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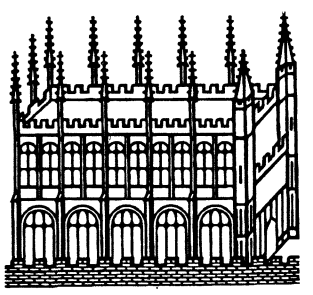

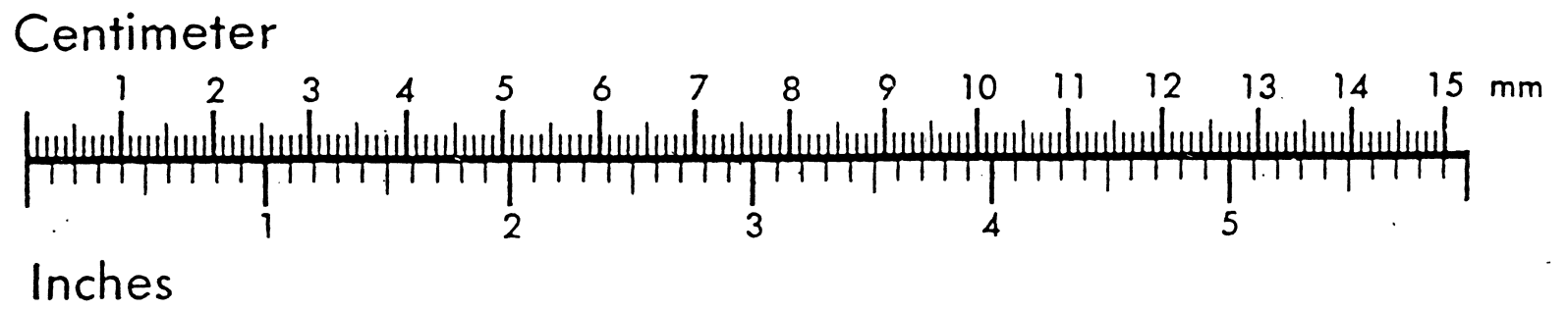

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A
STUDY OF THE
MIDDLE ENGLISH TREATISES
ON GRAMMAR

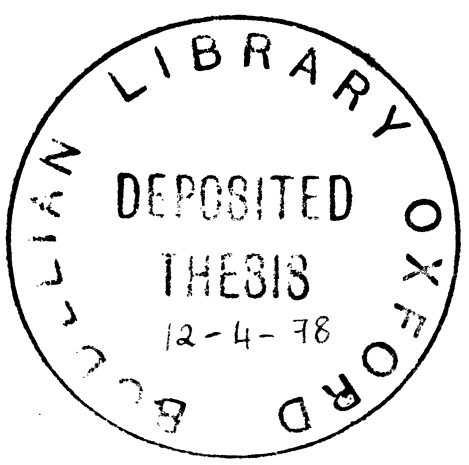
Thesis presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Oxford

by

DAVID THOMSON
Keble College

1977 [i.e. 1978] MT

PART ONE



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REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Internal references

This thesis is divided into three parts. Reference to the first part is by chapter and section of chapter (e.g. 1.2); reference to the second part is by text siglum and line number (e.g. A70); reference to the third part is by manuscript short title, usually given with an item number (e.g. Peniarth(8)). The sigla for texts (A - LL) are detailed on the contents page of part two, and again in 1.3. The manuscript short titles are as follows:

Short title	Shelfmark		
NLW	Aberystwyth,	National Library of Wales	MS NLW 423D
Peniarth			MS Peniarth 356B
Corpus	Cambridge,	Corpus Christi College	MS 233
Caius		Gonville & Caius College	MS 417/447
St. John's		St. John's College	MS F 26
Trinity		Trinity College	MS O.5.4
CUL		University Library	MS Add. 2830
TCD	Dublin,	Trinity College	MS 430
Durham	Durham,	Cathedral Library	MS B.IV.19
Lincoln	Lincoln,	Cathedral Library	MS 88
12195	London,	British Library	MS Add. 12195
19046			MS Add. 19046
37075			MS Add. 37075
Arundel			MS Arundel 249
Harley			MS Harley 1002
Harley 1742			MS Harley 1742
PRO		Public Record Office	MS C 47/34/13
Norwich	Norwich,	Norfolk Record Office	MS Colman 111
Digby	Oxford,	Bodleian Library	MS Digby 26
Douce			MS Douce 103
Douce Pr. Bk.			Pr. Bk. Douce D 238(2)
Hatton			MS Hatton 58
Rawlinson			MS Rawlinson D 328
Worcester	Worcester,	Cathedral Library	MS F 123

In addition the following short titles are used for lost MSS described in the last section of part 3:

Syon	London, Syon Abbey MS A 63
Jesus	Oxford, Jesus College MS 14
Winchester	Winchester, Winchester College *libri grammaticales* (12)

External references

Manuscripts, other than those listed above, are referred to by shelfmark, and are indexed in the first section of the bibliography. When referring to folios, the abbreviation 'fol(s).' is used followed by the folio number, by 'r' or 'v' for recto and verso, and - if appropriate - by 'a' or 'b' for first and second column. 'Ff.' denotes 'and the pages following'. It should be noted that fol.57ar refers to the recto of fol.57a, while fol.57ra refers to the first column on the recto of fol.57.

Early printed books, other than those which are only mentioned in the table of Winchester and Eton curricula in 5.3, are cited by author and title or incipit as appropriate, with STC(2) number and shelfmark of the copy used. This information and summary bibliographical details are collected in part two of the bibliography.

Other printed works and theses are cited by writer's surname (or occasionally issuing institution) and date of publication, so that C. Brown, Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1939) is referred to as Brown, 1939. These works are listed in the third section of the bibliography. Where more than one work of an author in a particular year is used these are distinguished by a lower-case letter after the date, as Meech, 1935a; Meech, 1935b.

The following printed works are referred to in a further abbreviated form. Their full description is repeated in the third section of the bibliography in my standard form.

Briquet = BRIQUET, C.M. 1968. Les Filigranes..., jubilee edition, ed. A. Stevenson, 4 vols., Amsterdam.

BRUC = EMDEN, A.B. 1963. A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500, Cambridge.

BRUO = EMDEN, A.B. 1957-9. A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D.1500, 3 vols., Oxford.

DKR 37 = PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. 1876. The 37th Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, London.

DNB = STEPHEN, L. and LEE, S. 1885-1901. (ed.) Dictionary of National Biography, cited from the reprint in 22 vols. + supplement, 1921-2, London.

Doctrinale = REICHLING, D. 1893. (ed.) Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei, Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica xii, Berlin.

Duff = DUFF, E.G. 1917. Fifteenth Century English Books..., Illustrated Monographs issued by the Bibliographical Society xviii, Oxford.

DWB = LLOYD, J.E. and JENKINS, R.T. 1959. (ed.) The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940, under the auspices of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, London.

Fasti Cist. Camb. = WILLIAMS, D.H. 1971. 'Fasti Cisterciensis Cambrensis', The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies (Univ. of Wales) xxiv.2, pp.181-229, Cardiff.

Foster = FOSTER, J. 1891-2. Alumni Oxonienses...1500-1714..., 4 vols., Oxford.

Graecismus = WROBEL, J. 1887. (ed.) Eberhardi Bethuniensis Graecismus, Breslau.

Hodnett = HODNETT, E. 1973. English Woodcuts 1480-1535, reprinted with additions and corrections, Oxford.

IMEV = BROWN, C. and ROBBINS, R.H. 1943. The Index of Middle English Verse, Lexington.

(IMEV) Supp. = ROBBINS, R.H. and CUTLER, J.L. 1965. Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse, New York.

Init. = WALTHER, H. 1959. Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum, Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina i, (+ Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen, 1969), Göttingen.

MED = KURATH, H., KUHN, S.M. and REIDY, J. 1952- (continuing). (ed.) Middle English Dictionary, Ann Arbor.

OED = MURRAY, J.A.H., BRADLEY, H., CRAIGIE, W.A., and ONIONS, C.T. 1933. (ed.) The Oxford English Dictionary, being a corrected reissue...of A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles..., 12 vols. + supplement, Oxford.

PL = MIGNE, J.-P. 1844-64. (ed.) Patrologiae cursus completus...series (Latina) prima, 221 vols., Paris.

RH = CHEVALIER, U. 1892-1921. Repertorium hymnologicum, 6 vols., Louvain (vols. 1-4), Bruxelles (vol. 5) and Paris (vol. 6).

SC = MADAN, F. et al. 1922-53. Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, 7 vols., Oxford.

Sprich. = WALTHER, H. 1963-9. Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi, Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina ii, 6 vols., Göttingen.

STC = POLLARD, A.W. and REDRAVE, G.R. 1926. A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England... 1475-1640, London.

STC^2 = JACKSON, W.A., FERGUSON, F.S. and PANTZER, K.F. 1976. A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England...1475-1640, second edition, revised and enlarged, vol. 2, London.

Stegmüller = STEGMÜLLER, F. 1940-61. Repertorium biblicum medii aevi, 7 vols., Matriti (= Madrid).

TK = THORNDIKE, L. and KIBRE, P. 1963. A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin, The Mediaeval Academy of America publication xxix, revised and augmented edition, London.

VCH Essex = PAGE, W. and ROUND, J.H. 1907. (ed.) The Victoria History of the Counties of England, The Victoria History of the County of Essex ii, London. (The articles on schools are by C. Fell-Smith.)

VCH Hants. = DOUBLEDAY, H.A. and PAGE, W. 1903. (ed.) The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight ii, Winchester. (The articles on schools are by A.F. Leach.)

VCH Herts. = PAGE, W. 1908. (ed.) The Victoria History of the Counties of England, The Victoria History of the County of Hertfordshire ii, London. (The articles on schools are by A.F. Leach.)

VCH Norfolk = PAGE, W. 1906. (ed.) The Victoria History of the Counties of England, The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk ii, London.

VCH Salop. = GAYDON, A.T. 1973. (ed.) The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of Shropshire ii, London. (The article on Battlefield College is by the editor.)

VCH Suffolk = PAGE, W. 1907a. (ed.) The Victoria History of the Counties of England, The Victoria History of the County of Suffolk ii, London. (The articles on schools are by A.F. Leach.)

VCH Sussex = PAGE, W. 1907b. (ed.) The Victoria History of the Counties of England, The Victoria History of the County of Sussex ii, London. (The articles on schools are by A.F. Leach.)

The following abbreviations are used for libraries:

Bodl. Lib. = Bodleian Library, Oxford
Brit. Lib. = British Library
C.U.L. = Cambridge University Library
NLW = National Library of Wales

The following abbreviations are used for societies:

EETS, OS and ES = Early English Text Society, Original Series and Extra Series
HBS = Henry Bradshaw Society
OHS = Oxford Historical Society

PART ONE - A STUDY OF THE TREATISES

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CHAPTER ONE - THE CORPUS OF MATERIAL

1.1 Introductory

In grammatical manuscripts written in England from the Anglo-Saxon period onwards it is common to find English used to gloss Latin texts and to provide vernacular equivalents in vocabularies and tables. Ælfric's Grammar (ed. Zupitza, 1880) is the earliest surviving text to go beyond this and use English as the language of exposition, but despite the popularity of this work, fifteen copies of which are listed by Ker (1957, p.517), this development was apparently scotched by the Norman Conquest, and it is not until the closing years of the fourteenth century that treatises on grammar of this kind are found once again in the surviving MSS.

The present thesis is a study of this second group of grammatical treatises using English as their language of exposition, from their first appearance up to the end of their manuscript tradition in the opening years of the sixteenth century. From c.1482 onwards (STC^2 23163.13) similar treatises appear in printed editions, and while these are not directly the concern of my thesis, I have discussed their relationship to the manuscript texts in 5.3.

1.2 The Manuscripts

Middle English treatises on grammar survive, to my knowledge, in twenty-four manuscripts, as listed below. The suggested date and provenance refer to the part of the MS containing the English grammar, and the evidence for these suggestions is presented and discussed in the 'Provenance

and History' section of each MS description. Dates given in Roman numerals are based on palaeographic criteria.

Short title	Shelfmark			Date	Provenance
NLW	Aberystwyth,	National Library of Wales	MS NLW 423D	1480's	Chirkland
Peniarth			MS Peniarth 356B	1460's	Basingwerk
Corpus	Cambridge,	Corpus Christi College	MS 233	1475-9	Eton
Caius		Gonville & Caius College	MS 417/447	c.1450	Exeter
St. John's		St. John's College	MS F 26	S.xv^{med}	St. Albans
Trinity		Trinity College	MS O.5.4	S.xv^{1}	Battlefield
CUL		University Library	MS Add. 2830	1434-5	Beccles
TCD	Dublin,	Trinity College	MS 430	S.xvi^{in}	(?)
Durham	Durham,	Cathedral Library	MS B.IV.19	S.xiv/xv	Durham (?)
Lincoln	Lincoln,	Cathedral Library	MS 88	1414(?)	Oxford (?)
12195	London,	British Library	MS Add. 12195	S.xv$^{\frac{3}{4}}$	Norfolk (? Tofts)
19046			MS Add. 19046	c.1440	Exeter
37075			MS Add. 37075	S.xv^{2}	London
Arundel			MS Arundel 249	c.1501	Oxford
Harley			MS Harley 1002	S.xvi^{in}	(?)
Harley 1742			MS Harley 1742	S.xv/xvi	(?)
PRO		Public Record Office	MS C 47/34/13	c.1416	Kent
Norwich	Norwich,	Norfolk Record Office	MS Colman 111	S.xv/xvi	London
Digby	Oxford,	Bodleian Library	MS Digby 26	S.xiv/xv	Oxford (?)
Douce			MS Douce 103	c.1492-4	Pencoyd (?)
Douce Pr. Bk.			Pr. Bk. Douce D 238(2)	S.xv/xvi	(?)
Hatton			MS Hatton 58	1467-71	Winchester
Rawlinson			MS Rawlinson D 328	1444-83	Exeter (?)
Worcester	Worcester,	Cathedral Library	MS F 123	S.xv$^{\frac{3}{4}}$	Oxford (?)

The following lost MSS probably contained English grammars:

London, Syon Abbey MS A 63 (Bateson, 1898, p.233 sub Leyland)
Oxford, Jesus College MS 14 (Coxe, 1852, 'Jesus College', p.6);
Winchester, Winchester College, Libri grammaticales (no. 12)
(Gunner, 1858, p.74)

Five of the extant MSS are written on membrane. Trinity is a large de-luxe volume, carefully laid out with commentaries, notes and cross-references, and contains within its covers a comprehensive elementary school course in grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic and geometry. The English text in Durham is the earliest of the group, and is written in a quaternion with two meditations by Anselm. Lincoln's texts are written in the margins of a copy of the Medulla grammaticae and a nominale.

Digby is a fourteenth-century Portuguese compilation to which the English text was added later; and Worcester is a fourteenth-century English grammatical collection to which a treatise in English was appended a century afterwards.

The remaining MSS are on paper, and with two exceptions - Norwich, a heraldic manuscript with the grammatical text on its flyleaf, and Douce Pr. Bk. in which the grammar is a manuscript addition - they have similar physical characteristics. Although the size of leaf is consistently c.215 x 150mm. or a multiple of this (no doubt reflecting the size of paper sheets available at the time), the number of leaves in a quire varies considerably even within the individual MS. These quires, or groups of them, behave as self-contained units, distinguished by different material or size (e.g. section A of Hatton is of parchment, and section E is only 205mm. high), by different handwriting (such as the change from a fourteenth-century hand in section B of Hatton to fifteenth-century hands in section C), by their own series of signatures (e.g. quires xi-xvi of Douce are signed a, a·, a··, a···, a····, b, b· etc., independently of the other quires), and by the relationship of their content and physical structure. The first main item of text in a quire or group of quires often begins on the verso of the first leaf or on the recto of the second or subsequent leaves, leaving a blank 'cover' on which additions were usually made, such as the word-list at Corpus (e), and which was often cut away as is the case with Peniarth section E. Alternatively, as in Hatton section C, a used leaf from another MS might be utilised as a cover for the new section. The tendency to leave a cover on the quire was occasionally not inhibited even

by the presence of a text running continuously from one quire to the next, so that the first leaves of Peniarth quire xv and 12195 quire xviii were probably blanks subsequently cut away. The spaces between the main items and any unused leaves at the end of the section were also subsequently filled with short notes, verses and miscellanea, often by several hands, and bearing little relation to the main text.

These characteristics are similar to those found in the unit of book-production which Miss Pamela Robinson (1972, pp. 19-21) has christened the 'booklet':

> The principal criterion for identifying a booklet now included in a compilation is the correlation between the content and the physical structure within the present codex. A booklet may consist of a single gathering or several gatherings....A booklet has no standard length because what determines its size is its content. Within a single compilation the number of leaves to a gathering may vary from booklet to booklet ....Often the text did not fill up a whole booklet and the last leaf (or leaves) was left blank....Sometimes the last leaves of a booklet are wanting, suggesting that these were 'blank endleaves' which have probably been cut away when the booklet was bound up with others.... Conversely texts were often added on the 'endleaves' of booklets by a scribe, compiler or later owner. Such additions are usually short or have been squashed into the space available, and frequently bear no relation to the book's original content.

The writers of the present MSS, however, generally allowed their 'booklets' to grow in a less controlled way than those which constituted the late medieval bookseller's marketing unit, and this is reflected in the frequency of sections made up of several quires without any logical sequence of main texts, and in the high proportion of secondary material. The contents, which are generally short tracts forming part of a loosely-structured curriculum (discussed in chapter 5 below), the use of the manuscripts as 'working copies'

rather than library volumes, and the probable youth of many of the scribes, would all tend to lead to manuscripts of this kind, which might be seen, analogously, as collections of exercise books. The essential 'correlation between the content and physical structure' of the MSS nevertheless remains. Items of secondary importance or relevance are generally restricted to the spaces left between the primary material, while a change of subject or a new item of some length is frequently marked by the start of a fresh quire.

These characteristics of the majority of the MSS containing our material affect our treatment and appreciation of that material in several important ways. The collectors responsible for MSS of this kind, whether it is educational, professional or literary material they are handling, show a 'tendency to excerpt, adapt, and enlarge' (Parkes, 1973, p.569) the texts to suit their own needs. This tendency affects our approach to the texts of the English grammars, and is fully discussed in 1.3 below. It is also important in assessing the responsibility of a particular author for individual texts, and this problem is taken up in chapter 2.1. Thirdly, the use of the MSS as repositories of miscellaneous matter allows us, in nearly all cases, to assign a fairly exact date and place to their composition, and to identify many of the scribes involved. This material provides evidence for the distribution and use of the English treatises, and so for an important facet of the transmission of lay literacy in schools in many parts of the country in the fifteenth century. It is presented and discussed in 2.2 and 2.3. Finally, the MSS are in many cases school collections, and as such give direct evidence of the curricula of the schools which produced

them, which is dealt with in chapter 5.

1.3 The texts

31 texts of Middle English treatises on grammar are found in these MSS, covering four treatises in multiple copies, and eight in single copies only. Four of the 31 texts are composite, combining two or more treatises. The treatise on comparison which I have called Comparacio is particularly used in this way. The following table shows the distribution of the treatises amongst the manuscripts.

Accedence - a treatise on the eight parts of speech

Incipit 'How mony partys of spech byn þer? VIII....'

A.	Peniarth	fols. 54v-57v and 48r	
B.	Peniarth	fols. 163r, 165r-167v	
C.	St. John's	fols. 1r-12r	(pr. Meech, 1935a)
D.	Trinity	fols. 4v-6v	(pr. Meech, 1935b)
E.	12195	fol. 66r	
F.	37075	fols. 1r-6v	
G.	PRO	fols. 22r-23r	
H.	Norwich	fol. 1v (of medieval MS)	
J.	Digby	fols. 63r, 63v, 5v, 62v	
K.	Douce	fols. 53r-57ar	(pr. Meech, 1935a)
L.	Rawlinson	fols. 119r-126r	
M.	Worcester	fol. 99v	

Comparacio - a treatise on comparison

Incipit '(Q)what is a comparison? A lyknes of diueris thyngus...'

N.	Peniarth	fol. 9v	
O.	Peniarth	fols. 163r-164v	
P.	CUL	fols. 54v-56v	(pr. Meech, 1934)
Q.	Douce Pr. Bk.	fols. B5v-B6r	
R.	Rawlinson	fols. 80r-83r	
S.	Worcester	fols. 99vb-100ra	

Informacio - a treatise on syntax

Incipit 'In how mony maner of wyse shall þu bygyn to mak Latten...'

T.	NLW	fols. 11v-17r
U.	Peniarth	fols. 1r-9v
V.	Peniarth	fols. 167v-168r
W.	Lincoln	fols. 91v-95r (margins)
X.	Hatton	fols. 46r-54v
Y.	Rawlinson	fols. 8r-15v and 73v

Formula - a treatise on syntax

Incipit '(F)ormula gramaticis hec copulata nouellis...'

Z. Corpus fols. 164r-169v
AA. 37075 fols. 30v-37r and 41r
BB. Harley fols. 1r-12r
CC. Rawlinson fols. 76r-79v and 83v-89r

A note on the cases used with place-names

Incipit 'Whan I haue þis Englysch 'at' comyng byfore a proper name...'

DD. Caius fol. 15v

A treatise on syntax

Incipit 'In how many maners schalt thou bygynne to make Latyn?...'

EE. Trinity fols. 4r and 6v-7v

A treatise on syntax

Incipit '(W)hen thow hast an Englyss reason to be made yn Latyn...'

FF. TCD pages 3-11 (pr. Smyly, 1930)

A short treatise on the parts of speech and syntax

Incipit 'How mony case has yow? Sex...'

GG. Durham fols. 1r-v (pr. Kitchin, 1907)

A treatise on syntax

Incipit 'Ego sum creatura Dei creatoris mei. What noumbre and person is the verbe sum...'

HH. 19046 fols. 49r-63r

Notes on syntax

Incipit 'For 'of' aftyr a nown substantyve, verbe substantyve, ys syne of the genityue case...'

JJ. 37075 fol. 72r

Treatise on the compounds of sum and fero

Incipit 'Howe many compoundis hath þis verbe sum, es, fui?...'

KK. Arundel fols. 118r-120r

A treatise on syntax

Incipit 'Hov mani maner of wayes schall thou begynne to make Laten and constru?...'

LL. Harley 1742 fols. 1r-11r

The incipit given for each treatise is that of the first copy listed in each case. The incipits are, however, not a reliable means of identifying the texts since the various copies of a single treatise often begin in different ways, while different treatises may have an incipit in common. The texts are edited in part II of this thesis in the order given above, with the component parts of the composite treatises B+O+V (Peniarth), D+EE (Trinity), CC+R (Rawlinson), and M+S (Worcester) treated separately and linked by cross-references.

The separate edition of each text, even where a number of versions of a treatise survive, reflects difficulties in applying 'traditional' textual criticism of the form described by Maas (1958) to establish the relationships between the texts. Such textual criticism is based on a number of clear assumptions about the texts with which it deals. Firstly, it assumes that no text is a perfect copy of its exemplar; secondly that the scribe of the transmitted text is nevertheless attempting to produce such a perfect copy and not introducing readings from either other witnesses or on his own authority; and thirdly that independent scribes copying independently do not err in common. Clearly, these assumptions are not always valid, but the textual critic believes that the texts with which he is concerned follow them sufficiently to make divergent evidence isolable.

The conditions under which the English treatises were written make the last two assumptions dangerous. Three factors seem important. Firstly, the texts probably first took form in the lectures of John Leylond at Oxford (see 2.1 below). The texts of lectures of Thomas Sampson (Arnold, 1937) and of the treatises on estate-management which were most likely delivered as lectures, though possibly not at Oxford (Oschinsky 1956, 1971; Harvey 1972), display variation which reinforces the hypothesis that such lectures, repeated year by year, were repeatedly revised by those delivering them. In such a situation, copies of the lectures and their descendants are not effectively witnesses to a single original.

Secondly, the writers of the texts share the common tendency of fifteenth century scribes to edit their originals (cf. Chaytor, 1945, p.129; Parkes, 1973, p.569; and on literary texts Kane, 1960, pp. 115-6; Brusendorff, 1925, pp. 59-60; Manly and Rickert, 1940, p.41 and Bliss, 1966, p.xvii); and this is reinforced by the practical nature of the texts, which invited each successive teacher and pupil to reconstruct the text to suit his own needs. Thus Harvey (1972, p.170) writing on the estate-management treatises notes that 'three of the texts - the Seneschaucy, the Rules and the Husbandry - were so drastically rearranged by some of their early copyists that even the basic plan of the original treatises is open to question'. Not only does the resultant increase in variation, contamination, emendation and coincident 'error' (which is apparent even in a cursory glance at the texts) cloud the critic's view, but also the apparent change in the scribal ideal from the perfect copy

to a personal edition makes the 'recovery' of a single text, with the relegation of other readings to the status of sub-variants or errors, an inappropriate procedure.

Thirdly, the presence of variant forms of the texts, often found within the covers of a single MS as are U and V, or parts of Y and CC, the constant availability of source texts such as the Doctrinale which also have their own patterns of variation, and the evident intention of the scribes to improve their text if possible as already discussed, means that not only variation but convergent variation is likely to occur in quantities which will completely obscure the pattern of vertically transmitted error.

In such circumstances, it seems appropriate to present each version of the treatises as an entity, and to abandon textual criticism in the narrower sense, although the texts have been conjecturally emended at points where they make nonsense or such errors as would seriously mislead the modern reader, and where a better reading can be suggested; and in these cases I have naturally borne in mind parallel passages in the other texts.

The grammatical content of the various texts is discussed in chapter 4, but it is convenient to gather together here the more important textual characteristics of the treatises surviving in multiple copies.

The texts of the Accedence are generally close in overall form to each other, but vary considerably in exact phrasing (although no coherent groups are visible at this level). The treatise may have many verses embedded in it (B,C), a few (A), or none (F), and may include exemplary declensions at length

(C) or not at all. Two copies (B and M) insert a copy of the Comparacio in the noun section, and share other features. Significantly, it is one of these versions (M) which carries the only attribution of an Accedence text to Leylond. Of the remaining texts K and D are respectively an abbreviation and an expansion of what seems to have been the common form of the text; E, G, J and L are fragmentary (a higher proportion than is found in the more advanced treatises), and H is a fragment of a late adaptation of the text.

As already remarked, the Comparacio is frequently incorporated into other works, and of the 6 texts surviving three are found in this fashion: O and S in Accedence texts, and R in a version of the Formula. Of the three texts occurring alone, only P is complete. N gives the first paragraph only, and Q is a note in an early printed book. There is substantial variation between the texts in content, framework and phraseology, from which no obvious groupings emerge.

