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Linguistic Layers in John of Garland's *Dictionarius*[1]

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Abstract

John of Garland's *Dictionarius* is a thirteenth-century Latin lexicographic work, which survives in at least 33 copies disseminated across England and the Continent. Originally conceived as a tool for teaching Latin through the medium of French, later copies of the work circulating in England, northern France and the Low Countries attracted glosses in Middle English, Old French, and other languages. This article provides a handlist of extant copies of the *Dictionarius*, and combines a visual and linguistic analysis of the text, its commentary and glosses across the manuscript tradition. It examines the relationship of the different layers of the text, and discusses some of the chronological and regional variations in its layout and content. This article sheds light on medieval language learning and teaching in multilingual textual communities in England and on the Continent, providing evidence for the evolving role of the vernacular in texts for teaching Latin.

1. Introduction

John of Garland's *Dictionarius* is a thirteenth-century Latin lexicographic work, which survives in at least 28 total and 5 partial manuscript copies disseminated across England and the Continent. Originally conceived as a tool for teaching Latin through the medium of French, later copies of the work circulating in England, northern France and the Low Countries attracted glosses in Middle English, Old

[1] We would like to thank Elise Louviot and the anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful suggestions and corrections.

French, and other languages, offering insights into the process of language teaching as well as textual communities for language learning. Starting from a visual and linguistic analysis of the text, along with its commentary and glosses across the manuscript tradition, this article examines the different textual layers contributing to the *Dictionarius* and the functions they fulfil. We investigate the relationship of the multilingual glosses and commentary to each other and to the main text, and discuss some of the chronological and regional variations in its layout and content. This exploration of the *Dictionarius* sheds light on medieval language learning and teaching as well as on multilingual textual communities both in England and on the Continent. Moreover, the material under investigation provides evidence for the evolving role of the vernacular in texts for teaching Latin.

This study is based on a preliminary examination of the surviving manuscripts of John of Garland's *Dictionarius*.[2] After introducing the author and the *Dictionarius*, we provide a handlist of known textual witnesses. Following this we explore three different types of layout and presentation evident in the surviving copies (with alternating text and commentary, main text with marginal commentary, and main text with interlinear glossing), while the interplay of the various textual components is examined in relation to their chronological distribution and possible functions.

2. JOHN OF GARLAND

[2] A print and digital edition of the accessus, text, commentary and glosses of the *Dictionarius* is currently in preparation by the authors (see note 19). The present paper results from preparatory work identifying and collating the surviving manuscripts.

Most of what we know about John of Garland comes from his own writings – his poem *De triumphis ecclesiae* provides a summary of important moments in his life.[3] Garland was born in England (possibly in Ginge in Berkshire) towards the end of the twelfth century and probably died not too long after 1258. He is known to have studied at Oxford under John of London and he continued his studies at the University of Paris. He began to teach by 1220 and it is believed that he took his name from the area on the Left Bank where he taught, the *clos de Garlande* (now rue de Galande).[4] During the University of Paris strike of 1229, Garland moved to Toulouse, having been appointed one of the first grammar masters of the newly-founded university. His timing was poor as his arrival meant he was present in the city for the political instability of 1229–1231 resulting from the renewed Albigensian Crusade (Rashdall 2010 [1895], 157–162). This led to a return to Paris, where he seems to have spent the remainder of his life, with a brief visit to England possibly occurring some time between 1232–42 (Hays 2017; Lawler 2004; Marguin-Hamon 2004, 3–6; Dossat 1970, 184–186).

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[3] The poem has most recently been edited by Hall (2019). While Garland's works have been known to scholars for many centuries, confusion surrounding his identity persisted into the 19th century (see Hall 2019, 19 for a summary of earlier misidentifications). The John of Garland who authored musicological treatises (*De plana musica*, *De mensurabili musica*) in the second half of the thirteenth century is probably not the same individual.

[4] The clos de Garlande, on the Rive Gauche, situated next to the Place Maubert, along the rue de Galande, was part of the *seigneurie* of the Abbey of St. Genevieve (Friedmann 1959, 15). The surname may already have been his before Garland moved to Paris. Hall (2019, 23) notes several references to Essex in John's writings as well as the presence of a Geoffrey of Garland witnessing a deed in the same area in 1224, suggesting that the surname was established in England.

John of Garland is known today as the author of a number of works on Latin grammar, most notably the *Compendium grammatice*, and *Unus omnium*, as well as several works of poetry.[5] The *Dictionarius* is probably the earliest prose work that he composed, shortly after beginning his teaching in Paris. He (or perhaps one of his students) helpfully notes on f. 24r of the commentary in Dublin, Trinity College 270 (Dub1)[6] that the main text was written in Paris and the glosses added later during his time in Toulouse: *Textum huius libri fecit Parisius glosas vero Tholose*.[7] Conventionally, the work is dated to c1220, and Garland notes his relative youth and his motivation for composing the *Dictionarius* in a list of his works added at the end of his poem *Ars lectoria ecclesie*: "Almost a boy myself, I presented for boys the names of things / And the work of craftsmen and their customs I brought together in suitable ways."[8]

Garland's composition was undoubtedly inspired by the grammatical works written by fellow Englishmen teaching in Paris in the mid to late twelfth century.

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[5] Grammatical and lexicographical works attributed to Garland include: *Unus omnium*; *Dictionarius* (c1218); *Parisiana poetria* (c1220, revised c1235); *Compendium grammaticae* (c1230); *Clavis compendium* (c1234); *Commentarius* (1246); *Accentarium/ Ars lectoria ecclesie* (1246–9), *Exempla honestae vitae* (1258). His poetry consists of *Georgica spiritualia* (c1215); *Epithalamium beatae Mariae Virginis* (1221); *Integumenta Ovidii* (probably before 1241); *Morale scholarium* (1241); *De mysteriis ecclesie* (1245); *Stella maris* (1248–9); and *De triumphis ecclesie* (1252). The *Distigium*, *Synonyma* and *Aequivoca* are sometimes attributed to Garland, though his authorship is disputed by Hunt (1991, i, 323) and Marguin-Hamon (2006, 191–2).

[6] For details of the manuscript and sigla discussed see the handlist below.

[7] This note also appears in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 136/076 (Cam1), f. 16r (all translations by the authors unless otherwise specified).

[8] Translated by Rubin (1981, 2). The Latin reads: *Pene puer, pueris ostendi nomina rerum, / artificumque suos mores: tunc apta coegi*. (Marguin-Hamon, 2003, ll. 1500–01).

While teaching at the school of Petit Pont in Paris, Adam Balsham (d. c1159) had composed *De utensilibus*, a Latin treatise of everyday items mixed with exotica, based on a guided tour of a country estate.[9] Alexander Neckham (c1157–1217) composed *De nominibus utensilium,* while studying at the Petit Pont school.[10] This work is an unsystematic Latin vocabulary treatise primarily covering domestic life. Both texts are transmitted together with the *Dictionarius* in a number of manuscripts, and they quickly attracted considerable interlinear vernacular glossing, highlighting their importance as key language learning materials during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[11]

3. The Dictionarius

The work that Garland referred to as his *Dictionarius*, is not, in fact, a dictionary; or rather, it is not a dictionary in the modern sense of the term. The genre, using a discursive context to teach lexical items, is well known already from Antiquity and the early Middle Ages (Lendinara 2005). However, Garland coined

[9] Adam was a master at the Petit Pont school in Paris from the 1130s. He was well-regarded by its pupils, and the school was still in existence in the 1170s, when Alexander Neckham was a student there. The text is edited by Minio-Paluello (1956). Hunt (1991, i, 171–176) provides a transcription of the text found in London, British Library, Add. 8092.

[10] Edited by Scheler (1865, 84–118). Hunt (1991, i, 181–189) provides an edition from London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library Ms. 801A.

[11] On glosses to Adam of Petit Pont's *De utensilibus* see Hunt (1991, i, 165–176); on Alexander Neckham's *De nominibus utensilium* see Hunt (1991, i, 177–189). Lachaud (2006, 97) notes the similar focus of these texts to the *Dictionarius* in providing a compilation of Latin terms for everyday objects. She also provides a detailed analysis of the mercantile descriptions found in *Dictionarius* as a record of contemporary Parisian life.

the term *dictionarius* for his student word-book.[12] The work, designed to improve the Latin vocabulary of young French-speaking students, focuses on teaching "everyday" vocabulary, and often provides the sole attested use of a number of medieval Latin terms.[13] The unique Latin vocabulary attracted early scholarly work by Latinists. Kervyn de Lettenhove (1850) printed excerpts from the *Dictionarius* based on Brugge, Public Library, 546 (Bru2). In 1837 Géraud published a transcription of two Paris manuscripts as an appendix to his historical study of Paris during the time of Philip IV of France (1268–1314);[14] Wright included the *Dictionarius* in *A Volume of Vocabularies* (1857, 120–138);[15] followed by Scheler's

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[12] The earliest citation of the word given by *DMLBS* (s.v. *dictionarius*) is taken from Garland. It is otherwise attested from 1396 in Latin, while the *OED* (s.v. *dictionary* n. and adj.) lists the earliest use in English as 1480. The word is first attested in French from 1499 according to the *DMF* (s.v. *dictionnaire*).

