Handwritten Annotations in the Early Editions of Manuel Alvares' *De institvtione grammatica libri tres*

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1. Introduction

One of the most famous grammars on a world wide scale since the late 16th century is the Latin grammar *Emmanvelis Alvari è Societate Iesv de institvtione grammatica libri tres,* whose elaboration by the Madeiran Jesuit Manuel Álvares (1526–1583) had been commissioned by the Jesuit Superior Generals Diego Laínez (1512–1565) and Francis Borgia (1510–1572). After the separate publication of the grammars' second book *De constrvctione octo partivm orationis* in two versions (see Álvares 1571a, 1571b) in the previous year, the first edition of the complete grammar was published in Lisbon in 1572, constituting the beginning of the tradition of the author's *ars maior* (Álvares 1572). Shortly thereafter, in early 1573, Álvares published an abbreviated version of his grammar, omitting most of his erudite *scholia.* The latter edition constitutes the beginning of the author's *ars minor* (Álvares 1573)[1].

Based on these two text traditions, the establishment of Álvares' work as the official Latin grammar of the Jesuit schooling system due to its consecration in the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* in 1599 led to the unparalleled triumph of Álvares' Latin grammar: From the 16th to the 20th century, there has been an enormous number of editions on four continents. Indeed, even after Springhetti's (1960–1961: 304) optimistic relation of worldwide 530 editions, I must state that in the early 21st century the total number of editions and imprints still remains unknown. My current research permits me to presume that there might be many more editions, reissues and variants (most probably several hundreds more) that would necessarily have to be considered in a more comprehensive bibliographical survey.

Given that the 16th century editions of Álvares' grammar were basic for establishing the traditions of the grammar's publication in other countries, there seems no doubt that a special importance lies in the four editions that were printed in Lisbon during the author's time of life (Álvares 1572, 1573, 1578, 1583).

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[1] For more information concerning the *ars maior* vs. *ars minor*, cf. Kemmler (2015).

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Some time ago, I was able to discover that not only the sole known specimen of Álvares (1573) contains some handwritten annotations, but that there exists also one specimen each of Álvares (1572) and Álvares (1578), containing manuscript annotations. As at least one of these two annotated grammars can be unquestionably identified as the grammarian's personal copy, I will present these copies and some metagramatical annotations, in order to discuss their contribution to current alvaresian studies.

2. The handwritten annotations in the *ars maior*'s *editio princeps* (1572)

The copy of Álvares' *ars maior* I am referring to, belongs to the Évora Public Library (Biblioteca Pública de Évora, BPE), which, incidentally, is the city where the grammarian lived, died and ultimately was buried. Nowadays, the grammar can be localized under the call number 'Reservado 333'.[2] On the title page itself, one finds the decree establishing that the book is to be conserved because of the handwritten annotations it presents[3]:

> Conseruese este liuro polas annotaçoens doutas, escritas de mão, que tem (Álvares 1572: [I]).

Unfortunately, this short decree on the grammar's title page does not permit any conclusions as to who the book's previous owner or even the writers of the handwritten annotations might have been. It might, however, be possible that the annotations themselves might further our understanding of this annotated copy.

Of the [VIII] unnumbered pages one can find in Álvares (1974), this copy of Álvares (1572) only conserves but four, namely the title page [I] and the licenses on its back [II], as well as the last page of the author's "Præfatio" (Álvares 1572: [III] = Álvares 1974: [VII]), numbered as folio II, and the two poems "Auctoris carmen ad librum" and "Idem Christianum Præceptorem" (Álvares 1572: [IV] = Álvares 1974: [VIII]). The grammar itself starts with the chapter "*De nominum Declinatione*" on folio 1, offering an initial *scholium* of almost 1 folio. While only the pages of Álvares (1572: [II–IV]) do not present any annotations, on the rest of the grammar's pages, one can find annotations that go from minor corrections to occupying whole pages. The first minor annotations appear precisely in the beginning of this text[4]:

> CVM PRÆCLARVM illud Horatij dictum, Quo semel est imbuta recens seruabit odorem Testa diu, verissimum esse reipsa quotidie experiamur: dabit in primis operam præceptor, **u**t discipuli etiam nunc tyrones{**,**} & Latinæ linguæ rudes, iam inde à principio optimæ pronun**c**iationi assuescant: quod **u**t facili**ù**s assequantur, studios**è** diligenterque obseruabit quibus præcipuè vitijs laboret ea regio in qua sibi

[2] The copy has been mentioned in Gusmão (1964, I: 16), alas, without any reference to any annotations. According to the information provided on the cover page, this copy of Álvares (1572) formerly had been guarded under the call number 'Armario 147 – d – 2.º – n.º 29'. The manuscript letter seems to belong to a 19th century writer.

