

Rudolf, Winfried. "**Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730: The Manuscript Evidence.**" In *Travelling Texts – Texts Travelling: A Gedenkschrift for Hans Sauer*, edited by Bauer, Renate, Christine Elweiler, Ulrike Krischke und Kerstin Majewski, 373–400. München: UTZ, in print, forthcoming 2023.

Diese Publikation wurde gefördert mit Forschungsmitteln des Landes Niedersachsen.

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730: The Manuscript Evidence

Winfried Rudolf

1. Introduction

The study of Old English in Germany during the pre-academic early modern period and the history of its protagonists have not received much scholarly attention. While the Elizabethan and Tudor origins and, more recently, the Dutch contributions to the beginnings of the subject have been addressed by major book publications, the activities by German-speaking humanists and their immediate successors have seen hardly more than the occasional reference in previous scholarship.¹ In a recent publication of 2021, Stephen Pelle and the author of this article attempted to revive interest in an important connection between early seventeenth-century English antiquarians and northern Germany established by the Hamburg humanist Friedrich Lindenbrog (1573–1648).² His rediscovered lexicographical materials reveal that Lindenbrog, as some of his European contemporaries, might have planned to create the first printed dictionary of Old English (Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 636). The glosses he collected draw to a large extent on the

¹ See, for example, Brackmann (2012), Gneuss (1990), Graham (2001) for England; Bremmer (2008), Bremmer and Hoftijzer (1998), Dekker (1997, 1999, 2000) for the Low Countries. Notable exceptions with regard to Germany are the studies by Hetherington (1980) and Stanley (1982).

² On Lindenbrog's biography, see especially Horváth (1988: 10–78) and Neef (1985).

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

hand-written *Titus Dictionary*³ of John Joscelyn (1529–1603), archbishop Matthew Parker’s chief collaborator on the inaugural publications of several Anglo-Saxon religious and historical texts. However, the *Titus* material was supplemented by Lindenbrog with several smaller Old English glossaries from various manuscript sources.⁴

Lindenbrog’s lexicographical materials, collected by him during the first half of the 17th century, belong to the very first modern documents that communicated knowledge about substantial parts of the Old English lexicon back to northern Germany, the ancestral homeland of many early English. Although Lindenbrog never produced a printed dictionary of Old English or comparative Germanic himself, his lexicographical legacy still stirred the interest of several of his compatriots during the century after his death (Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 636–639). This scholarly engagement with Old English took place, to some part not incidentally, within the context of the accession of George I of Hanover to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland in 1714.

The purpose of this article is to provide an overview of the hitherto unrecorded or insufficiently described manuscript evidence for Old English lexicography during the period 1650–1730 by the northern German scholars Abraham Hinckelmann (1652–1695), Dietrich von Stade (1637–1718), and Johann Georg von Eckhart (1664–1730), as it survives in German libraries and archives today. The materials presented here will not only attest to the influence of Lindenbrog’s lexicographical legacy but will also outline some of the specific interests of these three connoisseurs of Old English and the bibliographical resources available

³ The title derives from the eponymous manuscripts London, British Library, Cotton Titus A.xv and xvi that contain the glossary. Lists used in the compilation and later in the supplementing of the *Titus Dictionary* survive in London, British Library, Harley 6841 and London, Lambeth Palace Library, 692 (Graham 2000: 120–133).

⁴ On Joscelyn’s lexicographical work, see Graham (2000); on Lindenbrog’s glossaries, see Ker (1957: nos. 100, 405, and 406, esp. p. 471, note 1) and Rudolf and Pelle (2021: 622–635).

to them. I hope to demonstrate that the honorand of this festschrift was preceded by some eminent like-minded Germans in their enthusiasm for the Old English lexicon, while at the same time I wish to encourage further research into their biographies, scholarship, and lexicographical methods as revealed by their manuscripts.

2. Friedrich Lindenbrog's Old English Glossaries

The first comprehensive printed dictionary of the Old English language, William Somner's *Dictionary Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*, appeared in 1659, eleven years after Friedrich Lindenbrog's death. Yet, despite its appearance in an edition of no fewer than 450 copies and a general increase in available printed books on the Old English language and literature during the second half of the 17th century, it is remarkable that Lindenbrog's hand-written Old English glossaries continued to form the basis of studying Old English for some German scholars until the early 18th century. As a first step, it is therefore necessary to briefly summarize their contents here.⁵ Lindenbrog's Old English glossaries survive in two manuscripts found in the Staats- and Universitätsbibliothek (henceforth SUB) in Hamburg:

⁵ For a more detailed account of their contents, see Rudolf and Pelle (2021: 621–635). Throughout this article I refer only to parts pertaining to Old English in the descriptions of manuscripts.

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

Hamburg, SUB, Cod. philol. 263, arts. 4 and 7

This is a humanist florilegium containing a variety of literary and lexicographical materials and two items pertaining to Old English (Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 621 f.):⁶

(4) fols. 16r–19v. “GLOSSARIUM THEOTISCUM” [= Buckalew’s **QI**; Ker 1957: no. 405(a); cf. Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 622–624].⁷

This list of selective glosses from Ælfric’s Latin–Old English *Glossary* (cf. Zupitza 1880: 301.10–315.15) shows an additional rubric by Lindenbrog on its first page reading “Ex membranis Fr. Pithoei, quas in Anglia Oxoniae nactus. titulus praefererat BEDAM.” [‘From the manuscript materials of Fr[ançois] Pithou, which he obtained in Oxford, England. The title mentioned Bede’].⁸ Ker reasons that the French lawyer and attorney general François Pithou (1543–1621) obtained a now-lost Bede manuscript in Oxford in 1572 which contained a large fragment of Ælfric’s *Glossary* [**Q**]. Lindenbrog probably copied Pithou’s glosses during his residence in Paris between 1599 and 1604 (Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 623).

(7) fols. 32r–36r. “GLOSSARIUM LATINO-SAXONICVM. ad MS. Cod. Velseri.” [= **VI**; Ker 1957: no. 406; cf. Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 624 f.].

This is a selection of glosses from a lost manuscript of Ælfric’s Latin–Old English *Glossary*, taken from the section Zupitza (1880: 308.5–322.2), showing partial overlap with glosses in art. (4) (cf. Zupitza 1880: 308.5–

⁶ Earlier incomplete or erroneous descriptions by Pitiscus (1788–1794: 125), Münzel (1905: 39, no. 203), and Horváth (1988: 182–184). Digital images of this manuscript are available at <https://digitalisate.sub.uni-hamburg.de/detail/?tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=34531&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1&cHash=81ea8132d58978c0ef5c7a6a5159db91> (accessed 15 April 2022).

⁷ Sigla are according to Buckalew (1978: 154), unless otherwise indicated.

⁸ All translations, unless indicated otherwise, are my own.

315.15). Lindenbrog's rubric may indicate that he copied directly from a manuscript [V] belonging to the Augsburg humanist Marcus Welser (1558–1614). The watermarks and Lindenbrog's orthography of Old English suggest that these glosses were copied during the first decade of the 17th century (Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 624).

Both wordlists in Cod. philol. 263 were used by Lindenbrog to produce the comparative glossary at the end of his monumental *Codex legum antiquarum*, published in 1613 (Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 625). This printed glossary is sporadically cited by Somner (1659).⁹

⁹ Cf. Somner (1659), s.v. *Belflyse, Forboren, Haligdome, Hydgylde, Langlegeran, Lean, Mærepening, Nihteald, Stodþeof*.

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

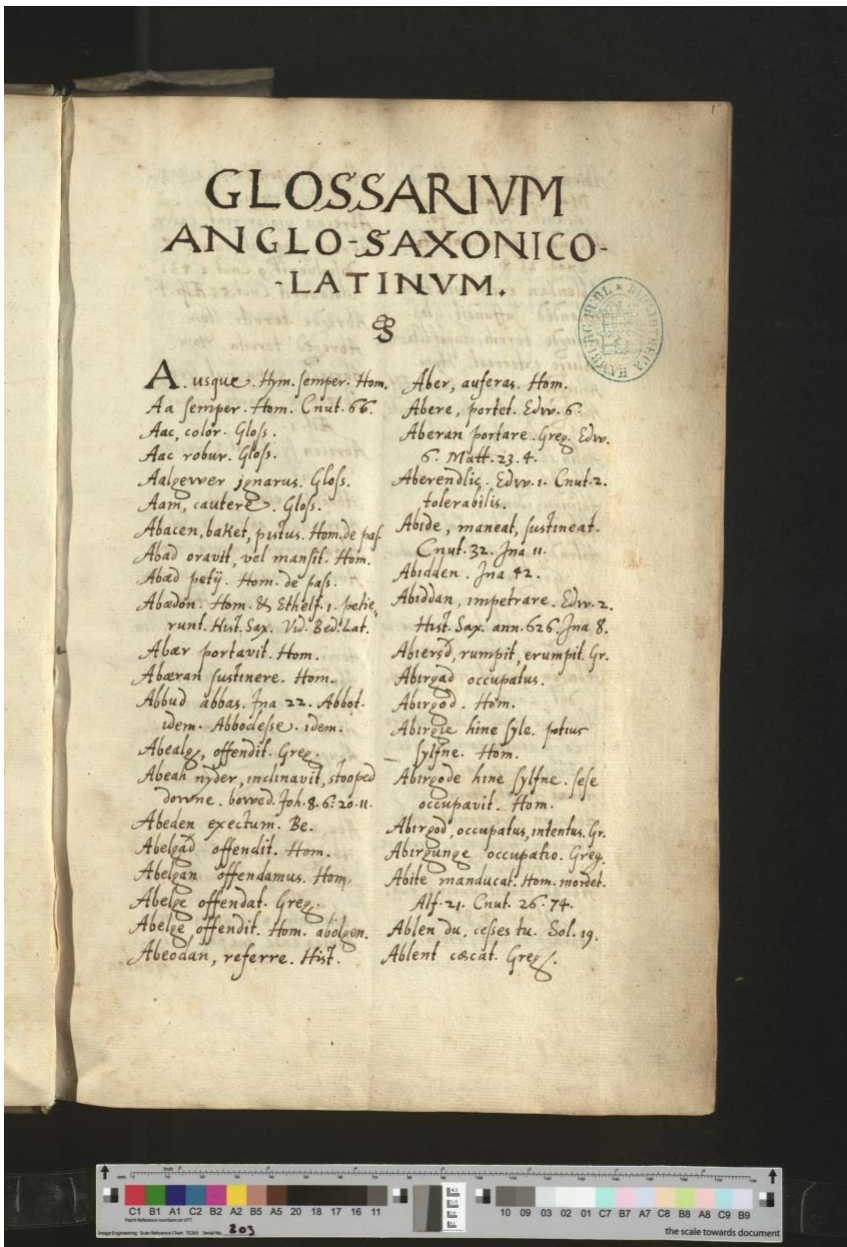


Figure 1: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. germ. 22, fol. 1r.