Two of the texts of the Informacio, T and U, are textually close, and their manuscripts are also close both in contents and probable origin. V, in the same MS as U, is fragmentary, but enough survives to show that it does not share this close relationship. The three remaining texts (W, X, Y) all present independent readings and arrangements of the text, although the readings of Y seem closer to those of T and U than do those of W and X, despite its rearrangement of the treatise.

Similarly, among the Formula texts, Z and AA are closely connected, with the Rawlinson text (CC) closer to them at many points (although again rearranged) than is the remaining text BB, which expands the treatise considerably.

The relationships of the texts examined in this way do not of themselves produce a historical pattern. By using,

however, the other evidence available to us in the MSS and elsewhere, it is possible to build up a fuller picture of their origins and development, and this is the task of the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO - THE BACKGROUND TO THE MATERIAL

2.1 Authorship

The most important single figure connected with the English treatises on grammar is undoubtedly John Leylond. Analysis of his relationship to them depends on direct attributions in a number of the treatises, the presence of his Latin writings in the MSS which contain the English treatises, some similarities between the Latin and English works, and the known career and reputation of Leylond as a teacher of grammar. The relationship is not uniform, and it is necessary to examine each group of texts in turn; nor can Leylond be regarded as the sole hand responsible for most of the texts, and the revisers of his work will have to be considered once Leylond's own position is determined. First, however, it may be useful to recount the known facts of Leylond's life, which have been summarised in BRUO (sub nomine 'Leland'; see also 'Cobbow'), in the DNB (vol.xi, p.892), and by Hunt (1964, pp. 169-70).

John Leylond, known as 'senior' to distinguish him from his famous younger namesake, was perhaps of a Lancashire family (Leland, 1709, p.445). Nothing has survived about his early life, and the first record of him is as the tutor of Thomas Eglesfield, for being which he received fees from Queen's College, Oxford, between 1415 and 1418, but since William Forster records his work in Cambridge University Library, MS Hh.i.5 which was put together c.1401, he must have been teaching by this earlier date. Lincoln (r) also records Leylond's teaching in 1414 at Oxford. John Rowse's 'Catalogue of Colleges and Halls' (Clark, 1889-90, vol.i,

p.639) notes that he taught at Peckwater Inn, which was adjacent to Vine Hall, or New Peckwater Inn as it was also called, where Leland junior (1709, p.445) says he resided, and which had merged with the former hall according to Wood (Clark, 1889-90, vol.i, p.172). In 1422 Leylond and his wife, Margaret, acquired lands in Temple Cowley, which they later gave to the grammarian John Cobbow, who may have been their son-in-law (Bodl. Lib. charters Oseney 340, Oxon 148). Wood (Clark, 1889-90, vol.ii, pp.174-5) notes that Leylond died on 30th April 1428 and was buried in St. Frideswide's Priory church. He bequeathed 20s. to Oseney Abbey (Salter, 1929-36, vol.i, p.xxiii). In 1435 the Chancellor of the University ordered that the cautions deposited by him for loans from a University chest should be sold (Salter, 1932, vol.i, p.16).

The following Latin works survive which have attributions to Leylond:

De declinationibus	C.U.L. MS Hh.i.5, fols.149r-156v Harley (5) Lincoln (d)
De nominibus etheroclitis	C.U.L. MS Hh.i.5, fols.130r-v
De cognitione generum	C.U.L. MS Hh.i.5, fols.95r-97v Lincoln (c) Brit. Lib. MS Royal 12 B XVII, fol.61r Oxford, Lincoln Coll. MS lat.129, pp.34-45
De preteritis et supinis	C.U.L. MS Hh.i.5, fols.157r-160r Lincoln (r)
De regimine casuum	C.U.L. MS Hh.i.5, fols. 131r-7r Lincoln (e)
De concordanciis gramatice	C.U.L. MS Hh.i.5, fols.186r-v
Tractus iuuenum pro dogmate factus	CUL (3)
Distinctiones rhetorice	Bodl. Lib., MS Bodley 832, fols.8r-v.
Verses	Cambridge, Trinity Coll., MS O.1.57, fol.127v (pr. James, 1900-04, vol.iii, p.57)

These Latin works seem comparable to those which survive of Thomas Sampson (for which see Arnold, 1937; Richardson 1939, 1941, 1942) in that they represent part of Leylond's course of lectures on grammar rather than his attempts to produce a summa in the tradition of the earlier Oxford grammarians (discussed in chapter 3 below). The popularity of his work is suggested by the number of similar treatises to those listed above which - like many copies of the English works - have been modified in such a way that they can no longer be called the works of Leylond. One may compare, for instance, Corpus (4) and (24) with the De regimine casuum and De declinationibus, Peniarth (m) and (x) with the De nominibus etheroclitis, and Trinity (23) with the De preteritis et supinis. Leylond's works are themselves often derivative from the popular tradition, but it seems likely that these anonymous grammatical treatises of the fifteenth century depend in part at least on his teaching.

Leylond enjoyed a considerable reputation both among his immediate pupils, such as John Seward and his friends (Galbraith, 1941), and later; and this may be illustrated by the following extracts:

William Forster (C.U.L. MS Hh.i.5, fol.97v)

Lectorum latebras Leylond lucernula luces,
Tu Titan tenebras tollis tutamine truces.

John Seward (Edinburgh Univ. MS. 136, fol.215v)

Hyantias Camenas
Leylond comedere consueveras:
Heliconidum liquores
Biberas; ea que bibis comedis: ave.

(i.e. 'Leylond, you used to eat up the Boetian muses. How can I say this? You used to drink the waters of the daughters of Helicon, and what you drink you eat. Farewell!')

William Relyk (ibid., fol.217v)	Ego de Cardinalyshat Doctori grammatice de Cornhull. Flosculus ille fuit, qui metrica plurima pandit De me, revera quedam teneo quasi iusta. Doctor discretus non esset sic cito motus Ira livore, nullo modo in ratione, Versibus inque meis dabo non causam tibi litis.
John Drury (CUL, fol.27r)	Iohannes Laylond flos gramaticorum
John Edwards (NLW, fol.17r)	Rosa flos florum, sic Leylond gramaticorum
William Worcestre (Nasmith, 1778, p.178, with corrections from Harvey, 1969, p.404)	Dicebatur fuisse flos grammaticorum et poetarum temporibus annis plurimis revolutis et tempore quo primo veni ad Oxoniam universitatem scolatizandi (causa).
John Leland jr. (1709, p.445)	Ut rosa flos florum, sic Lelande grammaticorum

Despite the formulaic quality of many of these comments, which - in view of the self-advertisement practised by many of the teachers of this period, from Sampson to Whittington - may go back to Leylond himself, nevertheless no other grammarian of his age achieved such a reputation, and his connection with the English treatises helps us to understand his popularity. Like Sampson (Richardson, 1939, p.453), Leylond was married, and thus automatically outside the University, and like Sampson he is one of the earliest and most successful teachers of his subject to move away from earlier concepts of teaching to a more appropriate curriculum, in his case for teaching young boys Latin grammar, which adequately reflects their developing interests and abilities. The use of introductory texts in English is an obvious step in such a process. I only touch on this here to broaden out our view of Leylond's writings, which have hitherto been seen in the narrow light of academic grammatical study, and the whole question of curriculum development is taken up more fully in 3.5 and in 5.2 , where Leylond's Latin works and the contents of the present MSS are described respectively.

We may now turn to each of the groups of English treatises and examine their connection with John Leylond.

Informacio. Of the four main treatises which survive, the Informacio is the one to which Leylond has the best claim of full authorship. The copy at NLW (2) ends:

'Explicit Informacio secundum Leylond',

while Syon Abbey's lost copy, described (Bateson, 1898, p.233) as 'Leyland in suo fundamentali instruccione puerorum', is almost certainly this same work, which is elsewhere entitled Introductio puerorum (Peniarth (1)) and (probably) De informacione puerorum (Winchester College's lost copy). The copy at Lincoln (s) is not attributed to Leylond, but follows on from an attributed copy of his De preteritis et supinis (item (r)), and the MS contains copies of three other Latin works by Leylond. The method employed in the Informacio of 'Latin' (specimen sentence in Latin for analysis or translation), commentary and verse is that used in Leylond's Tractus (discussed in 3.5 below). No other attributions are made for the work, and no other grammarian known to me adopts its method in an earlier composition. The attribution of the work to Leylond seems secure, and the fact that the work preceding it in Lincoln is recorded in its colophon as 'datum Oxonie anno domini millesimo cccc^{mo} xiiij^{mo} ' suggests that it was already composed when Leylond was teaching Eglesfield in 1415. This is the only copy to date from Leylond's lifetime (although it is not for that reason to be presumed to be the 'authentic' text).

Formula. By contrast, the MSS offer no direct evidence that the Formula was the work of John Leylond. Both its content (see chapter 4) and its title 'ex novellis grammaticis

copulata (or compilata in some texts)' suggest that it is reworking earlier material, and this would seem to be the Informacio. The surviving copies of Leylond's works, both Latin and English, suggest that he himself did not attempt to 'write up' his grammar course to produce a balanced and coherent treatise, and the Formula probably represents such an attempt by one of his pupils or successors to do this for the elementary syntactical teaching. We may note, for instance, the careful elaboration in the Formula of the Informacio's sketchy teaching on concord. Of the copies which survive, the earliest (in 19046) dates from c.1440 and represents the teaching at Exeter, probably of mag. John Boryngton who studied at Oxford in 1438-40. Since John Cobbow, Leylond's 'discipulus...et ejus hypodidasculus' (Leland, 1709, p.445) had taken the lease of Lion Hall for grammar teaching in 1435 (Salter, 1929-36, vol.i, p.218), it may well be he who undertook this revision.

Comparacio. The earliest and only separate complete text of the Comparacio is found in CUL. This MS preserves the teaching of mag. John Drury at Beccles c.1434/5, a few years after Leylond's death. It contains as item (3) a copy of the Tractus with an attribution to Leylond, as well as work by a Cambridge grammarian, Henry of Hamertoun. Drury cannot be linked directly with Oxford, but men from Beccles seem to have gone there rather than to Cambridge at times (see the 'Provenance and History' section of the description of this MS). The Comparacio is also found embedded in two texts of the Accedence: Worcester (c) and Peniarth (35). The first of these is also attributed to Leylond in the MS: 'Incipit hic liber accidencium secundum vsum magistri

Iohannis Leylond'. A further copy of the treatise is contained in the version of the Informacio at Rawlinson (3), and a similar Latin treatise on comparison is found in C.U.L. MS Hh.i.5 fol. 189v (discussed in 3.6 below) among the works attributed to Leylond, although itself unattributed. These factors suggest that the Comparacio may be Leylond's work, and I accept this as a working hypothesis.

Accedence. The Accedence is the only one of the English treatises which, on present evidence, may have circulated before Leylond's career began. We know that English was being used as the language of grammatical instruction from John of Cornwall's time (see 3.4 & 6.1), but no written grammars beyond the isolated 'Construe' in Cornwall's Speculum (see ibid.) survive to my knowledge before the notes of c.1400 at Durham (1) and the extracts in Digby of S.xiv/xv, both of which, however, suggest that an Accedence was in use then. The attribution at Worcester (c) shows that Leylond was at least a reviser and user of the English Accedence, and the lack of any other attribution for it, and the approximate coincidence of date between its appearance and the start of Leylond's career suggest that he may well have been responsible for the first attempt to write a grammatical treatise in English after the Conquest. Ample precedent for the translation of Donatus existed on the continent (Schmitt, 1969; Babington, 1865-86, vol.ii , pp.156-161), and it would have been a logical first step in Leylond's career.

Other treatises. None of the remaining treatises are explicitly linked with Leylond's name, or survive in MSS which contain his Latin work. Their link with his teaching is probably only indirect.

The background to the revision of the treatises, both those attributed to Leylond and those not, lies in the provenance and history of the individual MSS, which are discussed in each MS description and which are drawn together in 2.3 below. It is helpful, however, to consider at this point the known individuals who had a hand in the transmission of the texts. Supporting evidence and references for the assertions which follow will be found in the appropriate MS descriptions.

As would be expected, many of the figures who occur are connected with the church. Thomas Pennant, who wrote Peniarth as a boy, later became abbot of Basingwerk, and his schooling, like that of John Edwards who wrote NLW, was probably associated with a religious institution. The Exeter men connected with Caius are mostly secondaries of the Cathedral or priests, and of the names connected with St John's (written at St Alban's) which can be traced, Wolrey was probably in orders in the diocese of London, and Auncell may have been a monk. John Leke (12195) and the writer of Douce may well have been parish priests.

More interesting, however, is the fact that some of the figures are from the secular world. John Edwards himself was the son of the chief forester of Chirkland, Walter Pollard the son of a West Country merchant. Thomas Wriothesley who may have written the grammar in Norwich and is certainly connected with it was Garter King of Arms.

Thirdly, there is naturally a strong connection between the texts and schoolmasters and University men, clerks by virtue of their education, but more interested in education than the priesthood. John Boryngton took an Oxford M.Gram.,

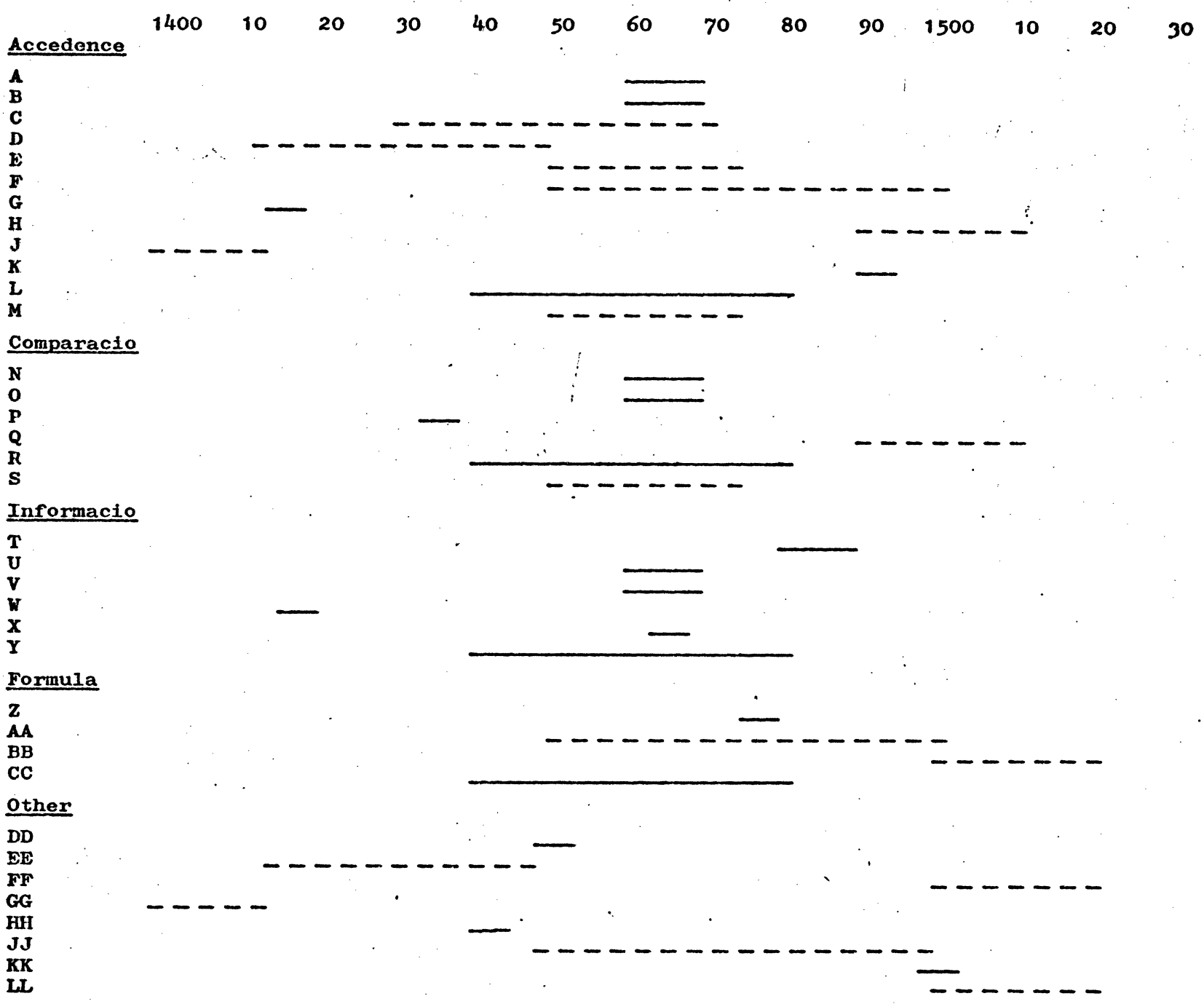
and his work is recorded in Caius; John Rede was headmaster of Winchester where he had written the grammar in Hatton when he was a pupil, and John Drury whose teaching is found in CUL was master at the grammar school at Beccles.

Of these schoolmasters, though, only Rede is found acting as scribe, and then in his youth, and most of the actual texts we have in front of us were the productions of boys - Rede at Winchester, Wyllyam Hampshyre at Eton (Corpus), Edwards and Pennant in Wales, Walter Pollard at Exeter, and the transmission of the texts through their hands may account for much of the distortion which marks most of them.

Nevertheless, it is to the schoolmasters we must look for the serious revisers of the texts. These were often men of University training, and occasionally men of some eminence like Rede, who was employed for a time as tutor to Prince Arthur (see also Orme, 1973, pp.162-3). Teachers such as Boryngton who went to Oxford to learn its approach to grammar naturally set about putting what they learnt into practice, and modifying it as necessary. Similarly once the treatises had spread to a famous foundation such as Winchester, other foundations would take their standard from it, and the treatises would be adapted by their new users once again. This process of dissemination can be seen clearly in the history outlined in the last section of this chapter, as can its sudden end which came with the advent of printed and increasingly standardised grammars which set up new channels of contact and new models of teaching for the grammar-school master.

2.2 Date

The following table summarises the dating evidence in the 'Provenance and History' sections of the MS descriptions. The period within which each text was written is indicated by a line. Where this is dotted, palaeographical evidence only has been used in establishing the dates.



In general, we note that few MSS survive from Leylond's own lifetime, and this is possibly the result of his not having 'written up' his work for distribution in written form. The volume of surviving texts increases gradually up to the most prolific period c.1450-80, as the treatises are

disseminated by his pupils, but declines quickly after 1480 with the advent of printed grammars closely resembling the MS copies (for which see chapter 5.3 below), and after 1500 the majority of the texts are personal compilations outside the mainstream of the tradition, and surviving in single copies only.

2.3 Provenance

The provenance and history of the individual MSS is given (with references) in the descriptions which form part III of this thesis, but taken together the information they provide gives a history of the dissemination and use of the English treatises.

The earliest surviving MSS reflect Oxford's central position in the teaching of grammar at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The English grammatical fragments in Digby were probably written c.1400, and although we cannot be sure where the MS was in the first half of the fifteenth century, it was certainly at Oxford by 1452 and has a number of connections with the grammarians of that time. Durham, again probably written c.1400, is in a markedly northern dialect, and its writer no doubt came from Durham or nearby. The description of the monastery's life in 'The Rites of Durham' makes it clear that grammar was taught there (Orme, 1973, pp.239-40), but equally Bishop Hatfield's new endowment for Durham College at Oxford in 1380 provided for eight secular students in grammar and philosophy, and we know that promising pupils from Durham were sent to Oxford for their education (Blakiston, 1896). Wherever the MS was written, it seems likely that it is drawing on the Oxford grammatical tradition through this link. Lincoln, finally, has - written around the

margins of a fourteenth-century grammatical compilation - copies of Leylond's work as delivered in 1414, and other grammatical miscellanea. The crucial colophon giving the place, date and authorship of Leylond's treatise De preteritis et supinis (item (r)) may of course be copied, although such a reference to Leylond's Oxford lectures is not paralleled elsewhere. The handwriting of the pieces cannot be much later than 1414, so that even if the copy is not direct, it cannot be far removed. It is interesting to note that in all three of these early MSS the English treatises are not part of the main plan of the book. In Digby the English grammar is added on the blank leaves of a Portuguese MS, in Lincoln in the margins of an earlier book, and in Durham on a single leaf now bound with a quaternion containing meditations by Anselm. The three MSS, however, are quite different in character and reflect quite different patterns of use. The grammar in Digby is combined with practice in legal formulae; in Durham the writer probably saw it as the gateway to theology and higher studies; while Lincoln presents a rounded picture of grammatical study at the pre-arts course level. Elementary grammar was the common starting point of religious, academic and lawyer, and the English grammars quickly proved themselves useful for all three classes.

The three next oldest surviving MSS each reflect the teaching in a provincial school. The three schools present very different pictures. Battlefield College, for which Trinity was produced, was a royal foundation, principally endowed to pray for the souls of those slain at the battle of Shrewsbury, but also supporting a grammar school; and the

MS itself is a large scale production worthily reflecting the royal endowment. The flourishing grammar school at Beccles, on the other hand, drew on the commercial prosperity of East Anglia and its merchant class, and CUL gives a more practical and down to earth - and at times humorous - approach to grammar (cf. its latinitates pr. Meech, 1934) than the systematic formality of Trinity. Religious matter such as Drury's De modo confitendi is not of course excluded from the teaching, but the orientation seems to be towards the pragmatic and 'cultivated' literacy of the merchant rather than to the professional literacy of the clergy and academics (Parkes, 1973). The third school, at which PRO was written, was most probably in Southern Kent, but the histories of the schools in that area are not well enough known to enable the MS to be assigned to any one of them in particular. As with Beccles school, however, we are dealing with a local school serving local needs, without making any impact on national developments. As a group, the three schools and their MSS are characterised by this local character and relative isolation from the main teaching centres, although this does not imply stagnation or inferior quality. The long treatise at Trinity (2) is perhaps the most advanced of all those we are dealing with, but it remains an isolated production without influence on the other texts. This group seems to reflect the decentralization of teaching which was the natural result of the new foundations which are found in increasing numbers in the fifteenth century (Orme 1973, p.194).

The main body of MSS written in the most prolific period of production also reflect the teaching of schools outside

Oxford, but in contrast to the preceding group they are connected with some of the most important institutions of the time, and show that the English treatises had become a basic part of the grammar curriculum as developed in those institutions. The MSS in question, and the schools with which they are connected, are as follows:

Hatton	Winchester
Winchester*	
Corpus	Eton
37075	St. Anthony's, London
St. John's	St. Alban's
19046	Exeter
Caius	
Rawlinson	

* lost MS

Winchester College, founded at the end of the fourteenth century (charter 1382, statutes 1400) was probably the largest and most important single school foundation of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and was closely connected with Oxford through its sister foundation of New College. Like earlier foundations it was partly a secular college for the celebration of divine office, but ' the study of grammar, instead of being merely incidental to the life of the community, at Winchester became its main purpose' (Orme, 1973, p.187). The lost MS listed in the Catalogue of books belonging to Winchester College and mentioned in 1.2 above was evidently in the college by 1433, and the adoption of English treatises as part of the course there must have been an influential factor in promoting their spread. The surviving MS from the college (Hatton) is particularly interesting in that it seems to have remained in the school, passing from person to person, rather than being the property of a single

scholar or master. We find a similar phenomenon in several other MSS of this group - 37075, Caius and 19046 for instance, and this is suggestive of the increasingly established role of their contents in the schools' grammar course.

Eton College was founded by Henry VI in 1440 after the example of Winchester, and significantly of the first five headmasters two (William Waynflete and Clement Smyth) had been headmaster at Winchester, and two others (William Westbury and Thomas Forster) had received their own education there. Since we know that English grammars were in use at Winchester before Eton's foundation, it seems likely that they were adopted after its pattern, although direct connections did exist with Oxford through such men as Thomas Balsall, superintendent of the Oxford grammar schools in 1452 and fellow of Eton in 1459. (His name is one of those found among Joliffe's notes in Digby).

St. Anthony's was noted by Stow (Kingsford, 1908, vol.i, p.74) as the foremost grammar school in London in the disputations he remembered from the 1530's. One of Henry VI's agents in the foundation of Eton, John Carpenter, was master of St. Anthony's Hospital in 1441 when the diocesan bishop sanctioned the appropriation of a parish church to endow a free grammar school there for all comers, and had a considerable interest in educational foundations (Orme, 1973, pp.84, 200, 212). The texts of the Formula in 37075 and Corpus are so close that it is hard to avoid the presumption that Carpenter or his grammar master introduced it from the earlier foundation with which he had been concerned. Certainly the success of St. Anthony's

at a time when many schools were proposed in London, but few survived, suggests the introduction of an established master or curriculum.

The school at St. Alban's provides us with one of the most important sets of surviving statutes (dated 1309; pr. Riley, 1872-3, vol.ii, pp.305-315), and despite its connections with the monastery through patronage and (Orme, 1973, p. 245) the education of almonry boys it was essentially the town grammar school. Its masters were sometimes married men; for instance (VCH Herts., vol.ii, p.56), and as with Rawlinson - one of the Exeter MSS - we find legal and business formulae in St. John's which suggest that the literacy acquired would be used in commerce rather than the church. It is interesting to note under this head that the 'Book of St. Alban's' with its secular concerns of hunting and hawking (again paralleled in Rawlinson item (31)) was printed by the schoolmaster at St. Alban's while the present MS was being written, or shortly after it was completed, and the teaching of this master whose name we do not know (although the otherwise unidentified mag. Sylton of the MS is tempting) may well be reflected in the MS. As in the Exeter MSS we also find pupils' names which suggest that they had come from some distance to the school.

The three remaining MSS in this group all derive from the teaching of Exeter City Grammar School. Bishop John Grandisson had founded Exeter College, Oxford, in 1314, and like Wykeham and Henry after him was also interested in founding a grammar school. Exeter City School was already established, and Grandisson decided to put into effect the wishes of his predecessor in the see (Walter Stapledon) by

endowing St. John's Hospital in the same city to provide board and lodging and some tuition for up to twelve scholars at the city school. Caius belonged to one John Smyth who 'morat(ur) in domo Sancti Iohanis' - St. John's Hospital - and who in fact went on to take his B.A. at Exeter College, although there was no formal relationship between the two foundations. The city school was one of the most successful foundations of the period (Orme, 1973, p.182; 1976, pp.42-55), and one reason at least for its continued vigour in the fifteenth century must lie in the person of mag. John Boryngton, schoolmaster between probably 1431 and 1449, who was also Rector of St. Mary Major, Exeter, which was in the gift of the Dean and Chapter, from 1437 which was when he was ordained acolyte. Boryngton was granted licence to study at Oxford for two years on 24th March 1438, and no doubt assimilated the grammar teaching provided there, and took the English treatises back with him to Exeter as part of his course. Although the school was definitely a city establishment, it is interesting to note the close connection of many of the people associated with the manuscripts with the cathedral, usually as secondaries or custores (Orme, 1976, p.50).

