

## The Amakusa Edition of Álvares' Grammar (1594): Sources and Innovation

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## Abstract

Amongst all the editions of Álvares' grammar, the Amakusa edition (1594) merits special attention, not only for being the first grammatical treatise to mention Japanese verbal paradigms in print, but for being the first adaptation of the Jesuit grammar outside of Europe, having been created in a well-defined missionary context. Using contrastive analysis with the Lisbon Edition (1573), it can be concluded that this was the grammar that served as the basis for drawing up the Amakusa grammar, which has some unique features such as being the first to be published in printed form in the East, in the context of increasing numbers of students in Japanese Jesuits schools.

**Keywords:** missionary linguistics; Alvaresian grammar; Latin, Portuguese, and Japanese language; grammaticography.

## 1. Introduction

In Portugal, Latin grammar experienced increased development from the end of the fifteenth century with a significant increase in the second half of the sixteenth century. The grammar of the Jesuit Manuel Álvares entitled *Emmanuelis Alvari è Societate Iesv de institutione grammatica libri tres* (Lisbon, 1572) greatly contributed to this as it quickly spread to every continent and reached truly impressive editorial numbers.

The Japanese edition of Father Manuel Álvares' grammar is an oriental version of the Lisbon edition, 1573, which, in turn, is a concise version of the best-known edition of this work, *De Institutione Grammatica Libri tres* (Lisbon 1572), which was transformed into the official text of the entire Society of Jesus in Europe, Asia, and America. In America, Álvares was printed in Mexico (1579) and this edition was entitled *De constructione octo partivm orationis*.

The Amakusa edition served as a mandatory textbook for all Japanese students who studied in schools at Nagasaki and Amakusa. To aid this pedagogical function, a contrastive description of the classes of words, including verb conjugations, of the Latin and Portuguese with translation to Romanized Japanese was made.

The scope of this study is to make a brief excursus through the publications of Álvares' grammar, demonstrating, through the respective structures and their contents, that the edition that served as support to the Amakusa grammar is the Lisbon edition of 1573. This study also aims to show the innovative contributions of this grammar in relation to the Lisbon edition of 1573.

## 2. Editions of Álvares' grammar

Since the publication of Italian Jesuit Emilio Springhetti's article (1961-1962), the assertion that there are a total of 530 editions of Álvares' grammar worldwide has become commonplace<sup>1</sup>. While Springhetti consulted the bibliography of Jesuit works by Backer, Backer & Sommervogel (1890-1916)<sup>2</sup>, as well as unnamed library sources, his work, for instance, predated

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1 Assunção (1997: 9) adds the most recent Portuguese edition (Álvares, 1974) to the number mentioned by Springhetti.

2 Springhetti (1961-1962: 283-303) identifies the sources for his statistical overview as follows: "Questa statistica, compilata sul Sommervogel, op. cit. e su ricerche personali, è imperfetta e certamente suscettibile di notevole aumento".

the later bibliographical repertoire, ACL (1983), which includes results deriving from research conducted in Portuguese public libraries<sup>3</sup>.

In addition, recent research in library catalogs worldwide has led to the establishment of a considerably higher number of editions—the recent virtual collection of bibliographical references, LUSODAT<sup>4</sup>, lists no fewer than 651 full or partial editions of Álvares' grammar from 1570 up to 1974. As impressive as this list of editions may be, it can, however, by no means be considered to be complete. Among other editions that we know of, the online repertory not only lacks any reference to the first edition of the grammar to be printed in Spain (Zaragoza, 1979), but also to what most recently has been identified as the first edition of what Springhetti (1961-1962: 291) identifies in a citation as the “arte pequena sin comentarios”, that is, ‘the small grammar without comments’, a term seemingly used by the grammarian himself in his Spanish correspondence with his superiors in Rome when corresponding about the edition published in 1573 (Kemmler, 2015: 2-3)<sup>5</sup>. The *editio princeps* of Álvares' grammar are nowadays commonly known mainly due to the grammar's modern facsimile print (1974). Also “in spite of the existence of some recent studies of significance (Ponce de Leon Romeo, 2002; Gomez Gomez, 2002) dedicated to the 1572 *editio princeps*, and despite even the considerable number of scientific publications that have been dedicated to several aspects concerned with its later and especially foreign editions (Ponce de Leon Romeo, 2000, 2003, 2007; Kemmler, 2012), we still remain far from a complete understanding of some of the most important questions related to Álvares' grammar” (Kemmler, 2015: 2-3).

The existence of an *editio princeps* of the *arte pequena* with the same title has, until most recently, been unknown<sup>6</sup>. Both the author's references to the unannotated version of the grammar and the existence of the formerly unknown copy of Álvares (1573) which is devoid

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3 Regarding Springhetti's table (1961-1962: 304), it should be noted, finally, that the true calculation of all editions referred to in the Jesuit's article should lead to the correct number of 532, and not 530, editions.

4 <http://www.ghtc.usp.br/lusodat.htm>.

5 Referring to Verdelho (1995: 458) as the source for the terminological distinction, Iken (2002: 57) coherently uses the terms “arte maior” vs. “arte menor”. In accordance with his sources, Verdelho (1995) uses both terminological variations. If we consider the latin terms “ars maior” vs. “ars minor” for the Roman grammarian Aelius Donatus' work, we cannot help but think that the use of the terms seems to be of no consequence, if the necessary coherence in its use is given.

