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. 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. 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, 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


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 pisti et pretecto implocto amari. Pto plecto et plusplpecto amari et de vel suisse. Futuro amatum est.

Duo participia trahunt ab hoc verbo patuii pteriti et futuri: pretenti et amatus: futuri et amandus.

De secunda coniugatione.

Indicativum modo tempore presenti.

Ddeo doce docet. Et plb docemus docetis do-

cent. Pto implocto doceba docebas docebat. Et

plde docebamus docebatis docebant. Pto perfecto docui

doqui docuit et plb docuitus docuisset docuet vel

doceere. Pterielo plusplperfecto docueri doceeras do

cuerat. Et plb docueramus docueratis docuerant. Fu-
turo doceba docebis docebnt. Et plb docebimus doceba-
tis docebnt. Impatium modo tempore presenti ad se-
cundam tertiam personam doce doceat. Et plb docemus do
cete doceat. Futuro doceto tu vel ille.

Et plb doceamus docetone docento vel docentote. Optativum modo tpe psti et plb implecto

vtinam doceret docere docere docet. Et plb

vtinam doceramus retis rent. Pto perfecto et pluspl
perfecto vtinam docuisset fes let. Et plb vtinam stlus
stis stent. Futuro vtinam doceas as at. Et plb

tinam docemus atis ant. Cointunctorum modo tpe psti cui docea as at. Et plb cui
docemus atis ant. Pto implocto cui docere

restet. Et plb cui docemus retis rent. Pto plecto cui do

cuerim ris rit. Et plb cui docerimus ritis rint. Pto plu

plocto cui docueret fes let. Et plb cui docerimus retis

stent. Futuro cui docuero ris rint. Et plb cui docerimus retis rint. Infini-

tiu modod tpe psti et plb implocto docu-

ere. Pto plecto et plusplocto docuille. Futuro docu-
tre vel docturi esse. Cetera sunt participia verba

funt hec docti doctus. Duo participia trahunt ab hoc verbo actius pstitstipst

st futuri: presentes et docer docent: futuri et doctus.

Donatus minor cum Remigio, Wynkyn de Worde [1508-09]: Manchester,

John Rylands University Library, 9765, fo. b2v
Accidence.

care and fully the signification of the verbe. How many thynges long to an abuerbe. iii. which. iii. Signification coparlylo & figure. How many adjectives of places ben there. iii. which. iii. Unde scro whens Ubi where. Quo whether Qua wherby versus. Unde Ubi quo vel qua loca quervunt quattuoz ista. Quo petit ad/qua per/in Ubi/ynde petit de. How many degrees of coparlyson ben there. iii. which. iii. The posypt as docte the coparlypl as doctius the superlatyp as dictisime.

Of partypople. 

Now knowest a partypple. so2 he is a parte of reals declined with case that taketh part of. nowne/parte of a verbe/prc of bothe. what taketh he of a nowne/gendze/x case. what of verbe tyne z signification. what of bothe nombres and figure. How many thinges lorge to a partypple. bi. which. bi. Gendze/case/tyne/significaci5 nöbze z figure. How many gendzes ben thexcin a partypple. iii. which. iii. The masculyne. as lectus. the semynynne. as lecta. the neutre. as lectum/the compyn/as hie hce hoc legens. How many cæses ben thecx in a partypple. bi. as in a nowne. How many tens ben thecx in a partypple. iii. which. iii. The present tens. the preter tens. the futur tens. How many manner of partyples ben thecx. iii. which. iii. The partycple of the present tens a partycple of preter tens. a partycple of the yz fi future. z an other of the later future. How knowest a partycple of z present tens By his englyshe x by his latin. How by his englyshe. for his englyshe endeth in ynge oz in and as loynge louande and his latin endeth in ans oz in b.:;
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. 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. 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. 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 docere 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...
LONG ACCIDENCE GRAMMAR

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. b2r, and the Long accidence, fo. b3r, 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.
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; Hoeppner 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.

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

[Heading b3:] Accidence. [Begins b3, line 1:] care and fulfyl the significatio of the verbe. How ma|ny thynges [Ends b4v, line 31:] Da ïposi|tiones ca|lus accu|atiui. vt ad apud. etc.

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).

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

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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.