

The original aim of my research project was to examine all of the Latin Alvarez volumes published between the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Trnava.<sup>1</sup> In these textbooks, I was looking for singularities which would make these books more easily adaptable as textbooks and in terms of curriculum to local conditions and their linguistic environment. Or rather, I wished to determine if the Trnava editions displayed evidence of these peculiar variations at all. Upon examination of nine copies of the Alvarez textbook series<sup>2</sup> I was able to conclude that in the first volume intended for beginners and in the second volume some regional variations could be found.

What were these variations? I will soon answer the first question by looking at and expanding upon the contemporary expression “textbook series”. I can premise that although I hardly found anything that may be termed regional variations, examination of the textbooks was not in vain. While scholarly research has dealt with rhetoric and poetry textbooks and methods, the grammar textbooks of the Jesuit schools and the methodology used to teach their contents have been relegated to the periphery of scholarly attention. Whereas in 2015 the 18th volume of *Classica Cracoviensia* contained Polish researcher Justyna Łukaszewska-Haberkowa’s study of the use of Alvarez’s grammar in 16<sup>th</sup> century Poland, in Hungary no serious detailed examination of the topic has been done.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> KÄFER, Stephanus and Esther KOVÁCS. *Ave Tyrnavia!* Opera impressa. Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1648-1777, Budapestini – Strigonii – Tyrnaviae, MMXIII. ISBN 978-963-200-610-9. In what follows: *Ave Tyrnavia; Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok 1656-1670*. vol. 4. ed. P. VÁSÁRHELYI, Judit, Akadémiai Kiadó – Bibliotheca Nationalis Hungariae, Budapest, 2012. ISBN 978-963-446-664-2. In what follows: RMNY; SZABÓ, Károly. *Régi Magyar Könyvtár II-dik kötet. Az 1473-tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű hazai nyomtatványok könyvészeti kézikönyve* [Old Hungarian library. Vol. II: Bibliographical Handbook of Foreign-Language Books printed in Hungary from 1473 to 1711]. Budapest 1885. In what follows: RMK II.

<sup>2</sup> The examined copies: RMNY 2856 (Čaplovič 1981, Ave Tyrnavia 1659/1); RMNY 2857 (Čaplovič 1982, Ave Tyrnavia 1659/2); RMNY 2858 (Čaplovič 1983, Ave Tyrnavia 1659/3); RMK II. 1365 (Čaplovič 2071, Ave Tyrnavia 1675/2); RMK II. 1888a; RMK II. 1929a; RMK II. 1963 (Čaplovič 2423, Ave Tyrnavia 1699/2); RMK II. 1963a; RMK II. 2419a (Ave Tyrnavia 1711/1)

<sup>3</sup> ŁUKASZEWSKA-HABERKOWA, Justyna. “Grammatica” of Emmanuel Alvarez SJ and its Editions in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. In: *Classica Cracoviensia* XVIII, 2015, 229-240. ISSN: 1505-8913; Briefly about Alvarez’s grammar: MÉSZÁROS, István. *A tankönyvkiadás története Magyarországon*, Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest-Dabas, 1989, 34, 54-55. ISBN: 963-18-2156-0; BALASSA, Brunó. *A latintanítás története II*. Sárkány Nyomda Rt., Budapest, 1930, 194-198.

The three-volume Latin textbook of the Portuguese Jesuit father, Manuel Alvarez, was first published in Lisbon in 1572,<sup>4</sup> but by the third third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century it had become a mainstay of Jesuit Latin education across Europe. The textbook garnered unprecedented popularity with over 500 editions in Europe. It dominated the field for over 200 years, over many generations thousands upon thousands of students perused its pages in Europe and beyond its borders, because the Alvarez volume was in use among Jesuit missions abroad. In fact, even other language textbooks were modelled upon it. In 1869 an edition even appeared in Shanghai with explanations in Chinese. The Jesuits' central curriculum of studies, the *Ratio studiorum*, recommended this volume for learning the Latin language in every school of the order.<sup>5</sup> Its popularity and use in Hungary outside of Jesuit schools is well demonstrated by the fact that in 1777 and 1806 the *Ratio Educationis* recommended the use of this textbook for the benefit of Catholic schools.