6 Iken (2002: 60) refers to the existence of a 1573 edition without offering any further bibliographical details, other than that he found such a reference in Verdelho (1995). Doi (1933), Fukushima (1973: 36), and Yamazawa (2006, 2008) assume that the Amakusa edition is based on an abridged version of the Álvares' grammar, but none of these name a specific edition. Gehl (2003) refers to the existence of two different streams of editions, i.e., editions for teachers and editions (“arte pequena”) for students, but does not mention a 1573 (first) edition for the latter. The first reference to the existence of Álvares (1573) together with the corresponding bibliographical details was by Kemmler (2015).

of most of the explanatory texts (called *escholio*<sup>7</sup>), show that the 1573 edition must in fact be viewed as the beginning of an independent tradition of *arte pequena*.

As a matter of fact, the term *arte pequena* (smaller grammar), as opposed to the *arte grande* (larger grammar) of 1572, was applied to Álvares' grammars by former Portuguese grammarians as we can see, for instance, in the case of the mid-eighteenth century manuscript *Álvares vindicado nas Notas, que proxivamente se lhe oppozeram no prologo do Novo Methodo da Grammatica Latina*<sup>8</sup>. In this as of yet unpublished manuscript concerning the 1750s polemics about Álvares' grammar, the first two chapters *Notas á arte do Padre Manuel Álvares e suas respostas* (fols. 2 r - 50 r) and *Notas á arte pequena do dito Padre, e suas respostas* (fols. 50 v - 57 r) are clearly dedicated to the two versions of the Jesuit grammar.

As we have been able to observe in the course of a preliminary observation, the Amakusa Latin grammar (1594) seems to share some similarities with the first edition of the *arte pequena* (Lisbon, 1573). In the following paragraphs, we will introduce the characteristics of the two editions in order to permit a comparison of the structure and of some of the contents of the two editions.

### 2.1. The *arte pequena* (Lisbon, 1573)

Since the formal establishment of literary censorship in Portugal in 1536, publication licenses printed together with the censored books have offered insights into the history of Portuguese books. Thus, the first edition of the *arte grande* is known to have been published as a result of the Inquisition licenses dated September 9th, 1572. The respective entries show that the licensing process for the *arte pequena* (smaller grammar), which carries the unchanged title *Emmanuelis Alvari e Societate Iesv de institvtione grammatica libri tres*, was concluded not even three months later:

*VI os tres liuros de Instituição Grammatica do padre Manoel Aluares da Companhia de Iesu, os quaes não tem cousa que contradiga aa fé, nem aos bons costumes, antes aproueitaram muito aos que estudão Latim & poesia. em Euora oje primeiro de laneiro 1573.*

[I have read these three books of grammar by Father Manoel Álvares of the Jesuits. They have nothing against the faith and have nothing against good custom either, and instead shall profit those who study Latin and poetry very much. In Evora, on the 1st of January, 1573.]

Dom Afonso de Castelbranco.

*Aprovação do conselho Real do sancto officio.* [Permit of the Royal Council of Inquisition]

¶ *Vista a censura podese imprimir esta arte. em Euora a cinco de laneiro. de 1573.*

7 The only known copy of this edition (1573, Lisbon) is conserved in the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra with a call number VT-18-7-3.

8 The manuscript is in the Biblioteca Pública de Évora (call number Cod. CXIII/2-21; cf. Cardoso, 1994: 131).

[The censorship being settled, this grammar can be printed. In Evora, on the 5th of January, 1573] Manoel Gonçalves de Camara & Manoel de Coadros.

Other than the date that shows the 1573 edition as having been licensed on January 1st, 1573, the only difference between the two grammar's licenses is the substitution among the representatives of the Portuguese Royal Council of the Inquisition; whereas in the 1572 edition, the Jesuit Provincial Leão Henriques (1515-1589) signs as the second member, in the 1573 edition the second signature belongs to Manoel de Coadros.

Among the other paratexts that are reproduced in the 1573 edition is the royal printing privilege dated September 14th, 1567, that gave the printer João da Barreira both permission and the exclusive right to print all of the Coimbra Jesuit's college manuals for eight years (fols. [III-IV]). Of equal importance is the author's preface (1573: [V-VI]), which is the reproduction of the text of the initial edition (1572: [V-VII]).

There is, however, one key text that does not appear in the initial edition (1572). At least in the Portuguese tradition, the small text *Auctor Lectori* appears in all of the *arte pequena* editions since the first edition in Lisbon, 1573<sup>9</sup>.

*Auctor Lectori. / Libros de Grammatica Institutione, quos nuper explanationibus illustratos edideram, compulsus sum Lector humanissime nudos ferè, ac luce priuatos, diligentius tamen correctos denuo foras dare: tum ne scholiorum multitudine impedirentur tyrones, tum vt eis non solùm ad diuites, sed etiam ad tenuiores, (quorum multo maior semper fuit copia) aditus pateret. Quare te etiã, atque etiam rogo, vt eorum tenuitatem, vel nuditatem potiùs boni consulas. Vale.*

[Author to the reader. / I am compelled, most human reader, to re-publish almost naked and deprived of brightness—but rigorously reviewed—the books on grammar instruction that I have published recently, which are illustrated with comments, with the aim that, on the one hand, beginners might not be impeded by the multitude of the scholia, and on the other, access may not only be possible for the rich, but also for the most humble (of which there is always a much larger amount). Therefore, I urge you consider to esteem as good their humility and their nakedness. Bye.]

