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re-university textbooks at the beginning of the 19th century: Grammar, Rhetoric and Philosophy

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abstract

Over the course of the 19th century, a new field of publishing would appear: that of school textbooks. Although classes had seen textbooks before, it would be over the course of an entire century that they would gain a huge foothold in schools. This article studies the school textbooks of a generation, that of 1817, and focuses on one figure: that of the Catalan thinker Jaume Balmes. Coverage is given to the first textbooks on grammar, rhetoric and philosophy to be used in classes at the Vic Seminary, books that not only allow us to understand the education of said philosopher and the methods of an educational institution, but which also show us the ideological resources of an entire epoch and culture.

key words

Balmes, school textbooks, rhetoric, philosophy, grammar.

The handbooks

To understand a period of history and the conditions under which knowledge was created, attention must also be paid to how a society educated its people¹. One needs to look at the material conditions of schools and education centres, study the ideological presuppositions and the makeup of the educational establishment and there is also, obviously, a need to understand the legislation

1 This article forms part of the *Universitat Ramon Llull's* Philosophy Faculty's research project *La escuela estética catalana y sus aportaciones a la estética española (1800-1936)* (The Catalan school of aesthetics and its contributions to Spanish aesthetics), financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, FFI2009-07158 (FISO sub-programme).

governing the education of the period. However, it is all too often forgotten that generations are shaped by the textbooks students copied and learned by heart. Textbooks that ended up infusing the vocabulary, words, sounds, images and ideas of each of those making up that generation. Providing a brief description of those books can help us to understand the clichés, images, and common places of the individuals who learned from them. It can also help us grasp on what basis and against what some authors clashed.

There was an explosion in the output of these handbooks in the 19th century. In Spain, and even more so in Catalunya, a race began to conquer the new market, a race that would last the entire century. This article will study one specific generation, that of the Catalan thinker Jaume Balmes (1810-1848). It will look at only those first textbooks of grammar, rhetoric and philosophy that shaped the generation of students of the Vic Seminary who began studying there in 1817. These textbooks were not exclusive to one city or educational centre, but instead to a state or, as we shall see, a culture embracing all of Europe. Jaume Balmes had an initial education of eight school years, over the course of which he learned from little more than 18 different textbooks. At the same age, but two hundred years later, a student of the same city, going to school 300 short metres from where he studied, will, over the same eight school years, use 109 textbooks. It is clear that a new market has imposed itself, with a new vocabulary, new images, new sounds, new clichés and common unknown ground.

Balmes and the Vic Seminary

The studies followed by Balmes at the Vic Seminary spanned what we would today call primary, secondary and baccalaureate education. This education (except for that followed at university) was spread over three great educational blocks: grammar, which took three years, two school years of rhetoric and three of philosophy. With this knowledge, you could go to university. Balmes studied grammar from 1817 to 1820, rhetoric from 1820 to 1822 (almost coinciding with the *Trienio Liberal*) and philosophy from 1820 to 1823.

The sole mission of both grammar and rhetoric was to teach children every aspect of language. They were educated to express themselves properly in Spanish and Latin, both spoken and written. Language was regarded as an essential foundation for subsequent education and seen as an indispensable vehicle for knowledge.

Today, on the other hand, philosophy is in Spain a subject that forms part of the baccalaureate. In Balmes's times, it consisted of a range of knowledge that prepared students for higher studies. It included logic and mathematics (in

the first year), physics (in the second) and ethics and metaphysics (in the third). He left school well educated in grammar and rhetoric but disappointed in philosophy. In fact, it was the education system that failed him. Although children learned Latin and Spanish for the purpose of making them the vehicle for subsequent knowledge, philosophy did not equip them with either the critical attitude characteristic of the subject or any clarificatory content. Teaching methods were also not the most suitable, with only memorisation being worked on.

By way of summary of the courses and teachers Balmes had in philosophy, Father Casanovas wrote:

“It is not in the least surprising that Balmes finished his philosophy courses disenchanted. They were poor and misshapen. Nobody could think for himself, or showed any interest in understanding what the great talents thought.”²

Legislation and syllabi

We have seen how Balmes entered the Vic Seminary in 1817, at the age of seven. What was taught to boys starting to study grammar at the beginning of the 19th century? Essentially, just that: grammar. But what grammar? Let us look at the legislation of the time, be it in the form of background or regulating provisions.

One should first bear in mind Charles III's *Real Cédula* of 23 June 1768, in which the king proclaimed: “*Lastly, I order that the teaching of First Letters, Latinity and Rhetoric be carried out in the Spanish language generally, wherever it may be that it is not practised, with the respective Courts and Justices ensuring compliance, with my Council also recommending strict observance to Diocesans, Universities and Higher Authorities.*”³

Additionally, the Spanish Constitution of 1812 stressed the requirement that the entire population be able to read and write, and established the deadline of 1830 for achieving this goal. Article 366 stated that *In all the towns of the Monarchy, primary education schools shall be established in which children shall be*

2 Ignasi CASANOVAS, *Balmes. La seva vida. El seu temps. Les seves obres* (Balmes, his life, times and work). Biblioteca Balmes, Barcelona, 1932. Vol. I, p. 57.

3 *The Real Cédula* (Royal Decree) of his Majesty after consultation with the gentlemen of the Council reducing the tariffs of procedural duties to reales de vellón in the entire Crown of Aragon and so that the entire Kingdom acts and teaches in the Spanish language and other things expressed. Antonio Sanz, King's Printer, 1768, Paragraph VII, p. 4.

