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84	Letter from the CLA President	
85	From the Editor	
86	News Notes	
	Library/Publishing/Archives World	86
	CLA News	88
	Candidates for National Office 2019	89
	920 CLA: Terry Maksymowych, PhD	92
	CRRA Corner	93
	Fall 2018 Virtual Convention Highlights	
	Tomie dePaola	94
	Fake News is Now Ubiquitous.....	96
	By Lesley Farmer	

98	A Proposed Approach for Facilitating the Readership of Classic Works of Faith Within Our Congregations	
	By Rafael Ubico	
104	The Printing of Popular Religious Books in Barcelona During the Nineteenth Century	
	By Daniel Gil-Solés	

121	BOOK REVIEWS	
	Theology/Spirituality	121
	Pastoral	130
	Professional	137
	Biography.....	137
	Church History	140
	Humanities.....	141
	Library Science	142
	Social Sciences.....	144
	Children.....	145
	Fiction.....	145
	Nonfiction	150
	Religious.....	153
	Young Adults.....	154
	Fiction.....	154
	Nonfiction	155

157	INDEXES	
	Reviewers.....	157
	Book Review Index.....	158
	Advertiser Index.....	159

December 2018

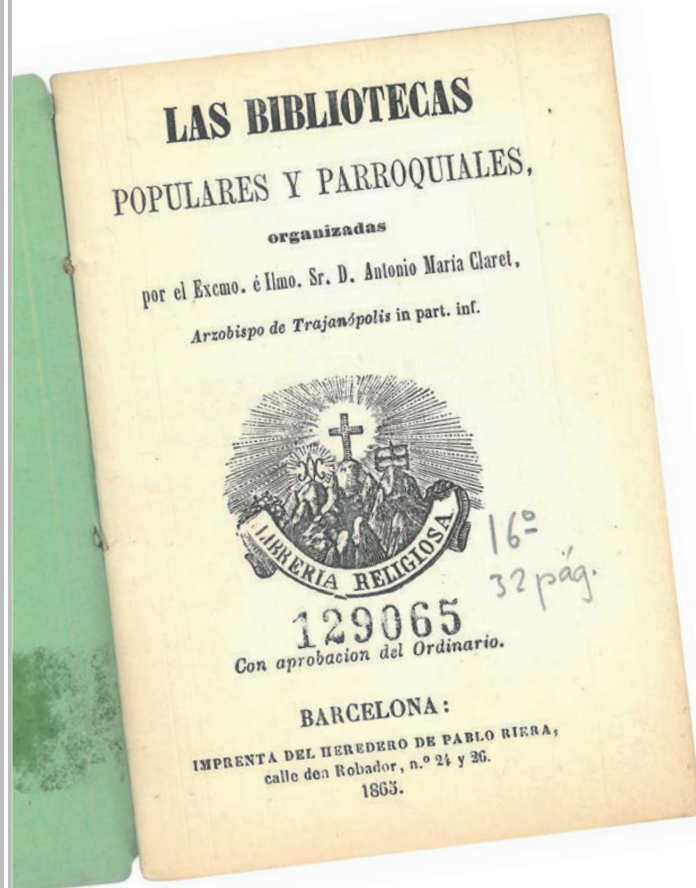
The Printing of Popular Religious Books in Barcelona During the Nineteenth Century

by Daniel Gil-Solés, Librarian Technical Coordinator
Episcopal Public Library of the Seminary of Barcelona
Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain

Abstract

The purpose of this work is to give a brief and selective account of the publication of popular religious books in Barcelona during the nineteenth century. This century witnessed a massive expansion of publications on religion, especially in vernacular languages. This increase in religious publications led to the widespread dissemination of religious messages among the working classes of Catalonia. The article is divided into four sections. First, it reviews some recent discussions of the concept of popular religion and outlines a framework for the history of the liturgical and religious book up to the nineteenth century, taking this as a point of departure for the primary working hypothesis of this article. Secondly, it considers briefly the publishing world of nineteenth-century Barcelona, with particular attention to religious publishing in the city. Thirdly, it offers a select survey of popular religious books kept in the holdings of the Episcopal Public Library of the Seminary of Barcelona, focusing on the five most important publishers in the nineteenth century, the titles that they published, and the themes that their publications treated. Finally, some conclusions will be reached, focusing on the role of these publications in the dissemination of religious ideas and the spread of literacy, thus confirming the hypothesis raised in the introduction. All quotations from the sources cited are given in English translation, with the original text, in Spanish and Catalan, given in footnotes.¹

Keywords: Printing; Barcelona; Nineteenth Century; Popular religious books; Episcopal Public Library of Barcelona



Las bibliotecas populares y parroquiales by Father Antonio Maria Claret (Barcelona: Imprenta del Heredero de Pablo Riera, 1865) is an example of popular nineteenth-century religious books held in the collection of the Episcopal Public Library.



1 Introduction

The history of printing and the history of liturgical and religious books followed parallel paths well into the twentieth century. The early incunabulae printed in Gutenberg's workshop in Mainz were religious books. Johann Fust's second capital contribution to Gutenberg stated his purpose to be "the production of books"¹ (*"das Werk der Bücher"*) (Barbier, 2015, 99). As one commentator has noted, Fust's intention "very probably had to do with financing the production of the 'first great European book'"² (Barbier, 2015, 99), which was none other than the 42-line Bible, also known as the Gutenberg Bible. It is worth noting, however, that this was not the first book ever printed in his workshop. Since then, the religious influence on modern and contemporary printing has been massive. Privileges, the *nihil obstat*,³ the *imprimatur*ⁱⁱⁱ (together with other licenses and obligatory approvals), or the Inquisition, which was active in Spain until 1834 and kept an eye on the circulation, use, and possession of books, were a constant presence in the publishing world up until the first half of the twentieth century, a period when the Catholic Church lost any privilege and control over the printing and publishing of texts. Moreover, the percentage of production of religious and ecclesiastical books in relation to overall book production is significant. It is a figure that one cannot ignore.

This article discusses books of popular religiosity in Barcelona during the nineteenth century, arguing the genre was vital in the establishment of modern publishing and popular reading in Spain. It aims to highlight the social and cultural context in which they were published, and, specifically, it discusses five important publishing houses in the city and describes selected volumes from these five publishers held in the Episcopal Public Library of the Seminary of Barcelona. This selection allows us to point out, without entering into ideological issues, the importance that these kinds of publications had for the dissemination of reading

and the promotion of literacy among large sections of the population that were completely illiterate.

In order to define the scope of this collection as closely and precisely as possible, we shall first draw the relevant limits to our investigation. For the purposes of this study, books that satisfy the following criteria will be considered for inclusion:

- published in Barcelona between 1801 and 1900,
- published in any language,
- edited by publishing houses not included in the so-called "hierarchy of the Catholic Church," as studied in section 2,
- reflecting the popular and common religious practices of the people and society in general, as well as the ethical, moral, and Christian outlook of the good Catholic.

Our concern here is with books of popular religion. Accordingly, let us start with a brief review of how this domain is defined. According to Eliade (1987, 445) popular religion can be understood as "the religion of the laity in a religious community in contrast to that of the clergy. The clergy is the bearer of a learned tradition usually based upon the prestige of literacy." Also emanating from the realm of popularizing literature is the definition propounded by Guillermo Morado (2008), who states that "when we speak of 'popular religiosity,' we combine two words. 'Religiosity' regards the practice of and care in fulfilling religious obligations. And religion, as a virtue, leads to giving God due worship. 'Popular' relates to the people; what is unique to it and proceeds from it; in other words, what comes from the common people."³ Morado likewise clearly links the concepts of "popular religiosity and enculturation" (*"religiosidad popular e inculturación"*), a connection to which I shall return in the conclusions. Morado notes that in the history of Christian spirituality, the great movements of renewal have always been united to the promotion of the piety of the people. For Morado, popular religiosity is the way in which people can express their faith "in an intuitive and symbolic way, one that is imaginative and mystical,

1. Original text in Spanish: "la fabricación de libros."

2. Original text in Spanish: "muy probablemente, se trataba de financiar la fabricación del 'primer gran libro europeo.'"