© Copyright SUB Hamburg 2019

Hamburg, SUB, Cod. germ. 22, arts. 1–4 and 8

The glossaries assembled in this manuscript – except for art. 8 – were most probably compiled by Lindenbrog between 1614 and 1616 in London (Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 626f.). It contains the following items pertaining to Old English:¹⁰

(1) pp. 1–325. “GLOSSARIUM ANGLO-SAXONICO-LATINUM.”

This is Lindenbrog’s copy of the Old English–Latin/Modern English *Dictionarium Anglo-Saxonicum–Latinum* or *Titus Dictionary* (today London, British Library, Cotton Titus A.xv and xvi), collected and composed by John Joscelyn with the help of Archbishop Matthew Parker’s son, John Parker, between c. 1565 and c. 1585 (Graham 2000). The original *Titus* list of c. 23,000 entries is abridged here to c. 16,000 entries. Each entry consists of an Old English form, including inflected forms and derivatives, the Latin or occasionally Modern English equivalent, and a source reference as given by Joscelyn and Parker.

(2) pp. 326–346. “GLOSSARIUM LATINO ANGLO-SAXONICUM BEDAE SIVE ÆLFRICI GRAMMATICI.”

A selection of c. 1,300 glosses from Ælfric’s Latin–Old English *Glossary* (Zupitza 1880: 297.4–322.2), uniting and collating fuller versions of the Pithou and Welser glosses (see above Cod. philol. 263), some of which are unusual or without parallel in known manuscripts. Except for the first c. 190 of these glosses (Zupitza 301.8–322.2), whose source is

¹⁰ For a fuller description of the manuscript, see Rudolf and Pelle (2021: 626–636). Earlier summaries by Horváth (1988: 111), Ker (1957: 471, note 1), Münzel (1905: 38–39), and Pitiscus (1788–1794: 115). Digital images of this manuscript are available at https://digitalisate.sub.uni-hamburg.de/detail/?tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=17604&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1&cHash=f50ec5ffaf8cf76c8b386e9db4805a37 (accessed 15 April 2022).

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

unknown, this selection is closely paralleled by London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.ix [=Qv; Ker 1957: nos. 405, 406], fols. 208r–215r, and partly paralleled by both smaller glossaries **QI** and **VI** in Cod. philol. 263 (see above p. 000 and esp. Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 629–633).

(3) pp. 347–354. “EXCERPTA EX GRAMMATICA ANGLO-SAXONICO LATINA ÆLFRICI: *Qui tempore Atheluuoldi Præsulis vixit, anno MVI.*”

Continuous excerpts from Ælfric’s *Grammar* from the section Zupitza (1880: 7.7–296.16). Lindenbrog’s spellings indicate that his exemplar was very probably the version of Ælfric’s *Grammar* in London, British Library, Royal 15 B.xxii [= Zupitza’s **R**].¹¹

(4) pp. 355–365. “EXCERPTA EX VETERE LIBRO SENTENTIARUM.”

This part contains Lindenbrog’s continuously excerpted forms from the interlinear Old English glosses to Defensor’s *Liber scintillarum* found in London, British Library, Royal 7 C.iv, fols. 1r–100v (Ker 1957: 256, ed. Rhodes 1889).

(8) p. 391. “Ex Bedæ Gutberto.”

A single paper leaf, c. 195 x 135 mm, containing 34 Latin-Old English glosses (Meritt 1945, no. 9) that were copied from a manuscript of Bede’s verse *Vita Cuthberti*, now Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 2034 (4°) (Horváth 1988: 221f.; Ker 1957: no. 100).¹² It was probably during his time in Paris (1599–1604) that Lindenbrog came into possession of this manuscript, other *membra disjecta* of which now survive in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1340 (4°) and Hamburg, SUB, Cod. jur. 2541 (Horváth 1988: 146f.; Jørgensen 1926: 41f.). The glosses were probably excerpted by Lindenbrog during the first decade of the 17th

¹¹ See, for example, *Abies – aebis* (347b, cf. Zupitza 1880: 52.14) and *passim*.

¹² Digital images of the manuscript are available online at <<http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/44/eng/>> (accessed 15 April 2022).

century, so before arts. 1–4 were written, and apparently preserve some forms from the now-missing first quire of the Copenhagen manuscript (see Ker 1957: no. 100). The small format and different paper of p. 391 suggests that it was once a note sheet in the original manuscript, attached to Cod. germ. 22 at a later stage in order to supplement the glossaries collected there (Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 635).

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

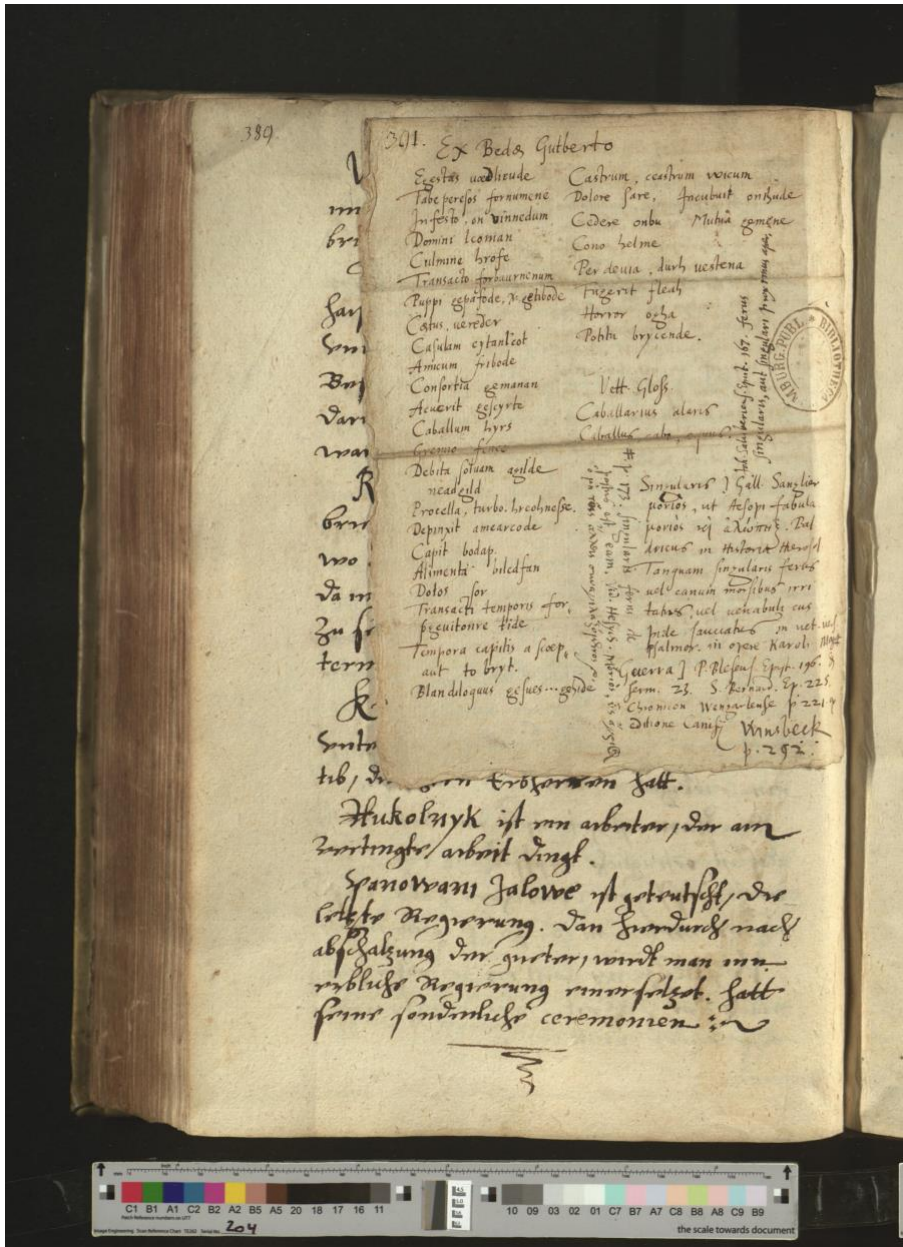


Figure 2: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. germ. 22, p. 391.

© Copyright SUB Hamburg 2019

3. The Northern German Copyists of Lindenbrog's Old English Glossaries

3.1 Abraham Hinckelmann (1652–1695)

A hitherto neglected copy of Lindenbrog's main manuscript collection of Old English glosses in Hamburg, SUB, Cod. germ. 22 survives in Cod. germ. 23 in the same library. This manuscript, as its exemplar, was returned to the Hamburg library from the USSR in 1990 (Horváth 1999; Krawehl 1997; Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 638). It is referenced in an entry on the front pastedown of Cod. germ. 22 as "Nr. 172" in the catalogue of manuscripts belonging to the Hamburg preacher Joachim Morgenweg (1666–1730), printed by an anonymous in 1730. The same reference is made in Cod. germ. 23 itself, on an endleaf note written by the Hamburg Hebraist and polyhistor Johann Christoph Wolf (1683–1739). In the anonymous catalogue it is indeed listed under this number as "Glossario Anglo-Saxonico-Latinum" in the category "Manuscripta" (Anonymous 1730: 14).¹³ Since Morgenweg acquired large parts of the manuscript library of the orientalist and theologian Abraham Hinckelmann in 1715 and 1716 (Brockelmann 1908: I, i), Cod. germ. 23 was most probably owned by Hinckelmann at some stage. Whether the glossary was personally copied or only commissioned by him is still uncertain. Further evidence for the association with Hinckelmann comes from a marginal annotation by Wolf on the front leaf reading "in manus B. Hinckelmanni", in which he identifies the curly and sloping hand that wrote only the title page perhaps as one of Hinckelmann's relatives, if not Hinckelmann

¹³ Morgenweg's books later became part of the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek, where their shelfmarks were changed.

