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THE APOTHECARY AND THE TAILOR: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ENTRIES IN THE PHYSICAL DICTIONARIES OF 1655 AND 1657

Abstract

Two short medical ('physical') dictionaries appeared in English in 1655 (accompanying a translation of Jean Renou) and 1657 (accompanying a translation of Lazare Rivière), the first to employ the word dictionary in their titles. The lexicographers concerned saw their tasks somewhat differently. Whether and how closely they are related has been disputed; this study undertakes to resolve these questions by examining the apparent relationship between their entries. Comparing a number of entries and classifying the similarities and differences, first for verbs, and then for the entries they actually share reveals first, that the Rivière glossary was strictly intended as a guide to the translation text and was based on that alone and, second, that the Renou dictionary made considerable use of Rivière, but was not heavily dependent, making use of other sources as well.
Keywords: Nicholas Culpeper, definition, head-word, medical dictionary, noun, Jean Renou, Richard Tomlinson, Lazare Rivière, verb, word-list.

1. Introduction

The present book is structured around the idea of instructional texts, a notion not normally applied to dictionaries. And yet they are so in a powerful sense, being instructions to users as to how to understand and use words. Medical dictionaries, despite their obvious role as sources of information and instruction, are also greatly under-researched. In lexicographical research, head-words and definitions separately are taken to be the primary constituents of a dictionary, but a head-word and its definition, the complete entry, represents an instruction about lexical

comprehension of an item in an alphabetised list. Recipes, a principal topic of this book, share with dictionary entries a headword-definition structure as well as more detailed correspondences within the definition itself, including formulaic expressions adumbrating definition structure. Medical dictionaries may also arise from personal manuscript collections relating to practice as recipes do (see Leong 2018), and both accumulate material and change between editions, reflecting the shifting contemporaneous knowledge and culture.[1]

This chapter is an exercise in so-called dictionary archaeology, at least on the face of it, since it examines the relation between two English medical dictionaries published two years apart and between which some relationship might hence reasonably be assumed, given that the only possible substantial models, Andrew Boorde's The *Breviary of Helthe* (1547) and the glossary in the translation of Vigo by Bartholomew Traheron, were a century older, and no obvious correspondences can be found between these and the later physical dictionaries.[2] These are, first, the physical dictionary or glossary attached to the translation of Lazare Rivière published as *The practice of physick* in 1655, a work ascribed to Abdiah Cole, Nicholas Culpeper, and William Rowland. The second is *A physical dictionary, or, an interpretation of such crabbed words and terms of art, as are derived from the Greek or Latin, and used in physick, anatomy, chirurgery, and chymistry*, which is a stand-alone version of the dictionary in Richard Tomlinson's translation of Jean de Renou, published in 1657. These physical dictionaries have a complex publishing history (see Tyrkkö 2009). Scholars have disgreed about the relation between these dictionaries (Tyrkkö 2009: 178–179), and it seems a question worth revisiting. Tyrkkö makes a start on this comparison (2009: 179–180), but since his concerns are more with the description of Renou/Tomlinson and its printing history and context, a detailed comparison remains to be done. To supply this is then the immediate purpose of this chapter.

I hope to elaborate the inter-relationships which may exist between these two dictionaries without trying to prejudge the issue. It goes without saying that unless one outright plagiarises the other that establishing this relationship is founded on a circular argument, since one can only detail it by assuming that it exists. I hope that the resultant findings are sufficiently compelling to negate or at least circumnavigate the logical difficulties imposed by the data, but we are on shaky ground in more than one sense. Aside from the circular argument, we are also assuming that a work

[1] I acknowledge the helpful comments of two anonymous referees, which have improved this piece considerably.

[2] For an account of these works, see McConchie (2019), Boorde's was probably the first medical text written and published in English (see Norri 2010: 65).

published only two years before another must have preceded it in composition, and there is no guarantee of this. Culpeper died the year before the publication of Rivière. The comparison will show that these dictionaries share many entries and, while some are verbatim, a number do in fact show a surprising degree of variation, even within entries which are apparently very similar. It will also show that they diverge at many points. The question is not simply whether they are dependent or not but how far they are interdependent.

The present research should also be seen in the context of the instability of the medical lexicon, at least as it appears in seventeenth and eighteenth--century dictionaries. My own previous but unpublished research shows that the three major dictionaries following the physical dictionaries, those by Steven Blancard (first published in English 1684), John Quincy (first published 1719), and Robert James (1742–45) share only 8.2 percent of their entries, making any claim that the medical lexicon in dictionaries was settled, let alone agreed, untenable.[3]

2. Methods

Two versions of what is called a physical (that is, medical) dictionary, those appearing in 1655 (Wing R1559, cited hereafter as Rivière) and 1657 (Wing 2143, cited hereafter as Renou/Tomlinson), have been compared in detail.[4] The list of head-words for comparison was limited strictly to those in the head-word position. Synonyms, even if appearing there as alternative head-words, such as "*Matter*, or *Quittor*", were left out of consideration. As it happens, some of these, like *quittor*, are independently listed as reciprocal entries in both dictionaries, so that there is no loss. Others, such as *aspera arteria*, under *rough arterie*, are not separate lemmas.

Variant forms within the main entry were also ignored, since the objective was not to enumerate all the medical terms, but to use head-words and definitions as an index of possible affiliation. A number of words italicised in the definition which are not glosses, as in the entry for *amalgamation*, which includes *argentum vivum*, were ignored for the present purposes as well, despite the italicisation suggesting that they were seen as medical terms in the full sense. Again, some do appear as independent head-words. The first job is to show briefly how these two dictionaries differ in general terms.

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[3] I used the 1726 edition of Blancard and the 1736 edition of Quincy for that research.

[4] Note that despite what I have called it for convenience, Rivière did not prepare a glossary for his original work.

3. How do these dictionaries differ?

General points of comparison are that the Renou/Tomlinson dictionary is more comprehensive than the Rivière dictionary, and its alphabetisation is much fuller, Rivière only following A- order with any consistency. The Renou/Tomlinson one contains almost three times more entries, 1711 as against 580 in Rivière.[5] Of the head-words in Renou/Tomlinson, 379 also appear in Rivière, or, to put it another way, 65 percent of the Rivière entries appear in Renou/Tomlinson, in itself suggestive of Tomlinson's use of Rivière. The Rivière dictionary is an appendix which was never published separately and has a single source, while the Renou/Tomlinson one is a stand-alone with multiple sources, although it did also appear in several versions as an appendix (see Tyrkkö 2009). Typographical differences include Rivière being presented in double columns, while Renou/Tomlinson is in a single column format.