It was the adoption of the English treatises by such schools as these which largely ensured their survival as a central feature of the tradition of grammar teaching, and the self-conscious concern of the schools for teaching methods and curricula also ensured the continuing adaptation of the texts. Not all the MSS, however, of this period are connected with secular schools. Four, Peniarth, NLW, Worcester and the lost MS from Syon College, have monastic links; two - Douce and 12195 - reflect the work of parish priests, and one - Norwich - the

activity of a herald in London.

Two MSS of the monastic group are particularly closely connected. Both NLW and Peniarth seem to be linked with Cistercian abbeys in North Wales - Valle Crucis and Basingwerk respectively, the evidence being more direct in the latter case. The two MSS share a number of items, and their texts of the Informacio are very close to each other. It has been suggested that these abbeys did not provide education for children outside the novitiate (Knight, 1919 and 1920, but contrast Orme, 1973, pp.243-251). This, however, seems incompatible with the evidence offered by Peniarth(bb), where we find two lists of schcolchildren with records of their weekly payments over two terms. The references to Leylond and William Kyngesmill (NLW(o.xii)) in the MSS show that some at least of their contents go back to Oxford sources, but neither MS gives any certain indication cf the person or persons responsible for the transmission.

Worcester seems almost certain to have been the property of the cathedralpriory there, but it is possible that it was written at Oxford rather than at Worcester.
It was probably written when John Carpenter, connected with both Eton and St. Antony's and keenly interested in educational projects, was bishop of Worcester between 1443 and 1476 (Orme, 1973, pp. 84, 200, 212). The Syon MS, however, was clearly part of the monastic library. Syon had acquired by 1504-26 a collection of works by the Italian grammarians - Perotti, Sulpizio and Valla - to place alongside the medieval treatises, and there was obviously some desire to keep up to date with the developments in grammar teaching, presumably as a basis for the teaching in the monastery

(Orme, 1973, p.250). (Inggram at Christ Church, Canterbury also drew on Leylond's work, but by contrast took a conventional stance and reverted to Latin as his medium of instruction, see Gasquet, 1908, p.241, and 3.6 below.)

As might be expected, both 12195 and Douce, associated with parish priests, contain religious material alongside the grammar. The latter MS provides a straightforward mixture which can be seen as a suitable basis for instruction, with rearranged versions of psalms and hymns for easier understanding, the Expositiones Hymnarum and Sequentiarum adapted to suit the local use, and lists of feasts. Copies of Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests and Festial complete the picture. 12195, however, mixes this standard material with an erotic lyric, riddling verses and scribbles in a wider but much less organised collection, which seems less likely than Douce to reflect an ordered course of instruction for local children. Typically, the elementary English grammar is a single side fragment only, but we should note that the grammar in Douce, although clear and complete, is also an abridgement, and this suggests that alongside the school foundations the parish priests were becoming a less important element in elementary education.

Finally, Norwich, a book of arms compiled for and in part written by Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, takes us away from the usual sources of education to the prosperous merchant community in London from which the aldermen and mayor were drawn, and from which Wriothesley himself came. The teaching of grammar was not, to my knowledge, part of the normal work of the herald, and although it is possible that the hand of the grammar is

Wriothesley's own, it is hard to imagine a man of his standing and pretensions teaching elementary grammar. It seems more likely that the grammar is the work of a 'secretary' who produced books for Wriothesley, and may have undertaken tuition in writing and grammar. The exact relationship between the grammar and Garter King of Arms must remain a matter for speculation.

This mixed bag of MSS serves to remind us that grammar teaching in the fifteenth century was by no means taught in a single unified educational system. The relative extent and value of the various sources of education has been the subject of considerable controversy (cf. Leach,1915,1916; Little, 1915; Simon, 1955; Jordan, 1959; Chaplin, 1963; Simon, 1963; Chaplin, 1964; Wallis, 1964 and refs. cited in footnote 1, p.184; Orme, 1973, pp.3-7), and the evidence which we are considering is not extensive enough itself to be a criterion for re-opening the debate; but we can justifiably suggest that it was the secular schools which were predominantly but not exclusively responsible for taking advantage of the new developments of the fifteenth century in grammar teaching and the use of paper 'exercise-books' (see above, 1.2, and below in chapter 5).

Finally, among the MSS containing English grammars we find a number of relatively late productions, which have little in common with each other. Harley, for instance, though written in the sixteenth century, is hardly distinguishable from the main body of school MSS in content, while Arundel, by contrast, is filled with suggestions of the New Learning and was no doubt written at Magdalen College School, Oxford. The writer of Harley 1742, mag. F. Framton, whom I have been

unable to trace, was also influenced by the influx of new ideas to some extent, but in general his work is marked by the same tendency to individuality found in TCD, which presents a clearly stated independent treatise on syntax of the medieval type, but not related directly to any of the other treatises. By the time these MSS were written, printed books provided copies of the basic treatises, and the resulting movement of handwritten texts towards the personal and unusual is not surprising. The increasing prevalence of the printed book as the basis of study is further shown in Douce Pr. Bk. where the MS text on comparison is in fact written on the flyleaf of a printed Accedence. The MS treatises at this relatively late date are, then, in some ways outside the main tradition simply because they are in MS form.

CHAPTER THREE - THE GRAMMATICAL TRADITION

3.1 Introductory

The authors and adaptors of the Middle English grammatical treatises were not writing in a vacuum in the grammatical tradition, any more than they were in a social vacuum at the time of writing. This chapter draws together the authors they cite and passages they quote, together with some of the more important silent borrowings which I have been able to identify, and discusses briefly the importance of the texts concerned for the English treatises. The Latin grammatical writings of Leylond and other contemporary authors are then described, with more attention to general exemplification than detailed discussion, and finally the educational framework of elementary grammatical teaching at Oxford is examined, as a key factor in assessing the relationship between the historical tradition, the contemporary grammars and the English treatises. The chapter is not to be seen as a summary history of grammatical study (for which see Robins, 1951) since I have throughout concentrated on only those texts and arguments which are important for the Middle English treatises.

3.2 Classical grammarians

The Ars Minor of Donatus was used throughout the Middle Ages as a first introduction to Latin grammar, and it is found in many of the present MSS, often as the first item, as in Caius, Digby, Hatton and Trinity. Many derivative treatises were based on the Ars Minor, and some of these carried its name (see Schmitt, 1969), but since the English Accedence treatises are clearly

using the Ars Minor proper, we need not consider these secondary works further.

The form of the Ars Minor current in England in the late Middle Ages differs slightly from that printed by Keil (1864, pp.355-66), and the variations of Worcester(2) can be taken as typical. There we find examples added, such as 'proprie, ut Roma, Tyberis, communiter ut vrbs, flumen' after 'significans' (Keil, 1864, p.355 line 6), and further question and answer words inserted, as 'Quomodo?' after 'Bipertita est' (ibid. line 8). On a larger scale a new section beginning 'Que est agnicio prime declinacionis?' is added after ibid. p.356 line 30 covering five declensions instead of Donatus' three (while the paragraph ibid. lines 31-6 is deleted), and the conjugations of amo, doceo, lego and audio and their passives are added at the end of the text, again extending beyond the three conjugations described by Donatus. These changes reflect the use of the text in the classroom. The references to it in the English Accedence (A305-7; C574-589; D306, 526-9; F216-7; AA279-282) are all bar one to the lists of examples introduced by 'Da....' and are referred to as 'lessons of the "Donet"', which suggests that the text continued in use alongside the English versions (as the number of copies in our MSS would imply), and that parts of it in particular were used for memorization.

The Ars Minor was widely translated into the European vernaculars to facilitate teaching (a number of which are listed in Schmitt, 1969, p.44). French translations of S.xiv survive in Bibliothèque nationale MS lat. 14095 (olim St.-Germain 1460) and Bib. Mazarine MS 578 (Molinier, 1885-92, 3794), quoted passim in Thurot, 1868, but the English Accedence texts do not share the divergences of the French texts from the Latin,

and are independent of them. As might be expected, the divergences which are shown by the English texts follow those found in the English MSS of Donatus (such as Worcester(2)) in, for example, the presentation of the declensions and the distinction between proper and common nouns, rather than 'proprium' and 'appellatiuum'. The way in which the Latin text is treated by the different versions of the Accedence is dealt with in chapter 4, but some general points can be made here. The changes already noted in Worcester(2) are carried further, so that, for instance, the declensions of the pronouns now appear in the new form. A section on concord is frequently added at the end of the work, and verses are introduced into the text. The initial definitions of each part of speech may vary considerably from Donatus' formulations (cf. Thurot, 1868, pp.175-6 on a similar case in the French texts), while the remainder of the sections remain close to the Latin, simplifying mainly by omission. Exceptionally, Donatus' analysis of gender in the noun is extended by the inclusion of the 'dubyn' (hic vel hec) gender, and the medieval distinction between substantive and adjective nouns is of course introduced. Finally, in the section on the noun the passage on comparison is often considerably changed in response to the separate treatise in English on this subject.

The Institutiones Grammaticae of Priscian (printed in Keil, 1855-8) also survived from antiquity as a standard introduction to more advanced grammatical study. No copies of or extracts from Priscian appear in the present MSS, however, and he is only cited once by name in the English treatises, when EE concludes its discussion of the figures of construction with 'Thys be the principal reulys that Precian putteth in the furst bokis of construccion'. The reference must be to Keil, 1855-8,

vol.iii, p.183 lines 17ff., where a number of these figures are named, but EE's treatment of them is clearly dependent not on Priscian but the Catholicon (see 3.3 below). There is in fact no reason to suppose that EE made independent use of Priscian, and this statement holds good for the English texts in general. Some of the content of the Institutiones has naturally permeated down to the elementary treatises, but there is always an intermediate source. In the definitions of the parts of speech in the Accedence already referred to, for instance, the influence of Priscian can be seen, but Thomas of Hanney's comparison of Donatus' and Priscian's definitions is typical of the summae of the Oxford grammarians and suggests the source of the complex variations in these definitions. Compare A's definition of the preposition with Donatus, Priscian and Hanney:

A310-12 A party of spech þe wech ys vndeclynet and ys set before oþer partys of spechys togedyr in apposicion and composicion.

Donatus Pars orationis quae praeposita aliis partibus orationis significationem earum aut conplet aut mutat aut minuit. (Keil, 1864, p.365 lines 10-11)

Priscian Est igitur praepositio pars orationis indeclinabilis, quae praeponitur aliis partibus vel appositione vel compositione. (Keil, 1855-8, vol.iii, p.24 lines 13-14)

Hanney Preposicio est pars orationis indeclinabilis que preponitur alijs partibus orationis in apposicione et composicione. Diffinicio alia (MS a^c) quam ponit Donatus non competit nisi illis preposicionibus que integre ingrediuntur composicionem nam preposicio aliis partibus preposita in composicione aut complet earum significacionem, ut facio : perficio, clarus : preclarus, aut mutat, ut pius : impius, aut minuit, ut tristis : subtristis. (Bodl. Lib., MS Auct.F.3.9, p.301)

The absence of direct use of Priscian reflects the grammar school origin of the English treatises, as well as the declining interest in Priscian at Oxford in the fifteenth century (cf. 3.7 below).

3.3 Continental medieval grammarians

Petrus Helias appears to be the earliest medieval grammarian cited by the authors of the English treatises. His Summa super Priscianum (for which see Thurot, 1868, pp.18-24, 96ff. and Hunt, 1943) reproduced and developed the grammatical work of William of Conches (Fredborg, 1973), and remained to some extent the standard expression of pre-modistic grammar for the later Middle Ages. His commentary on Priscianus Maior is, for example, reproduced in Vincent of Beauvais' Speculum Doctrinale. In view of this, we need not be surprised to find that not all the works which circulated under his name, or the initials P.H., are in fact his. St. John's(8) is an example of the sort of work which might have passed on opinions and quotations to the English treatises under the banner of Petrus Helias, but in particular it was one treatise called Absoluta (from its opening word) and in fact written by Petrus Hispanus, which established itself as the work of the earlier master (see Hunt, 1975). The Absoluta enjoyed considerable currency, and it is to this work rather than to Helias himself that the English treatises seem to refer. The quotation at EE229-31, for instance, corresponds to the following passage from the Absoluta on fol. 210v of Oxford, Merton College, MS 301:

> Generale igitur colligendum est: a quocumque regitur casuale precedens uerbum sustantiuum, ab eodem regitur casuale sequens uerbum sustantiuum.

The difference between the two passages, and in particular the extra clause at the end of the EE version, may suggest an intermediate source rather than direct quotation, but the presence of the Absoluta in Merton MSS 301 and 309 (Powicke, 1931, nos 513 and 101), which were in the college library in the fourteenth

century, and in Brit. Lib., MS Royal 12 F XIX, also an Oxford book, makes direct use at least a possibility for the treatises which originated from Oxford. 'Petrus Helias' is referred to by name at X62 and FF265, in both cases as authority for a discussion of the use of the first or third person after a substantive verb and qui, as in 'Ego sum homo qui sedet' or 'qui sedeo'. Petrus Hispanus discusses the point at length, and the important parts for our purposes are as follows:

> Querendum est etiam cum id 'quod refertur et id' ad quod refertur semper sint in eadem persona formanda, utrum in eis ea debet* obseruari persona que est ipsius diccionis, an ea que est euocacionis, ut Ego sum ille qui sedeo uel qui sedet, nam ex euocacione ille est prime persone, per se tantum tercie. In qua ergo persona eam consequetur qui? Nam si qui ad ille refertur oportet esse tercie persone, cum ille sit tercie persone, quare debet sequi uerbum tercie persone. Item, ille ibi euocatur a prima persona, est ergo ibi in ui prime persone non ergo debet uerbum tercie persone sequi.....
> Si autem non ad pronomen sed ad nomen stat relacio queritur utrum similiter utrumque dicatur bene.....
> Ad nomen fit relacio semper in tercia persona.....
> *MS debent (Merton MS 301, fol.206v)

It is probable that the reference in the English texts is to this passage. Helias' Summa on Priscianus Minor (Tolson, 1950, p.127 lines 8-16) treats the subject differently, and the use of the Absoluta elsewhere in the treatises, its availability at Oxford, and the apparent scarcity of English MSS of Helias on Priscianus Minor (no copies survive in English libraries, and I know of no references to it in medieval English catalogues) suggest that we should prefer Hispanus on a priori grounds as well. 'P.H.' is also referred to at EE161 in discussing concepcio, but the doctrine given is common to most medieval grammarians, and no one source can be preferred.

The Doctrinale of Alexander de Villa Dei is surprisingly not mentioned by name in the English treatises, but their authors drew on it heavily and it formed the basis

of the 'newe grammer' (D94) as they received it. Copies of sections of the Doctrinale occur frequently in the MSS containing the English grammars, often with glosses and commentary (see note at Peniarth(20)), and the presence of these independent copies, together with the scale and diversity of the quotation in the English treatises, suggests that direct borrowing took place. Since, however, the verses of the Doctrinale were used in other grammatical collections both before and after it was written, indirect transmission no doubt also took place. John Boryngton's Liber Communis Versus (found at Caius(12)) gives a good idea of the sort of text which might have provided such indirect borrowing. The most frequent use of the Doctrinale is as a source for the verses which sum up the point made in a paragraph or section of the English grammar, and in the Comparacio the quotation is so extensive that about half the whole Doctrinale section is found in the English treatises. The following table gives some idea of the extent to which Alexander's work was used. The Doctrinale references are to Reichling, 1893.

Doctrinale	English texts
60-1	B132-3
434-5	B100-1, C215-6, Z119-20, AA135-6, CC469-70
460-1	05-6
463-8	027-35, R26-29
475-9	0124-7, P99-100, P113-4, AA119-20
480-1	D72-3, 0148-50, P116-9, R163-5, Z112-4, AA128-30
486-9	067-70, P54-7, P95, P101-5, R43-6, Z92-5, AA100-3
492-4	088-91, R87-90
976-7	T419-20, U423-4, W255-6, CC734-6
978-9	T416-7, U420-1, W251-2, Z231-2, BB600-1, CC432-3
980-2	A211-4, B172-4, C386-8, D342-4, CC477-80
1088-9	B116-21, C225-6, Z130-2, AA146-8, BB389-91, CC474-6
1098-9	AA140-1, BB395-6, HH56-9
1103	BB18
1257-9	T334-6, U340-2, W207-9, X289-96, Y204-6, Z276-8, AA261-1
1265-7	T154-7, U158-163, W104-7, X156-9, Y134-9, Z182-5, BB274-7, CC258-61
1294-5	BB315-6

contd./

1302-6	BB326-31
1417	CC110-1, HH202-3
1442-5	T68-71, U71-4, X50-3, Y39-42, BB91-4, CC118-22, HH213-6
1485-8	BB116-9, CC132-5, HH242-5
1529-30	B242-4, C602-4, BB300-2, CC486-8

The Graecismus of Evrard of Béthune is also not mentioned by name, but several verses from this work are similarly found in the English treatises. The Graecismus references are to Wrobel, 1887.

Graecismus	English texts
XXV.15	C45, Q28, BB23-4, CC138-40
XXVI.111-2	T80-1, U83-4, W46-7, Y50-1, HH333-4
XXVI.114-5	T83-4, U87-9, W50-1, X77-9, Y54-5, BB192-4, HH338-40
XXVII. 8-10	W220-2, X337-40, Y231-3, Z229-301, AA539-41, BB282-4, CC429-31

Once again separate transmission is known for many of the verses, and in this case no copies of the text are found in the present MSS, making indirect borrowing more likely. The scale of quotation is also much smaller than that from the Doctrinale, and this reflects both the small space devoted to syntax in the Graecismus and its less general availability.

John of Garland is referred to once in the English treatises, at P129-135 (repeated at P152-4), as the author of the verses:

> Quam uult naturam gradus offerri sibi casus,
> Illam fructuram uult quisque secundus et vnus.

I have not, however, noticed these awkward verses in Bruges MSS 546 and 548, which contain most of Garland's works. They are quoted by Thomas of Hanney (Bodl. Lib., MS Auct.F.3.9, p.217) as are the verses Margo diesque silex... (Bruges MS 546, fol.125v; MS Auct.F.3.9, p.232; C60-2, D86-92), and Penitet et tedet... with a second line not found in the Doctrinale (Bruges MS 546, fol.99v; MS Auct.F.3.9, p.325), but Hanney cannot have been the only source of 'Garland' verses open to the writers of the English treatises since three sets of verses are found in

these treatises and the Bruges MSS, and not in Hanney:

	Bruges MS 546	English texts
Ante senex, iuuenis...	fol.97r	083-5, R169-70
Iunior et maior....	fol.97r	089-91, R88-90
Nuncupor, appellor...	fol.99r	FF67-70

The verses are from the Compendium gramatice, also known as the Ars versificatoria, of which Bursill-Hall (1976, p.161; cf. Paetow, 1927, pp.210-1) notes five thirteenth century MSS. It seems unlikely that the work was used directly by the writers of the English treatises, and their first-hand knowledge of the works of Garland in general (excluding the Distigius which is occasionally attributed to him) was probably slight, although a copy of his Diccionarius is found at Harley(13).

The Compendium gramatice of Petrus de Isolella (printed in Fierville, 1886; see Hunt, 1950, p.177) occurs in the present MSS as Worcester(1), and was in widespread use from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries as an intermediate prescriptive grammar. Although the subject matter of the Compendium naturally overlaps at times that of the English treatises, it is the method of the work rather than its content which should be noted. The following is one of the closer passages to the English texts:

> Item ista verba impersonalia penitet, tedet, miseret, piget ac pudet exigunt accusativum ante se intransitive, ut me piget legere, et genitivum post se transitive, ut animam meam tedet vite mee. Unde versus:
>
> > Penitet et tedet, miseret, piget et pudet, ista
> > Accusativis jungntur et genitivis.
>
> Item ista duo impersonalia interest et refert construuntur cum genitivis ommium casualium ante se intransitive; exceptis his genitivis primitivorum, mei, tui, sui, nostri et vestri, loco quorum construuntur cum his ablativis possessivorum, in feminino genere, mea, tua, sua, nostra, vestra, ut mea interest legere. Item construuntur cum hoc ablativo cuja, ut cuja interest et cuja prodest. (Fierville, 1886, p.30)

Verses are introduced to sum up points made by the text in a memorable way, as well as to add authority to the discussion. The discussions of the commentators on Priscian are reduced to prescriptive rules at this point (although elsewhere Petrus retains the discussion), and - as the Regule intercise attached to the Compendium show - the framework of the Institutiones is slowly abandoned to facilitate a more practical and didactic approach, but also to allow freer discussion of points of syntax and construction (although here again Petrus still retains Priscian's pattern of a De regimine casuum taking the parts of speech as its framework rather than the cases themselves). Occasionally verses found in the English texts are also found here (Penitet et tedet..., Largior, experior...), but there is no reason to suppose that Isolella's work was used by the authors of the English treatises.

The Catholicon of John of Genoa (Januensis), which was completed in 1286, is placed by Dr. Hunt (1950, p.177) in the same Italian tradition of preceptive grammar as Petrus de Isolella, but was more widely used by English grammarians than the Compendium gramatice. Dr. Hunt, for instance, has shown elsewhere (1964, pp.181-4) that John Leylond drew on it extensively in composing his Latin treatises. The Catholicon prefaces its dictionary with a grammar divided into four parts: Orthographia, Etymologia, Diasyntactica and Prosodia. In actuality, however, the work overrides this ostensible plan to treat Etymologia and Diasyntactica together, having devoted part two to Accentus. The combined part three consists mainly of two lengthy sections on the noun and verb, treating each of their qualities in full, with summary accounts of the other parts of speech. These are followed by a short section on the species and parts of construction, and

then a 'De regimine' dealing with each case in turn. This last section completes the movement away from the framework for syntactical discussion provided by Priscian and his commentators, and also develops the terminology of ex vi.... for describing the regimen exercised by the parts of speech, although its employment is not as full here as in Thomas of Hanney or Leylond, or in the section of EE which deals with this (EE224-359). The discussion in EE does not appear to make significant use of the Catholicon section on de regimine, but does refer to the preceding discussion of impersonal verbs in the section on suppositum and appositum (parts of construction), the reference in line 359 being to the following passage on fol.48vb of Oxford, University College MS 129 (for which see Hunt, 1964, p.181):

> Suppositum uero rei exercentis est res ablatiui et secundum hoc ablatiuus supponit et construitur cum uerbo intransitiue. Et debet sic exponi: a me curritur, id est, ego curro.

In part four, which deals with vices and figures of construction, the Catholicon offers two treatments of alleotheca, one following Donatus and the other Priscian, of which it is the second that concerns us here. In its treatment of the figures of construction EE refers to and draws heavily on this part of the Catholicon, although it simplifies the discussion considerably and adds new examples, as in the following passage which is the source for EE136-141:

> Nota quod si coniunctio interponatur non bene dicitur, ut aquile volauerunt, hec ab oriente et illa ab occidente, quia determinationes que sequuntur partim suppositum et partim appositum non sunt copulabiles alicui uoci. (University College, MS 129, fol.58va)

The Catholicon is particularly cited by name in EE when its opinion is controversial (although not when EE follows it in

adding a fourth variety of concepcio - in cases). Hanney, for example, takes the Catholicon to task for the opinion expressed in the paragraph quoted above (Bodl. Lib., MS Auct. F.3.9, p.322), and the controversial nature of the treatment of 'concepcion' of the masculine and feminine by the neuter in chapter cxl of the Catholicon, which is cited at EE157-161, is made clear by the following passage from Hanney (ibid. p.323):

> Masculinum genus concipit femininum et neutrum ut vir, mulier et mancipium sunt albi; femininum concipit neutrum ut apud Lucanum per vim sunt leges et plebicita coacte, sed non e conuerso. Hanc opinionem tenet auctor Doctrinalis et Kylwardeby in summa sua, cum quibus ego; sed autor Catholicon et P.H. in minori dicunt quod neutrum concipit masculinum et femininum sed nec a masculino nec a feminino concipitur.

Hanney also disagrees on the same page with the following judgment of the Catholicon which is cited at EE166-171:

> Et est notandum quod in omni conceptione dictio concipiens et concepta possunt indifferenter precedere, preterquam in conceptione personarum vbi persona concipiens semper est preponenda. (Univ. College, MS 129, fol.59ra)

Finally, the end of this section of the Catholicon explains the closing reference to Priscian at EE221-3 mentioned above in 3.2:

> Et, ut breuiter concludam(us), omnis alienacio accidentium officij vel significacionis dicitur allotheca secundum Prescianum, et hec de illa et suis speciebus sufficiat nos dixisse. (ibid. fol.60vb)

Apart from two brief references in verse at 032-4 and 085 where verses in the first case from the Doctrinale and in the second from John of Garland are updated with material from the Catholicon, no other treatise refers to John of Genoa / or his work by name. This is not to say, however, that it was not used. CC150-9 (a Latin passage) is very close to the following passage from chapter xxxi of the Catholicon, although rearranged:

> Relacio autem personalis appellatur quando relatiuum et antecedens pro* eodem supponunt in numero, ut Petrus currit qui mouetur. Simplex uero relacio dicitur quando relatiuum et antecedens pro eodem supponunt in specie et non in numero, ut Mulier dampnauit que saluauit. Alia enim fuit mulier que dampnauit numero, quia Eua, et alia que saluauit, quia Maria. (ibid.fol.16vb)
>
> * MS per

The discussion of the same point by Hanney may be compared to illustrate the closeness of EE to the Catholicon:

> Queritur vtrum hec sit relacio simplex cum dicitur mulier que dampnauit saluauit. Dicendum quod est relatiuum substantie et omne huiusmodi relatiuum significat eandem rem in numero quam et suum antecedens, et per consequens omne huiusmodi relatiuum facit relacionem personalem. (MS Auct. F.3.9, p.335)

3.4 The Oxford grammarians before Leylond

The work of Richard of Hambury, the earliest of the group of Oxford grammarians discussed by Dr. Hunt (1964), dates from the late thirteenth century; and although he follows Petrus Hispanus in discussing the use of case with place names in his section on adverbs, and Petrus de Isolella in introducing verses into the text of his most elementary work, the Tractatus, which also includes examples or latinitates of the sort found in the English treatises, his writings follow the order of Priscian on the parts of speech too closely to allow development of the syntactical interests which are characteristic of later work. Paradoxically, it is in his most advanced work, the Questiones difficiles, that he is most free from Priscian's schema and comes closest to the pattern of the English texts in his comments on individual topics and examples. Hambury's work circulated in the fourteenth century, and abbreviations of his Tractatus and Summa appear as items (4) and (12) in the earlier part of Worcester. There is no

evidence to suggest, however, that his work was used by the fifteenth century writers of the English treatises.

