

AN UNKNOWN FRAGMENT OF JOHN OF GARLAND'S *COMPENDIUM GRAMATICE*

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This article describes an unknown fragment from John of Garland's *Compendium Gramatice*, found in the Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library in Antwerp.

The Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library in Antwerp holds two large folders containing *membra disiecta* collected from restored historical bindings. Pieter Beullens noticed a bifolium with Latin didactic poetry in dactylic hexameters (shelf mark: Antwerpen, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, A 268907:088). Jordan Loveridge identified the fragment as part of John of Garland's *Compendium Gramatice* (probably composed in the period 1232-34)⁽¹⁾. Steven Van Impe provided the historical details for the printed volume from which the leaves were retrieved.

John of Garland: Life and Intellectual Context

John of Garland was born toward the end of the 12th century, likely 1185-1190. He was educated at Oxford University (1210-1213), studying languages and natural science. John left England early in his life, traveling to Paris, where he wrote some of his earliest works. By 1229, he left once again, this time for Toulouse, where he became a master of grammar. This position was not to occupy John long as he returned to Paris in 1232. While John would travel from time to time, he spent the rest of his life in Paris, where he likely lived until about 1272, though the date of his death is not certain⁽²⁾.

John was the author of numerous works, the most well-known of which are likely his *De triumphis ecclesie* and his *Parisiana poetria* (1231-1235), an ambitious text in the tradition of the *artes poetriae* that combines elements of 12th and 13th century grammatical and rhetorical education⁽³⁾. The *Compendium Gramatice* (1234), like Alexander of Villedieu's *Doctrinale* (1195) and Eberhard of Béthune's *Grecismus* (1212), is a versified grammar, a didactic poem that instructs students in Latin grammar and composition while providing memorable statements to aid in the retention of form and content. John's motivation for writing the *Compendium Gramatice* seems to be correcting perceived errors in earlier versified

(1) Critical edition: *Das Compendium gramatice des Johannes de Garlandia*. Auf der Grundlage aller bekannten Handschriften erstmals herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Thomas HAYE. Köln/Wien, 1995.

(2) See John of Garland, *Morale scolarium of John of Garland*, ed. L.J. PAETOW, Berkeley, 1927, p. 72-96.

(3) See Rita COPELAND and Ineke SLUITER, « John of Garland, *Parisiana Poetria*, CA. 1231-1235 », in *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*. Oxford, 2009, p. 639-656.

grammars, as John accuses Alexander of plagiarism in the *Compendium* and condemns the *Doctrinale* for its poor Latin in the *Morale scolarium*. However, none of the aforementioned works are complete grammars: they depend on a working knowledge of Donatus, and were intended to replace or supplement the more advanced grammatical texts of Priscian as interest in grammatical theory and pedagogy grew in the 13th century. Both the *Doctrinale* and *Grecismus* were thus the subject of pedagogically-focused glosses and commentaries, a trend that is also evident in this previously unknown Antwerp fragment.

The fragment was not used in Haye's edition and is not mentioned in Elsa Marguin-Hamon's study of the manuscript tradition of John of Garland's works⁽⁴⁾. Therefore, the identification of a further witness can be important both for the establishment of the text and for the assessment of the environment in which the manuscripts circulated: « they (...) reflect, in text and gloss alike, the learning of the mid-thirteenth century »⁽⁵⁾.

Physical description

The Antwerp bifolium (A) in its current state measures *ca.* 19 × 27,5 cm. As the upper margin was trimmed to fit the binding to which it was glued, the leaf's original height must have been 20,5 cm. The text is written in single columns of 45 verses on a page. The writing surface covers 17,2 × 5,2 cm. The leaf shows traces of its use in a binding. Its edges are discoloured on three sides and there is some occasional loss of parchment, in particular two thin strips in one side margin. In several lines the ink got detached from the parchment, but the text mostly remains well readable.

The body of the text is written in a clear and neat *littera textualis currens* of the 13th century⁽⁶⁾. The first letter of each verse is outlined to the left and separated by a small space from the rest of the word. Only the first letter of verse 3.1 stands a bit further out to the left. A small space is left for an initial, which is not filled in.

(4) Elsa MARGUIN-HAMON, « Tradition manuscrite de l'œuvre de Jean de Garlande », *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*, n.s., 1, 2006, p. 189-257. Neither Marguin-Hamon nor Haye are aware of the presence of an extract from book II about Greek prepositions in ms. Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Q 108, f. 185r-189v. The same fragment is found in mss Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. 270, f. 11r-13r and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3603, f. 115r-120r. For the Dublin and München mss, see E. MARGUIN-HAMON, « Tradition manuscrite » (*supra* n. 4), p. 210-211 and Th. HAYE, *Das Compendium gramatice des Johannes de Garlandia* (*supra* n. 1), p. 42-44. The Weimar ms. is described by Matthias EIFLER, *Katalog der lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek Weimar, 2. Teil : Quarthandschriften* (published online, <http://bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs//projekt-Weimar-pdfs/Q-108.pdf>, access 9/6/2018).