[3] All transcriptions will respect the orthography and constitution of the original texts, any changes will be duly noted in brackets [ ]. For manuscript additions found in a source text, I will use the signs < >, for cuts and omissions I will use curly brackets { }.

[4] Between the primitive text of part of the *ars maior*'s first *scholion* and what I have found in the annotated copy Res. 333, I have opted for marking the changes in bold.

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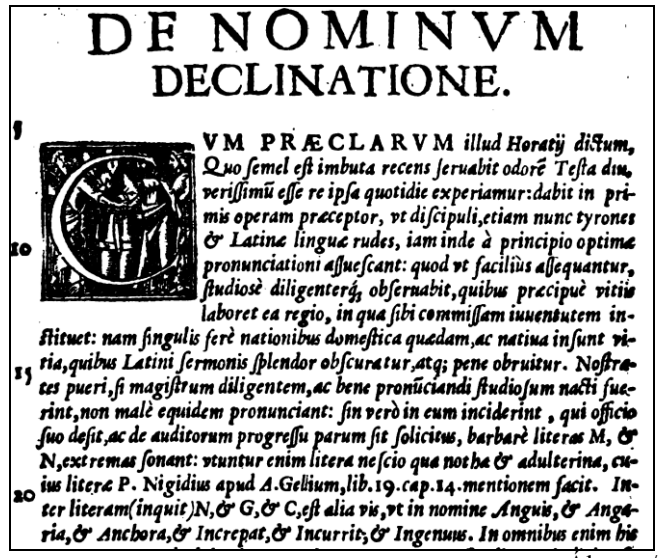
> commissam iuuentutem instituet: nam singulis ferè nationibus domestica quædam, ac natiua insunt vitia, quibus Latini sermonis splendor obscuratur atq[ue] p**æne** obruitur. Nostrates pueri<,> si magistrum diligentem, ac bene pronun**c**iandi studiosum nacti fuerint, non mal**è** equidem pronun**c**iant. Sin verò in eum inciderint, qui officio suo desit, ac de auditorum progressu parum sit solicitus, barbar**è** literas M & N, extremas sonant: **u**tũtur enim litera nescio{,} qua<,> notha{,} & adulterina, cuius literæ P. Nigidius apud A. Gellium lib. 19 cap. 14 men**c**ionem facit: Inter literam**, [inquit],** N, & G <**et C**> est alia vis, **u**t in nomine Anguis, & Angaria, & Anchor**a**, & Increpat, & Incurrit, & Ingenuus (Álvares 1572: fol 1r).

As a result, it seems evident that the annotator wanted to regularly substitute the writing of <u-> instead of <v-> (*ut* instead of *vt*; ***u**tũtur* instead of ***v**tũtur*) and change the sequence <-ti-> to <-ci-> in words like *pronunciant* (formerly *pronuntiant*).

Also, in addition to some changes in aspects of punctuation, it seems quite noteworthy that the author opted for a more regular use of the grave accent in Latin adverbs like *faciliùs* and *malè* (instead of *facilius, male*). The really interesting part in these annotations are, however, the changes in "[...] *Inter literam, inquit, N, & G est alia vis* [...]". After the changes, we have "[...] *Inter literam,* [*inquit*]*, N, & G <et C> est alia vis* [...]", which means that not only the brackets were added to *inquit* (he said), but also that the citation was completed by 'et C'. Also, the form of the example *Anchorae* is changed to the nominative singular: *Anchora*.

Even after just looking at a small sample from the grammar's beginning, it seems quite obvious that the annotations that can be found in the BPE copy of Álvares (1572) should not be viewed as mere annotations, but instead as corrections that might or might not have been used for a reissue of the Jesuit's grammar. Given that, according to Iken (2002: 60–61), no other edition of the *ars maior* in Portugal is mentioned than Álvares (1572; in what appear to be seven typographic variants) and Álvares/ Velez (1599, in what appear to be six typographic variants), it seems that the latter may be considered the second (and last) Portuguese issue of the *ars maior*. Let us take a look at an image from the latter issue:



DE NOMINVM
DECLINATIONE.

