John Amos Comenius was born in the little village of Nivnice in southern Moravia in 1592, at a time of religious wars and far-reaching social changes. He grew up under the influence of the Hussite tradition, which was preserved and passed on by word of mouth in the peasant and working classes. At the height of the Thirty Years War, the defeat of the Bohemians at the Battle of the White Mountain (1620) was a bitter blow to Comenius, who lost at one fell swoop his family, house and library, and was forced to go into exile in order to remain true to his ideas. He made his way to Amsterdam, where an atmosphere of tolerance prevailed, and exiles accordingly found a haven of tranquillity and open-mindedness; perhaps it was on account of this fruitful first visit that he came back to die there in 1670 after weathering so many storms as a protagonist on the scene of European reformism.

Because of his reputation as a guiding light for all those interested in the theory and practice of political reform in depth, Comenius served as educational adviser to Cromwell in Great Britain, Mersenne in France, Oxenstierna in Sweden and Rákóczi in Hungary, endeavouring in those countries to link educational reform with social reform.

The educational reform advocated by Comenius, as may be gathered from the appended chronological survey of his works, is based on a creative and scientific approach to teaching and a 'pansophic' conception of the dimensions of human civilization. This is founded on the full and free development of the potential capacities of every individual without exception. Comenius was active at a time when the prevalent framework for the educational structure and its contents was provided by the Jesuits' Ratio studiorum. This plan of studies aimed at restoring the principle of Catholic obedience, which paid little heed to the notion of respect for the individual, points of conscience or moral principles, as the basis for the policy of the religious Counter-Reformation, viewed as a means of strengthening the Church in close alliance with the absolute monarchies of the time.

The alliance between throne and altar was the result of a political process which demanded that education should repress liberal tendencies, impose limitations on freedom of thought and action and lay emphasis on punishment and fear. It had found in the Ratio studiorum the best possible instrument for directing and co-ordinating the work of repression in the fields both of thought and of action.

Comenius carried on the European humanist tradition of the Renaissance, which was reflected in the
endeavour to liberate mankind gradually from blind obedience to taboos and forms of authority having no grounding in freely formed convictions. He followed in the footsteps of the great naturalist philosophers Nicolò Cusano (1400–64), Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), Bernardino Telesio (1509–88), Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), and Tommaso Campanella (1568–1638). He designed his anti-*Ratio studiorum*, that is to say the methodically constructed *Opera didactica omnìa*, as an instrument for bringing about a new order for Christian Europe. This would emerge from a reform of human society based on the recognition of the equal value of every man, woman and child and of each nation. The *Opera* presents a well-ordered education system constituting an inheritance that is still waiting to be claimed by the better men and women of the future.

By destroying cultural and national traditions and subjecting their most militant and representative defenders to persecution and exile, the Catholic Counter-Reformation and the triumphant Habsburg policy suppressed the stirrings of an awakening national consciousness linked to social reform, which had been given its loftiest literary and pedagogical expression in the Comenian heritage. Comenius himself realized that only a consciousness-raising approach would effectively promote the radical ideas needed to create the conditions for a democratic society and education system in which everyone could give expression to his own personality according to his needs in a humane, just and peaceful world.

Comenius combined the ideal of peace, so characteristic of the Slav people, with a rational awareness of the ends to be achieved. His ideal world is not Plato’s world of Ideas, or an imaginary Atlantis, City of the Sun, Christianopolis or Utopia, but the world as experienced by real present-day men and women eager to improve the quality of their own private lives as the first building-bricks of a universal reform.

From *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart* (1620–23) to the *Unum necessarium* (1669), Comenius followed an intellectual path leading to the construction of an educational edifice founded on peace, where everyone is called upon to make his own contribution according to his abilities.

Education is a continuous and permanent process, and each stage of life demands a specific structure and content, with appropriate teaching methods and techniques. The whole of life is a school and man spends his time on earth as a doer, a transformer and a reformer, and not only as a thinker. From the *puer* school to the *senior* school the stages of intellectual growth are interlinked in an optimistic approach to life which none the less respects its laws. Every human being is valuable, every moment is significant and every age-group has its own demands that have to be understood and respected. The teacher is not a dispenser of words but an obstetrician concerned with the beginnings of life and the development of latent powers. Hence his responsibility and dignity. Like a divine force, he has a maieutic function to perform. This is the source of the Comenian dispute with the kind of education that is obsessed with words and lays emphasis on precepts, prohibitions and formal authority and has no connection with real things, the senses, examples, action and practical work. At the same time, Comenius was the educationalist most aware of the importance of the ‘word’, of the mother tongue and of language as a means of individual expression and a vehicle for clear ideas, the analysis of structures and the communication of emotions.

