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Bilingual and Multilingual Rhenian Donatus-Based Grammars from Upper Hungary

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Abstract

This paper presents the outcomes of research on elementary Latin grammar textbooks called Donati – or Donatus-based grammars –, which were written/compiled or printed and also used in the upper part of the Kingdom of Hungary (roughly corresponding to present-day Slovakia) in the period between approximately the second half of the 17th century and the middle of the 19th century. The textbooks fall into two categories: 1) bilingual textbooks originally written by Johannes Rhenius, compiled and printed in Upper Hungary, as well as those that accurately reflected his bilingual concept; and 2) multilingual textbooks that only loosely followed Rhenius' model and were compiled by Pavel Doležal (1700–1778) and modified again by Imre Dunay (1767–1838). The research aimed first at identifying all bi- and multilingual editions of the given type. In terms of methodology, this research balanced on the boundary between philology and retrospective bibliography. In addition to the primary focus, this research additionally explored areas that emerged in the context of the specific region of Upper Hungary: the changing social-historical, religious, and pedagogical environment in which these textbooks were created and to which they were adapted. In doing so, the article also clarifies the cross-linguistic contexts and selected intertextual relationships into which these texts entered.

Keywords

bilingual; multilingual; Latin; grammar; textbook; Protestant; Rhenius; Kingdom of Hungary; Donati

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1 Introduction

For centuries, *Ars grammatica*, written by the 4th century grammarian Aelius Donatus, was the cornerstone of any kind of education based on Latin. Since the Middle Ages, the name “Donatus” has become synonymous with textbooks of elementary Latin, whether their content was strictly based on Donatus or combined with other, additional sources.¹ In Central Europe, Donatus’ grammar also retained its role as an introduction to the basics of Latin grammar and to education based on Latin as a whole during the period of Humanism. In this region, the humanists achieved more concrete results in the field of philology starting from the period of the arrival of Reformation from Germany.² In accordance with the ideas of Late Humanism emphasizing the accessibility of education to the widest possible strata of society, the activities of philologists were also reflected in the writing of new school manuals. The number of commentaries, amendments and methodical manuals to Donatus’ grammar increased significantly. The needs and requirements of teachers and their students were met, among others, by language adaptation of the textbooks used in schools. These could take different forms: from brief annotations to bilingual grammars of the Latin and vernacular languages.

During its entire historical existence, the Kingdom of Hungary was a multinational, multi-ethnic and multicultural state with a correspondingly colourful variety of languages used. This clearly applies to the upper part of the Kingdom of Hungary, which very roughly overlaps the territory of present-day Slovakia.³ On this territory, the bilingual *Donatus Latino-Germanicus seu ratio declinandi et conjugandi pro incipientibus* became very popular. It was written by German Protestant scholar and pedagogue Johann Rhenius (1574–1639) and was first published in Leipzig by Christoph Ellinger in 1611.⁴ This text-

- 1 In the tradition of ancient grammar, European countries differ from each other, among many other aspects, also in terms of which textbooks dominated in their school system’s teaching of elementary Latin. The text of Donatus’ *Ars minor* is a representative of continuity primarily in German-speaking Europe and in those countries that were influenced by the German tradition, while in Italy, for example, the compilation entitled *Ianua (Aelii Donati grammatici Ianua)*, which included important elements of the Priscian doctrine, prevailed. Cf. Jensen (2001: p. 109).
- 2 On Humanism and stages of its development in the region and in Slovakia specifically, see Ijssewijn – Sacré (1990: pp. 228–238) (chapter 3.2.14 Czechoslovakia), Škoviera (2008: pp. 588–601), Juríková (2014: pp. 1109–1112).
- 3 The Latin term *Partes regni Hungariae superiores*, or *Hungaria Superior* (Germ. *Oberungarn*, Hung. *Felsőmagyarország*) *stricto sensu* referred only to the eastern parts of present-day Slovakia and adjacent territories in present-day north-eastern Hungary and Transcarpathia. In the paper, for practical reasons, the abbreviated form “Upper Hungary” and “contemporary/present-day” Slovakia are also used. For a discussion about the exact meaning of the term “Upper Hungary” and *partes superiores*, see Zavorský (2015: p. 51) and Halaga (1955: pp. 14–38).
- 4 Rhenius’s *DLG* was so popular that in the period of 1611–1797, according to Ising (1970: p. 96), it saw more than 65 editions on the territory of east Germany, Bohemia, Slovakia, and Hungary. The author herself stated that their number is likely higher, and the results of the research in this study confirm this statement. Similarly, other titles by Rhenius, the *Compendium* and *Grammatica cum paralipomenis*, saw many editions, gradually also in versions adapted for the respective language environment, not excluding the territory of Upper Hungary. Slovak libraries keep various editions of these textbooks, printed both in Germany and in Upper Hungary, published in the period from the end of the 17th century to the 1830s. The *Compendium* was the most widely published title.

book became the impetus for a new tradition of Donati which, in various corners of Europe under the influence of German Reformational Humanism,⁵ introduced students to elementary Latin. In this region, schools were attended by students who grew up speaking several languages. A little later, from about the middle of the 18th century, the ideology of Protestant Enlightenment and Pietism penetrated into the region from Halle and Wittenberg, which, to no lesser degree than Reformational Humanism, emphasized the need for a uniform approach to all students, regardless of their mother tongues. This movement gave rise to efforts to overcome national and language contradictions, resulting in polyglot prints. These as well as other factors shaped the specific development of the Donatian tradition, in which elements of late Humanism and early Enlightenment were combined. It is a peculiarity of the culture of the upper part of the Kingdom of Hungary that various bilingual and multilingual Donatian grammars based on Rhenius's text were used until the middle of the 19th century.

1.1 What are the bi- and multilingual Rhenian Donati from Upper Hungary?

The varied range of languages used in the upper part of the Kingdom of Hungary resulted from the diversity and frequency of economic and religious migrations, with denomination often dictating the preferred religious and literary language. In the bi- and multilingual Rhenian Donatus-based grammars used in Protestant schools,⁶ the languages from the (original) Protestant environment appeared alongside Latin: German and Biblical/Slovakized Czech,⁷ and, quite naturally, also Hungarian which gradually gained

- 5 Škoviera (1986: p. 65) defines Reformational Humanism as resulting from the overlapping of two movements: Reformation and Humanism, the latter of which was increasingly more influential in the territory of present-day Slovakia from the second quarter of the 16th century. For more on the historical and social contexts of Reformational Humanism see Škoviera (2008: pp. 594–595).
- 6 These were Latin municipal schools, and later lyceums or colleges with the attribute “Evangelical”, which in this region mostly referred to the Evangelical Church of the Ausburg denomination. Further in the text, the attribute “Evangelical” will be used with this meaning. Donatus' grammar was taught after the completion of the first two years of elementary education in reading, writing and maths. The curriculum dedicated to Donatus was divided into two years. The teaching of grammar according to Melanchthon or Rhenius followed Donatus' grammar; later textbooks by Comenius or Cellarius were added to the curriculum.
- 7 This was originally the Czech language of the *Bible kralická/Kralice Bible* (1579–1593), the first complete translation of the Bible from the original languages into Czech, translated by the (Protestant) Unity of the Brethren and printed in Kralice nad Oslavou. With the spread of Protestant Czech and Moravian communities, this form of Czech absorbed some elements from the local (Slovak) vernacular of the territory where it was used. According to Jarošová (2016: pp. 11, 13, 14, 17, 25 with numerous references to further sources), in the territory of Upper Hungary, from as early as the 14th and until the 18th century, written records reflect a functional diglossia of the local vernacular (*lingua vernacula*). Within the denominationally divided Slovak community, in connection with the Czech language, among members of the Evangelical Church (and similarly among Catholics), on the one hand, there was adaptation of Czech to the Slovak linguistic awareness, and on the other hand, there were also efforts to preserve the Czech language in its original form. At the Synod in Žilina in 1610, the leaders of the Evangelical Church declared contemporary Czech as the language to be used at religious services as well as the spoken and written official language of Evangelicals. However, their written records, in continuation of the previous situation, show

social and political dominance and after 1790⁸ became the second official language after Latin in the whole Kingdom of Hungary.

By Donati discussed in this article we mean textbooks of elementary Latin grammar that kept the name “Donatus” in the title and were written/compiled or printed, and also used in the territory of present-day Slovakia in the period between approximately the second half of the 17th and the middle of the 19th centuries. The title of such a Donatus-based grammar contained a compound adjective: the first part of the compositum is *Latino-*, and the second (or other following) parts are the names of living European languages: German, Hungarian and Slovakized Czech. In addition to the Latin text, these textbooks contain varying lengths of text written in one, two or all three of these vernacular languages.