In this quite interesting paratext, the author complains of having been forced to reedit his grammar without the insightful comments of the *scholia*: the grammatical, critical, or explanatory comments that are so typical of *editiones principes* of *arte grande*. In Álvares' perception, the elimination of most of the *scholia* renders the grammar “almost naked and deprived of brightness”, a fact which he explains by referring to his superior's intention to avoid a high

9 As the grammar is of Portuguese origin, we have consulted a considerable number of Portuguese editions from the 16th to the 18th century. Similar to the first edition, the text doesn't appear in the last Portuguese edition of the *arte grande* that was reviewed and established by António Velês (Álvares, 1599). All the later Portuguese editions, however, reproduce this paratext without considerable changes.

number of *scholia* which would elevate the price of the resulting book in 4<sup>o</sup> format and might hinder or even prevent access to beginners or impoverished scholars<sup>10</sup>.

As a matter of fact, it makes sense for this paratext to preface all of the editions of the *arte pequena* in Portugal and abroad, as they explain the changes made in relation to the *arte grande*, which could then be understood as a sort of “teacher’s manual”.

## 2.2. Existent copies of the Amakusa (1594) edition

Without any licenses, the Japanese edition *Emmanuelis Alvari e Societate Iesv de institvtione grammatica libri tres: Coniugationibus accessit interpretatio lapponica* was published eleven years after the author’s death, in 1594, by the Japanese Jesuit College of Amakusa<sup>11</sup>. Only two copies of this edition are known to exist: one in the Biblioteca Pública de Évora, Portugal, and one in the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, Italy.

The Amakusa (Japanese) edition is in 4o format (the Evora copy is 22.7 x 15.7 cm<sup>12</sup>) and occupies a total of 170 mostly paginated folios printed on a Japanese *torinoko*<sup>13</sup> paper. The Evora copy has a cover of calfskin-pasted board, with four raised cords. A paste-down and two fly-leaves of western paper have been added on both sides of the cover respectively. A fragment of an unidentified incunabulum of *Missa de nomine Iesu* (possibly *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae eboracensis*) is used as a lining of the front cover<sup>14</sup>.

The Angelica copy also had a cover of calfskin-pasted board, but has recently been re-furnished, with fragments of the old cover pasted onto the new modern cover, with three raised

10 The *arte pequena* of Lisbon (1573) edition is in 8<sup>o</sup>.

11 Among other scholars, Matos (1993:164) maintains that there may have been a 1593 edition of the Amakusa grammar. However, as the author states that “um exemplar encontra-se na Biblioteca Angélica, de Roma, e outro na Biblioteca Pública de Évora”, it seems fair to conclude that the indication on the title page “M. D. XCIII.” (instead of the traditional “M. D. XCIV”) might have led to this misinterpretation.

12 The Angelica copy is slightly smaller, 21.0 x 15.0 cm, because it was (sometimes too) deeply trimmed during binding.

13 *Torinoko* is a specific type of Japanese paper with a smooth surface and is lustrous, thin, and quite resistant. The Jesuits in Japan used *torinoko* (so called in the Jesuit inventories) papers for their publications in Latin script (for publications in Japanese script, they used *minogami*, i.e., mulberry papers) in official records, and in correspondences with Rome.

14 On the front cover is a printed ticket *IV CENTENÁRIO / DA FUNDAÇÃO / DA UNIVERSIDADE / DE ÉVORA*, attached on the occasion of the exposition (1959) commemorating the 4th centenary of the University of Evora, in which the Amakusa edition was the 86th exhibit. On the fly-leaf of the back cover is pasted a library card which says *Esteve exposto na Europália 89 / Japão* [This was exhibited in the Europalia (19)89 Japan in Belgium].

cords. A modern paste-down, and two contemporary fly-leaves of a very rough (probably Japanese) paper are added on both sides of the cover, respectively. The paste-down used to contain a fragment of a printed leaf of *Guia do Pecador* (1599, Nagasaki) as a lining, but this is currently detached, and has been replaced by a modern paste-down. On the front fly-leaf a dedication is written: *Anno Domi[...] 1605 / Petrus Antonius A[...] Iapp[...] / hūc librū dono dedit / Bibliothecae / A[...]ae / [.....]* [in the year of the Lord 1605, a Japanese Petrus Antonius A[raki?]<sup>15</sup> gave this book to the Augustine Library as a gift]. The last line of the dedication (which may have been a signature) is crossed out and is illegible.

The two copies differ slightly in their corrections of typographical errors: 3v (the Angelica copy corrects the error in the Evora copy), 20r (E corrects A), 23v (E and A are both in error), 30r (E corrects A), 100v (A corrects E). Occasional interpolations exist only in the Evora copy.

In accordance with the subtitle's announcement (*Conjugationibus accessit interpretatio japonica* [Japanese interpretation added to the conjugations]), the Japanese edition distinguishes itself from the "simple" editions of the Álvares' grammar by the addition of the Japanese conjugations to the Latin and Portuguese conjugations that were already a part of the Portuguese editions of the *arte grande* and the *arte pequena*.

### 2.3. Structure of the Lisbon (1573) and the Amakusa (1594) editions

There are two structural comparisons between the 1572 edition and the 1573 edition (Kemmler, 2015: 10-13; Kemmler, 2014: 49-53) that only differ by the fact that one publication is in Portuguese and the other is in the English language. Another publication (Assunção & Toyoshima, 2012: 263-265) makes a structural comparison between the 1573 edition and the 1594 edition.