4. Sources

The vast majority of terms in Rivière are to be found in the text, indicating that there was no reliance on an outside source, and that the primary intention of the compilers was indeed narrowly instructional, being a lexical guide to that text only. The spellings in the text and the glossary largely agreeing partially confirms this, as with the marked spelling *chollicks*, as does grammatical number, an exception being *cerates* (glossary)/*cerate* (text). The spelling deviations are (glossary first) *cachetical persons*/*cachectical persons*, *cronical*/*chronical*, *chalibeat*/*chalybeat*, *cronical diseases*/*chronical diseases*, *dilæted*/*dilated*, *day of judgment*/*day of judgement*, *deprivations*/*depravations*, *eliphantiasis*/*elephantiasis*, *glutinators*/*glutinatours*, *laxe*/*lax*, *lambative*/*lambitive*, *opisthotones*/*opistotonos*, *pærineum*/*pærinoeum*, *præposterous*/*preposterous* (also listed twice with a different definition), *pubes*/*pubis*, *recruted*/*recruited*, *scarefication*/*scarrification*, *sulphurous bathes*/*sulphurous baths*, *trebble quantity*/*treble quantity*, and *visor*/*visour*.[6] The presence or absence of a hyphen has not been noted. Most of these are familiar early modern spelling or typographical variants.

Most words which are not explicitly mentioned can be easily inferred from the immediate textual context, including *formicans pulsus*: "The sixth

[5] Tyrkkö's count differs slightly from mine (2009: 177).

[6] *Mammilarie passages*/*mamilar* (*passage*) probably mean (1) the mamillary passage of the brain, and (2) the costal process of the lumbar region.

sign is from the Pulse, which is now weak and unequal, leaping, or formicans"; *aranea tunica* "Humors may easily be carried by the Optick from the Brain; by the *Tunica Retiformis* and *Aranea,* to the Crystalline" (68); *distillations by descent* "Such Distillations of Flesh by Descent, are very convenient for Hectical Persons" and *similar diseases*: "The fault in the Organ comprehendeth all diseases in the Stomach, whether they be Similar, or Organical, or Common" (260). A few are reversed in order: *cephalick pills* "pills cephalick", and *conjoyned matter* "matter conjoyned". Some are glossed in-text, as in *diarrhœa* "a diarrhœa or loosness" (579).

Some can be loosely inferred from the context. *Species retained in the mind* is listed, but "Species which are retained in the memory" is all the text offers. *Attenuating medicaments* is attested only by "attenuating" in the context of various remedies, and *breathing of a vein* is unconfirmed, only being related to mentions of the "breathing forth" of humours, matter, and the heart. These exceptions represent only a very small percentage of the head-words, however. A few were not found in the text at all, such as *coincide*, *deprivations*, *diagrydiates*, *eneorema*, *perspirable*, and *specifick quality*.

Renou/Tomlinson shows a completely different relation to its text, with a slight majority of terms not occurring there at all. There are indeed some clear and somewhat puzzling discrepancies, an example being *fistick-nuts* in the dictionary, but *fisticle-nuts* in the text.[7] Other discrepancies are more predicable, such as *paralitick* in the dictionary, but the familiar variant *paralyticall* in the text, suggesting that there was little effort to bring the dictionary and the text into strict accord. The purpose of this work has clearly moved beyond its immediate text into the wider instructional realm, making good on the unfulfilled claim on the title-page of the Rivière glossary that "This Dictionary is of use in the reading of all other Books of this Nature, in the English Tongue".

5. Particular comparisons: Verbs

Medical dictionaries, predictably, are primarily dictionaries of things; that is, largely alphabetised accounts of the nature of things known rather than lexical definitions of words (see Tarp 2013, 2014, 2016: 228–230). As Ephraim Chambers puts it: "The *Dictionary* … supposes the Advances and Discoveries made, and comes to explain or relate 'em. The Dictionarist, like an Historian, comes after the Affair" (1728: xxii). If there are differences between them in terms of nouns, it will be primarily distinctions between classes of things – descriptions of their nature, and whether these things are

[7] A variant the OED does not record. The -le seems to be proclitic.

current or not. Linguistic information may be confined to their source language and preferred form of the word. Borrowings may be in Anglicised form or not. Medical dictionaries are usually heavily weighted with nouns, but one might expect some more overlap in verb entries since the expectation would surely be that the fewer the entries, the more basic the terms. This part of the study is primarily concerned with verbal head-words. Choices among verbs are more likely to vary according to grammatical treatment in the first place. Verbs in the present dictionaries are in English form without exception, as one would expect, despite a great many being borrowings.

Broad distinctions appear in the way these two dictionaries treat their verbs, leaving aside for the present detailed differences in the definitions. These verb forms have been dealt with under the various grammatical forms which appear: infinitives, 3rd personal singular forms, present participles, and past participles. Verb forms are often accompanied by derived forms, such as deverbals and deadjectivals, but usually less frequently by other forms of the same verb.

5.1. Infinitives

Rivière has 27 such forms: *apply*, *augment*, *attest*, *astringe,*[8] *compress*, *condense*, *cicatrize*, *calcine*, *corrode,*[9] *constringe*, *coincide*, *cicatrize,*[10] *discuss*, *diffuse,*[11] *expel*, *extenuate*, *eradicate*, *filter*, *infuse*, *incrassate*, *incarnate*, *indicate*, *malax*, *macerate*, *precede*, and *transpire*.

Renou/Tomlinson, by contrast, has the following 45 infinitive forms: *ablegate, circumcinge*, *circumduce*, *cohibit*, *coincide*, *comitate*, *commaculate*, *cruciate*, *cultivate*, *deduce*, *deject*, *denigrate*, *depose*, *dilacerat*, *discuss*, *dispel*, *dissect*, *dulcorate*, *elicite*, *eviscerate*, *exanimate*, *exiccate*, *exestuate*, *exhilerate*, *exonerate*, *expel, expectorate*, *extruct*, *exulcerate*, *implete*, *incarnate*, *indicate*, *ingrede*, *inoculate*, *intoxicate*, *investigate*, *leviate*, *permeate*, *perturb*, *recenseate,*[12] *refocilate*, *resartiate*, *reserate, substitute*, and *verticulate*. *Relax* has been excluded, since the word is defined nominally, a well-attested sense at this period: "Relax is sometimes used to

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8 This head-word is entered twice in Rivière, on each occasion with a slightly different definition: "bind, fasten, close" and "to bind", which may indicate the work of different compilers. Further repeats are *condense*: "to make thick" and "thicken, condensing, thickening" and *suppuration* "a collection of matter in an impostume" and "is when a swelling comes to gather Head, breed matter and is ready to break."

9 Note that the most frequent gloss in other seventeenth-century dictionaries, "gnaw", is not used in this entry, which has "eat" and "fret".