There are two types of Donatian grammars: 1), bilingual textbooks originally written by Johannes Rhenius but compiled and printed in Upper Hungary, as well as those which accurately reflected his bilingual concept, and 2), multilingual textbooks, which only loosely follow Rhenius’s model without keeping his name in the title. These were compiled by Pavel Doležal (1700–1778) and then modified again by Imre Dunay (1767–1838).

1.2 Status questionis

Although the work of Aelius Donatus and its long tradition have been examined in detail (philologically, linguistically, and textually), bi- and multilingual editions based on Rhenius’s adaptation of Donatus have received little scholarly attention, and no modern critical edition of such a Donatus has been published. The monograph *Die Herausbildung der Grammatik der Volkssprachen in Mittel- und Osteuropa* (1970) by Erika Ising played a fundamental role in the research of the modern (i.e., from Humanism onwards) legacy of Donatus’ text and its formative role in relation to vernacular grammatography in Central and Eastern Europe. In her book, the author made an inventory of Donatus-based manuscripts and prints used in this region and accessible to her at the time, and she also provided a general description of the bi- and multilingual editions associated with the territory of the upper part of the Kingdom of Hungary. After Ising, only Blanár (2006), Haraj (2008), and Eliášová Buzássyová & Machajdíkóvá (2020) continued the research on these Donati.⁹ Both Blanár and Haraj focused on Rhenius’s text *Donatus Latino-Bo-*

contradictory tendencies: Czech was being preserved in its unmodified, standard form while it was also Slovakized to make it closer to the local spoken Slovak. The Slovakization of Evangelical written texts began to subside from the late 17th century. One of the reasons for the stricter adherence to standardized Czech was the need to provide books used in church services printed in Slovakia or by Slovaks to Czech Protestants living in exile. Also, in the period of re-Catholicization, the Slovak members of the Evangelical Church increasingly revered the Czech language because it started to symbolize faith. Following Jarošová’s example, we will continue to use only the term “Slovakized” rather than “Biblical Czech” in this article.

- 8 More precisely, after legal articles regarding the use of the Hungarian language in Hungary (the first one from 1791) came into effect. For a detailed enumeration of these laws, see Zavarský (2007: p. 124).
- 9 Some of these textbooks are mentioned by Kovács & Lenhart (2013). As indicated in “Hinweise zur Benutzung” (p. XXXI), the titles included in the bibliography were aimed at Hungarian native speakers.

hemicus from 1745. Both authors analysed the contents and structure of this textbook in detail. Blanár also compared it with *Donatus Latino-Bohemicus* from 1777. However, as a Slovakist, his main interest was in determining specific features of the vernacular language and he discussed the text from 1745 in the context of nascent Czech and Slovak grammatographies rather than in the context of Latin grammars. This lacuna was partially filled by Eliášová Buzássyová & Machajdík, who also compared wordings of definitions in individual editions with regard to the ratio of the vernacular and the Latin languages. Eliášová Buzássyová (2019, 2023) also marginally touched on these textbooks in connection with the history of word-formation.

The aforementioned research showed that the topic called for further investigation. First, primary research had to be conducted with the aim to identify all bi- and multilingual editions of the Donatus-based textbooks. In terms of methodology, this research balanced on the boundary of philology and retrospective bibliography. It required systematic work with primary sources – searching catalogues and autopsy – in libraries keeping collections of prints from the investigated historical area. (The list of libraries and bibliographies with relevant primary sources is provided at the end of this article.) The findings were compared with the results of previous research published in monographs, articles, and bibliographies in the relevant field. Ising’s monograph served as the basic source of information about relevant prints. Ising herself identified four editions of *Donatus Latino-Germanicus*, eight editions of *Donatus Latino-Bohemicus* and seven editions of *Donatus Latino-Hungaricus* from the territory of Upper Hungary (pp. 297–299) as well as three editions of *Donatus Latino-Germanico-Hungarico-Bohemicus*, four editions of *Donatus Latino-Germanico-Hungarico-Slavicus* and a single edition of *Donatus Latino-Germanico-Hungaricus* (pp. 308–310). The research outcomes presented in this article reveal that in case of older, bilingual editions, these numbers are significantly higher.

However, in addition to the primary research of documents, it is also crucial to explore new research areas that emerge from the cultural and social backgrounds of the specific region of Upper Hungary, for instance, social history, history of printing and librarianship, literary history, history of linguistics and grammatography, socio-linguistics, and history of pedagogy. In terms of such topics, this article is limited to characterisations of those with connection to the historical and religious environment in which these textbooks were created and to which they were adapted, as it was itself changing. In doing so, the article also clarifies the cross-linguistic contexts and selected intertextual relationships into which these texts entered.

2 Bilingual Donati: 1645–1819

Historically, the first bilingual Donati were bound with the life of the German Protestant communities in Upper Hungary, in free royal towns and royal mining towns in the central and eastern parts of the territory, such as Kremnica, Levoča, Bardejov, and Prešov. These cities significantly contributed to the economic development of the region, and specifically those in the eastern part, such as Bardejov and Levoča, played an important

role in the advancement of the printing and book trade.¹⁰ The Brewer “denominational” printing house¹¹ in Levoča (1625–1752) was the most important one, disseminating among other teaching manuals Rhenius’s textbooks. The fact that textbook printing was essential to the Brewer printing house is supported by the finding that from around the middle to the end of the 17th century, apart from Donatus’ grammar, several other textbooks of elementary Latin were published there, be it solely Latin editions or editions combining two or more languages, depending on the requirements of the schools in this multilingual region.¹² However, bilingual and multilingual textbooks were not edited and printed only in order to meet the demand from schools. The intention of the printing house was to publish reprints faithful to the original and alongside these also somewhat more valuable, modified reprints: shortened, amended or otherwise altered editions of exclusive works for which there could be more demand on the book market.¹³ Economic factors and an expanding of the potential customer base were also important, since the reader of bi- or multilingual books could be fluent in any language that the text of the edition offered.¹⁴

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- 10 David Gutgesel’s first printing house was established in Bardejov and operated between the years 1577–1599.
- 11 Kollárová (2002: pp. 40–43) distinguishes a total of five phases in the history of Slovak book printing, while the main criterion for periodisation is the prototype of the book printer. Based on this criterion, she distinguishes: 1. denominational printer – altruist or so-called itinerant printer, 2. institutionally enforced printer, or Catholic printer, 3. denominational printer – entrepreneur (urban printer, family, and exile printer), 4. denominationally neutral printer – entrepreneur, 5. printer supporting national-awakening tendencies, 6. industrialised printer. The Brewer printing house is a representative of the third type. However, it was quite flexible in terms of business, both in relation to languages and in terms of denomination: the Protestant printing house also printed Catholic books.
- 12 In 1647 and 1650, Gregorius Molnár’s *Elementa grammaticae Latinae* was published by Vavrinec (Laurentius) Brewer, in which sporadically Hungarian forms can be found. In 1644 (again, 1655) Comenius’s Latin-German *Janua linguarum reserata Aurea* was published by Brewer, and in 1645 the Hungarian edition of *Linguae Latinae Vestibulum* (further re-editions followed). This was followed by the trilingual Latin-German-Hungarian edition of *Janua* from 1648, which was later supplemented with a Czech version, and thus two quadrilingual textbooks were created in 1655 and 1660. Vavrinec Brewer’s son Samuel published only quadrilingual editions of this work by Comenius: in 1670 and 1685 in combination with Czech and in 1696 and 1699 with Slovak [Slovakized Czech]. Cf. Lichnerová (2010: p. 18).
- 13 According to Lichnerová (2010: p. 16), this signals the first subtle signs of the gradually and very slowly emerging legal awareness of the printed works in the territory of Upper Hungary. In the Kingdom of Hungary, the first milestones in development of copyright were authors’ and publishing privileges which, however, did not appear here until the 18th century. Even then, only publishing rights were exercised. The author, on the other hand, did not have the same rights as established in the first European Copyright Act (1709) since the regulations did not deal with the chronological and other relevant aspects of copyright duration (Lichnerová 2010: pp. 27, 30).
- 14 On the economic factors associated with the printing of multilingual books in Upper Hungary, see Lichnerová (2017: pp. 25–26 and chapter 2).