VM PRÆCLARVM illud Horatij dictum, Quo ſemel eſt imbuta recens ſeruabit odorẽ Teſta diu, veriſſimũ eſſe re ipſa quotidie experiamur: dabit in primis operam præceptor, vt diſcipuli, etiam nunc tyrones & Latinæ linguæ rudes, iam inde à principio optimæ pronunciationi aſſueſcant: quod vt faciliùs aſſequantur, ſtudiosè diligenterq; obſeruabit, quibus præcipuè vitiis laboret ea regio, in qua ſibi commiſſam iuuentutem instituet: nam ſingulis ferè nationibus domeſtica quædam, ac natiua inſunt vitia, quibus Latini ſermonis ſplendor obſcuratur, atq; pene obruitur. Noſtrates pueri, ſi magiſtrum diligentem, ac bene pronũciandi ſtudioſum nacti fuerint, non malè equidem pronunciant: ſin verò in eum inciderint, qui officio ſuo deſit, ac de auditorum progreſſu parum ſit ſolicitus, barbarè literas M, & N, extremas ſonant: vtuntur enim litera neſcio qua notha & adulterina, cuius literæ P. Nigidius apud A. Gellium, lib. 19. cap. 14. mentionem facit. Inter literam (inquit) N, & G, & C, eſt alia vis, vt in nomine Anguis, & Angaria, & Anchora, & Increpat, & Incurrit, & Ingenuus. In omnibus enim his

Álvares/ Velez (1599: 1)

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Upon comparison of the sample text with Álvares/ Velez (1599), one may state that most of the corrections of the handwritten copy have been executed in this edition. This is the case of the substitution of <-ti-> by <-ci->, the accentuation of the adverbs, the changes in punctuation as well as the changes on the last three lines of the above image. The only change that regularly seems not to have been executed is the substitution of <v-> by <u->: here the usage of the *editio princeps* has been conserved.

Next, let us take a look on the annotations that can be found in the subchapter concerning the adjective *brevis*:

Breuis, & breue nomen adiectiuum, declinationis
tertiæ, numeri singularis, sic declinabitur.

¶Nominatiuo	hic & hæc breuis, & hoc breue.	
Genitiuo,	breuis.	
Datiuo	Breui.	Si adiectiuum nomen duas habue
Accusatiuo	Breuem, & breue.	rit formas prior erit generis communis,
Vocatiuo	ô Breuis, & breue.	posterior neutri
Ablatiuo	à Breui.	
		Nonnulla è proximis etiam huc spe-
		ctant, **vt** hic & hæc alacris, & hoc
		alacre: <**campestris & campestre:**>
		celebris & celebre: salubris, &
		salubre. <**palustris & palustre.**
Numero plurali.		**syluestris et syluestre. Pro putris**
¶Nominatiuo	Breues, & breuia.	**autem, quod in mascul. genere**
Genitiuo,	Breuium.	**usitatissimum est, puter, dixit Varro**
		de Re rust. lib. 1 ca. 8. Palus è
		pertica, etc. puter{e-} euertitur.>
Datiuo	Breuibus.	
Accusatiuo	Breues, & breuia.	Eodem modo declinatur breuior &
Vocatiuo	ô Breues{.}<,**breuia.**>	breuius, & alia eiusdem formæ
		compa-rativa, quæ penè sunt infinita
Ablatiuo	à Breuibus.	

<**Ponhase aqui Brevior, et Breuior, et breuius, como esta na arte pequena.**>

(Álvares 1572: fol. 6r)

In this paradigm, the declension of the adjective *brevis* can be found together with three notes on the right margin that offer some more insight into the morphology of this and similar adjectives. In what seem to be several hands, the annotators add *brevia*[5] to the vocative plural and demand that in the following, the paradigm on *brevior* should be inserted, just as it can be found in the 'arte pequena', or *ars minor*. Indeed, between *brevis* and *felix*, one finds a paradigm with the title "Breuior et breuius, nomen comparatiuum, declinationis tertiæ, numeri singularis, sic declinabitur" (Álvares 1573: fols. 4v–5r, Álvares 1578: fol 8r–8v). By far the biggest intervention can be found in the second marginal note, where there are not only three more examples, but a wholly new sentence concerning the adjective *puter,*

[5] The second vocative form *brevia* already appears in the *ars minor*'s first edition (Álvares 1573: fol. 4v).

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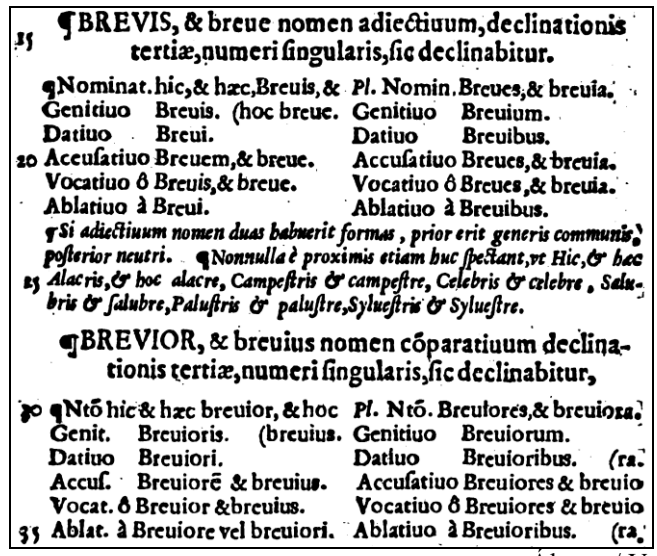
putris. The third marginal note is not cut, but if one takes a look at the composition of Álvares/ Velez (1599: 11) it becomes evident that it made every sense to dispose of it. After all, instead of the note referring to the similar construction of the comparative *brevior*, the *ars maior*'s second Lisbon edition offers the *brevior* paradigm, just as required by the annotation "Ponhase aqui Brevior, et Breuior, et breuius, como esta na arte pequena". Concerning, the second note, however, the examples were added, while the sentence concerning *puter* was omitted.