The Alvarez grammar, or as the *Ratio studiorum* terms it, Emmanuel's three volume, was produced for the three classes of the lower grammar-school. Students began learning from it at age ten.<sup>6</sup> The first volume, the *Institutionum grammaticarum liber primus*, **[picture 1.]** dealt with the basic grammar of Latin. It wanted students to learn the five declensions and how to conjugate verbs. It is in this volume that we may find regional variations, since Alvarez did not plan for the first volume to be monolingual Latin. Rather, translations of Latin expressions could appear in the mother tongue of the people who lived in a particular place. In our case, among the editions produced in Trnava in 1699, we can find portions of the curriculum in Hungarian and Slovak. **[Picture 2.]** The second volume also contains bilingual parts **[Picture 3.]**; however the third volume of the textbook series is monolingual, regardless of where it was published.

The second volume, which was utilized in the second and third grades, was called *Institutionum grammaticarum liber secundus de constructione octo partium orationis*. **[Picture**

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<sup>4</sup> *Emmanuelis Alvari e Societate Iesv de institvtione grammatica libri tres*. Olysiptone: Excudebat Ioannes Barrerius, 1572. About the Alvarez-Grammar see in detail: ROGELIO, Ponce de León Romeo. *Aproximación a la obra de Manuel Alvares: edición crítica de sus De institutione grammatical libri tres*, PhD-dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2002.

<sup>5</sup> *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu* (1586 1591 1599), ed. Ladislaus, LUKÁCS S. I., Romae, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1986. (Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu V.) 121. ISBN: 88-7041-129-X. In what follows: *Ratio studiorum* 1586

<sup>6</sup> MÉSZÁROS, István. Az 1777-i és az 1806-i Ratio Educationis tankönyvei. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle* 96/4 (1980), 352. ISSN: 0025-0171

4.] Its theme was the eight parts of speech and the syntax. Several editions were published accompanied by a text collection, such as German Jesuit Jacob Gretser's textbook *Institutiones linguae Graecae*, which was the formal Jesuit primer for Greek. I think it is important to recall the *Ratio studiorum*'s stance about the necessity of understanding Greek:<sup>7</sup> in the vocabulary of most areas of scientific knowledge there are expressions from Greek; let us think only of medicine, philosophy, mathematics or theology! Many names and expressions in Latin can only be truly understood if one has comparable knowledge of Greek. The *Ratio studiorum* lists seven arguments<sup>8</sup> for learning the Greek language, citing in more than one place that Greek studies should be begun simultaneously to Latin, because at such an age, approximately ten years, a boy's brain acts as a sponge which absorbs the declensions and grammatical rules, and he retains them. The text warns us that higher grades face the danger that the students are more prone to forming their own opinions instead of memorizing, so experience shows that they withdraw from the study of Greek.<sup>9</sup>

The collection of writing which accompanies some editions of the second volume is mostly comprised of Cicero works, such as *Cato maior de senectute*, a portion of *Somnium Scipionis*, selections from *Ad Familiares* and *Ad Atticum* and excerpts from the first book of *De officiis*. In addition portions from the works of Ovid, Caesar and Curtius Rufus may also be found in this volume. The prioritization of the Cicero works stems from the favorable mention in the *Ratio studiorum*. The chapter on the goals and exercises of the grammar classes mentions exactly which Cicero section applies to the daily curriculum.

The third volume, titled *Institutionum grammaticarum liber tertius de syllabarum dimensione* [Picture 5.] was intentioned for the third class of the lower grammar-school but was also used by the upper forms of the poetry classes. Its focus was phonetics, short and long syllables, and proper pronunciation.

All three volumes of the Trnava editions appeared in octavo format. This small size was practical, easy to use and portable. Italics and bold font aided accessibility, although from a

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<sup>7</sup> Cfr. *Ratio studiorum* 1586, c. 4 (p. 125-128.)