*taught to read, write and count, and the catechism of the Catholic religion, which shall also include a brief explanation of civic duties*⁴. To carry this out, it created a *Dirección General de Estudios* (Directorate-General of Studies), whose basic function was to inspect public education. Even so, municipal councils were made responsible for ensuring all infants attended school, for creating the number of schools necessary for this, for appointing teachers and for paying them.

Lastly, mention must be made of the *Resolution on the draft decree on the general arrangement of public education*, resulting from the *Report on the Board created by the Regency to propose measures for arranging the different branches of public instruction*, better known as the Quintana Report. The *Resolution* was signed in Madrid on 7 March 1814, and the Quintana Report published on 9 September 1813. The *Resolution* was not put into specific force until the *Reglamento General de instrucción pública* (General Regulation on Public Instruction) of 29 June 1821. It is nevertheless useful in showing us the “educational atmosphere” of the time. It states that there are three stages to the education of the people: primary, secondary and tertiary education. It recognised the two educational networks, private and public. Although private education can choose its own curriculum, the latter must be uniform and free of charge. For primary education, it proposed: *reading with understanding and writing with clarity and good spelling, and also the elementary rules of mathematics, imbuing the spirit with the dogmas of religion and the leading maxims of good morals and good upbringing, learning, in short, their main rights and duties as citizens, one thing and another by means of clear, brief and concise catechisms is as much as can and ought to be taught to a child...*⁵

However, the educational reforms proposed by the 1812 constitution were stopped in their tracks by the ascension of Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne (14 March 1814). The monarch declared all the acts of the Cádiz *Cortes* invalid (4 May 1814). His Royal Decree of 19 November 1815 calls for the Church (bishops and religious orders) to create schools. This was an attempt to pass on to the Church the high cost to the Spanish state of the creation and upkeep of schools, especially those for the most disadvantaged. As the King said: *The current straitened circumstances of my Royal Exchequer do not allow for the setting aside for these schools [referring those for the poor] as great a sum as for such an interesting object would be required; but the convents of all religious orders, spread throughout my kingdoms, can in great measure make good this impossibility, and I do not doubt that they will do so in honour of their own institutes, which are*

4 *Constitución política de la monarquía española promulgada en Cádiz el 19 de marzo de 1812* (Political Constitution of the Spanish monarchy framed in Cadiz on 19 March 1812). Imprenta de Gaspar, Barcelona, 1820. Title IX *De la instrucción pública* (On Public Education). P. 120.

5 *Obras completas del Excmo. Sr. D. Manuel José Quintana* (The complete works of His Excellency Sr. Manuel José Quintana), Biblioteca de autores españoles, Madrid, 1852, p. 178.

*founded on the basis of charity; in due correspondence to the alms and goods that have and do come out of the towns where there are founded... ”*⁶

However, Spanish seminaries did not follow the plans laid down by governments, but instead applied the regime established in the constitutions given by the bishops of each of the dioceses, although they did attempt not to question Charles III's *Real Cédula*. Vic followed the syllabus drawn up by the Seminary's Professor of Rhetoric, Segimon Pou i Comella de Palau⁷, in 1787. From his experience as a teacher, and his knowledge of other syllabi used in other Chairs of Grammar, and before moving to Barcelona, Pou drew up his *Study Plan or Method for the Classes of Grammar and Rhetoric of the Royal Conciliar Seminary of the City of Vich*⁸. This syllabus was updated, a year before Balmes entered the Seminary, by Josep Sala⁹, Vicar General of the Bishopric of Vic, who in 1816 produced a *Study Plan for the Conciliar Seminary*¹⁰. The 1816 syllabus

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- 6 The Decrees of King Ferdinand VII. Year Two of his restoration to the throne of the Spains. Referring to all the royal rulings issued by the different ministries and councils throughout the entire year of 1815. Volume Two. Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1819. *Royal Decree: H.M. declares his pious intentions on the formation of charitable schools of primary education to which end he expects the zeal of the Prelates of religious orders, in honour of their own institutes, which shall cooperate as far as possible with such a laudable goal in the towns in which the convents are located.* Pp. 767-768.
 - 7 Segimon POU I COMELLA DE PALAU (Vic, 1745 - ?). *Beneficiat* of Vic Cathedral. Educated at the Seminary of the same city, he gained his Doctorate in Theology from the University of Gandia. After obtaining this qualification, he held the chair in Theology at the Vic Seminary for two years. He was then appointed to the Chair of Rhetoric and Poetics, which he held for a period of sixteen years. He published a variety of textbooks on Latin for his rhetoric and poetics pupils. He was *capbreuador* of the cathedral, Chapter representative for teaching the catechism and Diocese Inspector-General. Bishop Francesc Veyan i Mola charged him with the drawing up of the *Study Plan or Method for the Classes of Grammar and Rhetoric of the Royal Conciliar Seminary of the City of Vich*, which he did before 1787. On this date he was appointed Curate, Confessor and Director of the nuns of the Order of Saint Augustine at the Nunnery of Santa Maria Magdalena, in Barcelona.
 - 8 Jaume MEDINA publishes the complete text in *Un pla d'estudi d'humanitats per al Seminari de Vic (1787)* (A Syllabus in the Humanities for the Vic Seminary, 1787), Miscel·lània en Honor del Doctor Casimir Martí, Barcelona, 1994, pp. 313-323.
 - 9 “Archdeacon canon. Son of Sant Feliu de Torelló. Died on 8 December [1825], buried in the sarcophagus of the canons under the La *Rodona* chapel. Was Honorary Auditor of Rota of the Apostolic Nunciature in Madrid. Bishop Strauch appointed him the bishopric's *Provisor* and Vicar General. We find him accompanying said bishop on the first official visit he made to Vic City Council. Appointed *primer doctoral* of this Cathedral, he was promoted to the rank of archdeacon on 12 September 1789” Antoni CONILL COSTA, *Obituari dels bisbes i canonges de la Catedral de Vic* (Obituary of the bishops and canons of Vic Cathedral). Unprinted document. A copy can be found in the Vic Episcopal Archive.
 - 10 The document is kept in the Vic Seminary Archive, included in the volume *Papeles varios 2* (Sundry Papers 2). It has a total of 16 pages, signed on 12 October 1816. To show that the syl-