¶BREVIS, & breue nomen adiectiuum, declinationis tertiæ, numeri ſingularis, ſic declinabitur.

¶Nominat. hic, & hæc, Breuis, &	*Pl.* Nomin. Breues, & breuia.
Genitiuo Breuis. (hoc breue.	Genitiuo Breuium.
Datiuo Breui.	Datiuo Breuibus.
Accuſatiuo Breuem, & breue.	Accuſatiuo Breues, & breuia.
Vocatiuo ô Breuis, & breue.	Vocatiuo ô Breues, & breuia.
Ablatiuo à Breui.	Ablatiuo à Breuibus.

¶*Si adiectiuum nomen duas habuerit formas, prior erit generis communis, posterior neutri.* ¶*Nonnulla è proximis etiam huc ſpectant, vt Hic, & hæc Alacris, & hoc alacre, Campeſtris & campeſtre, Celebris & celebre, Salubris & ſalubre, Paluſtris & paluſtre, Sylueſtris & Sylueſtre.*

¶BREVIOR, & breuius nomen cõparatiuum declinationis tertiæ, numeri ſingularis, ſic declinabitur,

¶Ntõ hic & hæc breuior, & hoc	*Pl.* Ntõ. Breuiores, & breuiora.
Genit. Breuioris. (breuius.	Genitiuo Breuiorum.
Datiuo Breuiori.	Datiuo Breuioribus. (ra.
Accuſ. Breuiorẽ & breuius.	Accuſatiuo Breuiores & breuio
Vocat. ô Breuior & breuius.	Vocatiuo ô Breuiores & breuio
Ablat. à Breuiore vel breuiori.	Ablatiuo à Breuioribus. (ra.

Álvares/ Velez (1599: 11)

While Álvares (1572: fol. 6r) offers the following paradigm under the title "¶ Prudens, nomen Adiectiuum, Declinationes tertiæ, generis omnis, numeri singularis, sic declinabitur", the annotators' handwritten amendments provide for the replacement of the adjective *prudens* by *felix*: "**Felix**, nomen **a**diectiuum, **d**eclinationes tertiæ, generis omnis, numeri singularis, sic declinabitur". Furthermore, one finds the following annotation:

> Aqui logo se emprima aquelle escolio da arte pequena que começa com sextus casus nominum, et cæt. fol. 8 b (Álvares 1572: fol. 6r).

Given that the annotator even identifies the exact folio where the *scholium* is to be found, the unique pagination of each issue leads to presume that at least here the *ars minor*'s second edition served as source for the annotator:

> CVM sextus casus nominum, quæ literis N, & S, terminantur, in E, vt Verrius Flaccus autor grauissimus docet, ferè exeat, cúmque genitiuus multitudinis eorundem nominum rarò ab Oratoribus imminuatur, siquidem Diligentium, elegantium, ingentium, & alios id genus casus, plenos, non imminutos, diligentum, elegantum, &c., ferme vsurpant, in locum nominis Prudens substituimus Felix: ne imperitis errandi ansam daremus. Non negamus esse quædam, quorũ ablatiuus etiam I, litera finiatur, cuiusmodi sunt Ingens, recens, vehemens: de quibus, atque participiis, quæ eiusdem sunt positionis, fusiùs suo loco diximus. Hic enim tantùm nobis admonendus fuit Lector de hac

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exemplorum permutatione. Felix in primis placuit, quòd eo Diomedes, & Donatus vsi fuerint (Álvares 1578: fol. 8r–8v)[6].

Contrary to what possibly might be expected, the text of this *scholium,* which explains the substitution of *prudens* by *felix,* cannot be found in the *recognitio vellesiana* (Álvares/ Velez 1599: 11–12):

¶FELIX nomen adiectiuum declinationis tertiæ, generisomnis,numeri ſingularis,ſic declinabitur.