[13] Some of these, for example, *devacuare* ("to empty or wind off") or *priua* ("a sort of small boat") do appear to be everyday terms, whereas *sima* (sense 3, "top moulding of a pediment, pentice") is a more specialised architectural term. A further selection, e.g. *amatorie* ("in amorous style"), *antapodotice* ("antiphonally"), *palinodice* ("by repetition"), *responsorie* ("antiphonally") describing the way a priest should speak and sing, are presented in chapter 61, and appear to be more specialised terms in the field of oratory (*DMLBS*, s.vv.). Sharpe (1996: 317) suggests that a number of the Latin terms in the work are invented by Garland.

[14] The text of Géraud's edition is based on Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 11282 (Par6), which he collated with two other copies in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 7679 (Par3 and Par4), a fifteenth-century paper manuscript containing two separate versions of the *Dictionarius*. The edition includes the French glosses from the three manuscripts (in square brackets).

[15] Wright's edition is based on London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xx (Lon1), which he used for the main text, and London, British Library, Harley 1002 (Lon2) for the Middle English interlinear glosses. As Wright explains (120, n. 1), the commentary derives "from the Parisian MS.

edition in 1865.[16] In 1879, Hauréau printed excerpts from the commentary in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 8447 (Par5). This manuscript includes a colophon (f. 57) stating that one Petrus de Almeneschis wrote it in 1268, who, according to Hauréau, might have been one of John's students. The *Dictionarius* has been translated into English by Rubin (1981).[17] These works are primarily interested in the Latin text, and include only selections of the commentary and vernacular elements. Hunt (1991) highlighted the key role of the glosses and translations in this text, and began the work of transcribing the extant manuscripts, providing a comparison of the glosses of six of the manuscripts.[18] Nevertheless, research to date has tended to focus only on selected layers of the *Dictionarius* (main text, commentary or glosses); studies aiming to draw together all these strands are

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of the thirteenth century, with some additions, within parentheses (), from one of the Paris MSS. of the fifteenth, and within brackets [], from the Cottonian MS." As regards the commentary, Wright includes "only such passages […] as contain useful explanations or French equivalents for the Latin words." He prints the commentary in smaller font and uses an interlinear layout for the glosses on the main text.

[16] Scheler based his edition on the text from Bru2, collated with the editions by Géraud and Wright and also drawing on Bruges 536 (Bru1) and Lille 369 (Lil). His "notes explicatives" (1865, 287–321, 370–379) include excerpts from the commentary as well as interlinear glosses from Bru1, Bru2 and Lil; however, the material is by no means complete.

[17] Rubin's translation (1981) is based on the text and commentary printed by Wright (1857).

[18] Hunt (1991, ii, pp. 125–156) provides the text and commentary glosses for Cam1, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 385 (Cam2), the two Dublin versions (Dub1, Dub2), Lincoln, Cathedral Chapter Library 132 (Lin), Worcester Cathedral Chapter Library Q.50 (Wor), Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek and Preussischer Kulturbesitz Lat.Fol. 607 (Brl). Hunt (1979) contains glosses from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.496 (Ox1) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G.99 (Ox3).

challenging, given the number of surviving manuscripts and the difficulties of dealing with commentary and gloss material added at different times, in several languages.[19]

The *Dictionarius* begins with an introduction describing the purpose of the work:

> Dictionarius dicitur libellus iste a dictionibus magis necessariis quas tenetur quilibet scolaris non tantum in scrinio de lignis facto, sed in cordis armariolo retinere, ut ad faciliorem oracionis constructionem perveniat.[20]

The text that follows contains a series of thematic descriptions, beginning with the parts of the body. The anatomy lesson offers the student both technical and popular terminology.[21] The teacher then takes his students for a walk beginning at their school in the clos de Garlande, north through the main streets of Paris, past various merchants and tradespeople, offering students a series of terms covering occupations and goods and services. We walk through the busy streets to the Grand-

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[19] No current editions of the text to this point have been able to consider all manuscripts, nor all elements of the text (accessus, text, commentary and glosses). The authors propose to complete an edition; desiderata include a critical edition of the Latin text as well as the substantial body of commentary and gloss material.

[20] "This little book is called 'dictionarius' because of very necessary words (*dictionibus*), which any student should not keep in a wooden chest, but rather retain firmly in the casket of their heart, in order to construct utterances more easily/attain to the construction of utterances more easily."

[21] Garland reflects on these distinctions and the use of popular local terminology, saying: "Now, in regard to these organs [I have] named, they must be called by both their refined names and the names used by the uneducated; but at first things will be called that which I have noted down as I wandered through the city of Paris" (trans. Rubin 1981, 17).

Pont where they sell woollens, to the munition works at the gate of St. Lazare, past the poultry shops on the Parvis de Notre Dame.[22] A representative example, which we also use below to discuss the different layers of glosses, is section 9 on shoes:

> Unus vicinorum nostrorum tulit in pertica una ad vendendum sotulares ad laqueos cum liripipiis et ad plusculas, tibialia et cruralia, et crepitas femineas et monacales.[23]

Once the tour of Paris is complete, Garland takes his students for a stroll through the fields and forest north of the city, providing the vocabulary for the real and fantastic beasts they pass, before returning to his own garden, full of medicinal herbs, and ending his tour with some reflections on his travel experiences, particularly focusing on seafaring and martial vocabulary.[24]

Each of the short thematic sections is provided with a Latin commentary, where Garland offers insights to his students on the vocabulary of the corresponding section of the main text. This might take the form of grammatical or etymological notes, offering tips on how to decline a noun, or lists of other words with similar

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[22] No such gate is known but Garland might have been referring to the area near the clos St Lazare, which adjoined what later became the porte Nicolas Arrode in the mid-thirteenth century. Géraud (1837, 351) notes the porte Saint-Martin was at the conjunction of rue Saint-Martin and rue Grenier-Saint-Lazare, while the *poterne* Huidelon, or false door, was at the point the rue Grenier-Saint-Lazare met rue Michel-le-Comte and may be the location referenced by Garland.

[23] 'One of our neighbours carried shoes on a rack for sale; shoes with laces, with elongated points, and with buckles; leggings and stockings; and sandals for women and monks.' We follow the numbering of sections established by Scheler (1865), which has also been adopted by Hunt (1991, I: 196-203).

[24] For a more detailed summary of the *Dictionarius* see Hunt (1991, i, 195).

declensions. This results in the commentary often having a proto-lexicographical function, consisting of headwords followed by etymological and grammatical information and translation into French, and occasionally English. For example, the word *vicinus* from section 9 is explained in the commentary: *vicinus a vico dicitur quia in eodem vico habitat* ("*neighbour* is so called from *quarter* because he lives in the same quarter"; Cam2, p. 142). In Lin (f. 102r), the commentary further adds *vicini*, giving the plural form of the noun. The headword is sometimes highlighted by its underlining within the commentary (as happens with *vicinus* in Cam2 and Lin). Garland often introduces the French translations with phrases such as *Gallice* or *qui Gallice dictur* ("in French", "as is called in French"); *crepitas femineas: gallice bothes a femme* ('in French, women's boots', Dub1, f. 15v). These glosses are embedded in the running text of the commentary, i.e. they are so-called context glosses.[25]

In some 20 copies of the *Dictionarius*, we find an *accessus*, or introduction, to the text, which starts with the sentence *Ysidorus dicit quod tria sunt genera lingue ytalice* ("Isidore says that there are three varieties of Italian") in reference to chapter IX.i.6–7 of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*.[26] This passage offers some general reflections on changes in the Latin language. The presentation of the accessus in the manuscripts is generally similar to that of the commentary, that is, in a smaller hand. In fact, it seems to originate from a commentary entry, as this is how it is presented in some of the early manuscripts, notably Bru2, which has been linked to John of

[25] For a discussion of glossographic terminology see Stricker (2009, 23–25).

[26] Hunt (1991, i, pp. 193–194) provides an edition of the accessus based on Cam1 and Cam2 as well as Dub1 and Dub2, with additional variant readings provided from Bern, Burgerbibliothek 519 (Brn1) and 709 (Brn2).

Garland. However, other manuscripts (e.g. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1026 (Rou)) present the accessus with a large initial to indicate the start of the text and elevate it to the status of a preface of some sort. Further copies of the text provide additional interlinear glossing on the main text of the *Dictionarius*, primarily in French and English, but also in Latin. As will be discussed further in the following sections, the inclusion of this multilingual material varies considerably between the manuscripts, as teachers and students adapted the text to their linguistic needs, adding and improving the translations and adding additional interlinear glosses in several languages.