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. *Ratio studiorum* 1586, c. 4 (p. 125-126.)

<sup>9</sup> *Ratio studiorum* 1586, c. 4 (p. 127.): „Nam quae sola prope memoria indigent, ea multo facilius ac melius, quamvis multa sint ac minuta, percipiuntur a pueris; grandiores vero, qui paulo plus iudicio, minus memoria valent, flectendorum nominum atque verborum caeteraque huiusmodi spinosa ediscendi molestiam reformidant.”

modern perspective, they aren't user friendly. None contain illustrations and in the process of typesetting errors occurred. These errors are particularly offsetting in the case of beginners.

Let us turn to how the editors of the *Ratio studiorum* felt about the Alvarez grammar. Why did they choose this textbook? What advantages and disadvantages did they discover? In the first instance, I examined those portions of the *Ratio studiorum* which cover the subject of grammar in detail.<sup>10</sup> This subject and beyond this the importance of the Latin language itself receive constant reiteration. Grammar is the foundation which has to be taught at the right time, that is to say during the first years of schooling, so that other more complicated subjects can be set on it. If the grammar fails to get properly, then the students won't be able to learn the other subjects relating to the *studia humanitatis* either. Consequently, we can say that the *Ratio studiorum* was built upon the grammar.<sup>11</sup> According to the *Ratio studiorum*, in order for education to be successful one needs to have the proper textbook, attitude, teacher, methodology and a sufficient amount of time devoted to learning.

The textbook in question was the three volume gradational Alvarez series. Before its appearance Jesuit schools used several different Latin grammar books, which resulted in differing levels of knowledge, and which were often not impervious to elements of barbarism or solecism, or even to stylistic or grammatical errors. The second volume of the Alvarez grammar drew attention to these shortcomings. Barbarisms may be defined as semantic errors, what the textbook terms lexical errors, expressions in Latin deriving from the neo-Latin languages, mistakes in number and gender of nouns and imprecision in conjugation.

Syntactical errors can be viewed as solecisms, including for example use of superfluous prepositions, or the lack of necessary ones, or the use of adverbs rather than adjectives. The term comes from the Greek, namely from the word *soloikismos*. The Athenians who settled in the Cilician city of Soloi soon lost their Attic dialect, and by the standards of the Ionic dialect they began misspeaking the language. **[Picture 6.]**

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<sup>10</sup> *Ratio studiorum* 1586, c. 3 (p. 120-125.): *Quantum referat optima nostros uti Grammatica quaeve eiusmodi videatur*; c. 4 (p. 125-128.): *An cum primis ferme Latinae Grammaticae elementis Graecae etiam literae discendae sint*; c. 5 (p. 128-132.): *Quonam modo instituenda sint exercitationum genera, quibus Latinae Graecaeque literae perdisci solent*

<sup>11</sup> *Ratio studiorum* 1586, c. 3 (p. 120.): „Quoniam totius humanitatis fundamentum in arte grammatica positum est, ab ea videtur exoriendum esse. ”

The Jesuit order wanted to stamp out these linguistic errors and irregularities with a unified grammar, which Alvarez put together for this purpose from the most authentic sources using a preconceived structure, which he expounds upon in the preface to his second volume. The grammatical volume still leaves something to be desired which we can succinctly summarize by a critical perusal of the *Ratio studiorum*:

-The order of the curriculum could have been altered in some places. For example in the first volume the 14 rules found their place.<sup>12</sup> In reality, these correspond to syntax, which means that beginner students could not comprehend it. There are expressions here which they had not yet learned, such as the *gerundium*, *supinum* and *participium*. The same may be said for the rules about grammatical agreement.

-In the first volume, the students are overwhelmed by a discussion of all the exceptions regarding noun gender, which even those familiar with the grammar wouldn't have known in their entirety, and if they had known about them, they would have easily forgotten, and would have had to get out their Calepinus dictionaries.<sup>13</sup> What is more, the information about grammatical gender is summarized in short verses whose standards are hotbeds for barbarisms. The same may be said for the past forms of verbs and the methodology of teaching the supinum by means of verses:<sup>14</sup>

For example we can read in the first volume, on page 248:

“Redde fruor, fructus; morior, tibi mortuus haeret.

