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The *Bulletin* publishes methodological, interpretative or substantive articles in any subject area from the arts and social studies (understood in the broadest possible sense) and on the historical or philosophical aspects of the natural and physical sciences. In selecting contributions, special interest will always be shown in those which are of an interdisciplinary nature and/or which incorporate the results of research on the extensive collections of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester. One of the three issues in each volume will be devoted to a particular theme, and the General Editor will be pleased to receive suggestions about possible themes, guest editors and individual authors for such issues.

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A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE EARLY PRINTED *LONG ACCIDENCE* GRAMMAR

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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

¹ For the growing interest in education and the large number of school foundations during the decades before the Reformation, especially from about the 1480s, see N.I. Orme, *English schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973), 194–223; *Ibid.*, 'Schools and society from the twelfth century to the Reformation', *Education and society in medieval and Renaissance England* (London and Ronceverte: Hambledon Press, 1989), 13–21; J.A. Hoepfner Moran, *The growth of English schooling, 1340–1548* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), especially 82–122, and 221–6.

² For manuscript treatises see D. Thomson, *A descriptive catalogue of Middle English grammatical texts* (New York and London: Garland, 1979); *Ibid.* (ed.), *An edition of the Middle English grammatical texts* (New York and London: Garland, 1984); and C.R. Bland (ed.), *The teaching of grammar in late medieval England: an edition, with commentary, of Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat. 130* (East Lansing, Mich.: Colleagues Press, 1991).

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 *Accidence* manuscripts in *Ibid.*, 'Subject matter and its arrangement in the *Accidence* 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 pñti & p̄terito imp̄fecto amari. P̄tō p̄fecto & plusq̄p̄fecto amatū esse vel fuisse. Futuro amatum iri. ¶ Duo participia trahunt ab hoc verbo passiuo p̄teriti et futuri: p̄teriti vt amatus: futuri vt amandus.

De secunda coniugatione.

¶ Indicatiuo modo tempore p̄sentī.

Doceo doces docet. Et pl̄t docemus docetis docent. P̄tō imp̄fecto docebā docebas docebat. Et pl̄t docebamus docebatis docebāt. P̄tō p̄fecto docui docuisti docuit. Et pl̄t docuimus docuistis docuerūt vel docuere. P̄terito plusq̄p̄fecto docuerā docueras docuerat. Et pl̄t docueramus docueratis docuerant. Futuro docebo docebis docebit. Et pl̄t docebimus docebitis docebūt. ¶ Imp̄atiuo modo tempore p̄sentī ad secundā & terciā personā doce doceat. Et pl̄t doceamus docete doceāt. Futuro doceto tu vel ille. Et pl̄t doceamus docetote docento vel docentote. ¶ Optatiuo modo tpe pñti & p̄tō imp̄fecto vtinā docerē doceres doceret. Et pl̄t vtinam doceremus retis rent. P̄tō p̄fecto & plusq̄p̄fecto vtinā docuissem illes sset. Et pl̄t vtinā ssemus ssetis ssent. Futuro vtinā doceā as at. Et pl̄t vtinā doceamus atis ant. ¶ Cōiunctiuo modo tpe pñti cū doceā as at. Et pl̄t cū doceamus atis ant. P̄tō imp̄fecto cū docerē res ret. Et pl̄t cū doceremus retis rent. P̄tō p̄fecto cū docuerim ris rit. Et pl̄t cū docuerimus ritis rint. P̄tō plusq̄p̄fecto cū docuissez ses set. Et pl̄t cū docuissemus setis sent. Futuro cū docuero ris rit. Et pl̄t cū docuerimus ritis rint. ¶ Infinitiuo modo tpe pñti & p̄tō imp̄fecto docere. P̄tō p̄fecto et plusq̄p̄fecto docuisse. Futuro doctū ire vel docturū esse. ¶ Gerundia vel participalia verba sunt hec docēdi do dum. Supina sunt hec doctū doctū. Duo participia trahunt ab hoc verbo actiuo pñtis t̄pis & futuri: p̄sentis vt docens: futuri vt docturus.

Accidence.

care and fulfyl the significatiō of the verbe. How many thynges long to an aduerbe. iiii. whiche. iiii. Significatiō cōparysō & figure. How many ad̄bes of places ben there. iiii. which. iiii. Unde fro whens Ubi where. Duo whether. Qua wherby. versus.

Unde vbi quo vel qua loca querunt quattuor ista

Duo petit ad/qua per/in vbi/vnde petit de

How many degrees of cōparyson ben there. iiii. which iiii. The positif as docte the cōparatyf as Doctius the superlatyf as doctissime.