is a modification of that of 1787, as can be seen in its body: *The regulations and decrees issued by His Grace Francisco de Veyan with regard to all said colleges economic, political and literary aspects must be observed*¹¹. The most important modification introduced into the 1816 syllabus is the reduction by one year of the course in grammar and the increase of that in rhetoric. This same syllabus was also adapted to the needs of the time. Although the strict provisions stated that rhetoric was to be studied for three years, in practice it was for only two. In short, for the generation prior to Balmes, the grammar course lasted four years and rhetoric one. For those who, like him, began their studies from 1817 on, grammar lasted three years and rhetoric two. Modifications and adaptations were also contemplated in the 1816 syllabus, which left the door open for such measures: *As it would be difficult and almost impossible to implement this plan all at once and its very implementation could cause confusion and disorder not only amongst teachers, but also amongst pupils, it can be implemented successively, beginning this same year with everything that has a place, with regard to which the Rector may take the steps which to him seem most fitting. Leaving to his care the observance*¹².

Something telling us that the 1816 syllabus was also adaptable to circumstances was the fact that, in the same school year in which it was signed, there were still only two Chairs in Grammar and Philosophy, and it would only be a year later that they were increased to three¹³.

The continuity between the two syllabi can also be seen in the decision to continue using the same textbooks, particular that on grammar: *Grammar*

labus was regarded as an adaptation of its predecessor, I quote from its introduction: "We have also simplified and modified the syllabus that previously governed the subjects of Latinity, Rhetoric and Poetics, establishing some rules for the direction of teachers in this subject and noting some counsel that professors of the higher sciences should heed, not regarding it appropriate to draw up for them a complete syllabus, deeming it depending upon... whatever the Universities of the Kingdom deem fit to adopt."

11 Final note, p. 15.

12 Idem.

13 In the *Cashbook of the seminary ordered to be created by His Grace the Reverend. Fr. Antonio Manuel de Artalejo, Bishop of this city and bishopric of Vique. The year of 1778*, it can be seen how, in 1815 and 1816 there was a Professor of Rhetoric (who earned 200 pounds), two teachers of grammar (150 pounds each), two *teachers of first reading, writing and counting* (100 pounds each) and two of philosophy (72 pounds). However, a year later, the Professor of Rhetoric's salary had been increased by 50 pounds, and there was one more teacher of grammar (three in total with a salary of 175 pounds each). The two primary education teachers remain (but now with a salary of 125 pounds each) and a Professor of Philosophy had been added (and their salary had been increased considerably: from 1817 they earned 150 pounds each). The originals are kept in the Vic Seminary's Archives.

*shall be taught with the same books used until now.*¹⁴ As we shall see, this provision would have its nuances.

Grammar textbooks: an introduction to Spanish and Latin

For the first year of Spanish grammar, the 1787 syllabus recommended *Rudimentos de la gramática castellana* (Rudiments of Spanish grammar): this book, by Salvador Puig, was also used by the Barcelona Seminary¹⁵ and explained Spanish grammar in two columns, one in Catalan and the other Spanish. It states that children *learn by heart the two columns, in Catalan and Spanish in* [the textbook by Salvador] Puig ... *the teacher shall read them the previous day in a clear and slow voice; and then one of his students shall read it, so that by this means they are taught to read well... Reciting in this way the column in Catalan, which is their mother tongue, shall facilitate their understanding and intelligence of the Spanish one.*

Note that, three years before these lines were written, the Bishop of Barcelona, Gavino de Valladares y Mesía, had issued new instructions¹⁶, also governing academic life. In them, the Bishop imposed Spanish as the language of usage, to the detriment of Catalan, writing:

“Another branch of instruction no less necessary for seminarists is to speak and write properly the dominant language in the Kingdom. To this end, if in any place this requires particular attention and study, it must without doubt be in a country in which it is not the common tongue [...]

We thus order the Vice-Rector to ensure that seminarists are fully aware of these Rudiments, with which their most frequent difficulties with the Spanish language shall be overcome. And so that they manage to speak it ease, we order that in all the public acts of the chapel, study and any other of the Seminary, Spanish always be the common language. But, at the same time, so that this usage does not degenerate into a confused mixture of the Spanish and Catalan languages, we order that the conversation after lunch shall always be on the propriety of the Spanish tongue, noting with especial care its differences with the Catalan

14 Rule One of the *Reglas comunes a las tres clases de gramática* (Rules common to the three classes of grammar), p. 6.

15 Salvador PUIG, *Rudiments of Spanish grammar which, by order of his Grace Josef Climent, Bishop of Barcelona of H.M.'s Council, must be taught in his Episcopal and Tridentine College...* Thomas Piferer, Barcelona, 1770.

