



**Introduction to Jesuit Pedagogy in Colonial Brazil.
Humanist Education and the Ratio Studiorum¹**
(Original in English)

*Introdução à Pedagogia Jesuíta no Brasil Colonial.
Educação Humanista e o Ratio Studiorum*

*Introducción a la Pedagogía Jesuita en Brasil Colonial.
Educación Humanista y el Ratio Studiorum*

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Abstract

In 1599 the Society of Jesus approved the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu* (Method and System of the Studies of the Society of Jesus). The document outlined policies and procedures on the administration, curriculum and teaching practices in its educational institutions in Europe and abroad. Part of the *Ratio* detailed a secondary program of studies in classical languages and literature. The subject of this study is the program of humane letters and the focus of the analysis is the professional behavior of the Jesuit teacher responsible for its implementation. This paper identifies the actions that a Brazilian Jesuit would have taken when teaching the humanities in a Brazilian college in the 17th and 18th centuries. His pedagogical actions and activities are inferred from the “Common Rules for the Teachers of the Lower Classes” of the *Ratio Studiorum*.

Keywords: Society of Jesus. Ratio Studiorum. Curriculum. Teaching Practices.

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Resumo

Em 1599 a Sociedade de Jesus aprovou o Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu ("Metodo e Sistema de Estudos da Companhia de Jesus"). O documento delineou as políticas, os procedimentos administrativos, os currículos e as práticas de ensino em suas instituições educacionais na Europa e no exterior. Uma parte da Ratio detalhou um programa de estudos das línguas e da literatura clássica. O objeto deste estudo é o programa das letras humanas e o foco da análise é o comportamento profissional do professor jesuíta responsável por sua implementação. Este trabalho identifica as ações que um jesuíta brasileiro teria demonstrado quando ensinando as humanidades em um colégio brasileiro nos séculos 17 e 18. Suas ações e atividades pedagógicas são inferidas das "Regras comuns para os professores das classes mais baixas" explicitadas no Ratio Studiorum.

Palavras-chave: Companhia de Jesus. Ratio Studiorum. Currículos. Práticas de Ensino.

Resumen

En 1599 la Compañía de Jesús aprobó el Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu ("Método y sistema de los estudios de la Compañía de Jesús"). El documento describe las políticas y procedimientos sobre la administración, el plan de estudios y las prácticas de enseñanza en sus instituciones educativas en Europa y en el extranjero. Parte del Ratio detalla un programa secundario de estudios en lenguajes clásicos y literatura. El tema de este trabajo es el programa de letras humanas y el enfoque del análisis es el comportamiento profesional del profesor jesuita responsable por su implementación. Este documento identifica las acciones que un profesor jesuita habría tomado al enseñar humanidades en un colegio brasileño en los siglos 17 y 18. Sus acciones y actividades pedagógicas se deducen de las "Reglas Comunes para los Profesores de las Clases Inferiores" del Ratio Studiorum.

Palabras-clave: Compañía de Jesús. Ratio Studiorum. Plan de estudios. Prácticas de enseñanza.

In 1599 the Society of Jesus adopted the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu* (Method and System of the Studies of the Society of Jesus), or in its abbreviated form the *Ratio Studiorum*, as its official educational manual. The document outlined policies and procedures on the administration, curriculum and teaching practices in its schools in Europe and abroad. The *Ratio* was not a theoretical treatise on education nor an organized set of principles derived from a uniquely Jesuit paradigm. Rather, it was a practical set of guidelines for establishing and conducting schools. It identified the aims and arrangements of classes, schedules and syllabi (McMAHON, 2004). Part of the *Ratio Studiorum* detailed a secondary curriculum in classical languages and literature designed to prepare novitiates for advanced studies in philosophy and theology. It also included pedagogical directives for this preparatory program.

The *Ratio* defined the organization, operation and teaching methodology of Jesuit colleges during the greater part of colonial Brazil, which extended from April 1500 when the first Portuguese explorers set foot on the Brazilian shore to July 1822 when Brazil declared its independence from Portugal. The Jesuitic period encompassed the years between 1549 when the Brazilian Province of the Company of Jesus was established to 1759 when the Order was expelled from Brazil and its colleges closed by edict of the Portuguese Crown.³ During this period the Society's colleges dominated the educational landscape. Few other options existed in the early colonial period that prepared Brazilians for university studies in Portugal.

The *Ratio Studiorum* was a document of broad intent and universal application. Its rules applied to all Jesuit institutions in European countries and their colonies. The expectation of the Society was that its teaching members would faithfully follow the rules prescribed by the document and carry on instruction by its established methods. As Farrell (1970) notes, "the *Ratio* was largely a manual for teachers, who were to carefully follow the rules of their respective classes" (132). The expectation of fidelity to the *Ratio* also applied to Brazilian Jesuits. This obligation suggests that its pedagogical guidelines were implemented in Brazil. One can thus characterize the *Ratio Studiorum* as the first handbook on education in Brazil.

The literature on the Society of Jesus is diverse and seemingly limitless. Publications of all types have described, scrutinized and commented on the Order from every possible vantage point: historical, economic, political, sociological, ecclesiastical and so on.⁴ The Jesuits have been variously characterized as spiritual directors, liberationists, writers, wordsmiths, educators, scholars and savants.⁵ There is also a prodigious volume of literature produced by the early Jesuits beginning with the foundation of the Society in 1540. As Grendler (2016) notes, "there are nearly seven hundred pages of documents discussing and debating the organization of schools, curriculum, pedagogical practice, textbooks, and so on, in the 1540s, 1550s, and in 1560s, in the magnificent and indispensable *Monumenta paedagogica* edited by Ladislaus Lukác" (p. 21). With respect to education, the number of publications on the history of Jesuit schooling would require, as Father John Donohue muses, "a good-sized shelf of books"

³ Politics and other considerations led to the expulsion of Jesuits from the following European countries and their colonies: Portugal (1759), France (1764), Spain (1767) and Austria (1770). Finally, anti-Jesuit forces induced Pope Clement XIV to issue a papal brief in 1773 to suppress the Society of Jesus as a measure to secure peace within the Church (FARRELL, 1970, p. vi).

⁴ Dauril Alden's *The making of an Enterprise* (1996) is a history of the Society of Jesus in Portugal and its empire from 1540 to 1750. The work exemplifies the multiple perspectives that describe the activities of the Jesuits.

⁵ See *The Jesuit Mystique* (1995) by Douglas Letson and Michael Higgins for a comprehensive discussion of these and other characterizations of the Jesuits.

to accommodate them.⁶ Included in this collection are works on the history of the Jesuits in Brazil.⁷ Most of the texts in one way or another comment on the contents of the *Ratio Studiorum*.

This paper introduces the reader to the *Ratio Studiorum* and some of the pedagogical practices that it mandated. The subject of this study is the program of humane letters proposed by the *Ratio* and the focus of the analysis is the professional behavior of the Brazilian Jesuit responsible for its implementation during the 17th and 18th centuries. It invites the reader to examine a number of the directives of the *Ratio* and draw inferences about the specifics of Jesuit pedagogy in Brazil. Because the *Ratio* is an extensive document, a sample of rules of pedagogical interest are discussed. The intent is to let the document speak for itself about the practices and instructional methods of the Jesuit teacher. Those who desire a more extensive explanation of Jesuit pedagogy can consult the works referenced in footnote five.

In the sections that follow, a brief history of the Society of Jesus and its accomplishments in Brazil precedes a general description of the *Ratio Studiorum* and a discussion of its humanist curriculum. The narrative continues with a discussion of various aspects of pedagogy prescribed by this document. There are several translations of the *Ratio*. For this paper the editions in English of Allan Farrell (1970) and in Portuguese of Leonel Franca (1952) were consulted.⁸ Both texts based their translations on the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599 reprinted by Pachler in Volume II of *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica* (1887).⁹

The Society of Jesus in Brazil

On August 17, 1534 Ignatius of Loyola and six companions founded the Company of Jesus when they pronounced religious vows of poverty and chastity in the Chapel of Montmartre, located outside of Paris. The members of the Company were united by their commitment to converting non-Christians and to propagating the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Ignatius and his colleagues were ordained in 1537 and in 1540 the pope confirmed the Order, renamed the Society of Jesus, in the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* (*To the Government of the Church Militant*). Ignatius was chosen as the first superior-general of the Society. In 1545 the Council of Trent acknowledged the Society of Jesus as the vanguard of the Counter-Reformation and the guardian of Christian tradition and morality.