2.1 The problem of the first edition of Rhenian bilingual Donatus from Upper Hungary

Donatus Latino-Germanicus (hereafter as *DLG*) printed in Levoča by Samuel Brewer in 1645 was probably Rhenius's first textbook on grammar from Upper Hungary. The hypothesis about this edition is based only on information found in the testament of a rich townswoman, Regina Karasová, of the central Slovakian mining town of Kremnica, according to which the deceased ordered 500 copies of "Rhenius's Donatus" to be "printed this year at the Brewer printing house in Levoča for pupils attending schools in Kremnica".¹⁵ Since the full title of the book was not written in the testament, this "Rhenius's Donatus" has thus far been considered to be a Latin (monolingual) print and as such registered in national bibliography or monographs.¹⁶ However, since the books of Rhenius referred to as "Donatus" from the given period were bilingual, i. e. Latin – German, there is no reason not to assume that the Levoča edition from 1645, ordered for a town where the majority of inhabitants were German,¹⁷ was Latin – German and its title was *J. Rhenii Donatus Latino-Germanicus*. If this hypothesis were correct, it would mean that the Levoča *DLG* for the German community in Upper Hungary appeared as early as 34 years after its first edition in Germany.¹⁸ This would have been five years before the first edition of Rhenius's textbook for intermediate and advanced students, *Compendium*, was published in Levoča.¹⁹

Another question arises in connection with the possible first issue of the Latin-Czech edition, *Donatus Latino-Bohemicus* (hereafter the *DLB*). Erika Ising (1970: p. 188) does not rule out that the first edition of the *DLB* was published in about 1650. Her arguments are based on the introduction of the compiler of the first *Donatus Latino-Hungaricus* (from now on as *DLH*) edition from 1697, the rector of the Evangelical school in

15 Križko (1975: pp. 254–25). In the monograph, the author described and analyzed the material from the archive of the city of Kremnica from 1527–1674, especially the so-called municipal books, i.e. books kept by municipalities recording issues related to local town management. In the documents from the meeting of the city council, the management and financing of the Latin school were often discussed. This school had a very good reputation and attracted pupils even from very distant regions.

16 Cf. Križko ibidem, Čaplovič I (1970: p. 335): 915: "Rhenius Johann M. [Johannis Rhenii Donatus. Leutschoviae 1645]". In her monograph on the German printed book (2017), Lichnerová does not provide information about this Levoča edition from 1645, as it is based on Čaplovič's bibliography (or other national bibliographies), which record this edition as Latin.

17 In Upper Hungary, especially in the former mining regions, towns such as Kremnica (Kremnitz) recorded an extremely high German population. (Cf. for instance Botík 2022: pp. 123–125.) According to Lengová (2012: p. 11), Germans in Levoča made up 84.5% of the population in 1560 and 76% in 1650, in Kežmarok 86.6% in 1557 and 87.2% in 1602. According to J. Majo's research (2006: p. 71) mapping the demographic situation from a later period: "In 1880 there were still towns with a significant majority of the German population, but no city had a share of Germans higher than 75%. The towns of Kežmarok, Kremnica and Spišská Belá had the highest number of Germans, 72%, followed by Gelnica and Lubica, 71.5%. Dobšiná also had a majority of Germans (66.18%), similarly Bratislava (63.41%) and Poprad (63.73%)." This data shows that before 1880, the share of Germans in towns in Upper Hungary was even higher.

18 Buzássyová & Machajdík (2020: p. 136).

19 About the editions of *Compendium* see Lichnerová (2017: pp. 49, 139, 150 with further references).

Trenčín,²⁰ Michael Missowicz.²¹ In the introduction, Missowicz wrote that the pupils of his school complained when their parents bought them Czech rather than Hungarian Donati, which they wanted but were not available:

“I have often heard from the students themselves that their parents prefer to buy Donati printed in Czech rather than Hungarian. They wanted the one from teacher Johannes Rhenius. But it was not yet available in printed form.”

Ab ipsis puerulis meis crebro audivi quieri (sic!), quod non sibi Parentes Hungarice potius, quam Boemice impressos emerint Donatos. M. Johannis Rhenii volebant. Sed ille excusus extabat nondum.

According to Ising, this means that the (Slovakized) Czech Rhenian Donatus grammar was older than the Hungarian adaptation. However, Ising’s assumption does not seem to stand on quite solid ground. Missowicz does not specify which Czech Donatus-based grammars the pupils – according to Missowicz’s formulation – were unsatisfied with. It could well have been any Czech modified Donatus (e. g., the one by Collinus²²) available in Upper Hungary and spread by Czech exiles, not that of Rhenius. It can also be deduced from the context and the semantics of the sentence *M. Johannis Rhenii volebant* with “M. Johannis Rhenii” most possibly in the role of the nucleus (rhema), that – according to what the author claims – there was a demand specifically for Rhenius’s Donatus, probably as a new type of textbook, different from the textbooks used previously in the school or the whole territory. However, the text is not unambiguous. The referring function of the *ille* pronoun is of little help in the sentence, as it can refer both to any kind of Rhenius’s Donatus in general, or to Rhenius’s Hungarian-edited Donatus. In other words, it is not entirely clear whether Missowicz was saying that in his time and in the given region (and to the best of his knowledge), no Rhenian Donatus-based grammar was available or that there was no Hungarian adapted Rhenian Donatus. This study assumes that Missowicz emphasizes the primacy of his Hungarian adaptation of Rhenius’s Donatus. To support this statement, it should be noted that a) there was a Hungarian adaptation of another kind of Donatian text, namely Culmann’s Donatus printed with some rare Hungarian glosses for the first time in Upper Hungary in 1678 in Levoča,²³

20 In Trenčín there was a Latin and a German school as early as in the 16th century. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Czech and Moravian Protestant exiles settled here. Horváth (1993: pp. 76, 78, 81).

21 In the paper, the name of the author is written in the form used by the author himself in the introduction. Other forms of the name are: Michal Mišovic, Mischovitz, Misovicz, Missovitz († 1710). He was an educator, also called the *praeceptor Hungariae*, and a writer – he wrote Latin school plays, Latin poetry and scholarly literature. He criticised the persecution of Protestants in his work. In 1703–1704, he was rector and administrator of Evangelical schools in Krupina, Banská Bystrica, and Banská Štiavnica, in 1704–1705 and 1707–1710 rector in Rožňava, in 1705–1707 professor of ethics and rhetoric at the college in Prešov. He also lectured on law. For more about the author, see *Slovenský biografický slovník*, IV (1990), s.v. Mišovic, Michal.

22 Matouš Collinus z Choteřiny (1516–1566) published his edition of Donatus in Prague in 1564. The Latin text is supplemented by an interlinear Czech translation. Cf. Koupil (2015: pp. 22, 23).

23 *Aelii Donati viri clarissimi, de octo partibus orationis methodus...* Leutschoviae: Typis Samuelis Breweri 1678. Cf. Eliášová Buzássyová & Machajdíkova (2020: p. 133).

and b) as we'll mention in section 2.2., there was, at that time (apart from the hypothetical year 1645), another Latin-German Rhenian edition from 1694 unknown to Ising during the compiling of her monograph. Therefore, it seems that Missowicz spoke about the absence of a Hungarian adaptation of Rhenius's textbooks.

However, Missowicz's words could bring us back to the hypothetical first edition of *DLG* from 1645 for the Kremnica Latin school, known simply as "Rhenius's Donatus". If this assumed edition were not Latin-German (as supposed by this paper) but Latin-Czech, Ising's would be the stronger argument in this case. However, this cannot be considered plausible given the composition of the inhabitants of the town of Kremnica, with a predominantly German population as well as a German town council managing the municipal Latin school.²⁴ And so we can provisionally uphold the assumption that the first edition of the Rhenian Donatus from the territory of present-day Slovakia was Latin-German, and that no Latin-Czech Rhenian Donatus-based grammar was published around 1650.