¶Nto hic & hæc,& hoc Felix. Datiuo Felici.
Genitiuo Felicis. Accuſatiuo Felicem & Felix.

12 DE NOMINVM

Vocatiuo ô Felix. Datiuo Felicibus.
Ablatiuo à Felice vel Felici. Accuſatiuo Felices & Felicia.
Pl.N. Felices,& Felicia. Vocatiuo ô Felices & Felicia.
Genitiuo Felicium. Ablatiuo à Felicibus.

SI nomen Adiectiuum vnam tantùm habuerit formam,erit omnis generis. Qualia ſunt Par,Impar,Arpinas,Quadrupes,Elegans,Diligens,Solers, Cõſors,Multiplex,Pernix,Ferox,Trux,Audax. ¶Miſceantur nonnumquam omnes gradus,vt Felix,Felicior,Feliciſſimus. Sic enim fit lingua celerior, & exercitatior: ita tamen vt cum aliquo Subſtantiuo coniungantur.
¶Poëta bonus,melior,optimus. Scurra malus, peior , peſſimus. Digitus paruus, minor,minimus. Vir magnus,maior,maximus. Facilis, facilior , facillimus. Difficilis,difficilior,difficillimus. Humilis,humilior,humillimus. Similis,ſimilior,ſimillimus. Diſſimilis,diſſimilior,diſſimillimus.

Álvares/ Velez (1599: 11)

While both these editions lack the *brevior* paradigm, I was able to find the *felix* paradigm and the corresponding *scholium* as early as in the first Italian editions of the *ars maior* (Álvares 1575a/b: 18–19).

As can be seen from the *ediciones principes* of Álvares' grammars, of the chapter *De Verborum Coniugatione* would normally comprise the paradigms of verbal conjugation not only in Latin, but also in the Portuguese vernacular. In Res. 333, however, one finds the Portuguese paradigm crossed out. Instead, with a marginal annotation "Ex ipsius P. Emmanul. mente", the following highly revealing text can be found to have been written by an unknown Portuguese contemporary:

> Estas conjugaçoẽs alterou <auantajadamente> o P[adr]e M[anu]el Alu[a]r[e]z ano de 1575. por tanto as nouas corram somente: E tambẽ os escolios nouos da Arte pequena ham de ir todos nesta 2. ediçam; com tal {que} ordem, que nam se encontrem com os desta grande: antes onde isso ouuer, os desta se deixem (Álvares 1572: fol. 12r).

Referring to the changes in the conjugations, it seems likely that the annotator may be referring to an intervention by the author himself in the elaboration of the Venetian *ars maior* (Álvares 1575a/b). Since the reference to the '2. ediçam', together with the *scholia* can only be related to a second Portuguese edition of the *ars maior*, it seems increasingly probable that this copy may have been used, at least in part, to establish the *recognitio velesiana* of Álvares/ Velez (1599). Additionally, the fact that all over the copy one can find marginal numbers, which correspond to

[6] The same text, alas with slight differences of orthographical or typographical nature, can be found in Álvares (1573: fol. 5r–5v).

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the effective pagination one observes in the 1599 edition,[7] leads me to believe that the annotations in this copy might have served as one of the edition's manuscripts.

3. The handwritten annotations in the *ars minor*'s *editio princeps* (1573)

Belonging to the Biblioteca Geral of the University of Coimbra, what seems to be the only existing copy of the *ars minor*'s first edition in 1573, nowadays is conserved under the call number V.T. 18-7-3. In this copy, five late 16th century manuscript annotations can be observed. The first annotation is a marginal note to the paradigm of the passive voice of *amare* in Álvares (1573: fol. 19r):

Præteritum perfectum

Amatus, amata, amatum sum vel fui, *Eu fuy amado*. <*Amatu addita S. Amatus sic in cæteris*>
Amatus, ta, tum es vel fuisti, *Tu foste amado*.
Amatus, ta, tum est vel fuit, *Elle foy amado*.
Pl. Amati, tæ, ta sumus vel fuimus, *Nos fomos amados*.
Amati, tæ, ta estis, vel fuistis, *Vos fostes amados*.
Amati, tæ, ta sũt, fuerũt, vel fuere, *Elles forã amados*.

This is, quite obviously, a brief observation of didactic nature in the form of a marginal note, observing that one must add the letter <-s> to form AMATU- and so on... It seems probable that this note might have been created due to the omission of a quite elaborate note that can be found beside the 'Præteritum perfectum' and the 'Præteritum Plusquam perfectum' in Álvares (1974: fol. 34r).