The Society's originally intended to educate members of the Order. However, with demand for education rising throughout European princes and cities urged the Order [to] open its schools to lay or external students. Supported by the crown heads of Europe, the Society expanded its influence by founding and administering schools that promoted and preserved the spirit of Catholicism. Jesuit secondary schools were established in Europe, the Far East and in colonies in Africa and the Americas.

⁶ Occupying today's "bookshelf" would include works by Pachler (1867-94), Hughes (1892), Schwickerath (1903), Fitzpatrick (1933), Farrell (1938), Donohue (1963), Scaglinoe (1986), Duminuco (2000), Codina (2000) and Casalini and Pavur (2016), to name a few.

⁷ Among the prominent Portuguese-speaking authors who discuss the history of Brazilian and Jesuit education, particularly in the colonial period, are Franca (1952), Mattos (1958), Teixeira Soares (1961), Leite (1965), Azevedo (1976), Vasconcelos (1977), Cardim (1978), Serrão (1980 and 1982), Holanda (1989), Neves (1993), Romanelli (1993), Raymundo (1998), Ribeiro (1998) and Almeida (2000).

⁸ The rules presented in tables 3 to 13 of this paper are quoted from Farrell's 1970 translation of the *Ratio Studiorum*.

⁹ *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1887, pp. 234-481.

The expansion of the Society in Europe extended to Portugal. Five years after the Society was formed the first contingent of Jesuits arrived in Lisbon. Father Simão Rodrigues, one of the original members of the Order, founded the first Jesuit college in the central town of Coimbra, home of the prestigious university since 1537. Shortly thereafter the Society established two other colleges, one in Lisbon and the other in the town of Évora, later the home of a second Jesuit university. Of the three colleges, that in Coimbra enjoying the most notoriety.

The Society of Jesus on the Iberian Peninsula divulged and defended Church doctrine in Spain and Portugal and their colonies. The Order achieved its objectives abroad through its missionary work in barely-charted lands, as in the Americas. The evangelistic activities of the Jesuits coincided with the Portuguese Crown's goal of colonizing its new acquisition of Brazil. At the request of Dom João III, Father Manuel da Nóbrega and five Jesuits sailed to the Americas with *Tomé de Sousa*, the first Governor General of Brazil, to establish the Church's presence in Portuguese America and convert Amerindians to Catholicism. A contingent of six Jesuits disembarked in what is now the northeastern state of Bahia in 1549 and established the Brazilian Province of the Company of Jesus.

Fifteen days after landing on Brazilian soil the Jesuits opened an elementary school in the center of the town today called Salvador da Bahia, or simply Salvador. The school was renamed the College of the Children of Jesus (*Colégio dos Meninos de Jesus*) three years later. In 1564 the elementary school was transformed into a college with the adoption of the humanities curriculum of the Jesuit college in Évora. The new curriculum of the college of Bahia prepared children of privileged groups of colonists for university studies in Portugal. During the Jesuitic period the college was the premier secondary institution in the country (VECHIA & LORENZ, 2012).

Over the next fifty years, twenty-eight mission-schools were founded and 190 members of the Society were active in centers in what are known today as the states of Pará, Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Bahia, Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Paraná and Santa Catarina (LEITE, 1965, p. 42). An estimated 358 Jesuits performed their duties in-country by the end of the 17th century (BANGERT, 1972, p. 254). The Portuguese Crown expelled the Order from Brazil in 1759. The decree affected a total of 590 Jesuits. Three hundred sixteen were priests, most of whom were active in education. In its forced departure the Society left behind its missions, parochial houses, seminaries, and seventeen colleges that at the time attended to hundreds of students.

The *Ratio Studiorum*

At the time of Ignatius of Loyola's death in 1556, forty-six schools were functioning in Sicily, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Bohemia, France and Germany (GRENDLER, 2016 p. 19). By 1581 there were 150 institutions in operation and by 1599 the total had increased to 245. The steady increase in the number of Jesuit schools prompted a call for regulations that would standardize their organization and operations.

In 1581 Claudio Aquaviva was elected fifth general of the Society. He promptly named a six-man delegation to codify the rules governing practices in Jesuit educational institutions. The group produced a trial document in 1586 that according to the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (2003) "consisted mainly of essays on the conduct of classes, repetitions, and disputations; on teacher formation and the various curricula, vacations, time-orders, prizes, and degrees." After a review of the document by Aquaviva, his advisers and committees from the Jesuit provinces, a second copy was drafted in 1591 and after further changes the final version was approved in 1599. The

Ratio was slightly but insignificantly modified in 1616 and remained in effect until the Society was suppressed in 1773. An unsuccessful attempt was made to update the *Ratio* in 1832.

The *Ratio Studiorum* was the product of the efforts of experienced administrators and teachers of more than a hundred Jesuit colleges in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium and Germany. It incorporated ideas from the Fourth Part of the Jesuit *Constitutions*, written by Ignatius of Loyola; from Jerome Nadal's plan, the *Ordo Studiorum*, for the college at Messina, Sicily; and James Ledesma's document on the Roman College, *De Ratione et Ordine Studiorum Collegii Romani* (FARRELL, 1970, p. i).

The *Ratio* consisted of thirty rules that regulated the various components of the Jesuit educational system. It promoted a multi-tiered educational system that offered instruction in three content areas or faculties. The first was the faculty of letters or classical language studies, which [consisted of] of was divided into five sections: three Latin and Greek grammar classes, a humanities class and a class on rhetoric. The literary course was followed by a three-year program in philosophy and after that a four-year course in theology. The three-tiered system was developmental: humanist studies prepared students for the philosophy program based on Aristotelean concepts, which in turn prepared them for the culminating program in theology based on the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas. The humanities program was referred to as the *studia inferiora* and was offered in Jesuit colleges, whereas the philosophy and theology programs, labeled *studia superiora*, were the responsibility of the universities.

The *Ratio Studiorum* addressed four areas of interest: administration, curriculum, method and discipline. It described the "function, interrelation, and duties of such officials as the provincial, rector and prefects of studies." It explained the tiered educational system and its "sequence and gradation of courses of study in theology, philosophy and the humanities." It suggested methods of "conducting lessons and exercises in the classroom," and established "norms of conduct, regularity and good order" (FARRELL, 1970, p. x).

Table 1 presents the thirty rules of the *Ratio* with its 461 articles or directives. The rules under Section I apply to the superiors who govern the educational institutions, such as the provincial, the rector and the prefect of studies. Section II discusses the content, responsibilities and teaching methods of the theological faculty. Section III deals with the content and duties of the faculty of arts, i.e. philosophy. Section IV treats the content and pedagogy of the five classes of the humanities program, and Section V lists a few additional rules.

Table 1: Rules of the *Ratio Studiorum*

<p>I. Rules of the Provincial (1-40) Rules of the Rector (1-24) Rules of the Prefect of Studies (1-30)</p> <p>II. Common Rules of the Professors of the Higher Faculties (1-20) Special Rules for Professors of the Higher Faculties:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Scripture (1-20) b) Hebrew (1-5) c) Theology (1-14) d) Cases of Conscience (1-10)
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III. Rules of the Professor of Philosophy:

- a) General Rules (1-8)
- b) Courses, Texts, etc. (9-20)
- c) Moral Philosophy (1-4)
- d) Mathematics (1-3)

IV. Rules of the Prefect of Lower Studies (1-50)

Rules for the Written Examinations (1-11)

Rules for Prizes (1-13)

Common Rules for the Teachers of the Lower Classes (1-50)

Special Rules for the Teachers of the Lower Classes:

- a) Rhetoric (1-20)
- b) Humanities (1-10)
- c) Grammar I (-10)
- d) Grammar II (1-10)
- e) Grammar III (1-9)

V. Rules for the Scholastics of the Society (1-11)

Instruction for Those Engaged in the Two-Year Review of Theology (1-14)

Rules for the Teacher's Assistant or Beadle (1-7)

Rules for Extern Students (1-15)

Rules for the Academies (cf. below):

- a) General Rules (1-12)
- b) Rules of the Prefect (1-5)
- c) Academy of Theology and Philosophy (1-11)
- d) Moderator of the Academy (1-4)
- e) Academy of Rhetoric and Humanities (1-7)
- f) Academy of Grammar Students (1-8)

The Humanist Curriculum

The humanist movement traces its origin to northern Italy where it later spread to Western Europe. City-states of Florence, Naples, Rome, Venice and Genoa emerged as centers of humanistic values that prized freedom of intellect and expression. From the 14th to the 16th centuries interest in the study of the culture and literature of antiquity took on greater importance as it came to replace the formal and literal focus of the scholastic approach to education.

