



## Catholic education in Mariana: notes on the influences of the *Ratio Studiorum* on the Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte Seminary (1750)<sup>1</sup>

Educação católica em Mariana: notas sobre a influências da *Ratio Studiorum* no Seminário Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte (1750)

Educación católica en Mariana: apuntes sobre las influencias de la *Ratio Studiorum* en el Seminario Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte (1750)

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### Abstract

The aim of this text is to present the basic structure of the Jesuit educational plan, *Ratio at que Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu*, and its influence on the Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte Seminary, which is primarily manifested through the first regulation of this institution. The analysis will be based on the documentary study of the *Ratio Studiorum*, in the version translated and commented on by Father Leonel Franca, and the first regulation of the Mariana Seminary, promulgated in 1760 by Dom Frei Manuel da Cruz. Additionally, to fulfill the proposed objective, the regulation of the Belém da Cachoeira Seminary, an educational institution founded by the Jesuits in the 17th century, will be used. This document will help to connect the regulation of the Mariana Seminary with the Jesuit educational model.

**Keywords:** History of education; History of educational institutions; Mariana seminary; Ratio studiorum.

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## Resumo

O presente texto tem como objetivo apresentar a estrutura básica do plano de ensino da educação jesuíta - *Ratio at que Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu*, e sua influência no seminário Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte, que se desenrola, sobretudo, por meio do primeiro regulamento desta instituição. O texto terá por base a análise documental do *Ratio Studiorum* na versão traduzida e comentada pelo Pe. Leonel Franca, e do primeiro regulamento do Seminário de Mariana, promulgado em 1760 por Dom Frei Manuel da Cruz. Também, no intuito de cumprir o objetivo proposto, será utilizado o regulamento do seminário de Belém da Cachoeira, uma instituição de ensino fundada pelos Jesuítas no século XVII. Esse documento auxiliará na conexão do regulamento do seminário de Mariana com o modelo educacional Jesuíta.

**Palavras-chave:** História da educação; Instituição escolar; Seminário de Mariana; Ratio studiorum.

## Resumen

El presente texto tiene como objetivo presentar la estructura básica del plan de enseñanza de la educación jesuita, *Ratio at que Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu*, y su influencia en el seminario Nuestra Señora de la Buena Muerte, que se desarrolla principalmente a través del primer reglamento de esta institución. El texto se basará en el análisis documental del *Ratio Studiorum* en la versión traducida y comentada por el Padre Leonel Franca, y del primer reglamento del Seminario de Mariana, promulgado en 1760 por Dom Frei Manuel da Cruz. Además, con el fin de cumplir con el objetivo propuesto, se utilizará el reglamento del seminario de Belém da Cachoeira, una institución educativa fundada por los jesuitas en el siglo XVII. Este documento ayudará a conectar el reglamento del Seminario de Mariana con el modelo educativo jesuita.

**Palabras clave:** Historia de la educación; Historias de instituciones educativas; Seminario de Mariana; Ratio Studiorum.

## Introduction

The Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte Seminary<sup>2</sup> was founded on December 20, 1750, by Dom Frei Manoel da Cruz, the first bishop of the Diocese of Mariana, which was established in 1745. It was one of the first educational institutions in Minas Gerais and played a significant role in shaping the intellectual elite of Minas Gerais in the 18th and 19th centuries (Trindade, 1953, p. 372). One of the conspirators from Minas Gerais (Frieiro, 1981, p. 13), Canon Luís Vieira da Silva, who also taught philosophy at the institution between 1759 and 1789, studied there (he was one of the first students).

In 1745, the Bull of Benedict XIV elected Dom Frei Manuel da Cruz to the bishopric of Mariana, and it included the requirement to open a seminary. This helps us understand why the diocese of Mariana was created only five years after the seminary was founded. According to the papal bull: "Finally, we want you to make a special effort to provide your diocese with a seminary, as required by the Holy Council of Trent [...]" (Trindade, 1953, p. 95).

The first classes at this school were taught by José Nogueira, a Jesuit priest from Pernambuco. He came to teach in the new Diocese of Mariana in 1749<sup>3</sup> (Carrato, 1968, p. 106). The Mariana seminary was one of the last educational institutions founded by the Jesuits in Brazil (Jardilino; Pereira, 2021, p. 12). It was only in the middle of 1756 that other Jesuit priests arrived in Mariana. So, "the strong humanistic culture of Jesuit teaching was accepted by people who wanted to be priests at the Mariana Seminary in classes like Moral Theology and Latin, taught by Father José Nogueira, and Philosophy, taught by Father Manuel Tavares" (Selingardi; Tagliavini, 2014, p. 237). However, Pombal's policies meant that these priests only stayed in Mariana for a short time. In January 1758, the government ordered the Jesuits living there to move to Rio de Janeiro (Trindade, 1951, p. 19).

