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*School textbooks and teachers training
between past and present*
Proceedings of the International Conference

Limoges (France), 3-4 June 2013
ESPE de l'Académie de Limoges, Université de Limoges

edited by
Paolo Bianchini and Marc Moyon

The school textbook: a source and didactic tool

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ABSTRACT: The essay introduces the articles of the dossier *School textbooks and teachers training between past and present*. The dossier aims to contribute to the establishment in the field of textbook of that bond between research and training which for some time has been present for other historical sources. The focus is on the role of school textbooks not only as a source for researchers, but also as an instrument for the training of the new generations of teachers.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Textbook; Database; Teacher Education; Content of Education; Historical Research.

This dossier is the result of very real epistemological and methodological questions that we encounter every day as researchers and teachers. And neither is this a reason to consider them as themes of little substance or importance. If the job of the researcher is useful and enriching per se, today more than ever, with a crisis that is cultural more than it is economic and in a world of 'sad passions' or in which there is no faith in the future, research has to be an instrument for the direction of action. In the same way, it is necessary for research to fuel the desire to carry out research in the younger generations, whose job it will be to transmit knowledge.

The underlying ambition of the articles which follow is to contribute to the establishment in the field of textbook publication of that bond between research and training which for some time has been present for other historical

sources, such as literary works and iconography, just to name a couple. The use of historic school textbooks in the training field becomes even more useful, if not indispensable, considering that, perhaps even more than in the cases of the masterpieces of literature or of art, they were created for a purely pedagogical purpose. They originated as didactic instruments and, from a number of viewpoints, represent one of the most typical and refined products of modern mass education. It is, then, worth using them to create in students, and even more in teachers undergoing basic or on-going training, an awareness of the messages and functions of which textbooks and, more generally, the school system have been and still are the bearers.

Significantly, the first part of this dossier contains essays that may not seem very original in that they focus on textbook contents. In actual fact, they have the dual merit of illustrating aspects of the evolution of certain subjects and didactic practices as yet unexplored, and of highlighting the importance of concentrating on the contents, since textbooks are or have been the bearers of messages that are in many cases universal and culturally more profound than might commonly be believed. In fact, they say much not only of the type of mathematics taught in a given historical period, or of the image of the nation to be transmitted to pupils through history and geography, or again of how the civil and moral standards of a country have evolved. They remind us of who we are and where we come from, and what the pillars of our culture are, for better or for worse. Apart from the thoroughly researched reflections that Renaud d'Enfert makes on the teaching of mathematics in the middle school, the lucid considerations of Jacques Gleyse on moral education, of the strategies developed in Brazil to reduce illiteracy traced by Paulo Mello and of the role that the images analysed by Jean-Paul Artaud and François Loget have had in the teaching of science, the opening essays underline the value that a school textbook of the past has for the knowledge of the present. This is a first, fundamental reason for employing them in training today's students, even though they were written for pupils decades or even centuries ago.

Another choice that has inspired this dossier, and before the conference held at the University of Limoges in June 2013, is the use of the textbook as a means of debate among specialists of different subject areas. It is not easy to gather around one table historians and experts in didactics, and historians of textbook publication, of mathematics, literature, grammar, sport... Even so, the textbook by its very nature does lend itself to differing interpretations ranging from those linked to subject knowledge, to those of a more cultural and semiotic nature, from the historical to the methodological approach. Each can enlighten the other, and together they can help to render the complexity of the functions of textbooks and of the processes behind their conception, production, sale and use in the classroom and at home.

One objective that inspired the Limoges meeting first and then this collection of essays is the idea of the historical textbook not only as a source, but also as

didactic material. So, the main ambition of the Limoges meeting, which emerges in this dossier, was to compare different angles in order to respond to two needs. The first is to legitimise the databases, update them, and develop them scientifically and technologically. The second need consists of making teachers and teacher trainers aware of the existence and the wealth of the databases accessible by all. With the Limoges conference and this dossier, the databases can no longer be considered of interest to specialists alone, but also the domain of potential users that we have helped to identify. As for the first area, the study of textbooks has, in the space of thirty years, gradually become part of the documentary material used by historians to enquire into the history of education and didactics, as well as the history of publication and culture of the school. The aim, then, was certainly not that of exploring anything sensational, but of trying to define a limited aspect pertaining to the databases of textbooks. These also have quite a long history behind them and, internationally, a consolidated tradition of research. However, the constant updating of computer-based resources obliges historians to come to terms with technological and cultural changes imposed by the Web and by computer technology when orienting their choices.

The essays by Paolo Bianchini, Circe Bittencourt, Gabriela Ossenbach and Robert Strötgen aim to define the situation of textbook databases not so much from a historiographical point of view, but with an eye to the evaluation of what is really happening in terms of their evolution over the last few years, of the availability of online sources, and of their use for both heuristic purposes and in professional training. What emerges is that, on the one hand, the experience acquired in decades of work on schoolbooks has made historians and experts in didactics more careful in their assessments and in their critical use of textbooks while, on the other hand, the new era of globalisation opened by Internet imposes new and pressing challenges on researchers. The range of sources and studies has multiplied thanks to the Web and in order to find one's bearings it is necessary to have both some technical and, above all, some critical training when using digital resources. Then again, the essays highlight the connections that specialised databases have to face on the Web, in the first place, with digital libraries.

New working opportunities emerge, with original forms of contamination on the part of computer studies, and also thanks to the interest in new types of textbooks, like the ones published in Brazil for the indigenous populations and described in the article by Circe Bittencourt. The process that all the databases are more or less consciously undergoing is their transformation into real specialist portals, in which the catalogues of textbooks constitute only one of the usable resources, along with digital libraries and databases of laws, syllabuses and the iconography of the school in the past. This evolution is without a doubt proof of the willingness of historians concerned with textbook publication to keep up with the times and meet the challenge represented by Web 2.0. However,

it also exposes the flanks to new, inevitable problems. The first derives from the creation of computer technologies that are functional for online historical research, an operation which is anything but simple (and economical) in the presence of complex applications such as those for handling Opacs, relational databases, or that operate thanks to IT algorithms. Another problem is the relationship with the instruments commonly used by Internet users, such as web browsers, digital libraries and archives. The very user-friendliness of these instruments, making them accessible to the public at large, and the arrival on the historiographical scene (to be undoubtedly welcomed) of players such as Google, Yahoo and Microsoft, thanks to the digitalisation of books and sources, oblige historians to tackle with some urgency the problem of self-referentiality in how they carry out their research and what their fields of enquiry are.

To ignore that the databases created by and for historians are only a small part of what is present online means to refuse to use the enormous quantity of documents now available and to be condemned to voluntary marginalisation. For this reason, too, it is important for historiographical portals and the databases of school textbooks to be made known to scholars of other subject areas and to the non-specialist public, and to be used in the training of the new generations of teachers.

As regards the use of past textbooks as didactic tools for the present, we have chosen to focus our attention on the role that old school books may have in training future teachers as epistemological and didactic tools for the present. Created as the main didactic instrument in the modern school system, the textbook of the past cannot only be considered a document for use in analysing the era that produced it. It may be put back on the school desk as an instrument in training those whose task it will be to choose and use the textbooks of the future, that is trainee teachers.

It is a difficult challenge that several teacher-researchers from the IUFM¹ in France have chosen to accept. Indeed, many of these university facilities possess large collections in their libraries of several hundreds (even thousands in the most important libraries) of works linked to education (professional journals, official instructions, monographs and, of course, great numbers of school textbooks), mainly from the former *Écoles Normales Primaires*, the old teacher training institutes, as well as personal donations from former teachers and schools. Some of these collections, such as the CEDHRE in Montpellier, are largely open to researchers, students or teachers. For others, access is more limited and it is often necessary to demonstrate how important and how useful it is in the field of research into the teaching and/or training (initial or on-going) of schoolteachers. This is particularly the case in the *ÉSPÉ* of the Academies

¹ Since September 1st, 2013, the IUFM (Instituts Universitaires de Formation des Maîtres) have become *ÉSPÉ* (*École Supérieure du Professorat et de l'Éducation*). Following this introduction, we will mention the *ÉSPÉ* instead of the former IUFM.

of Limoges and of Poitiers to which many teacher-researchers have had the common wish to contribute within the bi-annual project *Étude d'ouvrages et d'objets pédagogiques anciens en lien avec l'enseignement* funded by the Pôle de Recherche et d'Enseignement Supérieur Limousin-Poitou Charentes. However, it is not a question of militancy or of the ideological acknowledgement of a certain heritage; it also corresponds to a real need in the field of teacher training. Effectively, the use of textbooks is still strongly recommended by institutions as it often represents a guide for teachers and a point of reference for pupils, but it is a reasoned use that must be put to the test by sharpening their critical eye². Inevitably, this is an issue for basic teacher training.

It is then in response to such necessities that Valérie Legros, Marc Moyon and Laetitia Perret share with us their modest multidisciplinary experience of the establishment, within the master's course in teaching, training and education instituted by their university, of an introduction to the research aimed at training reflexive practitioners starting from past school texts. This general article is fittingly completed by the highly disciplinary studies of Muriel Coret and Malika Kaheraoui into French grammar and its evolution in school texts (from 1845 to the present); of Hugues Marquis who attempts to outline the place of history books in teaching training; or the research of Maryvonne Priolet into the didactics of mathematics in which she questions the effectiveness of the use of textbooks by teachers in primary schools.

Alain Choppin, mentioned more than once in this dossier, is for us a natural forerunner for many of the themes dealt with. Not only did Choppin launch the use of databases of textbooks with the Emmanuelle project³, but he also used his competence in order to train teachers both in the former Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique (INRP) and as a member of the International Association for Research on Textbooks and Educational Media (IARTEM). It is a pleasure for us to dedicate our studies ideally to Alain Choppin, hoping to be able to discuss them with him at a distance and receive some advice and his certain and sincere encouragement.

Finally, we would particularly like to thank all the authors of this dossier as well as those who participated in the meeting *À livre ouvert. Manuels Scolaires*

² This 'critical eye' is explicitly mentioned, and more than once, in the recent report (no. 2013-066) of the Inspection Générale de l'Éducation Nationale française (June 2013) on the *Bilan de la mise en œuvre des programmes issus de la réforme de l'école primaire de 2008*, see <<http://www.education.gouv.fr/cid75316/bilan-de-la-mise-en-oeuvre-des-programmes-issus-de-la-reforme-de-l-ecole-primaire-de-2008.html>> (last access January 9th 2014).

³ In this dossier there are no articles dedicated to Emmanuelle and its history. It is, of course, well-known and was treated thoroughly in the Limoges conference by Clémence Cardon Quint, who study the scheme during her period at the Service d'Histoire de l'éducation, describing its evolution, and how it works in the essay entitled *La base Emmanuelle: histoire et perspectives*, in M. Berré, F. Brasseur, C. Gobeaux, R. Plisnier (edd.), *Les manuels scolaires dans l'histoire de l'éducation: un enjeu patrimonial et scientifique*, Mons, Centre international de phonétique appliquée, 2013, pp. 21-38.

et Formation des Maîtres entre passé et présent who contributed greatly to making the exchanges fruitful. We must also thank the universities and research centres of those who participated and without whom the meeting would not have been possible, and in particular the University of Limoges, the University of Turin, the PRES Limousin-Poitou Charentes and the Région Limousin.

The history of mathematics education and textbooks in France in the 19th and 20th centuries

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ABSTRACT: This publication aims at drawing attention to two distinct topics: the lack of research on French mathematics textbooks for middle school, and their interest not only as texts but also as objects made by humans in a specific place and time. Publishing textbooks and education books can sometimes represent an important part of what mathematics teachers do, and also be a way for them to gain social recognition. That is why the study of what they published and the conditions under which they published it seems to be a great tool to understand their activities and practices beyond the «hand to hand confrontation» (Chervel, 1988) with the class and the pupils; this requires considering the writing of a textbook not solely as the reproduction, the transposition or the reflection of scholarly knowledge established at the higher scientific level and on which teachers have no real impact, but rather as creating something new.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Textbook; Mathematics; Primary School; France; XIX-XX Centuries.

1. A research field torn between scholarly treatises and elementary school textbooks

In the research field of the history of mathematics education, works on textbooks are very similar to the field itself; they are largely dominated by research in history of mathematics, and focus mostly on the higher levels of the education system, where in principle scholars are to be found: science colleges – especially the *École polytechnique* and the *École normale supérieure* – science universities, etc. but also in senior high school where they are aimed at a small

– and moreover male – elite and/or scientists-to-be. On the other hand, primary school, long considered the school for common people, has not been a source of interest among historians of mathematics. The few available researches were made by authors from diverse disciplines, generally sociologists or didacticists, but they almost exclusively focus on the teaching of calculus and the metric system in elementary school, neglecting the other subdisciplines of mathematics such as geometry or algebra, as well as the higher level of primary school – higher primary school, primary *écoles normales*, where teachers-to-be are trained – organised at the beginning of the 1830s and which offered post-elementary schooling mostly aimed at practical applications.

In the same way, mathematics textbooks for middle school, be it in junior high school, in the highest classes of primary school or in technical school – where most of the common people went – have not succeeded in drawing researchers' attention. A criticism written by Bernadette Bensaude-Vincent, Antonio Garcia Belmar and José Ramón Bartomeu Sanchez is that the history of chemistry has only paid interest to textbooks written by 'great' chemists, and «have scorned the rank-and-file of textbook authors they considered as mediocre and who did not leave a mark»¹; this remark is also valid for the history of mathematics in the 19th and 20th centuries: most of the time, priority was given to the research on scholarly treatises. This underlines a difference with historians of mathematics who research medieval or modern times, as they do not hesitate to work on books written by or for practitioners – arithmeticians, stone masons, etc.² Moreover, the international bibliography Gert Schubring³ established in 2005 suggests that contrary to many of their foreign counterparts, this lack of interest in 19th and 20th centuries textbooks is specific to French historians of mathematics.

Although mathematics textbooks of the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries have indeed been studied, researches have focused on a limited number of books – and authors – destined to higher secondary school and the lowest levels of higher education. Researches were made on books published by

¹ B. Bensaude-Vincent, A. Garcia Belmar, J.R. Bartomeu Sanchez, *L'émergence d'une science des manuels: livres de chimie en France (1789-1852)*, Paris, Éditions des Archives Contemporaines, 2003, p. 1.

² M. Spiesser, *Les manuels d'arithmétique pour les marchands dans la France du XV^e siècle*, «Bulletin de l'association des professeurs de mathématiques de l'enseignement public», n. 444, 2003, pp. 32-50; Id., *L'impact des mathématiques pratiques au XV^e siècle sur l'évolution de la discipline et son enseignement élémentaire*, in L. Viennot (ed.), *Didactique, épistémologie et histoire des sciences – Penser l'enseignement*, Paris, PUF, 2008, pp. 303-331; Sakarovitch, *Épures d'architecture*, cit.; A. Bernard, C. Proust (edd.), *Ancient Scientific Sources and Teaching Contexts: Problems and Perspectives*, Dordrecht, Springer, 2014.

³ First International Bibliography on the History of Teaching and Learning Mathematics. Available at <<http://www.tc.columbia.edu/centers/ijhmt/index.asp?Id=International+Bibliography&Info=First+International+Bibliography+on+the+History+of+Teaching+and+Learning+Mathematics>> (last access: January 21st, 2014).

renowned scientists (Legendre, Bézout, Lacroix) who were successful and were consistently published, and as such should be considered as having a lasting influence on education⁴. Some of these books should «naturally» be considered as «the greatest textbooks»⁵. But if we have a look at the catalog entries on the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* just for the year 1810, right next to the *Traité élémentaire d'arithmétique* by Lacroix which had reached its ninth publication, we can find a dozen other arithmetic textbooks among which the *Abrégé d'arithmétique à l'usage des écoles chrétiennes*, the *Leçons d'arithmétique par demandes et réponses* by F. Colin, boarding school master in the city of Vitry in the Marne département, or even the *Traité d'arithmétique et calcul décimal à l'usage des écoles primaires* by Jean-Baptiste Dupin, primary school teacher in the Aude department. These textbooks are representative of what was published at the time by 'root' teachers and deserve just as much consideration⁶. To the best of my knowledge, during the following period, at the beginning of the 19th century, historians of mathematics solely focused on academic publications⁷, leaving the research field of elementary primary school textbooks – centred on arithmetic and the metric system, and neglecting geometry – to sociologists and didacticists⁸.

⁴ J. Dhombres, *Mathématisation et communauté scientifique française (1775-1825)*, «Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences», vol. 36, n. 117, 1986, pp. 249-293; P. Lamandé, *Trois traités français de géométrie à l'orée du XIX^e siècle: Legendre, Peyrard et Lacroix*, «Physis. Rivista di storia della scienza», vol. 30, fasc. 2-3, 1993, pp. 243-302; G. Schubring, *On the Methodology of Analysing Historical Textbooks: Lacroix as Textbook Author*, «For the learning of mathematics», vol. 7, n. 3, novembre 1987, pp. 41-51. About the didactics research by Lacroix, also read P. Lamandé, *La conception des nombres en France autour de 1800: l'œuvre didactique de Sylvestre-François Lacroix*, «Revue d'histoire des mathématiques», vol. 10, n. 1, 2004, pp. 45-106.

⁵ Lamandé, *Trois traités français de géométrie*, cit.: «The books by Legendre and Lacroix naturally fall into the category of great textbooks» (p. 250, emphasis added by me).

⁶ For example, read M. Bullynck, *The transmission of numeracy: integrating reckoning in Protestant North-German elementary education (1770-1810)*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 44, n. 5, 2008, pp. 563-585.

⁷ M. Zerner, *La transformation des traités français d'analyse (1870-1914)*, s.d., available at <<http://hal-unice.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-00347740/fr/>>; M. Armatte, *Une discipline dans tous ses états: la statistique à travers ses traités (1800-1914)*, «Revue de synthèse», vol. 112, n. 2, April-June 1991, pp. 161-206; Hélène Gispert, *Traité et manuels: influences croisées des sphères sociales, scolaires et académiques dans les sciences*, in Viennot (ed.), *Didactique, épistémologie et histoire des sciences*, cit., pp. 257-279: the perspective offered here mostly rests on the study of the analysis treatises of the last 3 decades of the 19th century.

⁸ P. Giolitto, *Naissance de la pédagogie primaire (1815-1879)*, Grenoble, CNDP, 1980, t. 2, pp. 263-344 about the «pedagogy of calculus» (history); G. Poujol, *Origines du problème*, in Michelle Bacquet et al., *Le tour du problème*, Montreuil, Éditions du Payrus, 1996, pp. 19-40 (sociology); C. Doublé, *Les manuels scolaires à la fin du XIX^e siècle*, in P.-M. Duhet (ed.), *L'Enfance et les ouvrages d'éducation. Vol. 2, XIX^e siècle*, Nantes, Université de Nantes, 1985, pp. 171-185 (sociology); G. Vincent, *L'école primaire française, étude sociologique*, Lyon, PUL, 1980, pp. 129-186 (chapter 7: «Calculus and ideology») (sociology); A. Harlé, *L'arithmétique dans les manuels de l'enseignement élémentaire français au début du XX^e siècle*, Thesis in didactics, Paris 7 university, 1984 (didactics).

Mathematics textbooks for post-elementary education – and their authors – remain under-studied. Here is an example: although many aspects of the 1902-1905 reform of scientific education in secondary school have been studied, the mathematics textbooks following the new directives have not really been researched as a corpus, nor specifically compared to the preceding generation of school books⁹. One can wonder why historians of mathematics have so little interest in the 20th as well as the 19th century; is it because textbooks became relatively commonplace in the 1830s, because their mathematical content is not ‘good’ when compared to the level the discipline has reached today, because there is a perceived gap with science as it was developing, or because most of the authors concerned were not renowned scientists? Although Hélène Gispert reported in *La France mathématique* that between 1860 and the beginning of the 20th century, and more specifically after the 1880s, most of the publications of the members of the *Société mathématique de France* were devoted to secondary and even primary school mathematics textbooks, they have not really drawn the attention of historians of mathematics¹⁰.

2. Writing a textbook is creating something new

Since 2000, several researches in the history of sciences have shown the interest there is in studying education books, even the most ordinary ones, seeing them not as a pale reflection of ‘normal science’ or the literal transcription of teaching practices, but as scientific productions in their own right, just like ‘research’ publications or scholarly treatises¹¹. Indeed, the goal

⁹ Part of a similar work has been conducted recently by C.-M. Domage: *L'impact de la réforme de 1902 sur l'enseignement de la géométrie. Étude des manuels du premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire (1902-1914)*, Master's degree dissertation, Paris 7 Diderot university, 2013. The part of the work of R. Bkouche focusing on «reform publications», *Variations autour de la réforme de 1902-1905*, «Cahiers d'histoire et de philosophie des sciences», n. 34, 1991, pp. 181-213, mostly deals with the *Nouveaux éléments de géométrie* by Charles Méray; its first publication (Paris, Savy, 1874) occurred much earlier than the 1902 reform. Among the geometry textbooks following the new curricula of 1902 and 1905, only the *Cours abrégé de géométrie* by Carlo Bourlet (Paris, Hachette, 1906) is mentioned, and only in passing.

¹⁰ H. Gispert, *La France mathématique: la Société mathématique de France, 1870-1914*, Paris, Cahiers d'histoire et de philosophie des sciences, n. 34, 1991, pp. 87-89, as well as table 5.6, p. 175. H. Gispert counts 132 published secondary school textbooks, not including those meant to help pupils get ready for the *baccalauréat* examination and the *classes préparatoires* (150 textbooks), and 5 primary school textbooks.

¹¹ Bensaude-Vincent *et al.*, *L'émergence d'une science des manuels*, cit.; Y. Cambefort, *L'enseignement de la zoologie, entre philosophie et leçon de choses. Les manuels pour l'enseignement secondaire de 1794 à 1914*, Paris, INRP, 2001. Read also a recent study by C. Radtka, conducted in an international perspective, *Construire la société scientifique par l'école. Angleterre, France et Pologne au prisme des manuels de sciences pour les élèves ordinaires (1950-2000)*, Thesis, EHESS,

of a mathematics schoolbook is not very different from that of a treatise, which aims at «presenting a topic or a group of topics concerning a discipline in a systematic manner»¹², or that of a lecture, which aims at «presenting known results in the best possible didactic way»¹³: writing an arithmetic, geometry or algebra textbook, even a simple one, means finding, sorting, selecting, and ordering a number of elements of mathematical knowledge to bring them to a specific audience. This approach is similar to the process of artistic reduction as H el ene V erin described it¹⁴. Thus each textbook is the result of precise – and presumably creative – work to summarise and order; it is at the crossroads between epistemological bias and didactic intentions, and the nature of its contents as well as the order they will be presented in depend on them. As such, it is an original work with its specificities, even though it can show similarities with competing textbooks. One of the issues is thus to find and study these specificities and similarities to uncover how authors use what already exists and how they free themselves from it. Furthermore, if authors are subject to several imperatives (education or examination syllabi, pedagogical or material constraints, publisher’s demands etc.), they still have some «wiggle room»¹⁵ to differ, or even escape the dominant models of mathematical science to offer new contents and/or approaches. 19th century textbooks on geometry «applied to linear sketch» mix theories and graphic applications, thereby shaking up the traditional order of geometry lectures¹⁶; they are typical of this emancipation from frameworks and standards. One could also mention the geometry textbooks that were written after the 1902 reform: some of them resolutely free themselves from Eucliden geometry, be it in substance or in form¹⁷; or some arithmetic textbooks for higher primary classes written at the end of the 1930s, are organized by ‘areas of interest’ rather than mathematical notions; thus –

2013. Concerning the use of textbooks as a means to report teaching practices, read A. Bruter, *P edagogies de l’histoire*, «Histoire de l’ ducation», n. 114, 2007, pp. 9-10.

¹² *Le Petit Robert*, 1989, quoted by Armatte, *Une discipline dans tous ses  tats*, cit., p. 163. Read also Bensaude-Vincent et al., *L’ mergence d’une science des manuels*, cit., p. 5.

¹³ B. Belhoste, *Pour une r evaluation du r le de l’enseignement dans l’histoire des math ematiques*, «Revue d’histoire des math ematiques», t. 4, fasc. 2, 1998, p. 300.

¹⁴ H. V erin, *R diger et r duire en art: un projet de rationalisation des pratiques*, in P. Dubourg-Glatigny, H. V erin (edd.), *R duire en art. La technologie de la Renaissance aux Lumi eres*, Paris,  d. de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 2008, pp. 17-58, and more specifically pp. 28-37.

¹⁵ Gispert, *Trait es et manuels: influences crois ees*, cit. On the editorial process and its constraints, read Radtka, *Construire la soci et  scientifique*, cit.

¹⁶ Read for example L.C. [Louis Constantin], F.P.B. [fr ere Philippe Bransiet], *Abr eg  de g om etrie appliqu ee au dessin lin aire,   l’arpentage, au nivellement et au lever des plans, suivi des principes de l’architecture et de la perspective*, Tours, Mame, Paris, Poussielgue-Rusand, 1842.

¹⁷ Read for example C. Bourlet, *Cours abr eg  de g om etrie. I. G om etrie plane. Sixi eme, cinqui eme, quatri eme B*, Paris, Hachette, 1909; E. Dussaux, A. B ech e, *Nouveau cours de g om etrie. Premi ere ann ee.  coles primaires sup erieures. Pr eparation aux  coles nationales d’arts et m etiers*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1910.

and to the best of my knowledge – they step away from usual presentations in an entirely new way¹⁸.

In any case, we have to better define the authors of these textbooks. It seems only logical to look at their training, their professional activity/activities, the discipline/disciplines they specialized in, the scholarly or professional networks they are part of. Although most textbooks writers are teachers, it does not imply that they are a homogenous group: their mathematics training, the school they teach in, the subject they teach can be very different. For example, there can be little doubt that in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, the culture – knowledge, skills, practises and working habits – and the representations of mathematics were not the same depending on whether a mathematics teacher had been trained within primary education (in a primary *école normale* then, maybe, in the *école normale supérieure d'enseignement primaire* in Saint-Cloud or Fontenay) or had reached secondary education then went to the science faculty or the *École normale supérieure*. Similarly, at a given time, some authors could have more than one occupation: they can be *both* architects, executive agents, engineers etc. *and* teachers, or teach extra classes outside their usual school like some secondary and even higher education teachers who occasionally taught in higher primary education or secondary education for women¹⁹. In any case, the fact an author teaches in a specific type of school does not mean the textbooks (s)he writes aim at this precise audience. Some books are destined to different readerships and go beyond institutional boundaries. Gabriel-Frédéric Olivier, master of mathematics at the *collège* in Troyes in the 1820s and 1830s, thus published a mathematics course book «to be used in *collèges*, educational homes and industrial schools» targeting both male and female audiences and suited for secondary as well as higher primary or technical education profiles²⁰. Similarly, at the very beginning of the 20th century, Carlo Bourlet, who taught in the *lycée Saint-Louis* then in the *Conservatoire des arts et métiers*, published his *Cours complet de mathématiques à l'usage de l'enseignement secondaire et de divers enseignements* for secondary school students as well as higher primary classes pupils. Nevertheless, it is much more common for teachers in the secondary or higher education to publish textbooks for the higher levels of primary

¹⁸ A. Châtelet, G. Condevaux, *Arithmétique. Applications. Usages du calcul dans la vie pratique. Cours de fin d'études primaires (scolarité prolongée) et ateliers-écoles*, Paris, Bourrellier, 1938.

¹⁹ R. d'Enfert, *Pour une prosopographie des enseignants de mathématiques des premières écoles normales d'instituteurs (années 1830-1840): enjeux et problèmes*, in P. Nabonnand, L. Rollet (edd.), *Les uns et les autres... Biographie et prosopographie en histoire des sciences*, Nancy, Presses universitaires de Nancy, 2012, pp. 291-310; F. Mayeur, *L'enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles sous la Troisième République*, Paris, Presses de la FNSP, 1977, p. 327. Concerning the place of male teachers in the education of girls and women in the 19th century, also see R. Rogers, *Le professeur a-t-il un sexe? Les débats autour de la présence d'hommes dans l'enseignement secondaire féminin, 1840-1880*, «Clio. Histoire, femmes et sociétés», n. 4, 1996, pp. 221-239.

²⁰ «Journal général de l'Instruction publique», vol. 7, n. 138, November 10th 1838, p. 946.

education than the contrary. Moreover, although it is generally thought that mathematics teachers are ‘specialists’ who only teach their discipline, one must keep in mind that during both 19th and 20th centuries, there was quite a range of teachers – even more so in ‘second class’ education – who mastered two or more disciplines, and it was so until recently with the general education teachers in junior secondary education. Teaching other classes on top of mathematics – experimental disciplines such as physics and/or biology, or drawing or manual skills, which were tightly linked to mathematics education until the 1960s – does have consequences on the way teachers consider mathematics (for example, its inductive or deductive aspects) and can have an influence on the textbooks they publish.

But this is also about determining the circumstances that led these authors to publish one or more manuals, as well as how their audience responded to them. Konstantinos Chatzis offers us a valid analysis framework for the study of the mechanics classes Jean-Victor Poncelet taught during the first half of the 19th century: he considers them as «objects» – one could call them cultural goods – which are first «made», then «marketed», and finally «consumed» by a diverse audience of listeners and perhaps readers²¹. Indeed, just like a great number of scholarly treatises, many mathematics textbooks are the result of didactic experience, as their foreword or their title sometimes shows. For example, L.-J. George published a practical geometry textbook «for the free and public industrial classes in Nancy» where he had been teaching since the end of the 1820s. E. Guichemerre’s arithmetic class was «taught at the *collège* of Laon» in 1846²². This didactic experience has to be documented and analysed to fully understand the complex creative process at the root of a textbook. Nevertheless, one has to keep in mind that – just like Caroline Ehrhardt noted concerning the differential and integral calculus classes S.-F. Lacroix gave at the *Sorbonne* and the *Collège de France* – there is a gap between the textbook as it is published and the class as it is given: «while his textbooks favour an hypothetical-deductive approach and leave little room for specific examples, his lessons rely on an inductive approach»²³.

²¹ K. Chatzis, *Fabriquer et recevoir un cours magistral. Les cours de mécanique appliquée de Jean-Victor Poncelet à l’École de l’Artillerie et du Génie et à la Sorbonne, 1825-1848*, «Histoire de l’éducation», n. 120, 2008, pp. 113-138.

²² L.-J. George, *Cours de géométrie pratique, à l’usage des cours publics et gratuits industriels de Nancy*, Paris, Bachelier, 1830; E. Guichemerre, *Cours d’arithmétique élémentaire, fait au collège de Laon*, Laon, Impr. de E. Maréchal, 1846.

²³ C. Ehrhardt, *L’identité sociale d’un mathématicien et enseignant: Sylvestre-François Lacroix (1765-1843)*, «Histoire de l’éducation», n. 123, 2009, p. 25.

3. *Public response, influence and consumption*

One must also analyse the response the books triggered and the influence they had through authorizations granted by local authorities or their adopting the books, through reviews published in mathematics or education journals – where advertisement can also be found – reports written during the World Exposition of the second half of the 19th century, etc. The adoption of a book's innovations by other authors could be considered another valid indicator. One also has to evaluate, on both quantitative and qualitative levels, how they were 'consumed' in class by teachers – including the authors themselves – and students, as well the benefits the authors drew in terms of advancement or social recognition. When the ministry of education recommends a textbook, it indisputably contributes to its circulation and its use by primary school teachers. For example, we know that for the *Petite arithmétique raisonnée* by Hippolyte Vernier, created for the Ministry of Public Education, 25,000 copies were distributed in 1832, and 30,000 in 1833²⁴. Similarly, in the 1830s and 1840s, the general inspectorate required primary *écoles normales* to use specific geometry textbooks they found were better suited to the specificities of primary education. After visiting teachers in the *école normale* in Perpignan, a general inspector said «we indicated the practical geometry textbook by Desnanot could be a more profitable alternative to Legendre's geometry schoolbook»²⁵. Paying attention to the 'life' of textbooks implies using other resources beside the books themselves: press material concerning mathematics or education as we mentioned before, but also the archives of textbook evaluation committees, career files, inspection reports, etc.²⁶ In any case, one has to realise some textbooks were never really used in a classroom – as is obviously the case for some linear sketch schoolbooks²⁷. Conversely, one must ponder on the methods used to create a corpus of textbooks and use it for historical research.

Moreover, let us remember that for teachers, being published – a desire that can be rooted in a search for fame – can be achieved through other media than textbooks that keep a link with them, such as encyclopaedias and dictionaries – there are numerous articles pertaining to mathematics in Ferdinand Buisson's

²⁴ A. Choppin, *Les manuels scolaires en France de 1789 à nos jours. 4. Textes officiels (1791-1992)*, Paris, INRP/Publications de la Sorbonne, 1993, pp. 31-32.

²⁵ Archives nationales, F/17/9632: inspection générale des écoles normales, 1837. Also read R. d'Enfert, *Mathematics teaching in French écoles normales primaires, 1830-1848: social and cultural challenges to the training of primary school teachers*, «ZDM-The International Journal on Mathematics Education», vol. 44, n. 4, 2012, pp. 513-524.

²⁶ To read a qualitative study of the career files of authors, see Radtka, *Construire la société scientifique*, cit., pp. 261-290.

²⁷ R. d'Enfert, *Paillot de Montabert, pédagogue et réformateur de l'enseignement du dessin*, in F. Desbuissons (ed.), *Jacques-Nicolas Paillot de Montabert, 1771-1849. Idées, pratiques, contextes*, Langres, Éditions Dominique Guéniot, pp. 127-140.

*Dictionnaire de pédagogie et d'instruction primaire*²⁸, in Hippolyte Sonnet's *Dictionnaire des mathématiques appliquées* (1874) or in the more recent but much less ambitious *Dictionnaire de mathématiques* by André Joly (1956) – education or scientific journals, the general press, or the bulletins of scholarly societies and local or country-wide professional associations teachers can be part of. It is within this general publication context that includes other materials that textbooks fully make sense. As an example, let us focus on Bourlet, one of the most dedicated advocate of the renewal of mathematics education as triggered by the 1902 reform. His *Cours complet de mathématiques* applies to the main proposals of the reform and gives them shape, but its it in fact a set of texts that includes the lecture on the «cross-penetration of pure mathematics and applied mathematics in secondary education» he gave in 1908 for the newly created International Commission on Mathematical Instruction²⁹ as well as the «Mathématiques» article he wrote for the *Nouveau dictionnaire de pédagogie et d'instruction primaire* published in 1911³⁰. One must indeed piece together an entire network of texts.

Conclusion

The research field on mathematics textbooks – and more generally on schoolbooks – is in fact much larger than it seems to be at first. If there are strong reasons to develop research on middle school textbooks – because it is mostly in this area that teaching levels can be differentiated, in both 19th and 20th centuries – it is also important to consider these textbooks are the result of the author's work – which in no way diminishes the work the publisher did – within a specific context and with specific aims in mind. Complementing it with the analysis of the existing institutional – structural and disciplinary – frameworks and taking into account the conditions under which textbooks were written and the response they got, the textual network they belong to can undoubtedly make for a better understanding of their contents, their logics

²⁸ Mathematics textbooks authors such as H. Bos, P. Leyssenne, H. Sonnet or A. Rebière contributed to this dictionary. Read T. Assude, H. Gispert, *Les mathématiques et le recours à la pratique: une finalité ou une démarche d'enseignement?*, in D. Denis, P. Kahn (edd.), *L'École républicaine et la question des savoirs. Enquête au cœur du Dictionnaire de pédagogie de Ferdinand Buisson*, Paris, Éditions du CNRS, 2003, pp. 175-196.

²⁹ Published in *L'Enseignement mathématique*, vol. 12, 1910, p. 372-387. Read also the foreword by Bourlet and the following discussion in *L'enseignement de la géométrie*, «Bulletin de la société française de philosophie», t. 7, 1907, pp. 225-261. Moreover, it should be noted that Bourlet is one of the founders of the *Revue de l'enseignement des sciences* – created the same year – whose main goal was to promote the innovations of the 1902 reform.

³⁰ C. Bourlet, *Mathématiques*, in Ferdinand Buisson (ed.), *Nouveau dictionnaire de pédagogie et d'instruction primaire*, Paris, Hachette, 1911, pp. 1259-1273.

and their aims. Since most authors are teachers, it also enables us to grasp this under-studied aspect of their professional activity textbooks writing is, and offers hope for better knowledge on the environment of mathematics teachers, their practices, their capacity for innovation and the knowledge they bear.

Making Angels. Bodily restraints championed in French school textbooks on moral values (1880-1964)

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines all the textbooks available in the CEDHRE archives (234 textbooks) on moral values for primary, junior and secondary schools from the 1880s until these textbooks were abandoned in 1964. It shows that the moral values recommended in school textbooks remained generally constant although subject to some noteworthy modifications. At all teaching levels moral prescriptions and prohibitions corresponded generally to the Christian cardinal sins. Regarding bodily restraints, systematically presented as prohibited are: *greed, sloth, lust and wrath*. But other elements play a role in the prescriptive system: *temperance, the need to work*, and the *prohibition of suicide and mutilation*. The fight against what are described as social evils is also evident: *sobriety and temperance*. Furthermore, *hygiene, cleanliness, and physical activities* form part of this coherent system of bodily restraints leading metaphorically to 'making angels'. Changes gradually occurred with the passing from externally prescribed morality to a freely accepted morality – perhaps ultimately from morality to ethics.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Textbook; Moral Values; Moral Education; Social Control; France; XIX-XX Centuries.

1. *Moral values at school*

Readers who were pupils at least up until the nineteen-sixties in French state schools are aware at any rate of the following illustrative expressions or similar moral injunctions.

There's a risk of paying a high price for the mania of dabbling at everything;
The greedy person, says the old proverb, digs their own grave with their teeth¹.

¹ A. Pierre, A. Minet Melle, A. Martin, *Nos Petits amis. Deuxième degré élémentaire*, Paris,

These maxims are scattered throughout the 1920s textbook on moral values *Our little friends*. It can be seen that the discourse on moral values prescribed and proscribed a number of behavioural habits; how it sought through the use of words to work on the body, through the memorising of these injunctions by using simple tenets or short parables.

Twenty years earlier, Marie Pape-Carpantier, who initiated the creation of Asylums and Kindergartens, and Mr and Mme C. Delon, used role models in short fables, and sought to capture the children's attention by everyday scenarios:

Anger. What a row was heard [...]! It was little Armand [...]. He broke all his toys, knocked over a chair. He cried, he screamed, he shrieked ... He stamped his feet and closed his fists. His eyes were red and his whole face too; [...] his features were just one horrible grimace. His mother came and held him gently; she took him in front of a mirror. Armand looked at himself, realised the state he was in and regained his composure².

Even though the didactic process is a little different (the identification of the child and the love of the mother) from that used for maxim memorisation through daily repetition, the basis remains identical. And this is most noticeable when examining textbooks on moral values from the late nineteenth century to the start of the nineteen-sixties when they were discontinued: topic stability recurred no matter what the level of the class and type of teaching and in all state schools.

Topics in terms of bodily restraints are:

- *Protecting the body (from suicide and self mutilation),*
- *Fighting laziness, greed, anger, alcoholism and drunkenness,*

and conversely:

- *Promoting cleanliness, prudence, work, courage, temperance, sobriety and physical exercise* (meaning sport from about 1950).

All these topics not only defined the tenets concerning pupil behaviour but also, as Michel Foucault said³, the systems of micro-power (even bio-power) and self-control. A recent revival brought civics (doubtless more in the sense of responsibility than emancipation) into focus in the debate on schooling and policies. Even more recently some presidential speeches and those made by the Minister of National Education, have also brought this question into the news. Secular republican moral values, according to Michel Foucault⁴, have roots that are deeply embedded in those of the schools of the Brothers J.-B. De La Salle in the nineteenth century concerned with making the church's faithful

F. Nathan, 1920, p. 35.

² M. Pape-Carpantier, C. Delon, *Petites lectures morales. Premières notions de grammaire*, Paris, Hachette, 1900, p. 23.

³ M. Foucault, *L'Archéologie du savoir*, Paris, Gallimard, 1969.

⁴ M. Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, Paris, Gallimard, 1975.

flock. 'Docile bodies' submitting to *disciplinary alignments* (external and internal), reduced to *silence* and *immobility*, were founding dogma. The papers on precepts by Norbert Elias⁵, and further elucidated by a number of other researchers, throw light on how the systems of bodily restraint were diffused through courtiers and members of the upper middle classes from the sixteenth century. These rules derived from regulations originating in thirteenth century monastic communities⁶.

The paper explores various topics on moral values presented in textbooks from 1880 to 1964.

2. *The prohibition of suicide and mutilation*

Textbooks intended for the youngest children do not include this heading. This subject less frequently mentioned in textbooks from 1923 onwards, especially following the ending of the duty to God in the curriculum a little later (1926).

Durkheim's thesis published in 1897 no doubt had an influence on the inclusion of this topic since from the turn of the century it is often cited. In textbooks printed prior to publication of this thesis, the chapter existed based on other work, if only through referring to religious moral values. In fact, from the time of the First Council of Braga (561-563), taking one's own life was totally condemned by the Catholic Church. In the ninth century, anathema was pronounced against all those who committed suicide; they did not have the right to a religious sepulchre or to prayers for the salvation of their souls. This bodily restraint rested on Catholic or Christian foundations. However, by contrast with other topics covered in the textbooks, it is not a deadly sin, and does not have a cardinal or theological value.

According to the *corpus*, a glorious suicide is tolerated in times of war and when performed through concern for others. For example that of the Chevalier D'Assas, crying: «For me, Auvergne are enemies!» (*A moi Auvergne ce sont les ennemis!*), to the detriment of his life. By contrast, all mutilation is proscribed as a symptom of cowardice. This topic was even more current with the approaching 1914-1918 war. Paradoxically, once the war was over, the topic was seldom raised.

In another vein, the deaths of Socrates and Malesherbes, also considered heroic, were quite frequently mentioned to older pupils.

⁵ N. Elias, *La Civilisation des mœurs*, Paris, Calmann-Lévi, 1973.

⁶ J. Thomas, *Corps violents, corps soumis. Le policement des mœurs à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2007.

One book (curriculum published 27 July 1882), in the environment of the creation of «School Battalions» and taking revenge against the Prussians, anticipated behaviour that would be deemed «cowardly».

It was said [...] that a bad individual who wanted to escape conscription cut off two of his fingers, [...]. This sorry person was sent to prison [...]. The teacher made the pupils understand everything that was bad in such an act. [...] – There are men, added the teacher, that are led on even further by a sort of madness, even to committing suicide. Too weak [...] they shy away from performing their duty by running away, by taking their own lives. [...] I don't think that you would ever go to such an extreme. Suicide is just the fatal ending of a criminal life⁷.

Yet, even in textbooks for girls, suicide and mutilation were considered amoral. In 1887, a textbook covering the same curriculum and intended for third-year classes in girl's secondary schools, states: «the immorality of suicide; its motives, its consequences»⁸. In many textbooks, even in extreme cases (cancer, incurable illness) suffering is recommended rather than suicide. Suffering, in preference to suicide, was in fact considered an act of love for others. Jean-Jacques Rousseau is often cited in this context: «Life is a fight: shame on those who run away from it!», «Suicide is a theft depriving the human species. (Jean-Jacques Rousseau)»⁹.

Misery is not considered as a valid reason either for renouncing life. In one book of 1911 the suicide of Genouillet (who is poor), is written in the form of a parable and is given as an example. In it he is described as being able only to increase the disarray and difficulties experienced by the family, their misery.

It should be pointed out that the parables with negative examples cite poor families, labourers, peasants, servants or the unemployed. By contrast, positive moral examples feature the middle classes (Mr Bourgoin), aristocrats



Pic. 1. E. Brémond, D. Moustier, *L'Éducation morale et civique à l'école*, Paris, Delalain, 1920, p. 121.

⁷ G. Compayré, *Éléments d'instruction morale et civique*, Paris, Paul Delagrave, 1883, p. 120.

⁸ E. de Hautière, *Précis de morale pratique. Devoirs domestiques, devoirs civiques, etc.*, Paris, Garnier Fr, 1887, p. 217.

⁹ C., S.A. Nonus, *Résumés des leçons de morale et d'instruction civique*, Amiens, Poiré-Choquet, 1890, p. 50.

(the Chevalier D'Assas) and occasionally historical or celebrated personalities (Socrates and his like) as is shown above.

From 1918, the work of Emile Durkheim is the most often quoted. It shows that the prosperity and military and economic influence of France was tied to the increase in population. It is therefore on rational grounds that suicide is impugned and not solely on a religious and theological basis.

From 1926 onwards, suicide is quite generally replaced in textbooks by hygiene, care of the body, safeguarding it from sickness through cleanliness, courage, abnegation and physical exercise. The topic however, reappears in 1956 with the issue of euthanasia. In this instance, euthanasia is objected to on moral grounds. This point of view has thus hardly changed over the course of time.

3. *Cleanliness and hygiene*

This subject appears in all the textbooks on moral values. In hygiene textbooks it is based on the issue of health, in textbooks on moral values it is initially founded on the purity of the soul. Moral decadence and dirt are associated throughout the period under study. It is certainly possible to link this to the fact that in Christianity baptism also involves purifying water and that it has a role in a number of rituals both religious and other. In this sense, the anthropologist Mary Douglas clearly saw the dynamic linking social and moral order and stain, even pollution and dirt¹⁰. For Douglas, the body is the metaphor for social order and, consequently, for moral order.

However, when examining physical reality, water conveyance or even simply depicting public baths, it is easy to see that this restraint was difficult to accomplish everywhere. Doubtless the urban and above all the Parisian middle classes could easily have had access to bathing by the end of the nineteenth century, but for ordinary rural people, the generalisation of such practice did not take place until the nineteen-sixties. It was therefore a 'bourgeois' model of the *Civilisation of behaviour* that had to be taught to pupils through their textbooks. In 1962, only 29% of households had a private bath or shower.

Furthermore, water had a bad press (drinking water for that matter) at the end of the nineteenth century because major pandemics such as cholera and typhoid still occurred. In 1893-94 a cholera epidemic decimated military personnel in Marseille, Toulon and Paris.

The work of E. Pécaut is one of the earliest to provide detailed advice in this field. He regularly specified taking a full bath every week.

¹⁰ M. Douglas, *De la souillure. Essai sur les notions de pollution et de tabou*, Paris, Maspéro, 1971 (1^{ère} Ed. 1965).

We are dividing [...] these ablutions into two categories; [*washing and bathing...*]. The habit of washing your face and hands every morning is sufficiently general [...] This morning wash must be carried out with plenty of water, always cold except in the event of chilblains or a persistent cold. It is sound to teach children from an early age the routine of washing their necks, chests and arms. [...] It is also advisable to add, at least once a week, washing their heads, in cold water if their hair is short, in warm water if long¹¹.

This discourse was repeated as an antiphon until about 1950.

All didactic techniques were used with this objective in sight. For the youngest children, very personalised stories using role models were used; for older children right up until the nineteen-twenties there were parables or aphorisms by famous writers repeating that cleanliness was a social duty and a duty for the purity of the soul.

Elementary classes: 1. Cleanliness serves to bear witness to your respect for society and for yourself. (Bacon). [...] 2. What is purity for the soul, cleanliness is for the body. (Epictète)¹².

For the youngest children (six year-olds), other techniques could be used. In particular these personalised even more strongly the didactic process in order to involve the very youngest children:

I know a nice, studious little boy and I like him a lot. However, the poor boy has a horrible failing, a failing so repugnant that it prevents me from hugging him: he is dirty. [...] his face, his neck and his ears are very often dirty, his hair is a mess and it makes him unattractive! I think though, that he will put this right because he realises that his dirtiness upsets his mother¹³.

From the very end of the nineteen-forties, didactic techniques changed considerably with taking a shower or a bath being becoming described not as a duty but as a pleasure. The discourse also slipped from injunction and duty to appropriation and personalisation. It was no longer «you must» but «I». Clearly, there was a change from moral to ethical.

I. I take great pleasure from being really clean. Every day I take care of my face, my hands, my teeth and my hair. [...] I quite often have a bath. I find dirtiness repugnant¹⁴.

There is even very hedonistic examples in textbooks, right on the limits of the erotic, such as this one by Colette:

¹¹ E. Pécaut, *Cours de morale et d'hygiène*, Paris, Hachette, 1882, p. 100.

¹² A. Despois, Mme Labenne, *Lectures morales*, Paris, Delagrave, 1919, p. 123.

¹³ M. Pape-Carpantier, C. Delon, *Petites lectures morales*, cit., p. 20.

¹⁴ E. Bourceau, R. Fabry, *Lectures expliquées avec enseignement moral et civique*, Paris, Editions de l'Ecole, 1949, p. 200.

Today is the day [...] I have my shower, [...] Finally, that's it, the shower is adjusted. Now, what a pleasure to feel that fine rain falling on me and whose thousand little needles prick my skin! Deliciously warm water flows along my spine. A pleasure too, to vigorously soap [myself] with a delicately scented soa Finally, I dry myself carefully. I feel good, I want to sing. Regretfully, I get dressed¹⁵.

In any event the subject of cleanliness provides the perception of the process of appropriation of moral values that is present in the discourse, as well as its declension relative to class and period. Clearly, we go from ablutions for purifying the soul, to washing as a social duty, and then to desire and personal pleasure.

4. *Sobriety*

At the beginning of the period under study sobriety did not have the same connotation as it does today. It was more concerned with abuse of food and was associated with temperance. Here is an example of this connotation:

The sober child eats little and in accordance with their appetite and only at mealtimes. Someone who eats at other times, or who prefers sweets and cake to food, overloads their stomach. [...] Children, be sober; as sobriety maintains a healthy spirit and body¹⁶.

The same tools as in the previous chapter are used: parables, stories involving children, fables. A maxim also recurs «You eat to live and do not live to eat»¹⁷.

The issue should be viewed in the light of the living conditions of the French population at this time. It is soon evident that labourers and day labourers, the least well-paid, were not expected, *de facto*, to adopt these precepts. Quite the contrary, at least until the nineteen-twenties a good many suffered more from food privation than from intemperance. Under these circumstances, it is understandable that examples of the virtue of not overeating should be provided by the more well-to-do.

Greed, a concept that is further discussed below, in its broader sense of gluttony, is one of the cardinal sins. Conversely, temperance is a cardinal virtue. It is logical that these items are given a place in the moral values textbooks up until the nineteen-thirties.

From the fifties, the discourse swings, as previously, from «you must» to «I», showing the internalisation of moral values and perhaps the move

¹⁵ G. Villard, *Morale en action. Six à 10 ans*, Paris, Nathan, 1964, p. 6.

¹⁶ F.-A. Noël, *La Nouvelle lecture rationnelle. Premier livre de lecture courante. Leçons morales, leçons de choses*, Paris, Gedalge & Co, 1890, p. 132.

¹⁷ E. Cazes *Instruction morale et civique. Cours moyen*, Paris, Delagrave, 1890, p. 53.

from a collective moral society to an ethical society, as well as probably to contemporary individualism:

I only eat moderate quantities of sweets, cakes, confectionary and sugar whose abuse is injurious to health. When I have a few coins, I prefer giving bread to those in need rather wasting it¹⁸.

5. *Temperance in eating and drinking*

Temperance is associated more with the issue of drinking rather than eating. However, it should be said that moral values textbooks addressed to the youngest children use the example of greed under this heading with many chapters citing this 'defect'.

Statistics are called upon to show, rationally, that in Europe the French are bad examples of alcohol consumption. The subject is covered below in the chapter on alcoholism. The issue of temperance examined here is not that of drunkenness in its strictest sense but of temperance in all things. In other words, it is not just a matter of prohibiting the abuse of alcohol but more generally of intemperance that could lead to more serious failings

One summer's day, little Guillaume was crossing the fields [...] when the heat was most strongly felt. [...] when he discovered [...] a spring whose crystal clear water gushed forth from a rock. Instead of [...] only drinking a small amount at a time as you should do when you are really hot, Guillaume immediately drank a large quantity of this water, which was very cold, and he almost fell into a faint. He went painfully back to his parents, where he became dangerously ill. «Alas» he said, [...] «who would have thought that a spring with such clear water, would contain such a dangerous poison?» «It is hardly the spring [...] that is the cause of your sickness», his father said to him, «it's your intemperance»¹⁹.

This textbook is intended for the very young (primary schools) so does not mention alcohol but only drinking to excess. Other textbooks are more explicit on the subject of abusing wine, particularly:

Temperance is not only a bodily virtue, [...] it is also a virtue of the soul, [...] that purifies our instincts. The drunkard is the worst of intemperate individuals; [...]. Several virtues are linked to temperance²⁰.

An ascetic attitude is approved in every domain. This behaviour is usually attributed to the Protestant ethic, more than to republican and Catholic values,

¹⁸ Bourceau, Fabry, *Lectures expliquées avec enseignement moral et civique*, cit., p. 209.

¹⁹ Noël, *La Nouvelle lecture rationnelle*, cit., pp. 134-135.

²⁰ Compayré, *Eléments d'instruction morale et civique*, cit., p. 126.

even though, as is shown above, for the Catholic temperance is a cardinal virtue and gluttony a cardinal sin.

The rhetorical didactic system operates in the same way as in other chapters. There is however, also an innovative formula – that of good resolutions:

I am making a resolution to be temperate, [...] I shall be sober [...]. I shall make myself see [...] where my duty lies²¹.

It can be seen here that self control is being advocated, a micro power that, if it is to any degree effective operates as constituting a process of civilisation (a social superego), moving from the animal to the human state, from the *flesh* to the *word*, from the *beast* to the *angel*. Astonishingly these ‘republican’ textbooks for the most part inculcate religious Christian, moral values.

6. *Drunkenness, alcoholism and absinthe*

At the beginning of the period, textbooks did not confuse excess drinking with being drunk or alcoholic. In fact, alcoholism and drunkenness are not associated with wine, beer, cider or perry [fermented pear juice], all of which are described as being able to be drunk in reasonable quantities (up to a half-litre or even a litre of wine per day), but are associated above all with absinthe, considered as demonic and leading to its total prohibition France on 16 March 1915.

The [...] most deadly of pre-meal drinks is *absinthe*, a veritable slow poison, that kills those who drink it daily by reducing them to the most miserable state (epilepsy, manic wrath); the effect of this terrible liquor does not end when the miserable wretch dies of it; from birth their children will bear the sad seal of idiocy and may later inherit the paternal epilepsy²².

Long after this prohibition, the textbooks continued to refer to this supposed danger. The argument used here by Pécaut is repeated as a refrain: the drinker transmitting this hereditary defect to his children. Drunkenness is condemned from primary school. The textbooks, whether addressing girls or boys, depict this as animal behaviour.

Drunkenness is the most fatal of all greed. A host of individuals perish from accidents arising during intoxication; [the drunkard] descends to the level of a brute; not even

²¹ A. Maillet, *Pour devenir un homme*, Paris, Gedalge, 1928, p. 161.

²² Pécaut, *Cours de morale et d'hygiène*, cit., pp. 42-43.

recognising their own children; quarrelling, being brutal and insolent. Everything about a drunkard inspires disgust²³.

A number of expressions recur on this subject, for example: «the drunk drinks the blood of his children». A story regularly cited is of noble Spartans showing their children drunken slaves so they will be repulsed by the idea of drinking.

Another passage is regularly used to explain that through alcohol abuse, Alexander the Great assassinated one of his best friends. The gradual move from the injunction to individual appropriation of the system of restraint is also identifiable. However, the examples almost always concern the proletariat, even the lumpenproletariat. Drunkards are never depicted as members of the middle class or the aristocracy.

Moreover, when considering the quantity suggested, even at the end of World War II, it is clear that it is not always identical but depends on the individual's type of work:

A physical worker can drink a litre of wine per day at 10° or 12° but a sedentary worker must [...] not drink more than half a litre. For children, *a small amount may be given but always watered*. [...] It is recommended not to drink it [wine] between meals²⁴.

This subject appears less frequently from the nineteen-sixties in the later textbooks examined.

Finally, it must be stressed that the system of prohibiting alcohol is based on the same issues as in the previous chapter: the change from human to beast, even to a demon (alcohol is described in the parables as the son of death). A sort of logic or infernal spiral that goes from consuming absinthe or strong spirits, to degeneration, theft and a lack of concern for family and country and leading to murder. Drunkenness is proscribed for the obnoxious sequence it sets in motion.

7. Greed

For greed, mainly dealt with in textbooks addressed to the youngest children, the same sequential event is condemned. Becoming dependent on sweets and other confectionary means there is a high probability of embarking on a vicious circle. In addition, greed is a cardinal sin. It is therefore understandable that at the start of the twentieth century, and at least up until 1923, it was especially Catholic moral values that led to asserting a fundamental prohibition. Yet, later,

²³ Noël, *La Nouvelle lecture rationnelle*, cit., p. 136.

²⁴ Mme Foulon-Lefranc, *La Femme au foyer*, Paris, Editions de l'Ecole, 1944, p. 44.

greed is condemned for the ‘bad acts’ it might engender as well as because it would obviously have adversely affect the health of the greedy person. They are often described as punishing themselves: «The child who gives free rein to greed often inflicts their punishment on themselves»²⁵.

Furthermore, as these chapters are addressed to the youngest pupils, a great many personalised fables are found, such as *The Palace of Dame Sweeties* where a child is invited to consume sweets until almost reaching their death throes, fortunately in a dream: this tale is repeated in several books. The story of King Greediness (*Gourmandot*) who dies from greed is also published in a number of textbooks. Another fable concerning a greedy person punished for having eaten too much ‘baba’ (a sweet syrupy cake), recurs frequently.

Also in this chapter are the aphorisms already explained in the chapter on temperance and sobriety: «You eat to

live and do not live to eat». Or again «the greedy person digs their own grave with their teeth». Reference is also made in these textbooks to Voltaire (*Zadig*) and to Jean de La Bruyère (*Gnathon*) to inform older readers (16-17 year olds)²⁶.

However, at least until the nineteen-twenties the resources of manual labourers and the most lowly employees did not allow them to spend much on sweets, any more than they could afford to buy many alcoholic drinks in the bar (though they could abuse wine). Yet, these injunctions are mainly addressed to them and not to the middle classes who are always described as virtuous. In this sense, the ‘working class’ in these textbooks is really considered a ‘dangerous class’.

Furthermore, from the nineteen-fifties the personalisation process is present in this domain as in others. Thus, in 1949, the 37th lesson concludes with the following maxim: «greed must be fought».



Pic. 2. E. Brémond, D. Moustier, *L'Éducation morale et civique à l'école*, Paris, Delalain, 1920, p. 119.

²⁵ A. Pierre, L. Letrait, Z. Bodin, *Pour les petits. Lectures et récitations morales*, Paris, F. Nathan, 1909, pp. 65-66.

²⁶ Jean de La Bruyère, a French moralist, was born in Paris on 17 August 1645 and died in Versailles on 10 May 1696. La Bruyère is renowned for a unique work, *Les Caractères ou les Mœurs de ce siècle* (1688).

I only eat moderate quantities of sweets, cakes, confectionary and sugar whose abuse is injurious to health. When I have a few coins, I prefer giving bread to those in need rather wasting it²⁷.

Yet clearly, what is disapproved in all the textbooks is not just greed but the ineluctable cascade that it can induce, leading to greater and greater 'sins'. Lastly, the unattractive association greed-shame is noted in very many passages. Shame (an emotion) is associated with a failing (greed) with the aim of promoting a more acceptable attribute. A virtue (such as having a good heart, keeping your money to give to the poor and not spending it on sweets) was close to one of the three theological Christian virtues (love of one's neighbour, charity) and is described in many of the passages devoted to greed, as a challenge to this vice or failing.

To end on this point, while the word sin was used at the end of the nineteenth century, subsequently the word failing became more often adopted, a little as though the authors are detaching themselves from the Christian vulgate, distancing themselves from the vocabulary used by the ecclesiastical institution.

8. *Anger vs. gentleness*

From the very first moral value textbooks examined, anger is presented as a form of madness that turns the human into an animal.

As an elder said, anger is a short period of madness. Look at an angry person: their face contracts, their eyes pop out of their head, their mouth moves convulsively. They say words they would never say if they were calm, and that they will regret having said. [...] While in this state of mind they risk committing irreparable acts, insulting those they love best [...] their friends, their relatives, their parents²⁸.

Conversely of course, gentleness is a fundamental virtue for civilised, socially acceptable behaviour and even more so in a woman. This can be seen below. In any event, while anger is a cardinal sin in the Catholic religion, is it not anger as such that is condemned in the moral values textbooks but the causal chain of events, the fatal sequence it may engender:

[a person who is angry] no longer knows what they are doing. Do they know that anger may lead them to commit a crime, to raise a hand against their father, their mother, that they won't do something nasty to an innocent comrade? Many murders have been

²⁷ Bourceau, Fabry, *Lectures expliquées avec enseignement moral et civique*, cit., p. 209.

²⁸ M.-A. Mézières, *Education morale et instruction civique à l'usage des Ecoles primaires. Cours moyen et supérieur*, Paris, Delagrave, 1893, pp. 84-85.



Pic. 3. M. A. Mézières, *Education morale et instruction civique*, Paris, Delagrave, 1893, p. 87.

committed in an outburst of temper. [...] in a state of unchecked fury, friends have killed friends, brothers have killed brothers, sons have even hit their parents²⁹.

The books use the example here, as they do for drunkenness, of Alexander the Great killing his friend.

From the beginning of the twentieth century line drawings were used to support and reinforce the discourse. There are a number of examples in the textbooks. From the end of World War II, photographs were increasingly used. They were almost always an adjunct to the discourse, used to give it greater impact.

For the topic studied, a number of particularly calm temperaments were associated with famous English personalities. *Self control* seemed to be considered a behaviour specific to this ‘calm race’ but not to the more fiery ‘French race’. Cited as an example here is Viscount Hampden, a famous personality who served as Governor of New South Wales, Australia, a Liberal member of parliament whose self control is particularly well-reputed. Yet here

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

again, with a few rare exceptions, such as Alexander the Great, it is always the 'bourgeois' who have calm temperaments while the poor are irascible. In addition, gentleness is an extremely well viewed value in women and young girls. The textbooks specifically addressed to girls emphasise this quality as one they must personify. A woman is almost always portrayed as the gentle regulator of the household. In 1895, a textbook even included a chapter entitled: «The need for a woman's gentleness» and this chapter ended with the following maxim that probably had to be learnt by heart: «If gentleness is not a woman's first virtue, it is perhaps her surest means to happiness»³⁰.

Conversely, the day worker, preferably drunk or intemperate, is personified as the vector of violence and anger. Murder, described as increasing (by contrast with the objectivity of statistics), is often portrayed as associated with a fit of anger. This is why the duo, patient-irascible, is used in the Manichean sense with the reader having to find their own response:

The angry person: is insane, is not logical. Is weak, does not have the strength to resist passion. Is no longer free. Is unjust. Deteriorates. Is in danger of committing acts that they will subsequently regret. The patient person: remains completely logical. Of great strength of character. Is fully free. Judges freely and equitably. Respects their dignity. Follows their conscience³¹.

And on this point the book cited here refers to *The Tour of France by Two Children (Tour de France par deux enfants)* by G. Bruno (*alias* Augustine Fouillée) and in particular the passage on page 206, which is devoted to the dual antonym: «Brusqueness and gentleness». Two maxims are often used too concerning gentleness: «gentleness disarms the malicious» and «there is no wounded heart that gentleness cannot heal».

For the rest, obviously, fables and identifying role models are addressed to the youngest pupils, the models for older children are illustrious predecessors. And once again the process of personalisation is evident at the start of the nineteen-fifties.

9. *Laziness and work*

Glory be to work! Glory be to rural people. Glory be to those who make the soil fertile! Picardie, Brittany, Limoges, the Cévennes! [...] Glory be to rural people!³²

³⁰ A. Seignette, *Morale et enseignement civique. Cours supérieur*, Paris, Dupont, 1895, p. 59.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

³² H. Launey, J. Launey, L. Rascol, *Morale. Instruction civique – Droit privé – Economie politique, Enseignement primaire supérieur*, Paris, Larousse, 1921, p. 135.

Thus ends the chapter on this topic in several textbooks. Yet other maxims are used, for example: «work enriches, laziness impoverishes». Most textbooks have a chapter on this subject, often entitled: «Work and laziness», but some only discuss the issue of work.

Conversely, there is an oft-repeated maxim in textbooks «laziness is the mother of all wickedness». Laziness is in any case, also a cardinal sin in the Catholic religion. However, in the *corpus*, it is less decried than work is lauded. In this sense it is a middle class and not an aristocratic value that has a place in these textbooks. All the procedures seen above are used to encourage learning what is described as a natural law, at least at the start of the twentieth century. Subsequently, the following expression is often found: «Work is a human law»³³.

At the start of the century manual work is often lauded, perhaps more than intellectual work, which is logical in view of the socio-economic context. The figure of Brissot the Carpenter bears testimony. He says he is delighted with his job and affirms:

Work [...] is my health. The day my arms no longer push the plane I shall not have the same appetite and I shall not have the same energy³⁴.

One of La Fontaine's fables appears as a *leitmotiv* in the chapters devoted to the subject: «The labourer and his children». As we know, the fable starts with: «Working, taking trouble, are far from lacking», and ends with: «Showing them [his children] before his death that work is a treasure». Of course, for pupils in elementary or junior school the fable had to be learnt by heart. A book published in 1920 speaks purely and simply of the «holiness of work»³⁵:

All work is useful be it intellectual or manual, [...]. Work is neither noble nor degrading. All those who work conscientiously have the right to be respected and esteemed³⁶.

At this period and up until the nineteen-sixties, a work medal given to all deserving workers. Another aspect of the study by S. Mollo of the same period shows that, with equal performance, a hard working pupil (*vs.* a dilettante) was approved by their teachers. The Christian religion also encouraged work – condemning laziness and idleness – even though it was also considered a punishment inflicted by God on humanity.

The Vichy maxim: «Work, Family, Country» was certainly in keeping with society at the time. Work for many contemporary sociologists was the focal point of society from 1880 until at least 1968.

³³ A. Poignet, H. Bernat, *Le livre unique de morale & d'instruction civique*, Paris, Auguste Godchaux, 1919, 32nd lesson – no page numbers.

³⁴ E. Devinat, *Livre de lecture morale*, Paris, Larousse, 1920, p. 131.

³⁵ Brémont, Moustier (no first names), *L'Education morale et civique à l'école*, Paris, Delalain, 1920, p. 158.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

Conversely, leisure seems to substitute for work according to other researchers from the nineteen-eighties and nineties³⁷. Moral values textbooks examined in the archives cease in 1964. Consequently, while the existence of ever-increasing intellectual work does not explain it, it is difficult to say that creativity in this field is shown in the textbooks.

By making small changes a system of control was developed that was gradually more organised. It may be admitted that, addressed to hundreds of thousands if not millions of children over the course of time, it was to a degree efficient and provided a backdrop for contemporary civilisation to be understood.

10. *Courage and prudence*

Prudence too is associated with temperance. In this way, it can be a cardinal virtue. Conversely, courage is also approved. However, the presentation of this point is gradually modified in the textbooks. While, at the start of the period examined, being courageous meant sacrificing one's life for the homeland or for society, after World War II and sometimes between the two Wars, being courageous was also being prudent or saving others. Thus, while the courage of the Chevalier d'Assas was underscored in times of war, throughout the whole of the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the ailing suffered in silence, the invalid (known as mutilated, handicapped or maimed) making themselves available to serve others despite their difficulties, and was also applauded.

From the nineteen-thirties, courage was linked to work, to the boy who saved another from drowning at the risk of his own life. A child who worked in difficult conditions was also considered courageous. Yet prudence was associated as well with 'true courage'. In fact, unreasonable courage was to be foregone, at least during the nineteen-twenties as it was considered harmful, and could be akin to suicide. Prudence comprised being courageous but without putting one's life unnecessarily at risk. Temperance enabled true courage to be distinguished from false courage.

The following appeared in 1920:

Courage is not solely limited to the soldier, [...]
 To defend a country who thinks and who works!
 Life is itself a battle field
 Where every worker has his own courage
 Running away from the work you must do, is still running away

³⁷ J. Dumazedier, *La Révolution culturelle du temps libre*, Paris, M.K., 1988; J.P. Durand, *Fin de siècle*, Paris, Seuil, 1990.

[...] Life is a struggle. [...]
He who runs from the field of work is a coward³⁸.

The link from the preceding chapter to that on courage can be seen here, but finally, a consistent prudent courage, [...] takes more from logic than from impulse, passion or emotion. From the nineteen-forties, courage was increasingly associated with sport and the possibility of exceeding limits to achieve a sports exploit. In fact, while people naturally continued to refer to war heroes after 1945, it was increasingly the victory over daily problems which was denoted as an act of courage: overcoming fear, temptation, producing a physical or intellectual effort, working hard; talk was of the everyday heroes. Numerous didactic techniques were used as in other chapters. Reference is made to celebrated authors, famous people and heroic warriors as well as children's role models:

Children were playing. One of them fell over, seriously injuring their head and losing consciousness. Frightened by the sight of blood and the stillness of the child, their comrades were weak and took flight. Just one had the presence of mind to wash the injury and, after having bandaged it with a handkerchief, helped to take them to their parent's home when aid arrived. That child proved to have courage³⁹.

Here, courage is not a thoughtless act but one that is thought out, available to all. As previously, the technique of contrasting qualities can also be used:

The courageous person:

Retains their willpower and stays fully logical. Never loses heart. Overcomes obstacles. Is above all great in [moments of] misfortune. Always accomplishes their duty.

The frightened person:

Their willpower and logic are annihilated. Passively, humiliatingly resigned. Overcome by any difficulty. [...]. Does not accomplish their duty when seeing little merit in doing so⁴⁰.

In the textbooks, it clearly seems important to distinguish fearful and cowardly from prudent. This is achieved in the 1901 textbook by giving the example of Lubin. The situation is as follows: children are playing at jumping over a very deep marl hole. Lubin alone does not want to jump, saying that you could make a mistake and fall into the hole. Another child calls him a coward. However, a child who misjudges his momentum, falls and is seriously injured (breaking a leg). At this point, the children realise that Lubin is prudent and not a coward.

³⁸ Brémont, Moustier (no first names), *L'Education morale et civique à l'école*, cit., p. 152.

³⁹ J. Curé, F. Houzelle, *Sommaires de leçons de morale à l'école primaire*, Paris, E. Belin, Belin Fr, 1895, p. 141.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Prudence can therefore, for those drafting textbooks, be associated with courage. The authors do not applaud unconscious courage. It is definitely an oxymoron – prudent courage, in the sense of being logical and reasonable.

11. *Physical exercise – sport*

Physical exercise is never mentioned in religious texts: it is neither a theological virtue nor, obviously, a cardinal virtue, nor moreover is it a lauded activity, but it is one of the pleasures considered healthy in the same way as reading, drawing and music, the converse of unhealthy pleasures such as games for money, going to bars, drinking and smoking among others.

Actually, it is considered morally healthy because it is a way of overcoming idleness and laziness. Everything that was said in the chapter on work could be restated here. Exercise is also considered as a form of internal cleanliness, as if purifying the body. Clearly, over time changes occur in the school curriculum just as they do in bodily practises in society, so that the bodily techniques suggested become very different. The moral virtues of exercise are recognised in any case, taking the need for cleanliness on the one hand and for Athenian or Spartan education on the other.

In any event, while French games or organised group gymnastics were very much in vogue at the start of the period, from the nineteen-fifties onwards it was Anglo-Saxon sports that received greater recognition from textbook authors. And while at the start of the twentieth century, what seemed important for exercising the body was clearly expressed in the concern for health and performing physical work – such as having a healthy pastime rather than indulging in alcohol and money-based games – from the moment when sport took over from organised or fun gymnastics or even other natural activities the central value was seen as exploiting and exceeding oneself (the hero).

In the textbooks *sportification*, the introduction of competition in physical exercise, comes ever closer to courage in bodily practise and the hero of modern times becomes ever less the Chevalier D'Assas and ever more an Olympic Games 400 m. runner, or an 'extreme' alpinist in the Himalayas. Courage and exceeding self in sport finally become facets of the same moral model.

12. *Conclusion*

The textbooks are in conformity: they conform to the curriculum, conform from one textbook to another in terms of subject matter and from the level of class in one type of school to another, are in conformity no doubt with the dominant

religion, and conform to the current ideology of a given period. Conversely, the textbooks are creative in terms of the pedagogic methods used in relation to the class being taught: fable, sentence, maxim, aphorism, role model tales for the youngest pupils, use or otherwise of drawings supplementing the text and, from the end of the inter-war period, the use of illustrative photographs. They are also creative in the learning method employed particularly from the nineteen-fifties or the very end of the forties. A transformation occurs changing from social injunction or categorical imperative to personalisation; an individual appropriation of what is moral, in a way transforming it to ethics. Finally, another transformation (creativity?) in moral values textbooks occurred in correlation with, or at least contemporary with, the ending of duties to God in the curricula: the suppression of the chapter on the prohibition of suicide and self-mutilation.

However, this disappearance in favour of civil instruction textbooks and even the integration of civic instruction in the History-Geography curriculum denotes the end of a view of the world in school and in society.

Through school textbooks on moral values, indicates a discourse aimed at controlling animalism to the benefit of humanisation, a discourse that goes from howling, impulsive *flesh* to the ascetic *word* going from the *beast* (animal and demon) to the *angel*. The process of civilisation described by Norbert Elias, is promoted in the textbooks on moral values.

Furthermore, the bodily restraints suggested that promote self control are both a social control and micro, even a bio-power system, as well as a battle against bodily and therefore moral 'soiling' aimed at putting society in order⁴¹. The quasi systematic use of the religious cardinal sins and the cardinal even theological virtues also show how the Republic's (secular) school melts into a Judeo-Christian perhaps strictly Catholic axiological support. The seeds planted by Jean-Baptiste de La Salle in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have probably grown and developed under Republican moral values.

⁴¹ Douglas, *De la souillure*, cit.

Public policies for the production of textbooks for youth and adults in Brazil: some reflections on recent historical trajectory

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ABSTRACT: This paper discusses the tensions and contradictions of public policy for the production of teaching materials for the Education of Youth and Adults in the recent history of education in Brazil. The study focuses on the period comprising the governments of Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. The analysis shows that the didactic materials are subject to different guidelines of the educational policies of the Union to tackle illiteracy and low educational levels of the population, which now emphasize ways to accelerate the education of the population, sometimes stimulate the activities of social movements and their practices in popular education. We conclude that, currently, Brazil is facing the paradox of universal access to textbooks of students in Adult Education and at the same time, running the risk of promoting the standardization and concentration of this production, which should meet the diversity sociocultural characteristics of this audience, different experiences inhibiting the production of teaching materials held across the country.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Textbook; Young Adult; Adult Education; Illiteracy; Didactics; Brazil; XX-XXI Centuries.

1. *Introduction*

In Brazil, the provision of educational opportunities for youth and adults who have not completed basic education is the rescue of a historic debt. According to current statistics, about 65 million Brazilians have less than eight years of study, and about 12 million are illiterate¹. Since the Law of Guidelines and Bases of

¹ Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística-IBGE, Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de

National Education (Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional-LDBEN, 1996), Education for Youth and Adults (EJA), incorporated as a specific modality of Basic Education aims to ensure a qualified educational provision for this large portion of the population. One element of this qualification is offering students teaching materials (especially textbooks), which need to be appropriate to the profile and needs of students in adult education.

In fact, the theme of learning materials, its place in Union² policies for adult education, and their relationships with the proposals and methods of education of youth and adults in Brazil have historically been the subject of discussion³. According to Fávero⁴ since at least the beginning of the 1960s, a moment in the country's history when various movements and proposals for education for the masses were born, the theme of teaching materials has been highlighted on the national agenda for debates about EJA. Most recently in the 1990s, a variety of documents produced around the country by the Forums on EJA⁵ and at national encounters of bodies linked to EJA have highlighted the production of teaching materials, as important elements in making the educational proposals and practices of EJA viable.

In this paper we summarize the recent period in the history of Brazilian education, identifying what were the actuations of the Union in the formulation and implementation of policies for adult education, highlighting the issue of teaching materials. Explored initially, which were the guidelines of these policies implemented during the administrations of Presidents Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002) and Luis Inacio Lula da Silva (2003-2010), and analyzed their relations with civil society and the publishing industry in production

Domicílios-PNAD, 2011. Available at <<http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/presidencia/noticias/impressao/ppts/00000010135709212012572220530659.pdf>> (last access: November 2nd, 2013).

² In Brasil the União represents the federal government, to which the development of public policies on a national scale is attributed.

³ In the research about EJA, the theme of pedagogical materials can be references in the work of O. Fávero, *Referências sobre materiais didáticos para a educação popular*, in V. Paiva (ed.), *Perspectivas e Dilemas da Educação Popular*, Rio de Janeiro, Edições Graal, 1984; Id., *Uma Pedagogia da Participação Popular: análise da prática educativa do MEB – Movimento de Educação de Base (1961/1966)*, Campinas, SP, Autores Associados, 2006; Id., *Materiais Didáticos para a Educação de Jovens e Adultos*, «Cad. Cedes», vol. 27, n. 71, jan./abr. 2007, pp. 39-62. Disponível em <<http://www.cedes.unicamp.br>> (last access: January 21st, 2014); with J. River, *Educação de Jovens e adultos na América Latina: direito e desafio de todos*, UNESCO, Fundação Santillana, [sd.]. See also C.R. Beisiegel, *Ensino Público e Educação Popular*, in V. Paiva (ed.), *Perspectivas e Dilemas da Educação Popular*, Rio de Janeiro, Edições Graal, 1984; Id., *Estado e Educação Popular: um estudo sobre a educação de adultos*, Brasília, Liber Livro Ed., 2004; and V. Paiva, *Educação Popular e Educação de Adultos*, São Paulo, Edições Loyola, 1973, who approaches the pedagogical materials produced in the range of programs and actions developed in the area of EJA since the 1940s.

⁴ Fávero, *Materiais Didáticos para a Educação de Jovens e Adultos*, cit.

⁵ The movement of the Forums of Youth and Adult Education, started in the late 90s, with the agenda act in the construction of public policies EJA, which guarantee rights in the education process.

of teaching materials for adult education. Finally, we indicate some of the dilemmas and challenges that are imposed on the issue of teaching materials for adult education, after its inclusion in the National Textbook Program (PNLD).

2. Pedagogical production for EJA in the 1990s: between certification and collective productions

The period that extends from the 1990s until 2002 (when the second term of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso ended) was made tense by the impasse generated between the legal specifications of EJA and the struggles to implant the concrete policies related to the conquests achieved. As expressed by Haddad, the decade was marked by the «impasse between the formal conquests of rights and the real-life negation of policies»⁶. Therefore, on one side, confrontations developed due to segments seeking to promote advances in the legal framework that was being established in the country starting with Constitution of 1988, in the Plano Decenal de Educação para Todos of 1993, in the Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional of 1996, in the Lei n. 9.424/96 which created the Fundo de Manutenção do Ensino Fundamental e Valorização do Magistério (FUNDEF), and in the discussion about the Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais and the Plano Nacional de Educação of 2001. On the other hand, struggles developed with the effective implementation of legal norms by public agents using policies that secure the advances obtained.

Between 1997 and 2002, under the government of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the Fundo Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação (FNDE), a federal autarchy linked to the Ministry of Education, began to answer for the financial support of the Union to states and municipalities for programs aimed at primary education for youth and adults. Initiatives for literacy instruction and professional development for youth and adults in the Union began to be coordinated by non-educational sectors within the federal government. These initiatives were characterized by focused interventions or by those with a compensatory nature, destined to give priority treatment to the poorest regions of the country, highlighting the Conselho da Comunidade Solidária, in the case of the Programa Alfabetização Solidária (PAS); the Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego, in the case of the Plano Nacional de

⁶ S. Haddad, *A ação de governos locais na educação de jovens e adultos*, «Revista Brasileira de Educação», vol. 12, n. 35 maio/ago. 2007, pp. 197-211. Of the same author see also: *Ensino Supletivo no Brasil. O Estado da arte*, Brasília, INEP/REDUC, 1987; Id. (ed.), *O Estado da Arte das Pesquisas em Educação de Jovens e Adultos no Brasil: a produção discente da pós-graduação em educação no período 1986-1998*, São Paulo, Ação Educativa, 2000; with M.C. Di Pierro, *Satisfação das necessidades básicas de aprendizagem de jovens e adultos no Brasil: contribuições para uma avaliação da década da Educação para Todos*, São Paulo, Ação Educativa, 1999.

Qualificação Profissional (PLANFOR); e the Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário, in the case of the Programa Nacional de Educação na Reforma Agrária (PRONERA)⁷.

During this interim, the Coordenação de Educação de Jovens e Adultos – COEJA, at the Ministério da Educação, developed a series of initiatives geared towards the reformulation of curricular references, dissemination of teaching materials and implantation of a professional development program for educators in the state and municipal school systems. In this way, after the elaboration and approval of the new Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais (DCN), in 2000, new Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais for EJA (PCN/EJA) were formulated as was a new model for the certification of studies, the Exame Nacional de Certificação de Competências de Jovens e Adultos (ENCCEJA).

These articulated normative instruments demonstrated the intention of the Union to supply the elements for the reorganization of the frame of EJA in the country, subsidizing and reorienting the policies of other public and private agents working in the sector, for instance state and municipal secretaries of education, unions, social movements, and non-governmental organizations, among other social agents. This process involved a series of contradictory situations and resulted in different impasses involving the whole range of different social agents linked to EJA, that were articulated especially around the Forums EJA.

In fact, it is the movement for educational reform that makes links between curricula and pedagogical production, and subsequently, examinations start to be highlighted as instruments of the educational policies of EJA. In reality, these discussion processes were initiated in the mid-1990s, with the elaboration of a curricular proposal for *Viver é Aprender*. The initiative for the elaboration of curricula was left to Ação Educativa, a non-governmental organization that acts in the areas of education and youth. In 1996, the Ministério de Educação e Cultura (MEC) coedited and distributed this curriculum proposal after manifesting its intention to the Comissão Nacional de Educação de Jovens e Adultos. Some years later, in 2000, this initiative was continued and the *Proposta Curricular para o Segundo Segmento do Ensino Fundamental da Educação de Jovens e Adultos – EJA* (corresponding to the 5th through 8th grades of elementary education) was organized, but no official proposal related to teaching materials came from this process. The elaboration of teaching material occurred only in 2002, but already as a part of the process of creating a national examination for the certification of EJA competencies, the *ENCCEJA*.

At the same time, this centralized policy curriculum and evaluation was developing, in 2001, the Programa de Apoio a Estados e Municípios para a Educação Fundamental de Jovens e Adultos, denominated as *Programa*

⁷ M.C. Di Pierro, M. Graciano, *Educação de Jovens e Adultos no Brasil: informe apresentado à Oficina Regional da UNESCO para América Latina e Caribe*, São Paulo, Ação Educativa, 2003.

Recomeço – Supletivo de Qualidade, integrated in the *Projeto Alvorada*, was launched with plans for it to be functioning by 2003. The program professed to articulate social programs with the infrastructure and development of the government of the Union, which, in theory, would be focused on reducing inequality and improving living conditions in the areas of Brazil with the greatest need. The objective of *Recomeço* was to support states in the North and Northeast, as well as micro regions with low Human Development Indexes, with financial resources, and provide elementary education to youth and adults, assuring that people enrolled in the Programa Alfabetização Solidária (PAS) would continue their studies. Among its actions, PAS forecast the acquisition of textbooks, modules, and/or the printing of teaching materials adequate for the education of youth and adults in the first two segments of elementary school in addition to the acquisition and reproduction of teaching materials.

To summarize, the actions of the Union during the government of FHC, within the bounds of MEC, and related to the production of teaching materials for EJA, were marked by the *Programa Recomeço*, which was created to complement the resources destined for EJA and financed the production of teaching materials by the municipal and state secretaries of education; and PAS, which adopted the collection *Viver é Aprender* and developed, together with its partners, materials for literacy campaigns. Furthermore, pedagogical productions start to become tools for controlling the offer of EJA, linking to the question of curriculum and examinations of competency by way of the ENCCEJA. The FHC government policy oscillates between the decentralization of resources for localized didactic production, and the definition of normative instruments – curricula and examinations – defining forms and contents for this production.

In addition to the materials that resulted from the actions of the Union, many others emerged as a result of initiatives by local governments linked to political parties considered to be progressive, such as the Partido dos Trabalhadores – PT, whose experience in the city government of São Paulo in 1990, with Paulo Freire at the helm as the secretary of education, was the source of inspiration for the reclaiming of earlier experiences from the era of the military dictatorship, during which the participation in civil society was fundamental for promoting the educational inclusion of the poorest segments of the population.

It was in this context, for example, that the Movimento de Alfabetização – *Mova* – emerged. *Mova* spread throughout the country, in the municipal and state governments of various parties, but principally the Partido dos Trabalhadores – PT. According to Haddad⁸, the model implemented, while involving different entities and social movements, ended up strengthening the demand for EJA and educational experiences within the bounds of civil society. This stimulated the collective production of teaching materials by teachers and students.

⁸ Haddad, *A ação de governos locais na educação de jovens e adultos*, cit.

Some city governments also patronized the production of significant teaching materials. In Porto Alegre the books *Palavras de trabalhador* were published by the Sistema de Educação de Jovens e Adultos – SEJA and were products of the educational experiences realized with youth and adult workers, the entire concept behind the knowledge base of the books. In Goiás, as a result of a partnership between MEC, the municipal secretary of Goiânia and the Instituto Brasil Central da Diocese de Goiânia, some teaching materials were created as a collection of texts titled *Nossa Vida Lida e Escrita* (1996), a collection of texts and activities for reading and writing titled *De um Tudo* (1998) and a collection of texts and activities for reading and writing named *Um Passo na Construção da Nossa Pasta do Projeto AJA* (1996 e 2000)⁹. In this way, during the 1990s, various materials were produced within the scope of educational experiences, sponsored by progressive city governments or developed by NGOs, mainly those linked to movements for education and popular culture.

In addition to these productions, institutions linked to the workers' movement, such as the Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT), which in initial partnership with PUC/SP, and later with the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro – UFRJ, Unitrabalho and DIEESE, produced significant teaching materials from within the programs *Integrar e Integração*. Also the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Terra – MST developed teaching materials to be utilized in their camps and settlements¹⁰.

The segment of commercial publishing, starting at the end of the 1990s also experienced a scenario of expansion rendered by the process of consolidating the EJA courses, especially when in 1998 the Fundo Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação (FNDE) started to support states and municipalities in the production and acquisition of materials by way of the *Programa Recomeço*. The ease of use of the resources promoted the presence of publishers with educational materials destined for EJA in practically every region of the country, with the exception of the Central-West. Even so, a concentration in the market can be verified, with 36% of publishers headquartered in São Paulo, 21% in Curitiba, and 15% in Fortaleza. Not only that, but the production destined for EJA revealed commercial strategies and editorial devices that revealed a production of low editorial quality, whether from the material or scholastic point of view¹¹.

⁹ The information about the materials produced in Goiás were obtained from the Museu Virtual organized by a team within the college of education using the following web address: <<http://www.fe.ufg.br/museu>> (last access: January 21st, 2014).

¹⁰ The teaching materials from CUT, from SEJA in Porto Alegre and from MST were analyzed by Fávero, *Materiais Didáticos para a Educação de Jovens e Adultos*, cit.

¹¹ See P.E.D. de Mello, *Materiais Didáticos para a Educação de Jovens e Adultos: história, formas e conteúdos*, Tese (Doutorado), Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2010, which analyzes the didactic production of commercial publishers EJA detail indicating the editorial strategies that compromise the quality of production. Available at: <<http://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/48/48134/tde-26012011-142038/pt-br.php>> (last access: January 21st, 2014).

3. *Pedagogical production for EJA under the Lula government: advances and contradictions*

Starting in 2003 with the government of Luís Inácio Lula de Silva, educational reforms carried out during the previous administration started to become the object of reconsideration and revision. Even MEC suffered various reformulations, like the reorganization of its structure. MEC's programs, projects and actions were reoriented little by little. In order to confront the question of illiteracy, for example, the Programa Brasil Alfabetizado – o PBA – was created in 2003.

EJA, within this process of reformulating educational policies, started to be the responsibility of the Secretaria de Educação Continuada e Diversidade, SECAD, created in 2004. The *Programa Recomeço* was rebaptized as *Fazendo Escola*, underwent some alterations, and was progressively extended to every region of the country, with differentiated per capita values on a scale that was in proportion to the educational deficit in each location.

In the new context resulting from the creation of SECAD, the activities of the Union in relation to pedagogical productions geared towards EJA was divided into the proposal by MEC for teaching materials of a flexible, interdisciplinary nature, such as the collection *Cadernos de EJA* (2007), which was articulated for teacher training by the collection *Trabalhando com EJA* (2006); the production of new teaching materials geared towards the promotion of reading in youth and adults who have recently learned to read, such as the *Almanaque Aluar n. 2* and the collection *Literatura para Todos* (2006); the maintenance of resource transfers to federated entities via programs such as *Fazendo Escola* and PBA; and materials linked to the certification examination, ENCCEJA.

The creation of the *Programa Nacional do Livro Didático para a Alfabetização de Jovens e Adultos* (PNLA), in 2007 (Resolução n. 18, de 24 de abril de 2007), within the scope of the PBA, which, upon including EJA in the Programa Nacional do Livro Didático (PNLD), represented a moment of inflection in the policies implemented up until that time about teaching materials, even though at that moment this only included materials for the teaching of reading. With the end of *Fazendo Escola*, the inclusion of EJA in FUNDEB, the policy of SECAD to relocate the transfer of resources to entities with the investment in programs that stimulate the centralized production of teaching materials with a special focus on textbooks, in such a way that begins to benefit the publishing industry.

Maintaining this tendency, the 2009 and 2010 edition of the PNLA amplified the universe of students served, starting to incorporate, in addition to students enrolled in the PBA who were learning to read, the regular reading classes in adult education programs in public school systems. In 2009, the PNLA was extinguished and incorporated into a new, more wide-reaching program: the Programa Nacional do Livro Didático para a Educação de Jovens e Adultos

(PNLD-EJA/2011). Created by the Resolução n. 51, de 16 de setembro de 2009, the PNLD EJA started to distribute teaching works and collections for all of the public schools with EJA classes and for literacy classes in partner entities of the Programa Brasil Alfabetizado. In its first edition in 2011, the program served nearly 4 million students and teachers, having distributed about 17 million books.

Tab. 1. Results of the evaluation process PNLDEJA 2011 (number of works)

<i>Stage EJA</i>	<i>Evaluated</i>	<i>Approved</i>	<i>Disapproved</i>
Literacy	27	14	13
1 st segment	14	03	11
2 nd segment	10	02	08
Regional de History and Geography	14	02	12
Total	65	21	44

Fonte: FNDE (table prepared by author).

The results of the evaluation process PNLDEJA 2011 indicate that only 32% of the evaluated projects were approved. However, the fact that it has been a process of evaluation on behalf of PNLA masks the result. Many works approved in PNLDEJA already approved in PNLA. So if we consider the evaluation of the books of 1st, 2nd and regional segments that had never been subjected to evaluation, we found that the approval rate was only 21% of the works. The high failure rate, therefore, reveals the poor quality of educational material intended for adult education in the country produced by the editorial market.

Other aspects also worthy of note in the result. The first reveals the dynamics of the concentration of publishing. Of the 11 publishers who had adopted their collections only 3 publishers, all located in the state of São Paulo, Attica (04 collections), FTD (05 collections) and Global (3 Collections) accounted for 57% of the approved works. Another aspect is that two of the three collections approved by Global PNLDEJA publisher had already been produced and distributed by MEC itself during the Cardoso administration. With the end of the Cardoso government to Ação Educativa which owned the copyright in the collection began to get it published by Global Publishing. With this, the number of approved new works could be reduced to just 10% of the appraised collections.

Another element central to the policies on teaching materials in the Lula government was production of literary materials destined for the EJA public. To this end, in 2005 the *Concurso Literatura para Todos* was created with the objective of stimulating literary production destined for youth, adults and

seniors in the process of learning to read. According to Maciel, the production of a collection of literary materials sought to attend the specific needs of EJA, the so-called 'new reader', right from the beginning of its editorial project:

The collection is highlighted due to its graphic project. It was evaluated that the size of literary texts in circulation, the complexity of form, the lack of intimacy with authors and works leave an excellent margin of opportunity for getting closer to new readers of literary texts. [...] In the graphic project, it was also considered that the books needed to be at the same time attractive and practical and for this reason a diversity of illustration styles were selected that dialogued with the text and the universe of the new reader. The collection has a format and a graphic style that intends to favor the approximation of the new reader to the text, making the books simpler and more attractive¹².

However, starting in 2009, following a new directive on the policy for teaching materials, scheduled for inclusion of EJA in general announcements destined towards basic education, SECAD promoted the call for literary works destined for all segments of EJA in the announcement for the Programa Nacional Biblioteca da Escola (PNBE). The challenge that the PNBE brought was how to identify literary works that would meet the needs of the EJA public. This broke with the logic of the *Concurso Literatura para Todos* which called for the elaboration of texts considered exclusively for the EJA public. To a certain extent, the insertion of EJA in the PNBE questioned the necessity to produce or even the existence of literary materials in specific formats for the EJA public, indicating disjunctions between the MECs own initiatives.

In order to balance the insertion of EJA in the actions for basic education, SECAD took some initiatives to feed the production of teaching materials that did not privilege groups made up of producers linked to the publishing market. At the end of 2008, two resolutions geared towards the production or encouragement of the production of diverse teaching materials destined for EJA were launched. Resolução n. 51 sought to encourage the production of teacher training materials and pedagogical support for EJA with an emphasis on Economic Solidarity. On the other hand, Resolução n. 44 stimulated projects within civil society that should contemplate the promotion of access to reading and the formation of readers and reading mediators; encouraged the production and distribution of educational technologies that stimulate reading; and spur research and evaluation about reading.

To summarize, it is possible to say that the Union, during the Lula administration, via SECAD, maintained a policy of teaching materials for EJA that oscillated between stimulus for the production of diverse teaching materials, but with a pedagogical profile and defined publisher, which should favor certain sectors of civil society; and the capture initiatives or public calls for teaching

¹² I.M. Maciel, *Coleção Literatura Para Todos*, MEC, 2006. Resenha publicada na «Revista Brasileira da Educação», vol. 12, n. 36, Set./Dec. 2007.

materials by way of announcements together with the Secretaria de Educação Básica (SEB), which, in a certain way, privilege certain organized segments of the publishing industry with a greater capacity to attend the rigid formal and technical criteria for the evaluation of the book's programs. On the other hand, these initiatives for the distribution of materials are in need of accompaniment and evaluation concerning their impact on educational practices in EJA and in the pedagogical production for the segment, specifically the Brazilian textbook market.

4. *Final Considerations*

An analysis of public policies for EJA teaching production for the past two decades reveals tensions, similarities and contradictions between actions of the state, civil society groups and market actors from the cultural industry. It is a trajectory marked by tension between the continuity and discontinuity of educational programs and disputes between different conceptions of what role the learning materials should represent in the pedagogical processes of EJA. It is therefore intrinsically linked to the contradictions of the historical context, and clashes around the projects and educational policies for the EJA, expressing antagonism between proposals that insist on certification and accelerated promotion, superficial training for the completion of studies, and those who design forms of continuing education policy perspective of social emancipation linked to the experiences of popular education.

The attempt to formulate a specific policy to produce educational materials for adult education was thorough in the Lula government, no longer focused only on the relationship between the prescribed curriculum, standardized tests and preparatory educational materials as in the government of his predecessor Fernando Henrique Cardoso. This indicates a deepening pluralization of initiatives involving a diversity of producers subject, and stimulating the production of a variety of materials in many different media, languages and content.

However, it is a contradictory and incomplete proposal. Brazil lacks an articulated policy for the encouragement of the production and / or acquisition of teaching materials for adult education that addresses the diversity of initiatives of EJA, which is based on common and specific evaluation criteria for materials produced within either the official programs or initiatives supported by the state. Moreover, the very government initiatives internally multiply the structure of the Union, and within other spheres, overlapping actions of departments and municipalities, some convergent, and others that indicate theoretical and practical differences between projects of EJA.

It would be essential for the Brazilian State to assume the role of articulating their actions within the framework of a coherent policy to ensure the plurality of subject producers, avoiding the homogenization of didactic production and the concentration thereof in the hands of large publishing houses, and at the same time ensuring basic quality standards for the production of local subjects. In this sense, rather than provide for the production of a scattered mosaic of materials, one would think the composition of various didactic collections, consistent with a proposed EJA, plural and democratic.

Thus, not just the Brazilian state, in particular the Union, acting as a mere distributor of materials evaluated and purchased from the large producers of publishing, or just as a distributor of funds to civil society organizations that purport to produce their own teaching materials. It is necessary to simultaneously monitor the results achieved with the application of the funds transferred through decentralization programs, and be aware of the effects that a teaching mass production can bring to the EJA, identifying what the school uses the materials delivered by the programs and the possibilities of reinventing those features that exist in school spaces.

A revolution through images: looking at French science textbooks (Third Republic 1870-1940)

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ABSTRACT: In this article, we will focus on the relationship between text and illustration in primary school science textbooks. The educational methods adopted at the beginning of the Third Republic promoted the use of illustrations in the *Leçon de choses* textbooks. At the beginning of the 20th century, authors stressed the educational role of illustrations. Textbooks were given a rich and varied iconography that encroached so much on the text they became what can be called an 'illustrated lesson', increasingly independent from the written one. Studying a few textbooks allows us to highlight some of the specific features of 'illustrated lessons' and to question the hypothesis stating that in the 30s, textbooks underwent a 'revolution through illustration'.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Primary Education; Textbooks; illustration; Science; Teaching; France; XIX-XX Centuries.

Introduction

Physics and science textbooks for secondary schools of the two last decades display a wealth of iconographic materials (photographic reproductions, diagrams of experiments, illustrations of all kinds). This is not exactly new. At the beginning the 20th century, technological breakthroughs made the reproduction and diversification of images a lot easier. The development of

illustrated books for children probably influenced the evolution of illustration in textbooks¹.

We'll show that early in the 20th century, authors and publishers justified the progressive incursion of images in textbooks with pedagogical reasons. These justifications are no longer needed today. For teachers, a textbook in which iconography would occupy less space seems simply inconceivable and they consider as 'off-putting' even recent secondary textbooks, in which the lesson takes up almost a whole page, illustrations are mostly technical (diagrams and charts) and colour is seldom seen². Publishers and contemporary authors' preconceptions are probably the same as that of teachers: if it is to be attractive, a textbook must be full of glitter. Images are used not so much as a compensatory device to offset the austerity of the written lesson, as an educational resource.

Our purpose in this paper is to review some primary school science textbooks (*leçon de choses*, literally 'lesson on things')³ dating from the French Third Republic (1871-1940), to study the evolution of text-image relationship in those textbooks and to identify some aspects of a 'discourse in pictures' that is idiosyncratic to science textbooks: how can we characterize this 'discourse in pictures'? How does it evolve over the course of the Third Republic? The textbooks we have studied are part of the old textbooks collection of the former *Écoles normales* of Limoges. They are presently held in the University of Limoges (*École supérieure du professorat et de l'éducation*). Our corpus is not representative of the wide variety of textbooks published during the 3rd Republic. We feel, however, that it illustrates different types of 'discourse in pictures'. The ambition of an extensive study of 3rd Republic science textbooks appears vain, considering the massive and diverse production of such textbooks. Therefore, we have intuitively chosen some textbooks, regardless of the class they were aimed at. Most of these textbooks are available online on the website of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* (Gallica).

¹ See L. Noesser, *Le livre pour enfants*, in R. Chartier, H.-J. Martin (edd.), *Histoire de l'édition française*, Paris, Fayard, 1990, Vol. 4, pp. 482-494.

² We gathered testimonies to this in 2012 from science teachers of the Limoges District during a teacher's training session devoted to scientific images.

³ The French *Leçon de choses* is translated from the English «Object Teaching», a teaching method developed by the Scottish educator Alexander Bain. The adaptation in France of Bain's method was first attempted in infant-schools by Marie-Pape Carpentier in the mid-19th Century. It then expanded and became a common method in French primary schools at the beginning of the 3rd Republic. About the *Leçon de choses*, see P. Kahn, *La leçon de choses. Naissance de l'enseignement des sciences à l'école primaire*, Paris, Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2002.

1. *The pedagogical role of images in science textbooks*

Science textbooks, whether for primary or secondary school⁴, have always been an object of study for anyone interested in the issue of images in textbooks. As early as the 19th century, and at the beginning of the Third Republic, it was in science textbooks (together with geography atlases⁵ and mathematics textbooks) that illustrations were most abundant. The *leçon de choses*, a general method for primary education, found a privileged field of application in science: the focus is on observing and manipulating natural objects. The senses – especially vision – are pressed into service for the learning of science more than anywhere else. This is what prompted Paul Bert to write, in the preface of an 1881 textbook:

It is not through professional enthusiasm that I take physical and natural sciences to play a paramount role in education, and especially in primary education. It is no doubt essential to know grammar rules and the main events in history. But the reason behind grammar rules is too abstract to penetrate children's minds [...]. It is quite different for natural sciences, which train the senses by fostering a habit to see clearly and to see everything, a habit that becomes a sort of instinct [...] and thus train people to believe nothing without evidence available to back up the statement⁶.

What Paul Bert is explaining here is the importance he attaches to science in the training of students' minds. But in so doing, he is justifying the use of images. In a discipline where the aim is to teach people to 'see clearly', it is essential that illustrations be in the foreground. In Paul Bert's *leçons de choses*, textbooks, plants, minerals and animals make up a naturally-occurring corpus. The over-abundant illustrations in those *leçons de choses* textbooks are meant to show, in an idealized form that is supposed to facilitate learning, objects that students are supposed to study in science lessons.

⁴ At the beginning of the 3rd Republic, education became compulsory from the age of 6 to the age of 13. Most of children were sent to free primary schools (*écoles primaires élémentaires*); some children, issued from wealthy families, were sent to fee-paying secondary schools (*collèges, lycées*) at the age of 6. Only some pupils of secondary schools had an opportunity to pass a Bachelors's degree (*baccalauréat*) at 18.

⁵ See A. Choppin, *Le livre scolaire*, in Chartier, Martin (edd.), *Histoire de l'édition française*, cit., Vol. 4, pp. 303-322; G. Piquet, *Evolution du livre scolaire depuis la III^e République*, «Techniques graphiques», n. 34, 1960, pp. 33-50.

⁶ P. Bert, *La première année d'enseignement scientifique* (Teaching Science in The First Year), Paris, Armand-Colin, 1884 (8e éd.), Avant-Propos, p. 3: «Ce n'est pas par enthousiasme de professions que j'attribue aux sciences physiques et naturelles un rôle absolument prépondérant dans l'enseignement, et surtout dans l'enseignement primaire. Sans doute il est indispensable de connaître les règles de la grammaire et les faits principaux de l'histoire. Mais les raisons des règles de la grammaire sont trop abstraites pour pénétrer dans l'esprit des enfants [...]. Il en est tout autrement pour les sciences naturelles, qui exercent les sens en donnant une habitude de voir juste et de tout voir, habitude qui devient une sorte d'instinct [...] et habituent ainsi à ne rien croire sans que la preuve suive immédiatement l'affirmation». The book is aimed at students aged 6-7.

This, incidentally, was very soon criticized as a shortcoming by Ministry authorities: school textbooks may well work *against* the teaching of the *leçon de choses*, encouraging primary school teachers to teach «‘lessons on things’ without things»⁷. This criticism was complemented by another: the inadequate training of teachers in the teaching of sciences⁸.

As early as the turn of the 20th century, the Ministry could be seen to be complaining that students could not possibly be made to act, when that was precisely what the *leçon de choses* was supposed to be doing. This was what brought about the Third Republic’s sole reform of primary school syllabi in 1923. In an effort to return to the ‘spirit’ of the 1880s’ syllabi, it was suggested not to simply stick to observation as advocated by the *leçon de choses*, but to develop ‘experimentation’⁹. Making students active seems to have been the watchword of institutional pedagogy during the first half of the 20th century. It could thus be argued that the increasing presence of illustrations in science textbooks that give readers to *see* what should in fact be *done* in class was indeed a way to put this watchword into practice. ‘Discourse in pictures’, because it was increasingly present in textbooks, increasingly independent from written lessons, increasingly clearly geared towards potential textbooks users (students), might have been viewed as a perfect response to the joint demands of institution and teachers. It relieved the latter from the responsibility of observing, in the classroom, those natural realities represented in textbooks, or from carrying out the experiments described in the same textbooks.

2. Text-image interactions in early Third Republic textbooks

We may now proceed to show, through a few examples, how a ‘discourse in pictures’ does appear in *leçons de choses* textbooks dating from the beginning of the Third Republic¹⁰. Let us first take a look at a few discursive configurations in

⁷ Jacqueline Lalouette borrows the expression from school inspector C. Delon in 1882. See Jacqueline Lalouette, *L’illustration des livres de leçons de choses (années 1890-années 1960)*, in A. Renonciat (ed.), *Le livre pour enfants. Pratiques, normes, discours: France et pays francophones (XVI^e-XX^e siècles)*, Poitiers, La Licorne, 2003, pp. 87-105.

⁸ A testimony to this can be found in School District Inspector E. Garban’s annual report, «Bulletin départemental de l’instruction primaire de la Haute-Vienne», 1885, p. 178-179.

⁹ In the 1923 primary school syllabi, we can read, chap. III, *General Method for Primary Education*: «instead of observation which still places pupils in a passive role, our preference goes to experimentation which provides them with an active role – insofar as experimentation can be used in primary school».

¹⁰ In order not to overload our article with illustrations, we invite the reader to refer to the digitized versions of the textbooks that we mention below, available on Gallica, the BNF (French National Library)’s site, even though we deplore the poor reproduction quality of text and especially of illustrations. The pages given in reference below are always those of the digital

the Paul Bert book we discussed above¹¹. The book demonstrates a strong link between text and image. The latter are nested in layers inside the text, which makes numerous cross-references to them, e.g. to wit pages 10-11: «Watch these animals closely; you will see that they are made up of rings of sorts [...]». The textual utterance creates a potential reader whose glance it directs¹². The author justifies this process in his foreword:

as a teaching method, I chose the direct kind: the master speaks as he would in class, occasionally interrupted by sparse, sometimes embarrassing remarks, from his best students. The class is then lively and active, at least that was my purpose.

This potential reader can even identify with the virtually staged child: «Pierre, bring me this woodlouse (fig. 7) that I see there, in the corner. Look, it is also made up of a series of rings». Figure 7 just above the quoted text provides an illustration of the woodlouse with its caption (name and the word crustacean added in). An examination of the various illustrations shows a layout that also follows a specific discursive method, a few examples of which we will now discuss.

The practice of clipping (so common today but in this case achieved through engraving) helps focus attention on the 'object' itself: fish (fig. 19, p. 14) treated as an 'object' in itself, and therefore defined by a typical overall shape. It might also be an 'object within its environment' by means of contextualisation that plays on a figure/ground relationship evidenced in the amphibians (fig. 20, p. 15) or the hyena (fig. 45, p. 24) in its more or less detailed desert scenery.

Similarly, note that different images of the same object are often presented as a part-to-whole relationship; such is frequently the case for morphology. Figures 32 and 33 (p. 22) are cases in point: cat's paw and mouth represent the animal; a close-up picture of a characteristic detail (the leg) represent the horse (fig. 65, p. 28). A layout of images facing each other can also be iconic of an adjacency relationship, commonly used to illustrate functional aspects related to a particular object: figure of the magnet alone (fig. 82, p. 190) and figure of the magnetized needle (fig. 83, p. 190).

Sequential images may describe:

editions. A sample of images of the books held in Limoges are given in the following pages.

¹¹ Paul Bert, *La première année d'enseignement scientifique*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1884 (8th ed.). Available on <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k54629025.r=.langFR>> (last access: January 21st, 2014). All the various editions are not similar: specifically the order of the chapters was changed.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 2: «Comme procédé d'enseignement, j'ai choisi la forme directe: le maître parle comme il le ferait dans sa classe, interrompu de temps en temps par quelques réflexions, parfois embarrassantes, de ses meilleurs élèves. La leçon court ainsi, je m'y suis efforcé du moins, alerte et vivante».

- transformations: illustrations 32 and 33 show the cat's paw resting or ready to attack; other illustrations show the differential process of salt dissolving in water or iron dissolving in sulphuric acid (p. 138);
- chronological evolutions, which will be extensively used in physics chapters to illustrate some experiments (fig. 8 and 9, p. 141: compressibility of gases).

Serial images favour cumulative perception for comparison and differentiation purposes: single and double refraction (p. 158), the rise and fall of the temperature taken with a thermometer (fig. 14-16, p. 147).

All those illustrations, therefore, are arguably not only laid out for editorial purposes or aesthetic considerations but, as Jean-Jacques Wunenberger stated:

images, far from being in essence random aggregates, externally regulated and connected only by associative laws, turned out to be ruled by semantic and syntactic structural laws that cause them to be part of an orderly and sensible representation of the world and life¹³.

This setup, at once classic and subtle, leads us to propose the idea of a textbook use programme, (i.e. programming a visual route to be followed by the reader), but also stopovers on a certain number of figures for cognitive efficiency. This image-made route is not autonomous, but closely related to the text route and also includes summaries of lessons and exercises.

In this visualization programme, we can first distinguish *dominantly denotative images*. Their broad generality makes them typical global recognition images. Their point is that they are vicarious images allowing recognition through mediation and not necessarily through experience, in a society that is not yet saturated by depictions of animals, many of which had never been seen alive in the zoos that were being created from the 1860s on, as reflected by the opening of the Zoo of Mulhouse in 1868, one of the oldest in France.

Beside these general representations, we find *descriptive representations*, highlighting features that were often morphological, thereby also providing a finer-grained identification function. Letters referring to a caption can highlight these features in conjunction with a specialized lexicon: the gills of the fish (mentioned p. 58), different parts of the pear-tree (p. 77).

Functional representations highlight the relationships between elements of a whole, using false perspective techniques and sometimes exploded views as in the principle of the dark room (p. 155). Lastly the use of arrows or other graphic signs provides a better understanding of dynamic phenomena: the arrows showing the direction of friction in figures 90 and 91 (p. 193).

Incentive representations stage an experiment or phenomenon not easily representable: visually representing the slight gap between the visual perception of some event, an object being hit and the sound perceived (p. 168). *Synthetic*

¹³ J.-J. Wunenberger, *Philosophie des images*, Paris, PUF, 1997, p. 69.

representations make it possible to capture, in one image, a process or experiment such as the materialization of various positions of the pendulum on the same drawing (p. 175) or steam expansion (p. 152).

Were other textbooks designed on the same principle in those days? There do not seem to be any standard models as regards the size, number or layout of illustrations. For example, a textbook by Gaston Bonnier and Adrien Seignette, aimed at students aged nine to eleven¹⁴ displays larger size illustrations and makes comparatively wide use of exploded views showing internal organs or parts of the skeleton within the outer shell of the represented object. It is quite amusing to read, in the foreword, an acerbic remark by the author lambasting the textual presence of pseudo-students of a virtual classroom in ‘certain textbooks’, a teaching artifice he deems irrelevant: obviously an attack against Paul Bert. Within the restricted context of this article, however, we will take a closer look at another textbook, one by Charles Saffray¹⁵ where the treatment of illustration is quite emblematic of the interrelationship between editorial constraints and educational concerns.

The abovementioned Paul Bert book was characterized by small-size pictures, always laid out to stand in strong interrelationship with the text throughout the book; Saffray’s book, by contrast, displays a lore of illustrations which gain autonomy on account of their large dimensions and the lavishness of their design. Wide engraved vignettes offer graphic, very expressive depictions of natural elements: the water with its turbulent vortices (fig. 30 p. 27), the clouds with their twisted shapes (p. 21). The treatment of nature is less descriptive than epic, and draws heavily on imagination. The descriptive aspect of illustration is less systematic even if the presence of schemas, exploded views and especially text, bears witness to a genuine will to explain things. A number of representations are fairly easy to link to illustrations of adventure novels, as «the storm at sea» (p. 36) or a cave (p. 61). The chapters devoted to minerals and metals provide an opportunity for strongly typed representations, especially when they deal with the extraction and use of these materials: «Masons join the stones with a mortar of lime and sand» (p. 65). In addition, we can see many secondary figures: cross-sections of machines, patterns of experiments, etc. The expressive element appears to be prominent in this discourse in pictures, resulting in a genuine pedagogy of impressing young sensitive minds, unlike Paul Bert’s work, obviously more governed by rationality of visualization. The book offers a surprise as we realize that it reuses and recycles a large number of illustrations

¹⁴ G. Bonnier, A. Seignette, *Éléments usuels des sciences physiques et naturelles. Cours moyen* [...], Paris, Paul Dupont, 1891.

¹⁵ Dr [Charles] Saffray, *Leçons de choses. Cours méthodique comprenant les matières des programmes officiels*, Paris, Hachette, 1881. Our reference is the 1889 edition, to be found online at Gallica: <<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb420122527>> (last access: January 21st, 2014). This textbook was designed for primary school students – no indication of class.

previously used in two other books also published by Hachette: Louis Figuier¹⁶, and a course on physiology by Doctor Élie Pécaut¹⁷. Dozens of illustrations are included as is – sometimes at a different scale or even cropped – some taken from Figuier’s popularization book, others from Pécaut’s treatise, which was mostly aimed at Schools for primary teachers (*Écoles normales primaires*): images in those days were expensive materials whose cost had to be amortised, and the re-use of illustrations here, a well-known and long-standing practice, is particularly representative of this process. The reader is welcome to start looking for those borrowings. Here are just a few examples:

Charles Saffray	Élie Pécaut	Louis Figuier
Chap. salt, p. 317		p. 151
Chap. spices, p. 338-340		p. 162-163
Chap. sugar, p. 326-327		p. 171-172
The human body, p. 380	p. 26, fig. 3	
Sectional view of human chest, p. 383	p. 69	

Saffray’s book is also unusual in its use of fairly large illustrations on which the signatures can be seen. Their presence, albeit discreet – one or two engraved names or initials, often so interwoven into the background scenery that they were hardly visible at all – raises the complex issue of the two interrelated agents: draughtsman and engraver. Furthermore, it may prompt the question of the illustrators’ identities (draughtsman and engravers), whose name does not always appear. Paul Bert, Gaston Bonnier and Charles Saffray were famous for their scholarly work, and sometimes for their Republican commitment¹⁸.

¹⁶ Louis Figuier, *Le savant du foyer ou notions scientifiques sur les objets usuels de la vie* (*The fireplace scientist: science snippets on everyday life objects*), Paris, Hachette, 1876 (7th ed.), accessible online: <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k225278.r=figuier+savant+du+foyer.langFR.swf>> (last access: January 21st, 2014).

¹⁷ Dr Élie Pécaut’s *Cours d’anatomie et de physiologie humaines* (*A course in Human Anatomy and Physiology*), Paris, Hachette, 1887 (first issued in 1883) is available online: <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k62092502.r=P%C3%A9caut%2C+Elie.langFR.swf>> (last access: January 21st, 2014).

¹⁸ On the political career of Paul Bert, MP for the Yonne *département* (1872-1886), minister of Education and Religions (1881-1882), «Civilian Resident General» in French Indochina (1886), see S. Kotovtchikhine, *P. Bert et l’instruction publique*, Éditions universitaires de Dijon, 2000. He is also well-known for his scientific work and his career as Professor of Physiology at the Sorbonne and member of the Académie des Sciences (1882). Gaston Bonnier, Assistant Professor at the École normale supérieure, is a well-known scientist whose name is still widely known today for his *Flores*. The lesser-known Charles Saffray, a medical doctor, professor of physiology, and a botanist (1833-1890) was one of the first explorers of New Granada (today’s Columbia). One of the most prolific contributors to (47 entries) to Buisson’s first dictionary of pedagogy, he also wrote a number of science textbooks between 1876 and 1887, but also popularization works (*Histoire de la Terre: entretiens sur le passé, le présent et l’avenir de notre planète* (*History of the Earth: interviews on the past, present and the future of our planet*), Paris, Hachette, 1880; *Histoire de l’homme: les âges primitifs* (*History of Man: the Primitive Ages*), Paris, Hachette, 1881), a narrative of his

Publishers, who probably counted on authors' reputations to ensure the success of their books¹⁹, did not consider it necessary to put forward the name of illustrators²⁰. Actually this was common practice even though authors were not famous. It was particularly in the inter-war period that some illustrators were to make a name for themselves in the field of educational publishing. The simultaneous development of Children's Literature likely has something to do with it. Should this be regarded as an early manifestation of 'discourse in pictures' acquiring greater importance during this period?

3. *The self-assertion of a discourse in pictures*

Close examination of the prefaces of all these *Leçons de choses* textbooks shows that the role of the image is often justified by educational reasons. Such justifications, even though they were quite low-key at the beginning of the Third Republic, became increasingly conspicuous in the course of the 20th century. In 1883, Charles Saffray wrote that the use of images made books quite attractive, but also insisted on its didactic virtues, which in his view matched those of texts in lessons. The image is a language, and as such, it can teach:

Indeed, you will find your book to be particularly engaging on account of the *figures*, the images that represent objects, machines, tools, workers engaged in various industries. Get used to looking at these images. Drawing is a kind of language that must be studied to learn how to read it, i.e. to imagine exactly what it represents²¹.

What Saffray is suggesting is that images may be substituted for the lesson as a teaching method. Towards the end of the Third Republic, this substitution was overtly recommended by the authors of a 1938 textbook²², who explained

journey to New Columbia, and scientific books (*Les remèdes des champs: herborisations pratiques à l'usage des instituteurs, des ecclésiastiques et de tous ceux qui donnent leurs soins aux maladies* (*Field remedies: practical botanical fieldwork for the use of teachers, clerics and all those who provide care to sick people*), Paris, Hachette, 1875). He also commercialized a «Musée des écoles» (*Schools Museum*, a collection of samples for school museums).

¹⁹ A case in point is Paul Bert, whose works were widely distributed as part of publisher Armand Colin's policy of producing textbooks for all disciplines in primary education, written by the most famous scientists and by Republican activists. In Armand-Colin's catalogues, they were counterparts to Leysse's textbooks for mathematics, Foncin's for geography or Lavis's for history.

²⁰ Not all late 19th century textbook illustrators, however, were unknown. Riou, Jules Verne's illustrator, is a good example. Others, like Jahandier, often found as an illustrator in many textbooks, remains unknown. Philippe Kaenel's work on the best-known illustrators is worth referring to, especially *Le travail d'illustrateur (1830-1880)*, Geneva, Droz, 2005.

²¹ See Saffray, *Leçons de choses. Cours méthodique comprenant les matières des programmes officiels*, cit., preface (not paginated).

²² E. Caron, Mme E. Caron, C. Dirand, *Les sciences à l'école primaire. Certificat d'études*.

that they were outspoken supporters of reducing the space taken up by written lessons, which, they argued, should be reduced to no more than ‘substantial summaries’ – as students should not put off by too much text –, and of laying more emphasis on series of images representing experiments. What is novel here is that written lessons and illustrated pages are opposite each other – a layout that would be systematically used in many textbooks during the post-war period. Experiments, described in great detail in the lesson, are shown by means of any number of sequential figures or charts.

The attractiveness of the book, the authors go on to say, comes from its «illustration at once precise, lively and truly artistic» (drawn, they specify, by a «drawing graduate of the city of Paris and first second-class *Prix de Rome*» professor) which will remind the students of the master’s experiments, thus making it easier for them to ‘relive’ the lesson²³.

Some authors were even more radical on the educational function of the images. A case in point is Georges Colomb²⁴, the proponent of a teaching method through pictures for small children which purports to «present, in an attractive and captivating form [for the student], the most indispensable basics»²⁵. To achieve this aim, images are the favoured medium, while text does not promote learning:

Instead of a long, sometimes verbose text, which students, more often than not, will pay scant attention to and in the details of which they usually lose sight of the main object, we have adopted the system of ‘images’ accompanied by short but clear captions. Amongst other benefits, this system can help develop the child’s spirit of observation by relieving his memory. Indeed, the master, by explaining each scene [...], can instil in his necessarily attentive students a host of concepts that they will assimilate effortlessly²⁶.

The use of images is particularly suitable for the teaching of science to young children – aged 7 to 9 – who are ‘all eyes’, but also to older children as well. In

Cours supérieur 1^{re} et 2^e années, Paris, Hatier, 1938.

²³ The phrases between quotation marks in the previous paragraph are all taken from the preface (pp. 2-3) of the Caron, Caron & Dirand book.

²⁴ Georges Colomb (1853-1945), who wrote many textbooks for elementary schools, écoles primaires supérieures (for students after 12) and secondary school, is also, under his *nom de plume* Christophe, the author of comics such as *La famille Fenouillard* and *Le Sapeur Camember*. Professor at the Lycée Condorcet in Paris, then in Lille; PhD sciences in 1887; Lecturer at the Sorbonne and then Assistant Director of the Paris’ Botany laboratory (*Jardin des plantes*). See the biography by François Caradec, *Christophe*, Paris, P. Horay, 1981.

²⁵ G. Colomb, *Leçons de choses en 650 gravures*, Paris, Armand-Colin, 1931, preface (not paginated).

²⁶ *Ibid.*: «Au lieu d’un texte long, quelquefois diffus, auquel l’élève ne prête le plus souvent qu’une attention médiocre, dans les détails duquel il perd généralement de vue l’objet principal, nous avons adopté le système de l’image’ qu’accompagne une légende courte, mais cependant claire. Entre autres avantages, ce système a celui de développer l’esprit d’observation de l’enfant en soulageant sa mémoire. Le maître en effet, expliquant chaque scène [...], peut inculquer à ses élèves, nécessairement attentifs, une foule de notions qu’ils assimileront sans effort».

a textbook for the final two primary classes, Georges Colomb repeats that the acquisition of scientific reasoning begins with observation:

Sciences have considerable educational power. Why not take advantage of this to give children good, healthy habits of mind? This will be easily achieved by showing them, *with well-chosen examples*, how to *observe* what one sees, how to check one's observations through experiments, and to reflect on what was observed and experimented, in order to draw, by means of rigorous *reasoning*, the *conclusion* derived therefrom²⁷.

Observation, the starting point of science learning, must be carried out in class. But, in the spirit of the author and illustrator Georges Colomb, it must also be present in the textbook... The method of teaching through pictures recommended for small classes, because it already draws upon the senses, is preparation for the teaching of the following age groups. And Georges Colomb's textbooks for middle or upper classes are, just like those for the lower ones, profusely illustrated.

For Georges Colomb, illustrations are a pedagogical instrument *par excellence*. As an author of textbooks and illustrator of his own works, he appears as a pioneer. After him, René Jolly also made a name for himself in both roles²⁸.

Conclusion

Academic studies on textbooks, and more generally on children's literature, often argue – more or less well-documentedly – that this kind of literature went through a 'revolution' in the interwar period²⁹. This alleged revolution was first and foremost formal: format, typography, layout... But also semantics provided by the use of more diverse and abundant iconography. Advances in

²⁷ G. Colomb, *L'enseignement scientifique à l'école. Cours supérieur et 2^e année du cours moyen*, Paris, Armand-Colin, 1924, préface (not paginated): «Les sciences ont une puissance éducative considérable. Pourquoi n'en pas profiter pour donner à l'enfant de bonnes, de saines habitudes d'esprit? On y parviendra aisément en lui montrant, *sur des exemples bien choisis*, comment il faut *observer* ce qu'on voit, contrôler ses observations par l'*expérience*, et réfléchir à ce qu'on a observé et expérimenté, afin d'en tirer par un *raisonnement* rigoureux, la *conclusion* qui en découle».

²⁸ René Jolly, a prolific author of textbooks published in the 1930s and into the post-war period, illustrated his works himself. See for example his *L'arithmétique en riant au cours moyen. Préparation au Certificat d'études primaires. Classes de 8^e et 7^e*, Paris, Nathan, 1937.

²⁹ See for example what Jeannine Ray-Lambert wrote on the issue: *1930 ou la révolution des manuels*, «L'éducation», n. 444, 1981, p. 9-11, and for a fairly accurate illustration of this hypothesis, the article by Laure Noesser (mentioned above, note 1) that overtly links the evolution of children's literature and school literature.

printing and illustration techniques certainly made this ‘revolution’ possible³⁰ which is probably also explained by a commercial race: in a context of stiff competition between publishers, aesthetic appeal is a determining factor to convince teachers to choose one textbook over another.

To substantiate this assumption, a finer-grained study of the evolution of ‘discourse in pictures’ during the Third Republic might be usefully carried out. This would require further investigation of text/image relationships through comparisons of textbooks published at different periods (late 19th, 1st decade of 20th century, 1920s and 1930s). Such a comparative study should also include textbooks that are counterexamples to the hypothesis; a case in point is this textbook by C. Triaud & A. Raynaud which does not include *any* pictures³¹. A diachronic analysis would no doubt show that, the closer we move towards the end of the 3rd Republic, the more specific the images become according to the age of students. The 1923 primary school syllabi, in which the ‘progressive method’ replaces the ‘concentric method’s may be considered as a turning point, as learning becomes linked with the age of students³². Account should also be taken of the emergence of new forms of visual communication. *Coded schemas*, in some textbooks from the beginning of the 20th century (especially for the lessons on electricity) were one of these innovations. Graphic codes were invented to describe experiments in school textbooks. The then ongoing standardization of technical drawing certainly played a role too³³.

Finally, the history of school iconography should be included in the wider field of scientific iconography. Pictures from early Third-Republic textbooks would probably be classified as ‘reasoned images’ such as defined by Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison³⁴. Their nature changed with the development of a «children’s literature»-type iconography from the 1920s onwards. Scientific-type textbook illustrations have undergone multiple influences resulting in hybridization and

³⁰ At the turn of the 20th century photogravure quickly superseded engraving for line drawing. The earliest raster pictures allowed direct reproduction of pictorial works (dispensing publishers from owning artist’s copies). In the 1920s, photographic reproductions became widespread. Chromotypographic and chromolithographic methods for colour printing also developed but were still in rare use in the interwar period.

³¹ C. Triaud, A. Raynaud, *La leçon de choses vécue à l’école primaire*, Chambéry, Maison d’édition des primaires, date missing (after 1923?). In the lessons of this textbook, which aims «to observe and experiment», numerous experiments are described; lessons start with the rubric «Teaching materials», which lists objects necessary for experimentation. But nothing is shown. All experiments must be carried out in class.

³² In the 1923 primary school syllabi, we can read: «Prefer the ‘progressive method’ to the ‘concentric method’ [...]. Considering that the curriculum will gradually bring what suits them according to their age, children will easily memorize in a timely and enjoyable manner».

³³ See Y. Deforge, *Le graphisme technique. Histoire et enseignement*, Paris, Champ Vallon, 1981.

³⁴ See L. Daston, P. Galison, *Objectivity*, Urzone Inc., Zone Books, 2007. For the two authors, ‘reasoned images’ are patterned after the model of ‘truth from nature’, but synthesize a set of characters that no concrete object could show.

cross-breeding, through the borrowing of codes and techniques from children's books, popular science books and specialized technical drawing. The increasing efficiency and decreasing costs of reproduction have fostered their proliferation, in a reception program that remains focused on a tension between several dimensions: emotional-passional, aesthetic and cognitive.