3. Original text in Spanish: "[C]uando hablamos de 'religiosidad popular' unimos dos palabras. La 'religiosidad' equivale a la práctica y esmero en cumplir las obligaciones religiosas. Y la religión, como virtud, mueve a dar a Dios el culto debido. 'Popular' es lo relativo al pueblo; lo que es peculiar de él o procede de él; es decir, lo que viene de la gente común."



festive and communal. Without forgetting the need for penance and conversion.”⁴

Next, we turn our attention to an article by the anthropologist Manuel Delgado (1993) in which he criticizes the very term “popular religiosity” on the grounds that it was created to render practices alien to the thought of the theological and ecclesiastical hierarchy acceptable and tolerable to it. Delgado contends that the Catholic religion exists as a product of official theological discourse, while the practices of religiosity and popular piety come from the lower social classes, which are not well educated and are incapable of accessing and understanding the official accepted theological discourse. However, theological and ecclesiastical elites consider popular religiosity to be an element of mediation between official religion and the people’s approach to religion, its creeds, and practices. It is in this sense that popular religiosity appears as a clear element of dialectics, of a double reality, for it “characterises the religiosity of the people, and, in a certain way, that which is popular, as a reactive reality against that which is official, inasmuch as it seeks more simple and direct relations with the divine; that is to say, it tries, on the one hand, to leave aside certain excessively intellectual schemata, overly discursive methods that constrain and paralyze its forces and its instinctive and emotional impulses, and, on the other hand, seeks to avoid clerical impositions which, instead of a mediation, are both wall and straitjacket”⁵ (Maldonado, 1985, 23). Although there is an *a priori* element of reaction to official religion, it is no less the case that popular religiosity inevitably draws from the sources and from the official liturgy. Popular religiosity, however, offers a simpler and easier way to approach religious fact, one conjoined with anthropological and social elements, than official religion does. Popular religiosity is moreover deeply rooted in the depths of our cultural, social, and collective consciousness.

It can even be described as a “knowledge parallel to its close affiliate, official religion, in relation to which that which is popular is a dialectical contraposition, because it emanates from official religion but, in a process of dialogue and tension, acquires its own characteristics which affect institutions. Spontaneity, the natural, simplicity, and syncretism appeal or react to the official”⁶ (Cruz Santos, 2012).

Finally, let us consider the most important literature relating to the history of publishing in Catalonia. Manuel Llanas’s handbook (2004) is a fundamental reference work that provides a complete yet selective survey of publishing in Catalonia during the nineteenth century, and devotes a specific section to religious publishing, highlighting the key role that such books played in Catalan culture during that century. Another reference handbook is the now classic work by Frédéric Barbier (2015), an exhaustive and complete survey of the history of the book from the times of the manuscripts to the twentieth century. To understand the impact of printing at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Catalonia, it is paramount to consider Comas i Güell’s book (2012), a reference work that includes biographical sketches of practically all the main figures involved in the printing scene. His book provides an exhaustive overview of the social and cultural transformations that took place in the nineteenth century, especially the growing political importance of communication from the widespread use of printing, and how publishers and printers were essential actors in the expansion of this phenomenon, especially with regard to the dissemination of political messages, and also, of especial interest to us, religious messages. Finally, as regards text editing and the history of textual criticism and analysis, Pérez Priego’s work (2011) should still be regarded as a classic in the field, as it presents a rigorous overview. His work is

4. Original text in Spanish: “de forma intuitiva y simbólica, imaginativa y mística, festiva y comunitaria. Sin olvidar la necesidad de la penitencia y de la conversión.”

5. Original text in Spanish: “caracteriza la religiosidad del pueblo, y en cierto modo lo popular, como una realidad reactiva frente a lo oficial, por cuanto busca relaciones más sencillas y más directas con lo divino; es decir, intenta, por una parte, dejar de lado determinados esquemas excesivamente intelectuales, métodos discursivos en demasía que constriñen y paralizan sus fuerzas, sus impulsos instintivos y emocionales y, por otra parte, busca soslayar imposiciones clericales que, en vez de mediación, son muro y camisa de fuerza.”

6. Original text in Spanish: “saber paralelo a su referente próximo que es la religión oficial, frente a la cual lo popular es una contraposición dialéctica, porque emana de ella, pero adquiere características propias que afectan la institucionalidad en un proceso de diálogo y tensión. La espontaneidad, lo natural, la sencillez y el sincretismo apelan o reaccionan a lo oficial.”



of fundamental importance for the analysis and correct understanding of the different versions of the texts, and for understanding their evolution to the present day.

2 Printing in Contemporary Barcelona

The world of publishing in Barcelona during the nineteenth century did not differ much from that of other major Spanish cities, and particularly from that of Madrid. There was, however, one significant difference which must be underscored: Barcelona was then a provincial capital, a great industrial city, inhabited by a large population of workers demanding improvements in their way of life. Access to literacy and to compulsory schooling were among those improvements. The potential number of readers increased almost exponentially, and the world of publishing had to meet this growing demand.

Three other decisive factors help to explain the unprecedented expansion of publishing and books in the city during the nineteenth century. First, as Llanas has observed, even with pervasive illiteracy, “there [was] an increase in the habit of reading, illustrated by a series of new realities, such as reading salons”⁷ (Llanas, 2004, 16). That is to say, new forms of access to books were appearing, and social access to books expanded in the form of cabinets, reading clubs, or libraries in popular art galleries, many of them associated with bookstores and publishing houses. Second, the century witnessed an improvement and modernization of book distribution and marketing systems, “as a result of the extension of the road network (specifically after 1880) and the introduction and expansion of the railways”⁸ (Llanas, 2004, 18). In this way, improvements in the communication systems, particularly those on the Catalan mainland, contributed to the much more efficient distribution of books at a lower cost to a greater number of places. Because of these advances in

communication, the number of sale points for books proliferated and, accordingly, more people had access to the products of the printing presses. Third and finally, catalogues and bibliographies of available literature began to be produced with greater frequency, both for booksellers and for those involved in other parts of the cycle of bibliographic production. It is precisely at the intersection of these three factors, as well as the larger social, economic, and cultural forces underlying them, that the massive expansion of religious book publishing during the nineteenth century is best understood and contextualized.

Finally, we must not ignore the legislative framework within which the publishing world operated in the nineteenth century. The authorities saw clearly that in this environment of emergent freedom and an ongoing explosion in publishing, it was essential to legislate on the matter, and so they did. Already on November 10, 1810, a Decree on the Political Freedom of the Printing Press was drafted, and although it was full of “precautions, exceptions, and concessions to the reactions”⁹ (Llanas, 2004, 19), its “point of departure [was] expansive: like an uncontrollable explosion, without limits, it was able to establish a parallelism between the consequences of the French Revolution and this revolution in reading”¹⁰ (Comas i Güell, 2012, 48). Ten years later, on October 22, 1820, a new Printing Law was promulgated, which turned out to be quite the opposite, for it “repeatedly regulate[d] every element and factor”¹¹ (Comas i Güell, 2012, 48) in publishing and involved, for the first time, the regulation of religious texts by the civil power. This regulation served as a governmental “tool to delimit the ecclesiastical domain”¹² (Comas i Güell, 2012, 48). To these two early printing laws, there must be added the multiple acts of legislation passed between 1833 and 1868 (Llanas, 2004, 22), among which the Printing Regulations, approved by royal decree in 1834 (with another of 1857,

7. Original text in Catalan: “l’increment de l’hàbit de la lectura hi és, i la reflecteix un seguit de noves realitats, com ara els gabinets de lectura.”

8. Original text in Catalan: “facilitats per l’ampliació de la xarxa de carreteres (sobretot a partir de 1880) i per la introducció i expansió de les vies fèrries.”

9. Original text in Catalan: “prevencions, excepcions i concessions a la reacció.”

10. Original text in Catalan: “el punt de partida ... és expansiu; com esclat incontrolable, sense límits i es podria establir un paral·lelisme entre les conseqüències de la Revolució Francesa i aquesta revolució lectora.”

11. Original text in Catalan: “regula i regula cada element i factor.”

12. Original text in Catalan: “eina per delimitar el territori eclesiàstic.”



later reformed in 1864), and the two intellectual copyright laws of 1847 and 1879 (Llanas, 2004, 28) stand out.

It is in the conjunction of all these contexts, namely, an increase in the tempo of social development, the proliferation of laws pertaining to book production and publishing, and the framing of laws that began to define and circumscribe religious influence in civil society, that we can appreciate the enormous social changes that were taking place in the nineteenth century, fully and faithfully reflected in the publishing world.

