf. *unmaiden*), *wattilled* (cf. *wattle*), *pelf-licker* (cf. *pelf*).

Such examples flag that Urquhart was perhaps not as exceptional among his contemporaries as he has sometimes seemed. Indeed, it is clear that Urquhart, although remarkably ready to develop “special” forms in a way appropriate for a “baroque” writer, and thus in modern terms inventive, is also inventive in a rather older fashion, i.e., as a “finder,” in the same

way as Geoffrey Chaucer was described by his near-contemporary Thomas Hoccleve as “the firste fyndere of our faire langage” (ca. 1412).¹⁰

According to the classical and medieval rhetoricians *inventio* had a distinct meaning, i.e., discovering (“finding”) something. Reflecting widespread views on the subject, the nineteen-year-old Cicero composed *De inventione*, defining the notion as “the discovery of valid or seemingly valid arguments that render one’s thoughts plausible;”¹¹ and this discovery of arguments was extended to the broader notion of “materials.” *Inventio* in its classical and medieval sense, then, is essentially about discovery; once the matter was determined through *inventio*, “poetic art” — in the words of the medieval rhetorician Geoffrey de Vinsauf, Chaucer’s “Gaufred, deere maister soverayn” — “came forward to clothe the matter with words,” in an appropriate manner.¹² It seems from the evidence supplied by OED and DSL that Urquhart was “inventive” in this latter, older sense as well as in the more modern one.

Urquhart and Intertextuality

Two interesting examples of forms where Urquhart is apparently the sole witness, according to OED, but where a closely-related form is attested elsewhere, are the following:

affabulatory “of the nature of a moral or practical lesson”: OED cites only Urquhart, as does EEBO-TCP. The word does not appear in DSL or Cotgrave. However, the related verb *affabulate* occurs according to OED “only in the works of Peter Heylyn, and in references to these” (the form is not recorded in EEBO-TCP). Heylyn (1599–1662) was a prominent Laudian cleric who had a strong reputation as a Royalist controversialist; he was the first editor of the proto-newspaper *Mercurius Aulicus*, had commemorated the execution of Archbishop Laud in elegiac verse, and — during the Commonwealth period and deprived of his livings — retired to internal exile. Urquhart may have come across the word in Heylyn’s *Historie of... St George* (1633) or more probably in his *Cosmographie* (1652), by far his most famous work.

anthypophoretic “of the nature of an anthypophora” (rhetorical term): Urquhart is the only source in OED; the form does not appear in DSL or in Cotgrave. However, the related noun *anthypophora* “a

figure in which an objection is refuted by a contrary inference or allegation" (OED) is recorded in rhetorical manuals and encyclopedias from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, e.g., George Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) or John Smith's *The mysterie of rhetorique unvail'd* (1656). Puttenham's work never achieved a second edition, and by the time of publication there is some evidence that his writings would already have been considered outdated, since most of the examples cited dated from early to mid-sixteenth century verse.¹³ If one of these witnesses is to be deemed the source for Urquhart, Smith seems the more likely; Smith's work was fairly widespread in use as an introductory handbook drawing upon the Authorized Version of the Bible for its examples. *The mysterie* offers a definition of the word: "Anthypophora signifies a contrary illation or inference, and is when an objection is refuted or disproved by the opposition of a contrary sentence: as *Matt. xxi. 23–25.*"

These forms suggest that, in his deployment of obscure forms, Urquhart was in some kind of dialogue with his contemporaries, and indeed close analysis of the forms where Urquhart is acknowledged by OED not to be the sole witness enables us to "place" Urquhart in relation to other authors there cited. Of course, OED or DSL simply draw upon a particular set of texts, and it is perfectly possible that the terms used had currency elsewhere in texts not drawn upon by OED or DSL, or indeed included in EEBO-TCP; but analysis of the other writers cited by these authorities is at least suggestive of the intellectual milieu within which Urquhart wrote.