16 GAVINO VALLADARES Y MESÍA, *Constitutions of the Episcopal Seminary of Barcelona, provided by His Grace Gavino de ... Bishop of Barcelona...*, Francisco Suriá y Bugada, Barcelona, 1784, 175 pages.

one. And we charge the Vice-Rector and the Professors that, in the exam of translation from Latin, and in everything written in Spanish by the Seminarists, they guarantee, no less than the intelligence of Latin, the propriety of the voices and phrases, and the good orthography in Spanish. The remainder we leave to the judgement of the Director to make use of the stimuli that, according to the circumstances, he deems the best to maintain and encourage in all Seminarists the desire to perfectly possess the national language.”¹⁷

It is clear that the Seminaries of both Barcelona and Vic were, at the end of the 18th and for a good part of the 19th centuries, driving forces behind the expansion of Spanish as the language of education and culture. In the times of Balmes, the children of Vic learned Spanish at the Seminary. Catalan was the language spoken at every social level, but all documentation, be it official or personal, was written in Spanish.

Although we have seen how the 1787 syllabus recommended Segimon Puig’s book for the study of Spanish grammar, the modification of 1816 set another, despite the fact that, as we have seen, continuity in textbooks had been indicated: *Every Thursday morning shall be set aside for the teaching of Spanish Grammar, as drawn up by Doctor Ballot*¹⁸. This refers to the *Gramática de la lengua castellana dirigida a las escuelas* (Spanish language grammar for schools), written by Josep Pau Ballot¹⁹. This was very popular book²⁰ and one that, as in the Barcelona Seminar, meant the withdrawal of Salvador Puig’s book from the classroom. Given that the syllabus was implemented progressively and was one that had only just been published, we cannot be certain that the one textbook immediately replaced the other, and we can ask ourselves whether Balmes studied the

17 Idem, pp. 109–111. Provisions CLXXX and CLXXXI. Cf. Joan BONET i BALTÀ, *L’església catalana de la Il·lustració a la Renaixença* (The Catalan Church from the Enlightenment to the *Renaixença*), Abadia de Montserrat, 1984, pp. 96–99.

18 Rule Seventeen of the *rules common to the three classes of grammar*, p. 7.

19 Josep Pau BALLOT TORRES (Barcelona, 1747 – 1821). Professor of Rhetoric at the Barcelona Seminary. A prolific author of works on the Spanish language. His *Gramática y apología de la lengua catalana* (Grammar and Apology of the Catalan Language, Piferrer, Barcelona, ca. 1815) is often considered to be one of the first in support of Catalan as the normalised language of education and research. For more information, see Félix TORRES AMAT et alii, *Memorias para ayudar a formar un diccionario crítico de escritores* (Reports to Help form a Critical Dictionary of Writers), Imprenta de J. Verdager, Barcelona, 1836 pp. 84–85.

20 Although many editions were undated, this textbook was basically published during the first half of the 19th century in Barcelona. The first edition appeared in 1787. From the 18th century, I am also aware of that of 1796. Barcelona had, at least 13 further editions or reprints (1814, 1819, 1821, 1822, 1825, 1836, 1840, 1842, 1845, 1848, 1855, 1856 and 1857). Girona published two (1840 and 1842) and Reus one (1834).

rudiments of Spanish grammar from Puig or Ballot's book. We know from the *Catalogue of the Balmesian bibliographical exhibition organised on occasion of the centenary of the death of Jaime Balmes (1848-1948)*²¹ that a copy of the latter's book was included in the author's personal library, with the inscription *Jacobus Balmes* on the cover. Additionally, Volume Three of the work by Ignasi Casanovas contains a very interesting list, entitled *Inventory of the Balmes's objects and books*²² that includes a listing of the books he possessed at the time of his death. In this listing, under the heading *Books with which he studied*, is Ballot's book. Everything thus points to him having used it in his initial education. However, this does not necessarily mean that the old grammar textbook had disappeared. I tend to think that, during the first year of Grammar (1817), Puig's textbook was still of use to those students without the slightest notion of Spanish, to those who in the first classes of reading, writing and counting had not been taught the basics of Spanish. I cannot tell whether or to what extent Balmes used it, but I am convinced that Puig's textbook was in the Vic Seminary's grammar class. Puig's book allowed children to begin writing in Catalan and to move progressively over to Spanish. Ballot's however, has no such transition and begins directly in Spanish. Two textbooks, both commissioned by their respective Bishops of Barcelona: Puig's, by Bishop Josep Climent (1706 – 1781); Ballot's, by Bishop Gavino de Valladares (? – 1794). Two useful textbooks for beginning grammar, which start with the rudiments and definition of grammar, to then move on to the constitutive elements of syntax.

During the first year, in addition to Spanish, they were also taught Latin. For this a textbook that had been employed in Vic since at least 1787 was used. This was *Latin grammar with explanation and notes* (in two volumes, Part One and Part Two) that, in addition to the Piarist Schools, was used by the seminaries²³.

21 Diputació de Barcelona, 1948.

22 Document 740, pp. 734-760.

23 *Latin grammar with explanation and notes by Father Agustín de San Juan Bautista; reduced to a compendium for use in the Piarist Schools.* The book was published over the course of more than 130 years in a number of cities in Catalonia and Valencia, such as Mataró, Barcelona, Girona, Lleida, Puigcerdà, Valencia and Vic. We have counted 62 different editions, be they of the first or second part. In Vic, at least eight different editions of the book were published. Josep Tolosa published it in ca. 1772 and ca. 1779; his widow, in 1786; Ignasi Valls, in 1826 and 1836 and printers Dorca, ca. 1800, ca. 1805 and in 1806. These dates suffice to show that it was a heavily used textbook. However, we can also add that some editions were produced in the same year but in different locations, which supports the idea that they were published in the city in which they were used. So, for example, in 1772, two editions were produced in Vic, one in Mataró and another in Puigcerdà; or in 1888, the last edition that I know of, it was published simultaneously in Barcelona and Lleida. Father Agustín de San Juan Bautista was a Piarist from the province of Aragon. He wrote this grammar for use in the schools

In Balmes's times, this textbook had recently been printed in Vic and would still have subsequent editions in the same city. Part One was used during the first year in grammar classes and continued to be used during the second, if its content had not yet been completely studied. This fact, combined with the number of very young boys who left school to find work and other circumstantial factors, left its mark in the publishing world. It is easy to see that Part One had a greater print run than Part Two.