From the 1920s onwards, images from *Leçons de choses* textbooks showed only idealized sensitive objects. They were designed to 'talk' to a specific audience: primary school students. The fact that 'discourse in pictures' should have been tailor-made for this audience might well provide another indication that it was gradually acquiring greater importance in the eyes of a larger community including authors, publishers and teachers.



Pics. 1-3. Samples of pages taken from Paul Bert, *La Première Année d'enseignement scientifique*, Paris, Armand-Colin, 1883, pp. 24-25, 112-113, 156-157.



Pics 4-5. Samples of illustrations in Saffray’s book. Charles Saffray, *Leçons de choses. Cours méthodique comprenant les matières des programmes officiels*, Paris, Hachette, 1884, pp. 40-41; pp. 60-61.



Pic. 6. Re-use of illustrations in different textbooks. Left: Charles Saffray, *Leçons de choses. Cours méthodique comprenant les matières des programmes officiels*, Paris, Hachette, 1884, pp. 384-385; right: Élie Pécaut, *Cours d'anatomie et de physiologie humaines*, Paris Hachette, 1883, pp. 158-159.



Pic. 7. Re-use of illustrations in different textbooks. Left: Louis Figuier, Louis Figuier, *Le savant du foyer. Notions scientifiques sur les objets usuels de la vie*, Paris, Hachette, 1876 (not paginated); right: Charles Saffray, *Leçons de choses. Cours méthodique comprenant les matières des programmes officiels*, Paris, Hachette, 1884, pp. 364-365. The image taken from Figuier's book is cropped there.

The role of old and recent history textbooks in the initial training of primary school teachers

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ABSTRACT: This article sets out to introduce the role and contribution of textbooks in the initial training of primary school teachers in France. The question shall relate both to recent books, that is to say those which have been prepared according to existing curriculum (2008 for Primary school) and old textbooks, published before the curriculum change. The study revolves around three main lines of action: the textbook used as a tool for acquiring knowledge; the textbook, used as a learning tool to didactical approaches and the textbook as a research topic in History of Education and in teaching of History. We will examine for each of the above issues the interest of this resource and how to use textbooks in teacher training, to point out the interest of this tool in the approach to the teaching of the discipline in its epistemological and didactic dimension.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Primary Education; Textbooks; Teacher Education; History; France; XX-XXI Centuries.

Introduction

In France the Master's degree in Education is designed to provide future teachers with the necessary subject knowledge and also to introduce them to specific or non-specific didactic approaches that will ensure they are able to implement the curriculum programs. Certain resources are used in France to prepare trainee teachers to teach history, notably textbooks. These textbooks are primarily those written for the current programs (i.e. those published in 2008 for primary schools) which are used in classrooms today. But textbooks which were used prior to the implementation of the current programs are also used.

We will examine the contribution of these history textbooks to the initial training of school teachers in order to highlight their usefulness as a resource for the teaching of History as an academic subject.

French primary school teachers are trained to teach various subjects, and textbooks are used in various training modules as a tool for the acquisition of didactic approaches, particularly for the development of teaching sequences. These textbooks are also, therefore, a research object for both the History of Education and the Didactics of history teaching.

1. *The textbook as a tool for acquiring various didactic approaches*

Primary school textbooks are used first and foremost in initial teacher training in order to familiarize trainee teachers with these tools so that they can discover their nature and content and also how they can be used.

Indeed, in primary schools, textbooks are a resource for the teaching of History and Geography. But they are used more by primary school teachers than by their pupils. Of all the primary school material published in France, history textbooks for the 'classes du cycle 3' (8, 9 and 10 year olds) are among the least purchased and least used in class. These textbooks are nevertheless often to be found in another form on schoolchildren's desks, in the shape of selected photocopies from various sources, provided by teachers¹.

In French *Collèges* (middle schools) and *Lycées* (high schools), however, and especially in History and Geography classes, the textbooks chosen by the teacher are used by pupils during almost every class and they usually bring them home after school. The textbook is central to teaching practices, being used by teachers to prepare their lessons and teaching plans that refer to various lesson pages and especially to pages which present historical documents.

In History and Geography teaching at primary school, textbooks are currently the main tool used by teachers to prepare their lessons. But if the textbook is designed by its authors as a medium for learning, it is in fact mainly used as a collection of documents, which are indeed used as primary learning materials. When it comes to didactics, the use of textbooks for teacher training therefore involves exploring various aspects of the books; their content, (including formal aspects); the practical uses to which the documents are put and their role; the type of exercises (learning activities based on the textbook); the contribution of the teacher's book.

¹ *Inspection générale de l'Éducation nationale, programme de travail 1997-1998, Thème 2, le manuel scolaire, p. 22.*

Status of the textbook. In teacher training it is important to begin by clarifying the distinguishing features of textbooks. The textbooks are not the program since they are not official documents. The textbooks offer a reading, an interpretation, or a translation of official instructions. From this point of view also, we may compare primary and secondary History textbooks and how they may help teachers. The documents describing secondary school programs are precise and highly detailed. There is a descriptive program document for each year at French middle school: if we take the example of the 'Quatrième' (13 year olds) this document contains around ten pages for History and Geography (which are taught together in the French system), and for Civic Education. Five pages are specifically devoted to the History program. There are also 'supplementary documents' to accompany the program. These are in fact resource sheets produced by the Ministry of Education to help teachers implement the new 'Quatrième' middle school programs. The primary school History program covers one page in the July 2008 *Bulletin Officiel* (French Ministry of Education gazette publishing official information). An 'application document' was written at the time of the implementation of the 2002 programs² but this document was not updated for the 2007 and 2008 programs. Although this document is still in force, it should be used with caution since the program structure has partly changed³. Thus if we take a topic which is common to the 'cycle 3' program and to the 'Quatrième' program such as *La Révolution et l'Empire* (Revolution and Empire), the 'cycle 3' instructions take up only 4 lines (295 characters), whereas the 'Quatrième' instructions take up 133 lines, or 7,350 characters (if we add the text presenting the program topic and the resource sheet). If we insist on these details, it is in order to emphasize that there is much greater latitude for interpreting official instructions in primary textbooks than in secondary textbooks where the authors are indeed more restricted. This situation presents both advantages and disadvantages which must be pointed out during teacher training.

Primary teachers, who are usually not history or geography specialists, are often puzzled at such terse instructions regarding what they are supposed to teach. What exactly should be taught when it comes to the topic of the French Revolution and the Empire in the 'Cours Moyen' (9 and 10 year-olds)? The textbooks provide the answer. For example the CM2 (10 year-olds) History textbook published by Nathan devotes four chapters (26 pages) to the topic. The chapters are chronologically arranged in accordance with the wording of the 2008 program⁴, which includes the six 'benchmark' for this part of the program,

² *Histoire et Géographie, cycle des approfondissements (cycle 3)*, Collection Ecole, documents d'application des programmes, CNDP 2002.

³ «Sequence phases for history in CE2 (8 year-old children)» (Resources for Primary Schools) were however published in January 2012, thus completing the programs.

⁴ BOEN, Hors-Série n. 3 June 19, 2008.

which are presented in the form of double page ‘files’⁵. Lessons, documents, and files thus present the French Revolution as a sequence of historical facts organized around dates, each of which is illustrated by a study document. The same topic in a rival textbook⁶ published by Hachette is presented in just 4 pages, also following a chronological format (including 22 dates on the two pages devoted to *The French Revolution and the Empire!*).

It is thus clear that the authors of the textbooks offer different interpretations and that study topics are sometimes dealt with in very different ways. Above all, the often detailed presentation of facts may put off some teachers who may consider it impossible to cover the program.

Choosing and evaluating learning materials. In didactic terms, textbooks constitute a source for documents which can be used to develop teaching sequences. These documents are selected by the authors of the textbook on the basis of their pedagogical objectives. The French Department of Education Inspectorate has, however, reported that in primary education, «the most common practice is to build teaching sequences from several textbooks. This patchwork approach requires much photocopying»⁷.

Textbooks offer collections of documents, but also ideas on how to use the material which can be adapted to different teaching situations. In initial teacher training, the study of different textbooks from different time periods, leads to necessary reflection on the identification of the document, its nature, status and possible uses.

Images have become pervasive in contemporary history textbooks, with similar types of images fulfilling different functions. A survey on typical textbooks used in the French ‘Cycle 3’, ‘Quatrième’ and ‘Seconde’ (15 year-olds), yielded a rate of 3.6 images per topic in CE2; 1.8 images per page for topics in CM1; 1.75 images per page for topics in CM2; 1.6 images per page in a ‘Quatrième’ textbook; and 1.3 images per page in a ‘Seconde’ textbook. A certain logic is thus to be found in the textbooks: the preponderance of images is proportional to pupils’ reading skills. The prevalence of images in these textbooks is not only due to publishing imperatives which may lead the publisher to attempt to make the textbook look more attractive by increasing the number of images, more particularly beautiful color images. Indeed, the results of the survey also reveal the prevalent pedagogical belief that images are more accessible than text. In fact it all depends on how images are used, because it could be argued that understanding images produced in the past

⁵ J.P. Knight, R. Le Bourgeois, *Histoire-Géographie, CM2*, Nathan, 2010, pp. 16-17.

⁶ M. Clary, G. Dermenjian, *Les Ateliers Hachette Histoire-Géographie CM2*, Hachette Education, 2011, pp. 18-21.

⁷ «It is by creating lessons from different textbooks that we comply with the program, claims one teacher» (French Inspectorate Report, p. 24).

requires cultural and historical knowledge which may make them as difficult to understand, if not more difficult, than a text.

2. *The textbook as a research object for the History of Education and the Didactics of history teaching*

Since the end of the 1970s textbooks have become objects of research, and also sources, for historians studying how history is written down and transmitted, and studying the aims of history teaching⁸.

The textbook is firstly an object of research for historians, because it provides a reflection of its time, a «Digest of the society that produced it»⁹. This approach leads to research topics which are specific to History, like the work of Michel Groulez on the representations of Jews in school History textbooks in France¹⁰. His work has been published by l'Harmattan in a specific collection entitled: «Manuels scolaires et sociétés» (school textbooks and society). Various studies have demonstrated the usefulness of analyzing textbooks, especially primary school textbooks, in order to shed light on the history of political ideas and collective attitudes¹¹. Textbooks may provide a reflection of the dominant ideology of a time, and of the values of the society which produced those textbooks, but they also influence that very society, shaping mindsets by disseminating ideas, images and stereotypical representations of 'Otherness'.

The use of old textbooks as historical documents (i.e. to make and write history and not to teach it) raises methodological issues that are also relevant to research into the history of education and research into didactics. Researchers must analyze the content and message of the textbook, but they must also take into account several other aspects: its dissemination; the number of editions; how it was used in the classroom; and how the textbook was perceived by teacher and student.

In her work on representations of the colonial empire and decolonization in primary school textbooks, Manuela Semidei studies representations, in the official school programs, of French colonization, and also the attitudes revealed through instructions regarding the teaching of this topic in the various

⁸ Cf. C. Billard, P. Guibert, *Histoire mythologique des Français*, Paris, Galilée, 1976; C. Amalvi, *De l'art et la manière d'accueillir les héros de l'histoire de France. De Vercingétorix à la Révolution. Essai de mythologie nationale*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1988.

⁹ A. Choppin, *Les manuels scolaires: histoire et actualité*, Paris, Hachette Education, 1992, p. 18.

¹⁰ M. Groulez, *Les Juifs dans les manuels scolaires d'Histoire en France*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 2011.

¹¹ P. Nora, *Ernest Lavisse; son rôle dans la formation du sentiment national*, «Revue historique», juill. Sept. 1962, pp. 73 ff.

disciplines concerned¹². This leads to several questions which frame the analysis of textbooks. What attitudes do the textbooks reveal, through both text and illustrations, regarding relations between colonizers and colonized? What vocabulary is used? To what extent do textbooks entertain imperialist attitudes? Do they in fact express an official colonial ideology based on intended propaganda effects? What is the legacy of such teaching in national consciousness?¹³

Current directions of research into history textbooks were identified at a 2009 Symposium entitled *History Textbook Analysis: Methodological Issues* organized by the International Society for History Didactics (ISHD) in cooperation with the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research. The symposium demonstrated that school historiography is changing significantly through the study and analysis of the contents of history textbooks. This analysis has been complemented by didactic analysis, linked to developments in the structuring of textbooks, and to changes in teaching practices and their relationship to textbooks¹⁴. The proliferation of documents, mostly of an iconographic nature, which increasingly interrupt the coherency of the written text, creates a new form of content which is of a multimodal nature. Sections of textbooks previously considered as complementary to the text (paratext or images) which were underestimated or marginalized in previous research, have become the object of enquiry and comparative research. Current research also takes into account the role of textbooks in learning processes as well as the reception of textbooks by teachers and students. These elements are currently the object of greater study than the messages that textbooks convey and the objectives which may be associated with the publication context (role of the State, author profiles and potential market). These developments affect the methodological and conceptual framework which underlies research into textbooks. The old methods used for analyzing written content are not sufficiently relevant for the study and analysis of the new multimodal history textbooks. The emphasis placed on the actual uses to which textbooks are put also demands research practices which focus on the collection and analysis of data, observation of classroom practices and surveys on the reception of textbooks.

Beyond the textbook as an object of study for historians, research into history textbooks, or research based on history textbooks, is of intrinsic pedagogical value for teachers, who may thereby develop critical thinking on their teaching

¹² M. Semidei, *De l'empire à la décolonisation à travers les manuels scolaires français*, «Revue française de sciences politiques», vol. 16, n. 1, 1966, pp. 56-86.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁴ N. Tutiaux-Guillon, M. Repoussi, *New Trends in History Textbook Research: Issues and Methodologies toward a School Historiography*, «Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society», vol. 2, n. 1, 2010, pp. 154-170. It is noteworthy that most studies on history textbooks, including the most recent, are primarily based on corpora in use in secondary education.

practice, allowing teachers to focus on the issues raised earlier regarding teaching content and pedagogical approaches. The description of the *Travail d'Etude et de Recherche* (research and study thesis project) of the University of Poitiers teacher training college specifies that this project should contribute to the «mastery of the subject» from «its evolution and its epistemology», «programs and institutional framework texts». The description highlights «disciplinary, didactical and pedagogical needs», promotes «information seeking» and allows «a connection to be established between theory and practice». This is the professional aspect of the thesis which must be written during initial teacher training¹⁵.

A research project for professional training may thus be carried out on one of the topics dealt with in textbooks from different time periods or in several textbooks currently used in the classroom. Research may also be carried out on a specific type of document, for example «reconstructed images» or «source documents» which may also be studied in relation to a particular historical period. Lastly, the research project may be based on a specific pedagogical approach such as «resource documents for learning»: if we wish to take into account the historical development of teaching practices, this implies also studying the development of teaching programs and pedagogy.

The epistemological dimension of sources. The comparative study of textbooks from different periods highlights the development of the didactics of history teaching, but also the development of the epistemology of the discipline, as well as their interactions. From a didactical point of view, such research highlights teaching practices from the past and, by comparison, provides us with ways of questioning current practices.

On an epistemological level, the considerable developments since the end of the 19th century are reflected in teaching practices and therefore also in the textbooks. Firstly because, chronologically, the emergence of national history programs at the end of the 19th century coincides with «the official birth of the historical professional in France»¹⁶. The so-called ‘methodical’ school which emerged during that period around Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos, and which favored the passive recording of historical facts based on official records, resulted in a tendency to attribute importance to historical events and politics. Ernest Lavissee, who was behind the 1882 programs, belonged to this school. The authors of the textbooks of the French Third Republic, starting with Lavissee himself, adopt a linear narrative of the history of France, in which events lead from the monarchy to the Third Republic. The textbooks are thus structured by a chronological narrative that serves as a backdrop to a lecture-

¹⁵ *Master Education et formation, Spécialité: enseignement & formation dans le 1^{er} degré, Année 2012-2013*, IUFM de Poitou-Charentes, Poitiers, 2012, p. 13.

¹⁶ F. Hartog, J. Revel, *Les usages politiques du passé*, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2001, p. 13.

type explanation. The relatively small number of documents (texts and images), which are contained in these textbooks, are of illustrative value.

The developments we have mentioned in the structure of textbooks, and in the role and nature of the documents they contain, from the 1970s onwards, owe much to the influence of the French Annales School who expanded the definition of the term ‘document’ to include all types of sources¹⁷, such as private correspondence, novels, works of art, monuments, landscapes etc. With the influence of the Annales School, the historian no longer left the facts to speak for themselves. Instead he or she questions the facts, selects and investigates sources which may be useful for research. The Annales School emphasized the long term view of specific events, and economic and social phenomena over political history.

From the end of the 1970s onwards, the official instructions of the French Ministry of Education stress the need to work on «documentary objects from the past» while developing «the pupil’s capacity for critical thinking»¹⁸. This does not involve «detailed study of each of the main historical periods, studied in an isolated manner, but rather placing these periods on a chronological framework which is to be progressively filled in with facts and dates to be interconnected».

Moreover, the instructions dictate that teaching should focus «on aspects of life in society and civilization». This implies promoting an active pedagogical approach by implementing «a method of activities which stimulate interest»¹⁹. «Study topics» require the pupil to build his or her own learning, through research work based on documents. The teacher provides pupils with knowledge that complements what they have discovered. This pedagogical approach is currently still used in the classroom since, according to the document concerning the application of the 2002 program, the key moment of the lesson is when:

two or three single documents are distributed to pupils who, working in groups, get into the habit of describing the nature, publication date, and author of the document. They then seek to discover the meaning of the documents. Once this work has been carried out, the teacher questions students and corrects any mistakes, distinguishing the essential elements from secondary details and helps pupils to formulate their own written record which must be kept and learnt²⁰.

Thus, the ‘lesson’ part of the textbook no longer provides knowledge to be learnt, based on which the teacher may question the pupils, nor does it provide a written reference which must be learnt. Instead it should function as an aid,

¹⁷ L. Febvre, *Vers une autre histoire*, in *Combats pour l’histoire*, Armand Colin, 1953, p. 128.

¹⁸ *Horaires, objectifs et programmes, cycle élémentaire*, 1978; and *Horaires, objectifs et programmes, cycle moyen*, 1980.

¹⁹ *Horaires, objectifs et programmes, cycle moyen*, 1980, p. 47.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2002, p. 8.

a tool, in the same way as a timeline or a definition, which will allow pupils to contextualize documents and understand their meaning.

The construction of knowledge prevails over transmission of knowledge. The approach becomes inductive.

Research and teaching of history. The study of a corpus of history textbooks whose publication spans several decades may help understand the logic behind the structure of current textbooks. Whether in primary school, *Collège* or *Lycée*, textbooks have today all adopted the double-page structure which generally offers a two-thirds / one-third page split, one-third being reserved for the 'lesson' part of the textbook, while two-thirds of the double-page are devoted to the collection of documents and to elements which help critical thinking (keywords, definitions, questions on the documents). This structure is less clearly evident for primary school textbooks which often reduce the 'lesson' part to the bottom part of the page or to separate paragraphs inserted between documents. It is certainly the case that a double-page structure dominated by documents has been adapted to the pedagogy in use since the 1970s, in reaction against 'lecturing' type teaching. During a one-hour session (30 minutes per half-page) the teacher gets pupils to work on the documents, based on the questions contained in the textbook, and then establishes the connection with the lesson part that can be used either as a summary or as supplementary information for the study of the documents. Inspectors' reports have repeatedly stressed the drawbacks of this approach, in particular as regards learning to read or the lack of reference it provides for pupils: «it does not encourage pupils to read, and it is only consulted occasionally»²¹; «for students, such textbooks are not books»²²; «The mosaic pattern, which dilutes knowledge, must be abandoned». Textbooks which are thus designed are only «attractive» for teachers²³. Third Republic textbooks are structured differently. They are organized into chapters, each chapter being divided into separate lessons that cover several pages. Most of the content is devoted to an account of events, written in the past. What distinguishes these History textbooks from general history books is the concern for structure: the textbooks contain well-identified sections and paragraphs, with plain, neutral and fairly regular text, while specific terminology, dates and names are italicized for emphasis. Taken as a whole these textbook specificities indicate pedagogical requirements. These multi-page texts conclude with a summary of a few lines and a questionnaire, to assess the knowledge acquired by pupils, with sufficiently closed questions to encourage memorization work rather than critical thinking. This structure reflects the type of teaching which was prevalent in France from 1870 to 1970, based not on the study of documents, but on the narrative provided by the teacher. The history textbook

²¹ *Inspection générale..., le manuel scolaire*, cit., p. 24.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

which was imposed by the Decree of January 29, 1890, became the classroom reference point for knowledge acquisition through the teacher's narrative. Books published from the end of the 19th century onwards:

provided teachers with 'ready to use' lessons, through a pre-constructed narrative that the teacher could reproduce for his pupils in the classroom. The pupils attempted to remember what they read and heard. A lesson was properly understood if the pupil was able to repeat that lesson. This was what the inspectors and teachers expected of pupils, and what the authors of the textbooks attempted to facilitate²⁴.

From 1945 onwards there was a trend towards lighter texts. But the current structure was only really adopted in the 1970; «the development and uses» of the textbook are therefore «inseparable from teaching structures, methods and conditions»²⁵.

Research on both old and recent textbooks has led us to develop analytical grids to facilitate the comparison of textbook development over time, or the implementation of a specific program. This provides future teachers with tools for the critical analysis of textbooks which may facilitate the choice of efficient textbooks for pupils.

An appendix to the 1998 General Inspectorate report contains an analytical sheet for «subject textbook assessment» in order to help in the choice of a textbook. This sheet is very similar to the analytical grid elaborated for the purpose of research into the didactic and epistemological aspects of textbooks. The grid is based on comparison of a program topic in different textbooks. It allows both external and internal analysis of textbooks through a comparison of criteria such as the location of documents, exercises, means of prioritization of knowledge (external) or compliance with the program (both the details and the underlying philosophy), scientific rigor, and induced pedagogy. The sheet adds that «anything which helps to assess textbook development or which allows comparison with foreign textbooks is welcome»²⁶.

Conclusion

The main aim of studying textbooks during initial teacher training is to develop critical thinking and to develop perspective as regards textbooks, so that they may be used wisely. This was already the aim of a circular addressed by

²⁴ A. Ogier, *Le rôle du manuel dans la leçon d'histoire à l'école primaire (1870-1969)*, «Histoire de l'éducation», n. 114, 2007, pp. 87-119.

²⁵ A. Choppin, *L'histoire des manuels scolaires. Une approche globale*, «Histoire de l'Education», vol. 9, 1980, pp. 1-25.

²⁶ *Inspection générale..., le manuel scolaire*, cit., p. 43.

Jules Ferry to Chief Education Officers in 1880, criticizing the «poor textbooks that our schools must get rid of»²⁷.

The study not only of the official instructions but also of old textbooks and of the history of history teaching provides future teachers with aids for didactic thinking on lesson structure, the role of documents, assessment methods etc. Such reflection facilitates appropriation of textbooks used in the classroom as a tool to teach history. Work on old and recent textbooks during teacher training makes it possible to introduce trainee teachers to the various functions of the textbook in the classroom, in society and in history. These functions have been identified by Alain Choppin as being referential (programs), instrumental, ideological and cultural, and documentary²⁸.

The study of textbooks and their uses was in fact initiated by French teacher training colleges at the end of the 1990s. This type of work is now undertaken in various transversal subject training modules which are part of the Master's degree in Education and Teaching, and the Master's degree in Primary School Teaching. These modules cover didactic and subject training in history and geography, initiation into research techniques, and are applied in seminars and in the carrying out of research study projects on specific topics which have been described in this article.

²⁷ Ministerial circular of October 7, 1880.

²⁸ E. Bruillard (ed.), Introduction de *Manuels scolaires, regards croisés*, CRDP de Basse Normandie, documents, actes et rapports sur l'éducation, Caen, 2005.

The verb in grammar textbooks of yesterday and today. What impact on primary school teacher training?*

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ABSTRACT: The grammar textbook is a complex textual object. It has a body of references for learners, provides a foundation for a learning process, but most importantly offers a more or less overt 'grammatical theory', a sort of *doxa* which Grossmann (1996) takes to be its 'theoretical' function. This function is of particular importance for the training of teachers for grammar teaching, since textbooks reflect the trends of didactic transfer from 'learned knowledge' from the different fields of linguistics to 'teaching knowledge' (Chevallard, 1985). Through a study of old grammar textbooks from heritage funds, we will analyse these transfer phenomena, taking into account on the one hand the diversity, or even divergence, of the linguistic currents representing the reference knowledge, and on the other hand the 'relative autonomy' of school grammar, which established itself, Chervel (1992) argues, regardless of any reference, on the sole basis of the objectives defined for schools.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Grammar; Textbook; Teacher Education; History of Education; France; XIX-XX Centuries.

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1. *Grammar textbooks as key tools for primary school teacher training*

In their very definition, textbooks are complex and inadequate. The first reason this should be so is the set of various constraints – institutional, editorial, commercial, or educational – underlying their designing. The second one is that they are a «necessary evil», to quote the expression used by Masseron¹. Indeed, even though textbooks have always been subject to criticism, teachers keep on being more or less dependent on school textbooks especially if their command of the subject is considered a bit insubstantial². This is true for primary school and especially with subjects based on several areas of study as it is the case for French. Bruillard³ considers that textbooks then become a training tool for teachers and it often is the sole element for lifelong learning. In its last reports, the Department of Education indicates that textbooks are used by teachers not only to prepare classes but also to fill their gaps. Future teachers, pupils and even their families spontaneously give credit to textbooks even if it should not be used as a ready-made help. An official report made in 2013 by the Department of Education mentions that teachers are not critical enough (especially beginners) and lack firm understanding when it comes to textbooks.

Therefore, it seems essential to include one aspect in the initial and lifelong training for teachers: the acquisition of knowledge on the right use of textbooks and more specifically on theoretical knowledge (an aspect they seem to be poorly prepared to face – see Audouard and Metoudi's investigation)⁴.

A number of studies⁵ by several scholars on specific grammatical objects show that in school grammar, the introduction of a new theoretical framework never erases earlier knowledge and procedures. Karabetian⁶ discusses the idea that school grammars evolve on a cumulative basis. This poses a problem of overall consistency, particularly visible in the grammatical terminology used. It is therefore easy to dismiss transfer as a mode of construction and evolution of school grammar. As Vargas argues, this grammar is rather obtained through «recombination of heterogeneous pieces of knowledge, some based

¹ C. Masseron, *Présentation*, «Pratiques», n. 82, 1994, pp. 3-5.

² M. Laparra, *Ouvrages de grammaire et formation initiale des enseignants*, «Pratiques», n. 82, 1994, pp. 107-120.

³ E. Bruillard (ed.), *Manuels scolaires, regards croisés*, Caen, CRDP de Basse Normandie, documents, actes et rapports sur l'éducation, 2005.

⁴ M.F. Audouard, M. Métoudi, *Quand les maîtres utilisent les manuels...*, «Argos», n. 20, décembre 1997.

⁵ S. Canelas-Trevisi, B. Schneuwly, *Les objets grammaticaux enseignés. Analyse critique de quelques pratiques en classe. L'exemple de la subordonnée relative dans l'école secondaire inférieure en Suisse romande*, «Repères», n. 39, 2009, pp. 143-161; C. Vargas, *Peut-on inventer une grammaire pour la réussite scolaire? Mises en perspectives et voies de renouveau*, «Repères», *ibid.*, pp. 17-39.

⁶ E.S. Karabétian, *La persistance des modèles anciens dans la grammaire scolaire entre 1850 et 1948*, «Histoire Epistémologie Langage», vol. 20, n. 2, 1996, pp. 143-165.

on linguistics through loans or changes, others conserved from already-there school grammar»⁷.

Indeed, textbooks provide a more or less overt ‘grammatical theory’ i.e. a kind of ‘transfer’ of reference knowledge into syntheses, definitions or rules that sum up ‘teachable knowledge’ and therefore to be memorized by the learner on such or such particular language notion. Those, however, are hardly ever cross-referenced to theoretical linguistic knowledge. They are presented as a-historical⁸, even though the transfer relationship of scholarly knowledge to teaching knowledge is not self-evident requiring detailed analysis to identify the textbooks choices within the various currents and fields of linguistics.

In this study on old grammar textbooks, we consider textbooks are the reflection of a scholastic point of view on language.

We take this to be a key point for training teachers in the teaching of first language, because traditional learned knowledge, multiple and fragmented as it is, is particularly fuzzy for future teachers, who tend to fall back on textbooks – and not on grammar or linguistics books – to fill in the gaps in their own knowledge. In this sense, what is at stake is the role of the textbook as an interface between learned and school knowledge. Getting teachers to take a critical look at the theoretical discourse of textbooks is essential for them to be clear on the concepts to be taught and to reflect on suitable classroom implementation.

According to us, this critical point of view is easier to adopt when dealing with old textbooks. Moreover, reflecting on the evolution of a grammatical concept – such as the verb through different periods in time- requires the mastery of underlying theories. It would then become possible to go beyond the idea that the point of view adopted in textbooks is necessarily scientifically correct.

2. *The verb in grammar textbooks*

2.1. *The corpus*

We will now focus on the treatment of the verb in order to illustrate this complex relationship between ‘learned’ knowledge and school knowledge.

Our corpus, from the fund of the former multimedia library of the IUFM (teacher training college) of La Rochelle⁹, supplemented by a few books from

⁷ Vargas, *Peut-on inventer une grammaire pour la réussite scolaire?*, cit., p. 29.

⁸ F. Grossmann, *La mise en texte de la théorie grammaticale dans les manuels de grammaire du primaire et du secondaire*, «Repères», n. 14, 1996, pp. 57-82.

⁹ This college is now part of the University of La Rochelle and the funds of the library have

the archives of the IUFM of Limoges, is based on a core set of some 30 19th- and 20th- century French school grammars designed for native speakers of French. We added in some earlier and more recent works for the purposes of the analysis – bringing the present corpus to over 60 books¹⁰.

The choice of the verb as the backbone of this analysis proves relevant for several reasons:

- Unlike some other grammatical concepts (article, circumstantial complement), the verb is a category that has been ‘already there’ since the first descriptions of the language available. It is therefore possible to write a history of it.
- Even though it is ‘already there’, we can see that its definition has been very difficult from the start, and Grossmann declares that when you look at the verb, you are looking at the consistency of school textbooks¹¹.
- Lastly, the verb is a learning object that poses problems for teachers and appears at the very first stages of learning for students, since syllabi do mention the need to have it identified by them as early as grade 4¹².

Even though the category of the verb is dealt with in all the textbooks, the proposed definitions are often problematic, as seen in this excerpt from a CE1 textbook¹³: «in a sentence, there is a word that indicates the action, i.e. what the character is doing or what is happening». This word is called a verb. *Theo sleeps in his bedroom*. Indeed, this definition suggests that there is still a verb in a sentence, that the verb «indicates the action» and assumes that CE1 students routinely consider «sleep» as an action! We have made an inventory of all the definitions of the verb given in the books of the corpus, as they appear in the chapters dealing with the identification of the verb as a grammatical category.

To organize our data, any chronological reading plan delimiting the corpus on the basis of the 4 major types of school grammars first defined by Chervel¹⁴ and completed by Vargas¹⁵, quickly shows its limitations.

Indeed, the history of the verb in textbooks is not linear. What comes out is not a chronology in which different approaches come one after the other (according to the following order: a logical approach, a semantic one, a structural one, a textual one), on the contrary it is made up of a series of overlaps and overlays.

been scattered.

¹⁰ See extract from the corpus in annex.

¹¹ Grossmann, *La mise en texte de la théorie grammaticale dans les manuels de grammaire du primaire et du secondaire*, cit. p. 65.

¹² «Students learn to identify the sentence, the verb, the noun [...]. They learn to identify the verb of a sentence and its subject» (Syllabi 2008).

¹³ *L'île aux mots* CE1, 2008.

¹⁴ A. Chervel, *Les Grammaires françaises 1800-1914. Répertoire chronologique*, Paris, INRP, 2000.

¹⁵ C. Vargas, *La grammaire scolaire en France à l'aube du XXI^{ème} siècle*, «Québec français», n. 129, 2003, pp. 69-72.

We therefore chose a thematic approach on contents, which highlights the different characterizations of the verb in the corpus. We have labelled them (sometimes quite anachronistically) «logical, semantic, morphological, syntactic, discursive» – but it should be made clear at this point that these approaches are not mutually exclusive and may indeed appear together in the same textbook.

2.2. *Different approaches to the verb*

The corpus clearly pointed to the idea that the notion of «verb» is likely to be tackled from numerous angles:

- a ‘logical’ angle in Noël and Chapsal¹⁶ (1827) for example, or in Gentilhomme (1890), and indeed one that shows up in our corpus throughout the 19th century – consisting, after the definition of the Port Royal Grammar (1660), in identifying the verb as the word which «expresses assertion». In our corpus, the latest attestation of this is to be found in Maquet (1923);
- a ‘semantic’ angle, that defines the verb as «that which expresses action or state», also very present throughout the 19th century, in e.g. Larive and Fleury (1887), but also in Aubin (1937) or, much more recently, in Charaudeau CE1 (1991) or even Bentolila CE1 (2009), but one that can be traced as early as in Lhomond (1780). It is clear that different approaches coexist in the same period since for example logical and semantic approaches tend to partly overlap;
- a ‘morphological’ angle, which highlights the properties of the verb from the point of view of its tense, person and number variation, insisting, according to textbooks, on one or more of these forms of variation, not necessarily the same ones. This criterion, already present in the Richelet dictionary (1694), also appears in textbooks of all periods, from Brachet-Dussouchet (1875), Larive & Fleury (1887) to more recent textbooks: Villars (1963), Marchand (1973), Le Boucher (2002);
- a ‘syntactic’ angle, which identifies the verb as a central, essential element of the sentence or verb phrase – found in the more recent textbooks of our corpus (earlier works simply do not address sentence analysis): Maquet (1923) (the different constructions of the verb) then Villars (1963), Marchand (1973), Dupré (1995), Marchand (1998), Le Boucher (2002)...;
- a much more contemporary ‘discursive’ angle that highlights the role of the verb in a text, as one central vector in a network of tense contrasts

¹⁶ Considered by Chervel as the first ‘real’ school grammar (including exercises).

that are useful to tell a story, advance the story, describe the setting, etc. Relevant examples in our corpus include Couté, Karabétian (1995)¹⁷ or Géhin (2004)¹⁸. In the history of textbooks, this approach pertains to what Vargas called the «fourth» grammar, which «marks a break from the previous ones in that it goes beyond the sentence as the maximum linguistic unit of study at school, and towards text and discourse». Thus utterance-based, discursive, informational angles are added on to the earlier semantic and morphosyntactic ones.

In the appendix table, we list representative examples of definitions of the verb. On the basis of the whole corpus, it appears that the verb:

- expresses a judgment,
- varies with tense, mode, person, number,
- expresses a state or action,
- is an essential element of the sentence or the verb phrase,
- is used in a text / discourse.

What also emerges from this inventory is that the listed properties are not mutually exclusive. Instead, textbooks, in what they call «summaries», «lessons», or «I remember»-type boxes..., appear to combine several of them, and not always the same.

2.3. *Identifying learned knowledge behind these definitions?*

Given this diversity, it can be difficult to identify what underlying learned knowledge there might be, all the textbooks providing very little information regarding the model they are based on, hardly ever taking position on their underlying theoretical references. The choices they have to make, e.g. of the property/ties put forward to define/characterise the verb, of the way this definition may change, get elaborated and evolve during schooling, are never explained. At least not in what is said to students (even though they sometimes are in teacher's guides).

The effects produced by the overlaps have been observed since the 18th century and are still visible today. Anybody who tries to read a grammar textbook will inevitably be confronted to this aspect – overlapping effects. The overlaps in approaches and in references to 'learned' knowledge do not make textbooks easier for teachers – especially beginners – to read. What would indeed be required is a study of the clusters of criteria used to delineate the evolution of the treatment of the verb in school grammars. But even at this stage, it appears that some of those criteria are more interrelated than others. It also seems that

¹⁷ *Grammaire lecture*, CM1-CM2, Retz.

¹⁸ *Le français à la découverte du monde*, CE1, Hachette.

some criteria disappear from the corpus – such is the case of the attributive used in the ‘logical’ approach – while others, like the semantic property, even though challenged (as early as Port Royal¹⁹, as shown by Bouard)²⁰, most overtly and generally by all grammarians, do crop up throughout time up until the recent textbooks.

Looking at examples of definitions that focus on a single property to define the verb in a few very recent textbooks, it is interesting to see that it is the morphological criterion, sometimes the semantic one, that is mainly used, especially when addressing the younger students – in agreement with the 2006 Bentolila report (before the new curriculum was implemented in 2008), which reads: «one shall not refrain, especially with the younger children, from using the criterion of meaning to show that it is used to indicate an action or a state» (p. 15).

The idea that textbooks authors entertain of the need to ‘simplify’ contents deemed too complex to be accessible to young students could probably be explored. Not that simplification in itself is not legitimate, but textbooks still have to address this progressive complexity throughout schooling. Otherwise, the earliest representations will simply endure, never to be challenged: meaning is still the criterion on which primary school teachers in training (1st year in Master’s degree) tend to rely most when asked to explain the word sorting they have achieved.

The boundaries between ‘learned’ and school knowledge appear in fact to be quite blurred, as textbooks do not systematically transfer such new items of knowledge as may have appeared in the ‘learned’ reference field (grammar/linguistics). We would thus agree, partly at least, with Chervel’s idea that school grammar, once it has acquired autonomy by virtue of the school context-specific objectives (mainly spelling) it gives itself, operates on the sidelines of the ‘learned’ field.

Admittedly, this link between learned knowledge and school knowledge is by no means a linear evolution nor a systematic transfer. However, it seems to us that the confrontation between learned knowledge and school knowledge, even if it does not set any systematic correlations, is not completely useless. The issue is important insofar as the knowledge presented in handbooks is authoritative, presenting itself as legitimate and self-evident. Teachers must be trained to read handbooks critically – which implies, in particular, looking into the question of where such knowledge comes from.

Concerning the definitions of the verb, the first cue point that can be identified in the grammars of our corpus is the Port Royal grammar, which e.g. Noël and

¹⁹ «[...] because there are verbs that mean neither action nor passion, nor what happens [...] there are words that are not verbs but do mean those» (Port Royal).

²⁰ B. Bouard, *Structure de la proposition et construction verbale: régime, complément et transitivité dans les grammaires françaises 1651-1863*, Thèse en Sciences du langage, Université Paris 7, 2007.

Chapsal draw on almost word for word (the ‘logical’ approach). This is the only case of true borrowing in our corpus – a borrowing that F. Brunot considered a «bad habit» (1908) and which was abandoned in the course of the 19th century. Subsequent relations are much less obvious to establish: only in the following century can we observe new correlations between school knowledge and learned knowledge, first with the influence of structuralism and, more recently, text analysis and the utterance theory²¹. The analysis of definitions, which do not just come in a sequence but intertwine, confirms that school grammar is evolving on a principle of accumulation (or «didactic recomposition» as Vargas puts it) of knowledge, by «overdetermining a definition through the association of heterogeneous criteria»²². In school grammar, new knowledge doesn’t usually push already existing knowledge out but finds its place in a complex set of dovetails and overlays.

Training is therefore essential to overcome this impression of inconsistency or contradiction.

That different approaches should be represented in the treatment of some grammatical concept is in itself unproblematic provided the user (the teacher, the pupil?) is able to perceive these choices and relate them with objectives (Grossmann) and within a context. Many teachers who begin their career consider the textbook as a showcase of a discipline: teaching them to make a critical reading of textbooks (by enabling them to situate the knowledge taught in terms of reference theory, time, conception of the language and of grammar teaching) undoubtedly contributes to train the self-reflecting teachers school requires today.

²¹ From which the 2008 school programs are breaking, insofar as they focus grammar contents on the simple sentence.

²² B. Colombat, *Présentation: Éléments de réflexion pour une histoire des parties de discours*, «Langages», n. 92, 1988, pp. 5-10.

Appendix

The different approaches to the verb illustrated in the textbooks of the corpus

1660	Port Royal	<i>The verb is a word that expresses assertion. When I say the Sun is aglow, I affirm that the quality denoted by the adjective aglow becomes the Sun, and the word is that expresses this assertion, is a verb. There is actually but one verb, which is the verb be, because it is the one which expresses assertion.</i>	Logical approach
1780	Lhomond	<i>The verb is a word used to express that one is, or that one is doing, something. We know a verb when you can add the pronouns I, you, he, we, you, they. There are two numbers in verbs, three tenses, five modes</i>	Semantic + morphological approach
1845	Noël, Chapsal	<i>The verb is a word that expresses assertion. When I say the Sun is aglow, I affirm that the quality denoted by the adjective aglow becomes the Sun, and the word is that expresses this assertion, is a verb. There is actually but one verb, which is the verb be, because it is the one which expresses assertion.</i>	Logical approach (borrowed from Port-Royal)
1862	Girard	<i>The verb is a word that generally indicates that one does something. There are a few exceptions; the verb be for example, is one. A word is a verb if it is possible to attach personal pronouns I, you, he etc.</i>	Semantic + morphological approach
1875 1889	Brachet, Dus-souchet	<i>The verb is a word that expresses that one is, or that one is doing, something: the horse is docile; the wolf eats the lamb. The word eat, which indicates the action performed by the wolf, is called verb. Verbs have two numbers like nouns + person, mode, tense, conjugation</i>	Semantic + morphological approach
1887	Larive and Fleury	<i>The verb is the word used to express existence, state, action. Possibility of having I, you, he, we, you</i>	Semantic + morphological approach
1909	Bella	<i>The verb denotes action or state</i>	Semantic approach
1923	Maquet, Flot, Roy (10 th ed.)	<i>The verb expresses what the subject does</i>	Semantic approach
1926	Brunot	<i>It has long been argued that verbs may be divided into two categories, those denoting state and those denoting action (..) despite the existence of the constructions which we have just mentioned to express action (action nouns), the verb remains the form par excellence. It expresses action in tense and mood.</i>	Semantic approach
1932	Académie Française	<i>The verb is the key word of the language. Sometimes it expresses an action performed or undergone by the subject. Some verbs are subjectless (it rains). Sometimes it is used, followed by a noun, an adjective or a phrase, to express some stat or state of affairs to be attributed to the subject. (The weather gets bad)</i>	Semantic approach

1956	Galichet	<i>The verb expresses what happens to human beings or to things, an event which takes place in time. Process which takes place in time.</i> Properties: locates the event in time modality (mode) + voice + person	Morphological approach
1963	Villars Hatier, <i>Grammaire</i>	<i>The verb usually indicates an action. It is the most important word in the sentence. It can be conjugated and preceded by a subject.</i>	Semantic, syntactic, morphological approach
1973	Marchand, <i>Comment apprendre la grammaire</i>	Simple sentences with be. There are three types of them; the second constituent of the verb phrase is a noun phrase as in the sentence: Dr. Dupont is our doctor.	Syntactic approach
1991	Charaudeau, Hachette, <i>Grammaire, sens et communication, CE1</i>	Say what the characters are doing. Mimic an action for your classmates. They must find the verb that expresses what you are doing.	Semantic approach (communicative)
1984	Gross, <i>Découvrir la grammaire CE2</i>	<i>The verb has different forms, but it is still the same verb.</i>	Morphological approach
1990	Galibert, <i>Nouvelle grammaire pratique CM2</i>	<i>The verb is the word of the 2nd constituent which is conjugated in different tenses and persons and accepts negation.</i>	Morphological + syntactic approaches
1995	Dupré, Nathan, <i>La balle aux mots, CE1</i>	<i>A sentence may be split into two phrases</i>	Syntactic approach
1998	Tomassone, Delagrave, <i>Grammaire pour lire et écrire, CE2</i>	<i>In a sentence, the verb changes when the moment you are speaking of changes: the tense of the verb is then said to change</i>	Morphological approach
1998	Marchand, Hatier, <i>La courte échelle CE1</i>	<i>A simple sentence is made up of a subject phrase and a verb phrase.</i>	Syntactic approach
2002	Le Boucher, Magnard, <i>Outils pour le français</i>	<i>The verb is the main element in the verb phrase. The verb indicates an action or state. The verb's form changes according to tense and person. In the infinitive, the verb is not conjugated.</i>	Semantic, morphological, syntactic approach
2004	Géhin J. & M., Hachette, <i>Le français à la découverte du monde, CE1</i>	<i>Are the words in red verbs? Verbs are used to relate actions: I run, my neighbor sneezes, the leaves fall... They are also used to describe: the sky is blue, my cat seems to be asleep...</i>	Discursive (textual) approach
2005	Dausse, Sed, <i>Les clés du français, CE2</i>	<i>In a sentence, the verb is the word that varies when one changes the tense of the sentence... one changes the word just before it... it can take the «ne... pas» negation.</i>	Morphological approach

2008	Bentolila, Nathan, <i>L'île aux mots</i> , CE1	<i>In a sentence, there is always a word that indicates the action, i.e. what the character is doing or what is happening. This word is called a verb. Theo sleeps in his bedroom.</i>	Semantic approach
2009	Bentolila, Nathan, <i>L'île aux mots</i> , CE1	<i>The verb is a word that says what a person, an animal or a thing is doing.</i>	Semantic approach

Including research on textbooks in the training of primary school (K-5) teachers-to-be

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ABSTRACT: Within the boundaries of students' professional training, conducting research is a way for them to develop cross-disciplinary skills – reading and understanding theoretical writings – and to learn problem setting and how to analyse different types of documents – theoretical texts, corpora, written data. Textbooks, for their part, can become a means for students to learn about how scholarly knowledge was approached at the time they were written, and to take on the concepts of «schooling» (Kuentz 1972), «didactic transposition» (Chevallard, 1985), «school culture» (Chervel, 1998) and the «history of school subjects» (Chervel, 1998). They can also answer questions on the traditions and educational innovations of their time through the study of the teaching schemes they gave birth to. Finally, they convey value systems, ideologies and even cultures. Nevertheless, their complexity is rarely taken into account, and when they are mentioned it is generally to criticize their weaknesses. Analysing them implies reflecting on didactics; it is an opportunity for students to ponder on the approaches they have implemented during their professional training under a new light.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Textbook; Teachers Education; Mathematics; Teaching; History of Education; France; XX Century.

Introduction

For a long time, textbooks were the black sheep of didactics. Since the end of the 90s, they have been redeemed and have even been at the heart of important work and several symposia. Nowadays, it seems researches on the textbooks teachers currently use in their day to day work should take its – entirely legitimate – place as a part of the training teachers-to-be undergo, which is by nature a multidimensional process. Nevertheless, research on ancient textbooks still is to be assessed¹.

First of all, we will focus on understanding in what ways researching textbooks can help both teachers and students improve their skills. Then, we will try to show how textbooks can help us explore the school subjects, traditions, educational practices and innovations of their time using examples taken from the field of mathematics. Last, we will root our reflection in literary studies to see how textbooks can help us examine the way scholarly knowledge is approached at school.

1. Skills involved in researching ancient textbooks as seen during an introduction class on the teacher training syllabus

Traditionally, the word *research* represents two distinct paradigms; the first one involves producing, transmitting and applying new knowledge, the second associates actions, knowledge production and constructing people as subjects. We are going to work within this second paradigm, where we will focus on constructing people as subjects, and more specifically as teaching professionals. Within this framework, research focuses on intelligibility, and aims at understanding better, at uncovering hidden mechanisms, causes and links to finally improve one's professional practice².

Many researchers who work in teacher training and professional development agree on what Clerc called «the training virtue of research»: «reflexivity is at its core, where knowledge production, skill building and professional development meet»³.

But how can research play the role of a training tool for teachers and teachers-to-be? As early as 1994, Perrenoud claimed that an introduction to

¹ S. Plane (ed.), *Manuels et enseignement du français, actes de colloque*, Caen, SCEREN, 1999; M. Lebrun et al. (edd.), *Le Manuel scolaire d'ici et d'ailleurs, d'hier à demain*, Montréal, PUQ, 2007.

² J.F. Marcel, P. Rayou (edd.), *Recherches contextualisées en éducation*, Lyon, INRP, 6^e Biennale de l'éducation et de la formation, 2004.

³ F. Clerc, *Formation à la recherche, formation par la recherche*, «Recherche et formation», n. 59, 2008, pp. 5-10, in partic. p. 7.

research as part of their initial training can be justified for three different and complementary reasons:

1. As a way to actively appropriate basic knowledge in human science.
2. As a way to learn how to use research results in education science or to take part in its development throughout one's career.
3. As a paradigm that can be transposed to the framework of a reflective professional practice⁴.

Each of these items deserves to be explored.

First of all, beginning a research process necessarily involves wondering about knowledge. For students, it is the opportunity to discover that the knowledge they used to consider as preexisting is in fact a construct, and that they themselves can produce knowledge. From then on, they can develop an active relationship to knowledge. Handling concepts, variables, hypotheses, 'theoretical objects' and choosing a research methodology are all means of learning.

This reflexion on knowledge goes well beyond the boundaries of human science; it also applies to school subjects knowledge. Should this process be called didactic transposition?⁵ We have two different answers to this question, one to do with how mathematics developed as a school subject, and the other linked to how literary knowledge became part of the school system.

For students, researching textbooks means focusing on controversial material. Studying the 'scientific' knowledge textbooks offer enables them to question the teaching materials they will use in the classroom in their educational and didactic approaches. The aim here is to change their relationship to knowledge, to unsettle them so that new knowledge can be created.

Then, introducing students to research helps them learn how to use research findings in the educational field. Altet⁶ gave an excellent description of the professional development process of teachers as a practice-theory-practice loop:

- first, teachers question their professional practice;
- they use theoretical knowledge as a tool to better conceptualise it;
- they appropriate this knowledge and adapt it to their own questioning, and it enables them to go back to their practice and change or even improve it.

Using research findings for one's own research means one has to wonder about their veracity. When they study ancient textbooks, students become

⁴ P. Perrenoud, *Le rôle d'une initiation à la recherche dans la formation de base des enseignants*, in *La formation des enseignants entre théorie et pratique*, 1994. Available on line: <http://www.unige.ch/fapse/SSE/teachers/perrenoud/php_main/php_1992/1992_13.html> (last access: November 10th, 2013).

⁵ Y. Chevallard, *La transposition didactique: du savoir savant au savoir enseigné*, Grenoble, La Pensée Sauvage, 1985.

⁶ Altet, *Des savoirs sur et pour l'éducation*, in Marcel, Rayou (edd.), *Recherches contextualisées en éducation*, cit.

beginner researchers and as such must follow a rigorous approach based on questioning and open to theories. Textbooks are both objects and contents that can be studied and are witnesses of the – ideological, cultural, pedagogical and didactic – changes education underwent over time. Indeed, starting a research on ancient textbooks requires defining the corpus to be studied and questioning its representativeness. To select a corpus, one must make choices and focus on a specific time, public, and area, select authors, and be aware of didactical or educational guidelines. In the end, the legitimacy of the research being conducted also has to be explored.

Finally, let us quote Perrenoud «introducing teachers to research could help them build a reflective practice, that is to say a tendency and a skill for analyzing their practice both individually and collectively, to study how they think, make decisions and act in order to draw conclusions, and conversely to anticipate the consequences of specific didactic approaches or attitudes⁷». What we are talking about here is learning to see, to look beyond what obvious day-to-day life makes us see as obvious to question what common sense dictates. The activities – such as problem setting or documentation – research involves reveal phenomena that are not usually visible; analyzing practices and documents, whatever their nature, sheds light on gestures, words and practices that go unnoticed most of the time.

Just like in practice analysis, problem setting is a crucial step in research.

In the concrete world of practice, problems do not come to the practitioner all set, out of the blue. They have to be made of the material problematic situations bring; those are intriguing, embarrassing and vague. [...]. In order to turn a problematic situation into a problem, the practitioner has to do a certain type of work. He has to find meaning in a situation that, in the beginning, never makes any sense⁸.

In the classroom, as we just mentioned, problems are never obvious: it takes analysis, exploration and concept building to see them, and find an adequate way to deal with them, based on data and more particularly theoretical data. Introducing students to research can help them experiment with the problem setting process, which they can later use in their thought-through and reflective practice⁹.

Finally, studying ancient textbooks is a way to discover a very specific skill: detachment, or putting a temporal distance between the researcher and the teaching/learning and didactic material. It is about questioning the educational

⁷ Perrenoud, *Le rôle d'une initiation à la recherche dans la formation de base des enseignants*, cit.

⁸ D. Schön, *À la recherche d'une nouvelle épistémologie de la pratique et de ce qu'elle implique pour l'éducation des adultes*, in J.M. Barbier (ed.), *Savoirs théoriques et savoirs d'action*, Paris, PUF, 1998, pp. 201-222, in partic. p. 204.

⁹ D. Schön, *Le praticien réflexif. À la recherche du savoir caché dans l'agir professionnel*, Montréal, Éditions Logiques, 1993.

and didactic process and the scholarly, subject-specific and ‘school’ knowledge it involves. Reading the forewords of ancient textbooks allows the reader to understand what motivated their authors. Working on ancient textbooks is a way to think about the present time, about how to analyze current textbooks as well as the didactic and teaching/learning approaches they offer, and how to make them part of thought-through practices.

2. *Ancient textbooks and the introduction to research in mathematics*

Textbooks in mathematics. Several studies show that textbooks are not seen under the same light depending on who in the school system – teacher, trainer or inspector – is looking at them¹⁰. There also are differences depending on the subject taught. Even if primary school teachers are adaptable, they must develop specific knowledge and professional skills in each of the subjects they teach. In the field of mathematics, for several decades, textbooks have been considered as hindering creativity and thus as standing in the way of professional development¹¹:

[Teachers’] professional development and their evolution into ‘thinking practitioner’ has led to think that they could – that they had to – do without textbooks if they wanted to be considered as really ‘mastering’ of the educational process. The official stand on the subject – backed by inspectors, except obviously for those among them who wrote textbooks – was that to be a good teacher, you had to be able to do without textbooks, because they were seen as tools that locked both teachers and pupils into a pre-established and out-of-context system¹².

If this statement is far from devoid of meaning – although it is specific to the use of mathematics textbooks in the classroom and sometimes in vocational training – in the context of an introduction to research provided during initial training, we can only advocate another point of view, where textbooks become the object of a reflection where the history and the didactics of mathematics meet¹³.

¹⁰ Read, in particular IGÉN, *Les manuels scolaires. Situations et perspectives*, Rapport 2012-036 de mars 2012. Available on line: <http://cache.media.education.gouv.fr/file/2012/07/3/Rapport-IGEN-2012-036-Les-manuels-scolaires-situation-et-perspectives_225073.pdf> (last access: October 29th, 2013).

¹¹ For an example, read Lebrun (ed.), *Le Manuel scolaire d’ici et d’ailleurs, d’hier à demain*, cit.

¹² F.M. Gérard, *Le manuel scolaire, un outil efficace mais décrié*, «Éducation & Formation», n. 292, 2010, pp. 13-24.

¹³ We deliberately do not deal with how teachers in training should assess textbooks, their efficiency or the way they are effectively used in the classroom, because these points belong to other fields and require different methods. Read, in particular, what Maryvonne Priolet has to say

Even though textbooks do not show practices in the classroom, they have «an influence on teachers' practices and pupils' learning processes»¹⁴, even more so in mathematics. Part of the interest of ancient textbooks lies in their effects. Because they are part of the history of the education system – some textbooks are 130 year-old – the models they offer are not to be followed, but rather criticized. Their study is not subjected to the current educational trends that force teachers-in-training to remain politically correct or to keep innovating at all cost. In the case of ancient textbooks, it is not possible to identify with the teacher who used them; the only thing beginner researchers have to do is to learn how to read a textbook, *i.e.* how to study its contents, its educational methods and the documents it comes with – foreword, table of contents, lesson plan, monthly planning... – and to put it into context, be it historical, educational, editorial, or even political – with for example series of reforms. Students are thus freer to study them in an objective and precise way, centering their work on the history and didactics of the subject matter.

Building or improving a real culture of mathematics and its teaching/learning methods. Although they do not allow the reader to see what happens in the classroom, textbooks nevertheless are, through the knowledge, the problems and the exercises they contain, a reflection of the subject they teach. They are the result of the transposition of scholarly knowledge into knowledge to be taught, and as such their relationship with the didactics of their subject matter¹⁵ must be studied. From this point on, basic questions arise on editorial constraints, the respect of official texts, readership and the uses the authors and publishers envisaged for the textbooks. These questions are part of the daily routine of practicing teachers, be it when they choose a textbook for their class – if any – or simply when they use one to help them in their lesson plan. In this case, there is something at stake with introducing students to research on ancient mathematics textbooks, and that is building or improving a real culture of mathematics and its educational methods. This culture takes many different shapes, from the mastery of fundamental mathematics knowledge to its transposition for pupils.

Working on mathematical concepts and objects such as elementary arithmetic operations (addition, subtraction, multiplication and division) or fractions helps build useful knowledge that is strongly connected to practice. In this case, we favoured a diachronic approach. More specifically, schoolbooks from distinct periods of the history of mathematics teaching (before, during and after the

on this topic in her article untitled *The use of mathematics textbooks in the training of elementary school teachers in France* of this dossier.

¹⁴ É. Bruillard, *Manuels scolaires, regards croisés*, Caen, SCEREN/CRDP Basse-Normandie, 2005, p. 21.

¹⁵ J. Briand, M.L. Peltier, *Le manuel scolaire carrefour de tensions mais aussi outil privilégié de vulgarisation des recherches en didactique des mathématiques*, Paris, France, 2008. Available on <<http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00495058/>> (last access: May 29th, 2013).

modern mathematics reform) were studied to represent the way subtraction and multiplication were taught evolved. Students had to master intrinsic knowledge as well as related didactics works in order to question schoolbooks contents as well as their own position as teachers.

When it comes to introducing students to research in education, educational choices and trends in educational thinking have to be taken into account. In this case, it is a synchronic approach that is chosen. Students do not focus on the way a notion is taught evolved as much as on the context within which the author of a textbook wrote their mathematics teaching method. Their arguments are detailed in their manual's foreword or more generally in educational publications – i.e. Ferdinand Buisson's *Pedagogical Dictionary*, the *Journal des instituteurs* as well as any other professional publication. Progressive education offers us many opportunities of study. In our region, the Limousin, we have focused on this pedagogical trend because we have the opportunity to work on the extensive archives Paul Faucher – publishing director of the Père Castor series at Flammarion Publishers (Paris) – has left us; his thoughts on progressive education in France and abroad were important¹⁶. Space structuring, hands-on learning, use of the counting frame are useful elements that ease students in a pedagogical reflection they will eventually carry on when they will become teachers.

History of education as a way to take in teachers' culture

[...] historians probably enjoy a privileged standpoint. Their knowledge of great periods of time sometimes enables them to observe at a glance the entirety and the diversity of the events that mark out the history of teaching, of teaching a specific subject, from its origins to the changes it underwent, and sometimes even to its end¹⁷.

Studying mathematics schoolbooks can help better understand how the textbook corpus of current mathematics – i.e. the mathematics we teach today – came into existence, starting with their history¹⁸ and that of mathematics teaching. In this case, it is the stakes of this teaching and its rationale we are reevaluating. This is about – primary or secondary school – teachers reassessing their vision of the job, based originally on their own experience, where they taught and how there were trained. Indeed, studying ancient textbooks as well

¹⁶ L. Gutierrez et al. (edd.), *Réformer l'école: l'apport de l'éducation nouvelle (1930-1970)*, Grenoble, Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 2012; H. Grymová, *Ladislav Havránek (1884-1961). Un pionnier de l'Éducation Nouvelle*, Limoges, Les Amis du Père Castor, 2014.

¹⁷ A. Chervel, *La culture scolaire: une approche historique*, Paris, Belin, 1998, p. 7.

¹⁸ For example, at the time of the 3rd French republic (1870-1940), mathematics textbooks had much in common with calculus books from Islamic countries or medieval Europe.

as official texts¹⁹ enables teachers to take their place in the history of the subject they teach with a certain distance. For example, it allows them to reevaluate the role of mental calculation or geometry in education, or the importance of decimal notation in teaching arithmetic operations. It leads students in training to reflect on mathematics and their specific characteristics²⁰ as applied to their future job as professional teachers subjected to teaching reforms and official orders. It is within this framework that students in training understand the specificity of teaching mathematics in France. We would like to stress that the Institut de Recherche sur l'Enseignement des Mathématiques (IREM, the Research Institute on Mathematics teaching)²¹ network, founded when modern mathematics came into existence²², greatly contributed to the training of teachers, from kindergarten to university level. Students in training now have an increasingly clear idea of the – professional and political – mission that could become theirs within the teaching community.

3. *Didactic point of view: schoolbooks to ponder the question of scholarly knowledge*

How schoolbooks are considered in the French discipline. Studying ancient textbooks can help recount the changes in how literature teaching was seen, especially when focusing on syllabi, forewords and corpora. This type of work can be done on the primary²³ as well as on the secondary school level, with for example works on how 18th century philosophers were perceived²⁴. It can also help recount the history of the area of research. Didactics in the French

¹⁹ R. d'Enfert *et al.* (edd.), *L'enseignement mathématique à l'école primaire, de la Révolution à nos jours*. Tome 1: 1791-1914, Paris, INRP, 2003; R. d'Enfert, *L'enseignement mathématique à l'école primaire, de la Révolution à nos jours. Textes officiels*. Tome 2: 1915-2000, Limoges, PULIM, 2014.

²⁰ Read, in particular, M. Moyon, *Penser les mathématiques à travers leur épistémologie et leur histoire: un enjeu de/dans la formation des maîtres*, in J.-L. Dorier, S. Coutat (edd.), *Enseignement des mathématiques et contrat social: enjeux et défis pour le 21^e siècle. Actes du colloque EMF2012 (GT4)*, pp. 641-652.

²¹ One should mention here the role played by the Association of Mathematics Teachers of the Public Education System (APMEP or *Association des Professeurs de Mathématiques de l'Enseignement Public*).

²² A. Carsalade *et al.*, *Architecture d'une réforme: les mathématiques modernes*, in É. Barbin, M. Moyon (edd.), *Les ouvrages de mathématiques dans l'histoire. Entre recherche, enseignement et culture*, Limoges, PULIM, 2013, pp. 229-244.

²³ M.F. Bishop, *Que lit-on à l'école primaire au cours du XX^e siècle? Listes et corpus de textes de 1880 à 1995*, in B. Louichon, A. Rouxel (edd.), *Du corpus scolaire à la bibliothèque intérieure*, Rennes, PUR, 2010, pp. 139-152.

²⁴ L. Perret, *Manuels scolaires (littérature française)*, in C. Volpilhac-Auger (ed.), *Dictionnaire Montesquieu* [en ligne], ENS de Lyon, septembre 2013. Available on line: <<http://dictionnaire-montesquieu.ens-lyon.fr/fr/article/1379422014/fr>> (last access: November 10th, 2013).

discipline indeed maintain a strong relationship with textbooks. Daunay²⁵ reminds us that this area initially developed from various attacks against textbooks accusing them of conveying conservative ideas and the elite's view of literature and neglecting common reading practices. These attacks centered more specifically around the renowned Lagarde and Michard textbook; for example, a famous article by Halté and Petit Jean²⁶ criticized the way they had tackled the work of Diderot; another article by Kuentz²⁷ analyzed the way literary texts were handled to be adapted to school use. For their part, Le Fustec and Sivan²⁸ divide the evolution of the relationship between the didactics of the French discipline and textbooks into several different steps. Although during the 70s, they were criticized by the dominant ideology of the time because of their conservative aspect, they were addressed more epistemologically the following decade, when scholarly knowledge was tackled in a more critical manner. Finally, at the beginning of the 21st century, didactic approaches put the teaching processes detailed in textbooks themselves under scrutiny.

In keeping with the definition of literature itself, textbooks as objects can show how the views on literature teaching evolved over time. They are tools allowing «students to grasp the relativity of educational trends»²⁹, thus contributing to the deconstruction of the certainties students have been building since they were pupils and to the emergence of a relationship to knowledge that is neither blindly reverent, nor prescriptive, nor superficial, nor nostalgic. Studying textbooks can contribute to training by helping teachers to find the necessary distance allowing them to approach their future profession, not through ready-made answers, but by questioning and «tolerating uncertainty»³⁰.

Building a disciplinary culture. If textbooks allow us to work on the representations of knowledge as it is taught, that is because they show the constraints of communication at school and lead us to ponder on the elaboration and the transmission of school knowledge. Studying textbooks means dealing with knowledge in two different ways. First, just as for mathematics, academic knowledge has to be broadened. When students write one of the many existing

²⁵ B. Daunay, *État des recherches en didactique de la littérature*, «Note de synthèse. Revue française de pédagogie», vol. 159, 2007, pp. 139-189.

²⁶ J.F. Halté, A. Petijean, *Pour une théorie de l'idéologie des manuels scolaires, le Lagarde et Michard, le cas Diderot*, Paris, CEDIC, 1977.

²⁷ P. Kuentz, *L'envers du texte*, «Littérature», n. 7, 1972, pp. 3-26.

²⁸ A. Le Fustec, P. Sivan, *Les manuels de français au feu des critiques*, «Manuels scolaires, regards croisés», 2005, pp. 101-122.

²⁹ M. Carbonneau, J.C. Héту, *Formation pratique des enseignants et naissance d'une intelligence professionnelle*, in L. Paquay et al. (edd.), *Former des enseignants professionnels*, Bruxelles, De Boeck, 2001, pp. 77-96.

³⁰ H. Hensler, *Pour une ouverture de la culture professionnelle aux savoirs de la recherche en éducation: quelles conditions aménager en formation initiale et continue?*, in C. Lessard, M. Altet, L. Paquay, P. Perrenoud (edd.) *Entre sens commun et sciences humaines. Quels savoirs pour enseigner?*, Bruxelles, De Boeck, 2004, pp. 179-199.

dissertations on how textbooks approach literature, they have to review or find the necessary knowledge concerning authors (La Fontaine, Hugo, Molière), literary genres (poetry, drama, tales), movements (Romanticism), works (the Arthurian myth, *Eye of the Wolf*, *The Little Prince*, *Little Red Riding Hood*, *The Story of the Three Bears*) by rereading these books and reading other documents on the history of literature. In literary studies, trying to define poetry, comics or romanticism is part of a complex questioning process on literature that is far from being over.

Studying textbooks is a way to examine the concept of school knowledge as opposed to that of scholarly knowledge, the former being the latter reconfigured to serve the needs of the discipline. This reconfiguration is sometimes clearly visible through processes such as reading selection – i.e. among the 240 fables written by La Fontaine, rarely more than a dozen make it into the corpus – transformation or the deletion of specific parts. In textbooks, the death of *The Little Prince* is consistently censored, because it raises a question of values. Victor Hugo's poem *La nature*, from *Contemplations*, is a dialogue between a tree and different speakers who offer to turn it into a plough, a Yule log or a mast, and was featured in many primary school textbooks between 1920 and 1940. These textbooks consistently censored the second half of the poem, in which the tree refuses to be made into a gallows; this opportunity the author had created for himself to rant against death penalty at a time when it was still in effect obviously went against the values to be taught to young pupils. This point illustrates the evolution of the use of Victor Hugo in school syllabi evolved over time all the better than another of his poems on death penalty, *Les derniers jours d'un condamné*, has become a compulsory read in secondary school.

Adaptation for school use and didactic transposition. The study of textbooks allows us to broach on a topic of research in the didactics of the French discipline dealing with the validity of the expression «didactic transposition» as applied to literature. Indeed, transposition does not fully cover the reconfiguration academic knowledge undergoes when it is turned into school knowledge.

«Adaptation for school use» would be better suited. The first author to use this expression was Kuentz, who did not consider it as legitimate as scholarly knowledge. Chervel used it – without giving it any axiological meaning – to describe the changes and the «compliance» of a literary work with the «demands of formal education as well as those of the courses it will be taught in, the class it will be used in and the role it will play at school or during extra-curricular activities»³¹. More generally, adaptation for school use covers any reconfiguration made to serve discipline-specific and/or school goals, and

³¹ A. Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement du français du XVII^e au XX^e siècle*, Paris, Retz, 2006, p. 478.

the process of turning something that does not originally belong to the school realm into a 'school object'.

Adapting something to school use turns it into something radically different because school has its own specific purposes (teaching values, evaluating) and the object that represents it – the textbook – is not only where the transposition takes place, but also where reconfiguration, creation even, occurs. This is particularly obvious when dealing with the topic of «school genres»³². Genres are heterogeneous categories homogenised by school into other categories in order to meet its goals. That is because school genres help sort these categories and organise the moving field of literature, turning it into school knowledge and techniques that can be evaluated, all the while making the best of the very specific type of school literature excerpts represent³³. The way this school subject has been reconfigured – the evolution of the concepts of literature and the transmission of knowledge that triggers a change in evaluation criteria – has an impact on how school genres are perceived. Studying literature in textbooks allows us to uncover complex processes. Denizot showed how, between the 19th and the 20th century, the concept of tragedy evolved towards that of the tragic when taught at school; she calls this phenomenon «secondarisation»³⁴. She also demonstrated the process through which school creates a genre, for example «founding texts» in Grade/Year 6, or the «biographic genre» in high-school (Year 11-13); these concepts regroup very different genres, homogenised by the way school deals with them.

Conclusion

Conducting researches on textbooks, especially ancient ones, can be a part of the training of informed practitioners who reflect on the materials they use and their professional practises in order to draw conclusions that can be used to teach their pupils in the classroom. This is about training reflective practitioners.

Once more, we would like to underline how difficult this task is for students. For Perrenoud³⁵, beginning a research is akin to undergoing a series of «loss and restoration of balance»; Develay³⁶ considers this process «emotionally

³² Concerning school genres, see the works of Nathalie Denizot: *Genres littéraires et genres textuels dans la discipline français*, «Pratiques», n. 145-146, 2010, pp. 211-230.

³³ Excerpts help reduce the intrinsic polysemy of literary texts to an unequivocal message. They convey values that are clearly identified, can be subjected to current types of exercises and illustrate and confirms what school has to say on genres and the history of literature.

³⁴ Denizot, *Genres littéraires et genres textuels dans la discipline français*, cit.

³⁵ Perrenoud, *Le rôle d'une initiation à la recherche dans la formation de base des enseignants*, cit.

³⁶ M. Develay, *De l'apprentissage à l'enseignement*, Paris, ESF, 1992.

unsettling»; Altet³⁷ describes it as «experiencing uncertainty and doubt and taking risks to get accustomed to a lack of security». To put it in a nutshell, it is a risky process that imposes continuous questioning and deconstructing the knowledge one used to take for granted, at a time when students and teachers-to-be are trying to build professional knowledge. Research supervisors and trainers must help them through this difficult process.

In France, teacher training has undergone another reform where research has to entertain stronger links with teaching practices. In higher teacher education schools (Écoles Supérieures du Professorat et de l'Éducation), interest groups³⁸ can be (re)created where practitioners, researchers and trainers can exchange ideas, communicate and interact. The researches they conduct produce knowledge and simultaneously contribute to their professional development. Thanks to them, knowledge is transmitted, whether it is theoretical, rooted in experience or training, coming from researchers, practitioners or trainers; where their interests meet, research objects are built. In this type of research group, working on ancient textbooks could favour the synergy of very different types of knowledge, and help develop productive thoughts on didactics and pedagogy for all those involved in teacher training and teaching in general.

³⁷ Altet, *Des savoirs sur et pour l'éducation*, cit.

³⁸ V. Legros, *Dynamique de l'espace d'intéressement et effets sur la formation des maîtres*, «Recherche et Formation», n. 58, 2008, pp. 85-101.

The use of mathematics textbooks in the training of elementary school teachers in France

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ABSTRACT: This article focuses on the role mathematics textbooks play in the training process of elementary school teachers at the beginning of the 21st century in France. Through observations made both in the classes of experienced teachers in charge of training teachers-to-be and in the class of a beginner teacher, we tried to understand how textbooks are used and how the gap between what textbook authors recommend and how teachers actually use schoolbooks can be bridged. This study also shows that beginner teachers do need to be trained on how to make the best use of textbooks.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Textbooks; Mathematics; Teaching; Primary School; France; XXI Century.

1. *Introduction and context*

In France, the vast majority of mathematics textbooks come with a teacher's manual. For the purpose of this study, we will consider that the pupil's *textbook* or *schoolbook* and its teacher's *manual* are in fact one single material we will call textbook. In France, teachers can decide for themselves and in each of their classes whether they want to resort to textbooks or not, and which one(s) they wish to use. Publishers produce textbooks aplenty, making their choice by no means easier. For example, for the CE2 (8-9 year-old pupils)¹ level pupils, at least fifteen different textbooks existed in 2013 for mathematics alone.

¹ CE2 (Cours Élémentaire 2^e année): the third year of compulsory primary schooling, CE2 corresponds to Grade/Year 3 in English speaking countries.

If one excepts a few reports issued by the General Inspectorate of the Ministry of Education in 1998, 2010 and 2012², official publications do not usually deal with textbooks and their use in the classroom. While the primary school national standard curricula released in 2008 by the Ministry of Education³ do state that «using a quality textbook to teach each of the major components of the French language is a guarantee of success», there is no mention of how mathematics textbooks are to be used.

The competency grid the Ministry of Education released in 2010⁴ – which defined the skills primary school teachers-to-be had to master to be granted tenure at the time – clearly stated that the teacher had to be able to «evaluate the quality of teaching resources (traditional or eTextbooks and their teacher’s manual, resource materials both traditional and digital, teaching software and so on)». This reference to schoolbooks cannot be found in the new 2013 Ministry of Education competency grid⁵, although one might consider that the «available resources» item it lists under the professional training skill refers to them.

One is right to wonder if, during their periods of observation in the primary school classrooms of the experienced teachers known as *Professeurs des Écoles Maîtres Formateurs*⁶, teachers to be will have the occasion to see for themselves how textbooks are used and how they have been selected by the teachers. This raises questions concerning the teaching practices of PEMFs in mathematics. Do they resort to textbooks to prepare their lessons? Have they made a schoolbook available for each of their pupils? As teacher trainers, have they encouraged beginner teachers to use a textbook? These are the questions that will guide our research in this article and that led us to research the extent of the role textbooks play – when they are used – in the training of PEMFs and that of aspiring teachers who come to observe their classes.

² Inspection Générale de l’Éducation nationale, *Le Manuel scolaire*, Paris, La Documentation Française, 1998; Inspection Générale de l’Éducation nationale, Inspection Générale de l’Administration de l’Éducation nationale et de la Recherche, *Le manuel scolaire à l’heure du numérique. Une «nouvelle donne» de la politique des ressources pour l’enseignement*, 2010; Inspection Générale de l’Éducation nationale, *Les manuels scolaires: situation et perspectives*, 2012.

³ Ministère de l’éducation nationale et ministère de l’enseignement supérieur et de la recherche, *Programmes d’enseignement de l’école primaire*, «Bulletin Officiel», hors-série n. 3, du 19 juin 2008.

⁴ Ministère de l’éducation nationale, *Définition des compétences à acquérir par les professeurs, documentalistes et conseillers principaux d’éducation pour l’exercice de leur métier*, «Bulletin Officiel», n. 29 du 22 juillet 2010.

⁵ Ministère de l’éducation nationale, *Référentiel des compétences professionnelles des métiers du professorat et de l’éducation*, «Bulletin Officiel», n. 30 du 25 juillet 2013.

⁶ Primary school teachers and trainers. In this article, we will use the acronym PEMF – standing for Professeurs des Écoles Maîtres Formateurs – when talking about the primary schools teachers who fulfil two different missions: teaching in a classroom and training students planning to embrace the teaching career as well as beginner teachers.

2. Theoretical framework

As research publications in the fields of both science of education and subject didactics clearly show, schoolbooks do appear in scientific literature. Although text books have always been a topic for reflection⁷ in the noosphere of the teaching of mathematics, it is only since the first decade of this century that research focusing on how textbooks are used in the classroom has been published.

These publications tend to underline how much textbooks help teachers; Métoudi and Duchauffour⁸ go as far as mentioning how comfortable they make teachers, whom they guide through the curricula, help to prepare their lessons, relieve of some material tasks, and assist in implementing more individualized and even differentiated instruction. The authors seem to consider textbooks as an efficient solution to overcome the hurdles linked to lesson preparation and classroom management.

Researchers in didactics of mathematics and authors of mathematics textbooks for primary school classes Briand and Peltier have noted that schoolbooks are not sufficient⁹. The accompanying teacher's manual has a crucial role to play in making the teachers' task easier by helping them analyse situations beforehand. But it must also let teachers do what only they can do: decide how they will use the schoolbooks' contents in the classroom. Both authors consider that textbooks, and more specifically teacher's manuals, can become «a transmission vector in didactics of mathematics»¹⁰.

Several research papers allude to schoolbooks as «vectors», stressing the idea that they are a medium for knowledge. In most cases, and although its subject varies, this knowledge is aimed at teachers. As an example, we can quote in Niclot¹¹ cited in Margolinas and Wozniak¹² who showed how geography textbooks could represent «a way to renew the knowledge they [secondary school teachers] taught». Goigoux and Cèbe took as example research papers in the fields of phonology and writing skills teaching to analyse what stopped

⁷ For example, La Commission Inter-IREM-APMEP Manuels Scolaires in the decade 1970 to 80.

⁸ M. Métoudi, H. Duchauffour, *Des manuels et des maîtres*, Paris, Belin, 2001.

⁹ J. Briand, M.-L. Peltier, *Le manuel scolaire, carrefour de tensions, mais aussi outil privilégié de vulgarisation des recherches en didactique des mathématiques*, Séminaire DIDIREM, 2008, <http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/49/50/58/PDF/manuel_scolaire_Briand_Peltierdef.pdf> (last access: January 14th, 2014).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹ D. Niclot, *Et si les manuels scolaires étaient, par défaut, un outil de professionnalisation des enseignants?*, in G. Baillat, P.A. Martin, D. Niclot (edd.), *Vers quelle professionnalité enseignante en France et au Québec?*, Paris, CNDP, 2003, pp. 265-282.

¹² C. Margolinas, F. Wozniak, *Usage des manuels dans le travail de l'enseignant: l'enseignement des mathématiques à l'école primaire*, «Revue des sciences de l'éducation», vol. 35, n. 2, 2009, p. 75.

these researches from having a real impact on teaching practices¹³. They consider that didactic tools can be «transformational vectors in teaching practices when teachers are confronted with their pupils' learning difficulties» (p. 1) under the condition that the knowledge obtained through research is properly converted into «usable – action – knowledge» (p. 2). They support the idea that when they take into account research results and are compatible with usual teaching practices, didactic tools such as textbooks can become «transformational vectors that will change their – teachers' – power to act, and thus influence their professional evolution»¹⁴.

Other papers lead us to view schoolbooks as «learning vectors» for pupils¹⁵. Briand and Peltier stress the way teacher's manuals and the pupil's textbooks have to complement each other, as well as the fact that some pupils enjoy consulting the latter and use it as a reference book¹⁶.

In the didactics theory of conjoint action¹⁷, the teacher's and the pupils' work take place in two distinct phases tied to each another: the *in-situ* didactic activity, when the teacher monitors the pupils through the didactic game, and the preparation phase of this activity, when the teacher elaborates the game. If we refer to this theory, we can consider schoolbooks are at the crossroads between the elaboration of the activity and its implementation. Incidentally, Goigoux and Cèbe¹⁸ see activities based on textbooks as being the result of the tension between on the one side the norm they prescribe, and on the other the efforts teachers make to «create anew, build again, individualize once more these artifacts and their ways of use»¹⁹.

According to Métoudi and Duchauffour²⁰, when using textbooks which are «meant for everyone, but in fact suited to no one»²¹, primary school

¹³ R. Goigoux, S. Cèbe, *Un autre rapport entre recherche, pratique et formation. Les instruments didactiques comme vecteur de transformation des pratiques des enseignants confrontés aux difficultés d'apprentissage des élèves*. Conférence invitée en clôture du colloque du réseau international de Recherche en Éducation et Formation (REF), Université de Nantes, 19 juin 2009. Available on <<http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00936348>> (last access: January 27th, 2014).

¹⁴ R. Goigoux, L. Ria, M.-C. Toczec-Capelle, *Les parcours de formation des enseignants débutants*, Clermont-Ferrand, Presses Universitaires de Blaise Pascal, 2009, in Goigoux, Cèbe, *Un autre rapport entre recherche, pratique et formation*, cit., p. 2.

¹⁵ M. Priolet, *Vecteurs d'apprentissage et résolution de problèmes numériques*, Mémoire de D.E.A. en Sciences de l'Éducation, sous la direction de F. Clerc, Université Lumière Lyon 2, 2001.

¹⁶ Briand, Peltier, *Le manuel scolaire Le manuel scolaire, carrefour de tensions, mais aussi outil privilégié de vulgarisation des recherches en didactique des mathématiques*, cit.

¹⁷ G. Sensevy, *Le sens du savoir. Éléments pour une théorie de l'action conjointe en didactique*, Bruxelles, De Boeck, 2011.

¹⁸ Goigoux, Cèbe, *Un autre rapport entre recherche, pratique et formation*, cit.

¹⁹ P. Rabardel, *Les hommes et les technologies. Approche Cognitive des instruments contemporains*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1995.

²⁰ Métoudi, Duchauffour, *Des manuels et des maîtres*, cit.

²¹ Briand, Peltier, *Le manuel scolaire, carrefour de tensions, mais aussi outil privilégié de vulgarisation des recherches en didactique des mathématiques*, cit., p. 2.

teachers, who have been trained in many subjects, ought to be provided specific training aimed at improving their efficiency in the classroom through the use of textbooks.

Following a study based on discussions with 10 experienced primary school teachers, Margolinas and Wozniak²² consider mathematics textbooks as a tool for the professional development of teachers. Our study follows on their research on textbooks, focusing on their impact on professional development. But in order to better understand the teaching practices of teachers who use schoolbooks, we have chosen to visit classroom for periods of observation.

3. *Research question*

Although numerous textbooks are published and used in classrooms, it is important to focus on the training primary school teachers get on how to use them. It is all the more relevant for mathematics schoolbooks since the vast majority of new primary school teachers did not major in sciences.

Several studies based on the answers to a primary school teachers survey show that in more than 70 per cent of all Grade/Year 3-5 classes (8-11 year-old pupils), each pupil was provided with a mathematics schoolbook²³. But we are interested in more than number and, in the same way Margolinas and Wozniak²⁴ did, we wish to interview teachers about their practices. Still our approach differs from theirs: since we are interested in teachers training, we study the practices of both PEMF, whose mission gives them a key role in the training of primary school teachers to be and those of young teachers. Moreover, we find it important to go beyond teachers' statements whose limits Margolinas and Wozniak²⁵ have stated, and to add the observation of practices in the classroom to teachers' interviews. This is done in order to understand and study together with experienced teachers the role of mathematics textbooks in day to day teaching practices as well as in the training process of primary school teachers to be and experienced teachers. To phrase it another way, for PEMFs, how important are textbooks in teaching/learning situations? What advice do they give teachers-to-be who came in their class to train? How do young teachers use schoolbooks? Does it contribute to their professional development?

²² Margolinas, Wozniak, *Usage des manuels dans le travail de l'enseignant*, cit.

²³ M. Priolet, *Résolution de problèmes arithmétiques et registres sémiotiques*, Mémoire de Maîtrise en Sciences de l'Éducation, sous la direction de J. C. Régnier, Université Lumière Lyon 2, 2000; Inspection Générale de l'Éducation nationale, *L'enseignement des mathématiques au cycle 3 de l'école primaire*, 2006.

²⁴ Margolinas, Wozniak, *Usage des manuels dans le travail de l'enseignant*, cit.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

4. Methodology

Data gathering. At first, Priolet led a quantitative study in 2000²⁶, based on a questionnaire 81 teachers from 2 different school districts filled. It highlighted the important role mathematics schoolbooks play in teaching practices in primary school, but did not reveal anything more about their specific uses – if any – in the classroom. In order to further our research and include training practices, we implemented two different methodological procedures.

The first one involved 9 PEMFs from 3 different schools teaching in different grades/years, and took place in two separate steps. For the first phase of our study, we led 9 guided interviews we will refer to as first interviews. They aimed at understanding the use of mathematical textbooks. The interview schedules, centred around questions about the use of textbooks in the process of teaching, as well as their contribution in the professional development of teaching, dealt, in particular, with the following elements: deciding factors in the choice of textbooks; mode of use; contribution to professional practice; contribution to professionalization; personal relationship to mathematics and pathways in mathematics teacher training.

The second phase only involved 4 of the PEMFs. It took place at two different times. We began with the observation of these 4 teachers' practices in class, which we recorded on video. Then, during a simple self-confrontation interview²⁷, each PEMF viewed the recording and discussed it with a researcher in order to add information to the practices observed, such as how they came to be or how they could evolve.

The second procedure involved a young primary school teacher. It was led in parallel with the first one, and consisted in observing a mathematics lesson in the CP (6-7 year-old pupils)²⁸ class of a teacher in training²⁹ and the following interview that took place between the young teacher and an experienced PEMF. The procedure ended on another guided interview, this time between the beginner teacher and the researcher. Both phases were recorded: the lesson was videotaped, and the interviews were recorded audio only.

Data analysis. All five videotaped lessons and the 15 recorded interviews were transcribed in their entirety. As a whole, they were subjected to a thematic analysis focusing on the skills primary school teachers are expected to master³⁰:

P 1. Master subject-specific knowledge as well as didactics.

²⁶ Priolet, *Résolution de problèmes arithmétiques et registres sémiotiques*, cit.

²⁷ Y. Clot, *Clinique du travail et action sur soi*, in J.-M. Baudoin, J. Friedrich (edd.), *Théories de l'action et éducation*, Bruxelles, De Boeck, 2001.

²⁸ CP (Cours Préparatoire) is the first year of compulsory schooling in France and corresponds to Grade/Year 1.

²⁹ Teachers in training are teaching for the first year.

³⁰ Ministère de l'éducation nationale, *Référentiel des compétences professionnelles des métiers du professorat et de l'éducation*, «Bulletin Officiel», n. 30 du 25 juillet 2013.

	School 1				School 2				Sc. 3
PEMF	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Pupil's textbooks	YES Same textbooks from CP to CM2				YES	YES			NO
Description of use	Profile 2	Profile 3	Profile 1	Profile 2	Profile 2	Profile 1	Profile 3	Profile 3	Profile 4

Pupil's textbooks

YES : presence

NO : absence

Empty box : Occasional use (G et H)

Description of use

Profile 1 : Complete fidelity to the teacher's book and to the authors' intention

Profile 2 : Fidelity to the teacher's book but with adaptations

Profile 3 : Development of the teaching of mathematics based on the use of several teachers' books

Profile 4 : Development of the teaching of mathematics based on personal experience.

Pic. 1. Pupil textbooks in the classroom and the different manual users profiles.

P 3. Create, implement and present teaching and learning situations, taking into account pupil diversity.

P 4. Organize the class and ensure it runs in a way that promotes the pupils' learning and socialization.

5. Main results

Here are the different profiles we established following the analysis of the guided interviews we led. We will try to understand how using a textbook can help primary school teachers acquire skills, be they beginner or experienced.

Profiles according to textbook use as declared by teachers. Among the 9 PEMFs we interviewed, 6 (5 of them work in the same school) declared that in class, each of their pupils were given a mathematics schoolbook. Out of the 3 remaining PEMFs, one said that his pupils did not have any textbook because he did not want them to, whereas the other two declared that the schoolbook their pupils were given – which had been chosen by a predecessor – were only used as a source of exercises. Figure 1 sums up these data.

Concerning the use of the teacher's manual, 4 different profiles were established after the interviews (pic. 1).

Among the 9 PEMFs, 2 said they followed the entire teacher manual (profile 1) and the authors' advice to a t, 3 mentioned they also used it but that they adapted it (profile 2), while 3 declared they resorted to several different teacher's manuals to create their lesson plans on problem solving (profile 3). The remaining PEMF (teacher I) said he could do without a teacher's manual (profile 4) thanks to his experience in didactics of mathematics. Since we are studying textbook use, we will focus on profiles 1 to 3.

As for the beginner teacher, he declared he used the schoolbook and its teacher's manual, which had been selected the year before. PEMFs G and H were in the same situation. The beginner teacher mentioned he «also relies on teachers sites on the Internet». Each pupil was given the associated teaching materials.

Textbooks and the mastery of subject knowledge and their didactics. The first PEMF interviews showed that sometimes, using a textbook comes down to personal choices, which can be linked to their skills in mathematics. For example, PEMF E³¹ declared he personally experiences «huge difficulties in mathematics» and that this shortcoming even poses a problem in his everyday life. Hence his full trust in textbooks, the necessary tools that give him access to mathematical knowledge. PEMF F, who teaches in CE1 (7-8 year old-pupils), was able to deal with geometry in the mathematics syllabus thanks to textbooks. What the PEMFs underline is the didactic role of schoolbooks. In France, primary school teaching requires dealing with so many different subjects that one cannot possibly expect experts in pedagogy who teach and train others in every subject matter of the syllabus to perfectly master all of them. In order to compensate for his lack of knowledge in didactics of mathematics, PEMF C referred to the manuals' forewords, which according to him often indicate what teaching theories the book is based on. PEMF F – whom we have already quoted – also mentioned a foreword that gave him the opportunity to learn more about the child's conception of numbers. As for PEMF G, he explained that it is through a textbook that he got acquainted with Vergnaud's theory³². This is very similar to what his colleagues said concerning the link between schoolbooks and research.

The beginner teacher said that at the beginning of the school year, he read the foreword to the teacher's manual. But he also stated that he did not refer to it again in spite of the gaps in his mathematics knowledge he insisted he had during a counselling interview with a PEMF which was not part of our study sample.

³¹ We replaced the teachers' names with the acronym PEMF X. X stands for a given teacher's designation in figure 1.

³² Here, the PEMF is referring to the theory of conceptual fields; G. Vergnaud, *La théorie des champs conceptuels*, «Recherches en Didactique des Mathématiques», vol. 10, n. 2-3, 1990, pp. 133-170.

01.25/PE-DEB/ [...] So, it's true that right now I follow the textbook exactly how it is, how it is presented. [...] But this notion here, problem solving, still isn't clear with this type of exercises.

01.38/PEMF³³/ Is it the type of exercises you can find in the schoolbook that bothers you when it comes to problem solving in general?

01.45/PE-DEB/ No, it's because I have very little knowledge concerning problem solving, and it's what hinders my fully analysing this type of lessons and exercises.

During the guided interview that followed, the beginner teacher declared it was more important for him to describe how each lesson went and write it down in his logbook³⁴. This beginner teacher was under a lot of stress and looking for immediate solutions rather than long-term research to build on his general training in didactics of mathematics. His priority was to deal with urgent situations.

As a conclusion, mathematics textbooks seem to better fulfil their role as «vectors of transmission for research in didactics of mathematics» – as Briand and Peltier described – for PEMFs than for beginner teacher, because beginner teachers are faced with the conundrum of having to simultaneously train and implement teaching/learning situations³⁵. But as Métoudi and Duchauffour³⁶ suggest, does it mean textbooks can contribute to this implementation?

6. Using textbooks to build, implement and facilitate teaching and learning situations, taking into account pupil diversity

Using textbooks to create a syllabus. During the interview, teachers who do use textbooks mentioned they are the source they most frequently turn to when writing their yearly lesson plans. Although considered as an expert in pedagogy because he is a teacher-trainer, PEMF C went as far as saying that the help they provide, he «would not know how to elaborate a yearly lesson plan in mathematics».

Textbooks have a reassuring effect: «I am not afraid I won't be able to finish the syllabus anymore», said PEMF D. This reminds us of the comfortable aspect Métoudi & Duchauffour³⁷ brought up.

³³ Extract from an interview between a beginner teacher and a teacher trainer who was not part of the group selected for this study.

³⁴ In France, the *cahier-journal* is both a logbook where teachers write down what goes on in the classroom day-to-day, and the place they keep the lessons they have planned for the class.

³⁵ Briand, Peltier, *Le manuel scolaire Le manuel scolaire, carrefour de tensions, mais aussi outil privilégié de vulgarisation des recherches en didactique des mathématiques*, cit., p. 4.

³⁶ Métoudi, Duchauffour, *Des manuels et des maîtres*, cit.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Thus all 9 PEMFs we worked with, whether they used textbooks or not, said they would recommend them to teachers-to-be and beginner teachers; they stressed the fact the authors of teacher's manuals offer suggestions for yearly lesson plans. What textbooks bring could be summed up by two words PEMF F used: «framework» and «structure». Three amongst them insisted explicitly upon the necessity of resorting to the teacher's guide.

Textbooks and implementing teaching/learning situations. Out of the nine PEMFs we interviewed, eight resorted to at least one teacher's manual to plan teaching/learning situations. They insisted on how useful these manuals were. For example, PEMF A declared he «know(s) the manual by heart». Nevertheless, classroom observation and self-confrontation interviews show that even the PEMFs claiming to follow a manual's recommended approach 'step by step' in fact modified it, like the two following examples will show.

The classroom observation that took place during a CM2 class (10-11 year-old pupils) focusing on problem solving and more specifically on percentage calculation shows PEMF D changed the author's wording of a mathematical problem.

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1 Complète l'affiche préparée par le vendeur en calculant les prix soldés.

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lecteur DVD	100 €	
lecteur enregistreur DVD	300 €	
téléviseur 48 cm	350 €	
lecteur MP3	110 €	
meuble télévision	225 €	
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VELO VTT	350 €	
LOT DE 10 JEUX DE SOCIETE	110 €	
CONSOLE DE JEUX	225 €	
CASQUE VELO	20 €	

Pics. 2a-2b. Wording of the mathematical problem as seen in textbook *Cap Maths CM2*³⁸, p. 104, and wording as modified by PEMF D for the class.

PEMF-D explained he had thought out the modification:

03:07/ PEMF D/ For the exercise, I kept the numbers because I thought this way I wouldn't have to think of numbers that would work in this exercise... On the other hand, I changed the context to make it correspond to their life at school and lure them because we were still at the beginning. Afterwards, for the following lessons, I sometimes kept the exercises in the textbook exactly the way they were written. But that time, I chose to change the context to get them going, and because at the time the situation was perfect for it...

³⁸ R. Charnay, G. Combiér, M.-P. Dussuc, D. Madier, *Cap Maths CM2 – Manuel de l'élève*, Paris, Hatier, 2010.

1 Géomette met bout à bout des bandes vertes, toutes de même longueur.
En mettant bout à bout 4 bandes vertes, elle obtient une longueur de 8 cm.



Quelle longueur obtiendra-t-elle en mettant bout à bout :

a. 8 bandes vertes ? c. 40 bandes vertes ?
b. 12 bandes vertes ? d. 48 bandes vertes ?

Pic. 3. Wording of the problem in the pupil's schoolbook *Cap Maths CM1*³⁹, p. 83.

Looking at how this lesson plan on percentages was prepared, we saw that PEMF D changed problem wording only once, and that there was no further modification of the manual author's wording afterwards. He added that his aim was to help pupils build their own concept of percentages and that he did not wish to confine his problem wording to classroom situations.

Apparently, it is PEMF D's expertise as a teacher that allowed him to deviate from the original wording, not because he wanted to show how free he was from the manual, but because he wanted to «get pupils involved»⁴⁰. Moreover, this adjustment in wording was done taking into account the entire lesson plan and the aim of the class.

These adjustments seem as normal to us as they are to Goigoux and Cèbe (2011), because they illustrate the ingenuity of the operator, which is an essential element of intelligent work⁴¹. Let us add that expertise in teaching plays a crucial role in regulating these adjustments.

We witnessed another example of this skill when we observed the classroom of PEMF C while he was implementing a situation aiming at presenting pupils with problem solving in the field of proportionality.

While the author who created the teaching situation did not allow any measuring, PEMF C spontaneously agreed to let two pupils use a graduated ruler; «I focus on pupils with difficulties and I constantly adjust what I do to suit their needs». Next, PEMF C made sure the results these 2 pupils obtained through measurement were compared to those the rest of the class got through

³⁹ R. Charnay, G. Combiér, M.-P. Dussuc, D. Madier, *Cap Maths CM1 – Manuel de l'élève*, Paris, Hatier, 2010.

⁴⁰ C. Hérou, F. Lantheaume, *Les difficultés au travail des enseignants: exception ou part constitutive du métier*, «Recherche et Formation», n. 57, 2008, p. 67.

⁴¹ M. de Montmollin, *The future of ergonomics: hodge podge or new foundation*, «Le Travail Humain», vol. 55, n. 2, 1992, pp. 171-181; J.-L. Minguy, *Concevoir aussi dans le sillage de l'utilisateur*, «International Journal of Design and Innovation Research», n. 10, 1997, pp. 59-78.

calculation. Clearly, these pupils with difficulties will achieve success but doesn't this detour through measuring risk obscuring the objective of the lesson?

Beginner teacher also changed the manuals' lesson plans; «First I base my work on the manual first. Then, when I need to, I add information or I remove what I think is unnecessary». We observed one of his lessons called «Problems: the hidden multiples of ten» aiming at «learning to regroup some terms in an addition in order to find potential tens» which was created in order to develop a skill called «learning calculation processes». After the class, during an interview, beginner teacher explained why he made the adjustments he did:

R⁴²: Was it mentioned they [the pupils] were allowed to use their number chart?

PE-DEB: No, no, no. In fact, that day, I gave them the chart because I wanted them to use it if the need arose, but it was only to make this tool available to them should they need to use it, and not specifically for that lesson.

R: So what did they do with it?

PE-DEB: Well, they used it, and it interfered, the fact that they had it at the beginning of the class.

R: What was the aim of the lesson?

PE-DEB: The aim was to group numbers to create tens. They counted instead of grouping. So I missed the aim simply because I gave them material they didn't need at the time.

R: Did you understand what was happening then?

PE-DEB: No, I didn't. Not at all. It's true that if you give it some thought, it's obvious that with this tool in hand, the only thing they would want to do is use it.

At the beginning of the lesson, the beginner teacher gave each pupil a number chart she had protected with adhesive cover film the day before. This material was neither required by the teacher's manual nor indicated in the 'material' section of the teacher's logbook. As soon as they got the chart, pupils stopped looking for processes to do the addition mentally, and rushed to use the number chart thus turning away from the intentions of the authors of the textbook. Arditi has already stressed the difficulties in using the teaching processes described in the teacher's manual for those teachers, «who do not have the skills to perform the activities as they are described in the teacher's manual»⁴³. Her attention caught between managing the timing of the lesson, keeping pupils involved and taking into account those with the most difficulties, the beginner teacher did not see the chart was used in a way that defeated the purpose of the lesson as it had been planned by the manual's authors, and could not resort to the adjustments such as those PEMFs successfully apply thanks to their expertise.

⁴² «R» stands for the researcher.

⁴³ S. Arditi, *Variabilité des pratiques effectives des professeurs des écoles utilisant un même manuel écrit par des didacticiens*, Thèse en Didactique des Mathématiques, sous la direction de D. Butlen et A. Robert, Université Paris VII, Denis Diderot, 2011, p. 346.

7. Conclusion

The study described in this article is based on direct observation of the teaching practices of teacher trainers (Professeurs des Écoles Maîtres Formateurs). While they confirm experienced teachers do resort to textbooks (Margolinas, Wozniak, 2009), these observations, and the self confrontation interviews that followed concerning the use of textbooks – whether it is «to the t» or not – show adjustments are made to the recommendations the authors of teacher's manuals issue.

In this article, a few examples show the variety of adjustments in relation to pupils involvement or to the difficulties some of them experience. These adjustments do not go against the global teaching/learning aims of the lesson plan. Their success is for the greatest part rooted in the expertise of the teachers who know how to «handle the class»⁴⁴, by being in control of the way the class is organized and functions as a group and thus creating a general atmosphere conducive of learning and pupil socialisation. Once this is established, teachers can focus on the didactics part of their job; beginner teachers, on the other hand, find themselves – willingly or not – out of step with the recommendations provided by the authors of the teacher's manual they usually follow, and run the risk of being unable to «stay the course» during the class.

Analysing how PEMFs use textbooks has shown this artefact contributes to the improvement of the skills of these experienced teachers; schoolbooks bring them new subject and didactics contents, thereby expanding their mathematical culture; through the lesson plans they provide, manuals take part in the framework and the structure of teaching; they make teaching and learning situations easier to implement and thus contribute to the expansion of their repertoire of teaching and learning situations.

Insofar as textbooks contribute to the professional development of experienced teachers, one can hypothesize they play a useful role in the training of beginner teachers. When a beginner teacher says: «I have been trained for a year, so I did go into classrooms during that year. So it was the first time I came into contact with textbooks, although I did not have the necessary perspective at the time to know how to use them», we are at the core of the topic: the training to learn how to use textbooks. The statement of this beginner teacher, who states the shortcomings of his training, shows how important and how necessary it is to give teachers in training and beginner teachers the opportunity to reflect on their professional practices by describing and analysing the adjustments they make to the recommendations written by the authors of teacher's manuals, as well as the reactions of their pupils, the work they produced, and the global aims of the teaching / learning lesson plan.

⁴⁴ Goigoux, Ria, Toczec-Capelle, *Les parcours de formation des enseignants débutants*, cit.

This is why we firmly believe that within the context of class management, a specific training to textbook use is necessary and that it must take place both during the observation phases when beginner teachers come to observe PEMF classes and in the courses of higher teacher education schools. Only then can textbooks, which contribute to the professional advancement of experienced teachers, play the same role for beginner primary school teachers.

The databases of school textbooks and the Web 2.0

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ABSTRACT: Over the last few years, the databases of school textbooks have progressed both in quality and in quantity thanks to the implementation of new research tools such as digital libraries, electronic archives and other digital and printed resources. However, historians of textbook publication are faced with new challenges ranging from how to maintain portals in times of biting cutbacks in the financing of research, to how to live side-by-side with the big non-specialised digital libraries such as *Google books* or *Open Content Alliance*. The essay describes the current situation regarding research into textbook publication on the Web, and attempts to outline possible directions, with the objective of not only conserving and increasing textbook databases, but of exploiting to the utmost the resources present on the Web, which are currently too scattered and fragmented to be of any real use to research.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Textbook; Database; Web; Digital Libraries; Opac; XX-XXI Centuries.

1. *The databases of textbooks: a long and (fairly) glorious history*

More than thirty years have passed since Alain Choppin began working on a database of French textbooks, becoming effectively a pioneer in the research into textbook publication. It was 1979 and computers were about to leave the laboratory to become familiar items even to the non-specialist. Very soon, then, Choppin and his associates from the Service d'Histoire de l'Éducation at the Institut de Recherche Pédagogique in Paris were forced to come to terms with information technology in order to exploit its potential and not to be overtaken by what for historians also appeared to be the working environment of the future¹.

¹ Cfr. A. Choppin, *L'Histoire des manuels scolaires: une approche globale*, «Histoire de l'éducation», n. 9, 1980, pp. 1-25.

After *Emmanuelle*² many similar projects were to see the light, in Europe and in other parts of the world, often benefiting from the experience and the model created by Choppin³. At the same time, IT was to increase the range of research and data processing tools on offer, which were so innovative that they had been unimaginable only a few years earlier: for example, Internet and the possibility of consulting databases from a distance, scanning and consulting books online, searching texts in entire libraries accessible in picture format.

Educational historiography has also renewed its horizons, independently of the new technologies, particularly in the field of the history of education, beginning with the interest in textbook publication: examples include the studies into school culture, that is exercise books, wall maps, school reports, laws and school syllabuses, subjects studied and school buildings⁴. Another field by historians of education have approached in the last few decades is that of the museum of the school, where, albeit not without some ambiguity and some contamination of little use to research, they have cut across folkloric or political interests. Museum studies, too, conceived within the historiography sector principally as means of classification and cataloguing, have provided the research into textbook publication with new and interesting stimuli since, at least as far as the use of computer-based research is concerned, scholars in that field have had to tackle problems similar to those facing their colleagues studying textbooks⁵.

Today, it is not incorrect to distinguish three different systems of textbook databases:

- The catalogue of the specialised library, created with the aim of listing the books physically conserved in collections such as that of the Georg Eckert Institut in Braunschweig (Germany)⁶ or former Institut de Recherche Pédagogique in Paris (France), which formed the basis of *Emmanuelle*. In many cases, the catalogue has in time acquired titles which are unavailable

² <<http://www.inrp.fr/she/emmanuelle.htm>> (last access: January 14th, 2014).

³ For the story of *Emmanuelle* and other electronic databases on school textbooks mentioned in this essay cfr. P. Aubin, A. Choppin, *Le fonti storiche in rete: i manuali scolastici*, in G. Bandini, P. Bianchini (edd.), *Fare storia in Rete. Fonti e modelli di scrittura digitale per la storia dell'educazione, la storia moderna e la storia contemporanea*, Roma, Carocci, 2007, pp. 45-71.

⁴ For a review of the research into textbook publication cfr. M. Galfrè, *Storia dell'editoria scolastica e storia dell'editoria*, «La fabbrica del libro», vol. 11, 2005, pp. 2-7; see also E. Marazzi, *L'editoria scolastico-educativa e la ricerca storica. Il caso italiano*, «Società e storia», n. 138, 2012, pp. 823-851 e G. Chiosso, *I libri di testo e l'editoria scolastica*, in Id., *Alfabeti d'Italia. La lotta contro l'ignoranza nell'Italia unita*, Torino, SEI, 2011, pp. 265-307.

⁵ For educational museum studies cfr. F. Targhetta, *I musei dell'educazione come risorsa per la ricerca*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 5, n. 1, 2010, pp. 421-423. See also J. Meda, A.M. Badanelli (edd.), *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en Espana: balance y perspectives*, Macerata, eum, 2013.

⁶ <<https://opac.lbs-braunschweig.gbv.de/DB=6/>> (last access: January 14th, 2014). See the article of Robert Strötgen in this dossier.

in libraries, making them accessible in the form of e-books. As well as in the cases already cited, this is also true of *Manscol* (Canada)⁷;

- The exclusively virtual specialised database which has since grown with the addition of research centres and physical libraries. This is the case of *Manes* (Spain)⁸ and *Livres* (Brazil)⁹;
- The exclusively electronic database, which bears no reference to any real library and which, even when it has electronic books, does not physically possess a copy. This is the case of *Edisco* (Italy)¹⁰, the Canadian *Mascofo*¹¹ and *Canadian Textbooks*¹², as well as *Diaspora*¹³.

This situation is the result of a slow, but continuous evolution of specialised databases of textbooks. Created as a directory of schoolbooks, they have acquired tools that the spread of computer technology has gradually made accessible to the general public. By comparing the situation recorded in the essay by Paul Aubin and Alain Choppin¹⁴ in 2007 with the present, the breadth and quality of the changes are appreciable. All nine specialised databases surveyed in 2007 are still active and can be consulted online. It is not possible to gauge whether and how many records have been added to the existing ones in the intervening six years. The catalogues have, however, remained roughly the same, although new acquisitions have been made and alterations have been effected to subjectation, the search masks or the specific fields of the inventory.

What has changed, however, is the availability of new research tools in almost all the databases: they have come to be part of portals with a varied range of offers. In some cases, like *Emmanuelle* and the Georg Eckert Institut catalogue, this has been true since the databases appeared online. Five specialised catalogues (*Edisco*, *Livres*, *Manes*, *Mascofo* and *Manscol*) have more recently become the core of portals dedicated to textbooks in which the user can find not only records relating to books, available in simple and advanced search mode, but also digital libraries, links to other specialised or useful websites, papers and monographic articles on the theme, access to other online resources such as laws and regulations, wall charts and other databases connected to the topic. Only one has maintained its original character by not acquiring new digital or

⁷ <<http://www.bibl.ulaval.ca/ress/manscol/>> (last access: January 14th, 2014).

⁸ <<http://www.uned.es/manesvirtual/ProyectoManes/proyecto.htm>> (last access: January 14th, 2014). See the article of Gabriela Ossenbach in this dossier.

⁹ <<http://www2.fe.usp.br:8080/livres/#>> (last access: January 14th, 2014). See the article of Circe Bittencourt in this dossier.

¹⁰ <<http://www.reseducationis.it/edisco/>> (last access: January 14th, 2014).

¹¹ <http://kodos.cc.uottawa.ca/fmi/iwp/cgi?-db=GV%20AI%207_CRCCF&-loadframes> (last access: January 14th, 2014).

¹² <<http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/hbic/001062-100.01.01-e.php?PHPSESSID=hdkgurgq7o2t47s7934rcusdgd22>> (last access: January 14th, 2014).

¹³ <<http://www.bibl.ulaval.ca/ress/manscol/diaspora/francais/fec.html>> (last access: January 14th, 2014).

¹⁴ See, in particular, the summarising table at the end of the article by Aubin and Choppin, *Le fonti storiche in rete: i manuali scolastici*, cit., pp. 70-71.

printed resources, and that is *Diaspora*. Of all the databases taken into account, this has always been unique in that, rather than a national base, it lists texts by type since it covers books produced by the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Finally, in 2008 the *Canadian Textbooks on the Web* database was incorporated into the catalogue of the Library and Archives Canada, which gathers materials from dozens of different sources, but the database can be consulted singularly.

2. *From the database to the digital library*

It is evident that these are significant improvements, which enhance the resources of the databases, but which also highlight the progressive shift in the interest of historians away from the school text as a book that can be catalogued by means of information used in libraries, to the volume as a socio-cultural product, the result of a wealth of factors ranging from laws to technological progress, from innovations in the subjects to educational reform.

It is difficult to say how far the changes to the specialised databases respond to the real needs of research and to the stimulus that historiography has provided in the last few years, rather than a desire to keep up with the technological innovation that has accustomed even those historians who are fondest of the direct and material contact with the sources to the convenience of consulting a monitor in their own studies with extraordinary speed.

In short, it would appear that even in the field of the historical study of the textbook the virtual prevails over the real. This means that even on the part of a category that is intrinsically tied to the past (and sometimes to tradition) as are historians, an effort has been made to keep up with the times and, moreover, to come to terms with the quite distant expertise and professionalism of a field such as information technology. The positive effects of this contamination are there for all to see, thanks to the Web. It is undeniable that the specialised databases endeavour to keep up with the times and to exploit the resources that Internet and IT place at their disposal. The presence of digital books, the opportunity to browse over the images and, occasionally, to search the texts (made possible thanks to OCR), the collections of databases such as *Red Patre-Manes* (that groups in *Manes* Spanish, Belgian, Portuguese, Mexican, Argentinian and Colombian books) and *MOI* (an opac allowing access to *Edisco* and *Emmanuelle* simultaneously), are all indications of a change that, although positive and made with the aim of improving the what is on offer, can contain some risks. What I mean by change is the progressive transformation of the databases into digital libraries, and as a result the specialised databases have assumed the institutional role of not only updating their catalogues, but of scanning an increasingly consistent number of textbooks.

As I have said, the opportunity to consult a book online is a great resource for a researcher, therefore I would like it to be clear that I consider the creation of virtual libraries alongside the databases as a great improvement. However, a shift in interest and resources away from the task of cataloguing to that of scanning textbooks, especially at a time like the present when economic resources are scarce, does have its consequences, particularly if analysed bearing in mind what is happening, and will probably happen on the Web with the development of Web 2.0.

In fact, the most relevant evolution in the field of sources for the history of textbook publication in the last five years does lie outside of the area of specialised databases and regards the incredible proliferation of more or less old textbooks made available in electronic versions by the big search engines like Google or in digital collections such as Europeana and Internet Archive. A rapid survey in these portals allows an empirical check to be made on how the number of textbooks of the past available has grown over the last few years. They are not only easily accessible through the most common browsers, but can be used in various formats, directly online or in pdf, once they have been downloaded onto a computer. In addition, in almost every case, they have been treated with recognition applications making it, therefore, possible to carry out searches within the text with no need to read the whole document, a function that, except in some rare cases such as that of the Georg Eckert Institut, specialised databases do not have.

It is impossible to quantify, even roughly, the textbooks present online thanks to projects such as those mentioned and other similar ones, not only because they include books written in a huge number of languages, but also because they are subject to highly heterogeneous methods of cataloguing. A search by book type is in fact impossible within databases that have ceased to use the traditional subject categories in favour of indexing systems based on 'tags', or keywords based on informal and highly descriptive criteria. No matter how simple they are to apply for the cataloguer and to understand for the user, tags are often used incorrectly, in that they do not provide indications regarding the content, but they depend on the cataloguer's opinion and, therefore, are too subjective to be of any use in identifying a digital object. Imagine how unsuitable these keywords may be in identifying a textbook that, as the historians who study them know all too well, is often a difficult object to describe, let alone to catalogue univocally.

So, for the moment, the big collections of textbooks are useful in the case of a specific search, in that, more frequently than ever, they reserve the researcher pleasant surprises and it is increasingly likely to find texts online that are of little scientific and commercial value, as is the case with the majority of textbooks. On the other hand, they appear to be more difficult to use when carrying out wider searches to identify a corpus of books by language or subject matter, rather than by publisher or author.

Given these premises, it seems to me that the most important challenge facing the historical study of textbooks for the first time is the competition, or rather the relationship with the documentary resources that the big search engines like *Google Books* or like the *Open Content Alliance (OCA)*, a consortium that involves non profit organisations like *Internet Archive* and companies like *Yahoo!* and *Microsoft*, make available to all the browsers as part of their mission. To speak of competition is wrong for two reasons: the first is that the forces are so unequal that they leave no space for competition; the second is that the specialised databases and the big search engines address mainly different targets and operate following objectives that, at least to begin with, are divergent.

Even so, it cannot be denied that the big browsers' interest in books of the past in electronic format risks obscuring the work of professional historians and this problem can only worsen in the future with the progressive growth of non-specialised digital libraries and, more than anything, projects such as *Google books*. It does not take much to verify that there are far fewer books in picture or text format available on the specialised databases than on *Google books*. The same can be said for libraries: they contain a far greater number of digitalised textbooks, with no precise scientific intent, than do the specialised databases. One example is *Gallica*, the virtual library of the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* which has made hundreds of textbooks available.

So, why carry out a specific search on a database that provides at the most bibliographic data when it is possible to access sources directly (in our case, textbooks of the past) by typing some keywords into a search engine? It is clear that especially for the non-expert it is much easier to use the resources present on *Google* or on *Yahoo* than to tackle a database on a specific theme, that is if s/he can find it online.

3. *The identity crisis of databases specialised in textbooks*

In reality, the proliferation of the databases, both specialised and general, and even more of online texts does not simplify the work of the researcher, either nationally or internationally. Both the amateur researcher and the professional historian find it difficult to gain their bearings in a mass of documents that are rarely collected and displayed according to explicit and clear criteria. Users are faced, therefore, with materials that are only partially comparable, as well as being often difficult to find in digital libraries that contain thousands of titles belonging to widely differing categories. The difficulty of identifying material and even more of finding a way around collections such as these increases when it becomes necessary to carry out research at an international level or to study a foreign example. Besides the linguistic issues (versions of a website are not always available in a language other than the national one), it is necessary to

have advanced historical competence and have an understanding of librarianship in order to be able to single out the useful criteria, to restrict the research to textbooks alone and to identify with any certainty the level of school or class that the books were addressed to. If indeed they are in the specialised database.

Without going into detail, which every researcher can easily try out for him/herself, we can say that the difficulties have their origins in the fact that it is not simple to identify and use material that has been accumulated rather than selected according to precise heuristic choices. Indeed, digitalisation is commonly inspired by the strategy that, not without some reason, considers the publication online of any kind of material a valuable operation, destined to enhance at least potentially the spread of knowledge on a global level. As inhabitants of the post-modern world, we are accustomed to the feeling of powerlessness deriving from the overabundance of information, but certainly in the historiographical field it is particularly paradoxical that the researcher should have such a large number of sources that s/he risks getting lost. And the situation is even more absurd if we consider that the specialised databases were created to give some order to the documentary material which, even though it was little known, was rightly perceived as limitless, given the difficulty in defining the confines of the textbook genre and especially the extraordinary range provided for teachers and pupils by publishers particularly from the second half of the 19th century.

A further aspect that cannot escape the scholar of historical textbooks is that the availability of digital resources varies greatly according to nation, so much so that I think it is no exaggeration to state that, even as regards historical sources for textbooks, there is a remarkable digital divide not only globally, but also on a European level. Portugal is a case in hand: there is no specific database of Portuguese textbooks, apart from a small number of texts listed in the Red Padre-Manes, of which about twenty can be consulted online. There is very little else available on the Web since the policy of digitalisation is at a very early stage in Portuguese libraries, and in collections such as Google books and Internet Archives only a very small number of textbooks are available in an electronic version.

At the opposite end of the scale of digital resources available for the history of textbook publication are cases such as France. Anyone looking for French historical textbooks does not only have the already mentioned *Emmanuelle* with its 30,000 records: even though the database contains no book in digital format, it constitutes an essential point of reference for searching among the hundreds of textbooks that are to be found on public platforms such as *Gallica* (the digital library of the Bibliothèque nationale di France), or in non-specialised collections such as Google books. Access to the data contained in *Emmanuelle* allows the user to direct his/her research among the already huge mass of e-books, which is difficult to consult as its creation has been casual and not the result of a plan for digitalisation.

There is also another problem that textbook historians must come to terms with: the possible detachment of the databases from the context that produced them and from their most natural users. Since there are only rare cases in which both future and current teachers are involved (or allow themselves to be involved) in research into the history of textbooks, teaching professionals are often unaware of the existence of specialised databases of textbooks, and use them even less. The reasons for this are numerous and some are easily identified. The first, analysed in detail in other essays in this edition of HECL, is that in their training, teachers of any level are given no training concerning the choice and use of didactic material, and in particular the textbook, the typical tool of the teacher; the second is that, in their courses, historians tend not to use the findings of their research in this field, also because students increasingly require a more generic kind of training which starts with the basics of the subject and, consequently, leaves little room for any in-depth analysis. For these reasons, even now that teacher training, including primary school level, has become the responsibility of the university or higher education in the countries of the European Union, future teachers conclude their courses without adequate preparation regarding the choice and use of textbooks, not only from a diachronic angle, but also in relation to the present.

4. *The enemy to beat: self-referentiality*

Now that the most pressing challenges facing the historians of textbook publication working online have been outlined, I do not think it is difficult to single out what is without any doubt the least proper method to tackle them, i.e. self-referentiality. The isolation of academic research and of the dependent specialised databases is, today, the greatest danger to be avoided in that it would condemn both databases and the specific research field on the whole to exclusion from the cultural market. Pretending to ignore that the specialised databases represent only a small part of what is on offer on the Web is the same as giving up doing research in the archives or in the library, and it means being condemned to voluntary marginalisation. If colleagues studying in the field do not use them, if they are not available to the general public, if they are of no use in training new teachers, which means if we are not capable of demonstrating the general usefulness of the databases, then they risk being considered of use to only a very limited portion of researchers and coming up against serious problems in finding financing.

It is not a question of keeping up with technological innovations, and even less of making oneself known. It is about carrying out research in the highest meaning of the term, taking into account all the variables and sources available, in the knowledge that today there is a constantly rising number at our

disposal in the virtual sphere, and that, if we do not use them correctly, we are in danger of distorting our knowledge of reality, both past and present. Finally, it is a question of including the means and results of our research in teaching, making this the instrument for the communication of the most recent scientific discoveries to those who will in turn be called upon to train new generations of citizens and maybe even researchers.

In the light of this knowledge, the existing relationship between web browsers and specialised databases should not be seen as being in competition, but they complement one another, at least potentially. These two instruments, in fact, could help each other and particularly help the researcher, whether s/he be an expert or an amateur. But for this to happen it is necessary for historians to update their research methods and their way of relating to the outside world. There are numerous solutions, but some seem to me to be easily identified: the first lies in indexing the materials contained in the specialised databases within the main search engines, an operation that would merge all the texts into the big containers such as Google books, and moreover would allow all Internet users, both expert and amateur, access to research.

In line with this first initiative and always with the aim of enlarging the number of uses, it would mean adhering to important cultural projects at scientific and educational levels, such as the *OCA – Open Content Alliance*, a consortium that involves non profit organisations like *Internet Archive* and companies like *Yahoo!* and *Microsoft*, which make their materials available to all search engines as part of their mission¹⁵. In practice this means signing agreements with the consortium allowing digitalised material to be placed inside a common archive, which today has more than a million works in digital format freely accessible in unabridged versions.

Besides these first two initiatives, it should not be forgotten that, if the aim is to broaden the potential numbers of users of specialised databases, there is an evident need for an increase in the work on the Web, through the use of materials put online by non-specialised portals. Selecting the sources and accumulating them rationally are the first inevitable activities of research, and are useful especially to those who are approaching this field of enquiry for the first time, as in the case of trainee teachers. At present, the only specialised database moving in this direction is that of the Georg Eckert Institut. They are adopting Vufind, an open source discovery tool for libraries, which functions like a traditional OPAC, allowing users to search the resources of a single library, but which also has a Google-like research interface with which it is possible to carry out searches in outside resources, such as electronic journals, digital resources, databases, institutional archives, and so on.

In actual fact, opening research to the resources on the Web can only come about through two operations: firstly, by providing a discovery tool capable of

¹⁵ <<http://www.opencontentalliance.org/>> (last access: January 14th, 2014).

rapidly and efficiently searching different collections of bibliographies, both paper and digital; secondly, by verifying the existence on the Web of catalogued books, where possible supplying direct links to the works in the electronic version. These are two functions (the former is less easily implemented than the latter) which are destined to break the isolation of a large part of the specialised databases of textbooks.

Another operation that appears simpler and that would increase the chances of the specialised databases being used is that of once again beginning to invest time and resources in OPACs like the already mentioned Red Patre-Manes and MOI, which, apart from anything, would have the advantage of favouring comparative-type studies.

Finally, as well as on the Web, I believe that the historians of textbook publication should try to also come together in a more organised manner in reality. In order to make existing cooperation closer and more effective, it might be useful to form an association or a representative body, perhaps within an existing organisation such as the Georg Eckert Institut, which has international renown and the responsibility of textbooks on a supranational level and in situations of conflict. A representative body, on the one hand, could exercise pressure at the local level and within the European Community in order to have the study of past and present textbooks introduced into the professional training of teachers, while on the other hand, it could coordinate any initiatives aimed at establishing links between databases and big containers on the Web, simplifying and rationalising this operation. Through the development of an awareness that if the Web can offer historians of textbook publication numerous resources, they too have much to offer the Web.

Textbooks and school memory: research and preservation of the books for *Projeto LIVRES*

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ABSTRACT: This article presents the constitution of the Brazilian database – *Livres* – and a collection of works and documents for research on the history of books and scholarly editions, highlighting their relationships with international projects. It addresses the referential research project *Livres* articulated in the history curriculum and school subjects and the diversity of topics that have been developed by a multidisciplinary team of experts from various universities. It highlights the latest research on textbooks and history of literacy related to cultural diversity.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History; Content of Education; Textbook; Database; Brazil; XIX-XX Centuries.

1. *Livres Project: history textbooks*

In their article *Le fonti storiche in Rete: I manuali scolastici* Alain Choppin and Paul Aubin¹ highlight the increase in research into the history of textbooks and school editions, citing the elaboration of websites in various countries over the past few decades and noting the importance of the Internet in organizing, on both national and international levels, inventories of sources and documents for consultation. Taking the perspective of these authors, this article presents

¹ P. Aubin, A. Choppin, *Le fonti storiche in rete: i manuali scolastici*, in G. Bandini, P. Bianchini (edd.), *Fare storia in Rete. Fonti e modelli di scrittura digitale per la storia dell'educazione, la storia moderna e la storia contemporanea*, Roma, Carocci, 2007, pp. 45-71.

the trajectory of research related to the Brazilian database *Livres*, emphasizing the peculiarities of its establishment in Brazil.

This database of books for school use originated in the research on the history of Brazilian textbooks developed at the Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo (FEUSP) as one of the projects of the Centro de Memória da Educação. During its first stage, from 1994 until 1998, the establishment of a database was part of the project *Literatura didática e memória da cultura escolar brasileira* with the objective of verifying the pedagogical materials that made up the Biblioteca do Livro Didático (BLD-FEUSP), an archive under construction at that time. Following an agreement between the Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique (INRP) and FEUSP it was possible to count on the constant collaboration of Alain Choppin in the process of adapting the Brazilian database to *Emmanuelle*.

Subsequently, from 2003 to 2007, the database *Livres* was created as part of a larger project about the history of textbooks from the year 1810, when the first books produced by Imprensa Régia in the city of Rio de Janeiro began to circulate, until this century, a time in which thousands of textbooks circulate through Brazilian schools. The amplification of the project was the result of a series of factors, above all, the recognition of a significant increase in the amount of research into currently circulating textbooks as well as those from other historical periods.

Starting with this phase, the project *Historia e Memória dos Livros Escolares Brasileiros* was developed by a team of specialists from a variety of Brazilian universities, articulated as being part of the research into the history of curricula and school subjects, the history of teaching practices and methods, the history of literacy and reading instruction, the history of school editions, the history of public policy on textbooks, and the history of teacher training for primary and secondary teachers. Therefore, the survey of Brazilian textbooks was carried out by specialists in early literacy, mathematics, the Portuguese language, the arts and foreign languages, geography, history, chemistry, physics, and biology – faculty members from graduate programs in Brazilian universities who, together with undergraduate students working in scientific initiation, as well as master's and doctoral students, made up an interdisciplinary team².

² The thematic Project *Historia e Memória dos Livros Escolares Brasileiros* was financed by the Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo (FAPESP), having as its coordinators Circe Fernandes Bittencourt (Faculdade de Educação USP), Kazumi Munakata (Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo), Carlota Boto (Faculdade de Educação USP) and its assessors Wagner Valente (Pontifícia Universidade Católica-PUCSP) and Cecilia Hanna Mate (Faculdade de Educação USP). Professors from the universities UNICAMP, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais, Universidade Federal da Paraíba, Universidade Federal Fluminense, in addition to other units from USP-Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Instituto de Física were also part of the team. The team, also including librarians, information technicians and students, had a total of 45 participants.

The research methodology for the systematic cataloguing of these works was constructed based on the specifications of each discipline, taking into account the diversity of levels of schooling and subject matter which, throughout these two centuries, have constituted the curricula in Brazilian schools. It is important to highlight that Brazil did not use to have a national curriculum, leaving to each state in the union, or even to each municipality, the task of elaborating their own curricula, with the only requirement being to attend to a common general base delineated on a federal level by the Ministério da Educação.

In this way, the specificities of the Brazilian educational system have articulated the elaboration of methods used for the systematic cataloguing of the diversity of works intended for school use, however, it became necessary to focus on the concept of what a textbook is, considering it a 'multi-faceted' material³. What kinds of literature intended for school use could be conceived of as textbooks and, therefore, be catalogued?

For the purposes of surveying and registering, the wide-ranging concept of textbook proposed by Richaudeau prevailed:

On peut alors avancer que un manuel est un matériel imprimé, structuré, destiné à être utilisé dans un processus d'apprentissage et de formation concerté. Ce qui s'applique aussi bien à un atlas qu'à un dictionnaire, une encyclopédie, une anthologie de morceaux choisis, un manuel scolaire proprement dit, d'apprentissage de la lecture, de mathématiques, de sciences, de littérature, de langue, etc, un aide-mémoire, une grammaire, un manuel pratique (technique), un texte programmé, etc. [...] Tous ces ouvrages peuvent être répartis – en fonction de leur mode d'intégration au processus d'enseignement et d'apprentissage – en deux grandes catégories: les ouvrages présentant une progression systématique, d'une part, les ouvrages de consultation et de référence, d'autre part⁴.