Some words for which Urquhart is cited by OED are fairly common even now: *ABC*, *boatwright*, *cannon-shot*, etc. But others, many derived ultimately from Latin, are generally no longer in common use or have a distinct prototypical meaning, for example

accresce "increase by accretion," *angiport* "narrow passage," *antiperistatic* "contrary to its surroundings," *bardash* "catamite," *commensal* "eating at/pertaining to same table," *companionry* "companionship," *contrist* "make sorrowful," *debording* "excess," *deific* "making divine," *dialectician* "one skilled in dialectic," *dictamen* "pronouncement," *discamp* "depart from place of encampment," *elabour* "elaborate" (verb), *enthusiasm* "supernatural inspiration," *erogation* "expenditure," *exolete* "obsolete," *exponible* "proposition requiring explanation," *fretish* "adorn," *gemel* "twin," *gigantal* "gigantic," *gnathonic* "parasitical," *impeditive* "obstructive," *indigenary* "native," *knurry*

“knotty,” *maleficiated* “bewitched,” *mediastine* “partition in thorax,” *mesnagery* “management,” *metoposcopy* “art of judging character from person’s forehead/face,” *mignardise* “affectation,” *mulieb-
rity* “womanliness,” *multure* “toll for grain,” *nitrosity* “bitterness,” *omoplate* “shoulder blade,” *patrocinate* “champion” (verb), *peri-
peteia* “sudden reversal in classical tragedy,” *periscian* “inhabitant
of either polar region,” *plutocracy* “government by wealthy,” *pre-
sidiary* “guard” (noun), *proficiat* “expression of welcome,” *prorogate*
“extend in duration,” *prosopopey* “rhetorical device whereby dead/
absent/imaginary person speaks,” *proxenete* “matchmaker,” *recre-
ate* “gratify,” *refection* “food or drink,” *reprehensory* “reprehensive,”
resudation “process of sweating/exuding moisture,” *sempiternally*
“eternally,” *subservience* “instance of being subservient,” *supercilios-
ity* “superciliousness,” *suscitate* “stir up (feeling etc.),” *symbolization*
“agreement or participation in qualities (science),” *symmyst* “col-
league in sacred office,” *theftuously* “as by theft, stealthily,” *transfrete*
“cross strait/sea.”

Some of these forms fall into distinct semantic fields. Some words are medical/anatomical: *mediastine*, *nitrosity*, *omoplate*. As befits Urquhart’s background as a Scottish landowner with an interest in litigation,¹⁴ other words are derived from Scots law: *accresce*, *debording*, *exolete*, *impedi-
tive*, *prerogate*, *suscitate* and *theftuously*. The form *debording* exemplifies
such usages; the term is quite commonly recorded in DSL in accusations
found in Scots legal texts/Kirk records, e.g., in the Records of the Kirk
Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen for 1651, “The insolencies &
gross deboardingis of souldiers.” The form does seem to be Scots in origin;
EEBO-TCP gives citations from Scottish writers such as William Lithgow,
and OED cites David Person’s *Varieties* (1635). Lithgow (“Lugless Will,”
so-called because his ears were alleged to have been mutilated by the venge-
ful family of a woman with whom he had an affair) was a famous Scottish
traveler whose travel-writing attracted much attention in the first half of
the seventeenth century. Person has no ODNB entry, but is recorded in
his book as “of Loughlands in Scotland, Gentleman.” However, OED also
gives seventeenth-century English citations from Robert Burton (*exolete*)
and John Donne (*suscitate*), and both words are also fairly widely cited
in EEBO-TCP. Some words are more generally and largely (though not
exclusively) characteristic of Scots, as flagged in both DSL and OED, e.g.,
companionry, *gemel*, *knurry* (cf. Scots *knorry*, recorded in DSL from Gavin

Douglas), *multure*, *refection*. Other words are terms in classical rhetoric, albeit sometimes partially Englished: *peripeteia*, *prosopopey*. Some words in the list above are semi-translated from French, e.g., *contrist* (a form also witnessed by the 1625 English version of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, itself translated from Antoine de Maçon's French reworking of the Italian original), *deific*, *indigenary* (cf. Rabelais's *indigène*), *proxenete*, *transfrete* (cf. Rabelais's *nous tranfretons*).¹⁵