2.1 The religious editions

As far as religious publishing is concerned, the Catholic Church in Catalonia suffered strongly during the nineteenth century from the loss of social, moral, ethical, and educational control that it had had for centuries. "Beginning in 1833, it start[ed] to lose the overarching social control that it had hitherto exercised and could neither come to terms with the new situation nor discharge its functions"¹³ (Llanas, 2004, 169). However, despite this loss of control, the Church still held a powerful position, and, in the field of publishing, the Catholic hierarchy exercised a strong censorial attitude which "[was] directed not only towards overseeing and authorizing religious publications... but also all those non-religious ones considered to be ideologically novel, so that interference with civil power became frequent"¹⁴ (Llanas, 2004, 30). These facts take on added significance when one takes into account the already famous state confiscation of ecclesiastical goods decreed by Queen Isabel II of Spain and minister Juan Álvarez Mendizábal between 1835 and 1837, together with the burning of convents in July of 1835. "'Spanish disentailment' is a long historical,

economic, and social process that began at the end of the eighteenth century with the so-called Godoy Disentailment (1798) and had several stages throughout the nineteenth century. It consisted of a public auction, after forced expropriation by the State, of the goods and lands that until then could not be disposed of—sell, mortgage or cede"¹⁵ (Otero), and often these goods and lands were property of the Catholic Church and its religious orders. The Mendizábal Disentailment had notable collection and ideological effects and revived both anticlericalism and anti-liberalism in Spain (Otero). The confiscation entailed the expropriation and privatization of all monastic goods in Spain: indeed, more than two hundred convents in Catalonia were affected by it (Desamortització, 2018). These confiscations extended to the realm of books as well. For example, books from some monasteries and convents in the province of Barcelona went to the library of the University of Barcelona, which at that time was functioning as a provincial public library. In fact, "all holdings of the conventual libraries of Barcelona became the custody of the University, to which the functions of the provincial library were attributed. It was in 1847 when the official name was given: Provincial Public Library of Barcelona"¹⁶ (Verger-Arce, 2008). Moreover, one should not pass over other factors that impinged upon Catalan publishing culture in general and affected the publication of religious materials: namely, the large-scale processes of laicization, secularization, the rise of the working class, and the expansion of culture and education that were ongoing throughout the entire century, especially in large urban centers such as Barcelona.

It was precisely in this context that the Church's "ideological rearmament and offensive to face these threats"¹⁷ (Llanas, 2004, 170) took place.^{iv} This consisted of "initiatives intended to fight the enemy

13. Original text in Catalan: "a partir de 1833 comença a perdre l'abassegador control social que havia exercit i no sap avenir-se a la nova situació ni fer-se'n càrrec."

14. Original text in Catalan: "va anar orientada no tan sols a fiscalitzar i autoritzar les publicacions religioses (...), sinó també totes aquelles no religioses considerades ideològicament novices, de manera que van sovintejar les ingerències en l'àmbit del poder civil."

15. Original text in Spanish: "Se conoce como "desamortización española" un largo proceso histórico, económico y social iniciado a finales del siglo XVIII con la llamada Desamortización de Godoy (1798) y que tuvo varias etapas a lo largo del siglo XIX. Consistió en sacar a subasta pública, previa expropiación forzosa por parte del Estado, los bienes y tierras que hasta entonces no se podían enajenar—vender, hipotecar o ceder."

16. Original text in Catalan: "Tots els fons de les biblioteques conventuals de Barcelona van passar a ser custodiats per la Universitat, a la qual es van atribuir les funcions de biblioteca provincial. Va ser l'any 1847 quan se li va donar el nom oficial: Biblioteca Pública Provincial de Barcelona."

17. Original text in Catalan: "l'ofensiva i el rearmament ideològics per fer front a aquests desafiaments."



using the same means—the printed word—from the opposite barricade”¹⁸ (Llanas, 2004, 170). That is to say, the birth of religious publishing houses in Catalonia would also be framed within a process of class struggle, in the purest working-class style. Religious publishers (many of them financed and promoted by the Catholic Church itself, which saw in them an unsurpassable means of pastoral action and evangelization) responded to the massive dissemination of secular publications with the same currency. The words of Father Antoni María Claret, CMF (1807-1870)^v are extremely clear and precise in this respect: it was necessary to disseminate religious texts widely to counteract the publishing activity of “the ungodly with their evil and pestilential books, causing incalculable damage”¹⁹ (Llanas, 2004, 170). In this regard, Claret’s work “falls within a campaign of religious and social reconquest by means of a structured course of action”²⁰ (Hibbs-Lissourges, 2005, 211). It is in this atmosphere of a ideological crusade and of a Catholic impulse for a new re-Christianization that saw itself as being in danger that there appeared publishing houses dedicated almost exclusively to the publication of liturgical books and popular religiosity, as well as morals, ethics, and exemplary Christian attitudes.^{vi}

According to Llanas (2004), the most important publishing houses in this field operating in Barcelona during the nineteenth century were the following:

- Librería y Editorial Subirana (Subirana Bookstore and Publishing House)
- Pablo Riera padre y Pablo Riera hijo (Pablo Riera Father and Son)
- La Librería Religiosa (The Religious Bookstore)
- La Tipografía Católica (The Catholic Printery)
- La Hormiga de Oro (The Golden Ant)

The following section discusses the activities of these publishing houses and enumerates those publications of theirs that are available in the collections of the Episcopal Public Library of the Seminary of Barcelona (Biblioteca Pública Episcopal del Seminari de Barcelona, also known as the Biblioteca Pública Episcopal de Barcelona [BPEB]).

3 Imprints of Popular Religious Books of the Nineteenth Century in Barcelona in the Holdings of the Episcopal Public Library of the Seminary of Barcelona

Now that we have sketched out the historical context of religious publishing in Barcelona in the modern period, this third section—the core section of this article—will proceed with a select study of publications pertaining to popular religiosity published in that city during the nineteenth century and preserved in the Episcopal Public Library of the Seminary of Barcelona.

3.1 Librería y Editorial Subirana

The bookselling activity of the Subirana Publishing House began in 1841, when Jaume Subirana established himself in the book industry for the first time. He acquired early renown as a bookbinder, but it was only after his death in 1862 that his shop became a publishing house under the trade name of Viuda e Hijos de Jaime Subirana [Widow and Sons of Jaime Subirana].^{vii} The new publisher specialized in “religious prints, engravings, and books”²¹ (Llanas, 2004, 174), and did so with a clear intention to provide religious instruction to children. It is also worth noting the direct connection this publisher had with what would become the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Barcelona at the time, since it received the advice of four future bishops: Josep Morgades i Gili,^{viii} Tomàs Sivilla i Gener,^{ix} Antonio Estalella i Sivilla,^x and Ricard Cortés i Culléll^{xi} (Llanas, 2004, 174). In 1890, the publishing house underwent another change of name, known henceforth as Joaquín y Eugenio Subirana Hermanos [Joaquín and Eugenio Subirana, Brothers]. It was then that it received the distinction of being named Pontifical Publishers and Booksellers. The publishing house as such survived until 1906, when it split into two for different social reasons. It is important to emphasize the cultural, social, and pedagogical work this publishing house carried out beyond the publication of books. For instance, in one of the headquarters of the publishing house, specifically in Portaferriassa street, a social gathering was held that brought together at the same table clergy such

18. Original text in Catalan: “iniciatives destinades a combatre l’enemic acudint al mateix mitjà –la lletra impresa– des de la barricada contrària.”

19. Original text in Spanish: “los impíos con sus malos y pestíferos libros, causando estragos sin cuenta.”

20. Original text in Spanish: “se inscribe en la campaña de reconquista religiosa y social mediante una acción estructurada.”

21. Original text in Catalan: “estampes, gravats i llibres religiosos.”



as Frederic Clascar^{xii} and even Bishop Morgades^{xiii} himself, as well as lay Catholic militants such as José María Quadrado^{xiv} and Joan Mañé i Flaquer.^{xv}

The Episcopal Public Library of the Seminary of Barcelona holds some books from this publishing house, such as *Ejercicio de perfección y virtudes cristianas* [*Exercise in perfection and Christian virtues*], by the Father Alonso Rodríguez,^{xvi} published between 1890 and 1891 under the name of “Imprenta y Librería de la V. e H. de J. Subirana,” which features a new edition adjusted to the original published at Sevilla in 1609. This play is considered to be a “neglected classic” of sixteenth-century Spanish spiritual writing (Donnelly, 1980) and is considered a classical work of ascetical spirituality. In this same line of perfection and Christian virtues, we find *Compendio del “Ejercicio de perfección y virtudes cristianas,” entresacado de la obra escrita con este nombre* [*Compendium of the “Exercise in perfection and Christian virtues,” extracted from the work written under this name*] by the same Father Alonso Rodríguez, published in 1899 and bearing the imprint Imp. y Librería de Subirana Herms. [“Print[ing house] and Bookstore of the Bros. Subirana”]. This play is an abridged arrangement of *Ejercicio de perfección y virtudes cristianas*. The title page of this book informs the reader that its contents have been “arranged to facilitate for all kinds of people their spiritual profit.”²² With these two plays, it would seem that Father Alonso Rodríguez was an early seventeenth-century author whose work was being reprinted in the nineteenth century. If this is the case, it suggests that the Subirana Brothers were reprinting “classics” from the “Golden Age” of Spanish spirituality as one of the goals of the house.