10 Also entered twice in Rivière, again with slightly different definitions.

11 Included here, but this head-word could be read as an adjective.

12 A nonce word in OED; not found in EEBO.

signifie the loosening of the belly". *Relax* is also followed by the verbal form *relaxing*. Note that *calefy, cohibit* and *denigrate* are defined as nouns ("That doth…") (*coincide* is defined thus in Tanner's glossary (1659) but not in the others), but OED provides no evidence for nominal usage. This needs further investigation. No nominal forms are attested in EEBO for *calefy*, *cohibit*, or *denigrate*; Renou's *Medical dispensatory* only uses the latter as a verb: "This Lotion will denigrate the hairs of hoary heads" (191). This list represents almost double the number in Rivière, but is a markedly smaller ratio than the overall increase in entries of over 200%. Whether this means that proportionately less verbs were available in the medical lexicon or that the sources of Renou/Tomlinson simply provided less is unknown.

There are seventy-two infinitive forms in all but, perhaps surprisingly, only three are shared, indicating a relative lack of overlap: *coincide*, where the definitions are not close; *incarnate* (the definitions being verbatim), and *indicate* (where the definitions are close to verbatim). Had the relationship been closer, one might have expected a majority of the Rivière verbs along with further additions. This lack of overlap suggests that the difference arises from the sources rather than the medical lexicon. Infinitives outweigh the 3rd person singular forms, but are themselves heavily outweighed numerically by the past participial forms.

5.2. Third person singular

Quite a few 3rd person singular verb forms occur in the full Renou/ Tomlinson list: *acquires*, *adimpleates*, *arceates*, *attracteth*, *coruscateth*, *deleates*, *depurges*, *deturpates*, *emanates*, *emends*, *enuntiates*, *erugates*, *exacts*, *expletes*, *extrudes*, *extergeth*, *impinguates*, *indicates*, *inebriates*, *jugulates*, *liberates*, *minuates*, *pollicitates*, *projects*, *reficiates*, *refragates*, *represses*, *respondeth*, *sapors*, *stimulates*, and *suppeditates* (31 in all). In the Rivière verbs, by contrast with Renou/Tomlinson, the singleton 3rd singular form is *attracts*. The fact that this verb has the marked and infrequent -eth ending in Renou/Tomlinson indicates that it was not copied directly. The same distinction applies to the definition ("draws to", as against "draweth together").

5.3. Present participles

Present participles are not all that frequent in either dictionary and, particularly in the case of one-word participial glosses, it not always certain that the head-word was intended as a verb and not as a participial adjective. Obviously multi-word nominal entries such as *breathing a vein* and *intermitting pulse* have been omitted from this list. Renou/Tomlinson has 14 in all: *appropinquating*, *attenuating*, *blanching*, *conciliating*, *contunding*,

corroding, *generating*, *germinating*, *leniating*, *lubricating*, *relaxing*, *spissating*, *stupifying* and *ureting*. The majority of these are verbs, but there are three nouns among them and a possible participial adjective. Rivière lists *attracting*, *corroding*, *dissipating*, *generating*, *incrassating*, *producing*, *repelling*,[13] *relaxing*, *refrigerating*, *stupefying*, and *suffocating*, 11 in all. Unlike the Renou/Tomlinson list, all of these are verbal.

These lists thus share *corroding* (definitions not close; one shared word), *generating* (definitions verbatim), *relaxing* (definitions not close; one shared word only) and *stupefying* (definitions verbatim). Deverbals in Rivière are sometimes incorporated into a definition, as under "*Condense*, thicken, condensing; a Condensation, a thickening" and under "*Suffocating*, choaking, Suffocation a choaking."

5.4. Past participles

The past participle usually occurs without the infinitive, perhaps because most were seen as adjectival rather than verbal. In Renou/Tomlinson, these are: *abscinded*, *accended*, *acuminated*, *affected*, *allauded*, *aromatized*, *assumed*, *circundated*, *coacted*, *coagulated*, *cocted*, *colourated*, *concinnated*, *concocted*, *confected*, *confirmed*, *conglomerated*, *consopiated*, *contracted*, *cultellated*, *decorticated*, *demerged*, *demonstrated*, *denominated*, *depraved*, *despumed*, *diffoded*, *diffused*, *dilated*, *dissipated*, *dissolved*, *educed*, *effigiated*, *effoded*, *effringed*, *embrocated*, *enecated*, *eraded*, *eroded*, *eventilated*, *excavated*, *excorticated*, *exenterated*, *exhausted*, *exhibited*, *exonerate*, *expressed*, *expurged*, *forated*, *fortified*, *geniculated*, *illited*, *imbued*, *implicated*, *infunded*, *infused*, *inserted*, *introsumed*, *irritated*, *levigated*, *liquified*, *macerated*, *manducated*, *mucronated*, *mutilated*, *obdulcorated*, *obruted*, *obverted*, *obvolved*, *operculated*, *perforated*, *præcipitated*, *recruted*, *redacted*, *reduced*, *refaricated*, *referted*, *remitted*, *repelled*, *reposed*, *reverted*, *retunded*, *revelled*, *rigated*, *steeled*, *subjected*, *sublevated*, *suffocated*, *supurated*, *tabefied*, *turbinated*, *variegated*, *ulcerated*, *uncultivated*, *usurped*, and *womb-imperforated*. These 96 are far more likely to be accompanied in a nearby entry by a nominal form such as *infusion* or *suffocation* than another verb form.

In Rivière, this list of past participial forms is much smaller, 34 in all: *affected*, *aromatized*, *contracted*,[14] *concocted*, *diminished*, *derived*, *dissipated*, *demonstrated*, *depressed*, *dilæted*, *dissolved*, *depraved*, *expressed*, *eroded*, *embrochated*, *exasperated*, *evaporated*, *eventilated*,

[13] This is a very ambiguous entry: "*Repelling*: Medicines which draw back the humor from the part affected, Repellers, the same." This looks rather like a mistake for *"Repelling medicines"*.

[14] This is entered twice with the same definition.

fortified, *intercepted*, *judged*, *inserted*, *illustrated*, *impacted*, *perforated*, *precipitated*, *remitted*, *revelled*, *reduced*, *recruted*, *steeled*, *suppurated, terminated,* and *ulcerated*.

Since the latter number represents about the same proportion of words in each work, however, they share a similar treatment of past participles, but take a radically different approach to 3rd person singulars, as we saw. The past participles share 25 words; thus, putting it another way, the percentage shared of those in Rivière (71%) is far higher than for those shared in Renou/Tomlinson (7%). The shared past participles are *affected*, *aromatized*, *concocted*, *contracted*, *demonstrated*, *depraved*, *dilæted*, *dissipated*, *dissolved*, *embrochated*, *eroded*, *eventilated*, *expressed*, *fortified*, *inserted*, *perforated*, *precipitated*, *recruted*, *reduced*, *remitted*, *repelled*, *revelled*, *steeled*, *suppurated*, and *ulcerated*. *Conjoyned matter*, *couched with a needle* and *sealed earth* have been excluded.