When their knowledge of Latin had improved a little, but before the end of the first year, students were required to begin translating. Rule Nine of the 1816 syllabus explains this quite well: *Finally, after the translation of the Latin verbs or rules from the first part of the Grammar, pupils will be instructed to translate a simple Latin book, such as the first part of the select tales from the Old Testament.*

The aforementioned book is the *Selectae et veteri testamento historiae ad usum eorum qui Latinae linguae rudimentis imbuuntur*; another highly popular book, not only for seminaries in Catalonia but also those in Spain as a whole and Europe²⁴.

In second year, Latin grammar was still worked on, with the focus on orthography and syntax. The authors that had to be translated were also established. The writer of the 1816 syllabus stated: *Cicero's easiest Letters shall be translated in the morning and Phaedrus's fables in the afternoon*²⁵. For this second course, the textbook from which pupils must learn to compose in Latin is also set: *The orthography and rules of positioning shall be taught by the small book drawn up and*

that the Order ran there. The book was adapted by another provincial Piarist, Father Pedro de Santa Maria Magdalena, and continued to be used by Aragonese schoolchildren. In 1768, the Catalan Piarists adopted it for their schools. On 7 June 1772, the Canon of Vic, Pere de Silvi, signed his approval for the publication of the book. Two days later, the bishopric's Vicar General, Dr. Bonaventura Carbonell, gave it the *imprimatur*, printer Josep Tolosa printed it and the Seminary adopted it as a textbook. 45 years later we still find it in the classroom in which Balmes studied. According to M. D. CARRÉ and M. FARRÉ, *Catalogue of the Balmesian Bibliographical Exhibition Organised on Occasion of the Centenary of the Death of Jaime Balmes (1848-1948)*, Diputació de Barcelona, 1948, a copy of the book was in Balmes's personal library. The Vic Seminary had already used Father Agustín de San Juan Bautista's *Praeceptio oratoria ad usum tridentini Vicensis Seminarii concinnata: depropmpta ab ea quam edidit*, printed by Pere Morera, Vic, 1761. This latter textbook was studied and published by Jaume Medina in *La primera retòrica del Seminari de Vic* (The First Year of Rhetoric at the Vic Seminary), *Revista Ausa*, XVIII, 143, 1999, 457-498. It would have been easy for Balmes to still have been using it, albeit as a leftover.

24 I have counted 25 different editions of textbook, printed between 1726 and 1878, in Barcelona, Madrid, Valencia, Palma de Mallorca, Girona and Vic. In our city, Josep Tolosa printed one in ca. 1780 and Llucà Anglada another in 1853. There were other editions in France, Italy and England.

25 Rule two for the second class in Grammar, p. 4.

printed for use in the Latin classes of our episcopal college²⁶. This refers to the volume already used by the Seminary, the *Extract of some rules of the Latin language to prevent the vices most commonly spoiling grammatical speech. Aimed at the grammar classes of the royal conciliar seminary of the city of Vich*, whose author is not named²⁷ but which was published by Vic printer Josep Tolosa²⁸.

In the last year of grammar, the knowledge learned was perfected, placing special emphasis upon prosody and translation. This is why, in addition to the aforementioned books, use was made of a lexicographic compilation known as the *antibarbarum*²⁹, a book full of resources for studying Latin, at advanced levels, and the dictionary known as the *Calepino de Salas*³⁰. For translation, they used the works of Cornelius Nepos, Virgil, Ovid and Cicero, whose position in all schools (both public and private) would be consolidated by the

26 Rule six for the second class in Grammar, p. 5.

27 We know the author thanks to Félix TORRES AMAT, *Reports to Help Form a Critical Dictionary of the Catalan Writers, and Give Some Idea of the Ancient and Modern Literature of Catalonia*, Impremta de J. Verdager, Barcelona, 1836, p. 496, which also gives the year of the first edition (1779).

28 Professor Modest Reixach, the leading expert on books printed in Vic, tells me that he has counted seven editions produced in Vic, from 1779 (Josep Tolosa) to 1864 (Soler Hermanos). Some editions are undated, and are those that the reference listings and libraries put at around 1800. Other edition dates in Vic are 1806, 1843 and 1845. Copies can be found at the Vic Episcopal Archives, the library of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid and at the Public Library of the Barcelona Seminary. According to M. D. CARRÉ and M. FARRÉ, *Catalogue of the Balmesian Bibliographical Exhibition Organised on Occasion of the Centenary of the Death of Jaime Balmes (1848-1948)*, Balmes's personal library contained a copy.

29 Johan Friedrich NOLTE, *Lexicon latinae linguae antibarbarum: in quo ex optimis hujus linguae auctoribus vera via ad puritatem scribendi loquendique panditur*. A number of editions, the best known being that published in Venice in 1743.