Renaissance Humanism was an expression of the "ancient pedagogical ideal of *humanitas*," which valued the orator who possessed a virtuous character (CASALINI AND PAVUR, 2016, p. 33). It placed great significance on eloquence in written and oral communication and it was the Ideal embraced by the Society of Jesus. Father John Donohue writes that the aim of literary studies in the *Ratio Studiorum* was to develop men of "intellectual culture" and that in the 16th century this was defined in "the usual Renaissance terms of Latin eloquence." He notes that "'perfect eloquence' had wide and admirable connotations for Renaissance educators. It was supposed that one necessarily developed character and

intelligence in achieving this eloquence.” Logic therefore dictated that “For the sixteenth century pedagogues, good style was Latin style and good Latin style was that which imitated Cicero as perfectly as possible – used his phrases in the way he used them and with the same rhythm.” Donohue further affirms that this concept of culture looked backward to Mediterranean classics as “absolute models of expression” (1963, p.120, 124).

If Cicero (106-43 BC) furnished the substance of the literary program, Quintilian (35-100 AD) provided the teaching methodology. In Quintilian’s *Institutes of Oratory* the famed Roman pedagogue defined humanist rhetoric with this oft-quoted phrase: “*Sit ergo nobis orator quem constituimus is qui a M. Catone finitur vir bonus dicendi peritus* (“Therefore, let the orator be for us as it was for Marcus Cato: a good man speaking well.”). For Quintilian, the words “dicendi peritus” conceived of rhetoric as the art of eloquent persuasion mastered by a just and righteous man. Quintilian, guided by this dictum, suggested a teaching methodology that was represented in the *Ratio Studiorum* (KOCH, 1939, p. 200). Gabriel Codina commemorates this fusion in the following passage:

Quintilianus Noster, the master of the Renaissance pedagogues, was proposed as the supreme ideal of eloquence. Rhetoric became the arts of arts, and the science of sciences, the culmination of all literary studies. For Erasmus, as for all the humanists, the study of grammar, Latin, Greek was all oriented towards the attainment of eloquence. It is not strange, then, that the Jesuits proposed eloquence as the ideal of their formation – *eloquentia perfecta* as it is called in the *Ratio studiorum* (2000, p.40).

Humanists also proposed broadening the secondary curriculum to include physical education and more mathematics and language studies. These disciplines were believed to contribute to the formation of moral character. Such was the thinking that “almost all outstanding humanists made recommendations for the reform of education, partly along the lines of Cicero, Quintilian, Plutarch, and Basilus”. Throughout, the underlying Ideal of the end-product of the educative process was the individual who demonstrates *sapientia* and who speaks with *eloquentia*; that is, the informed orator who persuades others through the agile and elegant use of language (RÜEGG, 1992, pp. 451-452).

While there has been ample discussion about the influences on Loyola and the Jesuits when developing the *studia inferiora*, most likely the flourishing humanist schools in Louvain, Liège and other cities were the source of many of the ideas proposed in the *Ratio*. On this point, several Jesuits who participated in drafting the document were natives of the Netherlands and therefore familiar with the teaching methods of the Strasbourg educator Johannes Sturm, who founded a school renowned for its humanistic orientation. Humanist sentiment was also prevalent at the University of Paris where Ignatius and his early companions studied. Taking all of these possibilities into account, the *Ratio Studiorum* reflected the spirit and the best educational practices of its time.

The humanist curriculum of the *Ratio* adhered to the Renaissance tradition of prioritizing the study of classical Latin and Greek grammar and literature. The *Ratio* detailed a six-year curriculum for the *studia inferiora* -- extended to seven years by some institutions --

that progressively deepened knowledge and skills in language, literature and oratory. The sequence of the five classes comprising the curriculum was as follows: one year each of Lower, Middle and Superior Grammar; followed by one year of Humanities and then two years of Rhetoric (QUICK, 1900, p. 40).

Farrell (1938, p. 344-345), summarizes the content of the classes of the *studia inferiora*. The study of grammar was based on ancient and medieval grammarians such as Donatus and Priscian. The *Inferior* or *Lower Grammar* class introduced students to the rudiments of Latin through the letters of Cicero and to concepts appropriate for a beginner's knowledge of Greek. The *Middle Grammar* class expanded the students' knowledge of Latin through the reading of some of the more accessible letters of Cicero and poems of Ovid. Greek was taught using catechisms and the *Tabula* of the philosopher Cebes of Thebes. *Superior Grammar* deepened the student's knowledge of figures of speech, idioms and prosody. In the first semester the student read Cicero's letters -- *To Friends*, *To Atticus*, *To Brother Quintus* -- and selections from the *Epistles* and *Elegies* of Ovid. In the second semester, he read Cicero's *On Friendship*, *On Old Age* and the *Stoic Paradoxes*. Poetry studies included selections of the works of Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius, basic readings in Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, and books five and seven of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Upper study in Greek focused on the rudiments of the eight parts of speech, followed by readings of the works of John Chrysostom, Aesop and Agapetus, among others.

The *Humanities* class laid the foundation for the study of rhetoric by furthering the student's knowledge of language. Rule 1 of the *Ratio* for the Teacher of Humanities briefly states the nature of the program of studies: "The scope of this class is to lay the foundations for the course in eloquence after the pupils have finished their grammar studies. Three things are required: knowledge of the language, a certain amount of erudition, and an acquaintance with the basic principles of rhetoric" (FARRELL, 1970, p. 79; FRANCA, 1952, p. 80). In the first semester, vocabulary was expanded and correctness of expression was enhanced through daily readings of the works of Cicero, especially those that dwelled on standards of right living. Erudition was acquired through the study of the historical works of Caesar, Sallust, Livy and Curtius. An appreciation of poetry was fostered through the reading of Virgil's *Aeneid*, the *Odes* of Horace and elegies, epigrams, poems of approved authors. In the second semester the moral philosophy of Cicero was replaced by his simpler speeches such as *Pro Lege Manilia*, *Pro Archia Poeta*, *Pro Marcello* and other orations he delivered before Caesar. For the study of the Greek language, the student achieved an appreciation of its prose by reading the works of John Chrysostom, Basil, Isocrates, Plato and Plutarch. Regarding Greek poetry, he explored the works of Homer, Phocylides, Gregory of Nazianzus and others. The humanities class concluded with an introduction to the rules of *De Arte Rhetorica* of Cyprien Soarez.

The third and final class of the humanist program dealt with "the art of rhetoric, the refinement of style, and erudition." The purpose of the Rhetoric Class was to develop the student's power of self-expression through oratory and poetry -- with oratory taking precedence -- by developing an understanding of the orations of Cicero, supplemented by the insights of Aristotle and Quintilian. Rhetorical style took as its model Cicero and a few select historians and poets. The class also cultivated erudition by mining the works of authoritative texts for details on life in antiquity. The study of Greek continued with the readings of Plato, Thucydides, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar and the Christian works of Basil, Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus.

It is of interest to note that Farrell (1938) concludes that the inferior classes constituted a narrowly defined program of study because of its emphasis on classical languages and literature. He attributes this limitation to the lack of organized studies of vernacular languages, modern history and the sciences. He also points to a fundamental belief reflected in the Jesuits' concept of education: "The conscious narrowing of the curriculum had its basis in the conviction that education's purpose was to preserve and hand down a cultural heritage. It also had its basis in the sound pedagogical principle of emphasizing a few primary branches of knowledge and of treating others as subordinate and accessory, that is, as contributing to a fuller understanding and mastery of the primary studies" (p. 348).

Pedagogy and the Brazilian Jesuit

Jesuit teachers were expected to implement the humanist program as outlined in the *Ratio*. This guaranteed uniformity of substance and method among the curricula of the colleges maintained by the Order. Fifty directives on the curriculum and teaching practices in the *studia inferiora* constituted the "Common Rules for the Teachers of the Lower Classes;" that is, grammar, humanities and rhetoric. This section of the *Ratio* contained general rules that were subsequently dealt with in more detail in fifty-nine "Special Rules for the Teachers of the Lower Classes." The Jesuit teacher was expected to conduct himself in accordance with the policies and procedural guidelines dictated by both sets of rules. If one accepts the premise that the Brazilian Jesuit looked to the *Ratio Studiorum* for guidance on pedagogy, his conduct in the classroom can be inferred from a reading of the document, in particular the Common Rules since they applied to all Jesuit teachers irrespective of their subject areas.