On the face of it, this again suggests Renou/Tomlinson's dependence on Rivière. Examination of the definitions however reveals that only five of these, *aromatized*, *expressed*, *perforated*, *reduced*, *repelled*, are verbatim. These are also mainly very short, one- or two-word definitions or glosses, such as "bored through" for *perforated*. Nine, *contracted*, *embrochated*, *fortified*, *precipitated*, *recruted*, *remitted*, *revelled*(?), *steeled*, and *suppurated* are close in some respect, but not fully, and in some cases the changes are relatively trivial, while a further seven, *demonstrated*, *dilæted*, *dissipated*, *dissolved*, *eventilated*, *inserted*, and *ulcerated* bear little resemblance to their corresponding entries. Finally, *concocted*, *depraved* and *eroded* show no relation whatever in the definition. This is a mixed bag indeed. The work of a plagiarist would have shown little or no change in either head-word or definition, let alone any disjunction between them, aside from what can be explained by copying errors and printing-house conventions.

Looking at the words in common with verbatim glosses shows that *aromatized* is found quite often in English medical books, specifically in recipes, and not glossed except in these two dictionaries; in other words, it was not considered incomprehensible to those who consulted these works, ranging from mistresses of households, housekeepers, divines, and apothecaries. *Expressed* however is an interesting case, since few instances of its use in the "squeezed out" sense were found prior to the physical dictionaries, and the familiar non-medical "said, stated" sense prevails even in medical texts. *Perforated* is quite frequent in medical texts, but again I have not identified an instance in which it is glossed. There are a few uses in the OED dating back to around 1400. *Reduced* is a very frequent word with a long and complex semantic history. The gloss offered, "brought back again", is sufficiently imprecise to hinder closer analysis. *Repelled* was in

frequent use and lacks specific in-text glossing apart from one or two collocations with "driven back/driven away" (see EEBO), so that in general the reader was assumed to find it familiar. On the whole, then, these glossaries seem to have been targeted at a less educated reader who required glosses even for relatively familiar terms.

5.5. Morphological/derivational grouping

The pattern of verbal-deverbal entries is worth pursuing a little further. An infinitive seems rarely to be followed by or to follow a participle, exceptions being *relax*, *relaxing* in Renou/Tomlinson and Rivière's *corrode*, *corroding*, and *incrassate*, *incrassating*. Some infinitives in Riviere are matched by other forms, such as *corrode*, *corroding*, *corrosion*, and *expel*, *expulsion*, but others are unaccompanied by the infinitive, including *dissipating*, *dissipated*, but not *dissipate, evaporation*; *evaporated* but not *evaporate,* and likewise *suppuration, suppurated,* but not *suppurate.* This seems to be morphologically quite disorderly, evincing little evidence of systematic organisation by, say, verbs grouped with derivatives, which are sometimes with the verb but frequently not. Given that Rivière is only minimally alphabetical, such a system would have been perfectly possible. That it does not exist suggests that morphological and/or derivational principles were no more important than alphabetisation, and possibly less so. These factors considerably undermine the instructional value of the work.

6. Non-medical words

Both these dictionaries contain a number of terms which are not obviously or primarily medical. In Rivière we find *autumn*, *absurdities*, *centre*, *coincide*, *causa sine qua non*, *commemorative*, *diminished*, *exquisite*, *fabrick*, *form*, *illumination*, *illustrated*, *original*, and *precede*. Non-medical terms also figure in Renou/Tomlinson, including *adjacent*, *acquires*, *alacrity*, *appellations, bonity*, *castigation*, *diuturnity*, *investigate*, *miscellany*, *probable*, *profound*, *renovation*, and *symbolical*.

To consider at least a few of these, *absurdity* had no special medical sense; indeed its origin and its earliest use in English reflect the late Latin term meaning dissonance in music. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century instances are overwhelmingly in religious tracts, and mean an illogicality, usually with the implication of foolishness or dishonesty. Where it does appear in medical texts, it is with this sense. *Alacrity* ("liveliness", "sprightliness" OED) is more closely associated with medicine, since it applies to states of mind and body, but its use is usually in religious and historical texts and conduct books. It is frequently associated with joy and

other positive states of mind, such as cheerfulness, optimism, willingness, and so on. Nevertheless, this term does appear in medical texts. An early instance appears in John Cotta's *A short discouerie* (126), but in the context of the virtues and abilities required in the medical profession rather than medical practice. In Pieter van Forest's *The arraignment of vrines* of 1623 we read of a patient that "The Gentlewoman to any outward appearance, the very day before her death, was … mouing and stirring with great alacritie and chearefulnesse vp and downe her chamber, busied about her ordinarie employments" (31). What seems to be a genuinely medical usage appears in Thomas Brugis's *The marrow of physick* on the use of oil of nutmegs: "if you drink thereof, and anoint the region of the heart therewith, it expelleth flegmatick, and grosse humours, and causeth alacrity; if any by a fall catch a wound, bruise, or broken Rib, let him only drinke of this Oyle with some vulnerary drinke, and it helpes him" (39). Since this sense also appears in some later medical texts, it may have been a medical sense emerging about the mid-century.

Diuturnity is used in Thomas Gale's *Certaine workes of Galens, called Methodus medendi* (1586) several times, but with no suggestion of a special medical sense. It is not evidenced again until 1686 in Théophile Bonet's *A guide to the practical physician*, where it used often enough to suggest that the medical context might be relevant. Neither *castigation*, *miscellany*, or *symbolical* are medical, and the argument for *renovation* would be weak at best (see OED). *Investigate* clearly belongs to the halo lexicon, but not the medical lexicon proper. This notion of the halo lexicon for terms peripheral to the medical lexicon, or indeed any specialist lexicon, seems to overlap with but is not co-extensive with what are variously called semi-technical or sub--technical terms (see Marín and Rea 2014). *Investigate* is not all that frequent in English medical texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[15]

Symbolical is used by and large in religious and philosophical publications, while *profound* is mainly confined to seventeenth-century religious works, only appearing occasionally in medical texts. *Bonity*, a rare word in any case, is almost never found outside religious works in the seventeenth century, apart from its appearance in Renou's *Medical dispensatory* (1657), which raises the question of why it should be there at all.

Why non-medical terms should appear in such compilations in general is unclear, although they may represent words whose purpose is to provide contextual support for the medical lexicon. Another possible motivation for the inclusion of such terms is the familiar contemporaneous notion of copiousness, although an appendix which must perforce be limited in size seems an unlikely place to accumulate many such terms. Another motivation

[15] Comments like "not all that frequent" here usually mean that the OED and EEBO have been consulted and cross-checked, and sometimes LEME as well.

may simply be that they are hard words, a familiar idea in early modern English lexicography, but the counter-argument here is that some, including *absurdity*, *alacrity* and *profound* were in frequent use in this period. Given that the source of Rivière is the text itself, however, the crucial factor must simply be the perceived abilities and education of the readership.