Nascor amat natus; tandem fert ortus oriri.

*Nascor, natus sum; orior, ortus sum.*

In tribus extremis per *iturus* flecte futurum.

*Mortuus, natus et ortus: faciunt supina per*

<sup>12</sup> *Ratio studiorum* 1586, c. 3 (p. 121.): „Primo quidem, quod in rudimentis, quae primo loco tradenda sunt pueris, quatuordecim ponit praecepta tota syntaxi communia, quae plus habent obscuritatis, quam ut intelligi possint a tironibus. In iis enim aliquid praecipitur de gerundiis, supinis, participiis, infinitis. Additur etiam aliquid de causa, de instrumento, de temporis continuatione et huiusmodi aliis, quae pueris nunc primum ingredientibus tanquam salebrae aut tricae obici videntur.”

<sup>13</sup> *Ratio studiorum* 1586, c. 3 (p. 124.): „De nominum vero generibus illud habendum est, necesse non videri, ut sciat puer genera omnium linguae latinae nominum. Vix haec docti sciunt, et scita facile excidunt, et semper Calepino opus est. Adde, quod hae generum regulae versibus fere traduntur. Alioquin vix memoriter retinentur. Versus vero et per se obscuri sunt, et impliciti sexcentis exceptionibus et monosyllabis quibusdam terminationibus, insuaves et fere barbaro stylo conscripti, ut iis ad barbariem potius, quam ad latinitatem instituantur pueri.”

<sup>14</sup> *Ratio studiorum* 1586, c. 3 (p. 124.): „Eadem fere quadrant in praeterita et supina verborum, de quibus et longae sunt praeceptiones et nimium tenebrosae, et coniectae in versus vix bene latinos, et extremis detruncationibus insulsos, qui diu remorantur pueros in re difficili, nec admodum necessaria. Cur enim sciant pueri statim praeterita et supina omnium verborum? Cur in iis consenescent, praesertim qui debiliori sunt ingenio?”

iturus, ut moriturus, nasciturus, oriturus.

Dat patior, passum, invisum mortalibus aegris.

*Patior habet passus sum.*”

-Some grammatical terms are not used in a consistent manner by the author.

-Furthermore, they remark that because of the grouping of verbs according to their prepositions, the author puts all manner of verbs together. For example, among verbs which take the dative there are active, deponent and impersonal verbs. As a result of their ages, it is impossible for students who are learning grammar to grasp this concept. “The most extraordinary colorful carpet woven from verbs dazzles eyes that are weak.”<sup>15</sup> - We may read.

For example in the second volume, on page 41:

“Appendices I. generis

I. Sunt multa verba, quae locis communibus comprehendere minime possunt, neque ii loci, quibus usi sumus, placent: nam verba quam plurima necessario sunt expedienda, si rem diligentius inspicias. Ideo visum est non inutile neutra, quae dativum admittunt, literarum ordine recensere: non ut memoriae a pueris mandentur, sed ut crebrius legantur, ut *absum, acclamo, accumbo, accubo, accresco, accedo tibi, et tuae sententiae*. Id est *assentior, accedit hoc meis malis*. Pro *additur, acquiesco, adsum, adhaereo, adhaeresco, allaboro, adaequito, adeo, adnato, affulgeo, antecedo, antecello, anteeo, antesto, appareo, applaudo, appropinquo, arrideo, assisto, assideo, assuesco, assurgo, assevero, ausculto* [...]”

-Alvarez piled the synonyms one on top of the other, which also would have caused the smaller children consternation.

-Beginner students wouldn't have yet reached a point where they could apply Alvarez' general remarks and rules in specific instances.