The manuscript note of Álvares (1573) is reproduced in the second Lisbon printing of the *ars minor*. This is the first of the editions of Álvares' grammar with the glosses of the verbal conjugation in the Castilian vernacular (Álvares 1578: fol. 30v):

Prætæritum perfectum

Amatu, addita s: sic in cæteris

¶ Amatus, amata, amatum sum, vel fui, *Yo fui, o He sido amado*.
Amatus, amata, amatum es, vel fuisti, *Tu fuiste, o Has sido amado*.
Amatus, amata, amatum est vel fuit, *Aquel fue, o Ha sido amado*.
Pl. Amati, amatæ, amata sumus vel fuimus, *Nosotros fuimos, o Auemos sido amados*.
Amati, tæ, ta estis, vel fuistis, *Vososotros fuistes, o Aueis sido amados*.
Amati, tæ, ta sunt, fuerunt, vel fuere, *Aquellos fueron, o Han sido amados*.

[7] In the handwritten notes of the Évora copy of Álvares (1572), I was able to find the following page numbers which coincide with the pagination of Álvares/ Velez (1599): 65–90 (Álvares 1572: fols. 28r–41r), 129–141 (fols. 55r–62r), 145–233 (fols. 64r–94v), 238–375 (fols. 97 r–123 r), 413–421 (fols. 127v–131v), 174 [sic!], 475–480 (fols. 140r–142r), 523–529 (fols. 154r–156v), 542–555 (fols. 163r–169v), 563–568 (fols. 173v–176r), 601–608 (fols. 188r–191r), 620–624 (fols. 195v–197v), 643 (fol. 205r), 447 [= 647?] (fol. 207r), 652 (fol. 210r), 656 (fol. 211v), 650 (fol. 213v), 678 (fol. 220v), 689 (fol. 226r), 720–721 (fols. 240r–240v), 729–731 (fols. 244v–245v), 735–740 (fols. 188r–191r).

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Printed in normal types (unlike what happens in the *ars maior* where the marginal notes and the *scholia* usually are printed in italic types), the manuscript annotation is reproduced with two changes: following the the <s>, there is no full stop (.), but a colon (:). Additionally, the repetition of the form *amatus* is omitted in the 1578 edition.

Similarly, the following three annotations are marginal notes, added to the paradigm of the present indicative and present imperative of the verb *lego* (Álvares 1573: 24v–25r). In all three of these cases, the marginal notes got to be printed in Álvares (1578: 41v–42r). Lastly, the sentence "Cedo petit cessi, cessum facit inde supino", whose insertion into the text of the part of the "Rudimenta" dedicated to the verb conjugation, is indicated in Álvares (1573: 56v). Without any changes, this text can be found in Álvares (1578: 89r).

While there seems no doubt that the letter of the annotations one finds in this copy belongs to a 16th century writer, the characteristics I found in the writing do not coincide with Manuel Álvares' handwriting. Given that the corrections proposed on this copy were indeed applied in the *ars minor*'s second edition, there seems, however, little doubt that these annotations would have been written by a Jesuit who would have been close to the grammarian.

4. The handwritten annotations in the Álvares (1578)

The copy of the second Portuguese edition of Álvares' *ars minor* belongs also to the BPE, and can be localized under the call number 'Século XVI 552'[8]. On the title page, one encounters the decree establishing that the book is to be conserved in order to permit a comparison in case of future reissues:

> He a ultima ediçam. he ẽ Castelhano: Leua algua auãtaje á de portugues do mesmo ano.
>
> Conuem a goardar se muito bem pera o diante, se <a> de Castella por {t}ẽpo se for cõ{t}aminando ut fit, typographorum indiligentia. E assi se fechara em hũa arca com os papees do P. Manoel Alu[arez]. que o P. Provincial e depois Bispo de Iapam, D. Sebastiam de Morais mandou que esteuessem goardados.
>
> Esta Arte se deve conservar, e guardar, como aqui se encomenda (Álvares 1578: fol 1r)[9].

This copies' title page offers three texts. The first contemporary text mentions the 1578 *ars minor* as being the second edition of this work, thus being considerably better than the Portuguese equivalent of the same year[10]. The following text refers to the explicit order given by the former Provincial of Portugal and first catholic Bishop of Japan, D. Sebastião de Morais (1534–1588), mentioning even a chest containing the grammarian's papers. The last of these three entries seems somewhat posterior and might belong to a 17th or 18th century writer.

[8] This copy is mentioned in Gusmão (1964, I: 16) who states it to be the author's personal copy.

[9] Without further comment, these annotations are also reproduced by Ponce de León Romeo (2002: CLXVIII), without any indication that they were written by different authors.

[10] As a matter of fact, I have no knowledge of any reissue of the Portuguese *ars minor* in 1578. Such an edition, should it really exist, would still remain to be localized.