What, then, can be said about the pedagogy of the Jesuit teacher in colonial Brazil? To begin with, the normal progression of Jesuit training was two years of novitiate, two years of study of the humanities, three years of study of philosophy, three years of teaching experience, three years of study of theology, ordination to the priesthood, an additional year of study of theology, and a third year of probation, called "tertianship." From the Society's perspective, teaching experience contributed to the young Jesuit's intellectual and religious maturity and prepped him for challenges he would later face in his training (FARRELL, 1970, p.122).¹⁰ A young Jesuit would have followed this progression in his career and concluded his study of philosophy, most likely in Coimbra, before joining the teaching faculty of a college in Brazil. He would have had little formal training to be a teacher

The Brazilian Jesuit worked within a seven-year curriculum that was modeled after that of the College of Évora. See Table 2.

¹⁰ The Society's requirement that Jesuits studying for the priesthood should teach in a college was established by Superior General Diego Laínez in 1560 as a solution for a teacher shortage in Jesuit institutions. There were 91 Jesuit schools in Europe at the time of Laínez's death (Grendler, 2018, p. 20).

Table 2: *Studia Inferiora*¹¹

Year	Class	Content
7	Rhetoric	Book 6 of <i>Aeneid</i> of Virgil Book 3 of <i>Odes</i> of Horace <i>De Oratore</i> and <i>De Lege Agraria</i> of Cicero <i>Dialogues</i> of Lucian
6	Humanities	<i>De Bello Gallico</i> of Cesar Book 10 of <i>Aeneid</i> of Virgil Greek Grammar
5	Grammar: 1 st Class	Book 5 of <i>Aeneid</i> <i>Rhetoric</i> of P. Cipriano Soares Speeches of Cícero
4	Grammar: 2 nd Class	<i>De Officiis</i> of Cicero <i>Epistulae ex Ponto</i> of Ovid
3	Grammar: 3 rd Class	<i>De Tristibus</i> of Ovid and Letters of Cicero
2	Grammar: 4 th Class	<i>Epistulae ad Familiares</i> of Cicero Second part of Latin Grammar
1	Grammar: 5 th Class	Fundamentals of Latin Grammar with selected Letters of Cicero

The curricula of a number of colleges, however, differed slightly from that of Évora during the 17th century. In the college of Bahia, for example, the study of the Greek language was substituted by the study of what was picturesquely called “Greek of the Earth;” that is, the Tupi language spoken by the indigenous people inhabiting the coast when the Portuguese first arrived in Brazil. The teaching of Tupi in the Brazilian colleges was consonant with the Jesuits’ mission of converting the Amerindians to Christianity (LEITE, T1, p. 72,75).

The young Jesuit would have been familiar with the humanities program from his student days, but have had only a limited notion of how to conduct himself in the classroom from observing his teachers. Support of his teaching activities was therefore essential for his success. To assist him, the 18th Rule for the Rector required monthly or bimonthly meetings between the teacher and the rector to discuss the Common and Special Rules of the *studia inferiora*. Additionally and in accordance with the 9th Rule for the Prefect of Lower Studies, the young Jesuit was assigned an experienced professor as a mentor. Both met three times a week for an hour to confer on pedagogical techniques related to prelections, dictation, writing assignments and “other duties of a good teacher.”

A number of responsibilities challenged the Brazilian Jesuit during his assignment. He was expected to act professionally with students, both inside and outside of the classroom. This required knowledge and skills in interpersonal relationships, classroom management, teaching methodology and familiarity with a “scheme chiefly for teaching the ancient classics through careful ‘prelections,’ copious written and oral exercises, systematic repetitions and plentiful exploitation of boys’ competitive instinct” (DONOHUE, 1963, p.136). The Brazilian teacher would have looked to the rules of the *Ratio* and his superiors for direction on the practices and instructional strategies or exercises he should adopt in his class.

¹¹ Carvalho, 1972, p.143.

Practices

The *Ratio Studiorum* addressed a number of practices that the Jesuit teacher was expected to follow in and out of the classroom. These touched upon operational issues, professional behavior and management of the learning environment. Some of the more noteworthy considerations of the *Ratio* on these points are related in the following sections.

Class Organization

In the Jesuit college one teacher was assigned to a group of students and accompanied them through their sequence of studies. The Brazilian Jesuit would therefore have had continuous contact with his students over the years. This prolonged interaction was intended to contribute to the intellectual, moral and spiritual development of the students..

The *Ratio Studiorum* proposed that students be grouped into groups called cohorts, each of which was assigned its own teacher and regents. When the number of students was unacceptably large, as in the grammar classes, the cohort would have been subdivided into *decuriae*, or groups of ten students, with a student designated as its head. The *decurion* or “captain” assisted the teacher by “hearing the memory lessons within the group (reciting their own lesson to the teacher), collecting written exercises, and performing other assigned duties” (FARRELL, 1938, p. 161). This strategy of dealing with large numbers of students originated with the Brethren of the Common Life in the Netherlands and made its way to the University of Paris and the Jesuits via the College of Montaigu (CODINA, 2000, p.36). The Jesuit teacher in Brazil would have organized *decuriae* when necessary.

Common Rules 19 and 36 refer to the captains of the *decuriae* and list some of their responsibilities. The rules require that students, as well as *decurions*, demonstrate mastery of the contents of previous lessons. General actions to be taken by the teacher are suggested in Table 3.

Table 3: Decurions ¹²

<p>Rule 36 - The teacher shall also appoint decurions to hear the memory lesson, collect the compositions, and mark down in a small book the names of any who fail in the memory lesson or neglect to hand in their composition or have not brought two copies of the composition to class. It will also be their duty to perform any other tasks assigned them by the teacher</p>

<p>Rule 19 - The pupils shall recite the prelections from memory to the <i>decurions</i>, whose duties are explained in the thirty-sixth rule. If another system seems preferable in rhetoric class, it may be used. The <i>decurions</i> themselves should recite their lessons to the chief <i>decurion</i> or to the instructor. Each day the instructor himself shall call for the lesson from some of the lazier pupils and from the latecomers so as to check the fidelity of the <i>decurions</i> and to keep everyone up to the mark. On Saturday what has been learned during one or several weeks should be publicly recited from memory. When a book is finished, some may be chosen to recite it in its entirety from the platform, for which they shall be given an award.</p>
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¹² Farrell, 1960, pp. 64-65 and 69; Franca, 1952, pp. 74 and 76

Daily Schedule

The Brazilian teacher followed the general class-schedule prescribed in the *Ratio Studiorum*. He taught the lower, middle and upper grammar classes, as well as the humanities classes, for two and a half hours both in the morning and in the afternoon, every day except Sunday. He also taught at least two hours on days dedicated to recreation. For the rhetoric class he allotted two hours of instruction both in the morning and in the afternoon, from Monday to Saturday (FARRELL, 1938, p. 346-347). Common Rule 14 stipulated that “This schedule should remain unchanged so that it will be known what classes are in session at each hour.”¹³

The Ratio outlined the specific schedules to be followed in Rule 2 for each of the five classes¹⁴. The Jesuit teacher would have assiduously prepared and carefully organized the different parts of his lesson as required for each class. Table 4 presents the schedule for the teacher of rhetoric as an example.