2.2 The surviving oldest editions of Rhenian bilingual Donatus-based grammar from Upper Hungary

The first edition of bilingual Rhenian Donatus that has survived to this day is the one from 1694. It is the Latin-German edition, *DLG*, from the Brewer printing house.²⁵ Shortly after this one, a Latin-Hungarian *DLH* mentioned above was also published at Brewer's, namely in 1697, compiled by the author of the introduction – the rector of the Evangelical school in Trenčín, M. Missowicz.²⁶ As the examples of *DLG* and *DLH* show, Brewer's printing house produced both a German and a Hungarian version of the same title, despite the fact that the publishing responsibility for translations was often divided, and it was rare for multiple language versions to originate from one printing house.²⁷ Nevertheless, the printing house of Moravian Protestant exiles in Žilina was responsible for the preparation of the (Slovakized) Czech version of Rhenian Donatus, *Donatus Latino-Bohemicus*.²⁸ The name of the author (or translator) of the vernacular part of the first

24 The activities of the German city council are described in detail in Križko's monograph (1975).

25 The book is registered in the bibliography by Čaplovič (1972: p. 525) under the number 1561 and in Lichnerová's monograph (2017: p. 139). Most probably the only material example of its kind is kept in the collections of the Slovak National Library under the call-number SNK SE 2377.

26 M. Missowicz was the rector of the Evangelical school in Trenčín in the last years of its existence, and in this period, he probably also wrote *DLH*, as evidenced by the data following the introduction: *dabam Trenčiniū 20. Martii 1697*. However, it is questionable whether this work can be associated with this institution. It is not even entirely clear under what circumstances the author completed it. Protestants in Trenčín were persecuted at that time; the school in 1696 closed, and some of the pupils and their teacher had to go into exile, the cantor and some students were imprisoned as Cesnaková Michalecová claims (1997: p. 67).

27 Lichnerová (2017: p. 26).

28 This was the printing house of the Dadan family. At the turn of the century, it was managed by Ján Dadan the Younger, and after his death in 1704 by Ján Chrastina, the brother-in-law of founder Ján Dadan the Elder. At that time, its *factor* was Václav Krolop. Breza (1994: p. 133).

preserved edition of the *DLB* from 1706 is unknown.²⁹ In the catalogue Balázs' & Keserű's *Katolikus Intézményi Könyvtárak Magyarországon (Libraries of Catholic Institutions in Hungary) 1526–1726* (2001: p. 419) an edition of the *DLB* from Levoča dated 1705 is listed, but no other traces have remained of this book, and it is absent in Slovak bibliographies.

From the series of Hungarian adaptations, the edition from Germany (1705) deserves our attention: printed in Nuremberg by Martin Endter, at first sight it does not seem connected with the territory of Upper Hungary. The opposite is true, however, as the Endter family printers in Germany had long-standing relationship with the Brewer printing house in Levoča, and the book was published at the time when Ján Brewer closely collaborated with Martin Endter.³⁰ During this period, the Levoča printing house struggled to maintain the family business and so their seeking of foreign collaborations was understandable. Another *DLH* similarly originated in Nuremberg and it is registered as a print from the 18th century, but no other information is available.³¹ It can, however, be assumed that it also resulted from a collaboration similar to that of the 1705 edition.

As a result of the Counter-Reformation, the Protestant printing houses in Levoča, Bardejov, and Žilina gradually deteriorated and by approximately 1750 ceased to operate altogether. From the mid-18th century, printing houses with no religious affiliation managed by the Landerer and Royer families in Košice and Bratislava gained prominence; therefore, bi- (and also multi-) lingual Donati came from these centres. In addition, in Košice, the Jesuit printing house also issued bilingual Donati.

2.3 All editions of bilingual Rhenian Donatus-based grammars in numbers

To sum up the data: From the territory of contemporary Slovakia, there are altogether 35 editions of bilingual Rhenian Donati preserved to this day: 10 *DLGs*, 10 *DLHs* and 15 *DLBs*.³² In addition, two other *DLH* editions have survived, although not printed in this territory; however, either one of them or both were connected with Brewerian Levoča printers. One, the very first, most probably German edition (*DLG*) from 1645, is hypothetical or, has not survived to the present day. Two are highly disputable: the *DLB* from 1705 registered by *Katolikus Intézményi Könyvtárak Magyarországon* and the *DLB* from ca. 1650 whose existence was only assumed by Ising.

29 Credit should probably go to a person working with the printer. In the period between the 17th and 18th centuries, crafts and other activities contributing to the creation of a book were not strictly differentiated. The entire publishing plan could be realised from start to finish with the printer. Klimeková (2010: p. 150).

30 Ján Brewer probably met Martin Endter in Nuremberg, where he worked in 1699. We can assume that in a certain period, he was also his companion. Several books were published in Levoča under his name. Cf. Valach, J. *Staré tlačiarnie a tlačiari na Slovensku*. Martin: (1987: p. 139). (Non vidi. Cited according to Lichnerová (2010: p. 19).)

31 Cf. Table 4.

32 Ising (1970: pp. 294–299) records a total of eighteen editions.

Table 1. Donatus Latino-Germanicus		
1	Leutschoviae: Brewer 1694	Čaplovič 1561
		SNK SE 2377
2	Leutschoviae: Brewer 1727	Ising p. 297
		[FK 107 L. 39x]
3	Cassoviae: [typis Academicis] 1746	Klimeková et al. 8058, Olejník p. 19
		KK 800 R 71, Lyc.kn.Kež. 29136/23999
4	Posonii: J. M. Landerer 1755	Klimeková et al. 8059
		SNK SD 2091
5	Posonii: J. M. Landerer 1774	Klimeková et al. 8063, K 14.835, Ising p. 297
		NK ČR 45 C 17, [FK 107 L.46x]
6	Posonii: Fr. Augustini Patzko 1776	Klimeková et al. 8060 ³³
		SNK SD 2282
7	Posonii: Fr. Augustini Patzko 1777	
		SVKK GR 2797
8	Posonii et Cassoviae: J. M. Landerer 1779	Klimeková et al. 8061, Ising p. 297
		SNK SD 43062, SNK Zay 3641, OSZK: 282.502
9	Posonii: Typ. J. M. Landerer 1785	
		OSZK: 284.580
10	Posonii: J. M. Landerer De Fúskút 1795	Klimeková et al. 8062, Ising p. 297
		SNK SD 1627, OSZK 819.208, [Cluj UB: 47 303]

Table 2. Donatus Latino-Germanicus not preserved or hypothetical		
1	Leutschoviae: Brewer 1645	Križko 1975, pp. 254–255 registered as “Rhenius’s Donatus”

³³ Klimeková et al. record also sig. OSZK 284.579 in the lemma 8060. Under this signature, however, the *DLB* from 1776 is registered in National Széchényi Library. Cf. <https://knihoveda.lib.cas.cz/Record/K19248>.

Table 3. Donatus Latino-Hungaricus		
1	Leutschoviae: Brewer 1697	Ising p. 299 ³⁴
		OSZK RMK I. 1507a (microfilm)
2	[Bratislava] F. D. Spaizer 1740	Ising p. 299, BH III 221
		[Budapest AK: 524 031]
3	Cassoviae: [typ. Academ. Soc. Jesu] 1742	
		MZK ST1-0823.447
4	Leutschoviae, s.n. 1750	Klimeková et al. 8051, Ising p. 299, BH III 221
		[Budapest OSZK: L. lat.1007] OSZK 329.310
5	Cassoviae: [typis Academicis] 1753	Klimeková et al. 8045, desideratum
		Franj
6	Posonii: J. M. Landerer 1763	Klimeková et al. 8064, Ising p. 299
		OSZK L.lat. 1012, [FK 107 L.44], ŠVK GR 1958
7	Cassoviae: Typis Coll. Acad. Jesu 1768	Klimeková et al. 8065, Ising p. 299, BH III 221
		OSZK L.lat. 1008
8	Posonii: J. M. Landerer 1773	Ising. 299, BH III 221
		OSZK L.lat. 1011
9	Posonii: J. M. Landerer 1784	Klimeková et al. 8067, Ising. p. 299, BH III 221
		SNK SD 2978, OSZK 297 394
10	Posonii: [s.n.] 1795	Olejník p. 19
		Lyc.kn.Kež. 26207/23786

Table 4. Donatus Latino-Hungaricus with probable relations to Upper Hungary		
1	Norimbergae: Endter 1705	http://nbn.urn.hu/N2L?urn:nbn:hu-131988
		RMK I. 1708a, EB 13482
2	Norimbergae : [s.n.] [18. ct.]	
		RMK I. 1786c

34 Here, Ising provides these data: *DLH* Solnae 1697, RMK II 1913, referring to the introduction to the 1740 edition. The 1740 edition was inaccessible to the author of this paper.