It appears that the first rules of the Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte seminary were one of the marks left by the Jesuit priests in Mariana. These rules were in place for about 60 years (until 1821), when they were replaced by new rules set by Dom José da Santíssima Trindade (Bishop of Mariana: 1819–1835). According to Serafim Leite, one of the leading historians of the Jesuits in Brazil, the first set of rules for the Mariana seminary, given in 1760, was written by Fr. José Nogueira, the first teacher at this school. The document is similar to the rules of Jesuit colleges in Brazil, as can be read:

Father José Nogueira, who took over as rector of the seminary in 1749, must have drawn up its regulations in agreement with the Prelate. And it must be the same one that the Bishop, after the departure of the priests, authenticated with the authority of his name on November 18, 1760. It is the same language as that of the company; and, with a courage that honors the Prelate of Minas Gerais, he maintained, despite the persecution that had been unleashed, in Statute 12, together with the holiday and feast of the Patriarch of the Order to which he belonged, St. Bernardo, the three holidays and feasts common to all the colleges of the Company in Brazil: those of the glorious St. Ignatius of Loyola, St.

<sup>2</sup> This text is the result of research by the authors on the history of education and school institutions. The research was carried out within the scope of PPGE/UFOP and the Research Group: History and Historiography of Education at UFOP. This research was supported by Capes and the PQ/CNPq Productivity Grant of the first author.

<sup>3</sup> According to Selingardi and Tagliavini (2014, p. 237), Father José Nogueira "arrived in Mariana in 1749 and became the first rector of the Seminary of Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte, where he taught Moral Theology and Latin. However, the priest did not have the provision or temporal administration of this establishment, which fell to Canon Vicente Jorge de Almeida and Father Lino Lopes de Matos (economists). The nephew of the first bishop was responsible for directing studies and ensuring discipline."

Louis Gonzaga, patron saint of studies, and the day of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, patron saint of Brazil (Leite, 1945, p. 201).

It is important to note that, in the case of Jesuit education, each college or seminary had specific regulations according to its nature. However, these regulations had to be in line with the rules set out in the *Ratio Studiorum*. Many colleges were instructed through this document. According to Franca (1952), "in 1750, a few years before its suppression (1773) by Clement XIV, the Order of Ignatius ran 578 colleges and 150 seminaries, a total of 728 educational institutions," all of which used the *Ratio Studiorum* as their educational guide.

When the Jesuits were forced to leave Brazil in 1759 because of the policies of the Portuguese King, they had many schools and other buildings. So, when looking at the rules of a Jesuit school, "you have to assume that they are using the *Ratio Studiorum* with the help of the *Complementary Norms*" (Oliveira, 2014, p. 221). According to Oliveira, we can say, "the *Statute*<sup>4</sup> is a clear example of the application of the main documents of the Society of Jesus" (2014, p. 221). Therefore, it is possible to identify traces of the *Ratio* in the statutes and regulations created for the colleges run by the Jesuits. We can see that the documents of schools run by the Society of Jesus use the same language. Serafim Leite says that the first regulation of the Mariana Seminary was written by a Jesuit priest, even though it was published as the work of Dom Manoel da Cruz. This allusion is what inspired the development of this work.

The text is divided into two parts. The first part presents the *Ratio*, discussing its origins, development, influences, the organization of courses, and the main didactic and pedagogical concepts proposed by the *Ratio*. The second part consists of an effort to bring the aforementioned norm (*Ratio*) closer to the academic structure of the Seminary of Our Lady of Good Death. This will be done by comparing the regulations of the seminary in Mariana with those of the seminary in Belém da Cachoeira, an educational institution founded by the Jesuits in the 17th century.

### Notions on *Ratio Studiorum*

The *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu*, or the "Teaching Plan of the Society of Jesus," was completed in 1599. This plan guided the education of the schools run by the Jesuits around the world for almost two centuries, without interruption. But the process of creating this document started a long time before it was finally finished. It started when the first large Jesuit College opened in Messina, Italy, in 1548. This was about 50 years before the final version of 1599. It was at this college that the first study plan of the Society of Jesus was created. It was based on the experience of those teachers.

Around 1551<sup>5</sup>, there are reports of a document entitled *De Studio Societatis Iesu*, written by Father Jerónimo Nadal, rector and professor at the college of Messina, in which "the complete organization of studies is already envisaged, from grammar classes to higher university-level faculties" (Franca, 1952). Father Jerónimo Nadal's work was important, but two other documents were also key to creating the *Ratio Studiorum*. The first was Part IV of

<sup>4</sup> Regulations are also called statutes.

<sup>5</sup> Leonel Franca (1952) tells us that Nadal was saving the valuable results of his first experiences at the college in Messina. In 1551, the first study plan was written. It was sent to Rome, and then to other colleges that would be founded. Shortly thereafter, probably the following year, he finished his treatise entitled *De Studio Societatis Iesu* [...]."

the Jesuits' Constitution<sup>6</sup> (from 1552). This was written by Ignatius of Loyola<sup>7</sup>, and it "outlines the guidelines for teaching organization." It also emphasizes "the spirit that should animate all the Jesuits' teaching activities" (Franca, 1952). According to Klein (1997), Ignatian pedagogy is based on the Catholic tradition, Thomistic philosophy, and the catechetical mission of the Crusades. This means that it was inspired by the "Spiritual Exercises" that Ignatius shared with his first companions. The order adopted these exercises as a guidance manual. Later, Ignatius used them to write the Constitutions of the Order. The fourth chapter of these Constitutions deals with school education and educational institutions. It is also, where the *Ratio Studiorum* comes from.