Based on the assumption that the Lisbon edition (1573) and the Amakusa edition (1594) both belong to the tradition of the *arte pequena*, a look at the structure seems quite promising:

**TABLE 1**

Structure of Lisbon (1573) and the Amakusa (1594) editions

CHAPTER TITLES	LISBON 1573 (L73)	AMAKUSA 1594 (A94)
[title page]	[I]	[1]
[licenses]	[II]	-

15 The paper is broken and can be read as *Am* or *Ar*; in the former case *amicus* (a friend), and if the latter, the donator may be Petrus Antonius Arachius Iapponensis—i.e., Thomas Araki (?-1646?)—, who is known to have studied in the Pontifical Roman Seminary prior to his ordination there.

[blank page]		[1 v]
PRIVILEGIO Real.	[III-IV]	-
LIBER I.	[V-VIII], 1 r - 58 r	2 r - 92 v
PRÆFATIO.	[V-VI]	[2 r - 2 v]
Auctoris carmen ad Librum. / Idem Christianum præceptorem	[VII]	[3 r]
Auctor Lectori.	[VIII]	[3 r]
ADMONITIO.	-	[3 v]
[DE NOMINVM DECLINATIONE.] <sup>a)</sup>	1 r - 6 r	4 r - 8 v
[DE PRONOMINVM DECLINATIONE.] <sup>b)</sup>	6 r - 9 r	8 v - 12 r
DE VERBORVM CONIVGATIONE.	9 r - 30 r	12 v - 62 v
De verbis anomalis.	30 v - 34 v	62 v - 67 v
De uerbis Defectiuus.	34 v - 35 r	67 v - 68 v
De verborum Jmpersonalium declinatione,	35 v - 36 r	68 v - 69 v
RVDIMENTA siue de octo partibus Orationis,	36 v - 45 v	70 r - 78 v
DE GENERIBUVS nominum, quæ ex significatione cognoscuntur.	45 v - 48 r	78 v - 82 r
De nominum Declinatione,	48 v - 54 v	82 r - 89 r
DE VERBORVM præteritis et supinis.	55 r - 58 r	89 r - 92 v
DE OCTO PARTIVM ORATIONIS CONSTRVCTIONE LIBER II.	58 v - 104 v	93 r - 157 r
De Constructione Intransitiua.	58 v - 61 v	93 r - 96 r
De Constructione Transitiua nominis.	62 r - 67 r	96 v - 101 v
[DE CONSTRVCTIONE transitiua verbi.] <sup>c)</sup>	67 r - 71 r	102 r - 105 v
DE CONSTRVctione verbi activi. <sup>d)</sup>	71 r - 81 v	106 r - 115 v
CONSTRVCTIO VERBI INFINITI. <sup>e)</sup>	81 v - 86 v	116 r - 120 v
CONSTRVCTIO TRANSITIVA PRONOMINIS.	86 v - 89 r	120 v - 122 v
PRÆPOSITIONVM CONSTRVCTIO.	89 r - 91 v	122 v - 125 r
CONSTRVCTIO ADVERBII.	92 r - 96 v	125 v - 129 v
Interiectionis Constructio.	96 v - 97 r	129 v - 130 r
CONIVNCTIONIS Constructio.	97 r - 99 v	130 r - 132 r
DE FIGVRATA constrvctione.	99 v - 104 v	132 v - 137 r
DE GRAMMATICA INSTITVTIONE <i>LIBER III.</i>	105 r - 148 v	137 v - 170 v
De Syllabarum dimensione.	105 r - 114 v	137 v - 145 r
DE INCREMENTO SINGVLARI nominis.	114 v - 118 r	145 r - 148 r
DE VERBORVM incremento.	118 v - 121 r	148 r - 149 v
DE VLTIMIS SYLLABIS.	121 r - 138 v	150 r - 162 v
DE CAESURA.	139 r - 140 r	162 v - 164 r
DE VERBIS POETICIS.	140 v	164 r
DE PATRONYMICIS nominibus.	140 v - 145 r	164 r - 168 r

[DE FIGURIS POET.] <sup>9)</sup>	145 r - 146 v	168 r - 169 v
DE PROSODIA.	147 r - 147 v	169 v - 170 r
DE GRÆCIS VERBIS.	148 r	170 r - 170 v
DE HABRÆIS VOCIBUS.	148 v	170 v
Errata: In quibus F, folium: A, paginam primam: B, secundam significat.	[I]	-

From a structural point of view, it seems obvious that the two editions of Álvares' grammar are quite similar. Indeed, there are only a small number of significant divergences. As the Jesuit press in Japan didn't have to undergo the same censorship process as in Portugal, both the license (L73: [II]) and the royal privilege (L73: [III-IV], void since 1575) didn't need to be reproduced in the Amakusa edition.

The page with the ADMONITIO (A94: 3v) is, however, a unique characteristic of the Japanese edition. The same can be said about the chapter DE VERBORVM CONIVGATIONE, in which the Japanese edition adds the equivalents of the Latin and Portuguese conjugations in Romanized Japanese.

Chapter titles and page headers of the both editions merit special attention.