Table 5. Donatus Latino-Bohemicus		
1	Solnae typ. Dadanianis, W. Krolob 1706	Klimeková et al. 8052, RMK II/2279, EKB RMK II/559, K14833; Ising p. 297
		NK AK microfilm n. 18 m
2	s.l. s.n. 1745	Ising p. 267
		NK 45 G 217, digit.
3	Posonii: Typis Royerianis 1747	Klimeková et al. 8057
		OSZK 285.417, K19247
4	[Posonii?: ? between 1751? (1751-1800)]	K19313
5	Posonii: J. M. Landerer de Fűskut 1761	Klimeková et al. 8053 K19295, Ising p. 297
		FK 107.L.43
6	Posonii: J. M. Landerer de Fűskut 1767	Klimeková et al. 8054, K19296
		SNK SD 33428
7	Cassoviae: Typis Coll. Acad. Jesu 1772	Klimeková et al. 8055, K14834, Ising p. 297
		SNK SD13858
8	Posonii: Fr. A. Patzko 1774	Olejník p. 19
		Lyc.kn.Kež. 29141/24015
9	Posonii: Fr. A. Patzko 1776	Klimeková et al. mistake, ³⁵ K19248, Ising p. 297
		[FK: 107 L.47x], OSZK 284.579, L lat. 1013
10	Posonii: Fr. A. Patzko 1777	Klimeková et al. 8050, K14835a; Ising p. 297, BH III 221
		ÚK SAV BB 167, OSZK L.lat.1013, NK ČR Se 472, NK AK microfilm n. 30 m
11	Posonii: J. M. Landerer 1785	Klimeková et al. 8056, K19249
		OSZK L. Slav.869, SNK SD 48051 (incompl.)
12	Posonii: Typis haer. Landererianorum 1810	Ising p. 298, BH III 221
		[OSZK L. lat. 1016]
13	Pestini: Trattner 1812	OSzK 241.431
14	Neosolii: Joan. Stephanus 1814	Klimeková/Ondroušková 11447, Ising p. 298
		SNK SD 1577, SNK SD 1577 D1, SNK SD 1577 D2, OSZK 241.413
15	Posonii: Typis haer. Landererianorum 1819	Klimeková/Ondroušková 11448
		SNK SD 1511, SNK SD 1511 D1, SNK SD 1511 D2, UKB SG 2420

35 See footnote 33.

Table 6. Donatus Latino-Bohemicus not preserved or hypothetical

1	Leutschoviae: ? 1705	<i>Katolicus Intézményi Konyvtárak</i> , p. 419
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As these figures show, the rising dominance of these textbooks in domestic Protestant education appears to have occurred almost simultaneously in three vernaculars. The surviving first editions date from about the same time: 1694 *DLG*, 1697 *DLH* and 1706 *DLB*. It comes as no surprise, that in total, *DLB* editions are the most numerous. They were the only ones printed well into the 19th century. After larger gaps between the first and second editions, both the Hungarian and (Slovakized) Czech versions were published relatively regularly in the 18th century.

Apart from the two prints from Nuremberg, all editions of *DLH* were published by printers from the territory of today's Slovakia, namely in Levoča, Košice, and Bratislava. They were culturally and socially bound only with this part of the Kingdom of Hungary (more or less its upper part), and not the Kingdom of Hungary as a whole.

It also seems that *DLG* did not play only an initiating role, as these prints were also published quite regularly, with as many as four editions in the 1770s. This fact should be emphasised especially in the context of the relationship of Germans from the Kingdom of Hungary with their ancestral lands: the intellectual needs of German communities in Upper Hungary were also satisfied with books imported from Germany thanks to a well-developed book market.³⁶

3 Multilingual Donati: 1746–1839

Since the multilingual territory of the upper part of the Kingdom of Hungary favoured multilingual prints, the concept of a teaching manual for beginner students of Latin grammar gradually changed from bi- to multilingual. Multilingual editions were no longer products of denominationally-oriented printing houses, but they were still textbooks compiled by Protestant scholars. Pavel Doležal, an Evangelical priest, educator, and linguist originally from Skalica, a cultural centre of Czech and Moravian Protestant exiles in the western part of today's Slovakia, was the author of the new modification of the Donatus-based teaching book. Based on ideas of the Enlightenment and the belief that education should be accessible to all nations of the Kingdom of Hungary, he created a quadrilingual textbook, *Donatus Latino-Germanico-Hungarico-Bohemicus* (from now on *DLGHB*), which was published in two editions by the Royer family printers in Bratislava in 1746 and 1748.³⁷

³⁶ For more about these relationships, see Lichnerová (2017: p. 71).

³⁷ The founder of the printing house, Ján Pavol Royer, moved to Bratislava from Salzburg in around 1715. The family printing house operated in the years 1718–1750, after which it was owned by the Landerer family. Ján Michal Landerer, cousin of P.A. Royer, raised the Bratislava printing house to a high level and also established branches in Košice and Pest. Cf. Breza (1997: pp. 39–40).

More than 50 years later (in 1800), an edition of *DLGHB* was printed in Vác, in today's Hungary, with a numerous Slovak population inhabiting the area at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. Another Hungarian edition comes from Pest, probably from the 1820s. Doležal's edition from Vác was adopted and modified as *Donatus Latino-Germanico-Hungarico-Slavicus (DLGHS)*³⁸ (1812) by Imre (Emericus) Dunay, rector of the Evangelical lyceum in Miskolc – a city in present-day Hungary – where many students from Slovak regions travelled for their education. Dunay's Donatus was published altogether three times by the Ellingers of Košice³⁹ and once (the first edition) in Eger, Hungary.

There is one trilingual edition of *Donatus Latino-Germanico-Hungaricus (DLGH)* published in Sopron in 1823 and based on Dunay's *DLGHS*,⁴⁰ the author of which was Ignác Sztrokay, a teacher at the Evangelical lyceum.⁴¹ Short Latin dialogues and prayers were added to the original Latin text. In its main part, however, the textbook is significantly adapted for the requirements of speakers of the Hungarian language; auxiliary texts, such as proverbs, are featured only in the Hungarian language, i.e. without a German equivalent, and they contain chapters on the history of the Kingdom of Hungary and topography of those areas which overlap with the historical territory of both *Hungaria superior* and *Hungaria inferior*.

Table 7. Doležal: Donatus Latino-Germanico-Hungarico-Bohemicus

1	Posonii: Fr. Ant. Royer 1746	BUST 2130 (desideratum), K02066, Ising p. 308
2	Posonii: Fr. Ant. Royer 1748	BUST 2131, K 02067, Ising p. 308 SNK AD 14423, CK DK VII/132, Lyc.kn.BA C II. B 36, NK 45 G 240, OSZK L.lat. 615
3	Vacii: Gottlieb 1800	K 02068, Ising p. 308 Lyc.kn.Kež.C.II.b.37, OSZK 810.107, 272.470, 242.340, Debrecen RK: G 1783, EK Debrecen 759.341, BUST: RA 8473

38 Imre Dunay's editions denote the fourth language by an adjective *Slavicus*, not *Bohemicus*. Similarly to other related adjectives, such as *Slavus*, the adjective *Slavicus* was used quite freely and could be used to mean "Slovak" as well as "Slavic" or "Slavonic", etc. (For more on the usage of these adjectives, see e.g. Ďurovič (2004: pp. 192–193). A comparison of Dunay's editions with those by Doležal reveals that the same language, i.e., Slovakized Czech, is described here. The changes Dunay made in order to make Doležal's Slovakized Czech "more Slovak" are insignificant.

39 Košice, in the southeast part of present-day Slovakia, was a multilingual town, where Hungarian was widely spoken.

40 Characterised as a "Nebenweig" of Dunay's edition by Ising (1970: p. 190). According to Sztrokay's introduction, it was compiled for use in Hungary and Transylvania.

41 Sztrokay taught in the grammar class at the Evangelical lyceum in Sopron from 1821. In 1843, a new Hungarian class was created for him, connected to the lyceum, where students were prepared for it. In 1850, after the death of the teacher, the class ceased to exist. <https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-irok-elete-es-munkai-szinnyei-jozsef-7891B/s-A6233/sztrokay-ignacz-nemes-csoi-AF02C/>.