The multilingual glosses remain understudied. Our preliminary assessment of the French glosses in continental manuscripts points to North-Eastern varieties of French (which confirms Hunt's (1991, I, 193) opinion of the two Bern manuscripts Brn1, Brn2), while the insular copies reflect Anglo-French orthographical and phonological features. The Middle English glosses represent different diatopic and diachronic varieties of the language; further insights are pending. Middle Dutch glosses are attested in the Den Haag fragment (Dhg).

4. Handlist of manuscripts

Garland's *Dictionarius* is extant in 31 manuscripts, with two (Dublin, Trinity College, 270 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 7679), preserving two copies each. Of these, 20 manuscripts are dated to the thirteenth century, with four dated to the thirteenth/fourteenth century, and a further four to the fourteenth century. The remaining five are dated to the fifteenth century. References in square brackets refer to the inclusion of the manuscript in an edition.

A: Manuscripts containing the *Dictionarius*:

1. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, lat. fol 607, ff. 9r–13r (Brl); s.xiv [Hunt 1991 ii, 154–156 (glosses)].

2. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 519, ff. 146r–160r (Brn1); s.xiii.

3. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 709, ff. 45v–65v (Brn2); s.xiii.

4. Brugge, Public Library, 536, ff. 95r–101r (Bru1); s.xiii; Cisterciënzerabdij Ter Doest; Abbey of Ten Duinen [Scheler 1865].

5. Brugge, Public Library, 546, ff. 12r–24v (Bru2); s.xiii; Cisterciënzerabdij Ter Doest; Abbey of Ten Duinen [Scheler 1865, Kervyn de Lettenhove 1850].

6. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius, 136/ 076, pp. 31–44 (Cam1); s.xiii^{ex}; Kings Lynn. [Hunt 1991 ii, 125–153 (glosses)].

7. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius, 385/605, pp. 141–151 (Cam2); s.xiii^{med}; owned by Rogerus Marchall (c1417–c1477). [Hunt 1991 ii, 125–153 (glosses)].

8. Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 131 F 8, f. 4r–v (fragment) (Dhg); s.xiv^{in}; northern Netherlands (Holland?).

9. Dublin, Trinity College, 270; s.xiii–s.xiv; (2 copies, ff. 14–24 (Dub1); ff. 177v–184v (Dub2), England, former owner James Ussher (1581–1656). [Hunt 1991 ii, 125–153 (glosses); full transcription of Dub1 Hunt 1991 i, 196–203].[27]

10. Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, CA 8^{o} 3, ff. 87r–96v (Erf1); s.xiii$^{1/2}$.

11. Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, CA 8^{o} 12, ff. 1r–12v (Erf2); s.xiii^{med}–s.xiv^{in}; "*th. franz. th. deutscher Herkunft*".

12. Évreux, Bibliothèque municipale, 23, ff. 156v–162v (Evr); s.xiii; Abbaye de Lyre. Acephalous text, beginning *sotular sic declinat*.

[27] Digital images are available at https://doi.org/10.48495/jm214x02z

13. Lille, Médiathèque municipale Jean Lévy, 388 (147), ff. 26r–36v (Lil); s.xv; Hôpital Comtesse de Lille; "*Ego Adam Heugot, clericus de Sancto Paulo, Morinensis*"; no accessus; [Scheler 1865 (glosses)].[28]

14. Lincoln Cathedral, 132, ff. 101r–108v, f. 10r–v (Lin); s.xiii^{ex}; [Hunt 1991 ii, 125–153 (glosses)].

15. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xx, ff. 51r–66v (Lon1); s.xiii^{2}; England; nothing known before its acquisition by Robert Cotton. [Wright 1857, 120–138].

16. London, British Library, Harley 1002, ff. 176r–181v (Lon2); s.xv^{med}–s.xvi^{in}; England. Owned by Edward Stillingfleet (b. 1635, d. 1699), bishop of Worcester; [Wright 1857, 120–138].

17. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.496, ff. 1r–9v (Ox1); s.xiii; Flanders, owned by Richard Rawlinson 1690–1755. Missing first folio. Erroneously listed by Bursill-Hall (1976, 162) as Rawlinson C.469.

18. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G.96, pp. 198–199 (Ox2); s.xiii; Fragment consisting of the verso and recto of two separate folios, containing the first two pages of the *Dictionarius.*

19. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G.99, ff. 156r–162v (Ox3); s.xiii; England? Composite volume, St Albans, Hertfordshire, Benedictine Abbey of St Alban.

20. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 491, nos 73 and 74 (fragments) (Ox4); s.xiii, French?. Fragments from a book binding, originally one folio from the middle of the text (chs. 22–36).

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[28] https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=21588

21. Oxford, Queen's College, 389 (fragments with glosses) (Ox5); s.xiii. Fragments from a book binding, two consecutive bifolia consisting of incomplete text of chs. 9-41.

22. Oxford, St John's College, 235 (fragments 62 and 68) (Ox6); s.xiv^{in}; two bifolia, fragments from a book binding. Consists of chs. 1-8, 42-51, plus accessus. Outer two bifolia of Ox5.[29]

23. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3630, f. 41r–43v (Par1); s.xiii$^{3/4}$, England. The relationship of this version to the *Dictionarius* is not clear; ff. 41–43v contain a text with the explicit *dictionarius abreviatus magistri J. de Galandia*. Provenance Saint-Evroult-Notre-Dame-du-Bois; owned by Jean Bigot (1588–1645).[30]

24. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4120, ff. 114r–121v (Par2); s.xv; owned by Oliverus Pillat s.xv;[31]

25. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7679 (2 copies, ff. 1–23, ff. 34v–46v) (Par3, Par4); s.xv; [Géraud 1837, Wright 1857, 120–138].[32]

26. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8447, ff. 48r–57r (Par5); s.xiii.[33]

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[29] Ox5 and Ox6 are undoubtedly parts of the same original book; details of each fragment come from the relevant library catalogues (Kidd 2016; Hanna 2002), however resolution of the dating discrepancy requires further research.

[30] https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc669238

[31] http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc628663

[32] https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc669238

[33] https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc67725j

27. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11282, ff. 1r–29v (Par6); s.xiii; "Acquis en décembre 1819 de MM. de Bure, libraires du roi, suite à la vente de la bibliothèque de l'abbé de Tersan" [Géraud 1837, Wright 1857, 120–138].[34]

28. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15171, ff. 195r–199r (Par7); s.xiii^2, France; owned by Simon de Plumentot (1371–1443).[35]

29. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 3792, ff. 1r–24r (Par8); s.xiv.[36]

30. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1026, ff. 1r–31r (Rou); s.xiv; Capucins de Mortagne, "*De libris sancti Sulpicii Bit[uricensis]*" (Bourges, Manuscrit de l'abbaye de Saint-Sulpice).

31. Worcester, Cathedral Library, Q.50, ff. 18v–27v (Wor); s.xiii; Worcester, St. Mary, Cathedral Priory, OSB [Hunt 1991 ii, 153–154 (glosses)].

B: Manuscripts erroneously cited in the literature as containing the *Dictionarius*:

1. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 536 (ff. 95r–101r) and 546 (ff. 12r–24v). These two copies are listed by Bursill-Hall (1976, 162), however no copies of the *Dictionarius* appear in Bern under these shelfmarks. Rather, as the signatures and folio numbers are identical to those of the Bruges manuscripts Bru1 and Bru2, it appears that their details have been attributed to Bern in error.

2. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 385, pp. 7–59. This is not the *Dictionarius*, as listed by Bursill-Hall (1976, 162) (following a fifteenth-century list by Rogerus Marchall), but is actually Alexander Neckham's *Sacerdos ad altare accessurus* (Hunt 1991, i, 191).

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[34] http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc728972

[35] https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc758822

[36] https://bibnum.institutdefrance.fr/records/item/23138-jean-de-garlande-dictionarius

3. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Universiteit, BPL 191 C VI, ff. 101–108 (Lei); s.xiv^{2}; provenance Liège/Luik, St.-Jacques, abbazia OSB. The text is *Olla patella*.

4. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgh. 200, ff. 10r–12r (Vat); s.xiii–xiv; "*Dictionarius metricus (cum glossis marginalibus et interlinearibus ex parte lingua Neerlandica digestis*)".[37] The text in question is *Olla patella*. This manuscript is listed by Bursill-Hall (1976, 162) as "Vatican, Borgh. Lat. 200".

5. Winchester, Cathedral, 111A. Listed by Rubin (1981, 8). We have not been able to trace a manuscript with this shelfmark. A good candidate is perhaps Winchester, Cathedral, 15 (Ker & Piper 1992, 592–4), a collection of grammatical texts which includes John of Garland's *Synonyma* ff. 14–36, though it does not contain a copy of the *Dictionarius*.