Besides writing works that rank as classics of the Czech language, Comenius developed a different approach to the teaching of Latin, taking the mother tongue as its point of departure. The first functional perception of the learning mechanisms on which modern computer sciences base advanced technologies is to be found in the *Jama linguarum reserata*.

The need to be able to use one’s mother tongue, charged as it is with psychological motivation and creative emotions, as a natural means of understanding is being reaffirmed in modern education as an essential basis for the very kind of linguistic pluralism which Comenius, anticipating the migratory mobility of the contemporary world, had adopted as the principle underlying his first picture textbook, the *Orbis sensualium pictus*. Generations of Europeans learned to read from this book and the great German poet Goethe claimed to have derived from it his sense of the universalistic significance of man and culture. Side by side with the mother tongue there were placed other related languages so as to induce the reader, in a kind of learning game, to compare the different words applying to the illustrations and, for this purpose, to perform a plurilingual mental exercise.

The approach thought out by Comenius was not merely an educational stratagem, since it sprang from the conviction that the gateways to consciousness are emotional as well as rational. In this context, he included Latin among the languages spoken in Europe, for at that time Latin was the favoured vehicle for communication among scholars.

The multilingual approach to reading and writing has acquired an even more topical significance today now that the technical means of communication have become so widespread and diversified. It achieves good didactic results by setting each word apart in its own area of semantic meaning and in its relationships with the environment, from which its essential functional role can be deduced. It is the instrument of a type of education that encourages diversity and the mutual respect of differences, thus creating the need to speak more languages in order to make
oneself understood by more people. The comparison between the various languages affords evidence of the diversity of didactic methods, for Latin is taught as a language of communication participating with the other languages in the natural, social and physical environment suggested by the illustrated text, in a spirit of playful creativity. The systematic mastery of linguistic expression calls for mathematical logic and scientific clarity as the *elaxis et janua* of thought, while the naming of things and facts, *res por res docecantur*, helps to increase the reader's knowledge of both the natural and the spiritual worlds.

The awareness of the value of the gradualist approach to teaching, which utilizes every method and technique that may prove useful and is linked to the stages of life and their inherent needs, finds concrete expression in the comparative method which is conducive, among other things, to the establishment of a correspondence between what is very close and familiar and what is more distant and unfamiliar and can be glimpsed by intuition.

While joining in the effort to tackle the problem of method with the best intellectual instruments available, thus addressing himself to the same themes as Galileo, Descartes, Ratke, Bacon, Alsted and Elia Bodino, Comenius perceived methodological areas and dimensions that had been overlooked, or in some respects underestimated, by the specifically rationalist tradition, which was very much concerned with the need for clarity and analysis. Applying the method of the observation of natural phenomena to social phenomena, he found that if one succeeds in firmly grasping one phenomenon, it is possible, by analogy, to establish a connection with others, and from this to draw conclusions as to their characteristics. This procedure, which is considered to be at the root of the discipline of comparative education, leads to the perception that a unifying principle underlies the variety of the world. Comenius was the first to analyse and apply the comparative method to educational problems and his *Janua linguarum reserata*, which reflects the same line of thought as his other works, is rightly regarded as the standard methodological guide for comparative linguistics.

It is of no little significance that, according to experts on Comenius, it was while he was working on his methodology (1630) that he rose above, and became detached from, the limitations of nationality and religious persuasion, for the sake of a universalistic and organic scale of values. His awareness of educational and intellectual tension led Comenius to conceive of a harmonious and co-ordinated system that would do justice to the great diversity of ideas, characters, languages and nations. This aspiration gave birth to the pansophic ideal. Comenius turned upside down his contemporaries' concern with an encyclopedic kind of unity and stressed instead the need for a syncretic approach to knowledge, attaching more importance to vertically rather than horizontally directed thinking, to quality than to quantity and to comparison and the perception of organic unity than to analysis and the identification of subdivisions.