The procedures for selecting and classifying these works was based on the concepts of school subjects in a range of grade levels, with criteria for separating textbooks produced for elementary schools and those produced for secondary schools, including technical high schools and normal schools intended to prepare students for the teaching profession. Forms were created with the twenty-four different fields specified by the *Guia* for researchers: discipline or school subject, authorship information (author, editor, preface author, and including illustrators, translators, etc.), title, subtitle, notes about the volume, academic level, intention of the work, genre of the book, publisher, location of publication, support, series/collection, year or period, physical location of the volume⁵.

³ A. Choppin. *L'histoire des manuels scolaires: une approche globale*, «Histoire de l'Éducation», n. 9, 1980, pp. 1-25; see also M. Lebrun (ed.), *Le Manuel scolaire. Un outil à multiples facettes*, Quebec, Presses de l'Université du Quebec, 2006.

⁴ F. Richaudeau, *Conception et production des manuels scolaires- guide pratique*, Paris, UNESCO, 1986, p. 51.

⁵ See C. Bittencourt (ed.), *Guia de preenchimento da ficha do banco de dados LIVRES*, São Paulo, USP/FEUSP/FAPESP, 2003.

The central problem for researchers, however, was (or still is) where to locate the works destined for school use. After all, where are the Brazilian textbooks?

The task of surveying the works intended for school use has been an exhausting one, with various steps and multiple pathways. This production, considered as a 'minor category' can currently be found in diverse public and university libraries, as well as in specialized 'libraries' such as the one in NUDOM, *núcleo de documentação do Colégio Pedro II*, the first public secondary school in Brazil, located in Rio de Janeiro, or in CEALE, *centro de estudos de materiais de alfabetização* at Universidade de Minas Gerais⁶.

In Brazil, the establishment of archives of pedagogical materials has been multiplying, but they are generally organized thematically as in the examples cited. This tendency can be explained if one considers the decentralization of curricula and, in a majority of cases, the interest of researchers in works used on a local level. However, there is still another problem to be considered.

The production of works for school use, up until the first decades of the 20th century, was dependent on manufacture in foreign countries, with most works being published in Portugal, France and the United States. In this way, it has been necessary to survey the Brazilian books present in a variety of libraries overseas, like the Bibliothèque Nationale of France, the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., the Biblioteca Nacional of Portugal, among others, particularly in their rare books sections. These surveys are added to those carried out in school libraries spread around Brazil's cities, especially in the former normal schools, which were dedicated to preparing students to be elementary school teachers, where the works could generally be found preserved in precarious and erratic ways⁷.

The sheer expanse of territory, together with the volume of works produced in such a great variety of conditions and locations makes it impossible, evidently, to imagine that it will be possible to completely survey every edition of every book published in Brazil since 1810. The objective is to include the most significant and exhaustive repertoire of works from each discipline in the *LIVRES* database, and this goal has been nurtured by continuous research into the history of the textbook and school editions.

⁶ In addition to the Biblioteca do Livro Didático at FEUSP, various other centers for documentation were created throughout the project, seeking to preserve the books for school use as well as specialized Works, as in the case of the archive about the teaching of physics and sciences at PUCSP-Minas Gerais.

⁷ The extension of research by different national and international libraries has made it possible to seek out new tools for facilitating access to the libraries' computerized systems. Therefore a change in the *LIVRES* database was proposed, with an international version of the catalogue that introduces the possibility of exchanging computerized entries using the MARC 21 system.

2. LIVRES and the Biblioteca do Livro Didático (BLD)

The archive of works in the Biblioteca do Livro Didático (BLD) was established starting with research into the history of textbooks produced between 1810 and 1910, since the location of and access to these schoolbooks «compares to the work of archaeology, searching for objects hidden in different ‘sites’»⁸. By way of this research making the collection of truly «rare pedagogical materials» possible, the organization of an archive containing books from the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century began⁹. The objectives for establishing this archive were to store in a single space a representative number of works for school use produced in Brazil, safeguard old and recent teacher’s manuals, and also to restore works made fragile by the techniques used in their production.

At the BLD care has also been taken to preserve schoolbooks from overseas that were used in our schools, with the intention of providing researchers with access to sufficiently complete documentation. Together with the books, a series of other sources has been incorporated into the BLD to complement the research on the production of these books: publishers’ catalogues, curricula, theses and monographs, etc. Currently, with private donations and those from publishers or government entities, the archive has grown to contain approximately 20,000 pedagogical works and 1,600 other assorted documents.

Just like *Livres*, the BLD has supplied support for a variety of research. During the opening conference entitled *Contexte Scientifique de la recherche sur l’édition scolaire au plan local, national et mondial* at the Simposio Internacional Livro Didático – Educação e História which took place at the Faculdade de Educação da USP in the city of São Paulo in 2007, Alain Choppin expressed his enthusiasm for the growing amount of research being conducted around the world, including eastern countries, and highlighted this to be growth accompanied by scientific rigor and a variety of themes. According to Alain Choppin, the dynamic energy of this research is due to a number of factors, including

Les progrès considérables dès techniques de stockage, de traitement et de diffusion de l’information qui étaient seules à même d’apporter une réponse adaptée à la gestion et à la mise en valeur de masses documentaires aussi considérables que les productions scolaires¹⁰.

In the case of Brazil, the growth of this research, particularly that integrated into the Projeto *Livres*, is linked to the history of school subjects and amplifies

⁸ C. Bittencourt, *Livro didático e conhecimento histórico: uma história do saber escolar*, Tese de doutorado, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da USP, São Paulo, 1993, p. 11. Of the same author see also *Livro didático e saber escolar. 1810-1910*, Belo Horizonte, Autêntica, 2008.

⁹ Part of these works has been reproduced and are available in microfiche and microfilm.

¹⁰ A. Choppin, *Contexte scientifique de la recherche sur l’édition scolaire au plan local, national et mondial*, CD-ROM *Atas do Simpósio Internacional Livro Didático: Educação e História*, São Paulo, USP, 2007, p. 12.

studies in areas that previously had few, as is the case in the sciences. Works from history as well as early literacy and reading continue to be investigated on a larger scale, underscoring the fact that these areas have been introducing a greater diversity of problems than in previous phases¹¹.

One promising area of analysis deals with the use of textbooks by teachers and students. The concern with the use of books in the day-to-day activities at school is inherently linked to questions about the importance of this literature in a teacher's training and about its significance in the learning processes of the students. What power does a teacher have in regards to textbook choice and what are the strategies used in his/her professional practice? This area deals with the questions that place new relationships in the life of the textbook in focus, players which, without a doubt, are essential since they are the reasons for the existence of these textbooks but who are faced with a crucial question: how does one carry out this task?

The investigation demands a specific methodology that involves various strategies. When carrying out research about the present-day situation, classroom observations and interviews with students and teachers are carried out¹², but the problem becomes more complex when approaching this history of textbook use in other times. For these «other times», very attentive reading of written documents, such as reports from school inspectors and supervisors and accounts from essayists writing about school life, has been demanded. Above all, a specific form of reading the textbook itself is necessary. It is important to situate the process of organizing the archive of the BLD in this way since it preserves, most importantly, used textbooks containing the signs of classroom practices.

Used school books are valued differently than those received directly from the publishers which are 'virgin', i.e. having never been used by students or teachers. It is possible to encounter several examples of the same work on the shelves of the BLD. The information about use provided by these books is differentiated by the marks left by the students, their notes and scribbles, their answers to questionnaires, etc. As Carlo Ginzburg wants¹³, when faced with this kind of information, the researcher requires a method for differentiated reading, an analysis attentive to the 'marks and signs'. What this means is a reading of the document that includes analysis of the prefaces and observations by which the authors establish forms of communication with the teachers, the main interlocutors.

¹¹ The history textbooks have been researched from various perspectives, and between 2000-2010 the growth was quite significant: 4 surveys in the 1990s and 116 from 2000 to 2013 (see C.M.F. Bittencourt, *Produção didática de História: trajetórias de pesquisa*, «Revista de História», n. 164, jan./jun. 2011, pp. 487-517).

¹² L.T. Araujo, *O uso do livro didático no ensino de História. Depoimentos de professores de escolas públicas do ensino fundamental em São Paulo/SP*, Tese in Educação, Faculdade de Educação, São Paulo, Brasil, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2001.

¹³ C. Ginzburg, *Miti, emblemi, spie. Morfologia e storia*, Torino, Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1986.

3. *Current projects about the history of school editions*

Between 2007 and today, it is possible to identify a renovation of the questions in historical research about these books, with innovative approaches to various themes consolidated by the group of researchers on the Projeto *Livres*, among them the history of school editions. Much research deals with more recent periods and is linked to the problems in the relationships between publishers and public policies as related to the control of textbook production, with a majority of these highlighting the changes resulting from the Programa Nacional do Livro Didático, created by the Ministry of Education, in regards to the configuration of these works and the relationships with the publishing market on an international scale.

Based on the problems articulated by Choppin¹⁴ and Johnsen¹⁵ about the relationship between the State and the textbook market in various countries, the research referring to the very specific situation in Brazil allude to the transformations resulting from the Programa Nacional do Livro Didático (PNLD). This program, instituted in 1985, only began to acquire and distribute books to elementary (1st to 9th grade) students in 1996, and subsequently extended the purchase and distribution of textbooks to high school students. The program introduced the system of pre-evaluation of the books, a condition which created a method of directly interfering in the supply of books and a way for them to be produced so that they might be presented for the teachers to choose from¹⁶.

When examining the Programa Nacional do Livro Didático, much of the research emphasizes a series of political and economic interests in the production and commercialization of textbooks and demonstrates how these public policies made it possible for the Brazilian government to be transformed into the largest purchaser of books in the world. Data from the PNLD in 2012 reveals with precision the enormous sums spent with the universalization of the supply of textbooks to public schools across the grade levels in the country.

¹⁴ A. Choppin, *Las políticas de libros escolares en el mundo. Perspectiva comparativa y histórica*, in J.P. Siller, V. Garcia, *Identidad en el imaginario nacional. Reescritura y enseñanza de la historia*, Puebla (Mexico), BUAB-Brunswick, Georg-Eckert-Institut, 1998, pp. 169-180.

¹⁵ E.B. Johnsen, *Libros de texto en el calidoscopio. Estudio crítico de la literatura y la investigación sobre los textos escolares*, Barcelona, Pomares-Corredor, 1996.

¹⁶ K. Munakata, *Produzindo livros didáticos e paradidáticos*, Tese in História e Filosofia da Educação, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 1997. Of the same author see also *O livro didático: alguns temas de pesquisa*, «Revista Brasileira de História da Educação», vol. 12, 2012, pp. 493-512.

Investment PNLD- 2012

<i>PNLD 2012</i>	<i>Elementary School</i>	<i>High Schools</i>	<i>Total</i>
Investment	R\$ 751,725,168.04	R\$ 364,162,178.57	R\$ 1,115,887,346.61 Euro\$ 413,219,609
Students served	24,304,067	8,780,436	33,084,503
Schools benefitted	97,399	21,288	118,687
Textbooks distributed 2,350 titles	91,785,372	40,884,935	132,670,307

Pic. 1. 2013 data for the PNLD (Source FNDE).

According to 2012 data for the PNLD, it is possible to see evidence of researchers' interest in identifying the changes that have occurred in the history of textbooks since the implementation of these policies. Special attention has been given to the transformations in these works in terms of aesthetic aspects and the ways that written and visual texts are presented since substantial changes in the process of producing these works can be observed, while few changes in subject matter can be seen. The most evident changes refer to authorship, with substantial changes in authors' participation in the creation of the work. Currently, in addition to the authors themselves, the production of schoolbooks has a quite elaborate team. Various technicians participate in the construction of the books, from proofreaders and image editors, to visual programmers, among others, who end up formatting the book within ever increasingly standardized patterns.

Therefore, the most relevant aspect that sparked the interest of researchers refers to the internationalization of the textbook Market. In this aspect, Alain Choppin had already detected the tendency towards an increasing economic dominance of the large Western publishing groups in the 1990s:

Actualmente, grandes sociedades de capital internacional difunden en el no mundo entero publicaciones de uso escolar, como Hachette, Hatier, o Nathan para el mundo francófono, Mac Millan o Longman para el mundo anglófono, Anaya o Santillana para el hispanoamericano¹⁷.

In the case of Brazil, the research has pointed out a reconfiguration of the Brazilian textbook market due to the impact of the PNLD. According to the investigations of Cassiano¹⁸, two different aspects can be highlighted. The first aspect refers to the production of textbooks originating from the appeal

¹⁷ Choppin, *Las políticas de libros escolares en el mundo*, cit., p. 175.

¹⁸ C.F. Cassiano, *O mercado do livro didático no Brasil. Da criação do Programa Nacional do Livro Didático (PNLD) à entrada de capital internacional espanhol (1985- 2007)*, Tese in História da Educação, Faculdade de Educação, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2007.

of a highly lucrative market for the publishers. In this context, the oligopoly that already existed in the textbook sector by way of the family companies was amplified by the presence of large conglomerates, with varying origins. The author highlights the impressive insertion of Spanish publishing groups, specifically the publisher Santillana, a representative of the new generation of the «globalized cultural industry».

The other aspect Cassiano emphasizes is that despite the fact,

De o Brasil possuir um dos maiores programas de aquisição e distribuição de livros didáticos do mundo no começo do século XXI, o resultado das diversas avaliações institucionais realizadas no país, assim como o resultado das participações dos alunos brasileiros no PISA, indicam que não somo um país de leitores¹⁹.

4. *Textbooks and the history of early literacy instruction*

The research about the history of early literacy instruction, produced by the Projeto *Livres* team has been constant and counts on the participation of specialists from other research centers, such as the CEALE, from the Universidade de Minas Gerais. One of the characteristics of the research about the history of early literacy instruction has been to verify, using the production of reading textbooks, readers, and ABC charts, the links between the methods of instruction that circulated throughout western countries starting in the middle of the 19th century. From this perspective, the ongoing research of Carlota Boto presents a contrastive analysis of practices in early literacy instruction in Portugal and Brazil, seeking to identify, comparatively, the ways of teaching reading and writing and also to observe the values and recommendations for children's civil and moral behavior. The comparative study has been carried out through the analysis of documentation in school libraries, especially in schools for the training of teachers in Brazil and Portugal²⁰.

In recent years, the research has been amplified to include studies linked to the concept of education for the masses, considering, among other aspects, the most recent curricular changes carried out based on the two central problems: how to overcome illiteracy in the country and how to include themes about cultural diversity in schools.

Questions about the current educational situation have, therefore, amplified the research about early literacy directed towards groups historically excluded from Brazilian society.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

²⁰ C. Boto, *Aprender a ler entre cartilhas. Civilidade, civilização e civismo pelas lentes do livro didático*, «Educação e Pesquisa», n. 30, set./dez. 2004, pp. 493-512.

Indicador	População
Total	189.952.795
15 anos ou mais	142.998.610
Analfabetos (15 anos ou mais)	14.247.495
Têm de 1 a 3 anos de estudo (15 anos ou mais)	14.160.729
Têm 4 a 7 anos de estudo (17 anos ou mais)	31.826.855
Têm 8 a 10 anos de estudo (19 anos ou mais)	20.210.056

Pic. 2. *Data about illiteracy and schooling of the Brazilian population* (Source: PNAD/IBGE – 2008).

One of the tendencies has been the analyses of the history of adult education which, in Brazil, counts on references marked by the experiences of the educator Paulo Freire. The public policies related to adult education have been redimensioned in recent decades, considering the need for educational services for adults as well as a contingency of young people, many of whom are already part of the labor force, but without formal schooling or incomplete schooling.

As a result of the persistence of high levels of illiteracy in the country, some measures were created to reverse the situation. Public policies of the Ministério da Educação have supplied more resources for the so-called education of youth and adults (EJA) and within these, the government initiatives, the production of pedagogical materials has been one of the priorities. Many materials, in particular textbooks, have been especially created for this segment of the student population. This aspect of EJA has been, therefore, the object of some recent studies of the group *Livres*, with attention paid to analyzing the characteristics of this production²¹.

Such research has provided for the development of the Project *Livros escolares para educação de jovens e adultos* – EJA, at the Biblioteca do Livro Didático – seeking to organize a special archive of these works. The project finds

²¹ See M.R. Takeuchi, *Análise material de livros didáticos para educação de jovens e adultos*, Tese in História da Educação, Faculdade de Educação, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2005; see also P.E.D. Mello, *Materiais Didáticos para a Educação de Jovens e Adultos: história, formas e conteúdos*, Tese in Educação, Universidade de São Paulo, Faculdade de Educação, 2010.

itself in the process of locating this pedagogical production in other archives, in addition to identifying and restoring the scattered production, connecting to local educational systems, sponsored by various entities, not just public, but also NGOs, since many of the works are produced at the local level with low number of volumes printed and rarely produced by the commercial publishers. The research about this pedagogical production has been, therefore, complicated by the diversity of situations and, considering its dispersion in rural areas as much as in urban areas, the task of preservation has been carried out at an inconsistent rhythm.

5. *Textbooks for Indigenous Communities*

The research *Momentos e lugares da educação Indígena: memória, práticas e instituições*²² is a project which develops studies about the history of schooling for the indigenous people in Brazil. The project is the result of public policy of the Federal Government about the schooling of indigenous communities, practice initiated with the Constituição Federal do Brasil de 1988, that established the right of the indigenous population to organize bilingual schools. Starting with the sanctioning of the differentiated schools for these communities, the law also provided for the training of indigenous teachers, speakers of both native languages and Portuguese and such measures have provoked changes in the history of the education of the indigenous people in Brazil, considering the fact that, for the first time, educational projects did not seek to eliminate the cultural origins of these peoples, but on the contrary were favorable towards the preservation of the traditional cultural ways of these communities. In this sense, governmental interest in promoting research about the education of indigenous peoples and accompanying the educational experiences in the schools of diverse communities around the country can be explained.

According to the census of 2010 (IBGE) 896 thousand people declared themselves to be indigenous, belonging to 305 ethnic groups, speaking 274 different languages, out of which 57.7% on land officially recognized as indigenous, and a considerable part (36.2%) are residents of urban areas, further highlighting that these populations are present in all regions, even if their greater concentration is in the Amazon and central regions of the country.

It is, therefore, into this social and political context that the project *Observatório da Educação Escolar Indígena* has been inserted and through which a series of investigations into the pedagogical materials in indigenous schools has

²² It is an integrating project of the Centre of Indigenous Education, funded by CAPES/INEP/SEDIC whose duration corresponds to the years 2010-2013, under the coordination of Circe Bittencourt and comprises researchers from several universities and indigenous teachers.

been organized. The problems related to early literacy in the indigenous population are quite complex, with the participation of anthropologists and linguists in the process of creating written forms of communication in communities with an oral tradition. The process of early literacy instruction and reading instruction in a school setting has been a complex task that involves relationships of a different nature. The impact of the presence of schools inside the communities has been evaluated differently, since they depend on the contact relationship with non-indigenous peoples in different moments throughout the history of indigenous peoples. The political dimension and cultural presence of the school is still in the process of evaluation, even though a series of contradictions has always been observed, which encompass the school situation faced with people who have historically lived with educational forms that are quite complex for the maintenance of the culture even 500 years after making contact.

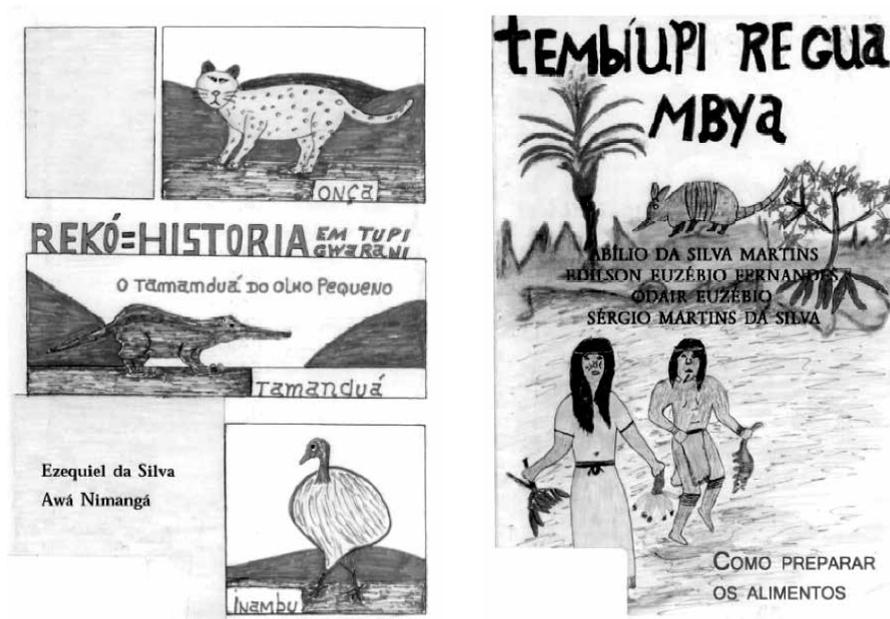
The survey of pedagogical materials for indigenous schools has been carried out within these specifications and seeks some theoretical references in order to assist in the analyses that have been initiated quite recently. In addition to appealing to linguistic studies, the concepts of cultural hybridism and interculturality make it possible to historically locate the dimension of the transformation in the traditions, actions and reactions of the indigenous people when faced with cultural diversity imposed by the school, as well as situating the indigenous schools as «frontier areas in the formation of differences and identities»²³. Considering the specifications of the curricula, the students and the indigenous teachers, the researchers investigating school books have made the commitment to get to know the communities, to participate in experiences together with the schools and, most importantly, establish study partnerships with indigenous teachers. Thus the steps for collecting indigenous school works have largely been carried out in the context of field research or in contact with centers for indigenous studies at universities and NGOs²⁴.

According to the current survey of around 600 works, it is possible to perceive differences among the groups in regards to the selection of themes, ways of organizing written texts, since some texts have been produced only in the indigenous language and others are bilingual. The works of the Guarani, presented as an example, supply clues as to the different ways of acquiring written language, about the care taken with the choice of words associated with the narratives and the images.

The development of research on textbooks for the early literacy instruction of indigenous people has posed several problems. The questioning has been quite provocative. How are the books produced? Who are the authors? What

²³ H. Bhabha, *O Local da cultura*, Belo Horizonte, Editora UFMG, 1998; see also N.G. Canclini, *Culturas híbridas. Estratégias para entrar e sair da modernidade*, São Paulo, Editora EDUSP, 2008.

²⁴ Works of Indian literature written by indigenous people, which have been used both in indigenous schools and in public schools, are also being included, mostly in the Portuguese language.



Pics. 3a-b. Bilingual books for Guarani schools.

are the ways of reading the books? What are the themes selected for literacy instruction? How do the themes relate to the maintenance of culture during the process of reading instruction? Or it can be asked: for what reason do the communities wish to produce books?

6. Final reflections

The analysis of textbooks for the early literacy instruction of indigenous people has established a new stage in the trajectory of the research in the Projeto *Livres*. The challenges faced by these new research questions have provided new and ample reflections, notably, as to the changes in educational objectives in the modern world. Schoolbooks, created to consolidate unity and cultural identity, have become, in the practices of schools in indigenous communities, instruments that favor cultural diversity and plurality in educational practices.

New information infrastructures for textbook research at the Georg Eckert Institute

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ABSTRACT: The Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research. Member of the Leibniz Association (GEI) has continually expanded its digital research infrastructure since 2008, which has enabled it to support the ever-growing requirements of a modern research infrastructure. The department for *Digital Information and Research Infrastructure* works in close collaboration with the GEI's research library and in consultation with the predominantly research-focused departments to develop new digital products for textbook research. This article presents examples of the GEI's information infrastructure. This includes a detailed examination of the technical implementation and explains the academic requirements that must be considered when providing such an infrastructure for textbook research. The article also discusses the prospects for a common platform for textbook metadata and for digitised textbooks.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Textbook; Database; Curriculum; Digital Library; Research Centre; Germany; XXI Century.

1. *The role of Georg Eckert Institute in the European cultural policy*

The demand for modern research infrastructures has risen markedly in recent years, particularly in the field of social science and humanities research. Information infrastructures have a specialised role as the frameworks that have transformed research possibilities, the organisation of knowledge, the accessibility of data and publications, and the networks between researchers and they will continue to play a significant part in reshaping these processes. In Germany, a number of panels and working groups have been established to

analyse this situation, the result of which has been a variety of recommendations on how the infrastructure can best be developed further¹.

Since its structural and substantive reorientation in 2007, the Georg Eckert Institute (GEI) has tirelessly worked to fulfil its infrastructure mandate, an aim bolstered not inconsiderably by the positive evaluation given by the German Council of Science and Humanities (*Wissenschaftsrat*) in 2008/09 and entry into the Leibniz Association (whose research organisations and infrastructure facilities receive federal and state support). The evolution of the library into a hybrid research library is a crucial part of this process, as is the *Information Management and Publications* department, where all the information technical competencies are concentrated. These two departments cooperate closely with one another and with the academic departments to develop research-based infrastructures integral to the cycle of research and research infrastructures, whereby research infrastructures facilitate and support research, the results of which flow in turn into new infrastructures.

The primary role of the GEI is to research depictions and interpretations of historic, political and geographical significance in textbooks and other educational media for use in schools². The key areas of interest are the construction of ideas of self and others, the symbolic drawing of boundaries and the representation of nations and individual social groups. The social effects of textbooks and the conditions under which they are produced as well as the scholastic reception process in the context of other educational media are some of the newer fields of work for the GEI, which concentrates primarily on social studies textbooks, (history, geography, politics/social studies and more recently values education/religion).

The condensed and canonical nature of textbooks makes them a significant academic, political and educational medium. Textbooks do not simply define 'legitimate knowledge' and desirable skills, they also communicate national or socially preferred concepts of identity. For this reason they are always politically relevant and habitually reflect the context in which they are produced, used

¹ Inter alia: *Recommendations for research infrastructures in the humanities and social sciences* (2011) <<http://www.wissenschaftsrat.de/download/archiv/10465-11.pdf>>; *Recommendations for further developments in academic information infrastructures in Germany up to 2020* (2011) <<http://www.wissenschaftsrat.de/download/archiv/2359-12.pdf>>; *Integrated concept for information infrastructures in Germany* (2011) <http://www.leibniz-gemeinschaft.de/fileadmin/user_upload/downloads/Infrastruktur/KII_Gesamtkonzept.pdf> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

² Upon this matter see H. Åström Elmersjö, D. Lindmark, *Nationalism, peace education, and history textbook revision in Scandinavia, 1886-1940*, «Journal of educational media, memory, and society», vol. 2, n. 2, 2010, pp. 63-74; B. Khan Banerjee, G. Stöber, *Textbook revision and beyond: new challenges for contemporary textbook activities*, «Journal of educational media, memory, and society», vol. 2, n. 2, 2010, pp. 13-28; S. Bittmann, *Damit der Feind zum Nachbarn werden kann. Anmerkungen zum Prozess der Schulbuchrevision in Griechenland*, «Geschichte für heute», vol. 4, n. 1, 2011, pp. 67-68; F. Pingel, *UNESCO guidebook on textbook research and textbook revision*, 2. rev. and updated ed., 2010. URL: <<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/0011171/117188e.pdf>>.

and negotiated. Textbooks can portray ethnic, cultural, religious or political conflicts and can even trigger such disputes but at the same time they can also be used as instruments of conflict resolution and of understanding³.

The GEI's library is the textbook centre for the Council of Europe. Its collection encompasses 175,000 volumes of textbooks and since 1969 has been affiliated with the system of libraries with specialty collections established by the German Research Foundation (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* DFG). The specialised textbook collection is, in collaboration with other libraries, currently being developed to form a specialised information service for educational research. The collection contains historical and modern textbooks from 160 countries. The historical collection consists primarily of German textbooks. The library also contains approximately 75,000 volumes of academic literature relevant to textbook research. The library inventory represents the core of the GEI and as a result many of the digital services focus on improving the usability of the collection. It is particularly important to open up the collection to new methods of research and make it viable for use in digital humanities.

2. GEI-Digital

In 2009 the GEI, with support from the German Research Foundation (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* DFG), started the digitisation of its historic textbooks and the construction of an Internet platform to make the resulting digital records⁴ publically accessible. To date, a total of 2,000 geography, history and social science textbooks have been digitised, encompassing approximately 500,000 pages. By 2015 the collection will have grown to approximately 4,000 volumes comprising almost 1 million pages. This will make a comprehensive and well-developed collection available to research and also accessible for other users, such as educational practitioners.

The first project phase not only involves the digitisation of books from the GEI's collection, but also textbooks from other libraries, which have not, to date, been available elsewhere. Extensive contributions have been made by the Research Library for the History of Education at the German Institute for International Educational Research (DIPF), the Berlin State Library and the Augsburg University library. Almost 50 German libraries have contributed textbooks, which are now available in digital form. The rationale behind the digitisation of external textbooks is that they are frequently not deemed to be of great significance and are therefore viewed, outside the GEI, as low priority objects for digitisation. The situation has improved slightly in recent years so

³ <<http://www.gei.de/en/the-institute.html>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

⁴ <<http://gei-digital.gei.de/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

that the number of external textbooks being digitised by the GEI in the current phase has reduced significantly. The Internet platform will be expanded in such a way that it can be integrated by other libraries as a specialised digital reference source and used to view digitised textbooks. The high-quality scans (32-bit colour, 400 dpi resolution) are laboriously captured so as to enable easy retrieval of chapters, graphics, tables etc. The high-standard of digitisation allows the contents page of the textbook to be used for navigation. The overwhelming majority⁵ of the digitised records will be processed using full-text recognition software (OCR), for which we will be using the Abbyy Recognition Server. With an error rate of less than one per cent (even for textbooks printed in Gothic script) the full-texts are readily accessible and easy to use, even for those readers not confident reading old print types. This makes it possible for the first time to perform a true full-text search of historic textbooks, enabling terms and themes to be traced through a number of such historic textbooks.

Established standards govern the digital records' generation. Metadata and structural data will be captured in METS/MODS-Standard⁶ and made accessible over an OAI-PMH⁷ interface. This ensures extensive follow-up use of the collection. The digitised textbooks will be accessible through Europeana⁸ and through the Central Register of Digital Records (*Zentrale Verzeichnis Digitalisierter Drucke*)⁹, the European Register of Microform and Digital Masters (EROMM)¹⁰ and the Bielefeld Academic Search Engine (BASE)¹¹ amongst others. The Cultural Heritage Portal for Lower Saxony¹² (*Kulturerbeportal Niedersachsen*) and the German Digital Library (*Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek DDB*)¹³ will be added in the foreseeable future. This considerably extends the visibility and accessibility of the digital records far beyond the reach of our own internet platform. In addition the standardised

⁵ Excluding atlases as the quality of recognition is not yet of sufficient standard.

⁶ <<http://www.loc.gov/standards/mets/>>, <<http://www.loc.gov/standards/mods/>>. Standards for the storage of structural and descriptive metadata for digital (but also analogue) objects such as textbooks (last access: December 17th, 2013).

⁷ <<http://www.openarchives.org/pmh/>>. Open Archives Initiative Protocol for Metadata Harvesting. A protocol for automatic metadata exchange e.g. for the creation of overlapping search engines covering various object databases (last access: December 17th, 2013).

⁸ <<http://www.europeana.eu/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

⁹ <www.zvdd.de/> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

¹⁰ <<http://www.eromm.org/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

¹¹ <<http://www.base-search.net/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

¹² <<http://kulturerbe.niedersachsen.de/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

¹³ <<http://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).



Pic. 1. The full-text search screen in GEI-Digital.

texts can be directly imported into existing virtual research environments such as TextGrid¹⁴ or CLARIN¹⁵.

The open source digitisation system Goobi will provide the technical platform¹⁶. This tool allows digitisation workflows to be efficiently controlled and for metadata and structural data to be easily processed. Any enhancements

¹⁴ <<http://www.textgrid.de/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013). TextGrid is a framework of open source tools and services that support scholars in research processes (especially in the creation of digital editions). It also offers a long-term research data archive, particularly suitable for digital materials such as texts, images or databases. It has been under development since 2006 with support from the German Federal Ministry for Research and Technology (BMBF).

¹⁵ <<http://www.clarin.eu/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013). Clarin is part of the ERD programme and is a project aiming to create EU-wide web services and repositories, principally for linguistic resources. The infrastructure includes language databases and annotation tools, lexicons and computer linguistics tools. These are developed in close consultation with members of the academic community. A new working group for Modern History is currently being composed; the GEI being a significant contributor.

¹⁶ <<http://www.goobi.org/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013). Goobi is a digitization workflow system and among its tools are metadata and structure data editors, it also supports automated processes such as image compression, writing TIFF headers and generating URN. It is being developed by a cooperative of libraries and industrial partners.

commissioned by the GEI will therefore benefit all users. After going live in June 2010 the Internet platform has subsequently been converted to Intraunda Viewer¹⁷, which improves the usability of the digitised texts.

The GEI works closely with the Gauß IT centre at the Technical University, Braunschweig as regards the basic IT infrastructure. This agreement not only provides the servers and approximately 40 Tbytes of memory capacity, but also guarantees a multiple location backup. Future long-term archiving will be guaranteed through cooperation with the German National Library (*Deutsche Nationalbibliothek*).

The book selection for GEI Digital has so far been confined to German language books, reflecting the emphasis of the GEI collection. Due to copyright laws, the year 1918 currently forms the cut-off point for digitisation. Future augmentation of the collection is attainable and anticipated.

The commitment to establish international standards and the open technical platform mean that GEI digital is well-equipped to accommodate future growth and can be further developed to closely mirror the interests of research.

3. *Edumeres.net*

Edumeres.net¹⁸ started in 2008 with support from the Lower Saxony Ministry for Science and Culture (*Niedersächsische Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Kultur*) and the DFG, represents the construction by the GEI of an information and communication portal for educational research. It predominantly consists of information and publication modules and includes a virtual research environment.

The information section collates current information from the field of educational research and makes this available for researchers and practitioners. It also includes access to external information and search portals as well as internal GEI services (see below). In the publication area literature relevant to educational media research is given its first release on an open access platform. Publications that already exist in printed or digital form are made available here under reprint rights. This covers, among other things, the institute's own journal *The Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* (JEMMS) and the series *Eckert. Die Schriftenreihe* and *Eckert. Expertise*. In addition textbook reviews from diverse standpoints (academic, educational practice, and pupils) are published on Edumeres.net.

The virtual research environment offers the opportunity for efficient net-based cooperation, particularly on educational media research projects. Users

¹⁷ <<http://www.digiverso.com/de/products/viewer>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

¹⁸ <<http://www.edumeres.net/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

The screenshot shows the Edumeres.net website. At the top, there is a search bar with 'DE / EN' and a magnifying glass icon. Below the search bar, the website's name 'edumeres.net' and 'Educational Media Research' are displayed. A navigation bar contains 'Information', 'Publications', 'Topics', and 'Virtual Research Environment'. The 'Information' section is active, showing a dropdown menu with options like 'Home', 'News', 'Literature Research', 'Textbooks', 'Textbook collection', 'Textbook research', 'Academic literature', 'General catalogue', 'GEI-DZS', 'Curricula Workstation', 'Multiopac', and 'Education Systems'. The 'Literature Research' section is expanded, showing a list of links and descriptions. The main content area displays 'Literature Research' and a brief description: 'The literature research offers various search options within the educational media research.' Below this, there are several links and descriptions, including 'Textbooks: Online Catalogue of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research' and 'Textbooks with a focus on the subjects of history, geography, social studies and politics, as well as readers and primers'.

Pic. 2. The Edumeres.net information section.

of the service have expressed a strong interest in collaborative text editing for the purposes of comprehensive evaluation. In addition to tools enabling data exchange and discussion, collaborative document input forms a core aspect of the virtual research environment.

The Edumeres.net portal is constructed using the Open Source Content Management System (CMS) Typo3. Readily available enhancements are employed when practicable but some enhancements must be completely newly implemented.

The portal will be completely overhauled in the near future. This will involve the more complex unitisation of the existing services enabling them to be offered independently whilst simultaneously providing a common element with integrated search engine. At the technical level the Typo3 modules will be replaced by higher performance standard software. The provision, for example, of digital Open Access publications through a repository has proved itself through superior efficiency. In future DSpace will be installed for the same end. New database services will also be created, which will make specialised, collated information available for educational media research. Examples of this are the documentation of textbook systems and the depiction of international textbook conflicts.

4. *Database of Approved Textbooks (GEI-DZS)*

The database of approved textbooks (*Datenbank zugelassener Schulbücher GEI-DZS*)¹⁹, which has been available online since 2011, has been implemented as this type of module. The directory of textbooks approved in each of the German federal states for the subjects of geography, history and social and political studies, which was previously only available in printed form or, more recently, as a PDF list will be made accessible to research in line with new IT possibilities.

This database is of particular importance due to the complex federal approval system for textbooks in Germany, which is regulated differently for each federal state. The inclusion of information relevant to the context of textbooks is of increasing importance to researchers, therefore information regarding a book's approval plays a significant role in research. As this information is often difficult to locate and frequently only available for the present, GEI-DZS is making an important contribution by filling this gap.

Approval information is currently being gathered for history, geography and social/political studies textbooks. This consists annually of approval data for approximately 1,500 textbooks. In future this will be expanded to cover the subject of values education/religion. The database starts with the academic year 2010/2011 and is available for each year since, older approval data will be added retrospectively. All entries include year of approval, subject and federal state as well as school level and type. In combination with a free-text search, this generates extensive research and structuring opportunities. It would not have been possible to implement a similar solution in the library catalogue itself.

In order to provide sustainable access to the approval data, the data is encoded and saved in the library system (Pica) of the Library Association (*Bibliotheksverbund*). The catalogue system's SRU²⁰ interface allows this data to be extracted, together with the remaining metadata and then deposited in a Solr-Index²¹. This Solr-Index will then be requested by an internal Typo3 extension for the purposes of research and display. This enables the information to be easily integrated with the Edumeres.net portal. It is also possible to extract the data relevant to textbook approval in XML format and

¹⁹ <<http://gei-dzs.edumeres.net/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

²⁰ <<http://www.loc.gov/standards/sru/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013). Search/Retrieve via URL (SRU) is a standard XML-based protocol for search queries, utilizing CQL – Contextual Query Language – a standard syntax for representing queries. Using this standard as a programming interface ensures efficient access, particularly to library data inventories.

²¹ <<http://lucene.apache.org/solr/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013). Apache Solr is an open source enterprise search platform based on the Apache Lucene information retrieval system. It allows efficient indexing of full-texts and metadata and is used as the basis for many research systems.

although this is currently only available internally it will simplify follow-on uses in the future.

5. *Curricula Workstation*

Another Edumeres.net module, currently under construction, is the Curricula Workstation²², which provides access to current and historical curricula collected from Germany and around the world. The workstation has its origins in a project supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG), seeking to improve the services offered by outstanding research libraries. It is also a response to textbook researchers' increasing requirement for contextual information.

The GEI inventory includes a large number of printed curricula. Increasingly, however, curricula are only available in digital form and can frequently only be accessed for a very limited number of years, for this reason digital curricula are now also being methodically gathered for the subjects history, geography, politics/social studies, and values education/religious studies. Printed and digital curricula can both be searched using one interface. Locating the curricula on the internet presents a particular challenge as does accurately documenting the procurement channels in order to ensure that the service remains up-to-date into the long-term.

From the outset the Curricula Workstation is being developed with maximum feedback from the researchers who will use it, their requirements are directly incorporated into the development. This will ensure that the services developed by the GEI can reliably provide for research needs.

The Curricula Workstation will be technically similar to GEI-DZS. The curricula will initially be saved in the library system, extracted via the SRU interface and formatted in a Solr index. In addition, any available digital curricula will be loaded and a full-text index created, to enable us to offer users a full-text search function of the curricula. This will provide a whole new opportunity, similar to that provided by GEI-Digital for historic textbooks, to track the occurrence of terms and themes through curricula.

Whilst the curricula metadata will be stored initially in the library system, the digital curricula will be archived in a dedicated DSpace²³ repository²⁴.

²² <<http://curricula-workstation.edumeres.net/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

²³ <<http://www.dspace.org/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013). DSpace is an open source system used to construct open digital repositories such as document servers. It allows the efficient administration of metadata and documents and provides numerous options for accessing and searching documents. It was developed around the OAIS reference model and therefore offers long-term archiving strategies. It provides an OAI-PMH.

²⁴ <<http://curricula-depot.gei.de/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

Curricula are categorised as government works and are therefore not subject to copyright laws, which means that the GEI is able to process them and ensure the reliable availability of digital curricula, which at present are frequently only online for a brief time, making them accessible and eventually archiving them for the long-term.

The first public test version of the Curricula Workstation has been online since June 2013 and is being further developed with cooperation from researchers. In addition to augmenting the collection of non-European curricula, collaborative net-based functions are planned for the future, which would enable researchers to use the curricula workstation as a platform to exchange specialised information about curricula.

6. *GEI-CAT*

A new search tool is being created by the same project, a tool that considerably extends the search possibilities in the textbook collection beyond anything currently possible with the normal OPAC search. The specific difficulties of searching textbooks using conventional tools make this particularly opportune, as textbook titles, such as «Terra», are invariably unhelpful. For this reason we have, for some time, been classifying textbooks internally according to subject, type of school etc. It is not however, possible to implement this classification directly in OPAC in any meaningful or user-friendly way.

A search model founded on the requirements of researchers was developed some time ago. It uses a browsing function that is based on this classification. Work has since begun on developing a suitable tool using the Open Source Discovery System VUFind²⁵. Internationally established metadata standards will again form the basis for an open platform. The Solr-Index will employ an indexing solution previously implemented within the GEI for another purpose. The faceted search possibilities provided by VUFind can provide researchers with much improved search access, even to local classifications of textbooks.

A prototype solution has been designed and already presented to the VUFind community. In the coming months it will be further developed to full product maturity. We expect it to go live online in the first half of 2014.

²⁵ <<http://vufind.org/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013). The Open Source Discovery System, VUFind, has been developed collaboratively by the library community. It uses Apache Solr as a search index and allows a faceted search as well as various browsing access possibilities to available literature.

7. Outlook: MultiOpac and open platforms for digitised textbooks

There are a variety of infrastructure systems available for textbook research, the majority of which are for domestic markets although some cover more than one country through a wider regional or language orientation. Among these are for example Emmanuelle²⁶, MANES²⁷, EDISCO²⁸ and several specialist library catalogues in London²⁹, Stanford³⁰ and Buenos Aires³¹. At present these systems exist largely in isolation. An attempt was made a few years ago, within the framework of the EU project History Online, to integrate these islands into a MultiOpac³² with a mutual metasearch. The results in terms of the number of integrated sources and the functionality offered have been disappointing. However the resources have so far not been available to develop this idea further.

The creation of digital infrastructures has enabled the GEI to develop and implement technical systems and gather expertise in the integration and indexing of data sources for the purposes of textbook research; sources which can now be made available to contribute to greater integration of the existing textbook infrastructure. These infrastructures are suitable for any new attempt at integration as they are founded to a great extent on established international standards and open technical platforms.

This could result in the GEI's textbook search tools being further developed into a comprehensive international platform for catalogue data and metadata relating to textbooks. Or, alternatively, it could result in a new common platform for international digitized textbooks being created on the basis of GEI-Digital. The GEI is prepared to make technical and personnel resources available for this end. As a member of the Leibniz association, the GEI has an infrastructure mandate, which it will endeavour to fulfil sustainably and with a firm basis in research and international networks.

²⁶ <<http://www.inrp.fr/emma/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

²⁷ <<http://www.uned.es/manesvirtual/portalmanes.html>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

²⁸ <<http://www.reseducationis.it/edisco/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

²⁹ <<http://www.ioe.ac.uk/services/537.html>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

³⁰ <<http://www.stanford.edu/group/cubberley/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

³¹ <<http://www.bnm.me.gov.ar/>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

³² <<http://www.historyonline.eu/multiopac.aspx>> (last access: December 17th, 2013).

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Project databases

MERIL- *Mapping of the European Research infrastructure landscape*. URL: <http://portal.meril.eu/>. The MERIL database is an inventory of openly accessible research infrastructures (RIs) in Europe of more-than-national relevance across all scientific domains: from archives and statistical offices to biobanks, satellites and particle accelerators

Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (2013). *RIsources – Portal für Forschungsinfrastrukturen*. URL: <<http://risources.dfg.de>>. RIsources (RI = Research Infrastructure) is a portal operated by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG, German Research Foundation) containing information about scientific research infrastructures which provide researchers with resources and services for planning and implementing research projects.

Textbook databases and their contribution to international research on the history of school culture

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ABSTRACT: This article sets out primarily to describe the principal databases of school textbooks used around the world and the research projects leading to their creation. It also discusses some of the problems that have arisen in putting together such databases. I would like to point out, however, that the article was originally conceived of for presentation at an encounter focused on school textbooks and teacher training («*À livre ouvert*» *Manuels scolaires & formation des maîtres entre passé et présent*, Colloque International, Limoges, IUFM du Limousin, 3-4 June, 2013). It is appropriate, therefore, that we take at least a brief look at the historical role that textbooks have played in *school culture* in order to better evaluate the contribution that textbook research can make to teacher training.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: School culture; Textbooks; Databases; Catalogues; Opac.

1. *A preamble: historical research on school textbooks and its usefulness for teacher training*

The concept of *school culture*, coined around 1993 by Dominique Julia¹, could be defined as the body of theories, rules, rituals, routines, habits and practices that have crystallized over time and been transmitted to subsequent generations in educational institutions in the form of traditions and norms. They are norms that are generally accepted and that the docent body as a whole does not tend to question². The concept lies at the very heart of an important

¹ D. Julia, *La culture scolaire comme objet historique*, «Paedagogica Historica, Supplementary Series», vol. 1, 1995, pp. 353-382.

² A. Viñao, *Sistemas educativos, culturas escolares y reformas*, Madrid, Morata, 2002, pp. 73-74.

historiographical turn occurring in the 1990s in the field of the History of Education which brought it into closer alignment with the field of Cultural History. Where researchers had previously tended to concentrate their attention on external regulations concerning schools and teaching institutions, they now shifted their focus to the internal goings-on and the day to day life within the school. As a result, ethnography – a technique for reconstructing classroom practices – became an essential methodological tool in the History of Education, while school ‘archaeology’, consisting of the study of the material objects used in these practices (‘materialities of schooling’)³, became an important source for the History of Education. The enhancement of the value of these objects as a testimony of classroom life is evidenced by the lengths gone to in preserving and recording inventories of school patrimonies and by the creation of school museums. Among these classroom objects, textbooks have unquestionably occupied a privileged position; the traditional school has always been known to be ‘book-oriented’, while reading has always constituted one of the primordial objectives of schools.

But a familiarity with and knowledge of classroom practices of the past gleaned through textbooks, beyond providing an erudite or theoretical knowledge of school culture, can be a valuable way for teachers to recognize and discover their own place within the tradition that they form a part of. It can also be a way for them to take a critical stance with regard to the routines and regularities of classroom practices (the ‘grammar of schooling’⁴). A genealogical, critical analysis of school practices as represented in textbooks can help to explain changes or resistance to innovations in schools, and textbooks can also provide teachers with numerous elements that will help them to understand school disciplines as a product specific to school culture. All of these factors contribute to the teachers’ acquiring a professional identity and to their valuing the empirical work that they do in the classroom for what it is worth (the teacher as an artisan and as an intellectual).

2. Research projects involving school textbooks: an international network

Research on school textbooks, which has given rise to a truly international network, has shown how, starting with the first educational systems, school books have constituted one of the more homogeneous classroom materials,

³ See M. Lawn, I. Grosvenor (edd.), *Materialities of Schooling*, Oxford, Symposium Books, 2005.

⁴ The concept of ‘grammar of schooling’, profusely used in the research on the history of school culture, was coined by D. Tyack, B. Tobin, *The Grammar of Schooling. Why Has it Been so Hard to Change?*, «American Educational Research Journal», n. 31, 1994, pp. 435-479.

at least in the Western world and its colonies. These books were the product of what were considered universally valid pedagogical models, models that began to circulate internationally – via textbooks – long before the current age of globalization⁵. Their dissemination can be explained in good measure by the fact that they were, like so many other material objects used in teaching, «industrial products and consumer objects». As such they circulated through commercial channels, giving rise to businesses with interests that went beyond purely pedagogical considerations⁶. In any case, comparative research on school textbooks, which has proved very useful for making a critical evaluation of this material, makes a strong case against restricting research on the subject to within national borders. Furthermore, the comparative study of textbooks has allowed for the identification of stereotypes and prejudices regarding other nations that can be transmitted through schoolbooks and which teachers need to be fully aware of⁷.

International research on the history of school textbooks has led to the establishment of important links among projects in Europe, North and South America that share similar objectives. The result is a dynamic network, with important contacts and exchanges taking place. In practically all of these research projects we can distinguish two clearly differentiated tasks: the instrumental aspect on the one hand, and the research itself on the other⁸. The ‘instrumental’

⁵ For more on the international circulation of pedagogical models see, among others by the same author, J. Schriewer, *World System and Interrelationship Networks: The Internationalization of Education and the Role of Comparative Inquiry*, in Th.S. Popkewitz (ed.), *Educational Knowledge. Changing Relationships between the State, Civil Society, and the Educational Community*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 2002, pp. 305-343. G. Thyssen and K. Priem use the concept of ‘translocation’ to explain the phenomenon of the spread of pedagogical models in Id., *Mobilising meaning: multimodality, translocation, technology and heritage*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 49, n. 6, 2013, pp. 735-744.

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⁷ The creation after the Second World War of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig (Germany) was meant to contribute to peace by revising textbooks and eliminating from them the national stereotypes of the countries at war.

⁸ Research on school textbooks has undergone an important development in the last 20 years, coinciding with the creation of these research projects. As an example, see the abundant bibliography on textbooks (Bibliomanes) gathered and updated regularly on the website of the Manes Research Center (Madrid), <<http://www.uned.es/manesvirtual/portalmannes.html>> (this website, as well as all the following website references cited in the article from now on, have been accessed on November 15th, 2013). Also see G. Ossenbach, *Consideraciones críticas sobre la investigación en el campo de la manualística escolar a 20 años de la fundación del Centro de Investigación MANES*, in J. Meda, A.M. Badanelli (edd.), *La historia de la cultura escolar en*

aspect, which is what this article deals with, refers to the fact that in their early stages all of these projects required an enormous amount of work collecting, identifying and cataloguing sources, namely, textbooks from the last several centuries. An emphasis on the 19th and 20th centuries, which coincides with the birth and evolution of national educational systems, is evident. The inordinate amount of work required was due to the fact that school textbooks were very often not classified, catalogued or conserved in the large libraries in the way that other books were. As a consequence, research projects generated, among other initiatives, important databases, school book collections and specialized textbook catalogues within the important libraries, conferring in the process a renewed value to the textbook as a specific category of book. All of these initiatives, which we will expound upon below, required an immense effort – one which of course had to be made before actual research could be done – which helped to preserve a hugely important part of our historical-educational patrimony. From it we have also learned much about textbook production in the last two centuries and about the publishers involved in the business at the local, national and international levels. Unfortunately, the maintenance and updating of these databases is jeopardized in many cases by a lack of human and economic resources.

3. Major textbook databases around the world

The pioneering project involving the thorough identification and cataloguing of school textbooks was the *Emmanuelle* project, created by Alain Choppin in 1979 as part of the Service d'Histoire de l'Éducation of the Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique (INRP) in Paris. This database, which is now housed at the Institut Français de l'Éducation in Lyon, includes French school textbooks in all subjects, from 1789 to the present day⁹. Other research projects with similar databases then grew out of collaboration agreements with *Emmanuelle*¹⁰. Among them the most important are the *Livres* Project in Brazil, which created a database of Brazilian school books from the 19th century to the present day¹¹, the *Manes* project in Spain, which has catalogued Spanish, Portuguese, Belgian and Latin American textbooks from the 19th and 20th centuries¹², and

Italia y en España: balance y perspectivas, Macerata, eum, 2013, pp. 107-118.

⁹ <<http://www.inrp.fr/emma/web/index.php>> (all the urls mentioned hereafter, have been accessed January 15th, 2014).

¹⁰ An exhaustive description of the most important textbook databases in the world, in P. Aubin, A. Choppin, *Le fonti storiche in rete: i manuali scolastici*, in G. Bandini, P. Bianchini (edd.), *Fare storia in Rete. Fonti e modelli di scrittura digitale per la storia dell'educazione, la storia moderna e la storia contemporanea*, Roma, Carocci, 2007, pp. 53-76.

¹¹ <<http://www2.fe.usp.br:8080/livres/>>.

¹² <<http://www.uned.es/manesvirtual/basededatosmanes.html>>.

the *Edisco* project in Italy, which has put together an exhaustive catalogue of Italian textbooks starting from the early 1800s¹³. We should also mention two other important databases that grew out of the collaboration with Emmanuelle: *Les Manuels Scolaires Québécois (Manscol)*, directed by professor Paul Aubin, from Laval University, brings together textbooks published in Quebec after 1765¹⁴, while the *Diaspora* database, created by Paul Aubin as well, offers a catalogue of textbooks published around the world by the Brothers of the Christian Schools¹⁵.

Another interesting collection of school books can be found on the website of the Centre *Aequatoria (Centre de Recherches Culturelles Africanistes)*, of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart at Bamanya (Democratic Republic of the Congo), which is directed by Honoré Vinck and includes colonial textbooks from the Belgian Congo¹⁶. Although this website does not have an actual database of textbooks *per se*, it does contain a list of books from the Belgian colony along with their corresponding transcriptions in French.

4. *Specialized collections of schoolbooks whose catalogues can be consulted on Internet*

Along with specialized databases that have been put together expressly for on-line consultation after the systematic searching and compiling of textbooks from different sources, there are several libraries specialized in the subject which can also be accessed on-line. Notable among them is the library of the Georg Eckert Institut for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig (Germany), which contains some 175,000 textbooks from 160 countries, in particular books for learning to read and write (primers), as well as textbooks on Geography, History and Civic Education¹⁷. In Soria, Spain, the Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar in the town of Berlanga de Duero, directed by professor Agustín Escolano, boasts a collection of more than 35,000 volumes. These textbooks, Spanish for the most part, are in the process of being catalogued; at present the bibliographical references for about 21,000 of them can be consulted¹⁸.

¹³ <<http://www.reseducationis.it/edisco/>>.

¹⁴ <<http://www.bibl.ulaval.ca/ress/manscol/>>.

¹⁵ <<http://www.bibl.ulaval.ca/ress/manscol/diaspora/>>.

¹⁶ <<http://www.aequatoria.be/04frans/0538manuels/0380intro.htm>>. See H. Vinck, *Répertoire des manuels scolaires du Congo Belge*, in M. Berré, F. Brasseur, C. Gobeaux, R. Plisnier (edd.), *Les manuels scolaires dans l'histoire de l'éducation. Un enjeu patrimonial et scientifique*, Mons, Éditions du CIPA, 2013, pp. 71-83.

¹⁷ <<http://www.gei.de/en/library.html>>.

¹⁸ <<http://www.ceince.eu/catalogo.php>>.

Other important general libraries in various countries have created specific collections and catalogues of school textbooks, available for consultation on-line, within their general library catalogues. Following are a few examples¹⁹:

- The *Historical Textbooks Collection* of the Institute of Education of the University of London²⁰, which contains some 18,000 school books of all levels published in the United Kingdom after 1890, with an emphasis on publications from between the years 1920 and 1960;
- The *Historical Textbooks Collection* of the Graduate School of Education of Harvard University, a collection of elementary and secondary textbooks that contains approximately 45,000 volumes. The collection concentrates on materials published between 1800 and 1985. Most of the textbooks are American imprints, but a representative collection of European imprints is included²¹;
- The collection *Historical Textbooks* of the Cubberley Education Library of Stanford University²², containing North American textbooks from roughly between 1880 and 1970;
- The special collection of *Lecturas Escolares (School Readings)* from the Biblioteca Nacional de Maestros of the Ministry of Education of Buenos Aires²³, which contains reading books used in Argentina and Latin America from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, including readers, textbooks and children's stories published between 1850-1930.

Some of the databases and the specialized catalogues that can be consulted on-line offer the possibility of accessing certain books from their bibliographical registers in a digitalized format. From the collections listed above, the entire collection of *Lecturas Escolares* from the Library of the Ministry of Education in Buenos Aires can be consulted in a digital format, while the catalogue of the Georg Eckert Institut in Braunschweig offers the possibility of accessing from its bibliographical registers those books in the collection that have been digitalized; a systematic, on-going process is under way which should eventually make the entire collection available in this format. The Spanish *Manes* database chose to link some of its registers to the corresponding digitalized books available in virtual libraries on the web (Google Books, *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica*, *Bibliotecas Escolares Históricas* from the Spanish Ministry of Education and

¹⁹ Other examples of the on-line catalogues of libraries that house school books collections can be found in Aubin, Choppin, *Le fonti storiche in rete*, cit., pp. 64-73, as well as in J. Walker (ed.), *Directory of Historical Textbook and Curriculum Collections*, Chicago, American Library Association, 2005.

²⁰ <<http://www.ioe.ac.uk/services/537.html>>.

²¹ <<http://www.gse.harvard.edu/library/collections/special/textbooks.html#ixzz2q2dzMkyc>>.

²² <https://www.stanford.edu/group/cubberley/collections/historical_textbooks>.

²³ <http://www.bnm.me.gov.ar/cgi-bin/wxis.exe/opac/?IsisScript=opac/bibdig.xis&dbn=LL&ver_form=2>.

Culture, etc.) or in the digital deposit of the Central Library of the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED) in Madrid²⁴, which is the project's headquarters. However, the process of linking the registers from the databases to digitalized books from the major virtual libraries on the web has proved to be a very laborious task that threatens to remain unfinished and which to date has only been applied to a very small percentage of the books in the *Manes* database²⁵.

5. *Some problems concerning the design and coordination of international databases specializing in school textbooks. Observations stemming from the Manes Project*

Although most of the international databases specializing in textbooks were, as we have explained, based on the pioneering French project *Emmanuelle*, there are some important differences among them. One of the significant differences lies in the fact that some of these databases only include books that can be physically located (the entry invariably indicates the book's location, the same way that the *Livres*, *Manes* and *Manscol* databases do), whereas the *Emmanuelle* database also contains books recorded in bibliographical compilations such as the *Bibliographie de la France*, in which all French publications since 1700 are included. The *Emmanuelle* database also records under one same bibliographical entry all of the different editions and reissues of a book, whereas the *Manes* and *Manscol* databases provide a different register for each new edition of a book. In the case of the *Manes* database this procedure is justified in particular with Spanish books from before 1970, which tended to undergo numerous reeditions that often included significant modifications.

Notwithstanding these differences, databases specialized in school textbooks do tend to feature a cataloguing system especially designed for such material, one that differentiates them from conventional bibliographical registers by their inclusion of specific information such as grade level, subject matter, type of textbook, date of approval, etc. The *Manscol* database even has a field for indicating the bibliographical references of research that has been done on a given volume.

The specific, complex nature of the bibliographical registers of school textbooks has led to a number of difficulties which I have witnessed first-hand during my experience creating and developing the *Manes* database. There are

²⁴ <<http://e-spacio.uned.es:8080/fedora/Manes/presentacion.html>>.

²⁵ The article by Paolo Bianchini included in this same issue proposes just this type of link between databases specialized in textbooks and digital libraries on the web.

also problems that stem from the use of databases from different countries when trying to carry out comparative studies.

The main difficulty we came across in putting together the *Manes* database resided in the fact that the catalogue entries were so specialized that they could only be filled out properly by persons with a working knowledge of the history of education and schooling. The cataloguing process itself was no less than a work of historical investigation and interpretation, far surpassing the auxiliary, technical role it was meant to have – a role normally reserved for students or novice researchers. Although the first stages of the process were followed with great interest – they did represent, after all, some of the first steps in an important new field of research – cataloguing the material soon proved to be too big of a job. This was due both to the lack of adequate human and material resources and to the numerous errors produced in the database registers. We found that we had to choose between two possible approaches to this predicament: either the process of cataloguing and creating database registers could become a specialized area of research in itself, or it could remain an auxiliary task, in which case researchers would be obliged to search for sources by using quite general criteria and simplified identifications. The approach agreed upon was to simplify the information in the database registers with the idea that researchers using them could perform searches using any of the characters in the different database fields (in particular, by using any of the words in the book title) in order to find information not specifically registered in a field of the catalogue entry.

One of the areas requiring particular simplification was that referring to the academic subjects of the books. Originally the idea was to use the classification proposed by Antonio Viñao²⁶, which consisted of recording the historical denominations of the school subjects that had been included in the countless study plans used in the Spanish school system during the 19th and 20th centuries, and for which the corresponding textbooks had been approved and published. This method proved to be impossible, causing an inordinate number of errors and delays in the cataloguing process. Instead, two brief lists of subjects were drawn up, one for primary and one for secondary school disciplines. These lists contained the general, broad headings for the academic subject along with indications for the person in charge of the cataloguing as to what other sorts of denominations would be likely to fall under the general subject headings²⁷. Below is an example of a list of the subjects used for classifying primary school textbooks:

²⁶ A. Viñao Frago, *La catalogación de los manuales escolares y la historia de las disciplinas a través de sus denominaciones*, in A. Tiana Ferrer (ed.), *El libro escolar, reflejo de intenciones políticas e influencias pedagógicas*, Madrid, UNED, 2000, pp. 451-469.

²⁷ For example, under the heading «Religion and Morals» we should find books on Catechism, Christian Doctrine, Religion, Morals, Religious and Moral Principals, Sacred History, Religious Formation and Ethics.

- Natural Sciences
- Artistic Education
- Social and Civic Education
- Physical Education
- Technical-Professional Education
- Reading and Writing
- Geography
- History
- Language
- Mathematics
- Religion and Morals

While such a simplified classification was less precise and resulted in a loss of important historical information, there were far fewer errors in the information, and the number of registers that came up with each search actually increased. This was due to the fact that the subject denominations were formatted into a 'controlled' vocabulary that the person in charge of cataloguing could select from a list without having to type in the word, this being a potential source of error that then impedes access to the information in character-based searches.

The search for an improved and more efficient cataloguing process with fewer errors was not the only reason that the *Manes* database needed to be simplified; there was also the matter of integrating into this database textbooks from other countries. This issue came to the forefront with the *Patre Manes* project, which was funded by the European Union's Alfa Program and included three European Countries (Spain, Portugal and Belgium) and three Latin American countries (Mexico, Columbia and Argentina)²⁸. The national differences among the subject denominations and the types of books, along with other factors that affected textbooks historically in these countries required the participants of the project to make a number of changes in the database fields (for example, the «type of textbook»²⁹ and «use of book» fields were eliminated, while a «country» field was added). Simplified denominations were accorded to the different levels of education (infant, primary, secondary and vocational school) and to the academic subjects, all in an effort come up with a single, practical instrument for cataloguing textbooks. Such a tool, translated into different languages, was designed for carrying out research on books that, despite their differences, share many noteworthy features³⁰.

²⁸ <<http://hum.unne.edu.ar/investigacion/educa/alfa/index.htm>>.

²⁹ In this case there was also a catalogue of types of Spanish textbooks put together by professor Agustín Escolano to facilitate cataloguing in this field. See. A. Escolano, *Tipología de libros y géneros textuales en los manuales de la escuela tradicional*, in Tiana Ferrer (ed.), *El libro escolar, reflejo de intenciones políticas e influencias pedagógicas*, cit., pp. 439-449.

³⁰ Problems involving simplification of the 'discipline' and 'level' fields were a source of intense debate among participants in the *Patre Manes* project, due to the fact that the concepts selected for the respective vocabularies could be considered ahistorical. For the 'level' field one of the doubts that arose referred to the difficulty in registering the category of 'upper primary education' which

As a result of this process, the *Manes* database eliminated certain potentially interesting fields, simplified others and recommended to those doing the cataloguing the insertion under the field «observations» of a series of notes containing other relevant information. This information, which did not neatly match any of the database fields, could indicate any number of features: whether the book contained illustrations, if it had been subjected to government or church censorship, the condition it was in, whether it contained additional elements of interest such as glossaries, prologues, appendixes, exercises, etc. With the «search all fields» function, the information included under «observations» can also be searched by characters, allowing researchers to retrieve the information recorded there during the cataloguing process³¹.

One thing that has been made evident by the integration of international textbook databases, of which the *Manes* database is one modest example, is the need for a vocabulary or «thesaurus» with which to search for equivalent concepts in the databases of different countries. The *Moi* project, which Paolo Bianchini cites in an article in this same journal, consists of a search engine which can simultaneously search the *Emmanuelle* and *Edisco* databases. It does this by means of a common vocabulary based on a chart of equivalences between the denominations of subjects and teaching levels in France and Italy respectively³². The plan for an international *Multiopac* of textbook databases was one of the purposes of the *History On Line* project (2008-2009), which included representatives from *Emmanuelle*, *Edisco* and *Manes*³³. Unfortunately this undertaking could not be finished on time and is still on the agenda. The *Multiopac* project, when taken up again, must address the issue of equivalences for some of the more nuanced fields of these three databases – as well as any others joining the project – before building one vast international database for comparative studies of textbooks and school culture in different countries.

was implemented in certain educational systems at different times. See M. Depaepe, F. Simon, G. Ossensbach, M. Somoza, A. Badanelli, 'Le réseau Patre-Manes'. *Une expérience d'intégration de bases de données de manuels scolaires européens et latino-américains et ses implications pour la nouvelle histoire de l'éducation culturelle*, in M. Lebrun (avec la collaboration de P. Aubin, M. Allard, A. Landry), *Le manuel scolaire d'ici et d'ailleurs, d'hier à demain*, Québec, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2007, edition on Cd-rom. Also accesible at <<http://hum.unne.edu.ar/investigacion/educa/alfa/integrantes.htm>>.

³¹ See Base de Datos Manes. *Manuales escolares europeos y latinoamericanos. Guía para la catalogación*, Madrid, Centro de Investigación MANES, 2007, pp. 25-26.

³² <<http://www.reseducationis.it/multiopac/>>.

³³ <<http://www.historyonline.eu/multiopac.aspx>>.

6. *Further observations regarding the maintenance of textbook databases*

When the databases specializing in textbooks that we have been discussing were begun in the 1980s and 1990s, access to this type of source was difficult and required the arduous investigation and identification of textbooks – from libraries, collections and archives – which were then gradually incorporated into their corresponding databases. Now that the catalogues of important collections of these books from general libraries can be accessed on-line, the question has arisen as to whether it is worth the effort to register these books again in the specialized databases.

Turning again to the *Manes* database, we have chosen to avoid double-cataloguing textbooks by resorting to «register importation» from the catalogues of certain libraries and their subsequent integration into our database. So far we have followed this procedure with the textbooks of the National Library of Portugal, the *Museu João de Deus* of Lisboa, the *Museo Pedagógico José Pedro Varela* of Montevideo and the libraries of the high schools *Cardenal Cisneros* and *Isabel la Católica* of Madrid. While technically this is a relatively simple process, it requires a considerable amount of work checking and revising the imported bibliographical registers for errors in the characters, which are especially liable to occur in entries made in languages other than Spanish.

Ideally, textbook databases and specialized catalogues from libraries could be fused in a *Multiopac* in a way that would allow for simultaneous searches in both troves of documents. In such a case, the textbook databases could focus in the future on registering collections whose catalogues are not yet available on the web, such as books from private collections or books from general libraries that may not have been specifically identified as school textbooks.

7. *A few conclusions regarding the present and future of textbook databases*

Databases specialized in school textbooks were born out of a desire to record diverse aspects of the history and the contexts of these unique sources for the study of the history of school culture. There is no doubt at this point that the evolution of research in the field of textbook study and the launching of international and comparative projects have contributed to the consolidation of a dynamic network in this realm of the History of Education. But the difficulty in keeping such ambitious projects up and running over the course of time has also been made evident. We are of the opinion that our initial expectations were overly optimistic and that we should view these databases simply as tools with which specific sources may be accessed by researchers, who will be the ones to ultimately interpret and contextualize the material. The simplification of bibliographical registers ought to serve to improve database

searches through the use of controlled vocabularies and it should lead to a reduction in interpretative errors during the cataloguing process. It is also important that such vocabularies not influence or 'direct' the researcher in any given direction with regard to the historical interpretation of the textbook in question. As databases generally allow for searches based on any of the terms included in the fields, such as «book title» or «observations» made during the cataloguing process, researchers can use this type of search to compliment the ordinary search with a thesaurus for the different fields. At the same time, the increasing ease with which the database's bibliographical registers can be linked to the corresponding digitalized books in virtual libraries offers researchers the possibility of being the ones to directly interpret and contextualize the different aspects of the textbook.

The massive corrections required by textbook databases along with the simplification of their bibliographical registers have generated an enormous amount of work. To this labour is added the constant, necessary updates of the software with which these databases were originally created. Important initiatives such as these require considerable economic and human resources, and when we consider the waning support that they receive, their future survival is by no means assured³⁴. The work of international networks, which has been an essential part of textbook research since its very beginnings, will undoubtedly provide at least some sort of guarantee for the joint maintenance of the databases. The creation of a *Multiopac* for bringing together all of these databases becomes more urgent with every passing day; not only would it facilitate comparative studies and mobility among researchers, but it could become a powerful instrument for preserving the enormous amount of work carried out in so many countries, as well as serving to protect this crucial part of the patrimony that is so essential to school memory.

³⁴ An example of this is the uncertain survival and future of the *Emmanuelle* database now that Alain Choppin, its creator, is deceased and that most of the services provided by the INRP in Paris have been transferred to the Institut Français de l'Éducation in Lyon. See. C. Cardon-Quint, *La base Emmanuelle: histoire et perspectives*, in Berré, Brasseur, Gobeaux, Plisnier (edd.), *Les manuels scolaires dans l'histoire de l'éducation: un enjeu patrimonial et scientifique*, cit., pp. 19-34.

University Traditions: A Resource or Burden?
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University tradition: a resource or burden?

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ABSTRACT: The present collection of articles contains the results of research on historical deconstructions of university traditions in different European countries. Scholars from various countries (Germany, Portugal, Russia, Italy and France) show the circumstances in which universities were created, their subsequent transformation, the work of their creators, material of construction, commissions from rulers and academic corporations, as well as conventions with the readers. All together we intended, as Pierre Nora graphically said, «capture things that constitute tradition *par excellence*» in the history of European university. Focusing on university traditions, they intend to promote a fruitful discussion on the current state of institutions of higher education.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Higher Education; History; University Studies; Conference; Moscow; XIX-XX Centuries.

On September 26-28, 2013, National Research University Higher School hosted international conference *University Traditions: A Resource or Burden?* It was attended by about 250 researchers of higher education from 18 countries. The conference participants, experts in the sociology of education, historians (including members of the International Commission for History of

Universities), university managers and policymakers discussed the semantics and use of the notion *university tradition*.

In diverse social environments the word *tradition* is used in different meanings. By appealing to this word, professors seek to protect their universities from radical innovations on the inside and from state reforms on the outside. In their speeches *tradition* performs the background function. This is a sort of timeless code of rules and commandments. Their presence is proved by concrete examples or by the entire university life experience. Journalists perceive *traditions* as unproblematic and time-proof characteristic of university evolution or as the past organized to serve the present. Keeping such quasi-evidence in mind, Irina Savelyeva and Andrei Poletayev, the authors of the first studies on historical time in Russia, write that «with such ‘eclipsed’ sense of time, there emerges an emotional association with the past rather than a critical view of it»¹. Therefore, notion *tradition* in the mass consciousness has not so much a rational as an axiological meaning.

The scholars prove the existence of traditions by memoirs and archival collections. If we admit that these texts shape the reality, than university documentation and professors’ recollections must be regarded as sources that strengthen the reliability of each other. And if we assume that archives and memoirs are the parts of the same discourse, a tradition that we have revealed into them will be shown not as a self-dependent and stable phenomenon but as a process of collective creativity.

So *tradition* was not the only issue on the conference agenda. Experts in the higher education sought to problematize key notions of university discourse and thus liberate reflections on the university from the dominance of rhetoric constructions. This was meant to move discussion to an analytical level. To create conditions for a dialogue between reformers and those to be reformed, the conference organizers urged university people to open up and desacralize perceptions of their past. They were urging policy-makers to introduce the *path* (or *path dependence*) knowledge at the expense or risk factors involved in university reforms.

The announcement called for paper: «Even the most advanced universities, with ambitious aspirations for the future, draw on their past. Traditions are considered an important source of the university identity, and a symbol of venerable academic life. Many universities are known to have undergone a period of identity search (*roots*), when they liberated themselves of soviet-era legacies. Some universities developed new projects aiming at their historic preservation and reconstruction, building on the heritage of traditions as an important reconstruction source. Today, many new universities consider ways to highlight their contribution to, and place in, the global university history. For

¹ I.M. Savelyeva, A.V. Poletayev, *Znanie o proshlom: teoriya i istoriya*, 2 t., Sankt-Peterbourg, Nauka, 2006.

many universities, traditions become a resource to prove their uniqueness and to legitimize their role in the field of higher education and science.

Traditions are often believed to pose limits to university growth, impeding the course of change. For many of those involved in discussions on *path dependency* of universities, traditions are related to stagnation and heavy burden of the past. While new principles are now introduced to forge relations between various players, they are thought to pose serious challenges on existing structures. New status of universities, increasing rates of mergers and acquisitions, new principles of academic contracts – as well as performance evaluations and ratings – promote uncertainty and engenders charges of broken traditions and historical freedom.

Focusing on university traditions against the background of various research approaches and prospects can promote a fruitful discussion on the current state of institutions of higher education. University history reconstruction is a topic that deserves a special attention. As a rule, scholars do not know the history of archival collections they study, or they know the history of a particular university while remaining ignorant of the situation in the country as a whole – or that of other countries. Such unfamiliarity resulted in serious misconceptions concerning the manner in which archives had come into being, and the nature of the material they preserve. In particular, it is seldom recognized that archives were not ‘old curiosity shops’ created accidentally with no particular purpose, but they owe their existence to the plans and intentions of certain actors.

Presentations of delegates from various countries would promote a better understanding of the state of university archives in the world, develop a comparative approach to the study of archives, and stimulate interest in under-explored subjects that lack the archive evidences.

In contrast to amateurs and representatives of other disciplines, contemporary professional historians use notion *tradition* instrumentally and, as a rule, view it as a product of task-oriented work.

While listening to each other, the participants in the 2013 conference were becoming increasingly aware of the fact that one of the major university traditions – history writing – evolves on the basis of the following practices 1) preservation of archival records on university privileges granted at different times (from a Pope or local ruler); 2) compiling the «book of the dead» listing professors and benefactors for whose souls it was bound to pray; 3) professors’ speeches at the concluding convocations or university foundation days glorifying the alma mater; 4) jubilee laudations of the alma mater’s glorious past.

As history consolidated its position as a scientific discipline and profession in the 19th century, these genres merged into *big narratives* of university past and biographical dictionaries of university professors (a mixture of hagiographic and memorial writings). The rise of a research-type university in the end of the same century prompted historians to describe the development of the disciplines they taught in schools. These books are reference books of scientific

discoveries, research results and the names of scientists acknowledged by the academic community.

Writing narratives of university past (national or European), historians extract *traditions* from the array of events and testimonies. To homogenize the time stream and create a stable object for research, they perform typologization and scaling procedures (when one of the object elements is taken for measuring the whole object; for example, rating university performance is based on the data that includes the number of professors and students, the number of degree conferred, complexity of the faculty and chair structure or the names graduates listed on the *wall of honor*). Such research methods provide the researchers with an opportunity to compare universities from various countries and identify the *university idea (tradition)* in the homogeneous past². Upon its identification and description, retaining and following tradition has become for many memoirists a storyline in their individual recollections of the collective past. In this regard, both historians and memoirists in the 19th-20th centuries were creating the common history remembrance with collective mythology (Pierre Nora's term). Its mission was to sanctify the education process and assert the social value of knowledge. This approach to history writing contained the thanksgiving pathos as it described the educating deeds of the state, individual officials and professors.

And because the university historiography thought of itself as being a single scientific tradition (it acted as a protagonist of the same idea), every author of an empirical study prefaced his work by describing his predecessors' contribution to developing the research topic. In this regard, university studies are cumulative. For a long time they didn't doubt the basics of their existence, that is to say, they didn't analyze what idea or tradition they are protecting or creating.

The history-remembrance monopoly on explanation of the past was shattered in the late 19th century by the spread of new analysis methods in historical science. The discourse analysis revealed writing policies and the power of description languages, memory studies found remembrance policies, while the history of professions undermined faith in civilizational mission of the

² For example: J.H. Newman, *The Idea of A University*, 4 ed., London, Basil Montagu Pickering, 1875, 2 vols.; J. Ortega y Gasset, *Obras Completas*, vol. 4: *Mision de la Universidad*, Madrid, Revista de Occidente, 1930, pp. 313-353; K. Jaspers, *Die Idee der Universität*, Berlin, Springer-Verlag, 1946; K. Jaspers, K. Rossman, *Die Idee der Universität*, Berlin-Göttingen-Heidelberg, Springer-Verlag, 1961; E. Anrich (ed.), *Die Idee der deutschen Universität. Die fünf Grundschriften aus der Zeit ihrer Neubegründung durch klassischen Idealismus und romantischen Realismus*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1956; M. Eigen, H.-G. Gadamer, J. Habermas (edd.), *Die Idee der Universität: Versuch e. Standortbestimmung*, Berlin, Heidelberg, New York, London, Paris, Tokyo, Springer, 1988; H. Kopetz, *Forschung und Lehre: die Idee der Universität bei Humboldt, Jaspers, Shelsky und Mittelstrass*, Wien, Böhlau, 2002; T.N. Zhukovskaya, *Universitety i universitetskie traditsii v Rossii*, Petrozavodsk, Izdatelstvo PetrGU, 2011.

academy. Finally, after the release of a multi-authored book under the editorship of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger³, commonplace in socio-humanitarian disciplines was a maxim stating that many traditions are invented in social life, while it's up to memoirists and historians to conceptualize them.

Recognizing these postulates has problematized the writing of big historical narratives and describing the past of heterogeneous formations. In the modern era, university researchers actively utilize Hobsbawm's and Ranger's analytical tools to refresh the language of university history writing by critically revising it⁴. This gave the impetus to holding a series of international conferences⁵ and publishing works exploring jubilee programs, academic culture of remembrance and discourse practices of university professors⁶.

A collection of articles offered to «History of Education & Children's Literature» readers contain the results of historical deconstructions of university traditions. Researchers of university past from various countries (Germany, Portugal, Russia, France and Italy) show the circumstances, in which they were created, their subsequent transformation, the work of their creators, material of construction, commissions from rulers and academic corporations, as well as conventions with the readers. All together we intended,

³ E.J. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger (edd.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983; E.J. Hobsbawm, *Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914*, in D. Boswell, J. Evans (edd.), *Representing the Nation: A Reader*, London-New York, Routledge, 2007, p. 82.

⁴ See, for example: R. Sani, *The invention of tradition in the minor Universities of united Italy. The case of the thirteenth-century origins of the Studium Maceratense*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 7, n. 1, 2012, pp. 485-504.

⁵ For example, conferences: «University jubilees in Northern Europe: more than occasions to commemorate their own glorious past?» (Helsinki, 12-13 March 2009 and Copenhagen, 14-15 January 2010); «Academic culture of remembrance. The combination of University history, jubilees and academic heritage» (Ghent, 16-17 March 2011); «University Traditions: a Resource or a Burden?» (Moscow, 26-29 September 2013); «Universitätsgeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert» (Munster, 17-18 July 2014).

⁶ For example: M.G. Ash (ed.), *Mythos Humboldt. Vergangenheit und Zukunft der deutschen Universitäten*, Wien, Böhlau, 1997; W. Müller, *Erinnern an die Gründung. Universitätsjubiläen, Universitätsgeschichte und die Entstehung der Jubiläumskultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, «Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte», bd. 21, 1998, pp. 79-102; R. vom Bruch, *Methoden und Schwerpunkte der neueren Universitätsgeschichtsforschung*, in W. Buchholz (ed.), *Die Universität Greifswald und die deutsche Hochschullandschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Kolloquium des Lehrstuhls der Pommersche Geschichte der Universität Greifswald in Verbindung mit der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verl., 2004, pp. 9-26; D. Langewiesche, *Die Humboldtsche Universität als nationaler Mythos. Zum Selbstbild der deutschen Universitäten in ihrer Rektoratsreden im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik*, «Historische Zeitschrift», n. 290, 2010, pp. 53-91; P. Dhondt (ed.), *National, Nordic or European? Nineteenth-Century University Jubilees and Nordic Cooperation*, Leiden, Brill, 2011; S. Paetschek, *The Writing of University History and University Jubilees: German Examples*, «Studium; Revue d'Histoire des Sciences et des Universités», n. 5, 2012, pp. 142-155; E.A. Vishlenkova, I.M. Savelieva (edd.), *Soslovie russkikh professorov. Sozdateli statusov i smislov*, Moscow, Publishing House 'Higher School of Economics', 2013; P. Dhondt (ed.), *University Jubilees and University History Writing* (forthcoming).

as Pierre Nora graphically said, «capture things that constitute tradition *par excellence*». Idolizing the university has been followed by exploring the history of university culture. This intention suggests analyzing the ways by which history-remembrance transforms to history-criticism. Additionally, the articles contain recommendations concerning the correct use of contextually dependent concept *university traditions* in contemporary political sphere.

The idea of a university: a universal institution in a globalised world

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ABSTRACT: The current university in a globalised world is facing all kinds of new challenges: an increasing commodification of research, a growing number of cases of scientific fraud, pressure on teaching, and internationalisation within still predominantly national frameworks. Taken together, all these elements contribute to the impression among the general public of a certain crisis of the current university. The central question of this paper is to what extent the original ideal of the university as a universal institution, in the period of its foundation in the High Middle Ages, can function as a source of inspiration for the concerns of the contemporary university. It will be shown that many traditions connected to this ideal can still function as valid models to reflect upon the university today, offering as such a nice example of how history of (university) education can be of use in the ongoing public debate and policy making process. The exercise to think about the university in this way stems from an intensive seminar, organised for master students in educational theory at Ghent University and the KU Leuven (Belgium). In the seminar we have been searching for the idea and the identity of the contemporary university from a historical and philosophical perspective.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: University; History; Conceptual Imagery; Theory; XIX-XX Centuries.

Introduction: An intensive seminar on the idea of a university

The current university in a globalised world is facing all kinds of new challenges: an increasing commodification of research, a growing number of

cases of scientific fraud, pressure on teaching, falling standards in education (allegedly or real), internationalisation within still predominantly national frameworks, increasing competition between and within previously collegiate institutions and a growing alienation between students on the one hand, as consumers in demand of a vocational training, and professors on the other hand, presenting themselves as producers of knowledge, offering primarily a specialised scholarly education. Taken together, all these elements contribute to the impression among the general public of a certain crisis of the current university. The central question of this paper is to what extent the original ideal of the university as a universal institution, in the period of its foundation in the High Middle Ages, can function as a source of inspiration for the concerns of the contemporary university¹.

This exercise to think about the university in this way stems from an intensive seminar, organised in 2011 and 2012 for master students in educational theory at Ghent University and the KU Leuven (Belgium)². In the seminar we have been searching for the idea and the identity of the contemporary university from a historical and philosophical perspective. What is the meaning of the university as a universal institution in a globalised world? Which challenges the university has to face and to what extent these go to the heart of its identity? What is the core of this age-old institution that on the one hand appears to be able to adapt itself continuously to new demands and expectations, but the survival of which on the other hand seems to be threatened increasingly as well? What can students expect of an education at such an institution, which transforms itself permanently? And what is expected from the student? Or otherwise, what kind of thinking about the university, the student and the process of studying is created in the current discourse? And can we still talk about the university and the student or do these notions have to be replaced by those of the company and the consumer? These are just some of the topics that we have been dealing with during our exploration to the essence of the university.

The seminar consisted of two parts. During the first part, the students had to prepare themselves by reading and discussing texts that offered a historical view on the whole issue or that focused on the challenges of the contemporary university³. The first two-day session was concluded with an animated debate on the question «what is a university?». During the second part, the students presented their own findings to each other. By interviewing staff and students,

¹ See J. Fried, *Die Aktualität des Mittelalters. Gegen die Überheblichkeit unserer Wissensgesellschaft*, Stuttgart, Thorbecke, 2002.

² Although a number of colleagues at both institutions contributed to the seminar, we take the full responsibility for the arguments developed in this article. Nevertheless, we would like to thank Pieter Verstraete, Jan Masschelein, all the students who participated in the seminar and their interviewees for their practical collaboration and intellectual input.

³ A bibliographical list of the texts that were discussed during the first part of the seminar is provided in attachment.

the idea(l)s that had been discussed during the first part had to be tested out at a specific department of one of the participating universities. How did (future) philosophers, historians, political and social scientists, economists, psychologists, (agricultural) engineers, astronomers, physicists, chemists and physicians look upon the idea of the university?

However, instead of presenting the results of these small-scale and far from representative exercises in the format of a survey of how these days students and staff think about the university, we started from their opinions and views in order to develop our own vision on the university – inevitably somewhat naïve and idealistic. By falling back on the medieval ideal of the university as a universal institution, in four paragraphs it will be shown that many traditions connected to this ideal can still function as valid models to reflect upon the university today: 1) the university as a community of masters and students, open to everyone; 2) the universal aims of an academic education and the universality of knowledge; 3) being at the service of the public interest and therefore enjoying a number of privileges, the highly praised academic freedom being one of them; 4) and all this to the benefit of the whole Christian world, without being hampered by national or regional borders.

Remark that the focus is entirely and exclusively on the ideal of the medieval university as a universal institution, without paying attention neither to the differences of opinion about this ideal existing at the time, nor to the question how these ideas and ideals were put into practice at different localities. In result this article should be considered a philosophical exercise in which a true historical background is used to build up an argument relating to the present. As such it offers an example of how history of (university) education can be of use in the ongoing public debate and policy making process. Although most of the contemporary examples referred to are taken from the Flemish context, the challenges and questions that are dealt with are certainly relevant for many universities in a globalised world⁴.

1. The university as a universal institution. A community of masters and students

The commonest term for universities, especially in the thirteenth century, was *universitas*, meaning ‘the totality’ or ‘the whole’ in classical Latin. For medieval jurists, *universitas* had become the general term used to designate

⁴ Because the literature on the origin and background of medieval universities as well as on the contemporary challenges of higher education is so vast, only those sources that have contributed directly to the development of the argument are mentioned, and so without claiming any attempt of comprehensiveness with regard to any of the topics.

all kinds of community or corporation, and therefore one had to specify the object to which one was referring. So, if teaching was the topic, one would talk of ‘the university of students’ or ‘the university of masters and students’ (*universitas scholarium* or *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*) of such and such a place. The interest of such a formula lies in the fact that it places the emphasis upon the human reality of the medieval universities, which was all the more fundamental given that for a long time these universities scarcely knew any other reality, remaining content with the strict minimum in buildings and finances. The medieval universities were therefore, first of all, organised communities of individuals responsible for higher education⁵.

In contrast to other medieval guilds, the university as a corporation of masters and students was not characterised by a one-to-one relationship between the master and his pupil. Instead, the ‘master’ title at the university was conferred by all the other masters together⁶, after the delivery of a ‘masterpiece’, i.e. an examination that usually consisted of a series of substantive questions, followed by a disputation in which the student was required to defend a given position on a predetermined question. If the student was successful, he was awarded the title of licentiate and was granted permission to lecture at the university (*licentia ubique docendi*, see section 4)⁷. If he in fact took up a professorial position, he was finally awarded – in a ceremonial act called the *inceptio* – the title of ‘doctor’ or ‘master’, meaning only that he was qualified to teach at the university⁸. The regulations with regard to the period and substance to be covered for each degree within each faculty, the requisites for an exam and the rights and obligations of the teaching corps were laid down in the statutes,

⁵ J. Verger, *Patterns*, in H. de Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*. Vol. I: *Universities in the middle ages*, Cambridge, University Press, 1992, pp. 37-38. This volume is undoubtedly still the best starting point concerning the idea(l)s and reality of the medieval university.

⁶ Symbolically, as a reminder of its medieval origin, this tradition has been continued in the Convocation (England) or the General Council (Scotland) as being one of the highest governing organs of the university. It consists of academic staff, but it also includes all graduates who are not active as members of the university. Nowadays, the powers of this body are limited mainly to the election of the university’s chancellor.

⁷ R. van Ditzhuyzen, *The ‘creatio doctoris’. Diversity or convergence of ceremonial forms?*, in T. Halversen, A. Nyhagen (edd.), *The Bologna Process and the Shaping of the future knowledge societies. Conference Report from the Third Conference on Knowledge and politics*, Bergen, University, 2005, p. 129.

⁸ Both in Bologna and Paris, the doctoral degree was originally reserved for professors at the law faculty, whereas their colleagues in theology were referred to as masters (*magisters*). Gradually, however, it became customary to apply the title of ‘doctor’ in all higher faculties (theology, medicine, civil law and canon law) and to use the title of ‘master’ for teachers at the preparatory arts faculty (a practice with traces in the English title of M.A.). In regions such as the Germanic nations, however, both titles remained and were used interchangeably. E. Horn, *Die Disputationen und Promotionen an den Deutschen Universitäten vornehmlich seit dem 16. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1968, p. 114.

which, again, ideally were fixed by mutual agreement between masters and/or students⁹.

Turning to the present day, almost none of the respondents in our survey identified the contemporary university in any way with the ideal of a community of professors and students, even though many of them shared the need of more collaboration. Firstly, the cooperation between professors, which indeed exists to a certain extent, is seriously hampered by the increasing competition for positions and funding between individual members of staff. Therefore, and specifically in order to avoid faculty burnout, Janie Crosmer suggests departments to adopt collectivistic values: «It's sometimes hard for professors to feel like they're in a community, a community where they can share the workload. If one faculty member is really busy working on getting a grant, for instance, maybe a colleague could step up and teach their classes. If faculty members didn't feel like they had to do it all, that they had someone within their community to turn to, I think that would help»¹⁰.

Secondly, the collegial community of professors and students (as far as it was more than an idealised picture of course) is definitely lost in the transition to mass universities, from the 1960s¹¹. The seminar as it was intended at the end of the eighteenth century in the Prussian universities of Göttingen and Halle, being a forum for scholarly discussion between students and researchers-lectures on an equal level (at least in theory)¹², is no longer experienced as such by the students of today. Only in very small departments, like astronomy, or in small campus universities, like the KU Leuven Kulak, some kind of community spirit is still perceptible.

And what is more, thirdly, the large increase in student numbers also contributed to the loss of a community spirit among the students themselves. In this regard the students participating in our seminar (itself indeed being inspired on the Prussian example) indicated the need of separate rooms where they would have the opportunity to discuss together the content of courses and

⁹ In universities that followed the Bolognese pattern the statutes were fixed rather by the student corporations; in universities of the Parisian type rather by the teachers; yet in the latter, the faculties of arts provided the institutional framework of the collegial responsibility of masters and students for the *studium*. J. Verger, *Fakultät, -en*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Munich, LexMA-Verlag, 1987, Vol. 3, pp. 215-217.

¹⁰ A.W. June, *Faculty Burnout Has Both External and Internal Sources, Scholar Says*, «The Chronicle of Higher Education», June 9, 2010, <http://chronicle.com/article/Faculty-Burnout-Has-Both/65843/?sid=at&utm_source=at&utm_medium=en> (last access: January 14th, 2014). See J. Crosmer, *Professional burnout among U.S. full-time university faculty: Implications for worksite health promotion*, Texas Woman's University, ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing, 2009.

¹¹ C. Kerr, *The Great Transformation in Higher Education, 1960-1980*, New York, SUNY Press, 1991.

¹² R.S. Turner, *University Reforms and Professorial Scholarship in Germany 1760-1806*, in L. Stone (ed.), *The University in Society: Europe, Scotland, and the United States from the 16th to the 20th Century*, Princeton, University Press, 1974, Vol. 2, pp. 495-532.

lectures (if possible even together with staff members), in order to create in that way a community identity, apart from typical student-like activities such as hazing or songfests. The KU Leuven has tried to meet this demand by opening the AGORA Learning Centre in April 2013, intended for students and staff. Institutionally being part of the university library, it advertises itself as «more than a building. It is an all-embracing learning space, where students can learn the way they want to. [...] AGORA stands for ‘market place’ in Greek, a social meeting place. In Leuven AGORA also stands for a social hub where students and staff of our university can meet together»¹³. However, despite these good intentions, the first self-evaluation proofs that the learning centre is extremely popular among students, yet largely fails to attract substantive numbers of staff. The fact that the latter are judged primarily on other tasks than teaching is at least part of the explanation for their absence. In result, an increasing community spirit between ‘masters’ and ‘students’ remains forthcoming.

The large increase in the number of students between 1955 and 1970 and again from the 1990s, could tempt one to conclude that the medieval ideal of an open access to the university is finally realised. Indeed, also in this regard the university presented itself as a universal, supranational community. Particularly the mode of organisation of the earliest university colleges took its inspiration in the main from that of the mendicant monasteries. They were exclusive in the sense of being intended for the intellectual elite from the whole Christianity, but, at least in principle, limited financial means or being of low birth could not be an objection to enter them. However, at the latest in the course of the sixteenth century this somewhat naïve ideal, de facto gradually was replaced by an increasing aristocratisation of the university¹⁴.

Jumping again to today, great doubts remain about the social effects of the democratisation of higher education, despite the impressive increase in the number of students. «This seems, it is alleged, to have missed its ultimate target, since at present children of the less educated make two to four times less use of it than do children of the more highly educated», Marc Depaepe introduces his article in which he pleads for a more critical approach of statistics with regard to the university expansion¹⁵. Moreover, there is no doubt that worldwide the quantitative increase goes hand in hand with a devaluation of diplomas¹⁶. Or with

¹³ AGORA Learning Centre, <<https://bib.kuleuven.be/english/agora/about>> (last access: January 14th, 2014).

¹⁴ H. de Ridder-Symoens, *Rich Men, Poor Men: Social Stratification and Social Representation at the University (13th-16th Centuries)*, in W. Blockmans, A. Janse (edd.), *Showing Status. Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 2, Turnhout, Brepols, 1999, pp. 159-176.

¹⁵ M. Depaepe, *Dazzling statistics? On the university expansion in Flanders and the need for research into the history of education that transcends quantifying sociology*, in P. Smeyers, M. Depaepe (edd.), *Educational Research: The Ethics and Aesthetics of Statistics*, Dordrecht, Springer, 2010, p. 28.

¹⁶ M. Duru-Bellat, *Recent trends in social reproduction in France: should the political*

other words, at any rate that is how an increasing number of critics in Flanders feel about it, quantity is almost unavoidably at the expense of quality¹⁷, if only because particularly during the second wave of democratisation the increase in student numbers was not followed by a noticeable rise in the number of teaching staff. Overcrowded lecture halls are the result, where students are not more than a number and where any kind of community spirit is out of the question, among the students themselves, let alone between students and professors. In consequence, and to avoid the high dropout rates the demand for stricter entrance conditions sounds always louder. An example like Finland proves indeed that through demanding entrance examinations in combination with huge investments in higher education (itself being free of charge), the university can keep its intellectual elitist character to a certain extent, without having to use limited financial means or being of low birth as objections to enter¹⁸. Of course, in no respect these measures actually result from the background of medieval universities as resembling mendicant orders, but nevertheless in both cases the outcome is a stronger community of ‘masters’ and ‘students’, working together at an equal level for the advancement of knowledge.

2. *Universal aims of an academic education*

Already in the 1960s, Herbert Grundmann’s thesis that «the stimulus to the emergence and growth of universities was scholarly and scientific interest, the desire to learn and to know, the *amor sciendi*»¹⁹, has been exposed as being too idealistic or too ideological. «From the very beginning, education was subject to the tension between the fundamental and primary impulse to seek the truth and the desire of many persons to acquire practical training»²⁰, Peter Classen concluded. The study of theology, for instance, was not a precondition for the priesthood, but it could render it easier to enter higher ecclesiastical offices. Gradually the academic degree was recognised as evidence of scholarly qualification and it became a characteristic mark of professional elites engaged

promises of education be revisited?, «Journal of Education Policy», vol. 23, n. 1, 2008, pp. 81-95.

¹⁷ M. De Vos, J. Gay, *Hoger onderwijs in tijden van massificatie: de werkvloer van docenten trekt aan de alarmbel: meer kwaliteit, minder kwantiteit is nodig*, Itinera Institute Analyse 2013/15, October 2, 2013, <<http://www.itinerainstitute.org/upl/1/nl/doc/Definitieve%20versie%20rapport%20HO.pdf>> (last access: January 15th, 2014).

¹⁸ O. Kivinen, J. Hedman, P. Kaipainen, *From Elite University to Mass Higher Education. Educational Expansion, Equality of Opportunity and Returns to University Education*, «Acta Sociologica», vol. 50, n. 3, 2007, pp. 231-247.

¹⁹ H. Grundmann, *Vom Ursprung der Universität im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1957, p. 39.

²⁰ P. Classen, *Studium und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter*, ed. by J. Fried, Stuttgart, A. Hiersemann, 1983, p. 25.

in the cure of souls, legal practice, governmental administration, medical care and education. However, particularly in consequence of its ambition to create not only a professional, but also an intellectual elite, a third expectation of scholars and students towards the university can be identified, viz. general education; or, to use the appropriate expressions dating from the first half of the nineteenth century, liberal education or *Bildung*²¹.

Up to today, professors, students and administrators are struggling to find a balance between these three universal tasks of an academic education: to offer or to get at the same time a profound scholarly schooling, an excellent vocational training and a solid general education²². Within the current prevailing discourse of commodification and functionalism (see section 3), the last mission is clearly the most threatened and, according to some of the respondents in our survey, in particular degree programmes already even completely absent. In her sociological study on the corporate university, Gaye Tuchman puts it as follows, universities are no longer there to educate, but to train²³. On the other hand, there are still many indications of the importance and recognition of some kind of general education and the enduring conviction that a university should offer more than a purely vocational and/or scholarly training. Yet the question remains how this can and should be realised: 1) just by being at the university and living and studying together in a community²⁴; 2) through specific philosophical or historical courses like, for instance, history of medicine for future physicians or history of education within the teacher training programme²⁵; or through the introduction of three broad bachelor programmes (sciences, humanities and social sciences) instead of the dozens of programmes that exist today, as proposed by the previous rector of the KU Leuven Mark Waer in 2011?²⁶

²¹ J.H. Newman, *The Idea of a University*, ed. by I.T. Ker, Oxford, Clarendon, 1976 and D. Benner, *Wilhelm von Humboldts Bildungstheorie*, Weinheim, Juventa, 2003.

²² About the search for a compromise between these three tasks of an academic education in Belgium during the nineteenth century (when these three missions were increasingly identified with the German, the French and the English model), see P. Dhondt, *Un double compromis. Enjeux et débats relatifs à l'enseignement universitaire en Belgique au XIX^e siècle*, Gent, Academia Press, 2011.

²³ G. Tuchman, *Wannabe U: Inside the Corporate University*, Chicago, University Press, 2009. See also R. Arum, J. Roksa, *Academically Adrift: Limited Learning on College Campuses*, Chicago, University Press, 2010.

²⁴ E.g. N.C. Burbules, *Spaces and Places in the Virtual University*, in P. Smeyers, M. Depaeppe, E. Keiner (edd.), *Educational Research: The Importance and Effects of Institutional Spaces*, Dordrecht, Springer, 2013, pp. 167-176.

²⁵ E.g. K. Salimova, E.V. Johanningsmeier (edd.), *Why should we teach history of education?*, Moscow, International academy of self-improvement, 1993 and J.E. Larsen (ed.), *Knowledge, Politics and the History of Education*, Studies on Education 2, Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2012.

²⁶ K. Herbots and R. Amkreutz, *Uniefs hervormen bacheloropleidingen*, «De Morgen», September 9, 2011. See also M. Waer, *De triple helix universiteit: een veranderende universiteit in een veranderende samenleving*, September 16, 2011, <<http://www.kuleuven.be/openingacademiejaar/0910/toespraken/rector.html>> (last access: January 17th, 2014).

However, Waer's idea was big news for not much longer than a day and the other suggestions too often seem at best just token measures to give an academic cachet to a programme. The ultimate aim of an academic education is first and foremost to prepare students for the labour market, as is shown by André Oosterlinck's (also a previous KU Leuven rector and currently president of the KU Leuven Association) proposal to make tuition fees directly dependent on the demand of employers. The higher the need of graduates in a particular field on the labour market, the lower the fees of these programmes at the university. And although this idea, which was launched only a few weeks after Waer's flash in the pan, was neither realised, it was clearly under much more serious consideration. Particularly the students set their face against this, in their opinion, absolutely undemocratic measure. According to Michiel Horsten (at the time chairman of the Flemish Students' Union), the proposal proves not only that vocational training is the alpha and omega of an academic education, but also that vocational training is increasingly limited to an extremely specialised kind of scholarly schooling of engineers, natural scientists and medical professionals²⁷.

Yet also in human and social sciences, overspecialisation and a purely scholarly schooling that is insufficiently connected to the real professional practice is an old sore. Following complaints (mostly uttered by students) often return in evaluations of degree programmes: an imbalance between purely theoretical and more practical courses, professors who do not have any feeling with the professional practice they are talking about, and the lack of apprenticeships. Indeed after all, only a very small minority of the students will continue as a researcher, even though all of them are trained to become one. At the same time, according to these evaluations, possible counteractions should not be at the expense of the general education²⁸. An interesting remark in this regard, which was added by the students involved in our seminar, is the objection that for them it is not always possible to assess the value of certain courses immediately. Sometimes they are only appreciated at a later stage of their education or even their life. As it is this involves a certain risk, because evaluations by students (including the *criterium* of the usefulness of a particular

²⁷ *Moeten te populaire studies duurder worden?*, «Klasse voor Leraren», n. 218, 2011, p. 17.

²⁸ By way of example, about the difficult search for a balance between preparing students for the professional practice and preserving the scholarly character of the education; with regard to teacher training, see M. Simons, G. Kelchtermans, *Teacher professionalism in Flemish policy on teacher education. A critical analysis of the Decree on Teacher Education (2006) in Flanders (Belgium)*, «Teachers and teaching: theory and practice», vol. 14, n. 4, 2008, pp. 283-294; with regard to linguists and philologists, see K. Convents, *Het diploma Germaanse talen op de arbeidsmarkt. Een onderzoek bij germanisten van de K.U. Leuven (1967-1995)*, «Mededelingenblad van de Leuvense Germanisten», 10, 1997, <<http://alum.kuleuven.be/germaanse/mededelingenblad/convents.htm>> (last access: January 20th, 2014); with regard to several degree programmes in humanities, see *Leven na Letteren*, «Uit het Erasmushuis, Tijdschrift van de Alumni Letteren Leuven», n. 3, 2013, pp. 1-183.

course) are one of the instruments (it is true in general not the most important one, see further in this section) in the general assessment of teaching staff and their chances of promotion²⁹. Together, all these elements proof that the scale can easily tip, both to scholarly schooling and to vocational training, yet usually at the expense of the much sought-after general education.

Almost as a matter of course, the concern about overspecialisation leads to another major tradition of the medieval university as a universal institution, viz. the aim to provide universal knowledge that was not yet split up in tiny specialised fields. The somewhat more 'specialised' curriculum of the higher faculties of theology, law and medicine, was balanced out in two ways. Firstly, the obligatory and broad preparatory education in the faculty of arts (*artes*) included subjects that nowadays would be considered belonging to human sciences (such as grammar and logic), as well as others belonging to natural sciences (such as geometry and arithmetic). Secondly, the disciplines of the higher faculties themselves gave evidence of a strong identity of unity, all of them being *artes liberales*, to be distinguished from the *artes mechanicae*. According to the Swiss historian Walter Rüegg, the question why certain disciplines were in- or excluded from the teaching programme of the faculties can only be explained by the fundamental significance of the *amor sciendi*:

Faculties emerged only where there were previously schools which transmitted knowledge as public good and where attendance was basically open to everyone capable of performing at the required intellectual standard. Even the practically oriented field of medicine³⁰ developed into a scientific discipline only when knowledge based on the study of theories of natural philosophy and medicine drawn from ancient and Arabic-Jewish texts, and from empirical observation, was introduced. [...] It was very different in building construction and in other *artes mechanicae*. In these, admission and training were dominated by guilds or corporate bodies formed on the basis of status; admission was often limited by connections of kinship. They were, moreover, oriented immediately towards the formation of practical occupational skills. [...] As a matter of fact, a comparison between the socially no less relevant 'mechanical' sciences, which were transmitted through guild-like arrangements, and the subjects taught at university shows the significance for the development of academic disciplines of the opportunities allowed by the *scholè* for leisure as an emancipation from the immediate care of gaining one's daily bread which is characteristic of ordinary occupations³¹.

²⁹ T. Ito, *Historians and the present: on Marc Depaepe's decalogue*, «Zeitschrift für pädagogische Historiographie», vol. 16, n. 1, 2010, pp. 43-45.

³⁰ In general a distinction was made between on the one hand external medicine (surgery) being taught at a *collegium medicum* in a corporate fashion, and on the other hand internal (speculative) medicine that was part of the medieval university curriculum. Only from the end of the eighteenth century, gradually surgery was introduced at university level. See P. Dhondt, *Transnational Currents in Finnish Medical Education, (c. 1800-1920), Starting from a 1922 Discourse*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 48, n. 5, 2012, pp. 692-710.

³¹ W. Rüegg, *Themes*, in De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*. Vol. I, cit., pp. 25-30.

These unifying characteristics of the disciplines at the medieval university (not to be dealing immediately with practical occupational skills and sharing a common method of study, i.e. the study of texts and empirical observation) do no longer apply to the disciplines at the contemporary multiversity³². The universality and unity of knowledge is replaced by ever increasing specialisation and discipline formation³³, processes that can not be countered by existing attempts of (moreover too often only rhetoric) interdisciplinarity³⁴. However, in order to be able to develop critical thinking (being included in the idea that universities are not only there to train, but also to educate³⁵), a certain degree of interdisciplinarity is needed and particularly the capability to come loose from the own discipline. Instead of locking oneself up within the own discipline, a certain distance is required, both from the prevailing theories in the own field and from the society³⁶. For instance, to what extent students of economics are encouraged to question economic growth, or to what extent future physicians are made aware of the uncertainty of medicine, which itself raises doubts about the infallibility of evidence based medicine?³⁷ Indeed, the majority of medical students who participated in our survey, mentioned that they were taught to consider their textbooks the ‘medical bible’.

The development of this kind of critical thinking requires time. Students however, complain about not having enough time at their disposal, being absorbed by courses, papers and deadlines, without having the opportunity to bury themselves in a specific topic, as intended by Wilhelm von Humboldt in his striving for *Einsamkeit und Freiheit*³⁸. Lecturers for their part can not invest enough time in teaching because education is increasingly considered a task of secondary importance, in their personal targets as well as in the financing scheme of higher education in general³⁹. It is sometimes frightening how explicitly it is

³² C. Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 5th ed., Harvard, University Press, 2001 and M.A. Bernstein (ed.), *The Uses of the University: After Fifty Years*, «Social Science History», vol. 36, n. 4, 2012, pp. 473-615.

³³ W.R. Woodward, R.S. Cohen, *World Views and Scientific Discipline Formation*, Boston Studies in the Philosophy and History of Science 134, Dordrecht, Springer, 1991.

³⁴ E.g. A. Rohstock, *The History of Higher Education – Some conceptual remarks on the Future of a Research Field*, in D. Tröhler, R. Barbu (edd.), *The Future of Education Research: Education Systems in Historical, Cultural, and Sociological Perspectives*, Rotterdam, Sense Publishers, 2011, pp. 91-104 and B. Engler, *The Rhetoric of Interdisciplinarity*, September 25, 1992, <<http://www.balzengler.ch/files/Rhetoric-of-Interdisciplinarity.pdf>> (last access: January 20th, 2014).

³⁵ R. Barnett, *Higher Education: A Critical Business*, Bristol, Open University Press, 1997.

³⁶ D.J. Frank, J.W. Meyer, *Worldwide Expansion and Change in the University*, in G. Krücken, A. Kosmützky, M. Torka (edd.), *Towards a Multiversity? Universities between Global Trends and National Traditions*, Bielefeld, transcript Verlag, 2007, pp. 19-44.

³⁷ R.C. Fox, *The Evolution of Medical Uncertainty*, «The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly. Health and Society», vol. 58, n. 1, 1980, pp. 1-49.

³⁸ H. Schelsky, *Einsamkeit und Freiheit. Idee und Gestalt der deutschen Universität und ihrer Reformen*, Düsseldorf, Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, 1971.

³⁹ P. Loobuyck, *Welke academici willen we? Pleidooi voor meer maten en gewichten*, in P.

spoken about this. During the period of our seminar, the faculty board of the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences of Ghent University declared openly that a reform of the degree programme in educational sciences was needed, not to improve the quality of the teaching programme, but only to abolish a certain number of courses in order to give the teaching staff more opportunities for research. Rationalisation, it is called. Cynically enough, some of the students who participated in the seminar had a seat in the board as students' representatives. Of course, one could be happy about the openness of decision-making in a case like this, yet to the students, the experience showed particularly how difficult it is to escape the neoliberal policy; even though up to today precisely the combination of research and teaching (including vocational training, scientific schooling and general education) characterises the university.

3. *In the service of the public interest*

Along with research and teaching, the generally accepted triad of the tasks of the current university also includes service to the society. The medieval university too was intended to be of use for the society as a whole, transmitting universal knowledge to everyone who was interested in it, without the regular borders of other corporate-like institutions. Because in this way the university was indisputably in the public interest and thus serving not only the interests of the own guild, her members enjoyed all kinds of privileges with a universal validity: separate academic jurisdiction, exemption from particular taxes, students were exempted from military service, graduates were ennobled and allowed to wear weapons and special clothing and, of course, there was the highly praised academic freedom⁴⁰. The question why the early universities enjoyed such a wide degree of autonomy, can only be explained by taking into account that serving the desire to learn and to know, the *amor sciendi*, was in the public interest. Nevertheless, from the start the fundamental value of the academic freedom of the university as a corporate community stood in potential conflict, on two fronts: internally between the freedom of the individual and the collegial solidarity of the members of the university, and externally between the requirements of the university for autonomy and control by those who supply the necessary financial resources⁴¹.

Loobuyck, G. Vanheeswijck, W. Van Herck, E. Grieten, K. Vercauteren (edd.), *Welke universiteit willen wij (niet)?*, Gent, Academia Press, 2007, pp. 11-25.

⁴⁰ M. Meyhöfer, *Die kaiserlichen Stiftungsprivilegien für Universitäten*, «Archiv für Urkundenforschung», n. 4, 1912, pp. 294-314 and 395-413.

⁴¹ W. Rüegg, *Foreword*, in De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*. Vol. I, cit., p. XXVII.

According to a growing number of critics, both coming from in- and outside the academic world, the last mentioned group of people – those who supply the necessary financial resources – are gradually taking over the contemporary university. For some doom-mongers this development has that kind of impact that it even threatens the survival of the university as such, others are much more moderate in their criticism and sometimes even point to the advantages of, for instance, a close cooperation between the university and the industry. However, nobody denies that the ruling discourse in higher education is one of commodification, neoliberalism, functionalism, usefulness and rationalisation⁴². The simplistic ideal of the university being solely in the public interest is definitely lost. As mentioned before, the assignment of tasks of the current university is decided by the financing scheme of higher education, rather than by the perceived needs of the society. The model to divide the limited financial resources also encourages an excessive supply of PhD graduates on the labour market and a proliferation of scholarly articles that nobody can still handle and the quality of which often disappoints. The intolerable pressure to publish or perish is certainly one of the explanations for a growing number of cases of scientific fraud⁴³.

⁴² The literature on the recent commodification of higher education is extremely extensive, just some examples: D. Bok, *Universities in the Marketplace: The Commercialization of Higher Education*, Princeton, University Press, 2003; D.L. Kirp, *Shakespeare, Einstein, and the Bottom Line: The Marketing of Higher Education*, Harvard, University Press, 2004; D.S. Greenberg, *Science for Sale: The Perils, Rewards and Delusions of Campus Capitalism*, Chicago, University Press, 2007; F. Donoghue, *The Last Professors: the Corporate University and the Fate of the Humanities*, Fordham, University Press, 2008; C. Lorenz (ed.), *If you're so smart, why aren't you rich? Universiteit, markt & management*, Amsterdam, Boom, 2008; S. Slaughter, G. Rhoades, *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State and Higher Education*, Johns Hopkins, University Press, 2009; L. Menand, *The Marketplace of Ideas: Reform and Resistance in the American University*, New York, W.W. Norton, 2010; A. Hacker, C. Dreifus, *Higher Education? How Colleges are Wasting Our Money and Failing Our Kids and What We Can Do About It*, New York, Times Books, 2010; C. Krijnen, C. Lorenz, J. Umlauf (edd.), *Wahrheit oder Gewinn? Über die Ökonomisierung von Universität und Wissenschaft*, Würzburg, Königshausen & Neumann, 2011; A.M. Martínez-Alemán, *Accountability, Pragmatic Aims, and the American University*, New York, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2011; M. Simons, L. Lundahl, R. Serpieri (edd.), *The Governing of Education in Europe: commercial actors, partnerships and strategies*, special issue of «European Educational Research Journal», vol. 12, n. 4, 2013, pp. 416-524. An interesting historical introduction to the idea of the university as a company in the Dutch context is offered by L.J. Dorsman, P.J. Knechtmans (edd.), *Het universitaire bedrijf. Over professionalisering van onderzoek, bestuur en beheer*, Universiteit & Samenleving 6, Hilversum, Verloren, 2010.

⁴³ E.g. A. Jha, *False positives: fraud and misconduct are threatening scientific research*, «The Guardian», September 13, 2012, <<http://www.theguardian.com/science/2012/sep/13/scientific-research-fraud-bad-practice>> (last access: January 21st, 2014) and D. Coeckelbergh, *Universiteiten, universitaire titels, thesissen, onderzoek... en fraude*, «De Wereld Morgen», March 24, 2013, <<http://www.dewereldmorgen.be/blogs/dirk-coeckelbergh/2013/03/24/universiteiten-universitaire-titels-thesissen-onderzoek-en-fraude>> (last access: January 21st, 2014).

Research and its results are increasingly privatised and commercialised. Knowledge is no longer a public good, but in a growing number of cases owned by the client (be it an industrial company, a government institution or a private person) who commissions the research⁴⁴. Despite the claims of the preservation of the independency of the individual researchers, the trend of supporting and enabling university research through external funding inevitably has an impact on this research, if only through the choice of topics. But does this impact reach not much further? Isn't it known that pharmaceutical companies have an influence on medical literature⁴⁵, and isn't this a direct threat to fundamental research?⁴⁶ And what is more, not only these trends as such are alarming, but also how organisational, political and cultural contexts have hindered social and political activism by academics against this development. As Sandra J. Grey shows for New Zealand, «declining resources and increased accountability mechanisms in the tertiary education sector have intersected with a cultural context dominated by pragmatism and instrumentalism to constrain activism by academics. Despite these constraints, the author argues that it is crucial for academics to be involved in forms of day-to-day resistance and to establish ongoing connections to activist organisations in order to challenge the hegemonic narratives of marketisation and managerialism which are impacting on all parts of New Zealand society, including universities»⁴⁷.

Back to the Flemish context, there is the well-known case of Barbara Van Dyck. In May 2011, Van Dyck, at the time researcher at the Department of Architecture of the KU Leuven, participated in a protest of the Field Liberation Movement. On an experimental field of the chemical company BASF, the Flemish Institute for Biotechnology (VIB), the Institute for Agricultural and Fishing Research (ILVO), Ghent University and University College Ghent a number of genetically modified potato plants was rooted up and replaced by biological plants. The campaign of civil disobedience was combined with an agricultural and info fair, a debate about an alternative agricultural model and a demonstration. The legal sanctions against the activists were very repressive. Recently they were sentenced for formation of a gang, devastation and theft. Three days after the exchange of potato plants, the KU Leuven took a direct

⁴⁴ E.g. C.M. Flick, *Wem gehört das Wissen der Welt*, Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurter Verlagsanstalt, 2011 and K. Debackere, *Commercialisering van universitair onderzoek*, in B. Pattyn, G. Van Overwalle (edd.), *Tussen Markt en Agora. Over het statuut van universitaire kennis*, Leuven, Peeters, 2006, pp. 137-179.

⁴⁵ E.g. R. Smith, *Medical journals are an extension of the marketing arm of pharmaceutical companies*, «Plos medicine», vol. 2, n. 5, 2005, pp. 364-366 and E.G. Nabel, *Conflict of interest – or conflict of priorities?*, «New England Journal of Medicine», vol. 355, n. 22, 2006, pp. 2365-2367.

⁴⁶ E.g. W. von Rahden, *Zweckfreie Forschung*, special issue of «Gegenworte», vol. 26, n. 22, 2011.

⁴⁷ S.J. Grey, *Activist Academics: what future?*, in P. Woods, E. Blass, *The Future of Higher Education*, special issue of «Policy Futures in Education», vol. 11, n. 6, 2013, pp. 701-711.

action. Because Van Dyck sympathised publicly with the protest campaign, she was dismissed summarily, even though she always emphasised that she supported the protest as a citizen and not as an academic. In a few days, more than 4000 people signed a petition with the request to annul the dismissal. The main motivation behind the petition was that «whether one agrees with the aim and tactic of this action or not, the sanction is disproportionate and a breach of academic freedom and freedom of speech»⁴⁸. However, neither the petition nor numerous attempts of consultation had any result. Van Dyck had to wait until December 2013, and more precisely until Waer was succeeded by Rik Torfs as the new rector of the KU Leuven, before she was taken back into her employment. Torfs had always openly expressed his regret about the dismissal and during the rectorial election campaign he continuously declared his willingness to embark on a new course with higher education in general.

The whole debate on the case gave a strong impulse to the slow science movement that

urges rethinking the current university, against the fast, competitive, benchmarked research that not only restricts the choice of research topics and curricula but also threatens the quality of the knowledge. The emergence of the ‘Slow Science’ movement reveals a resistance against the restructuring of the university into a science enterprise, increasingly dependent on industrial and other outsider interests; it reveals a resistance against science that is seen as a purveyor of technological innovation and increased competitiveness on a globalized market⁴⁹.

Instead, researchers need time to think and to digest and to be allowed to make mistakes or, as one of the previous rectors of the KU Leuven once put it to the pope in 1985, «researchers have the right to go astray»⁵⁰. The worldwide slow science movement is accompanied by other kinds of protest campaigns against the commodification and privatisation of higher education. For instance, in September 2012, Canadian students’ unions gained a memorable victory after six months of strikes, demonstrations and actions, when the new government in Quebec decided to meet all their demands⁵¹. Again in Flanders, the Action Group Higher Education argues in favour of, among other measures, a readjustment of the financing scheme of higher education, the use of qualitative criteria in research evaluations, a balance between doctoral, postdoctoral and senior researchers, and career counselling of young researchers. In line with the

⁴⁸ *Reinstate her now!*, <<http://threerottenpotatoes.wordpress.com/reinstate-her-now/>> (last access: January 21st, 2014). The website assembles all kinds of details and documents related to this case.

⁴⁹ *Slow Science*, <<http://threerottenpotatoes.wordpress.com/independent-science-2/>> (last access: January 21st, 2014). See also <<http://slow-science.org/>> (last access: January 21st, 2014) and R. Boomkens, *Topkitsch en slow science. Kritiek van de academische rede*, Amsterdam, Van Gennep, 2008.

⁵⁰ P. De Somer, *Een visie op de universiteit*, Leuven, Universitaire pers, 1985.

⁵¹ J. Nadeau, *Carré rouge: le ras-le-bol du Québec en 153 photos*, Québec, Fides, 2012.

other initiatives, they are convinced that a profound change of policy is needed to enable the university to continue to play its public role⁵². Of course, whether at the end of Torfs' rectorship, the KU Leuven indeed will have become again more of a public institution, remains to be seen.

4. *The university as an international institution*

Undoubtedly a major challenge in this regard is the fact that on the one hand the KU Leuven unilaterally can decide to change its policy to some extent, but on the other hand the university is part of a global system in which universities all over the world are competing with each other. And, till further notice, university rankings are still based mainly on quantitative factors such as the number of academic papers, citation impact, research income, the number of Nobel Prize winners, PhDs awarded, the *ratio* of international to domestic students or the ratio of international to domestic staff. Therefore, a thorough reform only has a real chance of success when also on the national and international level a change of mentality gets on the move.

One of the necessary reforms that has not been mentioned yet, concerns the gap between rhetoric and practice with respect to internationalisation and academic mobility⁵³. It often seems much more important to have been abroad, than what one has been doing abroad⁵⁴. Doctoral students and postdoctoral researchers who want to go abroad (and especially those who do not leave from the home institution within the framework of an exchange programme) still meet too many (practical) challenges that do not receive sufficient attention in the debate, such as the nationally oriented character of research funding with often a clear preference for nationally relevant topics or very specific funding criteria that can only be met by national citizens; language barriers that make it more difficult to build up a local or national network or to take or to give lessons at the foreign institution; all kinds of practical limitations with regard to the nice slogan of the European Union on the free movement of persons, for instance concerning health insurance, unemployment benefit or pension

⁵² See <<http://actiegroep Hoger onderwijs.wordpress.com/>> (last access: January 21st, 2014). See also G. Biesta, M. Kwiek, G. Lock, H. Martins, J. Masschelein, V. Papatsiba, M. Simons, P. Zgaga, *What Is the Public Role of the University? A Proposal for a Public Research Agenda*, «European educational research journal», vol. 8, n. 2, 2009, pp. 249-254 and M. Simons, M. Decuyper, J. Vlieghe, J. Masschelein, *Curating the European University. Exposition and Public Debate*, Studia Paedagogica 45, Leuven, University Press, 2011.

⁵³ P. Dhondt, *Uitdagingen en kansen voor onderzoekers in het buitenland. Enkele persoonlijke bedenkingen*, «Mededelingenblad van de Belgische Vereniging voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis/Bulletin d'Information de l'Association Belge d'Histoire Contemporaine», vol. 32, n. 1, 2010, pp. 43-46.

⁵⁴ Loobuyck, *Welke academici willen we?*, 2007, cit., p. 22.

benefits; or the false uniformity of diplomas as one of the outcomes of the Bologna reform. Indeed, in many participating countries the bachelor-master system has been implemented without actually changing the existing national system. This also implies that particularly those diplomas that involve social rights are still not recognised outside the issuing country, but after a long and expensive ratification process. Moreover, the introduction of the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System has transformed the university almost in a kind of supermarket where students are gleaning their credits.

Without holding a plea to introduce English (or another major international language) as the contemporary equivalent of medieval Latin, nevertheless the true international character of the earliest universities again could be a source of inspiration. Mobility was the fundamental condition for the acquisition of academic knowledge and not just something which looked nice on the CV. Someone who wanted to study, had to travel, to overcome long distances and borders and to get really involved with foreign customs and traditions (and not just on a superficial level)⁵⁵. Concerning their diploma, things were a bit easier. All graduates who had received the title of licentiate (the *licentia ubique docendi*) were granted permission to lecture at all the universities within the Christian world. Because the universities were founded and/or recognised by an authority with a universal status, be it the Pope or the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, the degrees granted by these institutions had a universal validity⁵⁶. Any kind of competition between the different institutions was (still) out of the question, even though of course some of them, such as Paris for instance, had a larger attraction than others.

Conclusion

A stay abroad in such a context and starting from that kind of intentions required time, necessary to learn the language, to integrate in the local community and to become acquainted with local practices. According to the respondents in our survey, time is probably most threatened at the contemporary university. Researchers no longer have the time, neither to go abroad and get the most out of this experience, nor to digest their research results before translating them into a publication for a high-ranking journal, nor to invest in teaching. Students no longer have the time to be absorbed by certain topics since they have to

⁵⁵ M. Schuh, *Ingolstadt oder Italien? Möglichkeiten und Grenzen akademischer Mobilität im Reich des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in T. Maurer, C. Hesse (edd.), *Von Bologna zu 'Bologna'. Akademische Mobilität und ihre Grenzen*, Itinera 31, Basel, Schwabe Verlag, 2011, pp. 23-45.

⁵⁶ Up to today the doctoral degree enjoys a similar universal validity, but obviously the great majority of students is not graduating with such a diploma.

obtain a minimum number of credits per year. Therefore, a greater variety is needed, instead of straitjacketing all members of the university, ‘masters’ as well as ‘students’. One of the students who participated in the seminar had been interviewing a professor of astronomy who compared the university with

a galaxy, being a collection of stars with different ways of thinking, just like stars are following different paths, moving fast or slow, in a regular or irregular circle. However, despite this great degree of variety, somehow they still belong together, because in one way or another they are doomed to circle around each other in the same galaxy. They work in the same institution, each of them trying to be innovative in his or her own way.

All the people who have been involved in this seminar, be it as an organiser, a student or an interviewee, have been extremely enthusiastic about this exercise. They appreciated it to reflect on issues they had not been thinking about before, to be forced to look beyond the borders of their own discipline, to get to know the history of the institution they were attached to and through this reflection no longer to take the present situation for granted. Indeed, things do not have to be like they are. When the current university could be regarded again more as a universal institution, a community of masters and students with universal (educational) aims in the service of the public interest in an international context, things could change for the better, even though this call may sound extremely vague and probably much too naïve.

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Designers of the past and various histories for a Russian university*

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ABSTRACT: The article tracks the evolution of discourses and languages of university history writing in the pre-Soviet era (1755-1917). Vishlenkova explores the objectives of authors who wrote history on commission from the Russian government or administration. The article discusses the state of university archives and describes the analytical tools of university historians and the responses of contemporaries to the histories created by these authors. Despite a radical change in the historical-cultural context, nearly all discourses that emerged in the nineteenth century survive to this day. Moreover, they offer a historical basis for reforming the higher educational system.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; University; Historiography; Cultural Identity; Russia; XIX-XX Centuries.

Introduction

Russian university studies today are in the mainstream of historical scholarship. They have both academic and practical value of interest to history lovers as well as politicians at different levels of power. However, these factors prevent rather than contribute to the transformation of university studies into an autonomous interdisciplinary academic field. Social orders from interest groups such as government officials, university administrators, public agencies, or academic communities generate conflicting versions of the social goals and

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historical role of Russian universities. Most of these are not new and appeared *ad hoc*, that is, within a certain historical and cultural context. To adapt to new objectives, the discourses are changing and the semantics of the key concepts are eroding.

This article aims to reconstruct the evolution of the leading university discourses and to contextualize their concepts and conclusions.

As in the case of other government institutions, the founding dates and founders of Russian universities are well known. They were set in corresponding decrees or charters signed at the highest levels of power. These days, academic communities observe official commemorations and anniversaries celebrating the founding of their universities. Thus, according to an Imperial Decree, the first university in Russia was founded in January 1755. In November 1804, the Russian government decreed the founding of more six higher schools (in Moscow, Wilno, St. Petersburg, Derpt, Kazan, and Kharkov) and the educational districts assigned to them.

With its history of 250 years, Moscow University represents itself today as the oldest national school, and Kazan University, which recently marked the 200th anniversary of its founding, is regarded as the first higher school in the Russian province. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Wilno, Derpt (Tartu), and Kharkov universities found themselves in foreign jurisdictions. Lithuania, Estonia, and Ukraine apparently do not see their histories as being part of national histories. The histories of these universities have been rewritten and embedded in other cultural contexts (for example, in a far longer tradition of Catholic and Protestant education in the Polish-Lithuanian and Baltic provinces than was the secular education in the Russian Empire)¹.

