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A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE EARLY PRINTED LONG ACCIDENCE GRAMMAR

HEDWIG GWOSDEK
TÜBINGEN, GERMANY

The early printing trade gradually responded to a growing demand for grammatical texts by English grammar schools, teachers and pupils in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when a large number of such schools were founded and endowed, and an increasing interest and growth in educational opportunities is evident.\(^1\) Treatises in English on elementary Latin grammar, that is, on morphology, syntax and vocabulary, became available in print and gradually gained influence in teaching and learning, replacing manuscript treatises in the course of time.\(^2\) Several versions of different short grammatical tracts became available in printed form and were frequently reprinted by different presses according to the demands of those who used them. The Accidence, an English adaptation of Donatus’s Ars minor, was the most elementary of the tracts by which Latin teaching was begun at grammar schools. This treatise is extant in three printed versions, the Long accidence, the Short accidence\(^3\) and the Accidence, which is the longest of them. In all probability more of these printed versions once existed. Each of the extant printed versions, surviving as they do in a differing number of successive editions, represented by complete copies or fragments, owe their survival to accident. They represent a very small portion of an unknown total, most of which must have

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\(^3\) For editions of these two versions see H. Gwosdek (ed.), Early printed editions of the ‘Long accidence’ and ‘Short accidence’ grammars (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1991). (These versions are referred to hereafter as LA and SA grammars.) They are compared to the Accedence manuscripts in Ibid., ‘Subject matter and its arrangement in the Accedence manuscripts and the early printed Long accidence and Short accidence grammars’, Leeds Studies in English, new series, 24 (1993), 133–53.
De secunda coniugatione.

modo tpe psti £ preterito impsecto amari. Pto psecto £
pluspsecto amatü esse vel futur. Futuro amatum tert.
C Duo participia trahunt ab hoc verbo passivo preteriti
et futuri: preteriti est amatus: futuri est amandus.
C De secunda coniugatione.
C Indicativum modo tempore presenti.

Deco doces docet. Et plb docemus docetis docen.
Pto impsecto docebas docebatur. Et
plb docebamus docebatis docebat. Pto perfecto docui
docuisti docuit. Et plb docuimus docuissis docuisset vel
docuere. Preterito plus ci perfecto docuerat docuera docuere.
Et plb docueramus docueratis docuerant. Fu-
turo docebo docebis docet.

C Impattuo modo tempore presenti ab sec-
cund a tertia persona doce docet. Et plb docemus doc-
ceto doceat. Futuro doceto tu vel ille. Et plb docemus
docetomin docento vel docentote. C Optatiuuo modo tpe
psti £ pto impsecto vtina docer docer docer docer docer.
Et plb
vtinam doceremus retis rent. Pto perfecto £ plus ci
pecto vtina docuissi fles flet. Et plb vtina flesmus fles-
tis rent. Futuro vtina doceas as at. Et plb vtina docemus
mus atis ant. C Coniunctio modo tpe psti cu doceas as
at. Et plb cu docemus atis ant. Pto impsecto cu docer
cesret. Et plb cu doceremus retis rent. Pto psecto cu do-
cuerim ris rit. Et plb cu docuerimus retis frit. Pto plus
pecto cu docuisses les let. Et plb cu docuerimus setis
sent. Futuro cu docuer cir rit. Et plb cu docuerimus ris-
tis rint. C Infinitivo modo tpe psti £ pto impsecto do-
cere. Pto psecto et plus ci psecto docuissle. Futuro docto-
tre vel docturi esse. C Gerundia vel participia verba
funt hec doced amplum. Supina sunt hec docui docu.
Duo participia trahunt ab hoc verbo actiui pustis tis
&t futur; presentis est docens: futuri est docturus.

Donatus minor cum Remigio, Wynkyn de Worde [1508-09]: Manchester,
John Rylands University Library, 9765, fo. b2v
Accidence.

eare and fully the signification of the berbe. How many thynges long to an aduerbe.iii. whiche.iii. Signification coparlypse figure. How many adverbs of places ben there.iii. whiche.iii. Unde stro whens Ubi where. Quo whether. Qua wherby. versus.

Unde ubi quo vel qua loca querunt quattuor icta Quo petit ad/qua per/in ubi/bnde petit de How many degrees of coparison ben there.iii. whiche iii. The positiv as docte the coparlyps as doctius the superlativ as doctisline.

Of partycple.