In the eyes of Comenius, the world of comparable things defines the area to be covered by human knowledge. According to the syncretic method, the aim of getting to know another person is not to clarify one's own thoughts, but to learn something about his thought and his language. The syncretic or pansophic method is also a mode of inquiry based on dialogue, which, besides resembling the one used by Socrates and the Sophists, can serve as an instrument for gaining an insight into human problems and historical developments.

At the psychological level, this reflects the insatiable curiosity of John Amos as an individual. It also explains certain contradictions in his work, his ingenuity and the persistence of some obscurities as regards the relations between science, philosophy and religion. Comenius was a man of his time, imbued with Aristotelian scholasticism and the anti-Copernican ideas prevalent in his environment, and so his work cannot be modernized in every respect. However, his original intuitions gave him a glimpse of potentialities that can now become realities thanks to modern technology. For example, in linguistic research, he attempted, by using the comparative method, to find an inherent structural feature of human language that would enable him, through a process of deduction, to perceive the unifying and logical pattern of the whole. Likewise, in the field of didactics, where he discussed the teaching methods to be used in a system based on the concept of cyclical and concentric education, Comenius rejected the encyclopedic idea of learning by rote and laid emphasis instead on the importance of grasping the logical interrelationship of everything in the world. It is on this basis that educational experiments in the teaching of mathematics have given good results.

The application of pansophic ideas to teaching called for the preparation of school textbooks suited to the various levels of education (nursery school, primary school, Latin school, university), together with manuals for teachers, also differentiated according to the level of the school. In carrying out this task (he himself wrote the texts for both pupils and teachers), he came to realize that the training of teachers is not an introductory course of study that comes to an end with the commencement of professional activity, but a continuous process of learning through experience at every moment of the educational relationship established with the pupil at school. The updating of a teacher's knowledge in the course of his professional activity is closely related to the pupil's encounters with difficulties, analogies and comparisons during the learning process. It was
necessary, in the interest of methodological unity, to produce appropriate textbooks, but the creativity of the educational relationship depended on more than could be found in a textbook. Comenius accordingly laid stress on the interaction between the education received by the child on the one hand in his family and on the other at school, especially in the ‘nursery school’, which he regarded as particularly important for the subsequent development of the child.

The concept of cyclical education plays a major role in the teaching methods proposed by Comenius. From birth up to the age of 24, man was to be equipped with the knowledge that would be of use to him during his life. The educational process was divided into four six-year periods, according to the type of school (nursery, primary, Latin, university), which corresponded to the stages of man’s physical and psychological development. Each stage served as an introduction to the next and at none of the stages could education claim to have finished its task.

In his Brief Proposal for the Regeneration of Schools in the Kingdom of Bohemia, Comenius emphasized the political aspect of elementary education, which is being investigated today in studies jointly undertaken by educationalists engaged in the most advanced research at the international level (OECD, Council of Europe, etc.). Discussing this political aspect, Comenius expressed the view that the ‘vernacular’ school should not confine itself to teaching the ‘skills’ of reading and writing, but should be fundamentally concerned with imparting knowledge of everything that may be of assistance to man’, that is to say, a store of general knowledge based on the interests of the child and of the world in which he will have to live. It is interesting to note his insistence on the need for the teacher to set forth the facts that are useful to the children and explain them in a pleasant, almost playful way ‘within a quarter of an hour’, so as to avoid the boredom of lessons devoted simply to the accumulation of information or to memorization. Closely related to this is the requirement that school work should include practical experimentation and physical activity as well as oral instruction and that the teacher should use the means at his disposal to help the pupil to understand the full significance of what he has learned and to develop his capacities. Of special importance, therefore, is Comenius’ definition of the school as a ‘workshop’, where everyone plays an active role and knows at every moment what he should be doing, discussing or teaching (mutual instruction). Pragmatism is thus combined with the pansophic outlook, and intuitionism (man’s participation in divine harmony through rationality) provides the educational motivation for the teacher’s efforts to collaborate with nature rather than coercing it, and to follow its lead and stimulate its processes, taking into account each pupil’s personal inclinations. Educational work of this kind has a religious value because the teacher is aware from the very outset of the divine presence in every human being’s innate potential. The teacher is not estranged from the believer and in his educational activity he fosters the creative becoming initiated by God. Unlike Descartes’ innate ideas, Comenius’ ‘seeds’ are not complete in themselves and cannot therefore constitute fixed starting-points for the attempt to achieve methodological certainty. They must be developed, cultivated, respected and their needs recognized in order to enable them to attain to the excellence and completeness of which they are capable. They therefore postulate the existence of final causes and are closely related to the pansophic view of things.