3.2 Pablo Riera padre y Pablo Riera hijo

Pablo Riera i Soler’s publishing activity in Barcelona began in 1839, when he first came to the city. Prior to this, he had been active in the city of Reus (Llanas, 2004, 176). A key moment in the history of his publishing house was in 1848, when he formed an association with the Religious Bookshop (Libreria Religiosa) of Josep Caixal and Father Antoni Maria Claret. Nevertheless, right from the beginning of his residence in Barcelona, he was clearly specializing in the publication of religious books. Such specialization was continued by his son, Pablo Riera i Sans, around the year 1860, who “persist[ed] in the line of religious book, often illustrated, and concurrently make known to some titles on history and literature, dictionaries, and encyclopaedias”²³ (Llanas, 2004, 176). Complete information on all his books (both his own and those he sold in the bookshop) can be found in a catalogue from 1859, later expanded in 1862, “which contained an overwhelming majority of religious publications in Spanish and Latin”²⁴ (Llanas, 2004, 177).

Some of these books can be found in the holdings of the Episcopal Public Library. One is the Spanish translation of a work by the eighteenth-century Portuguese priest and philosopher Teodoro de Almeida^{xvii} titled *El hombre feliz independiente del mundo y de la fortuna, ó, Arte de vivir contento a cualesquier trabajos de la vida* [*The happy man free from the world and fortune or, The Art of living contentedly with any travails of life*] in a numbered edition published in 1860, translated into Spanish by Francisco Vázquez and including engravings by Pau Alabern i Moles. As its title hints, the message of this work was that happiness can be attained through the adoption of Christian moral doctrine. Another work in the same vein is a treatise by the eighteenth-century French Vincentian priest-philosopher Antoine-Adrien Lamourette,^{xviii} *Las delicias de la religión cristiana, ó, El poder del Evangelio para hacernos felices, traducida de la obra que escribió en lengua francesa el señor abate Lamourette* [*The delicacies of the Christian religion or, the power of the Gospel to make us happy, translated from the work written in French by Mr Abbot Lamourette*], which was published in 1861.

22. Original text in Spanish: “[d]ispuesto para facilitar á toda suerte de personas su aprovechamiento espiritual.”

23. Original text in Catalan: “persevera en la línia del llibre religiós, sovint il·lustrat, i dóna a conèixer paral·lelament alguns títols d’història i literatura, diccionaris i enciclopèdies.”

24. Original text in Catalan: “que conté una aclaparadora majoria de publicacions religioses, en castellà i en llatí.”



Books for the use of priests in their pastoral work also featured among the Riera Publishing House's productions. One example in the Library's holdings is the *Llave de oro, ó, Série de reflexiones... para abrir el corazon cerrado de los pobres pecadores* [Golden key or, A series of reflections...to open the closed heart of poor sinners], by Father Antoni Maria Claret, published in 1860 in a single volume with Father Richardo Arsdekin's *Apparatus et praxis formae pro doctrina sacra in concione proponenda* [The Apparatus and Practice of Form for Presenting Sacred Doctrine in Public]. Father Claret's work, written in Spanish, contained a series of reflections on the Ten Commandments that priests could use when advising penitents during confession, while Father Arsdekin's Latin-language work was a manual on giving sermons that also collected subject matter for homiletic use.

Finally, in the field of Christian instruction especially oriented to children and young people, we find that several works by Father Claret are represented in the library. One of these is the *Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana: explicado y adaptado a la capacidad de los niños y adornado con muchas estampas* [Catechism of Christian doctrine: explained and adapted to the capacity of children and decorated with many prints], of which we find editions from 1853, 1856, 1859, 1865, 1867, 1877, and 1881. Going through no fewer than twenty editions, this book was evidently a highly popular work among catechists in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.^{xix} Another work by Father Claret is the *Avisos saludables para los niños* [Healthy advice for children], written to foster his young readers' bien espiritual [spiritual wellbeing], an edition of which was published in 1865 by the Imprenta del Heredero de Pablo Riera [Press of Pablo Riera's Heir]. Father Claret's desire to influence even the upbringing of children is clearly reflected in another work, *La Vocacion de los niños: cómo se han de educar é instruir* [The vocation of children: how they should be educated and instructed], that dealt with the intellectual and moral formation of young children. The library possesses a specimen of the edition published, again, by the "Heredero de Pablo

Riera" in 1864. Father Claret was a firm believer that religious education was best inculcated within the context of the Christian family. This view is exemplified in yet another book held by the library, the *Compendi, ó, Breu explicació de la doctrina cristiana en forma de diálogo entre pare y fill* [Compendium, or, Brief explanation of Christian doctrine by way of a dialogue between father and son], which, as its title indicates, was a short catechism taking the form of a dialogue between a father and his son. Written in Catalan by Father Claret, it was published in 1864 by the press of Pablo Riera's heir, this time styled as the "Hereu de Pau Riera."

3.3 La Librería Religiosa

An initial impetus for the foundation of La Librería Religiosa goes back to 1846, when the Spiritual Fraternity of Good Books [Hermandad Espiritual de los Libros Buenos] was founded. Administered by Father Pedro Naudó (Llanas, 2004, 182), this organization sought to further the diffusion of Catholic thought in Catalonia by "freely distributing works and printed materials"²⁵ (Hibbs-Lissourges, 2005, 214). Two years later, in 1848, Josep Caixal i Estradé, at that time a canon at Tarragona cathedral, founded the publishing house under the name of La Librería Religiosa, and entered into an agreement with Pablo Riera i Soler (Llanas, 2004, 183), who was to print the entire production of the publishing house. Josep Caixal had conceived the idea of creating a publishing house during his exile in Italy and France, when he became conscious of "the need to defend the Catholic Church from the attacks to which it [was] subject, in the manner of the French apologists with whom he enter[ed] into contact"²⁶ (Llanas, 2004, 182). His basic idea was to transfer this form of literary struggle to the Catalan and Spanish spheres.

Father Caixal's initiative quickly found support from Father Claret, who "turn[ed] [The Librería] into a center of publishing operations for wide ideological dissemination and projection"²⁷ (Llanas, 2004, 179-180). Claret's main idea was "to found an exclusively religious bookstore, in which disinterested men would collaborate, with the

25. Original text in Spanish: "de distribuir gratuitamente obras e impresos."

26. Original text in Catalan: "consciencia de la necessitat de defensar l'església catòlica dels atacs de què és objecte, a l'estil del que fan els apòlogues francesos amb qui entra en contacte."

27. Original text in Catalan: "la converteix en un centre d'operacions editorials de gran difusió i projecció ideològica."



sole aim of pleasing God and of counteracting the damage of the impious press by the publication of good books which, at their modest price, could reach the poorest home and sow in it the seed of the true doctrine"²⁸ (Aguilar, 1894, volume 1, 269). It goes without saying that La Librería Religiosa also served as the primary—if not exclusive—venue for the publication of Father Claret's works. Indeed, he was the best represented author in La Librería's publishing program (Aguilar, 1894, volume 1, 273); the current holdings of the Episcopal Public Library of the Seminary of Barcelona actually include more than 140 of his works. Moreover, Father Claret enjoyed "the collaboration of many priests and religious orders. There formed a nucleus of Claretian colleagues charged with raising funds and alms. Claret himself had highlighted the existence of a veritable network of centers of distribution which, from Igualada, Solsona, Olot, Figueras, Gerona, Mataró, and Teruel constituted places for meeting and alms"²⁹ (Hibbs-Lissourges, 2005, 214). The formidable distribution scheme of La Librería Religiosa, which at that time would not have been possible outside the hierarchical and pyramidal structure of the Catholic Church, and the determined support of Father Claret's publishing and distribution project by the ecclesiastical hierarchy were key factors that made La Librería Religiosa a complete success. This is clearly exemplified by the following figures: between 1848 and 1866—that is, in the first nineteen years of La Librería's existence—2,811,100 books, 2,509,500 booklets, and 4,249,200 leaflets and prints were published. This comes out to 9,569,800 pieces of printed matter in all, that is to say, an average of about 500,000 items per year (Aguilar, 1894, volume 1, 273). The success of La Librería Religiosa even reached Pope Pius IX, who congratulated Father Claret in a letter dated August 21, 1858 (Aguilar, 1894, volume 1, 275).