(5) Lester K. BORN, « The Manuscripts of the Major Grammatical Works of John of Garland : *Compendium Gramatice, Clavis Compendii, Ars Lectoria Ecclesie* », *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 69, 1938, p. 259-273, quotation on p. 260.

(6) Comparable with ms. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L. 191 D, f. 97r, as found in M.G.I. LIEFTINCK, « Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite gothique », in *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IX^e au XVI^e siècle. Premier colloque international de paléographie latine. Paris, 28-30 avril 1953*. Paris, 1954, p. 18 and fig. 16.

Although Haye claims that manuscripts of the *Compendium Gramatice* were « Gebrauchsschriften »⁽⁷⁾, the scribe of the fragment visibly aimed at an elegant result. When the last word of a verse would overrun the right margin of his column, he relegated it to the end of the next line and separated it from the following verse by a paragraph sign. As a result, the letters of that verse are often crammed to fit them into the remaining space. In turn, when a verse was too short to reach the right alignment of the column, the scribe filled it out with one or two ornamental curls to get a consistent layout.

The folios contain two distinct passages from the *Compendium Gramatice*, viz. 2.1427-1521 and 2.1707-3.52. The missing section of 186 verses must have corresponded to another bifolium folded inside this double leaf. Consequently, fragment A is likely to have formed the inner bifolium but one of a gathering.

There are many marginal and interlinear notes in several hands. Verses 2.1481 and 2.1510 were initially omitted by the scribe, who supplemented them in the margins after correction. Other hands added marginal and interlinear notes, mostly clarifying terms from the poem, e.g. *vicia* to explain *maculas* (3.12 and 3.44), *elegantia* for *nobilitate* (3.17) and *quamvis* for *liceat* (2.1717). The margin at 2.1487 contains the longer note *elinguis est qui non bene utitur officia (sic!) sue lingue*.

Provenance

The origin of the bifolium can be traced to EHC volume F 4536, which contains two printed books:

- F 4536:a = Joannes Herolt, *Sermones discipuli, et de tempore et de sanctis*. Colonie: in officina Henrici Quentell, 1504 (USTC 693704)

- F 4536:b = [Petrus de Palude], *Sermones quadragesimales thesauri novi*. Argentine: [Martin I Flach], 1497 (ISTC ip00508000)

These are in an early 16th-century binding, brown leather over wooden boards, with traces of (leather?) clasps and traces of furniture, blind tooled with quadruple lines forming squares and rhombuses. Surprisingly, the back and front covers are different: the front cover has four stamps of « petits fers », possibly added later, the back cover is filled with « petits fers » of three designs: pineapple, rose and thistle. During the restauration in which the fragment was found the book was completely rebacked and partly resewn. The front pastedown was replaced with modern paper, the back pastedown is in parchment. It must therefore be assumed that the bifolium was taken from the front of the book.

Unusually for a « Sammelband », the title page of F 4536:b, the second item in the volume, bears provenance marks. These were probably added before both books were bound in the same cover. The provenance marks of F 4536:b have the names of frater Joannes Angiensis, O.P., and, later, frater Petrus Valckenborch. The first book, F 4536:a, also has the name of Petrus Valckenborch. Later (in the 17th century), it was part of the library of the convent of the beggars of Antwerp. One of the oldest monastic foundations of Antwerp, the beggars had joined the Chapter of Zepperen, aligning themselves with the

(7) Th. HAYE, *Das Compendium gramatice des Johannes de Garlandia* (supra n. 1), p. 17, n. 4.

Third Order of Saint Francis. Traditionally, beggars made a living by weaving and copying books⁽⁸⁾. This may explain their penchant to collect books; according to Prims, the library was accessible to scholars and it seems to have survived the protestant period without much damage⁽⁹⁾. It is no coincidence, then, that the library was one among those seized by the French in 1796, to be added to the library of the *Ecole centrale*. A few years later, this collection was transferred to the municipality, where it became part of the Antwerp City Library, now Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library⁽¹⁰⁾.

It was probably Petrus Valckenborch, whoever he was, who had both books bound together. However, because of the difference between front and back cover, it is difficult to assess if the book was later tampered with. We know that the book was in this binding by 1919 when Emmanuel de Bom described it in his catalogue⁽¹¹⁾. It does not seem that previous librarians had the inclination to mix up bindings. Unfortunately, this means that the connection between the bifolium fragment and this book is uncertain for the earlier period.

Considering that the Antwerp convent of the beggars may have been involved in the binding of the books and the use of the parchment in that process, 44 other volumes from the Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library with a documented provenance from the library of that convent, all dating from the 15th through the 18th century, were examined. None of them contained traces of other leaves from the same manuscript.