All educators, whether they be those of the family, the school, the state or the church, have a duty to work towards the objective of peace, in a spirit of mutual respect.

Concepts such as these seem to be taken for granted today and are accepted by everyone, at least verbally. But we must bear in mind the historical and political context in which Comenius developed his theories. It was the period of the wars of religion and the Counter-Reformation, a time of intolerance when people were driven into exile because of their views. Yet Comenius aspired to the establishment of a world order in which the unity, as well as the diversity, of all men would be recognized, with each individual enriching the other through his presence and action. Although he was exiled on religious grounds, like Bembo and Contarini, he pleaded in favour of a reconciliation between Catholicism and Protestantism in the name of a higher form of piety. He saw pansophy as the unity of all creatures in God, whatever their religious or doctrinal background.

In the political field, pansophy advocates the unity of all states in a spirit of brotherhood and of mutual respect for ethnic and national entities. In the field of logic, besides arguing in favour of the unification of the sciences, it seeks to prove the organic unity of the very concept of culture. In the field of education, its approach is designed to lead from an understanding of the harmony of nature (the cosmos) to the recognition of the harmony of culture (values). It was Albert Schweitzer who pointed out the significance for the development of human society of Comenius’ appeal to the scholars of his day to address themselves to the problems that had to be solved in order to improve the living conditions of every human being. And Leibniz recognized that the age in which Comenius lived was not ready to receive his message. He saw, in fact, that Comenius, because of his modernity, would exercise his full influence only on future generations.

Comenius was a legislator as well as an educational theorist. The texts in which he dealt with the educational reform to be carried out in the schools of the Kingdom of Bohemia, Hungary and England include
the demand that schools be empowered, just like states, to draw up their own rules, *justa propria principia*, taking fully into account the *reverentia* due to the child and what he needs in order to achieve self-fulfilment by developing his innate abilities, and always bearing in mind the ultimate objective that education sets itself. In this context, Comenius lays emphasis on a number of basic principles which constitute the *raison d'être* of education.

First, in the scale of social values every occupation has its own dignity. The 'divine' calling of the teacher should be open to anyone possessing the requisite gifts, having regard to the delicacy of the tasks he will have to perform. The state must therefore pay teachers a good salary so as to secure great respect for their status and ensure that their work is not adversely affected by possible attempts at social or financial blackmail. But at the same time Comenius requires teachers to undergo a training designed to foster their regard for human and cultural values, so that they may become 'living examples' of civilized behaviour and shall be recognized as 'spiritual parents' capable of respecting the integrity of the child's consciousness and attaining the pansophic ideal.

Second, the school curriculum should equip the pupils with knowledge about everything that they are likely to encounter in their daily lives. Without being hampered by preconceived ideas as to subject-matter or by taboos to be avoided, the school must be linked to every aspect of life.

There must also be a living relationship between the school and its pupils from the architectural point of view. The effects of light, colours and the child's position on the school-bench, as well as the usefulness of teaching aids, were part and parcel of Comenius' conception of education. One of the teaching aids he favoured was the theatre, not only because watching plays was a natural and pleasant way of observing the realities of the social environment and thereby gaining an insight into human behaviour, but also because acting gave the pupil an opportunity to exercise his powers of self-expression using speech (taking due account of the effects of silences, pauses, tones of voice) and also his face, hands, eyes and his whole personality. By identifying himself with the objects of his observation, the pupil developed a readiness to enter into a dialogue with other people in an effort to understand them. Moreover, theatrical make-believe was a means of inducing him to hold a dialogue with himself and look at his own behaviour in a critical light. This is yet another of Comenius' recommendations which give an idea of the fruitfulness of the concept of the school as a 'workshop of men'.