30 This was the *Compendium Marii Nizolii siue Thesauri Marci Tullii Ciceronis... additum dictionarium plurimarum vocum, quae in Ciceronis scriptis desiderantur, ab aliisque latinis scriptoribus... collectae sunt* draw up by the Jesuit and Latin scholar Bartolomé BRAVO (1550–1607) and first published in Valladolid in 1619, some years after his death. A number of editions were published, some with success: around fifty have been counted. It was popularly known as the *Calepino de Salas* because later (corrected and augmented) editions by Pedro de Salas contained many borrowings from the Latin dictionary of Ambrogio Calepino (*Dictionarium: Tanta tamque multa verborum, tum latinorum, tum etiam graecorum*, of 1502). In these new editions, the title was also changed to *Compendium latino-hispanum utrusquae linguae veluti lumen Petri de Salas*. There are a variety of editions in the Vic Seminary, none of which were printed in the city. In the seminaries of the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, this book was very commonly used. For more information, see the articles by Antonia Ma. MEDINA GUERRA, *El latín y el español en los diccionarios de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Latin and Spanish in the dictionaries of the 16th and 17th centuries) *Revista de lexicografía*, vol. II, 1995-1996, pp. 61-72, and *El Compendium del padre Bartolomé Bravo*, in the journal *Estudios de Lingüística Universidad de Alicante*, 17, 2003, pp. 451-463.

General Regulations for the Schools of Latinity and Colleges of the Humanities, issued in Madrid on 29 November 1825³¹.

It also established which parts of the books should be used, rationing the subjects and contents to coincide with the rhythm at which Spanish and Latin were learned, running from the most basic syntax, covering orthography and ending up with the translation of quite complex texts. Great attention was paid to the instrumental learning of the language, in the sense of it being the vehicle for the content the seminarists would subsequently have to learn. The concept of the language was neither pragmatic nor communicative, but rather propaedeutic.

The textbooks on rhetoric: an introduction to classical culture

Moving on to rhetoric and poetics, the syllabus applied in the Vic Seminary at the times of Balmes set a truly classic textbook: *De arte rethorica*, by the Jesuit Dominique de Colonia³². Still in the classrooms was an earlier book recom-

31 Its text can be found in Josef Maria DE NIEVA, *Decrees of our Lord King Don Ferdinand VII and Royal Orders, Rulings and Regulations Issued by the Secretariats of the General Office and Councils of H.M. since 1 January to the End of December 1826*, Volume 11, Imprenta Real, Madrid, 1827, pp. 6-XXX. This syllabus, which was compulsory for every school, set the following textbooks. For Latin grammar, either José CARRILLO, *Latin Grammar in Spanish for the Relief and Greater Progress of the Youth*, E. Aguado, Madrid, 1825 or that which was already used at the Piarist Schools and Seminaries (noted above and from which Balmes studied). For Spanish grammar, that of the *Real Academia Española* had to be used. For translation from Latin to Spanish, either Esteban JIMÉNEZ, *Hand Latin-Spanish Dictionary designed for the use of young persons studying the Latin language*, Madrid, 1834, or the combination of the *Calepino de Salas* and *Selected Authors of the Very Purest Latinity: Briefly Annotated, and Illustrated with Some News of Roman Geography, Customs and History, for the Use of the Piarist Schools...* Leonardo Núñez de Vargas, Madrid, 1824. For translation from Spanish into Latin, *Thesaurus hispano-latinus: utriusque linguae verbis, et phrasibus abundans: primum a P. B. Bravo... deinde a P. P. de Salas... postea ... a padre Valeriano Requejo, in provincia castellana ejusdem societatis Humaniorum litterarum Professore, Musicae, Madrid, 1753*. All these textbooks were known in the Vic Seminary.

32 Dominique DE COLONIA (1660 – 1741), French Jesuit, poet and playwright. Professor of Rhetoric and Theology at Lyon. Author of a dozen works, the most significant for education being *De arte rethorica libri quinque, lectissimis veterum scriptorum aetatis aureae, perpetuisque exemplis illustrate*, used in Jesuit seminaries and schools. In Vic, this book was already found in the rhetoric classes in the time of Balmes and it was still there in the times of Verdaguer. Many editions were printed, mainly in Venice (1725, 1727, 1743, 1759, 1767, 1795, 1805, 1827 and 1829), Madrid (1780, 1799, 1820, 1832, 1853, 1854 and 1861) and Lyon (1710, ca. 1728, 1741, 1758 and 1817). Other cities where the book was important were Bassano (1743, 1774 and 1795), Turin (1844 and 1892), Alcalá de Henares (1796 and 1789), Lucca (1729) and Rome (1834). For more information on D. de Colonia, cf. Carlos SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Schepens-Picard, Brussels-Paris, 1890.

mended by the 1787 syllabus. This was the *Compendio de Pintón*³³, a book telling the great tales of Christianity, beginning with those in the Bible and ending with the great historical milestones. The *Compendio* was used as an advanced course in religion, but always in line with the preferred teaching method: memorisation. This was carried out by means of questions and answers: the teacher asked the questions and the pupil had to answer quoting the exact text from memory.

With regard to textbooks strictly covering rhetoric, the syllabus laid down that even in the first year, in the morning, pupils spend some time translating Cicero's *Select Orations*, and Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* in the afternoon. In the second, the *Ars Poetica* of Horace and Juvenal. In the morning, they continued translating the *Select Orations* of Cicero, to which were added the same author's *De Oratore*. In the afternoon, Virgil's *Aeneid* and Horace's *Odes*. The syllabus also recommends: *To this shall be added some book on mythology, such as the fables of Father Gautruche*³⁴. This refers to the *Epitome of the fabulous history of the gods*, by Father Gautruche (1602 – 1681)³⁵. Given that the syllabus was designed for three years of Rhetoric, but that there were only two in practice, we do not know how the translations of Tacitus, Seneca's tragedies and Terence's comedies, designed for the third year, were carried out.