-The first book, which firstly concerns itself with morphology, is too long considering it was meant for beginners, and for it to be retained would have necessitated a great deal of repetition. Instead of conjugation tables, it would have been more sensible if explanations for parts of speech had been included.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Cfr. *Ratio studiorum* 1586, c. 3 (p. 121-122.): „Quarto, verba omnia, quae ad eundem casum pertinent, in unum colligit, cuiusque sint generis. Miscuit itaque activa deponentibus, neutra communibus, personalia impersonalibus. Quam methodum probarent quidem maxime philosophi, qui in certa quaedam genera res universas reducunt. At non omnis ordo quo exactior, clarior etiam est. [...] Sed pueris non admodum commodus, quorum fere lactescens ingenium tam variorum generum connexionem, et tam dissimilium terminationum colligationem, tanquam versicoloribus auleis, aut variis luminibus simul obiectis imbecillior oculus praestringitur.”

<sup>16</sup> Cfr. *Ratio studiorum* 1586 c. 3.4 (p. 123.)

-Finally, they suggested that the three volumes should be kept separate, because if they were published as one its thickness would dishearten beginner students.<sup>17</sup>

In Alvarez' Latin book grammar and learning grammar rules received pride of place. Its methodology is deductive language study. Namely, the student was first given the grammar rule, and a few examples which demonstrated its use, and then he could construct his own sentences. Forming sentences, in turn meant translating them from the foreign language into his native tongue, or vice versa, from his own language into the target language. Therefore, the purpose of the exercises was thoroughly to learn and practice the grammatical lesson that was being taught, and this was accomplished primarily through translation. Alvarez' books did not have any exercises in the way that we would understand the concept. The *Ratio studiorum* had sections on methodology for practice.<sup>18</sup> These methods for practice had not altered since ancient times. The text lists the utilized and ossified methods for exercises which had been customary throughout medieval times. Lots of emphasis is placed on everyday drills, different forms of which are summarized as follows:

-There is a great deal to be gained if the students learn a portion of one of Cicero's writings everyday,<sup>19</sup> with the help of the teacher: they learn to develop their spelling, memory and stylistic skills. The methodology of this activity is *praelectio*<sup>20</sup> that is the teacher reads and explains the passage out loud, word-for-word, placing emphasis on grammar and on the different poetic elements. The *Ratio studiorum* recommends that the teacher in this case should not digress in the course of his explanations to cover material in the curriculum which the students will learn in another year, at a later point in time. It is also the task of the teacher that in the passage being

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<sup>17</sup> *Ratio studiorum* 1586, c. 3 (p. 124-125.): „Tandem Rudimenta conferenda non videntur in unum volumen cum Syntaxi, ne haec grammatica aequo prolixior videatur; italis praesertim qui, cum rudimenta a reliqua grammatica seiuncta soleant habere, ac proinde uti brevior quodam libello grammaticae, nancisci possent aliqui nostras scholas calumniandi occasionem ex grandiore quodam nostrae grammaticae volumine; cum praesertim infimae classi, quae tota fere in declinando et coniugando est, nulli usui sit libellus syntaxeos.”

<sup>18</sup> Cfr. *Ratio studiorum* 1586 c. 5 (p. 128-132.)

<sup>19</sup> *Ratio studiorum* 1586 c. 5 (p. 128.): „Ac primum, pueris haud mediocriter proderit exerceri quotidie in epistolis aliisque libris Ciceronis, quos deinceps a praeceptore sunt audituri, quam optimis characteribus diligentissime describendis.”

<sup>20</sup> *Ratio studiorum* 1586 c. 5 (p. 129.): „Audiant attente praelegentem magistrum, cum autorum interpretatio ac stylus longe maioris utilitatis sint, quam praecepta grammaticae; quamquam haec ipsa minime negligenda sunt. In praelegendum autem nil optandum magis est, quam ut unusquisque magister intra suae se scholae fines contineat, nec studio maiorum rerum modulum suum transcendat, nec minuta quaedam et ieiuna consecretando, ad humiliora, quam quae sui sunt ordinis, se demittat.”

studied, the most characteristic portions of the text be identified and dictated to students- these may be memorized and later copied in writing. Concerning dictation, it is not acceptable to dictate a great deal at one time, because in the first instance it is a great time-waster, which by the time students write it down, takes away time from explanation. Secondly, in the case of a lot of text, the probability for mistakes increases and improperly written phrases can quickly be habit forming. At the end of the exercise, the students have to recite the explanation of the entire passage just as they did at the beginning.