Now knowest a participle. soz he is a parte of realo declined with case that taketh part of a. nowne/parte of a berbe/pde of bothe. what taketh he of a nowne/gendre. case. what of berbe tyme. signification. what of bothe. nome and figure. How many thinges lõge to a participle. vi. which. vi. Ge: dze/case/tyme/significacio nobre. figure. How many gendres ben thers in a pytctype. iii. The masculpne, as electus. the femynynpe, as lecta. the neutre. as lectum/the compn/as hic hec hoc legends. How many cases ben theyr in a partycple. vi. as in a nowne. How many tens ben theyr in a partycple. iii. whiche iii. The present tens. the preter tens. the futur tens. How many maner of picypples ben theyr. iii. whiche iii. The participle of the present tens a participle of preter tens. a participle of the fyrst future. on other of the later future. Now knowest a participle of ȝ present tens By his englyche. ȝ by his latin. How by his englyche. ȝz his englysshe endeth in ynge oz in and as lounge louande and his latin endeth in ans oz in

Long Accidence [John Rastell, ?1509]: Manchester, John Rylands University Library, 9765, fo. b3r
perished altogether, mostly due to the nature of schoolbooks and to the fact that they became outdated.

For this reason the new fragment reported here is of interest and it is a remarkable find. It is located in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester. It belongs to the \textit{LA} version recorded as item 23153.8 in the revision of the \textit{Short-title catalogue} \cite{4}. These two leaves were printed in c.1509, probably by John Rastell in London, and represent a separate edition of the \textit{LA}, extant editions of which bridge a period from c.1495 to 1519. Each further edition of this treatise which comes to light will not only reveal new characteristics typical of the individual edition, but to some extent it will also modify the picture of the whole series of extant editions of a version in a way which will provide new insight into the production and usage of these schoolbooks and their role in elementary education.

The two extant leaves, which bear the signatures b3 and b4, contain the following consecutive passage of the whole \textit{LA} text: the discussion of the adverb, except for about the first two lines; the full discussion of the participle and the conjunction; and about the first sixth of the discussion of the preposition. By comparison with the layout of the text and its distribution on the pages in the preceding and following editions, it can be assumed that gathering b originally consisted of six leaves, preceded by gathering a, probably consisting of eight leaves.\cite{5}

The two extant leaves are bound in place of the original leaves b3 and b4 in an edition of the Latin grammar \textit{Donatus minor cum Remigio}, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in Fleet Street in London, in about 1508–09.\cite{6} In terms of content, they do not fit into the gap in the Latin text, which ends on folio b2v with the discussion of the second conjugation of the active voice of the verb \textit{docere} and continues after the two missing leaves with the discussion of the fourth conjugation of the passive voice of the verb \textit{audire}.

It is obvious that the binder of the Latin grammar was governed solely by signatures when assembling pages in front of him into the right order. The first leaf of the \textit{Donatus}, which collates

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{4} Editions of the three versions are listed in W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and K.F. Pantzer, \textit{A short-title catalogue of books printed in England \ldots 1475–1640}, 3 vols, second edition, revised and enlarged (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91), ii, 23139.5 to 23155.2, 359–360. The new fragment, 23153.8, is listed in vol. iii, 309, sub 'Stanbridge'. (Hereafter \textit{STC}).
  \item \textsuperscript{5} For this collation see the descriptions and Plate I of the complete texts A, B, and E in my \textit{Early printed editions}, 37–41, 44–5, and 89–93.
  \item \textsuperscript{6} See \textit{STC} 7016.4, i, 315, sub 'Donatus, Aelius'. The two mutilated copies of b3,4, Oxford, Bodleian Library, \textsuperscript{4} Rawlinson 598 (9), from this edition or another of the same collation were not available for me to examine. For fuller bibliographical details of the \textit{LA} fragment embedded in this edition of the Donatus text, see the description below.
  \item \textsuperscript{7} On the gathering of sheets and binding of books, see P. Gaskell, \textit{A new introduction to bibliography}. Reprinted with corrections (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 143–53.
\end{itemize}
LONG ACCIDENCE GRAMMAR

a\(^6\) b\(^6\), contains the title-page and remains unsigned. Only the third folio of the a-gathering and the first two folios of the b-gathering are signed. These signatures consist of small letters and lower-case Roman numerals, the latter being enclosed within full-stops and ending with an elongated final \(i\) (e.g. \(b,i,i\)). The two leaves of the English grammar now bound in gathering b continue the sequence of the lower-case Roman numerals, but leaf b\(^3\) is signed with a small letter b and three identical lower-case Roman numerals, and only one full-stop is used to separate the small letter from the numeral \((b,iii)\), as is shown by the reproduction on page 189. Consequently the b-gathering of the Donatus is signed 1-3, whereas in the a-gathering only the third leaf is signed. However, the mistake made by the binder, the warehouseman or whoever set out the sheets in signature order, helped preserve part of a copy of an otherwise unknown edition of the LA, additional to the eight previously known editions of this schooltext.\(^8\) We cannot know when the LA fragment was bound into the Donatus, but it seems likely that it was a mistake made when the book was bound for the first time, where b leaves from one unbound book were accidentally confused with b leaves from another. This, at least, gives evidence that these editions of the two elementary schoolbooks were available at the same time and probably bound in the same shop.