The second is Father Ledesma's unfinished work, called *De Ratione et Ordine Studiorum*, from 1575. This is the biggest single contribution to the *Ratio*, and it was the result of his long experience as a teacher at the Roman College (1557 to 1575) (Franca, 1952).

After a long period, in 1586, the Jesuits rejected a first version of the *Ratio Studiorum*. The *Ratio Studiorum* was a kind of systematization of the pedagogical subjects that circulated in Jesuit colleges at that time. However, this document wasn't final or required because it was still being tested. This formulation was less important and more discursive, and it was loaded with pedagogical bias. This is the main reason why it was rejected. People debated a lot about the teaching part, talking about what was good and what was bad. This made the document less useful as an instructional guide (Franca, 1952).

From this, it is possible to say that the *Ratio Studiorum* is the result of a long pedagogical experience of approximately half a century of educational work by the Jesuits. It is based on the long experience of this educational institution, represented by various educational establishments from different nations and races, passing through generations of educators. This is because, in addition to Part IV of the Jesuit Constitution, written by Ignatius of Loyola, and the works of Fathers Nadal and Ledesma, it was only definitively approved by Jesuit religious leaders after being evaluated and criticized countless times by various teachers and experts from many educational institutions of the Society of Jesus throughout Europe (Franca, 1952).

From 1599 to 1773, when the Society of Jesus was abolished by Pope Clement XIV<sup>8</sup>, the *Ratio Studiorum* remained in force without any changes. That is, it was in full force for 174 years. In 1814, Pope Pius VII re-established the Society of Jesus. After this restoration, a new version of the *Ratio* was made. This took place from 1830 to 1832<sup>9</sup>. In this revision, "with a few small exceptions, the changes mainly concern how the curriculum is organized" (Franca, 1952). The problems with the administration, the methods, and the rules stayed about the same. Finally, in 1941, a new document called *Ratio Studiorum Superiorum Societatis Jesu* was presented to the entire Society of Jesus, which focused only on higher education. As Franca (1952) tells us, this document adapted the Order's studies to the legitimate demands and healthy innovations of modern universities.

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<sup>6</sup> The Constitutions, "strongly based on the Spiritual Exercises, deal with school education and educational institutions in Part IV as instructing in letters and other means of helping others and those who remain in the Society" (Casimiro, 2004, p. 17). These were intended to bring uniformity to the procedures and actions of the order in the face of the different cultural universes in which they established their colleges and universities.

<sup>7</sup> The founder of the Jesuits "was born in Loyola Castle, in Azpeitia, in the Basque region of northern Spain, in 1491. The son of a Christian family of rural nobility, the youngest of 13 brothers and sisters, he was baptized Iñigo. Later, however, he would change his name, signing himself as Ignatius" (<https://www.jesuitasbrasil.org.br/institucional/santo-inacio-de-loyola/>).

<sup>8</sup> According to Selingardi and Tagliavini (2014, p. 238), Pombal's persecution of the Jesuits reached its peak with their expulsion from Portugal and Brazil, where Jesuit colleges were closed. And throughout the 1760s, the Jesuits were persecuted in France, Spain, Naples, and Parma. At that time, under pressure from European Catholic rulers, especially Pombal, Clement XIV suppressed the Society of Jesus in 1773, which would be restored in 1814 by Pius VII.

<sup>9</sup> The *Ratio Studiorum* of 1832 was never definitively approved. It therefore never had the force of law, according to Franca (1952).

After briefly discussing how the *Ratio Studiorum* was created, we will now look at the guidelines of the academic structure of the main version from 1599. The *Ratio* created a very detailed list of subjects for the humanities, philosophy, and theology courses.

The Humanities course, which focused on the early years of study (basic and preparatory education), had three subjects: Rhetoric, Humanities, and Grammar. The subject of grammar was divided into three levels of grammar: advanced, intermediate, and beginning or elementary. There were five classes (or grades) in total. 1) Rhetoric; 2) Humanities; 3) Advanced Grammar; 4) Intermediate Grammar; 5) Beginner Grammar. The last and penultimate grammar classes, which correspond to the first years of study, could still be subdivided into grades A and B. This means that the entire Humanities course could last between 6 and 7 years. Franca (1952) provides more information in the table below:

**Table 1:** Humanities Course Curriculum

GRADE	CLASS	YEAR
1	Rethoric	7
2	Humanities	6
3	Advanced Grammar	5
4	Intermediate Grammar A	4
4	Intermediate Grammar B	3
5	Beginner Grammar A	2
5	Beginner Grammar B	1

Source: Franca (1952)

The right column of the table shows the grade that matches the student's progress. The left column shows the year of the study. In the middle of the table is the name of the class specified by content according to the grade in which it is included.