- a) [DE NOMINVM DECLINATIONE]: Devoid of any proper chapter title, the grammar begins with the subchapter title *PRIMA NOMINUM DECLINATIO* (L73: 1r; A94: 4v), followed by the other declensions. The real title of the present chapter can only be found in the *arte grande* (Lisbon 1572: 1r), whereas L73 (1v-2r) and A94 (4v-5r) only show the chapter title beginning with the first respective two page header.
- b) [DE PRONOMINVM DECLINATIONE]: Lacking the proper title, the chapter begins with *De pronominum primitiuorum declinatione* (L73: 6r; A94: 8v). The original chapter title preceding the *scholia* can be found in A94 (7r), being, again, only mentioned after the first two page headers in L73 (5v-6r) and A94 (9v-10r).
- c) [DE CONSTRVCTIONE transitiva verbi]: Without any indication that this paragraph is dedicated to another one, as with the former, there is only the subchapter *Genitiuus post uerbum* (L73: 67r). The incorrect page header *DE CONSTR. INT. VERBI*, that can already be observed in the corresponding headers of the chapter *DE CONSTRVCTIONE transitiva verbi* in the *arte grande* (Lisbon 1572: 125r), is coherently reproduced from L73 (67v-68r). Unlike the L73 edition, A94 (102r) explicitly offers a chapter title *DE CONSTRVCTIONE TRANSITIVA VERBI* while correcting the page header *DE CONSTR. TRANSIT. VERBI* (A94: 102v-103r) in relation to the two Lisbon editions (1572, 1573).
- d) *DE CONSTRVCTIONE VERBI ACTIVI*: Five double pages A94 (112v-116r) offer the page header *DE CONSTR. COMMVNI OMNIVM VERBORVM*, which differs from the headers *DE CON-*

*STRVCTIONE VERBI ACTIVI* (Lisbon 1572: 133v-159r) and *DE CONSTRVC, VERBI ACTIVI* (L73: 73v-85r) of the Lisbon editions.

- e) *CONSTRVCTIO VERBI INFINITI*: Notwithstanding the beginning of the chapter on L73 (81v), the page headers continue with the incorrect heading *DE CONSTRVC. VERBI ACTIVI* for the next four double pages (L73: 82v-85r). In this, L73 (in the first edition of the *arte pequena*) coincides with the 1572 edition, that shows the header *DE CONSTRVCTIONE VERBI ACTIVI* on several folios of this chapter (Lisbon 1572: 156r, 156v-157r, 158v-159r). One intermediate folio (Lisbon 1572: 157v-158r) has the correct header *DE CONSTRVCTIONE VERBI INFINITIVI* that can be found on the rest of the chapter's pages (Lisbon 1572: 159v-169r). Following the first header *DE CONSTRVCTIONE VERBI INFINITVI* (A94: 116v-117r), this chapter has also the headers *DE CONSTRVCTIONE GERVNDIORVM* (A94: 117v-118r), *DE CONSTRVCTIONE GERVND. ET SVPIN* (A94: 118v-119r) and *DE CONSTRVCTIONE PARTICIPIORVM* (A94: 119v-120r).
- f) Similar to the first Lisbon editions (1572: 241v; 1573: 145r), the chapter *DE FIGVRIS POETICIS* isn't separated in any way from the preceding chapter. Instead, the chapter begins with the subchapter title *De Metaplasmo*, whereas the chapter title is merely indicated on the respective page headers (1572: 241v, 1573: 145v-146v). Likewise, what would be the corresponding chapter in A94 (168r) has no proper title but shows a similar heading: *DE FIGVRIS POET.* (A94: 168r-169r).

While table 1 shows the structure of both editions to be the same, the most obvious dissimilarity resides in the pagination. As the Lisbon edition (L73) has [VIII] pages, followed by 148 folios and [I] page, the Amakusa edition (A94) occupies a total of 170 folios. Given that the grammar's text is mostly the same without significant changes, the obvious explication is to be found in the aforementioned chapter on verb conjugation. Whereas in L73 this chapter occupies 21 folios, in A94 there are 50 folios, thus accounting for a considerable part of difference in pagination. Another obvious reason is the difference in typographical composition. Whereas L73 normally uses a normal roman (upright) typeface for most of the text (using italics only for the small number of *scholia*, the Portuguese verb forms, and for some chapter titles), in A94 the italic typeset<sup>16</sup> is the norm while the upright typeset is used mostly for chapter and subchapter titles, marginal comments, *scholia*, as well as the Portuguese and Japanese paradigms<sup>17</sup>.

16 The italic set in the Amakusa edition is the first example of the metallic movable type created in Japan. All the foregoing movable type systems—including Latin and Japanese KANA/KANJI ones—were ordered by the *Tensho* Delegation to Rome (1582-1590) during their stay in Europe (cf. Toyoshima, 2010a, 2010b). The Amakusa edition continues to use the European movable type for the roman (upright) typefaces, as well as for capital letters.

17 There is also some variation in the writing of the chapter titles which we find to be insignificant. These cases include differences in the use of capital letters or small letters as well as the use of *U* / *V*, due to the apparent lack of capital letters in the italic set.

Concerning the pagination, there are some typographical errors that need to be observed. In L73, folio 63 (between fols. 62 and 64) is incorrectly paginated as folio 93. Also, folio 69 (between 68 and 70) is incorrectly paginated as folio 66. While none of the former errors appear in A94, A94 folio 137 (between fols. 136 and 138) is incorrectly paginated as folio 157.

#### 2.4. Other evidence of the relationship between the *arte pequena* and the Amakusa edition

Apart from the obvious similarities in the structure, several features that are non-existent in the *arte grande* (Lisbon, 1572) support the relationship between the Amakusa edition (A94) and the *arte pequena* (L73).