However, examination of the earlier seventeenth-century uses of some of the terms cited above reveals some interesting patterns suggestive of more complex intertextual relationships. *Impeditive*, for instance, is not only a legal term but is also found in the writings of Bishop Joseph Hall, and Hall is also a witness for other forms in the list above: *commensal*, *presidiary*; in addition, Hall uses the alternative past participle *maleficiate* (cf. Urquhart's *maleficiated*). Joseph Hall (1574–1656) was not only bishop of Norwich but also a friend of John Donne and (late in his life) patient of Sir Thomas Browne; a prolific poet much admired by (*inter alia*) Alexander Pope, Hall was also politically active, involved in a vigorous pamphlet-controversy with John Milton. At the end of his life he was exiled by the victorious Parliamentary party to the parish of Higham, Suffolk, where he died.

The form *maleficiate* is also found in the writings of Richard Saunders (1613–75): a very different figure. Saunders is described by ODNB as a “medical practitioner and astrologer,” who started publishing his almanac *Apollo Anglicanus* in 1654, with such success that the work was republished every year until he died. But in the previous year he had published *Physiognomie, and Chiromancie, Metoposcopia*, a major work with a considerable vogue in intellectual and wealthy circles, and the form *metoposcopy* in Urquhart probably derives from his encounter with Saunders's work.

And indeed professional figures are frequent witnesses for the remaining words on the list given above, as follows:

angiport “narrow passage.” The form is recorded in OED, but not in DSL. The witness cited immediately before Urquhart is Nathaniel Ward (1578–1652), a puritan divine from Essex who opposed Archbishop Laud and in 1634 emigrated to Massachusetts, where he assisted in the drafting of the colony's code of laws. In 1646, Ward returned to England, where he published *The Simple Cobler of Aggawam* (1647), an attack on religious toleration and women's fashions; he then took the Presbyterian side against the “independ-

ents” of the New Model Army, deploring the execution of Charles I. He himself died in 1652. The form *angiport* appears in *The Simple Cobler*.

antiperistatic “contrary to its surroundings.” Again, the form is not recorded in DSL, nor in EEBO-TCP. The witness for this word nearest in date preceding Urquhart, according to OED, is Sir William Cornwallis (ca. 1579–1614), a “paradoxical essayist” (ODNB) in the manner of his friend and contemporary John Donne. The word *antiperistatic* occurs in the second volume of Cornwallis’s *Essayes*, published in 1601.

bardash, in the form *Bardachio* “catamite.” The form does not occur in DSL. OED gives two citations preceding Urquhart’s in date, the first (as *bardasses*) from an Italian grammar and dictionary of 1548 but another (*bardassaes*) from 1600, in Matthew Sutcliffe’s *A brief repleie to a certaine ... libel lately published by a seditious Jesuite* (1600). Sutcliffe, who died in 1629, was a leading Anglican writer whose writings displayed “a neurotic fear of the power of Rome” (ODNB) and, later, hostility to the Arminians associated with Archbishop Laud, who, in his view, sought “to bringe in poperie.” EEBO-TCP’s citations from before Urquhart are only Florio’s dictionary (1598), and “H. C. Gent.”’s translation of *The scarlet gown: or the history of the present cardinals of Rome* (1653), a polemical work.

dialectic “one skilled in dialectic” is cited in DSL and OED, with quotations preceding Urquhart’s from John Knox (ca. 1514–1572), the great Scottish religious reformer, and also from Knox’s secretary Richard Bannatyne (d.1605); the citations from Knox come from his *Buke of Discipline* (1560) and his *History of the Reformation in Scotland* (ca. 1572), both high-profile works.¹⁶ OED (but not DSL) cites Urquhart.