The situation with university histories in post-Soviet Russia (or, to be exact, the interpretation of higher education traditions) is more complicated. Their pragmatism is determined by two contradictory concepts. In the 1990s-early 2000s, many Russian universities and their historians sought to substantiate the specialness of 'their' past to justify the inclusion of their universities in the special state paternalism zone. At that time, references to the ancient origins and centuries-long service to the state allowed a number of former 'Imperial' universities to obtain the status of 'classical' schools, and thus receive additional budget funding.

Today, the tactic of gaining benefits 'by right of birth' is no longer very effective. Nevertheless, it allowed the Moscow University leadership to obtain autonomous status and placed the university beyond competition in winning its share of budget funding and university ranking. Against this backdrop, the efforts of St. Petersburg University officials to claim the university's 'birth-right' by referring to the date of founding of the Russian Academy of Sciences

¹ L.Iu. Posokhova, *Pravoslavnnye kollegiумы Rossiiskoi imperii (vtoraia polovina XVIII-nachalo XIX vv.): mezhdru traditsiiami i novatsiiami*, «Ab Imperio», n. 3, 2010, pp. 85-113.

University – 1724 – are strongly resisted by historians and the Moscow University leadership, who consider it a threat to the privileges they were granted².

Unlike its counterparts in Moscow and St. Petersburg, Kazan University used its historical arguments in the 1990s not to win benefits, but to survive in the conditions of political sovereignty of Tatarstan (a Muslim republic in the Russian Federation). Religious and national revival prompted the local authorities to found a local Muslim university, counterpoising it to the old ‘pro-Russian’ University of Kazan. To remind the local authorities of its historical contribution to the republic, Kazan University widely celebrated its 200th anniversary, at which it propagandized its cultural and educational mission ‘in Russia’s east’ – in the Volga region and Siberia. It helped the university to survive and even gain superior national status as the ‘Volga Region Federal University’. In the same fashion, Kharkov University propagandized its mission in Ukraine, proving its contribution to the ‘small Motherland’ during the celebration.

In this way, weakening centripetal and strengthening centrifugal forces in the Russian Federation and Ukraine generated ‘grand’ narratives asserting the civilizational mission of ‘old’ universities in their regions and their involvement in the cultural policy pursued by the local authorities. Simultaneously, the universities compiled and released biographical dictionaries of professors and outstanding graduates, demonstrating their representation in the world of science. These publications generated diverse histories for different universities.

Apart from the local histories, the 2000s saw the emergence of reversionary concepts of Russian Imperial universities as a uniform historical phenomenon. In contrast to the anniversary histories of concrete universities, they concentrate on time segments problematizing one of several aspects of Russian academic life, such as relations with foreign universities. In such publications the history of Russian Imperial universities is described as typical and characteristic of a certain model of the Western (more often an abstract ‘German’) university. Any other evidence that is not in accord with this description is interpreted as a ‘special path’ or ‘deviation’ from the norm³.

This interpretive approach has been condoned by officials of the Ministry of Science and Education, which is pursuing a general line of higher education reform aimed at levelling out local differences that emerged in the state educational system in the post-Soviet era. The reformers wish to build a national hierarchy of universities that have unified professional standards. The government’s radical efforts require both logical and historical substantiation. The tendency to internationalize Russian universities (participation in the ‘Bologna process’) has been accompanied by a return to politics of the nineteenth-century

² I.P. Kulakova, *Moskovskii i Sankt-Peterburgskii universitety: k sporu o pervorodstve*, in *Rossiiskie universitety v XVIII-XX vv.*, sbornik nauch. st., issue 5, Voronezh, Izd-vo Voronezh. Gos. Un-ta, 2000, pp. 28-64.

³ A.Iu. Andreev, S.I. Posokhov (edd.), *Universitet v Rossiiskoi imperii XVIII-pervoi polovini XIX veka*, Moscow, ROSSPEN, 2012.

image of Russian universities as locally manifesting universal western ideas. At one time this image was used by liberal professors (e.g., Ivan Andrievsky, Konstantin Kavelin, and Vladimir Ger'e) in struggling for autonomy from state interference. In the modern era, this image is being used to substantiate government interference in the lives of universities in the interest of perfecting them and ensuring their international competitive ability.

In this regard, policymakers are not inventing anything. In practice, they are using the concepts of the university past and university missions developed by historians. In this way, they legitimize administrative decisions determining the present and future of Russian universities. Thus, the 'cultural missionary' image allowed government officials to view higher schools as a means of implementing regional and national policies and imposing this function. The image of 'carrier of existential ideas' allows politicians to ignore differences in the development of very different national universities. By appealing to abstract 'Western' examples, this image justifies breaking historically developed structures.

Historians have insufficiently explored the cultural specificity of university life in Russia (or 'path') that should be considered in designing reforms, at least as 'path dependence'. In contrast to institutional history, cultural history in Russian university studies has gained the status of a kind of 'antique hobby'. It has no obvious 'practical value' and no social customers. One might suggest that the university community itself would be interested in deconstructing academic traditions and researching self-identification mechanisms. But experience indicates the faculty's desire to sanctify its social status and mythologize the past, allowing critical revision of its own perceptions of the university only in times of crises.

How can history help in designing university discourses? It would be useful not only to see historiography as the sum of academic works and the names of historians but also to identify the policies of reflection, speaking, and writing on the university. In supporting the power of the norm, its legislators and advocates have imposed and continue to impose on contemporaries a general (illusionary) identity, rejecting (or retouching) alternative versions. The history of universities is presented in this picture as a political subject and language for realizing certain intentions. I believe that this language requires the same deconstruction and professional reflection as do the languages of the history of the state, Church, army, medicine, and science⁴. Furthermore, I believe that

⁴ See reviews on this topic: T. Asad (ed.), *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, London, Ithaca Press, 1973; J. Clifford, *Travelling Cultures*, in *Cultural Studies*, New York, Routledge, 1992, pp. 96-116; K. Gough, *Anthropology: Child of Imperialism*, «Monthly Review», vol. 19, n. 11, 1968, pp. 12-27; D. Hymes (ed.), *Reinventing Anthropology*, New York, 1974; S. Webster *Dialogue and Fiction in Ethnography*, «Dialectical Anthropology», vol. 7, n. 2, 1982, pp. 91-114; J. Clifford, G. Marcus (edd.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography: A School of American Research Advanced Seminar*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1986; see a discussion on language by researchers of the Russian Church: L. Engelstein, *Old and New, High*

analysing university histories can reveal the cultural categories of concrete university communities that evolved during the long nineteenth century and identify changing ways of self-awareness. It can also convince readers of the handmade nature (often accidental or commissioned) of key notions – a ‘tradition’ or ‘university idea’ – extensively used today by researchers and politicians. This would prompt university people to liberate themselves from phantoms and build new identities on a new and more solid foundation.

1. *A state vision of the university past*

The 1804 University Charter and the recently established Ministry of Public Education ordered faculties to write the history of their universities. University officials were required to present reports depicting the current state of the university and naming its sources of prosperity. Apparently, in this way, the government wanted to obtain an expression of gratitude from the newly established higher schools.

In 1809, a curator of the Kazan educational district advised his subordinate professors to release a ‘university periodical’ covering university events and publishing speeches of the professors. Subsequently, these reports were to be compiled into a single chronicle⁵. It appears that the curator’s letter inspired the founding of the first university newspaper *Kazanskie izvestiia* (1811). The paper contains information on the educational district overseen by the university, commencement addresses, and university news⁶.

As for the whole story, the professors preferred to present it as a speech on the achievements of the previous academic year, which they would read before students, colleagues, and invited guests at the ceremonial convocations in June⁷. Things proceeded along these lines until the end of Alexander I’s reign. The new emperor decided to restore order in the country’s governance system. The new ministry demanded in 1826 that the universities fulfil all previous orders,

and Low: Straw Horsemen of Russian Orthodoxy, in V. Kivelson, R. Greene (edd.), *Orthodox Russia: Belief and Practice Under the Tsars*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003, pp. 23-33; L. Manchester, *An Answer to My Critics, or the Confessions of an Unrepentant Interdisciplinary*, «Ab Imperio», 2, 2012, pp. 488-497.

⁵ NA RT (National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan), fond 977, opis «Rektor», delo 3, p. 1 (Correspondence between Kazan educational district curator S.Ia. Rumovskii and director of Kazan University I.F. Yakovkin. Letter n. 48, 1809).

⁶ MRBD SL KFU (Manuscript and Rare Book Department at the Scientific Library of Kazan Federal University), ed. khr. 4245 (Committee minutes on the publication of *Kazanskie izvestiia*, 1811-1814).

⁷ Such speeches can be read in *Rechi, proiznesennye v torzhestvennom sobranii imperatorskogo Moskovskogo univesiteta professorami onago s kratkimi ikh zhizneopisaniiami*, 4 vols. 1-4, Moscow, 1819-1823.

including submitting the histories of universities from their inception⁸. Again, the Kazan professors did nothing, which they explained was because of the board secretary's workload and the difficulties of working with unsorted piles of archival documentation.

At the turn of the 1820s-1830s, the government mandated that public institutions put their archives in order. University councils established committees to read through all the records, arrange them in folders, number and label them, make inventories, and install shelves in the depositaries. Meanwhile, the professors claimed that because they had been sending detailed reports to the ministries describing all university divisions and matters, «the writing of its history was unnecessary»⁹. And government officials agreed.

It appears that the government had ceased to expect gratitude from professors and relegated this duty to the specially appointed officials. In 1827 Minister Karl Liven charged academician Petr Keppen with writing a historical-statistical review of educational institutions in the Empire. To collect data without leaving St. Petersburg, Keppen drew up a questionnaire and sent it to the university councils. To reply to the questionnaire, professors and adjuncts researched archival and office papers, noting faculty size, number of students and employees, educational publications, research collections, book collections, and, in the case of clinics, patient (bed) capacity¹⁰. However, Keppen failed to present a report featuring the general state and logic of university development in the Empire, possibly owing to incomplete or fragmentary data.

As of 1833 all university councils were required to send academic year-end reports to St. Petersburg, not in the former arbitrary form but on newly developed standardized reporting sheets. These voluminous manuscripts and tables allowed the ministry not only to control the current state of affairs in the universities but also to reconstruct their historical memory¹¹. Government-employed historians gained more independence from university self-descriptions. In 1843 the minister of public education, Sergei Uvarov, presented to the emperor and the general public an anniversary tome titled *A Decade of the Ministry of Public Education*, on which Nicholas I left his autograph, «I read it with pleasure».

According to Uvarov, in 1833 Europe was swept by a storm that undermined the religious and civic foundations of society and spread destructive ideas.

⁸ N.P. Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskogo Kazanskogo universiteta za pervye sto let ego sushchestvovaniia: 1804-1904*, v 4 t., t. 1 Vvedenie i chast' pervaiia: 1804-1814, Kazan', Tipol. Imp. Kazansk. Un-ta, 1902, p. XXIII.

⁹ NA RT, f. 92, op. 1, d. 4399, p. 1 (On writing the history of the university, 1835).

¹⁰ *Istoricheskaia zapiska o chetyrekh otdeleniakh Kazanskago universiteta za 1814-1827 gody*, Kazan', Tipol. Imp. Kazansk. Un-ta, 1899.

¹¹ K.A. Il'ina, *Professora i biurokraticheskie kommunikatsii v Rossiiskoi imperii pervoi treti XIX veka, in Istoriia i istoricheskaia pamiat'*, mezhvuz. sb. nauch. tr., issue 4, Saratov, Izd-vo Saratov. Gos. Un-ta, 2011, pp. 133-158.

Against this backdrop, Russia was pictured as a ship anchored on nationality. The report presented the governing of the Ministry of Public Education not as an administrative routine, but as a «task closely connected with the fate of the Motherland»¹². The minister recalled that in 1833 he had received from his predecessor only the «materials with which to build almost anew these institutions of higher learning»¹³ (i.e., the universities). Uvarov viewed the first quarter of the nineteenth century as a reign of anarchy and chaos. These were the results of the very university autonomy that had imposed «administrative and economic duties on the academic staff that was largely alien to these duties and did little to contribute to successful management, thus distracting professors from their main occupation with science and teaching»¹⁴. Therefore, stated the minister, university self-management organs were ruled by «slowness in giving orders, complicated forms of management, and problems in implementing an advisory management style»¹⁵.

Uvarov considered his chief contribution to be the subordination of isolated educational institutions operating under different rules to the unified state management *system* (i.e., education, upbringing, and control). On behalf of the professors, he formulated ‘firm foundations’ of university education, relieving professors of the burden of administrative and economic responsibilities. Decades later, historians would interpret Uvarov’s decisions not as beneficial but as having deprived universities of their autonomy. In numerous papers on various occasions the minister argued that the ‘university system’ he had designed was consistent, correct, and well-adjusted for control. Thanks to this system, universities that were destroyed such as «Kharkov and Kazan entered the revival era»¹⁶.

Careful management, argued Uvarov, placed the universities at the top of the school pyramid, and now they were able to meet the demands of the state and the upper class. He presented statistical tables showing a growing proportion of noblemen among university students – that is, the country’s cultural elite was abandoning private boarding schools and foreign education. Statistics on lecturers demonstrated that a growing number of young Russian professors had come to replace ‘old German’ professors and *raznochintsy* (commoners) and *popovichi* (sons of the clergy). Uvarov believed this was a good sign because, by birth, Russian professors would have patriotic feelings and ‘untarnished opinions’.

Discussing the past and present of Russian universities, officials prior to Uvarov often used the metaphors ‘ruins’ and ‘prosperity’. Almost every newly appointed curator found the university placed in his charge in ruins and left

¹² S.S. Uvarov, *Desiatiletie ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia. 1833-1843*, in V.S. Parsamov, S.V. Udalov (edd.), *Uvarov S.S. Izbr. tr. Moscow*, ROSSPEN, 2009, p. 347.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 358, 367.

it in prosperous condition. And his successor would find himself among ruins again. These metaphors disappeared in the era of Nicholas I (1825-1855), when curators began to serve for decades rather than only for several years as before. Exposure and criticism of predecessors were nipped in the bud by the authorities as discrediting esprit de corps and undermining national loyalty. Even though Uvarov himself used the earlier metaphors to distance himself from his predecessors, thus creating caesuras in university historiography, he demanded from his subordinates imperial loyalty and confirmation of stability of the system he had founded.

Based on the idea of progressive historical time, the Uvarov concept abolished the ontological opposition of Russia to the West as the world of barbarism to the world of civilization. Embedded in the general line of evolution, all countries, according to the Uvarov concept, stood at different points on the same path. Within this context, Russian universities were no longer viewed as agents of the Western civilizational mission. Political mistrust, so typical for the late years of Alexander I's reign, was dismissed by the notion of 'Russian universities'. The minister did not say a word about foreign professors who had been invited to teach in Russia in the eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries. He remained silent on the problems experienced by university people in adapting to local cultural environments. Uvarov viewed universities as former government institutions, writing on their histories only within the context of state education policy.

Within this discourse the state was pictured as the only entity capable of civilizing the Russian subjects. Universities were cast in the role of carrying out government aims and as a fragment of the state governance system («a government instrument»)¹⁷. The power of the Uvarov discourse was ensured by the paperwork management system that was designed in those years. The ministry demanded that the universities draw up reports in specific forms that were received from St. Petersburg. These questionnaires deprived professors of narrative subjectivity. From then on, they were not permitted to express their thoughts about themselves and their students in writing. In these reports, professors and students were now presented as a faceless group of 'professors' and 'students'¹⁸.

¹⁷ S.S. Uvarov, *Tsirkuliarnoe predlozhenie upravliaiushchego ministerstvom narodnogo prosveshcheniia nachal'stvam okrugov o ustuplenii v upravlenie ministerstvom*, «Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia», part 1, n. 1, 1834, p. L.

¹⁸ E. Vishlenkova, *University Deloproizvodstvo (Paperwork) as a Cultural Practice and Institution in Russia in the First Half of the 19th Century: Basic Research Program*, working paper, Moscow, National Research University Higher School of Economics, 2012, <<http://www.hse.ru/data/2012/01/24/1264549655/03HUM2012.pdf>> (last access: December 7th, 2013).

2. Commemorative self-descriptions

After Sergei Uvarov's resignation from his ministerial post in 1849 and with growing criticism of his educational management system in the 1850s, the university councils wanted to write their own university histories. A formal reason for doing so was the upcoming celebrations of university anniversaries in Kazan, Moscow, and Kharkov in 1854-1855. Negatively assessing the current state of science and education, the university professors attempted to define their social role and sum up their collective experience over these years.

However, this was not an easy task. First, in the eyes of the ruling power, university histories could not be written freely. Therefore, historians had to submit their concepts to the ministry for approval. Second, unlike the ministry archive, not all university archives could be used to trace an unbroken path of university life because they contained significant gaps. Third, university historiographers in those years demonstrated how the Uvarov discourse had influenced university people's visions of their past and present.

The Kharkov Version. All three factors were manifested during preparations for the anniversary of Kharkov University. In 1850, at the initiative of a local curator, professor of world history and statistics at Kharkov University Aleksandr Roslavsky-Petrovsky submitted a draft version of his book, *A Historical Overview of Kharkov University*, to the ministry¹⁹.

Just as in the 1843 ministry report, Roslavsky-Petrovsky viewed the university past as an ascending line from chaos to order. The first twenty years of its existence were described as troubled times in which the university was born in pain and was formless. Roslavsky-Petrovsky wrote that the university owed its founding in Kharkov to two factors: the emperor and the local community (the nobility and the military) who donated funds for its establishment. In an apparent move to please St. Petersburg officials, Roslavsky-Petrovsky paid tribute to *patriotic* citizens rather than to Sloboda Ukrainian nobility or residents of Little Russia who were suspected of being Ukrainophiles (national separatists).

This first draft of the university history is interesting for the fact that it contains the contradictions of a hurriedly written composition and it lacks textual examples. For instance, in describing public interest in the sciences, the researcher admitted a shortage of students, but to explain this controversy, he used a traditional version of the conflict between civilization and barbarism. In this regard, Roslavsky-Petrovsky suggested that in Little Russia the university civilizers were facing «a still held public prejudice against the benefit of sciences, and particularly public education»²⁰. Soon after the founding of the university,

¹⁹ RSHA (Russian State Historical Archives), f. 733, op. 50, d. 663, pp. 2-13 (file on inspection of the Kharkov educational district by the Minister of Public Education and other officials. A historical memorandum on Kharkov University, 1851).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

the darkness of ignorance gave way and «these obstacles gradually disappeared» – in other words, the aborigines became civilized.

The reign of Alexander I (1801-1825) was completely dropped from the history of Kharkov University. The author told his colleagues that due to a lack of university papers, reconstruction of the events of 1813-1830 was impossible²¹. He took the 1835 university charter as the starting point of the «new era»²². Science, which had meant little in the first quarter of the century, became the main concern of government and the administration. As a result, university teaching in Russia reached the ‘Western’ (i.e., ideal) level. Professors began to teach twice as often and get paid twice as much. The government relieved them of responsibility for the educational districts, which was delegated to university curators. These measures caused the universities to prosper.

The professor of statistics saw the university as a ‘higher school’, whose performance can be described in graphs and figures. The cultural specificity of Kharkov University, in Roslavsky-Petrovsky’s view, was best displayed in statistics or manifestations of the supreme authorities’ grace. The concluding chapter of the university anniversary history was to be dedicated to the ‘rulers’ arrival’ in Kharkov. Writing this chapter was the easiest of all as the ministry demanded that professors complete ‘Special events’ forms. It described the visits of monarchs and other nobles. In reproducing these writings, Roslavsky-Petrovsky shifted into the language of ode.

A few months later, Roslavsky-Petrovsky’s project was approved by the ministry. In any event, in late 1852, it was discussed at a briefing of council professors. Although little time was left before the anniversary date, all council members were optimistic, assuming that writing a chapter based on fifty university reports would not be difficult.

However, after researching the university records, their enthusiasm faded. At one council meeting, Roslavsky-Petrovsky said that, unfortunately, «the tradition of drawing up» annual reports had been carried out in Kharkov only since 1831. For the first twenty-six years of its existence (1805-1831) no records of this kind had been found. The only record he discovered that somewhat heartened him was a historical overview of the Kharkov educational district drawn up in 1812. But no other reliable evidence was found.

In the 1850s, Kharkov professors failed to write the complete history of their university, but they did much to replenish their archives with copied and original records from the Ministry of Public Education archives.

The Moscow Version. Unlike their provincial colleagues, the Moscow council wanted to raise its university status to the national level. To that end it was proposed to gather a collection of writings on the university professors (and

²¹ *Ibid.*, d. 720, p. 11 (File on the preparations for the fiftieth anniversary of Kharkov University, 1852-1854).

²² *Ibid.*, d. 663, p. 6 ob.

draw up a sort of academic hagiography) in connection with the one-thousandth anniversary of the «invention of Church Slavonic script in 855»²³. If the project had been accomplished, the university history would have been presented as a peak of the spiritual enlightenment of Rus-Russia. Because the concept viewed university professors as direct successors of the Christian enlighteners, the anniversary publications were to include a «history of Slavonic Russian writs» and «a hagiography of the First Teachers of the Slavonic alphabet Saints Cyril and Methodius»²⁴. An additional version of the university history was proposed by professor of history Mikhail Pogodin. He recommended presenting Moscow University as a «European place» and inviting world-famous scientists from other countries to the celebration²⁵. Such proposals reflect the self-identification conflict in the Moscow professorial community rooted in the Uvarov ideology. On the one hand, Uvarov advanced the ideas of political nationalism linking the development of the educational system to the Church and the state. On the other hand, he sought to assert Russia's cultural supremacy by encouraging foreign internship programs and international academic cooperation.

Professor Sergei Shevyrev, who was responsible for organizing the anniversary preparations, failed to realize the ambitious plans of the Moscow professors. In 1855 he published a history of *Moscow University*, the first comprehensive work featuring the history of a Russian university. The public was amazed by what it read, as the work in fact described a government institution performance they had known too well. Moreover, the timeline of the university history did not go beyond the time frame of the history of the Russian Empire – that is, beyond the eighteenth century. It was divided into only two parts by the War of 1812 (Moscow University before and after the Great Moscow Fire).

A recent work by Vadim Parsamov now reveals that Shevyrev used the historical genre to demonstrate the loyalty and patriotism (hence, nationalism) of Russian universities to the emperor, should a new campaign of mistrust begin²⁶.

²³ *Ibid.*, op. 35, d. 3, p. 1 (Files on the centenary celebration of the university. A sketch of the anniversary medal, 1850-1859). The researcher published his concept of the university history and facts collected during the anniversary preparations in A.P. Roslavsky-Petrovsky, *Ob uchenoi deiatel'nosti imperatorskogo Khar'kovskogo universiteta v pervoe desiatiletie ego sushchestvovaniia*, «Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia», part. 87, n. 7, section 5, 1855, pp. 1-36 (separate ed.: SPb., 1855); Id., *Obshchaia istoriko-statisticheskaia zapiska ob imperatorskom Khar'kovskom universitete ot osnovaniia onago do nachala 1859 goda*, in K.K. Voigt, *Istoriko-statisticheskie zapiski ob imperatorskom Khar'kovskom universitete i ego zavedeniakh ot osnovaniia universiteta do 1859 goda*, Khar'kov, v Univ. tip., 1859, pp. 1-20.

²⁴ RSHA, f. 733, op. 35, d. 3, pp. 3, 4 (Files on the centennial celebration of the university. A sketch of the commemorative medal, 1850-1859); Document storage center until 1917 of the Central State Archive in Moscow (DSC until 1917 of the CSA in Moscow), f. 459, op. 2, d. 1466, p. 1 (The file of the Moscow educational district curator office on the centennial celebration of Moscow University, 1850-1859).

²⁵ N.P. Barsukov, *Zhizn' i trudy M.P. Pogodina*, book 13, St. Petersburg, tip. M.M. Stasiulevicha, 1899, p. 315.

²⁶ See a more detailed account in V.S. Parsamov, «*Istoriia Imperatorskogo Moskovskogo*

His tactics proved to be effective: the curator of the Moscow educational district Sergei Stroganov and the minister of education Sergei Uvarov were dismissed from their posts for failing to meet the emperor's expectations, while professors received awards and funds to cover the university celebration expenses.

The documentary evidence collected by the author consistently demonstrates the constant attempts of Russian monarchs to educate their subjects²⁷. At the time, it was often voiced that Nicholas I had accomplished the educational exploits of his ancestors, that is, he established a national education system by bringing together isolated schools²⁸. But the speakers were not expected to substantiate their statements. Unlike them, Shevyrev proved it by compromising his professional ethics. He claimed, for example, that by founding universities, the government of Alexander I had met the cultural demands of the elites («landlords»)²⁹. In doing so, Shevyrev, like Uvarov, pictured Moscow University as the fruit of natural historical development but was silent about much counterevidence. «State and, particularly, military demands as well as demands in *social life*», he claimed, «led to the expansion and multiplication of the medical faculty»³⁰. His claims apparently contradicted the fact that even in the 1840s, certified physicians reported to the government that commoners generally distrusted them³¹. Modernizing eighteenth-century history, the professor claimed that the government had always sought to «bring all educational institutions into state unity»³². Nevertheless, this statement conflicted with evidence that various kinds of schools had been founded by different initiators³³.

The key paradigm of historical science of that time allowed researchers to settle for a simple retelling of any compound narrative, ignoring other evidence and substituting the cultural specificity of given universities with a story about a single policy toward them. The single 'Russian university' was described as

universiteta» S.P. Shevyreva: *istoricheskii narrativ v politicheskom kontekste*, working paper, Moscow, National Research University Higher School of Economics, 2013, <http://www.hse.ru/data/2013/11/09/1281901652/WP6_2013_04.pdf> (last access: December 7th, 2013).

²⁷ S.P. Shevyrev, *Istoriia imperatorskogo Moskovskogo Universiteta, napisannaia k stoletnemu eto iubileiu professorom russkoi slovesnosti i pedagogii Stepanom Shevyrevym: 1755-1855*, Moscow, Tip. Mosk. Un-ta, 1855, p. 10.

²⁸ See, for example, A.V. Nikitenko, *Pokhval'noe slovo Petru Velikomy, imperatoru i samoderzhtsu vserossiiskomu, otsu otechestva, in Slova i rechi, chitannye rektorom i professorami imperatorskogo Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta v den' otkrytiia ego v byvsheem zdanii 12 kollegii 25 marta 1828 goda*, St. Petersburg, Tip. A. Plushara, 1838, 2-ya pag., p. 3.

²⁹ Shevyrev, *Istoriia imperatorskogo Moskovskogo Universiteta*, cit., p. 10.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 497.

³¹ See also E.A. Vishlenkova, «Vypolniaia vrachebnye obiazannosti, postig ia dukh narodnii»: *samozoznanie vracha kak prosvetitelia russkogo gosudarstva (pervaia polovina XIX veka)*, «Ab Imperio», n. 2, 2011, pp. 47-82.

³² Shevyrev, *Istoriia imperatorskogo Moskovskogo Universiteta*, cit., p. 37.

³³ On types of schools for the nobility, see D. Caroli, *Educational Institutions, curricula and cultural models in the higher education of the nobility and intelligentsia at the turn of the 20th century in Russia*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 6, n. 1, 2012, pp. 341-388.

the bureaucratic project of a typical educational institution rather than the sum of real phenomena or their extracts. «The History of Moscow University», claimed Shevyrev, «constitutes only a small and modern but no less significant part of one great whole»³⁴.

The anniversary historians divided the history of the Russian university into reigns, which, in turn, were broken down into local curatorships. This made it possible to synchronize the government's educational efforts and the institutional evolution of universities. This allowed liberal professors to subsequently problematize the dependence of academic life on the government's concept and to formulate the 'government-university' opposition. However, in light of cultural characteristics, researchers set a different date for the gap in the evolution of the 'Russian University', namely, the 1835 Charter. But if the year 1835 in the Uvarov history marked the overcoming of chaos, for local historians it represented a qualitative landmark: before it was the 'old university' and 'old professors' era, and it was followed by the 'new university' and 'new professors' epoch.

Thus, the Uvarov concept of the institutional history of education, the categories he had formulated and the chronology he had set, formed the basis for the history of both Kharkov University and Moscow University. Professors' narratives were distinguished from ministers' reports by a lack of statistical argumentation and the presence of professors' personal voices and biographical backgrounds. This synthesis made it possible to enrich the history of a government institution with the elements of social history.

The Kazan Version. Kazan University also wanted a written version of its past. However, the idea appeared only in the spring of 1853, when Rector Ivan Simonov learned from his former colleague Karl Voigt's letter (at that time rector of Kharkov University) about preparations for the Kharkov University anniversary. The Kazan council decided to «write a university history indicating academic and instructional works granted to science and education by former and present members of the university leadership», and compile a biographical dictionary of its most famous graduates³⁵. To that end, an anniversary committee was set up with the former rector Nikolai Lobachevsky as its head. It coordinated its intentions with the ministry. Incidentally, one of the committee members was adjunct Nikolai Bulich, the future historian of Kazan University.

Minister Avraam Norov, who approved the organization of the anniversary, advised that Kazan University hold this occasion not in the fall of 1854, but in February 1855, along with Kharkov University's celebrations. But as early as 1853 it became known that the emperor had cancelled all fiftieth

³⁴ Shevyrev, *Istoriia imperatorskogo Moskovskogo Universiteta*, cit., p. 470.

³⁵ Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskogo Kazanskogo universiteta za pervye sto let ego sushchestvovaniia 1804-1904*, cit., t. 1, p. XXV.

anniversaries³⁶. A resolution on the corresponding petition read: «Too early to celebrate». On the minister's report, Nicholas I inscribed: «Fifty years is not yet a real anniversary, that is, a centennial. I see no [reason] for such a solemn event. A simple meeting would do»³⁷. This resolution was mandatory for all government institutions. As a result, one year later Kazan and Kharkov universities would confine themselves to exchanging official greetings. These greetings are interesting in terms of searching for self-identification. Unlike the state discourse, on the outskirts of the Russian Empire provincial university professors emphasized their civilization mission rather than the educational system or public service. In his greeting to Kazan University, the chancellor of Kharkov University wrote:

Kharkov University is fully aware of the enviable fortune that fell to the lot of its companion in education – being an intermediary between education in the East and the West [...], enlightener of Russia's eastern territory, so important in the number of tribes inhabiting it, setting the seeds of truth, good, and beauty and, according to the Charter instructions, preparing for it disinterested priests of ancient and new science, zealous guardians of the law, and active friends of humanity³⁸.

Thus, in the 1850s, only Moscow University received official approval to hold anniversary events and wrote a report on its past. Apart from the history of state education policy, Shevyrev released one more book titled *A Biographical Dictionary of the Faculty*³⁹. It was not the history of an institution, but a university history. It presented Moscow University as an academic community. Its lifespan was formed by a chain of academic biographies and listings of their works. This dictionary would later boost publications of professors' memoirs⁴⁰.

³⁶ NA RT, f. 977, op. «Council», d. 3511, p. 19 (File on University Chancellor's proposal to hold the fiftieth anniversary of the local university, 1853). The Ministry of Public Education proposal dated October 26, 1853, read: «His Imperial Majesty was pleased to command that regarding anniversaries, the Manager of the Ministry of Public Education make it a rule that the present anniversary be celebrated at the end of the centennial after the founding date of any government institution and that a simple conference would do for a celebration of the fiftieth anniversary» (quoted from V.I. Shishkin (Compiler) *Kazanskii Universitet v iubileinykh izandiakh, 1856-1980: Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*, Kazan', Izd-vo Kazan. Un-ta, 2003, p. 5).

³⁷ RSHA, f. 733, op. 46, d. 129 a, pp. 6-7 (On the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Kazan University, 1853).

³⁸ NA RT, f. 977, op. «Council», d. 3511, pp. 36-37.

³⁹ S.V. Shevyrev, *Istoriia imperatorskogo Moskovskogo Universiteta; Biograficheskii slovar' professorov i prepodavatelei imperatorskogo Moskovskogo universiteta za istekaiushchee stoletie so dnia uchrezhdeniia ianvaria 12-go 1755 goda, po den' stoletnego iubileia, ianvaria 12-go 1855 goda, sostavlenno trudami professorov i prepodavatelei, zanimavshikh kafedry v 1854 godu, i razpolozhennii po azbuchnomu poriadku*, Moscow, v Univ. Tip., 1855, part. 1-2.

⁴⁰ E.A. Vishlenkova, *Memorial'naia kul'tura rossiiskogo universiteta XIX veka*, in *Mir istorika: istoriograficheskii sbornik*, vyp. 7, Omsk, 2011, pp. 81-94.

3. *A time of chaos or autonomy?*

The university state discourse is strong because of the nature of paperwork in the middle third of the nineteenth century. A historian researching archival records will find confirmation of the Uvarov concept. In the 1830s-1840s Russian government officials designed a reporting system whereby all outgoing university documentation would attest to it as a state educational institution. Any other kind of evidence was destroyed in the 1850s-1870s to make room in the overcrowded archives⁴¹.

It was a different case in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Less abundant archival records of various genres resisted the limits of the strict discourse framework, contradicted it, and were very cautiously and selectively used by researchers. For the first time they would be the basis for the narrative of the university's past in the 1870s. Historian of literature Nikolai Bulich, who had accidentally discovered boxes in the attic of Kazan University containing archival records selected for destruction, used them to write 'apocryphal' stories about nineteenth-century university culture.

Contemporary researchers rarely refer to this edition, although it is brightly written and exciting to read. First, it has no index. Bulich could not create one due to the lack of references and sources of storage of the documents he had discovered. Second, the citation ratio of this work is low because the Bulich version is not according to the 'university system' and therefore does not match the institutional frameworks. Bulich processed the archival records as literary works, letting the author's voice sound and adding detailed comments and references to the citations. The application of these methods gave rise to a new social history in which dramas played out with their 'heroes' and 'antiheroes'.

The historian was aware that his work would shock readers. He warned:

Our stories have nothing to do with the official university stories that have been written and published for university anniversaries. We wanted truth, whatever it may be, wishing to show reality without being guided by any hidden motive. It may well be that the images of the old university's past life presented in our pages are not so pleasant, but we did not choose them. We can also be reproached for giving a comprehensive account of people who might not be worth a story, for reproducing nasty anecdotes, focusing on details and scandals in professors' lives and some intimate stories pertaining to them [...]. One might say that these trifles are unworthy of notice but our life is made up of little things⁴².

Since the writing of this book was not commissioned by the government, Bulich had not been granted any privileges: as a dean of the History and

⁴¹ E. Vishlenkova *Document Preservation Policy in Russian Imperial Universities, working paper*, Moscow, National Research University Higher School of Economics, 2013, <<http://www.hse.ru/data/2013/05/14/1299930340/29HUM2013.pdf>> (last access: December 7th, 2013).

⁴² N.N. Bulich, *Iz pervykh let Kazanskogo universiteta (1805-1819): Rasskazy po arkhivnym dokumentam*, 2 parts, part 1, Kazan', 1887, p. VI.

Philology Department, he would read lectures, supervise schools, and fulfil many administrative duties. As a result, it took him more than twenty years to write a book that covered the first nineteen years of the university's history⁴³.

Bulich's readers were divided in their opinions of the book. Aleksandr Pypin praised it: «This is one of the most interesting books we have today in our literature on the history of our universities. As a matter of fact, there is no other such book»⁴⁴. The academician called the Bulich book a new approach to researching universities. In anniversary editions, he wrote, «the inner life of universities, their attitude toward the public environment, their manners and customs, their actual role in our education, and finally personal and anecdotal features» have usually been «removed or smoothed over by official historians»⁴⁵. Bulich made it the central point of his book, making the university the prism through which to study the national culture. «If we had such stories for other universities, written in the same fashion – urged Pypin – it would be a precious contribution to the history of our education and science»⁴⁶. His call was supported by other critics in *Istoricheskii vestnik*, *Bibliograf*, *Russkaia starina*, *Russkaia mysl'*, and others. But Bulich's university colleagues were very critical of his stories and even considered them offensive to their corporate honour⁴⁷.

On the threshold of the centennial of the alma mater, professor of Russian history Dmitry Korsakov proposed to continue Bulich's efforts. As a teacher, Korsakov was convinced that university history must be written as a cultural history of the academic community. To ensure the impartiality of this description «from within», he proposed to write it collectively⁴⁸. But the Kazan professors opted for the institutional version of their university past.

⁴³ N.N. Bulich, *Iz pervykh let Kazanskogo universiteta (1805-1819)*, «Izvestiia i uchenye zapiski Kazanskogo universiteta», n. 1, 1875, pp. 3-48; n. 2, 1875, pp. 241-288; n. 3, 1875, pp. 439-488; January-February 1880, pp. 1-112; «Uchenye zapiski Kazanskogo universiteta po istoriko-filologicheskomu fakultetu, 1886, pp. 1-387; Uchenye zapiski Kazanskogo universiteta, book 1, 1890, pp. 1-144; book 2, 1890, pp. 145-276; book 3, 1890, pp. 127-244; book 5, 1890, pp. 133-208; book 6, 1890, pp. 122-214; book 1, 1891, pp. 179-276; book 2, 1891, pp. 141-269.

⁴⁴ A.N. Pypin, *Starye universitetskie nruvy*, «Vestnik Evropy», n. 8, 1887, p. 729.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 730.

⁴⁷ See critical reviews in Shishkin, *Kazanskii universitet v iubileinykh izdaniakh*, p. 25; [N.N. Firsov *Reviewer*], «Izvestiia Obshchestva arkhologii, istorii i etnografii pri Kazanskom universitete», vol. 10, book 3, 1892, p. 353; NA RT, f. 977, op. «Historico-Philological Faculty», d. 1602, p. 1 (On the celebration of the 100th anniversary of Kazan University, 1894).

⁴⁸ NA RT, f. 977, op. «Historico-Philological Faculty», d. 1602, p. 9 ob.

4. *Civilizers of the regions*

In the late nineteenth century Uvarov's report won back readers' sympathies, becoming a sample work for the writing of other institutional histories. Every ministry wanted to commission a written history of their deeds, while the government wanted histories of public institutions. Nearly all of these editions are constructed on a single pattern that constitutes a semi-academic and literary adapted report. Tired of inconsistent educational reforms and having experienced the destructive consequences of student radicalism and politicization of all academic life, contemporaries felt nostalgic about the simple and consistent system of education management under Nicholas I and the government care of professors, scientists, and universities at large. The 1835 Charter was now perceived as a symbol of order and manifestation of state care. This revival was promoted by the boom of memoirs and biographical sketches that were released for university anniversaries. Their authors, professors of the 'Uvarov draft', advanced the 'generation gap' concept, counterpoising their university lives to the 'old professors' and linking their arrival to the birth of Russian science. These recollections gave impetus to the academic biography genre. Every personal academic story was included in the 'big narrative' of Russian science and the Russian university as national phenomena.

Having studied all of the available research works released in the late nineteenth century on the history of Kharkov University, Professor Dmitry Bagalei concluded that «Almost nothing was done on the history of Kharkov University during the reigns of Nicholas I and Alexander II; the few researchers of this period focused on the biographies of outstanding university people, but even they are few in number»⁴⁹. Burying himself in the Kharkov University records, the researcher concluded that their reference and description system did not allow him to reconstruct the history of the university for its entire period of existence. «I forewarn – said Bagalei – that I will not explore its records systematically; to that end, I would have to search through the whole archive, which is absolutely impossible, taking into account the huge quantity of records and their lack of scientific description»⁵⁰. As did the Kazan historian Bulich, the Kharkov historian concentrated on records dating from the first quarter of the nineteenth century that clearly conveyed the personal voices of the 'old' professors. In these, as well as in personal writings, Bagalei found evidence of the cultural mission of the Russian university:

⁴⁹ D.I. Bagalei, *Opyt istorii Khar'kovskogo universiteta*, vol. 1, n. 1, Khar'kov, Tip. A. Darre, p. 5. Bibliographic information on the publications of that time can be found in M.G. Shvalb, M.M. Krasikov, S.B. Glibitskaia (edd.), *Istoriia Khar'kovskogo universiteta. Sistematisch. bibliografich. ukaz., 1805-1917*, second ed., part 1, issue 1, Khar'kov, 2004.

⁵⁰ Bagalei, *Opyt istorii Khar'kovskogo universiteta*, cit., pp. 8-9.

My sympathies will be with those who contributed to the progress of some sphere of university life [...] since the most important objective of any such work will be to recognize a solution of the problem – what this or another university has done to promote science and education in Russian society⁵¹.

This approach was facilitated to a greater extent by Bagalei's specialization in researching his homeland. By the time he wrote the university history, the historian had formed his own vision of the events determined by the progressivist concept of historic development. Unlike statist historians who viewed local cultures as an aggressive environment for state education⁵², Bagalei proved the existence of a long school tradition in his ethnic homeland, which would finally lead to the founding of Kharkov University. To argue this thesis, Bagalei studied the history of knowledge in Ukraine⁵³.

Conversely, Nikolai Zagoskin, a Russian historian working in an 'alien' ethnic environment, demonstrated how backward ethnicities inhabiting the Volga gubernia, the Urals, Caucasus, and Siberia resisted the Russian government's educational efforts. Claiming the role of an anniversary historian, he assured his colleagues that he would write a serious history of «an institution, with regard to a systematic and pragmatic description of its founding, early life, and internal and external development in general, and with respect to individual institutions, within the context of development of that area and society, among which and for the sake of whose intellectual interests it exists»⁵⁴. The colleagues eagerly accepted his proposal.

Zagoskin researched historical sources in the same way that the Uvarov officials had dealt with reports, in other words, he systematized and laid out the empirical data. He recorded brief contents of every archival document on a special index card where he specified «the spheres of university life or university system to which these data or facts pertain». Next, the cards were filed in labelled boxes. For this database Zagoskin drew up systematic and name indices. He recorded on a special form the name of every professor he

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

⁵² In regard to the time of the founding of Kharkov University, M.F. De-Pule wrote: «At that time, Ukraine and Moscow lacked the communication and intercourse that had existed for ages between Moscow and Kazan, while the latter, owing to its historical significance and geographic position, had long ago become the capital city of the entire Russian Povolzh'ye. In any case, whereas Kharkov was in the middle of nowhere, unknown to anyone, we see the unceasing ebb and flow of the then Russian intelligentsia society, represented by the nobility and the bureaucracy, going from capitals to Kazan and back; for this very reason, Kazan University, established at the same as Kharkov University (1805), since its founding became like a colony of Moscow University, having acquired, if not sharper, then more certain and familiar traits than did Kharkov University». (M.F. De-Pule, *Khar'kovskii universitet i D.I. Kachenovskii: kul'turnii ocherk i vospominaniia iz [18]40-kh godov*, in *Kharkivs'kiy universitet XIX-pochatku XX st. u spogadakh yogo profesoriu ta vikhovantsiu*, Vol. 1, Kharkiv, 2008, pp. 274-275).

⁵³ Bagalei, *Opyt istorii Khar'kovskogo universiteta*, cit., pp. 14-51.

⁵⁴ NA RT, f. 977, op. «Historico-Philological Faculty», d. 1602, p. 4 ob.

encountered in the archival documents, and entered into them information from other records⁵⁵. As a result, Kazan University published a four-volume edition containing a thematically organized description of university documents for the first twenty-five years of its operation⁵⁶.

Researching the documentary sources of the first third of the nineteenth century, which had miraculously survived, as well as published memoirs, Zagoskin was able to present professors and universities as associates of the government who assisted it in pursuing modernization and a civilizing mission. Effectively, the university acquired an image as the 'temple of science', 'torch of civilization', 'hotbed of sciences', or 'islands' in the ocean of darkness. The life history of the academic corporation was now presented as a struggle against the «dull indifference or even hostility» of the local environment⁵⁷. This claim was based on accounts in 1800-1810 by professors who perceived themselves as Western civilizers of the Orient⁵⁸.

It appears that the provincial historians at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries enriched the state discourse matrix with the educational rhetoric of professors' writings, with notions of 'culture' and 'creative personality'. Through its publications, every Russian university presented itself as an independent civilizing agent in its educational district. From now on cultural Messianism, rather than the public service ethos, was the point of assembly for narratives of the university past. However, university historians failed to present evidence from two documentary complexes (formed before and after Uvarov) as a story of the same university. Not accidentally, their narratives, conceived as centenaries, stopped at the 1830s, thus indicating a historical caesura.

5. Modernization of the state discourse

Only historians covering government policy could offer their readers a comprehensive university narrative. The ministry's archive was instrumental in setting the succession for this narrative. Researchers easily incorporated the blueprints for reforms and political memos into the general line of progress and modernization of the Russian Empire.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁵⁶ Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskogo Kazanskogo universiteta za pervye sto let ego sushchestvovaniia 1804-1904*. Zagoskin promised to describe the remaining seventy-five years in the next volumes, which he planned to prepare for 1914, an anniversary date of the complete opening of Kazan University. But it never happened.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. XVI, 60.

⁵⁸ N. Popov, *Obschchestvo ljubitelei otechestvennoi slovesnosti i periodicheskaiia literature v Kazani s 1805 po 1834 g.*, «Russkiy vestnik», vol. 23, 1859, p. 65.

It seems that the first person to utilize the Ministry of Public Education records for research was Mikhail Sukhomlinov, a Petersburg professor specializing in the history of literature. Based on the records he read in the 1860s, he wrote a history of the Chief School Directorate, a division of the Ministry of Public Education⁵⁹. Notably, Sukhomlinov researched not only government records but also the archives of Kazan and Kharkov universities (most of his followers did not get as far as provincial university archives). However, Sukhomlinov did not notice the controversial nature of the records he had discovered in different archives because he used their contents in a fragmentary way and as illustrations to the concept developed based on researching the ministry archives.

Its trajectory was set, first, by the growing number of schools in the Empire («the founding of universities opened the gate for public education and ensured its unceasing progress»)⁶⁰, and second, by a series of biographical sketches written by ministers and curators who alternately succeeded each other in power («Razumovsky as the minister of public education continued what his predecessor Zavadsky had begun»)⁶¹. This structure of the university narrative revealed a new gap in the history of Russian education from 1815 to 1825. Sukhomlinov interpreted it as stagnation, caused by the reaction and mysticism that had swept society.

After the government archives were opened to public access in the 1870s, the Sukhomlinov theory was further elaborated and substantiated by Pavel Ferliudin («pogrom of the twenties»)⁶² and Evgeny Feoktistov⁶³. Ferliudin prolonged the history of higher education in Russia up to the Kievan Rus era, dividing university history by charters into five periods: 1755-1804, 1804-1835, 1835-1863, 1863-1884, and finally from 1884 to the present. This periodization has remained in the Soviet historiography.

Sukhomlinov's successor Sergei Rozhdestvensky not only had access to archival records but also became an expert in the structure and contents of the ministry archive. A disciple of Sergei Platonov, at the recommendation of his teacher, Rozhdestvensky was appointed for the first time an anniversary historian of the ministry⁶⁴, and later a member of the committee for scientific description of

⁵⁹ M.I. Sukhomlinov, *Materialy dlia istorii obrazovaniia v Rossii v tsarstvovanie imperatora Aleksandra I*, «Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia», part 128, n. 10, section 2, 1865, pp. 9-172 (separate ed.: SPb., 1866). M.I. Sukhomlinov, *Issledovaniia i stat'i po russkoi literature i prosveshcheniiu*, in 2 vols. (Vol. 1: *Materialy dlia istorii obrazovaniia v Rossii v tsarstvovanie imperatora Aleksandra I*. A.N. Radishchev, St. Petersburg, A.S. Suvorin, 1889).

⁶⁰ Sukhomlinov, *Materialy dlia istorii obrazovaniia v Rossii v tsarstvovanie imperatora Aleksandra I*, cit., p. 9.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 34.

⁶² P. Ferliudin, *Istoricheskii obzor mer po vysshemu obrazovaniiu v Rossii, issue 1 Akademiia Nauk i universitety*, Saratov, Tipo-lit. P.S. Feokritova, 1893, p. 88.

⁶³ E. Feoktistov, *Magnitski: materialy dlia istorii prosveshcheniia v Rossii*, St. Petersburg, v Tip. Kesnevia, 1875.

⁶⁴ S.V. Rozhdestvenskii, *Istoricheskii obzor deiatel'nosti Ministerstva narodnogo*

the Department of Public Education archive⁶⁵. Based on the records specifically collected by Ministry officials, in 1902, Rozhdestvensky wrote a «brief historical sketch containing biographies of heads of the ministry, a review of the laws, and a list of ministerial regulations»⁶⁶. Researching this documentary collection would determine the topic of Rozhdestvensky's studies: he spent many years reconstructing government measures in the field of public education⁶⁷.

Although the researcher was aware of global campaigns to destroy archival records in the ministry in the 1860s and doubted the claim that only «unnecessary papers»⁶⁸ had been destroyed, in his works he followed the logic of archival fonds and analytically reproduced their evidence. Rozhdestvensky researched only one archive and the analytic methods he applied in his research allowed him to draw a single narrative line. Using the notion 'progress' he sought to prove the continuity of university policy presenting different Russian universities as objects for applying government educational policy.

The government, as a rule, appreciated the efforts of historians of the Russian state. It was believed that they promoted solidarity among people, heightened their loyalty, and supported the image of enlightened government. Their works were encouraged by awards, their authors were granted ranks and gifts, and high government officials invited them to speak at ceremonial meetings or commissioned anniversary treatises. Meeting the expectations of senior officials or genuinely believing in the common benefit of their alliance with the state or wishing recognition on its part, historians abandoned their doubts, forgot about gaps in history and breaks in the progress and variety of research objects. They enthusiastically and genuinely proclaimed the eternal alliance between intellectuals and the state. At the ceremonial meeting of the Academy of Sciences devoted to the 100th anniversary of Alexander I, Sukhomlinov said:

The spirit of science introduced to our universities by their first figures was becoming stronger and stronger, exercising a favorable influence on all succeeding generations [...]. From universities and primarily from universities emerged, and continue to emerge, toilers imbued with belief, genuine love for science undying under the pressure of troubles and deprivations and inaccessible to the lures of splendor and worldly benefits⁶⁹.

prosveshcheniia. 1802-1902, St. Petersburg, M-vo Narodnogo prosveshcheniia, 1902.

⁶⁵ S.V. Rozhdestvenskii, *Znachenie Komissii ob uchrezhdenii narodnykh uchilishch v istorii politiki narodnogo prosveshcheniia v XVII-XIX vv.*, in *Opisanie del Arkhiva Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, Vol. 1, Petrograd, Tip. K.N. Gubinskogo, 1917.

⁶⁶ S.V. Rozhdestvenskii, *Predislovie*, in Id., *Istoricheskii obzor deiatel'nosti Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia. 1802-1902*, cit., p. I.

⁶⁷ *Materialy dlia istorii uchebnykh reform v Rossii v XVIII-XIX vv.* St. Petersburg, Tip. t-va «Obshchestv. polza», 1910; S.V. Rozhdestvenskii, *Ocherki po istorii system narodnogo prosveshcheniia v Rossii v XVIII-XIX vv.*, Vol. 1, St. Petersburg, Tip. M.A. Aleksandrova, 1912.

⁶⁸ *Predislovie*, in *Opisanie del Arkhiva Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, Vol. 1, Petrograd, 1917. p. XXI.

⁶⁹ M.I. Sukhomlinov, *Rech' na torzhestvennom sobranii Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk po sluchaiu stoletnego iubileia Aleksandra I*, in *Sbornik Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti*

«The government – echoed Rozhdestvensky in the anniversary history of the Ministry of Public Education – would constantly meet the increasing demands of Russian society». And Moscow University and its grammar school «laid the foundation for the solid and continuing tradition of higher and secondary education in Russia»⁷⁰. In this way, in the course of the anniversary alliance of professors and officials, university and the state, a picture of the university past emerged that presented it as the expansion of an abstract Western idea or a 'spirit' that was introduced to Russia by the wise government. University professors were pictured as cultural missionaries, sacrificially serving the temple of science. These religious metaphors consolidated the sacral image of learned enlighteners and created the semantics of a new notion – 'university tradition'.

The research allows us to offer the following conclusions.

The process of creating university history in the nineteenth-early twentieth centuries resembles a search for and invention of concepts and ways of generalizing and interpreting evidence of the heterogeneous past. All of these histories were created as written conventions between the state, universities, and society on the social and cultural statuses of the university communities in the Russian Empire.

Institutional history was written in the period under study at the direct or indirect commission of the government. In one hundred years it evolved from the history of law (the history of government decrees in regard to universities) to the history of government institutions (the history of changes in their structures, functions, and personnel structure). Its key notions were 'university idea', 'autonomy', and 'system'. In their recollections (biographical editions and stories of academic life), university professors tended to view themselves in cultural history as a social group. They relied on concepts such as 'university tradition', 'culture', and 'university features'. During the centennial celebrations (1855 and 1904-1905), the universities offered their contemporaries both versions of the past, which reflected a hybrid identity of the university communities of that time.

Under current conditions, all three types of transformation of the nineteenth-century university discourses are under way, about which Michel Foucault wrote: *derivation*, suggesting adaptation and generalization of key notions (for example, the 'university system' did not become the management system, as it had been conceived by Uvarov, but a network of interrelated universities⁷¹; and the notion 'tradition' now suggests an agreement between the state and the university)⁷²; *mutation* of the speaking subject's position,

Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk, Vol. 18. St. Petersburg, Tip. Imp. Akademii Nauk, 1877, p. 41.

⁷⁰ Rozhdestvenskii, *Predislovie*, p. 7.

⁷¹ F.A. Petrov, *Formirovanie systemy universitetskogo obrazovaniia v Rossii*, Moscow, Izd-vo Mosk. Un-ta, 2002-2003, T. 1-4; V.I. Chesnoko, *Nekotorye aktual'nye voprosy istorii dorevoliutsionnykh rossiiskikh universitetov*, in *Rossiiskie universitety v XVIII-XX vekakh*, Sb. nauch. statei, issue 6, Voronezh, Izd-vo Voronezh. Gos. Un-ta, 2002, p. 145.

⁷² T.N. Zhukovskaia, *Universitety i universitetskie traditsii v Rossii. Kurs lektsii*, Petrozavodsk,

the descriptive language, or the bias of object borders (for example, cultural space of the university is viewed today as a space of the university town)⁷³; and redistribution of the discourse, caused by external sociocultural processes (for instance, Russia's desire to become competitive on the European market of educational services prompted the appearance of historical works substantiating the presentation of the Russian university as a fragment of the single Western higher education system)⁷⁴.

Naturally, while evolving, the discourses close on themselves, resisting semantic novelty. But professionalization of university studies is impossible without their depressurization, without the deconstruction of the «university dogma» (a term coined by Pierre Bourdieu)⁷⁵ or the revision of key notions of university self-description.

Izd-vo PetrGU, 2011.

⁷³ I.P. Kulakova, *Universitetskoe prostranstvo i ego obitateli: Moskovskii universitet v istoriko-kul'turnoi srede XVIII veka*, Moscow, Novii Khronograf, 2006.

⁷⁴ A.Iu. Andreev, *Rossiiskie universitety XVIII-pervoi poloviny XIX veka v kontekste universitetskoi istorii Evropy*, Moscow, Znak, 2009.

⁷⁵ P. Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1984, p. XI.

Who founded the University of Paris? A history of a one sixteenth-century lawsuit*

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ABSTRACT: The article explores a sixteenth-century lawsuit concerning an ecclesiastical benefice of the University of Paris. If we look for the causes of future collisions in the 1586 court hearings, then we should speak more generally about the conflict between the faculties of theology and arts, between the Dean and the Rector, or between the Sorbonne and the college of Navarre. Latent rivalry, hitherto shadowed by struggle against 'common' enemies, such as Protestants and Jesuits, or against royal encroachments on academic privileges and property (such as Pré-aux-Clercs) and attempts to implement a radical reform of colleges, would boil over into an open conflict in the middle of the seventeenth century. The history of the University served as a weapon in all these conflicts. The author scrutinizes the lawyers' arguments as building materials for inventing the historical tradition of the University of Paris.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: University; History; Cultural Identity; France; Sixteenth Century.

Introduction

Universities have special relationship with history. At least, with their own history. Some time ago, I read in respectable encyclopaedias that the foundation of the University of Bologna was promulgated in 1158 by the *Autentica habita* Charter. This date seemed strange to me as the Charter of Frederick Barbarossa said nothing about Bologna or a University, but I got used to believing

* The results of the project *Designing traditions: problems of continuity and gaps in the Russian University history*, carried out within the framework of the Program of Fundamental Studies of the Higher School of Economics in 2013, are presented in this work.

authoritative opinions. Now, this date has been revised everywhere to 1088. I am ready to believe it as well: law was indeed studied in Bologna as early as the eleventh century, though I find it hard to explain to Byzantinologists and Arabists why I do not view as the oldest universities the court school in Constantinople or the University of Al-Karaouine in Fes, where teaching began much earlier. At one time, I read that the oldest higher educational institution in Russia was the University of Moscow, founded in 1755. But St. Petersburg claims now that the University of St. Petersburg was set up in 1724, rather than in 1819, along with the institution of the Russian Academy of Sciences. On that ground, the University of St. Petersburg joined the Coimbra Group – an association of long-established and most famous universities. Moscow colleagues may only console themselves with the fact that the University of Paris does not represent France in this association.

A desire to make the history of their *alma mater* more ancient is not something new. Thus, Oxford was convinced that its university was founded by Alfred the Great. While the ancient manuscript *Vita Ælfredi regis Angul Saxonum* published in 1574 by Matthew Parker had not mentioned Oxford at all, as early as 1603 antiquarian William Camden corrected the ‘forgetful’ author by inserting a story alleging that the university had been established by the King. This belief was still persistent at the turn of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries¹. Even in the early twentieth century, the Alfredian myth stubbornly persisted at Oxford.

One might expect that an older foundation date would have been chosen for Paris University. Indeed, in the monumental *Historia universitatis Parisiensis* by César Egasse Du Boulay² the establishment of the university, in line with the medieval tradition, was credited to Charlemagne. But as early as 1688, in the *Dictionnaire d’Antoine Furetière* and the later edition of *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* this date was called into question, with preference being made to a theory that the University of Paris was founded in the late twelfth or in the early thirteenth century. This version is owed to erudite historians who corroborated it with documentary sources. Nobody knows today how long a dispute on the University’s foundation date would have been a matter of academic debates, if it hadn’t once become a case at law.

From May to August 1586, the Parlement of Paris examined the case of two applicants for the position of the curé in the church of Saint-Côme-Saint-Damien, located in the university quarter. Down the ages, the university had enjoyed the right of patronage over the church, and, first of all, the right to nominate the curé. When the position was vacant, one of the seven university

¹ A. Wood, *The history and antiquities of the university of Oxford*, Oxford, J. Gutch, 1792, t. 1, pp. 45-46.

² C.E. Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, ipsius foundationem, nationes, facultates, magistratu, decreta, etc., cum instrumētis, publicis et authenticis a Carolo M. ad nostra tempora ordine chronologico completens*, 6 vols., Paris, F. Noel et P. de Bresche, 1665-1673.

corporations³, whose turn it was to «nommer au Recteur un gradué qui est élu entre les supports de l'Université et présenté par le Recteur à l'évêque de Paris pour être pourvu de la Curé», with the approval of church authorities, including the Roman Pope, being a formality. This practice gained ground in the fifteenth century, during the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438–1516); yet, after the proclamation of the Concordat of Bologna in 1516, the rights of the University over this parish were not contested. Meanwhile, a different practice was gaining momentum, namely – *resignatio in favorem* (the cessation of ecclesiastical benefice in favour of the third party). This required the approval of the Pope, not least because such things were perceived as being equal to the crime of simony that only the Pope could forgive, which he did, of course, for a certain amount of money. Despite the public outcry, the practice of church resignations was still in place, against the backdrop of growing official *vénalité des offices* that suggested transferring of posts from one individual to another.

The summer of 1585 saw the death of Claude Versoris, the curé in the church of Saint-Côme-Saint-Damien, who had occupied this post for more than fifty years. The German 'nation' of the University of Paris, whose turn it was to nominate a candidate, named the bachelor in theology, a Scot named Jean Hamilton. It turned out, however, that Claude Versoris had earlier resigned in favour of maître Pierre Tenrier, this move having been sanctioned by the Pope. Both claimants filed a lawsuit in the first-instance court – Châtelet of Paris, and on the 9th February 1586 the case was decided in favour of Tenrier. Hamilton, with support from the University, appealed to the Parlement of Paris.

In effect, the status of the University was called into question. If its founder was the Pope, then the University is an ecclesiastical corporation and nobody can contest the ruling of the Holy See. If the University was founded by the King and is a secular or mixed status corporation, then the Pope's resolutions concerning property rights (including those on the church patronage) are legally void. Thus, the question of the origins of the University was translated into a practical aspect.

The interests of the University in the Parlement of Paris were represented by lawyer Louis Servin while Tenrier's were defended by Antoine Loysel. Nipping on ahead, I shall say that the judges ruled in favor of the Scottish theologian. The turning point in that verdict was not so much an answer to the question on the origin of the University as some procedural violations committed by Tenrier in resignation. But the case caused public outcry because of the problem, set

³ The University of Paris was a confederation of seven corporations – three higher faculties (theological, decretal, medical) and the faculty of the liberal arts, composed of four 'nations' – French, Picard, Norman and German.

by Antoine Loysel, who published *Extraict* from his speech, entitling it: *De l'université de Paris et qu'elle est plus ecclesiastique que seculiere*⁴. This writing would be later incorporated in the book of Loysel's collected works⁵. Though Louis Servin's speeches at this process were also published in 1586 in French⁶. Decades later, they were published in a book of selected speeches of lawyer Servin⁷.

This process was reviewed by experts in judicial decrees (les *Arestographes*). In a posthumous edition of Jean Chenu, the full versions of Loysel's and Servin's speeches (though without the latter's *Replique*) were published among *Cent notables et singulieres questions de droict decidées par arrests memorables des cours souveraines de France, parti d'iceux prononcez en robe rouge*⁸. Even

⁴ A. Loysel, *De l'université de Paris et qu'elle est plus ecclesiastique que seculiere*, Paris, Abel l'Angelier, 1587. (Further references are given to this edition).

⁵ A. Loysel, *De l'université de Paris et qu'elle est plus ecclesiastique que seculiere*, in Id., *La Guyenne, qui sont huict remonstrances faictes en la Chambre de Justice de Guyenne sur le subject des Edicts de Pacification. Plus une autre remonstrance sur la reduction de la ville & reestablishement du Parlement de Paris. Avec l'extraict d'un plaidoyer de l'université*, Paris, Abel l'Angelier, 1605, pp. 346-377.

⁶ L. Servin, *Plaidoyé de maistre Loïs Servin, advocat en parlement, pour maistre Jean Hamilton escossois, licencié en la Faculté de theologie, présenté par l'université de Paris, pourveu de la cure de S. Cosme & S. Damien*, Paris, Adrien Perrier, 1586. We can judge of it by the following edition: L. Servin, *Plaidoyé de Louys Servin, pour M. Jean Hamilton, écossais, contre M. Pierre Terrier. En ce plaidoyé sont traitez trois points principaux: le 1^{er} sur la qualité de l'université, si c'est un corps lay ou ecclésiastic, et quel est le droit de patronage en vertu duquel le recteur a présenté...*, Paris, Jean de Heuqueville, 1603. Servin's university lawsuit seemed so important to the editor that it lent the title to the whole book. In the Bibliothèque Mazarine I have found a collection of laudatory speeches for judges and lawyers who had procured the victory of the University party in the Hamilton-Tenrier case (*Ad amplissimum senatum pro retento Academiae jure in causa Hamiltonii um de nominando Curione D.D. Cosmae et Damiani ageretur, gratiarum Actio*, Paris, Denis Du Pre, 1586).

⁷ L. Servin, *Actions notables et playdoyez de messire Louis Servin, conseiller du Roy en son Conseil d'Estat, et son Advocat general en sa Cour de Parlement*, Paris, Estienne Richer, 1629. In the Rouen edition of this book (Rouen, Louis Loudet) the speech of Servin is preceded by Latin verses of Jean Hamilton and his nephew (pp. 242-287). We used a verified and corrected 1639 Paris edition with fewer printing mistakes – L. Servin, *Plaidoyé et arrest pour Maistre Jean Hamilton, présenté par l'Université de Paris en la Cure de Saint Come, contre Maistre Pierre Tenrier, soy disant pourveu en Cour de Rome, par resignation de feu Maistre Claude Versoris. Playdoyé et arrest de la cour de parlement donné en grand chambre, in Actions notables et playdoyez de messire Louis Servin, conseiller du Roy en son Conseil d'Estat, et son Advocat general en sa Cour de Parlement*, Paris, Estienne Richer, 1639, pp. 189-219. (Further references are given to this edition).

⁸ J. Chenu, *Cent notables et singulieres questions de droict decidées par arrests memorables des cours souveraines de France, parti d'iceux prononcez en robe rouge*, Paris, Jean Fouet, 1603, pp. 51-113. The fact that some of these memorable decrees were delivered in red robes suggested their importance.

earlier, this process was mentioned in the above-mentioned edition of Louis Le Caron Le Charondas⁹, Jean Tournet¹⁰ and Claude de Ferrier¹¹.

Before proceeding with analysis of the lawyers' speeches, we shall take a closer look at the available writings. Servin published a full version of his *Playdoyé* and *Replique*, whereas Loysel released only *Exctraict* of his speech dedicated to just one problem – the origin and status of the university corporation. Servin's writings are full of repetitions and touch upon many themes. For example, the lawyer glorifies his Scottish client, enlists his fellow citizens' special services to France, describes errors and abuses committed by Tenrier and Versoris, makes retrospective journeys into the *droit canon* etc. From Servin's passages it becomes apparent that Loysel attacked his opponent in many directions.

1. 'Plaidoyé' of Louis Servin

Having made a laudatory speech to the Rector and assuring the University of his filial respect, Servin made a summary of the case¹². The 25th August, 1585 had seen the death of the previous curé of the church of Saint-Côme-Saint-Damien; the next day the German 'nation'¹³, whose turn it was to fill vacant benefices, convened at the church of Saint-Mathurin, where the procurator of the 'nation' announced to the Rector the election of Jean Hamilton as the head of the parish. The Rector introduced Hamilton to Archdeacon of Josas, and on the 29th August the Vicar of the Bishop of Paris conducted the installation ceremony. Hamilton's taking office as the curé was strongly opposed by Pierre Tenrier.

Having listed the merits of his client, who had been ordained priest in 1581 in Paris by the Bishop of Glasgow, the head of the Scottish Catholics in exile, had an excellent command of French and Latin, and honored to be a tutor of the future cardinals Bourbon and Joyeuse, Servin chanted the praises of the commonly known sanctity of the Scottish nation. The lawyer made a comprehensive retrospective journey into the history of Scots' contribution to the French crown, from scholars Alcuin, John Duns Scotus and those who were urged by Charlemagne and his successors to bring the light of education to

⁹ L. Le Caron Le Charondas, *Reponses de droict francais confirmés par les arrests des cour souveraines*, Lyon, Thomas Soubbron & Moyse des Prez, 1596, pp. 721-731.

¹⁰ J. Tournet, *Arrests des cours souveraines de France, donnez en matière beneficiale*, Paris, Pierre Billaine, 1631, t. 2, col. 1269-1273.

¹¹ Cl. de Ferrier, *Des droicts de patronage et presentation aux benefices*, Paris, Denis Thierry, 1686, pp. 18-21.

¹² Servin, *Plaidoyé*, cit., p. 192.

¹³ At one time, this 'nation' was called English, but during the Hundred Years' War it changed its name.

France to those who provided military aid to France in campaigning against England; this aid was many times reinforced by dynastic alliances.

Substantiating the legal right of the University to exercise patronage over the church of Saint-Côme-Saint-Damien, Servin reminded of the agreement concluded in 1345 between the abbot of the abbey of Saint-Germain des Prés and the University. The University had a property right on Pré-aux-Clercs (clerics' meadow) neighbouring the abbey. The abbot, who had his bourg fortifications repaired, urgently wanted to acquire rights for a part of the meadow to utilize it as a dump for garbage and silt being cleared out of the fortress ditch. In exchange for the ceded territory, the abbot started paying out the University a small rent and «desirant estre conjoint à l'Université», ceded his patronage right over the three churches that had been under his jurisdiction – Saint-Germain-le-Vieil in the Cité, Saint-André-des-Arts and Saint-Côme-Saint-Damien on the Left bank. Since then the University had exercised *droits de patronage & presentation*¹⁴. Servin, like many other jurists, emphasized that candidates were proposed not by every faculty individually but by the university *in corpore*, and the order of priority must be strictly observed: first, by the three higher faculties (theology, law and medicine), and then by the four 'nations'.

From Servin's explanations it becomes apparent how the priority principle got along with the resignation right. On the 18th March 1524, maître Guillaume Capel, the dean of the faculty of theology, appealed to the University for permission to exercise resignation of the parish church of Saint-Côme-Saint-Damien that was under the university patronage. The permission was given but under a condition that the resignation should not harm the faculty of decretal law. Dean Robert du Gast on behalf of the decretists, gave the consent (they were apparently next in the row), which is testified by an extract from the *livre du Doyenné dudit maistre Robert du Gast*. Among the resolutions adopted by the assembly of the University on the 22nd February 1532 was an entry pertaining to this church. The registers read that maître Guillaume Versoris appealed to the University for resignation of the parish church of Saint-Côme-Saint-Damien from the hands of the University through exchange with the church of Saint-Jean-le-Neuf, whose parish was owned by Claude Versoris, a bachelor in the decretal law. The petition was fatherly approved by the faculty of theology¹⁵.

One might suggest that the two higher faculties made a sort of mutual clearing payment. In 1524, the benefice was owned by a theologian, by permission from decretists, and in 1532 it was passed to a decretist, by permission from theologians. Claude Versoris, as Servin reminds, had exercised the curial duties for more than 55 years. But it was not so much important for the lawyer to demonstrate that for almost a century the parish was run by one family (neither he, nor the judges saw

¹⁴ Servin, *Plaidoyé*, cit., p. 196.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, cit., p. 196. Note that the resignation was carried out through exchanging one parish for another, thus giving less grounds for the accusations of the crime of simony.

nothing bad about it) as that the resignation was possible only with a University's consent (this fact was even attested by the documents presented by the opposite side).

The right of the seigneur, exercising patronage over the church, to choose and nominate priests, seemed so obvious that the Pope, in Servin's opinion, was evidently misinformed; the pontiff just could not give Tenrier permission to own other's property. The patronage right was so entrenched that it even survived in the countries that had gone through the Reformation. But if the patron was, for example, an abbot or a bishop, the Pope's decision would have been indisputable. Servin would have to prove that in this case, patronage was secular in nature. To this end, he drew a distinction between personal and real aspects of the patronage.

Is it possible to speak about the ecclesiastical character of a person or a university, in our case, represented by the Rector? Rectors were elected from among the masters of the liberal arts. Even if some of the rectors did bear the tonsures, it was not necessary for them to belong to the church. «Et nous apprenons du livre du Recteur que les sermens solempnels & accoustumez qu'il preste quand il est institute, sont en premier lieu d'exercer fidellement son office à l'honneur & utilité de l'Université, & de la faculté des Arts qui est compose de toutes personnes, & principalement des laics»¹⁶. The Rector vowed to assert the rights of the University in all judicial instances and defend the rights of educated people and ecclesiastical freedoms, such as resisting taxation, supporting the Greek-Catholic Union, supporting the position of the University of Paris at the Oecumenical Councils. However, notes Servin, a King during the coronation ceremony vows to be a loyal son of the Church and to protect its rights, but it does not make him a cleric.

The masters of the liberal arts, when getting a degree, vow to observe the privileges of the University and status all their lives, not to betray the University's secrets, to keep peace between the 'artists' and theologians and, most importantly, to obey only the rector and procurators of their 'nations'. They do not give oath to any church hierarchs and do not vow celibacy. The lawyer gave some contemporary examples of the married masters teaching at the faculty of arts, noting that married people could be also found among the doctors of the faculty of decretal law known for a mixed composition of professors and students. Even more evident was the secular status of the faculty of medicine that was achieved as a result of reform by Cardinal d'Estouteville who abolished obligatory celibate for medical students in 1452.

Thus, of all the departments only the faculty of theology remained clerical. Even though not all of its students were ordained priests, it has remained clerical as most of its students them were clergymen. But this was precisely why, says Servin, one can speak of the secular character of the University as for

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

one theologian there are fifty secular students from other faculties. The glory that the theologians have won to the university is indisputable, but «il ne faut pas regarder la partie la plus dignement qualifiée, mais il faut avoir esgard à la pluralité des parties»¹⁷.

Certainly, admits Servin, the freedom of academic elections has not been confirmed by the papal bulls, but this fact does not deprive the King of the right to be the father and patron of the University. Claiming the opposite would disgrace the memory of Charlemagne who issued a number of laws on schools. Louis the Pious continued providing support to schools and preserved three universities founded by his father – in Paris, Padoua and Pavia. Servin goes on saying about Charles the Bald's contribution to the University of Paris. Having mentioned the high level of education of kings Louis the Stammerer, Carloman II and Robert the Wise, the lawyer enlisted privileges that had been granted to the University since the reign of Philip II (1200).

In the list of royal patrons Servin singled out Philip V, the founder of the Parlement, whose reign brought prosperity to the University of Paris. Under Francis I and Henry II the University was taken to unattainable altitude, having been granted new privileges that have been confirmed by the present king. But, said the lawyer, all the words are excessive as long as the University has been recognized by the Parlement of Paris as a secular corporation. The rulings of the 3rd July 1567 and the 5th September 1573 set a precedent, clearly suggesting that the clerical authorities cannot pretend to the secular patronage rights.

Touching upon the 'material' aspect of the lawsuit, Servin reminds that the patronage right can be gained by erecting a church on one's own land or as a result of donation or exchange (or, to be exact, by permutation). In 1345, the abbot of the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Près and the rector of the University made such an exchange, which was approved by Pope Clement V. But the deal was legal even without the Pope's approval. Any church, for whatever reasons (for example, if it needs to provide own security) may cede the right to levy a tithe to a secular person, which does not require the papal consent. Therefore, contrary to the allegations of Antoine Loysel, there was no crime of simony in this act because the University has indisputably owned this property for as many as 250 years. Those contesting this right should be condemned. According to «arrest prononcé en robes rouges par Monsieur le President Brisson», a new buyer of the lands in the royal domain of Chauny, that two hundred years ago had been granted to the church by the king but sold now under the edict on the alienation of church property, must pay rent to the king again, once the monarch has reinstated his domain rights.

This case is similar to that of the church of Saint-Côme-Saint-Damien. King Childebert once granted his land to the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Près. After the exchange, the land and the church built on it have been returned to the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

king, who granted all the privileges to the University. No papal ‘derogations’ have had legal effect, since the University was granted the patronage right not by his grace, but under the general right and the 1345 Agreement. Should the resignation act be recognized lawful, it would mean the loss by the University of its rights, since the exchange of benefices cannot be made without the secular patron’s consent. One can read about this, in particular, in the first part of ordinances by King Alfonso X of Castile, called the Seven Partides.

Thus, in Servin’s speech we can find many historical arguments, but most of them rely on commonly known facts. Only when the lawyer wants to bring forward an unusual argument, does he appeal to some little-known details. Reasoning about the Scots, he apparently, refers to *Historia Gentis Scotorum* by Hector Boetius, a Scottish humanist who studied in Paris. As for the rest, the lawyer used the elements of the university *doxa* that regarded Charlemagne as the founder of the University¹⁸. Servin is interested in details only when reviewing the circumstances of the 1345 Agreement. Meanwhile, he often relies on juridical writings, such as the Decretals, the Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis, the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, the Seven Partides, the works of glossators and canonists, the rulings of Parlement.

Proving the royal origin of the University seemed to Servin just one of the many problems, and not the most important one (at least in view of its evident character). In light of this fact, even more brave does seem the demarche of Loysel who challenged the ‘Carolingian myth’ by translating the litigation into a historical dispute. Having lost the process, he believed that he had won in terms of the historical rationale, otherwise he wouldn’t have published extracts from his speech.

2. ‘Plaidoyé’ of Antoine Loysel

Without wasting time on expected assurances of respect for the University, Loysel begins his speech by criticizing a common belief that the university corporation was allegedly founded by Charlemagne and therefore is named the daughter of our kings¹⁹. This is nothing more than a poetic figure, claims the lawyer; if the French King is named a loyal son of the Church, it does not mean that our kingdom was founded by the Roman Pope. If we speak about Charlemagne’s times, neither the annals reporting on the synods convened by Louis the Pious, nor the preface to the Life of St. Germain, dedicated to Charles the Bald, contain any evidence of the University’s foundation date.

¹⁸ S. Lusignan, «*Verité Garde le Roy*»: *La construction d’une identité universitaire en France (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)*, Paris, Publication de la Sorbonne, 1999, pp. 225-246.

¹⁹ Loysel, *De l’université de Paris*, cit., fol. 1v.

Even Einhard, Charlemagne's secretary, whose major mission was glorifying the Emperor's love for sciences, wrote nothing about the universities, while his writings on Alcuin or Peter of Pisa say nothing about the contribution to the University foundation. It is absolutely impossible, says Loysel, that Einhard missed out such a remarkable event or forgot about it. The Charlemagne era is always referred to by those who, being ignorant of the institution history, attempt to prove its ancient origin, as was the case with the origin of the twelve peers of France that were presented as the Emperor's paladins²⁰.

Loysel demonstrates a new approach to history. Rather than repeating conventional wisdoms, employed as arguments in a legal dispute, he offers a critical reading of historical evidence. His reference to the twelve peers sheds light on the source of borrowing. A friend and like-minded fellow of Loysel's, lawyer Etienne Pasquier had published by that time the first volume of his *Les recherches de la France*, in which he writes about the French peers in the same words as did Loysel in his speech²¹. A talented lawyer, Etienne Pasquier represented the first generation of erudite historians; apart from other merits, he is known as the destroyer of the 'Carolingian myth'. His opinion, with verbatim borrowings from *Les recherches de la France* is quoted in the Dictionnaire d'Antoine Furetière and Dictionnaire de Trévoux. Pasquier points to Vincent of Beauvais as the source of mistaken opinion concerning the circumstances of the foundation of the University of Paris²².

A majority of historical arguments that Loysel referred to in his speech can be found, in a more extensive form, in Pasquier's. Does it mean that Loysel acted as a compiler or even plagiarist? It is not as simple as that. The first publication of this passage was published in the 1590 edition, whereas a full version of *Les recherches de la France* by Pasquier would come out only after the author's death. Thus, Loysel acts here rather as a popularizer for the first time familiarizing the general public with his colleague's conception. But it cannot be ruled out that Loysel saw himself as a co-author. Not only were both lawyers friends, they were also in active correspondence with each other.

The University, goes on Loysel, does not see Charlemagne as its patron; only the German 'nation' annually celebrates his commemoration day, while other communities venerate their own, more ancient patrons²³. Having noted that good education was always honored in Gaul, Loysel admits that during the 'early youth' of the Church Roman emperors themselves governed schools and handled other things that would become responsibilities of the church over

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Fol. 4v.

²¹ E. Pasquier, *Les recherches de la France, livre premier et second*, Paris, Gilles Robinot, 1581, p. 90.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 261, 801.

²³ St. Guillaume was regarded as a patron of the French 'nation', St. Roman as the Norman, and St. Nicholas as the Picard 'nation'. Meanwhile, the Amiens triba revered St. Firmin, while the Sens triba venerated St. Antoine.

time. As early as under Clovis, schools were in the care of the church, and, in the first place, of bishops and abbots; it is to them that we owe the preservation of books, education and science. Because there were no schools other than clerical and monastic ones, any educated person was named *clerc*. Cathedral school managers – scholastics – enjoyed special esteem, often becoming bishops or abbots.

Paris owes its glory to the Notre Dame school and other schools in the colleges of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Saint-Honoré, Saint-Merry, Saint-Marcel, and especially Saint-Victor, founded by regular canons during the reign of Louis the Fat. This school was famous for its virtues and scholastic attainments of masters Hugues, Richard et Adam of Saint-Victor. They were rivaled by other masters, first of all, by Peter Abelard, who made the high quality of Paris educational institutions famous all around the Christian world, as evidenced by Otto of Freising.

The abundance of schools and the inflow of new scholars have finally brought about the foundation of a big splendid university during the reign of Louis the Young (1137–1180). It was at this particular time, and not earlier, specifies Loysel, that Paris University started its path to glory, though there were no statutes, colleges, while a great mess was reigning in schools (Loysel exemplifies it by quoting juicy details from the Chronicle of Jacque de Vitry). Quarrels and conspiracies were not infrequent among professors and students representing different nations. To avoid enmity and spread of heresies, a decision was made to bring together all students in one union, acting under a single charter regulating the dress code, character of lectures, disputes, funeral processions etc. These and other things are still contained in university books. Loysel assures that the key role in this belongs to Peter Lombard, who is annually commemorated by bachelors in theology, convening at the church of Saint-Marcel where he is buried²⁴.

Under Pope Innocent III, Loysel continues, an eight-masters committee was set up to revise the statutes. It does not mean, however, that the kings did not support the University. Thus, Philip II August equaled students to clerics, ordering that they be subject only to the episcopal jurisdiction. Since then, Paris prevosts have vowed to the University representatives to observe their privileges. The charters testify that Philip II August cared for the security of students and, at request of Pope Innocent III, ordered to fortify the university quarter. Thus, summarizes the lawyer, Paris was famous for its education even before Charlemagne, but the University, with its faculties, ‘nations’, regulations and statutes, was set up much later, 400 years ago.

Having determined the origin of the University, the lawyer came to proving its clerical character. The University is governed by theologians, the oldest

²⁴ Loysel, *De l'université de Paris*, cit., fol. 12v-13; is a verbatim quotation from Etienne Pasquier. It would be later reproduced in the dictionaries of Furetière and Trévoux.

masters of the schools of Paris, «car quelque auctorité que l'on ayt depuis donné au Recteur, si est-ce que la principale dignité d'honneur est tousiours demeuree pardevers la Theologie»²⁵. All ceremonial acts in university life are performed by the dean of the faculty of theology who makes speeches along with the Rector, preceded by his bedel. The dean is a permanent Rector, whereas the one carrying this title is «un magistrat imaginaire & presque momentanée, iadis d'un mois ou six semaines tant seulement, & en fin de trois mois». All other faculties are subordinate to the faculty of theology²⁶.

It follows from this writing that most of the university members are clerics. But students are also considered clerics by virtue of the royal ordinances that extended on them all privileges of the clergy. The University retained these privileges, whereas its adversaries want to withdraw them, depriving the university people of their names, head-dress and the clerics' meadow, Pré-aux-Clercs.

Once the university jurisdiction has been set, says Loysel, it will be easier to solve the problem of its subordination. Most of the supreme judges for all universities and their colleges are represented by bishops and popes rather than by the King and secular rulers. As far as the University of Paris is concerned, it recognizes the Pope as its ultimate head. Moreover, Innocent III took the University under his special protection by forbidding the Bishop of Paris to excommunicate masters and students. Further, Loysel enumerates the popes, who issued regulations for the University – from Honorius III, who banned studying the roman law, to Urban VI, who took under his personal protection Rector Jean Ronce, persecuted by the Duke of Orleans, the regent of France (1381). By the decision of the Holy See, the University was entitled to control a third of all the vacant benefices in France²⁷. Thus, the University owes its existence to the Roman popes. This is evidenced by the University correspondence in which the University refers to the Pope as the supreme power, uses the dating by the year of the pontificate.

University reforms that can be read about in the university statute books were always handled by the Ablegate rather than by secular authorities. The ordinary judge, or the first instance judge for the University, is the Bishop of Paris, which was confirmed by Philip II's ordinance. The University was also governed by the Chancellor of the Paris Cathedral, who, acting as a papal vicar, by the authority of the apostolic power, entitles the masters of all faculties to «read and teach everywhere»²⁸, that is to say, there is no one else but the Pope who confers the masters with power. When Boniface VIII infringed on

²⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 19v.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 20-20v.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 22-22v.

²⁸ *Licentia ubique docendi* is the major and oldest university degree. The Chancellor conferred it *ex auctoritate Apostolica*, but upon the recommendation from the magister commission that examined the candidate.

secular rights of the French kingdom, he threatened clergy and the university by revoking authority and status of the Chancellor. Later the Pope would return them to the Chancellor. The Chancellor of the abbey of Sainte-Geneviève and two guardians of apostolic privileges are vested with certain authority²⁹. As notes Loysel, Paris University is not just a clerical institution, but also papal and apostolic one, with all its privileges owed to the Pope.

As for the Rector who, as the lawyer snidely remarks, is called head of the university, he, being the principal master of the University, must, solely for this cause, remain an unmarried cleric. But this title, repeats Loysel, is not as old as the Chancellor's. Earlier on any professor giving a course of lectures could be called *Rector*. Hence, those who have power over the University are clerics. The Prevost of Paris, who is only the guardian of royal privileges granted to the University, is its servant rather than the head. It is the Prevost who gives oath to the University, not vice versa. Most of the university buildings are located on the church lands, owned by the Paris cathedral chapter, inhabitants of Saint-Victor, Sainte-Geneviève, Saint-Germain-des-Prés and other monasteries and colleges with their chapels.

All university assemblies are held in church buildings: in the church of Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre, in which the elections of the Rector are held, in the convent of the Mathurins, in the Bernardine College and other consecrated buildings. The masters get their licenses either in the abbey of Sainte-Geneviève or in the Bishop's Palace, a former location of the first Paris school.

And finally, in defending the Church, the University has scored all its major victories. Loysel begins describing these exploits from the victory over Abelard, since it happened when «Paris school was only in the cradle». Abelard «avoit debauché [sic] Eloise fille de Foulbert chanoine de Paris, sçavante en toutes langues & sciences & vrayement miracle non seulement de son siecle mais de toute la nation Françoisse: il commença d'y semer quelques erreurs»³⁰. Loysel recounts a story of Abelard's adventures, emphasizing the role of Paris masters, who managed, with the help of St. Bernard, to secure a conviction of Abelard twice at the Councils in Soissons and Sens.

The lawyer further relates the denunciation of Gilbert de la Porrée, who was first exposed to criticism by Paris masters, particularly by Adam Parvipontanus. Loysel also refers to the case of Amalric of Bena who was condemned by Innocent III on a personal appeal from the University to the Pope (the condemnation took place after the master's death, so his remains were exhumed and burned). Among other cases related by Loysel is a conflict between the University and the

²⁹ As early as the twelfth century Paris schools were located on the Left bank in the area under the jurisdiction of the abbey of Sainte-Geneviève, so the masters got permission to teach from the Chancellor of the abbey. He retained some of his rights in relation to the masters in arts at a later time. The University itself selected keepers of these privileges, granted by the Pope, these were usually the Bishops of Senlis and of Beauvais.

³⁰ Loysel, *De l'université de Paris*, cit., fol. 26.

mendicant orders over the right of preaching; however, the core of the conflict is laid out indistinctly. Loysel relates the University's fight against *The Eternal Gospel*³¹.

All University exploits were spiritual, and those who view its members as lay people, do it a great harm. The University has always proved otherwise. When Louis XI ordered drawing a list of students subjects to conscription to the army, Rector Guillaume Fichet opposed this idea so valiantly that he won praise from Pope Pius II.

Under Francis I the University fought against both heretics and the Bologna Concordat that had abolished the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. The University resisted Jesuits. This is attested by the clerical character of the procession that the Rector holds once every three month in the company of clergy the university churches at Pré-aux-Clercs, where sermons used to be read in different languages.

The Parlement of Paris is entitled to consider the University-related cases, but only those pertaining to secular property granted by benefactors. There is no decree in the records of Parlement, notes Loysel, that would suggest the University's secular status. On the contrary, while ratifying a new version of the *Coutume de Paris* (1580), President Christophe de Thou, according to tradition, allocated the University a position among the clericals, between the bishop and abbots.

Et de verité ceux qui pour sauver la presentation d'une cure de deux cents liures, contre l'auctorité de S. Pere, la veullent despouiller de cette belle et precieuse robbe de clericature pour la reuestir en habit lay ou seculier, luy feroient le grand tort. Car ils l'asseruiroient avec le temps au ioung de laycité: la priueroient & luy feroient perdre l'honneur, la dignité, la franchise & les libertez qui luy ont esté acquises & conseruees par tant de siecles³²,

so ends his speech Antoine Loysel.

In military history, a side that finds itself in unfavorable conditions can counterbalance its chances by abruptly employing new generation weaponry. Such weapon was a new method of historical criticism that was employed by the erudites. With Estienne Pasquier's assistance, Loysel destroys the basic framework of the 'Carolingian myth' of the University's history upon which Servin based some of his arguments.

Thoughtful reading of the chronicles, the monuments of university poetry and charters allowed Loysel to offer a new version of the University's history. This version was controversial. Loysel did not falsify the historical evidence, preferring instead to keep quiet about inconvenient facts. He found himself

³¹ *Introductorium in Evangelium Aeternum* (Introduction to the Eternal Gospel) is an eschatological treatise by Franciscan Gerard or Gerardin of Borgo San Donnino, who was convicted by Alexander IV in 1255.

³² Loysel, *De l'université de Paris*, cit., fol. 36.

in a difficult position as he had to defend the papal prerogatives before the Parlement whose Gallican sympathies were pronounced; moreover, Loysel and his friend Pasquier were strenuous supporters of the Gallican freedoms from Roman infringement. And Loysel, little by little, demonstrates his adherence to this stand.

Contesting the claim that the university owes its origin to ‘Scottish’ scholars, who arrived in Paris during the reign of Charlemagne, the lawyer makes an interesting comparison:

Et quand bien se seroit à Paris, que l’on eust fait venir & des Grecs, & des Hibernies, Anglois, ou Escossois, pour y faire profession des letters; il ne s’ensuiuroit pas pourtant qu’ils fussent fondateurs de ceste eschole... & non plus que si d’icy à cinq cens ans on disoit que les Iesuistes nous ont apporté les lettres d’Italie, ou d’Espagne³³.

By hinting at the Society of Jesus, Loysel explicitly referred to the 1564 process against Jesuits, in which Pasquier defended the University’s interests. Let us remember that Loysel called the fight against Jesuits one of the University’s important achievements. Among other exploits named by Loysel was resisting the 1516 Concordat and defending the Pragmatic Sanction. A strange position for a lawyer defending these prerogatives! It has to be borne in mind, however, that the judges of Parlement, as early as 1580, supported the university’s attempt to force the King to abolish the Concordat³⁴.

3. ‘Replique’ of Louis Servin

The thirty years’ old lawyer Servin, unlike the fifty years’ old Loysel, had no experience of speech-making in Parlement, nor did he have any in historical research. But in his reply to Loysel he draws attention not only to Tenrier’s procedural mistakes, as he has promised at the end of his speech. Taking up the challenge, he again appealed to history, delving deeper into the subject and adducing evidence in support of his theories.

In his historical reconstructions Servin often introduces criticism of the common sense and a commonly encountered proof by contradiction: if not the University, then who? The lawyer tells the public that Hincmar of Reims in one of his letters addressed to Emperor Charles the Fat, wrote about the royal teachers, asking him to provide French children with fair masters: *Où en pouvoit-on trouver s’il n’y en avoit à Paris? Venons au temps de Hugues Capet,*

³³ *Ibid.*, fol. 4v.

³⁴ P. Ferret, *La faculté de théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres, époque moderne*, Paris, Picard, t. I, 1900, p. 317.

*voyons quel a esté Robert son successeurs le plus scavant de tous les Rois. Qui l'avoit rendu tel? L'Université fille de son père*³⁵.

But, apart from these arguments, Servin in his reply is more likely than in the first part of his speech, to name the source of his information, namely, the book entitled *Ansegise* containing Charlemagne's laws on schools, one of which gave rise to the University of Paris, «fondée par Charlemagne par le conseil des doctes Escossoit, [...] liberaux nourris en la charité divine, ainsi que nous lisons dans Gaguin»³⁶. Servin also refers to Benjamin of Navarre³⁷, who praised the Hebrew School in Paris, noting, however, how many scholars there were in that city under Louis VII. In 1150, says Servin, many doctors in scholastic and canon law that were favored and raised by the kings, arrived in Paris. This fact proves that the founders and patrons of Paris University were kings, and none other than they must be recognized as their chiefs.

Responding to Antoine Loysel's question on the University's leadership, Servin notes that the Bishop of Paris and the Pope of Rome are more likely to lead spiritual life than to manage property issues. The Chancellor does not govern the University, he is scholastic, that is a canon, who was appointed to run the cathedral school. In Paris only the Rector is the head of the University, he is in charge of all issues pertaining to schools and education. But because the Rector is a secular person, he cannot give blessings, so when students, after passing all examinations, become masters and full-fledged members of the University, they are specially introduced to a clergyman – the Chancellor – for a blessing. School management was always responsibility of the Rector, which was provided for by the 1271 Act and registered in the book of the University. The Rector is a secular person who is elected from among the members of the faculty of arts and is not bound to wear the tonsure. The Rector is responsible for keeping order in the University, securing peace between the 'nations', inspecting colleges and asserting university rights in any court. But is he bound to bless the *foire de Lendit*?

L'histoire nous apprend que le Lendit est une foire qui se fait entre Paris & saint Denys instituée par Charles le Chauve fils [*sic*] de Charlemagne, & second fondateur des Ecoles en reverence des cloux & couronne de N. Seign. qu'à tel iour il apporta d'Aix la Chapelle où ils avoient esté mis par Charlemagne, & les remis en l'Abbaye de S. Denys. Le 1. iour de ceste foire le portier Moine de l'Abbaye avoit droit de venir avec ses gens à la procession de la benisson du Lendit... Je recognois bien que le Recteur s'y est trouvé quelquefois, mais non pour donner la benediction, ains tous les ans le Procureur fiscal de l'Université accoustumé de

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.* Robert Gaguin (1431-1501) was a Paris humanist, historian and Mathurinian.

³⁷ Benjamin of Navarre, or Benjamin of Tudela was a twelfth-century Jewish traveller, whose work was translated into Latin and published in 1575 in Antwerp.

s'y transporter pour remonstrer que la cause qui l'y mene est afin de continuer la possession en laquelle sont les Recteur & Université de tout temps de visiter tout le parchemin qui vient dans la ville & banleüé de Paris, & et dans la ville Saint Denys en France, mesmement durant la foire...³⁸

If the Rector is as layman as is the head of the University, that is, the King, what can be said about the students? If they are called 'clerics', this does not mean they are members of the Church. In the University, like elsewhere in France, educated people of any status were called clerics. However, Servin makes an important concession: at one time, before the reform of Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville (*de Touthville*), there were many clerics in the university. But nowadays secular persons outnumber clerics, while one can judge of the corporation status by its present condition. Pressured by historical arguments, Loysel seeks to somewhat diminish their significance.

Unlike Loysel, Servin believed that neither Pope Alexander III, nor Pope Innocent III were the founders of Paris schools. Innocent III was a contemporary of Philip II Augustus; these were the times when, as testified by Vincent of Beauvais, sciences prospered so much in Paris that it drew people from all over Europe; in no small measure it was owed to honors granted to them by Philip II of France, following the example of his father Louis VII. This is evidenced by the privilege of the year 1200 that Loysel was referring to. Indeed, Innocent III had written several letters to the King in support of the students, which Servin read in the Rector's Book. But even without these the papal requests the King did so much for Paris schools as none of other kings favoring sciences had done before him, and he did not need to be urged to do so. In his letter to the King Innocent III admitted that he was the founder and guardian of the university issuing ordinances aimed at regulating relations between the university and the city. The same was done by other popes – Servin is quoting an extract from Gregory IX' letter dated 1217 that he found in the Rector's Book.

Servin detected vulnerable points in Loysel's conception of the University's history that he had laid out as 'The Labours of Hercules'.

On nous obiecté que les Mendians qui vivoient sous saint Louis, sont membres de l'Université. Cela ne se peut dire si on ne veut maintenir de faux toute l'histoire du temps, & les registres de l'Academie, par lesquels il appert que les Maistres de l'Université en toutes les facultez & nations ont empesché leur entrée, & les efforts par eux faits pour estre du corps de l'Université. [...] Or iamais le Roy n'a uny les Mendians avec l'Université & n'y en a point de lettres, & c'est le principal argument des Maistres de l'Université... Ne rendez donc point nostre Université mendiant³⁹.

³⁸ Servin, *Replique*, cit., pp. 207-208.

³⁹ Servin, *Replique*, cit., p. 211.

On the contrary, the University has many colleges founded by the kings, monarchs and lay seigneurs, even prelates established colleges at the expense of the funds of purely secular origin.

Servin reminds that his opponent had quoted the letter to Pope Alexander IV as an example of modesty, softness and pietism. The lawyer explains that the school masters sent out letters to all churches and prelates in which they were complaining on the preaching brothers (i.e. Dominicans), who had settled at Saint-Jacques Street that was a university property and did much harm to the University attempting to occupy as many chairs as possible, as evidenced by the Rector's Book. In a letter under the seals from four 'nations' addressed to Pope Alexander IV in 1255, scholars compared themselves with scraps of a shipwreck («reliques de la dispersion, & bris du naufrage»).

Servin relates a story which he has found in a manuscript from the Saint-Victor library. In 1431 Pope Eugene IV, who supported the mendicants, issued a bull entitling monks to get license at the theology faculty of the Paris school. But the bull was rejected by both the university doctors and the mendicant orders who understood that they did not belong to the 'university body'. The lawyer says that «i'ay veu au livre de Maistre Jean Filesac, qui estoit Recteur, lors que i'ay premierement plaidé ceste cause»⁴⁰. Thus, Servin not only corroborates his arguments with documentary sources but partially familiarizes the public with the results of his historical studies.

A great problem was posed by the evidence produced by Loysel in that the University had not taken oath to Philip V. At this point Servin himself had to subject the source to historical criticism. The fact that the University did not take oath to the King is reported only in a chronicle drawn by a monk from Saint-Denis. Other sources do not confirm this fact, although if this strange event had indeed happened, everyone in the world would have known it. The chronicler's information contradicts all other facts he has reported. But even if it did take place, this would not prove a clerical character of the university corporation; otherwise the University would have taken oath along with the clerical order. It appears unlikely that Pope John XXII, himself a French, well familiar with the laws of the kingdom, would have urged students to disobedience. But if there had been any bullhead, who refused to take oath to the King, it could have been one of the followers of the Duke of Burgundy, hostile to King Philip V the Tall.

⁴⁰ Jean Filesac was elected Rector on the 24th March 1586. He would eventually become a prominent figure at the theology faculty and irreplaceable dean who always displayed interest in the university history. It is most likely that Servin got acquainted with the Rector's Book kept by Filesac, but it can not be ruled out that it was a different book authored by Filesac himself. During his rectorship he won a victory against the guild of parchment-makers who tried to challenge the university's rights to control this industry (Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, cit., t. VI, p. 786; J.B.L. Crevier, *Histoire de l'Université de Paris, depuis son origine jusqu'en 1600*, Paris, Desaint & Saillant, 1761, t. VI, p. 382).

One by one Servin provides historical evidence corroborating the secular character of the university. More important to him is the middle of the fourteenth century (when the University signed a deal with the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés), the time when the future Emperor Charles IV, the king of Bohemia, the most learned person who knew five languages, studied in the university. Perhaps a better friend of Paris University was King Charles V who commissioned the writing of *Le Songe du Vergier* lauding the university. By the ordinance of 1366 the University was exempted from taxes and payments to the crown which is yet another proof of the secular character of the University, otherwise it would have needed special privileges – it would have initially been spared of taxes like the whole clergy. Under Charles VI Jean Gerson, *nommoit* «[l'Académie] en sa harangue⁴¹ faite au nom de l'Université, l'appelant la fille du Roy, la mere des estude, le beau soleil de France»⁴².

Servin deliberately analyzes what Loysel said in passing. In 1406, under Charles VI, the University, through Parlement's Curia, demanded confirmation of freedoms for the Gallican Church. The proclamation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges was an act of recognition of the University's prosperity under Charles VII. Without the University and its students, the Gallican Church would have been destroyed, when Pope Pius II compelled consent from Louis XI to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction. Under François I, when a concordat with Pope Leo X was signed, the University was finally managed to assert its right to grant educated people with vacant benefices.

Parlement recognizes the University's merits and praises it for having kept the Gallican Church and the kingdom in order. As for theologians' achievements in fighting heretics and schismatics, they should share this honor with other faculties, particularly with the masters of the faculty of arts, which constitute the core of the University – «n'y a pas seulement un Hercules dompteur de monstres & de vices, mais plusieurs autres..., lesquels chassent les maux et fortifient les gens de bien»⁴³.

Going back to the patronage right, Servin adds that the abbey lands had been initially the King's property and that under the 1345 Agreement their status was reinstated and they were returned to the King, that is, to 'his favorite daughter, Paris University'. Apart from Childebert I's gift of property, the lawyer refers to the charters of Charles the Bald, Philip II Augustus⁴⁴, St. Louis (1270) and Philip III (1272). According to the latter's charter, abbots were delegated jurisdiction over the lands on which the churches Saint-André-des-Arts и Saint-Côme-Saint-Damien were built. In effecting the rights, delegated by the king, the University thus replaced the former owner. This means that the 1345 Agreement cannot be charged with simony. It was not the sale of ecclesiastical benefice but an

⁴¹ First edition of Jean Gerson's speech *Vivat rex!* published in Paris 1561.

⁴² Servin, *Replique*, cit., p. 215.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ The dates are wrong – 670 and 1129 (Servin, *Replique*, cit., p. 216).

exchange of rights of secular nature. And if the Pope gets the curé appointed to the church under the patronage of the University, the University will be stripped of one of its major rights.

In all appearance, it was not so much Servin's historical arguments that won victory to Jean Hamilton, as the evidence of violations committed by Tenrier. But it is hard to ignore the fact that Servin in his reply has grown as a historian. Although Servin keeps appealing to the 'common sense' and sometimes overloads his speech with rhetoric exclamations, he is more likely than before to refer to the sources of his information, such as the works of historians of humanistic inspiration, a set of chronicles, some unexpected evidence of his contemporaries (e.g. Benjamin of Tudela) and favorite university tradition writings – *Le Songe du Vergier* or sermon by Jean Gerson *Vivat rex!*

Servin is inferior to Loysel in the art of historical criticism and historical thinking, but he has his own trump card – he is more familiar than his opponent of the university sources, making references to the Rector's Book and emphasizing that he read the cited records himself. By them he obviously meant the university cartulary located in the college of Navarre where, according to François de Belleforest, the author of the description of Paris, held the treasury of university charters – privileges and immunities granted to the University⁴⁵.

Thanks to the inventory of the University's archives drawn in 1623 Nicolas Quentin, we know now that a bull of Gregory IX that Servin had read, was indeed to be found only in the Rector's Book⁴⁶. This archive remained inaccessible to the general public; it was open only for the Rector, university secretary (*greffier*) and possibly for the procurators of the 'nations' and some other university officials. Servin refers to Jean Filesac who acquainted the lawyer with 'his book'. But it occurred when Servin was working on his first speech. Filesac's powers were expiring in May, whereas Servin was preparing his speech in the summer, and for that very reason he needed access to the records. He discovered something in the Saint-Victor library, glorified by François Rabelais, but he was obviously also given permission to research the university records – rector books and procurators of the 'nations' records. If Loysel relied on direct or indirect assistance from his friend Pasquier, who could help Servin in this case? Loysel defended Jean Hamilton, who acted as a private entity. But the University of Paris supported his lawsuit.

The compilation of Louis le Caron Le Charondas, published ten years after the process, mentions, apart from Servin and Loysel, a lawyer named Choart⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ «C'est en ce collège que se gardent les chartes et trésor de l'université, telles que sont les fondations, libertez, immunitz et privilèges octroyez aux facultez d'icelle. C'est a Navarre que se font la plupart des distributions et qu'on respecte le lieu comme le principal et plus autorisé qu'on voye entre les collèges de Paris» (de Belleforest, *Cosmographie*, cit., t. I, 1575, p. 194).

⁴⁶ Bibl. de la Sorbonne, MSAU 103, A 20 O: Bulle de Grégoire IX «cette bulle est au livre de M. le Recteur fol. 8».

⁴⁷ Le Caron Le Charondas, *Reponse*, cit., p. 721.

Jacques Choart was one of *avocats jurés de l'Université* who had served the corporation for almost twenty five years. His practice, however, was not too successful, as can be judged by surviving evidence. In 1564 he did not take part in the trial against Jesuits, devolving this honour to Estienne Pasquier; in 1570 he unsuccessfully defended the interests of university graduates who were deprived of vacant benefices in the archdeaconate of Rouen (his opponent at that time was the powerful cardinal de Lorraine, archbishop of Rouen)⁴⁸; in 1579 Choart represented the University in a lawsuit against Roch Le Baillif, a physician and proponent of the methods of Paracelsus, but lost the process again⁴⁹. It was only once that his name was mentioned among the participants in a lawsuit that the University had filed against granting a benefice to a university graduate⁵⁰. But in any case, Jacques Choart has sufficient experience and university connections, and he could well assist his colleague in researching the university archives.

Conclusion

Thus, it would be a simplification to view the Hamilton-Tenrier process as a collision between scientific and unscientific points of view on the problem of the origins of the University. All was much more complicated. The court proceedings not only heightened public interest in the University, but the lawyers also demonstrated a consensus on a number of questions. Both did their best to stress their loyalty to the University, the desire to defend its privileges and to emphasize its role in the national history and the Christian world as a whole. Both demonstrated adherence to the Gallican liberties of the church and consent on the key landmarks of the University's history by referring to the same authoritative set of university culture monuments (*Roman de la Rose*, *Le Songe du Vergier*, Gerson's sermons). But it is this common ground that prevents us from establishing a socio-political diagnosis of the collision under study and embedding it into the 'grand historical narrative' as so required by social history canons.

If one party to a trial defends the priority of the Pope in University affairs, wishing to present all students and masters as clerics (we shall refer to them as

⁴⁸ Crevier, *Histoire de L'Université*, cit., t. VI, p. 181, 251.

⁴⁹ See D. Kahn, *La Faculté de médecine de Paris en échec face au paracelsisme: enjeux et dénouement réels du procès de Roch Le Baillif*, in H. Schott, I. Zinguer (edd.), *Paracelsus und seine internationale Rezeption in der frühen Neuzeit. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paracelsismus*, Leyde, E.J. Brill, 1998 (*Brill's Studies in Intellectual History*, vol. 86), pp. 161-162. Interestingly, Roch Le Baillif was masterly supported by Estienne Pasquier.

⁵⁰ *Recueil de plusieurs arrests notables du parlement de Paris*, Paris, Charles Robustel, t. 2, 1712, p. 384.

‘papists’), while their opponents insist that the King is the source of the fortunes of the University, advocating the secular status of the university corporation (let us refer to them as ‘royalists’) whereas, as we know, the Catholic League is weaving a plot resulting in the King being dethroned by the leaguers, then we, as it would seem, might have predicted the future of our ‘papists’ and ‘royalists’. But the real history is full of surprises. Jean Hamilton who praised the King’s generosity would become one of the most uncompromising leaguers. He would be the only one of the League leaders to organize resistance to the new King Henry IV, who entered the city in March 1594, and one of the few to be forever expelled from the country, despite the amnesty⁵¹. The company of exiled leaguers would be also joined by Christophe Aubry whom Servin mentioned in his first speech, who had become the curé of Saint-André-des-Arts upon the presentation of the Norman ‘nation’ of the University in 1584. The recognition of the royal supremacy did not suggest in any way the firmness of royalist feelings.

I know nothing about Tenrier’s fate but the ‘papist’ Loysel and his friend Pasquier would leave League and twist his fortune with a Parlement that Henry III was drawing in Tours from among the Paris refugees. Pasquier and Loysel would further become uncompromising fighters against the ‘spirit of the League’ and zealous supporters of the royal Gallicanism. The ‘royalist’ Louis Servin sided with the League at the General States in Blois in 1588. His support of the League did not bring him much success though, as he was a Huguenot. Having joined the royal camp, he obtained a post of the royal lawyer in the Parlement of Tours and retained it until the return of Parlement to Paris. Being an ardent opponent of Jesuits and supporter of Gallicanism, Servin brought down anger of the Holy See on himself. During the *lit de justice* ceremony of Louis XIII in Parlement on the 19th March 1626 the royal lawyer Servin submitted a remonstrance to the king against the new taxes. This move infuriated the king so much that Louis Servin did not get over the shock and died on the same day.

Such twists and turns of fate seem paradoxical only to those who prefer to read history from the end. Back then, in 1586, political passions had not yet affected either professionalism of the lawyers, or their adherence to the broad consensus.

Thierry Amalou demonstrated how the struggle for retaining privileges (city, corporations, university) against increasing encroachments on the part of the royal power, fitted well into the League movement that was seen as a reaction of traditional social structures to destructive political and social innovations⁵². These innovations were also seen in both the expanding practice of the venality

⁵¹ R. Descimon, J.J. Ruiz Ibáñez, *Les ligueurs de l’exil: Le refuge catholique français après 1594*, Paris, Champ Vallon, 2005.

⁵² T. Amalou, *Entre réforme du royaume et enjeux dynastiques. Le magistère intellectuel et moral de l’université de Paris au sein de la Ligue (1576-1594)*, «Cahiers de recherches médiévales», n. 18, 2009, pp. 145-166.

of offices, and family resignations of church offices. It is worth noting that Loysel, judging by Servin's remarks, did not defend the Versoris clan, which regarded the church of Saint-Côme-Saint-Damien its own property, but presented Tenrier as a party that suffered from self-interest of the previous curé. And when Loysel begins moralizing about reprobate behaviour of students at Pré-aux-Clercs, or calls for clericalization of the university environment, stressing the achievements of the university in eradicating heresies, past and present, he is acting quite in the spirit of the expectations of the Paris society in the Counter-Reformation period (or, as they say now, confessionalization)⁵³.

If we look for the causes of future collisions in the 1586 court hearings, then we should speak more generally about the conflict between the theology and art faculties, between the dean and the Rector, or, using a metonym, between the Sorbonne and Navarre colleges. Latent rivalry, hitherto shadowed by struggle against the common enemies, such as the Protestants, Jesuits, royal encroachments on academic privileges and property (such as Pré-aux-Clercs), the attempts to carry out a radical college reform, would boil over into an open conflict in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Weapon in this conflict would be history. Thierry Amalou suggests that searching for historical arguments was what prompted rectors to draw inventories of university archives and the university secretary Du Boulay to write a huge work on the history of Paris University – *Historia universitatis parisiensis*. Its first volume, about one thousand pages-long, embraced the period until the twelfth century, thus proving the ancient Carolingian origin of the University. Theologians counterpoised to this thesis a well-substantiated conception of the erudites Pasquier and Du Tillier that would be represented in dictionaries and encyclopedias. Is it possible to establish the winner? Are there any winners at all in such disputes, particularly if they lack the definition of the term 'university'? Du Boulay's successor, Jean-Baptiste Louis Crevier, whose entire life was associated with the art faculty, in his six-volume history of the University that was published in 1761, insists that the University was founded in the time of Charlemagne. But getting as far as the 80th page of the first volume, the reader finds himself in the twelfth century. This is possibly an indirect, and therefore, the most reliable recognition of the triumph of the 'erudite' point of view. Likewise, English eighteenth-century editions of *Vita Ælfredi* bashfully leave out Camden's interpolation on the origin of Oxford University. This, of course, was not an obstacle to erecting the monument to Alfred the Great in the landscape of the colleges of Oxford. Likewise, Charlemagne in the middle of the seventeenth century became to be venerated as a patron of the whole Paris University and his statute was no longer regarded as sole property of the

⁵³ This is also a reflection of the spirit of the times, see J. Verger, *Les universités françaises au XV^e siècle: crise et tentatives de réforme*, in *Éducation et Culture*, Num. spécial des «Cahiers d'Histoire», 1976, pp. 61-62.

German 'nation'. As a matter of fact, the equestrian statue of the emperor guarding approaches to the Minor Bridge leading to the Latin quarter, can be also viewed as a tribute to the university tradition. Who knows, maybe in the future, Parisians, looking back at the majestic figure of the emperor, would like to recover their university the glory of the Europe's oldest higher educational institution. As a matter of fact, universities do have their own, often complicated relations with history.

Between tradition and innovation

The small provincial universities' role in the construction of the Italian university system from Unification to the II post-war period

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ABSTRACT: In this paper we try to reconstruct, even if briefly, the features and developments of the so-called «minor universities» in Italy in the nineteenth and twentieth century, i.e. the small provincial universities largely established in the modern age and destined, after the national unification, to become an extremely important part of the Italian university system.
EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; University; History; Italy; XIX-XX Centuries.

Over the last twenty years, the historiography on higher education and universities in Italy in the nineteenth and twentieth century has seen a renewed and growing interest in the so-called «minor universities»¹. For a long time, in fact, the great Italian universities have been the protagonists of the studies on the history of higher education and universities. For their role and their cultural and scientific prestige, in fact, these universities had raised the scholars' interest².

¹ See L. Pomante, *The researchers on the history of University and higher education in Italy. A critical appraisal of the last twenty years*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 5, n. 2, 2010, pp. 387-417.

² See in this regard the interesting historiographical annotations in I. Porciani, *La questione delle piccole università dall'unificazione agli anni Ottanta*, in M. Da Passano (ed.), *Le Università minori in Italia nel XIX secolo*, Sassari, Centro interdisciplinare per la storia dell'Università di Sassari, 1993, pp. 9-10.

With the passing of the years, however, they realized that the small universities in the small towns had a significant role in the characterization and development of the Italian educational system and, in general, a primary importance in the cultural and civic population growth and in the development of economic and productive systems of the small towns and of the more peripheral Italian areas.

Not surprisingly, the interest for this particular type of university institutions grew when the historiography on Italian universities in the nineteenth and twentieth century began focusing on issues related to the role of universities in the processes of *nation building* and in the redefinition of the relationship *center-periphery* and *city-nation* in the unified State, as well as on issues related to the strategic function of universities in the formation of the ruling classes and professional elites and in the socio-economic growth of the territories³.

To confirm this, we can recall here the fundamental contributions presented during the two major conferences held respectively in Sassari in 1992 and in Alghero in 1996: *Le Università minori in Italia nel XIX secolo*⁴ and *Le Università minori in Europa (secoli XV-XIX)*⁵, as well as some important monographs dealing specifically with this type of university⁶. We can not forget, finally, the valuable contributions represented by the organic collections

³ See F. Casadei, *Recenti studi sull'Università italiana dopo l'Unità*, «Italia contemporanea», n. 192, 1993, pp. 503-510; G.P. Brizzi, *La storia delle università in Italia: l'organizzazione della ricerca nel XX secolo*, in L. Sitran Rea (ed.), *La storia delle università italiane. Archivi, fonti, indirizzi di ricerca. Atti del convegno. Padova, 27-29 ottobre 1994*, Trieste, Edizioni Lint, 1996, pp. 273-309; M. Moretti, *La storia dell'Università italiana in età contemporanea. Ricerche e prospettive*, *ibidem*, pp. 335-381; G. Fois, *La ricerca storica sull'Università italiana in età contemporanea. Rassegna degli studi*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», n. 3, 1999, pp. 241-257; P. Gheda, M.T. Guerrini, S. Negruzzo, S. Salustri (edd.), *La storia delle università alle soglie del XXI secolo. La ricerca dei giovani studiosi tra fonti e nuovi percorsi di indagine. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Aosta, 18-20 dicembre 2006*, Bologna, Clueb, 2008.

⁴ Cfr. Da Passano (ed.), *Le Università minori in Italia nel XIX secolo*, cit.

⁵ G.P. Brizzi, J. Verger (edd.), *Le Università minori in Europa (secoli XV-XIX). Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Alghero, 30 ottobre-2 novembre 1996)*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 1998.

⁶ For example, this is the case of the excellent research in I. Porciani, *Un ateneo minacciato. L'Università di Siena dalla Restaurazione alla prima guerra mondiale*, «Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Siena», n. 12, 1991, pp. 97-129; and n. 13, 1993, pp. 271-288; as well as of the well documented and organic works by M. Moretti, *Piccole, povere e 'libere': le università municipali nell'Italia liberale*, in Brizzi, Verger (edd.), *Le Università minori in Europa (secoli XV-XIX). Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Alghero, 30 ottobre-2 novembre 1996)*, cit., pp. 533-562; G. Fois, *L'università di Sassari nell'Italia liberale. Dalla legge Casati alla rinascita dell'età giolittiana nelle relazioni annuali dei rettori*, Sassari, Centro interdisciplinare per la storia dell'università di Sassari, 1992; and Ead., *Storia dell'Università di Sassari (1859-1943)*, Roma, Carocci, 2000. On the Modern Age, see also: G.P. Brizzi, *Le università minori in Italia in età moderna*, in A. Romano (ed.), *Università in Europa. Le istituzioni universitarie dal Medio Evo ai nostri giorni: struttura, organizzazione, funzionamento*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 1995, pp. 287-296; Id., *Le università minori in Italia. Identità e autoconsapevolezza*, in Brizzi, Verger (edd.), *Le Università minori in Europa (secoli XV-XIX). Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Alghero, 30 ottobre-2 novembre 1996)*, cit., pp. 169-188.

of studies about the history of the single Italian universities collected, since 1997, in the monographic section of the journal of the Inter-University Centre for the History of Italian universities (CISUI), «Annali di storia delle università italiane»⁷.

The above mentioned research have contributed, first of all, to define the origin and the distinctive features of this peculiar type of academic institutions, as well as to answer the question: what exactly do we mean when we speak of «minor universities» and «small universities» with reference to Italy in the last two centuries? The introduction of a classification and, in particular, of a real hierarchy between higher education institutions and universities, as is well known, has its roots in the Napoleonic age and is one of the characteristics of the process of reorganization and reform of the university system started in France and in the territories directly and indirectly under Napoleonic Empire⁸. It is a process that has little or nothing to do with the heterogeneous and varied character of the high education and university system characteristic of the old regime society, so that, as Gian Paolo Brizzi effectively underlined, referring to the ancient Italian states and to the modern age universities, it is difficult to apply «a criterion of classification, a hierarchy of value» to an institution such as the university: «The majority of the operative universities in Italy during the modern age were, in fact, in legal terms, equivalent».

And if, on the one hand, it is true that beyond this *legal equivalence*, «some formal and organizational differences allowed contemporary observers to establish a classification within the various institutions of higher education», on the other, it is equally true that, in the course of the modern age, the real line of differentiation wasn't related with «the legal and organizational model of the *Studium*», but rather with the fact that «the characteristic functions of the general *Studium*» were also performed by other institutions not immediately related to that model. This gave a hybrid characterization to the higher

⁷ As is common knowledge, the *Sezione Studi* of the «Annali di storia delle università italiane», from the beginning of its activity (1997), had been collecting monographs about the history of the single Italian universities. For what concerns our discussion, we recommend the files dedicated to the University of Messina (2, 1998, pp. 37-188), Sassari (6, 2002, pp. 17-207), Ferrara (8, 2004, pp. 35-279), Parma (9, 2005, pp. 29-216), Siena (10, 2006, pp. 33-277) and Macerata (13, 2009, pp. 45-283).

⁸ See, in particular, P. Del Negro, L. Pepe (edd.), *Le università napoleoniche. Uno spartiacque nella storia italiana ed europea dell'istruzione superiore. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Padova-Bologna, 13-15 settembre 2006*, Bologna, Clueb, 2008. But see also: R. Bounard, *Expériences françaises de l'Italie napoléonienne. Rome dans le système universitaire napoléonien et l'organisation des académies et universités de Pise, Parme et Turin (1806-1814)*, Roma, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1988; G.P. Romagnani, *L'istruzione universitaria in Piemonte dal 1799 al 1814*, in *All'ombra dell'aquila imperiale. Trasformazioni e continuità istituzionali nei territori sabaudi in età napoleonica, 1802-1814. Atti del Convegno, Torino, 15-18 ottobre 1990*, Roma, Ministero per i Beni culturali e ambientali, 1994, 2 voll., Vol. 2, pp. 536-569; P. Alvazzi del Frate (ed.), *Università napoleoniche negli Stati romani: il Rapport di Giovanni Ferri de Saint-Constant sull'istruzione pubblica (1812)*, Roma, Viella, 1995.

education system of the ancient Italian states, or, at least, a not easily definable one, in terms of homogeneity and uniformity with the institutional model⁹.

It is sufficient to mention, for example, the peculiar role played on this side by other institutions, along with the real universities (*Studium Urbis*): first of all by the *Studia Ordinum* of the convent, and later, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by the *Collegia* of the religious orders (primarily of the *Society of Jesus*) who were authorized to confer academic degrees¹⁰. Actually, as above mentioned, the classification and hierarchy categories we should refer to, in order to highlight the meaning and the characteristics assumed in Italy in the nineteenth and twentieth century by a typology of higher education institutions such as that of the «minor universities», have their roots in the transformation of the university situation occurred in Italy during the Napoleonic era and in the following period of the Restoration¹¹. In this regard, Gian Paolo Brizzi drew attention on the work of reorganization and reform of high schools and universities promoted by Pope Pius VII in the Papal State after the 1815 and destined to be implemented with the promulgation, by his successor Pope Leone XII, of the Bull *Quod Divina Sapientia* of August 28, 1824¹².

When, in the aftermath of the Restoration – wrote the Scholar – Pius VII entrusted the task of reorganizing the school system of the Papal State to a committee of cardinals, the members of the Committee soon reached an agreement: two were the universities to which remained the task of the cultural, technical and scientific education of the new ruling classes: the Universities of Rome and Bologna. It was an unanimous and immediate decision but the next ten years were characterized by the attempt to control the petitions from the cities of the

⁹ Brizzi, *Le università minori in Italia. Identità e autoconsapevolezza*, cit., pp. 169-174.

¹⁰ See G.P. Brizzi, R. Greci (edd.), *Gesuiti e università in Europa (secoli XVI-XVIII)*. *Atti del Convegno di studi. Parma, 13-15 dicembre 2001*, Bologna, Clueb, 2002; D. Novarese, *Istituzioni complementari e alternative allo Studium in Italia: presenza e ruolo degli Ordini religiosi (secc. XIII-XVI)*, in G.P. Brizzi, P. Del Negro, A. Romano (edd.), *Storia delle università in Italia*, Messina, Sicania, 2007, 3 voll., Vol. 1, pp. 137-157.

¹¹ «Since the establishment of high schools in Napoleonic age – Brizzi said – the adoption of a hierarchy between the different institutions of higher education allows us to identify the category of ‘minor university’, on the basis of legal- administrative elements. The equivalence with the most important universities that have characterized the small local universities for centuries, shows, now, all its limits» (Brizzi, *Le università minori in Italia. Identità e autoconsapevolezza*, cit., p. 173).

¹² See the Constitutional text *Quod Divina Sapientia* in *Bullarii Romani continuatio*, t. VIII, Prato, Typ. Aldina, 1854, pp. 95-117. On Pope Pius and Leo's reform of high schools and universities in the Papal State see: A. Gemelli, S. Vismara, *La riforma degli studi universitari negli stati pontifici (186-1824)*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 1933; F. Gasnault, *La réglementation des universités pontificales au XIX^e siècle. I. Reformes et restaurations: les avatars du grand projet «zelante» (1815-1834)*, «Mélanges de l'École française de Roma. Moyen age. Temps modernes», vol. 96, n. 1, 1984, pp. 178-237; M.I. Venzo, *La Congregazione degli Studi e l'istruzione pubblica*, in A.L. Bonella, A. Pompeo, A.I. Venzo (edd.) *Roma fra la Restaurazione e l'elezione di Pio IX. Amministrazione, economia, società e cultura*, Roma-Freiburg-Wien, Herder, 1997, pp. 179-190; R. Sani, «Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam». *Istituti religiosi, educazione e scuola nell'Italia moderna e contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2009, pp. 131-204.

province, claiming the restoration of the *Studium* on the basis of ancient rights, presumed or real. The Commission at the beginning tried to temporize, testing the tenacity of applicants, but could not underestimate the political implications of the issue. [...] Trying to save the form and the substance, it adopted the distinction between the universities of first and second level, reserving a separate status to the universities of Rome and Bologna and confining five universities of the second level in a subordinate role: Ferrara, Perugia, Macerata, Camerino and Fermo, replaced in 1826 by Urbino. [...] This solution established a clear hierarchy between the different State universities, by introducing a formal administrative legal principle that differentiated between the different components of the university system¹³.

The distinction between «minor» and «major» universities, of first and second level, was based on the nature and the quantity of the funds allocated by the government, on the completeness of their Faculties, on the number of their chairs and on the characteristics of their scientific and educational facilities (libraries, laboratories, botanical gardens, etc.), and it was not an exclusive prerogative of the higher education system of the Papal States. In fact, forms of hierarchical differentiation between universities were introduced in other pre-unification Italian nineteenth century States¹⁴, including the Kingdom of Sardinia, in which, as is well known, the University of Turin was the head of a university system that placed the other state universities in a position of subordination, especially those of Cagliari and Sassari¹⁵.

After the national unification, as already mentioned, the Italian «minor universities» were incorporated in the higher education system of the new unitary State, also thanks to the community and local leaders' attachment to «the tangible signs of the ancient city and regional identities, very close to merge in the new national identity»¹⁶. Most of them asked the legal recognition as «royal university» as in the case of Cagliari, Catania, Genoa, Macerata, Messina, Modena, Parma and Sassari¹⁷, while some of the secondary universities of the former Papal States – Camerino, Ferrara, Perugia and Urbino¹⁸ – by virtue

¹³ Brizzi, *Le università minori in Italia. Identità e autoconsapevolezza*, cit., p. 170.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.

¹⁵ See S. Polenghi, *La politica universitaria italiana nell'età della Destra storica (1848-1876)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1993, pp. 46-49.

¹⁶ Porciani, *La questione delle piccole università dall'unificazione agli anni Ottanta*, cit., pp. 11-12.

¹⁷ Porciani, *Lo Stato unitario di fronte alla questione dell'università*, in Ead. (ed.), *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, Napoli, Jovene, 1994, pp. 135-150.

¹⁸ The University of Camerino was recognized «free university» with the R.D. January 24th, 1861, n. 4605 (published in «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», February 6th, 1861); those of Ferrara and Perugia obtained the same recognition with the R.D. January 31st, 1861, n. 4622 (published in «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», February 17th, 1861); the Università of Urbino, finally, was declared «free university» with the R.D. October 23rd, 1862, n. 912 (published in «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», November 5th, 1862). See D. Aringoli, *L'Università di Camerino*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1951; A. Visconti, *La storia dell'Università di Ferrara (1391-1950)*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1950; G. Ermini, *Storia dell'Università di Perugia*, Firenze, Olschki, 1971, 2 voll.; S. Pivato (ed.), *L'Università di Urbino 1506-2006*, Vol. 1: *La storia*, Urbino, Quattroventi, 2006.

of a series of decrees issued between 1860 and 1862, obtained the *status* of «free universities», considered to be more appropriate to protect their cultural and scientific traditions and the connection with the territory they belonged to, although the need to conform to the laws and the general regulations of the new State¹⁹.

With reference to the debate about the university policy, developed as early as the beginning of the unitary age, Ilaria Porciani rightly underlined:

If in the first months after the end of the ancient governments, the prevailing feeling in the ruling classes and the more widespread cliché in the academic rhetoric were built on the trust in an easy palingenesis of high studies, which would rise almost spontaneously with the regained freedom, soon the remarkable fragility of the higher education system inherited from the pre-unification states became evident. At the same time, the need to strengthen this system by concentrating the available resources in the attempt to give a European breath to the major universities, was revealed²⁰.