C: Lost or untraced alleged copies of the *Dictionarius*:

1. Cambridge, Peterhouse College, 215. This manuscript consists of four booklets of grammatical treatises. A fifteenth-century table of contents at the beginning of the manuscript lists a now-missing booklet (originally placed after f. 30) containing copies of Alexander Neckham's *De nominibus utensilium*, Adam Balsham's *De utensibilus* and John of Garland's *Dictionarius*. The booklet was in situ until at least the seventeenth-century, when annotations to the table of contents were made (Thomson 2016, 133).

[37] https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Borgh.200

2. Dijon, Bibliothèque Saint-Bénigne, 137 (13). Listed by Rubin (1981, 7). No such manuscript is extant.[38]

3. Early print of the *Dictionarius* by Laurent Hastingue, Caen, 12 January 1508, 4°. Aquilon (1978, 18) indicates that Hastingue printed the text at the request of Vincent Carrer; a modern note on f. 1r of Par6 references the print by Hastingue and Carrer but indicates this is not the source manuscript.[39]

5. The layout of the *Dictionarius*

The main text of John of Garland's *Dictionarius* is comparatively stable, except for minor textual variants. On the other hand, there are considerable differences in the text of the commentary sections. Moreover, the manuscripts differ in terms of:

- the amount and presentation of the commentary in relation to the main text,

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[38] We are grateful to M. Siméant, from the Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon for confirming this manuscript does not exist (personal correspondence 07/08/2021). However, a manuscript of the *Dictionarius* is listed in the alphabetical index of manuscripts of the *Bibliothecae Divio-Benignianae* extant in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 13704, f. 104v, itself based on an earlier inventory done in 1652–1653 by dom Maur Benetot. This manuscript was then incorporated into the 1738 *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum* and the relevant manuscript listed as "*item 221. Joannis de Gallandia liber de contemptu mundi, qui dicitur Cartula, 137. item 222. Ejusd. Dictionarium vocum usitatiorum in communi conversatione, 137*". (Lonati and Delmulle, 2018). No further identification of this manuscript has been possible.

[39] Géraud (1837, 581) transcribes the note, "J'ai cet ouvrage de Garlandia, imprimé par les soins de Vincentus Carrer, *in civitate Cadomensi, per Laurentium Hastingue*, 17 pag. in 4o, sans chiffres […] Et c'est ainsi que finit l'édition de ce Dictionnaire très curieux par l'époque du xie siècle où il a été fait, mais le commentaire qu'en a fait Vincent Carrer n'est pas le même que celui de ce manuscrit."

- the density and placement of interlinear and marginal glosses, and
- the use and distribution of different languages throughout.

Three types of organisational structure can be identified; the most frequent type presents the work in alternating sections of text and commentary (using varying numbers of columns). The second most frequent places the commentary in a marginal position, while the third type excises the commentary from the presentation.

5.1 Alternating text and commentary

The first type represents the predominant organisation of the *Dictionarius*; the majority of the extant copies, that is 23 of the 33 versions, present the main text and commentary in an alternating manner. In these manuscripts, the Latin text is divided into short sections with a commentary containing further discussion on the vocabulary following each section (except for Brn2 where each commentary section precedes the main text). In most cases the commentary is visually distinguished from the text through the use of a smaller hand, with scribes also using paragraph marks, coloured initials or a change of ink to differentiate the two sections.

A typical example of the alternating type is the thirteenth-century Par5. Here is an excerpt of the discussion of the vocabulary in section 9 on shoes (cf. above) (f. 50rb): [40]

[40] Cf. Hauréau's (1877, 41–42) edition of this section. Here and below, abbreviations are silently expanded. In the manuscript, headwords are marked by larger initials; we have substituted underlining, which is found in several manuscripts. Following modern linguistic convention, object language is distinguished from metalanguage by the use of italics.

Vicini, gallice *vesins*, et dicuntur a *vicus*, *-ci*, quod est gallice *rue*, quia in eodem vico manent vel habitant.[41] *Vendendum* a *vendo*, *-dis*; dicitur gallice *vendre*. Inde *venditor*, gallice *vendeour*.[42] *Pertica* dicitur a *pertingo*, *-gis*, quod est gallice *atendre*, et *pertica* gallice *perche*.[43] *Sotulares*, *hic sotular*, *huius -ris*, quamvis aliter dixerit ille qui composuit *Doctrinale*. Est enim regula Prisciani quod omnia nomina in *-ar* desinentia sunt neutri generis, ut *hoc torcular*, *lupanar*, *calcar*, exceptis propriis nominibus, ut *Caesar*, *Balthasar*, et *lar*, *var*, *par* cum suis compositis, ut *dispar*, *compar*, *impar*. Sed hoc nomen *sotular* non est in exceptione; debet ergo esse in regula; quod non est verum. Regula est quod omnia nomina neutri generis desinentia in *-ar* producunt penultimam, excepto hoc nomine *loquar*; sed hoc quidem, dico *sotular*, non producit; ergo et cetera. Immo dicitur *hic sotular*, *huius sotularis*, et derivatur ab hoc verbo *suo*, *suis*, quod est gallice *coutre*, vel ab hoc nomine *sus*, *suis*, quod est *scropha*, quod est gallice *truie*, quia suuntur sotulares cum setis porcinis, scilicet ipsius suis, vel ab hoc nomine *subtalaris*, quod est longa vestis usque ad talos; et sunt sotulares gallice *soulers*. Unde quidam: O vir, velle dares mihi si velis sotulares.[44] *Laqueos*

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[41] "*Neighbours*, in French *voisins* ['neighbours'], are derived from *street*, which is in French *rue* ['street'], because they stay or live in the same street.'

[42] "*Selling*, from *I sell*; named in French *vendre* ['to sell']. Hence *seller*, in French *vendeur* ['seller']."

[43] "*Perch* is derived from *I/you arrive at, extend to*, which is *atteindre* ['to reach, extend to'] in French, and *pertica* is French *perche* ['perch']."

[44] "*Shoes*, *the shoe* [masculine], *of the shoe*, even though the author of the *Doctrinale* [i.e. Alexander de Villa Dei] said otherwise. There is a rule by Priscian that all nouns ending in *-ar* are of the neuter gender, like *torcular* ['wine-press'], *lupanar* ['brothel'], *calcar* ['spur'] except for proper names like *Caesar*, *Balthasar*, and also *lar* ['home'], *Nar* [the river Nera], and *par* ['one of the same kind'] with their derivatives, such as *dispar* ['ill-matched'], *compar* ['companion'], *impar* ['unequal']. However, the noun *sotular* is not an exception; therefore, it must be in accordance with the rule, which is not the case: the rule says that all nouns of the neuter gender ending in *-ar* bring out a penultimate, except for the noun *loquar* ['conversation']; but this one at any rate, *sotular*, I say, doesn't; hence, and so on. In fact, it is spoken *hic sotular*, *huius sotularis*, and it derives from the verb *I/you sew*, which is *coudre* in French, or from the noun *sus, suis*, which is a *sow*, which is

dicuntur a *laqueo*, *-as*, gallice *laz*.[45] *Pusculas*, gallice *boucles*.[46] *Liripipium*, gallice *bec de heuse*.[47] […] *Tibialia* a *tibia* dicuntur, gallice *estiveals*.[48] *Cruralia* a *crure* dicuntur, *heuseaus*. Inde *ocrea*, *-eae*, *heuse* gallice.[49] *Crepitas* dicuntur *bottes a creperon*; quod es dubium, quia dubium est utrum pes sit intus vel foris, sicut adhuc videmus in monachis; vel dicitur *crepita* a *crepo, -pas*, quod est *sono, -nas*, quia crepant murices, gallice *botes*.[50]

The commentary is presented as a text block; yet, it consists of separate entries, which discuss headwords from the main text in turn and in the order in which they occur. Different entries vary considerably in length: the shortest ones consist of three words – the Latin headword, the word *gallice* ("in French") and the French translation, as in the entry for *pusculas* ("buckles"). The longest discusson – on the word *sotular* ("shoes") – is more than 150 words long. It starts with a grammatical discussion of the gender and exact form of the word and then moves on to provide competing etymological explanations (see further discussion of this at n. 52). Despite such lengthy commentary sections, the manuscript presents a neat and clearly structured appearance. This is mostly due to the clear distinction of main text

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in French *truie*, because shoes are sewn with pig's bristles, this is to say, of the swine itself, or from the noun *subtalaris*, which is a long garment all the way to the ankles; and in French shoes are *souliers*. Hence this: O man, if you wanted to, you would have given me shoes."

[45] "*Laces* derive from *I/you fasten*, in French *lacet* ['lace']."

[46] "*Buckles*, in French *boucles* ['buckles']."