Table 7. Doležal: Donatus Latino-Germanico-Hungarico-Bohemicus

4	Pestini: Trattner [182?]	
		OSZK 810.106 [182?]

Table 8. Dunay: Donatus Latino-Germanico-Hungarico-Slavicus

1	Agriae: Typis lycei Archiepiscopalis 1812	Ising pp. 309–310, BH I 560
		OSZK 238.033, 242.078
2	Cassoviae: Ellinger 1820	BUST 2713, Ising p. 309
		SNK SD 29434, SNK SD 20434 D2, SNK SD 1531, UKB 22 D 88607, UKB SD50032, Lyc. kn. BA A 25239, OSZK 238.030, [Budapest AK: 521 459], online
3	Cassoviae: Ellinger 1828	BUST 2712, Ising p. 310, BH I 560
		SNK SD 1565, SNK SD 1565 D1, SNK SD 1568 D2, Lyc.kn.Kež. 26106(N), UKB SD 2720, UKB21 D37790, ŠVKP Kol. L64, OSZK 242.284, [Debrecen RK G 1788, FK 107 G 32]
4	Cassoviae: Ellinger 1839	BUST 2714, Ising p. 310
		SNK SD 2105, SNK SD 2105 D2, UKB SD 14282, ŠVKK A 72746, A 10853, Lyc.Kn.Kež. 27111, OSZK 807.953

Table 9. Sztrokay: Donatus Latino-Germanico-Hungaricus

1	Sopronii: Schrabs 1823	Ising p. 310, BH I 560
		[Budapest EK], online

From the gradual shift of co-authorship or printing responsibilities, it can be assumed that from the very beginning of the 19th century, there was more demand for multilingual Donati in the environment where Hungarian was the dominant language and Hungarian-speaking teachers needed teaching material that catered to Slovak-speaking students – even though the language offered to them in the Evangelical schools was a literal and quite obsolete version and did not correspond exactly to the language of everyday life. From 1790, the pressure of Magyarization gradually increased in the Kingdom of Hungary in all spheres of social life, including education.⁴² Despite this fact (or maybe

42 Zavorský (2007: p. 124).

because of it), Donati using Slovakized Czech as a substitution for Slovak were published continuously, because they were necessary at the lower to middle educational levels.

The entire era of bi- and multilingual Donati concluded shortly after 1844, when Hungarian fully replaced Latin as the official language in the Kingdom of Hungary. With the last edition of *DLGHS* from 1839, the role of Donati gradually came to an end.

4 Differences in structure

Bi- and multilingual editions differ in structure. The bilingual Donati *DLG*, *DLH* and *DLB* faithfully adhere to the original by Rhenius. The text is represented by one main part further structured into chapters containing definitions, rules, paradigms, and examples. Multilingual Donati by Doležal (*DLGHB*), on the other hand, have two parts: the first part is represented by well-disposed paradigms and tables, and it is followed by the second, explanatory part (quite a short one) with definitions and rules. However, Dunay's multilingual adaptation of Doležal's text (*DLGHS*) returned to the original structure of Rhenius's bilingual Donati:⁴³ "... *ut Donatus hic juxta ordinem Rheniani conformaretur*", as Dunay says at the beginning of his *praefatio* (1820: p. 3). This sentence is testimony to the fact that bilingual and multilingual Donati coexisted at the same time, that teachers and authors of modified editions had them at their disposal, and although multilingual variants were firmly associated with Doležal's name, their connection with the Rhenian bilingual variants was obvious to users.

Bi- and multilingual editions also differ in terms of the extent to which they incorporate auxiliary study texts, such as *adagia*, *sententiae*, *colloquia*, and prayers. Among the bilingual editions, auxiliary study texts only appear in *DLH* and then, gradually increasing in extent and diversity, they became a privilege of later multilingual editions.

5 The ratio of Latin to the vernacular languages

For a bigger part of the period discussed here, Latin retained its status as the scholarly *lingua franca* and in schools in Upper Hungary it was both the main subject of study and the principal medium of instruction. This prestigious position in education was guaranteed by the cultural and political functions that Latin retained in Upper Hungary to great extent until the afore-mentioned year 1844.⁴⁴ In line with this prestigious role and also because bi- and multilingual Donati were historically anchored in the Latin tradition, the Latin component was authoritative in these textbooks while the vernacular language was secondary. It was considered an aid that facilitated the path to complete mastery of the Latin language forming either a complete translation pendant or only auxiliary texts of various lengths.

43 Cf. also Ising (1970: p. 190).

44 Cf. for instance Buzássyová (1991: pp. 92–93) with further references.

The vernacular language was used as a complete translation pendant only in Latin-German and Latin-Slovakized Czech Donati. These vernaculars combined two functions: they could function partially as languages of instruction, and also as studied languages in their grammatically correct or literary form. Thanks to its parallel text layout, the textbook could serve as a metalinguistic tool assisting the acquisition of the two languages. However, this bilingual potential was not always made use of in practice, based on a subtle mention in the introduction to the German edition of the Rhenian Donatus (*DLG* 1694: introduction, p. 2–3):

“... We have decided to retain the complete rules, as they are in the grammar, ... partly for the sake of those who do not know German, so that the ignorance of this language may not harm those who at least partially know Latin by practice...”

Integras regulas ut in Grammatica habentur retinere visum fuit... partim, ob linguae Germanicae ignaros, ne istis ignorantia linguae nocere queat, latinae ex usu ex parte gnaris.

From this passage, both the primary position of Latin over German is evident, and so is the fact that even though the *DLG* textbook was primarily intended for the education of German Protestant youth, it could also be used in classrooms where not everyone spoke German.

Unlike *DLG* and *DLB*, in *DLH* the vernacular (Hungarian) was only represented in the sections of vocabulary and of proverbs. When the textbook was first written, its scope was probably slightly different from that of *DLG* and *DLB*. In the introduction to his edition, Missowicz wrote that his task as the rector of the school was to educate the young nobility in both languages; literally: “in elementary Latin and Hungarian equally”, ... *nobilem Rudimentis Latinis aequae ac Hungaricis erudire Iuventutem...* (1697: p. 1). From this Ising concluded (1970: p. 189) that the office of the rector required to educate the students (also) in their mother tongue. This, however, may not be so obvious as it seems at first sight.

The children’s complaints mentioned by Missowicz that “their parents prefer to buy Donati printed in Czech rather than Hungarian” (see part 2.1.) probably reveal some details about the languages used in the Protestant community in Trenčín or more generally on the region of present-day western Slovakia. Many Czech and Moravian exiles lived here beside the Slovaks, and they used Czech in many forms of communication. The Czech vernacular was also Slovakized due to contacts with the local population.⁴⁵ Missowicz’s text reveals that the local (Slovak) nobility needed to master the Hungarian language because it was gradually becoming the most prestigious language in ordinary communication in Upper-Hungarian aristocratic circles. However, they naturally preferred Czech texts, since they were more familiar with the Czech language than with Hungarian.

45 However, in the region to which the exiles came, ideas of Protestantism had already been established from the middle of the 16th century. See Horváth (1993: pp. 78, 79). About Czech exiles settling in Trenčín and the nearby Nitra regions, see Botík (2022: p. 36) with further references.

It can also be assumed that the young nobility in this region did not speak this language well, if at all, and therefore could not use it as a mediating language. Perhaps that is also why Missowicz explains in his introduction why his textbook did not contain a complete Hungarian pendant (1697: introduction, p. 1):

“I omitted the translation into the vernacular language on purpose, because I have learned a lot from my teaching experience that it brings a lot of effort and confusion to the students, but little or no benefit at all.”

Interpretationem vernaculam Regularum intermisi consulto: nam eam multum Tyrunculis in discendo laboris et confusionis, parum vero, aut nihil prorsus fructus docens luculenter dididici.

From the fact that Missowicz felt obliged to comment on the absence of a complete Hungarian pendant in his textbook, it can also be concluded that he entered the already established context of bilingual teaching material or even the methodological discussions about bi- or multilingual education.

More than a hundred years later, in the introduction to his multilingual Donati (*DLGHS*, 1820: p. 1) Imre Dunay repeated Missowicz’s argument about the translation into the vernacular word for word and added just a single note:

“In the end, the volume would be too large and its price too high.”

Denique et volumen majus et pretium grandius foret.

Similarly to *DLH*, all multilingual editions (*DLGHB*, *DLGHS*) were basically Latin, with the vernacular component(s) applied only at the level of vocabulary and phraseology, and in auxiliary texts as proverbs or *sententiae*; therefore, a teacher speaking the vernacular(s) played a crucial role in the process of the acquisition of the Latin language.

6 Some observations on the issue of bi- or multilingual teaching

We do not know many details of how local teachers proceeded when working with Rhenian bilingual (or later, multilingual) Donati, since no methodical manuals specifically for use in Upper Hungary were preserved. The teachers, however, may have had at their disposal the original Rhenian methodical manuals *Paedagogia sive Methodus institutionis* (1617, 1st ed. 1616) developed for users in Germany. This can be inferred from rector Missowicz’s brief note, in the introduction to his *DLH*: (1697: introduction, p. 1):

“I too follow the methodology for teachers, in Rhenius’s first edition, and I quite praise the method outlined: I follow it where it suits me.”