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The more interesting paratextual entry, however, can be found on the blank page on the end of the grammar, where the author himself made a note concerning the books' provenience: esta arte deo João despanha estando em S. Roque (Álvares 1578: [II])[11].

The bookseller João de Espanha (also known as João de Molina, fl. 1565–1584)[12] was the editor who had paid the Lisbon printer António Ribeiro for the production of the *ars minor*'s edition for the Spanish market (see Álvares 1578: [I]) in what seems to have been a more or less regular cooperative effort between the Portuguese printer and the Spanish bookseller who resided in Lisbon.[13] Quite obviously, it was in this capacity that Juan de Espanha gave one copy of the grammar to the author while the latter was staying at the Jesuit Casa Professa de São Roque in Lisbon.

Along this copy, there are annotations on 133 pages, that is, on 29,12% of the book's 194 folios. These are mostly corrections, quite obviously destined for improving the currently existing editions. Let us take a look on some exemplary cases:

> NOmen est pars Orationis, quæ casus habet, neque tempora adsignificat <: ut Musa, dominus> (Álvares 1578: fol. 65v).

To this definition of the noun, the unknown annotator added the examples *Musa* and *dominus.* In the *ars minor*'s third Lisbon edition, one finds the following text:

> NOmen est pars Orationis, quæ casus habet, neque tempora adsignificat: ut Musa, dominus (Álvares 1583: fol. 57 v).

With Álvares (1583), the following subchapter on the gender of nouns also suffered the following changes:

> *Nomina ferè fœminina apud oratores, &*
> *interim masculina præcipue apud pœtas.*
> {Est muliebre animans,} <Fœmineus hærent> volueris, cum stirpe, cupido.
> Sardonychem comitatur onyx; grus, clunis, & ales
> Cum talpa, linter, cum dama, lynxque, penúsque:
> Hæc maribus tribues cinget cùm tempora laurus.
> <Hic, aut {hoc} hæc, aut hoc animans: quo sæpe solebat Plurali numero Cicero muliebriter uti.>
> Hunc iubarem, hunc frontem, hunc pinum nimiúmque uetusta,
> Pacuuii proauis, atauisque vtenda relinque (Álvares 1578: fol. 78v).

Indeed, both the beginning "Fœmineus hærent [...]" instead of "Est muliebre animans [...]" and the mnemonic rule "Hic, aut hæc, aut hoc animans: quo sæpe solebat Plurali numero Cicero muliebriter uti" can be found in Álvares (1583: fol.

[11] In my professional opinion, the writing in this work is the same as on Manuel Álvares' 1579 autograph power of attorney I have had the opportunity to study earlier (Kemmler 2012).

[12] For a summary of Molina's activity as an editor (including the reproduction of some privileges for the distribution of printed books) see Deslandes (1888: 79–83). Molina is also mentioned as 'João d'Espanha' in Freitas (1952: 17).

[13] The information 'expensis Ioannis Hispani Bibliopolæ' that identifies Juan de Molina as António Ribeiro's paying customer can be found in several contemporary imprints that might have been of interest for a target audience in Portugal as well as Spain, such as the Lisbon editions of *Ecclesiasticae rhetoricae sive de ratione concionandi libri sex* by the Spanish Dominican Luís de Granada (1576) or the *Compendium spiritualis doctrinæ* by Bartolomeu dos Mártires (1582), Archbishop of Braga.

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70v), whereas the Spanish issue published in Zaragoza (Álvares 1579: fol. 92v) reproduces the previous text without any changes.

As another sample of the annotations that can be found in Álvares (1578), I have chosen the following extract, where the grammarian offers examples for the syntactically correct use of the verb forms *libet, licet, liquet* and *expedit*:

> ITem Libet, Licet, Liquet, Expedit, & quæ sunt generis eiusdem.
> Terent. *Adelph*. Facite quod vobis libet.
> Cic. *de Orat*. *lib*. 2. Si tibi id minus libebit, non te vrgebo.
> Idem, *In Verr*. *lib*. 7. Non mihi idem licet, quod iis, qui nobili genere nati sunt.
> {Idem, *Acad. lib*. 4. Si habes, quod tibi liqueat, neque respondes, superbis.}
> <Idem, 1. de Nat. d. Ego ne Protagoram quidem, cui neutrum liquerit. &c.> (Álvares 1578: 105).

This annotation is followed by another in Portuguese. Directing his criticism to the unknown annotator in the second person, the equally unknown grammarian criticizes the use of a form *liquerit* when the verb *liquet*'s correct preterite should be *licuerit*:

> Riscaste o outro exemplo sobre o verbo liquet; e trazes hum de linquo não ser a q[ue] proposito; poes o preterito de Liquet he licuerit, e não liquerit (Álvares 1578: 105).