[47] "*Liripipe*, in French *bec de house* ['pointed toe of a boot']."

[48] "*Tibialia* derive from *tibia*, in French *estival* ['long boot']."

[49] "*Cruralia* are named after *shin*, [French] *houseau* ['gaiters']. Hence *legging*, *house* ['leggings, boots'] in French."

[50] "*Sandals* are called [French] *bottes à chaperon* ['monk's boots?'] *boots*; which means *doubtful*, because it is doubtful whether the foot is inside or outside, as we see now in monks; alternatively, they are called *crepita* from *I/you rattle*, which means *I/you resound*, because they rattle against the walls [?], in French *botte* ['boots']."

and commentary, with the script of the commentary being half the size of the main text. As a result, even long commentary sections take up surprisingly little space; the batch on the shoe sections covers just over half a column.

While the majority of manuscripts of this type provide the commentary after each section and ensure that it is visually distinct from the preceding text, a small subsection of manuscripts presents the entire text in a single hand with no demarcation between text and commentary. The fourteenth-century Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 3792 (Par8) is one such example with little visual distinction between the text and commentary. Sections are indicated by alternating red and blue initials two lines deep, while the commentary is indicated by single-line alternating blue and red paragraph marks. Each section of the commentary opens with the word *glosa* and signals the change back to the main text with the word *textus*, as for example, on f. 4vb (Fig. 1). Chapter 9 begins with *Unus vicinorum* on a new line with a two-line red initial. A single-line blue paragraph mark indicates the opening of chapter 10, *Corrigiarii* ("Girdlers"). Chapters 9 through 13 are presented one after the other, with single line paragraph marks, alternating blue and red, to indicate the end of chapter. On f. 5ra, the abbreviation *Glo* marks the completion of chapter 13 (Fig. 2). On the next line, following a red paragraph mark, the commentary begins with *Unus vicinorum etc.* Underlined headwords in the commentary, or *glosa*, refer back to the vocabulary of the relevant chapter. The commentary for each of the chapters 9–13 is given in a block, with each chapter commentary marked off with a paragraph mark.

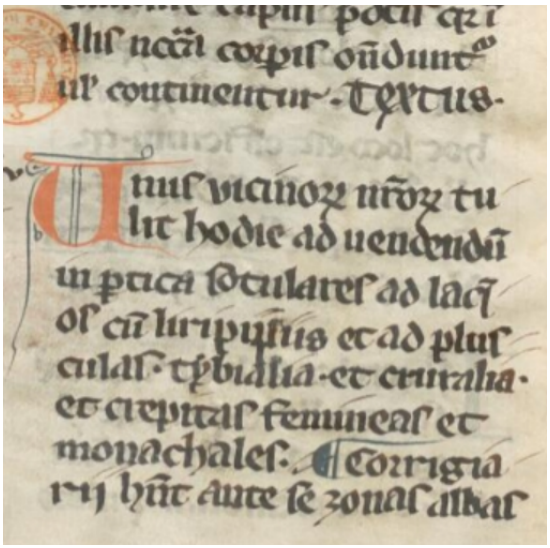

Figure 1: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 3792, f. 4vb; *Textus* label marking beginning of *Unus vicinorum* section and dividing it from previous commentary. (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 FR Deed, https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/fr/, image available at https://bibnum.institutdefrance.fr/ark:/61562/mz23138)

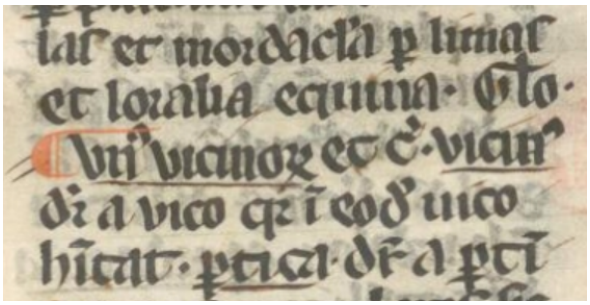

Figure 2: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 3792, f. 5ra; *Glo[sa]* label marking beginning of commentary on *Unus vicinorum* section, headwords underlined. (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 FR Deed, https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/fr/, image available at https://bibnum.institutdefrance.fr/ark:/61562/mz23138)

Sequential organisation, with alternating text and commentary visually demarcated through different sized hands, is popular in the thirteenth-century manuscripts, accounting for over half of the copies surveyed. In the fourteenth century, the sequential organisation remains the most frequent structure, and this continues into the fifteenth century (Fig. 3). It is implemented with a variety of

columnar organisations, with scribes choosing single (Dub2), double (Par8) or triple (Brl) column layouts for the text and commentary. The variation in columns does not seem to correlate with a particular time period or location of production, with all presentations found in the earlier manuscripts. However, a shift towards a single column presentation is evident towards the fifteenth century (cf. Peikola 2013).

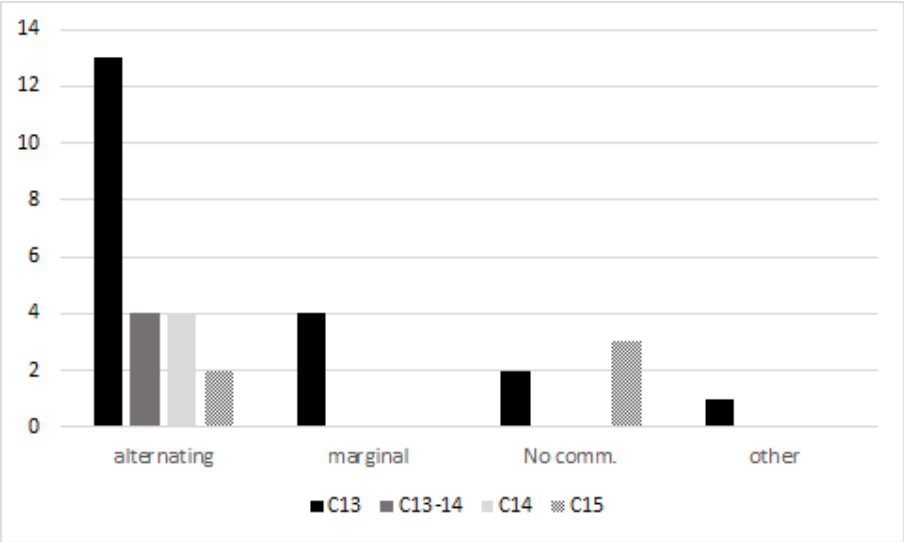

Figure 3: Commentary layout according to date.

The presentation of the *Dictionarius* in alternating blocks of (usually) larger main text and smaller commentary makes it easy to navigate the text and to locate relevant information quickly. Blocks of commentary can be skipped or searched for additional details at will. This type of presentation is helpful for a reader studying a particular topic or section of the text. On the other hand, the layout is also ideal for teaching: we can imagine students copying and perhaps memorising a passage from the main text, while, during a lecture on the passsage, their teacher could have drawn on the commentary to provide further explanation and discussion of the vocabulary. The commentary sections include many vernacular translations, which would have

helped with basic comprehension issues. Moreover, many Old French words are cognates of their Latin counterparts; for instance, *soulers* ("shoes") and *sotulares*, (indeed, some of the Latin terms appear to be coined on the basis of a vernacular French term rather than the reverse). As such, vernacular forms tie in with the etymological and morphological connections that the commentary establishes for many words.

Some commentary entries also link to other literature: the comment on the word *sotulares* criticises *ille qui composuit Doctrinale* ("he who wrote the *Doctrinale*"), which is John's contemporary Alexander de Villa Dei (1160/70–1240/50). John commented on and eventually wrote a revised version of the *Doctrinale* (see Parisella 2009; Grondeux 2000, 318–319; Colker 1974); the criticism in the commentary of the *Dictionarius* may well reflect John's early engagement with this work (Parisella 2009, 21).[51] According to John, Alexander posits that the nominative singular of the word is *sotular* (gen. sg. *sotularis*) and that the noun is neuter,[52] with which John disagrees.

[51] In his revision of the *Doctrinale*, the issue of the gender of *sotular* comes up again (Parisella 2009, 40–41).

[52] This is actually not true: Alexander states *ponis nomen in ar neutrum; sotular dat hic et lar* (ed. Reichling 1893, l. 578), i.e 'You set a noun in *-ar* as neuter; though *sotular* gives *hic* (i.e. the masculine article) and so does *lar*'. One reviewer of this paper suggested that John may have misunderstood Alexander's anacoluthon construction in 1220 but figured it out later since, in his commentary on the *Doctrinale* in Paris, BnF lat. 14745, f. 55v (after 1230), he offers a correct interpretation of the same verse (while maintaining *sotularis* as the right form of the word): *Excipitur autem sotular et lar quae sunt masculina*. We gratefully acknowledge this intriguing piece of information.