Thomas of Hanney's Memoriale Iuniorum, completed in 1313 and drawing on the Oxford tradition although not written there, was more widely used, and is of more importance for our study of the English texts, as the references to him so far will have indicated. In the fifteenth century poem The Court of Sapience (ed. Spindler, 1927), his work forms part of the accepted canon of grammatical writings (ibid. p.196) and MSS of Hanney are widespread. Besides the list given in Hunt, 1964, p.175, the fragments at Hatton(a) and Bodl. Lib. MS lat.misc. b.117, fol.113 should be noted. Although no suitable Thomas of Hanney appears in BRUO, and the colophon to the Memoriale states that it was written in Toulouse and Lewes, there seems little doubt that the work is draws on Oxford teaching. It cites all the authors mentioned by both Richard of Hambury and John of Cornwall, to which list it adds the Catholicon, Brito, Priscian on the XII verses of Vergil, Johannes Egidius 'in summa gramaticali quam edidit' (MS Auct.F.3.9, p.316), and two references to Richard of Hambury himself, in both cases to disagree with him:

> In ista composicione vsus declinabitur, fructus autem est indeclinabile. Hanc opinionem approbauit Ricardus de Hembury... (ibid. p.239)
>
> Hac autoritate (Priscian) motus est magister Ricardus Hamburi dicere auxilior, sequor et similia esse verba communia. (ibid. p.294)

Hanney's work is also found in association with known Oxford grammar (in MS Auct.F.3.9 and CUL, MS Hh.1.5). The CUL copy of the Memoriale (which contains Leylond's Latin works) is carefully corrected and includes on fol.74v a marginal note which ends secundum Leylond, and Hunt, 1964, p.183 has shown

that Leylond used the work in composing his De regimine casuum. (While on the subject of Hanney's connections with Oxford we should note that Hanney is a village in what was North Berkshire, from which a number of Oxford magistri and clerics of the Oxford area seem to have taken their names.)

The plan of the Memoriale like the Catholicon introduces the fourfold distinction between Orthographia, Prosodia, Ethimologia and Diasintastica as its framework, and in using illustrative verses, although it uses these to a much greater extent. Hanney also exploits the vernacular in his teaching, although at this time it is French and not English which is used:

> Si vero (quisputas) esset vna diccio non plus signaret quam quis, cassa et inutilis esset ista adiectio putas. Similiter wlgari et communi vsui consonat quod quisputas sit diccio bina. Dicemus uero gallice quod Quidestu est le tresbon de nos touz. Cum igitur secundum Kilwarbi in summa sua dicat (quod idiomata idiomatibus debent esse proporcionalia, certum est predictum gallicum debere dici latine Quisputas est optimus omnium nostrum. (MS Auct. F.3.9, p.241) /(sic)

The most significant features of Hanney's work, however, from our point of view lie in his treatment of syntax. This is divided into two parts. The first is a De regimine casuum case by case, prefaced with definitions and general comments and including a brief treatment of the figures of construction. The second comprises a series of notes and rules on construction, and covers such topics as the correct order of construction and exceptions to it, the construction of infinitives, participles, substantive and vocative verbs, relatives, verbs 'excepte accionis' (pluit, tonat etc.), negatives, interrogatives, distributives, gerundives, supines and so on. The first section develops the ex vi terminology, already found in earlier works, to a much greater degree (although reducing

its application, as does EE, to the nominative case). ~~This~~ second section covers topics dealt with in the English texts, but at a more theoretical level. Compare for instance T259-274 on ablative absolutes with the following passage which introduces several more specialised problems, although it makes use of the same example:

> Quarta vero regula datur de ablatiuis positis in designacione consequencie, qui absolute dicuntur poni, quod huiusmodi ablatiui habent in construccione poni vel in principio vel in fine, ut magistro docente gramaticam parui proficiunt vel sic discipuli fiunt literati doctore legente. Raro autem vel numquam in medio construccionis ponuntur. Vtrum autem huiusmodi ablatiui regantur vide supra in regimine ablatiui. (MS Auct. F.3.9, p.333)

Hanney is not cited by name in the English treatises, however, and there are few direct correspondences between them and the Memoriale, despite the fact that his work is obviously an important antecedent of the fifteenth century grammars.

A similar situation is found when we turn to John of Cornwall's Speculum gramaticale, written some thirty years later than the Memoriale, in 1346. Unlike Hanney, Cornwall does not provide a discussion of syntax as a separate topic, but following the older tradition discusses the parts of speech and their construction in order. He does, however, place considerable emphasis on the constructions, and is probably the first author to produce a systematic set of latinitates or 'sentences' as illustrations of these (as contrasted with the examples of the commentators on Priscian which are generally dubious constructions given for debate). There is a considerable carry-over of these examples into the fifteenth century treatises, and although, as Dr. Hunt has shown (1964, p.175) he is working within an established tradition, he is the first author known to us to introduce

parallel English and Latin sentences, and his collections do not draw heavily on earlier latinitates. The use of these examples produces discussions which come close to those of the English treatises, and I quote two passages from John's discussion of comparison (to which, like the later writers, he gives considerable attention):

> Si vero queratur quando comparatiuus gradus habet construi cum genitiuo partitiue, respondendum est quod quandocumque profertur aliqua locucio superlatiua in anglico vel in gallico, vel in (MS adds anglico) alio ydiomate a latino habens in se genitiuum minus signantem quam tria, tunc comparatiuus in latinis construeretur cum genitiuo et hoc partitiue verbi gracia. Ego sum doccior nostrum duorum, anglice, 'I am þe wiseste of vs too'. Aliud exemplum fiat Doctior nostrum duorum est senior seniore vestrum duorum, anglice, 'þe wiseste of vs too is eldere þan þe eldest of ȝov too'. (MS Auct.F.3.9, p.23)
>
> Superlatiuum nomen est quod ad res plures sui generis comparatum omnibus superponitur, , vel per se prolatum intellectum habet positiui cum valde aduerbio, vnde sciendum est quod natura superlatiui gradus secundum P.H. in Absoluta in casu et numero (habet) conuenire cum substantiuo proximo precedente et in genere cum genitiuo subsequente si conueniant (sic MS) cum eodem in significacione, vt Iste homo doctissima creaturarum est fortissimum animalium, anglice 'þis man wiseste of creatures is strengest of bestis'. Item vero P.H. dicit si superlatiuus non conueniat in significacione cum genitiuo subsequente nec etiam in genere cum eo, habet conuenire immo cum substantiuo proximo precedente, et sic iuxta istud anglicum debet fieri in latinis, videlicet, 'Ic am wisest of þis felaschip oþer of folkis', Ego sum doctissimus istius societatis vel gentis. (ibid. p.28)

These two passages illustrate John's concern with the practicalities of grammatical construction, but also the way in which he proceeds from vernacular to Latin examples. He is famous for having introduced instruction in English to the study of grammar (Babington, 1865-86, vol.ii, pp.158-61; Hunt, 1964, p.175) and the Speculum gives evidence of this, apart from the examples, in its declension of verbs (printed by Bonaventure, 1961, p.17), and in other passages such as the following which

preserves a fragment of classroom dialogue:

> Nomen: quid est? Pars oracionis. Construe Nomen: quid est?. O magister, quid : 'what þing', nomen : 'a noun', est : 'is'. (MS Auct.F.3.9, p.13)

Although this change to instruction in English is of great historical significance, it also affects the grammatical study itself, and John's definition above of where the comparative is to be used with a partitive genitive is quite differently based from the definitions of his predecessors. No theoretical or even descriptive basis is used, but rather the definition is founded on the practicalities of translation, and the rule for Latin is based on vernacular syntactic patterns. Nevertheless, it is once again not possible to cite close parallels between John's work and the later treatises, or to demonstrate direct use of the Speculum by them. The explanation of this recurrent phenomenon is to be found in a consideration of John Leylond's Latin treatises and their historical context.

3.5 The Latin writings of John Leylond

In Leylond's Latin writings we note a significant and far-reaching change in procedure. The authors we have so far considered have all to a greater or lesser extent produced comprehensive grammatical treatises, based on some overtly theoretical framework. Leylond, however, produced no such summa which has survived, and I doubt whether there ever was such a work. Like that of his contemporary, Thomas Sampson, who taught the related legal and business studies at Oxford, his work consists of a number of short tracts on specific areas of grammatical concern which together form a course rather than a summa. This reflects partly the more elementary level

of the teaching, partly its more practical orientation towards translation and composition rather than an understanding of grammar as a discipline, and partly the new educational structure that was emerging with the growth of provincial grammar-school foundations.

Of Leylond's Latin grammatical treatises (listed in 2.1 above), four are concerned with morphology and have little direct relationship to the English texts - the De declinationibus, De preteritis et supinis, De cognitione generum and De nominibus etheroclitis. The first three of these are little more than catalogues of facts, with very little explanation or discussion. The fourth introduces a question and answer pattern at times as well as some verses, but it is still almost entirely factual in content. For a comparison with the English treatises it is necessary to turn to his De regimine casuum, De concordantiis gramatice, and Tractus iuuenum pro dogmate factus. The first of these is the least relevant. It is largely based on the discussion in the Catholicon (Hunt, 1964, pp.181-2) but with some important differences. Its form is more highly controlled - as with all Leylond's Latin works except possibly the Tractus - and the functions of each case are catalogued summarily and solely in terms of the ex vi system of regimen, without discussion of the arguments for and against. Thomas of Hanney's massive attack on the multiplication of regimina with the nominative is characteristically reduced to a single passing reference to the moderni who demand that all nominatiui supponentes be ruled by the verb ex vi persone (CUL, MS Hh.i.5, fol.131rb). To make the application of the system easier illustrative verses and examples are introduced at

frequent intervals, many of which occur in the English treatises in a fuller and more explanatory context:

Verses	English texts
Eligor, experior...	W58-60
Quinque vocatiua...	T83-4, U87-9, W50-1, X77-9, Y54-5 AA192-4, HH338-40
Ars substantiua...	L46-7, T80-1, U83-4, Y50-1, HH333-4
Iudex quoscumque...	X99-101, Z168-70, AA225-7
Hec libet atque licet...	T340-3, U346-9, X296-8, Y210-3, CC400-2
Interest, refert et est...	W220-2, X337-40, Y231-3, Z299-301, AA539-41, BB282-4, CC429-31
Vescitur et fruitur...	D165, T162-4, U168-70, W111-4, Y144-6, Z156-8, AA240-2, BB165-7, CC237-9

The section dealing with verbs taking the genitive is particularly rich in the kind of examples found in the English texts, but there are no verbal parallels. In general, the De regimine casuum presents a simplified but practical and comprehensive system for dealing with the use of case, in the terminology and with the examples used in the English treatises, and as such screens its users from the earlier and more advanced works upon which it draws. Leylond's work is, in general, found in the same MSS as the English treatises and their links of authorship and origin mean that there is a general similarity in content, but HH27-32 seems to show particular knowledge of the opening of the De regimine casuum (although it must be remembered that Leylond is closely dependent on the Catholicon at this point):

> (HH27-32) Triplex est nominatiuus casus, scilicet supponens, apponens et exponens. Nominatiuus casus supponens supponit verbum personali (sic MS) precedens ipsum in construccione; nominatiuus casus apponens sequitur verbum personale copulatiuum; nominatiuus casus exponens exponit verbum impersonale.
>
> (De reg. cas., MS Hh.i.5, fol.131r) Triplex est nominatiuus, scilicet, nominatiuus supponens, nominatiuus apponens et nominatiuus exponens. Nominatiuus supponens est qui supponit verbum personale, vt Petrus currit; nominatiuus apponens est qui apponitur post verbum, vt Petrus est bonus;

contd./

> nominatiuus exponens est qui verbum impersonale exponit, vt curritur, id est, cursus agitur.

The treatise De concordantiis gramatice provides a parallel discussion in Latin to the treatment of the same subject in the English treatises (A331-45, B268-320 for example). In the Latin discussion Leylond devotes 22 lines to the concords, and about 200 to the circumstances under which the concords are not made. This second and longer section is not a feature of the English texts, being found only in EE's treatment at EE26-115, and this version is not closely related to Leylond's Latin text. The first and shorter section is, however, very close to the English discussions, as its first lines and last phrase show:

> Quot sunt concordancie in gramatica? Dicendum quod sunt 5, quarum prima est hec, scilicet inter nominatiuum supponentem et verbum cui fit supposicio. Secunda est inter adiectiuum et suum substantiuum. Tercia est inter relatiuum et suum antecedens. Quarta est inter nomen partitiuum et genitiuum sequentem. Quinta est inter superlatiuum gradum et genitiuum sequentem. In quot accidentibus debet nominatiuus supponens cum suo verbo conuenire? Dicendum quod in duobus, in numero et persona, verbi gracia: bonus vir bene agat. In quot accidentibus debet adiectiuum conuenire cum suo substantiuo? Dicendum quod in tribus, scilicet in casu, genere et numero, verbi gracia: casta mulier caste viuit..... .....Deus est optima rerum. (MS Hh.i.5, fols.186r)

The subject is not treated in this form in any of the texts so far discussed, and it seems very likely that Leylond was responsible for adding such a section on concord to the English version of the Ars Minor, whether or not he was the first to translate it.

The Tractus in CUL is the only Latin work attributed to Leylond which adopts the characteristic format of the English treatises on syntax, where a latinitas is given, its syntax discussed, and a verse quoted to sum up the discussion.

The content of the Latin treatise is, as is to be expected, more advanced than that of the English texts. Authorities (Priscian, Kilwardby, P.H. etc.) and authors (such as Virgil (cf./ Hanney) and 'Cato') are cited freely, longer latinitates are used, and they are discussed in more detail. In particular, differing opinions are cited and compared in place of the single opinion of the English treatises:

> Magister meus moratur (MS maratur) Norwici que est pulcra ciuitas quo sum iturus causa habendi doctrinam illius que mihi carior est auro (MS -i) et argento preciosissimis metallorum. Quero i~~j~~ isto Latino, magister (from magistro) : que pars? Dico quod nomen substantiuum. Quare? Quia significat substantiam cum qualitate uel communi (MS co^{i}). Quero a quot autoribus diffinitur nomen? Dico quod a tribus, scilicet ab Aristotole, a Donato et a Presciano. Qualiter diffinitur ab Aristotole? Dico quod secundum Aristotolum (sic MS) nomen est vox significatiua cuius nulla pars per se significat finita et certa. Contra videtur quod ista diffinicio est insufficiens quia dicit Prescianus super duodecim versus Virgilii, videlicet libro quinto 'Interea medium Eneas iam classe tenebat', quod oportet diffiniciones esse generales. Sed ista diffinicio ab Aristotole data de nomine non est generalis, ergo est insufficiens. (CUL, fol.27r)

A number of more preceptive passages are, however, found which stand close to the English treatises, such as the following passages on place names (a standard topic), the pronunciation of T in Latin, and on concord.

> Quando propria nomina ciuitatum vel locorum significant essenciam in loco, si sint prime vel secunde declinacionis et singularis numeri, in genitiuo aduerbialiter debent poni, vt Moror Rome, Studeo Norwici. Et si sint tercie declinacionis et singularis numeri uel prime declinacionis et pluralis numeri, in ablatiuo casu sine preposicione aduerbialiter possunt poni, vt Moror Vernone, Studeo Athenis vel Londinijs. Et si significent mocionem ad locum, cuiuscumque fuerint numeri vel declinacionis, in accusatiuo casu sine preposicione aduerbialiter debent poni, vt Vado Romam, Vernonem, Londinias vel Norwicum. Si vero significent mocionem de loco vel per locum, cuiuscumque fuerint numeri vel declinacionis, in ablatiuo casu sine preposicione aduerbialiter debent poni, vt Venit Roma, Vernone, Londinijs et Norwico. Et ista quattuor nomina appellatiua, scilicet rus,

domus, humus et milicia sequuntur regulam propriorum nominum locorum. Ab ista tamen regula excipiuntur nomina regnorum et prouinciarum, vt Anglia, Scotia, Francia, et propria nomina composita, vt Pontusfractus, cum similibus. Vnde versus (versus repeated 3 times):

Rome, Rotomagi, Vernone moratur Athenis...
(ibid. fol.29r; cf. for example X408-65, BB623-59, DD1-13)

Que est causa quare huiusmodi nomina mutant T in C in comparatiuo? Dico quod hec est causa, quia regula est vt quocienscumque due vocales sequuntur hanc litteram T quarum prior est I, in eadem diccione T habebat sonum C, nisi S precedat, ut questio, uel X, ut mixtio, vel H interponitur, vt Vorenthius, Methius. Versus:

Bini vocales T quandocumque sequuntur...
(ibid. fol.30r; cf. 040-8)

In quot accidentibus conueniet relatiuum cum suo antecedente? Dico quod in tribus, scilicet in genere, numero et persona, vt Amo hominem quem ego video, Venit mulier quam diligo, Animal est meum quod video, cum similibus.

In casu, genere, numero da mobile (MS -e^{9}) fixo.
(ibid. fol.29r; cf. B283-5)

3.6 The Latin grammars of Leylond's contemporaries

Before moving on to discuss the historical context within which Leylond's work was produced, we must briefly look at the Latin treatises which his contemporaries and followers produced, and which will round out our picture of his own writings. There is a large mass of mostly anonymous elementary Latin texts of this period, and the following illustrations are of necessity only representative, and are almost all taken from works on syntax, as it is these which relate most closely to the English treatises.

Brit. Lib., MS Harley 1587, written in part in the second half of the fifteenth century by William Inggram of Christ Church, Canterbury, contains on fols.64v-95r a loosely organised collection of syntactical discussions of which the

first group offer a remarkable parallel to the Informacio. No verses are quoted, but each paragraph discusses a latinitas, and these latinitates are virtually the same as those of the English treatises:

> Utinam essem episcopus qui vocor Iohannes.
> Dominor huius ville abstinens irarum.
> Ricardus et Robertus indigent gracie diuine vel gracia diuina.
> Obuiemus episcopo Lincolniensi.
> Postulo te graciam qui doceor gramaticam.
> Istud dol^{i}um est plenum vini vel vino.
> Intendo ire oppositum scolaribus quos bene respondentes intime sum dilecturus.
> Michi Roberto fracto caput medicina proficiet.
> Magistro docente pueri vacant suis disciplinis fructuosis.
> Penitet me tui.
> Libet mihi comedere.
> Iuuit me exarcere studium.
> Interest mea clerici iugiter studere.
> Obuiatur mihi a scolare bono socio.
> Ego vapulo a magistro.

Inggram would seem to be reproducing Leylond's work but in Latin as the custom of his school probably required (cf. Gasquet, 1908, p.241). The texts are sufficiently distant to suggest that the reworking was not based on a written-out text of the English treatise, and we must assume either that the writer composed from notes perhaps taken at Leylond's lectures, or that some intermediate source was used. Compare the following passage with U75-89 for instance:

> Utinam essem episcopus qui vocor Iohannes. Ego : cuius casus? Nominatiui. Quare? Quia venit ante verbum et supponit ei. Iohannes : cuius casus? Nominatiui. Quare? Quia ista tria verba sum, maneo, existo, et ista quinque verba vocatiua nominor, appellor, nuncupor et vocor et dicor, et omnia verba passiua et omnia verba negatiua, absoluta, et eorum vim habencia, habent vim copulandi consimiles casus. Qui : cuius casus? Nominatiui. Quare? Quia quando nullus rectus mediat inter relatiuum et verbum s(ci)i(c)t personale tunc relatiuum erit nominatiuus casus, et quando aliquis rectus mediat inter relatiuum et verbum tunc relatiuum erit talis casus qualem verbum exigit post se. (MS Harley 1587, fol.64v)

The treatise beginning 'Ihesus Christus filius Beate Marie iuuat et expediat Laurencium de Londinijs' (see Bonaventure, 1961, pp.5,17-8) also offers parallel passages to the English treatises, but is differently arranged. After a loosely-knit section on the varieties of nouns and their declensions, there follow sections on the construction of nouns with each case, of verbs and participles with the nominative, impersonals with each case, adverbs, prepositions and interjections, and the treatise ends with 'Hic dat tractatus de partibus octo probatus'. The following is the first latinitas of its section on the construction of the verb and participle, and can be compared with the opening of the Formula.

> Ego sum creatura Dei. Cuius casus creatura? Nominatiui, et regitur de ly sum ex vi persone et copule. Quare? Quia omne verbum copulatiuum copulatiue positum exigit talem casum post se qualis antecedit siue ille casus fuit eiusdem numeri et persone siue diuersi. Vnde versus:
>
> Nomen vocatiuum substantiuum quoque verbum...
>
> (Harley, fol.18r)

The 'Regule vtiles secundum vsum magistri Iohannis Harford' preserved in a fourteenth century MS (Brit. Lib., MS Add. 17724, fols.20r-22r) are a miscellaneous but seemingly deliberate collection of notes on comparison, transitio, construction and such general topics, together with some more specific points, and some very general discussion of, for example, the number of the liberal arts. Although his rules have little in common with Leylond's work, there is on fol.22r a typical discussion of place names used adverbialiter which can be usefully compared with that of Leylond quoted above to illustrate the common nature of many

parts of the more elementary grammatical doctrine:

> Notandum quod omnia propria nomina locorum, villarum, castrorum, ciuitatum, si construantur post verba significancia mocionem ad locum, tunc debent poni in accusatiuo casu aduerbialiter, et ista quatuor nomina rus, domus, humus et milicia sequuntur regulam eandem. Vnde versus:
>
> Romam, Rothomagum, Vernonem tende, Athenas,
> Rus tendebat, humum miliciamque, domum.
>
> Sciendum quod omnia propria nomina locorum, villarum, castrorum, ciuitatum, vicorum si construantur post verba significancia permanenciam in loco, tunc debent poni in ablatiuo aduerbialiter...
>
> (Brit. Lib., MS Add.17724, fol.22r)

A further example of this sort of treatise based on a collection of rules is the short text on concord found on fol. 97v of CUL MS Hh.i.5, which resembles many of the 'rules' cited in the English texts, and particularly those of CC's Latin passages. The first rule is as follows:

> Quando duo vel plures nominatiui casus diuersarum personarum precedunt verbum personale et finitum, mediante coniunctione copulatiua sine negacione, tunc verbum erit plurale et eiusdem persone cum digniori nominatiuo, et accidit concepcio, vt patet sic dicendo, ego et tu legimus, tu et iste legistis, ego et tu et iste legimus.

As with the English treatises, comparison attracted separate discussions, of which I mention two here. The first is found in CUL(MS Add. 2830) at fols.53r-54r near the text of the English Comparacio, although the Latin text is not complete and does not correspond in detail to the English version. Limited parallels are also found in the De comparacione at CUL MS Hh.i.5 fol.189v, which is also alongside Leylond material (this time in Latin) but not itself attributed to Leylond. An 'Unde formatur comparatiuus?....A prima parte regule excipitur...' pattern is used in this treatise as in in the CUL text and R, where the Latin rubrics also appear.

The CUL text begins as follows:

> Unde formatur comparatiuus gradus? Dicendum est quod omne comparatiuum aut diriuatur a nomine prime et secunde declinacionis et tunc formatur a genetiuo, addita or et correpta i penultima, vt docti : doctior, nigri : nigrior, vel a nomine tercie declinacionis et tunc formatur a datiuo casu, addita or, vt forti : fortior. A prima parte regule excipitur sinister faciens sinisterior et multa nomina positiui gradus terminancia in ius, in vus, in evs vel in vis habencia vocalem ante vs vel ante is, et carent comparatiuo, in loco cuius accipitur positiuus cum hoc aduerbio magis ut pius, magis pius, piissimus; arduus, magis arduus, arduissimus; idonius, magis idonius, idoniissimus*; tenuis, magis tenuis, tenuissimus. Vnde versus:
>
> Quid sit ius vel vus, eus aut vis, or caruere:
> Per magis et primum quod comparat instituere.
>
> (CUL fol.35r, cf. P30-51)

*sic MS; for idoneus etc.

Another short treatise which seems to have circulated separately is that on the ways of beginning a grammatical construction, the English version of which is prefaced to several of the English treatises on syntax. It appears in a number of variant forms, some of which closely resemble Leylond's work in style, and he may well have had a hand in composing or transmitting this text. To illustrate the degree of variation I quote the beginnings of two of the versions:

> Quot modis incipienda est recta construccio? Dico quod quatuor modis. Quibus? Primo modo per vocatiuum casum vt in psalterio, Domine exaudi oracionem meam. Secundo modo per nominatiuum casum vt Deus misereatur nostri. Tercio modo per verbum impersonale, vnde Iob, Tedet animam meam vite mee.
>
> (Brit. Lib., MS Harley 1277, fol.192r)

> Quot modis incipitur directus ordo construendi? 4 modis. Quibus? Primo per vocatiuum casum, vt Domine exaudi oracionem meam. Per nominatiuum casum et suum verbum, vt Deus miserere nostri, vel per aliquit positum in loco nominatiui, vt Iantare tempestiue confortat humanum cor.
>
> (Brit. Lib., MS Sloane 1452, fol.48v)

Finally, a number of shorter passages circulated either as independent notes or as items within longer works, and naturally without attribution. Some of these use points of English construction to determine the Latin which is to be used. Once again I quote two versions of one of these texts to illustrate the variation commonly found:

> Nota quod quando hoc signum 'the' in Anglico precedit comparatiuum et aliud signum 'the' sequitur precedens aliud comparatiuum, tunc Latinitas componi debet per hoc aduerbium quante vel per istum ablatiuum in quanto vel per istam diccionem quatenus, et per hoc aduerbium tante vel per istum ablatiuum in tanto vel per istam diccionem eatenus, vt in hoc exemplo, 'The cunnyngger man þat þu apose, sic the soteler answere þu shalte haue', Latinitas....
> (Harley, fol.12v)

> Regula est hec quod quando hoc signum 'the' in Anglico precedit comparatiuum gradum et aliud 'the' sequitur precedens aliud comparatiuum, tunc Latinitas habet fieri per h⟨o⟩c aduerbium quante vel hoc aduerbium quanto vel per hoc aduerbium tante vel per hoc aduerbium tanto, vt in hoc exemplo, 'Te wysyr mon tyt þu oposys, þe sutteller vnswor schall þu haue', sic transferendus est....
> (Oxford, Hertford College, MS 41, fol.9v; cf. CC456-63)

3.7 Grammar teaching at Oxford in the later middle ages

To appreciate the relationship between the English treatises, Leylond's Latin writings, and the writings of the earlier Oxford grammarians, we need to look beyond the grammatical tradition to the educational framework within which the teaching took place. It is important to distinguish, as Fletcher (1961, pp.43-4) has stressed, the grammar taught in the Arts Faculty and the grammar taught to the boys outside the University. The sparsity of reference in all the Oxford grammars considered to such teaching as that of Thomas of Erfurt's De modis significandi which was the basis of the academic exercises in grammar in the Arts course in the

fifteenth century shows that they relate to the latter category. Granted this, two important questions must be asked: what were the qualifications and status of the masters teaching this elementary grammar, and what was the status and popularity of the instruction they offered?