Table 4: Daily Schedule for a Rhetoric Lesson¹⁵

Rule 2 - The class periods shall be divided as follow: the first hour of the morning is for memory work. The compositions collected by the decurions are corrected by the teacher, who in the meantime sets various tasks for the class, as described in the fifth rule below. Finally, the previous prelection is reviewed. ↔ The second hour of the morning should be spent on a study of the rules of rhetoric if the text of an oration is to be studied in the afternoon. If an oration is read in the forenoon, the rules should occupy the afternoon period. Let the one or the other order be observed regularly as elected at the start of the year. Then will follow a repetition of the prelection and, when desirable, a subject is given for a speech or a poem which the pupil is required to write. If any time remains, it is given to a contest or to revising what was written during the first hour. ↔ The first hour of the afternoon starts with a repetition of the last prelection. Then a new prelection is given, of an oration if the precepts were explained in the morning, or of precepts if an oration was explained in the morning. The customary repetition follows. ↔ The second hour of the afternoon begins with a review of the last lesson in a Greek author, and is followed by an explanation and quiz on new matter. What time remains is spent, now on correcting Greek themes, now on Greek syntax and prosody, now on a class contest in Greek. ↔ On recreation days, an historian or a poet or some matters of erudition will be discussed and a review will follow. ↔ On Saturday the work of the whole week is briefly reviewed. Then in the first hour there is an explanation of a passage of history or part of a poem. In the last hour one of the pupils gives an oration or a prelection or the class goes to listen to the class of humanities or there is a debate. In the afternoon part of a poem or a passage of Greek is reviewed. ↔ Where a half hour is added to both morning and afternoon, it is devoted to history or poetry, and the usual Saturday repetitions may then be the same as on other days or may give place to a broader repetition or to a contest.

¹³ Farrell, 1970, p. 64; Franca, 1952, p. 74

¹⁴ Schedules can be found on the following pages of Farrell's (1970) work: Lower Grammar 92-93; Middle Grammar 88-89; Superior Grammar 85-86; Humanities 80-81 and Rhetoric 73-74.

¹⁵ Farrell, 1970, pp. 73-74; Franca, 1952, p. 78

Religious Instruction and Practices

An important feature of the Jesuit college was its moral and religious training. Attention was given not only to academic studies but also to the “science and practice of a Christian and religious life” (QUICK, 1900, p. 47). In accordance with Common Rules 2 to 4, the Brazilian teacher began each class with a prayer and the sign of the cross. He monitored his students to ensure that they attended mass during the week and on feast days and urged them to receive Holy Communion and to go to confession frequently. He was careful to teach doctrine in a manner that enabled them to recite the same during grammar classes. Rules 5 to 9, presented in Table 5, gave him direction on religious education. Rule 10 directs the Brazilian teacher to pray for his students and to be a good example by demonstrating the Christian virtues that the Society embraced espoused.

Table 5: Religious Teaching and Practices ¹⁶

<p>Rule 5 - Likewise on Friday or Saturday the teacher shall give a homily or explain some point of Christian doctrine for half an hour. He should especially urge his pupils to say their daily prayers and in particular the rosary or the little office of the Blessed Virgin, to examine their consciences every evening, frequently and devoutly to receive the sacraments of penance and the holy eucharist, to avoid bad habits, to hate vice, and to cultivate the virtues befitting a Christian.</p>
<p>Rule 6 - In private talks, too, he should instill in his pupils habits of virtue, in such a way, however, that he will not seem to be enticing anyone to enter our Society. If he meets with anybody who is so inclined, he should refer him to his confessor.</p>
<p>Rule 7 - He should have the litany of the Blessed Virgin recited in his class every Saturday afternoon, or, if it is the local custom, he should lead his class to the church for the common recitation of the litany with the other pupils. He should encourage his pupils to cultivate devotion to the Blessed Virgin and to their guardian angels.</p>
<p>Rule 8 - He should strongly recommend spiritual reading, particularly the lives of the saints. In the same spirit he should refrain from reading in class any passage from an indecent writer and from even referring in his prelections to anything that might scandalize his pupils. He should do everything he can to keep them from reading books of this sort outside of school.</p>
<p>Rule 9 - He should see to it that each boy goes to confession each month. The pupils should be told to hand to their confessor a slip of paper on which is written their name, surname, and class, so that by going over the slips later he will know who failed to go to confession.</p>

Learning Environment

The *Ratio Studiorum* expressed the Society’s concern about classroom decorum. It provided guidance on how to maintain an environment conducive to learning. Common Rules 38 and 41 to 44 presented in Table 6 provided suggestions for classroom procedures and routines. Following these directives, the Brazilian Jesuit regularly took attendance and discouraged absenteeism. He created an environment in which students were silent and well-behaved and took measures to avoid interruptions that resulted in a loss of time dedicated to instruction. These included students wandering about, changing seats, or leaving the classroom without permission. If students needed to leave the classroom for confession, the teacher

¹⁶ Farrell, 1970, pp. 62-63; Franca, 1952, pp. 73-74

required that they did so one at a time, unless they had permission to leave as a group. He also discouraged students from passing notes, which appears to have been a recurrent problem meriting its own rule.

Table 6: Learning Environment ¹⁷

<p>Rule 38 - At the beginning of the year, the teacher must give the prefect a list of his pupils in alphabetical order. He should occasionally check over this list during the year to make any necessary changes, and he should do this with particular accuracy before the general examinations. In this list he should distinguish the class standings of pupils as best, good, average, doubtful, allowed to remain in school, required to withdraw. He could also indicate these standings by numbers from 1 to 6.</p>
<p>Rule 41 - He should demand regular attendance from his pupils. Therefore he must not excuse them to attend public spectacles or plays. When a pupil is absent, the teacher should send one of his fellow pupils or some other person to make inquiries at the boy's home. Unless a satisfactory excuse is given, the absentee should be punished. Any who are absent for several days without excuse should be sent to the prefect and not readmitted without his consent.</p>
<p>Rule 42 - To avoid loss of class time during confessions, three or more pupils are to be sent in the beginning and as each one returns One or two more are to be sent. An exception is made where it is the custom for all to go at the same time.</p>
<p>Rule 43 - It is a prime duty of the teacher to see that silence and good conduct are observed in the classroom, that pupils are not allowed to wander about, change seats, pass little presents or notes back and forth, or leave the classroom, especially two or three at a time.</p>
<p>Rule 44 - He should take care that no one, especially during the time of the prelection, is called out of class by anyone. To prevent confusion and uproar at dismissal time, he should stand watch at his desk or at the door and see that those who sit nearest the door leave first, or he may make other arrangements to insure that all go out in good order and in silence.</p>

School discipline was essential for maintaining an environment conducive to learning. The *Ratio* expected the Jesuit teacher to discipline students when they misbehaved. Inappropriate pupil behavior in European colleges was common and a major concern at the time. Students were generally unrestrained in their actions and at times rowdy. It was not unusual for them to be physically punished for their transgressions. The Society took note and acknowledged the need for discipline. It identified actions deemed unacceptable, yet adopted a thoughtful and more benign attitude when dealing with behavioral issues. According to the *Ratio*, "Punishments were to be as light as possible, and the master was to shut his eyes to offenses whenever he thought he might do so safely." However, "Grave offenses were to be visited with corporal punishment, performed by a 'corrector' who was not a member of the Order" (Quick, 1900, p. 480). Jesuit teachers were advised to motivate pupils not by chastisement but by bestowing honors and the rewards for scholastic success.

The Brazilian Jesuit would have followed the Society's lead on discipline. He would have been fair and moderate in his reactions to misbehaving students. The Common Rules of Table 7 emphasize the importance of school discipline and the general actions that the Jesuit teacher should take. Specific actions were identified in the Special Rules for each of the lower classes.

¹⁷ Farrell, 1970, p.p. 70-71; Franca, 1952, p. 77

Table 7: School Discipline¹⁸

Rule 11 - He shall obey the prefect of studies in all that relates to studies and school discipline. Without his advice he should not admit anyone to his class or dismiss anyone or choose a book for prelection in class or excuse anyone from the common class exercises.

Rule 39 - Nothing helps discipline as much as the observance of the rules. Therefore the teacher must be especially concerned that his pupils observe everything contained in their rules and the rules respecting their studies. Faithful observance will be better secured by the hope of honor and reward and the fear of disgrace than by corporal punishment.

Rule 40 - The teacher should not be hasty in punishing nor too much given to searching out faults. He should rather pretend not to be aware of an infraction when he can do this without harm to anyone. He shall refrain not only from striking a pupil (this is the corrector's duty) but also from humiliating anyone by word or act. He shall never call a pupil by any but his own name or surname. He will find it advantageous at times to substitute for the customary punishment some literary task over and above the ordinary daily lesson. He must leave to the prefect the matter of exceptional and severer punishments, especially for offenses committed out of school, and also the case of those who refuse to be punished, in particular if they are older boys.

Relationship with students

Common Rules 47 to 50 for Professors of the Lower Classes set parameters on the relationship between the Brazilian Jesuit and his students. Common Rule 50 laid out the general disposition that the Brazilian teacher should demonstrate when it states, “Finally, let the teacher, with God's grace, be painstaking and persevering in every way, interested in the progress of his pupils in their daily lessons and other literary exercises. He must not regard anyone with contempt, but assist the efforts of the poor as much as those of the rich. He should seek the advancement of each and every one of his charges.” The remaining rules were more specific on the teacher-student relationship.