As for the origin of the manuscript itself, the interlinear notes above verse 3.43 might prove to be instructive. John's wordplay on *cuculus* (« cuckoo ») and *cucullus* (« monk's hood ») is respectively glossed as *Gal(lice?) cucu* and *cuuel*. The first word must be the modern French *coucou*, the latter a variant for the middle Dutch *covel*⁽¹²⁾. In his apparatus, Haye refers to analogous glosses *Est quedam avis, gallice cucuel* in *G* (= ms. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 593/453) and *gunele* in *B* (= ms. Brugge, Stadsbibliotheek, 546)⁽¹³⁾. Traces of readers with knowledge of French and Dutch could point to a Flemish circulation of the manuscript.

Stemma codicum

Fragment *A* contains numerous individual variants of little weight, as they betray different orthographical choices. However, some are decisive enough to exclude the possibility that it was in its original composition used as the model of any of the other extant manuscripts.

(8) M.J. MARINUS, *De contrareformatie te Antwerpen (1585-1676). Kerkelijk leven in een grootstad*. Brussel, 1995, p. 183-184.

(9) F. PRIMIS, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen*, Antwerpen, 1977-1985, vol. VIIb, p. 514-517.

(10) S. VAN IMPE, « The Special Collections of the Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library (Antwerp), result of a long history », *Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België*, 84, 2013, p. 129-141.

(11) E. DE BOM and H. POTMEYER, *De incunabelen of wiegedrukken van de hoofdbibliotheek der stad Antwerpen*. 's-Gravenhage, 1919, p. 22-23.

(12) E. VERWIJS, J. VERDAM, *Middelnederlandsch woordenboek*, vol. 3. 's-Gravenhage, 1894, col. 2007-2010, s.v. *covel* (also online <http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=23617&lemmodern=kovel,%20keuvel>, access 24/6/2018).

(13) Th. HAYE, *Das Compendium gramatice des Johannes de Garlandia* (*supra* n. 1), p. 168.

2.1439-40	<i>om.</i> <i>A</i>
2.1450	reliquis] liquis <i>A</i>
2.1451	choorti] coorti <i>A</i>
2.1452	preter <i>om. a.c. a.m. A</i>
2.1460-61	<i>om.</i> <i>A</i>
2.1469	abstrahit] abstrait <i>a.c. a.m. A</i>
2.1470	te] re <i>A</i>
2.1477	reatum] beatum <i>a.c. a.m. A</i>
2.1483	partitur] patitur <i>a.c. a.m. A</i>
2.1491	exurens] exurit <i>A</i>
2.1495	ex] e <i>A</i>
2.1511	sic] post <i>A</i>
2.1512-13	<i>halfverses interchanged</i>
2.1518	sub] cum <i>A</i>
2.1729	idem <i>om. a.c. a.m. A</i>
2.1736	subdisiungitur] subiungitur <i>A</i>
2.1737-38	<i>verses interchanged</i>
3.10	faciet] facient <i>A</i>
3.16	remouent <i>iter. a.c. A</i>
3.19	redimit] redemit <i>A</i>
3.24	cacemphaton] cacenphaton <i>A</i>
3.27	perysologia] perisologia <i>A</i>
3.28	tautologia] tantologia <i>A</i>
3.32	cacosinteton] cacosinheton <i>A</i>
3.40	subtrahimus] detrahimus <i>a.c. a.m. A</i>
3.47	si] sed <i>A</i>

Fragment *A* shares some significant variants with *C* (= ms. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 385/605).

2.1518	hic] hinc <i>AC</i>
2.1724	illud] istud <i>AC</i>
2.1736	poteris] potes huic <i>AC</i>

However, there are enough individual variants in *C* to exclude that it was the model from which *A* was directly copied.

2.1441	ac] sic <i>C</i>
2.1442	sic] sicut <i>C</i>
2.1480	designat] demonstrat <i>C</i>

There is a single reading where *A* is in line with *B* (= ms. Brugge, Stadsbibliotheek, 546) before its correction, but it must be a mistake of a palaeographical order with little weight to it.

2.1736	nequa] nequam <i>AB^{ac}</i>
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Conclusion

Fragment *A* does not present new material for the establishment of the text of John of Garland's *Compendium gramatice*, yet it provides additional evidence for the early spread of this work among 13th-century students. Its text displays some similarities with the read-

ings of *C*, although in its complete form it must have been an independent copy. As it apparently was disbound and re-used in a binder's shop in the 15th or 16th century, there is the distinct possibility that more folios of the same manuscript turn up from bindings of other early printed books.

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article décrit un fragment inconnu du *Compendium Gramaticae* de Jean de Garlande, conservé à la Bibliothèque Patrimoniale Hendrik Conscience à Anvers.