In such a context, a *new course* in the university policy was promoted by the Minister of Public Education Carlo Matteucci with the Law of July 31st, 1862 no. 719, which introduced the equalization of university taxes and redefined the rules concerning the professors' salaries, and with the following *Regolamento generale delle Università del Regno* promulgated by the R.D. September 14, 1862²¹.

We have also to remember that with the Law July 31st, 1862, the first measure in this field discussed and approved by the Parliament and extended to the whole country, a specific classification of Italian universities was formally introduced, with which, on the basis of a series of parameters concerning the presence of all the faculties or only some of them and the number of students enrolled, the state universities were divided into two groups: the «major» or «first level», that included Bologna, Naples, Palermo Pavia, Pisa and Turin (the universities of Padua and Rome were added respectively in 1866 and in 1870), and those «minor» or of «second level», which included Cagliari, Catania, Genoa, Messina, Modena, Parma, Siena and – even after a long phase characterized by confusion and uncertainty about its actual legal *status* – Macerata²². In

¹⁹ Moretti, *Piccole, povere e 'libere': le università municipali nell'Italia liberale*, cit., pp. 533-562

²⁰ Porciani, *La questione delle piccole università dall'unificazione agli anni Ottanta*, cit., p. 11.

²¹ See, respectively, the Law July 31st, 1862, n. 719 – *Riduzione delle tasse scolastiche e determinazione degli stipendi dei professori delle università governative*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», August 2nd, 1862; also in «Collezione Celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari», vol. 41, n. 136, 1862, pp. 2161-2163 (with an attached table of taxes); and the R.D. September 14th, 1862, n. 842 – *Regolamento generale universitario e di quelli delle facoltà di giurisprudenza, di medicina e chirurgia, di scienze fisiche, matematiche e naturali, e di filosofia e lettere*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», October 1st, 1862; also in «Collezione Celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari», vol. 41, n. 166, 1862, pp. 2641-2644.

²² The Law July 31st, 1862, n. 719 – *Riduzione delle tasse scolastiche e determinazione degli*

the classification introduced by the Minister Matteucci's measure, the already mentioned «free universities» of Camerino, Ferrara, Perugia and Urbino were excluded. From a financial point of view, in fact, they were largely dependent on the local authorities and were controlled by the State through the Higher Council of Education which approved their statutes²³.

The legal and organizational higher education and university structure outlined at the beginning of the unitary season with the Law July 31st, 1862, was repeatedly questioned in parliamentary debates and in the confrontation developed in the public opinion and in the academic environments in order to renew the national university system during the last decades of nineteenth century²⁴.

The division of royal universities into two different categories introduced by the Minister Matteucci, however, would be largely nullified, or, at least, seriously questioned, since the second half of the Seventies, by regulations issued by the governments of the Left in favour of the «equalization» of the secondary universities to those of «first level». This was made possible thanks to the local authorities' massive financial intervention realized through agreements with the universities operating on the territory for the creation of special «university consortia». In the *Relazione generale sulle condizioni della pubblica istruzione nel Regno d'Italia*, published in 1865 by the Superior Council of Turin, the former Minister of Education and now vice president of the Council itself, Carlo Matteucci, drew a highly problematic picture of the several serious malfunctions that characterized the national university system, stressing that one of the main causes of such a state was the excessive number of universities and the consequent waste of men and money, which prevented it from concentrating the available resources in a few highly qualified academic institutions, capable to compete on a European level:

In Italy, we have – he said – some free universities and many others sustained by the State, and the obtained results do not meet the needs and aspirations of the Nation. [...] With the decline of the upper studies and the weakening of academic disciplines, only a means is recommended by reason and experience to rectify the evils and to begin an improvement, that is, to gather in a few schools those teachers who have good qualities of teaching and

stipendi dei professori delle università governative, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», August 2nd, 1862; also «Collezione Celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari», vol. 41, n. 136, 1862, pp. 2161-2163 (with an attached table of taxes). On the sense and importance of this measure and on Carlo Matteucci's university policy in general, see in particular: Polenghi, *La politica universitaria italiana nell'età della Destra storica (1848-1876)*, cit., pp. 240-288; F. Colao, *La libertà d'insegnamento e l'autonomia nell'Università liberale. Norme e progetti per l'istruzione superiore in Italia (1848-1923)*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1995, pp. 110-146; and Porciani, *Lo Stato unitario di fronte alla questione dell'università*, cit., pp. 135-150.

²³ See Porciani, *La questione delle piccole università dall'unificazione agli anni Ottanta*, cit., p. 12.

²⁴ See, in this respect, I. Porciani, M. Moretti, *La creazione del sistema universitario nella nuova Italia*, in Brizzi, Del Negro, Romano (edd.), *Storia delle Università in Italia*, cit., Vol. 1, pp. 323-379.

fame and all the means of study that the present conditions of the sciences require; teachers and resources that would be unfruitful if dispersed. [...] To demonstrate the effectiveness of this principle, it is enough to transform it into a practical concept, that is, to imagine for a moment that all our higher education institutions were reduced to just two or three schools, in which all the most distinguished teachers and all the means of education, that are now wasted in nineteen universities, were concentrated. In this way, Italy would certainly have two or three schools, sufficient for our number of students, and would be as famous as the better schools of France and Germany. [...] From these considerations we can conclude that the organic law on education that Italy needs today should first of all determine the number and location of the very few institutions that the State must maintain under his direction²⁵.

Carlo Matteucci's proposal of 1865, of a drastic downsizing of Italian universities aroused, as we know, strong oppositions, not only locally, but also in the national political class, as to be very soon deserted²⁶. However, it is also true, as Ilaria Porciani underlined, that «thereafter the issue of reducing the number of universities will be a recurring theme in the debate in the Parliament and outside of it»²⁷. To confirm this, we can only recall here the various projects of reorganization of the university system inspired to this principle and presented in Parliament over the following years, that, however, will be unsuccessful²⁸.

The matter of the abolition of minor universities, however, came up again at the beginning of the nineties, as proved by the bill presented to the House in 1891 by the MP Sebastiano Turbiglio²⁹ and by the far more organic and comprehensive one developed in the immediately following years by the Minister of Education Ferdinando Martini in collaboration with Carlo Francesco Ferraris, which rightly Mauro Moretti defined as the last and «the most coherent attempt of rationalization of the national university system on the basis of the priority given to the reduction of the seats»³⁰.

Actually, when Ferdinando Martini and Carlo Francesco Ferraris gave to the press, for the Milan publishing house Hoepli, their well-structured plans for a new *Ordinamento generale degli Istituti d'istruzione superiore* (1895), the legal and organizational structure of state universities outlined over thirty years ago by Carlo Matteucci with the law July 31st, 1862 was largely changed.

²⁵ *Sulle condizioni della pubblica istruzione nel regno d'Italia. Relazione generale presentata al Ministro dal Consiglio Superiore di Torino*, Milano, Stamperia Reale, 1865, pp. 190-191 and 199-202.

²⁶ Polenghi, *La politica universitaria italiana nell'età della Destra storica (1848-1876)*, cit., pp. 246-250.

²⁷ Porciani, *La questione delle piccole università dall'unificazione agli anni Ottanta*, cit., pp. 13-14.

²⁸ See *Vicende legislative della Pubblica Istruzione in Italia dall'anno 1859 al 1899 raccolte e annotate da Giuseppe Saredo. Introduzione al Codice della Pubblica Istruzione dello stesso Autore*, Torino, Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1901, pp. 39-177.

²⁹ See the bill presented to the Parliament on March 12th, 1891 by Sebastiano Turbiglio in *Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei deputati, Documenti, Leg. XVII, 1890-1891, doc. n. 97*.

³⁰ See M. Moretti, *La questione delle piccole università dai dibattiti di fine secolo al 1914*, in Da Passano (ed.), *Le Università minori in Italia nel XIX secolo*, cit., pp. 28-31.

In particular, the distinction between first and second level universities, which distinguished the great universities from the smaller ones, despite still formally in force, now appeared meaningless, by virtue of the policy of «equalization» promoted, as we have already mentioned, by the Left of Depretis³¹.

Within a little more than fifteen years, in fact, thanks to the local authorities' (municipality and province) strong economic involvement and, in some cases, even that of the lending institution operating in the area, Italian minor universities could create, through agreements with these lending institutions, special «university consortia», by virtue of which they were equalized to those of «first level». With the R.D. December 13th, 1885, n. 3570, the universities of Genoa, Catania and Messina³² were equalized, two years later, with the Law July 14th, 1887, n. 4745, it was the turn of those of Siena, Modena and Parma³³, at the beginning of the new century, finally, the universities of Macerata, with the Law of December 22nd, 1901, n. 541³⁴, and those of Cagliari (Law June 19th, 1902, n. 252) and Sassari (Law July 19th, 1902, no. 253)³⁵ obtained the equalization.

In our opinion, the story of the «equalization» of minor colleges to those of «first level», already widely analyzed from an historiographical point of view, is very interesting, not only to analyze the university policy carried out by the governments of the Left in the last decades of the nineteenth century³⁶, but also to highlight the complex interplay of local interests and aspirations underlying the strong involvement of municipalities, provincial deputations and lending institutions in re-launching their respective universities.

The commitment of administrators and local notables in favor of the protection and development of the local universities, in fact, is a complex and multi-faceted matter. It, while on the one hand, is justified by the considerable importance of the small provincial universities – the most of which had centuries-old traditions and were rooted in the history of the city – as a favored place for the

³¹ «Under the government of the Left and after the Minister of Education Coppino's proposal – Ilaria Porciani wrote – the so-called 'equalization' of the universities of second level to those of first began, thanks to the local authorities' financial contributions. They were preceded by a first significant intervention to save the Higher Institute of Florence: the Law of June 30th, 1872» (Porciani, *La questione delle piccole università dall'unificazione agli anni Ottanta*, cit., p. 14).

³² See R.D. December 13th, 1885, n. 3570, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione» n. 2, 1887, pp. 531-538.

³³ The Law July 14th, 1887, n. 4745 is published in «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», July 26th, 1887; also reproduced in «Collezione Celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari», n. 42, 1887, pp. 1354-1357.

³⁴ The Law December 22nd, 1901, n. 541 is published in «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», January 9th, 1902; also reproduced in «Collezione Celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari», n. 13, 1901, p. 447.

³⁵ The Laws June 19th, 1902, n. 252, and July 19th, 1902, n. 253, they are both reproduced in «Collezione Celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari», n. 44, 1901, pp. 1441-1444.

³⁶ See U.M. Miozzi, *Lo sviluppo storico dell'università italiana*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1993, pp. 47-82.

local *elites*' education and as a symbolic space of the urban cultural identity and of the feeling of belonging to community, on the other, is generated – especially since the end of the nineteenth century – from local elites and administrations' aspiration to connect more and more the life and the progresses of the city and its surrounding areas to those of the nation. It was realized through a symbolic process that gave the small countries a new and stronger legitimacy, after the inevitable decline, following the Risorgimento and the establishment of a unified State, of the ancient and glorious municipal autonomies, working for the conservation and enhancement of an institution, such as the university, that was the only capable to hold together and to enhance the local cultural and civil traditions and the «national spirit».

A significant confirmation of this attitude – as Roberto Sani underlined – can be individuated in speech by the Dean of the University of Macerata Oreste Ranelletti, during the solemn opening of the academic year 1902-1903, where he «emphasizes how the efforts of the community of Macerata in safeguarding and promoting his 'glorious and ancient University' were not only an economic matter but the highest expression of the citizens' civic and patriotic sense, characterizing their sense of belonging to the Nation, through the contribution given to the spiritual and intellectual growth of the whole country»³⁷:

The Universities – concluded the Dean Ranelletti – are the centers of the spiritual life of a people, the breeding ground of their intellectual development, the institution from which the living forces of the country, the powerful progress-bearers come from. It protected the idea of national unity through all the struggles, the ruins, the tyrannies, which infested Italy, it generated the first efficient forces of the revolution, which brought us to unity and freedom, it defended the secular thought, who alone can ensure us freedom, and the indefinite progress in the future. All this can be associated only to a University, like that of Macerata, with high scientific traditions and glorious patriotic tradition. When the citizens feel the full moral force of such an institution for so long a time, they fight with very much tenacity and faith for the status it deserves, and they are civil and commendable citizens³⁸.

In this respect, if it is true, as Ilaria Porciani and Mauro Moretti pointed out a few years ago, that «in the university sector, a tension between 'nation' and 'city', State interventions and local bodies' actions, remains – in the long term and perhaps, even if in a different manner, up to now»; it is equally true that the gradual process by which «the directives of the Centre began to arrive to the outskirts making the style of university life, the characteristics of *curricula* and the teaching methods, gradually more and more 'national'»³⁹ ending up

³⁷ R. Sani, *Introduzione. Le relazioni annuali dei rettori per le inaugurazioni degli anni accademici. Una fonte preziosa per la storia delle università*, in L. Pomante (ed.), *L'Università di Macerata nell'Italia unita (1861-1966). Un secolo di storia dell'ateneo maceratese attraverso le relazioni inaugurali dei rettori e altre fonti archivistiche e a stampa*, Macerata, eum, 2012, p. 32.

³⁸ *Relazione del Rettore Prof. Oreste Ranelletti per la inaugurazione degli studi 1902-1903, IX novembre MDCCCXII*, «Annuario della Regia Università di Macerata», 1903, p. 10.

³⁹ M. Moretti, I. Porciani, *Il sistema universitario tra nazione e città: un campo di tensione*,

making the universities – particularly the minor ones – a not insignificant factor of nationalization of the country and promoting a sense of belonging that goes beyond the narrow horizons of local and regional authorities.

There was a further important redefinition of the role and prerogatives of minor colleges after the reorganization of Italian higher education and university system realized, within Gentile reform, with the RD September 30th, 1923, n. 2102⁴⁰. It undoubtedly contributed to strengthen the connections between the small provincial universities, the local institutions and the socio-economic and productive realities operating in the respective territories, also supporting an increasing specialization of the research activities and educational syllabus of these universities, according to their particular economic and productive reality and with the specific needs of the urban and regional labor market. The rearrangement of higher and university education carried out in 1923 by Giovanni Gentile, on the one hand, eliminated almost definitively the hypothesis of a sudden and drastic reduction in the number of Italian universities, through the suppression of the minor ones and of those that did not have all the faculties, supported by several parties during Giolitti government and even in the difficult phase of the first post-war period⁴¹. On the other, instead, while confirming the polycentric structure of the national university system, reintroduced again a criterion of hierarchical differentiation among Italian universities, classifying the universities into three different types, corresponding to the nature of the financial assistance allocated annually by the State.

In this regard, state universities of A type, entirely dependent on the State budget, were the major universities of Bologna, Cagliari, Genoa, Naples, Padua, Palermo, Pavia, Pisa, Rome and Turin, as well as certain polytechnics and the school of Architecture in Rome; the state universities of B type, only in part financially supported by the State, and which required special economic agreements between the government and the local authorities, included small and recent institutions: Catania, Macerata, Messina, Modena, Parma, Sassari, Siena and the newly born universities of Bari, Florence and Milan, as well as the School of industrial Chemistry of Bologna, the School of naval Engineering of Genoa and the Engineering Schools of Milan and Turin. Finally, the universities of C type included the already mentioned «free universities», i.e. the private institutions (they were the universities of Camerino, Ferrara, Perugia and

in M. Meriggi, P. Schiera (edd.), *Dalla città alla nazione. Borghesie ottocentesche in Italia e in Germania*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1993, pp. 290-293.

⁴⁰ See R.D. September 30th, 1923, n. 2102 – *Ordinamento dell'istruzione superiore*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», October 11th, 1923, n. 239; it is also in *Lex. Legislazione italiana. Raccolta cronologica con richiami alle leggi attinenti e ricchi Indici semestrali ed annuali. Anno IX – 1923*, Torino, Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1924, pp. 1449-1484 (we are quoting here).

⁴¹ See Moretti, *La questione delle piccole università dai dibattiti di fine secolo al 1914*, cit., pp. 28-31; and Id., *La questione universitaria a cinquant'anni dall'Unificazione. La Commissione Reale per il riordinamento degli studi superiori e la relazione Ceci*, in Porciani (ed.), *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, cit., pp. 209-309.

Urbino, to which would be added after a little time, with the RD October 2nd, 1924, also the Catholic University Sacro Cuore of Milan), that did not involve state financial interventions.

The Gentile perspective was based, as we know, on a rigidly elitist vision of higher education and university, and was connected to a substantial contempt for the small universities of the province, judged by the philosopher of Castelvetro, as well as by Benedetto Croce and the whole neo-idealist group, a real burden for the Italian university system and one of the main cause for the poor progress made by the national science. This was originated essentially from the realistic consideration of the insuperable difficulties and resistances that, since the beginning of the unification period, had been frustrating all the attempts to rationalize higher education through the abolition of the incomplete universities and of the so-called minor ones.

The Minister of Education was convinced that such difficulties and resistances were far from being definitively overcome, and, therefore, it was necessary to follow a different path⁴² in order to effectively reduce the negative consequences and effects of the traditional polycentric structure of the national university system, recovering the criteria of a 'hierarchical differentiation' between Italian universities supported by the nineteenth-century liberal ruling class. So, a 'double-track' was introduced into the university system: it was formally based on the traditional criterion of the degree of state participation in the financial support of the universities but was also intended to be increasingly based on the universities' characteristics and functions.

In other words, if, on the one hand the Gentile Reform conferred to all the universities and high schools in general, the task to «promote the progress of science and to provide the scientific knowledge necessary for the exercise of the jobs and professions»⁴³, on the other, it created the conditions to allow the minor universities – i.e. those that the RD September 30th, 1923 identified as B Type – to develop their own specialization in relation to the specific needs of their territories and to the education and cultural activities of the local elite, in order to favor the «involvement» and the necessary financial contribution of organizations and private institutions for their «support and functioning»⁴⁴.

The 'double-track' suggested by Giovanni Gentile, without calling into question, at least from a formal point of view, the legal and institutional uniformity that characterized Casati's higher and university education system, was aimed at a redefinition and a qualification- through the differentiation of the functions and objectives of the universities of different dimensions and

⁴² See Colao, *Tra accentramento e autonomia: l'amministrazione universitaria dall'Unità a oggi*, in Brizzi, Del Negro, Romano (edd.), *Storia delle Università in Italia*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 296.

⁴³ *Capo I. Del fine dell'istruzione superiore e degli Istituti nei quali s'impartisce. Art. 1*, in R.D. September 30th, 1923, n. 2102 – *Ordinamento dell'istruzione superiore*, cit., p. 1449.

⁴⁴ *Capo VIII. Dell'amministrazione delle università e degli istituti superiori. Art. 79, ibid.*, p. 1466.

geographic location – of the traditional polycentric structure of the national university system⁴⁵.

The meaning of such a strategy was fully understood by the subjects of the university reform of 1923, as demonstrated by the policies of ‘repositioning’ and the attempts to encourage a greater specialization of the educational syllabus and a redefinition of the scientific and cultural initiatives, in line with the characteristics and needs of the respective territories, pursued by many Italian minor universities. As an example, it is sufficient here to recall the Dean of the University of Macerata Paolo Greco’s speech made in November 1933, which, retracing the path followed by the university a decade after the Reform, pointed out:

In relation to its cultural and educational functions, our University fulfilled the program to give the greatest impetus to the study of law and of agricultural economics, fully respecting the university policy of Gentile Reform: that is, to favor, in the various Italian universities, the trend towards specialization, so as each University could find its particular characteristic and task⁴⁶.

We can add that, especially since the years of the first post-war period, the minor universities were intended to have a specific ‘social function’ in relation to the increased demand for higher education coming from the middle classes and the urban bourgeoisie, i.e. to present themselves more and more as the reference university centers for the intermediate categories of the society that had long been excluded, in the course of the nineteenth century, from the access to higher education and university.

In this regard, Roberto Sani has rightly drawn attention on the debate developed in a small university like that of Macerata, about the need to cope with the «gradual expansion of the social base of the student population in virtue of the access to the universities of a growing number of young bourgeois», who chose the minor universities to complete their higher studies, even if only for reasons of geographical proximity and the lower cost of life of the provincial cities compared to the large urban centers⁴⁷.

In this respect, the comments of the Dean of the University of Macerata Riccardo Bachi on the occasion of the inauguration of the academic year 1923-1924 were particularly significant, especially because they showed the development of a specific awareness of the role that small universities were

⁴⁵ See G. Gentile, *Lo spirito informatore della riforma*, in Id., *La riforma della scuola in Italia*, ed. by H.A. Cavallera, Firenze, Le Lettere, 1989, pp. 431-435.

⁴⁶ *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1933-1934. Relazione del Pro-Rettore Prof. Paolo Greco letta nella cerimonia inaugurale dell'11 novembre 1933*, XII, «Annuario della Regia Università di Macerata», 1934, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁷ Sani, *Introduzione. Le relazioni annuali dei rettori per le inaugurazioni degli anni accademici. Una fonte preziosa per la storia delle università*, cit., p. 60.

required to play in relation to the incipient transformation of the traditional student base:

A very informative but unfortunately difficult statistical research – said Bachi – could try to verify the social and economic status of the families with children in our classrooms. Such research would show almost certainly that the majority of our students comes from the middle class, that is from the petty bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie with no very substantial financial means, provided with fixed incomes or not very variable ones, often with a public job, is the class that most widely contributes to the formation of the intellectual workers, and it is the class that more suffered the war effects in economic terms, it is the social class that suffered the effects of currency devaluation, the increase in taxes. We, the teachers, know that the presence of some of our disciples at our lessons means serious sacrifices for them and we know how many of our disciples should willingly combine study with paid, sometimes humble, jobs⁴⁸.

It is true that the process of redefinition of the Italian university system promoted by the Gentile reform was intended to produce partial and very limited effects, also because of the real turnaround occurred at the beginning of the thirties⁴⁹ and culminated then with the measures introduced in the middle of the decade.

The reorganization of higher education promoted by the Minister of National Education Cesare De Vecchi with the RDL June 20th, 1935, n. 1071⁵⁰, in this regard, led in fact to the «absolute centralization» of the national university system: the distinction between the royal college of first and second level, reintroduced by Gentile, was abolished and the teaching and organizational autonomy given to the single universities by the reform of 1923 was also eliminated. With the following R.D.L. May 7th, 1936, n. 882⁵¹, moreover, De Vecchi reorganized the *curricula* and the study plans, aiming at a general uniformity of the educational syllabus that reduced significantly, even on this side, the possibility of intervention and self-characterization of the courses to the single faculties⁵². The process of centralization of the Italian university system promoted by the Minister De Vecchi, therefore, if, on the one hand, thanks to the restoration of the equalization of all state universities, gave economic stability to the universities of the smaller towns, ensuring continuity and adequacy of financial resources, now full at the expense of the State, on

⁴⁸ *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1923-1924. Relazione del Rettore Prof. Riccardo Bachi letta nella cerimonia inaugurale dell'11 novembre 1923*, cit., pp. 19-20.

⁴⁹ See Miozzi, *Lo sviluppo storico dell'Università italiana*, cit., pp. 90-94.

⁵⁰ R.D.L. June 20th, 1935, n. 1071 – *Modifiche e aggiornamenti del T.U. delle leggi sull'istruzione superiore*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», July 4th, 1935, n. 154.

⁵¹ R.D.L. May 7th 1936, n. 882 – *Sostituzione delle tabelle allegate al R.D. 28 novembre 1935, n. 2044*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», November 24th, 1936, n. 272.

⁵² See G. Ricuperati, *Per una storia dell'università italiana da Gentile a Bottai: appunti e discussioni*, in Porciani (ed.), *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, cit., pp. 311-377; E. Signori, *Università e fascismo*, in Brizzi, Del Negro, Romano (edd.), *Storia delle Università in Italia*, cit., Vol. 1, pp. 381-423.

the other, it simply restored the polycentric structure of the national university system in force until the early twenties, denying any possible form of functional differentiation of the universities on the basis of the socio-economic needs and the specific cultural vocations of the territories.

The characteristics of the Italian university system established by the ministerial decrees of the mid-thirties, which is a highly centralized administrative and teaching system and, at the same time, a polycentric institutional structure would have survived, of course, the same fascist regime and would be inherited, in the aftermath of 1945, by the democratic and Republican State.

Since the trends emerged in the Constituent Assembly, and then converged to a large extent in the measures in the field of higher and university education endorsed by the Constitution of 1948⁵³, until the unlucky projects of reorganization and general reform of the Italian university presented in Parliament in 1951, by the Minister of Education Guido Gonella⁵⁴, and fifteen years later, in 1965, by Luigi Gui in the so-called center – left season⁵⁵, the legislator's attention was focused, almost exclusively, on the first of the two features above mentioned, the question of the administrative and teaching centralism. It represented, in this area, a real turnaround, testified by the constitutional recognition of university autonomy and the following measures, in which the issue of decentralization and of a fully autonomous characterization of the national university system has come gradually more and more intertwined with issues related to its democratization and to the final overcoming of its traditional elitist and classist connotation⁵⁶.

Conversely, the polycentric institutional organization of the Italian university, far from being the subject of debates and oppositions as occurred several times in the past, was intended to arouse general consensus and to experience an additional and unexpected development since the fifties and sixties, coinciding with the advent of the consumer society and the start of decentralization and expansion of local autonomies⁵⁷.

⁵³ See Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, *La scuola italiana dal 1946 al 1953*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1953.

⁵⁴ See The Minister Guido Gonella's Bill presented to the Chamber of Deputies on July 13th, 1951 with the title *Norme generali sull'istruzione n. 2100*, now reproduced in G. Gonella, *Cinque anni al Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, I. La rinascita della Scuola dopo la seconda guerra mondiale*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1981, pp. 315-328.

⁵⁵ See the Bill n. 2314, entitled *Modifiche all'ordinamento universitario*, presented to the Chamber of Deputies by the Minister Luigi Gui on May 4th, 1965, in *Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei Deputati, Sessione 1965, Docc.*, n. 2314, *Modifiche all'ordinamento universitario*, seduta del 4 maggio 1965.

⁵⁶ See S. Sani, *La politica scolastica del Centro-Sinistra (1962-1968)*, Perugia, Morlacchi Editore, 2000, pp. 75-141.

⁵⁷ G. Luzzatto, *I problemi universitari nelle prime 8 legislature repubblicane*, in M. Gattullo, A. Visalberghi (edd.), *La scuola italiana dal 1945 al 1983*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1986, pp. 166-218; Id., *L'Università*, in G. Cives (ed.), *La scuola italiana dall'Unità ai nostri giorni*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1990, pp. 68-85.

It is sufficient to refer here to the real proliferation – unrelated to any form of central programming and planning and essentially connected to the pressures of powerful groups and local governments of the Republic – of a growing number of small universities, developed very often as «branch offices» and «decentralized poles» of existing universities or as «free universities» destined to become autonomous institutions and to obtain, within a few decades, the nationalization⁵⁸.

We can add that, as in the above mentioned case of the administrative and teaching decentralization policy and the establishment of university autonomy, also the triumph of the polycentric system of higher education, proven by the rise, in a relatively short time, of a network of small state universities, was destined to be legitimized by the desire to enhance the university education and to encourage – with the geographical proximity of the universities and the multiplication of the faculties and of degree courses – the access of the lower classes to higher education.

The times in which the senator Carlo Matteucci (1861) postulated the abolition of the «incomplete and smaller universities» inherited from the ancient pre-unification states were very distant. As he pointed out, they merely represented a burden for the State, preventing the creation of a system based on a few large universities able to compete with similar excellent institutions in Germany and France⁵⁹. However, we can affirm that Matteucci's ideas and intentions, soon set aside but then reemerged in the various proposals for the abolition of small universities gradually presented by the public opinion and in the Parliament until Gentile Reform of 1923, have guided much of the recent historiography on Italian university, its characteristics and its development in the post-unification season. Only think, in confirmation of this, to the *centralist precondition* that influenced a lot of the historiographers' evaluations and judgments in this field, in relation to an extremely complex reality such as that of the 'minor universities' in united Italy. A *centralist precondition* that, from a

⁵⁸ It is the case, for example – only to refer to the first phase of a process of expansion that will affect the second half of the twentieth century – of the University of Lecce, established as a free university in 1959 and nationalized with the Law March 21st, 1967; of the University of Ancona, at the origin of which is the creation, by virtue of the Presidential Decree February 18th, 1960, of the branch of the Faculty of Economics and Commerce of Urbino, later made autonomous and, shortly thereafter, nationalized with the Presidential Decree January 18th, 1971 and, finally, of the universities of L'Aquila and Chieti-Pescara in Abruzzo, the former established as a free university by virtue of the Presidential Decree August 18th, 1964 and nationalized in 1982-1983, the latter officially recognized as free university of the University "Gabriele D'Annunzio" with the Presidential Decree May 8th, 1965 and nationalized in 1982. On the academic geography in contemporary times, see M. Moretti, *Sulla geografia accademica nell'Italia contemporanea (1859-1962)*, in L. Bianco, A. Giorgi, L. Mineo (edd.), *Costruire un'Università. Le fonti documentarie per la storia dell'Università degli Studi di Trento (1962-1972)*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2011, pp. 59-100.

⁵⁹ *Progetto di legge presentato al Senato dal senatore Matteucci preso in considerazione nella tornata del 14 giugno 1861*, in Atti Parlamentari, *Documenti*, sess. 1861, II, pp. 150-151.

historiographical point of view, heavily influenced not only the reconstruction of the specific routes that characterized the various minor universities, but also the way in which consider, and therefore assess, the peculiar role played by a similar higher education institution, in Italy in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Not surprisingly, the point of view adopted in order to assess the sense and role of «minor universities» in the history of higher education after unification, re-proposed the *statist centralism* typical of the nineteenth century, according to which the provincial dimension of the universities, their roots in the city life and in community traditions, the role played in the formation of local *elites* and so on, far from being a resource for the new unitary state, were considered an obstacle to the growth and modernization of the national university system.

Hence the need for a new historiographical approach, which, starting from the local perspective (the history of the individual minor universities within their context and in a dialectical relationship with the center), is able to go beyond the above described limits and to provide a full analysis of this particular type of university institutions established in the small towns of the province, in order to highlight both the national and the local dimension, in its several and varied aspects⁶⁰.

⁶⁰ Among the recent contributions that follow this direction we signal: Porciani, *Un ateneo minacciato. L'Università di Siena dalla Restaurazione alla prima guerra mondiale*, cit.; A. Mattone (ed.), *Storia dell'Università di Sassari*, Nuoro, Illisso, 2010, 2 voll.; L. Pomante, *Per una storia delle università minori nell'Italia contemporanea. Il caso dello Studium Generale Maceratense tra Otto e Novecento*, Macerata, eum, 2013.

The cunning of memory: Soviet university and its post-Communist condition*

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ABSTRACT: Dmitriev's paper revisits and reconsiders university tradition in Soviet and post-Soviet era as it is reflected in Russian narratives about university. The official discourse of the period of 1920s-1930s was characterized by the emphasis on the idea of revolutionary rupture with the old [imperial] university tradition. In contrast, from mid-1930s and later, still during Stalin's lifetime, the emphasis shifted to the discussions of the struggle of 'progressive professorship' for the advanced ideals and Russian science. Then, in 1960s-1980s the idea overcame of direct succession between Soviet and pre-Revolutionary university. After 1991 the idea of 'classic university' became the most important administrative concept and the rationale for privileges legitimization. The prominence of this notion is motivated by the desire to preserve the academic hierarchy and the intrinsic structure of the university of the Brezhnev era.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; University; Conceptual Imagery; Communism; Soviet Union; XX Century.

A range of Russian historians reproduce the age-old claim of the homogeneous, continuous, and uninterrupted 'university tradition'. I argue that such view is essentially wrong. Furthermore, this view distorts historical consciousness of the readers: It obscures the interests of the creators of historiographical narratives, denies the possibility of the multiplicity and plurality of the past of universities,

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and positions Russia in world history as the zone of 'distinct pathway' with its unique and idiosyncratic 'distinct university tradition».

And yet, my intention is far from 'revealing' university tradition as mere fiction or purely artificial construct. In fact, there is a phenomenon of university tradition and it does include all of the following: individual and group sense of succession, interest to the works of teachers and predecessors, ritual and symbols of belonging to university, museums of the history of specific universities, thin brochures and weighty volumes devoted to the life stories of the students and professors of the past. But all these diverse sources, practices, and activities, on the one hand, are historically contingent and, thus, changed throughout time, disappeared, and were reinstated as points of reference in disputes and controversies. On the other hand, following ever changing social historical-political demands and requirements and in accordance with the beliefs and attitudes of the sponsors and the authors of historiographical narratives, in different historical periods university was presented either as a temple of pure knowledge outside of any political issues whatsoever, or as an ancient entity destined to demise and oblivion, or as the cradle of revolutionary fermentation and stronghold of progressive science. Depending on these foundational attitudes of the authors and their sponsors the overall image of university past has been revised and adjusted.

The actual task for a historian of university is not to hopelessly search for the 'real image' of university in its evolution and clean it from the 'layers' of subsequent distortive interpretations. In fact, the task is to demonstrate that all these 'layers' constitute the important integral part of the evolution of university – from the perspective of the institutional policy as well as from the perspective of ever changing memory of scientific and educational corporation and diverse groups that it includes.

In my opinion, the main problematic area of the historiography of Russian universities is its Soviet component. Therefore, I find it important to analyse the key points of reformatting university tradition during this historical period and to deliberately leave out most interesting collisions of universities self-descriptions of the 19th century. It is only in the last section of this paper that I will selectively touch upon the circumstances of post-Soviet history.

1. The ban and the restoration of succession

The ideological campaigns and new policies of the Soviet power – such as the introduction of the new university charter in 1921-1922 and de facto liquidation of universities in 1930-1932 – had devastating impact on the older images and discursive strategies of creating university histories in Russia. This negative impact was further aggravated by the ideological campaigns of 1930s

and particularly in the end of 1940s. As a result, the imperial university system in Russia with its foundational principles of self-government and freedom of thought was replaced with Soviet «factory of knowledge» of the highest degree¹. The expansion of the university network and its demographics also contributed to the change. Besides, contrary to Wilhelm von Humboldt's maxim, scientific research in Soviet universities was separated from learning, and was concentrated either in specialized institutes, or in the institutions of the Academy of Sciences².

Apparently, all these factors had direct and straightforward influence on the practices of universities' self-description. Consider an illustrative example. It was in 1919 – the most difficult year for Russian science, including the university-based science, notable by starvation and deaths of scholars, deficit of resources, and civil bloodshed – that the 100-year jubilee of St.-Petersburg University was celebrated. The preparations for the celebrations started in advance, during the years of the WWI. Through the effort of S.V. Rozhdestvenskii and with support of the local administrative bodies of Narkompros a massive volume with the materials on the early history of the university was published. This was just one volume out of a series of a dozen such volumes that were originally planned to come out. However, M.K. Lemke, an historian of revolutionary movement and one of the leaders of the «red professorship», immediately published an utterly critical review, in which he proclaimed that in only the whole project is ever to materialize «we would have the pleasure of observing how a great deal of paper is wasted for the sake of very and very few specialists in the history of the higher education in Russia, who might really need this publication»³.

Lemke was fairly critically biased against the old professorship and the ethos of the traditional university in Russia (particularly, at the Department of History, where he had not been admitted by his peers). But this was not his idiosyncratic viewpoint. This was the *Zeitgeist*. After 1920 in Soviet Ukraine all universities were closed down and, then, reorganized to be subsequently reopened as institutes of people's education. The mass media of the time presented this innovation as exceptionally progressive and necessary:

If revolutionary movement in the West in its educational reforms would radically smash – split – universities, then we could with certainty claim that this is revolutionary struggle, similar to ours and with similar success. But the compromising social-democrats never

¹ A. Kojevnikov, *The Great War, the Russian civil war, and the invention of big science*, «Science in Context», n. 15, 2002, pp. 239-275.

² M. David-Fox, *Revolution of the Mind: Higher Learning among the Bolsheviks, 1918-1929*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1997; N. Kremensov, *Stalinist Science*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1997.

³ M.K. Lemke (rev.); S.V. Rozhdestvenskij (ed.), *Sankt-Peterburgskij universitet v pervoe stoletie ego dejatel'nosti 1819-1919: materialy po istorii Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta*, Petrograd, 1919, Vol. 1: 1819-1835, «Pechat' i revoljucija», 1921, n. 8-9, p. 62.

interfered with universities during the period when they *could have* done this. This fact is an indication of all *pace* of revolution in the West. And contrariwise: the fact that we directed our main offensive against universities is the best evidence that we this offensive follows the pace of our Communist revolution⁴.

From mid-1920s, the main form of the alternative trend – the one contrary to the legitimization of the university tradition – was reference to revolutionary students' movement⁵ and to the achievement of the progressive professorship. These professors were portrayed as opposing and suffering group of professionals increasingly oppressed by the liberals and the nationalists up to 1917. This strategy of 'reformatting' tradition was utilized in the monumental history of Kazan University that came out in 1930. This was a two-volume oeuvre of a young historian M.K. Korbut, who was persecuted just several years after this publication⁶.

The key notion of 'autonomy' of the old university – its professorship and students alike – was revised and reconceptualised. Slavist N.S. Derzhavin, university rector in the 1922-1925, who was previously considered of rightist, virtually ultra-nationalist worldviews, published a brochure to the sixth anniversary of Bolshevik October uprising of 1917, in which he delineated this 'dialectics': «Liberal, once progressive and revolutionary, slogan – the struggle for the autonomy of [the higher] school – now, in new historical conditions of our life and state-cultural construction, has become the slogan, which not only is reactionary, but undoubtedly counter-revolutionary, and it is artfully used by the bourgeoisie in their interests in higher educational establishments»⁷.

The emphasis on the autonomy of universities from the tsarist government and imperial power, the necessity of freedom for the development of enlightenment and science (in the spirit of Miliukov's tradition)⁸ was characteristic of the approach to the past of Russian universities among immigrants of the first wave, such as those who celebrated the 175th and, then, 200th jubilee of Moscow State University in 1930 and 1955 respectively⁹.

⁴ Emphasis in the original. M.A. *Ot gimnazii – k profshkole, ot universiteta – k tehnikumu i institutu*, «Put' prosveshhenija», [Khar'kov], vol. 10, n. 20, 1924, p. 59. See explicit references to German and American experience for the Ukrainian reorganization: A.G. Gotalov-Gotlib, *Krizis universiteta i vopros o podgotovke uchitel'stva*, «Put' prosveshhenija», n. 2, 1923, pp. 37-61.

⁵ See V.I. Orlov, *Studencheskoe dvizhenie v Moskovskom universitete v XIX stoletii*, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Vsesojuznogo obshhestva politkatorzhan i ssyl'no-poselencev, 1934.

⁶ M.K. Korbut, *Kazanskij gosudarstvennyj universitet im. V.I. Ul'janova-Lenina za 125 let: 1804-05 – 1925-30*, Vol. 1-2, Kazan', Izdatel'stvo Kazanskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 1930; A.A. Litvin, E.S. Maslova, A.A. Sal'nikova, *Zhizn' i sud'ba «krasnogo» professora: Mihail Ksaver'evich Korbut (1899-1937)*, Kazan', Izdatel'stvo Kazanskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2009.

⁷ N.S. Derzhavin, *Vysshaja shkola i revoljucija*, Moskva, Petrograd, Priboj, 1923, pp. 38-39.

⁸ A.A. Kizevetter, *Moskovskij universitet i ego tradicii*, in Id., *Istoricheskie otkliki*, Moskva, K.F. Nekrasov, 1915, pp. 319-338; A.A. Kizevetter, *Moskovskij universitet i ego tradicii: (rol' Moskovskogo universiteta v kul'turnoj zhizni Rossii)*, Praha, [s.n.], 1927.

⁹ *Moskovskij universitet: 1755-1930: jubilejnyj sbornik: izdanie Parizhskogo i Prazhskogo*

The anniversary of Moscow State University of 1930 in Soviet Russia coincided with the most violent offensive against universities as such that was launched by officials from various administrative bodies and organs of ideological control. The launch of this campaign was initiated by the resolutions of TsIK and SNK USSR titled «On the reorganization of higher educational establishments, professional schools and workers' faculties» of July 23, 1930. University was understood as a vestige of feudalism and was typically presented in mass media and the official directive documents as a chaotic conglomerate of various faculties and departments, which need to be reorganized with respect to the present course towards massive industrialization and actual tasks of national economy. In order to do so, universities were to be divided into specialized, mostly technical and applied, institutes. Examples were found in the historical past, such as revolution in France («the decree of 1792 is not an accidental episode of the Great French Revolution when all 22 universities in France were closed down as reactionary establishments as long as their curriculum and teaching methods are concerned»)¹⁰ and favorably assessed initiative of the government of Soviet Ukraine that was motioned to be repeated in Russian Federation as the means of the struggle with the age-old tradition. The rector of Moscow State University economist I.D. Udal'tsov agreed that the life term of the «175 year old relic» had virtually come to an end¹¹.

Following the TsIK resolution «On curricula and regime in higher educational establishment and professional schools» of September 19, 1932 the flood of reorganizations started receding, and it was already by mid-1930s that universities were acknowledged as the leading centres of fundamental preparation of future specialists. The jubilees of Moscow University as well as recently restored in their status in Soviet Ukraine Kharkov and Kiev Universities were celebrated in 1935 in leading state media¹². At this point the emphasis shifted to highlighting the succession of entire scientific and 'societal' tradition from the legacy of the 19th century using the model of disciplinary jubilee historiographies such as «research in chemistry/ geology/ Slavic studies, etc. in a such and such university» over the period of the anniversary years. Notably,

Komitetov po oznamenovaniju 175-letija Moskovskogo universiteta, Paris, *Sovremennye zapiski*, 1930; *Dvuhsotletie Moskovskogo universiteta, 1755-1955: prazdnovanie v Amerike*, New York, All Slavic Publ. House, 1956. Collection to Anniversary of Kiev University, *Stoletie Kievskogo universiteta Sv. Vladimira: 1834-1934*, Belgrad, Izdatel'stvo Komiteta kievskih profesorov v Ljubljane, 1935.

¹⁰ G. Brovman, E. Popovkin, *Universitet zhdet svoej revoljucii*, «Revoljucija i kul'tura», n. 21, 1929, p. 17 (note 2), p. 22. These authors would be high officials in literary politics during post-Stalin period and opponents of liberal "Novy Mir" of Tvardovsky and Solzhenityn's works.

¹¹ See for details: M. David-Fox, *The Assault on the Universities and the Dynamics of Stalin's 'Great Break', 1928-1932*, in M. David-Fox, G. Péteri (edd.) *Academia in upheaval: origins, transfers, and transformations of the Communist academic regime in Russia and East Central Europe*, Westport, Bergin & Garvey, 2000, pp. 73-105.

¹² See articles from «Front nauki i tehniki», n. 9, 1935, pp. 27-69.

the tone of these disciplinary accounts was considerably more balanced and objective than in the general works on the history of universities¹³.

From this point the weapons of the 'social class approach' turned into a new direction: not against the older canons, but for the sake of propaganda of the importance of new, Soviet legacy that only allowed fully realizing the older universities ideals and initiatives. Biologist A.V. Nemilov published a characteristic text glorifying the jubilee of Leningrad University:

Over the period of 21 years after the Great October the former «St.-Petersburg University» – fully out of touch with the reality and unaware of who and for what purpose is educates – was replaced with the robust scientific factory that it intrinsically interrelated with the masses and rooted in a wide range of directions. [...] The valuable seed that was in the very foundation of the university's design could not find proper soil in the pre-Revolutionary era. Only under the Soviet power the basic principles of a university can be properly realized. The masses of workers and collective farmers who flooded the university proved their gut feeling of the essential value of university education and helped this idea to mature and mould into the socialist Leningrad University that we have now¹⁴.

Thus, the Soviet ideologues of the mid-1930s developed their intention to legitimize the university tradition as a whole at the expense of contemporary achievements and successes. On the verge of WWII a double jubilee volume of «Scientific Notes of Moscow State University» was released¹⁵. In contrast to the traditional comprehensive editions 'on the occasions' that professors-historians would usually prepared in the end of 19th century, this volume presented a series of essays, in which the history of the university was presented as a depersonalized sequence of 'class struggles' under the university roof. And this was the dramatic difference between the 'new' history and the traditional stories about the life of scientific corporations narrated through biographies of professors and histories of institutions development.

It is notable that the authors of these jubilee essays – especially those chapters dealing with politically problematic periods of the university's history – were graduate students, assistants, and even on one occasion a collective brigade of students that included, among others, future prominent historians M.Ya. Gefter and B.G. Tartakovskii¹⁶. From mid-1930s the new genre of university

¹³ S.S. Nametkin, *Himija v Moskovskom universitete za 185 let*, «Uspehi himii», vol. 9, n. 6, 1940, pp. 703-726; P.S. Aleksandrov, B.V. Gnedenko, V.V. Stepanov, *Matematika v Moskovskom universitete v XX veke*, in *Istoriko-matematicheskie issledovanija*, Moskva, Leningrad, 1948, Vol. 1, pp. 9-42; L.S. Tsetlin, *Iz istorii nauchnoj mysli v Rossii*, Moskva, Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1958.

¹⁴ A.V. Nemilov, *120 let Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, «Sovetskaja nauka», n. 2, 1939, p. 172.

¹⁵ See *185 let Moskovskogo ordena Lenina gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. M.V. Lomonosova*, Moskva, Izdanie MGU, 1941.

¹⁶ See the journal «Uchenye zapiski MGU: Jubilejnaja serija», vol. 50-51, Istorija, Moskva, 1940. In second half of 1930's some general works devoted the history of regional universities were also published in Voronezh, Saratov and most detailed – in Odessa: *Odesskij universitet za*

studies developed a new characteristic: a series of biographies of politically loyal professors were written along with normative highly politicized and depersonalized narrative. These biographies included those of K.A. Timiriazev, N.Ya. Marr, I.P. Pavlov, who had become in certain sense the 'icons' and at the same time the personification of 'the glorious past'. During the celebration of the 'uneven' jubilee, in the May of 1940, Moscow University was awarded the Order of Lenin (the highest award in the Soviet Union) and renamed in honour of its founder M.V. Lomonosov (between October 1932 and September 1937 the university was named after Bolshevik historian M.N. Pokrovskii). Later this list of hagiographies was complemented with the biographies of T.N. Granovskii, D.I. Mendleev (despite his sympathies to the ideas of 'most reactionary' tsar Alexander III), and, not sooner than in 1960s, V.I. Vernadskii, who was still criticized for his membership in the Constitutional Democratic (Kadet) Party and proximity to the Russian Provisional Government between the two Russian revolutions of February and October 1917.

In the end of 1940s, the glorification of the 'people of Russian science' and boundless fascination with the idea of the Russian priority in all fields of knowledge was also – somewhat paradoxically – instrumental in rehabilitation of the notion of the interconnection between the Soviet and the 'pre-Revolutionary' (but not the 'imperial') university. Immediately after WWII the historical past was in extremely high demand in Leningrad University, which was then under the leadership of ambitious rector A.A. Voznesenskii. It was there, in the jubilee edition of the «scientific notes» that the large article on the development of historiography came out¹⁷. The article was authored by S.N. Valk, a leading specialist on historiographical source criticism and the student of A.S. Lappo-Danilevskii. A specialized volume on the Soviet history of the University was also published in Leningrad¹⁸, and the first national museum of the history of university was founded¹⁹. However, new ideological campaigns virtually terminated these restorative activities: in the context of the unfolding «Leningrad Affair» the celebration of the 130th anniversary of Leningrad University was in effect banned²⁰.

A new wave of rehabilitation of the past and the restoration of the continuity of tradition came in the mid-1950s and revealed itself in the preparation of the jubilee of Moscow University. In event was inaugurated by the publication of the highly prestigious two-volume oeuvre on the history of the leading national

75 let (1865-1940), Odessa, [s.n.], 1940.

¹⁷ S.N. Valk, *Istoricheskaja nauka v Leningradskom universitete za 125 let*, in *Trudy jubilejnoj nauchnoj sessii. Sekcija istoricheskikh nauk*, Leningrad, [s.n.], 1946.

¹⁸ *Leningradskij universitet za sovetskie gody (1917-1947)*, Leningrad, [s.n.], 1948.

¹⁹ See I.L. Tihonov, *Muzej istorii Sankt-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, S.-Peterburg, Izdat. S.-Peterburgskogo Univ., 2005.

²⁰ P.A. Druzhinin, *Filologija i ideologija. Leningrad, 1940-e gody*, Moskva, Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2012, Vol. 2, pp. 258-259.

university²¹. This pre-revolutionary past was not any more presented as archaic-bourgeois and destined to annihilation. On the contrary, it served as warrant of new successful *Soviet* development and its necessary prehistory. By the end of 1950s several edited volumes were released that presented fragments of personal reminiscences about universities, but not only chapters about the heroic struggle against the ‘fortress of bourgeois science’ as in 1920s-1930s²². Particularly representative this complex interplay between the loyalties to the ‘Soviet’ and the ‘traditional’ was in the cases of old universities in such problematic regions as Western Ukraine and Soviet Baltic republics (i.e., Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia): For universities of L’vov, Vilnius and Tartu this required dealing with archaic or essentially foreign legacy.

In the years of the Thaw and the Stagnation – i.e., between mid-1950s and mid-1980s – a great many of scholarly works were published that covered the histories of specific universities (particularly, St.-Petersburg/Leningrad University), collected ‘jubilee’ volumes on the history of Kiev, Kazan’, Tartu, Tomsk, Rostov, and Perm’ universities²³. But even so, although free from obvious Stalinist clichés, these histories quite for long time were not perceived as the continuation of the older, prerevolutionary treatises on the history of university: the works of pre-revolutionary predecessors – such as S.P. Shevyrev, A.I. Markevich, V.V. Grigor’ev – were treated in either critical, or merely auxiliary manner in the newer publications by the historians of Moscow State University, Odessa or Leningrad University.

Besides professional historians, former rectors of universities were frequently the authors of publications about universities (e.g., S.E. Belozеров in Rostov or the creators of the general comprehensive work on university education in the USSR – former rector of the Moscow State University physicist A.S. Butjagin and his aide philologist Yu.A. Saltanov)²⁴. By that time the histories of universities in the eyes of Soviet officials no longer represented a threat of positive representation of the ‘alien’ past. After decades of cleansings and the ‘Communization’ of universities their faculty and staff were clean from any

²¹ M.N. Tihomirov (ed.), *Istorija Moskovskogo universiteta*, 2 vols., Moskva, Izd-vo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1955; *Dokumenty i materialy po istorii Moskovskogo universiteta vtoroj poloviny XVIII veka*, 3 vols., Moskva, Izdat. Moskovskogo Univ., 1960-1963; M.T. Beljavskij, V.V. Sorokin, *Nash pervyj, nash Moskovskij, nash Rossijskij: pamjatnye mesta starogo zdanija Moskovskogo universiteta*, Moskva, [s.n.], 1970.

²² *Moskovskij universitet v vospominanijah sovremennikov*, Moskva, Sovremennik, 1956.

²³ See the bibliographical index: E.D. Dneprov, *Sovetskaja literatura po istorii sbkoly i pedagogike dorevoljucionnoj Rossii: 1918-1977*, Moskva, [s.n.], 1979; and overview of recent literature: L.P. Lapteva, *Istorija rossijskih universitetov XVIII – nachala XX veka v novejshej otechestvennoj literature*, in *Rossijskie universitety v XVIII – nachale XX veka*, Vol. 5, pp. 3-27.

²⁴ S.E. Belozеров, *Očerki istorii Rostovskogo universiteta*, Rostov-na-Donu, Izd-vo Rostovskogo universiteta, 1959 (Belozеров was the Rostov university rector in 1938-1954); A.S. Butjagin, Ju.A. Saltanov, *Universitetskoe obrazovanie v SSSR*, Moskva, Izd. Moskovskogo Univ., 1957 (Butjagin was the Moscow state university rector in 1934-1941).

accusations of subversive sentiments. Indeed, they became loyal to the ruling system, unlike, for instance, their peers in Eastern Europe, where the process of ‘domestication’ of scientific elites did not finish until the beginning of 1970s²⁵.

University histories of the late Soviet period were fairly integrated into the entire state-sponsored discourse about the past, which guaranteed them political and administrative support and funding. In the context of the liberal ‘Thaw’ first works were published by the nowadays acknowledged specialists on the history of university system of the Russian Empire: G.I. Shchetinina, R.G. Eimontova, and A.E. Ivanov. It is indicative of their status that they all were the employees of institutions within the system of the *Academy of Sciences*. The boldness of these publications back then was in their authors’ effort to reanimate the ideal of the autonomy of universities in the spirit of S.G. Svatikov or A.A. Kizevetter: the ideal that in early Soviet and Stalinist periods was proclaimed the legacy of the past and was positioned as political mistake.

In any case, by the end of 1980s – that is, still within the framework of Soviet ideology – the canon and the possible spectrum of the legitimate and publicly acknowledged university past was fundamentally broadened in comparison with the ‘nihilistic’ period of 1930s. Research on the history of universities, collecting data – including the unofficial evidence of ‘cultural memory’ – became the vocation a few enthusiasts, the most notable of which was Vladimir Dmitrievich Duvakin (1909-1982), whose pioneering work on oral history from late 1960s greatly benefitted from the support of the then rector of Moscow State University I.G. Petrovskii. Therefore, by the period of perestroika – i.e., by mid-1980s – the reference to the pre-revolutionary past was clearly articulated and appropriated on the symbolic level – as an important resource of self-legitimization and the means of defence from overly radical ideological intervention.

In the new circumstances of developing marketing economy this resource was subsequently utilized afresh and ‘reprogrammed’ for the purposes of new practices of self-legitimization of the *previous* university elite. As is known, no radical changes took place in universities (and their administrative staff) in Russian Federation after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the demise of the Eastern Bloc, unlike in the educational establishments in Eastern Europe, particularly, in German Democratic Republic²⁶.

²⁵ See J. Connelly, *Captive University: The Sovietization of East German, Czech, and Polish Higher Education, 1945-1956*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2000; M. David-Fox, G. Péteri (edd.), *Academia in Upheaval: Origins, transfers, and transformations of the Communist academic regime in Russia and East Central Europe*, Westport, Bergin & Garvey, 2000.

²⁶ R.M.O. Pritchard, *Reconstructing education: East German schools and universities after unification*, New York, Berghahn Books, 1999.

3. *Political pragmatism of the tradition*

The reader should be reminded that by the end of 1980s the geographical spread of the network of Russian universities considerably changed and expanded. In 1913 there were only nine universities in Russia (those in Moscow, St.-Petersburg, Kiev, Kazan', Kharkov, Yuriev [Derpt, Tartu], Odessa, Tomsk, and Saratov); in February 1917 – eleven; and by the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union – seventy. In 1950-1970s many administrative regions and particularly republics (Soviet Socialist republics, and, then autonomous republics within the USSR) established *their own* universities for the sake of enhancing their administrative status. However, judging by the spare pieces of evidence – there are no comprehensive historical studies yet grounded in archival materials on late Stalinism educational policies – the establishment of new universities was not systemic and proved successful only when local power had strong lobby in the federal government that would sponsor opening local universities, such as those in Yaroslavl', Samara and Ufa²⁷.

The beginning of *perestroika* in mid-1980s brought about possibility for self-organization of university communities and their horizontal integration. The solidarity of autonomous universities, though, quite soon got dominated by the individual ambitions of their administrative apparatus. In March 1989, with most enthusiastic support of the chair of the All-Union State Committee on Education and former rector of Moscow Chemical-Technological Institute (MKhTI) G.A. Yagodin, an Association of Universities of the USSR was founded. In 1992 the Association was renamed Eurasian Association. In the end of November 1992 an administrative union of university managers was founded: the Russian Union of Rectors. Both the Association and the Union from their beginning were lead by the long-time (and present) rector of Moscow State University V.A. Sadovnichii²⁸.

Fairly conservative by their design, these organizations were quite successful in the administrative segment of educational market throughout 1990s-2000s and, through their activities – including those of specialized committees of the Parliament – harnessed and corrected those initiatives of the central government, State Committee on the Higher Education or the Ministry of Education that were questionable or disadvantageous from the perspective of the community of university rectors²⁹.

²⁷ See the book of Vyacheslav Eljutin (1907-1993), *Soviet ministry of higher education from Stalin to Gorbachev* (1954-1985): V.P. Eljutin, *Vysshajaja shkola obshhestva razvitogo socializma*, Moskva, Vysshaja shkola, 1980.

²⁸ See official website of Eurasian Association of Universities: <<http://www.eau-msu.ru/>> (last access: October 10th, 2013). See official website of Russian Union of Rectors: <<http://www.rsr-online.ru/index.php>> (last access: October 10th, 2013).

²⁹ See the resume from the longitudinal research about status and opinions of state universities' rectors in post-Soviet Russia as social group: A.A. Ovsjannikov, *Sistema obrazovanija v Rossii i*

Having secured the formal right to speak on behalf of the entire scholarly community and govern through administering the hierarchies of nominations and appointments, the Association and the Union announced the protected zone within educational segment of Russian society – the so-called ‘classical universities’. Educational establishments that were recognized as ‘classical’ ones claimed the supreme social status and legitimized their claims by the historical contribution in the establishment of national university tradition. In practice, state universities of the Soviet era were positioned and recognized as *classical* ones in the contemporary context of growing number of new universities (i.e., in essence, recently renamed older technical, pedagogical, and other specialized educational establishments). These were joined only by a handful of other institutions in regional centres that were established on the basis of pedagogical institutes of the Soviet period.

In early 2000s an Association of Classical Universities of Russia (AKUR) was founded and included initially twenty four universities. In the spring of 2012 the number of the members of this organization increased to forty three organizations that allegedly «met the criteria of classic university»³⁰. The description of these criteria on the web-site of AKUR starts with the requirement of the *period of the institution’s operations*, but then goes on to list a series of formal numerical requirements such as the programs of various graduate and postgraduate studies (including training for *spetsialist*, *bakalavr*, and *magistr*) and their ratio requirements within the whole spectrum of all disciplines.

Although the notion of ‘classical university’ has remained vague and unclear (or, probably, *due to* this vagueness) the idea of *classical university* education became the instrument of distribution power and resources under the pressure from various lobbying unions in non-governmental sphere. Such lobbying was carried out through the structures inside Eurasian Association of Universities (formerly, Association of Universities of the USSR) and particularly via such specific and non-public sphere as curriculum planning, accreditation and certification, handbooks and learning materials nomination for the status of those officially endorsed by the state and recommended in publicly funded educational establishments, etc.

In mid-1990s a number of the oldest national universities were included in the State Registry of the most valuable objects of cultural heritage of the peoples of the Russian Federation on the pretext of the special contribution to national university tradition – and, in fact, as a token of appreciation of their administrative leadership’s political support of the then fairly weak ruling power in Russia. The privileged status affirmed these universities guaranteed and preferential funding from the state.

obrazovanie Rossii, «Mir Rossii», n. 4, 1999, pp. 105-109.

³⁰ See official website of the Association of Classical Universities of Russia: <<http://www.acur.msu.ru/>> (last access: October 10th, 2013).

The systemic priorities for 'old' universities in the process of determining the criteria and parameters for assessment the quality of higher learning in Russia date back to the era of *perestroika*. Their preferential status was codified by the normative act of the Committee on the Higher Education of the Ministry of Science of Russia on May 6 1992 (resolution 141, «On the establishment of scientific-educational (*nauchno-metodicheskie*) councils of the Committee on the Higher Education at the Ministry of Science of Russia»). In June 2001 the Ministry of Education yet again reconfirmed this privilege.

These scientific-educational councils are administered by a range of (mainly 'classical') universities, however, in humanities and social sciences it was the Teaching-Educational Union (*uchebno-metodicheskoe ob'edinenie*) (UMO) on Classical University Education that has played the leading role throughout 2000s. This organization was originally founded under the aegis of the Moscow State University in 1987 as the Teaching-Educational Union of the Universities of the USSR³¹. The above-mentioned Association of Classical Universities of Russia (AKUR), led by V.A. Sadovnichii, branched out from the Eurasian Association of Universities (of the Commonwealth of Independent States) in June 2001. The chairperson of AKUR identified four functions of classical university such as knowledge production, its accumulation and preservation, transmission and distribution. It is pretty obvious that such broad interpretation fits not only any educational establishment, but even such units of a society as family. In defence of their corporative group interests the Association has created a range of affiliated organizations, for instance, 'consulting centers'.

However, rectors who participated in the Association were also making efforts to independently identify the limits for the privileges of their universities on the basis of their seniority. In that, they tended to be even more successful than the entire Association. For instance, the rector of Tomsk University G.V. Maier assured that «the main goal of a classical university is training and enlightenment not only for highly qualified, but also for encyclopaedically educated and creative personality capable of self-development»³².

Similar processes took place in the independent states of the former Soviet Union. As early as on September 5, 1996 the Council of Ministers of Ukraine issued the «Statute of the state higher educational establishment» (resolution 1074) and postulated the special status of «*classical university*»³³. By that was meant the «multi-profile higher educational establishments that prepare specialists in a wide range of humanities, natural, technical and other sciences

³¹ See website of Teaching-Educational Union (*uchebno-metodicheskoe ob'edinenie*) (UMO) on Classical University Education: <<http://www.umo.msu.ru/>> (last access: October 10th, 2013).

³² G.V. Majer, M.D. Babanskij, *Klassicheskie universitety: sovremennost' i perspektivy*, «Universitetskoe upravlenie», vol. 2, n. 13, 2000, pp. 20-21.

³³ See <<http://zakon.nau.ua/rus/doc/?code=1074-96-%EF>>. On Ukrainian case see M.A. Minakov, *Dijnsnist' Universytetu: mizh naukovym universalizmom ta ukrai'ns'kym trajbalizmom*, in *Universytets'ka avtonomija*, Kyi'v, [s.n.], 2008.

and disciplines». The document postulated that the faculty of such university «conduct fundamental and applied scientific studies and lead cultural and enlightenment activities. Overall, classical university encompasses three kinds of socially meaningful institutions: science, education, and culture».

In the Republic of Belarus the oldest national university located in the capital of the country became the leader of university integration (as well as the agent of historical politics)³⁴. Its leading role got particularly prominent after the reputed European University of Humanities was ousted from the country under direct pressure of the local government and despite protests of European scholars unwilling to relocate from Minsk to Vilnius.

In 2000s the programs of Russian UMO for 'classical' universities were adopted in the universities of Erevan, Dushanbe, Bishkek, as well as in Transnistria, Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

3. *Demand for tradition*

Apparently, the historical heritage of a university can become the grounds for getting administrative and financial privileges in new political environment. The awareness of this situation triggered rectors of a number of universities to request historical studies and used their results as legitimization in bargaining for the rights for privileges. This standpoint is reflected on the web site of Saratov University and is expressed thus: «We highly respect the investigations of our colleagues, but reserve our right for the choice of the model of university government. Our university – the classical one – requires particularly careful approach»³⁵. The latter statement is characteristic of the rector, whose appointment to the position and professional activity has been marked by public scandals and acute conflict between the rector's office and the dean of the Department of History (with open participation of political forces). This controversy of the mid-2000s was publicly discussed in the media³⁶.

Thus, the demand for the continuity, attention to the past and the traditions, equally characteristic for late Imperial and late Soviet university jubilees underwent a remarkable transformation in the post-*perestroika* era³⁷. Political

³⁴ See materials of Center of Educational Development of Belarus State University on its website: <<http://www.bsu.by/ru/main.aspx?guid=4631>> (last access: October 10th, 2013), and its collective work: *Ideja universiteta: paradoksy samoopisanija*, Minsk, BGU, 2002.

³⁵ L.Ju. Kossovich, *Nash universitet – klassicheskij*, «Saratovskaja panorama», n. 25, 2006, <<http://www.sgu.ru/smi/article51.php>> (last access: October 10th, 2013).

³⁶ D. Mihel', *Universitetskaja intelligencija i bjurokratija: bor'ba za universitetskie svobody v postsovetsoj Rossii*, «Neprikosnovennyj zapas», vol. 1, n. 51, 2007.

³⁷ See some typical works: E.S. Ljahovich, A.S. Revushkin, *Universitety v istorii i kul'ture dorevoljucionnoj Rossii*, Tomsk, Izdat. Tomskogo Univ., 1998; A.I. Avrus, *Istorija rossijskikh*

demand and profitability of the 'long history' contributed to the tendencies of concealing ruptures in the universities' past and ignoring specific topics. Thus, it seems that open access to archives and virtual absence of censorship in 1990s and 2000s might have provoked the rise of interest to political repressions in Soviet universities in 1930s-1940s. However, this would clearly emphasize the rupture between the pre-revolutionary and Soviet periods in the life of universities and demonstrate the extent to which 'Soviet academic intelligentsia' became conformist and 'domesticated' by the state. Therefore, such interest either did not emerge or was not supported.

Rarely occurring on the pages of historiographical works, the usual histories of state-sponsored repressions and persecutions 'in the passive voice' are only limiting our opportunity of sociologically oriented formulation of the problem of the hybrid of the science and the power during the Soviet period, and the symbiosis of the academic and political elites³⁸. Typically, the historical facts of political repressions are used by university administrations as the 'protective shield' for preserving status quo or the 'freedom of action' in internal affairs of the universities. For the sake of comparison, the reader should be reminded that after 1968 in Germany the critical attitude to the compromises with the past allowed to re-evaluate German tradition of culture and 'pure knowledge' and to demonstrate its dependence on the political strategy and social demands of specific historical period. This painful and unpleasant procedure provides with immunity against the repetition of the tragedies of the past.

The entire toolkit of the new critical intellectual history, the history of everyday life, political and social history proved incompatible with the self-legitimizing attitudes of the administrative elites of the universities management and the historians, who provide their services to them. New university historiography's interest in dynamic hierarchies, inequalities, generational or academic conflicts³⁹ does not resonate with the demands for simple, straightforward, mechanical succession and with the commonly shared views on the university intelligentsia's loyalty to the policies of state authorities (in the spirit of the timeless – either in 1890s or 1950s – the 'service to the Motherland').

As a result of such loyalty to the state and the devotion to the 'service to the Motherland' (which, perhaps, might be better described as 'servitude'

universitetov: ocherki, Moskva, [s.n.], 2001.

³⁸ D. Aleksandrov, *Nemeckie mandariny i uroki sravnitel'noj istorii*, in F. Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890-1933*, Hanover and London, Wesleyan University Press, 1969/1990; transl. rus. *Zakat nemeckih mandarinov: akademicheskoe soobshchestvo v Germanii: 1890-1993*, Moskva, Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2008, pp. 617-632.

³⁹ See especially the issues of «Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte» (Bd. 8-13, 2005-2010) from Berlin, and profound works of Victor Karady and Christoph Charle (as followers of Pierre Bourdieu) from Paris and Budapest on modern European university and its social frameworks. See also: M.G. Ash (ed.), *Mythos Humboldt: Vergangenheit und Zukunft der deutschen Universitäten*, Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1999.

or ‘servility’) contemporary Russian historians happen to present such truly amazing accounts of distinct and unique national universities:

In sum, we would like to yet again underline the main peculiarity of scholarly literature on the history of national (*otechestvennoi*) higher education in the beginning of the 20th century. We mean insufficient appreciation of spiritual (*dukhovnoi*) or political components of this most important feature of Russian model of university. [...] As is widely known, the gigantic rise of Russian science and culture became possible due to the system of the imperial universities that were founded in the beginning of the [19th] century. In these universities the titans of science and culture, the most brilliant minds of Russia were sharpened to the glory of their country in the centuries to come. And it was this very system – despite the periods of downfalls – that endlessly developed, develops and, we trust, will develop in the future. This trust is rooted in the fact of the active personal involvement of the President of Russia in solving life’s turning points problems of contemporary higher school.

At the turn of the 19th century those characteristic features of national (*otechestvennoi*) higher education became particularly well articulated that made it stand out in the international community of universities. The seed – planted by the hand of Lomonosov into the soil enriched by strong protectionist policy dating back to the era of Peter the Great – rooted, grew strong, and yielded rich fruits. [...] And if after all those dramatic crises that our higher school survived in the 20th century it not only stands firm, but also provided for the further renaissance of national science and culture, then such course is fated, and there is not to be another one⁴⁰.

Obviously, such isolationist self-descriptions of the ‘Russian model of universities’ are marginal in historiographical literature. Still, this brand of marginality is not only acceptably, but even encouraged in contemporary Russian Federation. These paragraphs, for instance, are quoted from a collective volume that was published under the auspices of the Federal Centre of Educational Legislation and is dedicated to the VII All-Russian Congress of University Rectors.

4. *On the problems of revising university historiography*

The situation of research on the history of universities in contemporary Russia is such that administrative demand and group interests of the faculty present the major obstacle to investigation of a range of specific research topics and to general methodological revision. Thus, since the theme of crises and conflicts is welcomed neither by the readership nor by the sponsors of scholarly research the most ‘fundamental’ works on the history of universities of early

⁴⁰ E.V. Olesejuk (ed.), *Otechestvennye universitety v dinamike zolotogo veka russkoj kul'tury*, Moskva, Sojuz, 2005, pp. 184. See also: E.V. Olesejuk, V.V. Sizov, Ju.G. Kruglov, A.A. Shulus, *Byl li «russkij put'» razvitija universitetov?*, «Social'no-gumanitarnye znaniya», n. 3, 2009, pp. 145-158.

Soviet period are conceptually dated oeuvre by Sh.Kh. Chanbarisov and F.F. Korolev⁴¹. And – given that revision of theoretical foundations and analytical toolkit, the investigation of discursive nature of historical sources and narratives that have been produced on their basis leads to the readers' disillusionment with the heroic epic tales of the University – revision of historiographical tradition is resisted by the alliance of university management and the historians that are allied with university officials. And this is understandable.

Analytical deconstruction, indeed, reveals the hand-made and capricious character of the fetish: the 'university tradition'. Furthermore, in those instances when we deal with not only one type of sources such as governmental resolutions and legislative acts we discover coexistence of several contemporary, yet incompatible traditions, for instance, those of the studentship, another – of the professorship, and yet another one – that of the community of rectors, administrators and university management. Besides, not all traditions were captured in written sources and became normative disciplinary narrative. University folklore and memoirs reveal the traces of unwritten traditions that actually existed not as texts, but as social practices, for instance, banquet after the defence of dissertation or students taking care after the burial places of their teachers-professors, etc.

In addition, the deliberate separation from pre-revolutionary university tradition that took place in early years of Soviet rule lead not only to the dramatic change of the demographics of student population, but also to the continuous – until mid-1930s – efforts to get rid of the traditional forms of teaching such as lectures and seminars.

University traditions have different life cycles and periods of renewal. And it is already perfectly clear that there is no one – single and universal – university tradition *as such*: it is always heterogeneous and is constituted by a number of diverse traditions. One of such constitutive elements is the Grand Narrative of university tradition – in certain sense, the great epic tale of university life – that has been created some time in the 19th century and, then, several times radically rewritten and reconstructed in the works of a few generations of authors.

In the beginning of Soviet period an effort was made to radically transform this epic tale into an alternative narrative (that of the values of students' movements, revolutionary social renewal, and sociotechnical modernization), but from the period of mature Stalinism the paradigm of continuity and succession became more significant. The idea of university autonomy – that was restored in 1960s-1980s as an important component of 'progressive tradition' of the 19th century – in 1990s became the conservative form of preservation of

⁴¹ Sh.H. Chanbarisov, *Formirovanie sovetskoj universitetskoj sistemy: (1917-1938 gody)*, Ufa, 1973; F.F. Korolev, *Iz istorii narodnogo obrazovanija v sovetskoj Rossii: (nizshie i srednie professional'nye shkoly i vysshee obrazovanie v 1917-1920 gody)*, «Izvestija Akademii pedagogicheskikh nauk RSFSR», n. 102, 1959, pp. 3-157.

the current status, the means of history-based protection for the community of rectors and large segment of professorship from the intervention of the politicians and social reformers. As a result, the 'classical university' turned largely into a denomination for a university of Brezhnev period of 1960s-1980s. Interestingly, the legitimization of Soviet university through reference to the pre-revolutionary past was established in its essential features in mid-1990s and its certain characteristics predated way more massive turn to the reassessment of the historical past of the beginning of 2000s that is typically associated with the name of Vladimir Putin. No surprise that this protection of 'our tradition' is increasingly acquiring fairly distinct isolationist flavour.

However, any *contemporary* interpretation of university tradition in St.-Petersburg, New-York, Freiburg or Tokyo includes written and unwritten norms, rules and narratives about the past. Such homogenous view that was essentially absent in the 19th century combines diverse heterogeneous elements into a unified, universal, and self-sufficient historical narrative. Such narrative is always constructed for particular needs – e.g., developing self-identity, advertisement, propaganda of educational service, mythologization of a university, political gains, or monetary profit. But soon it gets decontextualized, loses its conditional rhetorical and relative value, and starts being perceived as a documentary reflection of reality.

It is clear that such interpretation or 'desacralization of the sanctity' is hardly to the taste of the believers, and even less so of the 'priests of the cult'. Many Russian historians of universities avoid getting in trouble with researching those aspects of the past that do not fit the unproblematic account of the straightforward and uninterrupted development of 'our glorious establishment'. Instead, the easier, safer and more honourable way for them is to massively produce and overwhelm the market with unreadable published compilations on an occasion of yet another jubilee or with biographical reference books listing university employees from the ancient times of «scientific school» existence up to the days of the school's» contemporary bosses and leaders⁴².

As a result there are virtually no studies by Russian historians of universities during the period of revolutions and the Civil war⁴³. Publications on the

⁴² One of typical examples: *Istoricheskij fakul'tet Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta, 1934-2004: ocherk istorii*, St.-Petersbourg, [s.n.], 2004. As mirror of official historiography see also: *Ocherki istorii rossijskogo obrazovanija: k 200-letiju Ministerstva obrazovanija Rossijskoj Federacii*, 3 vols., Moskva, MGUP, 2002.

⁴³ As some exceptions: V.A. Korotkij, V.I. Ul'janovs'kyj, *Alma mater: Universytet sv. Volodymyra naperedodni ta v dobu ukrai'ns'koi' revoljucii: materialy, dokumenty, spogady*, 3 vols., Vol. 1-2, Kyj'v, Prajm, 2000; A.L. Litvin, *Uchenye Kazanskogo universiteta vo vremena smeny politicheskikh rezhimov in Vlast' i nauka, uchenye i vlast': materialy mezhdunarodnogo kollokviuma*, St.-Petersbourg, Dmitrij Bulanin, 2003, pp. 124-132; V.M. Rynkov, *Social'naja politika antibol'shevitskikh rezhimov na vostoce Rossii: (utoraja polovina 1918-1919 god)*, Novosibirsk, Sibprint, 2008; and two PhD Thesis: E.G. Miheenkov, *Vuzovskaja intelligencija goroda Tomsk v gody revoljucii i Grazhdanskoj vojny, fevral' 1917 - konets 1919 goda*, Tomsk,

contradictions and the dynamics of changes in the demographics of educational intelligentsia are very rare. Even when such publications occur they are typically produced by the members of the 'guild' of the historians of science⁴⁴. The historiography of universities in Russia has no satisfactory chronology, nor the history of transitions, turning points, and transformations, and the interrelations between political and university histories are not problematized.

In order to progress in this direction complex studies in source criticism are needed that would research universities archives and archives of 'identities'. Besides, we are still lacking general conceptual analysis of conceptual foundations of philosophical, ethical, and political characteristics of university life. The task seems feasible to develop coordinated 'languages' and parameters of description for the phenomenon of 'Russian university' in historical retrospective and from sociological standpoint. This will allow for efficient delineation of the object of our studies and identification of the causes of its contemporary state.

2002; A.Ju. Sizova, *Rossijskaja vysshaja shkola v revoljucionnyh sobytijah 1917 goda*, Moskva, 2007. See also the contributions of Konstantin Ivanov, Anna Eremeeva and Leonid Berlyavsky in A. Dmitriev (ed.), *Raspisanie peremen: Oчерki istorii obrazovatel'noj i nauchnoj politiki v Rossijskoj imperii – SSSR (konets 1880-h –1930-e gody)*, Moskva, Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2012.

⁴⁴ See O.L. Lejbovych, *V gorode M.: Oчерky socyal'noj pousednevnosti sovetskoj provyncy v 40-50-h godah*, Moskva, ROSSPEN, 2008, pp. 178-214 (about historian Lev Kertman from Perm University); A.A. Kas'jan (ed.), *Ideologija i nauka: diskussii sovetskih uchenyh serediny XX veka*, Moskva, Progress-Tradicija, 2008 (on city Gorky in late Stalinism).

The continuity of university history: a case-study of Portuguese *Studium Generale* (1288-1377)

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ABSTRACT: The paper reviews the problem of caesuras and continuity of Portuguese University's history. A study of the University papers showed gaps in its institutional history caused by several relocations from Coimbra to Lisbon. Sometimes such caesuras raise doubts in the continuity of the University's history and suggest the existence of different *studia generalia* that alternated with each other for the period under study. However, contemporary historians and members of the university community view the different universities as parts of one and the same university. Our case-study demonstrates that this view is based on the documents concerning economic privileges granted to the University by the country's rulers and the Roman popes. If recognized as a new university, the *studium generale* would have lost its former privileges. Thus, the logic of collective memory of Portuguese University was based on the image of its historical continuity.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: University; History; Archives; Portugal; XIII-XIV Centuries.

*Overview*¹

Historical continuity is one of the most topical problems in contemporary studies of university history. A rare university would boast a quiet stream of

¹ The results of the project *Designing traditions: problems of continuity and gaps in the Russian University history*, carried out within the framework of the Program of Fundamental Studies of the Higher School of Economics in 2013, are presented in this work.

life and a lack of gaps in its history caused by wars, fires, epidemics, student unrests, religious conflicts etc. In our paper, the combined theoretical framework for analysis of this problem was based on the historical constructivism theory and the «middle level» theories by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger on «invented traditions» and Jurgen Osterhammel's theory of historical continuity and caesuras. I review the continuity problem by the example of Portuguese University in the 13th-14th centuries and apply analytical instruments in researching its archives.

This case seems attractive to historians due to evident gaps in the past, caused by the university's frequent relocations from one place to another. During the 14th century Portuguese University drifted between Lisbon and Coimbra and four times changed its locations. The purpose of this paper is to show that despite frequent transfers (and the twists and turns of Portuguese history of that time), the university was able to build and maintain its identity as one educational institution through centuries.

Academic interest in the Middle Ages is commonly inspired by the genealogy of contemporary universities. Moreover, the historians wishing to draw a straight line between the past and modernity have a stable image of university's *idea* (or *spirit*), which «manifests itself in all times». In the context of this reasoning, the medieval university is seen as being the «ancestor» and hence better embodying the *amor sciendi* that was generated by life itself. In 1863, in his essay on the «university issue», famous Russian surgeon Prof. Nikolay Pirogov wrote that «the ancestors of universities were closer to the ideal than we are nowadays». With the «development of the civic consciousness and the spread of education in the masses», he believed, «the original purity of the ideal did not survive. The government, the church and society asserted their claims [...] So we see [...] that universities are not purely scientific, but government, clerical, educational and national institutions»². Of course, the image of the medieval universities as being «purely scientific» institutions – the quality lost by contemporary schools – was caused by the idealistic perception of universities by modern professors. Contemporary demands dictated the desired angle of research of university history.

It seems obvious that with the obsolescence or revision of the university concepts changed the academic understanding of continuity: new gaps were constructed, old caesuras were retouched. I will try to demonstrate that these changes constitute a more complex system of communication than it may seem at the first glance. Indeed, the corporation members commonly view themselves from different stands, with one particular stand not necessarily prevailing. I proceed from the premise that there can be many university histories; in our

² N.I. Pirogov, *Universitetsky vopros*, in *Universitetskaya ideya v Rossiiskoy imperii XVIII – nachale XIX vekov*, Moskva, ROSSPEN, 2011, p. 255.

case, it would be more appropriate to apply to different universities «the family kinship» term, coined by Ludwig Wittgenstein in his late works.

The co-existence of different concepts of the ideal university can be found, among other things, in the terms given by the medieval students³. As is well-known, the higher school was denoted by two terms: *universitas*, emphasizing a corporate aspect (not only the university community)⁴; and *studium generale*⁵. The latter appeared in the early 13th century. In the late 19th century, British scholar Hastings Rashdall proposed to distinguish between a general (this definition could be applied to any large educational institution, particularly in the 13th century) and narrow sense of this word. The latter are universities, whose graduates were granted *jus ubique docendi* – the right to teach freely in the Christian world⁶. As Heinrich Denifle noted, not a single university has been founded without the Papal or Emperor's sanction since the mid-13th century⁷. A lack of this sanction deprived many educational centers of the university status, such as schools in Lyon and Reims. It is worth noting that in the period of the foundation of Portuguese University (1288-1290) the *jus ubique docendi* was only taking shape. The universities of Bologna and Paris received the bulls confirming their graduates' rights to universal recognition as late as 1292. Trends in the corporate relations can be best seen through economic life. For the period under study, the essential problems of academic life included housing rent or rental of classrooms, professors' wages, food supplies and purchase of construction materials. Changes in the college location or the country's economic situation would lead to the reconstruction of the entire university organism, the destruction of stable ties and communication procedures. However, every time a university moved to a new place, its professors and employees reproduced the former economic model and reaffirmed the royal privileges. There are case studies of this issue in the Portuguese historiography⁸. But, unlike these

³ On comparison of these terms see A.B. Cobban, *The Medieval Universities: Their Development and organisation*, London, Methuen, 1975; P. Classen, *Studium und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, A. Hiersemann, 1983; W. Rüegg *Themes*, in *A History of the University in Europe*. Vol. I. *Universities in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003; J. Verger, *Patterns*, in *ibid*.

⁴ See P. Michaud-Quantin, *Universitas: expressions du mouvement communautaire dans le moyen âge latin*, Paris, Vrin, 1970; O.G. Oexle, *Die mittelalterlichen Gilden: ihre Selbstdeutung und ihr Beitrag zur Formung sozialer Strukturen*, in A. Zimmermann (ed.), *Miscelanea Medievalia*. Bd. 12/1: *Soziale Ordnungen im Selbstverständnis des Mittelalters*, Berlin, New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1979.

⁵ See G. Ermini, *Concetto di 'Studium generale'*, in *Scritti di Diritto Comune*, Padova, Cedam, 1976, pp. 213-237.

⁶ H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1895, Vol. 1, pp. 8.

⁷ H. Denifle, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*. B. I. *Die Entstehung der Universitäten*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1885, s. 33.

⁸ There are some articles dedicated to this subject: A.M. Leitão Bandeira, *A história do património da Universidade através das fontes primárias do seu Arquivo*, in *Universidade(s)*.

works, I am not going to reconstruct the University's methods of economic management and economic ties. This article is focused on a single issue – how the financial records help to draw an integral image of the economic life in *the same* university, despite changes in its locations, faculty, students and the country's leadership.

As it often happens in researching the medieval phenomena, we lack rich and diverse sources on the period and region under study. We basically deal with the texts of the privileges, granted to the university by the royal or Papal authorities. The Portuguese University archives lacks earlier matriculas that would allow us to precisely establish the composition of its corporation or narrative texts describing the academic life. Owing to this fact it is hard to say how these privileges, including those concerning economic aspects, got used in practice. Some conclusions on this issue can be made based on student applications cited in the charters reflecting the scholars' needs. The extent to which they were satisfied can be evidenced from the later charters quoting students' complaints on the obstacles they were facing in getting used the privileges they were granted.

Most of these manuscripts constitute a cartulary, entitled *The Green Book* (*Livro Verde*)⁹. Created in the first half of the 15th century, it dates back to the first books of the university privileges that appeared in the second half of the 14th century. It is worth noting that this collection of legal texts, the last of which is dated 1456, remained in full force and effect up to Marquis de Pombal's reforms in the 18th century¹⁰. It was well-known to all historians

História, memória, perspectivas, Coimbra, Comissão Organizadora do Congresso «História da Universidade», 1991, vol. 3, pp. 11-38; M.H. da Cruz Coelho, *As Finanças*, in *História da Universidade em Portugal*, Vol. I, t. I (1290-1536), Lisboa-Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra-Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997, pp. 39-68. Some aspects of the problem are overviewed in other article of the collective work of 1997; P. Dias, *Espaços escolares*, in *ibid.*, pp. 33-38; M.T. Nobre Veloso, *O quotidiano da academia*, in *Ibid.*, pp. 129-152. Also, investigations of this subject took place in some general works: T. Braga, *História da Universidade de Coimbra nas suas relações com a instrução portuguesa*. Tomo I. 1289 a 1555, Lisboa, Academia Real das Ciências, 1892; M. Brandão, M. Lopes de Almeida, *A Universidade de Coimbra. Esboço da sua história*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1937; A. Moreira de Sá, *Dúvidas e problemas sobre a Universidade Medieval Portuguesa (I)*, «Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa», 3 série, n. 8. pp. 240-273; J. Veríssimo Serrão, *História das universidades*, Porto, Lello & Irmãos Editores, 1983. The problem of the economic life of the University is shown in the works dedicated to the urban context of its life: S.A. Gomes, *Escolares e a Universidade na Coimbra Medieval*, in *Estudos a homenagem a João Francisco Marques*, Porto, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2003, Vol. I, pp. 511-531; A. Martins, *Lisboa, a cidade e o Estudo: a Universidade de Lisboa no primeiro século da sua existência*, in *A Univeridade Medieval em Lisboa (Séculos XIII-XVI)*, Lisboa, Universidade de Lisboa, Tinta-da-China, 2013, pp. 41-88; A. Norte, *Processos de institucionalização do Estudo Geral Português*, in *ibid.*, pp. 149-186.

⁹ Facsimile edition: M.A. Rodrigues (ed.), *Livro Verde da Universidade de Coimbra: cartulário de século XV*, Coimbra, Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 1990. About its history see M.A. Rodrigues, *Introdução*, in *ibid.*, pp. I-XIV.

¹⁰ On reforms and changes in the university's legal system see *O Marquês de Pombal e a Universidade*, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2000.

of the University, possibly beginning from F. Brandão, the erudite monk in the 17th century, who gave a detailed description of the University's history in one of the volumes of *The Lusitan Monarchy*¹¹. Some documents from the *The Green Book* were published by university historians in the 17th-18th centuries. The complete publication of *The Green Book* came out in 1940¹². All its documents were later incorporated into the fundamental edition of *Charterularium Universitatis Portugalensis*¹³. Since all the documents in this edition are arranged in chronological order, *The Green Book* was absorbed by other historical sources.

As a rule, the researchers of Portuguese University exploring *The Green Book*, are more interested in copies of the records that have not survived to this day. For me, this cartulary is important as a code of laws, which, despite its long and tangled history, was seen by the students as a single source of their university rights. This approach would allow us to understand Lisbon-Coimbra University's participation in the pan-European process, termed by J. Verger and Ch. Vulliez 'cartularization' of the universities and serving as an important aspect of institutionalization of *studia generalia*¹⁴.

The University's Foundation and Relocations

Portuguese University was established in Lisbon between 1289 and 1290. Its foundation is credited to King Dinis of Portugal, but there are more reasons to believe that the clergy more contributed to its establishment.

It was only by the late 14th century that its faculty numbered more than two dozen. Equally small in the first century of its existence was the number of students. Clearly, Portuguese University of that time played a minor role in Medieval Europe. To get a good appointment in the royal Chancellery, one would have to get a degree from the University of Paris or Bologna, two major destinations of the local applicants.

The University's first relocation from Lisbon to Coimbra, and possibly its re-foundation was documented in 1308. Naturally, it had taken several years to

¹¹ F. Brandão, *Monarchia Lusytana. Quinta Parte*, Lisboa, 1976, fl. 163-167 (facsimile edition of original book (1650)).

¹² A.G. da Rocha Madahil (ed.), *Livro verde da Universidade de Coimbra (cartulário do século XV)*, Coimbra, Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 1940.

¹³ Almost all known records on the history of the medieval Portuguese university are published in a monumental edition: *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis* [further CUP], Vol. I-XIII (1288-1525), Lisboa, Instituto da Alta Cultura, 1968-1995.

¹⁴ J. Verger, Ch. Vulliez, *Cartulaires universitaires français*, in O. Guyotjeannin (ed.), *Les cartulaires: actes de la table ronde organisée par l'Ecole nationale des chartes et le GD.R. 121 du C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5-7 déc. 1991)*, Genève-Paris, Librairie Droz-Librairie H. Champion, 1993, pp. 423-449.

do so. The main reason for the transfer the King saw in contradictions between the corporation and inhabitants of the city¹⁵. These were most likely caused by the conflicts arising from the housing rent and tax privileges for the university students and professors.

The cause of the University's relocation to Lisbon is not too evident for us, even though it is laid out in the royal charter of August 17, 1338¹⁶. The bellicose Afonso IV gave the following reason for the relocation of the *studium generale*: «Since I spend most of the year in the city of Coimbra... the dwellings located in the vicinity of this city and usually inhabited by scholars studying in my university that until now has been in this city, can be rented by my officials and those living in my grace. These houses often raise a bone of contention between them»¹⁷. The King did no better than to transfer the University to Lisbon.

As can be judged by the documentary evidence, the new Lisbon stage in the University's life was unstable – the lectures were cancelled for many years. Such instability was owed to the economic power of the city that created conditions for restricting student privileges, and the King's ill-considered measures for economic adjustment of the University to the new environment. One more factor at play was the great epidemic of plague that broke out in the late 1340 and killed more than one-third of Portugal's population. There is no doubt, however, that at this period of time, the privileges were still believed to be valid and granted to those entitled thereto¹⁸.

The royal charter announcing the University's third relocation didn't survive, or possibly didn't exist at all. In either case, this event is difficult to date. What little has survived are the royal charters documenting the University's living arrangements at the new location, in Coimbra. The earliest one is dated December 6, 1354. It also confirmed the university privileges.

Given the lack of documentary evidence, it is hard to tell the reasons for the University's relocation and the role that the King or any other forces involved played in this event. Bearing in mind the King's little interest in the fate of the *studium generale*, we can suggest that the transfer was initiated by none other than the academic corporation that got scared of the plague. It is also possible, however, that the relocation was caused by new conflicts with the local citizens.

¹⁵ *Bula de Clemente V autorizando a concessão de seis igrejas paroquiais ao Estudo que ia ser trasladado para Coimbra* (Doc. 22), in CUP, Vol. 1, pp. 39-40.

¹⁶ *Carta de D. Afonso IV transferindo o Estudo Geral, de Coimbra para Lisboa* (Doc. 109), in CUP, Vol. 1, pp. 132-133.

¹⁷ «[c]omo a mjm conuem de fazer morada gram parte do ano na Cidade de Coimbra... e como as pousadas que son dentro na çerca dessa vila em que sooem de pousar os scolares que stan no meu studo geeral que ata ora foy en essa vila aadur podem auondar pera os meus offiziaaes e pera os que uiuem na mha merçee e como per Razom dessas pousadas recreçen aas uezes uoltas e peleias grandes antre eles» (*ibid.*, p. 131.)

¹⁸ See Martins, *Lisboa, a cidade e o Estudo*, cit., pp. 57-60.

There are sound reasons to believe that in the early 1350s the University resumed its activities after a long crisis whereby it worked irregularly or was altogether closed. The university members apparently appealed to the King for permission to return to Coimbra, which had lost its significance for Afonso IV. The King and his inner circle were not interested in the University. It were the scholars who reminded the King of themselves, requesting Afonso IV and his successors to confirm the old privileges that were quite difficult to restore after the University's long absence in the capital¹⁹.

And finally, the fourth relocation of the University returned the *studium generale* to Lisbon for almost two centuries, putting an end to its nomadic life. The reasons behind this move are laid out in King Fernando's charter issued in Coimbra on July 3, 1377²⁰. Stressing the need to increase the number of lawyers, the King assured that «If our university was transferred to the city of Lisbon, we would have more *letrados*²¹, than we had, should this university have remained in Coimbra, for some professors whom we decreed to invite from other kingdoms, do not want to read lectures other than in Lisbon»²².

Thus, the major reason for the University's relocation was the state's demand for specialists and the quality of their professional qualification. However, King Fernando's words can serve as the evidence of his low popularity that was recorded, in particular, by the famous chronicler Fernão Lopes²³. At that time, the Cortes openly accused the King of embezzlement of the funds granted by the Pope for the University's needs²⁴.

A complicated domestic situation in the country forced the King to grant new privileges to the University. The university staff hardly opposed the idea of moving from the war-devastated Coimbra, where they proved unable to fully get used the rights granted to them by King Dinis. The transfer of the *studium generale* took place in the autumn of 1377. In any event, the contemporaries called it 'Lisbon University'²⁵. Bearing in mind that the charter of June 3, 1377

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-63; Mattoso, *A Universidade e a Sociedade*, in *História da universidade em Portugal*, cit., pp. 307-308.

²⁰ *Carta de D. Fernando transferindo o Estudo Geral, de Coimbra para Lisboa, redulamentando a sua instalação e confirmando-lhe os privilégios que tinha recebido* (Doc. 299), in CUP, Vol. 2, pp. 5-8.

²¹ *Letrados* (*litterati*) is a social group of professional lawyers. In the Pyrenees they usually became the backbone of the royal bureaucracy.

²² «se o nosso estudo... fose mudado na çidade de lixboa que na nossa terra poderia auer mais leterados que aueria se o dito estudo na dita çidade de coimbra steuesse por alguums lentes que de outros Regnos mandamos vijñr nom queriam leer se nom na cidade de lixboa» (*Carta*. (Doc. 299), pp. 5-6).

²³ See F. Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2004.

²⁴ *Artigos das Cortes realizadas em Lisboa, onde se pede que a Universidade de Coimbra seja reformada nos seus lentes* (Doc. 276), in CUP, Vol. 1, pp. 296-298.

²⁵ E.g. *Bula do papa Gregório XI dirigida aos Doutores, Mestres, e escolares do Estudo Geral de Lisboa, a conceder, a pedido de D. Fernando, a dispensa da obrigação de residirem nas igrejas onde tinham benefícios, durante em triénio, e de receberem, entretanto, todos os frutos, réditos e*

only ordered the relocation, the move, in fact, took much less time than the earlier years-long transfers in the 14th centuries. It is also worth noting that the numerous royal charters that appeared after the said order regulated various aspects of university life. This fact allows us to view 1377 as the date of the new foundation of Portuguese University²⁶.

So what do we have now? Is it a consecutive change of four different universities or a dashed line in a history of the same university? We shall try to answer this question through the prism of economic records from the university archives.

The Continuity of economic benefits

At present, the University of Portugal has united archives that keeps records documenting all its relocations and residences. The economic routine, reconstructed on its basis looks like a curve bowed-out in shape.

The 1308 bull confirming the first relocation of the *studium generale* to Coimbra contains a Papal order to Archbishop Braga and the bishop of Coimbra prescribing that the faculty get revenues from the parishes. The bull referred to a decree signed by the King, who, in his application cited in the bull, gave the exact number of the parishes (six). These were the churches which, as the bull to the King reads, he «owns by solid law». By this it meant the payment in one-third installments of the tithe being paid to the King in agreement with the Popes. Thus, all revenues from the churches were paid by the King as wages to the university professors, with the exception of salaries to the parish vicars²⁷.

This system that seemed quite stable, underwent changes as far back as during the reign of King Dinis. According to the charter dated May 6, 1322, two parishes – Pombal and Soure that had been apparently among the six parishes set by the 1308 bull and served as sources of the faculty's income were passed to the Order of Christ, the Portuguese successor of the defeated Order of Templars²⁸. The 1323 charter, regulating the university finances, reads that

proventus dos ditos benefiçios (Doc. 302), in CUP, Vol. 2, pp. 11-12.

²⁶ About idea of the 'second foundation' see A. Moreira de Sá, *O Infante D. Henrique e a Universidade*, Lisboa, Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte de Infante D. Henrique, 1960, Vol. I, p. 15; A.J. Saraiva, *O crepúsculo da Idade Média em Portugal*, Lisboa, Gradiva, 1988, p. 119.

²⁷ «studij... quod de Ciuitate vlixbonendi ad Ciuitatem Colimbriensi petiuiſti ex causa transferri redditus et prouentus Sex ecclesiarum parrochialium in solidum ius obtines patronatus statueret et deputaret ac etiam assignaret congrua sustentatione perpetuis vicarijs in ipsis ecclesijs seruituris» (*Bula de Clemente V... (Doc. 22), p. 29*).

²⁸ *Carta de D. Dinis ordenando que as Igrejas de Pombal e Soure, pertencentes ao Estudo Geral de Coimbra, passem para a Ordem de Cristo (Doc. 57), in CUP, Vol. 1, pp. 82-83.* It's important to underline that this document wasn't included to the *Green Book*.

the parishes were passed by petition from the Master of the Order of Christ João Lourenço and the whole Order to which Dinis wished to «show favor and grace» by passing them the «fruits and revenues of the said parishes». In the meantime, the Master, as evidenced by the document, proposed to provide financial support to the university professors and officials²⁹.

Almost nothing is known about financing of the university after its move to Lisbon in 1337. In 1345, Afonso IV appealed to Pope Clement IV with a request to grant him a right to use church revenues to support university lecturers³⁰. In response to this application, the Pope signed a bull to the bishops of Lisbon and Évora³¹. A suplica to the clause on *studium generale* prescribed payment from church and monastery incomes under the King's «patronage» (i.e. the third part of which was paid to the King) the sum amounting to 3000 pound «in the Portuguese currency presently in circulation»³². The funds were designed to pay wages to doctors, masters, bachelors and cover other university expenses.

We can suggest that there is a time gap between the signing of the decree and its execution. It was only in December 1348 that the Bishop of Évora Afonso Dinis issued a charter (*litteras*)³³, in which he, with reference to Clement VI's bull, listed the parishes remitting their incomes to the University.

In 1355, Innocent VI, upon a petition from the King of Portugal, issued a bull ordering the Bishops of Lisbon and Évora to pay salaries to university professors from the church incomes and notifying them of the University's relocation to Coimbra³⁴. The bishops were to be appointed University patrons

²⁹ «Agora don Johan lourenço Meestre de Caualaria da Ordin de Jhesu christo Do Conuento dessa ordin nos disserom que estas Igreias eram muy proueytosas a eles e a dicta ordin. E pedirmnos por mercee que lhis leyxassemos auer os fruytos e rendas das dictas Igreias. e que manterriam ende os dictos Meestres. e sayriam aos outros encarregos assi como o nos ataaqui fezeramos. E nos sobredicto Rej querendo lhjs fazer graça e mercee teemos por ben leixar ao dicto Meestre os fruytos e rendas das dictas Igreias» (*Carta de D. Dinis determinando ao Mestre da Ordem de Cristo o quantitativo a pagar aos professores do Estudo Geral de Coimbra (Doc. 59)*, in CUP, Vol. 1, pp. 84-85).

³⁰ *Súplica de D. Afonso, pedindo ao papa Clemente VI autorização para aplicar 3.000 libras das rendas das igrejas do seu padroado nos salários dos Mestres, Doutores e Bachreis e bem assim noutras cousas necessários à Universidade de Lisboa (Doc. 132)*, in CUP, Vol. 1, pp. 148-149.

³¹ *Bula de Clemente VI para os Bispos de Lisboa e de Évora autorizando, pedido de D. Afonso IV, a cosigação à Universidade de Lisboa de 3.000 libras de rendas das igrejas (Doc.133)*, in CUP, Vol. 1, pp. 149-151.

³² «supplicat idem Rex... de fructibus, prouentibus, redditibus et omnibus alijs iuribus ecclesiarum in quibus tamen ipse Rex duntaxat ius obtinet patronatus per eum uel successores suos ad hoc assignandarum, cum rectores, priores seu Abbates in quibusdam locis uulgaliter nuncupantes mori contigerit, uel quouis modo alio vacauerint, usque ad summam trium milium librarum portugalis monete nunc currentis pro salarijs doctoribus, magistris, bacalarijs et alijs ad opus ipsius necessarijs» (*Súplica... (Doc. 132) p. 148*).

³³ *Letras do Bispo de Évora D. Afonso, relativas à anexação de igrejas do bispado de Lisboa à Universidade e dando execução à Bula de clemente VI (Doc. 162)*, in CUP, Vol. I, pp. 175-177.

³⁴ *Bula do papa Inocêncio VI a soma de três mil libras dos rendimentos de várias igrejas para*

and charged with providing assistance in arrangements at the new location³⁵. This document actually acknowledged the legal continuity of the University and its performance in different places³⁶. The Pope recognized it as the same entity and therefore reaffirmed the church obligations to provide financial support to the University³⁷.

The recognition of the University status and the preservation of obligations can be also traced in other administrative documents. One such document is the 1376 bull³⁸ issued in response to a petition by Gonçalo Pedro, a life vicar of the Virgin Mary parish in Óbidos, mentioned in the 1355 charter³⁹. The vicar complained that paying salaries to university professors was burdensome for his parish budget as he couldn't pay wages to the bishop and cover the church expenses. The vicar appealed to the Bishop of Lisbon requesting him to specify the amount of the university assignments⁴⁰.

Sharp evidence of historical integrity of Portuguese University is material support of its students. During the University's first residence in Coimbra, in his charterers addressed to the local authorities (*alcaide, alvazil, city council*) and the royal representatives (*almoxarife, notary*)⁴¹, the King granted to scholars special economic benefits, such as the advantageous position in the food market, own suppliers (meatmen, wine-makers, bakers) and even sealers (*almotaceens*). In this fashion, the royal authorities granted autonomy to the academic corporation. And did it by reducing privileges of other city communities. For example, *almoxarife* and notary were ordered to donate their houses to the

pagamento de salários aos professores da Universidade de Coimbra (Doc. 201), in CUP, Vol. 1, pp. 213-215.

³⁵ «Venerabilis fratribus... vlixbonensi et... Elborensi episcopis salutem etc^a... Nuper uero pro parte dicti Regis nobis fuit expositum quod huiusmodi fructuum assignatio seu applicatio usque ad ad summam predictam eidem Vlixbonensi studio per vos seu alterum vestrum auctoritate dictarum literarum et iuxta earum formam facta dinoscitur» (*ibid.*, pp. 213-214).

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ «oneraus translationem studij supradictam auctoritate nostra confirmetis dictamque assignationem de predictis fructibus prouentibus et redditibus usquein summam predictam eidem Vlixbonensi studio taliter assignatos prefato Colimbriensi studio» (*ibid.*, p. 214).

³⁸ *Bula do Papa Gregório XI, diminuendo a contribuição para pagamento dos salários dos professores do Estudo Geral, por parte do pároco da Igreja de Santa Maria de Óbidos (Doc. 288)*, in CUP, Vol. 1, pp. 307-308.

³⁹ «sicut exhibita nobis pro parte dilecti filij Gundisalui Petri, vicarij perpetui parrochialis ecclesie sancte Marie de Obidos Vlixbonensis diocesis peticio» (*ibid.*).

⁴⁰ «Nos itaque huiusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus... quod porcio que vicario ipsius ecclesie assignata existit, ad sustentationem ipsius et ad supportandum onera ei incumbencia sufficiens non existat, eidem vicario porcionem congruam, unde ipse vicarius congrue sustentari valeat, episcopalia iura soluere et alia sibi incumbencia onera supportare de huiusmodi fructibus et prouentibus ipsius ecclesie sancte Marie auctoritate nostra assignare procures» (*ibid.*).

⁴¹ *Carta de D. Dinis determinando que os escolares do Estudo Geral de Coimbra possam ter açougues, carniceiros, vinhateiros etc. (Doc. 24)*, in CUP, Vol. 1, pp. 42-43.

University for food shops⁴². Other city communities were also deprived of their buildings for the benefit of the University.

Being part of the Church, the University didn't pay royal taxes, with this privilege being apparently so obvious that it was not even provided for in the royal charters. Besides, university professors demanded exemption from the taxes, levied by city authorities, and from some general taxes, such as road tax and customs duty on food supplies that the scholars purchased for themselves and their servants. And they did gain point, as evidenced by the charter dated September 16, 1310⁴³.

After the University moved to Lisbon, it had to reaffirm all its rights and privileges, but not all of them were granted. Upon return to Coimbra in 1354, the University resumed with renewed energy its struggle for regaining by the Dinis privileges. The University demanded to reaffirm the old rather than grant new privileges, that is, to restore the rights once granted to the same university. If the University had recognized itself as a new community, its faculty and students would have lost legal and economic protection that their colleagues gained in the past.

In his charter dated 1360, King Pedro promised to restore university privileges in Coimbra, including those granted to craftsmen⁴⁴. After the nearly twenty years-long absence of the «lounging clergy» the local authorities didn't want to share economic benefits with newcomers. They complained to the King on harassment, saying that the city council of Coimbra «prevent scholars, their servants and the said university's officials from getting used the privileges»⁴⁵. The students «are not allowed to have bakers, butchers, wine-makers and other officials»⁴⁶.

In 1367, King Fernando signed a charter confirming and reproducing the texts of the privileges that had been granted to the University by its predecessors⁴⁷. The professors managed to restore even the university sealers, which led to a

⁴² «E mando a uos meus almoxarife e ao meu scripuam se casas ouerem pera os dictos açougues que uos lhas dedes» (*ibid.*).

⁴³ «...me enujarom dizer que em nossas villas e em nossos lugares que lhes[mestres e scolares] filham portagem e acustumagem das viandas do pam e do vinho e da carne e das outros cousas que mandam trager e comprar pera seu comer e pera sa gente E esto nom tenho eu por bem se assy he porque uos mando que uos nom lhes filhedes portagem nem costumagem das dictas cousas em uossas villas e em uossos lugares» (*Carta de D. Dinis ordenando que os escolares do Estudo Geral de Coimbra não paguem portagem nem costumagem* (Doc. 34), in CUP, Vol. 1, pp. 56-57).

⁴⁴ *Carta de D. Pedro recomendando o cumprimento dos privilégios concedidos à Universidade de Coimbra, que os oficiais do conselho não respeitavam* (Doc. 214), in CUP, Vol. 1, pp. 225-226.

⁴⁵ «ellas [vnjuersidade] Reçebem grande agrauamento desse conçelho e de sseus officiaes porque prendem os escollares e seus sergentes E os ofiçiaes do dicto estudo contra os priuilegios» (*ibid.*, p. 225).

⁴⁶ «lhes tolhem e tiram as paadeiras e carneçeiros e vinhateiros E outros seus ofiçiaes E que doestam e viltam os melhores dessa vnjuersidade» (*ibid.*).

⁴⁷ *Carta de D. Fernando confirmando e outorgando ao Estudo Geral de Coimbra os privilégios, cartas e mercês dos Reis suos antecessors, que transcreve* (Doc.246), in CUP, Vol. 1, pp. 265-266.

serious conflict with inhabitants of the city. This fact was apparently one of the reasons behind the University's move to Lisbon in 1377⁴⁸.

But even at the new location, the University asserted its continuity and rights to the former benefits. Even though the former bulls and charterers assigned them economic zones in Coimbra, the lecturers insisted on the universal character of these privileges regardless of the University's location in Portugal. King Fernando's charter of 1377 mentions that the University had butchers and other craftsmen in Lisbon and even specifies the city district (Rigueira) they inhabited⁴⁹. Even if some agreements had been signed between the academic corporation and the craftsmen, in the absence of direct support from the royal authorities, they couldn't be renewed on the terms, favorable to the University. This fact explains why Fernando's charter contains a long sentence obliging both present and future city officials to provide suppliers to the University.

Thus, we are dealing with a sort of contamination: 'private' agreements of the second Lisbon period are given the force of the law set by the King in Coimbra. His charter legalized the integrity of university life, or at least, of its financial and economic aspects. This reflected on the identity of the university corporation struggling to promote the idea of continuity of its history.

At that period of time, economic privileges were extended to individuals involved in the University's activities but not teaching. While the earlier privileges concerned only officials, scholars' servants and professors, now they extended to people who had no relation to students' and professors' property and even living outside *studium generale*. It has to be noted that neither of them had belonged to the university corporation before. That is why especially interesting in this regard is the royal charter of January 1, 1378, ordering that the house stewards running the students' estates and the tenants farming on these lands be spared of the local duties, such as building walls and ditches demarcating the plots of land (*alcarcovas*)⁵⁰. This privilege was granted to them due to their employers' and renters' academic honors («por honrra do studo»)⁵¹.

⁴⁸ See Gomes, *Escolares e a Universidade na Coimbra Medieval*, cit.; Martins, *Lisboa, a cidade e o Estudo*, cit., pp. 61-62.

⁴⁹ See Lobo, *As quatro sedes do Estudo Geral de Lisboa (1290-1537)*, in *A Universidade Medieval em Lisboa*, cit., pp. 272-275.

⁵⁰ «Outrossy diziades que alguuns leentes e scolares ham seus moordomos e serujdores casados em suas terras e suas igreias e posisões que lhas adubam e mandam adubar E seus beens e Recebem suas rendas de que ham seus mantjmentos em esse studo e que lhos constringem pera hir com presos e com dinheiros e a serviços de muros e alcarcouas e outras cousas semelhantes e pediades nos por mercee que uos desemos carta E mandasemos que estes taaes fossem qujtes e scusados de todos sobredictos encargos por honrra do studo» (*Carta de D. Fernando regulando, pedido do Estudo Geral de Lisboa, diversos assuntos e confirmando-lhe os privilégios até então recebidos* (Doc. 305), in CUP, Vol. 2, p. 15).

⁵¹ «[...] que esses moordomos e serujdores nom sejam besteiros do conto nem obrigados a serujrem nas galles nem dos apurados da guisa» (*ibid.*, pp. 15-16).

The declining influence of the Papal authority also impacted the new organization of the university community. From now on the students and professors viewed themselves as members of the European intellectual world rather than part of the Church. When its consolidation weakened during the Schism, power and influence of the university corporations, protected by local authorities, increased.

The growth of centralized power in Portugal facilitated the enforcement of almost all university privileges. Declared as a system in the past, they couldn't be fully realized due to frequent relocations of the University. Codification of rights contributed to inner development of the corporation with a stable administrative structure and uniform norms of professional conduct. Collectively, this correlates with the rise of the economic system. We can note a similarity of the two models: *studium generale* and a corresponding corporation as an educational institution, involved in the prestigious European continuum with its economic system⁵². In both cases, prevailing are the images of the University as a single structure that has maintained its integrity even when it had to suspend its activity.

As late as the first half of the 15th century, the members of the Portuguese academic corporation forgot about its 'dotted' history and frequent relocations⁵³. This fact can be viewed as yet another proof that the corporate memory overcomes caesuras, creating an image of its continuing history, which was particularly important for medieval society I believe that the years-long struggle for gaining and restoring economic privileges and correspondence between the Papal, royal and university authorities contributed to the legitimization of the long and consistent tradition.

This paper only outlined approaches and arguments for researching temporal characteristics of the University's life and the continuity factors of its history. Legal and economic benefits were instrumental in maintaining the University by its faculty and students. The University is obviously interested in its 'long' and consistent history as it ensures its privileged status in society.

⁵² See Farello, *Lisboa numa rede latina? Os escolares em movimento*, in *A Universidade Medieval em Lisboa*, cit., pp. 235-267.

⁵³ In the Green Book index Pope Clement V's bull of February 26, 1308 is indicated as a document providing for the University's transfer from Coimbra to Lisbon, not vice versa (*Livro Verde da Universidade de Coimbra: cartulário de século XV*, cit., p. 27).

The historical past of Tübingen university within the 1927 jubilee context

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ABSTRACT: This article reviews the history writing practices employed at Tübingen University on the occasion of its 450th anniversary. The author examines an anniversary edition of the university's history and the speeches of professors, identifying in them the ways in which they represent historical plots and their role in the self-identification of the academic community.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: University; History; Identity; Germany; XX Century.

1. *Problem statement*¹

In late July 1927, Tübingen University (Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen) celebrated its 450th anniversary. The anniversary involved many events, and preparations for these began as early as 1925. These events included rallies, church services, speeches by professors and guests, banquets, fireworks, etc., as well as the publication of books that were meant to commemorate the event for later generations, presenting the university in its full splendour. Some of the anniversary writings, including the published versions of speeches by the rector, professors and guests were dedicated to the university's history.

¹ The results of the project «Awarding Academic Degrees at the European Universities in the Modern Period», carried out within the framework of the Programme of Fundamental Studies of the Higher School of Economics in 2014, are presented in this work.

Archival sources and abbreviations: UAT = Universitätsarchiv Tübingen (Tübingen), HZ = Historische Zeitschrift, BW = Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte, AK = Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, HA = Historische Anthropologie.

Researchers repeatedly noted that university jubilees were reference points in its historiography. The history writing of Tübingen University best illustrates this view².

The term «university history writing» (*Universitätsgeschichtsschreibung*) does not have a fixed meaning in the English, Russian and German academic environment. Historians use it as a synonym for «university historiography», although its meaning may cover a broad variety of writings on university history that includes periodicals, albums, pamphlets, etc. Who writes and publishes such works, and how, on what occasion, and with what goal: all of these questions require a more thorough elaboration. Of special relevance today is the role of writings and public speeches by academic community members in creating their own past, i.e. the consolidating and generalising of basic perceptions of their «common» history and hence «common» identity.

Thus, exploring universities' perceptions of their histories creates far broader challenges for researchers, namely: the role of the anniversary celebrations and the commemorative writings published on the occasion in structuring cultural, social and historical spaces³. In this article I will be analysing the contents of

² This is best evidenced by the 500th anniversary of Tübingen University: Tübinger Chronik launched a series of publications featuring the history of the development of natural and humanitarian science; an anti-Nazi committee published *The Brown Book* in commemoration of Nazi crimes and Vergangenheitsverarbeitung in the second half of the 20th century; a special exhibition was held based on archival and library sources, while a serial edition *Contubernium* published a dozen articles on the history of the university and science in general. See: H. Decker-Hauff, W. Setzler (edd.), *Die Universität Tübingen von 1477 bis 1977 in Bildern und Dokumenten*, Tübingen, Attempto, 1977; H. Decker-Hauff, G. Fichtner, K. Schreiner (edd.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Universität Tübingen 1477-1977*, Tübingen, Attempto, 1977; *Braunbuch zum 500jährigen Jubiläum der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen*, Tübingen, u.a., 1977; R. Müth, *Studentische Emanzipation und staatliche Repression: die politische Bewegung der Tübinger Studenten im Vormärz, insbesondere von 125 bis 1837*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1977; W. Teufel, *Universitas Studii Tuwingensis: die Tübinger Universitätsverfassung in vorreformatorischer Zeit (1477-1534)*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1977; G. Saltzwedel, *Victor von Bruns (1812-1883): Leben und Werk*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1977; M. Brecht, *Theologen und Theologie an der Universität Tübingen: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Evangelisch-Theologischen Fakultät*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1977; E. Sieber, *Dokumente zur gescheiterten Tübinger Universitätsreform in der Revolution 1848-49*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1977; D.A. Uwe, *Hochschule im Nationalsozialismus. Die Universität Tübingen im Dritten Reich*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1977; F. Elsener, *Lebensbilder zur Geschichte der Tübinger Juristen Fakultät*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1977; R. Reinhardt, *Tübinger Theologen und ihre Theologie. Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät Tübingen*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1977; R. Vorndran, *Südslawische Reformationsdrucke in der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen: e. Beschreibung d. vorh. glagolischen, kyrillischen u. anderen Drucke d. «Uracher Bibelanstalt»*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1977; W. von Engelhard, H. Hölder, *Mineralogie, Geologie und Paläontologie an der Universität Tübingen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1977.

³ As Marina Romyantseva notes with reference to Natalya Komleva: constructing social and cultural spaces is closely associated with human attitudes of the post non-classical era. Romyantseva stresses historical space with its 'non-territorial borders', which evidently is the essential part of a broader informational and ideological space, but with a stress on historicism. M. Romyantseva, *Logika narrativa v badenskom i rossiyskom neokantiantstve. Izvestia Uralskogo*

the anniversary history and speeches in terms of the methods used to represent the university, organised on the basis of historical plots. As a case study, I have chosen Tübingen University.

The sources for my research include a history of Tübingen University published in 1927, speeches by its rector, professors and guests that were published later in commemorative collections of articles, as well as the records of the anniversary committee and the university administration. The article will also make use of the publications dedicated to the historiography of German universities⁴ and academic publications on the history of Tübingen in the first half of the 20th century.

The stated problem will be covered in three stages. A first part will highlight the mutual influence of university history writing and the jubilee; a second part will review a treatise on the history of Tübingen University in terms of narratology; and finally, in a third part, I will point out references to the historical past encountered in the jubilee discourse that can be used as ways of self-identification. But first I will take the liberty of reviewing the key landmarks in university history writing in Germany from the 19th to the early 21st centuries in order to show the place of these works within the context of other studies on similar issues.

2. *University history writing in Germany*

Since medieval times, festive events have been distinguished by close attention to the past. As Winfried Müller notes, until the 16th century, the form and contents of jubilees were determined largely by religious doctrines. Yet as early as the second half of the 16th century, in the German regions where the Reformation prevailed, university anniversaries came to be perceived as secular festivals and a means of self-identification for Protestant professors

federalngogo universiteta, vyp. 3, 2012, p. 258.

⁴ N. Hammerstein, *Jubiläumsschrift und Alltagsarbeit. Tendenzen bildungsgeschichtlicher Literatur*, «HZ», vol. 236, 1983, pp. 601-633; R.A. Müller, *Genese, Methoden und Tendenzen der allgemeinen deutschen Universitätsgeschichte. Zur Entwicklung einer historischen Spezialdisziplin*, «Mensch-Wissenschaft-Magie: Mitteilungen der österreichischen Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte», vol. 20, 2000, pp. 181-202; M. Asche, S. Gerber, *Neuzeitliche Universitätsgeschichte in Deutschland. Entwicklungslinien und Forschungsfelder*, «AK», vol. 90, 2008, pp. 159-201; R. vom Bruch, *Methoden und Schwerpunkte der neueren Universitätsgeschichtsforschung*, in W. Buchholz (ed.), *Die Universität Greifswald und die deutsche Hochschullandschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Kolloquium des Lehrstuhls der Pommersche Geschichte der Universität Greifswald in Verbindung mit der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 2004, pp. 9-26; S. Paletschek, *The Writing of University History and University Jubilees: German Examples*, «Studium; Revue d'Histoire des Sciences et des Universités», vol. 5, 2012, pp. 142-155.

who sought to protect themselves from the power of the Roman curia⁵. Until the 19th century, universities appealed to the past in the form of the festive addresses via their representatives, who spared no words in extolling the great history of their alma maters. But in the 19th century, German Protestant universities began to release voluminous works featuring the landmark events of their history, with this practice becoming tradition over time. A pioneer in this regard was Göttingen University: at the beginning of the century, Christoph Meiners published several books at the same time dedicated to the history of higher educational institutions in German-speaking Europe, and in Göttingen in particular⁶.

Between the 19th and the early 21st centuries, university history writing underwent a series of transformations. Rüdiger vom Bruch notes that while the history of German universities has not become an independent subdiscipline in the historical sciences over the past twenty years, as was the case with the history of state and law (*Verfassungsgeschichte*) or the history of the Church (*Kirchengeschichte*), university past is nonetheless an essential part of historical studies⁷. Since the second half of the 20th century, university history writing has been increasingly noted for its institutionalisation, professionalisation and growing popularity among experts in the history of education⁸.

Institutionalisation in Germany began in the 1990s. 1995 saw the foundation of the Society for University and Intellectual History (*Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*)⁹. In 1998, the first issue

⁵ Interestingly enough, anniversary cycles were first performed by the universities of Tübingen (1578), Heidelberg (1587) and Wittenberg (1602). W. Müller, *Erinnern an die Gründung. Universitätsjubiläen, Universitätsgeschichte und die Entstehung der Jubiläumskultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, «BW», vol. 21, 1998, pp. 79-102.

⁶ C. Meiners, *Ueber die Verfassung und Verwaltung deutscher Universitäten*, 2 vols., Göttingen, J.F. Röwer, 1801-02; Id., *Geschichte der Entstehung und Entwicklung der hohen Schulen unseres Erdtheiles*, 4 Bde, Göttingen, J.F. Röwer, 1802-05; Id., *Kurze Darstellung der Entwicklung der hohen Schulen des protestantischen Deutschlands, besonders der hohen Schule zu Göttingen*, Göttingen, J.F. Röwer, 1808.

⁷ Bruch, *Methoden und Schwerpunkte der neueren Universitätsgeschichtsforschung*, cit., p. 9.

⁸ Paletschek, *The Writing of University History and University Jubilees: German Examples*, cit., p. 143.

⁹ During its lifetime, the society published twelve editions in the series «Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte»: R.C. Schwingers (ed.), *Artisten und Philosophen. Wissenschafts- und Wirkungsgeschichte einer Fakultät vom 13. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Basel, Schwabe, 1999; J. Schmutz (ed.), *Juristen für das Reich. Die deutschen rechtsstudien an der Universität Bologna 1265-1465*, Basel, Schwabe, 2000; R.C. Schwingers (ed.), *Humboldt International, der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Basel, Schwabe 2001; M. Schalenberg (ed.), *Humboldt auf Reisen? Die Rezeption des «deutschen Universitätsmodells» in der französischen und britischen Reformationsdiskursen (1810-1870)*, Basel, Schwabe, 2002; C.-R. Prüll, *Medizin am Toten oder am Lebenden? Pathologie in Berlin und in London, 1990-1945*, Basel, Schwabe, 2003; R.C. Schwingers (ed.), *Die Finanzierung von Universität und Wissenschaft in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Basel, Schwabe, 2005; R.C. Schwingers (ed.), *Examen, Titel, Promotionen. Akademischen und staatlichen Qualifikationswesen vom 13. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*, Basel, Schwabe, 2007; B. Immenhauser, *Bildungswege –*

of the yearbook «Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte»¹⁰ was published. Professionalisation revealed itself through the embedding of university historiography in the frameworks of social, intellectual and cultural history; the evolution of new subdisciplines (histories of the faculties and chairs; international university relations, separate scientific disciplines, university relations with the city, etc.); the appearance of so-called «critical» histories of universities (the history of female higher education, anti-Semitism, the crisis and decline of the institutions of higher education during national socialism). Professional self-reflection helped researchers prove the inconsistency of ideologemes such as the «university idea» and «university model». Historians managed in particular to dispel the famous «Humboldt myth» («Mythos Humboldt»)¹¹.

The scientification of university history writing, however, could not save it from the propensity to hold jubilees and the tradition of releasing multi-volume works. As the 2010 anniversary of Berlin University – and particularly its six-volume history published under the editorship of Heinz-Elmar Tenorth – has shown¹², it is not necessary in contemporary university historiography to choose between narrative history and problem history, as contemporary university historiography is able to synthesise both.

Lebenswege. Universitätsbesucher aus dem Bistum Konstanz im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, Basel, Schwabe, 2007; R.A. Müller, R.C. Schwingers (edd.), *Wissenschaftsfreiheit in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Basel, Schwabe, 2008; R.C. Schwingers (ed.), *Universität im öffentlichen Raum*, Basel, Schwabe, 2008; R.C. Schwingers (ed.), *Universität, Religion und Kirchen*, Basel, Schwabe, 2011; R.C. Schwingers, C. Hesse (edd.), *Professorinnen und Professoren gewinnen. Zur Geschichte des Berufungswesens an den Universitäten Mitteleuropas*, Basel, Schwabe, 2012.

¹⁰ In Austria, a society of specialists in intellectual history was set up as early as 1980 under the name the Austrian Natural Science Association (*Österreichische Gesellschaft für Naturwissenschaften*). In 1992, it was renamed the Austrian Association for Intellectual Science (*Österreichische Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte*) with its annual publication («Mensch – Wissenschaft – Magie: Mitteilungen der österreichischen Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte»).

¹¹ On the «Humboldt myth» see: M.G. Ash (ed.), *Mythos Humboldt. Vergangenheit und Zukunft der deutschen Universitäten*, Wien, Böhlau, 1997; Id., *Bachelor of What, Master of Whom?*, «European Journal of Education», vol. 41, 2006, pp. 245-267; H.-E. Tenorth, *Mythos Humboldt. Eine Notiz zu Funktion und Geltung der großen Erzählung über die Tradition der deutschen Universität*, in C. Behrmann, S. Trinks, M. Bruhn (edd.), *Intuition und Institution. Kursbuch Bredekamp*, Berlin, Akademie, 2012, pp. 69-80; D. Langewiesche, *Die Humboldtsche Universität als nationaler Mythos. Zum Selbstbild der deutschen Universitäten in ihrer Rektoratsreden im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik*, «HZ», vol. 290, 2010, pp. 53-91; Id., *Humboldt als Leitbild? Die deutsche Universität in den Berliner Rektoratsreden seit dem 19. Jahrhundert*, «Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte», vol. 14, 2011, pp. 15-37; S. Paletschek, *Die Erfindung der Humboldtschen Universität. Die Konstruktion der deutschen Universitätsidee in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, «HA», vol. 10, 2002, pp. 183-205; Id., *Verbreitete sich ein «Humboldtsches Modell» an den deutschen Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert?*, in R.C. Schwingers (ed.), *Humboldt International, der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells im 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Basel, Schwabe, 2001, pp. 75-104.

¹² H.-E. Tenorth, *Geschichte der Universität unter den Linden*, 6 Bde, Berlin, Akad.-Verl., 2010.

3. *Tübingen: History writing and the jubilee context*

A jubilee is a reference point in a university's history writing as well as in its historic development. According to Sylvia Paletschek, the anniversary celebration brings into the foreground not only university history, but also its privileged, political, social and cultural position¹³. Anniversary also provide university leadership with an opportunity to make their political preferences public: to express solidarity with the government, or conversely, to oppose its policy¹⁴. During anniversary celebrations, universities open their gates to the outside world in search of image capital. Mathias Kotowski¹⁵ showed in his study that during the Weimar Republic it was the commemorative celebrations that allowed Tübingen University to grow from an isolated corporation into a new public space. This was due in no small part to the 450th anniversary of the University¹⁶.

The historization of daily and scientific discourse is a key aspect of an anniversary celebration. As historian Waldemar Teufel noted on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of Tübingen University, «jubilees are always a reason to look back at the past»¹⁷. Such close attention to history is not accidental. Historical plots, selected and presented in the proper light, conceal a powerful commemorative potential. If properly used, history not only provides spectators or readers with spectacular images, but it also creates a symbolic space, a self-identification factor for society.

¹³ «University jubilees not only highlight the history of the university but also the respective overall political, societal and cultural conditions. University anniversaries never just exhibit a purely commemorative dimension. They simultaneously serve political and economic interests and bring the university and the public into closer contact. In terms of ritual, university anniversaries encourage reflection upon the prevailing self-identity of the institution». Paletschek, *The Writing of University History and University Jubilees: German Examples*, cit., p. 146.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹⁵ M. Kotowski, *Die öffentliche Universität. Veranstaltungskultur der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen in der Weimarer Republik*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 1999.