7. Detailed comparison of definitions between Rivière and Renou/Tomlinson

There are 1912 head-words altogether between these works. Since an overlap between them may indicate no more than predictable agreement about a segment of the medical lexicon, not that one these dictionaries derives in part from the other, we need a more detailed examination. Determining the degree of relationship between entries using the definitions is sometimes straightforward, but it is often fraught with difficulty. Most of the re-occurring verbatim entries are one-word glosses, and some show a trivial deletion. Others differ in a variety of ways and to differing degrees, while still others show no relationship at all. I will begin by considering those which are exactly the same in each dictionary, leaving aside punctuation differences and spelling variation. The lists down to table 6 are exhaustive, but thereafter are only illustrative since the comparison is primarily intended to be qualitative, not quantitative.

7.1. No change between entries

Repeated verbatim entries between dictionaries may indicate borrowing, but this will not always be very meaningful. Since one-word glosses in particular may simply be the inarguable way of defining, it is possible for entries in different dictionaries to be exactly the same, but entirely independent. As Robert James put it in the proposals for his own medical dictionary in relation to previous works: "often nothing can be added to the Accuracy of their Explications … without the weak Ambition of concealing the Benefit by unnecessary Variations" (James 1741). Longer, multi-word definitions reveal much more, since the chances of coincidentally defining the same way over a multiword entry are exponentially less the longer the definition is. Nevertheless, the frequency of the one-word correspondences alone may indicate a relationship.

7.1.1. Single-term glosses

The most obvious no change category is single-term glosses (including spelling variants, and hyphenated forms) (see Table 1). The 15 in all which are shared are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Single-term glosses

Rivière 1655	Renou/Tomlinson 1657
Anus, the Fundament.	*Anus*, the fundament.
Carabe; amber.	*Carabe*, amber.
Cardiogmos; heart-burning.	*Cardiogmos*, heart-burning.
Cataplasm; a Pultiss.	*Cataplasm*, a pultise.
Cavity; hollowness.	*Cavity*, hollowness.
Cavous: hollow.	*Cavous*, hollow.
Collyrium, an Eye-salve	*Collyrium*, an eye-salve.
Illumination: enlightening.	*Illumination*, enlightening.
Insipid: Tastless.	*Insipid*, tasteless.
Nutrition: Nourishment.	*Nutrition*, nourishment.
Phlebotomy: blood-letting.	*Phlebotomy*, bloud-letting.
Ponderous: weighty.	*Ponderous*, weighty.
Potent: powerful.	*Potent*, powerful.
Scorbut: the Scurvie.	*Scorbut*, the Scurvy.
Venenosity: poysonfulness.	*Venenosity*, poysonfulness.

Some early modern lexical context for these terms seems appropriate. *Anus* is glossed by "fundament" rather than "arse", the more familiar form. The most usual meaning of fundament elsewhere is "basis, foundation", but both fundament and arse are used in medical texts, the latter often appearing in compounds such as *arse-hole* and *arse-gut* rather than alone. *Cardiogmos* ("heartburn") is rare, occurring more in dictionaries than elsewhere in the seventeenth century. It is unrecorded in OED and not attested before Rivière. *Cataplasm* ("plaster, poultice") is frequent in medical texts but rare elsewhere. *Cavity* is almost confined to medical contexts to the end of the seventeenth century, while *cavous* and *scorbut* are entirely so, as are *phlebotomy* and *venenosity*, whose gloss, *poisonfulness*, is less frequent, but more likely to be used figuratively. *Collyrium* however appears in religious texts used figuratively in the context of curing spiritual blindness, and similar considerations apply to *nutrition* as spiritual sustenance. *Illumination* and *insipid* may be regarded as halo-words, common enough in medical texts but without a specifically medical sense. *Ponderous* seems to be similar, as does *potent*; its often being paired with glosses such as "heavy" and "weighty" suggests that it is regarded as "hard" rather than having a particular medical sense. Not surprisingly, both gloss *carabe* with the single and obvious term *amber*, *carabe* appearing in this sense in several sixteenth and early seventeenth-century medical texts. The form *carabe* however is listed in OED under *karab*, which appears to mean yellow amber

and bitumen. There seems to be some uncertainty over what *amber*, *ambergris*, and *karab* (carob?), as well as *gum anime*, actually meant.

7.1.2. Phrasal verbs

Six phrasal verb and two noun phrases occur (see Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2. Phrasal verbs

Rivière 1655	Renou/Tomlinson 1657
Constipation, stopping up	*Constipation* stopping up
Expel: to drive forth.	*Expel* to drive forth.
Expressed: squeezed out.	*Expressed* squeezed out.
Perforated: bored through.	*Perforated* boared through.
Influx: flowing into	*Influx,* flowing into
Repelled: driven away.	*Repelled* driven away.

Table 3. Noun phrases

Gum animi: Indian Amber.	*Gum animi* Indian Amber.
Uvula or *Columella*: the Pallate of the Mouth.	*Uvula* the palat of the mouth.

These are clearly more telling than the single-word glosses, which increases their individual significance, but they represent a negligible percentage of the total lexicon in these dictionaries.

7.1.3. Extended identity

Those with more than one term, such as adjective plus noun, prepositional phrases, and entries with more than one gloss are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Extended identity

Abdomen: the Belly, or Paunch.	*Abdomen*, the Belly or Paunch.
Aranea Tunica the Cobweb-Coat, or Tunicle.	*Aranea tunica*, the cobweb, coat, or tunicle.
Congestion; a gathering together, or heaping up.	*Congestion*, a gathering together, or heaping up.
Generating: breeding, begetting.	*Generating*, breeding, begetting.
Indicate declare, point at	*Indicate* declare, point at
Reduced brought bach[sic] againe.	*Reduced*, brought back again.

The most frequent form is clearly glossing with two synonyms. The altered punctuation in the definition of *aranea tunica* has apparently changed the meaning, perhaps unintentionally or carelessly.

7.1.4. Sentence or phrase length identity

The following involve complete identity over a sentence-length expression or a lengthy phrase, see Table 5.

Table 5. Sentence or phrase length identity

Commissura; the Mold of the Head, where the parts of the Skul are united.	*Commissura*, the mold of the head where the parts of the skull are united.
Hemiplegia: the Palsy possessing one side.	*Hemiplegia*, the palsie possessing one side.
Infusion: a strained liquor wherein Medicaments have been steeped, either hot or cold.	*Infusion*, a strained liquor wherein medicaments have been steeped either hot or cold.
Opisthotones: a Convulsion so named, when the Body is drawn backward.	*Opisthotones*, a Convulsion so named, when the Body is drawn backward.
Pulsation: beating of the Arteries. In any part of the Body.	*Pulsation*, beating of the arteries in any part of the body.
Revulsion: drawing back of blood or Humors from the part affected.	*Revulsion*, drawing back of blood or humors from the part affected.
A Scruple is twentie graines or the weight of so many barley corns.	*Scruple*, is twentie grains, or the weight of so many Barley corns.
Spinal: of or belonging to the back-Bone.	*Spinal*, of or belonging to the back-Bone.
Stupefying: taking away the sence of feeling; benumming.	*Sstupifying*, taking away the sense of feeling; benumming.