Our answer to the first question must start with the evidence offered by the University records of the period, and centres upon the problem of the M.Gram. 'degree'. We must exclude from our consideration the two M.A.s deputed by the Great Congregation to supervise the grammar schools, who performed the same function that the 'Masters of Glomery' seem to have had in Cambridge at that time (Orme, 1973, p.146). These are once (Gibson, 1931, p.300) called magistri gramatice, and once magistri grammaticales (ibid. p.157), but their usual name is magistri scolarum grammaticalium, which the statutes expand on a number of occasions to make it quite clear that it is M.A.s who are being referred to, as for example:

> Magistri arcium qui visitant scolas gramaticales (ibid., p.121
> Magistri in artibus pro gramatica deputati (ibid., p.173)
> Magistri arcium superintendentes (ibid., p.121)
> Magistri in artibus ad regulandas scolas gramaticales specialiter deputati (ibid., p.173)

Such expansions of magister are rare in the statutes, and imply a need to keep these masters of arts differentiated from masters of another kind - the M.Gram.s.

With these superintendents set aside we can examine the evidence for the nature of the M.Gram. degree in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries at Oxford. The remaining references to grammar masters in the statutes employ a uniform terminology throughout this period of magister gramatice or magistri gramaticales, who are also referred to as magistri regentes in gramatica (ibid., pp.20, 169, 172).

Reference is also made twice to incepturi or inceptores in gramatica (ibid., pp.172,170), and once to grammar as a faculty (regenti siue regentibus illius facultatis, ibid., p.172). This body of magistri are carefully distinguished from the artists. The fees, for instance, collected by the superintendents 'inter superintendentes magistros arcium et magistros gramatice diuidi solent' (ibid., p.121), and it was customary for the depositions of 'quatuor magistri gramaticales uel quatuor baccalarii arcium uel quattuor magistri arcium' (ibid., p.170) to be obtained by a man wishing to incept in grammar. The distinction is made persistently, and clearly a regent master in grammar was not necessarily a member of the faculty of arts, or a master of arts. Indeed, masters of arts who wished to hold a grammar school were subject to special restrictions: 'nullus regens in artibus optineat scolas gramaticales simul ultra triennium' (ibid., p.23). A university letter of 1435 (Anstey, 1898, vol.i, p.130) supports the picture presented by the statutes, and makes it clear that at this date there was no B.Gram. degree: 'in quarum grammatica, gradu, ex more...Universitatis, sub unico existente, utpote magistratu'. (The earliest reference to an Oxford B.Gram. that I have noted is Byrchynshaw's supplication of 1512 (Bodl. Lib., University Archives, Reg. G, fol.139r).)

The terminology used in the statutes is also found in the grace books and register of Congregation, with the addition of one magister in gramatica (John Bulkeley in 1451, see Pantin and Mitchell,1972, p.86), and a number of references to licenciati in gramatica. Since licenciando is applied to John Major who immediately afterwards 'admissus est ad incipiendum in gramatica' (ibid., pp.127-8), the term presumably

refers to those granted permission to supplicate for the M.Gram. degree, although it possibly became used particularly in the cases of those who used the degree as a teaching qualification to secure a job outside Oxford, as James Garnon did (ibid., p.2). The whole concept of grammar as a faculty with regent masters reflects, however, not this later use of the degree, but the earlier system whereby the degree was conferred on established teachers of grammar at Oxford, presumably as a means of organising their teaching and particularly their relationships with the University at a time when Oxford was the most important centre of grammar teaching in the country.

The M.Gram. degree gave considerable status to its holder both in terms of advantages at Oxford over the alii quam magistri and outside Oxford as a proof of competence, but it was not of course ranked with the other masters' degrees. The library statute of 1412, for instance, decreed that M.Gram.'s should wear a B.A. gown in the University Library (Gibson, 1931, p.218), and Fletcher (1961, p.45) provides evidence to suggest that a number of B.A.s did in fact move over to grammar teaching without progressing to the M.A.. This position of the grammar masters as generally not qualified in arts beyond the B.A. would fit with the lack of interest in the speculative grammars and Priscian which the elementary treatises increasingly show in this period, with the statute restricting grammar school teaching by M.A.s and with the lack of records linking the grammar masters discussed with the M.A. degree.

In the fourteenth century it seems that there were generally few masters in grammar. The 1322 statutes, for

instance, refer to magistri gramatice 'siue vnus fuerit siue plures' (Gibson, 1931, p.121), and the computer print-out of grammarians mentioned in BRUO which is now available in the Bodleian Library has 3, 4, 6, 2 and 6 entries for the five 20 year periods of the fourteenth century. (Naturally in counts of this sort men with long careers appear in more than one period, so the numbers are not to be totalled.) Despite the sudden decline of 1360-80, after this period the numbers increase, and the corresponding BRUO figures for the fifteenth century are 8, 8, 22, 11 and 14.

Since it has already proved necessary to revise the opinions of Dr. Hunt (1964) on the relationship between the grammarians and artists and on the interpretation of the statute forbidding M.A.s to hold schools for more than three years, we are now no longer able to interpret the steady growth in grammar masters from c.1380 onwards as the result of the introduction of a new qualification, for which there is now no evidence. As was the case with the statutes generally in the fifteenth century (Fletcher, 1961, p.6), the old regulations seem to have been simply re-interpreted or by-passed, rather than replaced, as the changing situation demanded, to allow for new styles of teaching and the increasing number of teachers seeking the Oxford degree as a guarantee of competence. The introduction of English treatises by Leylond comes with the beginning of the growth in numbers, and his reputation must have been instrumental in the revival of Oxford's position as the country's major centre of grammar teaching.

Not all the writers of the English treatises, of course, followed John Boryngton in coming to Oxford from Exeter to take the M.Gram., while a number of the teachers at the larger foundations such as Eton and Winchester were probably M.A.'s. As the teaching of grammar spread into the provinces, so the variation in the qualifications of the teachers must have increased, but the continual stream of grammar-school masters such as Richard Piere (Headmaster of Salisbury grammar school, 1404), James Garnon (High Master of St. Paul's, 1449) and Richard Sparkeford (teaching in London 1456-72) (all BRUO), through to Holt, Lily, Stanbridge and Whittington of the later grammarians who are known to have studied their grammar at Oxford or sought its qualifications makes it reasonable to take the M.Gram. as the yardstick of a successful grammar teacher of the late middle ages, and on this basis we must conclude that in general even the most successful teachers, despite achieving some status through the degree, did not reach beyond the needs of practical grammar teaching which is what that degree increasingly reflected, and many if not most teachers can hardly have achieved this level. Certainly, the copies of their works which survive, admittedly often at the hands of their pupils, are erroneous and generally disorganised, if more effectively orientated towards the practical acquisition of the Latin language than their predecessors.

Despite this, their instruction achieved considerable popularity in the face of the increasing demand for literacy in the later middle ages (see Parkes, 1973). Fletcher (1961, p.44) suggests that 'as the most important academic centre in England, Oxford attracted throughout the Middle

Ages many scholars whose interest in the university was marginal. Amongst these were the young men who believed they could obtain within the city the best grammatical education then available. Some of these, but not all, would probably wish to proceed further to the university should their abilities prove sufficient.' Those who did not have such aspirations fall into the same category as the students of French, law and business studies, with whom indeed the grammarians are linked in a statute of 1432 (Gibson, 1931, p.240).

Despite the increasing interest in elementary education and the popularity of the pragmatic approach of the English-based teaching of Leylond and his successors Cobbow and Bulkeley at Oxford (Emden, 1976, pp.364-5), the fifteenth century was clearly not a comfortable period for either schools or university. The petitions of William Byngham in 1439 (Leach, 1911, pp.402-3) and the London rectors in 1447 (ibid. pp.418-20) speak strongly of the lack of qualified grammar-masters, and this at a time when an increasing number of school foundations were being made (Orme, 1973, p.194). The university's letter to the King in 1442 (printed Anstey, 1898, pp.210-11) asking him to rescind his order that the grammarians might cease making their payments to the M.A.s is evidence of a dispute which has been interpreted (Richardson, 1942, p.343) as the result of a falling-off in the number of pupils at Oxford. The university's letter to the Bishop of Lincoln in 1466 (Anstey, 1898, p.381) which complains that grammar 'regno e nostro abierit' reinforces the assertion of William Byngham that no masters of grammar 'mowen be hade

in your Universitees ouer those that nedes most ben occupied still there'. The drop in the BRUO numbers of grammarians listed above from 22 to 11 between the third and fourth 20 year periods of the century also reflects this decline. By 1470 most of the grammar halls had closed (Emden, 1927, pp.173-5; 1976, pp.364-5), and in 1492 the supervisors of the grammar schools are described in a statute as 'sine laboribus' (Gibson, 1931, p.300).

This sudden demise must clearly be partly attributed to the wider difficulties of the university in the fifteenth century over finance and the failure of graduates to obtain promotion to benefices (Emden in Rashdall, 1936, vol.iii, pp.xx-xxi; and Anstey, 1898, passim), but a more positive reason can be found in the spread of grammar teaching after Leylond's manner into other parts of the country, which the manuscripts of the English treatises demonstrate, and in the growth of institutionalised school foundations which offered a more secure base than the freelance work of the Oxford grammar master and the grammar hall. The foundation of Magdalen College School at Oxford in 1479 which effectively sealed the fate of the grammar halls shows, however, that given institutional reorganisation the tradition of grammar teaching at Oxford was able to continue to flourish and to form the basis of an education whose ideals were far removed from those of the grammarians who first developed it.

CHAPTER FOUR - THE GRAMMATICAL TEACHING OF THE ENGLISH TEXTS

4.1 Introductory

The following remarks are not intended to be a full commentary on the grammatical content of the English treatises, but aim to give some idea of the nature and scope of the teaching they offer, and to point out some of the features which distinguish the texts from one another. Generally, the doctrine they offer is elementary, practical and commonplace, and little can be said about the content of large sections of the treatises beyond the demonstration of usually distant parallels in Latin texts of the sort recorded in the preceding chapter. The texts are, however, not as uniform in their content as these general comments might suggest, and their points of divergence help to characterise the different versions. In the sections which follow I will first discuss each group of texts in general, and then examine the individual texts of the group in detail.

4.2 The 'Accedence' texts

As pointed out in 3.2 above, the Accedence is largely an English version of Donatus' Ars Minor, and specifically of that form of the Ars Minor which circulated in England in the fourteenth century. It is, however, by no means a translation, although substantial passages show word for word correspondence. The divergences shown by the Accedence fall into two categories - pedagogical and doctrinal. The first category includes an expanded question and answer technique and the use of vernacular examples as a basis for definition, as in the following instance:

Donatus: Singularis, ut hic magister. (Keil, 1864, p.355 line 19)

A53-4: How knos þu þe singuler nowmbyr? For he spekys but of on thyng, as 'mayster'.

In this category we also note a simplification of the Latin text by omission (e.g. of the section on figura - simple and compound words - in the noun, Keil, 1864, p.355 lines 20-1, not in A), addition (such as the explanatory 'How many byn declynyt...' passage as A3-10), or substitution (as in the above quotation from A53-4 and in the use of the more practical form of describing the declension of pronouns 'How knos þu þe fyrst declynson of pronownus...' at A147-64). Verses are also introduced into a number of the texts (A, B, C, D, M) to provide a second and memorizable form of some of the rules.

The teaching of Donatus is not followed in several important respects. As already shown in 3.2 the definitions of the parts of speech draw on other sources, but this is not uniform. In defining the pronoun, for instance, A uses Priscian's approach (although his source either read or was interpreted to read 'pro homine' instead of 'pro nomine'), while C retains that of Donatus at first, and then continues with the usual list of fifteen pronouns which is based on Priscian and does not follow from Donatus' definition. Texts B, D and K follow A, while F follows C, but the variation amongst the texts is not consistent. In the definition of the preposition, for instance (see 3.2 above) A, F and K have Priscian's definition, C and D a simple definition which is neither wholly Priscian nor wholly Donatus, and no texts follow Donatus in full. Furthermore, even between those texts which follow the same authority we find considerable variation in content and wording. In most cases the writers of the treatises are obviously making no attempt

to produce a consistent or even descriptively adequate set of definitions of the parts of speech. Their doctrine is ad hoc and its adequacy can be judged only in terms of its pedagogic effectiveness. This point is generally true of the English texts. Other instances in which the texts depart from the Ars Minor include the use of the medieval distinction between substantive and adjective, the addition of the 'dubyn' gender by name, and the distinction between forms such as legendus and lecturus in treating of tense in the participle (e.g. A266-283) which is characteristically accomplished in terms of the translation of English examples. Finally, sections on concord and comparison were generally added to the Ars Minor material.

Within this general pattern, the various texts show considerable divergence.

A gives the usual introductory paragraph, discussions of each part of speech at medium length interspersed with a few verses, and the section on concord. To these are added a short passage on the formation of adverbs (lines 230-8), but in general the latter part of each section is either abbreviated or omitted. The text is generally coherent, but some confusion is introduced by the misreading 'pro ꝺomine' for 'pro ꝺomine' already mentioned, and the listing of seven qualities of the verb after their number has been stated to be six (line 168).

B has a greater number of verses, and, like M which is the only Accedence text explicitly ascribed to Leylond, it includes the Comparacio and also a discussion of accido in the section on the noun (B25-34 cf. M37-43). We may

also note at this point that both B and M are followed without a break by a text of the Informacio. B has a number of additional passages on pronouns with the vocative case (lines 97-101), possessive pronouns and derivatives which denote only people (102-4) and on determining whether a verb betokens 'to do' or 'to suffer' (156-60), and at lines 49-51 we find:

> Et declinent hec nomina: hic caminus, hec corulus, hoc collum, hoc pellagus, hic Vergilius, hic Laurentius, hoc iuger(um), hic Theseus.

The subjunctive is jussive and comparable with the 'Da....' commands which refer to Donatus. These Latin instructions remind us of the summary and elementary nature of the English texts, which do not in themselves constitute an introduction to Latin but relate to classroom teaching.

C gives a series of declensions and conjugations in full after the manner of the Ars Minor, but the arrangement of the text in the manuscript (see my note after C256 in the text) makes it clear that these are addditional material. C in general gives a very full version of the Accedence, also quoting more verses than any of the other texts as well as verbatim passages from the Ars Minor (as at lines 579-589). The Latin text is expanded upon in dealing with the case taken by comparatives and superlatives (lines 38-45), passages are added on neuter and other irregular verbs (365-74, 448-73), and comparison of adverbs is dealt with (483-91). The writer of this version of the Accedence clearly felt that a revision of its text, mainly by comparison back with the Ars Minor, could produce an English treatise which did not need the support of the Latin text.

D's writer is the only other to have elaborated substantially on what seems to have been the basic Accedence text, and this is characteristic of his work on the other English texts in Trinity. Also characteristic is his willingness to refer to debatable points, as at D91-4 where the 'newe grammer' may well look back to the Doctrinale lines 545-7 (ed. Reichling, 1893) which places damma and panthera in the category which the English treatises label epicene. There are few verses in D, but new examples have been provided at many points, especially in the very full treatment of the cases of the noun (lines 104-167). New sections are added on nouns of asking (396-429), and much more detail than usual is given in listing the types of conjunction (496-579 and 306-8). Lines 23-73 give a fuller discussion of comparison than is usual in the Accedence, and generally on points of detail C shows a thoroughness of treatment not usually found in the English treatises. In its treatment of 'figure' in the noun, for instance (98-103) distinction is made between simple, compound and doubly compound ('decompound') words. The text does not, however, cover concord, since a separate and longer section is given on this elsewhere in the composite treatise (EE26-115).

E's text is fragmentary, covering only the introductory paragraph and the first part of the section on the noun, and displays nothing to distinguish its teaching from that of the other texts in these lines.

F is complete, but is not expanded or altered in any striking way. No verses or Latin declensions and conjugations are given, but the Latin text of the Ars Minor is referred to

in a number of places, and once in such a way that the reader must be expected either to have learnt the conjugations by heart in Donatus' form, or to have that text to hand:

> How many nownbyrs be þer? II. Whiche ij? Singuler and plurell. Whiche is þe singuler? All þat commyth afore 'et pluraliter'. Whiche is the plurell? All þat commyth aftyr 'et pluraliter'. (F159-162, cf. Keil, 1864, p.360 line 19)

G is badly damaged and possibly fragmentary, but seems to consist of a set of excerpts from the Accedence on cases, tenses, moods, concord, participles and the declensions.

H is a later text, probably written in the early sixteenth century, and also fragmentary, beginning in mid-sentence and ending half way through a paragraph. The surviving passage deals with the noun and draws on the usual Accedence formulae, while adding to them a more direct treatment of the grammar of English, with no attempt to force them into precisely the same mould, but still using the one to illuminate the other. (The use of English in H receives fuller treatment in the next chapter). With so little text surviving, it is not possible to define the relationship between H and the other Accedence texts further than this.

J consists of a number of scattered extracts from the Accedence section on the declension of the noun, and the text is straightforward and unremarkable.

K is a complete but abbreviated text of the Accedence, which omits the section on concord as well as all verses and declension or conjugation lists. In its treatment of comparison and person in the noun (lines 27-42) no mention of the Latin forms is made, and the definitions of the tenses

of the verb are brief and tautologous:

> How knowyst the tyme that ys no? For he betokynth the tyme þat ys no, as amo, 'y loue'. (K157-8)

The sections on the adverb, conjunction, preposition and interjection do not extend beyond a short definition. Apart from this drastic abbreviation, and the accidental repetition of the section on number in the noun (lines 22-6 and 54-8) the text follows the usual pattern.

L is remarkable mainly for its confusion. The scribe made six false starts before finally proceeding with the text, and also began to repeat the second surviving section. Its definition of the noun is one of the more satisfactory:

> all thyng that I may se or fele or vndirstond that bereth the name of a thyng the name therof ys a nowne. (L27-9)

A and M have similar definitions, and while this group do not aspire to the sophistication of D8-11, they do avoid the fallacy by which C11-12 and the corresponding passages in E and F make things rather than names of things into nouns, and the imprecision of B10 which tells us that 'the Laten of eny þyng ys a noun'. Naturally none of these texts even begin to approach the definition of the exact relationship between signifier and signified which was central to the modi significandi (cf. Pinborg, 1967, p.219 lines 13-19, pp.273 line 22 to 274 line 13).

M, finally, is fragmentary, with only the introduction and part of the section on the noun surviving undamaged and an erased version of the beginning of the Comparacio following on. The text is important in that it is attributed at M1-2 to Leylond. It differs from the usual form in several small details, so that at M13-19 for instance we find a different

opening discussion of the noun, which gives rather crude expression to an interesting attempt to deal with the problem of nouns which are not the names of sense-perceptible objects:

> How knowest a nowne? Of euery thing that is in this world or out of this world the name is a nowne, as 'man', 'angel', 'vertue', etcetera. Whad maner of speche 'a man'? A nowne. Whiso? For hit berith the name of a thing that is in this world. 'Hevyn': whad maner of speche? A nowne. Whi so? For hit beryth the name of a thing that is out of this world. (M13-9)

The text, like C, has a brief section on accido (M37-43, in Latin).

4.3 The 'Comparacio' texts

Six versions of the Comparacio survive, three as separate treatises (N, P and Q), two in copies of the Accedence (O and S) and one in a copy of the Formula (R). The space devoted to this subject, and the topics dealt with, reflect the appearance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of separate Latin treatises on this subject (dealt with in 3.6 above), and the present treatises are closely related to the Latin versions, although they are not close enough to be regarded as translations.

The basic plan of the treatise is as follows. After an introductory section defining comparison and its degrees, the three degrees are taken in turn, and their recognition, formation and construction discussed together with a number of supplementary points. The positive degree naturally is dealt with briefly, and the main emphasis in dealing with the comparative and superlative is on formation, both regular and irregular. The treatises rely heavily on verses to summarise the formation section in particular, and, as mentioned in 3.3, the Doctrinale is used extensively, its

discussion forming the basis of the present works. The introductory section reflects rather than states a number of interesting ideas of linguistic philosophy. For instance the following passage depends on the theory of accidents, but as noted above in another context does not approach the crux of the problem for the modistae, which in this field was the distinction between real and intentional accidents (cf. Pinborg, 1967, p.300 lines 20-31):

> Qwhat is a qualite in a comparison? A thyng þat comes to þe body and passes away fro þe body and þe body nothur more ne lasse. (N5-7)

The methods adopted in the treatises - the use of verses, the question and answer system, the definitions of Latin grammatical categories by reference to English - and the thoroughly didactic factual concern mark the elementary nature of the treatises, and there is virtually no discussion of theoretical issues or alternative propositions.

N breaks off after a single paragraph in which no verses are quoted. Apart from a confusing mistake (substituting 'qualite' for 'quantite' in line 8) there is nothing to distinguish its teaching.

O is fuller and follows the pattern already outlined. In discussing the comparative it introduces sections on the gender of comparatives and the cases they take, nouns lacking the superlative or comparative, and comparatives having the same number of syllables as their positives. At lines 40-48 there is a note on the pronunciation of the letter T in Latin (see 3.5 above), and the verses, though not the text, cite the Catholicon and refer to unnamed 'autores' (lines 34, 85, 96). The text breaks off incomplete because of a lost folio, but not much text can be missing.

P introduces a number of new sentences as examples, and cites John of Garland as the author of two lines of verse it quotes (lines 129-135, and 152-4, but see 3.3 above). It adopts a slightly different order from that used in N and O, grouping the items on the recognition of the grades of comparison and their construction by topic rather than by grade, and it also omits the additional material which O has in the section on comparison (although it includes sections on nouns ending in vowel + -us and on dexter and sinister), and adds a section after the colophon on comparison in adverbs. Despite these differences, however, its teaching and text does not differ greatly from those of N and O.

Q is a later text covering only the first part of the treatise, and was added to the flyleaf of an early printed grammar. Its text shows variations from the earlier versions in matters of detail, but in general it is surprisingly close to them. The only substantial divergence is in its pedagogical and practical section on making a comparison at lines 29-38.

R is a full version of the treatise inserted into a text of the Formula, and incorporates several passages not found elsewhere, as well as using Latin headings and introductions to its paragraphs. It follows O in its basic plan with some slight differences of order, but keeps the additional material on comparatives having the same number of syllables as their positives and on the gender of comparatives. Its own extra passages include sections on nouns ending in a vowel + -us and in -icus, on proximus (also differentiating its senses of propinquus and maxime prope, lines 144-7), on

ante, senex and other words lacking the superlative, and on the formation of the superlative from the dative case of third declension nouns not ending in -r. It ends with a note of adverbs and prepositions which take comparison.

S, which is part of the Accedence attributed to Leylond in Worcester, has been largely cut away, and the remaining text erased so that only parts of it are legible even under ultra-violet light. The remaining passages deal firstly with the degrees of comparison and their formation, then with the definition of comparison, and finally with the formation of the grades. As far as can be seen the text does not differ greatly in content from that of the other versions, but its arrangement differs and as with the text of the Accedence in this manuscript (M) the incomplete nature of this attributed material which shows significant differences from other texts directly connected with Leylond's name deprives us of interesting evidence about the sort of variation Leylond may have introduced into the treatises he used.

4.4 The 'Informacio' texts

The Informacio is a loosely structured introduction to Latin construction. It begins in most versions with two paragraphs on the ways of beginning a Latin sentence and the procedure to be adopted when translating a sentence from English into Latin. A section on concord follows, dealing only with the relative and its antecedent, and then sections on verbs taking the various cases, on gerunds, supines and participles, on the ablative absolute and on synecdoche.

The treatise then passes to a discussion of impersonal verbs, again looking in turn at those taking each case, before picking out a number of problematic cases - iuvat used personally and impersonally, neuter-passive verbs and passive impersonals. The treatise ends with a brief note on the formation of tenses.

The work is divided into about thirty paragraphs, most of which begin with a 'Latin' illustrating some point of construction. This is then discussed, and the paragraph ends with Latin verses summarising its teaching and perhaps giving it authority. Another group of paragraphs - the first two, those on gerunds, participles, the formation of tenses and some of those on impersonal verbs - do not give a 'Latin' but make a direct treatment of the rules involved.

The first discussion of syntax, after the introductory paragraphs, uses not a Latin but an English example: 'A chyrch ys a place þe whych Cristunnen mecull ben holdyn to love' (T32-3). The preceding paragraph begins 'What shall þu doo when thow hast a matter to mak Latten by?' (T16-7) and establishes its modus operandi as the translation of 'vulgars' into Latin. The instruction 'loke owte my principall werbe personell' (T17) which follows, for instance, refers to the English sentence and not the Latin. The first discussion of syntax follows this pattern, eventually translating the sentence given above into Latin and discussing it, but the subsequent paragraphs omit this preliminary stage and start with the Latin as described above.

T follows the outline given above, and is a systematic and

orderly account of its topics within the limitations of that pattern. In common with the other texts it breaks into Latin when declining the impersonal verbs (lines 358-370, 421-435) and in defining the difference between iuvat used personally and impersonally (380-3). The first set of declensions begins "Secundum 'Quod est impersonale actiue vocis?'..." (359), and this reference to an elementary Latin text, like the 'Forma' (imperative) in the treatment of the declension at X308, reminds us that the English texts are drawing on and working alongside the Latin preceptive tradition, and that classroom routine, despite these English texts, would still often have been conducted in basic Latin.

Most of the teaching of the text is unexceptionable and straightforward, but the treatment of gerunds, supines and participles requires comment. Gerunds are normally called 'gerundifs' in the English texts, reflecting a lack of distinction between gerundia and gerundiva in many Latin texts. Following earlier tradition, the gerundive proper is defined as the future participle in -dus, or effectively the passive future participle. The genitive, ablative and accusative forms of the gerund are distinguished as separate 'gerundifs' and their use defined in terms of the English constructions they would be used to translate. The supines in -tum and -tu are similarly categorised and their use defined. This leads to several problems, quite apart from the ad hoc nature of the definitions. T copes adequately with the 'gerundif in -do' which is to be used when the English has a phrase such as 'In feghtyng mony men byn wondit' (T178-9) and avoids U's mistake (see below)

in dealing with the alternative constructions possible when the participle takes a subject, but at T219-22 we are told:

> When y have a worde lyke to a participull of the presentens comyng before a verbe that betokyns bodely mevyng from any thyng to be done or to be suffrete y shall have þe latter suppin.