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

himself.¹⁴ The glossaries themselves are written in an as-yet-unidentified fair hand, written on late 17th-century paper from Bautzen/Budyšin, Saxony (Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 638). Pitiscus (1788–1794: 116) records this manuscript as an autograph of Abraham Hinckelmann, which entered the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek through Wolf.¹⁵ If indeed this is Hinckelmann’s copy, then Cod. germ. 23 was used by the Lutheran teacher Johann Diecmann (1647–1720) as one of the reference works in compiling his *Specimen Glossarii Manuscripti Latino-Theotisci* (1721: 6).¹⁶

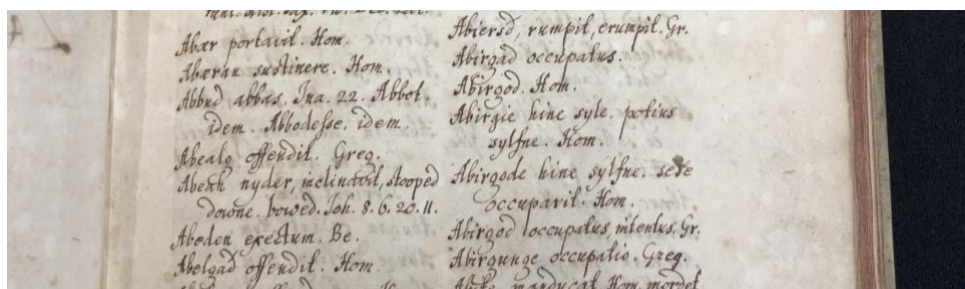


Figure 3: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. germ. 23, p. 1 (detail). © Copyright SUB Hamburg 2019.

¹⁴ The initial “B.” could perhaps suggest Hinckelmann’s adopted son Bernhard Arnold Nottelmann. Hinckelmann had married Hermann Nottelmann’s (1626–1674) widow Elisabeth in 1675, when Bernhard, later a physician in Lübeck, was three years old (Dittmer 1859: 65–66). “B.” could likewise mark a title or epithet.

¹⁵ “Eadem glossaria, quae ex autographo transcribendo curavit Abraham Hinckelmann B. M. Ex bibliotheca Wolfiana.”

¹⁶ “Glossarium Lindenbrogii MS. ex apographo Hinckelmanniano, mecum olim communicato, descriptum” [‘Lindenbrog’s manuscript glossary from Hinckelmann’s apograph, which he once shared with me’].

Hamburg, SUB, Cod. germ. 23

This is a folio format manuscript copy of Lindenbrog's Hamburg, SUB, Cod. germ. 22.

(Titel page) p. 1c. "Glossarium Anglo-Saxonico-Latinum ex variis Auctoribus collectum, idem Glossarium Latino-Anglo-Saxonicum, Bedae aut Ælfrici Grammatici. cum Excerptis aliis ejusdem generis." (margin: "manus B. Hinckelmanni").

(1) pp. 1–326. Untitled. A faithful copy of Lindenbrog's *Titus* glosses in Cod. germ. 22, art. 1. Lindenbrog's erroneous spellings (e.g. **abirgode* for *abisgode*, p. 1) have not been corrected. Asterisk marks appear in exactly the same places as in Lindenbrog's copy.

(2) pp. 327–348. "GLOSSARIUM LATINO-ANGLO-SAXONICUM BEDAE SIVE ÆLFRICI GRAMMATICI." A copy of Lindenbrog's Ælfric glosses in Cod. germ. 22, art. 2. This is a faithful copy, but it incorporates Lindenbrog's own marginal alternatives (cf. p. 340 with Cod. germ. 22, p. 339, s.v. *Thuribulum* and *Tractorium*).

(3) pp. 348–355. "EXCERPTA EX GRAMMATICA ANGLO-SAXONICO-LATINA ÆLFRICI: Qui tempore Atheluuoldi Praesulis vixit, anno MVI." A faithful copy of Lindenbrog's glosses from Ælfric's *Grammar* in Cod. germ. 22, art. 3.

(4) pp. 356–366. "EXCERPTA EX VETERE LIBRO SENTENTIARUM." A faithful copy of Lindenbrog's Defensor glosses in Cod. germ. 22, art. 4.

The manuscript also contains faithful copies of the three non-Old English glossaries contained in Cod. germ. 22, but it is important to note that the *Vita Cuthberti* glosses (art. 8 in Cod. germ. 22) are missing from this copy.

While this might have been due to their visible material difference and position as a single-leaf appendix or their small number of glosses, it is likely that the leaf was attached to Cod. germ. 22 only after Hinckelmann's copy had been drawn (see also below p. 000).

Abraham Hinckelmann, originally from Döbeln in Saxony and later main pastor at St Catherine's Church in Hamburg, is best known for the first printed edition of the Qu'ran in Germany in 1694, second in Europe only to Paganini's 1537/1538 first edition from Venice that was almost entirely destroyed (Nuovo 1987).¹⁷ Of course, Hinckelmann's far-reaching philological interests, especially in oriental languages, also make him a plausible collector of Old English vocabulary. However, so far nothing is known about any specific studies or publications by Hinckelmann on the earliest English. His copy of Lindenbrog's glossary does not show any conspicuous features in this respect, as it preserves virtually all of Lindenbrog's errors and obviously no additions or supplements. Future research into Hinckelmann's manuscript materials may perhaps be able to determine whether Cod. germ. 23 served him as more than a purely encyclopaedic copy.

3.2 Dietrich von Stade (1637–1718)

Dietrich von Stade's interests in the universal study of Germanic languages are well attested by both his published and unpublished materials and are celebrated by his biographer Johann Heinrich von Seelen (1687–1762).¹⁸ Von Stade may arguably be considered the leading comparative Germanic philologist working on German soil around 1700, having first studied theology and law at Helmstedt and later various Germanic languages, especially during extended visits to Scandinavia (Schröder 1893). His library must have contained numerous

¹⁷ On Hinckelmann's biography, see Bertheau (1880).

¹⁸ See von Seelen (1725).

print editions of Old English texts (von Seelen 1725: 55–97, nos. 1, 22–28, 52, 69, 70), among them Lambarde's *Archaionomia* (1568), Junius's first printed edition of the *Cædmon* Manuscript (1655), Gibson's edition of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (1692), Thwaites's *Heptateuch* and *Judith* (1698), Benson's expanded version of Somner's *Dictionarium* (1701) and Hicke's *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurum* (1705).

At least two of von Stade's manuscripts with Old English glosses survive:

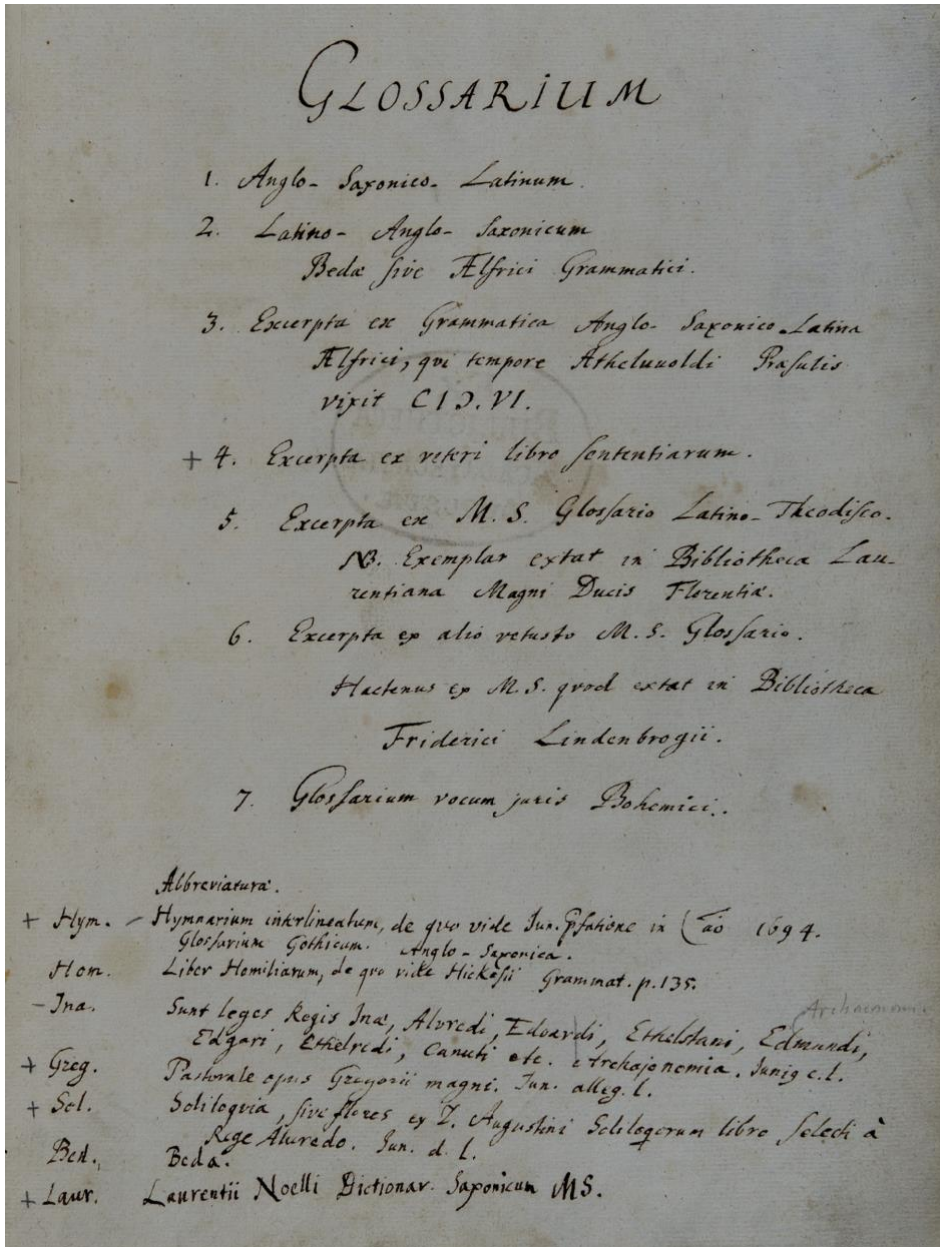


Figure 4: Göttingen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. philol. 249, fol. 3r.
© SUB Göttingen 2020.