1. The small text *Auctor Lectori* exists both in A94 and L73, but not in the *arte grande*.
2. Mention of potentials *De modo potentiali et permissiuo, siue concessiuo* appears after the conjunctive of *esse*, in L73 (fol. 12v) and A94 (15v), but not in the *arte grande*.
3. The example given of the adjective 3rd declension was *prudens* in the *arte grande* (6v), but is substituted by *felix* both in L73 (5r) and A94 (7v). This is to avoid confusion in the genitive forms; this is stated in the *scholion*. Although later editions of the *arte grande* (e.g., Venice, 1575; Evora, 1599) also adopted *felix*, it was initiated in the first edition of the *arte pequena* (L73).
4. In the Portuguese translation, the 2nd person plural of the future of the passive conjunctive of *amare* is *Vos fordes amados* in L73 (20v) and A94 (28r), whereas it is *Vos foreis amados* in the *arte grande* (35v).

#### 2.5. Later editions of the *arte pequena*

Although the first edition of the *arte pequena* (L73) has similarities in structure, it is not the only direct source for the Amakusa edition (A94). Comparisons with later editions of the *arte pequena*, such as the Lisbon 1578 edition (L78H, a Spanish adaptation) and the Lisbon 1583 edition (L83L, a Portuguese adaptation) show that revisions were done after 1573, some of which are reflected in the Amakusa edition (A94).

1. The *scholion* on *supinum* is moved from *Rudimenta* (L73, 40v) to a section after the verb *audire* (L78H:50r, A94:51v-52v).
2. The order of verbs in *verba anomala* and deponents is *possum fero volo nolo malo fio eo coepi memini noui odi* in L73, but is *vtor dimetior edo eo memini noui odi coepi novi possum fero volo nolo malo edo fio inquam aio poenior pugnatur* in L78H and in A94.

3. The *scholion* “*Acinaces, is, masculini generis...*” (L78H:76v, A94:80v) is missing in L73.
4. The appendix to the ablative of the third declension of a noun is *Substantiua, is, syllaba finita...* in L78H:83v and in A94:86r, whereas it was *Appelatiua, adiectiuus, similialeges...* in L73:52r and also in L72:87r and V75:p.201 (the *arte grande*).
5. The quotation from Quintilianus in *De prosodia—de praepositionum tono* (L72:243v, V75:p.522, L78H:194v, A94:170r) is missing in L73.

The Lisbon 1578 edition (L78H), published by António Ribeiro, is a Spanish adaptation of the *arte pequena* (L73). Examples are given in Spanish, not in Portuguese, and thus may not be a direct source of the Amakusa edition (A94), where examples are given in Portuguese.

The Lisbon 1583 edition (L83L), published five years later by the same printer, António Ribeiro, is a Portuguese adaptation, and gives examples in Portuguese. However, this L83L cannot be the single direct source of the Amakusa edition (A94) either, as L83L has significant differences between L78H and A94.

Both L78H and L83L have, after the subsection on the conjunctives with *cum* for *esse* (e.g., *cum sim, cum sis, cum sit*), another subsection *coniunctiui propriae voces hispanae/lusitanae* (e.g., *quanuis sim, sis, sit*; Spanish: *Aunque yo sea, etc.*, Portuguese: *Posto que eu seja, etc.*). These conjunctives with *quanuis* for *esse* do not exist in the original *arte pequena* (L73), nor in the later Italian editions (such as V88, V92); the Italian editions simply ignore these *quanuis* forms. As the Amakusa edition (A94) has these *quanuis* conjunctives for *esse* (15v), as well as for other verbs, they are not from the original *arte pequena* of 1573 (L73), nor from the Italian sources, but probably from Iberian sources.

L78H gives present, imperfective, perfective, pluperfect, and future forms for *esse* (19v), just like A94, whereas L83L gives only present and imperfective (17v), and clearly states that other tenses are not in use for the Portuguese language:

*Perfecti & plusquamperfecti verbi Substantiui nullae sunt propriae voces Lusitanae. neque enim dicunt : Posto que eu aja sido : Posto que eu houuera sido. Pro quibus, iisdem temporibus Indicatiui modi vtuntur. Nam particulae, Posto que; Ainda que : etiam indicatiuum petunt : Posto que fui: Posto que fora. (18r)* [No perfect and pluperfect forms of the verb of substance are genuine Portuguese. Nobody says *Posto que eu aja sido*... The indicative of those tenses are used instead. These particles *Posto que*... call for the indicative.]

As for the conjunctive of *amare* (active), L78H gives a full list of present, imperfective, perfective, pluperfect, and future (27v--28r), whereas L83L gives present, imperfective, perfective, and pluperfect, but ignores future, clearly stating that it is deliberately omitted (*praetermissi*):

*Futurum praetermisi, quod semper eodem modo reddatur Lusitane, quacunq̄ue praecedente particular (24v).* [I omitted future, which is always translated in the same mood with a preceding particle in Portuguese.]

As for the passive conjunctive of *amare*, L78H also gives a full range of tenses (31v-32v), whereas L83L gives only present and imperfective, omitting others, and clearly states that the omission is intentional.