Leaving aside the dubious 'before', it appears that 'reading' in the English 'I come from reading books' is being labelled as the equivalent of a participle rather than as a gerund directly. A similar analysis is found when the construction is referred to again:

> And when y have an English lyke to an infinitif mode that shulde be sette in the latyr supin... (T240-1)

Here the English gerund is labelled as 'like an infinitive', and while this may be an acute observation of their similarity in role, it seems more likely to be a misleading carry-over from the treatment of the 'first supine' where the English 'I go to read books' does use an infinitive. The construction obviously caused problems for the writers of the treatises, and is discussed further in 6.2 where an alternative explanation for the use of the infinitive is also suggested. The uncertainty of these early attempts to talk about English in Latin categories is also seen in such passages as T400-1:

> For when y have a verbe in Englysh nevter lyke to a passif, where the passyue faylyth...

where the statement applies to the Latin rather than the English construction, and in the general awkwardness of many of the English examples used. These points are discussed further in the next chapter.

U's text is very close to T, and most of the comments made above apply equally to it. Such additional phrases as

'and wyth the accusatiue ex vi transicionis' (U115) reflect accidental omissions in T in my opinion rather than any increased sophistication in U, and U repeats the previous 'second supine' analysis, referring to the English as an infinitive on both occasions. Its treatment of the 'gerundif' is also confused, since the English 'The maister is bese in the scole informyng hys dysypuls' is translated Magister (sic) est assiduus in scola informando vel informannte/suos discipulos (U192-5), where the participle is placed in the ablative instead of the nominative, perhaps under the joint influence of the ablative gerund and the possible misreading of in- as a preposition. The text does, however, introduce two interesting phrases. The first is the recurrent 'in comyn speche' (lines 196-7, 219-20). The phrase seems at first to mean 'in the vernacular' or to be a careful disclaimer against unusual or out of the ordinary elements in construction, but its origin may be a misreading. Compare

> Qwerby knouus thow a gerundyue in -doo schall come in speche? In ij maners of wyse... (U181-2)
>
> When schall I haue a gerundyue in -dum in comyn speche? In ij manerys... (U196-7)

although it is still open to us to regard the first phrase as a corrupt version of the second. Secondly at line 425 we find 'indicatiuo modo' explained as 'in the schewing maner', - one of the few occasions when the Latin or slightly anglicised Latin terminology gives way to an attempt to express the idea in English.

V is too short to give any real idea of its character, breaking off soon after the two introductory paragraphs. In the first of these, however, it adds examples of each

variety of initial sentence construction (although one of these is distorted by the omission of a non at V11).

W presents a text of the Informacio which is probably close to Leylond's own teaching (see 2.1 above) but which nevertheless differs from the preceding texts both in wording and structure. Occasionally a better reading is found, as at lines 242-3 where the respective constructions of the English and Latin are distinguished:

> For qwen I have the Englisshe of an actyf sygnificacion þat ogh to be made be a verbe neutur-passyf... (cf T400-1 quoted above).

The treatment of 'neutur-passyf' verbs is in fact particularly careful, and for the only time in the English texts we find a clear distinction made between what Kennedy's Latin Primer would call quasi-passives (exulo, vapulo) and semi-deponents (audeo, soleo) as 'neutra-passiua' and 'neutro-passiua' respectively. We need not be surprised to find that this passage is in Latin (W248-56). At a structural level, all the 'Latins' in W on verbs and adjectives taking the genitive, with or without other cases, are run together to form a single massive example which resembles those found in Leylond's Tractus; and the treatment of impersonals leaves out a number of sections, and modifies several others (as the text does intermittently throughout).

X presents a more standard form of the text, but omits four paragraphs found in T and U (the first, and those on adjectives of fullness, gerunds and synecdoche), adding four more in other places which partly replace them and partly add new but similar material. The first added section uses the Latin 'Ego sum ille qui sedeo vel qui sedet' which was

widely used by grammarians of all levels and which is also found in texts AA, CC and HH. X attributes its discussion to Petrus Helias (see 3.3 above):

> Ego sum ille qui sedeo uel qui sedet. Why seyst thow qui sedeo uel qui sedet? For thys relatiff qui, que, quod commyth nexte a pronown of the iij person y-sett after a verbe substantyff, þe relatyff w^{t} þe verbe folowyng may be þe iij personn or suche person as þe nominatiff case before þe uerbe substantyff, as Tu es ille qui sedes uell qui sedet; and wen hit folowyt nexte a nown, þe relatyff w^{t} þe verbe folowyng schal be oonly the iij person ⌜only⌝, as Ego sum homo qui sedet. Hec Petrus Helias. (X54-63)

It should also be noted that the 'Latins' 'Abstineo irarum...' and 'Dominus huius ville...' are run together, as in several of the Formula texts (Z, AA, HH). The text's use of 'Forma' (line 308) as an imperative introducing the conjugation of iuvat has already been remarked upon, and the 'R(esponsio)' at line 276 may be compared with it as a rubric governing classroom procedure. Practical concern seems evident at two other points. At lines 242-4 the text quotes itself:

> 'What schalt þu doe when þu hast an Englysh to make in Latyn? Y schall reherse ⌜ons, ii or iij⌝' et cetera usque ad 'a preposicion'. When ys thys rule trew?...

and the text then goes on (lines 246-8) to introduce a point of technique not mentioned elsewhere:

> Y schall loke yf my Englyssh haue eny nede of turnyng and begynne att þe verbe inpersonall.

The text is by no means simplified, despite this practical concern, and the discussion of vapulo, exulo and nubo, for instance, is particularly full (lines 375-406). Perhaps the most interesting feature of the text, however, is the work of its reviser. He makes small corrections and insertions throughout the text: adding 'of the last sext' at lines 208-9 and '(of/ a schorte hangyng resun' at line 225. The reviser also introduces a Latin discussion of place names used

adverbially (X433-65) which repeats the English discussion preceding it and then adds an extra rule and a series of exceptions, ending with the colophon 'Expliciunt Regule Latisandi quod Slyngysby teste Westam'.

Y is chiefly remarkable, like the other texts in Rawlinson, for its rather disturbed nature. The first two sections are omitted; those on gerunds, supines and participles and the ablative absolute are placed in the middle of the discussion of impersonal verbs, in which the last three paragraphs are omitted, and two of the remaining ones are repeated, presumably by accident. Despite this havoc, the text itself is close to that of T, U and V, although rather more sophisticated in its analysis at times. At Y286-9 we still find the English in 'I come from reading books' labelled as 'lyke to a participle' but the discussion is more careful:

> When I haue a verbe lyke to a participle of the present tens or of þe preterit w^{t} þe signe of a preposicion byfore hym after verbe or participle betokynnyng mevynge fro eny thinge done I schall haue the latter suppyn (Y286-9)

The discussion of Abstineo me irarum et desino viciorum is also more complex than usual:

> Irarum and viciorum: what case? Genitife case. Whi so? For thies tuo verbes abstineo and desino will constrew w^{t} genitife case, accusatif case and ablatif case. W^{t} a genitif case ex vi transicionis personalis, w^{t} an accusatif case ex vi transicionis, w^{t} an ablatif case ex vi verbi mediante preposicione. (Y74-80)

4.5 The 'Formula' texts

The Formula is largely a reworking of the Informacio, with large sections of new material added to it. Although the presence of a common title and overall similarity shows that

the Formula treatises have a common antecedent which used the Informacio, this earlier work was also used again independently by some of the writers of the Formula texts, since each of these except BB has passages from the Informacio not found in the other versions. The Formula in Z and AA's order - which I shall take as a basis for comparison - begins with a lengthy treatment of the five concords which usually occupies 11 to 12 paragraphs. A sketchy discussion of comparison follows in some texts, and this is followed by some notes on concepcio casus (not so called in the Formula texts) which follow the Catholicon's rule (cf. 3.3 above). The Informacio, shorn of its opening paragraphs and sections on concord is then repeated with a few omissions which vary from text to text, and with substantial additions in the section on impersonal verbs. The techniques and level of study of the Formula are those of the Informacio, and there is little to distinguish the new material from the old. The new material increases the breadth of the work, but not its depth.

Z, like other texts of the Formula, in repeating the text of the Informacio repeats its categorisations and becomes involved in the same difficulties. At lines 195-6, for instance, 'in fighting' is analysed as 'þe Englich of a partisipul of þe presentens w^{t}out a substantyfe to hym'; at lines 217-9 we are told that 'when I haue an Englich of infinityfe comyng after a verbe betokenyng meuyng fro a place it schal be sett in þe later suppyn'; and at lines 302-8 we find 'a Englich of a verbe neuter lic to a passiue'. The text also uses the phrases 'comyn speche' (187-8) and 'schort hangyng reson' (247-8) which we noted in U. Apart from its perpetuation of these traditions the treatise is quite

straightforward.

AA's text is so close to that of Z as not to need separate comment. It differs only in omitting a few sections, mainly on verbs taking the genitive.

BB is one of the longest texts, and is a conflation of the Formula, as it stands in Z and AA, with the Informacio and with other material. It begins with the five concords as in Z, but uses the Informacio material on this as well, and expands the section on relatives. It omits the section on comparison, and adds new material on verbs which take the nominative after them, on subordinating conjunctions, and the translation of English 'of' as either a genitive or an ablative. The use of the cases is described in order, drawing independently on the material in the Informacio, and a new section on participles is added. The Formula section on concepcio, the Informacio sections on gerunds and supines (reworked), and the Formula's account of impersonal verbs (with some differences) follow, and a discussion of place names used adverbially concludes the treatise. In all, 21 new 'Latins' are used, only one of which (Ego sum ille... mentioned above) occurs in another text. Expansion is also made by incorporating more advanced material on syntax, so that at lines 131-2 we find 'How many partis of reson may gouern a genetyf case aftre them bi strengh of particion' translating ex vi particionis, and at lines 153-4 'Laude is the ablatif case and is gouerned of this uorde dignissima in strengh of the sygnyficacion of his posityf' translating ex vi significacionis positiui sui. Similarly at lines 356-8 we are told that an ablative

absolute without a noun or pronoun is found with 'the participle of a verbe of except action as Pluuiam pluente non exeam hostium' where 'except action' is again a calque on the Latin excepte actionis. These translations of the more technical vocabulary of grammar are exceptional in the English treatises. Surprisingly, the confusion over the supine in -u is not, however, resolved in this text (BB447-9).

CC, the remaining Formula text, is also expanded with some additional material and - as with the other texts in Rawlinson - somewhat rearranged. It starts off as Z with a discussion of concord, although the Informacio material is slightly differently disposed. The full Comparacio (text R) is then substituted for the sketchy outline of comparison, and the Formula version of the bulk of the Informacio then follows with slight rearrangement and ending incomplete in a disturbed series of notes which discuss, among other things, place names used adverbially. The most noticeable feature of this revision is the number of inserted paragraphs in badly miswritten Latin, which greatly confuse the text. The Latin sections do not repeat the teaching of the English paragraphs, but add new material, often at a more advanced level. The note reporting the Catholicon on Mulier que dampnauit saluauit is dealt with above in 3.3, but most of the Latin passages are not attributable in this way, and contain reasonably commonplace ideas. One exception is the following, which introduces a note of discussion and controversy rarely found in the English treatises:

> Opinio tamen quorumdam quod quando adiectiuum pono inter duo substantiua diuersorum generum quorum primum significat materiam et secundum materiatum tunc illud adiectiuum conformabit in genere diccioni significanti materiatum et non diccioni significanti materiam, quia materiatum est dignius sua materia. (CC51-5)

The Ecloga Theodoli are cited as an illustration at lines 75-9, a rarity in the treatises despite its wide circulation. The text is clearly drawing on relatively advanced instruction, even if the scribe cannot cope with this, but remains contented with the traditional analysis in the English sections, as at CC404-7 where the supine in -u is given the usual treatment.

4.6 The other treatises

DD is a single paragraph on the Latin cases used to translate various English prepositions used with proper names of places. Although the approach it adopts is not usual at this point, both the technique and the subject matter are common elsewhere.

EE is the long composite treatise found in Trinity, from which text D of the Accedence is taken. The treatise begins with sections on the ways of beginning a Latin sentence and the occasions on which the rules do not apply, and on the concords and exceptions to them, before proceeding to the Accedence. After this, it discusses the five figures of construction, together with apposition and synecdoche, and ends with a section on the use of each case. The comprehensive plan of the work, the inclusion of relatively advanced material, its reference to and use of such authorities as Petrus Helias and the Catholicon (see 3.3 above), and its capable handling of English as the language

of instruction (extending the range of both terminology and examples) set this treatise on a level above the rest. At line 127 and elsewhere, for example, the term 'obliques' is introduced in discussing case, and at lines 142ff. we find a discussion of the four types of 'concepcion', not named elsewhere in the English texts, and hardly discussed. The way in which the authorities are handled is of particular significance. We have already noted the tendency to refer to the Catholicon only at points where its teaching is controversial (see 3.3). This would imply a wider knowledge of the Latin grammarians than is generally to be supposed in the writers of these treatises, and this greater competence probably lies behind the willingness of the writer of EE to introduce a note of debate:

> Her know a certeyn reule, that a nominatyf case shal neuer be gouerned by any othyr strengthe than of person, other ellys by strengthe of intransicion, wherfor they be vnwyse that sey that the nominatyf case is gouerned ex vi zeumatis vel ex vi concepcionis and many other maneres, the whych opynyons be not founded of non autoritez. (EE231-7)

The same informed independence of the common elementary conceptions is found throughout this work and partly no doubt reflects the 'reference' quality which Trinity seems to have, just as the fact that Rawlinson was almost certainly a pupil's book partly accounts for the scribal confusions in CC.

FF, probably written in the sixteenth century, covers much the same syntactical ground as the Informacio, and with a similar method. It has inherited some of the earlier work's structure, beginning with the recognition of the nominative case and ending with adverbial place names, but it does not share its systematic approach. Similarly, odd phrases have

survived verbatim, but it is clear that there is no direct textual connection. The verses used are mostly not found elsewhere in the English treatises, and may be the writer's own. The work uses very few examples, and its rules are always fairly summary, and often extremely so:

> The ablatyve case absolute ys resolvyd by dum or by cum:
> Per dum vel per cum sexti resolucio fiet. (FF86-7)

Despite this, the teaching of the text is particularly clear. It uses English words extensively as a key to Latin constructions:

> Thys Englyss worde 'muste', where yt semyth to be made by thys verbe opportet, yt may be put yn the gerundyue yn -dum w^{t} thys verbe est set ympersonally (FF120-2)

and explains the more awkward Latin constructions clearly, as with nubo where we are told:

> the manne shal be put yn the datyue case and the woman yn the nomynatyue case, excepte the verbe be the ynfynytyue mode, than the woman shal be the accusatyue case. (FF163-6)

The treatment of the problem we have identified around the construction 'I come from reading books' (dealt with at lines 143-8) shows a (to a modern ear) welcome return to classical Latin usage, abandoning the use of the supine in -u, but still refers to the English as 'of the ynfynytyue mode', which again could be carried over from the parallel 'I go to read books' dealt with immediately beforehand. By the time this text was written we know from such texts as H that a more careful analysis was being made of English grammar, and this text must be regarded as conservative.

GG by contrast is exceptionally early (c.1400). It comprises a series of brief notes first on the Accedence or similar material, and then - on the verso of the leaf - on points

of syntax. In the Accedence section we find substantial use of English as a key to Latin despite the earliness of the text. Declension is introduced with an English example which is more daring in its transfer of the idea to the vernacular than many of the later texts:

> þe nominatif 'þe mayster', genitif 'of þe mayster', datif 'to þe mayster', acusatif 'þe mayster', vocatif 'o þou maister', ablatif 'thourgh þe mayster' (GG4-6)

The moods of the verb are also explained in English:

> þe indicatif mod is þat þat schewis þe sothe or þe false; þe inperatif þat commandis; þe optatif þat yernys; þe coniunctif þat settis togydyr and spekes in drede; þe infinitif þat has nowyr nowmer nor person as 'for to rede' or 'for to be redde', 'for to teche', 'for to be teched': all swylke sal be infinitif mode. (GG26-32)

The notes cover the same ground as the later versions of the Accedence but are not particularly close. The notes on syntax are for more summary, with very few examples and much less reference to English, and it is hard to see them as more than an aide-memoire.

HH begins with the same passage as the opening of the Formula, and this and other common passages and the common structure of the treatises suggest that it is basically a much revised and expanded version of the Formula text, although the new 'Latins' outnumber those carried over by about 2:1. HH is marked particularly by its repetition of each English paragraph in Latin, so that the first reads:

> Ego sum creatura Dei creatoris mei. What noumbre and person is the verbe sum? The syngler noumbre and the fyrst person, for so is þe nominatyfe case ego. In how many schall þe nominatyfe case and þe verbe acorrde? In ij. In whych ij? In numbre and person. Say thys in Laytyn. Nominatiuus supponens et suum verbum personale conueniant in numero et persona. (HH1-7)

The Latin passages are often reminiscent of the Catholicon, Hanney and Leylond (cf. especially the 'Triplex est

nominatiuus casus...' passage at lines 27-32 with Leylond and the Catholicon, see 3.5 above), but they are usually adapted to fit their new environment, sometimes summarising and sometimes expanding on the English sections, but following them closely. The presence of the English passages elsewhere in the texts without any hint of the Latin suggests that it is the Latin which is usually secondary rather than vice versa, although some degree of translation out of the Latin cannot be totally excluded. The teaching of the text is generally coherent and careful. Considerable space is given to 'concepcion', although it is not named as such here, and to the concords (mostly using what seem to be new examples, although they are similar to those found elsewhere). Such subjects as the circumlocution used in place of an impersonal verb (lines 134-54) and the concord between a relative and a collective noun (230-45) are treated more fully than usual, but without reaching the sophistication of EE.

JJ consists of seven short notes, mainly on verbs taking both the genitive and the ablative, which resemble the longer syntactic treatises closely in content and method, and seem in part to be extracted from such a treatise.

KK, which is linked with John Stanbridge, shows the blend of traditional material with a sprinkling of the new Italian grammar which is characteristic of that writer. It goes through the compounds of sum and then fero alphabetically, giving the declension, translation, construction and an example of each. English is used to differentiate the different constructions, and 'Latins' and 'vulgars' are set

in the margin against each section. The references to Perotto at lines 4 and 82-4 which add exsum and prosum are taken from his Cornucopiae which we know from the catalogue of Syon Abbey library drawn up between 1504 and 1526 (Bateson, 1895, pp.6, 9) to have been available in England at this time. The relevant passages in the Venice, 1489 edition (Bodl. Lib., Auct. O.V.12 p.63) read:

> Exsum extra sum. Sic enim lictor in quibusdam sacris clamitare solebat, hostis victus: mulier virgo exesto hoc est non introito, quia scilicet ingredi ea sacra prohibebantur...Prosum: hoc est iuuo, quasi pro te sum.

The placing of the references to Perotto's work at the end of their sections suggests characteristically that they are additions to an earlier text. Examples attributed to Pliny and Seneca are also found added into the text and these reinforce the leavening of 'new learning' in a treatise which is otherwise conventional in its use of English to define Latin construction, its tendency towards simplification (exemplified by the references to 'many mo significacions' at lines 75 and 81), and in the material it uses, as when we are reminded that interest can take the genitive,

> oute-take þe genityue case of þes v pronowns mei, tui, sui, nostri and vestri, in the stede of whom we shall take the ablatyue case, the femynyn gendre of þer possessyues (KK48-50)

singuler/ 9

in words which are very like those of say X329-34.

LL also attempts to assimilate some of the new teaching on grammar. The work is in the tradition of the Informacio and Formula, starting with the two sections on construction which begin the Informacio, moving on to distinguish three concords (rather than the usual five), and then dealing

with the construction of each case in turn, first with nouns and then with verbs, before finally treating of impersonall verbs and participles. The text is generally not close to that of the earlier versions, but occasional closer passages are found, as at lines 35-40. Most of the examples used are new, and the Latin they use characteristically revives long-dead usages, often, one feels, without the perspicuity of the better Renaissance grammarians, as with 'Franciscus formosus est pusus' at lines 4-5. Two passages in particular reflect the concern of the writer with the new grammar. The first covers the reduction of the concords from five to three, already mentioned:

> Yt hath be sayd þat ther wher ij more, but lernyd men reducyd them to þe secunde, as Rosa est pulcherimus florum wher ys vnderstond þe substantyve flos; Alter istorum currit wher ys vnderstond vir, puer or sum other like. (LL46-9)

The second deals with the typical medieval use of quod in place of the classical accusative and infinitive:

> When thys worde 'that' may be turnid into thys Inglysche 'whiche' it ys a relatiue: yf yt betokyn schoyng by ille, illa, illud or sum other pronownys demonstratyues; whan it betokyn a thyng as wyll to be done by vt; and if yt be a thyng schoyng the case by quod or que or sum or (sic) casuell coniunccion. Thys coniunccyon quod in Latyn makyng schal be excludyd as the worde that semyth to be the nomenatyue case schal be the accusatiue case and the verbe schal be þe infenytyve mode of the same tense as yt scholde haue byn yf it had be made be thys coniunccyon quod. (LL101-110)

No reason is given for the interdiction on the quod construction, and the various constructions with 'that' are not completely clearly defined, but new doctrine is nevertheless propounded. Characteristically the work ends 'Telos huius libri', the final flourish of mag. F. Framton whom I have not been able to trace outside the manuscript which contains this work.

CHAPTER FIVE - THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL COURSE

5.1 The fourteenth century

The university statutes regulating the grammar schools of Oxford in the fourteenth century imposed practical requirements on those who taught in them, and particularly on those who took the M.Gram. degree. It seems unlikely that these requirements were a dead letter in the fourteenth century, and they deserve careful examination.

The earliest relevant statutes are dated 'before 1313' by Pollard (1968) and are found on pp.20-3 of Gibson's edition (1931). The first which concerns us here, and - despite its brevity - one of the most important, deals with the qualifications expected of the masters in grammar. To obtain the Chancellor's licence they had to be examined 'de modo versificandi et dictandi et de auctoribus et partibus' (Gibson, 1931, p,20).

It is interesting that versification and letter-writing should head the requirements. The 1309 statutes of St. Alban's school similarly require that a candidate for the baccalaureate 'prouerbium accipiat, et de eodem versus, litteras, rithmum, componant' (Leach, 1911, p.244), and the 1393 statutes of Bredgar college make the ability to 'compose twenty-four verses on one subject in a single day' the final qualification for its scholars to take part in the chapel liturgy. Nicholas Picot in 1312 directs that his sons should be put to school until they could compose letters and versify properly, and in the following century William Paston III 'stays on' at Eton to master versification (Orme, 1973, pp.100-1). The suggestion is that the

composition of Latin was regarded as the summit of the grammar-school course, with grammatical knowledge and the ability to read Latin authors as subsidiary goals.

A second statute gives details of how the masters should teach the earlier stages of this subject:

> Item, tenentur singulis quindenis versus dare, et literas compositas verbis decentibus non ampulosis aut sexquipedalibus, et clausulis succintis, decoris, metaphoris manifestis, et, quantum possint, sentencia refertis, quos versus et quas literas debent recipientes in proximo die feriato vel ante in parcameno scribere, et deinde sequenti die, cum ad scolas venerint, magistro suo corde tenus reddere et scripturam suam offerre. (Gibson, 1931, pp.21-2)

This system of fortnightly copying and examination helps to explain the references to parchment and paper in the accounts for the grammar boys at Merton in 1309-10, 1347 and 1347-8 (Leach, 1911, pp.222, 298-302), and also reminds us that the instruction given was not completely oral.

The condemnation of verba ampulosa aut sexquipedalia reflects a rhetorical commonplace which goes back to Horace (Ars Poetica line 97), but the introduction of such strictures into the text of the statutes is nevertheless interesting. Dr. Hunt (1964, p.173) has noted a tendency towards 'highflown language' in the work of Richard of Hambury, and this can be associated (although the end products are rather different) with the exuberant fourteenth century precursors to the florida verborum venustas quoted by Jacob (1933) and with the interest in elaborate and unusual style and metre shown by Leylond's early pupils in the circle of John Seward (Galbraith, 1941 and cf. also Bodl. Lib. MS Digby 100). ~~It seems that~~

The collocation of literature and grammar - 'de autoribus et partibus' - was a natural one, going back to classical practice. The growing importance of logic had, however, effectively cut the study of the literary authors out from the University arts course long before the period of these statutes (Paetow, 1910), and this was especially true at Oxford. Even the apparent statutory attempt in 1431 to encourage the reading of Vergil and Ovid was probably intended to please Humphrey of Gloucester rather than to bear any academic fruit, and it seems to have been ignored (Fletcher, 1961, pp.5, 47-8). The study of the authors carried on, however, as part of the grammar school course. The books bequeathed by Ravenstone in 1358 to St. Paul's school in London (Rickert, 1932) which were intended for the use of the pupils meant that that school had a particularly wide range of reading material. Grammatical texts included the Absoluta, Doctrinale, Graecismus, Equivoca and Synonoma with works by Priscian, Hugucio, Bede, John of Garland (Compendium, Accentarius), Alexander of Hales (Exoticon). Alongside these, however, there is an impressive range of literary texts, with classical authors represented by Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Ovid, Persius, Statius and Vergil (Georgics), and a selection of later writers - Avianus, 'Cato', Claudianus (De raptu Proserpinae) Maximian, Theodolus and the 'De disciplina' attributed to Boethius but not by him. It is surprising, however, that

we shoid also find works on logic by Aristotle. The inclusion of such material makes it clear that we must be careful not to equate this list of books with the content of the school's curriculum, but there is nevertheless a marked interest in classical authors when compared with the content of the fifteenth century manuscripts of the English grammars, or with the library of such a magnificent foundation as Winchester College, which only has a single literary author (Vergil) in the list of books printed by Gunner (1858), and which is again fifteenth century, and it seems that these authors were used in grammar schools in the fourteenth century, but had fallen out of use by the fifteenth. At Oxford a Horace was bought for the grammar boys at Merton in 1347-8 (Leach, 1911, p.300) and a later fourteenth century Oxford statute (Gibson, 1931, p.173) prohibits Ovid's de arte amandi along with Pamphilus - showing they were current - while allowing 'poesias honestas'. Bishop Grandisson's instructions to the archdeacons of Exeter diocese (Leach, 1911, pp.314-6) also suggest that the study of the authors was still alive, if as always open to ecclesiastical censure:

> Cotidie experimur apud puerorum et illiteratorum Magistros sive Instructores nostre Diocesis, ipsos in Gramatica informantes, modum et ordinem docendi preposteros et minus utiles, immo supersticiosos, Gentilium magis quam Christianorum more, observari... ad alios libros magistrales et poeticos aut metricos ad (d)iscendos transire faciunt prematurе...