¹⁶ According to Mathias Kotowski, commemorative culture in the Weimar Republic era included not only university anniversaries, but also a number of anniversary and commemoration dates, some of which were celebrated at regional or even national level. For example, German Empire Foundation Day (*Reichsgründungstag*) day became a national holiday in the Weimar Republic after long discussions that were elicited by the 50th jubilee of the Reich in 1921. In May 1921, the Association of German Universities (*Verband der deutschen Hochschulen*) declared 18 January – the day on which William I, the King of Prussia, was proclaimed German Emperor – as a national holiday. Kotowski, *Die öffentliche Universität. Veranstaltungskultur der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen in der Weimarer Republik*, cit., pp. 45-63; F. Schellack, *Nationalfeiertage in Deutschland von 1871 bis 1945*, Frankfurt am Main, u.a., 1990; D. Lehnert, K. Megerle, *Politische Identität und nationale Gedenktage*, in Id., (ed.), *Politische Identität und nationale Gedenktage. Zur politischen Kultur in der Weimarer Republik*, Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1989, pp. 9-30.

¹⁷ W. Teufel, *Universitas Studii Tuvingensis. Die Tübinger Universitätsverfassung in vorreformatorische Zeit (1477-1534)*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1977, p. 1.

Looking at the jubilee writings from this perspective, we are challenged by two questions: has the evolution of university history writing been the result of freedom of artistic expression on the part of its authors, or has it been initiated by the political authorities or university administration for whom scientific knowledge is only a means rather than an end? When writing that the anniversary's connection with history suggests the latter's dependent position, Vadim Parsamov emphasises one important circumstance as a result of which history loses its «authenticity», becoming a maid-servant of ideology: «By defining 'history' as 'jubilee' or 'official', we acknowledge that this is not history in its original form. The attitude toward such history largely depends on the attitude to official propaganda, which is an important estimation criterion in this case»¹⁸.

In the 19th to the first quarter of the 20th centuries, works dedicated to university histories were an essential part of the commemorative culture of an institution of higher education. A voluminous, several hundred page-long book is certainly not the most effective way to propagandise unity and heroism. A visual and performative component to jubilees – involving parades, exhibits, banquets, and, most importantly, anniversary speeches – accomplishes this task far more efficiently. The organisers of the 1927 celebrations did not ignore the visual. On the second day of the jubilee, for example, a festive rally of professors and students in the central part of the city marched from the main building (*Neue Aula*) to St. George's Collegiate Cathedral (*Stiftskirche St. Georg*)¹⁹. Due to their impermanence, however, festivals cannot retain a long-term illusion of unity. On the other hand, the writings and symbolic spaces created within them can maintain the corporate image for centuries, until the next jubilee. It was precisely for this reason that the anniversary committee (*Jubiläums-Ausschuss*)²⁰ and the Great Senate (*Großer Senat*) exercised editorial control over the official history of the universities.

The Tübingen anniversary of 1927 literally became the invention of tradition²¹. Until that time, the university had celebrated only centenaries.

¹⁸ V. Parsamov, «*Istoriya imperatorskogo Moskovskogo universiteta*». S.P. Shevyreva: *istoricheskiy narrativ v politicheskom kontekste*, Moskva, Izd. dom Vyshei Shkoly Ekonomiki, 2013, p. 3. This article is the best evidence of how the political struggle between Public Education Minister Sergei S. Uvarov, university curator, and Gen. Dmitry P. Buturlin, the 1849 Committee Chairman, was reflected in the anniversary history of Moscow University, published in 1855. The work, published by Prof. Stepan P. Shevyrev served as a historical argument in favour of Uvarov's university policy, which was viewed critically by contemporaries.

¹⁹ See photo of an anniversary rally: Decker-Hauff, Setzler (edd.), *Die Universität Tübingen von 1477 bis 1977 in Bildern und Dokumenten*, cit., pp. 278-279.

²⁰ The committee usually included the pro-rector, the chancellor, the *Universitätsrat* and one professor from each faculty. The committee's composition changed regularly. Normally, preparations for an anniversary took approximately two or three years. The university rector, elected for one year, resigned from the committee upon the expiration of his mandate, and his chair was taken over by his successor.

²¹ Kotowski, *Die öffentliche Universität. Veranstaltungskultur der Eberhard-Karls-Universität*

The idea of celebrating the 450th anniversary was advanced by lobbyists from the university administration that included *Universitätsrat*²² Theodor Knapp and rector Ludwig von Köhler²³. Naturally, this initiative raised questions and enjoyed a mixed reception in the Great Senate²⁴: the first problem to be addressed by the anniversary committee, set up in 1925, was whether it was even necessary to hold an unscheduled celebration given the shortage of funds and the lack of rooms capable of accommodating grand banquets and conferences²⁵. In the book released after the jubilee, Theodor Knapp provided the ideological grounds for holding the ceremony, presenting the year of 1927 as a turning point and a landmark in the history of Tübingen:

We stand on the threshold of a new era that is possibly seen nowhere as clearly as in the institution of higher learning. Does it not make sense to make use of this time and look back on the past to obtain a better view of the future, to understand our current position and thus become stronger? Was it not necessary to restore connections broken or weakened by wartime and the postwar period? And did not the university, like us all, have reason to draw public attention to itself in order not to find itself in oblivion as a modest school, located far from the centres where spiritual and economic life boils and where other educational institutions compete with one another?²⁶

The release of the university history book (*Universitätsgeschichte*) was preceded by reflections and discussions. The archived anniversary committee records reveal that at its second meeting on 21 October 1925, it decided to

Tübingen in der Weimarer Republik, cit., pp. 270-271.

²² One of the most influential officials in university administration, equal to the chancellor in the hierarchy, whose authority was regulated by § 42 of the University Charter dated 5 October 1912.

²³ Ludwig von Köhler was known not only as rector but also as the last Interior Minister of the Württemberg Kingdom. He performed his duties up to the abolition of monarchy in November 1918. About him, see: W. Kohlhaas, *Ludwig von Köhler. Letzter königlich württembergischer Innenminister, Lebensbilder aus Baden-Württemberg*, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, Vol. 18, 1994, pp. 471-485; *150 Jahre Promotion an der Wirtschaftswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Tübingen. Biographien der Doktoren, Ehrendoktoren und Habilitierten 1830 bis 1980*, Stuttgart, Konrad Theiss, 1984, pp. 33, 615, 684.

²⁴ «Professor Schmid hält es für zweckmässig, wenn vor der Einberufung eines Ausschusses die Frage entschieden wird, ob überhaupt eine Feier stattfinden soll». UAT, 117/2003, Nr. 2: Auszug aus den Protokollen des Grossen Senats, 5. Juli 1925, p. 1.

²⁵ UAT, 117/2003 Nr. 2: Akten über Jubiläums-Ausschuss 1925-1927, p. 1.

²⁶ «Wir stehen in einer Zeitwende, die vielleicht nirgends stärker in die Erscheinung tritt als an einer Hochschule. Lag es nicht nahe, den Einschnitt eines halben Jahrhunderts zu kurzem Halt zu benutzen, um sich im Rückblick und Ausblick über den eigenen Standort klar zu wenden und aus dieser besinnlichen Betrachtung neue Kraft zu schöpfen? Galt es nicht, die Fäden, die durch Krieg und Nachkriegszeit gelockert oder zerschnitten wurden, wieder fester oder neu zu knüpfen? Und hatte nicht eine Universität wie die unsrige allen Anlaß, wieder einmal die Aufmerksamkeit der weitesten Öffentlichkeit auf sich zu lenken, um als bescheidene Kleinstadtuniversität weitab von den Brennpunkten des Verkehrs und des geistigen und wirtschaftlichen Lebens im Wettbewerb der Hochschulen nicht in Vergessenheit zu geraten?». *Die Feier des 450jährigen Bestehens der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen vom 24 bis 26 Juli 1927*, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1928, p. 3.

charge the Great Senate with the writing of a historical treatise. The decision was also taken to release a jubilee collection of articles (*Jubiläumsschrift*), each to be written by one of the six faculties. At the following convention of the Great Senate a few days later, it was suggested that the history book be written in several volumes. A Senate member, Prof. Adalbert Wahl, proposed making it a three-volume edition written in chronological order: the first volume would cover university history from 1477 to the Reformation period, the second until the end of the era of Rationalism (this obviously meant from the late 16th to early 18th centuries), and the third volume describing the contemporary period²⁷. According to Wahl's concept, the edition should focus on the evolution of humanitarian disciplines²⁸. Other proposals included releasing an illustrated book (*Bilderband*) to be written by a team of historians, theologians, philologists under the general guidance of the Baden Historical Commission in Stuttgart²⁹.

Interestingly, at the meeting of 18 December 1925, the organisers abandoned their ambitious plans due to a lack of time and money. At the same meeting, the Rector proposed publishing a few works on the faculties' history for the jubilee. His proposal was supported by Prof. Hennig, a committee member representing the department of natural sciences (*Naturwissenschaftliche Fakultät*). At the Chancellor's initiative, it was nonetheless decided to prepare a treatise on the history of the University, entrusting this work to professor of medieval history Johannes Haller³⁰.

But Haller was noncommittal concerning the offer. As little time was left for the preparation of this work, he agreed to write a work on the medieval history that was congenial to him, for which he requested six months' leave³¹. The state

²⁷ UAT, 117/2003, Nr. 2: Auszug aus den Protokollen des Grossen Senats, 26. Oktober 1925, p. 2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.* The Baden Historical Commission (Badische Historische Kommission) operated in Stuttgart from 1883 to 1941. The 1954 newly established Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde is the successor to the Badische Historische Kommission (1883-1941), the Oberrheinische Historische Kommission (1941-1945) and the Württembergische Kommission für Landesgeschichte (1891-1954). It is comprised of a maximum of 60 appointed members resident and active in the State, and an unlimited number of corresponding members from Baden-Württemberg, other States and neighbouring countries.

³⁰ J. Haller is recognised as one of the brightest historians of the first half of the 20th century. His major work is a four-volume history of the papacy that was published between 1934 and 1945. In the early 1950s, the serial edition was complemented by the fifth volume. J. Haller, *Das Papsttum: Idee und Wirklichkeit*, in 5 Bde, Urah-Stuttgart, Port.-Verl., 1950-1953. About Haller, see: H. Müller, *Der bewunderte Erbfeind. Johannes Haller, Frankreich und französische Spätmittelalter*, «HZ», vol. 252, 1991, pp. 265-317; H.-E. Volkmann, *Von Johannes Haller zu Reinhard Wittram. Deutschbaltische Historiker und der Nationalsozialismus*, «Zeitschrift für Geschichte», vol. 45, 1997, pp. 21-46; S. Kaudelka, *Johannes Haller. Frankreich und französische Geschichte aus der Sicht eines Deutschbalten*, in U. Pfeil (ed.), *Das Deutsche Historische Institut Paris und seine Gründungsväter. Ein personengeschichtlicher Ansatz*, München, Oldenbourg, 2007, pp. 178-197.

³¹ UAT, 117/2003, Nr. 2: Akten über Jubiläums-Ausschuss 1925-1927, pp. 9-10.

initially was expected to incur all expenses involved in the publication of this work. At the Great Senate meeting on 26 October 1925, Haller and other like-minded persons openly claimed that the state must view the publication of the *Universitätsgeschichte* «as its honourable duty»³².

As the meetings minutes demonstrate, the date of release of the *Universitätsgeschichte* was very important to the setting of the anniversary dates, since the book was due to come out by the beginning of the jubilee. In Haller's words, publication earlier than late July was not possible, taking into account the proof-reading and printing that would take at least two months. As a result, the Senate set the anniversary dates at 24 through 26 July 1927. This was certainly done in view of the preparations of the Marburg University jubilee that were currently underway. Its organisers had decided to move the celebration date to the end of the academic term³³. Still, this decision was due in no small part to the book release dates, since the book needed to be published before the anniversary celebration. From the very beginning of the anniversary preparations, the Tübingen University leadership wished to release a good historical work, but its form and chronology constantly changed due to pragmatic considerations.

Researchers need to keep these things in mind in order to understand the circumstances in which such a work was created. Sometimes information of this sort is more valuable than source study materials. It, for example, helps reveal disagreements or conflicts between the various sides. I discovered one such disagreement in the minutes of 17 June dedicated to a very specific, formal problem. At this meeting, J. Haller raised a question concerning whether the work he was going to write should contain a reference to the Great Senate if he did not receive any official orders from the Senate to write the jubilee history³⁴. Haller wanted to write the work on his own behalf, and dedicate it to the university. This idea was opposed by the pro-rector and chancellor, who claimed that reference should be made to the Great Senate that directly took part in the anniversary preparations³⁵. As a result, the front page of the book

³² UAT, 117/2003, Nr. 2: Auszug aus den Protokollen des Grossen Senats, 26. Oktober 1925, p. 2.

³³ *Ibid.*, 15 Juli 1926, p. 774; UAT, 117/2003, Nr. 1. Anniversary committee minutes show that when setting the anniversary timeframe and drawing up the programme, the organisers often took into account other universities' experience. Unfortunately, no studies of the 1927 and 1977 anniversaries have been written to date that thoroughly explore all the preparations for the jubilees and their perceptions. M. Kotowski's work, with all its scientific accomplishments and well considered concept, highlights the 1927 anniversary only on several pages, mostly based on one anniversary edition that was released in 1928 under the editorship of T. Knapp, which itself is a summary of major events, dates and names, an attempt to commemorate the July events in a book. See: *Die Feier des 450jährigen Bestehens der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen vom 24 bis 26 Juli 1927*, cit.

³⁴ UAT, 117/2003, Nr. 2: Akten über Jubiläums-Ausschuß 1925-1927, 17. Juli 1926, p. 11.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

carries the inscription that it was written by Prof. J. Haller at the request of the Senate³⁶.

4. *Characters and intrigues: Jubilee history as a narrative*

Until now, I have avoided applying the term «narrative» to university histories. I did so intentionally, since not all writing is a narrative. Problematisation of texts in terms of narratology can be done in different ways depending on the concepts preferred by the researcher: the ideas of Frank Ankersmit, Arthur Danto, Paul Ricoeur, Hayden White, etc.

Here, by way of a specific example, I will attempt to outline several perspectives that open up before the historian when using the theoretical approaches of narrativists in analysing university historiography. I will focus on the ideas of Paul Ricoeur. In his reflections, he proceeds from the dichotomy of explanation and narrative, concealing the complex relationship between two historiographic genres – narrative history and problem history – answering the question ‘why?’³⁷. It is from this perspective that one should view the demarcation of academic and popular university history writing that became relevant after the professionalisation of university history in the 20th and early 21st centuries.

J. Haller’s work *The Origin of Tübingen University 1477-1537* («Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen 1477-1537») is a three hundred page-long book embracing the period from 1477, the year the university was founded, to 1537. In his memoirs Haller admits that this was his favourite work. He named as one of its accomplishments the reconstruction of the image of medieval Tübingen which he admired³⁸. A first glance at the book’s content leaves no doubt that the author intended to cover the university’s history from different perspectives, thus highlighting its inner diversity. In the first part of the book, Haller consistently describes the foundation of the university and all the characters who played a major role in this process³⁹. In the second part, he moves to exploring academic life, reconstructing the social and institutional

³⁶ J. Haller, *Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen 1477-1537. Zur Feier des 450jährigen Bestehens der Universität im Auftrag ihres Grossen Senats dargestellt*, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1927.

³⁷ In the first volume of his *Time and Story*, Paul Ricoeur explores the possibilities and limits of historical knowledge as well as the intelligibility of narrative. The challenge to event history made by the followers of the Annals school become for Ricoeur the starting point for his further speculations on the status of event as such and the narrative opportunities of social history. P. Ricoeur, *Vremya i rasskaz, Moskva/Sankt-Peterburg. Universitetskaya kniga*, Vol. 1, 1998, pp. 114-130.

³⁸ J. Haller, *Lebenserinnerungen. Gesehenes – Gehörtes – Gedachtes*, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1960, p. 268.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-50.

history of the school: the university's charter, the structure of the faculties and chairs, the main administrative positions, its economic development, daily life)⁴⁰. The third part of the work focuses on the biographies of scholars⁴¹. The author admits that it was more important for him to show the university's role in the history of science and education, which – in his view – was possible only by presenting a collective portrait of the academic community of that time⁴². Finally, in the fourth part, the scholars' biographies are embedded in the event history of the early 16th century, a period of collision between the scholastic traditions and humanism⁴³. The book ends with the beginning of the Reformation period, which is described very briefly.

Haller's work is a compound work in which we can distinguish several specific features. The author's intention to present the university as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, showing its social and intellectual aspects, looks innovative and ambitious for its time, the early 20th century. Contemporary scholars R. vom Bruch and S. Paletchek defend the professionalisation of contemporary university studies, highlighting the need to present the university as an institution that produces and translates scientific knowledge⁴⁴. Even in the early 21st century, this task is extremely difficult for historians to accomplish in view of the poorly developed disciplines and the university sciences in general. Due to the inadequate qualifications of its authors, a story on scientific achievements easily turns into a collection of biographical sketches⁴⁵. Haller also fell into this trap. He does not deny that he wished to write a story dedicated to the life of Tübingen professors and to show their role in the development of the university's intellectual life⁴⁶. As a result, the entire third part of the book is a chain of biographies (physicians, lawyers, theologians, students), with each chain being a story that features the labours and discoveries of various scholars. The author clearly is more disposed to some of his characters than to others,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-121.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-247.

⁴² «Was sie gewesen und getan hat, ist vor allem insoweit wissenswert, wie es Antwort gibt auf die Frage: was hat sie für die Wissenschaft ihrer Zeit und der Nachwelt, was für den Unterricht, für die Hebung des geistigen Durchschnitts in ihrem Wirkungskreis, für die Verbreitung von Kenntnissen und Bildung bedeutet? Beides ist in erster Linie eine Geschichte ihrer Lehrer. Suchen wir uns also von den Männern ein Bild zu verschaffen, die an der Tübinger Universität im ersten Menschenalter ihres Bestehens gelehrt haben». Haller, *Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen 1477-1537. Zur Feier des 450jährigen Bestehens der Universität im Auftrag ihres Grossen Senats dargestellt*, cit., p. 125.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 249-341.

⁴⁴ Bruch, *Methoden und Schwerpunkte der neueren Universitätsgeschichtsforschung*, cit., p. 10; Paletschek, *The Writing of University History and University Jubilees: German Examples*, cit., p. 148.

⁴⁵ Paletschek, *The Writing of University History and University Jubilees: German Examples*, cit., p. 148.

⁴⁶ Haller, *Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen 1477-1537. Zur Feier des 450jährigen Bestehens der Universität im Auftrag ihres Grossen Senats dargestellt*, cit., p. 125.

which is evidenced by the sketch size and the epithets chosen. Examples include the biographies of physician Johannes Widman⁴⁷, theologian Gabriel Biel⁴⁸ and an almost hagiographic description of the first rector and chancellor Johann Vergenhans⁴⁹.

The issue of intellectual biographies I touched upon above opens up a different perspective from which we can approach research into university history. This concerns the scale of the narrative – the limits on the representation of the past chosen by the author. This problem is closely associated with narratology, in particular the narrative opportunities of historical stories and counterpoising event history, and their relation to «longue durée» history.

We find at least two narrative levels in Haller's work. The first level is a traditional story written in the event history genre, in which the main character is a real person such as Eberhard V, Pope Sixtus IV, Philipp Melancton, etc. The character is one of the implications introduced by Paul Ricoeur when writing about the «narrative identification» of a historical story. The character is always at the centre of event history; he is a potential actor who sets the plot in motion. But the narrative character is not necessarily a living person: «the notion 'personage' understood as the one who performs action, does not necessarily suggest that the personage will be an individual [...]. The personage can be anyone who is described in the narrative as a grammatical subject of the predicate of action in the basic declarative sentence 'X makes R'»⁵⁰. Freedom of defining the subject opens up an opportunity for the author to use collective substances as rightful action participants. These very substances constitute the second level of narrative, in which the university is described as the acting subject. As a result of the author's strategy, an impression is created that the academic institution is capable of acting as an integral totality, on a par with other characters⁵¹. Ricoeur terms this subject a «quasi personage»⁵².

The presence of such collective substances is typical for academic discourses in the field of microhistory – the history of nations, empires, civilizations, states, etc. In such cases, loyalty to 'methodological individualism' would make it impossible to embrace global processes, forcing researchers to resort to the creation of generalising constructions. In this case, each of these is likened to an individual⁵³. This method is employed in order to create a simplified image of the university as an integral totality, removing it from the context of complex social and professional relations at the level of faculties, chairs, student

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-140.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-156.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-19, 251 ff.

⁵⁰ Ricoeur, *Vremya i rasskaz*, cit., p. 228.

⁵¹ Haller, *Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen 1477-1537. Zur Feier des 450jährigen Bestehens der Universität im Auftrag ihres Grossen Senats dargestellt*, cit., p. 328.

⁵² Ricoeur, *Vremya i rasskaz*, cit., p. 228-229.

⁵³ Haller, *Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen 1477-1537. Zur Feier des 450jährigen Bestehens der Universität im Auftrag ihres Grossen Senats dargestellt*, cit., pp. 20-43.

associations, leadership, etc. Haller, however, is not consistent in applying this method. He uses it mostly in introductory and concluding descriptions⁵⁴. For the rest, his book is distinguished by constantly changing scopes, from institutions to specific characters and vice versa. This narrative reconstruction creates a multidimensional history of the university that prevents it being perceived as a homogeneous body.

Another implication emphasised by Ricoeur is intrigue, in which «event» acts as a variable. In his book *Memory, History, Forgetting*, Ricoeur defines «event» as «any incoordination coming into collision with coordination of action»⁵⁵. Event is caesura, which in historical representation symbolises the acceleration of social time⁵⁶, concealing in itself a fateful value for the next plot, thus ensuring the narrative consistency of the story. Michael Stolleis adds an important note saying that caesuras are the markers of historiography⁵⁷. Their selection and description are the privilege of the storyteller; it is precisely through caesuras that we can understand the nuances of the author's perception of the past. For university history writing, the «caesuras problem» is relevant in the light of the above-mentioned changes in the scopes of the narratives and the presence of different levels within them, each having its own intrigues. These, for example, might be political events affecting the whole nation, including universities (wars, revolutions, rebellions, epidemics, reforms, etc.) or events that can be observed only at the level of university history writing because their consequences do not go beyond the limits of an academic corporation or even the life of one of its members.

In Haller's book, the interconnection of the narrative scopes can be seen in the examples of the caesuras he describes. Caesuras of the second level are global events that have recently become commonplace in studies of the Middle Ages and early contemporary history: the humanism era (late 14th-early 15th centuries), the plague epidemic in 1482-1483, and the Reformation, before which the author ends his story. One way or another, these events influenced the fate of the higher schools: humanism created a new generation of professors and served as the impetus for change⁵⁸, the plague killed many people⁵⁹, while the Reformation is termed none other than the «new foundation» (*Neugründung*) of the university⁶⁰. Concurrent with this, the narrative includes the first level

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 208 ff., 338-341.

⁵⁵ P. Ricoeur, *Pamyat, istoria, zabvenie*, Moskva, Izd-vo gum. lit., 2004.

⁵⁶ Ricoeur, *Vremya i rasskaz*, cit., p. 121.

⁵⁷ M. Stolleis, *Der lange Abschied vom 19. Jahrhundert. Die Zäsur von 1914 aus rechtshistorischer Perspektive*, Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1997, p. 5.

⁵⁸ Haller, *Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen 1477-1537. Zur Feier des 450jährigen Bestehens der Universität im Auftrag ihres Grossen Senats dargestellt*, cit., pp. 314-316.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁶⁰ «Was sich da seit dem Winter 1534 abgespielt hatte, war mehr als eine Reform, es war eigentlich eine Neugründung. Blieben die äußeren Formen auch die alten, so war mit den neuen Männern doch ein neuer Geist eingezogen, und die neuen Lehrpläne sorgten dafür». *Ibid.*, p. 340.

caesuras that can be seen only from the perspective of university history. These include the 1534 fire that destroyed the main building and many records⁶¹, and the resignation of J. Fergenhans as university chancellor in 1509⁶². According to Haller, the chancellor's retirement and death initiated a period of decline for the university. To single out this historical landmark, Haller – having mentioned the chancellor's death – described his intellectual legacy⁶³.

The correlation of caesuras can be productive not only within university historiography, but also when comparing, for example, the history of a university with the history of a region, county or even a nation. Searching for such common points would help embed university history into other historical subdisciplines and reveal possible connections between different levels of history writing.

5. The university commemoration: 1914-1918 war image in the jubilee rhetoric

J. Haller's historical narrative focusing on the early history of Tübingen University – with the emphasis on an academic community versus an educational institution – contrasts sharply with anniversary speeches, which are a different kind of commemorative writing. The major theme of the 1927 public addresses was the First World War and its aftermath. It was on the lips of almost all who spoke on 24 July at the opening of a children's clinic that was a part of the anniversary program, and on 25 July in St. George Collegiate Church. Wilhelm Trendelenburg gave a speech dedicated to the memory of those killed in action during the war. Below is a citation from his address:

It was only yesterday that we commemorated them, standing by the memorial. There, their names will be passed down to the following generations. But even here, we realise what they mean for us, but even here we promise with unyielding dedication and tireless loyalty to the nation and the Motherland to remember and value the sacrifice they made! [...] Neither professors, nor students – none of those who with eagerness and endurance went through this war, will be forgotten. Today, these people are an example for our generation. We are grateful to all who fought and shed blood for our Fatherland⁶⁴.

⁶¹ Haller, *Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen 1477-1537. Zur Feier des 450jährigen Bestehens der Universität im Auftrag ihres Grossen Senats dargestellt*, cit., Vol. V, p. 133.

⁶² «Das Leben einer Republik läßt sich nicht nach Herrscherperioden gliedern. Und doch wird in der Geschichte der Tübinger Universität ein neuer Abschnitt bezeichnet durch das Zurücktreten und schließliche Verschwinden des Mannes, der sie mit klugem Rat und sicherer Tatkraft schaffen geholfen und ihr ein Menschenalter lang sorgsame Aufsicht gewidmet hatte. Die Tage des Kanzlers Vergenhans neigten sich ihrem Ende zu». *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 251 ff.

⁶⁴ «Schon gestern haben wir ihrer am Gefallenendenkmal gedacht. Ihre Namen wurden dort der Nachwelt überliefert. Aber auch hier sind wir dessen eingedenk, was sie für uns waren, und auch

The duty to remember the dead mentioned by Trendelenburg acquires heroic overtones, with the sacrifice made on the battlefield becoming sacred. Not all the speeches concerning the war were mournful. Some were very critical of the postwar political system and the victor countries' policy towards Germany. For example, Prof. K. Heim said the following in his speech of 24 July:

Deeply imbued with the feelings of sorrow and gratitude, we are here to speak with them (with the fallen – O.M.) alone and gain strength to struggle for high ideals. Can we find a better example to follow than those who, not yet having reached the age of thirteen, voluntarily went to the front? The present generation of students was too young then to answer the call of our Fatherland in those great inspiring days. [...] Economic scarcity on the front and in the rear constantly threatened to defeat the German people's almost unshakable will for victory. After four years of battles, it was broken in a battle with external and internal enemies, and over time, we felt the Versailles dictate hanging over us, a dictate that deprived us of opportunities to live and of economic and cultural prosperity⁶⁵.

Other speeches were also imbued with patriotic pathos. Prof. Bebermeyer spoke, for example, of «German heroism»⁶⁶. General Eberhard von Hofacker, speaking on behalf of the German armed forces, urged students, professors and guests to put together the remaining pieces of German «patriotic spirit» («vaterländischer Geist»)⁶⁷ and keep them within the university walls as a «great treasure that we have inherited from the former Germany»⁶⁸. The speeches by retired representative of the German War Graves Commission (*Volksbund Deutscher Kriegsgräberfürsorge*) Lt.-Gen. von Baron von Brand and Ellenbeck, a deputy of the Reichstag⁶⁹, were in a similar spirit. The presence

hier geloben wir, durch unbeugsamen Fleiß, durch unermüdliche Hingabe an Volk, Heimat und Vaterland des Opfers wert zu sein, das sie uns brachten! [...] Jedem akademischen Lehrer werden der Fleiß und die Arbeitsfreude der damaligen durch den Krieg gereiften Schüler unvergeßlich sein, welche der heutigen Generation zum Vorbild dienen müssen. Auch ihnen, die für das Vaterland kämpften und bluteten und die uns ein gütiges Geschick zurückführte, sei hier gedankt». *Festrede gehalten zur 450 Jahrfeier der Universität Tübingen beim Festakt in der Stiftskirche am 25. Juli 1927 von Prof. W. Trendelenburg*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1927, p. 12.

⁶⁵ «Tief erfüllt von dem Gefühl der Wehmut und des Dankes stehen wir hier, um in stiller Einkehr und Zwiesprache mit ihnen uns neue Kraft für den Kampf um die hohen Ideale zu holen, für die sie in den Tod gegangen sind. Könnten wir denn auch bessere Vorbilder finden als jene, die vor nun 13 Jahren als Kriegsfreiwillige in den Kampf gezogen sind? Wir, die heutige Studentengeneration, waren ja damals noch zu jung, um in jenen großen Tagen der Begeisterung dem Rufe des Vaterlandes Folge zu leisten. [...] Die wirtschaftliche Not vor und hinter der Front lief immer wieder Sturm gegen den festen und schier unerschütterlichen Siegeswillen des deutschen Volkes. Nach vier Jahren heißesten Ringens unterlag es im Kampfe gegen äußere und innere Feinde und kurze Zeit darauf mußten wir es erleben, daß das Versailler Diktat, das uns jede Lebensmöglichkeit und das Wiederaufblühen unserer Wirtschaft und unseres kulturellen Seins nehmen sollte, über uns verhängt». *Die Feier des 450jährigen Bestehens der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen vom 24 bis 26 Juli 1927*, cit., p. 23.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

of military officers at the jubilee was not merely evidence of respect for those who had fought on the front. The armed forces and the university were seen as communities loyal to the old values. As Dieter Langewiesche notes, these institutes were associated with hopes for reconstructing the country, and were presented in this light at the 1927 anniversary⁷⁰.

Public discontent with the new political system was not uncommon in postwar Germany, and intellectuals were no exception. The financial problems of the new – yet weak – state drastically affected the daily lives of students and professors. Professors' salaries were not sufficient to even buy food and essentials; traineeships and foreign trips could not be afforded, books and instructional materials were a luxury, while the fee charged for publishing articles in academic journals soared. State support programmes for talented scientists, and individual donations were unable to improve the situation⁷¹.

Social instability engendered nationalist and militaristic feelings within the university environment. Nostalgic feelings for the lost imperial grandeur grew, anti-Semitism was rampant, while the country, in its new democratic form, was perceived as «the victim of demagogues and blabbers, saturated with the lowness of vulgar instincts, with the passion of the envious, of outcasts, and of the disinherited»⁷². All who openly held non-conformist views and felt emboldened to denounce ostentatious rhetoric and ignorance, risked their jobs: «The anti-republican hysteria of professors and students continually led to incidents. Whenever a lecturer expressed anything resembling pacifist or Marxist views, there was a student riot against him, particularly if he was Jewish»⁷³.

Germany's new international status was perceived as a national humiliation by students and professors, who thus did not have warm feelings for the new political regime and the victor countries. The conservative part of the academic community was enslaved in revisionism: «They did not hesitate to clear their own nation of all responsibility for the failure of diplomacy in 1914. They continued, moreover, to defend the German recourse to unlimited submarine warfare and their agitating against a negotiated peace. Many of them actually argued that Germany had lost the war because its civilian leaders had defeatist sentiments due to their adherence to an insufficiently inclusive war aims

⁷⁰ D. Langewiesche, *Die Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen in der Weimarer Republik. Kriesenerfahrung und Distanz zur Demokratie an deutschen Universitäten*, «Zeitschrift für württembergischer Landesgeschichte», vol. 51, 1992, p. 374.

⁷¹ E.K. Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarines: The Academic Community in Germany, 1890-1933*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1969, pp. 62 ff. See also: A. Weber, *Not der geistigen Arbeiter*, München-Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 1923; G. Schreiber, *Die Not der deutschen Wissenschaft und geistigen Arbeiter: Geschehnisse und Gedanken zur Kulturpolitik des deutschen Reiches*, Leipzig, Quelle Meyer, 1923.

⁷² Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarines: The Academic Community in Germany, 1890-1933*, cit., pp. 214-215.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

programme»⁷⁴. Tübingen professors also shared such feelings; at the outbreak of the war, they justified its fair character and strengthened national patriotism⁷⁵. For that matter, J. Haller was one of the most fruitful military publicists and an «uncompromising annexationist» in his political views⁷⁶.

After the military defeat in the November Revolution of 1918-1919, Haller and others categorically denied Germany's responsibility for unleashing the war⁷⁷. For example, Prof. Wahl, whom I mentioned above, wrote in his article published in «Württembergische Hochschul-Zeitung» prior to the jubilee: «We must go on the offensive instead of defending ourselves. And, certainly, not with the purpose of proving that other countries than Germany were also responsible for launching this war. Many so-called 'Germans' still stick to such statements, in order not to deprive the revolution of the last remnants of morality. Germany must not feel blame for this war!»⁷⁸. Needless to say, amid such patriotic calls, contempt for the republic and the idealisation of Germany under the Kaisers only grew stronger. Thus, Trendelenburg stated in his speech:

The beginning of the last half century that we want to focus on was in the first place a happy time for consolidating power and economic growth in our Fatherland. Under the reign of our wise rulers that we gratefully recall today, the university was able to peacefully go forward and resolve many relevant problems that emerged as economic demands increased and the number of students grew⁷⁹.

Trendelenburg's nostalgia for the lost empire was accompanied by his rejection of new trends in the higher educational system. The attractive past was opposed to ugly modernity:

The postwar changes that I mentioned could prove significant for some universities. Many thought that all that was ancient was in need of renewal and change, only because it

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁷⁵ Langewiesche, *Die Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen in der Weimarer Republik. Krisenerfahrung und Distanz zur Demokratie an deutschen Universitäten*, cit., pp. 368-371.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

⁷⁷ See, for example, Haller's speeches, published in 1934: J. Haller, *Reden und Aufsätze zur Geschichte und Politik*, Stuttgart-Berlin, Cotta, 1934, in partic. pp. 311-343.

⁷⁸ «Wir müssen offensiv vorgehen und uns nicht verteidigen, natürlich auch nicht mit dem elenden Ziel, nur die 'Nichtalleinschuld' Deutschlands zu erweisen, eine Formulierung, an der ja freilich noch viele 'Deutsche' festhalten, um der Revolution nicht jeden Rest von moralischer Berechtigung zu nehmen. Deutschland trägt überhaupt keine Kriegsschuld!» (in «Württembergische Hochschul-Zeitung», Neue Folge, Nr. 6, 15. Juni, p. 7).

⁷⁹ «Der Beginn der letzten 50 Jahre, auf die wir in erster Linie unseren Blick richten wollen, lag in einer glücklichen Zeit der aufstrebenden Macht und wirtschaftlichen Größe unseres Vaterlandes. Unter der Regierung weiser Fürsten, derer wir heute in Dankbarkeit gedenken, konnte auch die Universität sich ruhig entfalten und konnten viele Aufgaben gelöst werden, die sich mit dem Fortschreiten der wissenschaftlichen Bedürfnisse und mit der starken Zunahme der Zahl der Studierenden von selbst ergaben, die sich unserer schönen Hochschule zuwendeten». *Festrede gehalten zur 450 Jahrfeier der Universität Tübingen beim Festakt in der Stiftskirche am 25. Juli 1927*, cit., p. 11.

related to the prewar period, ‘the old times’. But, fortunately, the healthy, peaceful and understanding attitude of the people of Württemberg saved us from dangerous experiments in higher education. Here is our unmistakable position: keeping to old principles when they stand the test of time, and being critical of all that is new by examining whether this novelty was due to fashion or the political establishment, which may not be allowed to affect university life⁸⁰.

The speaker’s scepticism concerning the new times betrays his hidden discontent with the democratisation of higher education. Calls for independence were voiced by the academic community even during the war when military operations were well underway and no one could imagine the forthcoming revolution of 1918-19 and the abolition of the German monarchy. «More self-management! More freedom to set up small unions! First of all, more faith that such unions would be capable of independent development, not to the detriment, but in the best interests of our country», said rector Wilhelm von Blume on 25 February 1917⁸¹. But given the devastation, numerous victims, inflation and the contributions that Germany was bound to pay under the terms of the «disgraceful Versailles Treaty»⁸², these words did not elicit compassion from the defendants of the old order, nor did they arouse approval for the democratic innovations that the Weimar Republic brought with it.

Conclusions

Researching the 1927 anniversary has revealed two lines of self-representation that the university pursued via the historical plots. The first line – searching for identity through the events of medieval history – is presented in Haller’s narrative and is based on the events of the university’s early history. As Haller admits in his memoirs, most important for him was to show his love for Tübingen and to convey his fascination with medieval historical images. The university image he

⁸⁰ «Die Veränderungen, welche ich nach dem Kriege ergaben, mögen an manchen Universitäten einschneidender gewesen sein. Viele glaubten, daß alles Alte nur deshalb schon, weil es aus der ‘alten Zeit’ vor dem Kriege stammt, zu erneuern und zu verändern sei. Der gesunde, ruhige und verständige Sinn des Württembergischen Volkes hat uns glücklicherweise vor gefährlichen Experimenten im Universitätswesen bewahrt. Es ist mit Recht unser unbeirrbarer Standpunkt, am Alten festzuhalten, wenn es sich bewährte, und alles Neue der strengen kritischen Betrachtung zu unterziehen, ob es nicht nur der Mode oder der politischen Einstellung entspringt, welche beide im Universitätswesen niemals Platz finden dürfen». *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁸¹ «Mehr Selbstverwaltung! Mehr Freiheit für die Bildung kleiner Verbände. Vor allem: Mehr Vertrauen zu der Fähigkeit dieser Verbände sich selbständig zu entwickeln, nicht zum Nachteil, sondern zum Vorteil des Staates». *Rede des neuen Rektors Professor Dr. Ludwig v. Köhler, in Reden bei der Rektoratsübergabe am 30. April 1925*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1925, p. 10.

⁸² Langewiesche, *Die Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen in der Weimarer Republik. Kriesenerfahrung und Distanz zur Demokratie an deutschen Universitäten*, cit., p. 372.

created is very dynamic. Two narrative levels are present that can be identified through events and characters. The first level is local history writing featuring the institutional and social history of the university and the biographies of students, professors and the administration organically embedded within it. The second level shows Tübingen University as an independent subject of narration acting alongside other living characters. At this level, events develop locally, nationally and even globally, but still affect the university itself.

This second line is the jubilee rhetoric, with contemporary history at its core. A similar tonality present in all anniversary speeches indicates that in the days of the Weimar Republic, the university's leadership clearly felt the need to construct a single space of meanings. This symbolic space was created at the expense of the 1914-1918 war, which was depicted as a landmark separating the ideal «yesterday» from the gloomy and ugly «today». This shows how a global – not a local – event becomes a source of momentum for unity, and the major ideological element of the university anniversary. Thus, the jubilee discourse participants articulated the traumatised people's memory of the recent catastrophe. Romanticisation of the 1914-1918 war, heroization of Germany under the Kaisers, and a lack of repentance for unleashing the war were typical for the intellectuals of the Weimar Republic times. One might say that the 1927 anniversary context was determined by revisionist sentiments that reigned in many educational institutions in Germany during the 1920s.

Researching university history in terms of narratology is a promising approach to university history writing. First, it is important to realise how closely university history writing is associated with national history writing, not only in terms of caesuras, characters and common research approaches, but also in terms of moral evaluations. Second, contemporary narratology has made great advances in researching different types of historical descriptions and the intelligibility of narrative as a way of representation. Both theoretical research results could contribute to an evaluation of the scientific potential of jubilee narratives and solving the problem of demarcating scientific and popular genres of university history writing, or deciding whether such is even necessary. The approbation of theories and approaches of allied subdisciplines could advance university research to a new level.

Preserving the identity, building the tradition

The annual reports for the inauguration of the academic year as a source for the history of Italian universities: the case of the University of Macerata

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ABSTRACT: From the National unification (1861), the *annual reports* presented by the Deans of the Italian Universities on the occasion of the solemn inaugurations of the academic years have been a source of primary importance not only to understand the planning quality and the political and university strategies pursued by the different Deans, but also to trace the evolution of the single universities and clarify their inner life and the events relating to the scientific and cultural life and to the teaching and training activity. Through the analysis of the *annual reports* of the Deans of the University of Macerata referring to the period between the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the following century, the A. shows how this source had a central role in redefining the identity and in preserving the academic traditions of the Italian universities.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; University Studies; Italy; XIX-XX Centuries.

The Deans' annual reports presented on the occasion of the solemn inauguration of the academic years are undoubtedly a source of primary importance not only to understand the planning quality and the political and university strategies pursued by the different Deans, but also to trace the evolution of the single universities and to clarify their inner life and the events relating to the scientific and cultural life and to the teaching and training activity.

It is not by chance that, over the past two decades, while on the one hand there has been an increasing and systematic use of this source by university and

higher education historians¹, on the other hand we have seen the publication – sometimes in very accurate scientific editions – of organic collection of annual reports by Deans from different Italian universities, with a particular reference to the post-unification phase of the nineteenth century and the to the following century².

It is from the national unification period, in fact, that the solemn celebration of the inauguration of the new academic year were made compulsory in the various universities³ by the general regulations on higher and university education gradually issued by the Ministry of Education. At the same time, these regulations contributed to the definition of the characteristics of the Deans' annual reports, basing them on a dynamic model intended to record a significant evolution in the nineteenth and twentieth century: from a simple and essential «report on the trend of the studies» of the previous academic year (news about the courses and the teaching body's activities, data on enrollments and on students' examinations and degree exams, professors' movements etc...) to a real opportunity to reflect and drew a comparison (destined to go beyond the traditionally exclusive areas of the academic assembly to be opened to the surrounding environment) not only on the internal dynamics, on the universities' teaching and scientific activity, on the results obtained and on the developing projects, but also on the choices made by Parliament and by national governments in the field of university and higher education and also on national and international political events.

¹ See G. Fois (ed.), *L'Università di Sassari nell'Italia liberale. Dalla Legge Casati alla rinascita dell'età giolittiana nelle relazioni annuali dei rettori*, Sassari, Centro interdisciplinare per la storia dell'Università di Sassari, 1991. But also see: G.P. Brizzi (ed.), *L'Università italiana fra età moderna e contemporanea. Aspetti e momenti*, Bologna, Clueb, 1991; I. Porciani (ed.), *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, Napoli, Jovene, 1994; A. Romano (ed.), *Università in Europa, Le istituzioni universitarie dal Medioevo ai nostri giorni: struttura, organizzazione, funzionamento. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Milazzo, 28 settembre-2 ottobre 1993)*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 1995.

² As an example, see: F. Marra, L. Sichirolo (edd.), *Relazioni dei rettori e discorsi inaugurali dei docenti nella Libera Università degli Studi di Urbino (1864-1967)*, Urbino, Università degli Studi, 1997-1998, 4 voll.; M. Martirano (ed.), *Le relazioni dei rettori dell'Università degli studi di Napoli Federico II (1862-2001)*, Napoli, Fridericiana Editrice, 2003; A. Cova (ed.), *Storia dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Le fonti. Volume I: I discorsi di inizio anno da Agostino Gemelli a Adriano Bausola 1921/22-1997/98*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2007; V. Marzi (ed.), *Azioni ed opere dell'Università di Bari nelle relazioni annuali dei rettori. 1925-2005*, Bari, M. Adda, 2009; L. Pomante (ed.), *L'Università di Macerata nell'Italia unita (1861-1966). Un secolo di storia dell'ateneo maceratese attraverso le relazioni inaugurali dei rettori e altre fonti archivistiche e a stampa*, Macerata, eum, 2012.

³ See, in particular: R.D. September 14th, 1862, n. 842 – *Regolamento generale universitario* (C. Matteucci); R.D. October 6th, 1868, n. 4638 – *Regolamento generale per le università del regno* (E. Broglio); R.D. October 3rd, 1875, n. 2728 – *Regolamento generale universitario* (R. Bonghi); R.D. October 8th, 1876, n. 3434 – *Regolamento generale universitario* (M. Coppino); R.D. April 13th, 1902, n. 127 – *Regolamento generale universitario* (N. Nasi). See also: *Indice dei discorsi inaugurali letti nelle università del regno*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione» [subsequently: BUMPI], 1889, pp. 123-172.

It's worth mentioning also the increasing attention paid to the Deans' annual reports, especially with reference to the so-called *minor universities* and to the small provincial universities, to the relationship with the local political and administrative institutions and to the socio-economic and productive realities working on the territory: a relationship, useless to say, essential for many reasons, due to the partial or total exclusion of most of the Italian minor universities from state funding and their consequent dependence on economic supports annually given, through the creation of special university consortia, by local authorities and the major territorial credit and productive realities⁴.

The collection of the annual reports of the Deans of the University of Macerata for the solemn inauguration of the new academic year refers, broadly, to the period following the unification of Italy (1861), the long and controversial season that saw the ancient *Studium Generale Maceratense* gradually deprived of most of the pre-unitary faculties and special courses⁵ and, for nearly a century, forced into the status of being the only Italian university having one faculty, that of Law; a condition, that would have continued until the mid-sixties of the twentieth century, and, in particular, until Prof. Giuseppe Lavaggi's rectorate (1960-1966), during which a second faculty, that of Liberal Arts (1964), was established, in addition to that of Law survived from the post-unitary suppressions.

The series of the annual reports of the Deans of the University of Macerata presents, for the period under consideration, i.e. the 150 years following national unification, two 'gaps' difficult to be filled. The first is that of the period immediately following the Italian unification and, more specifically, the years from 1861 to 1878, during which the University of Macerata – the only 'royal' or 'governmental' university of the Marche, due to Camerino and Urbino

⁴ On minor universities in united Italy see in particular: I. Porciani, *La questione delle piccole università dall'unificazione agli anni Ottanta*, in M. Da Passano (ed.), *Le Università minori in Italia nel XIX secolo*, Sassari, Centro interdisciplinare per la storia dell'Università di Sassari, 1993, pp. 9-18; G.P. Brizzi, *Le Università minori in Italia in età moderna*, in Romano (ed.), *Università in Europa, Le istituzioni universitarie dal Medioevo ai nostri giorni: struttura, organizzazione, funzionamento*, cit., pp. 287-296; G.P. Brizzi, *Le Università minori in Italia. Identità e autoconsapevolezza*, in G.P. Brizzi, J. Verger (edd.), *Le Università minori in Europa (secoli XV-XIX). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Alghero, 30 ottobre-2 novembre 1996)*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 1998, pp. 169-188; and M. Moretti, *Piccole, povere e 'libere': le università municipali nell'Italia liberale*, *ibid.*, pp. 533-562; and the recent and important work by L. Pomante, *Per una storia delle università minori nell'Italia contemporanea. Il caso dello Studium Generale Maceratense tra Otto e Novecento*, Macerata, eum, 2013.

⁵ At the time of national unification the University of Macerata had four faculties: Law, Philosophy, Medicine and Theology, as well as two special Universities, that of Pharmacy and that for Notaries. See in this respect: On the vicissitudes of the University of Macerata concerning the pre-unification period of the nineteenth century: M. Corsi, *L'Università di Macerata nel periodo della Restaurazione (1816-1824)*, Fermo, Deputazione di storia patria per le Marche, 1978; and the more recent: L. Pomante, *L'Università di Macerata nella prima metà dell'Ottocento*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 4, n. 2, 2009, pp. 73-106.

universities' choice to assume the *status* of 'free universities'⁶ after 1861, i.e. they were not subjected to state control – experienced a series of uncertainties and difficulties because of the chronic shortage of financial resources and the unresolved issues concerning the legal recognition, as proved by the frequent suspension of the teaching activities and the forced closures of this period⁷.

The different rectorates that alternated in the first post-unitary phase, from Matteo Ricci's and Filippo Borgogelli's short and 'transitional' ones, concluded within a few months in the uncertain and confused climate of the annexation to the Kingdom of Italy (1861), to Luigi Pianesi's extraordinarily long and decisive one (he held the University of Macerata from November of 1861 until October of 1876 and, although he failed to ensure the desired legal and economic stability, he made possible its survival and ensured the substantial continuity of teaching and research inside it, waiting for better times) until that of Giovanni Battista Palestini (1876-1878), during which the foundations for the subsequent 'rebirth' of the University of Macerata were laid – had to face every kind of problems and difficulties, and this explains the decision to limit solemnity at the opening of the new academic year⁸.

Moreover, the «Yearbook of the Royal University of Macerata», the publication collecting all the 'reports' and 'discourses' pronounced every year on the occasion of the opening ceremony, saw the light for the first time in 1879-1880, the first academic year in which the celebration of such a ceremony in the University of Macerata is historically attested (and the Dean Abdia Geronzi's *Report on the academic year 1878-79* is reported)⁹, while in the personal files of Prof. Abdia Geronzi's predecessors and in the substantial archival material concerning the first post-unification period of the University there is no trace of the Deans' *annual reports* or of similar speeches during solemn ceremonies¹⁰.

⁶ See R.D. January 24th, 1861, n. 4605 – *Ordinamento dell'Università degli studi eretta in Camerino*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», February 6th, 1861 (also in «Collezione Celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari», n. 31, 1861, p. 492); and the R.D. October 23rd, 1862, n. 912 – *L'Università provinciale di Urbino è dichiarata Università libera*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», 5 novembre 1862 (also in «Collezione Celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari», n. 6, 1863, pp. 164-165).

⁷ See, in this respect: L. Pomante, *L'Università di Macerata nel periodo post unitario: le tappe di una faticosa rinascita*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», n. 13, 2009, pp. 87-106.

⁸ See G. Arangio-Ruiz, *L'Università di Macerata. Notizie storiche e condizioni presenti*, Macerata, Tip. Bianchini, 1905, pp. 24-31.

⁹ *Relazione sull'andamento dell'anno scolastico 1878-79 letta dal Reggente dell'Università Prof. Abdia Geronzi nella solenne inaugurazione degli studi per l'anno 1879-80*, «Annuario della Regia Università di Macerata» [subsequently: ANNUARIO], 1879, pp. 3-9.

¹⁰ The research is focused in particular on the dossiers concerning the University of Macerata in the nineteenth century and preserved in Archivio di Stato di Macerata [subsequently: ASMc], *Università*, and on the teachers' personal files currently stored in Archivio dell'Università di Macerata [subsequently: AUSM], Facoltà giuridica, *Personale*, and on the documentation about the University of Macerata found in the *Fondo manoscritti e rari* of Biblioteca Comunale di Macerata [subsequently: BCMc].

The second, above mentioned, gap in the Deans' annual reports, covers the years of World War II, from 1941-1942, and of the immediate post-war period up to 1948-1949 included, the period in which, among other things, there was the forced interruption in the printing of the «Yearbook of the Royal University of Macerata», that would be published regularly only from the following academic year with the partially modified title «Yearbook of the University of Macerata». Now, if the reasons for the suspension of the opening ceremonies from the second and final year of Prof. Costantino Mortati's rectorate (1941-1942) and during Prof. Antonino Coniglio's whole rectorate (1942-1945) are quite clear, due to the worsening and then the collapse of war events, the issue is more complex for what concerns the post-war period. During Prof. Luigi Nina's long rectorate (1945-1953), in fact, we have only the *annual reports* starting from the academic year 1949-1950, while those relating to the two previous academic years, in which the opening ceremonies were certainly held, even if in an austere form due to the 'hard times' of reconstruction, are not preserved.

The Dean Giuseppe Lavaggi opened, with his speech, the academic year 1961-1962, in the climate of the celebrations for the centenary of Italian unification and on the eve of a real turning point: the creation, two years later, of the new Faculty of Humanities and, so, the end of the University's peculiar condition of being the only Italian university with a single address of study: that of Law («We are the only ones who experienced in a few years the decay of the University, the reduction of it in a single Faculty and the persistence of this state for decades and decades»)¹¹. The Dean recalled the troubled events that characterized the recent history of the University of Macerata, stressing that, although «the central Administration's (the State) inconsistent attitude» during the recurrent crisis that on several occasions threatened the University with the risk of suppression or forced closure, the solidarity and the concrete, and sometimes heavy, economic support of the local institutions – the Municipality and the Province- never failed. In more recent times, also the credit institutions and the productive companies in the territory of Macerata, gave their support «for the revival of the University»¹².

¹¹ *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1964-1965. Relazione del Rettore Prof. Giuseppe Lavaggi*, ANNUARIO, 1965, p. 7.

¹² As already mentioned, in order to prevent the closure of the University and, at the same time, to re-launch its activity, from the first post unitary decade the Municipality and the Province of Macerata carried out a series of interventions to financially support the university, helped, in this case, by the local public opinion, perfectly conscious of the need to defend the main cultural institution of the city. In 1880 these two local authorities formed the Consortium with the University, whose goal was to «preserve the legal authority of the University of Law and equalize it with the other secondary universities of the Kingdom, using the income of the University and the new funds that will be provided by the consortium only for this purpose». With this aim, the Municipality and the Province of Macerata allocated «L.12500 per year for each authority» for a period of twenty-five years, while the State supported the University with a contribution of «L. 20,000 per year». The University Consortium of Macerata was approved with R.D. January 4th,

The establishment, in 1880, of the University Consortium and the following actions undertaken by political and administrative institutions of Macerata for the protection and the renewal of the university represented, according to Giuseppe Lavaggi, one of the most significant moments in the recent story of the «small and ancient Studium», especially because it testified public and local elites's clear awareness of the bond between the University and the city with its territory: «This- wrote the rector – is an admirable page of local history that Macerata and its province was able to write and that should be remembered with admiration and respect»¹³.

It was certainly true that, after a century from the national unification, «the policy of an unreasonable limitation within the Pillars of Hercules represented by the government spending» that «almost provoked the end of the University of Macerata», seemed to be concluded and new ideas of development of the national university system began to develop, it was also true, as Lavaggi underlined, that the «local interest» for the University of Macerata derived from a heritage of civil and cultural values and ideals that should not be wasted, but rather kept alive and increased as an element characterizing the identity of the University itself¹⁴.

We have focused, so far, on the Dean Lavaggi's careful analysis because, in our opinion, it effectively clarifies the role played by the close connection between the University, the local institutions and the socio-economic and productive realities of the territory, that is one of the distinctive characteristic of the history and the development of the University of Macerata.

A very complex connection, that, if on the one hand, could lead to the progressive loss of the necessarily universal character – irreducible to any

1880, n. 5236 and allowed the University to continue its work and to be included among the state universities of second level. With a subsequent agreement, approved by the Law of 22 December 1901 n. 541, «in order to equalize the University [of Macerata] to those of First Level», the contribution provided by the City and Province was raised «to the sum of L. 40,000, extending the life of the Consortium for further thirty years starting from 1 July 1900». With the R.D. September 30, 1923, n. 2102 Gentile's Reform introduced radical changes in the organization of high schools and universities, including restoring the distinction between major and minor universities and classifying the University of Macerata in the latter category, whose maintenance was only partially up to the State. In accordance with the new legislation, the University Consortium of Macerata, established in 1880 and renewed several times, was abolished in 1924. Due to the meagerness of the funds given annually to the University of Macerata by the State, however, the City and the Province continued to allocate specific financial contributions for the University. In addition, also a special agreement between the State and the local Cassa di Risparmio di Macerata was signed in 1929, for its funding. Only in 1936 the University of Macerata obtained the equalization with major universities, financed only by the State. See R. Sani, S. Serangeli, *Per un'introduzione alla storia dell'Università di Macerata*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», n. 13, 2009, pp. 17-27.

¹³ *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1961-1962. Relazione del Rettore Prof. Giuseppe Lavaggi*, ANNUARIO, 1962, p. 9.

¹⁴ See *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1964-1965. Relazione del Rettore Prof. Giuseppe Lavaggi*, cit., p. 12.

form of localism – of the university in its process of transmission of scientific knowledge and promotion of high culture, on the other hand, came to connect a large part of the development of the city of Macerata to that of the university, making it one of the key elements of the city's identity and the real driving force for the civil and cultural, as well as economic and social, growth of the community of Macerata.

The *annual reports* of the Deans of the University of Macerata, in this regard, offer an extremely significant evidence of the connection established between the university and local institutions in the course of the time as well as of its evolution during the long period from the end of the century XIX up to the second World War.

So, during the inauguration of the academic year 1892-1893, the then-Dean Carlo Calisse, in the aftermath of the rejection of the equalization of the University of Macerata with First Level Universities by the national government and as a consequence of the persistent financial difficulties and the emergence of more serious uncertainties about the future of this academic institution, appealed to the «deep and ancient bounds» of solidarity and mutual support that united the university to the city and its territory, urging a further support for the activities of the Studium:

The example of our ancestors – said the Dean Calisse – is useful also today and I am sure you will follow it, on the basis of the love for this University felt by those who, in the parliament, in the Province councils, in the Municipality administration, supports the interests of the City in which it is located. [...] It's true: we suffered a disappointment, on which we think it's useless to complain anymore. We'd rather think to repair this damage, and not to increase it with the loss of hope: the government itself, whose promise was also recently confirmed, asked you, Dear Administrators of the Province and of the Municipality of Macerata, not to abandon your University in a time when the conditions of the country do not allow that it could have what it deserves. Look at other cities: some of the most conspicuous of Italy, longing for what Macerata has possessed for six centuries, are fighting to obtain it, and are ready to give in exchange what they are asked for, while others, that already possess Universities, are increasing their welfare, and are forming, to better succeed in it, associations of forces, in which the Provinces and Municipalities join lending institutions, wisely understanding the connection between public prosperity and intellectual progress, that is the necessary premise of it. There are no doubts that, persisting in the purpose, you finally can reach the desired result¹⁵.

And ten years later, when, with the approval of the Law December 22nd, 1901 no. 541, the University of Macerata obtained the equalization with the First Level Universities thanks to the local authorities' funds, the Dean Oreste Ranalletti, after acknowledging, during the solemn opening of the academic year 1902-1903, that such a result was obtained «especially thanks to the

¹⁵ *Relazione del Rettore Carlo Calisse per la inaugurazione del nuovo corso accademico [1892-1893]*, ANNUARIO, 1892, pp. 12-13.

Municipality and the Province of Macerata, which effectively help the State in supporting its University, and this highly honored the citizens», emphasizes how the efforts of the community of Macerata in safeguarding and promoting his «glorious and ancient University», were not only an economic matter but the highest expression of the citizens' civic and patriotic sense, characterizing their sense of belonging to the nation, through the contribution given to the spiritual and intellectual growth of the whole country.

The Universities – concluded the Dean Ranelletti – are the centers of the spiritual life of a people, the breeding ground of their intellectual development, the institution from which the living forces of the country, the powerful progress-bearers come from. It protected the idea of national unity through all the struggles, the ruins, the tyrannies, which infested Italy, it generated the first efficient forces of the revolution, which brought us to unity and freedom, it defended the secular thought, who alone can ensure us freedom, and the indefinite progress in the future. All this can be associated only to a University, like that of Macerata, with high scientific traditions and glorious patriotic tradition. When the citizens feel the full moral force of such an institution for so long a time, they fight with very much tenacity and faith for the status it deserves, and they are civil and commendable citizens¹⁶.

The reorganization of higher education and Italian university system realized within the framework of the Gentile Reform, with the RD September 30th, 1923 n. 2102 undoubtedly contributed to the strengthening of the ties between the University of Macerata, local institutions and socio-economic and productive activities of the territory of Macerata and Marche, further emphasizing the tendency – already outlined from the end of the nineteenth century and, above all, during the years of the First World War and in the immediate post-war period¹⁷ – towards a greater specialization of research and of the teaching of Law and Economics, in line with the specific agricultural attitude and the needs of the labor market in the region. During the inauguration of the academic year 1923-1924, the Dean Riccardo Bachi gave, in this regard, a first account of the significant developments connected to the reforms drawn up by the Minister of Education Giovanni Gentile, compared to the drastic intentions shown at the beginning:

It seemed – said the Dean of the University of Macerata – that the transformation of the structure could cause the suppression of many of our universities, especially those located in small towns or with a more restricted course of study than the typical with four faculties. Among the universities that seemed destined to an immediate end there was the one who

¹⁶ *Relazione del Rettore Prof. Oreste Ranelletti per la inaugurazione degli studi 1902-1903*, IX novembre MDCCCXII, ANNUARIO, 1903, p. 10.

¹⁷ See *Parole del Rettore Niccolò Lo Savio inaugurandosi l'anno scolastico 1885-86*, ANNUARIO, 1886, pp. 3-9; *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1917-1918. Relazione del Rettore Prof. Donato Donati letta nella cerimonia inaugurale del 18 novembre 1917*, ANNUARIO, 1918, pp. 7-18; e *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1920-1921. Relazione del Rettore Prof. Pio Barsanti letta nella cerimonia inaugurale del 14 novembre 1920*, ANNUARIO, 1921, pp. 7-14.

plays for six centuries in this noble city a function certainly not modest nor unfruitful. The reform, finally, followed different directives than those before thought or supposed, and adapted to the tenacious spirit of an intense and varied regional life, which is still one of the most important characters of our country. All the so-called minor Universities were maintained, as well as our University, and after the complex events of the past, now a new phase of life can be opened, that must be, which will be, undoubtedly of rise¹⁸.

The prevalence, in the measures issued by the national government, of an attitude adapted to «the tenacious spirit of an intense and varied regional life, which is still one of the most important characters of our country», while, on the one hand, fortunately prevented the suppression of University of Macerata, on the other, imposed, according to Riccardo Bachi, a real strengthening of its role and functions, in close collaboration with local institutions and productive activities, in favor of the citizens' cultural growth and the strengthening of local and regional economy. In this regard, the Dean of the University of Macerata illustrated to the participants at the opening ceremony a real program of activities to be carried out in the immediately following years:

It is, first of all, my firm belief – he wrote – that we should [...] devote every energy, every effort to ensure a better life for our secular school of law and economics. And this is a belief fully shared by the other teachers of the University and widely accepted also in other environments [...]. The establishment of an Institute or a Seminar of Law similar to those existing in many Italian and foreign universities could be useful for the constitution in our University of an environment of scientific research. [...] The Institute, which should also include the University Library, will deal with both legal and socio-economic disciplines. It could have a regional function particularly useful also for the future studies on local problems, because it would permit, without effort, to collect in a systematic way all the material, not only books, but also documents, relevant for the economic life of the Marche and Abruzzo. [...] This institute of legal and social economic studies and this Archive for Marche and Abruzzo economic history would permit the University to act also outside the limits of its classrooms and its ordinary disciplines. [...] Our University could effectively exercise an action for the local spread of the culture. It should be a public teaching on current problems, through a series of public readings, systematically arranged according to well-defined programs, and relating from time to time to the economy of our two regions. [...] From a practical point of view, this public action could be addressed also to particular groups of listeners, outside the circle of ordinary students, with the aim of integrating the professional culture for certain functions¹⁹.

Riccardo Bachi's program, outlined in the aftermath of Gentile Reform, was taken up and further developed by his successors. So, after little time, the new Dean of the University of Macerata, Arnaldo De Valles, solemnly inaugurating the academic year 1930-1931, affirmed the need to transform the university of Marche into the real focus of the socio-economic and cultural growth of

¹⁸ *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1923-1924. Relazione del Rettore Prof. Riccardo Bachi letta nella cerimonia inaugurale dell'11 novembre 1923*, ANNUARIO, 1924, pp. 12-13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-29.

Macerata and its Province, also pointing out that such a goal was perfectly part of the new purpose given by the fascist regime to scientific and higher learning institutions:

It is my sincere intention – concluded the Dean De Valles – to intensify more and more these forms of activities, which, although outside the sphere of academic activities, can be considered an essential part of the functions connected to university life. And it is indeed my intention that the University could participate more actively in every aspect of city life, establishing the fruitful connection between life and science, which is one of the universities' major tasks and is also one of the most characteristic expressions of the Regime, that does not want a sterile and abstract science, but one that could be in constant and intimate connection with reality²⁰.

Undoubtedly, we are far away from the times in which the then-Dean Niccolò Lo Savio, inaugurating the academic year 1886-1887, dismissed as a «stupid and unfounded accusation», the attitude of those who for «thoughtlessness» or «the bad habit of always finding faults and denigrating everything and everyone», distinguished between «the great universities», real centers for the renewal of culture and the processing of new knowledge, able to «educate young minds to the high ideals of science», and, vice versa, considered «secondary universities, and also ours», as mere «factories of professionals, [...] without high views and the supreme ideals of legal science»²¹.

Also the Dean Paolo Greco, that replaced De Valles in the early thirties, recalled the need to promote «a science in constant and intimate connection with reality» and to transform the University of Macerata into a real breeding ground of «high-level professionals» and, together, a laboratory for the formation of a new local ruling class capable of leading – by virtue of the specific set of legal and economic competences offered by the university – not only the cultural, but also the «industrial, agricultural and commercial» growth of the entire region. His program, expressed during the inauguration of the academic year 1932-1933, recovered and developed certain themes and purposes already set by his predecessors:

Let me speak for some minutes – said the Dean – about the future of our university, that we have to promote with fruitful and beneficial initiatives, without remaining on the achieved positions nor being satisfied only of statistical predictions. Our university has two important characteristics on which we must rely to intensify its progress. One is to have only the Faculty of Law. This condition, if on the one hand deprives it of the traditional variety of the university branches, on the other, allows it to concentrate all its efforts, all moral and material means, in the increasing of legal and economic studies, that were so important during Fascism. For this purpose, the University should approach, and, I would say, merge with the

²⁰ *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1930-1931. Relazione del Rettore Prof. Arnaldo De Valles letta nella cerimonia inaugurale dell'11 novembre 1930*, ANNUARIO, 1931, p. 11.

²¹ *Parole del Rettore Niccolò Lo Savio inaugurandosi l'anno scolastico 1886-87*, ANNUARIO, 1887, pp. 9-11.

life of the city, the Province and of the region. Isolation is not for lawyers. Solitary studies, though perhaps appropriate for other spiritual attitudes, such as asceticism and mysticism, are not adapt to the study of law, which draws on the practice of life, the observation of social phenomena, the sources of its knowledge and the stimulus of its progress.

And, speaking to the local authorities and to the representatives of the institutions and productive realities of Macerata, further clarify his thought, outlining the characteristics which should characterize the University of Marche:

This is the reason why – said Paolo Greco- your university has to work in cooperation not only with the cultural, but also with the industrial, agricultural and commercial activity of your beautiful, industrious and fertile region. Even if we lawyers do not need the vast range of experimental means that the Faculty of Medicine requires, it is true, however, that we need a field full of experiences. Not only legal experiences, but of the whole business life. [...] The other important character of our university is connected to the dominant characteristics of Marche economy. In the harmonious development of national life, in the wide variety of its aspects, the faculties of Law should not specialize with rigidly exclusivist criteria, but rather get the connection between them and their environment, thus developing adequate addresses. Now, the importance and intensity of Marche's agricultural life offered all these features to our university. If there are elsewhere high school of agriculture, here there is the major Italian center for the study of law and agricultural economics.

In this regard, the Dean Paolo Greco, after having recalled that in the previous years, with a great far-sightedness, the Faculty of Law of Macerata had «wisely established the school of specialization in agricultural economics and law, a school that, as far as I know, is the unique of its kind in Italian universities», underlined that the goal to be achieved, through the total synergy between the teaching body of the university and the city and the Province institutions, was to «improve this school, revive and intensify its activity, make it a center and an observatory in which data, information and economic statistics converge and agrarian customs and business practices can be collected, enhance its diplomas, spread even outside the academic lessons the study of the most important and current problems of economic and legal life of agriculture, recalling public attention on them».

All this, according to the Dean of the University of Macerata, would have meant not only to lay the foundations for the modern economic and productive development of the territory of Macerata and of Marche, enhancing its unique agricultural vocation, in perfect harmony, among other things, with the program of agricultural revival and rural life undertaken by the fascist regime, but also «to give a new impetus to the University, perhaps prepare it to a future development»²².

Actually, the fascist regime downsized the expectations and projects in this field of the University of Macerata and as well as the aspiration to transform it

²² *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1932-1933. Relazione del Pro-Rettore Prof. Paolo Greco letta nella cerimonia inaugurale del 20 novembre 1932*, ANNUARIO, 1933, pp. 14-16.

into a sort of laboratory specialized in economic and legal training and research in the field of agriculture – an aspiration, it's right to say, supported by local institutions and economic and productive realities²³.

The fascist regime, in fact, was little interested – if not openly suspicious – in the central role of the University of Macerata in this field, and his aspiration to play a role of scientific advice in the policies of planning and development of regional agricultural production.

The same Dean Paolo Greco underlined all that, although with a calm and not polemical tone, as the political life prudently suggested, offering an analysis both of the remarkable success achieved by the initiatives undertaken at a local level and, in particular, of the inexplicable silences on the most qualifying and ambitious proposals presented by the University of Macerata to the national government:

In relation to its cultural and educational functions – affirmed, first of all, the Dean- our University fulfilled the program to give here the greatest impetus to the study of law and of agricultural economics, fully respecting the university policy of Gentile Reform: that is, to favor, in the various Italian universities, the trend towards specialization, so as each University could find its particular characteristic and task. Therefore, in the course of the academic year, well-known professors of proven competence held the most important lessons of law and agricultural economics, also supplementing them with lectures on specific problems of agrarian legislation. [...] On the other hand, the seriousness of our intentions and the first evidences of their actual implementation, drew on our school the attention and benevolence of eminent personalities and institutions interested in the development of this important branch of study: His Eminence Serpieri, the Hon. Tassinari and Arcangeli, the Istituto Nazionale di Economia Agraria, the Confederazione Nazionale Fascista degli Agricoltori. They gave us assistance and moral support, sometimes also a financial one, and we have good reason to hope for further supports to ensure, even materially, the development and functioning of the School.

After such a result, continued the Dean Paolo Greco, the «difficulties» of the project of «a regional observatory of Agricultural Economics» seemed to be at least surprising. This project, while on the one hand, certainly went well beyond the training and scientific activities of the University of Macerata in the spirit of the necessary specialization of Italian universities promoted by the Gentile reform of 1923, on the other, it also could be considered as the logical consequence of the task of promoting «a science in continuous and deep connection with reality» considered by fascism as characteristic of the «renewed academic and scientific institutions», not to mention the benefits that such a project would bring to the territories and local communities, «given the

²³ See, in this regard, the references contained in *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1927-1928. Relazione del Rettore Prof. Bruno Breschi letta nella cerimonia inaugurale del 13 novembre 1927*, ANNUARIO, 1928, pp. 13-14; and in *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1929-1930. Relazione del Rettore Prof. Arnaldo De Valles letta nella cerimonia inaugurale del 17 novembre 1929*, ANNUARIO, 1930, p. 9.

importance that the province of Macerata and the Marche region have in the agricultural industry»:

The initiative undertaken by the Academic Board – in concert with His Eminence the Prefect and the other authorities of the Province – to create a regional observatory of agricultural economics depending on the National Institute, encountered many difficulties. I do not exclude that persisting tenaciously in our request, which seems to me entirely legitimate given the importance that the province of Macerata and the Marche region have in the agricultural industry, the difficulties could be at least partially overcome and that the intent to establish here, if not an observatory, at least a correspondence office, could be realized²⁴.

In the following years, not only the project of a «Regional Observatory of Agricultural Economics» would not have seen the light, but some of the most innovative initiatives of the University of Macerata would have been downsized. Solemnly inaugurating the academic year 1934-1935, for example, the new Dean Guido Bonolis complained that the rigid constraints on university accesses imposed by Casati Law and then proposed again by Gentile Reform in 1923, prevented the Graduate School of Law and Agricultural Economics from developing its full potential, recruiting young graduates from different backgrounds to prepare a new generation of high-profile specialists for agricultural development and the management of companies in the sector:

And now I want to mention an important topic – Guido Bonolis said – that is the evolution of the Graduate School of Law and Agricultural Economics, established a few years ago, that is the only one of this kind in Italy, and so it was and it is the subject of the attentions of all of us. The number of the students belonging to the Faculty of Law and attending specific courses of the School is not small, but the number of graduates attending it to get the diploma is not yet what we would like. This depends largely on the fact that it was necessary, for the graduates who want to enroll, the possession of a diploma of Liceo Classico, and this prevents the access to the school to many doctors in economics and especially in agricultural sciences which have instead the diploma of Liceo Scientifico or a technical or agrarian license. Several of them have expressed the desire to attend this school, understanding how much it would be useful for them to complete and improve their legal and economic knowledge relating to agriculture, both for the direction of farms, both to occupy the offices of the National and Provincial Unions. Our Faculty, to overcome this problem, proposed an amendment to the Statute, in order to obtain the admission to the school also for graduates in possession of a scientific diploma or a technical qualification. We hope that the Ministry will approve the proposed amendment, thus obtaining a greater increase of these studies, which contribute to the impulse that the regime want to give to agriculture²⁵.

²⁴ *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1933-1934. Relazione del Pro-Rettore Prof. Paolo Greco letta nella cerimonia inaugurale dell'11 novembre 1933, ANNUARIO, XII, 1934, pp. 10-11.*

²⁵ *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1934-1935. Relazione del Rettore Prof. Guido Bonolis letta nella cerimonia inaugurale del 19 novembre 1934, ANNUARIO, XIII, 1935, pp. 13-14.*

Actually, also in this case, the dispensations to the current regulation proposed by the University of Macerata to the Ministry of National Education was destined not to be accepted²⁶. The Graduate School in Law and in Agricultural Economics, moreover, would have been abolished a few years later because of the ever-decreasing number of enrolled students and the gradual disappearance of the majority of the requests that had suggested its creation²⁷.

The reorganization of higher education promoted by the Minister of National Education Cesare De Vecchi with the R.D.L. June 20th, 1935, n. 1071, in fact, led to the «absolute centralization» of the national university system: the distinction between royal Universities of first and second level, re-introduced by Gentile, was abolished, and also the university educational and organizational autonomy established with the reform of 1923 was eliminated; and, to complete this process, with the following R.D.L. May 7th, 1936, n. 882, De Vecchi readjusted the *curricula* and the study plans, aiming at a general uniformity in the educational syllabus, thus reducing significantly, even on this side, the autonomous intervention and the personal characterization of the courses²⁸.

Paradoxically, the process of centralization of the Italian university system started in 1935-36 by De Vecchi, while on the one hand, thanks to the equalization with all state universities, granted continuity and stability in the resources and financings to the University of Macerata, on the other, set aside the project tenaciously pursued in those years, i.e. to become a real laboratory specialized in legal and agricultural economic training and research, and, more generally, the idea to become the leading institution, from a cultural and scientific point of view, of the economic and productive development both on a local and regional level.

The past perspectives and the autonomy of the University of Macerata were relentlessly downsized, as we can infer from Guido Bonolis's report presented for the inauguration of the academic year 1936-1937, where the rector, explaining the main changes introduced as a result of the ministerial measures, used this words:

Other noteworthy events occurred in the course of the year for our university. First of all, from 29 October XV, it rose in A category on a par with other universities, thus being totally equalized, even in its financial system, to the other Institutes of Higher Education. [...] The old, unlimited freedom of choice between various disciplines, which was left to the student, now was replaced by a system with a fixed number of fundamental compulsory subjects,

²⁶ See the Dean Guido Bonolis's *Nota* on the National Ministry of Education's negative response (October 1934), in AUMc, Facoltà giuridica, *Personale*, f. *Bonolis Guido*.

²⁷ Sani, Serangeli, *Per un'introduzione alla storia dell'Università di Macerata*, cit., p. 23.

²⁸ See E. Signori, *Università e fascismo*, in G.P. Brizzi, P. Del Negro, A. Romano (edd.), *Storia delle Università in Italia*, Messina, Sicania, Centro Interuniversitario per la Storia delle Università Italiane, 2007, 3 voll., I, pp. 381-423 (in particular, pp. 391-392 e 404-406).

in addition, the student must choose a number of optional subjects within a framework defined by the Faculty and approved by the Ministry. *In the determination of the latter, the Faculty has used as guidance and criterion of choice both the local needs of the region and the new fields of study that exist today in the life of our country*²⁹.

The enhancement, through the use of optional subjects, of the «local needs of the region» represented, undoubtedly, a modest solution, the only possible, in a context that seemed now dominated by the rigid centralization of higher education and the substantial uniformity of the national university system and its purposes³⁰.

²⁹ *Inaugurazione dell'Anno Accademico 1935-1936. Relazione del Rettore Prof. Guido Bonolis*, ANNUARIO, 1937, p. 20 (our italics).

³⁰ See M.C. Giuntella, *Autonomia e nazionalizzazione dell'Università: il fascismo e l'inquadramento degli atenei*, Roma, Studium, 1992; and Signori, *Università e Fascismo*, cit., pp. 381-423. But see also the great collection of rules and statistical data provided by *La politica e la legislazione scolastica in Italia dal 1922 al 1943. Con cenni introduttivi sui periodi precedenti e una parte conclusiva sul periodo post fascista. Preparato dalla Sottocommissione dell'educazione della Commissione Alleata in Italia e offerto al Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione (1946)*, Milano, Garzanti, 1947.

*Essays and
Researches*



Saggi e
Ricerche

La formazione del clero veronese dopo Trento: le origini del Seminario diocesano e la riforma della Scuola degli accoliti

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The education of the secular clergy after the Council of Trent: the origins of the Seminary of Verona and the reform of the School of the Acolytes

ABSTRACT: In order to address the serious problem of reform of the secular clergy, the Council of Trent took action in relation to the education of future priests, by decreeing the foundation of a seminary in every diocese. The burden of the work lay with the bishops who were particularly active in Italy in the early post-conciliar period, under the example of the Archbishop of Milan, Carlo Borromeo. However the process of establishing the seminaries was uneven, with timescales and methods varying widely from one diocese to another. There were many problems which the bishops had to address to ensure the stability of this new institution, not least relationships with the pre-existing schools and practices in the education of the priesthood. This was the case of the seminary of Verona which was founded by Bishop Agostino Valier in 1567 and came up against the ancient School of the Acolytes and the Cathedral Chapter. This article is the first comparison of these two institutions. Based on the main field studies and available archival sources it analyses their educational projects and internal management processes. In particular, the first period of seminary activity is analysed (1567-1606), together with the parallel process of reform of the School of the Acolytes, with a specific focus on the role of Bishop Valier and two other important bodies in the history of the education of the clergy of Verona: the Cathedral Chapter and the Society of Jesu.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Seminary; History of Education; Christian Education; Jesuits; Catholicism; Italy; XVI-XVII Centuries.

Premessa*

Salutato come il miglior frutto del Concilio di Trento¹, il canone XVIII *Cum adolescentium aetas* del decreto di riforma della sessione XXIII del 15 luglio 1563 «stabiliva che venissero creati seminari diocesani o interdiocesani (nel caso di piccole diocesi), nei quali venissero accolti ragazzi di almeno dodici anni, già in grado di leggere e scrivere, nati da legittimo matrimonio»². Il testo tridentino, com'è noto, era stato elaborato, per buona parte, prendendo a modello il decreto XI *De vita et honestate clericorum* del sinodo convocato a Londra dal card. Reginald Pole nel 1556³, dal quale tuttavia differiva in due

* È doveroso, da parte di chi scrive, esprimere un vivo ringraziamento nei riguardi di quanti hanno agevolato le ricerche e le riflessioni presentate in questo studio. In particolare un sentito ringraziamento va ad Angelo Orlandi e Alberto Savoia della Biblioteca del Seminario di Verona, a Dario Cervato della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona e a Franco Segala dell'Archivio storico della curia vescovile di Verona.

¹ In questi termini, com'è noto, si espresse l'uditore di Rota e poi arcivescovo di Bologna Gabriele Paleotti. Cfr. L. Pastor, *Storia dei Papi dalla fine del Medioevo: compilata col sussidio dell'Archivio segreto pontificio e di molti altri Archivi*, 16 voll., Roma, Desclée, 1931-1934, Vol. VII, p. 329.

² M. Guasco, *La formazione del clero*, Milano, Jaca Book, 2001, p. 31. Sulla storia della formazione del clero in Italia si vedano anche: X. Toscani, *Il clero lombardo dall'ancien régime alla Restaurazione*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1979; E. Brambilla, *Società ecclesiastica e società civile: aspetti della formazione del clero dal Cinquecento alla Restaurazione*, «Società e storia», n. 4, 1981, pp. 299-366; M. Guasco, *La formazione del clero: i seminari*, in *Storia d'Italia*. Annali 9; G. Chittolini, G. Miccoli (edd.), *La chiesa e il potere politico dal Medioevo all'età moderna*, Torino, Einaudi, 1986, pp. 631-715; C. Fantappiè, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche e istruzione secondaria nell'Italia moderna: i seminari-collegi vescovili*, «Annali dell'istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento», n. 15, 1989, pp. 189-240; M. Sangalli (ed.), *Chiesa, chierici, sacerdoti. Clero e seminari in Italia tra XVI e XX secolo*, Roma, Herder, 2000. Per un'analisi della situazione della formazione del clero prima e dopo il canone tridentino sui seminari: H. Jedin, *L'importanza del decreto tridentino sui seminari nella vita della Chiesa*, «Seminarium», n. 15, 1963, pp. 396-412. Numerosi spunti di riflessione si trovano anche nei contributi contenuti in «Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma», n. 7, 1988 e nel recente lavoro di C. Marchegiani, *Il seminario tridentino: sistema e architettura. Storie e modelli nelle Marche pontificie*, Pescara, Carsa edizioni, 2012 (I saggi di Opus, 20). Per uno sguardo al contesto europeo si rimanda agli articoli del numero monografico *I seminari nell'Europa moderna (1563-1789)* degli «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», n. 7, 2000 e al volume a cura di M. Sangalli, *Pastori, pope, preti, rabbini. La formazione del ministro di culto in Europa (secoli XVI-XIX)*, Roma, Carocci, 2005. Di particolare utilità risulta il repertorio *Seminaria Ecclesiae Catholicae*, Città del Vaticano, Typis polyglottis vaticanis, 1963, che fornisce sintetiche informazioni sulla storia dell'istituzione e un catalogo dei seminari fondati nel mondo cattolico fino al 1963. Per il testo del canone: *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, a cura di G. Alberigo, G.A. Dossetti, P.P. Joannou, C. Leonardi, P. Prodi, Bologna, EDB, 1984, Sessio XXIII (15 iul.), pp. 750-753.

³ Una traduzione in lingua italiana del decreto XI della *Reformatio Angliae* del card. Pole si trova in M. Marcocchi, *La riforma cattolica: documenti e testimonianze: figure ed istituzioni dal secolo XV alla metà del secolo XVII. Saggio introduttivo di M. Bendiscioli*, 2 voll., Brescia, Morcelliana, 1967-1979, Vol. I, pp. 451-453; sull'influenza che il decreto esercitò sui padri del Concilio di Trento si veda J.A. O'Donohoe, *The Seminary Legislation of the Council of Trent*, in *Il Concilio di Trento e la riforma tridentina. Atti del convegno storico internazionale del 1963*, 2

aspetti importanti, che attenevano, da una parte, al ruolo del vescovo, al quale era assegnata una maggiore responsabilità nella gestione del seminario, anche rispetto al Capitolo della cattedrale, e, dall'altra, all'applicazione del decreto, che era dettagliata con una serie di norme molto precise, alle quali però si affiancavano anche indicazioni più flessibili, che consentivano di adeguare le disposizioni tridentine alle specifiche situazioni delle varie diocesi. Nel canone, infatti, non solo si permetteva alle diocesi più piccole e a quelle più povere di inviare gli alunni presso un seminario metropolitano o interdiocesano, ma – aspetto ancora più significativo – non si poneva l'obbligo di permanenza in seminario per tutti gli aspiranti sacerdoti. Pertanto nel corso del periodo post-conciliare la nuova istituzione, prima di arrivare a predominare definitivamente, si trovò per lungo tempo a convivere con quel variegato panorama di scuole, collegi e *Studia*, che in passato aveva garantito la preparazione al sacerdozio.

Nel clima di fervore che seguì alla chiusura del Concilio si registrò una vera e propria proliferazione di seminari, ma una volta esaurito l'entusiasmo dei primi decenni molti di questi si trovarono a condurre una vita stentata e in non pochi casi dovettero chiudere i battenti⁴. La buona riuscita di un seminario derivava dalla combinazione di numerosi fattori (dalla dotazione economica ai rapporti con il Capitolo della cattedrale, dalla presenza di un corpo docente preparato fino ai meccanismi di controllo sull'ordine interno), che dipendevano principalmente dal vescovo e dalla sua volontà/capacità di predisporre le condizioni necessarie all'avvio e al consolidamento della nuova istituzione.

Tali aspetti emergono chiaramente dall'analisi della storia della fondazione del Seminario di Verona, che fu istituito nel 1567 per volere di Agostino Valier, ad appena due anni dalla sua nomina episcopale⁵. Il vescovo di Verona investì molte energie nel progetto del Seminario diocesano e, nel contempo, promosse un'azione di riforma dei vecchi canali di preparazione al sacerdozio,

voll., Roma-Freiburg-Basel-Barcelona-Wien, 1965, Vol. I, pp. 157-172.

⁴ Per un quadro complessivo dei seminari fondati nelle diocesi italiane dalla conclusione del Concilio di Trento al 1700 si veda K.M. Comerford, *Italian Tridentine Diocesan Seminaries: a Historiographical Study*, «The Sixteenth Century Journal», a. 29, n. 4, 1998, pp. 999-1022; per un panorama sulla situazione della formazione sacerdotale post-tridentina in Spagna, Germania e Francia si rimanda a Jedin, *L'importanza del decreto tridentino sui seminari*, cit., pp. 410-412.

⁵ Sul Seminario di Verona si vedano: V. Montorio, *Il seminario di Verona (profilo storico)*, Verona, Vita veronese, 1968; A.P. Braggion, *Il seminario di Verona dai suoi inizi (1567) alla metà del sec. XVII. Ordinamento degli studi e organizzazione amministrativa*. Tesi di laurea discussa presso l'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano; relatore prof. L. Prosdocimi, a.a. 1973-1974, 2 voll.; B. Chiappa, *Nota storica sui primi anni di vita del Seminario di Verona*, in C. Albarello, G. Zivelonghi (edd.), *Per Alberto Piazzì. Scritti offerti nel 50° di sacerdozio*, Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona, 1998, pp. 93-103; A. Orlandi, *Note per la storia del seminario vescovile di Verona*, Verona, Archivio Storico Curia Diocesana, 2002 (Studi e Documenti di Storia e Liturgia, XXII). Per un profilo biografico aggiornato di Agostino Valier si rimanda a: G. Cipriani, *La mente di un inquisitore: Agostino Valier e l'Opusculum De cautione adhibenda in edendis libris (1589-1604)*, Firenze, Nicomp, 2009.

a cominciare dalla prestigiosa e antica Scuola cattedrale degli accoliti⁶. Il presente lavoro intende ricostruire il progetto attuato dal Valier per innovare e migliorare la formazione del clero in cura d'anime della sua diocesi, riservando una specifica attenzione, da un lato, alla fondazione e al primo periodo di attività del Seminario e, dall'altro, al piano di ristrutturazione predisposto per la Scuola degli accoliti.

1. *La nascita del Seminario diocesano*

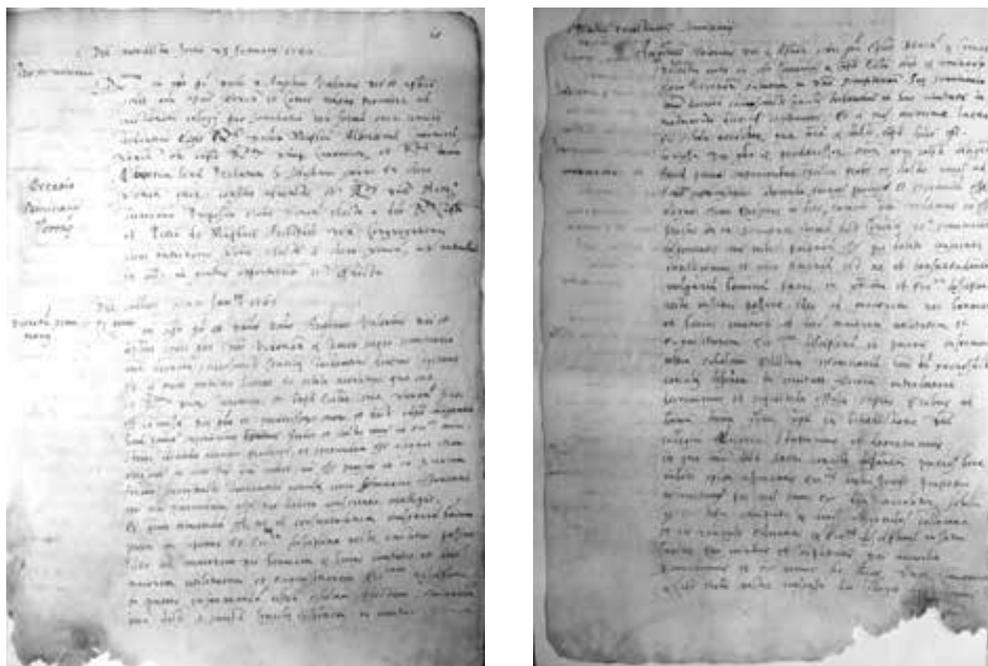
Il Seminario di Verona fu istituito il 25 gennaio 1567. A questa data, infatti, risalgono il decreto e la bolla vescovile di erezione, ai quali seguì l'approvazione pontificia del 23 luglio di quello stesso anno⁷. Appena un mese prima Agostino Valier scriveva all'arcivescovo di Milano Carlo Borromeo esprimendo il suo compiacimento per questo nuovo traguardo raggiunto «con satisfazione di tutto il clero veronese et della città che oltra la Scola delli Acholiti [... ora poteva vantare] questa altra sorte di disciplina di servitio di N.S. Dio et di questa chiesa»⁸. Il Borromeo, a sua volta, sempre molto attento agli sviluppi della riforma tridentina, specie se inerenti le diocesi a lui più prossime per distanza ed intenti, presentava prontamente al Valier le sue felicitazioni per i «buoni progressi» della Chiesa di Verona⁹. Proprio per queste ragioni non sorprende, allora, il fatto che il Valier avesse voluto aggiornare subito il Borromeo sui successi conseguiti su un fronte di azione pastorale tanto caro all'arcivescovo di Milano, come quello relativo alla formazione del clero in cura d'anime.

⁶ La storia della Scuola degli accoliti di Verona è stata ricostruita da A. Spagnolo, *Le Scuole accolitali in Verona*, Verona, Stabilimento tipo-litografico G. Franchini, 1905. Un utile e documentato quadro delle istituzioni educative ecclesiastiche veronesi è offerto da A. Orlandi, *Scuole ecclesiastiche dall'Umanesimo all'Ottocento*, in *Cultura e vita civile a Verona. Uomini e istituzioni dall'epoca carolingia al risorgimento*, Verona, Banca popolare di Verona, 1979, pp. 271-318.

⁷ Archivio Storico della Curia Diocesana di Verona (in seguito ACV), Protocolli, Protocollo vescovile, b. VII, Card. Agostino Valier (1565-1606), b. Protocollo Vescovile 1567, *Decretum erectionis Seminarium Veronae*, cc. 10r-11r, *Bulla erectionis Seminarium*, cc. 11v-12v. Una copia dei due documenti, che risulta anche di più agevole lettura, è conservata in ACV, Clero, Seminario Vescovile di Verona, b. 1 *Erezione del Ven. Seminario e Unione del priorato di S. Antonio di Viena al Ven. Seminario sudetto di Verona con diversi chiericati*, cc. 3r-5v. Entrambi i documenti sono riportati in appendice da Braggion, *Il seminario di Verona*, cit., doc. 4 e 5, pp. 5-12.

⁸ Lettera, Agostino Valier a Carlo Borromeo, Verona 27 giugno 1567, Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano (in seguito BAM), F 84 Inf., c. 87; edita in L. Tacchella, *San Carlo Borromeo ed il card. Agostino Valier: carteggio. Prefazione di sua eminenza il cardinale M. Browne*, Verona, Istituto per gli studi storici, 1972, p. 97, al quale si rinvia per un approfondimento sul rapporto di amicizia e collaborazione che legò il vescovo di Verona all'arcivescovo di Milano.

⁹ Lettera, Carlo Borromeo ad Agostino Valier, Milano, 10 luglio 1567 (BAM, *Minute di San Carlo*, 91-92, c. 168; edita in Tacchella, *San Carlo Borromeo ed il card. Agostino Valier*, cit., pp. 57-58).



Figg. 1-2. *Decretum erectionis Seminarii Veronae e Bulla erectionis Seminarij* (Archivio Storico della Curia Diocesana di Verona, Protocolli, Protocollo vescovile, b. VII, Card. Agostino Valier (1565-1606), b. Protocollo Vescovile 1567, cc. 10^r, 11^v (foto a cura dell'A.).

Il Borromeo aveva eretto il Seminario maggiore di Milano nel 1564, vale a dire ad appena un anno dalla chiusura del Concilio – per tramite, tra l’altro, di un figlio eccellente della Chiesa veronese, Nicolò Ormaneto, al tempo suo vicario generale – e nel corso del successivo ventennio di governo arciepiscopale si era impegnato per promuovere la fondazione di altri seminari non solo all’interno della sua diocesi e di quelle dipendenti da Milano, ma anche nelle diocesi vicine, tanto che ebbe spesso modo di collaborare o sostenere, come nel caso di Verona, i progetti d’istituzione di seminari che in queste venivano realizzati. Egli assegnò al seminario un ruolo fondamentale nel processo di riforma del clero secolare, tanto che al modello pastorale borromaico si ispirarono intere generazioni di vescovi, a cominciare da quelli del periodo post-conciliare che, come Agostino Valier, erano fortemente intenzionati ad applicare nelle proprie diocesi le disposizioni tridentine¹⁰.

¹⁰ Dell’influenza esercitata dal modello carolino parla Guasco (*La formazione del clero: i seminari*, cit., pp. 649-658) prendendo in esame i contenuti delle regole o *Institutiones ad universum Seminarium regimen pertinentes* elaborate dal Borromeo per la formazione del clero nei seminari milanesi. Le regole, come noto, furono predisposte prendendo come punto di fermento

L'esempio dell'arcivescovo di Milano ebbe certamente una parte importante nella decisione del Valier di fondare il Seminario di Verona, anche se, in questo caso specifico, l'immediata attuazione dei provvedimenti concialiri non era affatto scontata e agevole, visto che la diocesi scaligera disponeva di diverse *scholae sacerdotum* presso le pievi più importanti e di una scuola annessa alla cattedrale, che aveva tutte le caratteristiche di un vero e proprio «seminario ante litteram»¹¹. Si fa riferimento, in quest'ultimo caso, proprio alla Scuola degli accoliti di cui parla il Valier nella missiva al Borromeo sopra richiamata. Approvata da papa Eugenio IV con la bolla *In Eminentis* del 1440, la Scuola, al momento dell'istituzione del Seminario diocesano, era frequentata da 24 chierici, che erano mantenuti con la cosiddetta *Mensa acolythorum*, e da un ampio numero di studenti esterni, che provvedevano in maniera autonoma al proprio mantenimento¹². Nel corso degli anni la Scuola aveva definito diversi aspetti della sua struttura organizzativa e del piano di studi; un contributo significativo in questa direzione era arrivato dal vescovo Gian Matteo Giberti, considerato dal Valier e dai suoi contemporanei come il precursore della riforma tridentina e del modello episcopale tratteggiato dal Concilio¹³. Il Giberti aveva infatti affiancato ai maestri di grammatica e di musica, che facevano parte da sempre del corpo insegnante della Scuola, un direttore spirituale e un *magister*

il Seminario Maggiore di Porta Orientale e furono date alle stampe postume dal card. Federico Borromeo nel 1599. Per il testo delle regole si veda *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis*, a cura di A. Ratti, 4 voll., Mediolani, ex Typographia Pontificia Sancti Iosephi, 1890-1897, Vol. III, coll. 93-146; mentre per le vicende redazionali delle regole da S. Carlo agli inizi del Novecento si rimanda a F. Bertani, A. Bernareggi, *Le regole dei seminari milanesi*, «Humilitas», n. I, 1928, pp. 101-111. Sui seminari milanesi: A. Rimoldi, *Le istituzioni di san Carlo Borromeo per il clero diocesano milanese*, «La Scuola cattolica», n. 43, 1965, pp. 427-453; S. Negruzzo, *La formazione ecclesiastica nei seminari e nei collegi di istruzione*, «Studia borromaica», n. 21, 2007, pp. 164-195. Per un panorama sui seminari istituiti nello Stato di Milano: S. Negruzzo, *Collegij a forma di seminario. Il sistema di formazione teologica nello Stato di Milano in età spagnola*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001; X. Toscani, *Seminari e collegi nello Stato di Milano fra Cinque e Seicento*, in M. Sangalli (ed.), *Per il Cinquecento religioso: clero, cultura, società. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Siena, 27-30 giugno 2011*, 2 voll., Roma, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2002, pp. 313-361.

¹¹ Montorio, *Il seminario di Verona*, cit., p. 6.

¹² La bolla *In eminentis*, emanata da papa Eugenio IV il 15 luglio 1440, stabiliva l'istituzione di una mensa per il sostentamento di una Scuola annessa alla cattedrale finalizzata all'istruzione dei giovani chierici. La mensa veniva costituita attraverso la riduzione e la soppressione di tutti quei benefici, detti chiericati, che risultavano abbandonati o vacanti. Queste disposizioni suscitarono numerose proteste e, al fine di arginarle, il 5 settembre 1442 Eugenio IV emanava la bolla *Reformationis mensae acolitorum*, con la quale revocava l'ordine di riduzione dei chiericati e stabiliva altresì che venisse prelevata dai benefici vacanti la somma di 350 ducati da destinare alla Scuola degli accoliti. Va rilevato che, come ha osservato Antonio Spagnolo, «la mensa accoliti non poteva però essere sistemata finché per *vacationem et cessationem diversorum clericatum* non si fossero riuniti i 350 ducati stabiliti dalla bolla, ad ogni modo – continua Spagnolo – siamo certi che le scuole fin da quell'epoca cominciarono ad avere una vita». Cfr. Spagnolo, *Le Scuole accolitali in Verona*, cit., pp. 10-18 (per la citazione p. 17).

¹³ Sulla vita e l'azione pastorale del Giberti: A. Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e controriforma. Gian Matteo Giberti (1495-1543)*, 2 ed., Roma, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2011.

morum, riservando, in questo modo, un'attenzione specifica alla formazione spirituale e morale degli studenti¹⁴. Le novità introdotte dal Giberti avevano permesso di dare nuovo slancio all'istituzione e, come ha osservato Jedin, se non si può escludere che ad essa si ispirò lo stesso card. Pole nella stesura del noto decreto londinese sulla formazione sacerdotale, non vi sono dubbi sul fatto che il suo modello fu ben presente ai padri del Concilio di Trento che lavorarono al canone sui seminari¹⁵.

La Scuola degli accoliti, tuttavia, sebbene avesse alle spalle una storia di tutto rispetto e fosse stata oggetto di rilevanti aggiornamenti, differiva per diversi aspetti dall'istituzione delineata nelle disposizioni conciliari per la formazione del clero diocesano. Tra gli elementi che segnavano maggiormente tale distanza vi era il fatto che gli alunni della Scuola non conducevano vita comune e che l'*iter studiorum* seguito non li accompagnava fino all'ordinazione sacerdotale. Come ricorda Prosperi, infatti, «terminati gli studi in Verona, i chierici venivano poi mandati a Bologna o a Padova e mantenuti presso l'università; infine, giunti all'età canonica, si chiedeva loro di prendere gli ordini maggiori»¹⁶. Preso atto di questa situazione di partenza, Agostino Valier arrivò ben presto alla conclusione per cui «la Scuola non poteva bastare alla completa formazione dei chierici secondo le direttive del Concilio»¹⁷. Per queste ragioni egli riteneva che fosse necessaria l'istituzione di un seminario diocesano che rispondesse alle caratteristiche fissate dal Tridentino.

Nella fondazione di un seminario, di norma, accanto al vescovo, era coinvolta a pieno titolo un'altra autorità: quella del Capitolo della cattedrale¹⁸. Nel caso di Verona i canonici del Capitolo non opposero alcuna resistenza alla decisione del loro vescovo, tanto che giunsero in tempi piuttosto rapidi all'elezione di un loro rappresentante per trattare le questioni relative alla fondazione del Seminario. Nell'adunanza dell'11 gennaio 1567, infatti, veniva designato Girolamo della Torre¹⁹, il quale, subito dopo, entrava a far parte di una commissione istituita appositamente dal Valier, nel rispetto delle disposizioni conciliari²⁰, per procedere «ad erectionem Collegii pro Seminario iuxta formam sacri Concilii Tridentini». Di tale commissione facevano parte anche il canonico

¹⁴ Cfr. Spagnolo, *Le Scuole accolitali in Verona*, cit., pp. 38-44.

¹⁵ Jedin, *L'importanza del decreto tridentino*, cit., pp. 404-405.

¹⁶ Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e controriforma*, cit., p. 234.

¹⁷ Montorio, *Il seminario di Verona*, cit., p. 7.

¹⁸ Sul ruolo del Capitolo nella fondazione dei seminari si vedano le osservazioni di Guasco, *La formazione del clero*, cit., p. 39, mentre per una conoscenza più approfondita della storia dell'antico Capitolo della cattedrale di Verona: *Il Capitolo canonico della Cattedrale di Verona: storia, statuto, regolamento*, Verona, Novastampa, 1991.

¹⁹ Dai documenti risulta, infatti, che nell'adunanza del Capitolo dell'11 gennaio 1567 era stato eletto Girolamo Della Torre come rappresentante del Capitolo per partecipare ai lavori della commissione incaricata dell'istituzione del Seminario. Il documento è conservato presso la Biblioteca capitolare di Verona (in seguito BCV), b. 89, liber VII, c. 2r, ed è stato trascritto da Braggion, *Il seminario di Verona*, cit., Vol. II, doc. n. 65, p. 203.

²⁰ *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, cit., canon XVIII, p. 751.

veronese Maffeo Albertini, il titolare della chiesa di San Sebastiano Alberto Lino e l'arciprete della congregazione del clero intrinseco Pietro Maffei²¹.

Il passo successivo, ottenuto l'accordo con il Capitolo, consisteva nel garantire la stabilità economica al Seminario²². Anche su questo aspetto, i padri del Concilio avevano dato indicazioni che il Valier era intenzionato a rispettare²³. La mensa degli accoliti si trovava in buone condizioni e il vescovo chiese al Capitolo di devolvere parte delle rendite in favore della nuova istituzione; così nella seduta del 15 gennaio 1567 il Capitolo decideva di destinare ad essa «omnes et singuli fructus mensae acolitorum Ecclesiae Veronensis, qui deductis et supportatis oneribus et expensis ordinariis eiusdem mensae supererint»²⁴. Questi proventi però non erano sufficienti e, come indicato nel decreto di erezione canonica del Seminario, il Valier stabiliva che tutti coloro che godevano di «beneficia ecclesiastica, dignitates, personatus, prebendas, abbatias et prioratus cuicumque ordinis, qualitatis, et conditionis fuerint, et hospitalia», con una rendita superiore a 50 ducati, dovevano versare in favore del Seminario un tributo pari all'uno e mezzo per cento, con pena di censura ecclesiastica ed altri «iuris remedia» per i trasgressori. Il vescovo, tuttavia, si riservava di togliere o diminuire questa tassa nel caso in cui il Seminario avesse raggiunto entrate

²¹ Questi nomi si ricavano da un breve resoconto che precede il decreto di erezione del Seminario di Verona, nel quale si dà conto di una riunione convocata da Agostino Valier il 23 gennaio 1567, vale a dire due giorni prima dell'emanazione del decreto e della bolla di erezione, nella quale venivano radunati gli ecclesiastici veronesi chiamati a far parte della commissione istituita dal vescovo allo scopo di «procedere ad erectionem Collegii pro Seminario iuxta formam Sacri Concilii Tridentini». ACV, Protocolli, Protocollo vescovile, b. VII, Card. Agostino Valier (1565-1606), b. Protocollo Vescovile 1567, *Pro Seminario*, c. 10r.

²² Per un quadro generale sulla dotazione patrimoniale dei seminari si veda C. Fantappiè, *Problemi giuridici e finanziari dei seminari*, in Sangalli (ed.), *Chiesa, chierici, sacerdoti*, cit., pp. 85-109.

²³ Cfr. *Conciliarum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, cit., canon XVIII, pp. 751-752.

²⁴ BCV, b. 89, liber VII, c. 2v, documento pubblicato in Braggion, *Il seminario di Verona*, cit., Vol. II, doc. n. 66, p. 204. I documenti relativi alla Mensa Accolitale sono conservati, in parte, presso la Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona e, in parte, presso l'Archivio storico della Curia Vescovile di Verona. In merito a questa situazione Francesco Coati ha osservato che «non è ancora chiaro ad oggi come si siano venuti a creare parallelamente due diversi depositi di materiale relativo alla stessa istituzione, cioè alla Mensa Accolitale», possiamo solo constatare che tale situazione esisteva almeno dagli inizi del XIX secolo e che forse, come ipotizza Coati, trova ragione nella diversa natura dei documenti conservati nelle due istituzioni. A questo riguardo va precisato, infatti, che presso la Biblioteca Capitoale si trovano in particolar modo atti amministrativi e documenti relativi alla gestione della scuola, mentre presso l'Archivio di Curia sono conservati soprattutto documenti inerenti i musicisti della Cappella del Duomo. Per una descrizione dei documenti presenti nella Capitoale si vedano: *Repertorio degli Atti e Documenti dell'Archivio dell'Amplissimo Capitolo dei Rever.mi Canonici della Cattedrale di Verona coordinato nell'ottobre 1888*, ms, nn. 501-514; *Repertorio II dell'Archivio capitolare della cattedrale di Verona*, ms, 1981, n. 870; per i documenti del fondo Mensa Accolitale conservato presso l'Archivio della Curia si veda F. Coati, *Archivio storico della curia vescovile di Verona. Amministrazione economica e finanziaria (tit. XVI/2). Mensa Accoliti*, «Quaderni di musicologia dell'Università degli Studi di Verona», n. I, 2006, pp. 29-35, in partic. per le citazioni p. 29. Sulla Mensa degli Accoliti si veda A. Fasani, *Mensa Accoliti, Excursus storico*, dattiloscritto conservato presso l'Archivio Storico della Curia Vescovile, 1977.

sufficienti al suo sostentamento²⁵. Inoltre, nello stesso decreto si stabiliva di assegnare al Seminario la cappella di Santa Maria della Misericordia nella Cattedrale e il priorato *sine cura* di Sant'Antonio della Giara, destinato ad accogliere di lì a breve i primi alunni del Seminario²⁶.

Tutto ciò accadeva esattamente il 6 aprile del 1567²⁷. Tale data sanciva l'avvio definitivo del Seminario diocesano di Verona, ma si era solo agli inizi di un cammino che non sembrava affatto semplice e privo di ostacoli. Il Seminario, infatti, dovette faticare non poco prima di acquisire piena legittimità davanti al clero veronese, il quale non accettò subito di buon grado la nuova istituzione, soprattutto per via della «contribuzione» che doveva versare in suo favore²⁸. Va aggiunto, poi, che nei membri del Capitolo e negli accoliti maturò presto un certo malumore, in quanto cominciarono a temere per la sopravvivenza della loro Scuola. È all'interno di questo clima di grande tensione che va collocato il noto episodio dell'attentato alla vita di Agostino Valier, che Lorenzo Cardella, riprendendo quanto riportato dal biografo del vescovo Giovanni Ventura e dallo stesso Valier nel *De occultis Dei beneficiis*²⁹, descrive in questi termini:

[Agostino Valier] fondò il Seminario, per la quale pia opera poco vi mancò, che non perdesse disgraziatamente la vita: dappoiché vi fu chi non potendo soffrire, che si ergesse quella nuova fabbrica, ebbe la temerità di collocare un'arme da fuoco ben carica sotto la sedia

²⁵ ACV, Protocolli, Protocollo vescovile, b. VII Card. Agostino Valier (1565-1606), fasc. 1, *Decretum erectionis Seminarii Veronae*, c. 10v. Le stesse disposizioni sono ripetute nella *Bulla erectionis Seminarij* (*ibid.*, cc. 11v-12v).

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Si ha notizia di un giovane figlio di un servitore del Capitano di Verona «dicti il Testa de Illasio», sul cui ingresso in seminario deliberano i canonici del Capitolo per il giorno successivo alla loro riunione, avvenuta in «die sabbati 5 aprilis 1567», (BCV, b. 89, liber VI, c. 8v). Sappiamo, inoltre, che sempre il 6 aprile 1567 entrò nel Seminario di Verona un certo Antonio Bitonti di Giovanni da Bovolone, il cui nome si ricava da un foglio volante di mano settecentesca, copia di una parte di un registro andato perduto, nel cui titolo si trova conferma del 6 aprile 1567 quale data di apertura ufficiale del Seminario: *Libro delli figliuoli del Seminario fondato l'anno 1567 li 6 aprile per opera del M.re R.o Agostino Valier vescovo di Verona*. I due documenti sono stati trascritti da Braggion, *Il seminario di Verona*, cit., Vol. II, doc. 67, pp. 205-206; doc. 33, pp. 92-93. Del foglio sciolto, che dovrebbe essere conservato presso l'Archivio della Biblioteca del Seminario vescovile di Verona, ma non si è riusciti a rintracciare, parla anche Montorio, *Il seminario di Verona*, cit., pp. 11-12.

²⁸ ACV, Protocolli, Protocollo vescovile, b. VII Card. Agostino Valier (1565-1606), *Registro protocolli ab anno 1543 ad annum 1568*, cc. 115r-115v, pubblicato in Braggion, *Il seminario di Verona*, cit., Vol. II, doc. n. 6, p. 13.

²⁹ Giovanni Ventura, *Vita Illustriss. et Reverendiss. Cardinalis Augustini Valerii Veronae episcopi, ab Illustriss. et Reverend. D. Coadjutore Veronae Alberto Valerio requisita, et a Joanne Ventura, clerico Veronensi, descripta, ex Bibliotheca Saibantiana*, in Angelo Calogera, *Raccolta di opuscoli scientifici e filologici*, 51 voll., In Venetia, appresso Cristoforo Zane, 1728-1727, Vol. 25, p. 81; Agostino Valier, *Degli occulti benefici di Dio libri tre di Agostino Valerio cardinale e vescovo di Verona volgarizzati da Niccolò Antonio Giustiniani dell'ord. di S. Benedetto della Congreg. Cassinese vescovo di Verona. Con l'aggiunta di molte lettere inedite del Cardinale Arciv. di Milano S. Carlo Borromeo*, In Verona, per l'Erede di Agostino Carattoni Stampator Vescov., 1770, Lib. I, Cap. XII, pp. L-LI.

del trono episcopale, sopra di cui il nostro Cardinale doveva ascoltare la predica; e fu una specie di prodigio, che all'odore del miccio, che nascosto ivi ardeva, fosse da' suoi familiari scoperta l'indegna trama, e liberato dall'imminente pericolo il vescovo, il quale non fece alcuno risentimento dell'orrendo attentato³⁰.

In questo momento così delicato, come sarebbe capitato tante altre volte negli anni a venire, il Borromeo non mancò di manifestare al vescovo di Verona i sentimenti della sua vicinanza, ribadendo in più occasioni l'importanza del progetto del Seminario veronese e manifestando il suo pieno sostegno al progresso dello stesso. Nell'epistola del 9 dicembre 1568, infatti, l'arcivescovo di Milano scriveva:

Si come restai molto sodisfatto del Seminario di V.S. così sento dispiacere intendendo che altri cerchi indirettamente di distruirlo, ond'ho scritto a Roma a favor suo al Rev.mo Alciati [Francesco Alciati] et S. Clemente [Gianantonio Capizucchi] pregandoli a tener la protezione di questo luoco, come mi rendo certo che faranno per bontà loro et per rispetto mio anchora. Se ben voglio credere che maggior protettore et difensor non possa haversi della pietà et Santità di N. Signore, il quale conosce benissimo la necessità de Seminarii nelle chiese³¹.

A commento di questo episodio, Antonio Spagnolo ha sottolineato come il Capitolo «quantunque contrario alla istituzione del Seminario, non prese mai parte né direttamente né indirettamente alla guerra contro il vescovo di Verona e si limitò soltanto a chiedere che il nuovo Seminario venisse incorporato alle scuole accolitali»³². Per parte sua, il Valier non adottò alcuna misura contro il Capitolo e, in perfetta coerenza con il suo stile di governo pastorale più incline alla mediazione che non alle decisioni imposte d'imperio, scelse di percorrere la via della pacificazione. Egli era a conoscenza del fatto che il Capitolo desiderava che la Scuola degli accoliti e il Seminario si fondessero in un unico corpo e, pertanto, assegnò proprio al Capitolo il compito di lavorare a un progetto di unione delle due istituzioni da sottoporre alla sua valutazione.

Nella Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona è conservata la bozza di questo progetto, dal titolo alquanto esplicativo: *Si faccia unione delli putti del Seminario con gli acoliti et tutti insieme si chiamino il Seminario degli acoliti*³³. Il documento fu scritto probabilmente tra il 1568 e il 1570, negli anni immediatamente precedenti

³⁰ Lorenzo Cardella, *Memorie storiche de Cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa [...]*, 10 voll., In Roma, nella stamperia Pagliarini, 1792-1797, Vol. VI, p. 200.

³¹ Lettera, Carlo Borromeo ad Agostino Valier, [Milano] 9 dicembre 1568 (BAM, P. 3 inf., c. 211; edita in Tacchella, *San Carlo Borromeo ed il card. Agostino Valier*, cit., p. 59). Sui cardinali Alciati e Capizucchi si veda *Hierarchia Catholica medii aevi sive summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series*, 9 voll., Patavii, Il messaggero di s. Antonio, 1960-2002, Vol. III, pp. 35, 41.

³² Spagnolo, *Le scuole acolitali in Verona*, cit., p. 62.

³³ BCV, b. 148, *Si faccia unione delli putti del Seminario con gli acoliti et tutti insieme si chiamino il Seminario degli acoliti*, cc. 221r-221v.

alla pubblicazione degli scritti valeriani dedicati alla riforma della Scuola degli accoliti, dei quali si parlerà più avanti, e presenta alcune note a margine nelle quali si può riconoscere la mano del Valier, note che sono di indubbio interesse in quanto consentono di definire la posizione tenuta dal vescovo rispetto alla proposta avanzata dal Capitolo.

Nel progetto è subito affrontata una delle questioni più dibattute, ovvero quella dell'unione dei benefici delle due istituzioni, stabilendo l'istituzione di «un solo corpo, et una sola mensa» e proponendo, al termine del documento, anche di unire «ancora altri clericati sino al n[umer]o di quaranta [...] oltre il Priorato di S. Antonio, et la Capella della Misericordia». Per quanto riguarda il programma di studi si adotta lo schema proprio della Scuola degli accoliti, disponendo che i chierici del Seminario degli accoliti «serviranno alla chiesa cathedrale secondo il consueto e tutti saranno ammaestrati in lettere humane et sacre et in musica dalli medesimi maestri in una istessa schola», mentre circa l'elezione dei chierici e dei maestri si sottolinea la necessità che venga definita dal vescovo e dal Capitolo *coniunctim*³⁴.

Il nucleo centrale del progetto, tuttavia, si giocò sulla delicata materia dell'abitazione per la quale fu individuata una duplice soluzione, in base alla quale «gli putti del Seminario» sarebbero andati «ad habitar nella casa degli acoliti», opportunamente accomodata ed ampliata a seconda delle necessità, continuando ad osservare «vita comune serati nel modo, et forma» consueta; mentre gli acoliti sarebbero rimasti a vivere «à casa dei loro parenti in libertà con la solita provisione di un carro di formento (sic) per ciascuno l'anno». Questi ultimi avrebbero preso il nome di studenti del «Seminario degli acoliti aperto», mentre i primi quello di studenti del «Seminario degli acoliti serrato»³⁵. Il giudizio negativo del Valier rispetto a questa soluzione è chiaramente espresso nel secco commento a margine del documento: «questo è superfluo, et deve esser per tutto un Seminario». Altrettanto netta è la valutazione espressa dal vescovo circa la proposta avanzata nel progetto di mantenere «le vesti azzurre secondo il solito» per gli acoliti del Seminario aperto e quelle «negre» per gli acoliti del Seminario serrato, che commenta duramente affermando: «questo è metter scisma»³⁶.

Il progetto non ebbe alcun seguito e così a Verona, come avvenne in tante altre diocesi, si scelse di mantenere, accanto al Seminario, le precedenti modalità di preparazione al sacerdozio³⁷. Ben presto però il clima generale tornò ad

³⁴ *Ibid.*, cc. 221r, 221v.

³⁵ Il documento prevede, accanto ai quarantotto acoliti di entrambi i seminari, la presenza di «dodici putti» di dodici anni circa, «di buoni costumi, et di buono ingegno, [...] bona voce, et [...] inclinati al clericale» da ammettere «alla scola di lettere et di musica insieme con gli acoliti» e al servizio della cattedrale, però «sencia altro premio, havendo solamente l'aspettativa degli acoliti aperti o serrati, quando ne resti la vacanza». BCV, b. 148, c. 221v.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Cfr. Guasco, *La formazione del clero*, cit., p. 37.

essere più disteso e il Valier poté dedicarsi, per un verso, al consolidamento del neonato Seminario diocesano e, per l'altro, alla riorganizzazione della Scuola degli accoliti.

2. Verso il consolidamento della nuova istituzione

Se è vero che il Valier era giunto abbastanza rapidamente all'apertura del Seminario e se, in fondo, anche sul fronte del rapporto tra Seminario e Scuola degli accoliti si era riusciti a trovare una soluzione di equilibrio in tempi tutto sommato brevi, è altrettanto vero che il Seminario attraversò una fase di assestamento piuttosto lunga, nel corso della quale il vescovo di Verona si trovò ad affrontare diversi problemi relativi, per la maggior parte, all'organizzazione degli studi, alla definizione delle strutture di governo e, non da ultimo, all'individuazione di una sede stabile.

Per quanto riguarda quest'ultimo aspetto tanti furono i cambiamenti che il Seminario dovette affrontare sin dai primi anni di attività. Va detto, innanzitutto, che il priorato di S. Antonio della Giara era stato dato in commenda al chierico veronese Francesco Manfredi e che passò in pieno possesso del Seminario solo alla morte di questi, avvenuta il 24 giugno 1577, vale a dire a dieci anni di distanza dalla fondazione dell'istituzione³⁸. Il Valier, pertanto, si trovò nell'immediato nella condizione di dover trovare una nuova sede per il suo Seminario. La scelta ricadde sul convento di S. Bartolomeo della Levà, che fu chiesto in affitto all'inquisitore di Verona Marco Medici; in questo luogo il Seminario rimase dal 1572 al 1584³⁹, anno in cui poteva tornare presso il convento di S. Antonio della Giara, dove sarebbe rimasto fino al 1690, per poi passare – dopo un breve periodo presso il convento di S. Gabriele Arcangelo –

³⁸ A questo riguardo, nel registro n. 13, *Entrate 1574-1622*, conservato presso l'Archivio Económico del Seminario di Verona (in seguito AESV), a c. 141r si fa presente che: «adi 24 giugno 1577 mons. R.mo il Vescovo de Verona unì et assegnò al Ven. Collegio de chierici del seminario de Verona il priorato mazzor di S. Antonio della Giara et per la morte del Priore il R.do D. Francesco Manfredi in Roma li ij giugno 1577 et detta union fu fatta da Mons.r R.mo per vigor della union impetrata et concessa l'anno 1567 dalla santità di Papa Pio Quinto, però adi 24 giugno supradetto per vigor di detta union del Seminario entrò in possesso et spirituale et temporale del detto priorato». Va ricordato, inoltre, che la sede di S. Antonio abate, indicata comunemente con il nome S. Antonio della Giara, era conosciuta anche come S. Antonio di Vienna, in quanto appartenuta un tempo ai canonici ospitalieri di S. Antonio di Vienne. Cfr. T. Lenotti, *Chiese e conventi scomparsi*, 2 voll., Verona, Edizioni di Vita Veronese, 1955, Vol. I: *A destra dell'Adige*, pp. 50-52.

³⁹ Questo convento, situato nell'area che ora ingloba l'ospedale militare, fu chiesto in affitto all'inquisitore di Verona Marco Medici, che ne era entrato in possesso nel 1571, a seguito della soppressione dell'Ordine degli Umiliati. Cfr. Montorio, *Il seminario di Verona*, cit., pp. 9-10; Orlandi, *Note per la storia del seminario*, cit., p. 12.

in una sede più vicina al centro della città, situata in contrada di san Vitale, dove si trova tuttora⁴⁰.

Sul fronte della gestione interna, si arrivò gradualmente alla definizione delle funzioni e dei compiti delle figure preposte al governo della struttura e dei chierici, così come altrettanto gradualmente si stabilirono regole sui requisiti di accesso richiesti ai seminaristi e sulle caratteristiche del loro percorso di studi. Al momento della sua apertura nella primavera del 1567, come apprendiamo da una lettera indirizzata dal Valier al preposito generale della Compagnia di Gesù⁴¹, il Seminario di Verona accoglieva 25 scolari e aveva come rettore p. Girolamo Mainero.

Il ruolo del rettore era centrale per la vita del seminario e su di lui gravavano numerose responsabilità. È il rettore, infatti, come ha osservato a questo proposito Angelo Orlandi, che «rappresenta il vescovo in specifiche situazioni giuridiche presso il pubblico, trasmette ed esegue le direttive del vescovo e al vescovo dà relazione dell'istituto, nello stesso tempo deve curare la formazione dei seminaristi con la collaborazione di altri sacerdoti, deve vigilare e intervenire anche sugli aspetti materiali necessari per il Seminario (problemi economici, manutenzione degli stabili e delle loro attrezzature, alimentazione degli alunni e del personale etc.)»⁴². Non sappiamo per quanto tempo il Mainero abbia tenuto l'incarico di rettore, ma è certo che egli si era formato presso la Scuola degli accoliti, così come i collaboratori che lo affiancarono nella gestione del Seminario⁴³. Un elemento importante questo che, da un lato, conferma il ruolo attivo del Capitolo nella direzione e nella scelta del personale che operò nel Seminario, e che, dall'altro, testimonia anche la volontà del Valier di prevenire per quanto possibile le situazioni di conflitto e rivalità tra le due istituzioni cittadine deputate alla formazione del clero diocesano⁴⁴.

Circa i successori del Mainero nella carica di rettore, le informazioni a disposizione risultano frammentarie e a volte difficili da interpretare, come nel caso di Gaspare Prevosto, giovane aspirante sacerdote che il Borromeo, su richiesta del Valier, inviò a Verona per attendere al «servizio» del Seminario, e che nei documenti reperiti figura come «ministro» del Seminario per gli anni 1571-1573, qualifica che – come sottolinea ancora Orlandi – non consente di stabilire con precisione il ruolo ricoperto dal Prevosto all'interno del

⁴⁰ Sappiamo, infatti, che nel 1690 le monache di S. Silvestro proposero al Seminario una permuta, chiedendo il convento di S. Antonio della Giara in cambio del monastero di S. Gabriele Arcangelo sotto il castello di S. Felice, meglio noto come S. Angelo in monte; da qui il Seminario si sarebbe spostato nel 1695 per stabilirsi in contrada san Vitale, presso le case che prima erano state dei Somaschi. Cfr. Montorio, *Il seminario di Verona*, cit., pp. 8-13; Orlandi, *Note per la storia del seminario*, cit., pp. 12-14.

⁴¹ Lettera, Agostino Valier a Francesco Borgia, Verona 4 giugno 1567 (Archivium Romanum Societatis Iesu, in seguito ARSI, Epp. Ext. 11, cc. 95r-96v).

⁴² Orlandi, *Note per la storia del seminario*, cit., pp. 59-60.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

Seminario⁴⁵. Sappiamo, invece, che per il quadriennio 1574-1578 fu rettore Tommaso Lanfranco da Gavardo di Brescia e che per gli anni 1586-1615 questa carica fu tenuta da Giorgio Pindemonte, mentre per il lasso di tempo compreso tra questi due periodi si è in grado di stabilire, con certezza, soltanto che «vi ebbero qualche parte i Gesuiti», la cui entrata in scena, come si spiegherà più avanti, consentì di dare maggiore stabilità al Seminario non solo sul fronte del governo interno ma anche e soprattutto rispetto al programma di studi seguito dai chierici⁴⁶.

Oltre al rettore – che, come si è detto, rispondeva direttamente al vescovo –, l'organigramma organizzativo dell'istituzione includeva naturalmente anche un corpo docente, a cui era affidato il *cursus studiorum* dei chierici, del personale addetto ai servizi ordinari (cuoco, portinaio, «mastro lavandaro», barbieri ed altri) e dei protettori che vigilavano sul processo di accettazione dei chierici⁴⁷. Dal *Libro delli creditori ordinarij del Seminario* si ricavano inoltre i nomi delle persone che prestarono i loro servizi a pagamento nella nuova istituzione negli anni 1574-1580⁴⁸. Questo registro, in particolare, consente di conoscere l'identità di alcuni dei maestri che operarono nel Seminario in questo periodo la durata e il tipo di incarico assegnato loro. Veniamo a sapere, in questo modo, che

⁴⁵ Il nome di Gaspare Prevosto figura per la prima volta in una lettera inviata dal Borromeo al Valier il 10 ottobre 1571, nella quale egli annuncia: «Viene Gaspar Prevosto per attendere al suo Seminario et desidero che l'opera sua in quel servizio riesca fruttuosa. Ben voglio pregarla a non occuparlo tanto intorno ad altri, che a lui ancora non avanzi tempo, et comodità di studiare, et che entrato ch'egli sia nei 15 anni V.S. ricordi di rimandarmelo secondo la promessa» (*Lettere di s. Carlo Borromeo al cardinale Agostino Valerio date per la prima volta alle stampe*, in Valier, *Degli occulti benefici di Dio*, cit., ep. n. 4, p. CXXVII). Al termine di una lettera dell'8 novembre di quell'anno, sempre il Borromeo esprimeva al Valier la sua soddisfazione per la buona riuscita del suo giovane ministro: «Ho caro che'l diacono nostro di qua le riesca così bene come la scrive in quel servizio del suo Seminario» (*ibid.*, ep. n. 5, p. CXXIX). L'8 luglio 1573, invece, il Borromeo ricordava al Valier l'accordo stretto a suo tempo circa la permanenza di Gaspare Prevosto a Verona: «Aspetto che Gaspar Prevosto quanto prima se ne venga a Milano disegnando io massime col testimonio che me ne fa ora V.S. occuparlo in qualche altra impresa in questa parte». Esattamente un mese dopo il Borromeo informava il Valier che il Prevosto era stato «accomodato per ministro nel Collegio de' Convittori» di Milano (*ibid.*, ep. n. 10, p. CXXXVII). Nell'*Epistolario di San Carlo* si torna a parlare nuovamente del Prevosto in una lettera di mons. Giovanni Fontana del 17 luglio 1575, nella quale si informa il Borromeo che era stato scelto per «servir Mons. visitatore in visita [...] P. Gaspar Prevosti can[onic]o di S.to Stefano [...] sì per la bontà della vitta (sic) sua come anco che per l'ufficio di ministro ch'ha fatto et nel Seminario di Verona e nel Collegio qui di Santa Maria» (BAM, F 133 inf., c. 244r; *Edizione Nazionale del Carteggio San Carlo*, c2004, <<http://ambrosiana.comperio.it/epistolario-di-san-carlo/>>; ultimo accesso settembre 2013). I corsivi nei testi sopra riportati sono di chi scrive ed evidenziano i luoghi da cui sono state tratte le citazioni inserite nel corpo del testo principale. Per le riflessioni di Orlandi sulla carica svolta dal Prevosto nel Seminario di Verona si veda, *Note per la storia del seminario*, cit., p. 62.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-63 per la cronotassi dei rettori e pp. 129-132 per un profilo dell'Archivio storico del Seminario.