Göttingen, SUB, Cod. philol. 249¹⁹

A folio volume containing von Stade's copy of Lindenbrog's glossaries in Hamburg, SUB, Cod. germ. 22 (cf. Meyer 1893: 64–66; Ker 1957: no. 100; Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 637f.):

(Front leaf) fol. 1r. A note reading "Sum Diederici von Stade/".

(Title page) fol. 2r. A table of contents giving the titles of Lindenbrog's glossaries in Cod. germ. 22, arts. 1–7, followed by a short index on some key abbreviations used in the *Titus Dictionary*. Apart from several printed works, von Stade identifies "Laur." as "Laurentii Noelli Dictionar. Saxonicum MS." here.²⁰

(1) fols. 3r–165v. Untitled. A faithful copy, almost exactly to the page layout, of Lindenbrog's *Titus* glosses in Cod. germ. 22, art. 1; von Stade numbers columns from fol. 3r–4r. Lindenbrog's erroneous spellings (e.g. **abirgode* for *abisgode* on p. 1 in Cod. germ. 22) have been corrected. Asterisk marks appear in exactly the same places as in Lindenbrog's copy. Very rarely von Stade supplements single entries drawn from printed works known to him (e.g. fol. 31v, lower margin, s.v. *Dohter*, from Junius's *Gothicum Glossarium*, p. 139).²¹ Von Stade reminds the user of a

¹⁹ This manuscript is accessible online at <<https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN868887773>> (accessed 15 April 2022).

²⁰ For Laurence Nowell's and William Lambarde's *Vocabularium Saxonicum* see Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden Supra 63. An edition of this dictionary is provided by Marckwardt (1952).

²¹ See further s.v. *ah*, *amyrrade*, *anlicnes*, *aru*, *awoh*, *bycge*, *bysmerdon*, *criccum*, *dædbote*, *ealdor*, *elðiodig*, *eondyrne*, *gesyclod*, *gesyngad*, *gedafigað*, *hæle*, *hamscire*, *hune*, *sinewealt*, *(ne) synga ðu*, *tyman*, *ðene*, *wrað*. Meyer (1893: 65) erroneously considers the main glossary in Cod. philol. 249 as exemplar of Joscelyn's *Titus Dictionary*.

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

second run of the letter A “Vide in fine hujus literae plures voces extra ordinem positas.” (fol. 3r, top right; cf. Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 629).

(2) fols. 166r–176r. “GLOSSARIUM LATINO ANGLO-SAXONICUM BEDAE SIVE ÆLFRICI GRAMMATICI.” A copy of Lindenbrog’s Ælfric glosses in Cod. germ. 22, art. 2. This is a faithful copy, but it incorporates Lindenbrog’s own marginal alternatives (cf. p. 330 in Cod. germ. 22 with fol. 168r, s.v. *Incantator*). Von Stade adds column numbering (1–42).

(3) fols. 176v–180r. “EXCERPTA EX GRAMMATICA ANGLO-SAXONICO LATINA ÆLFRICI: *Qui tempore Atheluuoldi Præsulis vixit, anno MVI.*” A faithful copy of Lindenbrog’s glosses from Ælfric’s *Grammar* in Cod. germ. 22, art. 3. Von Stade continues his column numbering (43–58) that he began in art. 2.

(4) fols. 180v–185v. “EXCERPTA EX VETERE LIBRO SENTENTIARUM.” A faithful copy of Lindenbrog’s *Defensor* glosses in Cod. germ. 22, art. 4. Von Stade continues his column numbering (59–80).

fol. 194v. A final note at the end of a Czech-German glossary states “Hactenus ex Ms. quod extat in Bibliotheca Friderici Lindenbrogii”.

(Appendix) fol. 198r–199v. Notes and excerpts, very probably in the hand of Johann Heinrich von Seelen, sent by him to von Stade on 2 January 1712 as part of a letter.²² The second item of these notes (fol. 198rv) contains “Glossae Anglo-Sax. Bedae Vitae Gudberti a quodam adscriptae et a Lindenbrogio inde excerptae.” (cf. Meyer 1893: 65), faithfully copying the Bede glosses in Cod. germ. 22, art. 8. Von Seelen further gives a summary of the manuscript glosses in possession of

²² Cf. the top right-hand marginal annotation in von Stade’s hand on fol. 198 reading: “Communicatum Witeberga in literis Mons^r. Von Seelen, d. 2 Januar. 1712. datis.”

Johann Georg von Eckhart (“Glossae MSS. quas possidet celeb. Eccardus”, fol. 198v–199r), on which see below.

Von Stade must have copied Cod. philol. 249 before 23 February 1695 as is clear from a letter of his to the Bremen historian Johann Heinrich Eggeling (1639–1713), to whom he offered to communicate these materials:

Possideo etiam Glossarium Anglo-Saxonicum, cui plures Glossae Latinae et Allemannicae adiectae, ex Cl. Frid. Lindenbrogii Bibliotheca, cuius solum exemplar MSCr. extat in Bibliotheca Hamburgensis publica, hactenus ineditum, quod, si placet, communicare ad nutum paratus sum. Non dubito, reperiri istiusmodi manuscripta plurima in scrinis et Bibliothecis, tum publicis tum privatis [...](von Seelen 1725: 197).

[‘I also possess an Old English glossary, to which several Latin and Old High German glosses have been added, from the library of the most renowned Friedrich Lindenbrog, the only manuscript exemplar of which exists in the Stadtbibliothek of Hamburg, hitherto unpublished, and which, if you please, I am ready to share at your will. I have no doubt that many such manuscripts are to be found in archives and libraries, both public and private [...]]’

The appendix reveals that von Stade later compared the contents of Cod. philol. 249 to von Eckhart’s glossaries (see below p. 000 his “extat hic” notes to nos. 4 and 5 of von Seelen’s list), and probably did not know the *Vita Cuthberti* glosses by the beginning of 1712. These were apparently first communicated to him through the aforementioned letter by von Seelen, who seems to have copied them from von Eckhart’s materials. This may confirm that p. 391 in Lindenbrog’s Cod. germ. 22 in Hamburg had not yet been appended by the time von Stade copied the manuscript, yet it might already have been included when von Eckhart copied it. Since von Seelen does not mention Cod. philol. 249 among von Stade’s

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

posthumous *scripta inedita*, the Göttingen manuscript might have changed its owner before von Stade's death in 1718.

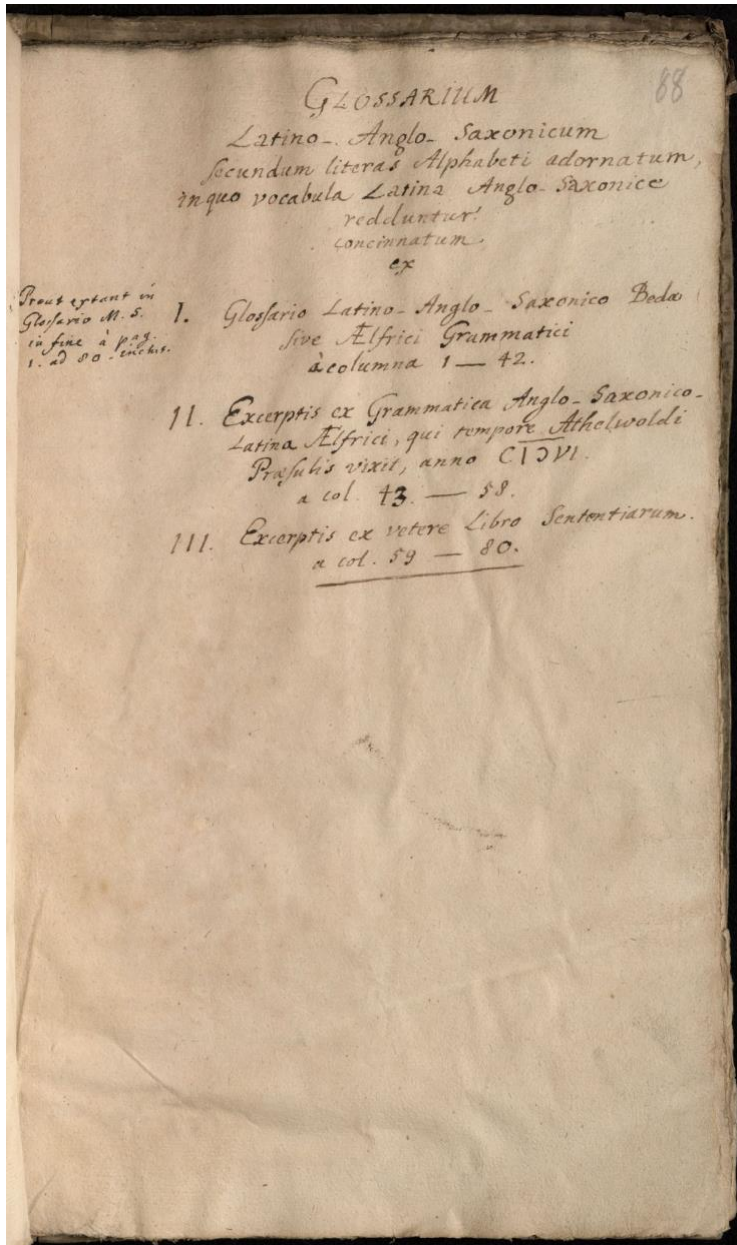


Figure 5: Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, IV. 453, fol. 88r.

© NLB Hanover 2022.

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, IV. 453

A folio manuscript of various glossaries of Germanic and Celtic languages (cf. von Seelen 1725: 143; Bodemann 1867: 73; cf. Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 637f.). Old English materials can be found in:

(Inner front board pastedown). A note in an unknown hand containing the text of *A Proverb from Winfrid's Time*, quoted from Nicolaus Serarius's print edition of Boniface's letters (1605: 73).