Each subject in the *Ratio* was designed to help students develop specific skills. The grammar subjects aimed to ensure the ability to express oneself clearly and accurately. The humanities subject made sure that the writing was "rich and elegant." The rhetoric subject aimed at perfect mastery of "powerful and convincing expression and perfect eloquence *ad perfectam eloquentiam informat*" (Franca, 1952). The subjects of Grammar, Humanities, and Rhetoric in the Humanities course taught students how to express themselves clearly, elegantly, eloquently, and convincingly. Students were therefore expected to develop all their dispositions and faculties in the Humanities course.

In addition to a very detailed curriculum, the *Ratio Studiorum* also dealt specifically with class schedules, which were distributed throughout the day as follows: for rhetoric, "at least two hours, and for Humanities and other classes, two and a half hours in the morning and the same in the afternoon, and at least two hours on holidays, which shall always remain the same, so that it may be determined how many hours shall be devoted to each exercise" (*Ratio Studiorum*, 2019, p. 143). Time was divided between classes and activities. This was done to ensure good academic performance and to provide variety in the students' activities. We will talk more about this in the next section, which is about the rules of the Mariana and Belém da Cachoeira seminaries. These two places are based on the instructions in the *Ratio*.

The Philosophy course had a slightly more diverse curriculum than the Humanities course. The course took three years. In the first year, students studied Logic and Introduction to Science for two hours a day. In the second year, they studied Cosmology, Psychology, and Physics for two hours a day. In addition to these subjects, they studied math for one hour every day. Finally, in the third year, students also studied Psychology, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy for two hours a day (Franca, 1952).

The Theology course was longer than the Philosophy course but shorter than the Humanities course. On average, the program lasted four years. Students studied Scholastic Theology, Moral Theology, and Sacred Scripture. Students studied Scholastic Theology for four hours each week for the entire four years of the course. For two years, students studied Moral Theology and Sacred Scripture every day (Franca, 1952).

The didactic and pedagogical issue is the most developed part of the Ratio Studiorum. It deals with “both the didactic processes adopted for the transmission of knowledge and the pedagogical stimuli put into action to ensure the success of the educational effort” (Franca, 1952). The Ratio's approach includes teaching methods and educational ideas to help teachers while also creating a unified teaching system for schools run by the Jesuits.

One of the methods used was the lecture (*prelectio*), which was an advanced lesson that told students what to study. It was different for each student, depending on how smart they were. For example, in elementary grammar classes, after reading and summarizing the text, the teacher explains and resolves difficulties related to vocabulary, the appropriateness of terms, the meaning of metaphors, grammar, and the order and connection of words (Franca, 1952).

The lecture was the most important part of the Ratio teaching system because it was through this method that students developed their intellectual sensitivity. This change was made slowly, being that

as classes approach rhetoric, questions of elementary grammar are followed by those relating to syntax, style, and the art of composition. More than words, the teacher is concerned with ideas and their expression. The text studied is compared with similar texts by the same or other authors. For a better understanding, the indispensable knowledge of *realia* is provided. This is what the Ratio calls *erudito* (positive knowledge). This term encompasses notions of history, geography, mythology, ethnology, archaeology, and institutions of Greco-Roman antiquity that can elucidate the meaning of the passage analyzed. The *raison d'être* of *eruditio*, however, is not so much to increase the sum of knowledge as to introduce the student to a perfect understanding of the author (Franca, 1952).

The teacher and the student both played an important role in the success of this activity. Therefore, for the method to work, the teacher had to prepare the explanation carefully, and the students had to pay close attention to turn the teacher's instructions into real results. The point of the lecture is not just to learn the ideas but also to actually improve how you express yourself. The ability to imitate is the key to understanding. *Imitatio est anima prelectiones*. One studies a letter, a description, or a speech to learn how to write one of those things.

In addition to the lecture, the Ratio suggests a few more activities. Before the lecture, students would practice reciting a verse or passage in Latin. This was done to help people remember things and learn new words. It also helped people understand literature better. Other school activities included "collecting phrases from good authors, translation and retroversion, dictation of the composition theme, writing inscriptions, epigrams, epitaphs, etc., correction of works, and recitation of challenges" (Franca, 1952).

The Jesuits did not like corporal punishment. This made students interested in learning. They did not completely get rid of corporal punishment, but they did make discipline less strict. In general, the society tried to appeal to "the nobler feelings of honor and dignity" (Franca, 1952). Rule 40 for lower schoolteachers gives us an idea of how the Jesuits dealt with punishment:

Do not be hasty in punishing or overly inquisitive; dissimulate when you can without harming anyone; not only do not inflict any physical punishment (this is the job of the disciplinarian), but also refrain from any insults, whether verbal or physical; do not call anyone by anything apart from their first or last name; sometimes it is useful, instead of punishment, to add some literary work in addition to the daily exercise; leave the most severe or unusual punishments to the mayor, especially for offenses committed outside the classroom, and refer to him those who refuse to accept physical punishment (1832; correction), especially if they are older (Ratio Studiorum, 2019, p. 148).