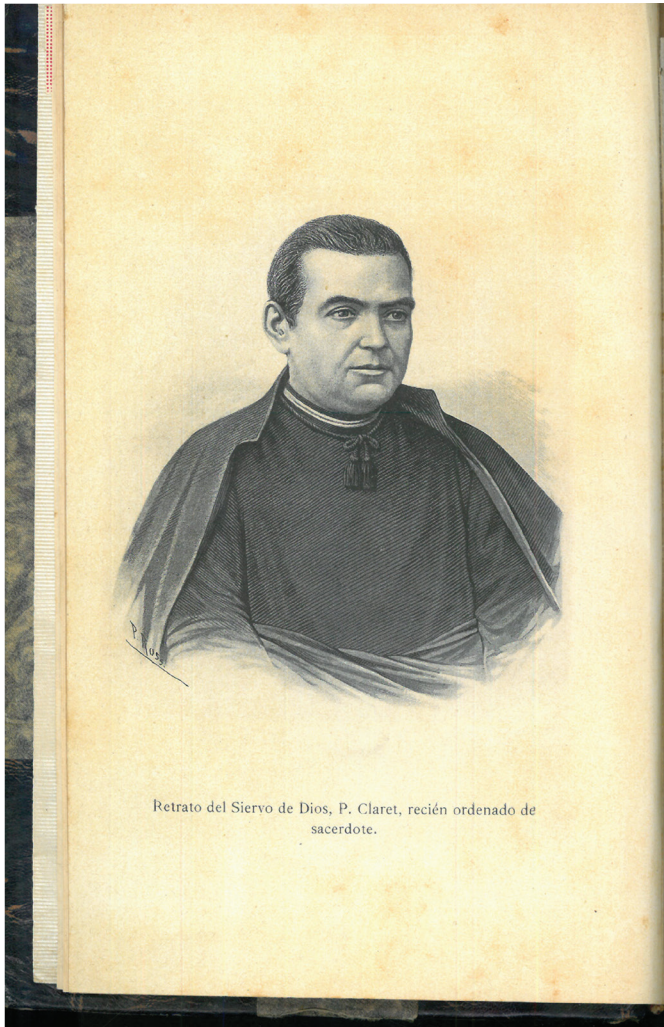
Having surveyed the rise and success of La Librería Religiosa, let us pass in review some of its productions held at the Public Episcopal Library of the Seminary of Barcelona, keeping in mind that

many of these were printed by the press of Pablo Riera, Father and Son. One of the main objectives of La Librería was to foster the moral and religious instruction of children and young people and thus, unsurprisingly, books for young readers, many of them with a traditional flavour, are well represented in the Library's holdings. One example is the *Instrucción de la juventud en la piedad cristiana: sacada de la Sagrada Escritura y los Santos Padres* [*Instruction of youth in Christian piety: taken from the Holy Scriptures and The Holy Fathers*], the Spanish translation of a classic work by the seventeenth-century French priest Charles Gobinet.^{xx} Translated by Nicolas de Castro Palomino and accompanied by engravings prepared by Pau Alabern i Moles,^{xxi} editions of the *Instrucción* were issued by La Librería in 1850-1851 and 1859. A work for introducing children to the biblical basis for theology and morality was the *La Biblia de la infancia, ó sea, Bosquejo histórico y dogmático de la religion verdadera: dispuesto para servir de texto de lectura práctica y de principios de religion y moral en las escuelas y familias é ilustrado con notas aclaratorias* [*The Bible of childhood, that is, A historical and dogmatic sketch of true religion: arranged for use as a text of practical reading and of religious and moral principles in schools and families and illustrated with explanatory notes*], by Felipe Antonio Macías, a professor of education from Valladolid, which appeared in two editions of 1851 and 1859. The desire of La Librería to inculcate Christian values among the young is likewise represented in the *Verdadero libro del pueblo ó Conversaciones familiares de doctrina cristiana* [*True book of the people, or, Familiar conversations of Christian doctrine*], a translation of a book by the eighteenth-century French childrens' writer Madame Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont.^{xxii} Rendered into Spanish by Miguel Ramon y Linacero, these short dialogues on Christian themes were issued by La Librería in 1852, 1859, and 1868.

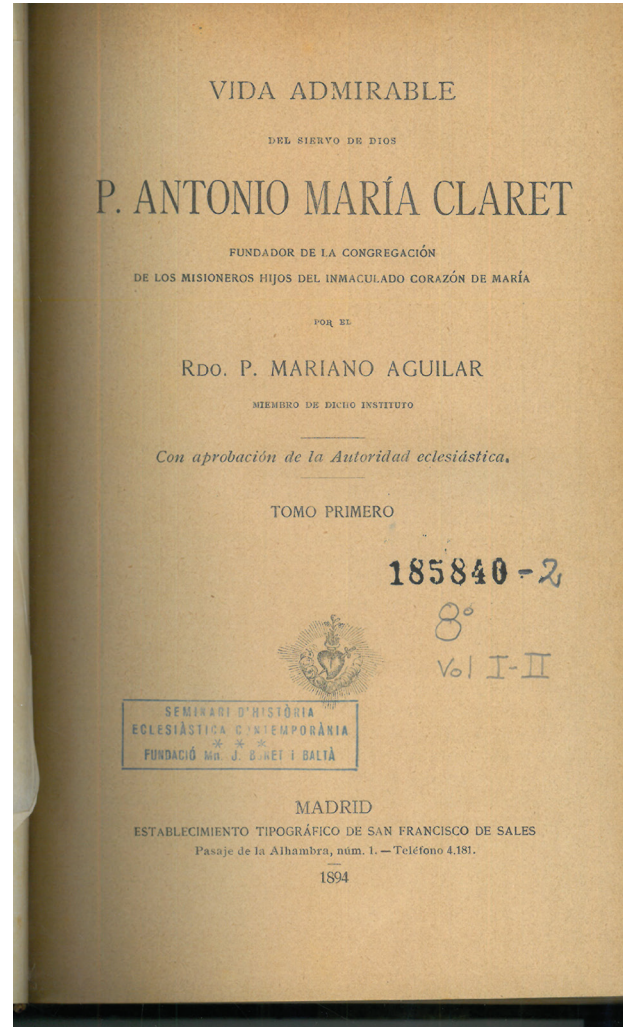
As we have seen, translations of French literature were well represented in the publishing program of La Librería Religiosa. Whereas some of these

28. Original text in Spanish: "fundar una librería exclusivamente religiosa, en la cual colaborasen hombres desinteresados, con la única mira de agradar a Dios y de contrarrestar los daños de la prensa impía por la publicación de buenos libros que, atendido su módico precio, pudieran llegar hasta el hogar más pobre y sembrar en él la semilla de la verdadera doctrina."

29. Original text in Spanish: "la colaboración de muchos sacerdotes y órdenes religiosas. Se formó un núcleo de colaboradores claretianos encargado de recaudar fondos y limosnas. El propio Claret había puesto de relieve la existencia de una verdadera red de centros de distribución que desde Igualada, Solsona, Olot, Figueras, Gerona, Mataró y Teruel constituían también puntos de reunión y limosnas."



Retrato del Siervo de Dios, P. Claret, recién ordenado de sacerdote.



Portrait of Father Antonio Maria Claret and cover page of *Vida admirable del siervo de Dios P. Antonio María Claret: fundador de la Congregación de los Misioneros Hijos del Inmaculado Corazón de María*, by Mariano Aguilar. Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de San Francisco de Sales, 1894. 2 volumes.

translations, such as those of Gobinet and Leprince de Beaumont, were devotional “classics” from past centuries made available to a new generation, others stemmed from more recent times. One example of these held by the Episcopal Public Library is a specimen of the Spanish translation of a work by the French priest-physician Pierre-Jean-Comeille Debreyne^{xxiii} titled *Pensamientos de un creyente católico, ó sean, Consideraciones filosóficas, morales y religiosas sobre el materialismo moderno y otros puntos, como el alma de las bestias, la frenología, el suicidio, el duelo, ó desafío, y el magnetismo animal: obra destinada generalmente á la juventud estudiosa...*

[*Thoughts of a faithful Catholic, that is, Philosophical, moral and religious considerations about modern materialism and other points, such as the soul of beasts, phrenology, suicide, the duel, or challenge, and animal magnetism: a work destined generally for the scholarly youth....*]. Issued in 1854, this translation appeared only fifteen years after the publication of the French original, which warned the “studious youth” to which it was addressed of the dire metaphysical and moral consequences of adhering to the materialist philosophy of the Enlightenment and devoted no little space to outlining the moral dangers of animal magnetism.