This fragment, which is interesting for its own sake as one of the two earliest printed works at present known by John Rastell,\(^9\) also represents one of the probably many successive stages by which these short grammars were produced in different printing-houses. The new edition, which I have designated DD, can be dated c.1509 on typographical evidence, and precedes the text designated E in the chronological order of editions. As for the transmission of this version, individual editions of the LA were frequently reprinted throughout the first two decades of the sixteenth century, and probably some time beyond, on the basis of printed copy-texts. It was much less effort to the compositor, saved time, and also helped reduce costs, to set up the text from a printed copy rather than go back to a manuscript. Consequently a version which was already available in print was reprinted and could become dominant due to the quantity of copies produced as a result. But leaving aside the typographical presentation of each edition, which reflects printing-

\(^8\) Compare the text of the two facing pages of the Donatus minor cum Remigio, fo. b\(^2\), and the Long accidence, fo. b\(^3\), in the reproduction above, 188-9.

house strategies at the time the text was issued, and also the signs of use in some copies, e.g. manuscript notes and corrections, the actual text of each edition preserves varying stages of revision, resulting from influence of the copy-text, possible corrections from other sources, and also smaller additions, omissions and linguistic changes made by the compositor.

The process of textual transmission from the first to the last extant edition of the LA version is by no means linear, though all the texts are closely related to one another. Text DD was printed in about 1509, a time when the printed editions of the various different versions of the Accidence grammar were gaining influence, and when the range of printed schoolbooks being issued from London and Antwerp presses about this time was generally increasing. The first two extant editions of the LA, A and B, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in Westminster, can be dated about 1495 and 1499 respectively and reveal a close typographical and textual relationship. The subsequent editions reprinted by different printers in London and Antwerp in the first two decades of the sixteenth century indicate that there was an enormous demand and hence a market for these schooltexts, which could not be satisfied only by presses situated in England, but the later of these editions no longer reveal a straightforward textual relationship, and it is not possible to make conjectures on the subject on the strength of the very scanty material at our disposal. In brief, the edition designated C, following de Worde’s two editions, was probably printed by William Faques and can be dated about 1504. The next two extant editions were printed in Antwerp, D by Jan van Doesborch in about 1509 and E by Godfrey Back in about 1510. In 1513 the text was again reprinted by Wynkyn de Worde in an edition designated F, and there was evidently so much demand that he again reprinted it in about 1518. A number of intermediate editions by various early printers, including probably again de Worde, may be assumed for this period. Another reprint from Henry Pepwell’s press in 1519 represents the latest of the editions of this version which are known at present. The two leaves of a previously unknown LA edition reported here, provide further evidence that these elementary schoolbooks met the needs of grammar schools in England at that time, and additionally illustrate what was probably a very early attempt at printing by John Rastell.

10 See my Early printed editions, 104-108.

Collation. 4°, fragment, leaves b3 and b4 only, unfoliated.

Contents. [Heading b3:] Accidence. [Begins b3, line 1:] care and fulfyl the signification of the verbe. How many thynges [Ends b4, line 31:] Da āpositiones caus us accūatiui. vt ad apud. etc.

Typography. Types: Textura 93a. 31 lines of print on each page, plus running head. Dimension of full page of type, as b3, approximately 97 mm across and 143 mm from top to bottom. The running head is identical on both leaves. The only signature appears on b3. It consists of lower-case letter b, plus lower-case Roman numeral with a stop after the letter. The lines of the recto and verso pages of both leaves are not in register. Horizontal chain lines. No watermark. Punctuation marks: point (modern position), virgule, hyphen (double form).

Ownership and References. These two leaves are bound in gathering b in place of the original leaves b3 and b4 of an edition of the Latin grammar *Donatus minor cum Remigio, 4°*, *London, Wynkyn de Worde, [1508–09.]*. Its half-leather binding dates from the late eighteenth century, is green in colour, and the sides are covered with Dutch marbled paper. The signature of S.W.H. Ireland occurs at the head of the title-page of the *Donatus*. George John, second Earl Spencer (1758–1834), acquired the book for his library at Althorp probably at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was John Poyntz, fifth Earl Spencer, who sold the Spencer Collection to Mrs Rylands in 1892, who in turn presented it to Manchester for the library named after her husband.12

*STC*2 23153.8 (within *STC*2 7016.4).

Manchester, John Rylands University Library, 9765.13

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13 I am grateful to Mr D.W. Riley of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester for information about this book. Dr O.S. Pickering of the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, has kindly commented upon this article.