The textbooks on philosophy: *Amat vs. Guevara*

Balmes would study philosophy at a time that spanned two completely different syllabi. One, the *Reglamento General de Instrucción Pública* (General Regulation on Public Instruction, 1821), was of liberal persuasion. The other, the *Plan Calomarde* (Calomarde Plan, 1824), absolutist. This ideological clash was reflected not only in the regulations and provisions of the syllabi, but also in school textbooks. In the field of philosophy, the struggle basically focused around one text:

33 José PINTÓN, *Historical compendium of religion: from the creation of the world to the present state of the Church*. Many editions and re-editions. It had a long life with the publishers: of its 160 years of editions, I have counted 62, ranging from 1753 to 1913.

34 Article 2 of the Chapter *Second Class in Rhetoric*.

35 A French Jesuit who dedicated his life to the study of letters. For more than thirty years, he was a professor at the University of Caen and published a few books that gained some recognition, such as the *Nouvelle histoire poétique pour l'explication des fables et l'Intelligence des Poètes, avec le Sens Moral de chaque Histoire*, which, with more than 18 editions and some translations, was used in many schools. He also stood out in the field of teaching mathematics. For teaching this discipline, he published the *Philosophiae ac mathematicae totius...institutio: Cum introductione ad alias ...*, of 1665. Cf. Carlos SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Schepens-Picard, Brussels-Paris, 1890.

Fèlix Amat's *Institutiones Philosophicae*, confronted during the *Trienio Liberal* by Cèsar Baldinoti's *De recta humanae mentis institutione* and, from 1824, by the *Institutionum elementarium philosophiae* of Andrés de Guevara (1748-1801). Vic also experienced the struggle between the textbooks, something we can see from the notes left by Manuel Galadies, which were subsequently kept by Albert Sadurní, one of Balmes's biographers:

“Given that very few of Baldinoti's texts were to be found and, in contrast, those of Amat were abundant, the latter was given, even though the majority of the chapters were ignored or disputed, and this meant that the majority of pupils ended up knowing nothing of either author.”³⁶

Later on, the same biographers confirm that, in 1824, the Vic Seminary adopted Amat's textbook³⁷. However, this could not have been done wholeheartedly, as the Ministry's syllabi and university regulations required the study of Andrés Guevara: those who did not do so risked not having their studies recognised.

It might seem that this struggle would bring about the banning of Guevara's book from the Vic Seminary, but this was not the case. We know that it was used at the school from an inscription in a copy of Guevara's book owned by Jaume Balmes who, having finished that part of his studies in philosophy, lent it to a fellow-student. The inscription, in Balmes's handwriting, states: *I belong to Jayme Balmes de Vich; and I am now lent to Buenaventura Biadiu. Vich, October 6, 1825*³⁸.

Amat's *Institutiones Philosophiae* arrived at the Vic Seminary in the 1784-1785 academic year on the initiative of Bishop Francesc Veyan and remained there under Bishop Ramon Strauch³⁹, despite the prohibition of official legislation and the insistence of the authorities. Even during the *Trienio Liberal*, Vic's authorities had pressed the vicar general to ensure that the authors taught

36 A. SOLER and J. VILAPLANA, *Balmes. Apuntaments biogràfics* (Balmes, Biographical Notes), Lluçia Anglada, Vic, 1910, p. 6 .

37 Idem, cf. p. 8.

38 Cf. M. D. CARRÉ and M. FARRÉ, *Catálogo de la exposición bibliográfica balmesiana organizada con motivo del I Centenario de la muerte de Jaime Balmes (1848-1948)*, Diputació de Barcelona, 1948, p. 10.

39 This is clearly shown in the procedure of canonising Bishop Strauch: “*Despite this new Regulation, in the Vich Seminary, theology continued to be taught with Gonet's Summa and philosophy with Amat's Institutiones...*” *Processus ordinarius informativus in causa Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Raymundi Strauch et Vidal, O.F.M. Episcopi Vicensis*, Session LXXI: testimony of Ramon Casadevall, Canon Archivist of the Chancery of the Bishopric of Vic, given on 4 December 1931, folios 355-357. Archives of the Chancery of the Bishopric of Vic.

at the Seminary were those required by the law⁴⁰. Despite this, the suspension order was not issued with any haste and would take at least ten years more. For the 1831–1832 academic year, Bishop Pau de J. Corcuera suspended its use, but this, too was not totally strictly complied with.⁴¹

The fact is that, in addition to political and ideological issues, the fight over the textbooks was tinged with a certain amount of vengeance. The Bishop of Barcelona, Josep Climent (1706–1781) asked Fèlix Amat for a new, scholastic text that could displace the manuals then used by the Barcelona Seminary, which were written by Jesuits⁴². The wish was for a new, reformist textbook.