(4) fol. 88r–119r. "Glossarium Latino-Anglo-Saxonicum secundum literas Alphabeti adornatum, in quo vocabula Latina Anglo-Saxonica redduntur concinnatum ex I. Glossario Latino-Anglo-Saxonico Bedae sive Ælfrici Grammatici á columna 1–42. II. Excerptis ex Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica Latina Ælfrici, qui tempore Æthelwoldi Præsulis vixit, anno MVI. a col. 43.–58. III. Excerptis ex vetere Libro Sententiarum. a col. 59–80." A collation of Lindenbrog's shorter Latin-Old English glossaries in Hamburg, SUB, Cod. germ. 22, arts. 2–4 into a single alphabetical glossary. The Cuthbert glosses (art. 8) are not included. Written in two hands that rarely alternate: Scribe 1 mainly 89r–111v (letters A–R); Scribe 2 (von Stade?) mainly 112r–119r (S–Z). Number references at the single glosses refer to the column numbering that von Stade added to Göttingen, SUB, philol. 249, arts. 2–4. Marginal additions to specific glosses refer to Benson's (1701) extended version of Somner's *Dictionarium*.²³

It is evident on account of the collation and column numbering that the Old English glossary in the Hanover manuscript was created after von Stade had completed his main copy of Lindenbrog's materials in Göttingen, SUB, Cod. philol. 249 (i.e. after February 1695). Since the

²³ Cf., e.g., s.v. *Camelus, Catholica fides, Cauterium, Citania, Lacus, Libralium, Malva crispa, Mento, Nepus, Ovile*.

alphabetical glossary in the Hanover manuscript contains as its second article a copy of “Glossae Florentinae” (fol. 40r–49r), dated 27 July 1706, and as its fifth an article “Voces Gallicae” (fol. 123r–127r), dated to 19 October 1708, it is likely that the collation and copying of art. 4 happened between these dates, if we assume that von Stade consecutively collected the materials assembled here.

Although von Stade was apparently inspired by the model of Hicques’s *Thesaurus* (Schröder 1893) to accomplish a similar work for German, there is no explicit evidence that he used Lindenbrog’s glosses for his *Specimen lectionum antiquarum Francicarum* (1708) nor his *Kurtze richtige Erläuter- und Erklärung etlicher deutschen Wörter* (1711). Von Stade’s materials were acquired by the court of Hanover at the instigation of von Eckhart.

3.3 Johann Georg von Eckhart

Johann Georg von Eckhart’s eventful life bears witness to his constant philological interest and his indisputable expertise in the study of language(s).²⁴ After having studied theology, law, and history at Leipzig, he became the chief assistant to the polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) at Hanover in 1698. Leibniz recommended him for the chair of history at Helmstedt University, an office von Eckhart held from 1706 to 1713, while still collaborating with his mentor. Von Eckhart’s return to Hanover in the same year as court historian of the Guelph dynasty again brought him closer to Leibniz, whose studies he had been supporting throughout, but whose reputation he now began to undermine. After Leibniz’s death in 1716, von Eckhart succeeded him in the position as court librarian and historian (albeit under less generous

²⁴ On his biography and a full list of his works, see esp. Kössinger (2020).

conditions).²⁵ Von Eckart fled the Hanoverian court in 1723 – the exact circumstances remain obscure – taking refuge in Cologne, where he converted to Catholicism. Soon after he was found in the service of the Würzburg bishop Christoph Franz von Hutten (1673–1729), who appointed him historiographer and university librarian. At Würzburg, Leibniz’s former assistant became involved in the academic prank of “Beringer’s Lying Stones” (Benz 1993: 146–148.), which caused his removal from office, restricted his access to the local library resources and hampered his own historical and etymological research, thus leaving much of it unfinished and unpublished (Leskien 1965: 85–91, 126–155).

Von Eckhart’s main philological publications are his *Historia studii etymologii linguae Germanicae* (1711), the *Cathechesis theotisca* (1713, including a reprint of Marquard Freher’s *Orationes Dominicae* of 1609) and the *Commentarii de rebus Franciae orientalis et episcopatus Wirceburgensis* (1729). The *Historia*, in which he expresses his plan to publish a German etymological dictionary, can be considered the first history of comparative Germanic philology and dates to his Helmstedt years. In chapter X, von Eckhart demonstrates his impressive overview of the subject of Old English studies by listing a comprehensive bibliography of works available to him in print, beginning with Parker’s edition of Ælfric’s *Easter Homily in A Testimonie of Antiquitie* (1566) and Lambarde’s *Archaionomia* (1568) over Wheelocke’s *Old English Bede* (1643), Marshall’s and Junius’s *Observationes in Evangeliorum* (1665) up to Gibson’s *Chronicon Saxonicum* (1692), Benson’s *Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum* (1701) and Hicckes’s *Thesaurus* (1705). In between these printed works he praises Lindenbrog’s pioneering efforts when he writes:

²⁵ Von Eckhart became perhaps the greatest of the late Leibniz’s enemies (Lackmann 1969: 127), possibly because of his ambition to succeed Leibniz as court librarian, but also due to his self-understanding as an independent scholar rather than an assistant to the polymath (Wallnig 2012).

Erat etiam in Germania Fridericus Lindenbrogius, supra laudatus, qui pretium linguae Anglo-Saxonicae poneret & tam impressos ejus, quam manu exaratos Codices sedulo colligeret. Ex his enim stupenda diligentia in suos sibi usus Glossarium Anglo-Saxonico-Latinum ordine alphabetico collegit, quodadhuc superest Hamburgi in Bibliotheca Johanneâ.

[‘There was also in Germany Friedrich Lindembrog, mentioned above, who valued the Anglo-Saxon [i.e. Old English] language and diligently collected printed as well as hand-written codices in that language. For his own use he collected from those with stupendous care an Old English-Latin glossary in alphabetical order, which still survives to this day at Hamburg in the library of the Johanneum.’]

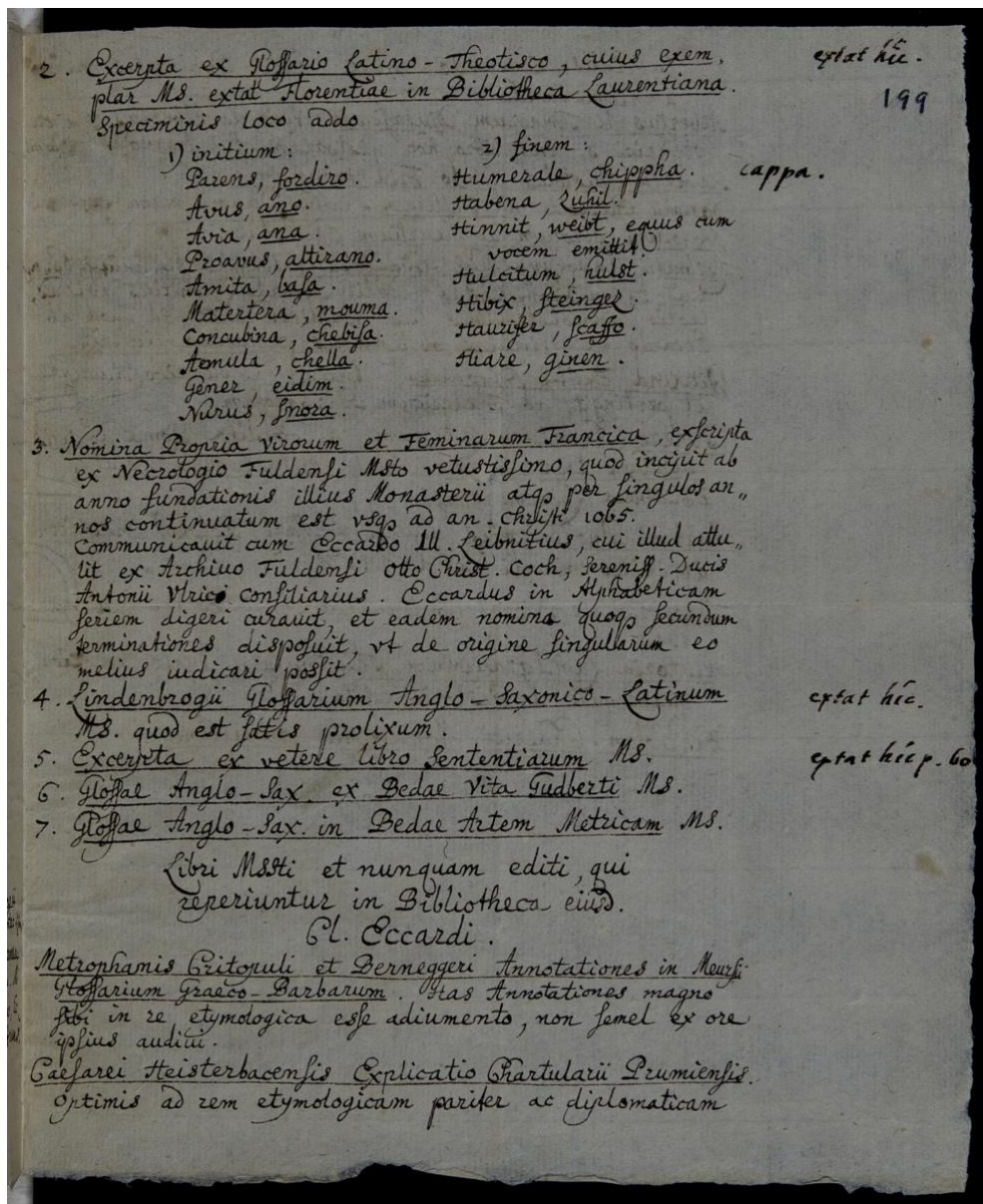


Figure 6: Göttingen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. philol. 249, fol. 199r. © SUB Göttingen 2020.

Von Eckhart was obviously closely familiar with Lindenbrog's manuscript materials on Old English, and this tallies with von Seelen's note appended to von Stade's glossaries in Göttingen, SUB, Cod. philol. 249, fols. 198r–199v (see above p. 000), where von Seelen records the glossaries owned by von Eckhart by 1711 as follows:

- 1. Glossarium Latino–Theotiscum ex Msto Frid. Lindenbrogii codice sec. XI aut XII exarato. Seruatur codex ille inter Lindenbrogianas reliquias Hamburgi in Bibliotheca Ioannea et intercedentibus Bernstorffio, Primario Elect. Hannou. Ministro atque Grotio, consiliario eiusdem Elect. intimo, Eccardo Helmestadium a Senatu Hamburgensi beneuole transmissus est.
- 2. Excerpta ex Glossario Latino-Theotisco, cuius exemplar MS. extat Florentiae in Bibliotheca Laurentiana. [...].
- 3. Nomina Propria Virorum et Feminarum Francica [...].
- 4. Lindenbrogii Glossarium Anglo-Saxonico-Latinum MS. quod est satis prolixum. (marginal note in von Stade's hand: "extat hic."; see above p. 000)
- 5. Excerpta ex vetere libro Sententiarum MS. (marginal note in von Stade's hand: "extat hic p. 60"; see above p. 000)
- 6. Glossae Anglo-Sax. ex Bedae Vita Gudberti MS.
- 7. Glossae Anglo-Sax. in Bedae Artem Metricam MS.