The entry also makes reference to a rule by Priscian, namely that words ending in *-ar*, like *lacunar*, *lupanar*, are neuter (Priscian, *Institutiones*, V, 13–14, ed. Keil ii, 149.10–150.11). According to John, this rule does not apply to the word at hand, as he arbitrates for a nominative singular form *sotularis* and identifies the noun as masculine.[53] The issue arises because *sotular(is)* is not a Classical Latin word; *subtolares* first appears in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* (XIX.xxxiv.7) describing a type of shoe that finishes at the ankle, but does not appear to be attested in Classical sources (cf. *DMLBS*, s.v. *subtalaris*).[54] A teacher could have used information of this type to establish a link to the passage in Priscian (which the students might have encountered already) and perhaps to a more general discussion of nouns and gender in Latin. A layout with alternating sections of main text and commentary is also used to present works of a similar nature, many of which occur alongside the *Dictionarius* in the same manuscripts.

5.2 Marginal placement of commentary

A number of manuscripts present the commentary, not in sequential format, but as a marginal accompaniment to the main text (Bru2, Cam1, Cam2, Wor). A key manuscript with marginal placement of the commentary is Bru2. This manuscript is central to the transmission of John of Garland's work. In addition to the *Dictionarius*, it includes *Morale scolarium*, *Clavis compendii*, *De mysteriis ecclesie*, *Ars lectoria*

[53] This is according to the version of the commentary in Bru2; Par5 printed above also votes for the masculine gender but for a nom. sg. without final syllable *-is* (*hic sotular*).

[54] Cf. Barney et al. (2006, 393): "*Talares* (i.e. *talaria*) are slippers (*soccus*) that seem to be so named because they are so shaped that they come to the ankles (*talus*); similarly *subtolares*, because they come below (*sub*) the ankle, as if the term were *subtalares*."

ecclesie, *Commentarius*, *Stella maris*, *Compendium grammatice*, and *Parisiana poetria*.[55] Dating from the middle of the 13th century, it is also one of the earliest manuscripts. Scholars working on some of these other texts have concluded that Bru2 may well have been written by John himself or, perhaps, one of his students:

> The fullest resource for the study of John of Garland […] is the richly glossed anthology of his work, MS 546 of the public library in Bruges. […] Since many of the glosses seem to be by Garland himself, and many show a grasp of certain poems that only the author could have, the anthology must have been put together by John himself or one of his students. (Lawler 2004)[56]

The *Dictionarius* text in Bru2 is organised in three columns: the central column contains the main text, while commentary sections are added in the columns on both sides as well as above and below the main text. Headwords from the main text are repeated at the beginning of each commentary entry; they usually start with a capital initial and are underlined in red. This reader-friendly arrangment makes it possible to move from the main text to a relevant commentary entry and back. Some columns are completely filled up with commentary material, whereas others have remained empty or contain only short sections (Fig. 4). The main text uses a slightly larger and more formal script; it is widely spaced to accommodate interlinear glosses. These consist of vernacular translations (mainly in French with a handful in English) as well as Latin synonyms or grammatical information. The main text,

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[55] On the chronology of John of Garland's works, see Grondeux and Marguin (1999, 149–150), Lawler (2004). For editions see: *Ars lectoria ecclesie*: Marguin-Hamon (2003); *Clavis compendii*: Marguin-Hamon (2008); *Commentarius*: Hunt (1991, i, 207–226); *Compendium grammatice*: Haye (1995); *De mysteriis ecclesie*: Könsgen and Dinter (2004); *Morale scolarium*: Paetow (1927); *Parisiana poetria*: (Lawler 2020); *Stella maris*: Wilson (1946).

[56] See also Grondeux & Marguin (1999, 137–138).

commentary entries and interlinear glosses in this manuscript are mostly by one hand. From the arrangement of material in Bru2, the main text was evidently copied first, without a clear knowledge of how much space would be needed for commentary and glosses. To some extent, this manuscript appears to have been work in progress as it allows for later additions, an interpretation that accords well with the assumption that Bru2 could have been John's own work.

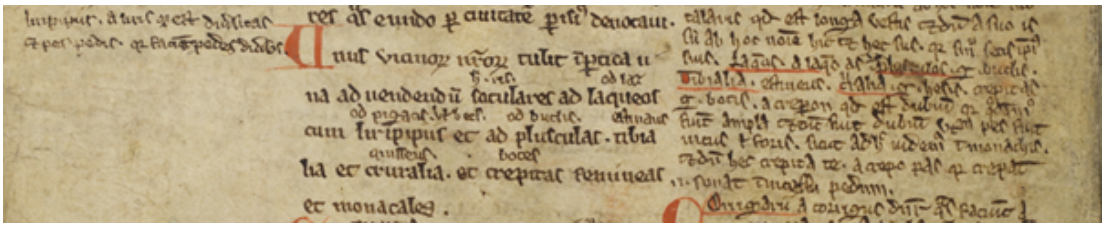

Figure 4: Brugge, Public Library, 546, f. 14r; main text in centre with commentary in left and right-hand columns. Provided by Bruges Public Library (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/)

In Wor (13th c.), the main text of the *Dictionarius* appears as a wide, central column, flanked by substantial margins which often contain material from the commentary. As in Bru2, the marginal commentary is demarcated from the main text through the use of a smaller, less formal script, however it is not present on every folio and it appears that it was never completed. On the earliest folios the commentary is keyed into the main text via catchwords in larger text which are underlined or decorated in red ink. This helps the reader locate the relevant commentary section, as it does not always appear exactly alongside the text it pertains to. Thus, the commentary in the top margin of f. 19v begins "Causa doctrine" in larger script, linking with the relevant main text section beginning with those words halfway down the page (Fig. 5). However, this plan was not carried through the text, and on later folios the commentary (this time in a different hand) indicates headwords only through underlining in red ink (Fig. 6). While interlinear

glosses are rarer at the beginning of this manuscript, they occur in several hands, in specific sections of the work, and more frequently towards the middle and end, where the commentary becomes more sparse. For example, among the list of trees on f. 27r we find *fago: besg* ("beech"), *husso: holin* ("holly"), while another hand glosses *lauro: boȝ* ("bay"), all providing Middle English translations. The list of trees attracts vernacular glosses and commentary entries in other manuscripts (e.g. Cam 1 and 2, Dub1 and 2, Lin). Thus, in Wor, the interlinear glosses may work (at least in part) as a substitute for the missing commentary, and the number of hands contributing to the manuscript record the text's continuing use, in spite of its unfinished state.

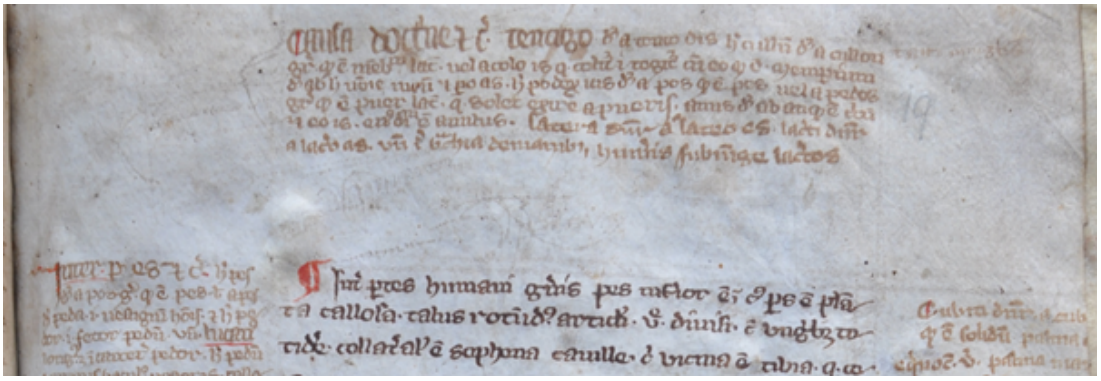

Fig 5: Worcester, Cathedral Library, Q.50, f. 19r; top margin: *causa doctrine* heading in larger script. Photograph by Mr. Christopher Guy, Worcester Cathedral Archaeologist. Reproduced by permission of the Chapter of Worcester Cathedral (U.K.).

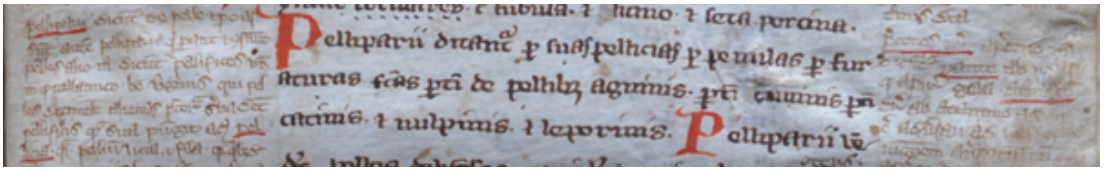

Fig. 6: Worcester, Cathedral Library, Q.50, f. 21r; marginal commentary, keyed to main text by underlining: *pelliparii.* Photograph by Mr. Christopher Guy, Worcester Cathedral Archaeologist. Reproduced by permission of the Chapter of Worcester Cathedral (U.K.).