dictamen “pronouncement” is not given in DSL. OED citations are interesting, with one from Humphrey Leech and Robert Parsons’s *Dutifull and respective considerations vpon foure seuerall heads of prooffe and triall in matters of religion* (1609); Parsons (1546–1610) was a leading Jesuit exile from England, and the *Dutifull and respective considerations* were published in France at the Jesuit College at St-Omer. The second citation preceding that from Urquhart is

from William Chillingworth's *The Religion of Protestants* (1638). Chillingworth (1602–1644) had briefly himself converted to Roman Catholicism before returning to Anglicanism, though of a distinctly (and for his time rather unusually) tolerant kind. *The Religion of Protestants*, not surprisingly, was condemned by both Calvinists and Roman Catholics. A convinced royalist, Chillingworth died when under guard by parliamentary forces.

discamp “depart from place of encampment.” The form is not cited in DSL. The citation nearest in date preceding Urquhart's in OED is from Philemon Holland's well-known 1606 translation of Suetonius, *The historie of the twelve Caesars*.

elabour “elaborate” (verb). The form does not appear in DSL, but the two citations preceding Urquhart's are of some interest. OED's earlier citations are from Bartholomew Traheron's translation of a surgical work by Joannes de Vigo, the great Spanish pioneer-surgeon (1543) and William Birnie's *The blame of kirk-buriall* (1606). Traheron (ca. 1510–?58) was a Protestant author and reformer who fled into exile on the accession of Mary Tudor, where he disputed with John Knox, referring to the latter's *Admonition to England* as an “insane pamphlet” (ODNB). It might be noted that the anatomical term *mediastine* “partition in thorax,” found in Urquhart, is also cited in OED from Traheron's translation of de Vigo. Birnie (1563–1619) was a Church of Scotland minister who — against the commonly preferred position — favored James VI and I's royal policy of imposing bishops on the kirk.

enthusiasm “supernatural inspiration.” The form is not in DSL. Citations in OED predating Urquhart include Holland's translation of Plutarch's *Morals* (1603), John Pyper's translation of d'Urfé's *History of Astrea* (1620), but perhaps most significantly Richard Baxter's *Plain Scripture proof of infants Church-membership and baptism* (1651). Baxter (1615–1691) was one of the most prominent Presbyterian ministers and controversialists of his day.

erogation “expenditure.” The word does not appear in DSL; the nearest preceding citation in OED to that from Urquhart is from the Protestant martyrologist John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1563). There are, however, several citations in EEBO-TCP, including John

Bastwick's *A learned, useful and seasonable discoverie concerning the Church of England, and the Chvrch of Rome addressed by way of letter to M. St. John, a Romish priest* (1643), and Simon Birckbek's *The Protestants evidence* (1635). Both Bastwick (?1595–1654) and Birckbek (1583/4–1656) were well-known religious controversialists, the former being particularly prominent as a member of the Presbyterian party in the 1640s.

exponible “proposition requiring explanation”: a term from philosophical logic. The form does not appear in DSL. The term is first recorded in OED — in the citation immediately preceding that from Urquhart — from James Sanford's *Of the vanitie and vncertaintie of artes and sciences* (1569), a translation of the German occultist Henricus Cornelius Agrippa's *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum* (1526). The form does not appear in EEBO-TCP before 1697.

fretish “adorn”: a term from architecture, not cited in DSL. OED cites from Nathaniel Baxter's *Sir Philip Sydney's Ourania* (1606). Nathaniel Baxter (d.1611) was a radical Protestant preacher who developed an unfortunate reputation for financial irregularity and mismanagement; the long poem in which this form appears was, it seems, written towards the end of his life in order to secure patronage from the Sidney family. There is no indication that he was successful.

gigantal “gigantic.” The form does not appear in DSL, and the only two OED citations are from Urquhart and from William Drummond of Hawthornden's *Urania* (ca. 1614);¹⁷ Drummond (1585–1649), although a major Scottish poet, wrote and published in English. He later developed a second career as a controversialist pamphleteer on the royalist side, showing a particular distaste for Presbyterianism. He died in the same year as Charles I was executed.

gnathonic “parasitical.” Although the form does not appear in DSL, the citation in OED immediately preceding that from Urquhart is from a work published by another Scot: George Gillespie's uncompromisingly-titled *A dispute against the English-popish ceremonies*, first published in Leiden in 1637. Gillespie (1613–1648) was a radical minister in the Church of Scotland, fiercely opposed to the imposition of bishops. He was a leading member of the Kirk, end-

ing his career not only as minister of St. Giles in Edinburgh, perhaps the church's most high-profile charge, but also moderator of the General Assembly in 1648.