The young Jesuit would have had a clear understanding of what was and was not permissible when interacting with his students. Rule 47 instructed him to avoid being “on friendlier terms with one pupil than with another” and to discuss only important matters with the students in open spaces such as at the “door of the classroom or in the entrance hall or at the gate of the college,” and not in the classroom. Rule 49 made him wary of abusing his position by using a pupil as “an amanuensis” as in asking him to “perform any task not connected with the customary school exercises.” Nor was it allowed to “permit the pupils to spend money in any way for the school.” Rule 48 encouraged the teacher to seek advice from the rector when he believed that a student needed tutoring.¹⁹

¹⁸ Farrell, 1970, pp. 63 and 70; Franca, 1952, pp. 74 and 77

¹⁹ Farrell, 1970, pp. 71-72; Franca, 1952, pp. 77-78

Exercises

Jesuit pedagogy has been described as “active” and “interactive” in the style of the University of Paris. The word "exercise" characterizes this focus and largely defines Jesuit pedagogy (CODINA, 2000, p. 37-38). Exercises were structured activities that provided opportunities for students to interact with each other and with their teachers. The exercises were distinguished for their variety. There were “disputations, debates, repetitions that were held daily, weekly, monthly and annually, written exercises in imitation of the author being read, public correction of the exercises, original essays in the upper grades.” To motivate students the Jesuits also scheduled “contests within and between classes, awards, plays and pageants, and academies.” (FARRELL, 1970, p. viii-ix). The exercises were calculated to break the monotony of the lessons by encouraging the student to use all his faculties -- memory, imagination, reasoning – thereby contributing to the “harmonious training” of his mind.²⁰ Schwickerath (1903) describes how exercises were incorporated in the daily lesson:

a short recitation of the memory lesson is followed by the thorough repetition of the prelection of the previous day, or of the precepts of rhetoric, poetry, and grammar. Then comes the principal work of the day, the prelection of the new passage of the author, followed by a brief repetition. Some time is devoted every day to the writing of a little theme; and lastly the contests rouse the pupils to new attention, in case the other exercises should have caused some drowsiness.²¹

The Brazilian Jesuit would have employed these instructional strategies in his lessons as directed by the *Ratio*.

Prelection

The preferred instructional method of the Jesuits was the *praelectio*, or in English the “prelection”. In the higher studies of the Jesuit system the term was synonymous with “lecture.” In the lower studies it referred to an “explanation.” The technique was at the heart of Jesuit methodology in the humanist course because of its systematic approach to teaching. It not only transmitted content, it also prepared the student for successful out-of-class study.

Laurence Britt (1939) in his explanation of how to introduce students to Cicero’s *De Senectute* makes clear that “The Prelection is not simply translation and parsing, nor is it a lecture by the teacher. Rather it is a practical, artistic, analytic study with pupils cooperating under the guidance of the teacher. Necessarily brief, the Prelection favors the intensive study and complete mastery of a limited amount of matter, in preference to less thorough treatment of longer sections” (p. 6). Britt goes on to reference W. J. McGucken (1932) and his operational definition of this instructional method:

²⁰ See Section 4 “Contests. In The Method of Teaching in Practice” in Schwickerath, 1903, <http://www.slu.edu/colleges/AS/languages/classical/latin/tchmat/pedagogy/schw/schw2.html>

²¹ Ibidem

In brief, then, the Prelection is the explanation beforehand of the lesson which the pupils are to study. According to the spirit of the *Ratio*, no lesson is to be given without first having been explained, and explained thoroughly, brought down to the pupils' mind, with the difficulties smoothed out, and the road made plain for the pupil, so that when he comes to study his lesson at home he will find it attractive from being made easy, interesting from his being made to see what it contains (pp. 7-8).

The prelection was a useful method especially for inexperienced teachers in need of structure. As Farrell notes, the Jesuits “were well aware of the difficulty of the teaching art and of the fact that not many have the essential endowment of the great teacher, the gift of inspiration. Hence, they laid down a teaching technique that they believed would lead the teacher by successive steps to create the mental situation and stimulate the imminent activity of the student” (1970, p. 127).

The Brazilian Jesuit would have followed Rules 26 to 29 when giving the prelection. Of particular interest is Common Rule 27 in Table 8, which provides a detailed explanation of how a prelection would be conducted in a lower class.

Table 8: Prelection²²

<p>Rule 26 - Saturday all the prelections of the week are to be reviewed. Should some offer to answer all questions on the assignment or even on a whole book, a few of these may be selected, letting the others in twos or threes ply them with questions. The diligent should be rewarded.</p>
<p>Rule 27 - Only the ancient classics, never the modern writers, are to be explained. The instructor should not speak spontaneously but only after thoughtfully writing out the prelection at home. He should read the whole book or speech before beginning to teach it. In the methodology of the prelection the instructor should, first, read the whole passage to the class, unless it is too long in rhetoric and humanities. Second, he should briefly give the meaning of the passage. Third, he should read over each sentence and when in interpreting it in Latin clear up obscurities and show the relation of part to part. He should explain its meaning, not awkwardly as in matching one Latin word with another, but by recasting sentences in clearer terms. When interpreting the passage in the vernacular, he should follow the Latin word order so that his pupils become accustomed to the Latin rhythm. If the vernacular idiom does not permit this, he should first explain the passage literally and then in the idiom of the vernacular. Finally, he should conclude by making final observations on the text, unless he prefers to do so this as commentary as he goes along. Either during or at the end of the prelection, he should dictate what he wishes the pupils to take down. It should not be much, and it is usually better for the grammar students not to take any notes unless told to do so.</p>
<p>Rule 28 - The prelection of a writer of history differs from that of a poet. The writer of history receives a more rapid prelection, while the prelection of a poet is given best in an accurate oratorical paraphrase.</p>
<p>Rule 29 - In the prelection of the rhetoric of Cyprian Soarez, of the art of versification, of Latin and Greek grammar, and the like, the subject matter rather than the words should be considered. Brief passages exemplifying the precepts and taken from the best authors should be quoted and immediately translated. Whenever, particularly in the lower grammar classes, some difficult point comes up, the class should be drilled on this point for one or more days. This may be varied by explaining and reviewing some of the easier rules from other parts of grammar.</p>

²² Farrell, 1970, pp. 66-67; Franca, 1952, pp. 75-76.

The *Ratio* also included Special Rules on this method for each of the five classes of the humanist program. Prelections dealing with the fundamentals of grammar and prosody in the lower classes differed from those that focused upon authors and the precepts of rhetoric and poetry in the upper classes. The Jesuit teacher would have therefore varied the content of this activity depending upon the subject matter of the lesson as illustrated in the examples of the grammar and rhetoric classes in Table 9.

Table 9: Prelections in Grammar and Rhetoric ²³

Rule 6 – Low Grammar - The prelection of Cicero will cover no more than about four lines. The teacher first reads the entire passage without interruption, and then gives the sense of the passage very briefly in the vernacular. Second, he interprets the passage word for word in the vernacular. Third, starting from the beginning he indicates the structure and for each phrase or clause shows which case each verb governs. He shows how the passage exemplifies the rules of grammar already explained. He may make brief comments on Latin usage and explain metaphors by well-known parallels. Finally, he reads the passage in the vernacular.

Rule 8 – Rhetoric - If, however, a speech or a poem is being studied, first, the meaning must be explained if it is obscure, and the various interpretations appraised. Second, the whole technique should be examined, that is, the author's skill in invention, disposition, and expression, how deftly the speaker ingratiates himself, how appropriately he speaks, what sources of arguments he draws upon to persuade, to embellish, to arouse emotion, how often he exemplifies many principles in a single passage, how he clothes his argument in figures of thought, and how again he combines figures of thought and word—figures to compel belief. Third, some passages similar in content and expression to the one under discussion should be referred to and other orators and poets cited who have applied the same precepts in urging some similar argument or in narrating a similar incident. Fourth, the argument itself should be confirmed by weighty authorities, if it lends itself to this. Fifth, materials from history, fables, and other learned sources that may illumine the subject should be investigated. Last of all, attention should be directed to the use of words, their fitness, beauty, fullness, and rhythm. All these varied suggestions are offered, not as though the teacher must follow them all, but only that he may choose those which seem most suited to his purpose.