In the Cambridge texts Cam1 and Cam2 (both 13th c.), the commentary is fuller, reaching right to the end of the text. As in Wor, the main-text-plus-marginal-commentary layout seems to have been planned from the outset, however, as with that manuscript, a number of later hands have added interlinear glosses to supplement the commentary. The commentary and glossing are especially full in Cam1; some terms attract multiple glosses, such as *liripipiis*, which is glossed with the French *pigaz*. Above that is *hoc liripipium*, and to the right is another vernacular gloss, *piket.*[57] The commentary entry gives further grammatical and etymological detail: *liripipiis*, *a liris quod est diversitas et pes, pedis, quia facit pedes diversos. pes est nomen atomum* "liripipes, from *liris*, that is, 'difference'[?], and *pes/pedis* ('foot'), because it makes the feet different. *Pes* is an indivisible noun").

Marginal commentaries appear only in English manuscripts, with the exception of Bru2 which does, however, contain glosses in English alongside its French entries. All manuscripts with marginal commentary can be dated to the thirteenth century, and it is possible that this layout type was disseminated from Bru2, a copy thought to be particularly close to John of Garland (see above). If this is indeed the case, then the original marginal organisation appears to have been reshaped early on into the more usual alternating layout. This kind of reorganisation of the page is not necessarily surprising; Peikola (2013) notes a tendency for the page layout of texts such as the *Confessio amantis* and the Wycliffite Bible to become simplified over time, as gloss material increasingly moved from the margins to the text column (possibly as a result of scribes being paid according to the amount of text they produced, rather than the time they took). The motivation for a similar

[57] Cf. *pike* "the long, pointed toe or peak of a shoe, boot, or other footwear" (*Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. *pike* n. 1, sense 5a).

reorganisation of the *Dictionarius* page may come from practical concerns; even with devices such as underlining, larger script or contrasting coloured ink, it still takes the reader time to locate the relevant commentary entry, which may be placed some way from the section in question. A layout incorporating these devices would also require considerable time and effort on the part of the scribe. Another factor which may have prompted textual reorganisation is the use by similar works such as those by Alexander Neckham and Adam Balsham of the alternating text and commentary layout.[58] The producers and readers of these works clearly valued (and reworked) the commentaries that accompanied the main texts, and a layout which emphasised their integral nature to the larger text may well have been desirable.

5.3. Copies of the *Dictionarius* without commentary

The third group of manuscripts dispenses with the commentary or contains only very short pieces of commentary material (usually incorporated into the main text). Notably, these manuscripts tend to include extensive interlinear glossing instead. One might be led to conclude that the commentary-less manuscripts represent an earlier stage in the production of the *Dictionarius*, before the commentary was added; as we are told in the gloss in Dub1, John wrote the main text when he was in Paris and only compiled the commentary during his time in Toulouse (cf. above). However, these developmental stages are not reflected in the manuscript transmission of the *Dictionarius*. The manuscripts that do not transmit

[58] In addition to the layout of the exemplar, and scribal economics, expertise and preferences, Peikola (2013, 25) also suggests genre as a possible factor influencing the ruling and layout of late medieval English texts.

the commentary are either late (Lon2, Lil, Par3) or they include material that appears elsewhere in the commentary in the shape of interlinear glosses (Bru1).

An early example of a copy of the *Dictionarius sans* commentary is Bru1. This manuscript has the same provenance as Bru2 described above, namely the Cistercian Abbey of Ter Doest in Lissewege (today a district of Bruges, West Flanders; see Poorter 1934, 637–638; Poorter 1926, 4); it also dates to the thirteenth century.[59] However, here the similarities end: while Bru2 has very extensive marginal commentary, Bru1 has none. The difference is also visually striking: Bru1 is ruled for a single column only, which is taken up by the main text of the *Dictionarius*. The lines are widely spaced, which indicates that the layout was specifically designed to absorb interlinear glosses. The glosses, of which there are a considerable number, are written by various hands and in different languages (Latin, French and English). However, it is not possible to link hands and languages; some of the scribes contributed glosses in two or in all three languages.

Concerning the functions of glosses, Latin entries often make explicit the reference of pronouns, for example, in *Artifices illi subtiles sunt qui fundunt campanas de here sonoro, per* ***quas*** *in ecclesiis hore diei denunciantur*[60] (f. 96r), the relative pronoun *quas* is glossed with *campanas* ("bells"). An interesting Latin gloss

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[59] https://brugge.bibliotheek.be/catalogus/petrus-helias/ms-536-questiones-super-maius-volumen-prisciani-alexander-nequam-de-nominibus-utensilium/library-v-obbrugge-oudedrukken_10991; https://brugge.bibliotheek.be/catalogus/johannes-de-garlandia/ms-546-morale-scolarium-iohannis-de-garlandia-dictionnarius-eiusdem-clavis/library-v-obbrugge-oudedrukken_10978

[60] "There are skilled craftsmen who cast bells of sonorous bronze by which, from churches, the hours of the day are proclaimed by the movement of the bellclappers and the attached ropes" (trans. Rubin 1981, 27).

is added on the previous page (f. 95v), where in the sentence "Let's first name the things which I've noted on a walk through Paris" the first person singular verb *denotavi* ("I've noted") is glossed with *ego magister de garlandia*, thus explaining that the subject is John himself. Vernacular glosses, on the other hand, usually provide lexical translations. Notably, the manuscript contains a high number of double glosses, i.e. two separate glosses which relate to the same headword. Such double glosses may consist of a vernacular (usually French) translation and a Latin etymological explanation. Yet, there are also double glosses with two vernacular translations, one French and one English. Visually, these double glosses are placed above each other in the space available between the lines, as in the following example (f. 96r, l. 2):

bucleres	bucles	hardiluns tunges	mordaunz

[Pl]uscularii sunt divites per plusculas suas, et lingulas, et mordacula, per limas, et loralia equina.[61]

The upper row of glosses (in this instance) is all in French, but English *tunges* ("tongues") is added below French *hardiluns* ("string or leather tongue to link the ends of a belt", *DMF* s.v. *hardillon*) as additional gloss on Latin *lingulas* ("tongues, straps").[62] In contrast to some other manuscripts of the *Dictionarius*, Bru1 has a very "clean" appearance. The special layout suggests that this copy may have been created with a different function in mind than the ones with extensive commentary. Removing the commentary declutters the text; the many vernacular translations are

[61] "Buckle makers are rich due to their buckles, straps, and pits, due to their files, and bits."

[62] The use of stacked pairs of glosses is well known from other trilingual manuscripts. See Pagan & Seiler (2019, 18–19) for a discussion of one such case.

helpful for someone who still needs to learn the words and is not yet ready to study etymological and grammatical intricacies. Perhaps this was a copy aimed at less advanced students? The comparatively high amount of English material implies that it was intended for circulation in England, which accords well with the provenance of this manuscript from Bruges. The Flemish town was a hub for North Sea trade since at least the twelfth century, and books produced in Bruges were predominantly created for export to England (at least in the fifteenth century (Demets 2023, 12–14)).

Lon2, a paper manuscript dating from the fifteenth century, is one of the latest manuscripts of the *Dictionarius*. It includes no commentary but many interlinear glosses throughout, though not all sections are equally densely glossed. Remarkably, most glosses are in (late) Middle English, as exemplified by the material added between the lines of the shoe section (f. 176v; l. 19):

> ¶. Unus vicinorum nostrorum tulit \.i. portauit/ hodie in pertica \perche/ una ad vendendum sotulares laqueatos \y lasyd/ ad liripipiis \typpys/ et plusculas \bogyllys/ tibialia \legharneys/ et cruralia et crepitas \botys/ femineas et monachales.

The headwords glossed in this section are still the same ones that earlier glossators and commentators focused on, though French has been replaced by English as glossing language. The glosses in the shoe section represent the Middle English antecedents of the Modern English noun *perch*, the participle *laced*, as well as the nouns *tips*, *buckles*, *leg-harness* and *boots*. However, it should be pointed out that, with the exception of *leg*, a borrowing from Old Norse, all words are French-derived and most of them correspond to lexical material that we have identified as French in other manuscripts of the *Dictionarius*. To consider them English is nevertheless fully justified: the lexical items in question are firmly established as

loanwords in English by the fifteenth century. Moreover, they are morphologically integrated: the particple *y lasyd* uses the English affixes *y-* (< OE *ge-*) and *-yd* (ModE *-ed*), the nouns use English *-ys* (ModE *-es*) to mark the plural, and some of them (not attested in this passage) are also accompanied by English determiners *þ^e* or *a* (e.g. *þ^e bysynys* "the occupation", f. 178r; *a syue* "a sieve", f. 179v).