Third, Comenius was the first to propound the idea of every child's inherent right to education, whatever his *status*. Education was for everyone, men and women, young and old, nobles and commoners, rich and poor, farmers and porters, craftsmen and labourers, the feeble-minded, the stupid, the criminal, the blind, the deaf, the disabled, etc. This right derived from the principle that every human being was born to develop his personality to the full. According to Comenius, the right to education implied the satisfaction, not only of a natural need for social advancement, for assistance in improving one's lot, but also of a cultural need for mutual enrichment, for forms of activity conducive to the manifestation of the divinity in each human being. As a prophet of democracy, Comenius heralded the principle of education for everybody without exception. This principle was closely related to social and political reform. Indeed, he relied on the school to make it possible to attain the prime political objective of transforming the statutory basis of church and state, particularly through the education of future political leaders.

Comenius' systematically developed theory that the educational journey from the cradle to the grave presupposes the co-ordination of the permanent function of educational institutions with the educational role of society is closely connected with a conception of the political organization of mankind as consisting of the gradual development of institutions contributing, each in its own field, to the pattern of the educational and social fabric. Thus, gradual development is the principle on which Comenius bases both his educational methodology and the power structure. The network of links spreads out from the individual to the family, the village, the city, the region, the nation, Europe, the other continents, the whole of mankind and God. All groups are interdependent and nobody has exclusive responsibility for education. This kind of educational outlook was in advance of its age in terms of both space and time. Comenius counted on scientists and teachers to hasten the necessary ripening process, and it is a task that we still have a duty to pursue and bring to completion for the sake of every human being.

In the labyrinth of life, Comenius, searching, amidst so many sufferings and difficulties, for what is essential, pointed to 'the paradise of the heart', the symbol of man's conscience, as the basis for social action aimed at improving the lot of mankind. Institutions serve no purpose in the absence of this interior edifice.

Giuliana LIMITI
University of Rome
## Chronology of the life and works of John Amos Comenius

### Life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1592</td>
<td>Born in Nivačice.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1608</td>
<td>Grammar school studies in Přerov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1610</td>
<td>Studied at the University of Herborn; read Ratke's <em>De studiorum rectificanda methodo consilium</em> and was inspired by it to study the science of education.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1612</td>
<td>Continued his studies at the University of Heidelberg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1614</td>
<td>Served as a teacher at Přerov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1616</td>
<td>Became a minister in the church known as the Unitas Fratrum Bohemorum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1618</td>
<td>Outbreak of the Thirty Years War. Served as a teacher and minister at Fulnek.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1620</td>
<td>Defeat of the Bohemians at the White Mountain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1623</td>
<td>3 May. During the sack of Fulnek by imperial troops, he lost his family, his house and his library, which was publicly burned.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1626</td>
<td>First visit to Holland.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1627</td>
<td>While living in hiding in the mountains of Bohemia, he read Bodin's <em>Didactica</em>, which gave a further stimulus to his studies. An imperial edict forced the reformers to go into exile. Comenius fled the country.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1608</td>
<td>Started to compile the <em>Thesaurus linguae Bohemicae</em> (Treasury of the Bohemian Language), a phraseological and stylistic dictionary, on which he continued to work for years. The manuscript was lost in the fire of Leszno in 1656.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1614</td>
<td>Stimulated by his reading of Ratke's work and drawing on his own teaching experience, he wrote the <em>Grammaticae facilioris præepta</em> (Principles of a Simpler Approach to Grammar), the first of his school textbooks (1st ed., Prague, 1616).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1616</td>
<td>During the following years he worked on an encyclopedia, <em>Theatrum universitatis rerum</em> (The Theatre of All Things), in the introduction to which he enumerates the subjects lacking in Bohemian culture which he intends to develop. He planned to accompany the <em>Theatrum</em> by an <em>Amphitheatrum</em> and also by a <em>Theatrum scripturae</em>, which he completed and published later on. During the years when the Bohemians were suffering heavy reverses, he wrote books on theological and moral subjects, many of which were autobiographical. They included the <em>Labyrinthus sveta d rdj srdece</em> (The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart) which he was to return to in the last years of his life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1627</td>
<td>Started work on the <em>Didaktika česká</em> (Bohemian Didactic), the first version of the <em>Didactica magna</em>, conceived as part of a collection of writings to be entitled <em>Ráj český o Ráji Ctrkve</em> (The Bohemian Paradise or Paradise of the Church). His <em>Navržení krátké o obnově škol o králostit čestkém</em> (Brief Proposal for the Regeneration of Schools in the Kingdom of Bohemia) (1st ed., Prague, 1649) may have been a first attempt to carry out this project.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Life**

1628

3 February. In exile at Leszno, in Poland: engaged in teaching and in writing his first co-ordinated series of books on education.