mesnagery "management." The word is not cited in DSL, and the only two citations in OED are from Urquhart and from the roughly contemporary letters of John Bramhall (d. 1663), Church of Ireland Archbishop of Armagh. Bramhall was almost certainly personally known to Urquhart. Like Urquhart, he spent time in Charles II's exiled court in the Netherlands — though unlike Urquhart he survived the Restoration, dying in 1663.

mignardise "affectation" does not appear in DSL, but citations in OED earlier than Urquhart are from the playwright Ben Jonson and the lexicographer John Florio (1553–1625). Florio's translation of Montaigne's essays (1603), in which the form *mignardise* occurs, also saw him introduce into English the words *conscientious* and *endear*, for which he is the earliest recorded witness in OED.

muliebrity "womanliness": not cited in DSL, and the only earlier citation than Urquhart is from an anonymous play from 1592, *The Tragedye of Solyman and Perseda*. EEBO-TCP has a citation from an anatomical work of 1615, Helkiah Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia a description of the body of man*.

patrocinate "champion" (verb). The form does not appear in DSL, but the use nearest in date preceding Urquhart's is a high-profile one: Jeremy Taylor's *Theologia eklektike* (1647). Taylor (d.1667), one of the leading Anglican churchmen and theologians of his generation, rivaled John Donne as a writer of English baroque prose.

periscian "inhabitant of either polar region" (*The Jewel* has *Perisian*). The form is not recorded in DSL, and EEBO-TCP gives only citations from Urquhart; the only citation predating Urquhart in OED is from Robert Ashley's translation of Louis le Roy, *Of the interchangeable course, or variety of things in the whole world* (1594). Ashley (1565–1641) was a translator and bachelor book collector whose library, bequeathed to the Middle Temple in London where he had lived most of his life, covered a range of topics from law through mathematics and medicine to politics and theology.

plutocracy “government by wealthy.” The form is not recorded in DSL, and EEBO-TCP cites only Urquhart. Only one citation precedes Urquhart, from Wye Saltonstall’s *Picturae loquentes* (1631). Saltonstall (d. after 1640) was a translator of Ovid and Eusebius (*inter alia*), and a minor poet; *Picturae loquentes*, a collection of satirical portraits, is probably his best-known work. His brother Charles was more prominent in public life, being a sea-captain in Parliamentary service.

proficiat “expression of welcome.” The form is not recorded in DSL. From three citations, Urquhart is cited twice; the earliest citation recorded in OED is from William Fulwood’s *The enimie of idleness* (1568). Fulwood (d. 1593) composed *The enimie* as a writer’s manual, “Teaching the maner and stile how to endite, compose, and write all sorts of Epistles and Letters;” his work therefore prefigured the kind of letter-writing manuals that were so commonly printed for the socially-aspirant from the late sixteenth century onwards, starting with Angel Day’s *The English Secretorie* (1586).

recreate “gratify.” The only citation in OED preceding that from Urquhart is from Sir Thomas Browne’s *Religio Medici* (1643); the form is also cited from several writers in DSL, ranging from the Older Scots poets Robert Henryson and Gavin Douglas to various government documents. Browne (1605–1682) — royalist, doctor, philosopher, and composer of baroque prose — is an excellent comparator for Urquhart, in that he too deployed numerous neologisms. It is not surprising that Browne, like Urquhart, appears in the list of “top-thousand” authors most cited in OED, with overall statistics very similar to Urquhart’s: 4131 citations in OED, 775 providing first evidence of the form in question. Browne is the first witness in OED for such words as *antediluvian*, *carniverous*, etc.

reprehensory “reprehensive,” cited in OED from Urquhart’s *The Jewel*. The form does not appear in DSL. The only other seventeenth-century citation is from the sermons of Peter Lilly or Lily. Peter Lily (d. 1615) was a minor Anglican clergyman chiefly distinguished for his pluralism; his sermons were posthumously published in 1619.