*Perfecti et plusquamperf. propriis vocibus etiam destituuntur Lusitani: cum hae voces, circuitioque necessario à verbo substantiuo mutuanda sit. Vtemur ergo iis temporibus Indicatiui modi, sicut in verbo Substantiuo diximus (29r).* [Perfect and pluperfect forms are not in genuine usage of Portuguese, as these forms are necessarily periphrastic using a substantive verb. As is described in the (section on the) substantive verb, we use forms of the indicative mood for these tenses.]

The same thing goes for *docere* (active L83L:32v, passive L83L:33v), *legere* (active, L83L:35v, passive L83L:37v), and *audire* (active L83L:39v, passive L83L:42r), where no more statements are given. As the Amakusa Edition (A94) gives almost<sup>18</sup> all of the tenses that are listed in L78H and omitted in L83L, the L83L cannot be the only direct source for the Amakusa Edition<sup>19</sup>.

So far, we are unable to name one single direct source for the Amakusa Edition (A94).

This is not an exception for the early Japanese Christian Mission Press publications by the Jesuits. The Jesuits in Japan had no problem translating Spanish sources into Japanese—for example, the three translations of the works by Fray Luis de Granada<sup>20</sup>—where the bases were taken from the Spanish originals, but evidence shows that versions in other languages (such as Latin) were also consulted and incorporated; i.e., there is no one single direct source for these Japanese editions, but several.

To summarize, the Amakusa edition is on the stream of the *arte pequena* of the Álvares' grammar, which was initiated in 1573 (L73). The Amakusa edition is influenced by the subsequent revisions of the *arte pequena* and may have incorporated several editions of adaptation for Spanish and Portuguese languages.

18 The only one exception is the lack of the future for *esse* (*fuero*) with *Quauis* (A94:15v).

19 It is interesting that the Portuguese columns of A94 have full tenses for the active conjugations just as the Spanish L78H, but, for the passive conjugations and the substantive verb *esse*, they have only present and imperfective columns and lack all others, just as in the Portuguese L83L.

20 *Fides no dôxi* (1592) is a Japanese translation of the *Quinta parte de la introducción de la símbolo de la fe* by Fray Luis, *Guia do Pecador* (1599) is translated from the Spanish *Guia de pecadores*, and *Fides no qiô* (1611) is based on the *Primera parte de la introducción de la símbolo de la fe*. All of these works by Fray Luis had no Portuguese versions in this era.

## 2.6. Innovations of the Amakusa edition

In relation to the Latin-Portuguese original of the *arte pequena*, it is quite obvious that the innovations of the 1594 Amakusa edition (A94) lie in the parts that are dedicated to the Japanese language. As suggested by the grammar's title, those innovations are mostly restricted to the chapter on verb conjugations. Without any equivalent in the original editions of the Jesuit grammar, there is, however, the following text in A94 (3v) that is solely dedicated to offering the Japanese students a notion of Latin vs. Japanese declension:

*ADMONITIO / CVM ijs, qui in Iapponia, latino idiomati operam impendunt, Patris Emmanuelis Aluari Grammatica institutio necessaria sit in eaque verborum coniugationes Lusitana lingua huius insulæ hominibus ignota vertatur, ne tyrones in ipso limine peregrini sermonis imperitiæ tædio animum desponderent, Superioribus visum est, vt (ordine quo liber ab auctore editus est, nihil immutato) verborum coniugationibus Iapponicæ voces apponerentur, aliqua que scholia præceptoribus ad latinarum, & Iapponicarum loquutionum vim faciliùs dignoscendam maximè conducentia, attexerentur. Vale.*

[Reminder: Since, to those who, in Japan, devote themselves to the Latin language, the Grammatical Method by Father Manuel Álvares is necessary, and, in addition, the conjugations of verbs are translated into the Portuguese language, which is unfamiliar to the people of this island, in order not to let the beginners become weary with the first steps of this unexperienced foreign language, it appeared appropriate to the Superiors, to add (in the same order as edited by the author with nothing altered) Japanese words to the conjugations of verbs, as well as to attach instructor's notes (*scholia*), that make recognition of the meaning of Latin and Japanese expressions very much easier. Bye.]

In order to exemplify the differences in verbal paradigms, compare the present and imperfect tenses of the substantive verb *ESSE* (to be, Portuguese *ser / estar*) in both editions:

### FIGURE 1

L73 (Lisbon, 1573): 9r

**Sum verbum substantiuum modi indicatiui,  
temporis presentis, numer singularis,  
personæ primæ, sic declinabitur,**

Modi indicatiui tempus præsens,		Præteritū imperfectū,	
<b>S</b> VM <i>Eu sou ou estou.</i>		<i>Eram, Eu era ou estava.</i>	
<i>Es, Tu es.</i>		<i>Eras, Tu eras.</i>	
<i>Est, Elle be;</i>		<i>Erat, Elle era.</i>	
<i>Plurali numero.</i>			
<i>Sumus, Nos somos.</i>		<i>Pl. Eramus, Nos eramos.</i>	
<i>Estis, Vos sois.</i>		<i>Eratis, Vos ereis.</i>	
<i>Sunt, Elles sam,</i>		<i>Erant, Elles eram.</i>	

FIGURE 2

A94 (Amakusa, 1594): 12v

¶ Modi indicatiui tempus præsens.