Institutioni progrediendi Docentibus traditae, in prima editione Rhenii ego quoque, acquiesco, et Methodum delineatam sates (sic!) laudo: ubi lubet sequor.

However, Rhenius's *Paedagogia sive Methodus institutionis* reveals only some details about the implementation of the native language in explanations of Latin grammar,⁴⁶ as it mainly contains general didactic principles. When investigating bi- and multilingual teaching, one should, therefore, also look into the texts written by leading evangelical scholar and teacher of the 18th century, Matthias Bel, the so called “*magnum decus Hungariae*”, who was – among other things – the author of grammars of all languages used in Upper Hungary – Latin, German, Hungarian, and Slovakized Czech.⁴⁷ His Latin-German textbook *Grammatica Latina facilitati restituta* (1717), which he developed for the needs of evangelical lyceums and which he himself used at the lyceum in Bratislava,⁴⁸ includes a methodological chapter entitled *Methodus docendae discendaeque grammaticae* (pp. 17–24). However, it does not address the issues of using German in the teaching process at all. Not even Bel's German and Hungarian textbooks offer any significant details of teaching in a bi- or multilingual environment. However, they still provide at least some information about the use of living languages. They reveal that school practice in Upper Hungary probably benefited to a considerable degree from non-academic language acquisition. In the introduction to his *Institutiones Linguae Germanicae*, Bel criticizes the practice of the 17th and 18th centuries when young people used to be sent by their parents to various parts of the Hungarian kingdom to improve their language skills during their studies. According to Bel, students were moving to different locations too often and stayed in these places too briefly, which only allowed them to learn “kitchen vernacular” and an unsatisfactory local language proficiency.⁴⁹ This is what Bel tried to change by including German and Hungarian in the curriculum and compiling their grammars himself to improve their teaching in a more coordinated and academic form.

46 Cf. some concrete examples: Rhenius urges that boys who can already read but “can only inflect *mensa*, *magister* and *scammum*” should be taught the German catechism and German psalms and sayings from the Gospels, and not Latin ones. (Rhenius, *Paedagogia*... 1617, III. *In pietate*, p. 25). He recommends using the contrastive method when interpreting declension types in which the Latin feminine corresponds to the German masculine marked by the article in masculine gender: *ut Rana, Olla etc. Quae Articulo der conveniunt* (IV. *In scriptura*, p. 28, 29). Explaining the verbs, he postulates: “Here it is essential that the boys should often read the first page of the Donatus on the Verb, in which the usual *accidentia* of the verbs are enumerated. After several Latin exercises, they can finally ask German questions, e.g. *What does it mean Ich bin/Ich war/du liebest/du liebetest/wir haben geliebet etc.?*” (p. 44). Rhenius also recommends drawing attention to the difference between “these and similar formulas: *Ich werde lieben ich werde geliebt/ Amabo amor...*” (p. 45).

47 *Grammatica Latina facilitati restituta* (1717), *Institutiones Linguae Germanicae* (1718), *Der ungarische Sprachmeister* (1729). The other grammatical texts remained unpublished and only in fragments. They are kept in the Library of the Evangelical Lyceum in Bratislava: *Orthographiae Bohemicae sciagraphia* and *Grammatica Latina Slavice reddita*. For more about these textbooks see Benka 2021, especially p. 11, 12, 13, 16, 18.

48 The grammar was based on *Erleichterte lateinische grammatica* by *Christophorus Cellarius*, probably from the edition from 1709 – 1717. Bel's textbook is actually a partially modified and extended translation from German to Latin. In the *Etymologia* part, he kept Cellarius's German passages and added the Latin ones. In other parts of the grammar, German text is rare. About more on this adaptation see: Eliášová Buzássyová (2023).

49 Bel, *Institutiones Linguae Germanicae, Praefatio*, p. 17. Benka (2021: p. 17).

Otherwise, when dealing with bi- or multilingual teaching, teachers could look for helpful analogies in other methodical instructions, e.g. those written by Comenius. Comenius' work was well received in Upper Hungary, and gradually entered the school curricula, though not universally.⁵⁰ However, Comenius's views on the methodology of bi- and multilingual teaching are material for another paper.

School regulations and lists of lectures are another, but similarly insufficient source of information about the coexistence of two or more mediating languages.⁵¹ The teaching instructions contained in them are mostly rather general in nature and they do not go into the details of how two or more languages should combine and complement each other.⁵² The main guidelines are common to all of these sources: at the elementary level, teaching in the vernacular language was necessary, but the pupils also familiarized themselves with elementary Latin vocabulary and the basics of Latin noun and verbal inflection. At the subsequent courses dedicated to Donatus, Latin was obligatory as a mediating language with a vernacular used only as a support language, tolerated to an extent depending on individual school regulations.⁵³

7 Some aspects of intertextuality

From a synchronic perspective, the contemporary Latin textbooks that were used the most in the given cultural space, as well as other teaching aids, influenced the text of bi- and multilingual Donati. This can be seen, for instance, in how and to what extent Donati followed the word and accident model as a traditional model of explaining lexical-semantic, derivational, and inflectional properties of word classes, i.e., *partes orationis*, as represented by the original *Ars grammatica* by Aelius Donatus. Rhenius removed the accidents *species* and *figura*, i.e., categories for derivation and composition, from the text of his Donatus (*DLG* Lipsiae: Schürer – Götzius 1663: p. 2, similarly, for example, *DLG* Francofurti: Ernestus 1679: p. 2; Lipsiae: Lanckisius 1737: p. 2). Meanwhile, all bi- and multilingual Rhenian Donati printed and used in the Kingdom of Hungary kept *species* and *figura* among the accidents (e.g., *DLG* 1694, *DLB* 1706, 1745 *DLH* 1697, *DLH* 1750, *DLGHB* 1748).⁵⁴ Undoubtedly, their return to the traditional concept was influenced by the fact that their compilers took into account Rhenius's *Compendium*, which was used in Upper Hungary in higher levels of the study of Latin grammar. The accidents *species* and

50 Protestant education was not as unified as Catholic (especially Jesuit) education: It always depended on the rector of the individual school and the school rules which study material was recommended. The school in Kremnica, the lyceums in Banská Bystrica, Prešov and Kežmarok were especially open to Comenius' ideas. See Ružička (1974, p. 63, 64, 108, 121).

51 These documents from various towns of present-day Slovakia are discussed in detail by Ružička (1974: pp. 98–124), documents from Kremnica by Križko (1975: pp. 112–117, 262–267).

52 The content of school regulations is described in monographs by Križko 1975 and Ružička (1974).

53 The school regulations of many schools at this level strictly forbade any communication between students in a language other than Latin.

54 Eliášová Buzássyová (2023: p. 45).

figura, namely, have a firm position in the *Compendium* (cf. Lipsiae: Fritsch 1697: p. 5; Posonii et Cassoviae: Landerer 1781: p. 5).

Consideration of the *Compendium* was probably also behind the changes in some key definitions in Donati from Upper Hungary. For instance, in editions of *DLG* from Germany (*DLG* Lipsiae: Schürer – Götzius 1663: p. 1, similarly, Francofurti: Ernestus 1679: p. 1, Lipsiae: Lanckisius 1737: p. 1), the answer to the question *Quid est nomen? Was ist ein Nomen?* comes only in German in this simple form: *Ein nomen ist/ da man im Teutschen kann das Wort Ein / Der/ Die/ oder Das vorsetzen...* On the other hand, the Levoča edition of the *DLG* (1694: p. 1) brings a text richer in Latin definition containing supplementary information: *Est pars orationis, quae rem significat, non agere aliquid aut pati.* This extended form of the Latin part of the definition – originating in Rhenius's *Compendium* – was then repeated in all bi- and multilingual editions from Upper Hungary.