-Among the methods for exercises, repetition receives particular emphasis, which cannot be neglected even in favour of teacher explanations. Repetition has a specific place on the students' timetable, and it too was supervised by the teacher. It had a verbal component, when the student read aloud what he had learned. Here we are talking about listen and repeat exercises, in the course of which proper pronunciation, emphasis and rhythm played a large role. Having students reading out loud was part of a conscious attempt to instill proper pronunciation.

-The methodology for repetition in writing was copying, which in addition to the word-for-word variant, could have entailed students finding and copying key passages on their own. In addition to copying another common method was paraphrasing, that is writing down the original passage while altering grammatical and stylistic elements. Another method that could be used was sentence expansion, and for the more advanced students composition, beginning with the written expression of simple topics. Written exercises always had to be checked by the teacher, lest spelling errors or barbarisms and solecisms should remain. Students should be vigilant of other students' errors.<sup>21</sup>

-On a daily basis learning by heart was employed because numerous sayings which could be utilized in speech became a part of active foreign language knowledge. It was also an everyday occurrence to go over the cases or practice the declensions or verb conjugation.

-I haven't yet discussed how speaking was practiced: teachers were expected only to speak in Latin, and to reprimand students who conversed in their native language. The techniques for

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<sup>21</sup> *Ratio studiorum* 1586 c. 5 (p. 131.): „Porro themata corrigerentur quam utilissime, si magister omnia sumeret in manus ac perlegeret. Verum quia ne possit omnia, prohibet multitudo, adhibeat eiusmodi emendationem, quo pluribus poterit, nec minus fere quam tribus aut quatuor. In quibus non barbarismos solum ac solaecismos, sed quicquid etiam in orthographia aut interpunctione fuerit erratum, sua manu corrigat; idque clara voce pronunciet, atque explicet rationes errorum.”



teaching speaking ranged from the question and answer method reminiscent of the Catechism to dialogue at a more advanced level.

From the methods listed above it appears that speaking and comprehension (production of speech and perception) did not receive central importance in practice. This shortcoming was because lessons were read from books. That is understanding came from written texts and tasks were carried out partially in writing. Furthermore, what they produced as writing was directed- they were told what to translate, which grammatical tense to use and to practice. During the course of oral exercises frontal class work was typical. At the same time it was both the goal of the *Ratio studiorum* and Alvarez that the students learn a common Latin language that could be spoken and written on a daily basis.

We can find several digressions in the *Ratio studiorum* which compare its Latin and Greek teaching with the efforts Protestants were making. As I am only at the beginning of a comprehensive study, I have not yet analyzed these sections in detail. However, even with a cursory perusal I noticed that they wanted their educational system to hold its own with those of the Protestant churches. For example, in my own translation I would like to quote the passage on learning the Greek language: "It is not good if the heretics beat us in this regard, who from a young age have already been learning Greek and look down upon the uneducated Catholics as they are able to cite Greek sources and thereby shame their Catholic counterparts."<sup>22</sup>

From what has been mentioned above it is easy to see, and the non-existent local variations of the Trnava books similarly lend us to conclude, that for the Catholic Church language teaching was an indispensable basic pillar of learning. The church's survival and success depended upon if there was a generally used textbook that fulfilled contemporary requirements and a common language capable of expressing complex concepts, which would aid Catholics from different nationalities, but working towards mutual aims, understand one another.

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<sup>22</sup> *Ratio studiorum* 1586 c. 4 (p. 126.): „Quarto, turpe est in ea re vinci ab haereticis, qui a teneris annis graece instituti contemnunt catholicos graeci sermonis imperitos, et ad graecos fontes provocare solent non sine catholicorum ignominia.”