¶ Sum,	Vore	} Deau /mua yu.	{ e Iu f u c u e s t o u.		
Es,	Nangi			Deau, A, yu.	T u e s : c u e s t a s.
Est,	Arc			Deau A, yu.	E l l e h e : c u e s t a.
Plurali numero.					
Sumus,	Vareia	} Deau A, yu.	{ N o s o m o s : c u e s t : m o s .		
Estis,	Nangha			Deau A, yu.	V o s : i o i s : c u e s t i s .
Sunt,	Arcia			Deau, A, yu.	E l l e : s a n t : c u e s t : o .

Quite obviously, the innovation of the Amakusa edition is the introduction of the middle column that separates the Latin and the Portuguese conjugations. While L73 only offers samples of *ser*, except for the corresponding *estar* for the first person singular, A94 offers whole conjugations of both *ser/estar* forms. Quite interestingly, there is also some orthographic variation as in *eramos ~ èramos*, *eram ~ eraõ*.

Other than the trilingual verbal paradigms, during the same chapter the Amakusa edition shows the existence of some *scholia*, seemingly meant to take into consideration the Japanese linguistic reality in comparison to the Latin or Portuguese facts that are presented by the grammar.

Printed on the page's right margin (next to the bilingual paradigm) the following short text in L73 (9v) is the only *scholion* dedicated to the indicative tenses of the substantive verb to "survive" the transition from the *arte grande* to the *arte pequena*<sup>21</sup>: *Si quis de Varronis sententia volet futurum perfectum, siue exactum adiungere, sic in Lusitanum conuertat, licebit. Fuero: la então eu serei, ou estarei.*

The Amakusa edition augments what seems to be a marginal note to a fully-fledged scholion, dedicated mostly to considerations of Japanese equivalents of the Latin conjugation:

¶ *Si quis de Varronis sententia volet futurum perfectum, siue exactum adiungere, sic in Iapponicum conuertat, licebit. Fuero: Mo faya de arõzu. A, atte arõzu. Ius. Ia eu então serei, ou estarei.*

21 The original *scholion* can be found in Álvares (1974: 12r). The Portuguese sentence shows minor orthographic dissimilarities: *la entam eu serei, ou estarei*.

¶ Huic verbo Substantiuo Sum, hæc feré verba lapponica respondent, Aru, goza u, naru, yru, voru, voriaru, vogiaru, maximasu, sórö, fanberu, nari, &c. & ex his ea, quibus particulæ, Ni, Nite, De, præponuntur, vt Nite aru, gozaru, &c. Aliqua circa indicatuum, & reliquos modos hîc possent adnotari, quæ in prima verborum coniugatione reperientur diffusè (Álvares, 1594: 13 r).

Not only the change of position of the personal pronoun in the Portuguese sample phrase *la eu então serei, ou estarei* but even more the above mentioned completion of the Portuguese paradigm of *estar* as well as the orthographical changes lead us to believe that the editors of the Amakusa edition might have been Portuguese native speakers or, at least, near native.

### 3. Conclusion

So far, we have shown that the 1594 Amakusa edition of Manuel Álvares' grammar was, indeed, elaborated from the base of the same grammar's tradition of the *arte pequena* that was initiated in 1573. The structural similarities—and especially the idiosyncrasies that are due to the omission of chapter titles together with *scholia* added since Álvares (1573)—between the first Portuguese and the first overseas edition of the Jesuit grammar's abbreviated version leave no doubt that the editor of the Amakusa edition must have used an edition (or editions) of the Lisbon editions of the *arte pequena*. As the 1594 edition was meant for use in Latin classes in a missionary context, the use of the concise grammar in a reduced format made sense; this is, after all, why the Jesuit leadership asked Álvares to prepare this edition.

True to the design of the Jesuit grammar, the editor of the Amakusa edition added the Japanese equivalents to the Latin and Portuguese verb paradigms as well as some changed or even new *scholia* that offer comments on the Japanese language. Next to this most valuable metalinguistic information on Japanese grammar, the orthographic variation of the grammar's Portuguese words (in relation to the editions printed in Lisbon) may also make an interesting study.

As a result of the above, it seems that some considerations of the Amakusa edition by past and present authors should be rethought, especially when only the 1572 Lisbon edition (the *arte grande*) can be identified as the grammar's source; for instance, in Otto Zwartjes recent book on Portuguese Missionary linguistics, the grammar in question is discussed as follows:

The Japanese Amakusa edition of the grammar of Álvares generally follows the same structure as the first edition of 1572; but there are some significant differences: the editors of the Japanese edition adapted the grammar for Japanese students, offering bilingual Latin-Japanese paradigms [...]. In the Amakusa edition, the grammar of Álvares is no longer a monolingual work designed simply for the teaching and learning of Latin (Zwartjes, 2011: 100-101).

While it is true that the Amakusa edition follows the structure of the 1572 Lisbon edition, we have shown that the real affiliation should be seen as with the 1573 edition (the *arte pequena*). There seems, however, to be a misconception of the paradigms in the Álvares (1594) grammar. As we have seen, these are clearly trilingual (with Latin, Japanese, and Portuguese) in the same way as the verb paradigms of the Lisbon editions are bilingual (with Latin and Portuguese). Sure enough, the number of Portuguese examples and sample phrases and explanations dedicated to the Portuguese were lost in the course of the reduction of most of the *scholia* when the Álvares (1573) edition was prepared. Even so, the presence of the Portuguese language is undeniable in the chapter *De verborvm coniugatione*.

Further studies linking the Amakusa edition with its true source in the *arte pequena* tradition seem to be quite promising. The same can be said in relation to similar editions of the Álvares grammar in other countries.

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