**LESZNO PERIOD**

Between 1628 and 1633, he wrote the following books on education: *Informatorium sloby mateřské* (Book for Nursery-school Teachers) (1st ed., Leszno, 1633), which was published first in German and later in Latin in *Opera didactica omnia*; this was followed by the series entitled *Vernaculæ scholæ classis sex libelli* (Six Booklets for the National School Classes: Violarium, Rosarium, Viridarium, Labyrinthus, Balsamentum, Paradisus. Next came the *Janua linguarum reserata* (The Gate of Languages Unlocked) (1st ed., Leszno, 1631), conceived as ‘a seed-plot of all arts and sciences’, which superseded his first textbook on the *Simpler Approach to Grammar* and was immediately translated into several languages. Lastly, as an easy introduction to the *Janua* he wrote *Januae linguarum reseratae vestibulum* (Vestibule to the Gate of Languages Unlocked). In the following years, Comenius remained active in the educational field, explaining the use of his manuals for teachers in the towns that adopted them and making plans to improve and expand them. The culmination of this continuous educational activity was the translation into Latin of the *Didaktika česká*, as the *Didactica magna* (The Great Didactic), which was to be the first work in the series subsequently published in the *Opera didactica omnia* (Complete Didactic Works). During the same period, the original plan to write a *Janua rerum* (Gate of Things) as a companion volume to the *Janua linguarum* or to co-operate with other scholars in writing a *Templum latinitatis* (Temple of Latin Civilization) (1636) or a *Templum sapientiae* (Temple of Wisdom) developed into the project of ‘pansophic’ research into universal knowledge which resulted in the drafting of *Pansophiae prodromus* (Introduction to Pansophy) (1st ed., London, 1637). This was sent to English friends ing askfor their private opinions, and was published by them without his knowledge.

**Works**

1638

He was invited to Sweden to reform the school system. Although he declined the invitation, it encouraged him to translate the *Didaktika česká* into Latin with a view to having it distributed throughout Europe.

1639

In reply to the comments received on the *Pansophiae prodromus*, he wrote the *Conatuum pansophicorum dilucidatio* (Explanation of the Endeavours of the Pansophists) (1st ed., London, 1639). In the meantime, he published separately a number of scientific writings, which formed part of his pansophic research, including *Physica ad lumen divinum reformanda* (Towards a Reform of Physics in Accordance with Divine Light) (1st ed., Leipzig, 1639).
1641 At Parliament's invitation (23 September), he travelled to England to collaborate in the founding of a college of learned men.

1642 At Mersenne's suggestion, he was invited to France by Richelieu to reform the school system. On Richelieu's death the project was dropped. July. Meeting with Descartes and Endegest. August. Comenius travelled to Switzerland to discuss school reform with Oxenstierna. He resolved to give up his pansophic plans and return to education.

4 February. In a letter (possibly to Ludovic de Geer) he mentioned the idea of a work made up of a Pansophia and a Pampaedia, his first recorded use of that term.

He wrote Via lucis (The Way of Light) in which he proposed a general reform of cultural and political life. He was prevented from publishing it by the crisis in England, but it was eventually published in Holland (1st ed., Amsterdam, 1668). His Consultationis brevissima delineatio (A Very Brief Description of the Consultation) dates from the same period. It was the first real outline of what was to be his great work, De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica (A General Consultation concerning the Improvement of Human Affairs). The plan that Comenius already had in mind was very close to that which he finally adopted, with the Pampaedia as the centre of a triad, opened and closed in turn by a twofold introduction and a twofold conclusion:

4. Pampaedia
3. Pansophia
2. Panaugia
1. Panegersia
5. Panglottia
6. Panorthosia
7. Panmathesia

ELBLAG PERIOD

1642 17 October. At Elblag, in the Swedish part of Poland.

1644 24 August. Took part in the Council of Orlag.

1645 28 August to 20 September. The Colloquium charitaticium of Thorum. Comenius wrote several memoranda for the delegates of the Unitas fratrum.