Corporal punishment was only used when exhortations and words were not enough. Even in the most serious cases, the rules of the *Ratio* "limited the chances of abuse and maintained disciplinary effectiveness" (Franca, 1952). It's interesting to note that corporal punishment was not given by teachers, but by a corrector. A corrector was an outside person responsible for this type of discipline. The position of executor of punishments "was normally held by a layperson from outside the school, of adult age and with advanced studies, who, for a salary, carried out the sentences handed down to the guilty and spared the teachers the odious nature of that function" (Miranda, 2011, p. 485). As corporal punishment was used only as a last resort, Jesuit pedagogy resorted to other instruments to stimulate students, such as theater, competitions, and awards.

The Jesuits used theater to educate people. Theater could be many things, like simple talks or big tragedies, funny plays, and religious plays (Franca, 1952). Rodrigues (1917, p. 82) tells us that theater was an important part of Jesuit life. They used theater to teach important lessons in a fun way.

Competitions also helped get students excited about the subject and motivated to learn more. To understand the rules about awards, look at rules 35 and 36 of *Das Regras do prefeito de estudos inferiores* (Rules of the Mayor of Lower Studies). These rules talk about public and private awards. For example, the teacher or the head of the school would give them to students who "defeated their opponent, repeated or memorized a book, or made some other notable effort" (Ratio Studiorum, 2019, p. 135). The ratio provides more information, including specific instructions for the awards. The following quote shows prize distribution by class:

For the Rhetoric class, there will be eight prizes: two for Latin, two for poetry, two for Greek prose, and two more for poetry. For the Humanities class and the first Grammar class, there will be six prizes, in the same order, omitting Greek poetry, which, as a rule, does not occur below Rhetoric. For all other lower classes, there will be four prizes, also omitting Latin poetry. In addition, in all classes, a prize will also be given to the student or two students who have best learned Christian doctrine. Depending on the number of students, large or small, more or fewer prizes may be distributed, provided that Latin prose is always considered more important" (Ratio Studiorum, 2019, p. 139).



In total, there are 13 rules prescribed by the *Ratio* that deal with the distribution of prizes, which guide, among other things, the number of prizes for each class, the form of judging, the form of distribution of prizes, and penalties for fraud.

After this overview of some concepts of the Society of Jesus' teaching plan, we will move on to the second part of the text, where we will attempt, through the regulations of the Belém da Cachoeira seminary, to link the regulations of the Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte seminary to the Jesuits' educational approach as expressed in the *Ratio*.

### The 1760 Statute of Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte Seminary

The first set of rules for the Mariana Seminary was granted in 1760 by Dom Frei Manoel da Cruz. This set of rules was called "*Statutes*" and consisted of 13 chapters. The rules organize the daily life of students, explaining how to behave, pray, and study as part of their religious education. They "objectively cover the school day, from waking up to going to bed, and highlight the school's rules and punishments" (Pereira, 2023, p. 197). According to Serafim Leite's comment in the introduction, the author of these rules was probably Jesuit Father José Nogueira, who was the first teacher at the Mariana seminary. Based on this information, we can compare the rules of the Mariana seminary with the Jesuit school organization and, as a result, with the *Ratio Studiorum*. The *Ratio Studiorum* was based on the *Ratio*. This is because the language of the Mariana seminary regulations, according to Serafim Leite, would be the same as that of the regulations of the Society of Jesus.

The most obvious aspect of these Jesuit rules is the emphasis on holidays, feasts, and saints. Chapter 12 is noteworthy, as it prescribes the feast days, holidays, and saints celebrated by the seminary. It chooses to commemorate two saints: Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus, and Aloysius Gonzaga, a saint celebrated in schools run by the Jesuits. We can confirm this by reading chapter 12 of the first regulation of the Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte Seminary:

12th - The general school vacations for both Philosophy and Grammar classes shall be only one month, from Sunday infra octavam Ascensionis to the third Sunday after Pentecost, as this is the most suitable time for the country. At Christmas, there will be eight days of vacation: from Palm Sunday to the last Friday of Easter, inclusive, as well as the three days leading up to Lent. The days of the Glorious Melifluous Doctor Saint Bernard, the Glorious Saint Ignatius of Loyola, Saint Louis Gonzaga, Patron Saint of Studies, and the day of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Patron Saints of Brazil, will also be holidays (Seminary Statute, 1760).

In addition to the elements presented above, we can see Jesuit language in other parts of the Mariana seminary regulations. To accomplish this, we will compare them with the rules of another seminary of the Society of Jesus. We will use the rules of the Belém da Cachoeira seminary<sup>10</sup>, which was also founded by the Jesuits in the 17th century.

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<sup>10</sup> The Belém da Cachoeira seminary was founded in 1686, 64 years before the Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte seminary in Mariana. The Mariana seminary closed in 1759 because of a policy from King John V of Portugal, called Pombaline policy. It was not a seminary, meaning it was not a school for training priests. It was a boarding school. Oliveira (2014, p. 200) says that the education offered by this institution was intended for people who came from outside the state of Bahia.