Grandisson does not ban the study of such authors, however, but orders that the schoolmasters

> quatinus pueros, quos recipiunt in Gramadicalibus (sic) imbuendos, non tantum legere aut discere litteraliter, ut hactenus, ut, aliis omnibus omissis, construere et intelligere faciant Oracionem Dominicam cum Salutacione Angelica, Symbolum, et Matutinas, ac Horas de Beata Virgine, et dicciones ibi declinare ac respondere de partibus earundem, antequam eosdem ad alios libros transire permittant.

As such texts as the 'Liber Florinus' or 'Prouerbia' in Bodl. Lib. MS Auct. F.3.9 show, the reading of the authors was closely linked to the need to compose 'clausulis succintis, decoris, metaphoris manifestis et...sentencia refertis'. The strong preference for verse authors in the reading texts can also be linked with the teaching of versification, although this is rarely as explicit as in the treatment of the 'versus de Sancta Katarina' in Bodl. Lib. MS Digby 100 where the verse form is written by the side of each couplet, (fols.11v-12v).

The specification of knowledge 'de partibus' is last in the list, although it must have occupied a great part of the grammar school course. 'De partibus' literally refers to the parts of speech, but such writers as John of Cornwall, in his Speculum grammaticale, subsumed all their teaching into a treatment of these, and we should read the phrase as also including the teaching of syntax and the other branches of grammatical study.

The teaching of grammar - in the narrower sense - at this time is marked by two to some extent contradictory characteristics. On the one hand features of the arts course are reproduced at a more elementary level. Money is spent at Merton in 1347-8 'in diversis paribus tabellarum albarum pro gramaticis pro argumentis reportandis' (Leach, 1911, p.300), and the final requirement for the baccalaureate at St. Alban's was that the candidate 'publice in scolis conferat' (ibid., p.244), which suggest that disputations were held in the last stages of the grammar school course (as they were later, Kingsford, 1908, vol. i, pp.74-5). The treatises of the Oxford grammar masters include simplified quaestiones

(Hunt, 1964, pp.172-3) as well as citing Priscian and other authorities frequently and including a certain amount of modistic terminology (ibid., pp.177-9). Their structure as summae including both elementary and advanced material within a single theoretical classification also reflects this tendency to use a fairly sophisticated approach. The statutes of Warwick School (Leach, 1911, p.274) go so far as to allow the master,'si in eadem expertus fuerit', to teach dialectic, which by this time was certainly a university subject in most cases, and in the early part of the century at least a number of M.A.s became schoolmasters (Orme, 1973, p.151).

On the other hand, however, the instruction offered is also characterised by the use of methods and techniques more suited to an elementary course. As we have seen above (3.4) mnemonic verses, latinitates and vulgaria, notes and rules covering small areas of grammar are all found in the work of the Oxford grammar masters. In the surviving treatises these features are often supplementary to the main text, appearing at the end of sections (Cornwall) or in a separate work (Hambury), but in the actual instruction the balance may have been different.

Perhaps the most important technique introduced was the use of English as a language of instruction. The group of statutes dated 'before 1313' decree that schoolmasters 'diligenter debent attendere quod scolares sui regulam obseruent, vel in Latinis vel in Romanis, provt exigunt status diuersi' (Gibson, 1931, p.21). This refers to the use of French - for the younger pupils - and Latin as the languages of the schoolroom, and this is well attested for

this period by various Oxford and Cambridge college statutes (Legge, 1950, pp.152-5), by Higden's comment that 'pueri in scholis contra morem caeterarum nationum a primo Normannorum adventu, derelicto proprio vulgari, construere Gallice compelluntur' (Babington, 1865-86,vol.ii, p.158) and by Hanney's use of French examples (3.4 above). Similarly, glosses in grammatical treatises copied between 1300 and c.1340 are in French and Latin only, although no treatises on Latin written in French for Englishmen survive to my knowledge from this period. In the 1340's, as is well known, John of Cornwall introduced the use of English as a language of grammatical instruction at Oxford (Stevenson, 1901, and Hunt, 1964, p.175), and Trevisa's comments (Babington, 1865-86,vol.ii, p.188) are supported by the dates of Cornwall's career and of the colophon to his Speculum grammaticale - which is the earliest treatise known to me to use English in its instruction - and also by the reluctant recognitions of its use in the statutes of Peterhouse, Cambridge in 1344 (which are based on those of Merton to which John of Cornwall was attached): 'Latino fruantur eloquio, nisi forsitan aliquoties, et ex causa juxta et rationabili, Gallico, sed perraro Anglico fruantur' (Legge, 1950, p.155). This change in methods clearly gained ground quickly, and by the time of the second group of Oxford grammar statutes ('pre-1380') the university found it necessary to decree that the grammar teachers

> tenentur etiam construere, necnon construendo significaciones dictionum docere in Anglico et vicissim in Gallico, ne illa lingua Gallica penitus sit omissa (Gibson, 1931, p.171).

These changes were of most importance at the elementary end of the grammar school course. The younger students seem to have been regarded as a separate group whose work was largely the learning of the parts of speech. The instruction of this group is clearly the concern of Bishop Grandisson in the extracts quoted above, and of the university in the statute just cited, but the teaching of these 'iuniores' (sometimes referred to as 'Donatists') is dealt with more fully in a statute of the earlier group:

> Item, debent magistri circa iuniores principaliter attendere quando querunt eorum partes, vt, primo quesito et responso sub qua parte oracionis contineatur diccio de qua queritur, statim queratur parti illi quot accidunt, et tunc per ordinem de accidentibus interogetur, vt sic adiscant per seipsos partes suas repetere. (Gibson, 1931, p.22)

The method advocated here corresponds to that, for instance, of the common treatise '<u>Dominus</u>, que pars?...' (see references at <u>Peniarth</u>(10)), where one example of each part of speech is taken in turn, identified as to its part of speech, the <u>accidentes</u> (such as case and number) of which are then established and described in turn, usually following Donatus. The extract of classroom dialogue in John of Cornwall quoted in 3.4 above reflects a similar approach. This movement towards positive instruction is in fact laid down by the university in one of the longest statutes concerning grammar (Gibson, 1931, p.23), 'vtilitati eorumdem scolarium et precipue iuniorum', and it is this movement which underlies the development of the English treatises.

5.2 The fifteenth century

The largely documentary evidence for the grammar school

course in the fourteenth century is balanced by the survival of a greater number of school-book manuscripts from the fifteenth century. Many of the manuscripts in which the Middle English grammars are found are of this kind, school productions, usually written by pupils rather than teachers, and reflecting in a haphazard way the teaching of those schools.

Br. Bonaventure (Miner, 1959; Bonaventure, 1961) has surveyed a number of these fourteenth and fifteenth century school manuscripts, with 'the ultimate aim...to determine what is common to all or most of these MSS, and, in particular, to discover whether or not there were specific "texts" in general use among the teachers of Latin'. (1961, p.2). As a result of his investigations he noted a number of frequently occurring treatises and listed these as "texts" for schools of the period, as well as commenting on the known authors of treatises and the sources they employed. The notion of the "text" carries with it dangerous presuppositions, and in particular it implies a more structured educational system (of the sort created by Henry VIII's promulgation of "Lily"'s grammar, which can truly be called a text), a more uniform textual transmission of treatises, and a more developed notion of curriculum than I believe can be attributed to this period, and so obscures the actual nature of the instruction (with which we shall deal here) and of the way in which the texts circulated (for which see 1.3 and 2.3 above). For this reason I do not intend to 'reconstruct' a typical fifteenth century grammar school course, or to provide a numerical survey of the frequency with which certain treatises appear,

but rather to look in turn at the categories of material found in the manuscripts and to consider the implications these carry for the nature of the instruction as a whole.

The most noticeable thing about the specifically grammatical material found in the manuscripts is its variety. Alongside the traditional treatises on elementary grammar - the Ars Minor and Doctrinale, 'Dominus: que pars?' and 'Sum, es, fui' for instance - we find a large body of short tracts on specific grammatical points such as those discussed in 3.6, notes and rules either singly or in groups (as at Peniarth(32) or CUL(18, 19, 32)), latinitates which are usually in collections (as at 37075(b, 25, 33), Harley(n.ii), PRO(6, 12) and CUL(23-26)), and the English treatises themselves. While the traditional treatises were in widespread use and retained a relatively constant text, the new material tends to be more local (as for instance the writings of Boryngton and Drury) and subject to variation. The fact that a number of the new treatises, and particularly those associated with John Leylond, did gain a wider circulation is of less importance than this more general tendency.

Taken together, the new material makes up a reasonably comprehensive course which stands alongside that provided by the traditional treatises. The Accedence and Comparacio cover the work of those beginning to learn grammar, and the Informacio, Formula and similar treatises provide first steps in syntax. Leylond's Latin treatises and the other material discussed in 3.6 then provide detailed instruction in gender (De cognitione generum), declension (De declinationibus, De nominibus etheroclitis), conjugation

(De preteritis et supinis, Verba neutra et anormala at 37075(4), Verba defectiva at 37075(16), 'Pro congruitate servanda...' at Corpus(1)) as well as more advanced work on syntax (De concordantiis grammatice, De regimine casuum). Put in this way the course compares directly with those of the early sixteenth century, but the manuscripts show few signs in their arrangement that these various treatises were generally regarded as part of a highly structured curriculum. The main school text which survives from the fourteenth century - the Doctrinale - is similarly found mostly as extracts on particular subjects. The manuscripts suggest that in most schools the instruction was made up of an individual and local amalgam of the old and the new, guided more by practical necessity and the availability of material than by a consistent idea of the curriculum.

The manuscript material also gives some indication of teaching methods in use at this time. The fourteenth century developments in 'positive instruction' are clearly consistent with the present material, and as might be expected there are fewer suggestions of simplified arts course techniques being employed. One of the few is the use of the word opponere in one of the passages for translation in Caius(5):

> Termino Michaelis pene consummato et termino natali domini propinquante magister incipit opponere suis scolaribus in libris ordinariis quos per anno didicerunt ne quod dudum perfecte sciverunt obliuiscantur, obliterent vel dediscent. (fol.19r)

and even here the situation would seem to be more one of examination than disputation.

The regular 'renderings' of material become correspondingly more important, and are developed with the use of regule,

latinitates and versus differentiales (which distinguish words of similar appearance but different meaning), which are found frequently throughout the manuscripts. Those in CUL are particularly valuable as the scribe has unusually given the collections headings, and we can see the systematic arrangement of material by terms in order of increasing length and difficulty.

CUL	Heading
(1)	regule date per mag. Iohannem Drury super librum facessie
(2)	regule date per mag. I. Drury super librum parui doctrinale
(23)	parue latinitates de termino natalis domini sed non pro forma reddicionis AD 1434
(24)	latinitates de termino natalis domini
(25)	latinitates de termino pascalis domini
(26)	latinitates de termino Michelis
(27)	parue regule de termino natalis domini
(28)	versus differenciales
(29)	versus de termino natalis domini
(30)	versus differenciales de termino pascalis domini
(31)	versus de termino Michelis AD 1435

The presence of versus differentiales in Drury's system shows that the teaching of vocabulary changed with the teaching of grammar. The verses cover much the same ground as the Equivoca and Synonyma and are found in many of the manuscripts (cf. Rawlinson(24) and 37075(21)). Other developments, however, were making the verse vocabularies less essential as tools for the student of grammar.
A number of Latin-English nominalia and verbalia (such as Lincoln(2), Harley(7) and 37075(35, 36)) and a copy of the Medulla grammaticae (Lincoln(1)) are found in the present manuscripts, but more important for Latin-English translation is the partial copy of the Promptorium Paruulorum at St. John's(23). Although the development of the dictionary reduced the value of the verse vocabularies as reference tools, it did not supplant them as a memorisable source for learning the language, and Stanbridge's Vocabula

is still recognisably in this tradition.

The latinitates which had been developed as a tool for teaching construction by the Oxford grammar masters of the previous century (see 3.4) are developed further in the fifteenth century, and in various forms take up considerable space in the manuscripts. Since in their efforts to be topical (cf. Nelson, 1956) and in their deliberate conjunction of Latin and English they are of particular interest, I list the main items in which they are found:

> CUL(23-26), 12195(24), 37075(25; 33; b; z.ii; dd.iv; dd.viii), Arundel(4-6), Harley(k-n), PRO(6; 12), Digby(a.iv), Rawlinson(dd; nnn), Worcester(a).

The latinitates at 37075(25) have two Latin versions, perhaps reflecting the work of the master and pupil, and the similar twofold Latin versions of some of the English proverbs at (10) in the same manuscript suggest, as Bartlett (1965, p.274) has noted, that they were also used for teaching Latin, for which see the further discussion below. The exercises at Harley(k-n) use English verses for translation, and might suggest a connection between the process of learning Latin composition and some of the more ephemeral compositions in English of the period. The collection at 12195(24) presents sentences in different word-orders, showing a similar interest to those printed by Meech, 1934, from the CUL 'parue latinitates'. Enkvist (1975, pp.285-6) has linked this interest with the process of construing and rearranging Latin to translate it into English, and this can be seen very clearly in the rearranged versions of psalms and hymns in section A of Douce. Finally, Rawlinson(dd) actually specifies the latinitates on

fourteen days of the Michaelmas term. The occasional set of conversational phrases in English and Latin which occur in the manuscripts (such as NLW(f)) can also be noted at this point.

Verse compositions such as the Disticha Catonis, Ecloga Theodoli, Facetus, Liber Cartule, Liber Penitencie, Liber Urbanitas, Liber Parabolarum and 'O magnatum filii...' as listed by Bonaventure (1961, pp.7-10) also occur frequently in the manuscripts, and this represents much the same selection of material as is found in the fourteenth century, although the last remaining classical texts seem to have fallen away. The texts were used to develop the grammar and vocabulary of the pupils, as well as to illustrate verse technique as in Trinity where they are sandwiched between texts on versification, and so we find two tables of grammatically grouped words at Hatton(b.i) drawn from the Liber Parabolarum and Facetus which follow in the manuscript, and construe marks and English glosses in the Disticha Catonis which is item (6) in the same manuscript.

The texts on versification in Trinity and other treatises on quantity (St. John's(4, 5)), on figures of speech (Rawlinson(32) and Harley(17)) and on construction (Rawlinson(22)) show a continuing interest in verse composition, and St. John's also contains as item (d) what appears to be an exercise in composition for the St. Alban's baccalaureate, as well as a number of other similar exercises (items (6) and (12)). There is enough material on this subject in the manuscripts to suggest that versification was still regarded as a climax of grammar

school education. Its relative sparseness when compared with the more elementary material reminds us that few pupils would reach that stage in the course.

Dictamen as such is hardly represented in the manuscripts. The treatises at Trinity(25-7) deal with this subject, but the manuscript is something of a special case. It provides what appears to be a deliberate selection of works to cover the whole field of elementary education and is more a reference book than a working copy which would reflect what was actually taught. It is however one of the few manuscripts we are considering to contain more advanced texts and to show some sophistication in its handling of grammar, and it may be that dictamen was studied by the older pupils in some schools.

Letters or parts of letters, most often in English, are, however, found quite frequently in the manuscripts, usually as added items (e.g. NLW(o.viii, o.xi, o.xvii), Peniarth(kk), Rawlinson(cc.iii, ppp.i/ii/iv-vii), 12195(kkk.ii)). Some of these, such as Peniarth(kk) are likely to be exemplary, others such as Rawlinson(ppp.v) are more likely to be copies or drafts of actual correspondence. The presence of the examples suggests that some schoolmasters gave instruction in at least the way to begin a letter, while the actual correspondence suggests that the pupils practised what they were taught. The fragments of documents and legal formulae which occur occasionally in the manuscripts (NLW(a.iv), St. John's(b) and Rawlinson(p) for example) can be interpreted in a similar way, and both classes of material reflect the more pragmatic approach to education that is found in this period.

Riddles and proverbs are found surprisingly frequently in the manuscripts in both Latin and English. Some, such as those at NLW(c.iv/v) are in isolation, and are part of the general riot of verses and scribbles which fills up the pages of these manuscripts and which gives some idea of the vast body of Latin which the schoolboy encountered piecemeal and which is easily overlooked. More startling is the presence of large collections - nine sides at Rawlinson(23), three sides at 37075(10), 41 proverbs at Peniarth(13) - which are not additions but part of the original contents of their manuscripts. The frequent occurence of Latin and English versions of the same proverb suggests that these were one form of practice in translation, and this would be consistent with the attempts made to make latinitates topical and interesting. The presence of this sort of material in the schoolroom may help to explain why, amongst the schoolmaster poets of the fifteenth century, Dunbar relishes the Latin tag or Lydgate the moralisation which seems trite to a modern reader. (For another collection of proverbs see Pantin, 1930.)

Finally, not strictly part of the educational material but closely related to it, we find in nearly all the manuscripts a considerable number of religious and liturgical items. At times, as in Douce which was probably a parish priest's book, this material is used as a basis for grammar teaching, but elsewhere the hymns, prayers and confessions which we find intermingled with the school texts remind us of the close connection between the church and elementary education.

5.3 The early sixteenth century

During the first half of the sixteenth century the spread of new educational ideas and the demands of the Reformation brought substantial changes in both the theory and the practice of grammar school education (Simon, 1967; Bowen, 1975, pp.377ff.; and with caution Leach, 1896; Watson, 1908). Since, however, it is important to realise that there is no clean break between the fifteenth century practice and the sixteenth century developments, I intend to look in this section at a small group of school curricula which claim to record Eton and Winchester practice c.1528-30 and which reflect the more conservative 'desire to improve teaching and school organisation rather than ... intentions to start a humanist school' (Simon, 1966, p.91).

The three curricula on which I will concentrate are:

Eton c.1528, for Cuckfield school (VCH Sussex, ii. pp.417-9)
Eton c.1530, for Saffron Walden school (Wright, 1852; VCH Essex, ii. p.521)
Winchester c.1530, for Saffron Walden school (Wright, 1852; VCH Essex, ii. p.521; VCH Hants, ii.pp.297-30).

The content of their courses is summarised in the table on the following page. I have tried to replace their cue-titles with fuller versions, although these are necessarily tentative in some cases. The two 1530 curricula also give details of reading books:

Eton Sulpicius, Quos decet in mensa; Aesop's Fables; Cato (presumably the Disticha Catonis); Terence; Vergil, Bucolics; Sallust; Cicero, Epistolae; Vergil, Aeneid; Horace on Cicero.

Winchester Cato; Lucian, Dialogues; Aesop's Fables; Terence; Ovid, Metamorphoses; Sallust; Vergil, Eclogues; Cicero, Epistolae.

The 1528 curriculum also mentions the Quos decet in mensa together with the Lord's prayer, Hail Mary and other similar texts for use in the preparatory class.

All the curricula also give details of a pattern of learning by rules and 'Latins' and later on by versification, which was tested weekly on Friday and Saturday, and once a quarter in a fortnight's examination.

ETON 1528	ETON 1530	WINCHESTER 1530
Prep. Stanbridge, Accidence	I. Stanbridge, Accidence	I. Stanbridge, Accidence Stanbridge, Gradus comparationum & Sum, es, fui
I. Stanbridge, Sum, es, fui Stanbridge, Parvula Stanbridge, Vocabula	Stanbridge, Institutiones Parvulorum Stanbridge, Vocabula	II. Stanbridge, Parvula Stanbridge, Vocabula
II. Whittinton, De nominum generibus Whittinton, De heteroclitis nominis	II. Lily, De generibus nominum	III. Sulpicius, De generibus nominum Sulpicius, De heteroclitis
III. Whittinton, Verborum preterita et supina	III. Lily, (De) preteritis et supinis regulae	IV. Sulpicius, De preteritis et supinis
IV. Whittinton, De concinnitate	IV. Lily, De constructione octo partum orationis	
V. (Versifying rules)	V. Despauterius, Artis versificatoriae compendium or Modus conscribendi epistolas	V. Sulpicius, 'Versyfycall rules', = (?) De qualitate syllabarum et de multiplici diversitate carminis
VI. Erasmus, De duplici copia verborum et rerum	VI. Erasmus, De duplici copia or P. Schade (Moselanus), Tabulae de schematibus et tropis in rhetorica.	VI. (lost)

The similarities between the practice recorded in these curricula and that of the fifteenth century is especially marked at the elementary end of the course. All the works listed as by Stanbridge, with the exception of the Vocabula, are his revisions of earlier printed texts, which are themselves substantially the same as the Middle English treatises on grammar. Since the first printed text which survives is dated hypothetically to c.1482 (STC^2 23163.13, the Long Parvula :) there is a considerable chronological overlap between the end of the manuscript and beginning of the printed tradition of the grammars, during which texts of each tradition were available to influence each other, and the boundary imposed by the present study must be regarded as to some extent artificial. The following extracts are from the earliest edition available in the Bodleian:

Long Accidence (Bodl. Lib. Douce D 238(2) = STC^2 23153.4)

> (Ai^r) How many partis of reason ben there? Eyght. Whiche viij? Nowne, pronowne, verbe, aduerbe, participle, coniunction, preposition and interiection. How many ben declynyd and how many ben vndeclynyd? Four ben declynyd and four ben vndeclynyd. Whiche four ben declynyd? Nowne, pronowne, verbe and participle. Whiche four ben vndeclynyd? Aduerbe, coniunction, preposition and interiection. How many ben declynyd with case and how many without case? Thre ben declynyd with case and one with out case. Whiche thre ben declynyd with case? Nowne, pronowne and participle ben declynyd with case, and verbe onely without case. How knowest a nown? For al maner thyng þat a man may see fele here or vnderstonde þat berith þe name of a thynge is a nowne.

Gradus comparationum & Sum, es, fui (Bodl. Lib. Arch.A.e. 37 (2) = STC^2 23155.4)

> (Ai^r) What nownys maketh comparison? All adiectyues wel̃nere that betokenyth a thynge that may be made more or lesse as 'feyre, feyrer, feyrest', 'blacke, blacker, blackest'. How many degreys of comparisons be ther? III. The pos(yt)yue, the comparatyue and the superlatyue. How know you the posytyue degre? For he

is the grounde and the beginnyng of al other degres of comparison. How know you the comparatyue degre? For he passyth his posityue with this Englysshe 'more' or his Englysshe endeth in '-r' as 'more wyse' or 'wyser'. Howe knowe you the superlatyue degre? For he passyth his posityue with this Englysshe 'most' or his Englysshe endyth in '-yst' as 'moste feyre' or 'feyryst', 'moste whyte' or 'whytyst'.

(Aiii^{r}) This verbe sum hath xiiij compoundys:

> Ad, subter, potis, ab, sub, in, inter, de, super, ob, pre, Pro, simul adiungas, ex et per teste Perotto.

Adsum, ades, Englysshed 'to be at, present, or by' is construyd comenly with an ablatyue case with this preposition in, and somtyme with a datyue case; Englysshed 'to helpe' or 'to fauer', is construyd also with a datyue case; but Englisshyd 'to come' he requirith no case of hym self; a(n)d somtyme he is vsyd for his primatiue.

Long
Parvula (Bodl. Lib. Arch. A.e.37(1) = STC^{2} 23164)

(Ai^{v}) What shalt thou do whan thou hast an Englysshe to make in Latyn? I shal reherse myn Englysshe ones, twyes or thryes, and loke out my pryncypal, and aske þe questyon 'who or what?'; and the worde that answereth the questyon shall be the nominatyf case to þe verbe, excepte it be a verbe impersonall, as in this example: 'The mayster techeth scolers'. 'Techeth' is þe verbe. Who techeth? The mayster techeth, This worde 'mayster' answereth to the questyon here, and therfore it shall be the nominatyf case, and the worde that cometh after þe verbe shall be the accusatyf case comynly, as Magister docet me.

Naturally revision has taken place, and in the Parvula for example the Latins are no longer given, and there is a reference to 'Guarin' on Aiii^{v}, but the continuity is striking, and is found in texts corresponding to the three main categories of Middle English treatises - the Accedence, the Comparacio, and the treatises on syntax. The second excerpt from the Sum, es, fui text given above can be compared with KK, which may also be by Stanbridge.

Changes were greater in the higher forms as new authors were introduced, reflecting new concepts of Latinity, but at this point I wish to draw attention to the continuity

of subject matter right through from Leylond to Lily. The pattern of writing a series of short treatises on such topics as gender, irregular nouns and verbs, and the formation of preterites and supines which Leylond had used is followed by all three of the grammarians whose work was adopted in these curricula, although their treatments of these subjects show considerable differences both from Leylond and from each other.

In the highest forms we once again find versification and the composition of letters as a final subject for the grammar school, and a similar continuity is found in the reliance on rules and 'Latins', and examinations on them at regular intervals, to support the learning process.

Even such a small body of evidence as this, however, also gives clear indications of the changes in theory and practice which were taking place at this time. Most obviously, the very existence of written-out curricula reflects an increased consciousness of the educational process which the new thinking of Erasmus and Vives in particular (Simon, 1966, chapter III) had instigated, and also an increasing desire for order and structure. The availability of printed texts clearly made structuring of this sort practicable, in contrast to the continual revision by successive schoolmasters of the manuscript treatises, and the process reached its culmination in the promulagation of a standard grammar in 1540.

The reading material mentioned in the curricula also shows a considerable move towards classical authors, and includes about half the texts recommended by Vives, for instance (Simon, 1967, pp.111-2). The authors sit a little uneasily with

the more traditional approach which is taken in teaching grammar, however, and it is to be questioned how far they reflect the new ideal which Colet expressed as to

> busily learn and read good Latin authors of chosen poets and orators, and note widely how they wrote and spake, and study always to follow them, desiring none other rules but their examples. (Quoted in Simon, 1966, p.79)

CHAPTER SIX - THE USE OF ENGLISH IN THE TREATISES

6.1 English terminology

The development of an adequate vocabulary to talk about grammar was clearly a sine qua non for teaching in the vernacular, and this seems to have happened fairly quickly. The earliest English treatises are as developed in this respect as the later, and a number of non-grammatical texts written in the last quarter of the fourteenth century which use grammatical terms show - as we must expect - that the terminology was in use during the period between John of Cornwall's innovation and the first surviving written texts.