1646 Returned to Sweden for a few days to discuss his pansophic plans.

1648 Summer. Beginning of his second stay at Leszno, 24 October. Peace of Westphalia; the Bohemian claims were ignored.

He started work on the Linguarum methodus novissima (Newest Method of Language Instruction) (1st ed., Leszno, 1648) which, like the Didactica, was to provide the theoretical basis for a new series of handbooks: Vestibulum latinae linguae/Vorthür der lateinischen sprache (Vestibule to the Latin Language) (1st ed., Leszno, 1649), a new bilingual Latin–German version of the preceding Januae linguarum reseratae vestibulum; Latinae lingue Janua reserata/Die offene Thür der lateinischen Sprache (The Open Gate to the Latin Language) (1st ed., Leszno, 1649), a new bilingual, Latin–German version of the preceding Januae linguarum reserata, which was followed by a Grammatica Janualis (Grammar of the Gate) with Annotationes super grammatico novam janualem (Notes on the New Grammar of the Gate), and lastly a Lexicon januale latino-germanicum (Latin–German Lexicon of the Gate) (1st ed., Leszno, 1649). The Latinisatis atrium (The Atrium of Latin Civilization), with its companion works Grammatica atrialis (Grammar of the Atrium) and Lexicon atriale (Lexicon of the Atrium), remained unpublished.
### Reviews

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life</th>
<th>Works</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SÁROSPATAK PERIOD</strong></td>
<td>After explaining his project for a pansophic school in a few short texts, he wrote the <em>Scholae pannopolicae classibus septem adormandae delineatio</em> (Plan of a Seven-grade Pansophic School) and this was followed by other brief commentaries. Subsequently, in response to a request for a shorter period of schooling, he drew up a new proposal in the form of the <em>Schola latina tribus classibus divisa</em> (The Three-grade Latin School), which introduced the third series of his 'school instruction' handbooks: <em>Eruditionis scholasticae; Pars prima: Vestibulum</em> (School Instruction; Part One: Vestibule), followed in this case too by the necessary practical tools: <em>Rudimenta grammaticae</em> (Rudiments of Grammar), <em>Repertorium vestibulare sive Lexici latini rudimentum</em> (Repertory of the Vestibule or Rudiments of Latin Vocabulary) and the <em>Commonefactio ad praeceptorem</em> (Instructions for Teachers); <em>Pars secunda: Janua</em> (School Instruction; Part Two: The Gate), again followed by a <em>Lexicon</em>, a <em>Grammatica</em>, a <em>Historiola</em> and <em>Annotationes</em>; <em>Pars tertia: Atrium</em> (School Instruction; Part Three: Atrium) accompanied by a <em>Praefatio ad praeceptorem</em> (Preface for the Teacher), the <em>In latinitatis atrium ingressio</em> (Entrance to the Atrium of Latin Civilization) and the <em>Lexicon latino-latinum</em>, which was published in Amsterdam (1st ed., 1657). There followed the <em>continuatio</em> of his Sárospatak writings, which included the <em>Praecepta morum</em> (Rules of Life), the <em>Leges scholae bene ordinate</em> (Rules of a Well-regulated School) and, lastly, two educational works that were to prove successful for several generations: <em>Orbis sensualium pictus</em> (The Visible World in Pictures) (1st ed., Nuremberg, 1658), which is a <em>Lucidarium</em>, or illustrated aid, to accompany the <em>Vestibule</em> and the <em>Porta</em>, and <em>Schola ludus</em> (School as Play) (1st ed., Sárospatak, 1654), which is a dramatized version of the <em>Porta</em>. From this period is dated the <em>Artificii legendi et scribendi tirocinium</em> (Elements of the Art of Reading and Writing), which may perhaps be regarded as a preliminary draft for the <em>Pampaedia</em>.</td>
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<td><strong>1650</strong></td>
<td>May. At the invitation of Zsigmond Rákóczi, he moved to Sárospatak in Hungary, where he started work on a third series of books on education.</td>
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<td><strong>1654</strong></td>
<td>30 June. Returned for the third time to Leszno.</td>
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<td><strong>1655</strong></td>
<td>Dispersal of the Sárospatak school on account of an epidemic of plague. Comenius lost track of those of his texts that were in the press at the time.</td>
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<td><strong>1656</strong></td>
<td>29 April. The fire of Leszno: Comenius lost, <em>inter alia</em>, the manuscript of <em>Thesaurus linguae Bohemicae</em> and the portion of the <em>Consultatio Catholica</em> that had already been printed.</td>
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<td><strong>AMSTERDAM PERIOD</strong></td>
<td>During this period, Comenius saw to the publication of the <em>Opera didactica omnia</em> (Complete Didactic Works): <em>Pars I</em>, written between 1627 and 1642 (Leszno period), 482 pp.; <em>Pars II</em>, written between 1642 and 1650 (Elblag period), 461 pp.; <em>Pars III</em>, written between 1650 and 1654 (Sárospatak period), 1,024 pp.; <em>Pars IV</em>, new</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1656</strong></td>
<td>August. Final move to Amsterdam.</td>
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<td><strong>1657</strong></td>
<td>Published his educational writings in two volumes.</td>
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writings produced in 1657 (in Amsterdam), 124 pp., with short prefaces, dedications, linking paragraphs and conclusions which, together with the prefaces and autobiographical notes contained in previous writings republished on this occasion, provide material of the highest importance for understanding the development of Comenius' thought. The brief writings in Part IV are as follows: *Vita gyrus* (Life is a Circle); *Parvulis parvulus* (The Child for Children), designed to serve as an *Auctarium*, i.e. a supplement to the *Vestibolo* and the *Porta*; *Apologia* (A defence of the approach to Latin adopted in the *Porta*); *Ventralum sapientiarum* (The Winnowing of Wisdom); *Ex labrynthis scholastice exitus* (The Way Out of the Educational Labyrinth); *Latium redivido* (Latium Reborn); *Typographum vivum* (A Typography for our Time); *Paradisus juventutis christianae reducens* (The Paradise to be Regained for Christian Youth); *Traditio lampadis* (Handing on the Lamp); *Paralipomena didactica* (Supplementary Notes to Educational Writings) (1st ed., Amsterdam, 1657).