This seems the most significant category in establishing a relationship between the dictionaries in that the chances of the definitions being the same by coincidence are remote. Among entries that are the same, the longer the definition, the more significant the coincidence. It is not the only possible form of affiliation, however, as we shall see.

7.2. Trivial change

This category is represented by entries in which there is a change of one or two terms, often a word which does not contribute to or alter the meaning significantly; see Table 6.

These range from the added "or" in the Renou/Tomlinson entry for *aromatized*, the changes in preposition in *extension* and *indicate* and the addition of the single adverb "freely" to *perspirable*, to the addition of the infinitive sign "to" in *transpire*, the presence or absence of the copula under *universal evacuation*, and the replacement of "bunching" by the near-synonym "standing" under *convex*. The change to the past tense in *eradicate* could mean that it was read as a Latinate adjectival participle in Renou/Tomlinson, but the context is not helpful in deciding this. This would

be a rare sense, but it is attested in the sixteenth century (see OED). None of these cases involves a significant change in meaning.

Table 6. Trivial change (shared text in bold)

Aromatized, **Spiced, perfumed**.	*Aromatized*, **spiced**, or **perfumed**.
Breathing of a vein **Blood-letting, properly if but little Blood** be **taken away**.	*Breathing a vein*, is **blood-letting properly**, where **but little Blood** is **taken away**.
Carminating medicines **are such as** do **break Wind**.	*Carminating Medicines*, **are such as break wind**.
Conjunctiva **a Coat of the Eye, so called because it sticks fast** un**to the Eye, and keeps it in place**.	*Conjunctiva*, **a Coat of the Eye so called, because it sticks fast** to **the eye**, **and** helps **it in** its place.
Consolidation: **closing up** of **a Sore or Wound**, &c.	*Consolidation,* **closing up a Sore or Wound**.
Convex bunching **out like the back-side of a Buckler or Platter.**	*Convex*, standing **out like the back-side of a buckler or platter.**
Cydoniatum **Conserve of Quinces, Marmalade.**	*Cydoniatum*, **conserve of quinces** called **marmalade.**
Diagrydiates **Medicines that have Scammony or Diagrydium in** them.	*Diagridiates*, **medicines that have scammony or diagrydium in** their composition.
Eradicate **pluck up by the Roots.**	*Eradicate*, **pluck**ed **up by the Roots.**
Exhalations **Vapors drawn up by the sun,** out of **the Earth and Waters.**	*Exhalation*, **vapors drawn by the sun,** upwards off **the earth and waters**.
Extension **stretching** out.	*Extension*, **stretching** forth.
Frontal vein **Fore-head Vein.**	*Frontal veins*, **fore-head vein**s.
Gargarisms that is, **Medicines to Gargle in the Throat to wash sore Throat**s.	*Gargarisms*, **medicines to wash and gargle in a sore mouth or throat.**
Indicate **declare, point** out.	*Indicate*, **declare, point** at.
Neotericks are late **writers in physick, or any other Art, so called in opposition to the Antient Authors.**	*Neotericks*, modern **Writers either in Physick or any other Art so called in opposition to the Antients.**
Perspirable **the Body is said to be perspirable, when the invisible Pores or holes in the skin, are kept open, so that the Vapors arising from evil Humors may breath out.** See Transpiration.	*Perspirable*, **the body is said to be perspirable when the invisible Pores or holes in the skin are kept open, so that the vapors arising from evil humors may** freely **breath out.**
Prognosis: **the foreknowledg of Disease**s	*Prognosis*, **the fore-knowledge of** a **disease**.
Sediment **the settling**s and **dregs of Urine or any other Liquor.**	*Sediment*, **the settling or dregs of urine or any other liquor.**
Sternutatories **medicines to snuf into the nose to provoke sneezing.**	*Sternutatories*, **medicines to snuff** up **into the nose to provoke sneezing.**

Table 6. Trivial change… (cont.)

Symptomes **evil dispositions of the Body which depend upon and accompany a disease; as Heat, thirst, Headach, want of Sleep, stomach-sickness, faintings, swoonings, &c.**	*Symptoms* **evil dispositions of the Body which depend on, and accompany a disease, as heat, thirst, headach, want of sleep, sickness** at **stomach, faintings, swoonings, &c.**
Transpire **breath through.**	*Transpire*, to **breath through.**
Universal evacuation: is **a general purging of the whol body, all at once.**	*Universal Evacuation*, **a general purging of the whole body all at once.**

7.3. Non trivial single-word change

The two examples listed in Table 7 represent single changes which may well be significant.

Table 7. Non trivial single-word change

Spiritus acousticos is **that portion of the spirit which in the eares discerneth Sounds.**	*Spiritus acousticus* **that portion of the** Animal **spirit which in the eares discerneth sounds.**
Cataphora, **a** deep **sleep**.	*Cataphora*, **a** dead **sleep**.

Spiritus acousticus is attested only in the physical dictionaries and does not appear in the OED. The change from "spirit" to "animal spirit" makes this definition somewhat more precise, and the existence of the animal spirit was controversial at the time. A deep sleep and a dead sleep are not easily distinguished. Barrough's *The method of phisick* 1578, cap. XX describes medical conditions known as a dead sleep, which he calls variously *coma*, *sopor*, and *granis et profundis somnolentum*, although he does not use *cataphora*. Still other medical works call it *lethargy* and describe dead sleep as a disease. Deep sleep on the other hand is often a symptom, and is usually glossed as *caros*. *Cataphora* is variously glossed in some medical works as either a deep sleep or a dead sleep.

7.4. Complex dependence

The definition of *aneurism* illustrates the complex way in which dependence between entries manifests itself, see Table 8.

Table 8. Complex dependence

Aneurism: **a Swelling caused by** a dilatation of the **Arteri**es **external Coat**, the **internal being** broken.	*Aneurism*, **a swelling caused by** the **break**ing the **internal coat** of an **artery**, the **external being** whole.

There is considerable overlap in actual wording and the grammatical structure of the definitions matches quite closely, but the conceptual structure is focussed quite differently. The Rivière entry stresses the dilation of the external coat of the artery, whereas Renou/Tomlinson shifts the focus to the internal coat.

A number of entries consist of the same core gloss, but with substantial material deleted in Renou/Tomlinson, as illustrated in Table 9.

Table 9. Deletion

Atomes: smal **motes** hardly visible, and that cannot admit of any division.	*Atomes*, **motes**.

While this is apparently just a simplification of the entry, it jettisons significant explanatory material. It is also easy to argue here that the assumption of inter-dependence is illusory, given that only a single word is shared, the possibility that these two are completely independent remaining quite strong. The next illustrative example removes two synonyms and makes a conflation, while the second appears to conflate the simile into a simpler description, see Table 10.