Another objective of the prelection was to contribute to the erudition of the student. Erudition was understood to be knowledge about archeological, historical, geographical and other critical details of life in antiquity. It was a crucial component of the study of grammar and the humanities. A well-developed prelection broadened a student's knowledge of Roman and Greek cultures as he labored to master their languages and literature. The Jesuit teacher carefully prepared the prelection to include contextual details that he judged important. In the following example Schwickerath demonstrates the potential of this method for developing erudition:

²³ Farrell, 1970, pp. 76 and 93-94; Franca, 1952, pp. 79 and 86-87.

Thus, while reading Caesar, Roman military antiquities are explained: the legion, weapons, military roads, etc. Xenophon's *Anabasis* affords an opportunity for giving details on Greek and Persian warfare. Cicero's various works will call for explanations of the Roman constitution, courts, elections, of the different offices of Consul, Praetor, Tribune, Aedile, Pontifex; for descriptions of the forum, villas, family life, etc. Plato's *Dialogues* demand a fair knowledge of Athenian life and manners; Homer's epics can be made interesting by details of the life and customs of the heroic age of the Greeks.²⁴

Repetition

Repetition was an important exercise in Jesuit education: “*Repetitio mater studiorum was the maxim of the system*” (QUICK, 1900, p. 45). The *Ratio* insisted on repetitions throughout the humanities course, but particularly in the lower classes. Constant drilling on the same content in the beginning of the student's career ensured a solid foundation for future study. Each daily lesson had two repetitions: one at the beginning and the other at the end of the lesson. Repetition reinforced what was previously learned and what was presently being taught. Hence, the Brazilian Jesuit would have followed Rule 25: “repetition may be asked as a continuous recitation or in reply to individual questions of the teacher, while each rival corrects the mistakes of his competitor or answers the question himself if his competitor hesitates.” The directive notes that repetitions were challenged and corrected by classmates. Rule 26 follows suit and mandates repetitions for lessons taught during the previous week. These were scheduled for Saturdays or any other fixed day.²⁵ As for this weekly review, it focused on the more important topics, especially the rules of grammar, precepts of style and rhetoric. Quick (1900, p. 46) also notes that “In the three lowest classes the desire of laying a solid foundation even led to the second six months in the year being given to again going over the work of the first six months.”

Repetition and recitation strengthened and placed great reliance on memory. The ability to recall and accurately transmit essential points of the narratives of recognized authorities was believed to be subordinated to the will and therefore amenable to development through perseverance. Exercising memory when repeating or reciting lesson content was considered essential for preparing students to navigate the labyrinthine arguments in debates. In Table 10, the Particular Rule for the Rhetoric Teacher stresses the importance of repetition and suggests the actions to be taken by the teacher to develop a student's memory.

Table 10: Repetition and the Teacher of Rhetoric²⁶

Rule 20 - All that has been said on the method of teaching applies to the instruction of scholastics [Jesuit students] of the Society. In addition, scholastics are to have repetitions at home under the direction of their teacher, or before some one else whom the rector shall assign, three or four times a week for an hour and at a time the rector thinks most convenient. In these repetitions the Greek and Latin prelections are to be reviewed, and prose and verse in Latin and Greek are to be corrected. They should be bidden to cultivate their memory by learning each day some passage by heart and they must read much and attentively. Nothing, in fact, so develops resourcefulness of talent as frequent individual practice in speaking from the platform in the hall, in church, and in school opportunities which they share with externs as well as in the refectory. Finally, their verse compositions, approved by their teacher and bearing their respective signatures, should be put on exhibition in some suitable.

²⁴ See Section 2 titled “The Prelection or Explanation of the Authors” in Schwickerath, 1903, <http://www.slu.edu/colleges/AS/languages/classical/latin/tchmat/pedagogy/schw/schw2.html>

²⁵ Farrell, 1970, p. 66; Franca, 1952, p.75

²⁶ Farrell, 1970, p. 79; Franca, 1952, p. 80

Writing Exercises

The written exercise was an essential activity in the Jesuit scheme of education because it demonstrated a student's mastery of content knowledge and his communication skills. It also contributed to character formation. The Brazilian Jesuit would thus have taken to heart the six Common Rules in Table 11 and the Special Rules for the individual classes. He would have entertained the belief that through personal effort and discipline the student could will himself to develop writing competency. For a composition the teacher assigned students a theme that he selected and carefully prepared beforehand, and then systematically corrected the written product. This might have been a free essay, a translation of dictated Latin and Greek works, or a composition that imitated the narrative style and thought processes of Cicero. Short Latin themes were assigned daily and Greek themes once a week.

Table 11: Writing Exercises²⁷

<p>Rule 20 - Written work must be handed in by all the grammar classes every day but Saturday . In the other classes prose work must be handed in daily except on the recreation day and on Saturday, poetry exercises twice a week, on Monday and on the day following the weekly holiday, and a Greek composition once a week in the afternoon of a day chosen by the teacher.</p>
<p>Rule 21 - Written work is ordinarily to be corrected individually and in a low voice with each of the pupils while the others are given time to exercise their style. It will be useful, however, to select some exercises each day, now from the best, again from the worst, and at the beginning and end of the correction period to read and examine them publicly.</p>
<p>Rule 22 - The general method of correcting written work is to point out mistakes in grammar, to ask how they may be corrected, to instruct class rivals to correct publicly any mistake as soon as they notice it and to quote the rule that has been violated, and, finally, to praise work well done. While this correcting is being done publicly, the pupils are to check and correct their own first copy of the exercise which they must always bring to class in addition to the copy for the teacher.</p>
<p>Rule 23 - The written work of each pupil ought to be corrected daily by the teacher, since this leads to the very best results. If, however, there are too many pupils for this to be practicable, he should correct as many as possible so that those whom he passes over one day will be called on the next. For this reason, particularly on days when verses are handed in, he should distribute some of the exercises to be corrected by the rivals. To do this more satisfactorily, each pupil should write not only his own name but that of his rival on the reverse of the exercise. The teacher himself shall correct some exercises in the afternoon during the recitation of the memory lesson and some, if he wishes, at home.</p>
<p>Rule 24 - While he is correcting themes, the teacher should assign a variety of exercises, now one type, now another, suited to the grade of his class; for nothing slackens youthful diligence more than monotony.</p>
<p>Rule 30 - The theme for composition should not be dictated ex tempore, but should be thought out and generally written out beforehand. It should be modeled on Cicero as much as possible and take the form of narration, persuasion, congratulation, admonition, or the like. If it is dictated word for word, it should be written both in Latin and in the vernacular. The teacher should have the dictation immediately read by one of the class, and he should explain more difficult terms and furnish the pupils with words, phrases, and other aids. Except in rhetoric class, he should always advise them during the dictation how each part is to be written and punctuated. Special assignment, longer than usual, is to be given when several feast days come together or when the major and minor vacations are announced.</p>

²⁷ Farrell, 1970, pp. 65-68; Franca, 1952, pp. 74-76

Competitions

The Jesuits learned from experience that the instinct to excel is part of human nature and that it could be a powerful incentive to learn. This reasoning led the Society to emphasize honorable rivalry, *honest aemulatio*, as part of its pedagogical approach. The Jesuits believed that rivalry in the form of “emulation” or intellectual competition conducted in a respectful manner could be a pleasurable stimulus for the development of the mental faculties essential for learning (KOCH, p. 61). In the Jesuit educational system emulation engaged students in a variety of ways. There were organized contests and competitions between individuals, groups of students and classes. Rivalry was encouraged in repetitions, recitations, written work, disputations and debates, competitions for leadership, and in the bestowal of prizes and awards in language studies (FARRELL, 1970, p. 130).

A number of the Common Rules suggested forms of rivalry as part of their directives. The Jesuits, however, favored formal competitions or *concertationes between students of the same or different classes on subject matter previously learned*. These contests had the same objective in the lower classes as that of the disputations in the higher classes: that is, providing the student with an opportunity to speak about the subject matter of the lesson and answer questions about his presentation. Schwickerath (1903) describes how formal competitions would have been conducted by the Jesuit teacher:

Each pupil may have his *aemulus* or rival. The professor questions A, while B, the *aemulus* of A., is on the alert to correct his rival. Or the boys question each other mutually, while the professor merely presides to see that all goes on fairly. The whole class may be divided into two sides, which are frequently called camps or armies, as boys naturally delight in anything military. Boys of the one camp, let us say the "Carthaginians," question some of the rival camps of the "Romans," and vice versa. The leaders of the two sides keep the record of the points gained, of the corrections made by their respective side. The leaders ought to be pupils distinguished by talent, industry and good character. Different classes may also challenge each other for an extraordinary and more solemn contest, to which other classes may be invited as witnesses.²⁸

The *Ratio Studiorum* laid out three general rules for inter-class competitions. The responsibilities of the teacher are suggested in the Common Rules of Table 12. These include managing, organizing and preparing for competitions.