As noted earlier, La Librería Religiosa served as a favored venue for Father Antoni Maria Claret's considered literary output and examples of many of his books can be found in the Episcopal Public Library. Sometimes La Librería published the same works as Rieras' publishing house, a circumstance doubtless favoured by the fact that the latter publishing house also served as printers for the former. Thus, for example, in 1850 La Librería issued the third edition of the Catalan version of Father Claret's popular catechetical work, *Catecisme de la doctrina cristiana: explicat y adaptat á la capacitat dels noys y noyas y adornat ab moltes estampas* [*Catechism of Christian doctrine; explained and adapted to the capacity of girls and boys and decorated with many prints*], the Spanish version of which was published numerous times by the Rieras. Other works of Father Claret touching upon religious and moral education, examples of which are found in the library, include *La colegiala instruida: libro utilísimo y necesario para las niñas* [*The learned schoolgirl: a very useful and necessary book for girls*], issued by La Librería in 1887 and the *Máximas espirituales, ó sea, reglas para vivir los jóvenes cristianamente* [*Spiritual maxims, that is, rules for a Christian way of life for young people*], a compilation of quotations from the scriptures and earlier spiritual writers, which had originally been published by a different press located in the city of Vic and which La Librería issued in a corrected and enlarged edition in 1859.

La Librería also widely distributed books on spiritual themes for adults, many of which have found their way into the collections of the Episcopal Public Library. One such book was a work by the seventeenth-century Jesuit author Diego Zúñiga titled *El Hombre infeliz en treinta y cinco diferentes estados de esta vida, consolado en cada uno de ellos, y por otro nombre, El todo para todos en las adversidades de cada uno de los estados* [*The unhappy Man in thirty-five different states of life, comforted in every one of them, and by another name, Everything for everyone in the difficulties of each and every state*], editions of which were published by La Librería in 1858 and 1891. Another, which offered advice on how to prepare for a good death, is *La Única cosa necesaria, o, Reflexiones, pensamientos y oraciones para morir santamente ; seguida de La eternidad se*

acerca y no pensamos en ello [*The only thing necessary, or, Reflections, thoughts, and prayers for dying in a saintly way; followed by Eternity is drawing near and we don't think about it*], the Spanish translation of a work originally published in 1848 by the French Trappist abbot Marie-Joseph de Géramb,^{xxiv} which La Librería issued in 1865. Likewise concerned with salvation was Father Claret's work *Camino recto y seguro para llegar al cielo* [*A straight and safe way to reach heaven*], which offered meditations on confession and the moral life; the Episcopal Public Library holds the 1887 edition of this work issued by La Librería. Finally, we may mention a veritable religious "bestseller," the *Año cristiano, ó, Ejercicios devotos para todos los días del año* [*The Christian year, or, Devotional exercises for every day of the year*], the Spanish translation of an early eighteenth-century devotional work by the French Jesuit Jean Croiset,^{xxv} reprinted numerous times by La Librería, including the editions from 1853-1854, 1855, 1862-1864, 1882, and 1898-1901 held by the Episcopal Library.

The moral life was another theme with which the publications of La Librería frequently dealt. Some of these were publications of traditional works, such as the *Guía de pecadores: en la cual se contiene una larga y copiosa exhortación á la virtud y guarda de los mandamientos divinos* [*A guide for sinners; in which is contained a long and copious exhortation to virtue and a keeping of the divine commandments*], written by the popular sixteenth-century Dominican author Father Fray Luis de Granada,^{xxvi} editions of which were issued by La Librería in 1851 and 1884. More recent works on morality sought to capture the attention of a readership that was increasingly using the relatively recently introduced railways as a mode of transportation, as is evidenced by such titles as Father Claret's *Nuevo viaje en ferrocarril, ó sea, conversación sobre la blasfemia y el lenguaje brutal y obsceno* [*New journey by rail, that is, A conversation about blasphemy and brutal and obscene language*], which appeared as a publication of the Librería in 1863, and his *Los Viajeros del ferrocarril, ó sea, Conversacion sobre la profanacion de los dias festivos y modo de santificarlos* [*The railway travellers, that is, A conversation about the profanation of feast days and ways of sanctifying them*], also published in the same year.



Finally, La Librería Religiosa published works on a staple feature of popular religiosity, the lives of saints. Titles held by the Episcopal Public Library on these themes include an 1862 edition of *La Devocion á San José establecida por los hechos* [*The Devotion to Saint Joseph established by facts*], the Spanish translation of a work by the early eighteenth-century Italian Jesuit priest and poet Giuseppe Antonio Patignani,^{xxvii} and a specimen of the *Vida de Santa Mónica* [*Life of Saint Monica*], a book on St. Augustine's mother written by Father Claret, which was published in the same year.

3.4 La Tipografía Católica

This publishing house was founded in 1870 by Ramon Casals i Xiqués and Primitiu Sanmartí,^{xxviii} together with a bookshop and a printing press (Casals, 2016). The original idea actually came from Sanmartí, "convinced of the pressing necessity of fighting growing irreligiousness and seduced by the torrential style of the tireless leader of the most uncompromising Catholic propaganda, Fèlix Sardà i Salvany"³⁰ (Llanas, 2004, 187-188). The beginnings of La Tipografía are, in effect, strongly marked by the publication of religious works that intended to serve as a check on the increasingly anticlerical social environment. Particularly important in its publishing program were works by Sardà i Salvany himself, who issued a seemingly innumerable quantity of books, booklets, and leaflets through La Tipografía (Llanas, 2004, 188).

Imprints of the La Tipografía Católica kept today in the Episcopal Public Library touched on the same kinds of themes as those of the other publishing houses discussed in this article. To cite but a few examples, the *Lecciones de teología popular* [*Lessons in popular theology*], a fifteen-volume series of pamphlets published by the prolific Fèlix Sardà i Salvany between 1870 and 1876, addressed a variety of themes ranging from fasting and abstinence (volume 2) and civil marriage (volume 3) through purgatory (volume 5), the cult of Saint Joseph (volume 6), and the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary (volume 6) to Protestantism (volume 8) to the Lord's Prayer (volume 13), the pains of Hell (volume 14), and the glory of Heaven (volume 15).

It should be noted that the first six volumes of the series were issued by a different press, the Imprenta de Manuel Miró y D. Marsá as part of its Biblioteca Popular series; it was only from the seventh volume of the *Lecciones* that La Tipografía Católica took over responsibility for publishing Father Sardà i Salvany's series.

Devotional works are represented by such titles as Father Francisco Cuesta Espino's *El Corazon de Jesús predicado : sermones sobre su devocion, espiritu que debe animarla y formas principales en que se puede practicar* [*The Heart of Jesus preached: sermons on its devotion, the spirit which must encourage it and the main ways through which it can be practiced*], a series of sermons on the popular devotion to the Sacred Heart, of which the Episcopal Public Library holds an edition published by La Tipografía in 1887, and *Visitas á las imágenes de San José dispuestas para cada día del mes...* [*Visits to Saint Joseph's images arranged for every day of the month ...*], a booklet by the Catalan Jesuit priest-scientist Longinos Navás Ferrer^{xxix} promoting devotions to Saint Joseph, which first appeared in 1898.

Works on Christian moral life in its various facets formed another important part of La Tipografía's publishing program. Representative of these is the contemporary French ecclesiastical writer Félix Dupanloup's^{xxx} *El matrimonio Cristiano* [*The Christian marriage*], in the Spanish version by Silvino Thós y Codina, which was published in an 1872 edition. Other books published by La Tipografía sought to confront the liberalism that was considered to be antithetical to true Catholic doctrine in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Many of these came from the pen of Fèlix Sardà i Salvany, such as *Cosas del día, o sean, Respuestas católico-católicas a algunos escrúpulos católico-liberales* [*Everyday things, that is, Catholic-catholic answers to some Catholic-liberal misgivings*], of which the Episcopal Public Library has a specimen of the second edition of 1875, and the polemically titled *El liberalismo es pecado: cuestiones candentes* [*Liberalism is a sin: burning questions*], by the outstanding apologist Fèlix Sardà i Salvany, in four editions from 1884, 1885, 1887, and 1896.

30. Original text in Catalan: "convençut de la necessitat imperiosa de combatre la irreligiositat creixent i seduït pel verb torrencial de l'inacansable capdavanter de la propaganda catòlica més intransigent, Fèlix Sardà i Salvany."



3.5 La Hormiga de Oro

This publishing house was founded in 1885 by Lluís Maria de Llauder i de Dalmases,^{xxx} just one year after he launched the magazine of the same name. Thanks to the success of the magazine,^{xxxii} he opened the bookshop La Hormiga de Oro, originally located on Ciutat de Barcelona street. It was not until 1887 that Llauder properly founded the printing press and the publishing house, surely encouraged by the success of both of his prior initiatives (Llamas, 2004, 190).

Strongly Carlist-inspired,^{xxxiii} this publishing house once again closed the circle with regard to the use of print for the benefit of the Christian apostolate with a strong pastoral bent. As one recent commentator has noted, this “publishing house disseminate[d] catechisms, hagiographies, classics of asceticism and mysticism, Catholic plays, and apologetic works”³¹ (Llamas, 2004, 190). In this, the publishing program of La Hormiga de Oro mirrored those of the publishers discussed earlier, though many of its occasional works tended to reflect the Carlist ideology of its founder and, like La Tipografía Católica, it often included polemical works against the innovations of modernity.