40 Vic Municipal Archives: Record of agreements from 1815 to 1824, p. 377v.

41 Let us go back to 1796. Bishop Veyan wrote on 22 December of that year to Fèlix Amat on the *Matesis* volume of his work: “It is something new... I believe you could calm the professors’ fears and attract them to this study by explaining to them at slightly more length and more plainly and specifically, such that they could easily understand it for themselves, especially the algebra...” (Corts, *op. cit.* p. 68 n.). Thirty-five years later, Corcuera suspended the book. The author’s nephew, Valentí Torres Amat (Canon of Vic), wrote on 24 November 1831 to his brother Fèlix Torres Amat: “This bishop has suspended the order to teach Philosophy through the Course by Amat, and to continue this year with Gavara [sic]. I went to see him to find out what this meant. He told me that he had had or received an official letter from the Senate of Cervera (which he understood as a circular to all the Bishops of the province) which warned that the courses of this Seminary would not be credited unless they were taught with the same books and authors as in the University and which were indicated in the Regulation on the inspection of Studies, until further notice was provided by it.” [Ramon Corts, *L’arquebisbe Fèlix Amat (1750-1824) i l’última Il·lustració espanyola*, Facultat de Teologia, Barcelona, 1992, p. 71]. Therefore, the certification by Marià Puigllat, now secretary, made to the academic authorities on 20 September 1832) cannot be entirely true when he states: “I certify that, from the 1824/1825 school year [...] to that of 1830/1831, both inclusive, teaching of the relevant subjects has always been carried out with materials by the authors established in said syllabus, in the Faculties of both Philosophy and Theology ...” (Historical Archives of the University of Barcelona, 1830–31). Everything points to, rather than definitively stopping the use of Amat’s book, being withdrawn from the classrooms but remaining on the shelves for consultation by Professors. Puigllat attempted to restore it to the classroom of the College of the Humanities he promoted sixty years after the manual’s arrival at Vic. On 19 October 1844, Puigllat was in Barcelona sorting out the paperwork for the new college and, as part of the process, met with the prestigious Professor of the University of Barcelona and Abbot of Sant Pau del Camp, Joan de Zafont. Puigllat wrote down his first impressions of the meeting with the Rector. A week later, Dr. Soler received a letter from Zafont which told him in no uncertain terms that: “...it is completely necessary that philosophy follows the method set in the Universities, making use, as far as is possible, of some instruments for experimental physics to ensure that knowledge is kept up to date... In addition to this, you will see in the public papers a Royal order that requires uniformity on this issue.” (The two letters are in the Vic Seminary’s Archives: *Carpeta Colegio de 2ª enseñanza*, folder *Documentos relativos a la instalación del Colegio Privado en 1844*).

42 “Bishop Climent, who shared the reformist ideas on the teaching of Philosophy encouraged by some members of the regular clergy of Barcelona, such as Armanya and Piquer, and spurred by the desire to banish from seminary classrooms the philosophical manuals of

It is on the basis of this request that Amat wrote the volumes of the *Institutiones Philosophiae*. Subsequently, the *Institutionum*, by the Jesuit Guevara, was the Company's response, to recover its influence. The person who most clearly shows the controversy between Amat's and Guevara's books is Ramon Corts:

“However, it was not until after 1824 that Cervera declared open war on the *Institutiones Philosophicae*. That year saw the publishing of the new public education curriculum by Minister Calomarde, which provided that the kingdom's universities teach philosophy through the course designed by the Jesuit Guevara. The professors of Cervera then decided that their university would only recognise the studies of those seminary students seeking some qualification in Cervera, who had followed Guevara's manual. In other words, they also applied to seminaries what Calomarde had established for universities. Behind Cervera's behaviour was the wish of their professors to expel from the seminaries F. Amat's course, which was held to be rancidly peripatetic.”⁴³

By way of conclusion

Having looked at the legislation governing the generation of 1817, analysed the syllabi which governed their academic lives, reviewed the textbooks with which they were taught and having heard some of the pupils who studied grammar, rhetoric and philosophy, such as Jaume Balmes, we can conclude that:

One. The education system sought to begin by teaching students grammar, which was seen as laying the groundwork for future teachings. The idea was to give boys who began studying from an early age the linguistic tools with which to dress, in subsequent years, solid knowledge. This is why it used a model of language that focused not on communication but on the

the Jesuits, commissioned Felix Amat to draw up a philosophy textbook for the Barcelona Seminary. According to his bishop's wishes, Amat had to draw up a philosophy course with a clearly Aristotelian orientation, but stripped of the useless questions that appeared in the manual of Goudin and in others of the 1700s. And this was indeed what Amat made the different volumes of the *Institutiones Philosophiae* into. The author of this work thus wrote a manual of scholastic philosophy and, if he did not go further, it was because, in addition to the intellectual status of the Barcelona Seminary, which did not allow him introduce many innovations, the guidance given by Climent suited Amat.” Ramon CORTS I BLAI, *El jansenisme en el pensament de Fèlix Amat (1750-1824), arquebisbe de Palmira* (Jansenism in the thought of Fèlix Amat (1750-1824), Archbishop of Palmira), *Revista Catalana de Teologia*, xvi/1, 1991, pp. 173-174.

43 *L'arquebisbe Fèlix Amat (1750-1824) i l'última Il·lustració espanyola* (The Archbishop Fèlix Amat (1750-1824) and the last Spanish Enlightenment, Faculty of Theology, Barcelona, 1992, p. 70.

expression of ideas. It was an essentially verbal education system (in both its oral and written facets).

Two. Rhetoric simply consolidated the fundamentals of the system and provided pupils with the expressive resources of the classics. Latin examples were supposed to be the ideal way of expressing ideas. It was for this reason that their styles, sentence architecture and stylistic resources were copied.

Three. The intention was similar in the field of thought: to provide examples for the creation of ideas. But herein lay the system's great failure. Instead of teaching how to think, they taught thoughts already made. They did not encourage creativity, but rather the repetition of the ideas of others. There was no place for criticism, for thinking of ideas, only for memorising them. It was not without reason that Balmes left disappointed with the teaching of philosophy!