resudation “process of sweating/exuding moisture”: not in DSL. The form is according to OED rare, with only four citations dated

between 1578 and 1838. The citation immediately preceding in date that from Urquhart is from John Swan (d. 1671), a Laudian Church of England clergyman whose *Speculum mundi*, in which the word occurs, is a major seventeenth-century encyclopedia.

sempiternally “eternally” is not recorded in DSL. By contrast, the form occurs at least twice in the witness immediately preceding Urquhart for this form, viz. Ephraim Pagitt, who uses the term at least twice in his *Christianographie* (1635). Pagitt (1574–1646) was a significant figure in theological debate in the 1630s until his death; his *Heresiography* (1645), an account of sects deemed heretical, went through no fewer than six editions and three issues between 1645 and 1662.

subservience “instance of being subservient.” The form does not occur in DSL; the citation immediately before Urquhart in terms of date is from Thomas Hill’s *The spring of strengthning grace* (1648). Hill (d. 1653) was a prominent puritan cleric who ended up as head of Trinity College Cambridge, confirmed in post by a parliamentary order in 1648.

superciliosity “superciliousness.” DSL cites both Urquhart and William Birnie’s *The blame of kirk-buriall* (1606); for the latter, see *elabour* above.

symbolization “agreement or participation in qualities (science).” The form is not found in DSL; in OED it occurs largely in specialist contexts, e.g., Gerard de Malynes’s *Consuetudo* (1622) (on trading).

symmyst “colleague in sacred office.” The form is not recorded in DSL. It appears in Ephraim Pagitt’s much-reprinted *Christianographie* of 1635, e.g., “The sacred Symists of his Religion.” For Pagitt, see *sempiternally* above. EEBO-TCP records the word, before Urquhart, in Richard Bernard’s *A key of knowledge for the opening of the secret mysteries of St Iohns mysticall Reuelation* (1617); Bernard (d.1642) was a well-known Church of England clergyman and religious writer, “an example of those godly protestants who practiced as much nonconformity as they could within the established church” (ODNB), whose allegorical *The Isle of Man* (1627) has been cited as an influence on John Bunyan.

Such examples as those cited above reveal very clearly that Urquhart, though undoubtedly egregious in his deployment of Latinate usages in baroque prose, was by no means alone among his contemporaries. Indeed, it seems certain that his first readers, while undoubtedly amused by his writings, would have seen his outputs as not only within a specific prose tradition but in dialogue with numerous contemporary trends in religious, philosophical, and scientific thinking, some of which were close to him in cultural attitudes (e.g., Browne, Cornwallis, Hall, Swan, Taylor), others clearly rather less so (e.g., Richard Baxter, Bernard, Birnie, Gillespie, Hill, Pagitt). Informed readers would have detected the seriousness that, in the *Epistle Liminary* to *The Jewel*, led Urquhart to speculate on such major intellectual issues as linguistic “universals,” prefiguring the concerns of the Royal Society savants of the 1660s but also beyond them in ways which recall Saussurean semiotics.¹⁸ Contemporary readers may well have laughed; but the cognoscenti would also, surely, have discerned alongside the humor the serious and current issues and concerns that informed Urquhart’s “curious” writings.

A general methodological point might also be made about the kind of work underpinning this chapter. When the OED and DSL, and indeed the ODNB, were begun in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries their editors saw their main goal as recording for posterity the usages of the past. However, as is so often the case with such accretive scholarship, what is so exciting about these resources is how they can so often, and for so many functions, be repurposed. OED and DSL, now supplemented by EEBO-TCP, are *inter alia* great corpora of material, now available for searching using sophisticated electronic tools, and alignment with ODNB opens up further possibilities for new insights: a kind of “computational philology.”¹⁹ As has been illustrated here, there are now ways forward for aligning productively philological research and the historical study of the social networks of the kind with which Urquhart so evidently — and so profoundly — engaged.²⁰

NOTES

¹ The formulations of style offered here are those adopted in Jack, *Scottish Prose*, which is still the best discussion of Scottish prose before 1700. Classic discussions of early modern prose in English include Barish, *Ben Jonson*; Croll, "Attic Prose;" Gordon, *Movement*; Mueller, *Native Tongue*; see also Smith, *Older Scots*, 61–67, and references there cited. For discussions of Urquhart, see most recently Craik, *Sir Thomas Urquhart*, and the papers presented in Thomson, *Sir Thomas Urquhart*. Seneca's looser style was notoriously summed up by the seventeenth-century biographer John Aubrey: "Seneca doth write as a boar doth pisse: scilicet, by jirkes" (from the life of Dr. Kettle: Clark, *Aubrey*, vol. 2, 25).