The Episcopal Public Library’s collection includes a number of representative publications from Llauder i Damases’s press. For example, it holds several issues from 1884 and 1886-1887 of the magazine from which its drew its name, *La Hormiga de Oro*, which continued to be published until 1936. An example of the devotional literature issued by the press was the 1897 second edition of Sister Maria Francisca Javieras’ *Ramillete espiritual o sea Meditaciones y lecturas para ejercicios espirituales según el método de San Ignacio* [*Spiritual bouquet, that is, Meditations and readings for spiritual exercises according Saint Ignatius’s method*], which offered guidance in the ways of Ignatian spirituality. Finally, as a representative of the polemical strain of publications, one may mention the edition

of a work that we have already encountered in our discussion of the Tipografía Católica, Fèlix Sardà i Salvany’s *El liberalismo es pecado: cuestiones candentes* [*Liberalism is a sin: burning questions*], of which La Hormiga de Oro publishing house issued a monumental, illustrated polyglot edition (containing text in no fewer than eight languages) in 1891.

4 Conclusions

As the foregoing discussion shows, for most of the nineteenth century, publishers of popular religious works were an important presence in the publishing world of Catalonia. Among these publishers, La Librería Religiosa of Father Claret held pride of place; as one recent commentator has put it, “what is particularly worth emphasizing about this first initiative to disseminate publications and democratize reading is the enormous production of works, brochures, and leaflets published by La Librería Religiosa”³² (Hibbs-Lissourges, 2005, 214). This intensive production of popular religious literature “marked an important milestone in the renovation of religious life in Spain... from the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth (almost until the Second Vatican Council”³³ (Borràs i Feliu, 1976, 370). The social and religious history of nineteenth-century Catalonia cannot be fully understood without taking this production into account.

The publication of works of popular religiosity during the nineteenth century played a decisive role in the expansion of reading and in the reduction of illiteracy rates in Catalonia, as well as in the regeneration of Spain, which “[had been] left ruined materially and spiritually after the War of Independence against Napoleon”³⁴ (Borràs i Feliu, 1976, 375). The degraded religious and moral situation in Spain in the second quarter of the nineteenth century clearly explains the birth of all these publishing houses and the success they achieved. It must be contextualized “in an

31. Original text in Catalan: “l’editorial difon catecismes, hagiografies, clàssics de l’ascètica i de la mística, peces de teatre catòlic i obres apològiques.”

32. Original text in Spanish: “lo que más merece destacarse de esta primera iniciativa de difusión del impreso y de democratización de la lectura es la enorme producción de obras, folletos y hojas volantes publicada por la Librería Religiosa.”

33. Original text in Spanish: “marcó un hito importante en la renovación de la vida religiosa en España e Hispanoamérica de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX y primera mitad del XX (prácticamente hasta el Concilio Vaticano II.”

34. Original text in Spanish: “después de la guerra de independencia contra Napoleón, (...) quedó arruinada material y espiritualmente.”



environment of such insecurity that it rendered any serious philosophical and theological work nearly impossible. The people, for their part, accustomed as they were to the guerrillas' ferocity, transferred their fighting spirit to the religious domain. The only explanation to both the disasters before and after the sale of Church lands and burning of monasteries of 1835 and the cruelty of the Carlist wars is a country which had lost Christian and spiritual control of itself"³⁵ (Borràs i Feliu, 1976, 375). From a religious point of view, therefore, reversing this degradation appeared to be a priority.

All the publishing houses mentioned in this work contributed to a greater or lesser extent to this end, yet, as already noticed throughout the nineteenth century, the work of Father Claret and his *Librería Religiosa* played an especially important role in the process of reasserting traditional Catholic teaching and values in an era of change. The publication of popular religious works went hand-in-hand with Claret's initiative of founding popular and parish libraries, a matter that he discussed in his *Guía y Manual de Bibliotecas Populares y Parroquiales* [Guide and manual for popular and parish libraries] (Claret, 1865). Framed in a clear desire to promote the reading of *libros buenos* (good books) and minimize the effects of *libros pestíferos* (pestilential books), and so to serve as a counterweight to the effects of civil education and the growing loss of influence of education promoted by the Catholic Church, "the establishment of these libraries constitutes perhaps one of [its] most interesting initiatives (...) in the matter of social communication"³⁶ (Hibbs-Lissourges, 2005, 218). In the *Guía y Manual*, Father Claret set out in an extremely professional manner his vision for the organization of these libraries, as well as for book and press policy. In fact, this book can be regarded as a global manual that deals with different material aspects related to book management: the organization of the library, the loan of books, the spaces allocated for reading,

even the requirements imposed on the profession of the librarian, who, for Claret, "appear[ed] as an educator"³⁷ (Hibbs-Lissourges, 2005, 220). This universal vocation of the Claretian project has to be viewed first of all as a project of pedagogy and sociology of reading. A publishing house was to spread a certain message in an effective way through a powerful distribution network, together with a network of libraries that allowed access to wide layers of the population. In this sense, Father Claret's libraries could well be regarded as a true scheme for a network of libraries, and we are perhaps justified in concluding that, in their functioning, methodologies, and organization, they constituted a precursor to the current networks of public libraries. This global project was undoubtedly one of the greatest contributions of nineteenth-century Catalonia to the development of modern theories of librarianship and its relation to print culture. ■

Daniel Gil Solés has a diploma in Library Science and Documentation from the University of Barcelona. He served as president of the Official Association of Librarians-Documentalists of Catalonia from 2014 to 2016 and is a member of ABIE (Association of Librarians of the Spanish Church). Gil Solés is an expert in specialized library management, cataloging and management of digital contents, digital marketing, and social networks.

He currently works as a Librarian Technical Coordinator in the Episcopal Public Library of the Seminary of Barcelona. Previously he worked in the Library of the Architects Association of Catalonia, and in the libraries of the Lawyer Associations of Tarragona, Reus and Tortosa. He has more than thirteen years of experience in the world of librarianship and documentation.



35. Original text in Spanish: "en un medio del tal inseguridad [que] resultaba prácticamente imposible toda labora seria filosófica y teológica. El pueblo, por su parte, acostumbrado a la ferocidad de las guerrillas, trasladó su ánimo combativo al terreno religioso. Los desastres previos y consecuentes a la desamortización e incendio de conventos del 1835 y la crueldad de las guerras carlistas sólo son explicables en un país que ha perdido el control espiritual-cristiano sobre sí mismo."

36. Original text in Spanish: "la instauración de estas bibliotecas constituye probablemente una de las iniciativas más interesantes (...) en materia de comunicación social."