Table 10. Conflation

Carus; foulness, **rottenness**, corruption **of a Bone.**	*Carus*, **rottenness of a bone**.
Cornea, a **Coat of the Eye** like the **horn of a** Lanthorn. See *Veslingus* in English.	*Cornea*, the **coat of the eye of a horn**y substance.

But *horny coat* was a familiar name for the cornea, so that the similarity here seems less significant than the lack of a reference to a lantern (lanthorn) in assessing the degree of dependence. The reference to Culpeper's translation of Vesling's anatomy is omitted. Under *cornea*, the Renou/Tomlinson version is somewhat shorter than that in Rivière.

Shortening is not the predominant strategy, however. Rivière's *glandules* (Table 11) shows a definition which is almost verbatim, and an addition which adds little of substance.

Table 11. Addition

Glandules, **kernels, such as are about the Throat, aad[sic] are called the Almonds of the Ears, and such as the Sweet-bread**, &c.	*Glandules*, **kernels such as are about the throat, and are called the Almonds of the ears**, also **the sweet-bread**; and whatever is like to these is said to be of a Glandulous substance.

There is sufficient in common here to argue for a connexion.

In the case of *efficient cause* (Table 12), the first clause is verbatim, but is followed by an extended simile.

Table 12. Change in simile

The Efficient Cause: is **the working or making Cause**, so a Tailor is **the Efficient** of a Garment; **the Material Cause is the** stuff, a thing **is made** of which **the Efficient** works upon; So the Cloth or Silk **is the Material Cause** of the Garment. **The formal Cause**, the shape that makes it a Coat, or Cloak, or Doublet; **the final cause, is** the end why it was made, viz. to hide nakedness, keep off Sun and Cold, and to adorn the Body.	*Efficient cause*, **the working or making Cause**, as the Apothecary is **the efficient** cause of a compound medicine; **the material cause is the** Druggs, whereof it **is made; the formal cause** is that proper form given to it, whereby its distinguished to be a Pill, a Portion, an Electuary; and **the final Cause is** to procure health.

In Rivière, this analogy is with the making of clothes by a tailor, but in Renou/Tomlinson it is more appropriately with the making of medicines by an apothecary. While the head-word is in the text, the simile in the definition is quite different. Thus the entry is structurally similar but quite different in detail, and thoughtfully so. It seems hard to avoid the conclusion that these two are related despite the changes. The entry for *causa sine qua non*, which is not in Renou/Tomlinson, uses the same simile in the definition. "The Cause without which a thing cannot be, though it be not the principal Cause thereof: So a Taylors Shop-boord is a Cause *sine qua non,* without which a Garment cannot be made, though himself and the stuff, the shape and the end be principal Causes."

Cardialgia appears to represent a change in the perceived meaning (see Table 13), but there is some ambiguity about the meaning of this word. It is frequently heart-burn, but more liberal interpretations do occur. The OED recognises only the sense of heart-burn.

Table 13. Change of meaning

Cardialgia; **Heart**-burning.	*Cardialgia*, distempers, or griefs of the **heart**.

Some entries represent an accumulation of synonyms, for example, see Table 14.

Table 14. Synonymy

Congelation, **freezing together**, stiffness **with Cold.**	*Congelation*, benumming, unsuitablenesse, a **freezing together with cold**
Corroding; **biting**, gnawing, eating.	*Corroding*, **biting** and fretting.

Table 14. Synonymy (cont.)

Dissipated; scattered **abroad**	*Dissipated*, diffused, or spread **abroad**.
Distortion; **writh**ing, wresting, crooking.	*Distortion*, **writh**en, or turned from the natural place and situation in the body.
Embrochated: **moistened**, bedewed, **bathed**.	*Embrochated*, **moistened**, sprinkled. Wash'd, or **bathed**.
Eroded: **eaten asunder**, eaten up.	*Eroded*, rusted, canker'd, or **eaten asunder**.
A pair of *Forceps*, a smal Instrument like a pair of **Tongs, to** draw forth **any thing out of the Ears, &c.**	*Forceps*, **Tongs or** Nippers **to** take hold of **any thing** to be plucked **out of the ears**, mouth, womb, **&c.**
Inserted: fastened **or** planted **into**.	*Inserted*, engrafted, **or** joynted **into.**
Occult: **hidden**, unknown.	*Occult*, **hidden**, mysterious.
Stupid: that **is benummed, besotted, hath no feeling or sence,** blockish.	*Stupid*, **benummed, besotted**, that **hath no feeling or sence.**
Turgent: **swelling, working, moving too and fro spoken of the Humors of the Body when they are in a Combustion, and full of motion.**	*Turgent*, **swelling, working,** frothing, bubbling, **moving to and fro:** it's usually **spoken of the Humors of the Body when they are in a Combustion, and full of motion.**

Other entries taken together offer multiple synonyms without repeating what was in Rivière at all, see Table 15.

Table 15. Non-repeated synonymy

Depraved: marred, spoiled	*Depraved*, wicked, vile, base.
Horrors: Shiveringes.	*Horrors*, shakings and tremblings.
Inordinate: disorderly, unnatural, and unfitting.	*Inordinate*, irregular, unruly, masterless.
Præposterous: unnatural, undue, unfitting.	*Præposterous*, out of season, unhandsome, unseemly, disorderly.

This is quite an interesting exercise in synonymy in itself, suggesting both the availability of many synonyms and the independence of these entries. These entries are either unrelated or represent an attempt to avoid the Rivière glosses entirely, which seems less likely.

Some entries suggest bungled copying (Table 16). In *dissolved*, a bungled "its used to be spoken of" replaces "it is used of" may indicate eye-skip, although little else in this entry suggests inter-dependence. The entry for *elephantiasis* replaces the sensible "hide" for the less meaningful "side", and the meaning is partially lost under *pærineum* with the omission of "and fundament"; perhaps in error.

There is also some disparity in meanings and definitions between Rivière and Renou/Tomlinson.

Table 16. Bungled copying

Dissolved: melted, consumed away. **It** is **used of swelling**s that are brought down **by** Oyntments or Plaisters; and in other cases when the **Humor** causing the Disease is invisibly driven away.	*Dissolved*, **it**s used to be spoken **of** [sic] dissolving hard knots, kernels, or **swelling by** application of outward medicines, and internally by dispersing any coagulation, or gathering together of **humor**s by diet drinks.
Elephantias is a **lepr**ous disease, which makes **the Patient**s skin **like the** Hide **of an Elephant**.	*Elephantiasis* is a kind of white scals[sic] or leprosie over the whole body of **the patient**, making it **like the** side **of an elephant**.
Pærineum: **the** space **which run**s **like a ridge between the privities** and fundament **in men and women**.	*Pærineum*, **the** seam **which run**neth **like a ridge between the privities** both **in men and women.**

Table 17. Disparity

Dissolution of Natural Heat: a decay of Natural Heat.	*Dissolution*, is a preparation of Medicine simple and compounded by some convenient moisture to a certain consistence.
Emulsions: Almond milkes; and milkes made of cool **Seeds**, &c.	*Emulsions*, the steeping or dissolution by steeping of any **seeds** or kernels in liquor till it come to the thickness of a jelly.
Plethorick: **full of** blood, too **full of** blood.	*Plethorick*, a too **full** habit **of** body, or an evil constitution **of** the body wherein the humors offend rather in quantity, than quality.
Atrophy want of Nourishment, when the Body pines away.	*Atrophy* a Consumption.