The rules of the Belém seminary are much longer and more detailed than those of the Mariana seminary. The book has 44 paragraphs and is divided into three parts. The first part has 29 paragraphs. They talk about different types of studies, economic and financial arrangements, and general rules. All of this is meant to show the purpose of the seminary. The second part, with only five paragraphs, presents the teaching methods, rules for feeding students, rules of conduct, and how to present oneself to students. It aims to address the rules for teachers. The third part has 10 paragraphs about devotion, study, and recreation schedules. This part aims to address the internal discipline of the seminary (Oliveira, 2014, p. 170).

The rules of the Mariana seminary are much simpler. They have only 13 paragraphs, also called chapters or statutes. However, they resemble the last part of the Belém seminary regulations, entitled Order to be observed at the Belém Seminary, which has 10 paragraphs. The Mariana seminary regulations have three more paragraphs, but the two documents are very similar, except for a few minor details. They are similar in the topics they cover and the way those topics are explained.

It is important to note that some themes, such as prayer, silence, study discipline, and obedience, are common to religious life. Because of this, these themes appear in practically all seminary regulations, even those that were not influenced by the Jesuits. But the difference—and this is what interests us here—is the way these ideas are presented, that is, the language used to present them. To check if the language of the first Mariana seminary regulation is the same as the language of the regulations of Jesuit educational institutions, it's convenient to compare them.

The table below<sup>11</sup> shows how the two regulations are similar. The spreadsheet has three columns. The first column has the themes that are common to both regulations. The second column has the regulations of the Belém seminary. The third column has the regulations of the Mariana seminary. We have highlighted some parts of the texts to make it easier to see the similarities between the two documents. The parts in bold are the same. The parts in italics are not identical, but they convey the same idea.

The table doesn't show all the Mariana Seminary rules. The last five chapters are missing. However, the 12th chapter was presented in the text as a direct quote. The ninth chapter explains the rules for going into town. Chapter 10 talks about the rules about weapons at the seminary. The eleventh and twelfth chapters are about vacations and holidays for students of philosophy and grammar. The thirteenth rule clearly states that everyone must respect all the rules. It also says that the rector is responsible for making sure that anyone who doesn't obey the rules is punished in a fair and quick way. We didn't include these chapters because the goal was to show how the Mariana seminary regulations are similar to the educational documents of Jesuit schools.

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<sup>11</sup> The table doesn't show all of the Mariana Seminary rules. The last five chapters are missing. However, the 12th chapter was presented in the text as a direct quote. The ninth chapter explains the rules for going into town. Chapter 10 talks about the rules about weapons at the seminary. The eleventh and twelfth chapters are about vacations and holidays for students of philosophy and grammar. The thirteenth rule clearly states that everyone must follow all the rules. It also says that the Rector is responsible for making sure that anyone who doesn't follow the rules is punished in a fair and quick way. We didn't include these chapters because the goal was to show how the Mariana seminary regulations are similar to the educational documents of Jesuit schools.

**Table 2** – Similarities of rules between Belém da Cachoeira and Mariana seminars

SET OF RULES		
THEMES	BELÉM DA CACHOEIRA SEMINARY	MARIANA SEMINARY
Waking up method.	1. <b>At daybreak, the alarm will sound, and those who are careful to wake up will knock on the cubicles, so that all who sleep may hear</b> , and it will be enough to give them eight hours to sleep.	1st. <b>At daybreak, the bell will ring, and whoever is responsible for waking everyone up will knock on the doors of the cubicles so that everyone can hear</b> , saying, "Praise be to the Blessed Sacrament," until someone inside responds, "forever." Once everyone is awake, the most senior member will say aloud with all reverence, – <i>Benedictusit Sancta et Individuistrinituas, Pater, et Filius, et Espiritus Sanctus</i> – to which everyone will respond, "Amen."
Prayer. Silence. Study. Activity schedules. Organization of activities. Rest mode. Attitude toward a sick person.	2. <i>At the signal from the bell, everyone will go quietly and calmly to the church, where they will say their morning prayers. Once they have finished, they will attend Mass. After Mass, they will return to their places to study and do their classwork until lunch, which will be just before 8:00 a.m. At eight o'clock</i> , they will go to class, where the style of our classes will be maintained, both in the order of lessons and in punishments; leaving class, they may talk at the table and will eat in community, with lessons and silence. After the meal, they will have an hour of rest, all together, in the designated place, and during this time, they are not allowed to leave the common area; and when someone is sick, the Father Rector or the Father Master will assign those who are to rest with the sick person.	2nd. <i>They will study until the bell rings for Mass, at which point they will all go to the church to say their morning prayers. Once these are finished, they will attend Mass, and afterward they will return to their cubicles to study, which will be at a quarter to eight.</i> 3rd. <b>At eight o'clock</b> they will go to class, where they will observe everything and all that is commanded in the instructions for teachers ordained and ordered to be published by Our Lord the King for use in the schools newly founded in his Kingdoms and Domains <sup>12</sup> . Leaving class, they may talk until they reach the table, where they shall remain silent, listening attentively to the lesson. <i>Once this is over, they shall all rest together in the designated place, at which time they shall not be allowed to leave the common area. In addition, when any seminarian is ill, the Rev. Father Rector shall determine who shall go with him to rest.</i>

<sup>12</sup> Our emphasis. It cannot be stated categorically, but it seems that this section of the regulation was added deliberately by Dom Frei Manuel da Cruz so as not to generate conflicts with the educational policy changes promoted by Portugal with the Pombaline Reform.