² Craik, *Sir Thomas Urquhart*, 37.

³ For a modern edition of a work which, according to its editors, "defies generic classification," see Urquhart, *The Jewel*, ed. Jack and Lyall.

⁴ Urquhart, *The Jewel*, 125–26.

⁵ The reference to "the Fight" and to "Worcester-streets" refers to the Battle of Worcester, during the so-called "second Civil War": the abortive attempt by Charles II in 1650–1651 to reclaim his throne. "Εκσκυβαλαυρον" (i.e., *Ekskubalauron*) is a coinage by Urquhart, "made up from Greek *ekskubalou* ('out of dung') and the Latin *aurum* ('gold') modified by the substitution of the Greek noun ending *-on* for the Latin *-um*" (Urquhart, *The Jewel*, 215).

⁶ Craik, *Sir Thomas Urquhart*, *passim*.

⁷ Gaule, a royalist Church of England clergyman who managed to hold onto his living throughout the Commonwealth period, was a well-known writer on witchcraft, astrology, and magic.

⁸ Landau, *Dictionaries*, especially ch. 1, for a lively account.

⁹ Holland (d.1637), a distinguished and indefatigable translator of classical works, was "a byword for weighty erudition" (ODNB).

¹⁰ Hoccleve, *Works*, l. 4978. The present-day sense of *invent*, *invention* found, for instance, in Collins *Cobuild* (1987) is as follows: "If you *invent* something such as a machine or process, you are the first person to think of it or make it ... If you *invent* a story or excuse, you try to make other people believe that it is true when in fact it is not ... An *invention* is a machine, device, or system that has been invented by someone ... *Invention* is the act of inventing something that has never been made or used before ... If you refer to someone's account of something as an *invention*, you think that it is untrue and that they have made it up ... *Invention* is the ability to invent things or to have clever and original ideas."

¹¹ Summarised in Murphy, 11.

¹² See Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova*, 17.

¹³ For the "outdatedness" of the *Arte*, see Puttenham's ODNB entry.

¹⁴ As witnessed by his surviving letters; see Smith, *Older Scots*, 119–20.

¹⁵ Urquhart's treatment of French expressions when translating Rabelais is a study in itself; see Smith, *Older Scots*, 215–16, for examples and discussion. More

generally, see Corbett, *Written in the Language of the Scottish Nation*, and Corbett, “Verbs, mongrels.” For Urquhart’s translation of Rabelais, see Rabelais, *Works*. It should be noted that Urquhart is not the only “semi-translator;” although DSL only cites Urquhart for the form *transfret(at)e*, OED gives several other witnesses for intransitive as well as transitive uses of the form, from 1548 onwards. The citation nearest to Urquhart in date is from Waterhouse’s *An humble apologie* (1653), published in the same year as Urquhart’s translation from Rabelais; Waterhouse (1619–1670), who was to become a minor member of the Royal Society, was a writer on heraldry, whose *humble apologie* was a meditation on the role of statesmen in history in the light of human transience.

¹⁶ John Knox’s *History of the Reformation in Scotland* appeared posthumously.

¹⁷ *Urania*, in Drummond of Hawthornden, *Poems*.

¹⁸ See Corbett, “Verbs, mongrels;” see also Dobson, *English Pronunciation*, especially vol. 1.

¹⁹ I owe this term to Anneli Meurman-Solin (private communication).

²⁰ For the kind of work that can be done, see the discussion in Fitzmaurice and Smith, “Evidence for the history of English.”

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