The first of these entries seems to record an original eleventh- or twelfth-century manuscript with Old High German glosses once owned by Lindenbrog, today Kiel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS K.B. 47 in 8° (Horváth 1988: 200), and it shows how von Eckhart borrowed this codex from the library of the Johanneum by special permission of the Hamburg Senate. Von Eckhart printed these glosses in his *Commentarii* (1729: 991–1002). Nos. 4–6 on the list then mention copies of Lindenbrog's *Titus*, *Defensor*, and *Vita Cuthberti* glosses respectively (cf. Hamburg, SUB, germ. 22, arts. 1, 4, and 8) that might possibly also have been sent to von Eckhart from Hamburg to Helmstedt. Most astonishing, however, is no. 7 – von Seelen's entry of Old English glosses to Bede's *De arte metrica* apparently

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

in the possession of von Eckhart. Since Worcester Cathedral Library, MS Q.5 is the only manuscript of this work with Old English glosses known to survive today (Ker 1957, no. 399), showing only two glosses in total (Napier 1900, no. 30), one would assume that von Eckhart might have owned a set of glosses drawn ultimately from a Bede manuscript now lost. That such Old English glosses were indeed in von Eckhart's possession could be deduced from von Seelen's obvious segregation between von Eckhart's Old High German (nos. 1–3) and Old English (nos. 4–7) glossaries in the list. We also know through one of von Eckhart's letters to Leibniz, sent from Helmstedt on 10 March 1710, that he wished to copy known glosses to Bede's work, when he writes:

Wenn Ew. Exc. etwa das von mir in Bremen abcopirte Glossarium Rabani mauri finden, so bitte ich mirs gehorsamst auf ein 8 tage aus umb die hinten an ex Bedae arte metrica geschriebene glossen den meinigen beyzufügen (Leibniz-Transkriptionen, no. 47, p. 66, l. 23–26).

[‘If your venerable excellency finds the Hrabanus Maurus glossary which I copied in Bremen, then, with all due respect, I would like to request it for eight days in order to add the appended glosses from Bedae's *De arte metrica* to my own.’]

However, the Hrabanus Maurus glosses mentioned here clearly indicate an Old High German context, and we must concede that it is very likely that – instead of Old English – the Bremen reference in the letter indicates the Old High German *De arte metrica* glosses contained in Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS b 52, fols. 1r–6v and subsequently printed by von Eckhart in his *Commentarii* (1729: 1002). It is of course not entirely impossible that von Eckhart had come across Old English glosses to Bede's work, but in light of this evidence as well as the good number of surviving manuscripts with Old High German *De arte metrica* glosses, von Seelen's reference in No. 7 may well be spurious. Nevertheless, future attempts at tracing further Old English glosses

among von Eckhart's personal manuscripts and letters, now mainly preserved at Hanover, might still prove to be worthwhile.

Notwithstanding such potentially new finds, von Eckhart's mainly Old English lexicographical materials in manuscript form, as far as we know them, can be found in:²⁶

²⁶ Further Old English transcripts by von Eckhart, excerpted from Wanley's *Catalogue* (Hickes 1705: vol. 2), can be found in Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, IV. 493, a small booklet that brings together an Old English homily (Hickes 1705: 2, 51; Ker 1957, no. 338, art. 18; cf. ed. Napier 1883, no. XXIV), Aldred's glosses to the *Pater noster* in Durham, Cathedral Library, A.IV.19 (Hickes 1705: 2, 253), the poetic *Lord's Prayer* and *Creed* (Hickes 1705: 2, 48f.; cf. ed. Dobbie 1942: 77–80) and the Middle English *Creed* found in London, BL, Cotton Nero A. xiv, fol. 131rv (Hickes 1705: 2, 228; cf. ed. Morris 1868: 217). The booklet is titled *Anglo-Saxonica explicatio orationis Dominicae Symboli Apostolici* and seems to have been drafted by von Eckhart following the widespread tradition of comparative *Pater noster* and *Creed* studies, echoing especially Freher's *Orationis Dominicae* (1609). Von Eckhart also collaborated with Leibniz on various comparative universal and etymological dictionaries, which include occasional references to Old English that are usually based on printed resources or the materials copied from Lindenbrog.

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

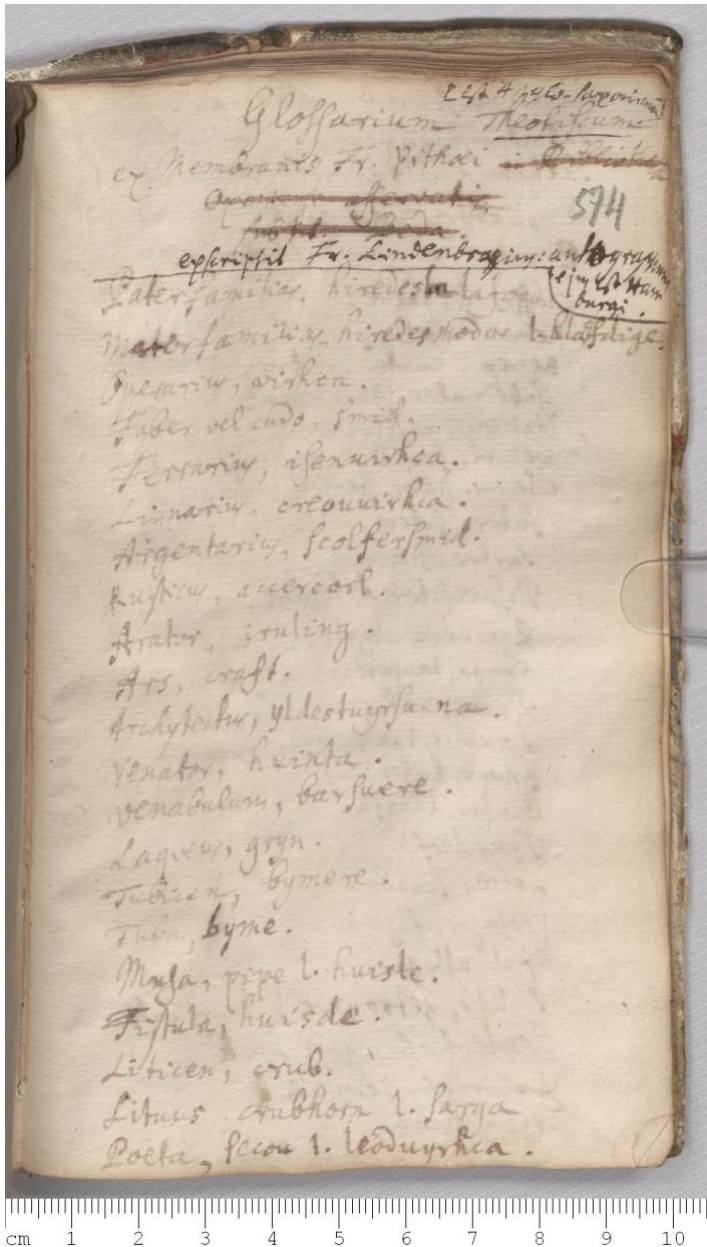


Figure 7: Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, 8° MS IV 495, fol. 574r.

© NLB Hanover 2022.

Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, 8° MS IV.495

This is a bulky manuscript in small format (c. 165 × 100 mm) collecting all of Lindenbrog's exclusively Old English glossaries contained in both (!) Hamburg, SUB, Codd. germ 22, and philol. 263 (Bodemann 1867: 85; Ker 1957: nos. 100, 105; Rudolf and Pelle 2021: 637f.).

(1) fols. 1r–511r. 'GLOSSARIUM ANGLO-SAXONICO-LATINUM.' A faithful copy, almost exactly to the page layout, of Lindenbrog's *Titus* glosses in Cod. germ. 22, art. 1. Written by von Eckhart (*A–Abræc*, fols. 1r–2r, probably the orthographic model for the other scribes) and at least two other scribes: Scribe 2 (*Abræcon–Geongwerfende*, fols. 2v–212r); Scribe 3 (*Geonfmead* [sic]–*Ywad*, fols. 212r–511r). Marginal asterisks as in Lindenbrog.

(2) fols. 513r–544r. "GLOSSARIUM LATINO-ANGLO-SAXONICUM BEDAE SIVE AELFRICI GRAMMATICI." Written by Scribe 3. A copy of Lindenbrog's *Ælfric* glosses in Cod. germ. 22, art. 2. This is almost a faithful copy, but it incorporates Lindenbrog's own marginal alternatives (cf. p. 330 in Cod. germ. 22 with fol. 519v, s.v. *Pauper*).

(3) fols. 545r–555r. "EXCERPTA EX GRAMMATICA ANGLO-SAXONICO LATINA AELFRICI: *Qui tempore Atheluuoldi Præsulis vixit, anno MVI.*" Written by Scribe 3. A faithful copy of Lindenbrog's glosses from *Ælfric's Grammar* in Cod. germ. 22, art. 3.

(4) fols. 555v–570r. "EXCERPTA EX VETERE LIBRO SENTENTIARUM." Written by Scribe 3. A faithful copy of Lindenbrog's *Defensor* glosses in Cod. germ. 22, art. 4.

(5) fols. 571r–573r. "Glossae Anglo-Sax. ex Bedae Gudberto. a Frid. Lindenbrogio excerpta." Written by von Eckhart. A faithful copy of

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

Lindenbrog's Bede glosses on the appended leaf in Cod. germ. 22, art. 8, including the additional notes written there.

(6) fols. 574r–580r. “Glossarium Theotiscum (superscript corrected: est Anglo-Saxonicum) ex membranis Fr. Pithoei ~~in Bibliotheca Oxoniensis asservatis sub tit. Beda~~. [added:] exscripsit Fr. Lindenbrogius: autographum eius est Hamburgi.” [= Buckalew's **Qlh**] (Ker 1957: no. 405[d]). Written by von Eckhart (including the corrections and additions to the title). The superscript title correction shows that von Eckhart, unlike Lindenbrog, did not (or did not still) consider *Theotisc* – generally used for ‘German’ or ‘Dutch’ – an appropriate reference to the language of the Old English glosses. He further recognizes that the original manuscript was in Pithou's possession when Lindenbrog drew from it his copy in Hamburg, SUB, Cod. philol. 263. Von Eckhart's is a faithful copy of Lindenbrog's Pithou glosses in Cod. philol. 263, art. 4, but on fol. 576r he omits those Ælfric glosses doubled by the Welser glossary (see next item), which Lindenbrog had already highlighted as ‘in alio Gloß.’ in his own copy (see Cod. philol. 263, fol. 17rv). These were then added separately by von Eckhart on fol. 580v.