Prayer times, study times, and recreation times. Punishments.	3. <i>Once the break is over, they will say a short prayer to the Lord and the Lady; they will return to their places to study their classwork until three o'clock, and those who talk during this time will be punished. At three o'clock, they will go to class; when it is over, they may talk until the music lesson, which everyone will attend, and they will have their lessons, and those who are absent will be punished. When it is over, they may relax until the Hail Marys, as permitted by the Father Rector.</i>	4th. <i>After rest, they will pray to Our Lady and retire to their cubicles to study until three o'clock, and those who are absent during this time will be punished. At three o'clock they will go to class, and after class they may talk and play until the Ave Marias.</i>
Mode of prayer. Devotions.	4. After the Hail Marys, they will <b>pray the rosary of Our Lady, in alternating choirs, in a low, slow, and devout voice, intending to pleasing and praising Our Lady.</b> At the end, the litany will be said, and when it is finished, they will have supper. After supper, they will rest in the usual place; and when it is over, they will listen to a spiritual lesson, visit the Lord and the Lady in the Church, where they will briefly examine their consciences, say their night prayers, and go to bed: they will not be allowed to walk outside their cubicles or talk after the examination.	5th. As soon as the Ave Marias are played, they will <b>pray the Rosary of Our Lady in alternating choirs in a low voice, but slowly and devoutly, with a spirit of praise and to please Our Lady.</b> <i>Then they will retire to their cubicles to study until the litany, which, once finished, they will have supper. <u>Then on Fridays they will run the Way of the Cross, and on Saturdays one of the seminarians, chosen by lot, will recount an example of Our Lady, well composed in a form that seems like spiritual practice, and on most days there will be a lecture on Morality, as is already customary</u><sup>13</sup>.</i> At the end, they will visit Our Lady, reciting the night prayers, and will remain briefly examination of conscience, at the end of which they will perform an act of contrition, which the seminarians will say in an intelligible voice in their hearts, <i>and they will retire to their cubicles, and then go to bed, extinguishing their lamps; only those seminarians who have some literary work to do may keep their lamps lit longer, with the permission of the Most Reverend Father Rector.</i> 6th. <i>After the examination, they may not leave their cubicles or speak.</i>
Organization of Sundays and holy days.	5. On <b>Sundays and holy days, they will study from eight o'clock</b> until the Congregation's service begins, after which they will attend the Doctrine, which is held in the Church. On Wednesdays or Thursdays, they will have practice at eight o'clock, and thereafter, they will study for an hour.	On <b>Sundays and holy days, they will study from eight o'clock to ten</b> , except on days when there is a congregation, which they will attend in their places, separated from the outside students. On holidays, they will also study from

<sup>13</sup> Our emphasis. There is no correspondence between this passage and the regulations of the Belém da Cachoeira seminary. However, there is an indication of the *Ratio* for such a practice. This can be seen further down in the text itself.

	6. On holy days and Wednesdays and Thursdays in the afternoon, after studying for one hour, they will have more time for recreation and may play the usual games and have a snack and seek to make good use of their time, reviewing what they have learned, doing their compositions, practicing their songs, and learning all the instruments, according to the order given by the Father Rector.	eight to ten o'clock. And on such days, both holy and holidays, in the afternoon, after studying until two o'clock, they will attend Cantochão for three quarters of an hour and have a snack at three o'clock; and in the remaining time, they will have their recreation, and they must also remind those who are late.
Obligation of communion. Respect for others. Prohibition of giving something of yours to another. Discipline with bed and clothing.	7. <i>The communion shall be celebrated on all feasts of Christ and Our Lady and on other days as the Rector sees fit, which does not prevent anyone from receiving Holy Communion frequently with the approval of their confessor.</i> 8. <i>Let all refrain from handholding and other mischief, which serve only to cause discord; but treat each other with all modesty and courtesy, especially the elders, and know that those who fail in this will be severely punished.</i> 9. <i>Keep your beds tidy and your clothes arranged with the numbers assigned to you, and when you have torn clothes or shoes, notify the Father Rector, and without his permission, do not give away anything you have brought from outside.</i>	7th. <i>Communion shall be taken every month. Shall treat each other with all seriousness, courtesy, and modesty, especially the elders. Beds must be made, clothes tidied, and numbered, and it will not be allowed to give away anything brought from outside without the permission of the Reverend Father Rector.</i>
Care of books under penalty of punishment. Entering other people's rooms is not allowed. Talking to women is not allowed.	10. <b>Anyone who writes on books or walls will be punished;</b> treat books with care, as befits well-behaved children. <i>Do not enter each other's rooms without the permission of the Rector or the Master, as this only disturbs those who are studying. Do not speak to any woman in the church, even if she is a relative, without the permission of the Rector, and when someone from outside comes to fetch a seminarian; the porter shall notify the Rector.</i>	8th. <b>Scribbling in books or on walls will be severely punished.</b> <i>And we order that you do not enter each other's cubicles, nor the pantry and kitchen, nor even the dining hall, except at mealtimes. They shall not admit any outsiders into their cubicles, nor shall they speak to anyone at the gatehouse or church, nor speak to women, even if they are relatives, without having the express permission of the Reverend Father Rector, who will severely punish any of these offenses according to the contumacy of the disobedient.</i>