⁴⁷ Chiappa, *Nota storica*, cit., pp. 95-96.

⁴⁸ AESV, b. LXXXVI, Registri antichi, *Libro delli creditori ordinarij del Seminario (1574-1580)*.

Lorenzo Cettura fu maestro di grammatica tra il 1574 e il 1575, che a Lonardo Ricardi fu dato «l'ufficio del maestro con obbligo di leggere tutte quelle lettioni, che faranno di bisogno et gli saranno commesse» nel 1575 e che mantenne tale incarico almeno fino al febbraio del 1576; scopriamo, poi, che nel biennio 1574-1576 Camillo Brusco ebbe l'incarico di insegnare «a gli chierici canto figurato, et fermo» e che «il R.do M. Don Mattheo Signorati entrò nel seminario a di 5 di luglio 1576 per celebrare quotidianamente la S.ta messa, et per insegnare la Grammatica secondo l'uso del Sem[inari]o et legere quelle lettioni espedienti ad insegnare la detta arte, et oltre di ciò per fare ancho quello gli venesse imposto da Monsig.or protettore secondo le necessità occorrenti del Sem[inari]o»; infine, apprendiamo che «il R.do M. Don Christoforo Dolci, entrò nel Ven. Seminario di Verona a di 15 aprile 1577 per far l'ufficio di Maestro Generale, cioè così d'umanità come logica, filosofia, et canto»⁴⁹.

Da queste informazioni emerge come i maestri che operarono durante il primo periodo di attività del Seminario avevano incarichi in genere di breve durata e anche molto ampi, che non risultavano legati in modo esclusivo all'insegnamento di una sola disciplina. D'altra parte, come ha osservato giustamente Angelo Orlandi, quando si pensa al Seminario di Verona degli esordi si deve immaginare «una scuola di tipo familiare», in cui «gli insegnanti erano due o tre e ciascuno impartiva l'insegnamento di più materie, spesso coadiuvato da ripetitori scelti anche tra gli scolari più preparati e capaci»⁵⁰. Questa situazione formativa rimarrà costante grosso modo fino al 1578, quando in seguito alla fondazione del Collegio gesuitico di Verona, la preparazione dei chierici del Seminario sarà affidata ai padri della Compagnia di Gesù.

Tornando all'assetto organizzativo del Seminario, merita di essere precisato il ruolo dei protettori. A questo riguardo, in un documento redatto probabilmente nei primi anni di attività dell'istituzione ed intitolato *Conditioni che si ricercano nelli chierici per esser admissi nel Sem[ina]rio così nelli poveri, che sono alimentati gratis, come in quel che pagano la spesa*, si legge:

Quando vacarà qualche luogo de poveri, il qual sia ricordato da diversi chierici, si dia carico a dui delli RR. Protettori del Sem[ina]rio di informarsi diligentem.te di tutti, se hanno le sottoscritte condizioni, liquali poi alla prossima Cong[regatio]ne facciano la lor relatione, et quelli che s'intenderà non haver le sudette condizioni siano incontimente rigetti senza ballotarsi. Ma quelli che haverano doj condizioni siano esaminati per *concorsum* et poi ballotati a bussoli secreti, et quelli che haveranno havuto più della metà dele ballote in favore siano proposti l a Mons.or R.mo acciò sua S.tà R.ma faccia elezione di quello, che le sarà di maggior soddisfazione. Questo istesso si osservi ancho in quelli che pagaranno la spesa⁵¹.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, cc. 2, 16-17, 101-102. Si veda anche Chiappa, *Nota storica*, cit., pp. 95-97.

⁵⁰ A. Orlandi, *Le scuole del seminario. Qualche cenno di storia*, «Il seminario», a. 28, n. 138, 2006, p. 119.

⁵¹ ACV, Clero, Seminario Vescovile di Verona, b. 1, fasc. *Seminario XVI sec.*, *Conditioni che si ricercano nelli chierici per esser admissi nel Sem[ina]rio così nelli poveri, che sono alimentati*

Dai protettori, pertanto, dipendeva l'ammissione dei chierici poveri e sempre a loro erano affidate le procedure di accertamento necessarie a stabilire le variazioni sulla retta dei chierici a pagamento⁵². Sebbene nell'uno e nell'altro caso la decisione finale spettasse al vescovo, resta comunque il fatto che i protettori ricoprivano una carica di grande responsabilità, che richiedeva persone di specchiata moralità, nelle quali il vescovo poteva riporre piena fiducia. Non sorprende, pertanto, di trovare in questo ruolo uno dei componenti della commissione istitutiva del Seminario, Alberto Lino, per gli anni 1579-80, e un illustre sacerdote e giurista veronese, Nicolò del Bene, per gli anni 1577-78⁵³. Queste ed altre informazioni si ricavano, per la gran parte, dall'analisi di tre fascicoli riservati alla registrazione dei chierici a pagamento ed inerenti il primo periodo di attività del Seminario. I tre fascicoli, puntualmente esaminati da Bruno Chiappa, sono in «stretto rapporto di successione» l'uno con l'altro e coprono un arco cronologico che va dal 1569 al 1587⁵⁴.

L'analisi di questi fascicoli consente di ricavare diversi dati interessanti sulla vita interna del Seminario; emerge, ad esempio, che l'ingresso era consentito in vari momenti dell'anno, anche se il 52% dei 73 ingressi censiti da Chiappa, si concentravano nei mesi di ottobre, novembre e dicembre, dunque all'inizio dell'anno scolastico. Sul numero annuo degli ingressi è difficile pronunciarsi in modo preciso, visto che i registri mancano di alcune parti e non sono pervenuti dati sui chierici ammessi gratuitamente. Sappiamo, tuttavia, che alla sua apertura il Seminario accoglieva 25 studenti⁵⁵ e che, stante i fascicoli dei

gratis, come in quel che pagano la spesa, c. 1r; documento pubblicato in Braggion, *Il seminario di Verona*, cit., Vol. II, doc. n. 38, pp. 111-113.

⁵² Chiappa, *Nota storica*, cit., p. 95.

⁵³ Nicolò del Bene figura come protettore per gli anni 1577 e 1578 in AESV, registro n. 13, *Entrate 1574-1622*, cc. 98v, 104v, 105v. Nello stesso registro il canonico Giambattista Medoro è indicato come protettore per il 1576 (c. 124v). Il nome di Alberto Lino emerge dalle note di pagamento degli anni 1579-1580 presenti in Archivio di Stato di Verona, fondo SS. Apostoli, b. 1, registro 1, cc. 19r, 54r-55r. In questo registro a c. 43r ritorna il nome di Nicolò del Bene come protettore del Seminario per il 1578.

⁵⁴ Si fa riferimento a tre registri manoscritti, due conservati presso l'Archivio di Stato di Verona (in seguito ASV) nel fondo SS. Apostoli (b. 1, registro 1, *Libro de chierici del Seminario in parte spesati dai suoi*, che copre gli anni 1569-1580, e busta 9, registro 100, <...> *del Seminario*, che interessa gli anni 1569-1571), e uno presso la Biblioteca del Seminario di Verona (AESV, b. LXXXVI, Registri antichi, *Libro delli chierici che pagano alimenti al Ven. Sem.rio, 1573-1586*). I dati tratti da questi fascicoli sono stati sistematizzati da Chiappa in un'appendice in calce al suo contributo, nella quale fornisce un elenco di 73 chierici, organizzato per ordine cronologico. Nell'elenco, accanto al nome dello studente, sono indicati la data d'ingresso nel Seminario e l'ammontare della retta, che poteva essere corrisposta in denaro o in frumento o in altri beni di natura. Cfr. Chiappa, *Nota storica*, cit., pp. 94-95 per la descrizione dei fascicoli e pp. 100-103 per l'appendice.

⁵⁵ Un numero che sembra sostanzialmente confermato a pochi anni di distanza dalla fondazione del Seminario, se all'ingresso di Achille Perazzo tra i chierici a pagamento, avvenuto il 14 novembre 1570, si può annotare: «Achille f. di Ms Antonio Perazzo entrò nel Sem[in]ario nel numero delli 24 fig[li]o[li]». ASV, b. 9, registro 100, c. 6r.

chierici a pagamento, in media per ogni anno scolastico entravano 4-5 nuovi studenti, che rimanevano in Seminario normalmente dai 4 ai 6-7 anni. Tutto ciò permette di convenire con Chiappa circa l'ipotesi di «un contingente stabile di oltre 50 seminaristi»⁵⁶. Un numero abbastanza esiguo, dunque, che non poteva coprire interamente la domanda formativa degli aspiranti sacerdoti presenti nella diocesi di Verona e che giustificherà per lungo tempo la sopravvivenza dei vecchi canali di preparazione al sacerdozio.

Questo quadro viene sostanzialmente confermato dall'esame di un altro fascicolo, immediatamente successivo a quelli studiati da Chiappa e relativo al periodo 1587-1615. Si tratta del *Libro dei chierici del ven. Seminario cominciato il dì p.º Agosto 1590* conservato presso la Biblioteca del Seminario di Verona, nel quale sono registrati 188 studenti, di cui 5 ammessi gratuitamente e i restanti con rette che nella maggior parte dei casi vanno dai 40 ai 25 ducati annui e che, nel complesso, appaiono meno diversificate di quelle annotate nei fascicoli degli anni precedenti⁵⁷. Anche i dati raccolti in questo registro mostrano come il tempo di permanenza in Seminario poteva variare molto da uno studente all'altro e come frequenti erano le uscite prima dell'ordinazione. Le ragioni potevano essere le più varie: vi potevano essere motivi di salute, che imponevano il ritorno in famiglia, oppure questioni di carattere personale, che rendevano incerta la vocazione, o ancora si potevano presentare cause di ordine economico, per cui non si era più in grado di sostenere il costo della retta⁵⁸. Non di rado, infine, capitava che i chierici uscissero dal seminario per entrare in qualche ordine religioso, più comunemente in quello dei Cappuccini o dei Gesuiti⁵⁹.

Coloro che completavano gli studi in Seminario, invece, una volta ricevuti gli ordini maggiori, potevano essere assegnati a una parrocchia che, come mostra Chiappa, molto spesso coincideva proprio con quella d'origine⁶⁰. Fu questo il caso di Antonio Bitonti da Bovolone il quale, entrato in Seminario il 6 aprile, «uscì essendo diacono et fu mandato con Mons. Arciprete di Bovolone il R.do Sig.r Bartolamio Cartolar, ove ordinato di Messa restò con il detto Cartolar, et poi fu investito da Mons. Rev.mo del beneficio di Mazzagata, quale rinunciato fu di novo investito del beneficio di Terrazzo, et ultimamente circa il fine di ottobre 1576 rinunciato Terrazzo Mons. R.mo li ha conferito il beneficio di Bovolone sua patria». Non va dimenticato, poi, che alcuni dei seminaristi più capaci, dopo l'ordinazione, potevano essere impiegati nel servizio del Seminario

⁵⁶ Chiappa, *Nota storica*, cit., p. 98.

⁵⁷ AESV, b. LXXXVI, Registri antichi, *Libro dei chierici del ven. Seminario cominciato il dì p.p Agosto 1590*.

⁵⁸ Cfr. Chiappa, *Nota storica*, cit., pp. 96-97.

⁵⁹ Questa situazione viene registrata in almeno dieci casi nel *Libro dei chierici del ven. Seminario cominciato il dì p.p Agosto 1590*, pp. 13-14, 20, 26, 54, 76, 77, 93, 99, 109 (AESV, b. LXXXVI, Registri antichi).

⁶⁰ Chiappa, *Nota storica*, cit., pp. 97-98.

o di altre ‘imprese formative’. A questo riguardo appare di grande interesse la vicenda di Agostino Bettino da Cà degli Oppi, che entrò in Seminario l’11 ottobre 1569, ricevette il diaconato il 22 dicembre 1576 e «a dì 20 febbraio 1577 fu mandato da Mons. Rev.mo il Vescovo a Monteforte in casa di Mons. Arciprete però a spese et con salario di Mons. Rev.mo per insegnare et ammaestrare li chierici di Monteforte, ed altri ivi vicini. A dì 24 aprile di ordine di Mons. R.mo si partì di Monteforte e venne a Verona nel Collegio novo dei Convittori per coadiutore nel governo»⁶¹.

Per quanto concerne la provenienza sociale dei chierici, i registri a noi pervenuti forniscono indizi che riconducono i soggetti o a famiglie che potevano contare su qualche parente sacerdote o religioso, oppure a famiglie che appartenevano al ceto medio dei professionisti, degli artigiani e dei piccoli proprietari terrieri⁶². Così, se per un verso, tra gli ingressi del 1573 si registra Pietro Barbarigo, fratello dell’arciprete di Legnano, che paga con un chiericato dello zio, dall’altro, abbiamo anche G. Battista Cassino di Francesco, che paga «due carra d’uva, un sacco de legumi, et due quarte di farro all’anno»; non sorprende, poi, trovare tra i seminaristi del 1586 un certo Bartolomeo nipote del rettore Giorgio Pindemonte, che corrisponde una retta di 60 ducati d’oro una tantum, o di individuare chierici a pagamento provenienti dal variegato ceto medio delle professioni, quali Marco Bocchino, fratello di Andrea libraio, Stefano Barbieri, figlio «di m. Vincenzo sarto», che fanno il loro ingresso in Seminario nel 1571, o Girolamo di Eliseo Misardi mercante di seta e legna e Francesco «figliolo dell’eccell.mo medico il Sig.r Girolamo Graziolo», che sono accolti in Seminario, rispettivamente, nel 1602 e nel 1605⁶³.

La preparazione alla professione sacerdotale, in effetti, aveva un costo e se i figli dei poveri – nel rispetto delle disposizioni conciliari – erano dispensati dal sostenerlo, per tutti gli altri, che in genere – come confermano i dati appena richiamati – provenivano dalla fascia media della popolazione, doveva provvedere la famiglia d’origine. Oltre alla retta annua, poi, come si apprende dalle *Conditioni che si ricercano nelli chierici per essere ammessi nel Seminario*, al seminarista in ingresso era richiesto anche un corredo:

⁶¹ Le citazioni sono tratte da Montorio, *Il seminario di Verona*, cit., pp. 11-12. L’autore riporta le uniche parti a noi pervenute di quel *Libro delli figliuoli del Seminario fondato l’anno 1567 li 6 aprile per opera del M.re R.o Agostino Valier vescovo di Verona* di cui si è parlato *supra* a nota 27. Nel brano riportato da Montorio è indicato anche il nome di un altro chierico che va annoverato tra i primi studenti del Seminario di Verona, si tratta di Celio Bonetti di Marchior da Legnano, che uscito dal Seminario il 27 febbraio 1578, fu impegnato da Valier nel governo del Collegio dei convittori.

⁶² Per un panorama sulla situazione del clero secolare presente nella penisola italiana in età moderna: X. Toscani, *Il reclutamento del clero (secoli XVI-XIX)*, in Chittolini, Miccoli (edd.), *La Chiesa e il potere politico*, cit., pp. 575-628.

⁶³ Chiappa, *Nota storica*, cit., pp. 100-103; AESV, b. LXXXVI, Registri antichi, *Libro dei chierici del ven. Seminario cominciato il dì p.p Agosto 1590*, pp. 91, 118.

Tutti si provedano di libri, vestimenti, cassa da conservar le lor robbe, tavola da starvi a studiare, et diverse lor cose necessarie per dormire, ma se alcuni fossero tanto poveri, che non si potessero proveder da dormire a questi ne sarà provisto dal Sem[ina]rio et quanto si partiranno dal Sem[ina]rio tutti potranno portar via, ciò che vi haveranno portato. Tutti ancho portino una tovaglia da tavola di cerlisetto di dui managhi lunga diece braccia, et una tovagliola da sciugar le mani di mezza fesa di cerlisetto lunga sei braccia, et sei manipoli del medes[im]o cerlisetto. Et queste robbe restino al Sem[ina]rio quando partiranno⁶⁴.

Da questo ulteriore aggravio di spese erano dispensati «gli estremam[en]te poveri»⁶⁵. Va detto, però, che nel corso degli anni di permanenza in seminario anche un chierico a pagamento, se vi erano delle situazioni accertate di difficoltà economica, poteva ottenere una riduzione della retta o addirittura la totale eliminazione, come mostrano i casi di G. Battista Sorio di Giuseppe entrato in Seminario nel 1581 con una retta di 36 ducati, che era stata poi ridotta a 25 «per causa di povertà» o di Paolo Allegri di Pietro, ammesso nel 1582 con una retta di 25 ducati e successivamente «esentato dal pagar sì per essere poverissimo sì anco perché – come spesso capitava con gli studenti che avevano maturato una certa esperienza della vita in seminario – si serve di lui nel governo della casa»⁶⁶.

Oltre agli aspetti di ordine economico vi erano tante altre norme che regolamentavano l'ammissione in un seminario, a cominciare da quelle inerenti le condizioni di nascita e l'età dei chierici e proprio da queste muove il documento valeriano appena citato che, parafrasando il canone *Cum adolescentium aetas*, stabiliva: «siano [i chierici] nati di legittimo matrimonio, et di padre, et madre di buona fama, et di età almen di dodeci anni». Per l'ingresso nel seminario andavano rispettate, poi, anche determinate caratteristiche fisiche, così, nello stesso testo, si ordinava di accogliere solo chierici «sani di corpo, et di mente et non habbiano alcuna macchia o difetto corporale che impedisca che non possano esser ordinati al sacerdotio, ne ancho siano zoppi, guerci et mostruosi». A queste regole si aggiungevano prescrizioni sulle attitudini intellettuali e morali degli aspiranti sacerdoti, che non solo dovevano essere di «buoni costumi, et di ingegno habile alli studi» – come d'altra parte prescriveva il canone tridentino –, ma dovevano anche mostrare di essere «almen tanto introdotti nelle lettere latine» da poter «entrar nell'ultima schuola de RR. P[ad]ri Giesuiti alle cui schuole tutti hanno da andare»⁶⁷. Quest'ultima notazione aggiunge degli elementi in più rispetto al generico «legere et scribere competentem»⁶⁸ delle disposizioni conciliari e consente di individuare un termine *a quo* per

⁶⁴ ACV, Clero, Seminario vescovile di Verona, b. 1, fasc. *Seminario XVI sec.*, *Conditioni che si ricercano*, cit., c. 1r.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Chiappa, *Nota storica*, cit., p. 102.

⁶⁷ ACV, Clero, Seminario vescovile di Verona, b. 1, fasc. *Seminario XVI sec.*, *Conditioni che si ricercano*, cit., c. 1r.

⁶⁸ *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, cit., p. 750.

il documento valeriano, che coincide con la fondazione del Collegio della Compagnia di Gesù di Verona⁶⁹.

3. *Il ruolo della Compagnia di Gesù*

Il Collegio dei Gesuiti fu avviato in modo stabile nel 1578 e il 3 novembre di quell'anno aprirono le loro scuole. Questa data segna una vera e propria svolta per il Seminario di Verona. Fino a quel momento l'istruzione dei chierici si era svolta all'interno del Seminario ed era stata modulata secondo uno schema molto simile a quello adottato nella Scuola degli accoliti, basato cioè sull'insegnamento delle *humanae litterae* e della musica. Con l'apertura delle scuole gesuitiche il Seminario di Verona poteva disporre di un percorso di studi molto più articolato e accuratamente strutturato nei tempi e negli spazi, di cui si sarebbe avvalso fino al 1606, anno che segnava un'importante cesura nella storia delle istituzioni educative veronesi e non solo, perché coincideva con la cacciata dei Gesuiti dai territori della Serenissima, avvenuta a seguito del noto episodio dell'interdetto comminato da Paolo V alla Repubblica di Venezia.

La presenza dei Gesuiti a Verona era frutto della determinazione di Agostino Valier, che aveva condotto una lunga trattativa con la Casa generalizia della Compagnia prima di ottenere l'assenso per la costituzione di un Collegio dei padri nella sua diocesi. Il Valier si era rivolto ai Gesuiti per far fronte alla situazione di carenza di personale specializzato presso il clero secolare veronese. Questa era una situazione comune a tanti seminari, che molti vescovi avevano affrontato ricorrendo al supporto di un Ordine religioso, tant'è che a questo riguardo è stato osservato come «l'integrazione con le scuole degli Ordini fu vitale per i seminari, che in un certo senso riuscivano a funzionare solo come membri di un sistema più complesso»⁷⁰. La scelta della maggior parte dei vescovi, a cominciare dal Borromeo, era ricaduta sulla Compagnia di Gesù⁷¹; d'altra parte, come ha osservato Maurilio Guasco, i Gesuiti erano tra i «maggiori protagonisti della messa in opera del Concilio, grazie soprattutto

⁶⁹ Si precisa che, in questa sede, il termine Collegio sarà adottato nell'accezione di «sede abitativa e operativa stabile, dove l'esercizio dei ministeri spirituali è 'secondario' e complementare» all'attività 'primaria' di insegnamento, esercitata presso «scuole organicamente autonome». Cfr. M. Zanardi, *I «domicilia» o centri operativi della Compagnia di Gesù nello Stato veneto (1542-1773)*, in Id. (ed.), *I Gesuiti a Venezia. Momenti e problemi di storia veneziana della Compagnia di Gesù. Atti del Convegno di Studi. Venezia, 2-5 ottobre 1990*, Venezia, Giunta regionale del Veneto; Padova, Gregoriana, 1994, p. 94.

⁷⁰ Negruzzo, *Collegij a forma di seminario*, cit., p. 18.

⁷¹ I Gesuiti arrivarono a Milano nel 1564 e stabilirono una stretta collaborazione con il Borromeo, che tuttavia non fu priva di conflitti anche molto accesi. Per un approfondimento sulle vicende dell'insediamento dei Gesuiti a Milano e sui loro rapporti con il Borromeo si rimanda a F. Rurale, *I Gesuiti a Milano: religione e politica nel secondo Cinquecento*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1992.

al ruolo che svolg[evano] a Roma», cuore della cristianità e fulcro del processo di rinnovamento cattolico, dove i Gesuiti avevano aperto da tempo due delle istituzioni ispiratrici del decreto sui seminari, il Collegio Romano e il Collegio Germanico, e dove nel 1565 avevano assunto la direzione del Seminario romano, che nasceva proprio con l'esplicito intento di fungere da modello per tutti i seminari, già eretti e futuri, del mondo cattolico⁷².

In realtà il Valier si era potuto giovare del supporto dei Gesuiti in diverse occasioni, sin dai primissimi mesi di attivazione del Seminario, ma non con quella continuità che solo la fondazione di una sede stabile della Compagnia poteva garantire. Di questa antica collaborazione prestata dai Gesuiti a favore del Seminario veronese si trovano diverse testimonianze nella corrispondenza intercorsa tra il Valier e il preposito generale della Compagnia⁷³. Una delle prime lettere risale al 4 giugno 1567, quando il vescovo di Verona scriveva a Francesco Borgia esprimendo tutta la sua gratitudine e piena soddisfazione per il lavoro che, ormai da qualche tempo, p. Giovanni Battista da Roma stava svolgendo presso il suo Seminario, preoccupandosi di «soprintendere alli costumi» dei chierici, «per incammarli nella disciplina et regula di vita che ricerca quel stato»⁷⁴. Nella stessa lettera, tuttavia, il Valier manifestava al p. Borgia anche la sua preoccupazione per aver appreso della decisione dell'imminente ritorno di p. Giovanni Battista a Padova, che richiedeva di ritardare «ancora per qualche tempo», per dargli agio di trovare un degno sostituto⁷⁵. Un'impresa, questa, che il vescovo prospettava quasi come impossibile non solo perché aveva ben presenti le alte garanzie di qualità che i padri della Compagnia di Gesù offrivano in campo educativo, ma anche perché, già allora, stava cercando di verificare se c'erano le condizioni per garantire una presenza stabile dei Gesuiti nella sua diocesi.

⁷² Guasco, *La formazione del clero*, cit., pp. 32-33. Sulle tre istituzioni romane si vedano: R. García Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio romano dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù (1773)*, Romae, apud aedes Universitatis Gregorianae, 1954; I. Bitskey, *Il Collegio germanico-ungarico di Roma: contributo alla storia della cultura ungherese in età barocca*, Roma, Viella, 1996; L. Mezzadri (ed.), *Il Seminario romano. Storia di un'istituzione di cultura e di pietà*, Milano, San Paolo, 2001. Sulla formazione del clero romano pre e post-tridentino si rimanda anche ai saggi di G. Pelliccia (*Seminari e centri di formazione del prete romano nel Cinque-Seicento*, pp. 95-134) e di L. Fiorani (*Identità e crisi del prete romano tra Sei e Settecento*, pp. 135-212), «Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma», n. 7, 1988.

⁷³ Una prima analisi del carteggio è stata condotta da Sangalli, *Cultura, politica e religione nella Repubblica di Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento. Gesuiti e Somaschi a Venezia*, Venezia, Istituto veneto di scienze lettere ed arti, 1999, pp. 91-103 (Memorie. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti, Vol. LXXXIV); e ripresa con approfondimenti ed integrazioni in E. Patrizi, *Per un sistema educativo globale: le scuole e i consueta ministeria della Compagnia di Gesù nella Verona di Agostino Valier*, «History of Education and Children's Literature», vol. 8, n. 1, 2013, pp. 49-60.

⁷⁴ Lettera, Agostino Valier a Francesco Borgia, 4 giugno 1567 (ARSI, Epp. Ext. 11, cc. 95r-96v).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Dall'analisi del carteggio intercorso tra Roma e Verona emerge che il p. Giovanni Battista «era stato lasciato dal P[ad]re Adorno», allora vice-provinciale di Lombardia, «per dar qualche aiuto nei costumi» ai chierici del Seminario veronese⁷⁶. La venuta del giovane gesuita nella città dell'Adige, pertanto, era successiva a quella del p. Francesco Adorno, che era arrivato qui nel febbraio del 1567 e che, modificando il suo programma iniziale di permanenza, a seguito delle incalzanti richieste dell'amico Valier, vi era rimasto per tutto il tempo della quaresima, portando «grandissimo frutto» al popolo dei fedeli «col mezzo delle [sue] predicationi»⁷⁷. Il vescovo di Verona, come confessava candidamente al Borgia, avrebbe voluto presso la sua diocesi l'Adorno almeno per altri «quattro mesi»⁷⁸, ma era consapevole del fatto che questi era impegnato nella visita della Provincia di Lombardia e che per amor suo aveva rinviato questo «ufficio»⁷⁹, egli però sapeva che poteva tentare una strada alternativa e che, facendo leva sul loro antico legame di amicizia – risalente al tempo degli studi universitari a Padova – poteva far sì che rimanesse a Verona un altro padre della Compagnia. La permanenza del p. Giovanni Battista nella sua diocesi rappresentava, dunque, una piccola conquista per il Valier, anche se non duratura.

Il 4 giugno di quell'anno, infatti, Francesco Borgia riportava il Valier alla dura realtà dei fatti e gli ricordava che:

il tener cura de seminarij, è stato prohibito espressamente nella Congreg[atio]ne n[ost]ra grande ultima, contra la quale io non devo ne posso fare cosa alc[un]a, non sarebbe stato repugnante a detta Congreg[atio]ne per 15 giorni, o un mese c'alc[un]o de n[ost]ri desse alcuni boni ricordi, et aiuti a qualche semin[ari]o come in tempo detto fr[at]ello è restato doppo la quaresima già passano doi mesi, et fermandosi tutto giugno saranno tre, il che guardando all'intentione della Congreg[atio]ne realmente è troppo.

Il preposito generale invitava il vescovo di Verona a prendere atto di questa situazione, pregandolo a dare «bona licentia» al p. Giovanni Battista «almeno per li 15 di luglio»⁸⁰. Il 25 giugno il Valier scriveva un'accorata lettera di supplica al Borgia, scongiurandolo – in nome della buona riuscita del «nascente» Seminario – di concedergli un'ulteriore proroga al termine ultimo

⁷⁶ Lettera, Francesco Borgia ad Agostino Valier, Roma 4 giugno (ARSI, Ital. 66, cc. 351v-351r).

⁷⁷ Lettera, Agostino Valier a Francesco Borgia, Verona 26 marzo 1567 (ARSI, Epp. Ext. 11, cc. 78r-79v).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ A questo riguardo, si può ricordare che il preposito generale della Compagnia di Gesù nella lettera di risposta indirizzata al Valier il 26 aprile 1567, faceva presente la sua piena soddisfazione per il buon esito delle «fatiche del P[ad]re Adorno in questa Quaresima», ma manifestava anche la sua approvazione per il fatto che il Valier aveva lasciato «andare detto P[ad]re per visitar la sua provincia, et far l'ufficio di provinciale». Lettera, Francesco Borgia ad Agostino Valier, Roma, 26 aprile 1567 (ARSI, Ital. 66, c. 337r).

⁸⁰ Lettera, Francesco Borgia ad Agostino Valier, Roma 4 giugno 1567 (ARSI, Ital. 66, cc. 351r-351v).

dato per la partenza da Verona del gesuita⁸¹. Dalla lettera di risposta del Borgia del 26 luglio di quell'anno apprendiamo che al Valier fu concesso di avvalersi della presenza del p. Giovanni Battista fino alla festa di Ognissanti⁸². Era questa una soluzione temporanea che non consentiva al Valier di ottenere per il suo Seminario il supporto necessario ad assicurarne l'effettivo consolidamento.

Così, a distanza di non molto tempo, egli tornava a chiedere il sostegno della Compagnia di Gesù e un aiuto gli arrivava dal rettore del Collegio di Brescia, Mariano Sittinerio, che nella *lettera annua* del 31 dicembre 1570 riferiva:

Non s'è potuto negare al R.mo Vescuo (sic) di Verona, il quale con grande istanza domandò dua de' nostri per riformar il suo Seminario de' chierici, i quali andandovi in tal modo l'hanno assettato, che diceva il Vescuo (sic) non esser più quello et per conservarvi il frutto, desiderò che fusse governato da alcune persone datogli da noi, et si procurò mandarli un sacerdote alieno nostro il quale è fatto rettore di quel Seminario et si porta tanto bene ch'il Vescovo ne sta contentissimo⁸³.

Dalla lettera del Sittinerio, pertanto, veniamo a sapere che nel corso del 1570 erano arrivati a Verona due padri della Compagnia dalla sede di Brescia, che avevano risollevato le sorti del Seminario e che, non potendo assumerne la direzione, avevano lasciato come rettore un sacerdote di loro fiducia, proveniente molto probabilmente anch'egli dall'area bresciana, come lascia presupporre il fatto che per il quadriennio 1574-1578 abbiamo un rettore originario di Gavardo di Brescia, Tommaso Lanfranco.

Il resoconto del Sittinerio rappresenta un'ulteriore conferma della situazione di difficoltà incontrata dal Valier nel reperimento di personale adeguato per il Seminario, che evidentemente non poteva durare ancora per molto come istituzione autosufficiente. Con il passare degli anni la fondazione di una sede dei Gesuiti a Verona divenne per il Valier una questione sempre più urgente e improrogabile non solo per il buon funzionamento del Seminario, ma anche per il potenziamento di numerose altre linee d'intervento del suo vasto programma pastorale, che potevano trarre grande giovamento dal 'modo di procedere' della Compagnia di Gesù⁸⁴. Trascorse, tuttavia, ancora un lungo periodo di

⁸¹ Lettera, Agostino Valier a Francesco Borgia, Verona 25 giugno 1567 (ARSI, Epp. Ext 11, cc. 101r-102v).

⁸² Lettera, Francesco Borgia ad Agostino Valier, Roma 4 giugno 1567 (ARSI, Ital. 66, c. 369r).

⁸³ Lettera, Mariano Sittinerio a Francesco Borgia, Brescia, 31 dicembre 1570 (ARSI, Ven. 100, c. 215r).

⁸⁴ A questo riguardo, infatti, John O'Malley (*The First Jesuits*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University press, 1993; trad. it. *I primi Gesuiti*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 1999), parlando delle scuole gesuitiche (pp. 221-226) ha notato come ben presto «i collegi – intesi come sedi abitative ed operative stabili destinate principalmente all'insegnamento – diventarono il centro principale per tutti i ministeri gesuitici» e, a conferma di ciò, più avanti afferma: «con il passare del tempo, Ignazio divenne riluttante ad accettare un collegio cui fosse collegata una chiesa»; chiude la riflessione osservando che «anche se la lettera di Polanco del 10 agosto 1560 divideva i ministeri della Compagnia nelle due categorie delle scuole e dei *consueta ministeria*, queste categorie nella pratica non erano così distinte» (*ibid.*, p. 228). Il Collegio di Verona della Compagnia di Gesù si

collaborazione discontinua, prima che il Valier potesse avere i Gesuiti in pianta stabile a Verona e questo anche per via della «penuria d'operarij» che, com'è noto, affliggeva la stessa Compagnia di Gesù⁸⁵.

Grazie alla tenacia del Valier, forte anche del supporto di Francesco Adorno e dell'interessamento del card. Carlo Borromeo, questo traguardo tanto agognato fu raggiunto, come si è anticipato, nell'autunno del 1578, quando presso il complesso di S. Sebastiano entravano in funzione le scuole dei Gesuiti. Nell'*Istoria del Collegio di Verona*, scritta nel 1582 da p. Benedetto Palmio in qualità di visitatore della Provincia Veneta, si ricorda l'evento con queste parole:

Alli 3 novembre 1578 si può dire con verità, che cominciase il Coll[egi]o di Verona, non solo perché crebbe il numero de n[ost]ri ma ancora perché s'apsero tre scuole, una di rhetorica, l'altra d'umanità, la 3a di grammatica, alle quali concorsero forse ducento et venti scolari. Poco tempo doppo si levò l'ancora la cura conforme al breve apostolico [...]. Il sito di questo Coll[egi]o è in mezzo della Città, vicino alle piazze et alli palazzi delli Clariss[im]i Rettori in una contrada molto nobile⁸⁶.

Da questa testimonianza si evince che il Collegio della Compagnia di Gesù di Verona, con l'apertura delle classi di grammatica, umanità e retorica, poteva garantire sin da subito l'attivazione dell'intero corso inferiore di studi previsto nella *Ratio studiorum* – che a quel tempo era ancora in fase di definizione⁸⁷ –, registrando nell'immediato una considerevole affluenza di studenti. La maggior parte degli alunni proveniva dal ceto medio-alto di Verona e delle città vicine,

attnente a questo modello, come si mostra in Patrizi, *Per un sistema educativo globale*, cit., pp. 60-71.

⁸⁵ L'espressione è tratta da una lettera del 1° settembre 1571, indirizzata da Francesco Borgia al Valier, nella quale si legge: «ci retroviamo con tanta penuria d'operarij, che con effetti come lei li ricerca per la sua non li posso dimostrar q[ue]sto desiderio, che come ho detto veramente di servirla nel Sig.re et credo che V.S.a R.ma da quei p[ad]ri n[ost]ri che alle volte sono stati in Verona sia molto bene informata della charestia che havemo d'operarij». ARSI, Ital. 68, cc. 271r-271v.

⁸⁶ ARSI, Ven. 117, Benedetto Palmio, *Informatione del Collegio di Verona*, [Verona, 15 luglio 1582], cc. 273v-274r. La data si desume da quella riportata nella copia del documento conservata presso l'Archivio di Stato di Verona (Fondo Gesuiti di San Sebastiano, b. XVII, fasc. 248), trascritta in Braggion, *Il seminario di Verona*, cit., Vol. II, doc. n. 62, pp. 181-186.

⁸⁷ Sulle varie fasi di redazione della *Ratio studiorum* si vedano: D. Julia, *Généalogie de la Ratio studiorum*, in L. Giard, L. de Vaucelles, *Les Jésuites à l'âge baroque 1540-1640*, Grenoble, Jérôme Millon, 1996, pp. 115-130; M. Zanardi, *La Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu: tappe e vicende della sua progressiva formazione (1541-1616)*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», n. 5, 1998, pp. 135-164. Le ultime versioni della *Ratio studiorum* sono pubblicate in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu, Nova editio penitus retractata, edidit Ladislaus Lukacs S.I.*, 5 voll., Roma, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1965-1986. Vol. V: *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu: 1586, 1591, 1599*. Il testo della *Ratio* definitiva del 1599 in traduzione italiana, preceduto da un'ampia introduzione, si può consultare in: *La Ratio Studiorum e la Parte quarta delle Costituzioni della Compagnia di Gesù. Traduzioni con introduzione e nota di M. Barbera*, Padova, Cedam, 1942; *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu. Introduzione e traduzione di A. Bianchi*, Milano, BUR, 2002.

Serenissima inclusa, ed era governata direttamente dai padri della Compagnia, ma vi era anche un nucleo più ristretto di studenti provenienti da due istituzioni veronesi di matrice valeriana; una era il collegio d'istruzione per nobili, meglio noto come Collegio dei convittori, che il vescovo di Verona aveva istituito l'anno prima dell'apertura delle scuole di S. Sebastiano⁸⁸, mentre l'altra era per l'appunto il Seminario diocesano⁸⁹.

Con la comparsa sulla scena veronese della fondazione gesuitica si dava inizio a un vero e proprio sistema formativo integrato⁹⁰, che ruotava attorno alle scuole di San Sebastiano e che, senza porre nette linee di demarcazione tra laici ed ecclesiastici, convogliava al suo interno le esigenze di diversi utenti, tra i quali vi erano anche i chierici del Seminario. L'istituto vescovile, a questo punto, poteva iniziare a funzionare a pieno regime, sebbene con una fisionomia completamente diversa da quella che lo aveva caratterizzato fino a quel momento, in quanto – come avvenne per molti altri seminari, soprattutto a seguito del coinvolgimento di un Ordine religioso – assumeva la forma del convitto d'abitazione e, pur mantenendo la sua autonomia nella gestione della vita interna, veniva a dipendere dai Gesuiti per tutti gli aspetti inerenti l'attività scolastica e la direzione spirituale dei chierici⁹¹.

Si realizzava, in questo modo, il disegno che il Valier aveva concepito sin dalle origini: i seminaristi, d'ora in avanti, avrebbero continuato a condurre vita comune negli ambienti del Seminario, seguendo però il loro programma di studi presso le scuole gesuitiche. A completamento della loro preparazione, inoltre, avrebbero proseguito nella frequentazione di quelle lezioni di teologia e casistica che si tenevano da tempo presso il palazzo vescovile e che, proprio grazie alla presenza stabile dei Gesuiti a Verona, avevano acquisito nuovo slancio. Questa combinazione funzionò per un trentennio circa, fino a quando cioè, a seguito dell'espulsione della Compagnia di Gesù dalle terre della Serenissima, la storia del Seminario diocesano dovette necessariamente intraprendere un nuovo corso, rimanendo fedele però alle direttrici tracciate durante il periodo dell'episcopato del Valier, che riuscì a fare di questa istituzione quel luogo che, come indicato nelle disposizioni tridentine, doveva mettere «il sacerdote in grado non solo di offrire il sacrificio della santa messa e di amministrare i sacramenti come

⁸⁸ Per un approfondimento sul Collegio dei convittori di Verona si rimanda a E. Patrizi, *Per formare «huomini honorati et gratissimi a Dio»: Agostino Valier e la fondazione del Collegio dei nobili di Verona*, in H.A. Cavallera (ed.), *La ricerca storico-educativa oggi. Un confronto di metodi, modelli e programmi di ricerca*, 2 voll., Lecce, Pensa multimedia, 2013, Vol. I, pp. 429-445.

⁸⁹ Sulle caratteristiche degli studenti che frequentarono le scuole di S. Sebastiano della Compagnia di Gesù si veda Patrizi, *Per un sistema educativo globale*, cit., pp. 54-55.

⁹⁰ La questione è affrontata nelle riflessioni introduttive al volume di Negruzzo, *Collegij a forma di seminario*, cit., pp. 10-38.

⁹¹ Per un approfondimento sui cambiamenti che accompagnarono il processo di definizione/affermazione del seminario nel corso dell'età moderna: Brambilla, *Società ecclesiastica*, cit., in particolare pp. 305-340.

minister Christi, ma anche di annunciare nella predicazione e nella catechesi la parola di Lui come *testis Christi*⁹².

4. *La riforma della Scuola degli accoliti*

Se per la formazione dei seminaristi il Valier, da un certo momento in poi, poté fare affidamento sui Gesuiti, per quella degli accoliti dovette operare dall'interno, mettendo mano ad un'opera di ristrutturazione estesa ed articolata, al fine di arginare quel processo di decadenza, soprattutto morale, che andava avanti ormai da tempo e che, come ha notato Spagnolo, risultava tanto più deprecabile se paragonato alla condotta «ritirata ed esemplare che menavano gli alunni del Seminario»⁹³. Questa fu una delle prime questioni problematiche che il vescovo si trovò ad affrontare agli inizi del suo mandato episcopale.

Nel 1566, infatti, ad appena un anno dal suo insediamento a Verona, il Valier aveva visitato la Scuola degli accoliti insieme ai canonici Maffeo Albertini e Pier Francesco Zini, animato dal preciso intento di eliminare gli abusi che oscuravano il buon nome di questa istituzione, un tempo orgoglio e fiore all'occhiello della città⁹⁴. Subito dopo la visita erano stati presi dei provvedimenti diretti a ripristinare l'ordine e la disciplina nella Scuola, per cui si stabiliva, ad esempio, che si potevano accettare studenti solo dietro assenso del vescovo e del canonico sovrintendente. Era evidente, tuttavia, che queste misure non erano sufficienti a risolvere alla radice i problemi della Scuola, pertanto il Valier si mise al lavoro per predisporre, in accordo con il Capitolo, un nuovo regolamento capace di «dar nova forma et regula ad essi acoliti acciocché la sodetta Scuola [... fosse] restituita nel pristino stato et solito suo decoro»⁹⁵. Il 20 dicembre 1571 uscivano le *Constitutiones Acolithorum Veronae*, introdotte da un solenne sermone tenuto dal vescovo «astantibus quamplurimis Acolythiis et Semiacolynthiis et alijs clericis scholae»: era l'inizio di una nuova fase per l'antica Scuola della cattedrale⁹⁶.

Le nuove costituzioni non solo fornivano norme precise circa la condotta dei chierici e dei maestri, ma avevano il pregio di regolamentare anche alcune questioni spinose che affliggevano e destabilizzavano da tempo la vita della Scuola, tra le quali va sicuramente annoverata quella inerente il numero dei mezzi accoliti. La figura del mezzo accolito era stata istituita al tempo del Giberti quando, precisa Spagnolo, «cominciò il Capitolo a dividere in due ed anco in tre parti alcuni benefici, assegnando ciascuna parte ai chierici più poveri

⁹² Jedin, *L'importanza del decreto tridentino sui seminari*, cit., p. 408.

⁹³ Spagnolo, *Le Scuole accolitali in Verona*, cit., p. 65.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ BCV, b. 148, *Constitutiones Acolithorum Veronae*, cc. 222r-225v, in partic. c. 223r.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, c. 225v.

ritrovati idonei» e il numero dei mezzi accolti era aumentato notevolmente nel corso degli anni, creando gravi problemi nella suddivisione dei frutti della mensa⁹⁷. Al tempo del Valier il numero dei mezzi accolti aveva raggiunto la soglia delle settanta unità ed era quanto mai necessario riportarlo a livelli che offrissero maggior garanzie di sostenibilità. Le *Constitutiones* recepirono tale esigenza fissando il numero dei mezzi accolti a 24 unità ed equiparandolo, in tal modo, a quello degli accolti.

Un altro annoso problema al quale si poneva fine con le costituzioni valeriane riguardava gli «scolari secolari», ai quali veniva proibito di «esser ammessi ad imparar» nella Scuola degli accolti. Si confermava, invece, per tutti i chierici il requisito del «consenso de Mons.r Rmo et R.di deputati del Cap[ito]lo» come *condicio sine qua non* per accedere alla Scuola⁹⁸. Ricevuta l'approvazione, i chierici dovevano intraprendere un percorso formativo incentrato sullo studio della grammatica, del canto fermo e figurato e sulla frequenza dei «divini officij», che si doveva necessariamente concludere con il suddiaconato e, successivamente, con l'ordinazione sacerdotale. Su quest'ultimo aspetto, le *Constitutiones*, nel rispetto delle disposizioni tridentine in materia, ponevano particolare enfasi:

Che gli acoliti et mezi che hanno patrimonio ò qualche titolo o entrata de poter vivere siano obligati pigliar il sacro ordine detto subdiaconato, quando saranno pervenuti all'età contenuta nel Sacro Concilio di Trento et passando la età predetta – che corrispondeva ai 22 anni – siano rimossi dalla mensa et nome de acoliti, ne possano partecipar emulando alcuno di detta mensa ma se fosse alcuno povero et impotente degno di esser fatto sacerdote, quello si possi ordinare, et puoi venire in choro, deponendo l'habito d'acolito con la solita sua provisione della mensa delli acoliti fino tanto che gli serà proveduto da Mons.r R.mo et R.do Cap[ito]lo de beneficij et modo di vivere. Et uno anno avanti il termine della ordinatione al subdiaconato siano avisati, et esaminati da Mons.or Vescovo et suo Vic[ari]o et dui deputati dal R.do Cap[ito]lo, et gli dui deputati alle scole et questi siano anco nel asumere che si farà quando sarà esaminati al grado de subdiaconato⁹⁹.

La Scuola degli accolti, tuttavia, rimaneva sempre un'istituzione dedicata anche alla formazione di personale addetto al servizio della cattedrale e, su questo aspetto, il regolamento valeriano non poteva mancare di fornire indicazioni precise:

⁹⁷ Spagnolo, *Le Scuole accolitali in Verona*, cit., p. 44.

⁹⁸ Gli esami per concorrere all'accollitato si tenevano «ad ogni vacanza di accolti, con disturbo dei maestri e interruzione degli studi»; così al fine di regolamentare meglio le pratiche di accesso alla Scuola, il 23 agosto 1588 il Valier e il Capitolo stabilirono che l'esame d'ingresso nella Scuola si sarebbe tenuto due volte all'anno, nella prima settimana dopo la festa di Ognissanti e in quella dopo Pasqua. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁹⁹ BCV, b. 148, *Constitutiones Acolithorum Veronae*, c. 224v. Il Concilio di Trento aveva stabilito l'età di ammissione al suddiaconato e agli altri ordini maggiori nel canone XII del decreto *de reformatione* emanato nella XXIII sessione del 15 luglio 1563: *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, cit., pp. 748-749.

Che tutti siano descritti sopra una tavoletta in Scuola – si stabilisce nelle *Constitutiones* – et siano obligati sotto le pene infrasc[ritt]e venir insieme con la sue cotte à dui à dui alla chiesa accompagnati dal maestro di canto fermo tutti gli giorni festivi comandati da S.ta Chiesa, et de quali serà fatta poliza da tener in Scola e dalli primi vespri del giorno avanti et anco tutti i giorni che non si legge, et ivi alle hore canoniche con gli altri sacerdoti siano obligati devotamente cantar à suoi luoghi et tempi i versetti che gli serano imposti, et salmezar al lettorile et servir all'altare, et far in choro quello che gli serà comandato da quelli che haveranno cura di loro, non praticar in sacrestia senza cagione necessaria sotto pena ad arbitrio del sudetto loro governatore secondo la qualità del delinquente.

I chierici, oltre che al servizio 'festivo' della «messa maggiore», dovevano attendere a quello mattutino quotidiano della «messa della Madonna» e, «ogni sabbato avanti l'hora che suona vespro», avevano altresì l'obbligo di «ritrovarsi alle scuole per andar a S.ta Helena a recitar devotamente i sette salmi penitentiali». Il rispetto di questi «officij» era regolamentato attraverso una precisa disciplina fatta di premi, pari a «libre sei per acolito Interno, et libre tre per mezzo [acolito]» per i chierici più assidui e rispettosi, e di punizioni che andavano da un minimo di «un marchetto» al giorno fino alla perdita di «uno minale di for[men]to (sic)» nel caso di un «mese continuo» di assenze o di comportamenti «indecenti» e poco decorosi¹⁰⁰.

Le costituzioni valeriane non propongono solo regole per quel che attiene alla condotta che dovevano tenere i chierici durante le ore di Scuola, ma si preoccupano anche di normare il loro comportamento esterno, facendo divieto di «praticar con secolari», di «far ridoti nelle case proprie, né altrove», così come di «andar in piazza ad udir zaratani [o ...] comedia [o ...] altri spettacoli pubblici». Particolareggiato è l'elenco delle norme relative al vestiario, per cui non ci si limita a prescrivere agli accoliti e ai mezzi accoliti «le sottane larghe almanco a meza gamba» e le «vesti turchine, et le sue berette da prete, et le camiscie senza colari et manichi crespi», ribadendo le antiche usanze della Scuola a questo riguardo, ma si entra nel dettaglio mettendo al bando ogni sorta di «vanità», come quella di «portar fuori i guanti in mano», e ogni tipo di «vestito da secolare», come i «bragoni», i «cappelletti alti» o le «scarpe intagliate».

In queste disposizioni non si faceva altro che ribadire quanto era stato stabilito a suo tempo dal Giberti nelle note *Costituzioni per il clero* del 1542¹⁰¹,

¹⁰⁰ Più avanti il Valier, in accordo con il Capitolo, tornò a definire in modo più puntuale le questioni inerenti l'amministrazione della Mensa, contribuendo in tal modo a risanare e a potenziare le finanze della Scuola degli accoliti. In questa direzione assunsero un ruolo importante il nuovo regolamento amministrativo pubblicato il 17 dicembre 1572, che fissava con precisione le funzioni del massaro, così come le disposizioni del 12 giugno 1584, con le quali si sottoponeva il massaro ad una verifica annuale, per controllarne l'operato e decidere sulla possibilità di rinnovargli l'incarico o meno. Spagnolo, *Le scuole degli accoliti in Verona*, cit., pp. 71-72.

¹⁰¹ Si fa riferimento, in particolare, al titolo I (*De vita, habitu, conversatione et honestate clericorum*) delle *Costituzioni*, di cui il Valier dispose una nuova edizione nel 1589, caratterizzata da poche aggiunte limitate alle novità introdotte dal Tridentino. Dell'opera è ora disponibile

ma il Valier evidentemente aveva ritenuto opportuno ritornare sulle questioni relative alla condotta esterna e all'abbigliamento in quanto costituivano il vero *punctus dolens* degli studenti della Scuola degli accoliti che, continuando ad abitare presso le loro famiglie, si trovavano a vivere in una condizione meno protetta e controllata rispetto agli studenti del Seminario. Nonostante le pene severe fissate nelle costituzioni valeriane, sappiamo che non cessarono le trasgressioni degli accoliti, tanto che il vescovo si trovò anche successivamente a dover deliberare, insieme al Capitolo, sia per inasprire le misure adottate contro i «delinquenti», al punto da introdurre anche la pena della prigione¹⁰², sia per ampliare i poteri conferiti ai *protectores scholarium*, ovvero i canonici responsabili della disciplina degli accoliti all'interno della Scuola¹⁰³.

Il fatto che le questioni inerenti il comportamento e il vestiario, insieme a quelle relative ai doveri, occupino più dei due terzi del testo delle costituzioni valeriane per la Scuola degli accoliti non va ricondotto solamente alla volontà di eliminare quelle cattive abitudini che avevano determinato la decadenza morale dell'istituzione negli ultimi anni, ma scaturisce anche e soprattutto da un'istanza generale di ordine superiore, che rimanda al concetto stesso di disciplina da cui parte il Valier. Egli, infatti, in linea con le principali teorizzazioni elaborate a questo riguardo dai suoi contemporanei¹⁰⁴, muoveva dalla convinzione per cui

un'edizione moderna della *princeps*: Gian Matteo Giberti, *Le costituzioni per il clero (1542) di Gian Matteo Giberti, vescovo di Verona. Prima edizione critica a cura di Roberto Pasquali*, Vicenza, Istituto per le ricerche di storia sociale e di storia religiosa, 2000.

¹⁰² Solo tre anni dopo la pubblicazione delle costituzioni, il 26 giugno 1574, veniva disposto che: «D'ordine di Mons.^r R.^{mo} Vescovo di Verona et deli R. S.^{ri} Protettori sopra la schola delli accoliti deputati dal R. Cap[ito]lo di Verona si concede et dà facultà alli officiali et della corte secolare che debbano retener e metter prigioni nella priggione a ciò deputata à canto la schola de deti acoliti tutti quelli acoliti e mezi acoliti che serano delinquenti ut infra: chi sarà trovato giocar nei lochi publici, chi sarà trovato alle comedie, chi sarà trovato portar crispini alli colari o maniche delle camisce, cappelletti aguzzi, calze bianche o d'altro color che nero brogescho et turchino, chi sarà trovato portar scarpe tagliate, chi sarà trovato portar il colar delle vesti abbassato e riversato, gli sia tagliato dall'executor sop[rascrit]to». BCV, b. 148, c. 228r; edito in Spagnolo, *Le scuole degli accoliti in Verona*, cit., p. 73.

¹⁰³ Nel 1591 il Valier, in accordo con il Capitolo, a seguito della morte improvvisa di mons. Giulio Guida, che al tempo ricopriva la carica di protettore degli accoliti, decise che ogni anno sarebbe stato eletto un nuovo protettore con un incarico di due anni, così che in mancanza di uno potesse subentrare ad esso subito l'altro. Nello stesso anno, inoltre, veniva concessa ai protettori la facultà di istruire processi contro gli accoliti colpevoli di qualche trasgressione. Cfr. Spagnolo, *Le scuole degli accoliti in Verona*, cit., pp. 74-75.

¹⁰⁴ A questo proposito risultano di particolare interesse le parole scritte da Silvio Antoniano nel noto trattato *Tre libri dell'educatione christiana dei figliuoli*; parlando della natura umana, l'autore ammonisce: «è guasta, et corrotta in modo, che se non è vendita co'l sale della buona disciplina, scaturiscono dalle piaghe piccoli vermi, che diventano poi venenosi serpenti, che grandi sono poi negli huomini maturi» (Lib. III, c. 125v). Merita di essere ricordato in questa sede che Agostino Valier curò personalmente la revisione dell'opera scritta dall'Antoniano su istanza del card. Carlo Borromeo e che l'editio *princeps* del trattato, seguita su mandato del Valier da Alessio Figliucci, uscì proprio a Verona nel 1584, per i tipi di Sebastiano Dalle Donne e Girolamo Stringari. Per un approfondimento sulle vicende editoriali e i contenuti dell'opera, e per una lettura

la disciplina interiore poteva essere acquisita solo attraverso una salda disciplina esteriore, frutto a sua volta di quella necessaria e lunga consuetudine con le regole, che per il Valier e per gli uomini del suo tempo rappresentava l'unica strada possibile per assuefare il singolo alla virtù e per trasformare tutti quei comportamenti ripetuti meccanicamente negli anni dell'infanzia e della prima giovinezza in un autentico *modus essendi* virtuoso in età adulta.

Nel percorso di disciplinamento progettato per gli accoliti, il Valier accanto alle virtù poneva un'altra componente importante: lo studio. Dalle *Constitutiones acholithorum*, in generale, si ricavano pochi elementi circa l'organizzazione e l'articolazione delle attività d'insegnamento della Scuola e le informazioni più interessanti si desumo dalla lettura delle norme fornite per i maestri e i ripetitori¹⁰⁵, dalle quali emerge, ad esempio, che la giornata degli accoliti era molto lunga, cominciava all'alba con la messa della Madonna e terminava «dopo il disinar un'ora dopo nona»¹⁰⁶. Gli alunni, poi, erano divisi in due principali sezioni, per cui i più grandi leggevano umanità e retorica, mentre i più piccoli seguivano le lezioni di grammatica ed erano affidati alle cure dei ripetitori, ufficio che divenne stabile proprio durante l'episcopato del Valier¹⁰⁷. Non emerge, invece, alcun riferimento specifico sulle scienze sacre, al di là di qualche rapido cenno inerente le lezioni di catechismo¹⁰⁸, ma il

integrale della prima edizione si rimanda rispettivamente, ai volumi I e III di E. Patrizi, *Silvio Antoniano: un umanista ed educatore nell'età del Rinascimento cattolico (1540-1603)*, 3 voll., Macerata, eum, 2010.

¹⁰⁵ Dal puntuale lavoro di consultazione della documentazione conservata presso la Biblioteca Capitolare condotto da Antonio Spagnolo si ricavano i nomi dei maestri che operarono nella Scuola degli accoliti durante l'episcopato del Valier. Come maestri di cappella troviamo: Giacomo Berchem (1546-66), Gabriele Martinengo (1566-84), Antonio Malignesio (1584-86), Bartolomeo Spontoni (1586-88), Tolomeo Ravignani (1588-90), Matteo Asola (1590-91), Ippolito Bacussi (1591-1608). Per i maestri di grammatica si hanno dati completi solo per il secondo ventennio del governo del Valier, che fu caratterizzato da un rapido succedersi di incarichi: Antonio Pasini (1586), Simone Cechini (1586-88), Domenico Furlani (1588), Zucconi (1588-92), Giovanni Domenico Canciamini (1592-93), Valerio Palermo (1593-99), Benedetto Correntini (1600-03), Antonio Bevilacqua (1603-04), Antonio Moretto (1604-11). Tra i maestri di costumi e canto figurato possiamo ricordare Camillo Brusco (1592-96), che fu anche tra gli insegnanti del Seminario (cfr. *supra* par. 3) e Antonio Bevilacqua che, dopo un primo breve incarico negli anni 1596-97, fu eletto nuovamente nel 1599, mantenendo l'incarico fino al 1630, anno della sua morte. Più stabile e prolungata fu l'assegnazione d'incarico dei ripetitori; a Paolo Baroni, che è il primo ripetitore di cui si trova traccia nella documentazione, seguirono Alessio Gambini (1592-1600), Antonio Moretto (1600-04), Bartolomeo Caprini (1604-10). Spagnolo, *Le scuole degli accoliti in Verona*, cit., pp. 81-93.

¹⁰⁶ «Che gli repetitori siano obligati ritrovarsi alle Scuola per insegnar alli zagli chierici più piccoli à loro deputati la mattina dopo la messa della Madonna, et dopo il disinar un'ora dopo nona, in pena di perder un grosso al giorno che mancaranno, et più ad arbitrio etc.». BCV, b. 148 *Constitutiones acolithorum Veronae*, c. 225r.

¹⁰⁷ Spagnolo, *Le scuole degli accoliti in Verona*, cit., pp. 56, 80.

¹⁰⁸ «Sia dato ordine che si legga alli acoliti sop[radet]ti il catechismo overo quelle lettioni, che parerà a Mons.re R.mo et Sig.ri deputati del Cap[ito]lo». BCV, b. 148 *Constitutiones acolithorum Veronae*, c. 225r.

fatto non deve stupire visto che, come ha fatto notare Spagnolo, «nelle scuole degli accoliti non c'è mai, o quasi mai stata cattedra di scienze sacre»¹⁰⁹. Gli accoliti, d'altra parte, per la loro formazione filosofica e teologica erano soliti appoggiarsi ai conventi e monasteri della città che avevano lettori e, a questo riguardo, è stato osservato come proprio «nelle vicinanze del Duomo [e dunque della Scuola] vi era il convento dei Domenicani a S. Anastasia e quello degli Agostiniani a S. Eufemia: forse erano i due punti di riferimento più consueti per questo scopo»¹¹⁰.

Non va dimenticato, poi, il contributo offerto dal Valier alla promozione della *sapientia* negli 'studi sacri' del clero veronese. Nella relazione *ad limina* del 1603, infatti, il vescovo tiene a precisare che «nella stessa cattedrale oltre al penitenziere è il canonico teologo, il quale tiene frequentemente lezioni di Sacra teologia» e, più avanti, fa presente che «in una sala del vescovado chiamata Gymnasium quotidianamente si discutono argomenti filosofici o su casi di coscienza»¹¹¹. Si fa riferimento ad attività che in parte erano state già avviate al tempo del Giberti, alle quali il Valier però seppe dare nuovo impulso e vigore. In particolare, sappiamo che ogni giorno, dopo il desinare, presso il palazzo vescovile egli teneva personalmente, o affidava a un canonico o sacerdote, una lezione di teologia dogmatica o morale rivolta ad alcuni studenti scelti della Scuola degli accoliti e del Seminario e ad alcuni sacerdoti della diocesi¹¹². A tale iniziativa se ne aggiunsero presto altre, a cominciare dalle lezioni di casistica, soprattutto all'indomani della fondazione del Collegio della Compagnia di Gesù di Verona, nel quale il Valier trovò tutto il supporto necessario per fare del vescovado un vero e proprio 'centro di formazione nelle scienze sacre'¹¹³.

In ogni caso, la delicata quanto cruciale materia degli studi – così come quella altrettanto fondamentale delle virtù – non poteva essere illustrata con la dovuta cura e ampiezza all'interno di un testo breve e schematico come quello delle *Constitutiones Acholithorum*, che di fatto era un regolamento, concepito per «dar nova forma et regula ad essi acoliti accioche la sodetta Scuola sia restituita nel pristino stato et solito suo decoro»¹¹⁴. Era dunque necessario un testo di più largo respiro che fosse in grado di rappresentare il significato e il fine ultimo di quelle regole e a quest'opera il Valier, facendo appello alla sua ben nota abilità scrittoria, aveva lavorato prima ancora delle *Constitutiones*, consegnandolo alle stampe nel 1570 con il titolo di *Ad Acolythos Veronenses*

¹⁰⁹ Spagnolo, *Le scuole degli accoliti in Verona*, cit., p. 51.

¹¹⁰ Cfr. Orlandi, *Scuole ecclesiastiche*, cit., p. 276 per la citazione e pp. 296-298 sulle scuole dei monasteri e conventi a Verona.

¹¹¹ L. Tacchella, *La diocesi di Verona nei secoli XVI e XVII. Dai Processi concistoriali e dalle Relazioni delle Visite ad Limina Apostolorum*, «Studi storici veronesi Luigi Simeoni», vol. 24-25, 1974-1975, pp. 116-117.

¹¹² Ventura, *Vita Illustriss. et Reverendiss. Cardinalis Augustini Valerii*, cit., p. 80.

¹¹³ Su questo aspetto si veda Patrizi, *Per un sistema educativo globale*, cit., p. 64.

¹¹⁴ BCv, b. 148 *Constitutiones acolithorum Veronae*, c. 222r.

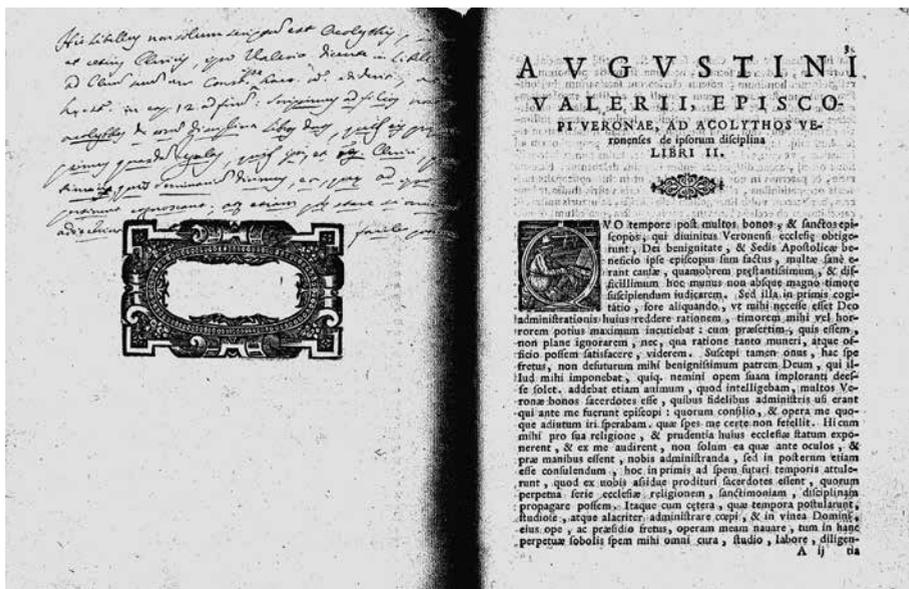


Fig. 3. Incipit dell'opera di Agostino Valier, *Ad acolythos Veronenses de ipsorum disciplina libri II*, Impressum Veronae, apud Sebastianum e Ioannem a Donis, fratres, 1570. La prima edizione dell'opera non presenta frontespizio cartaceo e le note tipografiche figurano solo nel colophon (Verona, Biblioteca del Seminario, collocazione: V.R 11/17; foto a cura del servizio di riproduzione della Biblioteca).

*de ipsorum disciplina*¹¹⁵. Lo scritto era stato prontamente salutato da Carlo Borromeo come «degno della pietà, dottrina et stilo» dello stimato amico e vescovo di Verona¹¹⁶ e aveva conosciuto subito una nuova edizione, che usciva a Venezia nel 1571 su istanza dello stesso arcivescovo di Milano, suddivisa internamente in brevi capitoli, che rendevano più agevole la consultazione, e con un titolo di maggior efficacia, destinato ad accompagnare tutta la lunga vicenda editoriale dell'opera: *De acolythorum disciplina*¹¹⁷.

Il Valier, come spiegava nelle prime pagine dell'opera, aveva lavorato a questo trattato dietro l'impulso del «paternus amor» per gli accoliti veronesi, «a quo vestrorum studiorum, et virtutum testimonium vobis est expectandum»¹¹⁸. Lo

¹¹⁵ Agostino Valier, *Ad acolythos Veronenses de ipsorum disciplina libri duo* (Impressum Veronae, apud Sebastianum e Ioannem a Donis, fratres, 1570).

¹¹⁶ Lettera, Carlo Borromeo ad Agostino Valier, Milano 1° ottobre 1570 (BAM, P. 5 inf., c. 347; edita in Tacchella, *San Carlo Borromeo ed il card. Agostino Valier*, cit., p. 60).

¹¹⁷ Agostino Valier, *De acolythorum disciplina libri duo. Ad acolythos Veronenses*, Venetiis, apud Dominicum Nicolinum, 1571. Le citazioni presenti nel testo sono tratte da questa edizione dell'opera.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, cc. 6v, 7r. Per un'analisi dei contenuti del *De acolythorum disciplina*: O. Logan, *The Venetian upper clergy in the 16th and 17th centuries: a study in religious culture*, Lewiston, the Edwin Mellen press, 1996, pp. 231-233 e G. Santiello, *Tradizione e dissenso nella filosofia veneta*,

studio e le virtù rappresentavano per il vescovo di Verona, come si è accennato, i due pilastri su cui doveva poggiare la disciplina degli accoliti e ad ulteriore esplicitazione di tale assunto egli aveva diviso il suo trattato in due libri o parti, che non a caso, a partire dell'edizione del 1571, sarebbero stati intitolati rispettivamente *De doctrina Acolithorum* e *De Acolithorum moribus*.

Nel primo libro egli non si limitava a presentare un arido elenco di discipline, ma descriveva il percorso di studio che riteneva più adatto per preparare i chierici al loro compito di «verbi Dei seminatores» e di «interpretes ad [...] populum divinae voluntatis»¹¹⁹; mentre nel secondo libro, fatto presente che «omnia sua studia non ad lucrum captandum, aut inanem gloriam consequendam, sed ad Dei gloriam refert», tratteggiava il profilo morale del 'perfetto accolito', che descriveva come:

verae, et incontaminatae religionis amantissimus, fide, spe, et charitate Deo debitum exhibens cultum, devotis orationibus assuetus, humilis, obediens, modestus, et pulcherrima virtute, observantia erga maiores, in primis ornatus, sacris caeremoniis bene institutus, minime vanus, minime cursitans per urbem, minime otiosus, sed cogitans, et agens ea semper, quae ad laudem Dei, et existimationem scholae suae pertinent¹²⁰.

La prima parte dell'opera è sicuramente quella più interessante perché, date alcune indicazioni sull'atteggiamento che i chierici debbono tenere durante le lezioni, specie nei riguardi del maestro, e forniti alcuni consigli circa il metodo di studio, si concentra sulla descrizione di quelle scienze «sine quibus boni sacerdotes nec esse»¹²¹. *L'iter studiorum* proposto è tutto giocato sulla compenetrazione tra *studia humanitatis* e scienze sacre; infatti, accanto alle discipline del trivio (grammatica, retorica e dialettica), alla cognizione di qualche elemento «de mathematicis disciplinis», funzionale «ad computum ecclesiasticum», e allo studio della musica ad «usus ecclesiasticum»¹²², il Valier pone lo studio dei «rudimenta» della religione (Credo, Decalogo, Sacramenti e Pater noster), della Sacra Scrittura (soffermando in particolare sull'importanza della lettura dei Libri poetici e sapienziali, dei Vangeli, degli Atti degli Apostoli e delle Lettere di san Paolo) e della teologia biblica e patristica. È evidente che all'interno del vasto programma delineato dal Valier le arti liberali servono da base per affrontare lo studio della letteratura sacra, che egli colloca al centro non solo del *cursus studiorum* degli accoliti ma di ogni uomo:

Padova, editrice Antenore, 1991, pp. 147-148.

¹¹⁹ Valier, *De acolitorum disciplina*, cit., c. 24v.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, cc. 94r-94v.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, c. 25r.

¹²² *Ibid.*, cc. 25v, 29v.

Vehementer cupio hoc vobis persuasum esse, sacrarum litterarum studium non solum vobis acolythis, sed omni generi hominum esse maxime utile; nihil enim quaeri potest, quod ad recte instituendam vitam, et ad salutem consequendam pertineat, quod totum in sacris scripturis non contineatur, in illisque expressum non sit¹²³.

Il vescovo di Verona si mostra anche prodigo di consigli sui testi da adottare per affrontare lo studio delle singole discipline presentate, delineando in tal modo i contorni di quella che egli ritiene essere la biblioteca ideale di un buon sacerdote. Il Valier riserva ampio spazio allo studio della letteratura latina, sottolineando il valore dei precetti morali contenuti nelle opere di Cicerone, in particolare nel *De officiis*, nelle *Tusculanae Disputationes* e nel *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, e negli scritti di carattere storico, raccomandando soprattutto quelli di Livio, Cesare e Valerio Massimo¹²⁴. Sul fronte della letteratura patristica il Valier consiglia, in special modo, Basilio il Grande, Giovanni Crisostomo, Girolamo, Agostino e Ambrogio, che suggerisce di accostare agli scritti del santo vescovo di Verona Zeno e dell'arcivescovo di Firenze Antonino. Non potevano mancare, poi, le opere dei suoi più illustri predecessori, così il Valier raccomanda la lettura delle *Costituzioni per il clero* del Giberti e di due noti scritti in volgare di Luigi Lippomano, ovvero le *Esposizioni sopra il Simbolo apostolico* e la *Confirmatione et stabilimento di tutti i dogmi catholici*. Infine, molto ricco e variegato è il repertorio di catechismi e di libri di edificazione spirituale proposto dal vescovo di Verona, nel quale, oltre al *Catechismo tridentino* e al *Parvus catechismus catholicorum* di Pietro Canisio, troviamo i carmina di Prudenziò, classici della letteratura spirituale medievale come il *De miseria conditionis humanae* di Innocenzo III, conosciuto anche come *Liber de contemptu mundi*, e il *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* di Bernardo di Chiaravalle; così come opere più recenti quali la *Confessio Catholicae Fidei* di Stanislaw Hozjusz, il *Christias* di Marco Gerolamo Vida, il *De partu virginis* di Jacopo Sannazzaro e anche l'*Enchiridion Christianae Religionis* di Johann Gropper¹²⁵. Per quest'ultima opera tanto cara al vescovo Giberti, però, il Valier raccomanda cautamente una lettura ponderata: «Vos etiam hortor, ut Enchiridion Christianae institutionis, ab Iohanne Gropperio scriptum, quod superioribus annis, Ioannis Matthaei Giberti episcopi iussu in hac urbe etiam fuit impressum, cum catechismo conferatis»¹²⁶.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, c. 35v.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, cc. 31r, 33v.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, cc. 32r, 45r, 47r, 60r.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, c. 46v. L'*Enchiridion*, com'è noto, era stato dato alle stampe insieme ai *Canones Concilii provincialis Coloniensis* per ordine del Giberti presso la tipografia del Putelletto nel 1541. Il Giberti riteneva l'opera uno strumento fondamentale per la formazione dei sacerdoti, tanto che nelle *Costituzioni per il clero*, dopo aver sottolineato l'obbligo della lettura della *Summa Antonina*, invitava i sacerdoti più attrezzati culturalmente ad affrontare quella dell'*Enchiridion*: «Et qui mediocriter eruditi fuerint, studeant sibi familiaria reddere ea, quae gravissimus auctor ille congescit in libro qui *Enchiridion christianae religionis* inscribitur, quem etiam pro usu et

Il *De acolitorum disciplina* conobbe nell'immediato una certa notorietà, continuando a suscitare interesse fino al XIX secolo inoltrato¹²⁷, tanto da esser «considerato per lungo tempo il codice della clericale disciplina»¹²⁸. Lo scritto valeriano, infatti, non circolò solo tra gli accoliti, ma fu giudicato sin da subito come appropriato per tutti quei giovani «qui in seminariis iuxta Trident. Concil. decreta instituuntur»¹²⁹, tant'è che lo stesso autore chiudeva l'opera affermando: «eadem hanc descriptionem – facendo riferimento alle indicazioni fornite nel trattato sugli studi e le caratteristiche morali del 'perfetto accolito' – propono etiam fratribus vestris, et filiis meis, qui seminarium huius diocesis dicuntur: de quibus magna est concitata opinio»¹³⁰.

Del fatto che l'opera si sposasse pienamente con il percorso formativo dei seminari arrivava conferma definitiva con l'edizione veneziana del 1571, che era stata commissionata espressamente da Carlo Borromeo per il Seminario maggiore di Milano, come si apprende dalla lettura della premessa all'edizione:

commodo sacerdotum imprimendum curavimus» [*Le costituzioni per il clero (1542)*], cit., Titolo VI, Cap. XVII, p. 424). Questo passo sarà omissa dal Valier nella nuova edizione delle *Costituzioni* realizzata su sua istanza nel 1589 (Veronae, apud Hieronymum Discipulum, 1589, p. 162). Egli, che dal 1587 faceva parte della Congregazione dell'Indice (cfr. Cipriani, *La mente di un inquisitore*, cit., in partic. pp. 85-93), doveva ben sapere che vi erano dubbi circa l'ortodossia della dottrina del Gropper sul tema della grazia e della giustizia; dubbi che nel 1593 portarono alla messa all'Indice dell'*Echiridion* con la formula «donec expurgentur», poi riconfermata nell'Indice del 1596 (cfr. J.M. de Bujanda (ed.), *Index des livres interdits*, 11 voll., Sherbrooke, Quebec, Centre d'études de la Renaissance, 1985-2002; Vol. 9: *Index de Rome, 1590, 1593, 1596 [...]*, titolo n. 284, pp. 873, 943). Per un approfondimento della questione si rimanda a Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e controriforma*, cit., pp. 254-255. Va ricordato, tuttavia, che l'*Echiridion* del Gropper, da quello che si è potuto appurare, non fu espunto dalle edizioni del *De acolitorum disciplina* successive alla *princeps* e all'edizione 'borromaica' del 1571. Sulla vicenda editoriale dell'opera valeriana si rinvia alla nota successiva.

¹²⁷ Tra le numerose edizioni dell'opera che seguirono alla prima edizione veronese del 1570 e a quella veneziana del 1571, si può ricordare che a Verona uscirono almeno altre tre edizioni, una nel 1583 (apud Hieronymum et fratres Stringarios), che includeva anche il *De rhetorica ecclesiastica* del Valier, una nel 1732 (ex Phoenicis typographia) e l'ultima nel 1836 (ex officina libraria Libantiana), che usciva insieme alla retorica di Luis Granada e a quella del Valier. Dallo spoglio dei cataloghi, inoltre, risultano anche un'edizione perugina del 1653 (ex Typographia Episcopali) e una romana del 1871 (Typis S. Congreg. de Propaganda fide. soc. Eq. P. Marietti admin.). Cfr. *The National Union Catalog Pre-1956 imprints*, 754 voll., London, Mansell, 1968-1981, Vol. 628, p. 163 (NV0017937, NV0179389), Catalogo collettivo delle biblioteche del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale (SBN, <<http://www.sbn.it>>), Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo (Edit 16, <<http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it>>), Red de Bibliotecas Universitarias Española (Rebiun, <<http://rebiun.crue.org>>), Academic and National Library Catalogue (COPAC, <<http://copac.ac.uk>>), Catalogue Collectif de France (CCFR, <<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/>>); ultimo accesso ai cataloghi elettronici: ottobre 2013. Non è da escludere, come afferma Antonio Spagnolo (*Le Scuole accolitali in Verona*, cit., p. 70), che l'opera circolò anche al di fuori dei territori della penisola italiana.

¹²⁸ Spagnolo, *Le Scuole accolitali in Verona*, cit., p. 70.

¹²⁹ Valier, *De acolitorum disciplina*, cit., c. 3r.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, c. 94v.

Vobis autem Mediolanensis Seminarij Clericis meam hanc operam dicare volui, quod eius auctori, me nihil gratius facere posse putaverim. Cum enim ille amplissimum Card. Borromeum archiepiscopum vestrum unice colat, cui in primis sit, vestram pietatem, et eruditionem summopere curae esse, libentissime vobis hanc meam operam collocatam esse intelliget, quae ad ea omnia, quae vos spectare oportet consequenda, stimulos, et igniculos quosdam iniiciat, et principia, ac quasi semina quaedam subministret; sanctissimo autem Cardin. et Archiepiscopo vestro, qui tantopere in restituenda Ecclesiastica disciplina laborat, non poterit non probari hoc meum iudicium, cum eam hoc uno libello conclusam prae oculis continuo habere possitis; Religiosis etiam eruditisque praeceptoribus vestris, qui hunc libellum magnis laudibus extulerunt, eoque ad aetatem vestram instituendam, cum ob praeceptorum santitatem, tum ob styli candorem, ecclesiastica gravitate, et puritate conditum, aptius inveniri nihil posse censeant, prolatum iri certo scio¹³¹.

Il *De acolitorum disciplina* del Valier, d'altra parte, non faceva che illustrare, in modo semplice e chiaro, i principi di fondo di quell'*iter studiorum* fondato sull'accordo tra *humanae litterae* e scienze sacre, che era ormai riconosciuto come indispensabile nella formazione di un clero capace di farsi testimone e promotore di un'autentica riforma cattolica. Su questo indispensabile connubio il vescovo di Verona aveva impostato la riforma della Scuola degli accoliti e il progetto del Seminario diocesano. Entrambe le istituzioni erano a tutti gli effetti dei seminari di medie dimensioni, che offrivano un programma di studi di tipo umanistico, per cui se nell'una si insegnava grammatica e canto sacro, nell'altro, per tramite dei Gesuiti, si seguiva il corso grammaticale-retorico della *Ratio studiorum*; un programma che poi poteva trovare il necessario completamento sul fronte della preparazione teologica in quelle lezioni di Sacra Scrittura e di casi di coscienza tenute regolarmente in vescovado, alle quali partecipavano tanto gli accoliti quanto i seminaristi¹³². A questo schema si sarebbe attenuta, ancora per lungo tempo, la formazione del clero veronese affidata alle cure della Scuola degli accoliti e del Seminario diocesano, due istituzioni che si trovarono ad operare al fianco l'una dell'altro per altri quattro secoli¹³³, muovendosi lungo

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, cc. 3r-4r. La premessa rappresenta, insieme alla divisione del testo in capitoli, l'altra grande novità dell'edizione del 1571, una novità che fu mantenuta anche in edizioni più tarde, come quella veronese del 1732 e quella romana del 1871. Nell'edizione del 1571 non compare il nome dell'autore della premessa, che troviamo esplicitato solo a partire dall'edizione del 1583 (cfr. *supra* nota n. 126). Si tratta del p. Francesco Adorno, il quale – come noto – ebbe un ruolo centrale nell'articolato processo di revisione che interesserà il *De rhetorica ecclesiastica*, l'altra importante opera scritta dal Valier per la formazione dei chierici (cfr. *infra* nota n. 133). Non a caso, proprio nell'edizione del 1583 le due opere valeriane figurano l'una di seguito all'altra: al *De rhetorica ecclesiastica* segue il *De Acolytorum disciplina*, con frontespizio e paginazione autonoma, secondo uno schema che nella prassi catalografica viene definito pubblicazione in parti.

¹³² Del fatto che le due istituzioni si ponevano su uno stesso piano di valore si trova conferma in una lettera indirizzata dal Borromeo al Valier, nella quale si legge: «mentre fui in Roma feci l'off[ic]io che bisognava per gli accoliti di Verona a favor de quali N. S.or ordinò un breve declaratorio amplissimo dandogli tutti i privilegi delli altri Seminarii». Lettera, Carlo Borromeo ad Agostino Valier, [Milano, 1573] (BAM, P. 23, *Minute di S. Carlo*, c. 66; edita in Tacchella, *San Carlo Borromeo ed il card. Agostino Valier*, cit., pp. 65-66).

¹³³ A questo riguardo Angelo Orlandi fa presente che «dal 1841 gli accoliti del Duomo per



Fig. 4. Venetiis, apud Dominicum Nicolinum, 1571 (Padova, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, collocazione: 500.ROSSA. SUP.BB. 6.2; foto a cura del servizio di riproduzione della Biblioteca).



Fig. 5. Veronae, apud Hieronymum et fratres Stringarios, 1583 (Verona, Biblioteca civica, collocazione: 500.c.v.377; foto a cura dell'A.).



Fig. 6. Perusiae, ex Typographia Episcopali, 1653 (Jesi, Biblioteca comunale Planettiana; collocazione: PLAN.P.167; foto a cura dell'A.).



Fig. 7. Veronae, ex Phoenix typographia, 1732 (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare; collocazione: G.H.2.1; foto a cura dell'A.).

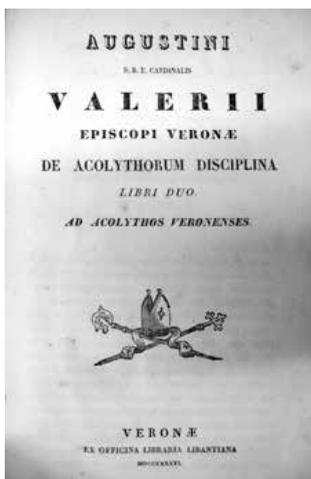


Fig. 8. Veronae, ex officina libraria Libantiana, 1836 (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare; collocazione: G.H.5.48; foto a cura dell'A.).

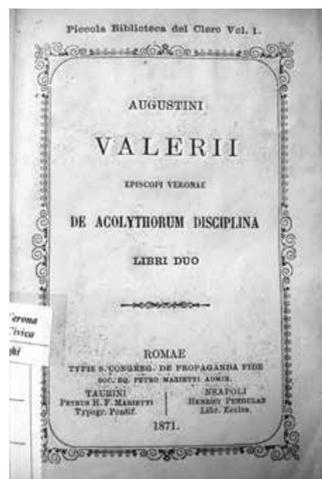


Fig. 9. Romae, Typis S. Congreg. de Propaganda fidei, 1871 (Verona, Biblioteca civica; collocazione: FIG.667.f.003; foto a cura dell'A.).

percorsi separati sì, ma spesso convergenti, proprio perché orientati verso un comune modello sacerdotale.

Di questo ne dava conferma lo stesso Valier nella *praelectio tertia* al *De rhetorica ecclesiastica*, l'opera alla quale, com'è noto, il vescovo di Verona aveva iniziato a lavorare sin dal 1571 su istanza del Borromeo e che, dopo un lungo e articolato processo di revisione, era giunta alle stampe nel 1574, conoscendo nell'immediato un'ampia circolazione¹³⁴. Ecco, proprio nell'ultima delle tre lezioni predisposte dal vescovo di Verona come introduzioni allo studio di questo manuale pensato per accompagnare e guidare la formazione retorica dei futuri sacerdoti, parlando dei destinatari dell'opera, affermava:

Dicamus de interprete Ecclesiasticae Rethoricae; quod non facimus, ut illum, qui interpretaturus est hos libros, doceamus, non eget enim ipse (ut opinor) meis praeceptis; sed quia spero, fore aliquando, ut est vobis futuri sint aliqui, qui hanc eandem Ecclesiasticam Rhetoricam, iis, qui succedent acolythis, in vestra schola, et iis, qui in seminarium admittentur, sint explicaturi¹³⁵.

ogni grado di scuola frequentarono il Seminario, mentre conservarono le loro mansioni di servizio fino all'epoca della prima guerra mondiale». La Scuola degli accoliti fu chiusa durante la prima guerra mondiale, fu riaperta per qualche anno alla fine della guerra ma per poco tempo, in quanto presto cessò di funzionare del tutto «per mancanza di fondi». Cfr. Orlandi, *Scuole ecclesiastiche*, cit., p. 276 e nota n. 21.

¹³⁴ L'opera fu sottoposta al giudizio di tanti nomi illustri dell'epoca, tra i quali, oltre al p. Francesco Adorno, possiamo annoverare Pietro Galesino, uno dei familiari più fidati del Borromeo, il gesuita Manuel de Sá e il vescovo di Cittanova Guglielmo Vielmi. Le diverse fasi di elaborazione del *De Rhetorica ecclesiastica* si possono seguire analizzando il carteggio intercorso tra il Borromeo e il Valier negli anni 1571-1574, per il quale si rimanda a Tacchella, *San Carlo Borromeo ed il card. Agostino Valier*, cit., in partic. pp. 61-73, 101-107. Il ruolo svolto dal p. Adorno nella revisione dell'opera emerge in particolare da due epistole edite nell'Ottocento: *Lettera del padre Adorno della Compagnia di Gesù a Monsignore Agostino Valier vescovo di Verona in esame del libro del Valiero De Rhetorica ecclesiastica e risposta del Valiero all'Adorno ora per la prima volta pubblicate*, In Venetia, presso Giuseppe Picotti tipografo, 1829. Alla *princeps* veronese del 1574 (apud Sebastianum et Ioannem a Donis), seguivano subito dopo, nello stesso anno, l'edizione milanese (apud Pacificum Pontium, typographum illustriss. et reverendiss. Cardinalis Borromaei archiepiscopi), un'altra edizione veronese per i tipi degli stessi stampatori della *princeps*, ma in un formato diverso (si passava dal 4° all'8°), e quella veneziana (Venetiis, apud Andream Bochinum, et fratres, 1574). A testimonianza della vasta eco suscitata dall'opera del Valier, si può ricordare, che già nel 1575 veniva stampata anche a Colonia (Coloniae, apud Geruinum Calenium, et Haeredes Quentelios) e a Parigi (Parisiis, apud Thomam Brumennium, in Clauso Brunello, sub signo Olivae). Per una descrizione delle edizioni si rimanda ai cataloghi: Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo (Edit 16, <<http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it>>) e Catalogo collettivo delle biblioteche del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale (SBN, <<http://www.sbn.it>>); ultimo accesso: ottobre 2013.

¹³⁵ Agostino Valier, *De Rhetorica ecclesiastica ad clericos libri tres. Augustini Valerii Veronensis Episcopi. Una cum tribus praelectionibus ad suos clericos habitis, alias in lucem editis. Accessit et pulcherrima totius Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae sinopsi, non antea in lucem edita*, Venetiis, apud Andream Bochinum, et fratres, 1574, p. 288.

Sui contenuti e sulla fortuna del *De rhetorica ecclesiastica* molto è stato detto, come anche sui rapporti intercorsi tra il Valier e il Borromeo nelle fasi di redazione dell'opera, tuttavia rimangono ancora diversi aspetti da approfondire anche in rapporto al più generale contributo offerto dal vescovo di Verona alla storia dell'oratoria sacra, tematica di particolare interesse sulla quale si avrà modo di tornare all'interno di uno studio specifico al momento in preparazione¹³⁶. Ciò che ci preme sottolineare in questa sede, invece, è la ferma volontà mostrata dal Valier nell'orientare l'antica Scuola degli accoliti e il neonato Seminario diocesano verso un comune modello educativo; un intento, questo, che sembra trovare un'efficace sintesi proprio nell'edizione congiunta dei due scritti valeriani appena richiamati, uscita a Verona nel 1583 per i tipi dei fratelli Stringari, con tanto di stemma vescovile e con il significato auspicio, rivolto non a caso *Ad clericos utriusque Seminarii Veronae*, «itaque, et Rhetoricam ecclesiasticam, et libros ad Acolythos in unum quasi corpus collegimus, in quibus vos et recte dicendi, et bene agendi in rebus sacris, quibus addicti estis, facultatem habere possetis»¹³⁷.

¹³⁶ Un'analisi degli argomenti trattati nell'opera è offerta da Logan, *The Venetian upper clergy*, cit., pp. 232-239. Per un primo inquadramento del testo all'interno del laboratorio retorico borromaico e nel più generale contesto dell'oratoria sacra post-tridentina si vedano rispettivamente: J. O'Malley, *San Carlo Borromeo ed il «praecipuum episcoporum munus»*, in F. Buzzi, D. Zardin (edd.), *Carlo Borromeo e l'opera della «grande riforma»*. Cultura, religione e arti del governo nella Milano del pieno Cinquecento, Milano, Silvana editoriale, 1997, pp. 59-68; M. Fumaroli, *L'Âge de l'éloquence. Rhétorique et «res literaria» de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique*; trad. it. *L'arte dell'eloquenza. Retorica e «res literaria» dal Rinascimento alle soglie dell'epoca classica*, Milano, Adelphi, 2002, in partic. pp. 141-160.

¹³⁷ *Typographi ad Clericos utriusque Seminarii Veronae*, in Agostino Valier, *De rhetorica ecclesiastica libri tres, cum synopsi et praelectionibus. Eiusdem de acolytorum disciplina libri duo. Omnia in unum collecta, et hac septima editione accuratissime impressa. Cum indice locupletissimo*, Veronae, apud Hieronymum et fratres Stringarios, 1583, c. 2v (i corsivi presenti nella citazione sono di chi scrive). Questa edizione delle due opere del Valier dovette avere una certa fortuna, per lo meno in ambito veronese, se ancora alla fine del Settecento un giovane Giuseppe Venturi (Verona 1766 – ivi 1841), al tempo ancora studente, apponeva due note di possesso sul suo esemplare, una per ogni frontespizio, firmandosi come «Giuseppe Venturi accolito» (cfr. Fig. 10-11). Non stupisce, poi, constatare che l'esemplare posseduto dal Venturi sia particolarmente vissuto, presenta infatti numerose postille a margine di mano seicentesca, a testimonianza di una circolazione viva e di una lettura meditata dei due testi valeriani, ritenuti – evidentemente – nonostante il trascorrere degli anni, validi strumenti di guida e di studio nel percorso di preparazione al sacerdozio. Sul Venturi si veda D. Cervato, *Diocesi di Verona*, Venezia, Giunta regionale del Veneto; Padova, Gregoriana libreria editrice, 1999, pp. 392, 546, 660 (Storia religiosa del Veneto, 8). Per una descrizione dell'esemplare si rimanda a L. Carpanè, M. Menato, *Annali della tipografia veronese del Cinquecento*, 2 voll., Baden-Baden, V. Koerner, 1992-1994, Vol. I, pp. 260-61 (scheda n. 172).



Figg. 10-11. Veronae, ex typographia Hieronymi Stringarij, et fratrum, 1583 (Verona, Biblioteca civica; collocazione: 500. Post.92; foto a cura dell'A.)

Conclusioni

Le vicende ricostruite in queste pagine mostrano come, all'indomani del Tridentino, vecchio e nuovo molto spesso si trovarono a convivere; l'avvento del seminario non spazzò via d'un colpo i consueti canali di preparazione al sacerdozio, ma produsse comunque nell'immediato un cambiamento importante nel modo di concepire e di approcciare il tema della formazione del clero secolare, un cambiamento per cui – com'è stato osservato – «dal prete dalla incerta fisionomia sacramentale, si [... passò] al clero in cura d'anime, fortemente legato al territorio e alla parrocchia, [...] maestro di vita spirituale e di vita cristiana»¹³⁸.

Nel caso di Verona il processo di rinnovamento attuato in questo settore era stato favorito ampiamente prima del Tridentino dall' incisiva azione pastorale del Giberti ed ebbe la possibilità di progredire ulteriormente grazie al diligente lavoro di adeguamento alle disposizioni conciliari condotto dal Valier. Il prelado veneziano, compreso che non c'era possibilità di ridurre il seminario diocesano e l'antica scuola degli accoliti ad un'unica istituzione, si trovò ad affrontare una fase di passaggio molto delicata, in cui si doveva introdurre il nuovo e,

¹³⁸ C. Ruini, *Presentazioni*, in Mezzadri (ed.), *Il Seminario romano*, cit., p. VI.

parallelamente, riformare il vecchio. Come si è visto, infatti, la fondazione del Seminario di Verona non determinò la fine dell'antica Scuola degli accoliti, al contrario, rappresentò la spinta decisiva per l'avvio di una sua riforma interna.

Nelle parte conclusiva delle *Conditioni che si ricercano nelli chierici per esser ammessi nel Seminario* si ordinava: «si facci ogni mese una visita del Sem[ina]rio da Mon.or R.mo vescovo, o vero da chi sarà deputato da sua S.ma R.ma per intender come passano le cose della divotione et delli costumi, et ancho delle cose temporali, affine di rimediare ove si dovesse esser bisogno farlo»¹³⁹. Una disposizione, questa, che era perfettamente in linea con quanto stabilito nel canone tridentino *Cum adolescentium aetas* e che trovava un corrispettivo anche nelle *Constitutiones Acolithorum* d'ispirazione valeriana, nelle quali si stabiliva: «Gli deputati dal R.do Cap[ito]lo visitino ogni settimana le scuole, et una volta al mese si ni duccano da Mons.r R.mo per trattar le cose sop[ra]de]ta et più facendo bisogno»¹⁴⁰.

Questi controlli periodici avevano lo scopo principale di verificare i progressi dei giovani e la loro effettiva idoneità al sacerdozio, ma esercitavano di riflesso anche una funzione di rinforzo positivo sugli organi di governo e sul corpo docente, che erano spinti a porre maggior attenzione sul buon andamento dell'istituzione. In questo modo si andava ad incidere sulla qualità dell'esperienza formativa e, aspetto ancora più rilevante, sull'idea stessa di sacerdozio, che assumeva sempre di più i contorni di un mestiere per il quale era necessario prepararsi nello studio e nell'animo, come ribadito nel *De acolitorum disciplina* del Valier, seguendo un percorso che, pur nella persistente varietà dei canali formativi, presentava delle tappe precise da seguire, che coincidevano con i vari gradi degli ordini minori e maggiori, per ognuno dei quali si doveva passare attraverso l'approvazione del vescovo¹⁴¹. A quest'ultimo spettava il compito di dar corpo alle norme tridentine e di creare le condizioni per l'affermazione di un nuovo modello di sacerdote, «praeclarum bonorum operum exemplum et vitae monita», preparato ad assolvere al suo compito di guida dei fedeli, «ad populum docendum ea, quae scire omnibus necessarium est ad salutem, ac administranda sacramenta»¹⁴².

Dei numerosi «talenti» propri dell'ufficio sacerdotale aveva parlato Tullio Crispolti nel trattato *Istruzione de' sacerdoti*, scritto su istanza del Giberti per il clero veronese e pubblicato dall'editore veneziano Gabriel Giolitto nello stesso anno della fondazione del Seminario di Verona, con tanto di dedica ad Agostino Valier, celebrato quale degno erede e continuatore dell'opera del Giberti. Nel trattato il sacerdote reatino si era espresso in questi termini:

¹³⁹ ACV, Clero, Seminario vescovile di Verona, b. 1, fasc. *Seminario XVI sec.*, *Conditioni che si ricercano*, cit., c. 1v.

¹⁴⁰ BCV, b. 148, *Constitutiones Acolithorum Veronae*, c. 225v.

¹⁴¹ *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, cit., canones XI-XVI, pp. 748-749.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, canon XIV, p. 749.

Per diventar sacerdote si passa per tutti li altri ordini, et per il vero, quanto si vede in pratica, poiché l'huomo è sacerdote fa qualche cosa delli ordini clericali, peroché et in dire la messa è operato ogni dì per tutta la Chiesa orando per vivi, et per morti, et predicando l'overo insegnando, et udendo le confessioni molto giova alla Chiesa di Dio, et certo quando il sacerdote stima quel che deve stimare il grado suo, non ha mai causa da stare in ocio, né da essere mai occupato in altro che in questo, et deveria con tutti li buoni esempi, et con tutte le migliori parole che può, et con tutta la maggiore divotione delle sue orationi, et sacrificio, provocare le persone alla confessione, et comunione, et desiderare di essere chiamato a tutti li infermi, et a tutti bisogni, et ad ogni cosa, che all'ufficio suo appartiene; accioche tanti talenti quanti ha da Dio, non habbia ociosi, ma li tenga a guadagno, et sempre li eserciti, sapendo che per la gratia del ordine non essere se non efficaci, onde et per utile suo, et di coloro ne li quali si spendono, et per la gloria di Dio, devria sempre essere occupato in questo, et sempre desiderare di havere nuova occupatione di sì belle et sante cose [...] ¹⁴³.

A questo modello di sacerdote guardò il Valier mentre lavorava al progetto del Seminario diocesano e alla riorganizzazione della Scuola degli accoliti, convinto che la questione educativa avesse un ruolo centrale in quel processo di «professionalizzazione del clero in cura d'anime» avviato dal Giberti e teorizzato dal Tridentino, e che da questo era necessario ripartire per garantire un'effettiva e duratura rigenerazione *in capite et membris* della *societas christiana*¹⁴⁴.

¹⁴³ Tullio Crispolti, *Istruzione de' sacerdoti di m. Tullio Crispoldo da Riete. Utilissima ad ogni christiano, e massimamente a quelli che esercitano la dignità sacerdotale, dove s'ammaestrano, non meno i sudditi, che i sacerdoti ch'hanno haver cura di loro*, In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1567, pp. 147-148. L'opera è indicata come scritta su commissione del Giberti, anche se fu edita solo postuma, ed è presentata dall'autore come completamento ed integrazione dei contenuti esposti nel *Breve ricordo*, il noto opuscolo fatto stampare dal Giberti per il clero della sua diocesi nel 1530 e distribuito durante la visita pastorale di quell'anno (*ibid.*, c.1r). Su questi aspetti si veda A. Prospero, *Note in margine a un opuscolo di Gian Matteo Giberti*, «Critica storica», n. 4, 1965, pp. 367-402.

¹⁴⁴ Per un primo approccio alla tematica: Meersseman, *Il tipo ideale di parroco secondo la riforma tridentina nelle sue fonti letterarie*, in *Il Concilio di Trento e la riforma tridentina*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 27-44; L. Allegra, *Il parroco: un mediatore fra alta e bassa cultura*, in *Storia d'Italia. Annali 4*: C. Vivanti (ed.), *Intellettuali e potere*, Torino, Einaudi, 1981, pp. 897-947; X. Toscani, *Il clero nell'età post-tridentina. Utopie, modelli, realtà*, «Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma», n. 7, 1988, pp. 11-94; A. Turchini, *La nascita del sacerdozio come professione*, in P. Prodi (ed.), *Disciplina dell'anima, disciplina del corpo, disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1994, pp. 225-256 e p. 255 per la citazione.

Un'educazione 'civica' del Settecento: Jacopo Facciolati e *Il giovane cittadino istruito nella scienza civile e nelle leggi dell'amicizia*

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A 'civic' education in the 18th century: Jacopo Facciolati and The young citizen educated in civic science and laws of friendship

ABSTRACT: The little work of Jacopo Facciolati, a well-known philologist from Padua (1682-1769), was written in 1749 in order to educate a noble pupil. Therefore it is a pedagogical material and it is thus interesting for several reasons: namely because it is composed in two parts; for the persistence of the Aristotelian-Ciceronian model; for the circulation and fortune of the work; for the revisions made by the author; but also – paradoxically – for the limited attention that was given to the text, which was often judged in a very negative way; and finally, because it is an example of the slow but unstoppable shift of meaning, from the concept of 'civic science' into the idea of 'political science'.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Civics; Political Education; Principles of Education; Italy; XVIII Century.

1. *L'autore*

La chiarezza è sicuramente una tra le più importanti esigenze didattiche. Probabilmente anche un'articolata semplicità serve per comunicare pensieri complessi. Ma quando l'insegnamento deve poi essere declinato da parte dell'allievo in comportamenti conseguenti, pure il metodo con il quale i precetti vengono offerti riveste una notevole importanza insieme all'autorevolezza del docente e delle *auctoritates* scelte che, reciprocamente, si fanno malleadori della bontà della trasmissione. E di quest'ultima, delicata è la scelta di cosa comunicare, cosa tacere per non confondere l'allievo e, in aggiunta, se è il caso, come accennare ad altro ancora per garantirne una interpretazione reputata corretta.

A tutto questo – ed ad altro ancora, come poi si dirà – aveva pensato il sacerdote Jacopo Facciolati (1682-1769)¹ quando nel 1740 fece stampare anonimo a Padova per i tipi di Giovanni Manfrè nella stamperia del Seminario un libretto dal titolo *Il giovane cittadino istruito nella scienza civile e nelle leggi dell'amicizia*. Il discepolo, e futuro cittadino, per il quale era stato progettato tale strumento didattico era Andrea Pisani², patrizio veneto di una famiglia di dogi, il quale pochi anni prima – era il 1737 – era stato invece questa volta il dedicatario di una riedizione dei *Monita Isocratea ad privatorum et principum institutionem*³, ridotti a brevi sentenze dallo stesso Facciolati per potersi memorizzare più facilmente perché «valet enim plurimum praecepti brevitatis ad arripiendum, quod praecipitur»⁴.

Il precedente decennio aveva visto il Nostro docente di logica al seminario patavino, istituzione di grande rilievo culturale nella città⁵, e quindi dal 1723 al 1730, all'Università⁶; tali ruoli lo avevano indotto a compilare, tra gli altri, l'*Ortografia moderna italiana* (1721)⁷, i *Rudimenta logica ad usum privatae scholae* nel 1729, i *Compendaria Graecae grammatices institutio in usum seminarii Patavini* nel 1735, le *Institutiones logicae peripateticae* (1737) o, ancora, il *Q. Tulli Ciceronis Commentariolum petitionis ad Marcum fratrem cum adnotationibus et Italica interpretazione* nel 1732⁸, tutti editi dalla tipografia del Seminario.

¹ Jacopo Facciolati era nato a Torreglia in provincia di Padova sui Colli Euganei da una modesta famiglia; visse e lavorò sempre a Padova, appartenente alla Repubblica di Venezia. In realtà si chiamava Giacomo Fasolato, ma, ben presto cominciò a firmarsi latinizzando il nome e il cognome, e così anche noi qui lo useremo. Le fonti biografiche di Facciolati verranno date nel prosieguo del discorso.

² Lo attesta una lettera di gratitudine del Pisani, indirizzata a Facciolati, datata 18 luglio 1740 e allegata dal curatore de *Il giovane cittadino*, Giuseppe Torelli, nell'edizione di Verona, stamperia Moroni, 1769: «Lettera del fu Signor Andrea Pisani Patrizio Veneto all'Autore», pp. 200-201.

³ I *Monita Isocratea ad privatorum et principum institutionem*, Patavii, Typis Seminarii, s.d. (ma 1735), sono scritti in lingua latina e anche qui il nome del curatore si evince solo nella firma alla lettera dedicatoria ad «Andreae Pisano Hermolai filio ALOYSII Venet. ducis nepoti».

⁴ *Ibid.*, lettera dedicatoria. L'opera verrà rieditata, questa volta non più anonima, anche nel 1741, sempre a Padova e sempre nella tipografia del Seminario.

⁵ Di come il Seminario padovano fosse divenuto con la riforma del cardinal Barbarigo «scuola soprattutto d'educazione anzi di rieducazione umanistica» e di come Jacopo Facciolati fosse uno dei principali motori di questo rinnovamento, cfr. D. Nardo, *Gli studi classici*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, a cura di G. Arnaldi e M. Pastori Stocchi, *Il Settecento*, Vol. 5, Tomo I, Vicenza, Neri Pozza, 1985, p. 243.

⁶ Si veda il saggio di Piero Del Negro, *L'Università di Padova negli anni 1730*, «Quaderni per la Storia dell'Università di Padova», n. 30, 1997, pp. 3-17.

⁷ *L'Ortografia moderna italiana con qualche altra cosa di lingua per uso del Seminario di Padova*, Padova, in Seminario, Giovanni Manfrè. Con moltissime edizioni.

⁸ Il testo porta a fronte la traduzione in italiano. L'opera venne dedicata al cavalier Giovan Francesco Morosini «Francisco Mauroceno Equiti III Viro Litterario». Sul testo torneremo in conclusione.

Vero è però che Jacopo Facciolati si costruì una fama italiana ed europea⁹ di raffinato filologo classico, nonché filosofo e storico con opere di maggior lena come il *Calepinus septem linguarum hoc est lexicon Latinum* (1718) e successivamente, dopo la docenza universitaria, con i *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini* (1757)¹⁰ commissionati dall'Ateneo e, da ultimo, con il *Totius Latinitatis lexicon consilio et cura Jacobi Facciolati, opera et studii Aegidii Forcellini lucubratum* (1771). Ma proprio queste tre ultime fatiche gli procurarono oltre che alla fama anche una serie di critiche, in quanto per la prima e la terza mal si giudicò o l'aver omesso il nome di Egidio Forcellini¹¹, suo mite allievo e collaboratore, o quel mettersi in evidenza quando forse all'allievo si doveva la co-paternità del lavoro¹²; per la seconda, poiché pensata come storia dell'Università padovana, la si vide lavoro troppo «scarno e digiuno» e «leggero e secco»¹³.

Molte critiche, dunque, ma pure molti elogi. Infatti, le polemiche appena sopra ricordate non impedirono che l'Università comunque gli concedesse un congruo vitalizio oltre alla nomina di «professore emerito e storico a vita» di quell'istituzione¹⁴; o che nel 1760 il re del Portogallo richiedesse al Facciolati, ormai molto anziano, i suoi servigi per reggere il Collegio reale a Lisbona, anche

⁹ Per la fama europea di Facciolati cfr. D. Nardo, *Gli studi classici*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, cit., p. 244, nota 146.

¹⁰ Ai quali aveva premesso un sunto dal titolo di *Syntagmata* composto nel 1752 molto meglio giudicato dai critici. Sul prosieguo dell'opera, P. Del Negro, *Da Jacopo Facciolati a Francesco Maria Colle. La continuazione dei Fasti Gymnasii Patavini dal 1760 al 1763*, «Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova», n. 32, 1999, pp. 197-212.

¹¹ L'edizione del 1741 comparve poi anche con il nome di Forcellini. La polemica era stata innescata dai contemporanei Vincenzo Rota e Natale delle Laste secondo Niccolò Tommaseo, *ad vocem*, in E. De Tipaldo, *Biografia degli Italiani illustri nelle scienze, lettere ed arti del sec. XVIII, e de' contemporanei, compilata da Letterati Italiani di ogni Provincia e pubblicata per cura del prof. ***, Venezia, Alvisopoli, Vol. VIII, 1841, p. 235, poi in N. Tommaseo, *Studi critici*, Parte II, Venezia, Giorgio A. Andreuzzi, 1843, pp. 35-58, con una differente chiusa che riprenderemo in seguito.

¹² Cfr. la voce biografica dedicata a Jacopo Facciolati di Marina Boscaino in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Vol. 44, 1994, p. 67 (<[¹³ Sono giudizi che Tommaseo trae da quelli di altri biografi e che riporta nella già cit. voce a p. 242. Un giudizio contemporaneo, in Boscaino \(voce a cura di\), *Facciolati, Jacopo*, cit., la definisce «una pura raccolta di sterili date, ad un elenco né prezioso né particolarmente significativo», mentre più positivamente giudica i *Syntagmata*. Ma per gli storici di oggi i *Fasti* sono una fonte di notizie davvero inesauribile.](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/iacopo-facciolati_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>, ultimo accesso: 10 dicembre 2013), ma anche N. Tommaseo nella voce biografica dedicata a Egidio Forcellini, in De Tipaldo, <i>Biografia degli Italiani</i>, cit., pp. 249-253.</p>
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¹⁴ Cfr. Giuseppe Gennari nella *Vita di Jacopo Facciolati scritta da ** pubblicata in occasione che il reverendissimo signor D. Antonio Savorin fa il solenne suo ingresso alla Chiesa Arcipretale di Breganze*, Padova, Tipografia del Seminario, 1818, p. 11; Del Negro, *L'Università di Padova negli anni 1730*, cit., p. 5.

se questa volta il Nostro declinò la prestigiosa offerta e si limitò solamente a fornire le norme per organizzare e governare quell'istituto¹⁵; o, infine, che gli venisse data una cittadinanza onoraria per i suoi meriti letterari, come vedremo attestato nella terza edizione del nostro testo.

Conoscitore del pensiero classico e ammiratore in particolare di Aristotele, come tutto l'ambiente culturale padovano¹⁶, e di Cicerone¹⁷, il professore padovano li eleggeva anche come le *auctoritates* prestigiose sul cui pensiero fondare la cosmogonia civile de *Il giovane cittadino* per proporla al suo nobile allievo. Le successive quattro edizioni italiane¹⁸, pubblicate in stamperie di

¹⁵ Lo ricordano, ad esempio, Angelo Fabronio, *Vitae Italarum doctrina excellentium qui saeculis XVII et XVIII floruerunt*, Vol. XII, Pisa 1785; Francesco Zambrini nei suoi *Cenni biografici intorno ai letterati illustri italiani*, Faenza 1837; M. Michand (ed.), *Biographie universelle Ancienne et moderne*, qui nella nuova ed. rivista, corretta e aumentata, Parigi 1855, Tomo III. Sempre *ad vocem*. Giuseppe Gennari nella *Vita di Jacopo Facciolati*, cit., pp. 13-14 nota 3, riporta un brano della lettera di ringraziamento del ministro del re del Portogallo per quanto fatto dal Nostro.

¹⁶ Di come l'aristotelismo fosse «notoriamente [...] molto diffuso nella Padova di fine Quattrocento» (cfr. F. Todescan, *Il problema del diritto naturale fra seconda scolastica e giusnaturalismo laico secentesco. Una introduzione bibliografica*, in *Iusto ordo e ordine della natura. Sacra doctrina e saperi politici fra XVI e XVIII secolo. Atti del Convegno di Studi, Milano 5-6 marzo 2004*, a cura di F. Arici e F. Todescan, Padova, Cedam, 2007, pp. 12-13. Si vedano anche: A. Simioni, *Storia di Padova dalle origini alla fine del secolo XVIII*, Padova, Giuseppe e Pietro Randi Librai, 1968, pp. 926 ss. (l'Autore ricorda anche l'introduzione da parte del Cardinal Barbarigo della *Ratio studiorum* gesuitica e nel 1678 l'introduzione dello studio del greco, *ibid.*, p. 927. Da qui la grammatica greca già citata); e *La presenza dell'aristotelismo padovano nella filosofia della prima modernità, Atti del Colloquio internazionale in memoria di Charles B. Schmitt (Padova, 4-6 settembre 2000)*, a cura di G. Piaia, Roma-Padova, Ed. Antenore, 2002. In particolare ricostruisce l'ambiente filosofico a Padova nel Settecento, evidenziando 'illuministi' ma anche 'resistenti', i quali ultimi sul pensiero dei classici tentavano di costruire un argine alle nuove idee specie nel campo della filosofia morale, Biasutti, *La problematica filosofica*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, cit., Vol. 5, Tomo 2, 1986, specie le pp. 218 ss. Sul punto vedi oltre.

¹⁷ Tra gli altri possiamo ricordare: J. Facciolati, *Scholia in libros M. Tulli Ciceronis, De Officiis libri tres, De Senectute, et De Amicitia, De somno Scipionis et paradoxa addito Q. fratris Commentariolo petitionis ex recensione Jacobi Facciolati*, testo edito a Milano nel 1749 presso la Biblioteca Ambrosiana. Il volume fu dedicato «Ad Rei Litterariae Triumvros».

¹⁸ Esse furono: 1740 e 1760 a Napoli, per la Stamperia Muziana; 1748 a Padova, Giovanni Manfrè per la Stamperia del Seminario; 1769 a Verona, Stamperia Moroni. Christian Jöcher, nel suo repertorio di biografie *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* del 1787 (dall'Archivio Biografico italiano) ne cita un'altra nel 1741 a Padova con il nome dell'autore «mit seinem Nahmen», ma che non è ricordata dal Facciolati nella lettera dedicatoria alla seconda edizione padovana del 1748, ora edita in anastatica Nabu Press, 2010, e dalla quale da ora citeremo, salvo indicazioni differenti. Ora anche in Google Books all'URL: <<http://books.google.it/books?id=ghYOAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA30&lpg=PA30&dq=facciolati+giovane+cittadino&source>> (ultimo accesso: 10 dicembre 2013).

rilievo¹⁹, e le due traduzioni²⁰ in greco²¹ e polacco nel 1755²² sembrano davvero attestare il consenso sulla scelta, seppur condensato in un trentennio.

Così, per riepilogare quanto detto sino ad ora sia pur per accenni, ne *Il giovane cittadino* sembrano confluire molte costanti del mondo d'antico regime tra resistenze e sorvegliate aperture alle nuove idee che circolavano in Europa a metà Settecento sul tema della formazione e costituzione degli stati, che ne possono fare quasi un caso di studio. Si tratta infatti di un testo di introduzione alla vita pubblica – che abbiamo voluto definire, forse con un termine un po' troppo contemporaneo, di educazione 'civica' – molto particolare, ritenuto valido, a quanto pare, per istruire la gioventù sia della Repubblica di Venezia, sia del Regno di Napoli o addirittura di paesi non italiani: un *abc* di base, dunque, e in quanto tale largamente riconosciuto. Così infatti l'autore presentava al suo allievo l'opera:

Questa per verità è una spezie di Filosofia, che punto non serve alla pompa ed allo strepito: ma questa appunto è per voi, che provveduto esternamente dalla fortuna e dalla virtù de'

¹⁹ Le due stamperie – quella padovana del Seminario e quella napoletana – che curarono quattro edizioni dell'opera avevano un catalogo di tutto rispetto: la prima, specie dopo che il vescovo Giorgio Corner l'affidò al veneziano Giovanni Manfrè che le diede impulso. Così, la «fortunata combinazione tra capitali dell'importante istituzione religiosa padovana e la capacità del giovane libraio veneziano [produsse] ad entrambi buoni frutti» (cfr. M. Infelise, *L'editoria veneziana del '700*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1991, p. 172). Infelise ricorda anche le strette relazioni del tipografo veneziano con Napoli (*ibid.*, p. 247), pubblicando su svariati temi opere di autori illustri, pur se un occhio di riguardo fu rivolto soprattutto ai lavori del Facciolati. Si veda anche il *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, cit., alla voce «Giovanni Manfrè» curata da M. Calligari, che ricorda l'idea di istituire il «baratto o cambio dei libri dello stesso valore tra confratelli dell'arte» (p. 631), e che sottolinea come la tipografia contasse «oltre a numerosi librai italiani – [...] anche spagnoli, francesi e portoghesi –, eruditi del calibro del padovano J. Facciolati, del lucchese S. Paoli, del rodigino G. Oliva e di L.A. Muratori. Quest'ultimo fu non solo un ottimo cliente del Manfrè, ma assunse anche il ruolo di intermediario con gli stampatori modenesi Soliani e con i Malatesta di Milano, affinché il veneziano potesse acquistare le opere muratoriane da loro stampate» (*ibid.*, p. 632).

La seconda, la stamperia Muziana, aveva nel suo catalogo *Dei difetti della giurisprudenza* di Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *La Merope* di Scipione Maffei o *I principj della scienza nova* del Vico, solo ad esempio e limitandoci a una pur breve ricerca sulle sue pubblicazioni dei soli primi anni '40. Sull'editoria napoletana si veda: A.M. Rao, *Editoria e cultura a Napoli nel XVIII secolo*, atti del Convegno organizzato dall'Istituto universitario orientale, dalla Società italiana di studi sul secolo 18° e dall'Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici, Napoli, 5-7 dicembre 1996, Napoli, Liguori, 1998.

²⁰ Le ricorda sempre Facciolati, Verona 1769, p. 5 verso. Vedi anche G. Vedova, *Biografie degli scrittori padovani*, Padova, 1832-36, Vol. I, *ad vocem*, che ricorda pure un'edizione polacca edita a «Krakowiae, 1752, in 4°».

²¹ Probabilmente gli interessi della Serenissima nel Levante e i suoi possedimenti in quelle zone fino a principio Settecento possono giustificare la traduzione: per esempio, la Morea (il Peloponneso).

²² Di come già l'«Ateneo patavino [...] costituisse allora [a metà Cinquecento] la meta principale dei viaggi di studio all'estero intrapresi dai polacchi», si veda J. Slaski, *Marian Leżeński, un polacco a Padova (1556-1559)*, «Quaderni per lo studio dell'Università di Padova», n. 38, 2005, p. 173. Forse un interesse che continuava?

vostrî maggiori, dovete pensar solamente a formar l'interno. Bisogna cercar piú d'essere, che di parere: e voi sarete in vero, e sarete quel che dovete essere, se vi terrete perpetuamente alla solidezza di tali studj. Le apparenze per altra via non possono mancarvi: ma queste non appagano pienamente, se non gli spiriti superficiali, e facilmente si dileguano²³.

E trattandosi di educazione 'alla cittadinanza', l'oculato precettore padovano dedicava la terza edizione dell'opera – e non a caso – «Agl'Illustrissimi Signori Provveditori e Deputati di Cologna» che lo avevano eletto cittadino onorario.

Ma interessante ci sembra quest'opera anche per la vicenda personale di Facciolati, un sacerdote che, seppur di umili origini, riuscì a mettere a frutto il suo ingegno e attirarsi le simpatie e l'aiuto di protettori influenti che seppero riconoscere i suoi meriti²⁴; o per l'aver previsto una parte sull'amicizia, ossia sulla difficile arte di stare al mondo – che, tra l'altro, lo stesso Facciolati dovette ben sperimentare nel corso della sua vita – dalla quale non si poteva prescindere in quel mondo dove il discernimento nelle scelte richiedeva l'essenziale virtù della prudenza²⁵; o anche per l'aggiornamento alle classiche *auctoritates* scelte sul tema della «scienza civile»; oppure ancora per le diverse aggiunte che nelle varie edizioni completarono l'opera; e, infine, per la ricezione che *Il giovane cittadino* ebbe nella sua epoca e, successivamente, nei giudizi che i biografi ne diedero.

Di tutto questo terremoto presente nella prosecuzione del discorso.

2. L'opera

L'opera già dal titolo si propone divisa in due parti pensate come complementari l'una all'altra. E già qui sta un tratto originale del lavoro. Perché certamente ricche ma per lo piú, ci sembra, distinte erano state le letterature sulla «scienza civile»²⁶ e sull'amicizia, a partire dagli esempi di Aristotele e

²³ Facciolati, Padova 1748, pp. 2-3.

²⁴ Ad esempio, il cardinal Gregorio Barbarigo che «l'aveva 'scoperto' a Torreglia, giovinetto, nel 1694 durante una disputa catechistica» (cfr. Simioni, *Storia di Padova*, cit., p. 928) e che curò la sua educazione gratuitamente inserendolo nel collegio di Treviso, vicino a Este, quindi nel seminario di Padova, o il cardinal Giorgio Corner che lo volle prima ripetitore e poi docente sempre in quel seminario. Cfr. *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, cit. p. 65. La biografia di Giuseppe Vedova, *Biografie degli scrittori padovani*, cit., dice del nostro autore: «Con somiglianti liberalità di buon garbo [poiché donava i frutti del suo orto ai patrizi padovani] e di poca spesa il sagace Uomo tenne vive le amicizie de' potenti, che molto gli giovarono nelle sue risse letterarie, giacché era di genio, giusto il costume di quell'Università, battagliero».

²⁵ Fu la prudenza a suggerire a Facciolati di dare alle stampe l'opera inizialmente anonima «con l'idea poi, quando reggesse alla pubblica luce, di ripulirla, e farla nuovamente comparire colle marche della mia divozione verso la patria», Cfr. Facciolati, Padova 1748, nella lettera dedicatoria «Agl'Illustriss. Signori Provveditori e Deputati di Cologna», p. 2 verso.

²⁶ Vedi, ad esempio, il quasi coetaneo lavoro del sacerdote, docente al Seminario di

Cicerone, ma probabilmente per Facciolati nell'insegnamento alla gioventù nobile non si potevano che tenere presenti entrambi gli aspetti: la descrizione dell'ordinamento sociale e le *buone* dinamiche delle relazioni interindividuali. E il porli l'uno accanto all'altro ricorda, quanto meno a noi contemporanei, come la costituzione dell'ordine della società d'antico regime – ma in vero di ogni società – non potesse essere disgiunto dai comportamenti virtuosi dei singoli per mantenersi in vita.

La prima parte è tratta – «non però tutta, né sola», e giustamente lo dichiarava il Facciolati²⁷ – dalla *Politica* di Aristotele, come già è specificato nel titolo della sezione²⁸; quella sull'amicizia ebbe bisogno invece, oltre che del fondamento aristotelico²⁹, anche di un maggior apporto del pensiero di Cicerone, «l'Aristotile Latino»³⁰, che aveva ripreso il pensiero greco sulla *philia* cercando una conciliazione con il sentire più utilitaristico del mondo romano sul tema³¹. Lo scopo era quello di «formare il buon cittadino» colui «che rettamente

Udine, Gaspare Vattolo, *Elementi della Scienza civile con nuovo metodo ordinati che servono specialmente per istruzione della gioventù*, Venezia, Antonio Perlini, 1757. L'opera molto tecnica e si addentrava nei vari istituti giuridici (usucapione, servitù, testamenti, successioni, contratti ecc.) e doveva servire per gli studenti di diritto dello Studio di Udine. Sul testo torneremo in seguito. Nel 1779, a Udine presso i fratelli Murero, diede alle stampe *La filosofia dei costumi ossia ragionamento sulla scienza, e prudenza umana per dirigere le proprie azioni secondo le regole della diritta ragione*; e nel 1773, sempre a Udine, fratelli Gallici, le *Massime d'Isocrate spiegate con i veri principj della filosofia morale cristiana per educazione della nobile gioventù*. È in corso di stampa su questo autore il Facciolati ed altro il mio «*Cavalli di Troia*». *Tre testi di metà Settecento per la gioventù tra politica e scienza civile*, nella Miscellanea in onore di Amedeo Quondam, a cura di C. Continisio e M. Fantoni, Roma, Bulzoni. Rimando ad altro lavoro uno studio più approfondito su Gasparo Vattolo.

²⁷ Facciolati, Padova 1748, *L'Autore ad un giovine nobile appoggiato alla sua assistenza*, p. 1. Infatti in entrambe le parti ci si avvale anche, per esempio, del pensiero di Senofonte, Plutarco, Sallustio, Catone, Tacito, Seneca, e pure del Nuovo e dell'Antico Testamento o del più contemporaneo Donato Giannotti, citato in quanto autore del *Libro della Repubblica de' Vinitiani*, uscito nel 1540 a Roma. Si veda *ad vocem* (curata da S. Marconi), il *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, cit., pp. 527-533). Anticipiamo però qui come vi sia una serie di capitoli dal VII al IX non presenti nella *Politica* di Aristotele che sembrano risalire a più recenti dibattiti del tempo. Ne tratteremo in seguito.

²⁸ Facciolati, Padova 1748, «Parte I. Della Scienza Civile secondo Aristotile».

²⁹ Facciolati dichiarava le sue fonti rispondendo alla domanda dove Aristotele avesse trattato dell'amicizia: «Nell'ottavo e nono della sua *Etica a Nicomaco*, nel secondo de' *Magni Morali* [*Magna Moralia*], e nell'ultimo de' libri scritti ad *Eudemo*. Ecco le tre fonti, onde trarrò in grandissima parte quanto sono per dirvi», cfr. *ibid.*, p. 122.

³⁰ Facciolati, Padova 1748, p. 121.

³¹ Sul diverso significato che il termine «amicizia» ricoprì nel mondo greco e in quello romano dove era «non un rapporto privato, ma una situazione codificata e quasi istituzionale» e su come Cicerone cercò per i suoi *homines novi* di discostarsi «dalla concezione romana dell'amicizia in favore di quella greca, ma [anche] come l'amicizia 'filosofica' di tipo greco, venga a costituire nuovo fondamento etico-politico dei *buoni*», si veda E. Narducci, *Le ambiguità dell'amicizia*, introduzione a Cicerone, *L'amicizia*, Milano, Rizzoli, 1958, pp. 14 e 21. Anche secondo L. Pizzolato, *L'idea di amicizia nel mondo antico classico e cristiano*, Torino, Einaudi, 1993, p. 108, il periodo storico delle guerre civili portò «drammaticamente al pettine il nodo del rapporto tra una concezione filosofica dell'amicizia, fondata sulla virtù, e una concezione politica di essa, che

comanda, e rettamente ubbidisce nella sua città, secondo lo stato della stessa», il che non lo identificava immediatamente con «l'uomo dabbene» la cui virtù «è certa e determinata, che morale si chiama», mentre per il cittadino essa variava «secondo la varietà de' governi»³². A maggior ragione tale formazione doveva valere per chi avrebbe assunto ruoli di governo, come sarebbe stato per il nostro Pisani se la morte non lo avesse colto ancor giovane³³.

Così, data l'importanza della materia, Facciolati decise di scrivere l'opera in italiano «acciocché un'istruzione tanto necessaria non tenga aria di scuola, e in qualche modo possa forse annoiar[e]»³⁴; non solo, ma programmaticamente le volle dar la forma di «dialogo», di per sé un classico artificio letterario ben sperimentato in antico regime³⁵, che aveva il pregio di movimentare l'andatura della trattazione della materia e dare il senso di una conversazione:

le interrogazioni rettamente fatte servono a spacciare e lumeggiare ciò, che s'insegna; e per questa via non si manifestano solamente, ma entrano da sé nella mente tutte le parti, le affezioni, i rapporti e le difficoltà di ciascuna materia, prendendo anima e vita dalla figura³⁶.

Qui in realtà, dando ragione in questo caso a Niccolò Tommaseo, «sono piuttosto interrogazioni e risposte ad uso grammatico»³⁷, né la materia era alleggerita da *exempla* come il modello ciceroniano aveva previsto; si indulgeva

minava o alterava quel fondamento sulla base di esigenze di schieramento». Sui problemi connessi al rapporto amicizia/politica ieri e oggi, si può vedere E. Berti e S. Veca, *La politica e l'amicizia*, con *Prefazione* di F. Riva, Roma, Edizioni Lavoro, 1998.

³² Facciolati, Padova 1748, p. 30. Sono questi punti fondamentali di distacco del pensiero politico di Aristotele da quello platonico (cfr. C.A. Viano, *Introduzione*, in Aristotele, *La politica*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1990, p. 7), ripresi ne *Il giovane cittadino*. Essi chiariscono il capitolo finale della prima parte, il X, sul «Giudizio di Aristotele sopra la Repubblica di Platone», cfr. Facciolati, Padova 1748, pp. 108-119. La critica è incentrata, come si sa, sui limiti del mettere in comune sia la proprietà sia le donne e i figli, sulla teoria che i magistrati fossero i soli giusti e che la loro carica non fosse temporanea. Tutte critiche che Facciolati faceva sue.