Harley 1002, the manuscript in which Lon2 is transmitted, contains several texts including or in Middle English, notably grammatical and lexicographic texts (Thomson 1979, 239–253). There is also a series of five parallel sets of verses in Middle English and Latin, which Lendinara (2018) considers to be translation exercises. In one of the poems, the Latin text is heavily glossed in Middle English, which was perhaps an intermediate step in the creation of a full translation. The glosses in the *Dictionarius* in Harley 1002 may have served a similar purpose. In any case, the expanded use of English in the Harley manuscript ties in with general developments in England in the fifteenth century. Orme (2006, 218) notes "a tangible growth of insularity, reflected in the decreasing use of the French language [and] a revival of English for literary purposes" from the second half of the fourteenth century. The first treatises of Latin written in English appear in the fifteenth century, which also sees the production of bilingual Latin-English and English-Latin dictionaries.

Another atypical case occurs in the copy from Lille, a fifteenth-century paper manuscript. It transmits not only the main text of the *Dictionarius* but also a near-complete interlinear translation in French in place of the traditional commentary. In the shoe section, the gloss runs as follows (f. 27v, ll. 5–8):

> Un de nos voisins
> Unus nostrorum vicinorum
> aporte a vendre un ….. [?] solirs hui
> tulit ad vendendum in pertica una sotulares hodie

a lacqes a poulains a plouqules hous.es
ad laqueos liripipiis et ad plusculas tibilalia et
crus..ers <et> les botines de femmes de moine
cruralia, et crepitas femineas et monacalis

The French used in the interlinear glosses does share some similarities to the context glosses found in other manuscripts, for example, the glossing of *sotulares* with *solirs* or the glossing of *tibialia* with a form of *hous*. There are some notable lexical deviations from other commentaries. *Liripipis*, glossed with *pigas* in Cam1, Cam2, Lin, is glossed here with *poulains*, a type of shoe or boot with a long pointed toe that was in fashion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[63] This replaced the earlier *pigace*, which also referenced a shoe with a pointed toe, though this term had been in use since the late twelth century.[64] *Plusculas*, which is glossed in most commentaries with a form of the word *boucle*, has here an unusual spelling in *plouqules*, suggestive of a North-eastern French origin.[65]

The transition from contextual glosses to full interlinear translation may be influenced by the changing use of the vernacular during the period. In England, the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century is the period where we see a rise in composition of language learning material; it is during this time that Barton's *Donoit*

[63] See *DMF poulaine* and *AND poleine*[1]. The term is first attested in the late fourteenth century in both Continental and Anglo-French.

[64] See *AND pigace* attested from 1174–75; it is attested at a similar time in Continental French (Gdf 6,155c *pigace*).

[65] While the form is unattested in the *FEW* (*bŭccula* 1,590b), similar forms in *bl-* are listed which are located in Picard and Flemish regions.

françois, the *Orthographica Gallica* and the *Manières de langage* are composed.[66] It is a period where there is considerable interest in codifying, learning and teaching French, and later copies of Garland's *Dictionarius* may have been a part of this culture. On the continent, however, these types of vernacular grammar seem to have been less common and such extended glossing on a Latin text perhaps unexpected. It may suggest the manuscript was intended for an English audience. However, it may also reflect the rising need for training in both French and Latin within France, supported by the increasing use of the vernacular by the French chancery in the fifteenth century as well as the continued use of Latin in institutions such as the University of Paris (Lusignan 1999).

Par3, the first of two copies of the *Dictionarius* transmitted in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 7679 (15th c.) is another instance of a late text without commentary. In this case, no interlinear material has been added, though the manuscript contains a second copy (Par4) with commentary included. The first copy is unusual in its presentation, written in a single hand, with neither decoration nor any break to indicate a change of chapter. No additional space is left for commentary or interlinear translation. It is unclear what the purpose of such an abbreviated version might have been.

With the exception of Par3, the manuscripts of the *Dictionarius* without commentary feature vernacular translations more extensively than other copies. Bru1 (13th c.) may well represent a version of the *Dictionarius* which John of Garland intended for circulation in England; it resembles other trilingual

[66] The most recent editions of these works are Colombat (2014); Johnston (1987) and Kristol (1995). For details on grammatical writing in English, see Seiler and Studer-Joho (forthcoming, Section 17.4).

manuscripts from England in this period and it may have served similar purposes, i.e. the joint teaching of French and Latin with prompts in English.[67] Lon2 and Lil, on the other hand, are in line with developments in educational practices in the 15th century on both sides of the Channel, pointing to a changing status of the vernacular languages.

Finally, an unusual version of Garland's work, which does not fit into any of the three categories discussed above, can be found in the thirteenth century Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 3630 (Par1), given the title *Dictionarius abreviatus* in the manuscript. The text continues over two folios (41–43v), and presents only glosses taken from the *Dictionarius*, stripped from the text and commentary, finishing with *Explicit dictionarius abreviatus magistri J. de Galandia*. The text offers a series of Latin headwords followed by their French equivalent, beginning with *Acuarium, -rii, gallice aguillier. Sapo-nis, gallice savon* ('needlemaker', 'soap'). Mid-text (f. 42v), the author indicates a change of source and briefly offers some glosses taken from Neckham's *De nominibus utensilium*. The text is presented in a double column format, beginning with a three-line coloured initial and further divided by paragraph marks corresponding to the chapters of the *Dictionarius*. The manuscript is written in an English hand but was held in France, according to a comment on f. 97v *Iste liber est de armariolo sancti Ebrulphi*, identified as the Abbey of Saint-Evroul, a Benedictine abbey in Normandy. By

[67] Many English manuscripts from the 12th and 13th century include glosses in French and English; for a detailed discussion see Hunt (1991, I, 3–55), Rothwell (1993). Stacked French and English glosses are found, for example, in London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. X and London, British Library, Stowe 57.

converting the *Dictionarius* into a glossary of sorts, this version reveals the essentially lexicographic function of the text.

6. Summary and Conclusion

With over thirty surviving copies spanning three centuries of transmission, the *Dictionarius* is one of John of Garland's most popular works. Its popularity may be owed to John's innovative and engaging approach to teaching Latin vocabulary: John takes his pupils on a fictional tour of Paris and names all the things that he encounters. The vocabulary included is that of the everyday, with many of the terms unattested in Classical Latin, something John himself highlights in the opening paragraph and with the title that he gives to his work. Vernacular translations not only aid comprehension, they also support the etymological and morphological discussions of the vocabulary in the commentary sections which accompany the main text in most copies of the *Dictionarius*. The format, but also the use of French as well as English in the commentary sections and glosses clearly had an appeal to teachers and students on both sides of the Channel.

While the main text of the *Dictionarius* is relatively stable, the extant manuscripts are strikingly different in terms of appearance. Such visual differences result from very diverse treatments of the commentary. The majority of manuscripts present the main text of the *Dictionarius* and the commentary in alternating text blocks, usually using a larger and more formal hand for the former and a smaller, less formal hand for the latter sections. Another group of manuscripts presents the main text in a central column and the commentary as marginal additions. This layout is used in some of the earliest copies; with the exception of one manuscript (Bru2), it is also restricted to England. Bru2 is a particularly important manuscript for the transmission of John of Garland's work; it has been closely linked to John with the

glosses found in the manuscript perhaps added by John himself. This evidence suggests that John first drafted the commentary sections as marginal additions, and the text was then reworked into an alternating layout. The different presentations are linked to the status given to the commentary: by moving the commentary sections from its – literally and figuratively speaking – marginal position, the lexicographical discussions become a more integral component of the text. Both types of presentation represent ideal classroom material: pupils might have focused on the main text, while the commentary would have been helpful for a teacher during lessons on the *Dictionarius*. The commentary sections with their translations, at times heavily abbreviated, explanatory notes and references to further scholarship remind us of our own classroom notes (incidentally preserved in a smaller font in the "notes" field of our powerpoint slides). Despite the fact that John presumably first wrote the main text and compiled the commentary only during his time in Toulouse, there is only a small number of copies without any commentary and most of them are later copies. The extensive use of the vernacular in some of them (English in the case of Lon1 and French in Lil) points to changing educational practices with an increasing reliance on the vernacular in learning and teaching Latin in the fifteenth century.

As only a few manuscripts have been edited in full, it is not possible to gauge the extent of textual variation in the commentary at this point, though this will be the focus of our future research. This paper has presented preliminary work on the textual witnesses of the *Dictionarius* as well as a visual analysis of the different linguistic layers of this text; further research will be needed to uncover the intricate relations of the Latin and vernacular material in the commentary and in marginal and interlinear glosses on this fascinating text.

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