**Source:** Mariana seminary statute; Belém da Cachoeira seminary statute

Although the seminary in Mariana was at a different academic level than the seminary in Belém da Cachoeira, since the seminary in Mariana offered studies in humanities and theology, the presentation of the above-mentioned regulations allows us to see that, in addition to the language being practically the same, thus confirming Serafim Leite's idea, the topics covered and the form of internal organization were also practically the same.

The way of getting up in the morning, the times for prayers, studies, and recreation, absences that result in punishment, discipline in prayer and studies, silence as an order, the organization of activities, the way of resting, the attitude towards a sick person, the way of saying prayers, the organization of Sundays and holy days, the obligation of communion and confession, respect for others, the prohibition of giving something of yours to another, discipline with bed and clothing, care with books under penalty of punishment, the prohibition of entering another's room, and the prohibition of speaking with women are items that are repeated in both regulations similarly.

These themes can be directly linked to the *Ratio*. We highlight a few points. A first observation is provided by Freitas (2011, p. 169), who informs us that, “when dealing with the *Order that must be maintained at the Seminary of Belém*, Gusmão (founder of the seminary) resumed, with the necessary adaptations, part of the norms established in the *Common Rules for Teachers of Lower Classes*.” This can be observed, for example, about the spiritual practices set out in the *Common Rules for Teachers of Lower Classes of the Ratio*:

On Fridays or Saturdays, there should also be a half-hour spiritual exhortation or explanation of doctrine. Students should be exhorted above all to daily prayer to God, in particular to the daily recitation of the Rosary or the Office of Our Lady; to the evening examination of conscience; to the frequent and worthy reception of the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, to the avoidance of bad habits; to the horror of vice; and finally to the practice of virtues worthy of a Christian (*Ratio Studiorum*, 2019, p. 141).

Regarding the acts prescribed by the above quotation, it is important to note two observations. First, spiritual exhortation only appears in the fifth chapter of the Mariana seminary regulations. Second, the other themes—daily prayer, recitation of the rosary, evening examination of conscience, and frequent reception of the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist—appear in both sets of regulations. Another theme that appears strongly in both regulations and can be seen in the *Ratio* is the question of devotion to Our Lady, as we can see in the *Common Rules for Teachers of Lower Classes*:

Litany and devotion to Our Lady. - On Saturday afternoons, have the students recite the litany of Our Lady in class, or, if it is customary, take them to church to hear it with others; earnestly advise your disciples to be devoted to the Virgin Mary and their Guardian Angel (*Ratio Studiorum*, 2019, p. 142).

One final point to be emphasized regarding the relationship between the rules and the *Ratio* is the silence in both when it comes to how students should behave on their way to church, in class, during meals and study time, and when performing class duties. Miranda points out that the Belém da Cachoeira regulations' insistence on silence is influenced by the *Ratio*. The Belém da Cachoeira regulations' insistence on student silence "mirrors the 'silence and composure' that students should observe in class, as prescribed in the *Ratio Studiorum*" (Miranda, 2009, as cited in Freitas, 2011, p. 169). For instance, the rules for the lower studies prefect require that students enter and exit the church without making noise. The rules for lower-class teachers also require silence in class: "Take particular care that everyone observes silence and modesty. Do not walk around the classroom. Do not change seats. Do not pass gifts or notes from one side to the other. Do not leave the classroom, especially two or more at the same time" (*Ratio Studiorum*, 2019, pp. 148–149).

## Final considerations

In concluding this work, it is important to emphasize that all the effort was motivated by the objective of understanding the influence of the Ratio on the Seminary of Our Lady of Good Death in Mariana. To establish a comparison, we resorted to another regulation from a Jesuit seminary that was older and more established than that of Mariana. The first Mariana seminary rules were signed by a bishop, making a comparison necessary. This comparison helped us bring the Mariana Seminary's first rules closer to the Ratio. More than demonstrating that the Mariana Seminary's rules were supported by the Ratio, we wanted to show that, as Serafim Leite pointed out, the language of these rules was the same as that of the rules of other educational institutions organized by the Society of Jesus.

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