Three texts in particular are important in this respect: the general prologue to the revision of the Wycliffite Bible (Forshall and Madden, 1850, vol. i, pp.57-60 in particular; see also Pollard, 1903, pp.193-9, 203-10, for this and and two comparable texts by Trevisa); John Trevisa's translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus de proprietatibus rerum (Seymour et al., 1975), and passus IV lines 335-410 of the C text of Piers Plowman (Skeat, 1886, vol. i, pp.89-93). The texts are dated a1397, a1398 and a1387 respectively by the MED. It is possible to make considerable speculations about this grouping of material, but the following points need to be made here: firstly, it shows the close connection between discussing grammar in English and translation into the vernacular at this time; secondly, it draws attention to the interest of Trevisa in particular in both these areas, which is supported by his comments on his slightly older fellow-Cornishman John of Cornwall (who may have been in

Oxford while Trevisa was there); thirdly it reminds us that the extensions of literacy with which the English treatises are bound up lead us directly to some of the best literature and bitterest religious controversy of the period.

The Bible prologue passage is an argument for 'resolucion', or rephrasing into what the writer considered more straightforward or 'open' syntax, in the process of translation, and it is important not only for the command of technical vocabulary it demonstrates but also for the specificity of its examples, as for instance the resolution of ' the maister redinge, I stonde ' (Forshall and Madden, 1850, vol. i, p.57) which relates closely to the treatment of the ablative absolute in the English texts, and shows a concern for the English phrasing which is not found in those texts, which prefer the Latinate construction for pedagogical reasons.

Trevisa shows a general willingness throughout the translation of the De proprietatibus rerum to talk about grammatical and etymological matters - and he is of course following his source in this - but two passages are of particular interest. Firstly (Seymour et al., 1975, pp.47-54), in talking about the names of God he incidentally makes an extensive analysis - at times philosophical rather than grammatical - of the various types of noun, using English terminology which goes beyond that used in the grammars: abstract, adiectiue, appropriat, concret, essencial, nocional, partitiue, personal, plural, positif, priuatiue, (of) respect, singuler, substantif and transumpt. Secondly (ibid., p.60), he chooses to exemplify the working of the human mind - as contrasted with that of angels - as follows:

> As if a childe knoweþ þat if þe nominatif case and þe verbe discordiþ in persone and in noumbre, þanne þe resoun is incongrue, as in þis manere: puer sumus bonus. Þanne take (for) on premis: no resoun is conger in þe whiche þe nominatif case and þe verbe discordith in noumbre and in persone. And take for þe oþir premis: in þis resoun, puer sumus bonus, þe nominatif case and þe verbe discordeþ in noumbre and in persone. And make þi conclusioun in þis maner: ergo þis resoun is not conger, puer sumus bonus.

The Piers Plowman passage takes a grammatical point as the basis for moralisation, as a tale from the Gesta Romanorum (Herrtage, 1879, pp.416-9) and other fifteenth century compositions do also. The point in this case is the concord between nouns and adjectives, relatives and antecedents, and naturally Conscience casts God in the role of antecedent, man in that of relative. The king's reply to Conscience reflects the relative newness of the terminology involved:

> Quath the kynge to Conscience, "knowen ich wolde
> What is relacion rect, and indyrect after,
> And thanne adiectyf and substantif, for Englisch was it neuere".
> (Skeat, 1886, C IV 343-5)

Ælfric's careful neologisms for grammatical terminology were no longer current by this time, and the teachers of Latin in English characteristically do not follow his example, but draw most of their vocabulary from Latin, often by way of French which was in use ealier as a language of grammatical instruction (as in accord, certain, (en)chesoun, conceiven, couplen, defaute, degre, double, failen, gendre, governen, gramere, lettre, ordre, passen, pouer, propre, qualite, resoun, supreme). The scale of borrowing is an indication of an important debt which the lack of surviving Latin grammars written in French for English use in the fourteenth century or earlier tends to obscure.

The fact that a number of the terms used, especially in EE (such as metonomia, silempsis, transicion, infinitacion, intransicion) where the writer is being more adventurous, are still very Latinate, like the frequent Latin tags and general macaronic quality of some of the texts, reflects the jargon nature of the language used in thc treatises. Similarly, only a small proportion of the technical vocabulary is drawn from existing English words used in new senses. Examples where this does seem to have happened include bitoknen, deed, drauen out of, eking, honging, strength, take, turn and worthe.

Surprisingly, however, much of the technical vocabulary appears in either straightforward or figurative senses in Middle English literary compositions from the time of Piers Plowman onwards, as the references to the terms in the MED demonstrate, and their use was clearly not wholly limited to the schoolroom.

The folowing list of words used with a technical sense in the Middle English treatises will give some idea of the scope of the terminology in use, which will be seen to be almost as broad as that of the early printed grammars or indeed the elementary Latin grammars of today. The forms given are standardised on the pattern of the MED headwords, and I have added a reference to the treatises where the MED does not record the sense in question or (from metonomia onwards) the OED does not record its use before 1500.

ablatif adj.
absolut ppl. (ablatif case ~)
absolutli adv. (KK70)
accidence n.
accidental adj. (B35)
accord n.
accorden v.
accusatif adj. + n.
actif adj. + adj. as n.
adjectif adj. + n.
adverbe n.
adverbialli adv.
adversatif adj.
affirmatif n. (BB30)
antecedent adj. + n.
antitesis n.
appellatif adj.
apponent adj. (HH13)
apposicioun n.
article n.
beren v. (~ case) (W212)
bitoknen v.
bitokninge ger.
cas n.
casuel adj. + adj. as n. (adj. as n.: A308) (see also LL105)
certain adj.
circumlocucion n.
clause n.
collecciоun n.
collectif adj. (see also LL58)
commun(e adj.
comparatif adj. + n.
comparisoun n.
composicioun n.
compouned ppl. + n.
conceiven v.
concepcioun n.
concord(e n. (A331)
conjugacion n.
conjunccioun n.
conjunctif adj.
construccioun n.
construen v.
coplicase n. (JJ10) (cf. couplen)
copulatif adj. + n. (Z36, A308)
couplen v. (Q98)
covenable adv. (EE138)

datif adj. + n.
declinen v.
declining ger. (X306)
declinson n.
decompound adj.
dede n. (~ of the verbe)
defaute n. (~ of gender)
defectif adj. (verbe ~) (C468)
degre n. (~ of comparison)
demonstratif adj. + n.
deponent adj.

derivatif n.
disjunctif adj. + n. (n.: A308)
distribucioun n.
distributif adj. + n.
double adj. (~ accusatif)
drauen v. (~ out of) (C117)
dubie adj. + n.
ekyng n.
enden v.
ending(e n.
English n. (V5)
Englishen v.
enormal adj. (verbe neuter ~) (C449)
epicen(e adj.
evocacion n.
except ppl. as adj. (~ action) (BB357)
expletif adj. + n. (n.: A308)
exponent adj. (HH22)
expounen v. (HH25)
failen v. (T232)
femine adj. (KK114)
feminin(e adj.
figure n.
first adj. (~ supine)
futur(e adj.
gendre n.
generall adj. (noun ~) (X215)
genetif adj. + n.
gerundif n.
governaunce n. (FF84)
governen v.
governing(e ger.
gramer n.
haven v. (V25)
honging(e ger. (short ~ resoun) (Y298)
imparfit adj.
imperatif adj.
impersonal adj. + n. (n.: T373)
impersonally adv. (FF122)
indeclinable adj.
indicatif adj.
infinitacioun n.
infinitif adj.
instrument n. (FF91)
interjeccioun n.
interrogatif adj.
intransicion n.
invariabile adv. (HH141)
later(e adj. (~ supine) (T241)
Latin n. (V6)
lettre n.
long adj. (~ vowel)
manere n. (~ of speche) (B1)
masculin(e adj. + n.
mater(e n. (T16)
metonomia n. (BB163)
mood n. (A166)
multitude n. (noun of ~) (FF58)
negacion n. (EE19)

negatif n. (Z16)
neuter adj. (~ noun)
neuter adj. (~ verb) (U283)
neuter-passif adj. (T411)
nominatif adj. + n.
noumbre n.
noun n.
oblique n. (F99)
optatif adj. (A170)
ordre n. (~ of construccioun) (V2)
part n. (W212) (~ of resoun E1) (~ of speche A1)
particion n. (BB131)
participul n.
partitif adj. (A62)
passen v. (O102)
passif adj. + n. (n.:A201)
perfit adj. (C420)
person n. (A121)
personal adj. (HH23)
pluperfit adj. (C421)
plural adj. + n.
positif adj. + n. (A28, O17)
possessif adj. + n. (D271, D216)
pouer n. (~ of conjunccioun) (A306)
preposicion n.
present adj.
preter adj. (A247)
preterinperfit adj. (A215)
preterit adj.
preteritplusquamperfit adj. (Y377)
preterperfit adj. (A215)
preterpluperfit adj. (A216)
primatif adj. + n. (Y225, A125)
principal adj. (~ verbe) (T21)
prolemps(is) n. (EE22)
pronoune n. (A2)
propre adj. (~ name)
qualite n. (A21)
question n.
racional adj. + n. (D513, A309)
referren v. (U61)
rehersen v. (U42)
rehersing ger. (U43)
relacion n. (EE17)
relatif adj. + n. (adj.:X37)
resolved ppl. (FF86)
resoun n.
reuli adv. (P97)
sentence n. (W28)
sext n. (X204)
short adj. (~ vowel)
significacion n.
silempsis n. (EE51)
sillable n.
simple adj. (BB624)
signe n. (U410)
singuler adj.
sinodoche n.
sintecis n. (EE117)

soun n.
sounen v. (O40)
strengthe n. (U80)
substantif adj. + n. (adj.: A14, T78)
substantifli adv. (Z31)
superlatif adj. + n. (n.: 082)
supine n. (A69)
supponent adj. (nominatif ~) (HH12)
supreme adj. (~ degre) (LL172)
taken v. (A200)
taker n. (B300)
tens n.
time n. (A168)
transicion n. (EE285)
transitif adj. (A68)
turning ger. (X247)
uncertain adj. (A135)
undeclined ppl. (A4)
understood ppl. (U267)
unreuli adv. (P53)
verbal adj. (~ noune) (FF147)
verbe n.
vocatif adj.
vois n.
vouel n.
worthi adj. (BB399)
zeuma n. (EE117)

6.2 The application of Latin grammar to English

In order to teach Latin more effectively, the writers of the Middle English treatises consistently give English examples of the categories and accidents of Latin grammar, and in the more elementary treatises these categories and accidents are often defined only in this way, without mention of the Latin forms. Similarly, in the treatises on syntax, parallel English constructions appear alongside the Latin ones, and occasionally these are discussed in their own right. The status accorded Latin as a universal grammar by the modistic grammarians (Bursill-Hall, 1971, p.38) makes this application of Latin categories to English a very natural step. The pedagogical advantages and theoretical naturalness of treating English in this way help to explain why so little independent analysis of English is found in the treatises, while on the other hand English is used, even when we might consider its application strained, to elucidate the Latin. The 'Latins' and 'vulgars' printed by Meech from CUL (1934, pp.82-3) show the same tendency at work. Meech's suggestion (ibid.) that the distortion of the English examples was deliberately intended to illustrate Latin word order is interesting in these terms. (See above in 5.2.)

Naturally, this degree of licence and the application of Latin categories to the English language in general, produce a number of English examples and analyses which appear strange, as well as a number of interesting remarks about the English of the day, and I shall look at these in some detail. First, however, it may be helpful to give an outline of the extent to which the Latin categories and accidents

are transferred to English.

Donatus' eight parts of speech - noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, participle, conjunction, preposition and interjection - are naturally applied to English, and the treatises show no signs of wishing to change this system. HH22-5 (quoted below) is the only passage to deal with the article as such and even there it is treated only as an adjunct of the noun. This classification corresponds to Michael's system 1 (1970, p.214), and as the list of its users which he gives shows, a large number of later grammarians continued to apply it to English (cf. Vorlat, 1975, pp.49-55).

The noun is defined in terms of English at M13-19 and H22-5 and its number (A52-5, H1-5), case (A56, GG4-8) and person (C217-22, GG33-5) are discussed using English examples. The discussion of number makes no explicit reference to English morphology, but in the passage at H1-5 the separation of the examples into two groups - 'man' and 'chyld', 'beest' and 'boke' - implies an awareness that some English nouns form their plural with '-(i)s' while others do not. Case in English is equated with analytic constructions such as 'to þe mayster', 'o þou maister' (cf. Vorlat, 1975, p.155), and number noted in personal pronouns mainly. The difference between substantives and adjectives is illustrated with reference to English alone at C14-20, but the discussion at H22-5 goes further:

> Howe knowe ye a nowne substantyue? By hys Englysch and by hys Laten. In Englych he may stand w^{t}owt an adiectyffe and comynly one of thes tokens go before hym as: 'a {man' / chyld' / boke'} 'an {halle' / halter' / hors'} 'the {sone' / mone' / see'}.

Apart from recognising one role of the article (Vorlat, 1975, pp 74-6) the writer has classified the English nouns according to their initial sound and their customary generic or specific reference ('man' customarily has generic and specific, 'sone' only specific reference). The uniform use of words whose spelling bgins with 'h-' rather than a vowel for the 'an' class is particularly interesting. The passage goes on to identify the Latin hic, hec, hoc as articles (for which, with a general discussion of the article see Vorlat, 1975, chapter 5), but this is not relevant to the English discussion, other than suggesting that the writer may have started with the English construction and then looked for a Latin parallel rather than vice versa. Finally, comparison in adjectives is discussed in terms of English (without reference to Latin at C30-7) and both the '-r', '-est' endings and the use of 'more' and 'most'/'least' are referred to. Quality and quantity in comparison are identified using only English examples at N5-9. B301-5 offers a syntactic analysis of the construction of the genitive with the superlative, using only an English example:

> Þat is to say, when þe genetyf may be changyd into þe same case þat þe superlatyf degre ys and þe superlatyf degre into þe posityf by trewe sentence, as þus: 'The rose is fayrryst of flovrys', hit may be changyd þus and þe sentence trewe: 'Þe rose ys a feyre flovre'.

Two accidentals of the verb - mood and tense - are also dealt with in terms of English in some detail. At A175-80 the English equivalents of the indicative, imperative, optative, conjunctive and infinitive moods are identified, the indicative and imperative by meaning, the optative by the use of 'wold' or 'schuld' (C403-4 adds 'mote' and 'at my wille'), the conjunctive by 'yf', and the infinitive

by 'to' before the verb (cf. Vorlat, 1975, pp.329-30, 334-43). GG76-7 differs in its analysis in that 'all swylk wordys "swld", "cowde", "mwght", "wald", "ware" sal be coniunctif mode preterneperfite tens', presumably reflecting the realisation that there is no separate optative mood in Latin. The imperfect, perfect, pluperfect and future tenses are identified in the English verb at A217-25 by the presence or absence of 'have', 'had' and 'shall', and it should be noted that the standard English equivalent for the imperfect tense in the treatises is 'I loved' (cf. B215), with 'I have loved' as the perfect, perhaps reflecting the Latin morphology as well as the still infrequent use of the progressive form (cf. Davis, 1967, p.9 and the passage from Lily quoted by Vorlat, 1975, p.304 with her comments on pp.307-8).

The verbs are classified by voice, which is commonly discussed in terms of verbs meaning either 'to do' or 'to suffer', as it was by later grammarians (Vorlat, 1975, pp.277-8), but B156-60 includes a brief section identifying these classes in English on the basis of the presence of 'am', 'art', 'ys' 'was', 'were' or 'be' in the passive forms as Poole was later to do (ibid., pp.278-9). The treatises also identify impersonal verbs by their construction in English with 'hyt' or 'me' (T294-311), and this is dealt with in more detail below.

The present, past and future participles are identified at A249-269 by the presence of '-yng' (C498 adds '-and'), 'i-' and 'to' (C506-8 gives 'for to (be)') respectively. The equation of forms in 'to ...' with the future participle is paralleled at X212 where 'Y am to drede þe mayster'

translates 'Ego sum qui timebo magistrum' where the Latin construction with relative pronoun and future verb is used because the participle/is lacking. Lily (quoted by Vorlat, 1975, p.352) makes a similar equivalence. This point is discussed further below.

The remaining parts of speech receive less detailed attention in the treatises. The three degrees of the adverb in '-ly', '-er/-ir' and '-est' are described - without reference to Latin - at C483-91. At FF10 we are told, 'Thow shalt knowe a relatyue by thys synys "that", "whom" or "the wyche"', and personal pronouns are identified in discussing person in the noun. The treatment of English prepositions is similarly mostly found in the discussions of case in the noun. FF26-8 applies the category of conjunction to 'that' and also deals with its ambiguity in English:

> Thys Ynglyss worde 'that' ys a conyunctyon when he cannot be taktn for thys Ynglyss worde 'the wyche', and ys a relatyue when he ys so takyn.

Finally, A324-6 illustrates the interjection with English examples such as 'fy' and 'out' rather than Latin ones, and the various interjection sections taken together give an interesting list of Middle English exclamations.

Some of these classifications are put together briefly at T32-9 (cf. LL73-80):

> 'A chyrch ys a place þe whych Cristunnen mecull ben holdyn to love.' Whych ys thy principall verbe in þis reson? 'Ys' ..... What case ys 'the chyrch'? þe nominatif case. What parte of spech ys 'the whych'? A relatif.

The English is not, however, normally treated as explicitly as this.

A note of caution must be sounded before leaving this

subject. At T400-1 we read 'For when y have a verbe in Englysh nevter lyke to a passif, where the passyue faylyth...' where the sense must be 'For when I have a verb in an English sentence which is to be translated by a Latin neuter verb which is not used in the passive....'. It is possible that elsewhere also we can read more into the texts than their writers intended.

Turning now to some of the difficulties and points of interest this application of Latin grammar creates in English, we note that in dealing with 'synecdoche' (i.e. accusative of respect), there is a strong suspicion that the grammarians have created an English expression in order to exemplify the Latin. D146-50 reads:

> Also whanne I haue a noun betokenyng party of mannys body comyng in construccyon after a noun adiectyf, a verbe neutre or verbe passyf, the party of the body schall be accusatyf case, as 'I whyte the face, ake the hede, am hurte the legge', Ego albus faciem, doleo caput, ledor pedem uel tibiam.

The English examples, like those at EE211-221, might be taken as just literal versions of the Latin along the lines of the 'Latins' and 'vulgars' printed by Meech (1934, pp.82-3) if it were not for the discussion at BB257-62:

> Iohannes fractus manicam erubescit versare inter proceres. This word manicam is the accusatif case, for whan this syne 'the' commyth before ony part of the body and folowt a nown adiectif, verbe neuter or passif or any of thair participuls, the same part of the body shal be sett yn the accusatif case bi this figure sinotiges. (cf. HH492-503)

The English construction is spelled out in detail, but I have not been able to find any convincing evidence for its use in Middle English. Piers Plowman A 8.834 (Kane, 1960, p.355) may be an example

> Blynde & bedredc, & broken here membris

where 'the' is recorded as a variant of 'here', but

it is perhaps easier to take 'broken here membris' as an absolute clause with 'here membris' as the subject of 'broken': 'Blind and bedridden, and their members broken'.

The parallel example in Seinte Iuliene (d'Ardenne, 1961, p.43)

> Ich habbe iblend men & ibroken ham þe schuldren.& te schonken

is also more easily analysed without employing synecdoche, in this case taking 'ham' as dative.

In a number of other places constructions which are native to English are given a more elaborated treatment than their English use might justify, and this is particularly true of absolute, and some impersonal, constructions, which were part of the epistolary style of the period but less frequent in spoken English (Davis, 1967, pp.8-9). The emphasis they received in school may have helped this situation develop.

The treatises define English impersonal (strictly, 'quasi-impersonal') verbs by the presence of 'hit' or 'me' before the verb. In the course of their discussions they offer the following examples. The Latin they are translating and a specimen reference are also given.

hit	befalles	interest	V247-8	
	behose	oportet	V194-6	
	delytit	(placet)	Z256	
	forthynkus	penitet	T294-311	
	heuyethe	tedet	V15-17	
	noeys	tedet	T294-311	
	plesith	(placet)	BB420	
	rwes	miseret	T294-311	
me	belǫuythe*	creditur	V15-17	*MS belouythe
	loues	amatur	T294-311	
	redis	legitur	T294-311	
	syttis	sedetur	T14-15	
	teches	docetur	T294-311	

All the constructions with 'hit' are recorded by the MED or OED except 'Hyt heuyethe my soule my lyf' at V15-17, which is translating Job 10.1 Tedet animam meam vite me.

The writer seems to have disguised what is essentially a personal construction in English by giving it a preposed formal subject and following the Latin word order, in order to maintain the equivalence between Latin and English impersonals. Interestingly the Wycliffite Bible translation use 'it nozeth' at this point (Forshall and Madden, 1850, II, p.686). The constructions with 'me' are best explained as uses of the indefinite pronoun 'man' in its reduced form, although the formal identity with the first person singuler accusative which was used in such constructions as 'me rueth' (Visser, 1963, p.35) may have been in the writers' minds. The example with 'belouythe' is once again translating the Bible (Romans 10.10) and the Wycliffite translations have the same construction (Forshall and Madden, 1850, IV, p.324).

Further constructions with preposed 'hit' are dealt with below.

The English treatises give a number of examples of English absolute clauses using past and present participles as equivalents of Latin ablative absolutes (e.g U12-13, V12-13, Y139-40, BB383-4) and the English construction is analysed at X225-30:

> For when I haue and Englyssch ⌜(of)⌝ a schorte hangyng resun ⌝ of a nown and a particypull or els a pronown and a participull or ellys a partycipull of a verbe inpersonall ⌜ sett ⌝ by hymsylfe and no word in þe reson sett owt or understonde of þe wheche he may be gouer(n)d, hyt schall be sett in þe ablatyff case absolute and be expownd by <u>dum</u> or by <u>cum</u>. (cf. U265-70)

Visser (1963, pp.1149-58, 1264-6) demonstrates convincingly that the absolute construction in English was in frequent enough written use by 1500 to be considered naturalized, and as with the

other more Latinate constructions it seems likely that the free use of English versions in the grammatical treatises helped it to take root. The example at EE17-19 is the only one to cause any difficulty: '"My lorde comyng to contre hys bonde men gretlych dredyth", Dominum meum venientem ad istas partes sui serui vehementer formidant.' The Latin example in this case is not an ablative absolute but an object phrase in the accusative dependent on formidant. The word-order of the English version has evidently been distorted in order to make it fit the Latin, producing - probably unintentionally - an absolute clause.

Finally, a number of constructions using the English infinitive are dealt with in the treatises. The use of the infinitive after the verb 'to be' in place of the future participle in such constructions as 'I am to drede þe mayster' (X212) has already been discussed. A similar usage but with an impersonal subject is used at T198-203 and in similar passages in other texts to translate the gerund, (cf. examples in Visser (1963, pp.48-63), dated from 1400 to 1535):

> When the English of an infinitif mode comus aftyr sum, es, fui and sum, es, fui have no nominatif case before hym, I shall have a gerundif in -dum wtowte ad preposicion, as thus: 'Hyt ys to wtstond owre enmys purposyng to destrye owre reme', Resistendum est inimicis nostris proponentibus nostrum regnum adnichilare. (T198-203)

The use of the impersonal 'Hyt ys..' opening can perhaps be compared in terms of surface structure with the constructions with an anticipatory subject noted by Davis, 1967, p.9.

AA191-4 deals with the causal infinitive in English, which again translates a Latin gerund (cf. Einenkel, 1916, pp.16-17):

> Whan I haue þe English of þe infinityve mode þat commyth in a reson and tellith the cause of the reson, I shall haue a gerundyve in -dum w^t a preposicion. Exemplum: Viri vadunt ad bellum ad dimicandum.

The infinitive was similarly used as the equivalent of the supine in -um expressing purpose with verbs of motion, and occasionally the same analysis was extended to cover the supine in -u (T215-224) as noted in chapter 4, although the English in this case, which is, in Latin categories, closest to the gerund, is also labelled a present participle. The area of Latin gerunds, gerundives and participles and English '-ing' words and infinitives was one of considerable uncertainty it seems, and this is hardly surprising since there is no easy correlation between the languages at this point. Lily (quoted by Vorlat, 1975, p.352) translates the gerundive in legendis veteribus proficis with a gerund, 'In readinge olde Authors, thou doest profit', and gives 'to love' as the equivalent of amaturus (which might explain why T215-224 uses the label infinitive for an '-ing' word).

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this thesis has been to present a significant body of texts, which constitute the earliest specific discussion of language in English after the conquest, and which reflect the elementary teaching of Latin grammar in the schools of fifteenth century England. In the course of discussing the grammar and syntax of Latin the texts analyse English at a number of points, and while on a few occasions this reflects an appreciation of the differences between the two languages, the writers of the texts are content for the most part to transfer the categories of Latin to their native language. In doing this they pave the way for the presentation of English grammar 'in Latin guise' (Enkvist, 1975) from William Bullokar's Pamphlet for Grammar (see Michael, 1970, p. 554 of 1586 onwards, but in particular they anticipate by a century the 'Stanbridge' Latin grammars of the early Tudor period, which must now be seen as revisions of the earlier treatises which did little more than tack on new examples to an existing framework. Since a similar continuity can also be seen in the content of the school curriculum, it is also necessary to reassess the extent to which the new educational foundations of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were putting humanistic ideals into practice.

The teaching of John Leylond the elder at Oxford in the early years of the fifteenth century appears to lie behind the treatises, but they are to be seen as part of a considerable body of similar Latin material which was in use in the schools of the period, and which each school modified to suit its own needs. The manuscripts containing the treatises are often

the work of pupils in such schools, which include the most important foundations but also a number of less well-known schools in, for example, ports and market-towns. Some of the manuscripts clearly reflect the teaching of parish priests, but more numerous and of more importance are those which demonstrate the role the grammar school of the fifteenth century played in developing pragmatic lay literacy (cf. Miner, 1972; Parkes, 1973). Rawlinson, in particular, shows the son of a prominent merchant family of Devon learning Latin and other subjects for business purposes.

The evidence of the contents of the manuscripts shows that the school environment which lies behind the treatises was marked by an interest in verses and versification which followed naturally from the process of learning Latin and reading Latin verse. The collections of proverbs and latinitates in the manuscripts are of particular importance in this respect. There is also some evidence to suggest that the schools provided instruction in writing letters in English. These interests are clearly linked by grammatical terminology with the work of such translators as Trevisa and the writer of the prologue to the revision of the Wycliffite Bible, as well as with the C text of Piers Plowman, and the occasional use of English verse as the basis for latinitates and the presence of a large number of occasional Latin verses in the manuscripts also suggest that the schoolroom might be a suitable background for some of the more ephemeral English verse of the period.