(7) fols. 581r–588r. “Glossarium Anglosaxonicum ad MStum Cod. Mar. Velseri, quom. Oxonii est.” [= **Vlh**]. Written by von Eckhart. This is a faithful copy of Lindenbrog's Welser glosses in Hamburg, SUB, philol. 263, art. 7. It is only here that the lost Welser manuscript, which is perhaps datable to as late as the early thirteenth century (Rudolf und Pelle 2021: 659), is connected with Oxford, because Lindenbrog himself does not mention any specific provenance. We may assume that this localisation is spurious and probably an interference from the title to the preceding Pithou glosses.

Following von Seelen's inventory, the first five items in this manuscript must have been copied by von Eckhart before the end of 1711. When exactly the other two items were added by him from Hamburg, SUB, Cod. philol. 263 remains uncertain, but this must have happened before 1729, because von Eckhart's extensive notes to the *editio princeps* of the *Hildebrandslied* in his *Commentarii* (1723: 864–902) include some comparative references to Old English and explicitly mention the "Glossae Anglo-Saxonicae Velsarianae MStae: *Capulus, hilde.*" (Eckhart 1723: 872) in at least one case. The format and contents suggest that this was von Eckhart's personal manual on the Old English vocabulary. Von Eckhart probably did not recognize the substantial overlap of Pithou and Welser material between items (2) and (6)+(7), because the former had not been copied by himself.

4. Conclusion

Friedrich Lindenbrog's glossaries of Old English, although never published, were still considered authoritative by northern German philologists between 1650 and 1730. This may have been due to the reputation of both Lindenbrog's scholarship in general and his lexicographical resources in particular, which Hugo de Groot in 1633 had described as exceptional, after meeting Lindenbrog during a personal visit to Hamburg.²⁷ While Abraham Hinckelmann was probably the first copyist of Hamburg, Cod. germ. 22, there is as yet no further known evidence that he was otherwise occupied with the study of Old English, although a close examination of his surviving personal documents and

²⁷ See de Groot's letter to Jean de Coordes of 2 April 1633: "Laborat nunc Lindenbrogius in concinnando Lexico veteris sermonis Germanici, & multa habet adjumenta, quæ nec Spelmannus, nec alii habuerunt" (von Eckhart 1711: 67); ('Lindenbrog is currently working to prepare a lexicon of the Old Germanic tongue and has many means of aid that neither Spelman nor others would have').

correspondence is still a desideratum and might prove the opposite. The other known copyists, Dietrich von Stade and Johann Georg von Eckhart, knew and primarily used for their Old English studies the printed dictionaries of Somner and Benson, which contain *Titus* material as well as further appended glossaries, such as the one contained in Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, M.16.2 (47) + London, British Library, Additional 32246 (related to Ælfric's *Glossary*, but not identical).²⁸ Still, both scholars also drew on Lindenbrog's manuscript glossaries, because they evidently held his pioneering efforts in high esteem, not least due to their manuscript authority, and because they were probably aware of the fact that his smaller Latin-Old English glossaries contained forms not covered by the available printed dictionaries. Von Stade's alphabetical collation in Hanover, NLB, IV. 453 of Lindenbrog's shorter items in Cod. germ. 22 is especially intriguing in this regard, because it could have been used by him as a Latin-Old English supplement to Benson. Although we do not know if von Stade ever encountered Hamburg, SUB, Cod. philol. 263, and its Pithou and Welsler glosses, we could imagine that, if he did, he would have been expert enough to realise that the second item in Cod. germ. 22 already contained an extended version of those. He might therefore not have cared to copy the shorter versions.

Von Stade's example of creating a supplementary collation in Hanover, NLB, IV. 453 was later followed by the anonymous scribe of the glossary Celle, Bibliothek des Oberlandesgerichts, MS C 42, fols. 3r–89r*, a manuscript once in the possession of Christian Ulrich Grupen (1692–1767),²⁹ a former mayor of Hanover and ardent supporter of the

²⁸ Von Seelen (1725: 78, no. 27). For von Eckhart's use of Somner see, for example, his *Commentarii* (1723: 782): "Glossae Aelfrici Saxonicae habent: *Papilio, ganggeteld, i. tentorium.*" (cf. Somner 1659: 79; Kindschi 1955: p. 242, line 1 = BL Add. 32246, 21r top margin).

²⁹ The manuscript is still unfoliated. That Grupen himself might be the scribe of these glosses is suggested by Kümper in his otherwise regrettably meagre catalogue entry (2018: 149–150).

Hanoverian succession to the throne of Britain and Ireland.³⁰ Here, two printed glossaries are collated: 1) the second part of Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (1659: 2, 53–80), which is based on the Plantin-Moretus/Add. 32246 glosses; and 2) the “Verba Anglica obscura & Glossata excerpta de Legibus regum Angliae” of Wheelocke's combined edition of the Old English Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Laws (1643: 225f.).³¹ Notably, the first of these is reversed into Old English-Latin in order to match the second.

We may observe in these efforts the desire to create additional resources for the study of the Old English lexicon that were probably intended to supplement the available printed dictionaries by Somner and Benson. Yet, although the manuscripts by these northern German philologists attest to the collector's passion that has often been stereotypically associated with German academic culture, it is unlikely that the materials thus assembled were to serve more than the individual efforts of these scholars, let alone result in an extended new dictionary of Old English. Von Stade and von Eckhart were probably not able to make any sense of Joscelyn's source references to original manuscripts, but at least von Stade knew that Lindenbrog's main glossary contained glosses from Nowell and Lambarde. While von Eckhart was still very much engaged in universal or at least comparative Germanic philology, especially during his collaboration with Leibniz on various etymological works, von Stade, who began to publish only late in his life, kept a clear focus on the German lexicon. Both probably used Old English words and texts only in the occasional comparative reference, at least as far as we

³⁰ See especially the 1715 print of his Jena Dissertation *De successione legitima augustissimae Hannoveranae domus in Magnae Britanniae regna* which he handed to George I in person.

³¹ Grupen copied the reference to the source manuscript coming from St Augustine's Canterbury in his table of contents on the unfoliated first leaf from Wheelocke (1643: 224).

can tell from their print publications, but we may assume that especially von Stade had a decent command of the language.

Protolinguistic projects and discourses of the Baroque period, though comparative in their approach and carried out by individual enthusiasts, were nevertheless already aiming to declare the precedence of specific languages in relation to the majesty of their age and this was no doubt one objective of the protagonists mentioned here. In more than one respect their efforts would pave the way for the nationalist approaches of academic philology in the nineteenth century whose main aim was to delineate the borders between languages rather than to inquire into their similarities, mixed states, or their potential for mutual comprehensibility.³² It is also clear that we are, of course, looking at the work of extremely privileged white males, who were able to pursue and excel in their philological interests thanks to an exclusive education and at the expense of a disadvantaged precariat. Their efforts as well as their printed dedications would – directly or indirectly – serve to manifest the greatness of their patrons and benefactors and thus help to legitimise the power of the hands that fed them. Nevertheless, the copying, collating, extending, and disseminating of Lindenbrog’s glosses by these scholars mark the beginnings of a systematic type of Old English lexicography in Germany whose history still needs to be fully written.

Works Cited

Manuscripts

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, M.16.2 (47)

Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, b 52

Celle, Bibliothek des Oberlandesgerichts, C 42

³² The teleology of segregation is most prominently promoted by family tree models of languages, such as the one by Schleicher (1861: 9). For a recent example of such segregationist inquiry, see Lutz (2011).

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek,

GKS 1340 (4°)

GKS 2034 (4°)

Göttingen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS philol. 249

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek,

Cod. germ. 22

Cod. germ. 23

Cod. jur. 2541

Cod. philol. 263

Hs 4a/75: 5 (= Pitiscus)

Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek,

MS IV.453

MS IV.493

MS IV.495

Kiel, Universitätsbibliothek, K.B. 47 in 8°

London, British Library,

Additional 32246

Cotton Titus A.xv

Cotton Titus A.xvi

Cotton Vitellius C.ix

Harley 6841

Royal 7 C.iv

Royal 15 B.xxii

London, Lambeth Palace Library, 692

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden Supra 63

Worcester Cathedral Library, Q.5

Printed Works

Anonymous. 1537/38. *Al-Qu'ran*. Venice: Paganino and Alessandro Paganini.

Anonymous. 1730. *Catalogus Bibliothecae B. Dni. Joach. Morgenweg*. Hamburg: Philipp Stromer.

Benson, Thomas, ed. 1701. *Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum: lexico Gul. Somneri magna parte auctius*. Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano.

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

- Benz, Stefan. 1993. "Johann Georg von Eckhart (1674–1730)". *Fränkische Lebensbilder* 15: 135–156.
- Bertheau, Carl. 1880. "Hinkelman, Abraham". *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 12: 460–462.
- Bodemann, Eduard. 1867. *Die Handschriften der königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Hannover*. Hanover: Hahn.
- Brackmann, Rebecca. 2012. *The Elizabethan Invention of Anglo-Saxon England: Laurence Nowell, William Lambarde, and the Study of Old English*. Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer.
- Bremmer, Rolf. 2008. "'Mine Is Bigger Than Yours': The Anglo-Saxon Collections of Johannes de Laet (1581–1649) and Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602–50)". *Anglo-Saxon Books and Their Readers: Essays in Celebration of Helmut Gneuss's Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*. Ed. Thomas N. Hall and Donald G. Scragg. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications. 136–174.
- Bremmer, Rolf H. Jr. & Hoftijzer, Paul 1998. "Johannes de Laet (1581–1649). A Leiden Polymath". *LIAS* 25.2. 135–136.
- Brockelmann, Carl. 1908. *Katalog der orientalischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg mit Ausschluss der hebräischen. Teil 1*. Hamburg: O. Meissner.
- Buckalew, Ronald E. 1978. "Leland's Transcript of Ælfric's Glossary". *Anglo-Saxon England* 7: 149–164.
- Dekker, Kees. 1997. "Jan van Vliet (1620–1666) and the Study of Old English in the Low Countries". *The Middle Ages after the Middle Ages in the English-Speaking World*. Eds. Marie-Françoise Alamichel and Derek Brewer. Cambridge: Brewer. 27–42
- Dekker, Kees. 1999. *The Origins of Old Germanic Studies in the Low Countries*. Leiden: Brill.
- Dekker, Kees. 2000. "'That Most Elaborate One of Fr. Junius': An Investigation of Francis Junius's Manuscript Old English Dictionary". *The Recovery of Old English. Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Ed. Timothy Graham. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications. 301–343.