²⁸ See Section 4 titled “Contests” in Schwickerath, 1903, at <http://www.slu.edu/colleges/AS/languages/classical/latin/tchmat/pedagogy/schw/schw5.html>

Table 12: Competitions²⁹

<p>Rule 31 - Class contests are to be highly valued and are to be held whenever time permits, so that honorable rivalry which is a powerful incentive to studies may be fostered. It is customary in these contests to have the teacher ask the questions and the rivals correct the errors or to have the rivals question one another. Individuals or groups from opposite camps, particularly from among the officers, may be pitted against each other, or one pupil may engage several opponents. As a rule a private should seek out a private, an officer seek out an officer. Sometimes, however, a private may match his skill with an officer, and if he comes off the victor, he should be given the rank of the defeated officer or be awarded another prize or symbol of victory as the dignity of the class and local circumstances dictate.</p>
<p>Rule 34 - At different times during the year on a day agreeable to the prefect of lower studies, there should be a contest lasting an hour between classes nearest to each other in grade and on subject matter common to both. It shall be presided over by the two teachers. Two or three or more of the best of each class shall be the disputants. They may either be prepared beforehand for the questions and answers by mutual consent or they may propose whatever questions their ingenuity suggests, or one side may refute objections, especially in rhetoric, that are proposed by the other side.</p>
<p>Rule 35 - Each month, or at least every other month, officials of the camps are to be chosen and, if it seems good, rewarded too, unless in some places this seems unnecessary in rhetoric class. As a test for choice of officers, the pupils shall write in prose or, if it seems better in the higher classes, in verse or in Greek, during an entire class period. However, it may seem advisable to reserve half an hour for a contest in the lower classes. Those who write the best theme will be chosen by the chief magistrates. Those who are next highest will likewise receive positions of honor in the order of merit. To give the election an air of erudition, the titles of the officials may be taken from political or military offices in Greece or Rome. The class should be divided into two fairly equal camps to stimulate rivalry. Each camp shall have its officers opposed by those of the rival camp and each pupil shall have his rival. The chief officers of each camp should have the seats of honor.</p>

The Special Rules for teachers of grammar, humanities and rhetoric explained how competitions were to be conducted and specified what was expected of the students. The Brazilian Jesuit would have prepared his students for competitions by organizing contests and facilitating the intellectual exchanges among students, as illustrated in Table 13 for the grammar and humanities classes.

Table 13: Competitions in Grammar and Humanities Classes³⁰

<p>Rule 10 – Middle Grammar - During the class competition pupils shall call attention to the mistakes a pupil has discovered in his rival's theme, ask questions on the exercises they have been engaged on during the first hour, recite from memory expressions given them by the teacher, ask one another the translation of vernacular phrases according to the rules of syntax or in imitation of Cicero (the phrase asked should at once be repeated in the exact words by the one questioned, and after brief reflection he should translate it, not word for word, but by means of a neat Latin phrase or sentence), inflect the more difficult nouns and verbs, especially those which have occurred in the prelections, in either regular or changed order of cases and tenses, and either alone or with modifying adjective, noun or pronoun, recite rapidly from memory past participles and supines, and other similar exercises as the teacher may decide.</p>
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²⁹ Farrell, 1970, pp. 68-69; Franca, 1952, p.76

³⁰ Farrell, 1970, pp. 83 and 91; Franca, 1952, pp. 82 and 85

Rule 7 – Humanities - In class competition the matter shall be the mistakes a rival has detected in his opponent's theme, questions on topics assigned for exercise in the first hour, reciting from memory or varying the phrases given them by the teacher in the prelection, reciting or applying the rules of letter writing and of rhetoric, determining the quantity of syllables and giving the rule from memory or an example from poetry, examining into the exact meaning and derivation of words, interpreting a passage from a Latin or Greek author, inflecting and giving the principal parts of more difficult and irregular Greek verbs, and other similar matters, as the master may choose.

Final Considerations

A science of pedagogy did not exist in Ignatius's time nor in the following centuries. Yet there was an interest in pedagogical issues, especially in relation to the humanities. Humanists produced a number of respectable works that addressed the purpose and methods of educating youth. Important figures like Vittorino da Feltre, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Guarino Guarini, Johannes Sturm and Juan Luís Vives stand out because of their thoughtful publications and educational contributions (CASALINI & PAVUR, 2016, p. 29-30). Bert Roest (2003) singles out Erasmus, Vives and Melancthon, in particular, as "the apex of humanist pedagogy" because they "coupled the *studia humanitatis* with the Christian notion of *pietas*, and transformed the humanist pedagogical method into an influential programme for the education of Christian society" (p. 138).

Members of the Society also authored numerous essays and position papers on the goals, content and teaching methods of Jesuit institutions. Grendler notes that "there are nearly seven hundred pages of documents discussing and debating the organization of schools, curriculum, pedagogical practice, textbooks, and so on, in the 1540s, 1550s, and in 1560s, in the magnificent and indispensable *Monumenta paedagogica* edited by Ladislaus Lukács" (2016, p. 21). Casalini and Pavur's publication (2016) on Jesuit pedagogy from 1540 to 1616 offers a representative selection of writings that discuss Jesuit pedagogy both in theory and in practice.

In response to the concern with teaching methodology, in 1696 the Fourteenth Congregation of the Order commissioned Father Joseph de Jouvency (1643-1719) to develop a manual with suggestions on teaching classical studies. Jouvency completed his work and published his manual in Florence in 1703 under the title *Magistris scholarum inferiorum Societatis Jesu de ratione discendi et docendi (On learning and teaching for teachers of inferior studies of the Society of Jesus)*. His work became the official textbook of the Society and European Jesuits responded favorably to its pedagogical suggestions. In France, Austria and Poland Jesuit teachers found his work helpful when reflecting on the instructional requirements of the *Ratio Studiorum*. In Spain, Jouvency stimulated Spanish Jesuits to publish their own works on the teaching of the humanities. Andrés Marcos Burriel published in 1750 his *Apuntamientos para fomentar las letras humanas (Guidelines for promoting human letters)* and in 1753 Francisco Javier de Idiáquez published *Prácticas e industrias para promover las letras humanas (Practices and Activities for Promoting Human Letters)* (GÓMEZ, 2014, p. 318). There appears to be no comparable texts on pedagogy published in Portugal. As for Brazil, even though Jouvency's textbook was well-received in Europe, its usefulness to the Brazilian educator would have been short-lived with the suppression of the Society in Portugal and its colonies in 1759.

It is unknown if the Brazilian Jesuit was familiar with these pedagogical works. What can be affirmed is that humanist writings on pedagogy were available to Catholics and Protestants alike and that the Jesuit teacher might have adopted some of their practices when he felt it was appropriate. Jesuit educators were expected to implement the rules of the *Ratio Studiorum*, but some flexibility was allowed. Ignatius understood that local conditions and circumstances might justify deviations from the normal practices and were therefore permissible, but with restraint and within reason. He believed this early on when he “directed in the *Constitutions* that all provisions of the anticipated *Ratio* were to be adapted to places, times, and persons. This made it possible for the spirit of the *Ratio* to remain influential even when its concrete details became obsolete.”³¹ Such flexibility would have been evidenced in Brazil, as elsewhere.

This study consulted the *Ratio Studiorum* to identify some of the behaviors that a Brazilian Jesuit would have exhibited when teaching classical grammar, literature and rhetoric in the 17th and 18th centuries. Given the scarcity of first-hand accounts of the activities in the colleges of colonial Brazil, we may never know the degree to which the pedagogy of the Brazilian Jesuit met the expectations of the Society. However, we can assert with reasonable certainty that he was faithful to his profession and to the directives of the *Ratio*.

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³¹ Ratio Studiorum." New Catholic Encyclopedia. Accessed 8/23/2017 at <http://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/ratio-studiorum>

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