Historically younger multilingual Donati also reflected contemporary developments in Latin grammatography. Doležal enriched the Latin part of his *DLGHB* (1748) with definitions, rules and paradigms from Matthias Bel's *Grammatica Latina facilitati restituta* (1717) based on Cellarius's *Erleichterte lateinische grammatica*. It seems, however, more noteworthy that Doležal also reflected vernacular grammatography. This is evident – among other things – from the fact that he introduced into his Donatus the accident *motio* (1748: p. 104) – an important category of derivational gender marking in German and Czech grammar,⁵⁵ not omitting the *Grammatica Slavico-Bohemica* by Doležal himself.⁵⁶ This term is also listed among the accidents in the above-mentioned, Bel's *Grammatica Latina facilitati restituta* (1717: p. 5–6) but without definition or explanation. Thus, in classifying *motio* among the *accidentia nominis*, these two educators followed the same procedure.⁵⁷ The *motio* category is not mentioned in any Donati, except for Doležal's *DLGHB*. Therefore, it seems that Doležal, as a respected linguist of his time and author of *Grammatica Slavico-Bohemica*, updated the Latin textbook in the context of his research of vernacular languages. Imre Dunay in his *DLGHS* then omitted this category once more. We can assume that he found this information redundant or confusing for the students of the elementary level. (Otherwise, Dunay's changes of Doležal's *DLGHB* in terms of their content are insignificant.)

8 History of the vernacular language

Bi- and multilingual Donati are valuable resources both as texts written in the language as well as texts about the language. Since some of them might have been written when

55 Cf., for instance, Schottel's *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen HauptSprache* (1663: p. 231), or Rosa's *Čechořečnost, Grammatica linguae Bohemicae* (1672: p. 17). The term *motio*, however, was introduced into Latin grammar already by Melanchthon. Cf. a brief note in Doleschal (2015: p. 1165): "at least from the 16th century onwards". For more about *motio* as accident, cf. Buzássyová (2019: p. 416).

56 A special part of his grammar (*Appendix*) is devoted to this category, together with derivation and composition. Cf. Buzássyová (2019: p. 434).

57 Bel wrote an introduction to Doležal's *Grammatica Slavico-Bohemica* (1746).

grammars of the vernacular were non-existent, the vernacular part of a Donatus could serve as such a grammar or substitute it to some extent. At the time when the first (preserved) *DLB* was printed (1706), the *Bohemica* adjective in its title stood for Czech, the language used as a literary language instead of Slovak while gradually absorbing elements of the Slovak language. There was no standard grammar of this language, nor a bilingual dictionary used at the time.⁵⁸ That is why the language preserved in the *DLB* reveals, among other interesting facts, the Slovak elements in this literary *lingua Bohemica*. Blanár (2006) discovered that the edition from 1745 has more Slovak (phonetic, grammatical and lexical) elements than the edition from 1777. The language of the 1745 edition actually captures the western Slovak vernacular. However, Blanár only compared two editions: those from 1745 and 1777. Taking into account all *DLB* editions, it can now be stated that from the viewpoint of the used vernacular, the 1745 edition is a unique exception, since later editions return to the variant of Slovakized Czech from the 1706 edition, possessing fewer Slovak elements. This can be illustrated in the definition of *nomen* from the chapter about *partes orationis*:

DLB 1706: *Nomen gest, kterému sa mohau w Slowenském Gazyku přidati tato Slowička: Ten, ta, to, aneb: geden, gedna, gedno. Gako: Ten Człowěk.*

DLB 1745: *Nomen gest kterému se mohu w Slovenském Gazyku pridati tato Slowečka: Ten, ta, to: aneb: geden, gedna, gedno. Gako: Ten Czlowek.*

DLB 1774, 1777 etc.: *Nomen gest, kterému sa mohau w Slowenském Gazyku přidati tato Slowička: Ten, ta, to, aneb: geden, gedna, gedno. Gako: Ten Człowěk.*

Therefore, the only divergence is represented by the text from 1745. However, it is not known where and by whom the book was published.⁵⁹ Who was the author of the vernacular text and what were the circumstances of the creation of the book? This has thus far remained unknown.

58 Ďurovič (2008: pp. 129, 137) considers the short treatise on spelling and grammar entitled *Zpráva písma slowenského, gak se ma dobře psati, čjsti y tisknauti / Report on the Slovak Script, How to Write, Read and Print Correctly* by Tobiáš Masnicius (Levoča: Brewer 1696) the “initial point of the writing and compiling of Slovak grammars” and “the corner stone of Slovak linguistics”. Just like with other of the oldest grammar volumes, we need to keep in mind their origins in late Antiquity. (More recently e.g. Lábaj, in press). Similar precedence among dictionaries can perhaps be awarded to the (Slovakized) Czech lexical component in the multilingual dictionary *Latinitatis Probatae Et Exercitae Liber Memorialis* (1735), which was compiled by Mathias Bel, based on the work by Christophorus Cellarius. (For more on the dictionary see Jarošová (2016: pp. 18, 19), Škoviera (1985), Eliášová Buzássyová (2023).

59 Evangelical books not permitted or prohibited by censorship in the Kingdom of Hungary were printed without an impressum or indicated a German city as the place of publication.

Concluding remarks

Bilingual and multilingual Donati represent only one branch of the Donatian tradition, however a very rich one. Based on the *DLG* written by Johannes Rhenius, Donati initiated a new tradition in teaching Latin in Upper Hungary, when Latin was confronted with living languages. It is as if Latin rose for the last time to express itself as, in a way, a living language; the crutch Latin leaned on in this process was the living language. The first bilingual Rhenian Donati emerged in the upper part of the Kingdom of Hungary as an important reflection of the life of the German community, whose representatives contributed to the spreading of Reformation, and the German language and book culture. These teaching manuals were an important part of the developing book trade, initially in the Protestant environment and gradually also across other denominations. Although the initial impetus for their distribution was the educational need of the German Protestant community, in a multicultural environment, the original concept found a response among other national groups as well. From a sociolinguistic point of view, the existence of a basic teaching material which combined living languages alongside Latin indicates that these languages were accepted in various communication situations.

Donati functioned as a standard teaching aid for elementary language and grammar practice in the Protestant educational system for approximately two hundred years. For the correct evaluation of these texts, one has to analyse their relation to cognate texts in both the diachronic and synchronic perspectives. From such an analysis bi- and multilingual Donati emerge as a valuable resource – as language texts as well as grammatical texts.

The research presented in this article discussed the oldest bilingual Donati from Upper Hungary as valuable prints important in the history of book culture. It also suggests that bilingual Donati may not have performed quite the same functions as the original German *DLG* since the vernacular language in its title did not always play the role of the mother tongue when the book was used. The topic of bi- and multilingual teaching definitely requires further systematic research. It should cover not only Protestant education, but other denominations as well, expand to higher levels of education, and include a wider range of teaching materials.

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Abbreviations

BH = *Bibliographia Hungarica* (Petrik G.)

Budapest AK = Budapest Akadémiai Könyvtár (Hungary)

BUSZ = *Catalogus librorum veterum Bibliothecae universitatis Szegediensis*

Cluj UB = Cluj University Library (Romania)

Čaplovič = J. Čaplovič, *Bibliografija tlači vydaných na Slovensku do roku 1700 / Bibliography of prints published in Slovakia until 1700*

EK = Egyetemi Könyvtár (Debrecen, Hungary)

FK = Pannonhalmi Főapátság Könyvtár / Library of Pannonhalma Archabbey

Franj = Franjevačka knjižnica (Bač, Serbia)

K = *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. Století / Bibliography of Czech and Slovak prints from the earliest times to the end of the 18th century*

KK = Református Kollégium Konyvtára, Kunszentmiklós / Library of Reformed College, Kunszentmiklós (Hungary)

Lyc.kn.Kež. = Lyceálna knižnica v Kežmarku / Lyceum Library in Kežmarok (Slovakia)

Lyc.kn.BA = Lyceálna knižnica v Bratislave (ÚK SAV) / Lyceum Library in Bratislava (Central Library of Slovak Academy of Sciences) (Slovakia)

MZK = Moravská zemská knihovna / Moravian State Library (Czech Republic)

NK ČR = Národní knihovna České republiky Praha / National Library of the Czech Republic Prague

NK AK = Národní knihovna České republiky Praha, Archiv Knihopisu / National Library of the Czech Republic Prague, Archive of the Bibliography

OSZK = Országos Széchényi Könyvtár / National Széchényi Library (Budapest, Hungary)

RK = Debreceni Református Kollégium Nkönyvtára / Library of Debrecen Reformed College

RMK = Régi Magyar Könyvtár / Old Hungarian Library

SNK = Slovenská národná knižnica v Martine / Slovak National Library in Martin

ŠVKK = Štátna vedecká knižnica v Košiciach / State Research Library in Košice

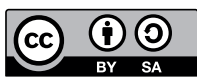
ŠVKP Kol. = Štátna vedecká knižnica v Prešove (kolégium) / State Research Library in (collegium)

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