Closely linked to the *Opera didactica omnia* is the *Synopsis methodi linguarum novissimae* (Synopsis of the Newest Method of Language Instruction) (1st ed., Amsterdam, 1657), an *informatomum* for school administrators and teachers in Amsterdam.

Concurrently with the printing of the *Opera didactica omnia*, Comenius gave the final sections of the *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica* (A General Consultation concerning the Improvement of Human Affairs) to be printed, intending to present a few advance copies to scholars and people in power.

The printing of a few copies of the following writings was completed in the course of 1656–57: *Praefatio ad europaeos* (Preface to the Europeans); *Panagersia* (Universal Awakening) (1st ed., Halle, 1702; Czech translation, 1895); *Panagia* (Universal Dawning).

The fate of the other parts was as follows: *Pansophia* (Universal Knowledge): twelve pages were printed and the rest remained in manuscript; *Pampaedia* (Universal Education) (Czech translation, 1948; Latin–German: Heidelberg, 1960) remained in manuscript; *Panortosia* (Universal Reform) (Czech translation, 1950): nine chapters and part of the tenth were printed; *Panuthesia* (Universal Admonition), which, written after 1664, was printed but subsequently lost, except for twelve chapters and part of the thirteenth; *Panglottia* (Universal Language Study), preceded by the *Novae harmoniae linguae tentamen primum* (First Attempt to Devise
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28 May. Comenius was invited to give an account of his pansophic projects to the Royal Society of London.

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a New Harmonious Language), which was written in 1665 and 1666, remained in manuscript.
To these must be added the *Lexicon reale pansophicum* (Universal Scientific Vocabulary).
A complete edition of the whole of the *Consultatio* has been brought out by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (Prague, 1966).
The remainder of his life was spent reworking and editing his previous writings and in making political and religious appeals for peace and universal reform to several countries—Holland, England, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia.
These writings included the *Theatrum scripturae* (The Theatre of the Sacred Scriptures), planned in his youth as a companion to *Theatrum universitatis rerum* (1st ed., 1661); *Lux e tenebris* (A Light Shining in the Darkness) (1st ed., 1663), accompanied by a *History of Prophecies*, including a reprint of the prophecies of Kotter, Drabik and Poniatowska, which he had already had printed in 1657; *Labyrinthus svaeta a rabi srdce* (The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart) (1st ed., 1663); *Clamores Eliae* (The Exhortations of Elijah) (1st ed., 1665); *Angelus pacis* (The Angel of Peace), addressed to the negotiators of the peace between Holland and England (1st ed., 1667); *Unum necessarium* (The One Thing Necessary) (1st ed., 1669).

1670. 15 or 25 November. Comenius died in Amsterdam.