The entries for *dissolution* represent two distinct senses of this term. Rivière is not entirely correct about *plethorick* in that an excess of any humour(s) can produce this condition, not just blood. A similar consideration applies to *emulsion*, which often means almonds, but need not. These entries thus suggest no inter-dependence. Likewise, the entries for *atrophy* (Table 17) allude to different senses, both of which were viable in the seventeenth century.

Table 18. Disparate cross-references

Escharoticks: see Causticks potential. [*Causticks*, are Medicines which burn the Skin and Flesh to make Issues, &c.]	*Escheoticks*[sic], potential cauteries: *see* Cauteries. [*Cautery actua*l, burning with a red hot iron.] [Caustick, Medicines to burn the skin, to make issues, &c.]

Both entries for *escharoticks* involve a cross-reference, one to *Causticks potential* and the other to *potential cauteries*. While a cautery and a caustic were synonymous in the seventeenth century, this disparity cannot be the result of close inter-dependence or slavish imitation.

Note in Table 19 that *procatarctick causes* provides a really complex comparison.

Table 19. Complexity: Aristotelean complications?

Procatarctick Causes: **primarie, first working** and occasional **Causes.** So in **a Feaver, the next immediate Cause is putrefied choller, &c. but the first working & occasional cause**s, were **the patients taking cold, by swimming in the cold water; whereby the pores became shut, and the Matter of the Disease** was retained **in the Body**. So the Procatarctick Cause of worms in Children, is their greedy eating of Fruit, but the immediate Cause, is putrified humors occasioned by those Fruits; out of which humors the worms breed.	*Procatarctick Causes*, **the primarie, first working** or moving **Causes**, as **in a Fever. The next immediate** moving **Cause is putrefied choller, &c. but the first working and occasional Cause** was **the patients taking cold**, or **by swimming in cold water; whereby the pores became shut, and** so **the matter of the Disease** inflamed by being pent up **in the body**.

The change from "occasional" to "moving" for these predisposing causes on two occasions seems significant, since "occasional" must mean 'predisposing' or 'initial' here, and a "moving" cause apparently relates to the Aristotelian efficient cause, but the change is not made in the third instance. Rivière's example is dropped, but the retention of the "matter" in the body is expanded upon.

There seems to be no relation between these dictionaries at all (Table 20) in the case of *privation*.

Table 20. No relation whatever

Privation: loss.	*Privation*, God knows what it is, there is no such thing in nature.

It is glossed sensibly in Riviere by "loss", but in Renou/Tomlinson not attracting a definition, but being shrugged off, perhaps with the concept of *horror vacui* in mind. The word is in fact quite frequent in medical texts, and occurs in the Renou/Tomlinson's own entry for *apoplexy*. 'God knows' may well be a simple declarative, not the modern expletive.

7.5. Further evidence of inter-dependence

Further evidence of their inter-dependence is the nature of the shared terms. While one would expect familiar medical terms like *bolus*, *contusion*, *diacatholicon*, *mortification*, or *pugil* to be shared, being basic items in a seventeenth-century medical lexicon, others are surprising, especially some of the multi-word expressions. While one might expect such

expressions in a specialist dictionary, one would not expect that a number occur verbatim in two separate works, especially given the relatively low rate of shared vocabulary among medical dictionaries. These include *carminating medicines*, *coction of humours*, *febris catarrhalis*, *habit of body*, *solution of continuity*, and *vaporous matter*. *Treble quality*, not an obviously medical term at all, also appears in both. For the sake of wider comparison, the only one of these which appears in Blancard 1684 is *solution of continuity*, under the Latin form *solutio continui*. There are also shared phrases such as *species retained in the mind* and *state of the/a disease*.

No attempt is made to regularise language, in that those which are in Latin or Greek in the one are also in Latin or Greek in the other; likewise English spelling variations among these shared terms are also very few. The most striking change, *breathing vein/breathing of a vein* is apparently editorial, although perhaps in the circumstances it should be regarded as a transcription error since it is a singleton example. Analysis shows a somewhat increasing dependence as we move through the alphabet, with more shared entries as a percentage, and less original ones. The change begins about the letter M, where the balance between the two is almost equal.

8. Conclusion

The immediate research question here was what kind of relation subsists between the Renou/Tomlinson and Rivière glossaries. Views have varied: R. C. Alston found them inter-dependent, but this view is not universally accepted (see Tyrkkö 2009: 178–179). My own provisional study shows that, of the 580 head-words in the Rivière dictionary, 379 also appear in Renou/Tomlinson. This represents 65 percent of the Rivière entries which does suggest a relationship, but this comprises only 22 percent of Renou/Tomlinson, suggesting that it is simply one among several sources. Counting head-words, however, is only scratching the surface of the problem. While the compilers of the Rivière glossary made no attempt to survey medical literature for terminology, sticking pretty rigidly to their own text, Renou/Tomlinson spread their net much wider, presumably seeing the need for more extensive coverage of thís specialist lexicon.

Whole entries needed detailed examination. Taking the cases of verbatim entries and those exhibiting only trivial differences together (38), these represent 6.5% of the Rivière entries (580; 6.6%), Renou/Tomlinson thus has 2.2% of (1711; 2.2% of those in Rivière, and they share 1.65% of the total of all lemmas (2291). A cline then takes us from verbatim through significantly verbally altered to structurally altered to wholly unrelated.

Cases like *efficient cause* are by no means irrelevant, however, seemingly showing creative re-editing. In some cases, such as the four shared present participles, it seems as perspicuous to say that these medical lexicographers agreed to this extent on what should appear in their lists and agreed on the corresponding definition in two cases than to argue that one depended upon the other.

The Rivière dictionary is seemingly *sui generis*, while the Renou/Tomlinson one is a farrago, a modest part of which derives from Rivière. Stand-alone medical dictionaries had not been published in English up to this point, with the exception of Boorde's *Breviary of helthe* (1547), already more than a century old. Culpeper and his co-translators thus would have found no recent models to work from, and Tomlinson was almost inevitably going to place some reliance on Rivière, since the only alternatives were Latin medical dictionaries. The expanded scope of Renou/Tomlinson reflects a greater ambition for the stand-alone dictionary, encompassing the larger medical discourse community.

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