Similarly, as could be seen before, the text introduced by Álvares (1578: 105) is reproduced in Álvares (1583: 97) while Álvares (1579: fol. 119 v) retains the text as printed in 1578. However, in this copy one also observe that the whole line is cut by yet another annotator, to be substituted by the following manuscript text:

> Senec. lib. 3. Epist. Quod si liqueret tibi, non admirareris, nil adjuuari te regionum varietatibus, in quas subinde, priorum tædio migras (Álvares 1583: 97)[14].

5. Conclusions

Undoubtedly, most aspects of the universe of the two Latin grammars the Jesuit Manuel Álvares published first in 1572 and 1573 even today offer many new insights that enable us to view the grammarian and his works in a new light. In a time when the existence of the first edition of the *ars minor* has only been discovered recently (cf. Kemmler 2012, Kemmler 2014, 2015), it seems crucial for modern researchers to understand somewhat more of the genesis of the text traditions of Álvares' grammars in order to perceive which issue might have been of use to posterior grammarians. Evidently, the *editio princeps* of the *ars maior* (Álvares 1572), being the only one amongst the first editions of Álvares' grammars published from 1571 to 1573 to be republished in a facsimile reprint (Álvares 1974), cannot respond to all questions, as it clearly has been revised during the author's life and beyond.

For the present paper, I was only able to offer but a first approach to the three 16th century editions that contain manuscript annotations. As for the *ars minor*'s first edition (Álvares 1573), when one looks at the five annotations which mostly concern marginal notes, there seems to be no doubt that these must have been the

[14] It would be quite interesting to see whether this and other annotations of the 1583 copy have had any effect on posterior issues of Álvares' grammar.

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source for the text of Álvares (1578) where these annotations first appear in print. Similarly, the fidelity in reproducing the annotations of Álvares (1578) seems to indicate that Álvares (1583) owes its elaboration to the annotations in the copy of the former edition. There is no doubt that the Álvares (1578) copy belonged to the grammarian himself, as Álvares clearly states that he had received the copy from the bookseller Juan de España while he was at the spiritual retreat 'Casa professa de São Roque' in Lisbon.

As for the *ars maior's* annotated copy, the explicit texts in Portuguese leave no doubt that it's annotators pretended to use it for the grammar's second edition. Indeed, there is a considerable number of correspondence between the manuscript annotations and what effectively was published in Álvares/ Velez (1599). Additionally, the page numbers that correspond to the *ars maior*'s second edition strongly suggest that this copy may have had something to do with the production process of the grammar's *recognitio vellesiana*. Even so, not all contents of the annotations were exploited, which leads to the assumption that there also might have existed another unknown manuscript, containing the new and more voluminous additions, as well as Velez' index...

Given the considerable recognizability of Manuel Álvares' handwriting, it seems fair to state that none of the manuscript annotations I have found until now might be identified as belonging to him. However, when one looks at the relevant unpublished documentation of the Society of Jesus in Rome, it can be found that several Fathers of the Portuguese province were appointed to help with the Latin grammar. During the last years of his life, a Father Fernão Perez was charged with assisting the grammarian (1581, October 9). After Álvares' death in 1583, a later document mentions as the grammar's revisors the Fathers Paulo Ferrer, Manuel Pimenta, Hernan Pires (who might be the same Fernão Peres mentioned in 1581), António Vellez and Luis de la Cruz (1586, February 16).

I do hope to have shown that the Latin grammar *Emmanvelis Alvari è Societate Iesv de institvtione grammatica libri tres* and its author still offer a wellspring of new and hitherto unknown information. Given the author's global projection during past centuries, the study of the existing copies with contemporary annotations that were used for later reissues is paramount for the understanding of Álvares' grammar by modern researchers in Portugal and abroad.

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Abstract

In order to contribute to an understanding of the evolution of the earliest Portuguese editions of Manuel Álvares' (1526–1583) Latin grammar *Emmanvelis Alvari è Societate Iesv de institvtione grammatica libri tres* (Lisbon, 1572, 1573) before and shortly after the grammarian's death, this paper focuses on the handwritten annotations that can be found in a copy of the first edition of the *ars maior* (Álvares 1572), in the only copy of the first edition of the *ars minor* (Álvares 1573), as well as in Álvares' personal copy of the second edition of the *ars minor,* which offers the paradigms of verbal conjugation not only in Latin, but also in the Castilian vernacular (Álvares 1578). In the same way that the annotations in the two copies of the *ars minor* seem to have had at least some reflexes on posterior editions of this text tradition, many of the annotations in the copy of Álvares (1572) seem to have found their way into the *recognitio vellesiana* of what would be the last edition of the *ars maior* in Portugal (Álvares, Velez 1599).

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