37. Original text in Spanish: "aparece como un educador."



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- i. I would like to thank Silvia Coll-Vinent for her help in translating and proofreading this article.
- ii. *Nihil obstat* is the official approval from a moral and doctrinal point of view that a work complies with the precepts of the Catholic Church, which is granted by a Catholic censor, and that therefore the work aspires to be published.
- iii. *Imprimatur* is nothing more than "an official statement by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church that a literary or similar work is free from error in matters of Catholic doctrine and morals, and is therefore authorized to be read by the Catholic faithful." In: "Imprimatur" [Online]. Wikipedia (June 3, 2017) <<https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imprimatur>> [Access: 05/01/2018]
- iv. This situation intensified and became more serious in 1870, the year of the First Vatican Council, with the abolition of the Pontifical States, the Paris Commune of 1871 and the expansion of the First International (Llanas, 2004, 34).
- v. Father Antoni Maria Claret, CMF, was founder of the Claretian order, Archbishop of Santiago, Cuba, and confessor of Queen Isabella II of Spain.
- vi. It should be noted that most of these publishers published almost all of their production in Spanish, leaving Catalan in an almost symbolic presence. According to Llanas (2004, 173) this trend was not reversed, or at least attenuated, until well into the twentieth century. In this sense, the immense work of Foment de Pietat Catalana during the first half of the twentieth century, together with the impulse of the Second Vatican Council in the second half of the century, were two key moments that contributed to the normalization of the use of Catalan in the field of religious publications.
- vii. Note that, according to the Spanish National Library's "Mujeres Impresoras: impresoras en Barcelona s. XIX" [Female printers: printers in nineteenth-century Barcelona], the original name of the company was "Librería de V. [= Viuda] y H. [= Hijos] de J. Subirana" and that in 1876 it was renamed, significantly, as the "Librería Católica [sic?, for Católica?] Científica de la Viuda e Hijos de J. Subirana" [= Scientific Catholic Bookstore of the Widow and Sons of J. Subirana]. <http://www.bne.es/es/Micrositios/Guias/MujeresImpresoras/Siglo_XIX/Seleccion/Barcelona/> [Access: 11/26/2018]
- viii. Josep Morgades i Gili was Barcelona's bishop between 1899 and 1901. <<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bmorgad.html>> [Access: 11/14/2018] and (Figueroa, 2000)
- ix. Tomàs Sivilla i Gener was Girona's bishop between 1877 and 1906. <<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bsige.html>> [Access: 11/14/2018]
- x. Antonio Estalella i Sivilla was Teruel's bishop between 1894 and 1896. <<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/besta.html>> [Access: 11/14/2018]
- xi. Ricard Cortés i Cullerell was Barcelona's auxiliary bishop between 1903 and 1910. <<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bcocu.html>> [Access: 11/14/2018]
- xii. Frederic Clascar (18730-1919) was a liturgist and biblist. Ordained a priest in Barcelona (1899), he held parochial positions in many Catalan cities. Licensed in canon law in Rome, later he was a chaplain of the Barcelona Maternity House. He was a strong and active writer in a very active way in the religious and Catalan culture, especially through positions such as the consiliary of the Spiritual League of the Virgin of Montserrat and as a founding member of the Institute of Catalan Studies (1911). <<https://www.enciclopedia.cat/EC-GEC-0018131.xml>> [Access: 11/27/2018]
- xiii. Bishop Josep Morgades i Gili (1826-1901) was an ecclesiastical and cultural promoter. He studied at the Barcelona Seminary and took a Doctorate in Theology and Canon Law at the University of Valencia. He was a canon of Barcelona and rector of the seminary. He also founded the Episcopal Museum of Vic (1889). In 1899 he was appointed Bishop of Barcelona at the request of the Barcelona parliamentarians in the government and a presentation in Rome by Duran and Bas, then minister of justice. He was a senator (1899) and a member of the Academy of History. <<https://www.enciclopedia.cat/EC-GEC-0044425.xml>> [Access: 11/27/2018]
- xiv. José María Quadrado (1819-1896) was a historian, writer, publicist, and active Catholic militant. He promoted strong campaigns in favor of religious unity in 1855 from the pages of the *Diario de Palma*, and in 1868, specifically against the freedom of worship, he organized a large collection of signatures in the Balearic Islands and founded and directed Catholic Unity (1870-72). He wrote other works on archeology, obituary and, especially, piety. He was a member of the Commission of Historic and Artistic Monuments of the Balearic Islands, and a member of a large number of scientific academies. <<https://www.enciclopedia.cat/EC-GEC-0053523.xml>> [Access: 11/27/2018]
- xv. Joan Mañé i Flaquer (1823-1901), journalist and writer, was the director of the *Diario de Barcelona* since July 1865 until his death. He had a conservative sense, but with a certain liberal air, and above all, independence of mind, at the time that he published the best journalistic information of his time in Spain. <<https://www.enciclopedia.cat/EC-GEC-0232370.xml>> [Access: 11/27/2018]
- xvi. Father Alonso Rodríguez (1538-1616) was a Spanish Jesuit priest and spiritual writer of renown. His single book underlines the ascetical dimension of religious life.
- xvii. Lisbon born Teodoro de Almeida (1722-1803) was a wise and erudite Portuguese priest, critic, and naturalist. He entered the Congregation of the Oratory as a religious and founded the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon; he devoted himself to the study of natural and physical sciences. In close union with the Holy See, he had to emigrate to France as a result of the famous break between the pope and King Joseph I, where he spent eighteen years devoted to teaching. <<http://www.filosofia.org/ave/001/a170.htm>> [Access: 11/27/2018]
- xviii. Antoine-Adrien Lamourette (1742-1794) was a French politician. In 1759 he joined the Vincentians and was ordained in 1769. In 1772 he was appointed Professor of Philosophy at the Vincentian seminary in Metz, Burgundy. From 1783, he

References, cont.

lived in Paris, and published his own works, believing that "religious vows should not lead to civil death." He promoted religious tolerance and wanted to reduce the privileges of the high priesthood. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antoine-Adrien_Lamourette> [Access: 11/27/2018]

xix. At the Episcopal Library, no fewer than sixteen copies of this title are held.

xx. Charles Gobinet (1613-1690) was a French theologian born in Saint-Quentin. After taking his ranks at the Sorbonne, he was appointed principal of the Collège du Plessis, which he governed for forty-three years until his death. <<http://www.inrp.fr/edition-electronique/lodel/dictionnaire-ferdinand-buisson/document.php?id=2813>> [Access: 11/27/2018]

xxi. The Alabern was a family of engravers, documented in Barcelona in the nineteenth century. <<https://www.encyclopedia.cat/EC-GEC-0001504.xml>> [Access: 11/27/2018]

xxii. Madame Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont (1711-1780) was a French author who wrote the best known version of *Beauty and the Beast*. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeanne-Marie_Leprince_de_Beaumont> [Access: 11/27/2018]

xxiii. Pierre-Jean-Comeille Debreyne (1786-1867) was a Trappist priest and monk of the Great Trap. He was also a doctor of the Paris Faculty of Medicine and a former professor of practical medicine. <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre_Jean_Corneille_Debreyne> [Access: 11/27/2018]

xxiv. Marie-Joseph de Géramb (1772-1848) was a French supposed aristocrat and Trappist monk whose name in religion was Brother Mary Joseph. He became abbot and procurator-general of La Trappe. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferdinand_de_G%C3%A9ramb> [Access: 11/27/2018]

xxv. French Jesuit Jean Croiset (1656-1783) was a specialist above all in the devotional genre. His most important work was, precisely, the *Año Cristiano*. The first translation into Spanish is the one made by Father Isla in 1753. <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_Croisset> [Access: 04/29/2018]

xxvi. Father Fray Luis de Granada (1504-1588) was a Spanish writer and outstanding figure in the ascetic literature of the Golden Age. Confessor of dukes and kings, he was the most famous sacred orator of his time in Spain and Portugal. His sermons, in the purest Ciceronian style, served as a model until the eighteenth century; he was also one of the best prosists of the sixteenth century in Latin, Castilian and Portuguese. <<https://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/g/granada.htm>> [Access: 11/27/2018]

xxvii. Giuseppe Antonio Patrignani (1659-1733) was an Italian Jesuit and poet, historian of the Society of Jesus, and author of sacred representations in verse. <https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giuseppe_Antonio_Patrignani> [Access: 11/27/2018]

xxviii. Primitiu Sanmartí (1840-1933) was a writer who studied at the University of Barcelona and at the University of Madrid. He was a Latin teacher and creator of the Catholic propaganda opuscles "Biblioteca Popular" (1870), for which he founded an imprint. <<https://www.encyclopedia.cat/EC-GEC-0058773.xml>> [Access: 11/27/2018]

xxix. Longinos Navás Ferrer (1858-1938) was a Jesuit priest and teacher, naturalist, botanist, and Spanish entomologist. <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Longinos_Navás_Ferrer> [Access: 11/27/2018]

xxx. Félix Dupanloup (1802-1878) was a French ecclesiastic. He was among the leaders of Liberal Catholicism in France. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Félix_Dupanloup> [Access: 11/27/2018]

xxxi. "Luis María de Llauder" [Online]. Wikipedia (February 3rd, 2018) <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis_María_de_Llauder> [Access: 05/01/2018]

xxxii. The magazine was presented as a "Catholic alternative to the illustrated press of the period" ("alternativa católica a la prensa ilustrada de la época"), and had as its main concerns "the Masonic danger" ("el peligro masónico") and denunciation of "lukewarm Catholics" ("católicos tibios"). <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_Hormiga_de_Oro> [Access: 05/01/2018]

xxxiii. "Carlism, Spanish Carlismo, a Spanish political movement of traditionalist character, originating in the 1820s in the apostólico or extreme clerical party and mobilized in 1827 in the form of paramilitary Royalist Volunteers" (Carlism, 2018). According to *Enciclopèdia Catalana*, Carlism was a "Political movement arisen in 1833 around the dynastic lawsuit raised in the succession to the crown of Spain at the death of Ferdinand VII. He defended the rights of his brother, the child Carles Maria Isidre de Borbó and his descendants to occupy the throne and, at the same time, channeled a current of anti-liberal opinion with programs inspired by the institutions of the Old Regime: absolute monarchy and maintenance of the preponderance of the Church, summarized in the motto "Religion, King and Privileges." Carlism rooted mainly in the most differentiated Hispanic lands (Basque Country, Catalonia), located in opposition to the liberal theory that advocated the centralizing and uniformizing policy of the Bourbons." <<https://www.encyclopedia.cat/EC-GEC-0088776.xml>> [Access: 11/27/2018]