- Diecmann, Johann. 1721. *Specimen Glossarii Manuscripti Latino-Theotisci*. Bremen: Johann Andreas Grimm.
- Dittmer, Georg Wilhelm. 1859. *Genealogische und biographische Nachrichten über Lübeckische Familien aus älterer Zeit*. Lübeck: Dittmersche Buchhandlung.
- Dobbie, Elliott van Kirk, ed. 1942. *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*. ASPR VI. New York: Columbia University Press.
- von Eckhart, Johann Georg. 1711. *Historia studii etymologii linguae Germanicae*. Hanover: Förster.
- von Eckhart, Johann Georg. 1713. *Cathechesis Theotisca Seculo IX Conscripta [...]*. Hanover: Förster.
- von Eckhart, Johann Georg. 1723. *2 Commentarii de rebus Franciae orientalis et episcopatus Wirceburgensis*. 2 vols. Würzburg: Rausch.
- Freher, Marquard. 1609. *Orationes Dominicae et symboli apostolici Alamannica versio vetustissima*. [unknown place and publisher].
- Gibson, Edmund. 1692. *Chronicon Saxonicum, seu Annales Rerum in Anglia Præcipue Gestarum [...]*. Oxford.
- Gneuss, Helmut. 1990. *Die Wissenschaft von der englischen Sprache: Ihre Entwicklung bis zum Ausgang des 19. Jahrhunderts*. München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Graham, Timothy. 2000. "John Joscelyn, Pioneer of Old English Lexicography". *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Ed. Timothy Graham. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications. 83–140.
- Graham, Timothy. 2001. "Anglo-Saxon Studies: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries". *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*. Eds. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne. Oxford: Blackwell. 415–433.
- Gruppen, Christian Ulrich. 1715. *De successione legitima augustissimae Hannoveranae domus in Magnae Britanniae regna*. Lemgo: Heinrich Wilhelm Meyer.
- Hetherington, M. Sue. 1980. *The Beginnings of Old English Lexicography*. Spicewood, Texas: [private publication].
- Hickes, George. 1705. *Linguarum vet. septentrionalium thesaurus: grammatico-criticus et archæologicus [...]*. Oxford.

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

- Hinckelmann, Abraham. 1694. *Al-Coranus sive lex islamitica Muhammedis, filii Abdallae, pseudoprophetae [...]*. Hamburg: Schultz-Schiller.
- Horváth, Eva. 1988. "Friedrich Lindenbruch, Späthumanist und Handschriftensammler des 17. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Hamburger Bibliotheks- und Gelehrten-geschichte". Unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Hamburg.
- Horvath, Eva. 1999. "Zur Rückkehr weiterer Hamburger germanistischer Handschriften aus der Kriegsauslagerung". *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 128: 62–65.
- Jørgensen, Ellen. 1926. *Catalogus codicum Latinorum medii ævi Bibliothecæ Regiæ Hafniensis*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
- Junius, Francis, ed. 1655. *Cædmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica Genesios ac præcipuarum sacrae paginae historiarum[...]*. Amsterdam: [private publication].
- Junius, Francis. 1665. *Gothicum glossarium, quo Argentii Codicis vocabularia explicantur*. Dort.
- Ker, N.R. 1957. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Ccontaining Anglo-Saxon*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Kindschi, Lowell. 1955. "The Latin-Old English Glossaries in Plantin-Moretus MS 32 and British Museum MS Additional 32,246". Unpubl. PhD dissertation, Stanford University.
- Kössinger, Norbert. 2020. "Eckhart, Johann Georg". *Verfasserlexikon – Frühe Neuzeit in Deutschland 1620–1720*. vol. 2. Eds. Stefanie Arend, Jahn Bernhard et al. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Krawehl, Otto-Ernst. 1997. "Verlagert – verschollen – zum Teil restituiert: das Schicksal der im 2. Weltkrieg ausgelagerten Bestände der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg". *Zeitschrift des Verlags für Hamburgische Geschichte* 83: 237–277.
- Kümper, Hiram. 2018. *Die mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Handschriften der Stiftungsbibliothek am Oberlandesgericht Celle*. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz.
- Lackmann, Heinrich. 1969. "Der Erbschaftsstreit um Leibniz' Privatbibliothek". *Studia Leibnitiana* 1: 126–136.

- Lambarde, William. 1568. *Archaionomia, sive de priscis Anglorum legibus libri*. London: John Day.
- Leibniz-Transkriptionen = *Transkriptionen des Leibniz-Briefwechsels 1710 für die Leibniz-Akademie-Ausgabe (nicht überprüft). Version 1*. Erfasst von Renate Essi, bearbeitet von Malte-Ludolf Babin, hrsg. von der Leibniz-Forschungsstelle Hannover der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen beim Leibniz-Archiv der Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek – Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek. Hannover, 28. Oktober 2020. <<https://rep.adw-goe.de/bitstream/handle/11858/2469/LAA-Transkriptionen1710nue-v1.pdf?sequence=1>> (accessed 15 April 2022).
- Leskien, Hermann. 1965. *“Johann Georg von Eckhart (1674–1730). Das Werk eines Vorläufers der Germanistik”*. Unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Würzburg.
- Lindenbrog, Friedrich. 1613. *Codex legem antiquarum*. Frankfurt a. M.: Marnios & Co.
- Lutz, Angelika. 2011. “Why is West-Saxon English Different from Old Saxon?” *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*. Eds. Hans Sauer and Joanna E. Story. Tempe, AZ: ACMRS. 113–38.
- Marshall, Thomas and Francis Junius. 1665. *Observationes in Evangeliorum Versiones perantiquas duas, Gothicas scil. et Anglo-Saxonicas*. Dort.
- Meritt, Herbert Dean, ed. 1945. *Old English Glosses: A Collection*. New York: Modern Language Association of America.
- Meyer, Wilhelm. 1893. *Die Handschriften in Göttingen. Band 1. Universitätsbibliothek: Philologie, Literärgeschichte, Philosophie, Jurisprudenz*. Verzeichnis der Handschriften im preußischen Staate 1. Hannover 1. Berlin: Bath.
- Morris, Richard. 1868. *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. EETS o.s. 34. London: Trübner.
- Münzel, Robert. 1905. *Philologica Hamburgensia*. Hamburg: Lütcke & Wulff.
- Napier, Arthur S., ed. 1883. *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Napier, Arthur, ed. 1900. *Old English Glosses, Chiefly Unpublished*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Old English Lexicography in Northern Germany 1650–1730

- Neef, Friedhelm. 1985. "Lindenbrog, Friedrich". *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 14: 596–597.
- Marckwardt, Albert H. 1952. *Laurence Nowell's Vocabularium Saxonicum*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Nuovo, Angela. 1987. "A Lost Arabic Koran rediscovered". *The Library* (1990) Sixth Series XII, no. 4: 273–292.
- Parker, Matthew. 1566. *A Testimonie of Antiquitie*. London: John Day.
- Pitiscus = Hamburg, SUB, Hs 4a/75: 5 = Pitiscus, Martin Friedrich. 1788–1794. *Codices Manuscripti. vol. 5: Philologica. part 2: Auctores classici latini interpretes antiquitates Græcæ & Romanæ. Glossaria & Lexica.* <https://digitalisate.sub.uni-hamburg.de/detail/?tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=43721&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1&Hash=039e9e6caf410410fbfc1e0b3c88f8f8> (accessed 15 April 2022).
- von Raumer, Rudolf. 1870. *Geschichte der germanischen Philologie vorzugsweise in Deutschland*. München: Oldenbourg.
- Rhodes, E. W., ed. 1889. *Defensor's Liber Scintillarum*. EETS. o.s. 93. London: Trübner.
- Rudolf, Winfried and Stephen Pelle. 2021. "Friedrich Lindenbrog's Old English Glossaries Rediscovered". *Anglia* 139.4: 617–672.
- Schleicher, August. 1861. *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Weimar: Böhlau.
- Schröder, Edward. 1893. "Dietrich von Stade". *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. online: <<http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd117194778.html>> (accessed 15 April 2022).
- Serarius, Nicolaus, ed. 1605. *Epistolae S. Bonifacii martyris*. Mainz: Demen.
- von Seelen, Johann Heinrich. 1725. *Memoria Stadeniana sive de vita, scriptis ac meritis Diderici a Stade [...]*. Hamburg: Felginer.
- Somner, William. 1659. *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*. Oxford: Hall.
- von Stade, Dietrich. 1708. *Specimen Lectionum antiquarum Francicarum ex Otfridi Monachi Wizanburgensis Libris Euangeliorum*. Stade: Brummer.
- von Stade, Dietrich. 1711. *Kurtze richtige Erläuter- und Erklärung etlicher deutschen Wörter, deren sich [...] Doct. Martrin Luther v in Übersetzung der Bibel [...] gebrauchet [...]*. Stade: Holwein.

- Stanley, Eric G. 1982. "The Continental Contribution to the Study of Anglo-Saxon Writings up to and Including that of the Grimms". *Towards a History of English Studies in Europe: Proceedings of the Wildsteig-Symposium, April 30 – May 3, 1982*. Eds. Thomas Finkenstaedt and Gertrud Scholtes. Augsburg: Universität Augsburg. 9–39.
- Thwaites, Edward, ed. 1698. *Heptateuchus, Liber Job et Euangelium Nicodemi Anglo-Saxonice. Historiae Judith Fragmentum Dano-Saxonice edid.* Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano.
- Wallnig, Thomas. 2012. "Johann Georg Eckhart als Verwerter von Leibniz' Kollektaneen: Geschichtsforscher in höfischen Diensten oder gelehrter Beamter?". *Leibniz als Sammler und Verwerter historischer Quellen*. Ed. Nora Gädeke. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz. 189–210.
- Wheelocke, Abraham. 1643. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum Libri V.* Cambridge: Daniel.
- Zupitza, Julius, ed. 2003. *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar: Texte und Varianten*. 4th ed. with an introduction by Helmut Gneuss. Hildesheim: Weidmann.