Of particyple.

How knowest a particyple. for he is a parte of nouns declined with case that taketh part of a. nowne/parte of a verbe/pte of bothe. what taketh he of a nowne/gendze. & case. what of verbe tyme & significayon. what of bothe. nombze and figure. How many thynges lōge to a particyple. vi. which. vi. Gēdze/case/tyme/significatiō nōbze & figure. How many gēdzes ben thzcpin a ptycple. iiii. which. iiii. The masculyne. as lectus. the femynyne. as lecta. the neutre. as lectum/the comyn/as hic hec hoc legens. How many cases ben theyr in a particyple. vi. as in a nowne How many tens ben theyr in a particyple. iiii. whiche iiii. The p̄sent tens. the p̄ter tens. the futur tens. How many maner of p̄tycples ben theyr. iiii. whiche iiii. The particyple of the p̄sent tens a particyple of p̄ter tens. a particyple of the fyrst future. & an other of the later future. How knowest a particyple of p̄ p̄sent tens Sp his englyshe & by his latin. How by his englyshe. for his englyshe endeth in ynge or in and as louynge louande and his latin endeth in ans or in b.iii.

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 *LA* version recorded as item 23153.8 in the revision of the *Short-title catalogue*.⁴ These two leaves were printed in c.1509, probably by John Rastell in London, and represent a separate edition of the *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 *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.⁵ The two extant leaves are bound in place of the original leaves b3 and b4 in an edition of the Latin grammar *Donatus minor cum Remigio*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in Fleet Street in London, in about 1508–09.⁶ In terms of content, they do not fit into the gap in the Latin text, which ends on folio b2^v with the discussion of the second conjugation of the active voice of the verb *docere*⁷ and continues after the two missing leaves with the discussion of the fourth conjugation of the passive voice of the verb *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 *Donatus*, which collates

⁴ Editions of the three versions are listed in W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and K.F. Pantzer, *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England . . . 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 *STC*²).

⁵ For this collation see the descriptions and Plate I of the complete texts A, B, ‘and E in my *Early printed editions*, 37–41, 44–5, and 89–93.

⁶ See *STC*² 7016.4, i, 315, sub ‘Donatus, Aelius’. The two mutilated copies of b3,4, Oxford, Bodleian Library, 4^o 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 *LA* fragment embedded in this edition of the *Donatus* text, see the description below.

⁷ On the gathering of sheets and binding of books, see P. Gaskell, *A new introduction to bibliography*. Reprinted with corrections (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 143–53.

a⁶ b⁶, 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.ij.*). The two leaves of the English grammar now bound in gathering b continue the sequence of the lower-case Roman numerals, but leaf b3 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. b2^v, and the *Long accidence*, fo. b3^r, in the reproduction above, 188-9.

⁹ The new fragment together with a Yearbook [1 Edw. V and 1 Ric. III.] Incipit annus primus E quinti. (Incipit annus primus Ricardi tercij.) fo. [J. Rastell, ?1509] (=STC² 9895, i. 445), represent the earliest known printed works of John Rastell; see STC², iii, sub 'Rastell, John', Index 1: Printers and Publishers, 142. For recent biographical information about John Rastell, see A.J. Geritz (ed.), *The pastyme of people and A new boke of purgatory* (New York and London, 1985), 3-15.

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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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.

¹¹ For the frequent printing and growing influence of schooltexts about 1510, see Orme, 'Schools and society from the twelfth century to the Reformation', 17–18; *Ibid.*, 'Martin Coeffin, the first Exeter publisher', *The Library*, sixth series, x, 3 (1988), 229; Hoepfner Moran, *The growth of English schooling*, 211–14; and P.J.A. Franssen, 'Jan van Doesborch (?–1536), printer of English texts', *Quaerendo*, 16, 4 (1986), 262–4.

DD Another edition of the *Long accidence*, attributed to John Stanbridge, [London, John Rastell, ?1509]

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

Contents. [Heading b3:] Accidence. [Begins b3, line 1:] care and fulfyl the ſignificatiō of the verbe. How ma|ny thynges [Ends b4^v, line 31:] Da p̄pofitiones caſus accuſatiui. 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

STC² 23153.8 (within STC² 7016.4).

Manchester, John Rylands University Library, 9765.¹³

¹² See A. Lister, 'The Althorp Library of second Earl Spencer, now in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester: its formation and growth', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 71, 2 (1989), 67–86.

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.