³³ Facciolati, Verona 1769, Lettera di Giuseppe Torelli *Al cortese Lettore*.

³⁴ «Il mio genio, e voi ben lo sapete, mi portava a scrivere in Latino: ma ho stimato meglio farlo in lingua volgare, acciocché un'istruzione tanto necessaria non tenga aria di scuola, e in qualche modo possa forse annoiarvi», J. Facciolati, Padova 1748, pp. 1-2. Ricordiamo anche che il Nostro dedicava una orazione, la XXVII, *Pro vernacula favella a studioso adolescente in patria Academia recitata in Orationes selectae XXVII*, Padova, Tipografia del Seminario, 1767. Dunque persino il «tradizionalista» Facciolati, come lo definisce Piero Del Negro («*Pura favella latina*», «*latino ordinario*», «*buono e pulito italiano*» e «*italiano anzi padovano*». I «*vari linguaggi*» della *didattica universitaria nella Padova del Settecento*, «Annali di Storia delle Università italiane», Clueb, anno 3, 1999, p. 122) non disdegnava per uso didattico, ma privato, la lingua italiana, mentre sulla introduzione della lingua volgare per le lezioni all'Università si schierò decisamente contro, cfr. *ibid.*, pp. 134-135. Ma tutto il saggio (pp. 121-141) è un interessante sguardo sulla riforma dell'Ateneo padovano del 1761 e la crisi della didattica.

³⁵ Si veda la *Prefazione* di Giorgio Patrizi a C. Sigonio, *Del dialogo*, a cura di F. Pignatti, Roma, Bulzoni, 1993, pp. I e II.

³⁶ Facciolati, Padova 1748, lettera dedicatoria *Agli Illustriss. Signori Provveditori e Deputati di Cologna*.

³⁷ Cfr. N. Tommaseo, in De Tiplado, *Biografia degli Italiani*, cit., p. 259.

invece in citazioni latine con rimando dettagliato alla fonte. E forse quindi occorrerà intendere in questo senso il chiarimento che il nostro abate dava della scelta fatta.

3. La «scienza civile»

La cosmogonia civile della prima parte de *Il giovane cittadino* trovava la sua prima e fondamentale ragion d'essere nel principio che l'uomo era pensato come un essere «sociabile» e che dunque saper vivere in «comunanza» era poter sviluppare appieno la vera essenza umana di ciascuno, portarla a compimento e a perfezione nella società, vista come simile al «corpo naturale»³⁸. Qui però subito necessita una precisazione che si chiarirà meglio nel prosieguo del discorso. Facciolati usa un termine, «sociabile», apparentemente nuovo, se dobbiamo dar retta al *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* che nella prima edizione del 1612 non prevedeva il lemma; troviamo invece presente quello più classico di «sociale: che ama la compagnia [dal Lat. *sociabilis, socialis*]», inteso proprio nel senso che il nostro autore gli attribuiva, riprendendolo da Aristotele. Nell'edizione del 1769 del *Vocabolario* compendiato su quello di fine Seicento invece il lemma «sociabile» compare insieme al più consueto attributo usato fino ad allora per definire la presunta naturale essenza dell'essere umano a vivere in società³⁹. E in quest'ultimo senso anche noi qui, per il momento, lo useremo.

Certo è che l'aver, appena dopo, anche solo potuto pensare di introdurre la domanda «L'uman genere fu sempre unito in società?», e indicare, rispondendo, come alternativa negativa proprio un'origine poco pacifica di quell'uman genere, portando così in luce un tema che stava da tempo incrementando il dibattito sulle idee avanzate da Hobbes quasi un secolo prima, ci sembra la prima di una delle

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 4 ss.

³⁹ Prenderemo così il termine «sociabile» usato ne *Il giovane cittadino* come sinonimo di «sociale», nel senso dato dalle definizioni del *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca compendiato secondo l'ultima impressione di Firenze 1691*, del 1769, rispettivamente «sociale, compagnevole» e «che ama la compagnia», entrambi derivati dal latino *sociabilis* (il secondo anche da *socialis*). E dunque con il significato classico che anche Facciolati utilizza. Negli ultimi tempi sono stati invece oggetti di riflessione i termini «socialità» e «sociabilità» intesi il primo come un dato di fatto (e dunque nel senso precedentemente detto) e il secondo, dopo Hobbes, come progetto. E sulla profonda frattura che il giusnaturalismo portò tra le due visioni di società, si rimanda a C. Mozzarelli, *Tra ragion di stato e sciabilità. Ipotesi cattoliche di rifondazione del vivere associato*, in *Iusto ordo e ordine della natura*, cit. pp. 69-71. Si vedano inoltre: D. Gordon, *Citizen without sovereignty. Equality and sociability in French thought, 1670-1789*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1994; M. Agulhon, *Il salotto, il circolo e il caffè. I luoghi della sociabilità nella Francia borghese (1810-1848)*, traduzione e cura di M. Malatesta, Roma, Donzelli, 1993. Sul punto vedi oltre.

molte spie che ci avvertono di come Facciolati fosse consapevole dei continui tentativi di modificazione di un paradigma culturale di lunghissima durata e, contemporaneamente, di come invece volesse strenuamente mantenerlo, appoggiandosi agli Antichi e soprattutto ad Aristotele⁴⁰. Ne vedremo altre in seguito.

Subito, infatti, la cosmogonia de *Il giovane cittadino* tornava nell'alveo del pensiero aristotelico, e, allargandosi a cerchi concentrici, partiva dal «corpo [...] primo e più picciolo» di società che è la famiglia, la quale dettava sia il modello delle diverse tipologie dei rapporti sociali anche nel più vasto macrocosmo dell'amministrazione della *res-publica*, rapporti che «si riducono a tre classi, e sono marito e moglie, genitore e figli, padrone e servi»⁴¹. Sia anche la modalità dell'uso delle «cose», ovvero la «conservazione» del patrimonio e delle «facoltà della casa» secondo il principio classico dell'economica per la quale «la roba si ha, si dee conservare con industria e parsimonia»⁴², dove «industria» comprendeva esclusivamente «tutti i modi onesti e plausibili», e cioè, citando gli *Officia* di Cicerone, escludendo tutto ciò che quella società non tollerava, come il mestiere di gabelliere o di usuraio⁴³. Rimaneva il decoro secondo il proprio stato a segnalare limiti e spazi per non tenere il «danaio disoccupato»⁴⁴. Così, certamente, in una città c'era necessità di banchieri e di mercanti, come pure di chi per bisogno doveva esercitare le «arti più basse», ma il *giovane cittadino* era altro, perché destinato in futuro ad essere tra «i padri di famiglia nobili e ricchi»⁴⁵ e, alla fine contraddicendosi con quanto prima asserito, sembra essere questo il vero *identikit* del destinatario nonché il modello che doveva poi essere declinato nelle differenti sfere sociali gradualmente sempre più periferiche all'*élite* di governo⁴⁶.

⁴⁰ La risposta così recitava: «Il pensare, che gli uomini a principio del mondo sieno andati errando a modo di fiere, senza commercio fra loro e senza discorso, è una fantasia troppo in vero Poetica. L'inclinazione alla società e alle conseguenze di essa nasce con noi; ed è una proprietà necessaria alla natura umana, che non ebbe mai bisogno degli Orfei per manifestarsi» (Facciolati, Padova 1748, p. 6). Al termine della prima parte – *ibid.*, p. 97 – però sembrava contraddirsi introducendo la figura di un'autorità per ordinare in società la sparsa folla degli esseri umani (vedi oltre).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 21-2. Sul tema dell'economica si veda il fondamentale, D. Frigo, *Il padre di famiglia: governo della casa e governo civile nella tradizione dell'«economica» tra Cinque e Seicento*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1985.

⁴³ Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., p. 22.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴⁶ In altro luogo elencava i veri cittadini rispondendo alla domanda «*Come si possono dividere i Cittadini?*» R. Si dividono in Politici, Soldati e Sacerdoti. Imperocché gli Artefici, e gli Agricoltori sono bensì necessari alla Città, ma non sono parte di essa, propriamente parlando», e che i magistrati dovranno essere «ricchi ed agiati [...] perché non abbiano motivi d'approffittarsi per vie indecorose», *ibid.*, p. 32.

Dalla famiglia alla contrada, da quest'ultima alla città, dalla città allo stato («la Repubblica»), il problema rimaneva sempre come conservare questi fondamentali luoghi sociali: la famiglia con l'opera del *buon* padre che sapeva scegliersi una *buona* moglie ed educare i figli, governando sui servi – «strumento animato»⁴⁷ – e sul patrimonio di famiglia; la città con il conservare un numero congruo di persone e con leggi che regolassero la vita sociale a partire dal matrimonio aprendo a tutta una serie di indicazioni sull'età conveniente degli sposi, sull'allevamento dei figli, i loro studi – e qui si divergeva dai dettami aristotelici – dall'insegnamento della religione fino allo studio della filosofia morale passando per quello della geometria o dell'eloquenza o della filosofia, della legge e della storia, non sdegnando a conclusione attività allora alla moda per il gentiluomo «a titolo di ginnastica, il ballo, la scherma, l'arte di cavalcare»⁴⁸. Comunque, due rimanevano le regole imprescindibili secondo il Nostro per coronare una buona educazione: un metodo che insegnasse non per «ammassi [...] consistendo in un ingombro di cognizioni disordinate le quali contentano solamente colui, che le possiede, e servono a renderlo presuntuoso»⁴⁹ e un precettore per i giovani che fosse «persona piuttosto di giudizio, che d'ingegno»⁵⁰.

Parlando di «Repubblica», infine, Facciolati la intendeva come «governo», e dunque la forma del corpo civile delle città: in altre parole, il tipo di costituzione. Il suo fine era il «bene comune» che si doveva conseguire per concorrere alla «salvezza e [alla] felicità di tutto il popolo»⁵¹. E dunque, si descrivevano le classiche forme di governo dalla monarchia alla democrazia, dall'aristocrazia alla timocrazia («che propriamente Repubblica si chiama da Aristotile»⁵²) ai più frequenti ed apprezzati «governi misti»⁵³ con i loro pregi e difetti e con

⁴⁷ Stigmatizzò questa definizione, seppur ripresa da Aristotele, Niccolò Tommaseo alla voce «Facciolati», in De Tipaldo, *Biografia degli Italiani*, cit., p. 259. «E [Facciolati] ripete, i servi essere al mondo in grazia de' padroni; e la moglie soggetta al marito come il corpo all'anima, il peggiore al migliore. E il Facciolati è un prete! E il libro fu tradotto in polacco!».

⁴⁸ Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., p. 46. Ed erano le stesse capacità che con «grazia» doveva saper fare il gentiluomo nel *Cortegiano* di Baldassar Castiglione e le stesse attività presenti nei collegi per nobili gesuitici.

Nelle materie d'insegnamento, Facciolati si discostava da quanto prescriveva Aristotele sia per il posto che il tema occupa nell'opera (per Aristotele, il libro VIII, cioè l'ultimo, per Facciolati nel capitolo IV quando parla dell'opera del magistrato e dunque con una sottolineatura molto più evidente), sia per le materie da insegnare: per il filosofo greco bastavano la scrittura, la ginnastica e soprattutto la musica (su quest'ultima materia *Il giovane cittadino* dedicava una domanda e una risposta, cfr. *ibid.*, p. 47), cfr. Aristotele, *La politica*, cit., pp. 141-151.

⁴⁹ Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., p. 42.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁵³ Facciolati non entra nel particolare assetto costituzionale della Repubblica di Venezia, ma rimanda brevemente a proposito dei «governi misti» al «famoso Repubblicista Donato Giannotti» (p. 57) e al suo *Libro della Repubblica de' Vinitiani*, che già abbiamo citato. Su questo testo e sul «mito» sia dell'esemplarità di Venezia sia dei vantaggi dell'essere uno «stato misto», cfr.

espliciti riferimenti alle tipologie di governo familiare. E sempre dallo Stagirita era desunto il capitolo VI, «Delle cagioni che corrompono, e di quelle che conservano la Repubblica», e dunque l'aspetto più 'politico' di questo scorcio della prima parte. Causa prima e generale della rovina degli Stati, entro la quale potevano riassumersi tutte le varianti aristoteliche, era la «dissensione; e la dissensione ha una sola radice, che è la disuguaglianza, sia vera sia supposta»⁵⁴.

Può apparire strano che in una società ordinata per ceti, la disuguaglianza – sia pur ripresa da Aristotele – venisse stigmatizzata, e invece è una buona occasione per noi lettori contemporanei per ribadire quanto quell'ordine fosse stato e fosse, per molti versi, ancora consensuale quando non macchiato dagli abusi e dal disprezzo dei potenti o dalla troppo grande «sproporzione di fortune e di stato»⁵⁵, e, per i lettori di allora, che la conservazione della *res publica* e dell'«amor de' sudditi» – non disgiunto a una certa forma di timore del cittadino verso l'autorità – riposava sulla virtù dei governanti⁵⁶, conservando più che mutando, distinguendo chi consigliava da chi deliberava, tenendo a freno gli eccessivi arricchimenti, calibrando premi e castighi, promuovendo la cura della religione. In questo, invero, la Serenissima si era mostrata all'altezza del suo mito⁵⁷.

E sin qui siamo di fronte ad un sunto didascalico della *Politica* di Aristotele, con rare differenziazioni, per quanto riguardava, per esempio, un non limitato numero di figli⁵⁸, o alcuni elogi alla Repubblica di Venezia, in modo da non scordare che maestro ed allievo erano 'cittadini' della Serenissima⁵⁹, o, infine, sporadicamente – dandolo per scontato non essendo certamente Facciolati un 'deista'⁶⁰ – il ricordo che il senso della religione che si voleva trasmettere

F. Gaeta, *Venezia da «stato misto» ad aristocrazia «esemplare»*, in *Storia della cultura veneta, Il Seicento*, Vol. 4, Tomo 2, cit., 1984, pp. 437 ss. La Serenissima di Facciolati è come pietrificata su quel mito e si spiega in tal senso il luogo e la lunga citazione dal Giannotti ne *Il giovane cittadino*.

⁵⁴ Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., p. 62.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁵⁶ «Per verità, quando il Magistrato abbia le altre condizioni, pare che la virtù sia un puro ornamento. Ma non è così: perché colui, che con gli abiti virtuosi non ha domate le sue passioni, benché ami la patria, e intenda speculativamente gli obblighi della giustizia, segue piuttosto il cuore, che la mente. Anzi aggiungo, che la virtù del Magistrato deve essere più grande della virtù de' privati, avendo un esercizio più esteso, e più luminoso». *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵⁷ Sulla reale capacità della Repubblica Veneta di «comporre o per lo meno contenere i contrasti che insorgevano nelle città tra i vari ceti sociali, «grandi» contro «mediocri», cfr. G. Cozzi, *Ambiente veneziano, ambiente veneto. Governanti e governati nel dominio al di qua del Mincio nei secoli XV-XVIII*, in *Storia della cultura veneta, Il Seicento*, cit., pp. 495-539, la citazione è a p. 531.

⁵⁸ Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., pp. 13-14.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51 e 56-8.

⁶⁰ Si veda J. Facciolati, *Viatica teologica X per Quibus adversus religionis dissidia catholicus viator munitur, con traduzione italiana del celebre P. Giambattista Marcucci della Congregazione della Madre di Dio, Accad. Osc. d'Italia Eccl. e P.A. stampato in Lucca 1756*, Padova, Tipografia del Seminario, 1763, nei quali si istruiscono i giovani sugli errori del secolo nelle varie parti d'Europa, fornendo loro le motivazioni e le parole per ribattere a eventuali tentativi di indottrinamento: in

era quello cristiano⁶¹, quasi che il Nostro avesse scelto di limitare al minimo indispensabile l'utilizzo dell'artiglieria pensante della teologia, contando sulla sufficienza della forza dell'argomentazione classica. Ma forse non sarebbe bastato⁶².

Ci sembra si racchiudano in una domanda l'arte e il senso del *buon* governo per Facciolati e, nel contempo, i potenziali punti di rottura che continuamente affiorano nel discorso de *Il giovane cittadino*. L'interlocutore chiedeva se negli studi di un giovane non si dovesse aggiungere anche la scienza della politica. La risposta in questo caso ha un tono duro e definitivo:

Supposto che il nostro Cittadino sia di testa quadra, ed abbia fatti i suoi studj di Filosofia Morale, di Legge, e di Storia, cosa significa questo nome di Politica? L'arte di ben governare quasi tutta si comprende nell'osservazione di questi due monosillabi *hic*, e *nunc*, cioè delle circostanze. E però secondo Aristotile altro non è veramente la Politica, che uso della prudenza nel governo civile; come l'Economica altro non è che l'uso della prudenza nel governo domestico⁶³.

Due piccole parole, certo, che però da un lato aprivano ad uno smisurato ventaglio di possibilità reali che ciascuno doveva essere in grado di rapidamente valutare per poter scegliere l'atteggiamento da tenere, la parola da dire, il gesto da fare, la scelta da compiere. L'educazione diveniva fondamentale e i libri d'*institutio*⁶⁴ o i galatei assolutamente necessari⁶⁵. La domanda però sembrava del tutto lecita per porre sul tappeto un aspetto del tema dibattuto, in quanto lo stesso Aristotele aveva usato proprio quel termine per designare l'amministrazione di una città, anzi aveva fatto della «politica» parola alta e nobile, sinonimo di buon governo. Dunque Facciolati stava invece sicuramente pensando ad un altro significato di «politica», e probabilmente al provvisorio esito del lungo dibattito che da più di un secolo si stava svolgendo in Europa sul variegato tema

Germania occorreva battere sul tema che la Chiesa era una e una sola; in Francia argomentare contro il giansenismo, in Prussia contro l'ateismo ecc. Ormai il *grand tour* stava diventando più pericoloso che istruttivo!

⁶¹ Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., per esempio, alle pp. 40, 45, 86, 93 o 121. Su questo tema vedi oltre.

⁶² Ben diversamente Gaspare Vattolo, che già abbiamo ricordato, solo quindici anni più tardi dedicherà alcuni capitoli per confutare l'impostazione che gli sembrava minasse alla base l'impianto cristiano della visione della società e del suo ordine, Hobbes, al confronto del quale le interpretazioni di Pufendorf, Grozio, Cumberland, Heinecke o Wolff, gli apparivano quasi in linea con il suo pensiero. Cfr. Id., *Elementi della scienza civile*, cit., pp. 81 ss.

⁶³ Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., p. 78.

⁶⁴ Uso questo termine nel senso autorevolmente definito da Amedeo Quondam che ne ha ricostruito l'*arbor textualis* nella sua *Introduzione* a S. Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, Modena, Panini, 1993, Vol. I, pp. XV ss. E per un suo uso particolare, I. Botteri, *L'ultima institutio: il buon contadino*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 5, n. 1, 2010, pp. 153-192.

⁶⁵ Mi permetto di rinviare al mio, *Galateo e galatei. La creanza e l'instituzione della società nella trattatistica italiana tra antico regime e stato liberale*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1999.

della ragion di stato⁶⁶, dibattito che gradualmente stava spostando il baricentro della politica dal significato classico fondato sulla conservazione della città – da qui anche il nostro «cittadino» – di una pratica basata su ragione e virtù, ad un altro dove la politica era la ragione del dominio⁶⁷. Temuto, normalizzato, seguito, tale nuovo punto di vista contrastava con la classica visione etica aristotelica e ciceroniana⁶⁸. Così quella domanda suonava maliziosa⁶⁹ tanto da imporre di tornare a fare il punto e riportare immediatamente il discorso in un alveo più sicuro, parlando delle virtù del Magistrato.

Poi, però, il testo muta registro nei capitoli VII, VIII e IX, nei quali, senza un apparente cambiamento di tono, si esce decisamente e volutamente dal tracciato fino ad allora seguito, per poi ritornare solo nel conclusivo capitolo X nell'alveo della trama precedente con il giudizio di Aristotele sulla *Repubblica* di Platone:

Quanto poi al jus comune non posso risponder idoneamente senza uscire alquanto de' libri Politici d'Aristotile, per darvi un'idea universale del giusto e dell'onesto. Sarà come una Proteoria dello studio Legale, che dovete fare; senza la quale molte dottrine potrebbero parervi oscure, ed alcune anche poco sussistenti⁷⁰.

⁶⁶ Val la pena di riportare la definizione del lemma «politica» del *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, ed. compendiate del 1769, cit., «Facoltà, che insegna il governo pubblico. [...] Per lo nome de' Libri, che scrisse Aristotile dell'amministrazione della Città. [...] § Politica: per Ragion di Stato. L. *jus regni*». Giovanni Botero nel 1582 aveva dato alle stampe la sua *Della ragion di stato*, sistematizzando un tema già oggetto di dibattito e suscitandone altri, dandone una definizione nel tentativo di portarlo entro canali normalizzanti cattolici e «mostrando che ragion di stato, ragion di coscienza e ragion civile erano in fondo un'unica cosa» (C. Continisio, *Introduzione*, a G. Botero, *La ragion di stato*, a cura di C. Continisio, Roma, Donzelli, 1997, pp. XI-XII). Si veda anche M. D'Addio, *La ragion di Stato e il problema dei rapporti fra politica e morale*, «Studia borromaica», n. 14, 2000, pp. 15-38.

⁶⁷ Maurizio Viroli, citando Gregorio Leti e la di lui critica sull'allora contemporanea presunta giustificazione *passe-par-tout* «*la Politica lo vuole*» (*Dialoghi politici*, 1666), ne riassume il pensiero: «I nomi delle cose – concludeva Leti – sono cambiati: i principi sono riusciti a bandire l'inquietante parola 'tirannide' e l'hanno sostituita con 'politica', con la conseguenza che mentre gli antichi chiamavano la tirannide con il suo nome noi la chiamiamo 'politica'», cfr. M. Viroli, *Il significato storico della nascita del concetto di ragion di stato*, in *Aristotelismo politico e ragion di stato*, *Atti del Convegno internazionale di Torino 11-13 febbraio 1993*, a cura di A.E. Baldini, Firenze, Olschki, 1995, p. 69.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 67 ss.

⁶⁹ Paolo Mattia Doria, introducendo *La vita civile* (1709), spendeva molte pagine dell'introduzione contro alcune idee soprattutto di Machiavelli (ma anche di Tacito e di Hobbes), e, pur criticandole descriveva una comune opinione che voleva il fiorentino aver «consigliato l'uso della torta e maliziosa ragion di stato, la quale non a ragione viene da altri politica nomata», qui si cita dall'edizione napoletana per i tipi di Angelo Vocola del 1729, unita con un *Trattato Dell'educazione del Principe*, p. 6. Occorreva perciò per Doria tornare all'origine «facendo conoscere avanti di prescrivere le leggi della buona vita civile, quale sia la natura di essa, e come per legge di natura medesima gl'uomini siano all'unione necessariamente inclinati», p. 11. Per poi giungere a dire: «Sarebbono senz'alcun dubbio la morale, e la politica una cosa stessa, anzi non vi sarebbe di politica verun bisogno, se le virtù morali facessero in noi così alta radice, che all'acquisto di quelle conoscenze si costringessero [...] dall'affinato raziocinio, e da abiti opposti agl'impeti naturali dipendono», pp. 37-38.

⁷⁰ Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., p. 80. Appena prima Facciolati aveva iniziato a rispondere

In questi capitoli le citazioni si fanno più variegata: nel VII capo, nel quale si prendono in considerazione i vari tipi di diritto, viene usate alcune volte Cicerone del *De legibus* e una volta Paolo nella *lettera ai Romani*; nell'VIII dove si tratta dei doveri, Cicerone ma più Seneca; nel IX, dove si parla della guerra, è Cicerone il riferimento principale ma anche Tacito e Tito Livio più alcuni esempi tratti dalla storia classica. Sono citazioni che servono da contorno, perché la materia proviene da altre fonti non specificate e che toccano punti nevralgici di un dibattito che sembrava essere stato appena prima arginato. Forse però ci pare lecito pensare che sia stato proprio il 'tutoraggio' dei classici a permettere qui di poter introdurre alcuni temi senza spingere alle estreme conseguenze l'uso di concetti forieri di striscianti cambiamenti: come, non a caso parlando delle varie tipologie del diritto, la coincidenza tra il «giusto» e l'«onesto» da applicarsi «poi a' casi particolari, e alle circostanze descritte per minuto nella Morale, e nella Giurisprudenza»⁷¹ – ossia la coincidenza tra lo spirito delle leggi e dunque del governo di uno stato e la virtù dei singoli, tra pubblico e privato – e sulla quale torneremo in seguito, o l'introduzione dello *ius naturale*, quella «regola necessaria ed immutabile, che obbliga l'uomo ad operare secondo i lumi e lo stato della sua natura», conoscibile razionalmente e dunque «questo jus non ha misure fuori di sé, ma esso è misura di se stesso»⁷². Qui si toccava il centro del problema, il punto sul quale la nuova interpretazione hobbesiana faceva leva per far collassare l'intero edificio costruito sull'idea che lo stato di natura avesse una «regola stabile, e sicura, onde regolar si possano le azioni umane»⁷³ che da Dio derivasse e che perciò bene e male, giusto e ingiusto avessero fondamenti in una ragione superiore a quella umana la quale perciò poteva leggere nella propria natura quanto la mano divina aveva impresso. Al confronto dello «sbaglio» hobbesiano, tutto il giusnaturalismo poteva sembrare quasi innocuo⁷⁴.

Così quella legge fondamentale tendeva a rendere l'uomo, se si fosse continuato il ragionamento – cosa che Facciolati non fa – a divenire autosufficiente e, come autorevolmente già detto, lentamente ci si si apriva «all'autonomo costituirsi di

alla domanda «*Cosa intendete per jus comune, e patrio?*», riprendendo il III libro del *De legibus* di Cicerone e, in particolare, sull'ignoranza dei magistrati che «tanto sanno, quanto piace ai loro ministri». Una domanda che sembra più propedeutica ad aprire il discorso successivo, che non a chiudere quello precedente.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 83. Una rassegna bibliografica ampia e articolata che tocca una serie di temi correlati, in F. Todescan, *Il problema del diritto naturale fra seconda scolastica e giusnaturalismo laico secentesco*, in *Iusto ordo e ordine della natura*, cit., pp. 1-60. La terza ed. porta dopo l'indice un'aggiunta per la p. 81, da porre dopo la prima domanda: al quesito «*Cosa veramente significa seguir natura?*» si risponde che, secondo il piano divino, come il mondo vegetale ad animale «segue natura vivendo per senso, l'uomo segue per natura vivendo per ragione», «cioè a dire con onestà e virtù».

⁷³ Cfr. Vattolo, *Elementi della Scienza civile*, cit., p. 82.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, vedi n. 62.

una scienza del diritto e della politica che riceveranno i propri principi dalla natura dell'uomo ormai concepita a prescindere dai contenuti specifici della rivelazione cristiana»⁷⁵. Di tali conseguenze sarà infatti già consapevole Niccolò Tommaseo che, dal suo punto di vista naturalmente, criticava proprio questo tratto del discorso de *Il giovane cittadino*, asserendo che si ripeteva

La frase (ch'è frase più che sistema) de *jus naturale*, che, separato da idee religiose, è mero suono, e conduce alla uguaglianza ferina»⁷⁶.

In realtà, appena dopo, Facciolati però introduceva come primo obbligo derivato dal diritto naturale quello di riconoscersi come creatura di Dio, ma anche, poco più in là, di come l'uomo potesse conoscer Dio come autore della natura senza la fede e come quest'ultima occorresse «per conoscerlo come autor della Grazia»⁷⁷. Il punto avrebbe bisogno di maggior approfondimento perché non sempre Facciolati risulta coerente. Così, per certi aspetti ci pare di poter leggere che ne *Il giovane cittadino* il rapporto ragione-fede, mondo-Dio segua sia un duplice stadio: in un mondo ben regolato la virtù civile prepara alla fede, ma solo la grazia porta alla perfezione e alla cristiana carità; sia un doppio binario:

Si può dire, che le leggi umane reggono l'uomo come mortale, le Canoniche lo reggono come immortale: il fine di quelle si figura nel Paradiso terrestre; il fine di queste si figura, ed è nel Paradiso celeste⁷⁸.

Un «Paradiso terrestre» che, almeno teoricamente, in molta filosofia del tempo era attraversato da una lenta ma inarrestabile tendenza a rendersi sempre più autonomo da quello sovraumano il quale, pur rimanendo almeno nell'architettura cosmologica de *Il giovane cittadino* un architrave portante, sempre più insisteva sull'interna coerenza delle regole per il funzionamento del primo, a conferma di quanto più sopra si diceva a proposito della mallevadoria del pensiero classico⁷⁹.

⁷⁵ Cfr. F. Buzzi, *Il tema del de iure belli nella seconda scolastica*, in *Iusto ordo e ordine della natura*, cit., p. 126. E sulla ricerca di correttivi per arginare le conseguenze di un tale presupposto, spesso la religione e/o l'aristotelismo, come secondo F. Biasutti accade ne *Il giovane cittadino* si veda Id., *La problematica filosofica*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, Vol. 5, Tomo 2, cit., pp. 220-222.

⁷⁶ N. Tommaseo, alla voce «Facciolati» in De Tiplido, *Biografia degli Italiani illustri*, cit., p. 259.

⁷⁷ Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., p. 86.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁷⁹ Ancora Franco Buzzi: «il portato dei classici latini e la riscoperta, soprattutto umanistica, del pensiero greco nelle sue fonti originali risultarono disponibili per acquisire una valenza nuova rispetto al significato fin qui rivestito dalla loro più che millenaria presenza nel pensiero cristiano». Cfr. Buzzi, *Il tema del de iure belli nella seconda scolastica*, cit., p. 125.

Ritornando al nostro testo, oltre al diritto naturale si trattava brevemente dello *ius* delle genti per mantenere la pace tra gli stati con «patti, leghe, confederazioni»⁸⁰, e dello *ius positivo*, fosse esso canonico o civile, le cui leggi «obbligano solamente nel tempo e nel luogo, per cui sono fatte»⁸¹. Ne derivavano doveri per ciascuno in quanto uomo: creatura (amore e timore di Dio), «ragionevole» (conservazione di sé), «sociabile» (collaborazione) e cittadino (ubbidienza alle leggi).

Seguiva, un'altra domanda il cui senso ritorna ad apparire ambiguo: «Perché non può supplire a queste tali leggi [quelle del diritto positivo] l'arbitrio del Principe?»⁸². Solo nove volte ricorre nel testo la parola «principe»: sei nella prima parte, dalle quali occorre toglierne due perché all'interno di una citazione, non a caso di un quasi-contemporaneo, il già citato Donato Giannotti, due nella seconda e una nell'indice, ma di queste ultime due si riferiscono alla grandezza di Aristotele. Negli altri casi «principe» appare come sinonimo di autorità di comando, un'autorità non abbinata a nessun tipo di stato in particolare: il termine poteva essere speso per un sovrano⁸³ oppure per «un privato d'estrazione ordinaria» che miracolosamente la sorte lo elevasse «al sublime posto di Principe»⁸⁴, o per chi aveva il potere di dichiarar guerra⁸⁵, o, ancora, per indicare una distanza impossibile da colmare quando messa in relazione al suddito⁸⁶, oppure, come nella domanda di cui sopra, per suggerire – potremo dire con Chiara Continisio – una «eccezionalità di azioni di governo esorbitanti dall'ordinario, dettate da imperiose esigenze di sopravvivenza di un'entità chiamata stato»⁸⁷.

È noto come la figura e le prerogative del «principe» infiammassero il dibattito cinque-seicentesco e come il tema avesse stretta attinenza con una differente idea di politica, da Machiavelli⁸⁸ in poi, che si legava con una delle interpretazioni della ragion di stato. E tale tendenza sembrava aver attecchito anche nella Serenissima del Seicento presso i «grandi» nobili «per sanzionare la loro preminenza» sul patriziato minore⁸⁹.

⁸⁰ Cfr. Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., p. 96.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁸⁷ Cfr. Continisio, *Introduzione*, cit., p. XII.

⁸⁸ Negli ultimi decenni è iniziata una rilettura del pensiero complessivo di Machiavelli. Si possono vedere: il sempre fondamentale G. Sasso, *Machiavelli e gli Antichi e altri saggi*, Milano-Napoli, Riccardo Ricciardi ed., 1987; e più recentemente G. Pedullà, *Machiavelli in tumulto: conquista, cittadinanza e conflitto nei Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio*, Roma, Bulzoni, 2011; in occasione del quinto centenario della stesura originaria del *Principe* è prevista per il 2015, promossa dall'Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, una *Enciclopedia Machiavelliana*, in due voll., a cura di G. Sasso; è inoltre in corso un'edizione critica del *Principe* curata da Giorgio Inglese.

⁸⁹ «Venezia, una Repubblica di principi?» titola un capitolo del suo lavoro Gaetano Cozzi

Da questo terreno minato, comunque fosse, Facciolati sembrava però tenersi alla larga; preferiva soffermarsi sulla figura del magistrato e sulle di lui qualità, o nel caso della risposta alla domanda di cui sopra, pur se avrebbe potuto rispondere riprendendo la teoria del tiranno, di riportare il tema nell'alveo del pensiero classico e confinare invece la figura di un principe 'potente' in un lontano passato dove ancora le leggi positive non esistevano:

Suppli in vero al principio. [...] Ma in corso di tempo si scoprì essere di gran lunga più conferente alla felicità de' governi, ubbidir alla legge, che all'uomo; perché quando comanda la legge, comanda la sola ragione; quando comanda l'uomo, comanda anche il senso e la passione. Aristotile nel lib. 3. Della sua Politica c. 12 s'esprime con più forza; e dice, che comandando la legge, comanda la legge e Dio; comandando l'uomo, comanda l'uomo e la bestia⁹⁰.

A conclusione dell'ottavo capitolo, il testo ritornava sul binomio iniziale e sull'irrinunciabile rapporto, pena lo sgretolarsi dell'architettura cosmologica così faticosamente in questa parte tenuta insieme, del «giusto» con l'«onesto», trattazione che copriva l'intera pagina 99. Una sottolineatura voluta, quasi a proteggere un nucleo di temi 'esposti' dando loro una linea etica di salvaguardia. Dalla loro concordia dipendeva infatti la «felicità civile» che naturalmente non si doveva intendere come «i beni di fortuna»; poi, ancora una volta, si assiste ad uno scarto nel discorso che qui vira dalla sfera pubblica a quella personale. Infatti, citando gli stoici – e non a caso –, si confinava la «vera felicità [...] nella compiacenza interna, e nella quiete dello spirito consapevole a se stesso». Come a dire che se il mondo era ingiusto, la compensazione ai torti stava racchiusa nella coscienza retta di ciascuno. Ma nel mondo d'antico regime proprio la rilettura dello stoicismo era nata per costituire un'alternativa possibile alle teorie politiche che arroventavano il dibattito sullo stato o sul principe. Il neostoicismo, in particolare, tentava di rifondare l'*auctoritas* del principe sulla di lui virtù e soprattutto sulla prudenza, divenuta però «un savoir à part entière, tourné vers la vie active»⁹¹.

Su un altro terreno accidentato, subito dopo, Facciolati si incamminava, quello della guerra, presente pure nel ben regolato mondo fino ad allora

in *La società veneta e il suo diritto. Saggi su questioni matrimoniali, giustizia penale, politica del diritto, sopravvivenza del diritto veneto nell'Ottocento*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2000, pp. 249-265, in particolare p. 262 in cui si richiama il lavoro di P. Del Negro, *Forme e istituzioni del discorso politico veneziano*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, cit., pp. 407-436. Sulle vicende del patriziato veneto e della difficile sopravvivenza dei nobili poveri, ma pure dell'impoverimento dei «grandi», cfr. L. Megna, *Riflessi pubblici della crisi del patriziato veneziano nel XVIII secolo: il problema delle elezioni ai Reggimenti*, in *Stato società e giustizia nella Repubblica Veneta (sec. XV-XVIII)*, a cura di G. Cozzi, Vol. II, Roma, Società Ed. Jouvence, 1985, pp. 255-299.

⁹⁰ Cfr. Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., pp. 97-98.

⁹¹ Cfr. M. Sénellart, *Le stoïcisme dans la constitution de la pensée politique: les Politiques de Juste Lipse (1589)*, in *Le Stoïcisme aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècle*, «Cahier de philosophie politique et juridique», 1994, n. 25, Université de Caen, 1994, p. 128.

descritto, messa in conto qualora non si potessero mantenere «i diritti della pace col maneggio»; in quel caso occorre tener conto che «la guerra si fa per la pace» e che il governo di quest'ultima conseguiva anche dai metodi che in guerra i vincitori avrebbero usato, non nascondendosi però che, entro le considerazioni etiche su guerre giuste, necessarie e legittime, essa «per disgrazia del genere umano [rimane] l'arte più profittevole e più gloriosa della terra»⁹². Terreno accidentato, dicevamo, perché pure il tema della 'guerra' o della 'guerra giusta' erano stati e rimanevano argomenti del dibattito del tempo, al quale avevano fornito materiale l'avanzata in Europa degli 'infedeli'⁹³, il processo di colonizzazione⁹⁴, le più recenti guerre di religione, nonché la nuova teoria sulla politica degli stati.

Così, l'aver lasciato Aristotele aveva aperto nel tranquillo discorso pedagogico de *Il giovane cittadino* una serie di aporie non deflagrate solo perché non portate alle estreme conseguenze, agevolato in ciò dall'apodittico tono che il maestro padovano aveva deciso di mantenere. Ma proprio per tutto ciò, possiamo cogliere il vero motivo della compilazione dell'opera, il senso profondo di questa educazione 'civica', il momento della scelta dovuto alla criticità del momento storico.

Insomma, tutto apparentemente stabile, tutto carsicamente in movimento, e solo per questo ancora in equilibrio! Forse perciò nel corso delle successive edizioni fu proprio questa prima parte a non subire cambiamenti di rilievo, mentre la seconda fu maggiormente interessata non tanto ai ritocchi quanto soprattutto alle aggiunte di corredo.

4. *L'amicizia*

Diventa ormai chiaro quanto fosse necessario annettere alla prima una seconda parte sull'amicizia, costituendo quest'ultima come la «bossola» per una regolata libertà di un giovane che usciva nel «gran mare»⁹⁵ del mondo, come l'indispensabile «abito»⁹⁶ virtuoso in quanto collaborativo⁹⁷, o, per dirla con

⁹² Facciolati, Padova 1748, p. 103.

⁹³ La Repubblica di Venezia ne sapeva qualche cosa, avendo perso Candia nel 1669 e la Morea nel 1699 e nel 1718.

⁹⁴ Sul punto il già cit. Buzzi, *Il tema del de iure belli nella seconda scolastica*, cit., pp. 73 ss.

⁹⁵ Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., p. 120.

⁹⁶ «Abito» che come tutti gli atti, aristotelicamente, è l'insieme di molti atti, «una ferma e costante disposizione a fare tali atti», *ibid.*, p. 135. «L'amicizia umana comporta per Aristotele il passaggio da una 'passione' (*páthos*) ad una «disposizione» (*héxis* o, alla latina, *habitus*), cioè da uno stimolo sensitivo, passivo, subito, chiuso nell'io, ad un appetito razionale, attivo, elettivo, aperto alla razionalità», cfr. Pizzolato, *L'idea di amicizia nel mondo antico classico e cristiano*, cit., p. 50.

⁹⁷ Franco Riva la definisce sulla base del pensiero classico come: «la disposizione razionale (e

Facciolati che riassumeva tutte le articolazioni del pensiero classico, come quel «manifesto amore, per via del quale alcuni si vogliono bene scambievolmente per virtù, o per piacere, o per utilità»⁹⁸. Garanzia della «concordia, [...] l'amicizia de' Cittadini, come una parte essenziale della felicità pubblica»⁹⁹ sembrava il lubrificante sociale specie in una repubblica, quella veneziana, dove «il Cittadino è Sovrano insieme e Magistrato»¹⁰⁰. Ma non solo. L'amicizia «secondo lo stato Civile» diventava – e già vi abbiamo accennato – anche propedeutica per il ‘vero’ e ‘perfetto’ amore che è quello della «carità Cristiana; nella quale virtù vanno a terminare tutti gli obblighi di legge»¹⁰¹, per cui si ribadiva come la virtù civile fosse fondamentale per preparare l'animo alla fede e, con la grazia, all'amor di Dio¹⁰²; come non vi fosse ancora una doppia morale, certo, solo una gradualità, che però diveniva incommensurabile, o «per eccedenza», quando ci si elevava nella sfera sovrumana, cercando in tal modo di frenare l'inesorabile slittamento sul piano inclinato della lenta separazione tra due mondi.

Sull'ordine sociale descritto nella prima parte si innestavano le varie forme dell'amicizia, un abito virtuoso molto più suscettibile alla «mutazione de' tempi e de' costumi»¹⁰³ e perciò sempre bisognoso di essere aggiornato. Vedremo che così accadrà nella vicenda delle edizioni dell'opera che andremo a descrivere in seguito.

Anche in questa parte le distinzioni e la graduazione delle forme dell'amicizia sono dettagliate e meticolose secondo una scala di giudizio che va dal più al meno: amicizie per elezione tra simili e fondate sulla virtù – le più rare –, o sul piacere come si diceva avvenisse tra i giovani o tra marito e moglie¹⁰⁴, o che hanno alla base l'utilità – la maggioranza – e che erano reputate come le più instabili. Ma le distinzioni potevano anche passare per altri criteri di lettura che ricalcavano le sei forme di governo, oppure si potevano «ridurre a due capi: al

‘naturale’) alla collaborazione», cfr. la *Prefazione* a Berti, Veca, *La politica e l'amicizia*, cit., p. IX.

⁹⁸ Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., p. 126. Ma in Aristotele non c'è una definizione specifica di «amicizia», cfr. Pizzolato, *L'idea di amicizia nel mondo antico classico e cristiano*, cit., p. 51.

⁹⁹ Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., pp. 123-124. Luigi Pizzolato così sintetizza in Aristotele il punto: «Si potrebbe dire quindi che l'amicizia consente alla giustizia di accedere al suo punto massimo di espressione, permettendone la piena realizzazione della *polis*», cfr. Pizzolato, *L'idea di amicizia nel mondo antico classico e cristiano*, cit., p. 49.

¹⁰⁰ Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., p. 39.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 121: «In queste poche pagine [...] troverete quanto basta, per imparar ad amare secondo lo stato Civile: e quindi poi per divina grazia nasceranno in voi le disposizioni ad amare in modo più perfetto, che si dice di carità Cristiana». Pur essendo in corrispondenza con Ludovico Antonio Muratori, Facciolati non sembra recepire il tentativo del modenese di far «comparir cristiana» – forse considerandola cosa scontata – un compiuto trattato di filosofia morale, che pur partendo da Aristotele, liberamente lo usa, non sdegnando il pensiero dei Moderni; in tale contesto l'amicizia è intesa come sottospecie, non a caso, della carità civile (cap. XXVI).

¹⁰² Facciolati, Padova 1748, cit., p. 153.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹⁰⁴ Si era già precedentemente sgombrato il campo con un giudizio negativo sull'amor platonico, considerato normalmente impossibile se non nella «penna dei poeti», e in particolare in quella di Petrarca. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-133.

patto, ed alla natura»¹⁰⁵, e quest'ultima comprendeva i rapporti parentali, a loro volta suddivisibili in diversi gradi: tra padre e figlio, tra fratelli, tra marito e moglie, tra padrone e servo, verso se stessi, verso la patria e via di seguito.

Parallelamente all'andamento della prima parte, anche in questa il capo V trattava di cosa potesse mantenere un'amicizia – benevolenza, concordia, beneficenza – e il VI rifletteva sul tema delle «compensazioni e delle querele», argomento difficile a descriversi:

Come nel commercio si fa cambio delle cose appartenenti alla vita, e si ragguaglia il loro prezzo per via di compensazioni; così nell'Amicizia si ragguagliano le corrispondenze d'amore, d'ossequio, di beneficio, compensando l'una con l'altra. Ma nel commercio si è trovata una misura comune a tutte le cose per ragguagliarle, cioè il danaio, laddove nelle Amicizie manca misura, e perciò manca il rimedio alle querele¹⁰⁶.

Alla quale mancanza Facciolati cercava di porre rimedio mostrando una serie di casi, ma contemporaneamente rimandava alla regola aurea – come più sopra si diceva – di «considerare le circostanze, le quali sogliono essere tante, e tanto varie, che fuori de' casi particolari nulla di certo si può stabilire»¹⁰⁷, mostrando il rapporto tra le diverse inclinazioni e l'amicizia secondo l'età – i costumi dei giovani, dei vecchi e quelli della «virilità», l'età di mezzo con costumi più «temperati», naturalmente – o, sicuramente meno scontato, secondo lo stato sociale – nobili, ricchi, potenti, «fortunati» –, con i loro vizi (molti) e le loro qualità (limitate o quasi nulle): i primi avidi di onori e poco inclini alle fatiche dello studio, ma coraggiosi e ambiziosi; i secondi ingiuriosi, superbi ed arroganti, stretti nella morsa degli adulatori, ma mai peggiori di «colui che diventò ricco di fresco»; i potenti simili ai ricchi, ma tenuti a freno dal desiderio di gloria; gli ultimi sconsiderati, temerari e tendenti «a patrocinar persone immeritevoli»¹⁰⁸. E anche questi «ritratti» dovevano aiutare a riflettere sul proprio stato e a prendere le misure per i rapporti sociali, perché «l'Amicizia e la giustizia sono qualità di relazione»¹⁰⁹ ed era nella natura dell'«uomo dabbene» avere amici perché «pare, che la natura stessa ci porti all'esercizio dell'Amicizia»¹¹⁰; «anzi v'è chi stima essere una cosa stessa uomo dabbene, e buon amico»¹¹¹, come detto da Facciolati già nella prima parte.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 145. La prima tipologia comprendeva «i compagni di studio, d'alloggio, di viaggio, di negozio, o d'altra simile società». La relazione tra marito e moglie, pur se nata da «un contratto; tuttavia si riduce alla natura, essendo ordinata a generare ed allevare la prole», che però, diversamente dagli animali, non si fonda solo sul piacere ma anche sull'utilità e la virtù, *ibid.*, pp. 147-148.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-184.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

E con lo stesso intento di ausilio esplicativo era quindi proposto – questa volta in positivo – un piccolo ‘galateo’ su quali fossero «i modi e le vie di rendersi amabili», che l’autore faceva seguire in conclusione¹¹², preceduto dalla aristotelica definizione di virtù, la quale, per dirla con Facciolati, «per disgrazia ha la sua sede fra due vizj, che le tirano il manto»¹¹³. Amabile era visto colui che si prendeva cura degli altri, si contentava di poco, vestiva e parlava senza affettazione, vedeva negli altri solo le qualità, di buon carattere, ingenuo, costante negli affetti, e ancora altro.

Amicizia, dunque, continuava a definire sia il picco più alto e più raro della relazione privilegiata di due esseri umani simili per inclinazioni e virtù, sia il rapporto sociale più frequente fondato sul *do ut des* della sbilanciata utilità tra chi chiede e chi concede – che già Giovanni della Casa (mai citato da Facciolati) aveva ben descritto nel suo *Tractatus de officiis inter potentiores et tenuiores amicos* –, passando per la più volatile e passeggera amicizia fondata sul piacere quando non fosse poi ancorata su fondamenti più virtuosi. Ma rimaneva la seconda il vero problema con il correlato tema della «beneficenza», perché da quella strada passava la concordia sociale, perciò la responsabilità dell’ordine della società pesava tanto sul ‘potente’ quanto sull’‘inferiore’ ed era per questo motivo che l’educazione continuava a insegnare i *doveri* per ciascuno stato e continuò a farlo fino a quando la *socialità* da originaria e naturale non fu pensata come *sociabilità* e cioè solo come luogo possibile e costruibile da ogni personalità individuale che poteva ritagliarsela sulle proprie passioni¹¹⁴. La ricerca dei presupposti della socialità (il bisogno individuale) portava inevitabilmente alla soggettivazione delle motivazioni con le quali valutare il rapporto interindividuale che gradatamente assumeva i tratti della sociabilità contemporanea, connotata dal perentorio ed assoluto, perché dichiarato

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 185-188.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹¹⁴ Nello stesso anno di pubblicazione de *Il giovane cittadino* uscì l’opera del somasco Jacopo Stellini (1699-1770), il *De ortu & progressu morum, atque opinionum ad mores pertinentium specimen* (1740), che gli valse la nomina di professore di Filosofia morale all’Università padovana. Stellini pur partendo da Aristotele cercava di conciliarlo con le teorie vichiane. E già il titolo dell’opera rimandava a quanto poteva essere rivoluzionario partire dall’origine dei costumi (si veda anche Biasutti, *La problematica filosofica*, cit., pp. 226-227). Quattordici anni più tardi uscì la *Filosofia morale* (1754) del bolognese Francesco Maria Zanotti, aristotelica nell’impianto anche se il professore di filosofia e presidente dell’Istituto di scienze, era stato influenzato dalle idee di Newton e aveva cercato di applicarle, ma alla sola gnoseologia in *Della forza attrattiva delle idee* (1747). Come a dire, che sui costumi occorre essere più cauti! Infatti Giandomenico Romagnosi pubblicando nel 1831 *L’antica filosofia morale*, una rassegna delle tendenze filosofiche in tema di morale, affidava la maggior parte dell’opera per esporre le idee peripatetiche alla filosofia di Zanotti, ma concludeva con quella dello Stellini e del suo metodo, nuovo «perché nell’espone egli definisce, nell’esaminare sale alle origini, e nel concludere deduce da’ principj». La parte sull’amicizia era comunque tutta tratta dall’aristotelico Zanotti.

naturale, primato del bisogno e dell'inevitabile conformazione della risposta a questo bisogno relativa¹¹⁵.

L'idea del giusnaturalismo che la società avesse potuto avere un inizio – non importa se solo teorico –, che scaturisse da un patto di qualunque natura esso fosse, rendeva l'ordine sociale contingente, legato agli interessi dei singoli, 'utile' alla fin fine, e l'*auctoritas* perdendo la sua finalità etica cedeva «il posto ad un potere che è buono perché è potere» ed «è buono perché è ordine» giudicato semplicemente per la sua coerenza¹¹⁶. Di più. La nascita dell'idea di un diritto naturale – come si diceva in precedenza –, e perciò stesso il presupposto di norme originarie e razionali anteriori ad ogni contratto sociale, chiedeva di riconsiderare una nuova scienza etica che relegava la virtù al solo piano interiore 'insindacabile' da ogni coercizione esterna, ma 'facoltativa'.

Ne *Il giovane cittadino* invece l'ancoraggio ad Aristotele permetteva ancora di non arrivare alle estreme conseguenze di concetti forieri di una forma differente di ordine sociale e precursori della svolta epocale della modernità, che la rivoluzione francese avrebbe sancito, oscurando gradualmente ma inesorabilmente altre opzioni divenute obsolete.

5. Le edizioni

Le edizioni de *Il giovane cittadino* rivestono un certo interesse per le aggiunte a completamento dell'opera. E poiché Jacopo Facciolati, ancora vivente, o lasciò fare o in qualche modo ne suggerì l'introduzione, possiamo considerarle parti complementari al testo.

Vale la pena di seguirle nel loro ordine cronologico.

¹¹⁵ Si potrebbero citare, come esempio di un inizio di cambiamento nell'idea di amicizia, i primi, e unici, due volumi *Dizionario istruttivo per la vita civile* del conte Antonio Montanari, che escono nel 1776. Il *Dizionario* arriva alla lettera «F», e contiene dunque la lunga voce «Amicizia» (pp. 32-42). L'operazione, seppur diversa, si avvicina per finalità di volgarizzazione a quella di Facciolati. Ma i tempi sono cambiati: ormai prende il sopravvento l'amor proprio, origine di tutte le passioni, la vera molla che porta all'amore: «Una scambievole inclinazione fra due persone, o poche più, nata dall'amor di noi stessi, il qual amore facendoci sperare di trar qualche vantaggio o piacere da alcuni, ci spinge a procurarci e coltivare la loro benivoglienza coll'accordar ad essi la nostra, ed in cotal modo formare un vincolo di reciproca colleganza più stretto di quello che lo sia cogli altri individui della società». Si criticano sia Giovanni della Casa che Cicerone e «i più accreditati scrittori [dalla] comune opinione», mentre si elogia Epicuro. cfr. A. Montanari, *Dizionario istruttivo per la vita civile*, 2 voll., Verona, Moroni, 1776, pp. 32 e 38.

¹¹⁶ M. Scattola, *Dalla virtù alla scienza. La fondazione e la trasformazione della disciplina politica nell'età moderna*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2003, p. 413. Lo stato vestirà poi i panni di questo potere, addolcito e temperato dal senso nuovo di uno stare insieme in una comune patria e nazione, Mozzarelli, *Tra ragion di stato e sociabilità. Ipotesi cattoliche di rifondazione del vivere associato*, cit., pp. 70-71.

Nelle edizioni del 1740, quella padovana anonima e quella napoletana dove invece compariva il nome dell'autore¹¹⁷, al nostro testo seguivano nell'ordine il *Laelius sive, de amicitia* di Cicerone e i *De dialogi d'amicizia* (1564) di Leonardo Salviati. Il primo, certamente più scontato da quanto fino ad ora si era detto, era stato anticipato dallo stesso Facciolati che, a chiusura della parte sull'amicizia e dopo una lode finale ad Aristotele – rimasta anche nelle altre edizioni –, concludeva: «Venghiamo a Cicerone»¹¹⁸. Il *Laelius* era in lingua originale e annotato dal nostro precettore. Il secondo testo, invece, era stato una scelta fatta dallo stampatore, Giovanni Manfrè, il quale «per sopra aggio» ricorse a «il Gran Maestro della lingua Toscana»¹¹⁹, l'*infinarato* cruschiano, e proprio a quel lavoro reputato «rarissimo»¹²⁰. È indubbio che le esigenze didattiche ed educative concorressero a tale soluzione che aveva l'indubbio vantaggio di esercitare l'allievo anche nella lingua latina e in quella aulica, sebbene in volgare, di un fondatore dell'Accademia della Crusca: antichi e moderni in concorso per fondare un'*institutio* civica per un giovane nobile. Ma pure, di fornire a *Il giovane cittadino* – e al suo autore – un contesto 'di sostegno', potremmo dire, in quella prima fase esplorativa, con la copertura dello stampatore che compilava la presentazione dell'opera fingendo di aver trovato un manoscritto e di voler fare «un saggio di stampa come stampa»¹²¹.

Al di là di queste ragioni contingenti, il percorso che si veniva a creare sbilanciava in modo sensibile la parte riguardante l'amicizia, mostrandola come la più soggetta alle interpretazioni se non proprio al mutare del tempo. Perché seppur il nucleo centrale del concetto di amicizia con la sua classica tripartizione rimaneva, come pure la centralità della virtù, ciascun autore raccontava, citava e portava esempi differenti: Cicerone poneva al centro Lelio e Scipione l'Africano; l'umanista fiorentino, ammiratore del Savonarola, l'amicizia tra Girolamo Beninvieni e Pico della Mirandola.

¹¹⁷ Nelle edizioni napoletane del 1740 e 1760 vennero «Aggiunte in questa nuova edizione tre sue nuove Acroasi». Nel 1736 Facciolati aveva pubblicato *De Electra Acroasis Jacobi Facciolati habita in Gymnasio Patavino Ad instauranda Logica studia*, edita sempre a Padova per la Stamberia del Seminario. L'opera, trattando di retorica, venne dedicata al gesuita Girolamo Lagomarsini «In Florentino eiusdem Societatis Collegio Rhetorico Artis Magistro» (sul gesuita, si veda la voce a lui dedicata nel *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, cit.). Questo scritto, pensato per gli studenti, era rivolto «contro quei 'summulisti', scrittori di cose filosofiche che pretendevano di spiegare Aristotele senza risalire agli scritti genuini dello Stagirita», cfr. Simioni, *Storia di Padova*, cit., p. 928.

¹¹⁸ Facciolati, Padova 1740, p. 148.

¹¹⁹ Cfr. *Lo stampatore/A quelli che vogliono leggere*, *ibid.*

¹²⁰ In effetti il *De dialogi d'amicizia* non ha avuto molte ristampe. Ricordiamo, per esempio, quella in *Opere del cavaliere Lionardo Salviati*, Milano, Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani, 1809, Vol. I. Nell'edizione de *Il giovane cittadino* del 1740, è pubblicata con il titolo *Dialogo d'amicizia... Preso dall'edizione di Firenze 1564, e ridotto alla corrente ortografia*.

¹²¹ Facciolati, Padova 1740, *Lo stampatore / A quelli che vogliono leggere*.

La revisione fatta dal Facciolati nella terza edizione del 1748, una volta che la prima era stata promossa dal mercato e dalla critica¹²², potremmo dire, e quindi ormai degna di viaggiare da sola anche nella sua terra uscì senza le due aggiunte, venne oculatamente e intenzionalmente dedicata «Agl'illustrissimi Signori Provveditori e Deputati di Colonia» che avevano dato al nostro autore la cittadinanza di quel paese: e dunque il miglior riconoscimento di *buon cittadino*. La prima parte rimase sostanzialmente uguale con solo modifiche lievi¹²³, fu invece proprio la seconda a subire i cambiamenti più evidenti, come per esempio l'introduzione del Capo II, «*Dell'Amicizia Platonica*»¹²⁴, o dell'ultima domanda e risposta al Capo X, «*Dell'Amicizia avete altro da dire?*»¹²⁵, che seguiva alla conclusione delle edizioni precedenti. Ma qui la novità era davvero significativa nell'introduzione dell'insegnamento di Quinto Cicerone e del suo *Commentariolum petitionis* che, secondo l'abate padovano, un «Cittadino di Repubblica non dee certamente ignorar[e]»¹²⁶ e che Facciolati anni prima aveva già tradotto e commentato¹²⁷. Come si sa, l'operetta era stata scritta al fratello Marco in vista dell'elezione a console e contiene un interessante – e quanto mai attuale – panorama delle relazioni pubbliche/politiche e dei modi corretti di gestirle per ricavarne utili sostegni e voti.

Rimase invece identica alla prima edizione¹²⁸ la ripresa de *Il giovane cittadino* fatta a Napoli nel 1760, quasi che quel mercato non fosse interessato alla diversa prospettiva che la terza edizione aveva previsto pur se i legami con Padova e con il successore di Giovanni Manfrè, il figlio Marcantonio, proseguirono e si incrementarono, almeno sino agli inizi degli anni sessanta¹²⁹.

Al Nord, invece, la soluzione del 1748 piacque, e nel 1769 a Verona Giuseppe Torelli la fece ristampare perché, a suo dire, libro molto richiesto e apprezzato. Il letterato e studioso di scienze matematiche veronese aveva conosciuto Facciolati quando da giovane era stato a Padova per terminare gli studi e anche

¹²² Dalla lettera di Andrea Pisani del luglio 1740 sappiamo che anche il nonno Alvise, doge di Venezia, volle vedere l'opera: «Ho presentato al Serenissimo una copia della detta Stampa, che fu da lui ricevuta con pieno aggradimento; e tanto più, che avendo egli letti i primi fogli volanti, non desiderava che di vedere l'opera compita, e averla tutta insieme», cfr. *Lettera del fu Signor Andrea Pisani Patrizio Veneto all'Autore*, in Facciolati, Verona 1769, pp. 200-201.

¹²³ Per esempio, non si iniziava più con «L'autore al suo giovane», ma, come abbiamo già accennato, con un lieve ma significativo ritocco che generalizzava il destinatario, al quale si aggiungeva il ruolo dell'autore «L'autore ad un giovane nobile/Appoggiato alla sua assistenza», e nel frontespizio si specificava come fosse diventato «Professore nell'Università di Padova».

¹²⁴ Facciolati, Padova 1748, p. 130.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

¹²⁷ Vedi nota 8.

¹²⁸ Tanto che non venne annoverata come nuova edizione da Giuseppe Torelli al quale si deve l'edizione veronese del 1769, cfr. *Giuseppe Torelli Al cortese Lettore*, in Facciolati, *Il giovane cittadino*, Verona 1769.

¹²⁹ Si veda alla voce: «Manfrè Giovanni», in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, cit., la parte finale dedicata al figlio Marcantonio.

successivamente mantenne rapporti di riconoscenza con l'abate e con altri illustri padovani¹³⁰. Forse l'antica amicizia spinse il curatore a presentarla e a corredarla con la lettera di elogi di Andrea Pisani, di a cui già abbiamo fatto cenno, e il nostro autore ormai molto anziano – morì l'anno successivo alla pubblicazione – a rivedere l'opera o anche solo ad approvare l'edizione¹³¹.

Comunque fosse, si ribadiva nel conclusivo suggerimento che rimandava alla lettura del *Commentariolum* di Quinto Cicerone, la scelta meno letteraria e più pragmatica dell'idea d'amicizia che, seppur sempre costitutivamente e inevitabilmente 'politica' secondo la prospettiva aristotelica dell'uomo come animale sociale, sottolineava in questo caso un lato più realisticamente 'politico' dell'amicizia in antico regime, molto più simile allo spaccato sociologico che il già ricordato Giovanni della Casa aveva offerto nel suo *De officiis*, fondato sulla *convenienza* – e dunque più sull'onore e l'utile che non sul giusto e l'onesto, pur se nella prassi le due coppie potevano sovrapporsi – della costruzione di una rete di rapporti sociali anche non paritetici che per i singoli poteva garantire il benessere e il successo individuali e insieme anche l'ordine sociale. Dove innanzi tutto c'era l'obiettivo da conseguire anche ricorrendo alla «simulazione»:

Pensate bene: CHE CITTÀ SIA QUESTA; COSA DIMANDIATE; CHI SIATE VOI. Andando al foro quasi ogni giorno dovete riflettere così: IO SON NUOVO; DIMANDO IL CONSOLATO; QUESTA È ROMA¹³².

Quel *commentariolum* posto alla fine del testo sembrava così alleggerire i precedenti richiami alla virtù, riallacciandosi in tal modo alla parte riguardante la sfera pubblica e la «scienza civile», richiamare un'idea di politica come campo di lotta tra diversi interessi che solo un accorto comportamento prudente sarebbe riuscito a incanalare verso il proprio obiettivo.

Il riuso dei classici risultava nel caso del nostro testo un'arma a doppio taglio.

¹³⁰ Ippolito Pindemonte, scrivendone l'elogio dopo la morte, lo definì «letterato raro per un sapere universale» e ricordò le amicizie padovane – «I Morgagni, i Pontedera, i Poleni, i Dandini, i Volpi ed i Facciolati non solamente vedeano in lui un giovinetto d'alte speranze, ma lo interrogavano ancora qual giudice sottile ed accorto; ed egli non cessò mai, rimpatriato che fu, di ricordar con riconoscenza, con ammirazione, con diletto quegli Amici, que' tempi, e que' suoi giovanili sudori». I. Pindemonte, *Elogio del signor Giuseppe Torelli scritto da sua Eccellenza Ippolito Pindemonte cavaliere Gerosolimitano*, in G. Torelli, *Poesie italiane con alcune prose latine del Signor ** Veronese*, Verona, Stamperia Giuliani, 1795, p. 8. Ma di come Torelli e Facciolati fossero in contatto ancora nell'ottobre del 1768 si veda Del Negro, «Pura favella latina», «latino ordinario», cit., pp. 134-135.

¹³¹ Di uno scambio epistolare tra i due per stigmatizzare l'introduzione della lingua italiana nell'Ateneo padovano, cfr. Del Negro, «Pura favella latina», «latino ordinario», cit., pp. 134-135.

¹³² Cicerone, *Commentariolum petitiones*, cit., p. V.

6. La ricezione

Anche sulla ricezione de *Il giovane cittadino* si scoprono interessanti percorsi. Occorre subito dire che non sempre il nostro testo è ricordato nelle biografie dedicate a Jacopo Facciolati. Come capita ad esempio alla voce dedicata all'abate padovano nel *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* che non lo menziona, ma forse avrebbe dovuto farlo almeno per amore di completezza. Più in generale si può dire che nei primi decenni il testo fu abbastanza ricordato¹³³ e anche lodato¹³⁴. Ma non sempre¹³⁵. Alcuni poi lo criticarono aspramente.

È il caso di Giambattista Corniani e di Niccolò Tommaseo, biografi attivi subito al di là dello spartiacque della rivoluzione francese. Il primo conìò il giudizio che verrà poi ripreso dai critici del nostro testo: «morale trita e volgare». Corniani¹³⁶ scriveva dal 1804 al 1813 i nove volumi de *I secoli dell'italiana letteratura dopo il suo risorgimento*, quando ormai era magistrato prima della Repubblica Cisalpina poi del Regno italico. Il moderato Corniani, di sessant'anni più giovane del Facciolati, visse la lunga stagione illuminista, fu amico di Beccaria, Verri, Baretti e Parini. Aderì subito alla nuova municipalità democratica portata da Napoleone, cominciando a ricoprire cariche giudiziarie. Avrebbe mai potuto approvare le istruzioni a quel *giovane cittadino*?

Né Jacopo Facciolati poteva essere amato da Niccolò Tommaseo – e già lo abbiamo visto – che salva di lui solo il filologo. La lunga voce, che si prolunga anche in quella dedicata a Egidio Forcellini, contenuta nel De Tipaldo, *Biografia degli italiani illustri* (1841), mostra la lontananza del biografo dall'etica civile del Nostro¹³⁷. E su *Il giovane cittadino*, la critica era più sferzante, lo reputava opuscolo misero, la forma gretta e stucchevole, le dottrine comuni e servili¹³⁸.

¹³³ Lo ricordano i già citati Christian Jöcher, *Allegemeins Gelehrten Lexicon* (1787), Giuseppe Vedova, *Biografia degli scrittori padovani* (1832), Francesco Zambrini, *Cenni biografici intorno ai letterati illustri italiani* (1837).

¹³⁴ È il caso di Angelo Fabroni, amico del Facciolati, e del suo *Vitae italarum doctrina excellentium qui saeculo XVIII floruerunt*, edito a Roma-Firenze nel 1774-5; indirettamente ne accenna Giuseppe Gennari, *Vita di Jacopo Facciolati*, cit.; e, non a caso per quello che prima si diceva, *La scienza politica in Italia* del veneto Ferdinando Cavalli, deputato e senatore del Regno, in 4 voll., del 1865-81, che lungamente descrive il testo.

¹³⁵ Non lo ricordano: Bartolomeo Gamba, *Galleria dei letterati ed artisti più illustri delle Province austro-venete* (1822); la *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* (1811-28); e in genere la maggior parte dei repertori biografici contemporanei.

¹³⁶ Cfr. *ad vocem* di P. Preto in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit.

¹³⁷ Alla voce dedicata a Facciolati, quando compare in Tommaseo, *Studi critici*, cit., alla p. 58, in conclusione viene aggiunto «Chi l'avesse mai detto nel 1742 al Fasolato, che di lì a una secolo sarebbersi tratti argomenti di giusto rimprovero all'animo suo da quelle opere stesse ch'egli tante volte ristampò si contento di sé? Quest'esempio, fra' tanti, scrittori, v'insegni a non invanire della presente fama, a nobilitare con la generosità delle intenzioni l'ingegno, e la parola accendere con l'affetto».

¹³⁸ Usa più o meno le stesse parole «morale meschina e servile» Dante Nardo (*Gli studi classici*, cit., p. 245) dopo aver lodato Facciolati sia per l'opera in Seminario sia per il successo europeo, come già detto. Perché mai, allora, un Giuseppe Torelli molto ricordato per i suoi meriti

La parte sull'amicizia, una «schidionata di interrogazioni», era definita cosa fredda e arida e indegna di un imitatore di Cicerone. Avvicinava l'opera a quelle del padre Soave, il padre somasco che sarà l'anima della riforma scolastica degli Asburgo a Milano nella seconda metà del Settecento – «degnamente appena del padre Soave di facile memoria». Forse il Tommaseo si riferiva o alle *Novelle morali* o, forse meglio, all'altrettanto rinomato *Trattato elementare dei doveri dell'uomo con un'appendice delle regole di civiltà*¹³⁹. Ma in questo caso la sua critica suona a noi come una lode, essendo i testi scolastici di Francesco Soave uno specchio di un mutamento epocale dei costumi, fissato in punti e formule di una trasmissione pedagogica.

Alla fine una curiosità, sorprendente nell'errore anche se alla fin fine non del tutto scorretta: nel 1926 (e poi ancora nel 1934) Giovanni Casati, redigendo la biografia dedicata al Facciolati nel suo *Dizionario degli scrittori d'Italia*, riportava il giudizio di Giambattista Corniani citando il nostro testo come *Il cortese cittadino istruito nella scienza civile ...*

Un lapsus? Forse.

Ma seppur il titolo è sbagliato e il giudizio di nuovo negativo, almeno per interposta valutazione, pure, ci sembra definisca perfettamente, anche se forse involontariamente, il tratto specifico di un'opera legata indissolubilmente alla sorte della cosmogonia che l'aveva generata. Ma tutto questo – errore e giudizio – sarebbe rimasto limitato ad una ristrettissima cerchia di specialisti. Cerchia che invece potenzialmente diventa platea smisurata, quando l'uguale e scorretto titolo viene ripreso dalla voce del popolare motore di ricerca Wikipedia che, così etichettandolo e privandolo della menzione della sua seconda parte, quella sull'amicizia, consegna il nostro testo al più vasto e variegato pubblico dell'era postmoderna!¹⁴⁰

scientifici e letterari, si sarebbe preso la briga di ripubblicarlo?

¹³⁹ Milano, Mirelli-Motta, 1788. Su questo testo mi permetto di rinviare al mio *Tra creazione e doveri dell'uomo: Francesco Soave*, in *Giovanni della Casa. Un seminario per il centenario*, a cura di A. Quondam, Roma, Bulzoni, 2006, pp. 391-414.

¹⁴⁰ Cfr. la voce dedicata in Wikipedia: <http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jacopo_Facciolati> (ultimo accesso: 10 dicembre 2013).

Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula. The first Teachers Institute in the area of Slovakia*

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this work is to describe educational activities at the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula. As the first Teachers Institute in the area of Slovakia, it provided Training of the future teachers in order to perform primary education. Jan Ladislav Pyrker (1772-1847), a Bishop of the Spis Diocese, made a decision to establish an institute for educating future teachers who would provide education at public primary schools directly in Spisska Kapitula. The first Teachers Institute was founded as the first specialized school for teachers in Austro-Hungarian Empire in the 1819/1820 school year and was located in the premises of the Priest Seminary in Spisska Kapitula. Juraj Pales, a Spis canon, was made the school's first principal. The Institute existed until 1949 when its activities were violently interrupted. In the proposed work we want to describe educational activities of Juraj Pales, the Institute's first director, as well as his contribution to teaching Mathematics. The work introduces particular activities of the Institute in the 19th century. Finally, in the last part we want to discuss possible comparative research on the Teachers Institute in Eger and the Piarist High School in Ruzomberok. The reason for this is the fact that the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula, the Teachers Institutes in Eger and the Piarist High School in Ruzomberok form educational roots of the Catholic University in Ruzomberok.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Teacher Training; Mathematics; Teaching; Slovakia; XIX-XX Centuries.

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Introduction

After creating the Spis Diocese in 1776 and after the implementation of reforms of Austro-Hungarian Emperor Joseph II (1741-1790) emerged the need for education of new teachers and priests for the new diocese. Since the new diocese consisted of people of Slovak and German nationality, it was considered multinational. The Spis region had a highly developed culture at that time; evangelical priests of this region were highly educated.

The Spis evangelical clergy and its educational system were on a high level, which motivated the employees of the Diocesan Office of Bishop to gain the same level as their colleagues from other denominations. Also this was the source of motivation for establishment of the Diocesan Priest Seminary in 1815. After the death of a Bishop Michal Brigido on June 23, 1816, Johann Ladislaus Pyrker (1772-1847) was appointed a Bishop of the Spis Diocese. He had good organizational skills, which he proved well as an Abbot of Monastery in Lilienfeld. He led the reconstruction works of the monastery that was previously destroyed by fire¹. He was appointed a Bishop of the Spis Diocese on August 18, 1818². As a newly appointed Bishop he came to the Diocese on May 12, 1819. Pyrker soon started with his preparatory visit for the oncoming canonical visitation, which was made on July 21, 1819.

The result of his visitation proved low education level of teachers in the parishes and villages. It is evident from his letter to the Austrian Emperor on August 24, 1819, in which he writes:

As for schools, high schools perform education on a good level; however, there is a poor quality of education at schools in the villages because they lack qualified teachers. For this reason, I suggest to form a preparatory training school for the village school teachers by the High School in Levoca. Students who consider becoming teachers at the village schools should have a few lessons of Teaching methodology and Lesson on playing the organ per week³.

Later he decided to locate the Teachers Institute in a different place. His argumentation can be found in the following letter to the Emperor:

I think that young men studying in Levoca willing to become the village teachers would have a very little time for the preparatory institute while focusing on other school subjects.

¹ V. Olejník, *Učitelský ustav v Spisskej Kapitule*, in *Historia najstarsich ucitelskych ustavov na Slovensku*, Presov, Philosophical faculty of the University of Presov, 2007, pp. 225-277.

² R. Dobersberger, *Die Persönlichkeit J.L.Pyrkers, des Bischofs der Zipser Diözese, in der Beziehung zur Problematik des Bistums in den Jahren 1818-1820*, in *Proceeding of the conference 180. vyročie zalozenia Ucitelskeho ustavu Spisska Kapitula 2.-4. September 1999*, Spisska Kapitula, Priest Seminar, 1999, pp. 23-44.

³ J.L. Pyrker, *Mein Leben 1772-1847*, Aladar Paul Czigler, Wien 1966.

If they stayed in private houses without necessary supervision, they would obtain only little formation. For this reason, it would be more fitting to establish the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula than in Levoca. I see the building of the Priest Seminary as an appropriate place for such purposes.

After receiving the first letter, the Emperor collected over 18,000 crowns for establishment of the Teachers Institute. Among the donators were diocesan priests, canons, and aristocracy. Bishop Pyrker himself set a good example by giving 2,000 crowns⁴. Greater problem for the Bishop Pyrker was to acquire official approval of the Institute. If he had decided to get it by traditional formal channels, it would have taken many years. For this reason, he asked the Emperor directly to officially acknowledge the Teachers Institute. The Emperor addressed a letter to the Bishop on November 1, 1819, in which he determined conditions in order for the Institute to be approved. He asked to be sent Statutes of the Organization, what the Bishop immediately did on the following day, November 2, 1819, and then officially opened the Institute. Teaching process started on November 19, 1819. Within a year, the Bishop Pyrker had not received any official approval by the Emperor, which led him to send a new letter asking the Emperor to give authority over the Teachers Institute to the Bishop of the Spis Diocese and administrative authority only to the Hungarian Governorate Council. The Teachers Institute was recognized and acknowledged by the Monarch on February 29, 1821 by an edict of Hungarian Governorate Council No. 4256/4258 Coll.

This Teachers Institute was the role model for other Teachers Institutes in Ugrria. Later, when Pyrker was appointed an Archbishop in Eger, he established the first Hungarian Teachers Institute in Eger in 1828. State Teachers Institutes in Budapest, Szeged, Miskolc and Nove Zamky were established after 1843. The first director of the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula was a canon Juraj Pales (1753-1833). The aim of this Institute was to educate and raise qualified teachers for the village schools. Juraj Pales did not only cover the administration and organization of the Institute, moreover, he performed teaching as well. As a teacher, he wrote two textbooks for his students. The first one was called *Obradoslovie* ('Liturgics'), in Latin *Ludimagister in ritibus et caerimoniis per annum occurebtibus instructus. Opusculum In Usum Scholae Praeparandorum Diocesis Scepusiensisi conscriptum* MDCCCXX, Leutschoviae, Typis Jonnis Wertmüller R. priv. Typogr., 8°, 88 pp. This textbook was for organists. In the work we focus on his second book.

⁴ Olejnik, *Ucitelsky ustav v Spisскеj Kapitule*, cit.



Pic. 1. *Johann Ladislaus Pyrker* (1772-1847).



Pic. 2. *Juraj Pales* (1753-1833).

1. *The Pedagogy textbook by Juraj Pales – the first textbook in Hungary*

The Pales's second textbook was called *PAEDAGOGIA Slowenska pre Triwialske Skoli Biskupstva Spisskeho, spisana skrz G. P. MDCCCXX. W Lewoci, witlacena u Jana Werthmüllera. 48 pp.* ('*Slovak PEDAGOGY for Village Schools of the Spis Diocese, written by G. P. 1820. In Levoca, printed at Jan Werthmüller's*'). Juraj Pales wrote the textbook first in Latin. However, he translated it into Slovak because not all of his readers mastered Latin. Methodology of the book is not original, there is a clear evidence of Ignac Felbiger influence. However, all that he presents in the textbook is based on his own information and experience. It was the first textbook on pedagogy in Ugrria at that time, furthermore, it was written in bernolakovcina, the first codified standard of the written Slovak language. The version of the Slovak language used in this book is according to the first Slovak grammar prepared by Anton Bernolák in 1787⁵.

The textbook consists of four main parts:

1. On teaching process at public primary (standard) schools;
2. On curriculum for the second year at public primary (standard) school;

⁵ Anton Bernolák (1762-1813) was a Slovak priest who codified the first version of Slovak language, based on the Wester Slovak dialect. Nowadays, the Slovak language is based on the codification by Ludovit Stur (1815-1856), who codified the language in 1843 based on the Central Slovak dialect.

3. On curriculum for the third year at public primary (standard) school;
4. Recommendations for the teachers of the Spis Diocese.

The first part consists of paragraphs on Teaching methods at public primary (standard) schools, individual and group work. This part also describes main rules for Reading, Writing, and Catechization. There is also a paragraph on curriculum of the first grade at public primary (standard) school. The second part comprises of paragraphs on Christian teaching, Training of morals and Grammar. In the third part, there are new paragraphs on Biblical history, Latin and Hungarian language.

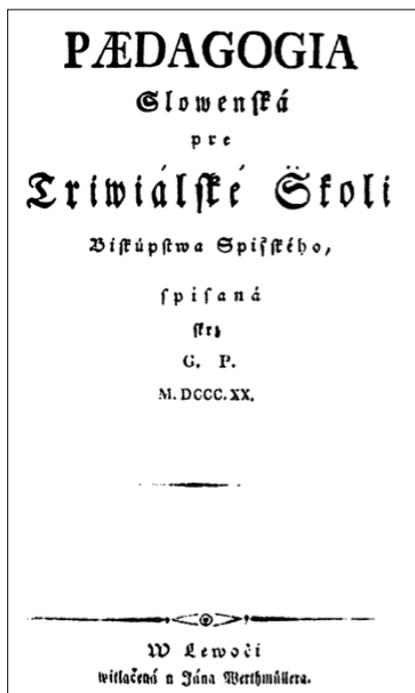
In the fourth part, the introductory paragraphs bring the information on the structure of school administration in Ugria. Here Juraj Pales mentions five regional school directors of school administration in Bratislava, Kosice, Pecs, Oradea and Zagreb. He explains that public primary (standard) schools in historic Orava and

Liptov regions are under the administration of Board of Directors in Bratislava; schools in the Spis region are under the administration of Board of Directors in Kosice. The following paragraphs present recommendations for teachers on how to begin, lead and conclude the teaching process at school and what steps a teacher is recommended to follow afterwards. Every part presents a paragraph on Teaching arithmetic, which consists of interesting set of exercises that could be applicable also in contemporary teaching of Mathematics at Primary schools. They are discussed in the following part of our work.

2. Teaching of mathematics based on Pedagogy by Juraj Pales

In his textbook, Juraj Pales presents the problems of Teaching mathematics in particular grades at public primary (standard) schools and deals with this problematic on six pages. Here are some excerpts of his Textbook (p. 22, Section XI):

1. The art of counting teaches us to find in an easy and fitting way other manners yet unknown. In order to reach this goal, the teacher has to teach little students to count



Pic. 3. Title Page of the Textbook "Pedagogy".

from the very beginning, starting from one to ten, from ten to twenty, from twenty to thirty, etc., to one hundred.

- When they are able to count, the teacher has to train his students in writing both Arabic and Roman numerals, i.e. Arabic numerals: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. – Roman numerals: I, V, X, L, C, D., etc.

- It is necessary for the teacher to explain students as follows:

- The process of counting starts from the right to the left hand.
- The first group of numbers is made up of only one digit.
- The second group is made up of two digits.
- The third group is made up of three digits.
- The fourth group of numbers is made up of four digits, e.g. 1820. In this count, the first figure from the right hand is zero – 0, and it represents single symbols, without any counting – the second one is two, and therefore it represents the tens, because two times ten is twenty. The first two digits mean twenty. The third digit is eight, therefore this calculation is valid for the hundreds because eight times one hundred is eight hundred. Thus, first, second and third digit determines the sum of eight hundred and twenty. However, when we add the fourth digit, which is used for the thousands, the final calculation represents the year, e.g. one thousand eight hundred and twenty.

- Some normalists act very unwisely and uncarefully as they dictate students the millions; yes, maybe even one hundred times billions, in order to win the praise. However, being in such an early age, a young student has no idea what number one hundred – 100 means. The school year is long enough for students to learn the first four ways (species) of counting, which he or she can easily adopt when it is taught in a good manner, pleasantly, with joy and for pleasure of parents.

In the text are found some recommendation for the first grade teachers at public primary (standard) school. The great emphasis is paid on understanding the term ‘number’ and its correct notation in the decimal system. He points out that the teacher should not burden young students with high numbers. In this grade, we expect teaching of numerical calculations, as shown in the following example (operation of addition):

- In the second term, the teacher can assign an exercise within one or two weeks, but only in unit operations using simple numbers, in order to add one number to number.

For example:

$$1\ 3\ 5$$

$$\underline{2\ 4\ 6}$$

3 7 11 etc. The teacher can add two or three digits numbers after some time.

§. XI.

○ Umeňú Počtow.

1. Umeňú Počtow náf winaučuge, gačo fďanich Počtow, Počti druhé, které nabansné, aneb známé su ěeni, Pechko, a spůsobite nalešć možeme. Abi tehžti Učitel Předsewzei své obfábnúl, musí Učewinákka z Počárku, od gedného do šestá, od šestá do dwacát, do tricát, a tak ďáleq do sto utiě čitat.

2. Gestli čitáí weša, má gich cwiětiě wě Wipisánú Počtow gač Arábšich, tak ai Ximanskich, a sice: Počti Arabow sú: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. — Ximanski: I, V, X, L, C, D. a tak ďáleq.

3. Potřebno ge, abi Učitel gim wiswětkil a) že Počet sa začiná od práweg ku leweg kúce. b) že prvni Počet len Gednosť. c) Druhi Desatěť. d) Treti St. e) Štwrti čisic znamenáwá. X. P. 1820. W regro Summe od práweg Štwrti prvni Počet gennulka o, a znamená Gednosť bez Počtu — drubi ge dwa, a pošewác Desatku plaši, a dwa krát deset sú dwacát, prvniě dwa Počti znamenágu d w a c e t. Treti Počet ge osen, čteri

Pic. 4. “Pedagogy”, p. 22 (part).

5. Druhého pol Roča može gim bez geden,
aneb dva Člāne nabať Počet negati, ale len
w samotnich, a sprostich Numeroch, abi
Počet, ku Počtu dodali. $K. P. \frac{1}{5} - \frac{4}{5} - \frac{6}{5}$
a tak ďalej. Po Čase nech spoguge: dva, ai
tri Počti. $K. P. \frac{125}{455} - \frac{789}{654} - \text{Na kteri}$
 $\frac{579}{1443}$
Spōsob welice lechto Deri pripraviti, nečen
samotnē, ale ai zloženē Počti dodāwai.

6. Welice nerozumāe, a nerozwāžlīwe činā
některi Normālistae, kteri Desom Millioni,
ano ať Stokrāt Billioni predpisugā, abi
len swogu Pochyālū žistati, kžejo w takēn
kreshlēm Welu Dīta, ani o Strom Numeru,
dofo.

30

žebi učitel ne dlugo w tom, čo sa už naučili,
mešťal. Tu ale pilāe pozorowāť musí, abi
Prīkladi Počtow āt boli wimīstnē, ale skus
tečnē, a káždodennēmu Učirky prīmeranē.
K. P. w prvānē Normālistēg Škole su Děti
Wditiā. 21, w drugēg 30, w trečēg 18, kžko
techdi ge Deri, we wsečich troch Škole,
Subtra. lāch? — Māi sem 36 Graic. stich sem
eta. 3a Papir dal 12 Gr. Polko mi ešte 30
stalo? — Stibil mi mōg Pān Dtec,
Multi je káždi Kol mi dā 12 Zlatich, kž sa
plicata. dobre učiti budēm, kolko techdi Sla-
rich dostānem 3a tri Normālistē. Kōti?
Disia. Kteri nōs obderowal, s trīcet Zlatimi,
a w Škole našeg sū Děti 15, Polko
káždē Dīta dostāne Zlatich? a t. 8.

Pics. 5-6. "Pedagogy", p. 23 (part), p. 30.

E.g. 123 – 789

456 654

579 1443 – It is easy for the teacher to prepare students for this way of calculation. They will be able to solve not only simple, but also more complex calculations.

Some interesting word assignments of «On the Art of Counting» are presented on page 30, Section 5, which are noted in with the following didactical comment:

6. In the second grade of elementary school, a teacher must do the complex revision of all the students had learned in the first grade, concerning the art of counting. The teacher should not dedicate the revision a long time because then he may be behind with the teaching process. The teacher must keep in mind that the counting assignments should be set in real situations, not fabricated, and suitable for everyday use.
 - a) E.g.: In the first grade, there are 21 students; in the second grade, there are 30; in the third grade there are 18. How many students are there in all three grades?
 - b) I had 36 kreutzers (small coins of low value formerly used in Austria and Germany). I spent 12 kreutzers on paper. How much is left?
 - c) My father promised to give me 12 crowns every year for good school results. How much will I get for three years?
 - d) One man who visited our school gave us 30 crowns. There are 15 students in our school. How much will each student get? Etc.

According to the notes on the right, each word assignment is focused on a different counting operation. The first assignment is focused on addition, the second one on subtraction, the third one on multiplication and the fourth one on division.

3. *Biographical information on Juraj Pales*

Juraj Pales was born in a peasant family in Gajdl (a village near Prievidza) on April 25, 1753. He was a son of Jan Pales and his wife Anna; both of his parents spoke German and Slovak. He studied philosophy in Trnava⁶ around 1771, later he continued in his theological studies in «Pazmaneum» in Vienna. He was ordained a priest on September 1, 1776 in Vienna in the chapel of «Pazmaneum»⁷.

Juraj Pales spent one year in Vienna, which he left on September 18, 1777 due to formation of new a Spis Diocese in 1776. Within the years of 1776-1805, he played an active role in Spisska Kapitula and its surrounding villages. During this time he noticed the low level of the village schools, therefore he not only participated in forming such schools; he also realized his teaching profession there. His practical experiences were very important for his further role of a Director of the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula.

He had been a canon in Spisska Kapitula since 1805 and the Director of the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula in the period of 1819-1824. Within the years of 1824-1833, he had built a school and a chapel in his home village, which he supported financially by 10,000 crowns. He also established the fund to support the poor students of the Piarist High School in Prievidza. Within this time, he put together an Organizational Statute and Domestic Rules for the High School. He died on November 2, 1833 and his grave is found in a small chapel in front of the St. Martin's Cathedral in Spisska Kapitula.

4. *Teacher Institute in Spisska Kapitula as a two-year school in the period 1819-1871*

In 1819, in the first year of its existence, there were only 6 students studying at the Teachers Institute. The study lasted for two years⁸. According to the Institute's Domestic Rules called *Planum Instituti Praeparandorum ad Ludi-Magisteria*, students studied the following subjects: Christian religion or Catechism, Methodology, Orthography and Calligraphy, Arithmetic, Biblical history, Singing and Music, and Liturgy. At that time, the Teachers Institute

⁶ Historical Slovak city known from the activities of Cardinal Péter Pázmány (1570-1637), who established in the town the university in the 17th century. During the time, in which central Ugría was a part of Ottoman Empire, a lot of central Ugrian institutions moved to territory of Slovakia. For example, Bratislava was a capital city of Ugría and an Archbishop of Esztergom (also cardinal Péter Pázmány) was in Trnava.

⁷ A. Miskovic, *Pamatnik 110 rocnice zalozenia Rimsko-katolickeho Ucitelskeho ustavu v Spiskej Kapitule*, Trnava, Spolok sv. Vojtecha v Trnave, 1931. Signature IA5/900.

⁸ E. Hleba, *Skoly na Spisi*, Spisska Nova Ves, Regionalne kulturne stredisko, 1994.

Vallás-és közoktatási ügy. kir. minister

516. sz. sz. sz.
abv.

A kormány által felállítandó tanító képződés
 ten vizsgoigos tanári állomások betöltésére alkal-
 mas több fiatal egyint mint tanári jelöltek csán,
 diákokon a legkiválóbb tanúvra állam költésen
 külföldre küldeni, hogy ott a jelentékeny abb tanú,
 fő képződést is megismerhessék látogalva, magu-
 kat beandó pályájukra addig is minél kevesebbet
 kiképzésből, míg tovább képződnek maguyit,
 tanulnak.

Pic. 7. Part of the letter of the Minister Minister of Education and Religion, a baron Eotvos Jozsef (Hungarian).

would accept junior students from High Schools who had good study results and who spoke Latin well. For this reason, the official language at the Institute in the period of 1819-1851 was Latin. Ladislav Zabojsky (1793-1870), a Bishop of the Spis Diocese, brought a change in 1852 when he made Slovak the official language, for German students it was German⁹. In 1879, a Bishop Juraj Csaszka (1826-1904) again changed the official language at the Institute to Hungarian. Classes of Slovak language were taught as a non-compulsory subject in 1879-1918. At the beginning, the students were offered two lessons per week, however, at the end of this period it was only a lesson per week.

The Teachers Institute was officially managed by the Church, though some of its activities were also supported by the state, whose priority was to support the village schools. The evidence can be found in the letter of a baron Eotvos Jozsef (1813-1871), the Royal Hungarian Minister of Education and Religion, to the Director of the Teacher Institute in Spisska Kapitula on May, 29 1868.

In his letter, the Minister gives the Director a possibility to choose students and teachers from the Teacher Institute in Spisska Kapitula in order to send them abroad for further study. Their task would also be to observe the teaching process used in the village schools abroad. The Minister reasons that he does not want to organize the official competition because he trusts in the Director to know best the candidates suitable for abroad study. Here is the letter translated into English:

⁹ Olejnik, *Ucitelský ustav v Spiskej Kapitule*, cit.

From the Royal Hungarian Minister of Education and Religion
To the Director of the Roman-Catholic Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula,

I intend to send a few people, whom I consider to be the best candidates to perform the profession of a teacher at state schools, which the government is planning to open, to send abroad for further study on state expenses. I would like them to visit the most important Teachers Institutes and village schools abroad in order to gain a complex preparation for their teaching career by the time the government opens the planned institutes. For this reason, I would like to ask you as the Director of the Institute to recommend me along with the teaching staff those suitable young men who are reliable and living moral standards. Firstly, they need to have completed a training course at the Teachers Institute or acquired study of equivalent valued; Secondly, they need to be talented, hard-working and adequately scholarly prepared for the teaching career; Thirdly, which is the more important, they need to be talented and scholarly, and they have to show the attributes of being capable of performing specifically the pedagogical and teaching career, must be suitable and have a highly positive attitude to teaching. Concerning this matter, teachers at your Institutes are the most competent specialists. Your Majesty knows best the characteristics every teacher must have as well as people suitable for the work of a teacher in the country. You know best how great can be the impact of a teacher on the career of future teachers, whom they had prepared and thus for the development and direction of all the villages schools. Based on the above stated reasons, it is therefore very natural for me to turn with trust to the specialists as directors and teachers of the Teachers Institutes in the country, and, precisely to the Director, with a plea to provide me the required information. I do not want – at least not now – to put up a post for teachers. I kindly ask Your Majesty to consider this letter addressed to the Director and the teaching staff to be confidential, not for a public purpose.

Your Sincerely

Buda, May 29, 1868

Baron Eotvos Jozsef

The letter points at positive attitude of the Royal Hungarian Minister of Education and Religion of the work of teachers in villages, the importance of the exchange of international experiences. This is the motivation of similar programs of the European Union nowadays (e.g. Leonardo, Erasmus).

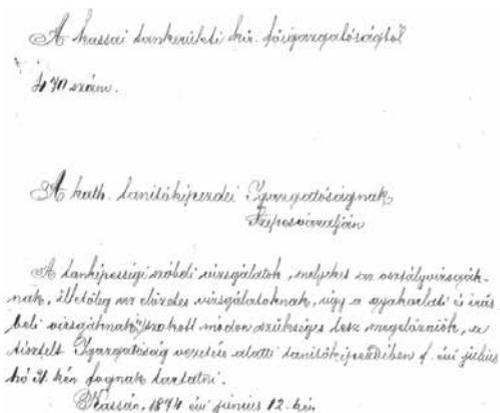
The number of unqualified teachers at the village schools was quite high, which was the reason for the Royal Hungarian Minister of Education and Religion to issue a decree on Teacher Eligibility Test on January 1855. If a person started teaching as an unqualified member of staff, it was required for such a teacher to pass this exam within three years since the beginning of his teaching career. These external exams had been organized at the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula till 1919¹⁰.

Here we present one example – it is a part of a letter of Karol Bielek, an unqualified teacher, who had financial difficulties and thus could not study at the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula. He studied at the Teachers Institute in Klastor pod Znievom. However, he was unable to complete his study:

¹⁰ Miskovic, *Pamatnik 110 rocnice zalozenia Rimsko-katolickeho Ucitelskeho ustavu v Spisskej Kapitule*, cit.



Pic. 8 (above). Part of the letter of a teacher Karol Bielek (Slovak).



Pic. 9 (on the right). The letter of the Regional Royal School Director in Kosice (Hungarian).

[...] as a son of a teacher, after completing my High School studies I wanted to continue at the Catholic Teachers Institute, but I couldn't due to bad financial situation. I had to leave for a non-religious Teachers Institute in Klastor pod Znievom. The circumstances and manners at the institute made me to give up my study being in the third grade, on April 5, 1874 and accept a teaching job offer in Kysucke Nove Mesto. There are 200 children in the school, who are not spiritual provided [...] therefore, based on the above mentioned, I would like to ask the Director o give me a chance to take an exam on Teacher Eligibility Test. I commend myself totally to Your Grace.

Kysucke Nove Mesto – The region of Trencin – July 15, 1874

The most humble servant¹¹

Karol Bielek

Teacher

5. Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula as a three-year school (1871-1873)

A new Education Law in Ugria was passed in 1868, due to which was launched a reformed of the teacher institutes. The length of the study was extended from two to three years¹². This reform was implemented at the Teacher Institute in Spisska Kapitula in the 1871/1872 school year. Based on this

¹¹ State Archive Levoca found Teacher Academy Spisska Kapitula, signature: without number/1874, inventory number: 229-9.

¹² J. Jendrichovsky, *Vzdelavanie ucitelov – organistov v rimsko – katolicckom ucitelskom ustave v Spisskej Kapitule v rokoch 1819-1949*, Ruzomberok, Pedagogicka fakulta Katolickej univerzity, 2006.

law, the Teachers Institute provided teaching of the following subjects: Moral education and Faith, Pedagogy and Methodology, Teaching training, Mother tongue, Hungarian language, Other language, Arithmetics, Geometry, History, Geography, Teaching on the Constitution, Natural science, Physics, Chemistry, Agriculture and Horticulture, Singing and Music, Drawing, Calligraphy and Physical education.

At that time, the study was completed by Teacher Eligibility Test, which consisted of written and practical oral exam. The examined topics were defined by the Regional Royal School Director. The Teachers Institute was under the administration of the School director in Kosice, as shown in the following letter:

The Regional Royal School Director in Kosice
 To the Director of the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula,
 The oral exams of the teacher's abilities to perform the profession will be organized by the Director of the Teachers Institute on July 31. We expected all the preceding exams to be completed in advance, even the written and practical oral exam in classes.
 Kosice, June 12, 1874
 The Regional Royal School Director¹³

At that time, the role of a Bishop of the Spis Diocese was also to deal with the social problems of students. One of such examples is a letter sent from the village Uloza (near Levoca), in which Adam Mudry, a village teacher, asks the Bishop for a financial aid for his son Jozef Mudry in order to cover the costs of tuition and textbooks needed for his study. This student successfully completed first year study at the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula, however, due to family financial difficulties, he was unable to continue in his study. Here is a short extract of the letter dated on September 19, 1874.

[...] I would like to ask Your Majesty to cover the costs of tuition and textbooks needed for the study for my son Jozef Mudry, who completed his first year study at the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula for the following reasons:

1. I have a very low income and my salary as a teacher is only 93 crowns a month.
2. The Almighty God has granted me with seven children. Three of them are already provided for, however, my salary is too low to provide for the rest and precisely for my son, who wants to study at the Teachers Institute. It would be very unhappy to put myself into such financial debts, which I would be unable to pay back. There is another possibility yet as not to allow my son to study at all. It would be a great pain for me as I believe my son will be my support in the old age [...]¹⁴.

This letter is supported by the letter titled as «Certificate of Poverty» which was made by the parish priest in Zavada. This certificate was written for the

¹³ State Archive Levoca found Teacher Academy Spisska Kapitula, signature: without number/1874, inventory number: 229-7.

¹⁴ State Archive Levoca found Teacher Academy Spisska Kapitula, signature: without number/1874, inventory number: 229-19.

1, Le som veľmi chatoene doterovaní, tak že celý moj Duch,
dohi žitelski sctva v hotovích peniazoch 93 glat unbi.
2, Obdaril mna Boh wsedimohuci sedom Detmi, z ktorých
troje vice zaplatene su tavnite ale chatoemu vzijonost
som skrze usilovnost a praca moja obstaral, ze ale
plac moja i na zaplatenie dyna mojeho Prapranandie
nastlenicneho odsem prisnala je, tym smutnejie pro
mne je, cim istyvi budem prnmuteni bol pro dalsi jeho
vibory alebo nove dluztor cinet, a to nikde, nemost zaplati
tib, alebo dyna od dalsieho navstevovania. Koli odlatnut,
aby praca moja velmi smutne radlo, lebo sa rozpravam,
ze prave ten dyn-moj nekedy bude moja v starobe pod
pora.

Fig. 10. Part of the letter of Adam Mudry, a teacher.

Angličtina: hromadný

A svadom a hlti Pribina osviedil katalons
hromadný hlti Mudry Jozef, vlticou
tantunak a svadom hlti hlti svadom.
Plt hlti si svadom svadom svadom, h
vlti hlti a svadom hlti svadom svadom
svadom svadom, svadom svadom svadom
svadom svadom svadom svadom svadom
svadom svadom svadom svadom svadom

Štill M. v. 1873. hlti svadom svadom

svadom svadom
svadom svadom

Fig. 11. Certificate of Poverty for a teacher Adam Mudry and his family.

already mentioned teacher Adam Mudry living in the Uloza village. This village was under the administration of the Zavada parish at that time. Here is the English translation of the Certificate:

Certificate of Poverty

Roman-Catholic Parish Office in Zavada certifies that Adam Mudry, currently teaching in Uloza, does not own any movable or immovable assets. For this reason, he is not able to cover the tuition for his son Jozef. His family is in a very difficult financial situation and there are proven real circumstances to declare the state of poverty.

Uloza, October 2, 1873

Jaczo Istvan¹⁵

Priest

¹⁵ State Archive Levoca found Teacher Academy Spisska Kapitula, signature: without number/1874, inventory number: 229-17.

6. Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula as a four- year school (1883-1940)

The Royal Hungarian Ministry of Education and Religion issued a decree No. 655 and No. 15 369 Coll., which extended the study at the Institutes to four years. Due to financial difficulties it was demanding to apply this decree at the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula. Therefore, in the 1883/1884 school year were opened the first and the third grade or the second and the fourth grade. For this reason, the Entry Tests for the first grade students or the Teacher Eligibility Test were placed every other year¹⁶.

It was not until the 1910/1911 school year when the situation changed. Alexander Parvy (1848-1919), a Bishop of the Spis Diocese, decided to rebuild the building of the Jesuit High School located near the Priest Seminary, which made available only two classrooms for the Teachers Institute. The reconstructions were realized from July 1, 1909 to November 26, 1910¹⁷. The Teachers Institute was ready to move to new premises on November 26, 1910. First, second and fourth grades were launched in the 1910/1911 school year; all the classes were launched in the 1912/1913 school year. Such situation remained till 1940. The structure of the teaching process was the same as at the State Teacher Institutes. The following chart presents the situation in the 1911/1912 school year:

Tab. 1. Subjects in the 1911/1912 school year with number of lessons per week

Subject	Number of lessons in each class			
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th
Religion	2	2	2	2
Pedagogy – Teaching on the Physical life	2			
Pedagogy – Teaching on Spiritual life		3		
Pedagogy – Didactics and School management			3	
History of Education				2
Teaching training			2	6
Hungarian language and literature	4	4	3	3
German language	2	2	2	2
History	3	3	2	
Teaching on the Constitution				2
Geography	2	2	2	
Mathematics	4	3	2	3
Natural science and Chemistry	3	3	4	

¹⁶ Jendrichovsky, *Vzdelavanie ucitelov – organistov v rimske – katolicom ucitelskom ustave v Spisskej Kapitule v rokoch 1819-1949*, cit.

¹⁷ Miskovic, *Pamatnik 110 rocnice zalozenia Rimske-katolickeho Ucitelskeho ustavu v Spisskej Kapitule*, cit.

Physics			2	3
Teaching on the Health				1
Agriculture	2	2	2	2
Music and Singing	4	4	4	4
Drawing	3	3	2	2
Calligraphy	1	1		
Handicraft	2	2	2	2
Slovak language	1	1		
Choral singing	2	2	2	2
Physical education and Games	2	2	2	2
Fire fighting			1	1

Due to the fact that many of the teachers and students served in the military during the First World War (1914-1918), it was rather difficult to perform the activities at the Teachers Institute. In such cases, the students were given the possibility to finish the study earlier and take the Teacher Eligibility Test in advance. The Royal Hungarian Ministry of Education and Religion regulated the shortening of the school year, mostly from October to May. The school year of 1918/1919 was the last school year with the official Hungarian language; the following school year of 1919/1920 was the first year with Slovak as the official language at the Institute. It was caused by the collapse of the Austrian-Ugrian Empire and formation of the first Czechoslovak Republic¹⁸.

Being in the new conditions, the Teachers Institute was facing many difficulties, both lacking the teachers and textbooks. Some of the teachers left or were made redundant. For this reason, some of the professors of theology or diocesan priests started to teach at the Institute. The teachers dictated students the theory or used textbooks, which were in Czech language. Later were published and used some textbooks that were translated from Czech into Slovak language. In the following part of the work we present some of the Mathematic textbooks.

Within years 1929-1933, Jan Vojtassak (1877-1965), a Bishop of the Spis Diocese, put up a new building for the Teachers Institute. It was very modern with large classrooms, Physics Laboratory, Chemistry Laboratory, Staff Room, Director's Office, Student Dormitory and Training School to perform practice¹⁹.

Students who completed their study at the Teachers Institute in the period between two World Wars worked as teachers not only at village church schools, which number was gradually decreasing, but also at state village schools²⁰.

¹⁸ Miskovic, *Pamiatnik 110 rocnice zalozenia Rimsko-katolickeho Ucitelskeho ustavu v Spisskej Kapitule*, cit.

¹⁹ Olejnik, *Ucitelsky ustav v Spisskej Kapitule*, cit.

²⁰ Jendrichovsky, *Vzdelavanie ucitelov – organistov v rimsko – katolicom ucitelskom ustave*

7. *Few examples of the Jaroslav Havelka's textbook*

These textbooks contained interesting examples, which can also be used in Mathematics teaching nowadays. For this reason, we present solutions to these tasks with GeoGebra open-source software. First part of the assignments is demonstration of Jaroslav Havelka's textbook called *Geometry for Teachers' Institutes* (*Geometria pre ustavy ucitelske*). This textbook is now placed in the Library of Teachers Academy in Spisska Kapitula. It is a translated Slovak version of the textbook firstly written in Czech. The translation of the textbook was made by Vladimir Hapala²¹.

We have chosen the following assignments: Demonstrate that equilateral triangle inscribed in a circle is of the same area than a half of the equilateral hexagon inscribed in the same circle.

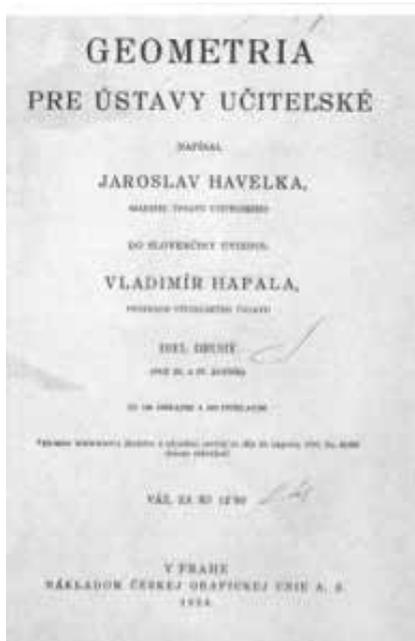
Solution: If there is a k circle with the S centre and r radius, we can inscribe the equilateral ABC triangle in the circle. For the area of its parts – the area of triangle ABS we can use (see Picture No. 13):

$$S_1 = \frac{1}{2}r^2 \cdot \sin 120^\circ = \frac{1}{2}r^2 \cdot \frac{\sqrt{3}}{2} = \frac{\sqrt{3}}{4}r^2$$

The S area of the whole triangle is

$$S_1 = 3S_1 = 3 \cdot \frac{\sqrt{3}}{4}r^2 = \frac{3\sqrt{3}}{4}r^2.$$

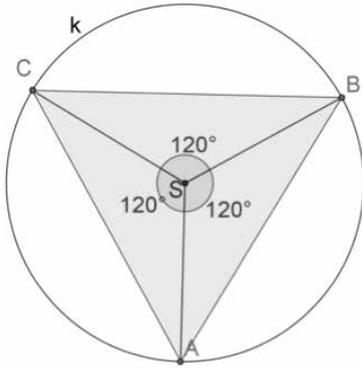
If there is a half of the equilateral hexagon – quadrilateral $KLMN$ (see Picture No. 14), we can perform the same algorithm as with the ABC triangle.



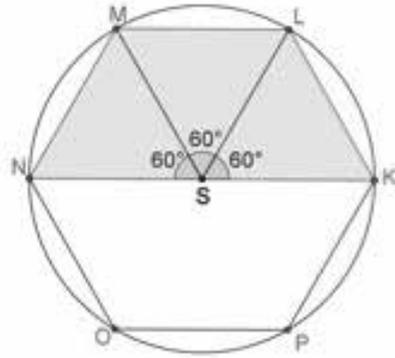
Pic. 12. The Title Page of the Slovak translation of *Geometry for Teachers' Institutes* (1924).

v Spisskej Kapitule v rokoch 1819-1949, cit.

²¹ J. Havelka, *Geometria pre ustavy ucitelske, Diel druhy*, Praha, Ceska graficka unia, 1924.



Pic. 13. ABC Equilateral triangle.



Pic. 14. A half of the KLMN equilateral hexagon.

Area of KLS triangle is:

$$S_2 = \frac{1}{2}r^2 \cdot \sin 60^\circ = \frac{1}{2}r^2 \cdot \frac{\sqrt{3}}{2} = \frac{\sqrt{3}}{4}r^2$$

S_3 Area of the whole $KLMN$ quadrilateral is

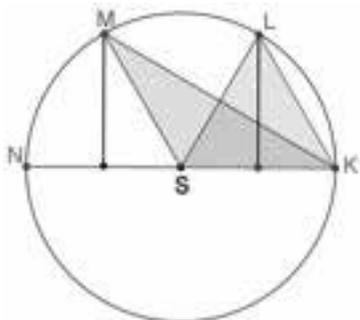
$$S_3 = 3S_2 = 3 \cdot \frac{\sqrt{3}}{4}r^2 = \frac{3\sqrt{3}}{4}r^2.$$

The result is that $S = S_3$.

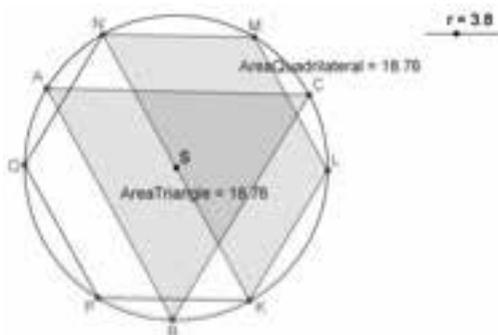
This assignment could be solved also in another way. Both figures - ABC triangle and $KLMN$ quadrilateral consist of the three identical triangles (ABS , KLS). For this reason, it is enough to compare the S_1 area with S_2 area. We can use the relation and

$$\frac{1}{2}r^2 \cdot \sin 60^\circ = \frac{1}{2}r^2 \cdot \sin 120^\circ$$

ABS and KLS triangles identical (compare Picture No. 13 and No. 15). It is therefore enough to compare the area of KSM and KLS triangle, which have one joint KS side with the r length and also the height. The fact that both figures - ABS triangle and $KLMN$ quadrilateral have the same area can be proven by the GeoGebra software (Figure No. 16).



Pic. 15. ABS, KLS triangles.



Pic. 16. ABC triangle and KLMN quadrilateral.

8. Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula as a five-year school (1940-1945)

Slovak Republic was formed in 1939. In the following year 1940, there was a very strong discussion about the quality of Teachers training. There emerged also matter of a university degree of the village teachers. According to Act No. 288/1940 Coll. issued on October 29, 1940, the name of the Teacher Institute was changed to the Roman-Catholic Teachers Academy and introduced a five year program. The number of students, which could enroll was restricted to 30.

The Second World War had a great impact on the Academy. The 1944/45 school year started in the middle of November and finished in January 1945. The Ministry of Education expected Final exams in March 1945, however, the situation at that time made it impossible. Soviet army was then positioned in the surrounding areas of Spisska Kapitula. The following table shows the structure of particular subjects with number of lessons²²:

Tab. 2. Subjects in the 1940/1941 school year with number of lessons per week

Subject	Number of lessons in particular grade				
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th
Religion	2	2	2	2	2
Slovak language	5	4	3	3	3
History		2	2	2	2
Geography		2	2	2	2
Pegagogy		2	2	2	5
Teaching training with Methodology			3	5	6
Social education					1

²² Olejnik, *Ucitelsky ustav v Spisskej Kapitule*, cit.

German language	3	3	3	2	
Mathematics	4	3	2	2	
Natural Science		2	2	2	2
Chemistry	3				
Physics		2	2	2	
National economy				2	2
Agriculture			2	2	4
Singing and Music education	2	2	2	1	1
Playing the violin	2	1	1	1	1
Playing the piano	1	1	1		
Playing the organ				1	1
Drawing and Writing	4	2	2	1	
Handicraft	4	2			
Physical education	2	2	3	2	2

9. State Teachers Academy (1945-1949)

After the Second World War, there were strong efforts to liquidate the institutions established and supported by the Church because of the influence of an ideology in former Czechoslovakia. The Teachers Academy in Spisska Kapitula was one of such institutions, which was secularized in 1945 and the program was shifted back to only four-year study. The Act No. 95/48 Coll. in 1948 dissolved the existence of the Teachers' Institutes throughout the Czechoslovakia and thus the first grade at the Academy was transformed into the fifth grade of the High School specialized in Pedagogy. The Teaching training was moved to the High School specialized in Pedagogy. The oppression of the Communistic Regime grew and reached its top on August 31, 1949 by the complete elimination of the Teachers Academy in Spisska Kapitula.

Until now it is yet unclear what happened then with the library and archive containing all the written documents. Part of Teachers Institute's Archive was placed into the building of the eleven-year-school in Levoca, which was later collected by the State Archive in Levoca in 1959.

Today, it is known as the Archive Fund of the Teachers Academy in Spisska Kapitula. Archive Fund of the Teachers Academy in Spisska Kapitula and the Library of Teachers Academy in Spisska Kapitula, which are placed in the Archive of the Spis Bishop's Palace in Spiske Podhradie form another written heritage of the Teachers Institute. Both of the funds were established by the delimitation of torsoral documents of the Archive of Spis Bishop's Palace, by means of collection done by the Spis Diocese in 1995-1999 to commemorate the 180th Anniversary of the establishment of the Teachers Institute. Besides the

already mentioned funds, there is still great possibility that some part of the Teachers Institute heritage can be found also in other archives and libraries within or outside Slovakia.

Conclusions

The importance of the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula consists in the fact that it was the first Teachers Institute of its kind in the whole Central Europe. Even though it could not be ranked among the Institutes with large number of students, the establishment and rules of the Institute served as an example and a model for establishment of other Teachers Institutes in the Central Europe.

The Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula, as the first and the oldest Institute in the area of Slovakia, implemented the subject of Slovak language into the curriculum at the very beginning of its existence, which was immediately at the launch of the Institute, thus several decades before the official attempts for codification of the native language of Slovaks. It was the center of the Anton Bernolak's movement. The presented facts prove the Teachers Institute to be exceptional and rewarding subject for research in various fields of study.

The interesting research could also be applied when comparing the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula and the Teachers Institute in Eger. The Institute in Eger was established in 1828 by a Bishop Johann Ladislaus Pyrker (1772-1847) as an Archbishop in Eger on November 11, 1828. Rajner Karoly (1762-1846), a canon, was the first Director of the Institute, which existed till 1959, when the Communistic government in Hungary abolished the Institute. We began our research at the Archbishops' Archive in Eger, where we found the tables with the name and place of birth of students. Our survey showed that there were about 40 students from Slovakia studying at the Institute in Eger in 1828-1865. There were two brothers from Dolny Kubin (Slovakia) – Andrej Zaskovsky (1824-1882) and Frantisek Zaskovsky (1819-1887) who played a significant role concerning the development of the Institute. They both gave the classes of Music at the Eger Teachers Institute²³.

After 1989, the Slovak Bishop Conference wanted to continue in the training of the teachers, which had had such a long tradition in Spisska Kapitula. Therefore, along with the support of Ruzomberok was created the Catechetical and Pedagogical Institute of St. Andrew, under the administration of the University of Trnava on June 29, 1995 with the headquarters in Ruzomberok. The new Institute was of a specific character. Due to complicated legislative situation in Slovakia, the Institute was put under the administration of the

²³ P. Kiss, *Hatszaznegyen eger multjabol 1944-ig*, Eger, Egri varosszepito egyesulet, 2007.

University of Zilina on November 1, 1997²⁴. The Institute formed a foundation based on which the Slovak Bishop Conference along with the Slovak Parliament established the Catholic University in Ruzomberok on July 1, 2000. At the beginning, there were only two faculties: The Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Philosophy. Later were formed another two faculties: Faculty of Health and Faculty of Theology in Kosice.

The Piaristic High School in Ruzomberok has held a great tradition. The school was established in 1772 and existed till creation of the first Czechoslovak Republic in 1918. Complete school documentation (school reports) is kept in a good condition at the State Archive in Liptovsky Mikulas.

For this reason, the research of the Teachers Institute in Spisska Kapitula (1819-1949), the Teachers Institute in Eger (1828-1959) and the Piaristic High School in Ruzomberok (1722-1918) form the history and tradition of the Catholic University in Ruzomberok. Experiences of the educational process at these institutions and content analysis of the historical textbooks used at these institutions can be enriching for the teaching process at the Catholic University in Ruzomberok, in which still dominate the Teachers training study programs in various subjects.

²⁴ J. Durcek, *Creating of the St Andrew Catechetical and pedagogical Institute in Ruzomberok*, in *Proceeding of the conference 180. vyrocie zalozenia Ucitelskeho ustavu Spisska Kapitula, 2.-4. September 1999*, Spisska Kapitula, Priest Seminary, 1999, pp. 114-121.

Wege der Durchsetzung des Herbartianismus – am Beispiel Sloweniens

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Paths of Implementation of Herbartianism – Example of Slovenia

ABSTRACT: The introduction of the article initially explains the problems of defining Herbartianism and the reasons for the negative evaluative attitude towards the pedagogic discipline which was dominant at the turn of the 19th century. The article uses as sources the manuals that explained Herbartianist pedagogy written by the members of this discipline. The didactic theory of articulation of lessons named formal steps can be seen as the predominant joint feature of Herbartianist pedagogy. This theory was also the most diffused topic of reformist pedagogy in the spirit of Herbartianism in the territory of Slovenia. The article shows these facts on the basis of the analysis of Henrik Schreiner's work, who was the headmaster of the college of education in Maribor and the leading pedagogic figure in Slovenia after the 1st World War. It shows his promotion for the introduction of Herbartianist pedagogy (mostly the formal steps) into school practice through: pedagogic activity in the college of education, enthusing teachers about Herbartianist ideas in experts meetings, the concern for the quality of lessons at the level of school supervision and the harmonization of editorial policies of the central Slovenia pedagogic publishing house with Herbartianist doctrine. These events illustrate the logistics of implementing Herbartianism in a specific national environment. The meaning of Herbartianist pedagogy does not express itself so much in the presence of concrete Herbartianist pedagogic concepts in school practice as in the raising of standards of pedagogic discussion which accompanied the introduction of this pedagogic discipline.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Teacher Education; History of Education; Didactics; Pedagogical Theory; Slovenia; XIX Century.

Einleitung

Obwohl in der pädagogischen Geschichtsschreibung bereits seit einem Jahrhundert bekannt ist, dass der Herbartianismus die dominierende Doktrin in der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten und zu Beginn des zwanzigsten

Jahrhunderts war, wird dieses Thema erst in den letzten gut zwei Jahrzehnten wissenschaftlich intensiver untersucht. Während Herbart schon immer als Klassiker der Pädagogik behandelt wurde, erhielten die pädagogischen Ideen seiner Nachfolger lange keine größere Beachtung. Es scheint, dass die Gründe für dieses fehlende Interesse in dem negativen Bild des Herbartianismus gesucht werden müssen, das sich in den pädagogischen Enzyklopädien, Lehrbüchern und Abhandlungen festgesetzt hat¹. Auf die Gründe, die zur Bildung des «negativen Images» des Herbartianismus geführt hatten, wies 1989 Oelkers² hin, der dieses Problem als selbstständiges Forschungsproblem behandelte. Ein Jahrzehnt später stellte Oelkers diesbezüglich fest:

Der pejorative Ausdruck 'Herbartianismus' ist notwendig, damit überhaupt so etwas wie 'Reformpädagogik' abgegrenzt und effektiv hervorgehoben werden kann. Der Ausdruck beschreibt keine historische Realität, weder in theoretischer noch in praktischer Hinsicht. Kommuniziert werden Klischees, die in polemischer Absicht formuliert sind, ihren Begründungskontext verlassen und sich dann historiographisch verselbständigen. Die nachfolgende pädagogische Reflexion übernimmt die Klischees und fixiert sie lexigraphisch³.

Der Gedanke, dass der Herbartianismus *keine historische Realität beschreibt*, ist zwar radikal, muss aber im Kontext der Versuche verstanden werden, eine konsistente Definition des Begriffs zu suchen, was jedoch mit ansteigendem Verständnis des Herbartianismus und einer immer besseren Zugänglichkeit der grundlegenden Materialien⁴ immer schwieriger wird. So stellen auch Dollinger u. a.⁵ fest, dass es keine verlässlichen Indikatoren gibt, die eine Einordnung pädagogischer Ideen in den Herbartianismus ermöglichen würden: «Die in der Historiographie zum Einsatz kommenden Kriterien sprechen zwar wichtige Punkte an, sie stoßen aber immer wieder an die Grenzen ihrer eigenen Konstruktionsbedingungen»⁶.

Wie soll man sich hinsichtlich solcher Annahmen/Voraussetzungen überhaupt an die Untersuchung des Herbartianismus heranwagen? Wie soll

¹ E. Müller, *Das Paradigma des Herbartianismus unter problemgeschichtlichem Aspekt*, Dissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines Doktors der Philosophie (Dr. phil.) der Erziehungswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Pädagogischen Hochschule Erfurt, Erfurt, 2000, p. 23.

² J. Oelkers, *Das Ende des Herbartianismus. Überlegungen zu einem Fallbeispiel der pädagogischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, in P. Zedler, E. König (edd.), *Rekonstruktionen pädagogischer Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Weinheim, Deutscher Studien Verlag, 1989, pp. 77-116.

³ J. Oelkers, *Wilhelm Rein und die Konstruktion von «Reformpädagogik»*, in R. Coriand, M. Winkler, *Der Herbartianismus- die vergessene Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Weinheim, Deutscher Studien Verlag, 1998, pp. 129-154.

⁴ R. Corinad, K. Grundig de Vazquez, K. Henkel, G. Böhme (unter Mitarbeit von K. Hubrich und C. Weck), *Alphabetische Bibliographie pädagogischer Herbartianismus*, Last modified January 24th, 2013, <<https://www.uni-due.de/herbartianismus-forschungsstelle/Bibliographie.shtml#>> (last access: December 15th, 2013).

⁵ B. Dollinger, F. Esser, C. Müller, M. Schabdach, W. Schröer, *Sozialpädagogik und Herbartianismus*, Bad Heilbrunn/Obb., Klinkhardt, 2010, p. 21.

⁶ *Ibid.*

man bspw. bei der Durchsicht des nationalen pädagogischen Erbes die Autoren und Texte erkennen, die in die Doktrin des Herbartianismus eingefügt werden können? Eine Möglichkeit wäre es, die Konzepte, die die Herbartianer selbst der Öffentlichkeit als herbartianische pädagogische Theorie vorstellten, als Kriterien zur Erkennung herbartianischer Theoreme anzunehmen. Damit sind einerseits die Autoren gemeint, die sich selbst als Herbartianer bezeichneten, und andererseits die Literatur, die als Sekundärliteratur verstanden werden muss – dabei geht es um Handreichungen, in denen die Autoren den Lehrkräften auf eine populäre Art und Weise die Grundlagen des herbartianischen pädagogischen Konzepts (so wie sie es selbst verstanden) erklärten und wie dieses Konzept in die Schulpraxis umgesetzt werden sollte.

Unter diesen Büchern war an der Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert Ufers Buch *Vorschule der Pädagogik Herbarts* besonders weit verbreitet⁷. Sein Buch erlebte zahlreiche Auflagen und wurde auch ins Englische und Niederländische übersetzt. Es war eine der am weitesten verbreiteten Darstellungen der herbartianischen Pädagogik. Zu den anerkanntesten und am meisten gelesenen populärwissenschaftlichen Darstellungen des Herbartianismus gehörte auch Fröhlichs *Die wissenschaftliche Pädagogik Herbart-Ziller-Stoy in ihren Grundlehren gemeinfaßlich dargestellt und an Beispielen erläutert*⁸. Dieses Buch unterscheidet sich von Ufers Buch dadurch, dass es nicht auf einer blinden Hingabe an Zillers Verständnis des Herbartianismus gründet. Wenn man Ziller als den zentralen Theoretiker des Herbartianismus betrachtet, dann stellt Fröhlich nicht den typischen Herbartianismus dar, sondern die Richtung, die sich als (immer noch herbartianische) Opposition zu Ziller entwickelte. Noch kritischer gegenüber Ziller war Richter in seinem Buch *Die Herbart-Zillerschen formalen Stufen des Unterrichtes nach ihrem Wesen, ihrer geschichtlichen Grundlage und ihrer Anwendung im Volksschulunterrichte*⁹. Während Fröhlichs Kritik vor allem gegen Zillers Theorie der *Konzentration* und der *kulturhistorischen Stufen* gerichtet war, nicht aber gegen seine Theorie der *formalen Stufen*, richtet sich Richters äußerst scharfe (wenn nicht sogar empörte) Kritik gegen alle Theorien Zillers und speziell gegen seine Theorie der formalen Stufen. In diesem Rahmen gilt die Kritik nicht nur Ziller, sondern allen Vertretern seiner Schule, also auch Rein und Ufer. Weit verbreitet und anerkannt war auch Reins Buch *Theorie und Praxis des Volksschulunterrichts nach Herbartischen*

⁷ C. Ufer, *Vorschule der Pädagogik Herbarts*, 8. und 9. Auflage, Dresden, Verlag von Bleyl & Kaemmerer, 1899 (1. Auflage 1883).

⁸ G. Fröhlich, *Die wissenschaftliche Pädagogik Herbart-Ziller-Stoy in ihren Grundlehren gemeinfaßlich dargestellt und an Beispielen erläutert*, 7. Auflage, Wien & Leipzig, Werlag von A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn, 1901 (1. Auflage 1883).

⁹ K. Richter, *Die Herbart-Zillerschen formalen Stufen des Unterrichtes nach ihrem Wesen, ihrer geschichtlichen Grundlage und inhrer Anwendung im Volksschulunterrichte*, 3. Auflage, Leipzig, Max Hefes Verlag, 1908 (1. Auflage 1887).

Grundsätzen, das er zusammen mit Pickel und Scheller¹⁰ geschrieben hatte. Dabei handelt es sich um ein Handbuch, das den Lehrern der Elementarstufe im ersten Teil eine theoretische Erklärung der Herbartianischen Theoreme bot und im zweiten Teil (mit einer genaueren Begründung und gesondert für jedes Schulfach) die Applizierung der theoretischen Grundsätze auf die schulische Praxis, die von zahlreichen Beispielen bestimmter Unterrichtsstunden begleitet wurden (Stundenbilder).

Auf der Grundlage der erwähnten Literatur ist es keinesfalls möglich, die Kernpunkte der herbartianischen Pädagogik aufzuzeigen, oder sogar den Begriff zu definieren. Selbst die Listen der herbartianischen Literatur, die die Herbartianer selbst¹¹ oder Forscher des Herbartianismus¹² zusammenstellten, zeigen eine extrem große Vielfalt an Problembereichen, mit denen sich die verschiedenen herbartianischen Autoren beschäftigten. Trotz alledem geben die erwähnten Bücher einen guten Einblick in die Inhalte, die den einfachen Lehrern als herbartianische Pädagogik vermittelt wurden, und was in diesem Zusammenhang bezüglich ihres praktischen Engagements von ihnen erwartet wurde.

Trotz aller Unterschiede der erwähnten Handbücher, können aus ihnen gewisse pädagogisch-theoretische Konzepte und Empfehlungen zu ihrer praktischen Umsetzung herausgelesen werden, die als eine Art Standard der herbartianischen Pädagogik verstanden werden können. So findet sich in zahlreichen Variationen immer wieder das einleitende Kapitel, das die Pädagogik als Wissenschaft darstellt, die sich auf die Ethik und Psychologie stützt. Ein weiteres prototypisches Beispiel der herbartianischen Pädagogik ist auch die Darstellung des herbartianischen Verständnisses der Begriffe *Regierung*, *erziehender Unterricht* und *Zucht*, natürlich im Rahmen entsprechender Interpretationen, die oft andere Bezeichnungen einführten. Ein besonders prototypisches herbartianisches Beispiel ist die Bezeichnung und die didaktische Konzeptualisierung der kulturhistorischen Stufen, der Konzentration des Unterrichts und der formalen Stufen.

Wenn versucht wird, mit diesen Kategorien ein ganzheitliches, intern geschlossenes Konzept der herbartianischen Pädagogik zu erfassen und dieses Konzept in der Schulpraxis zu identifizieren, dann muss man es mit H. Maier halten, die feststellte, dass die deutsche Schule niemals «mit Herbart-Zillerischen

¹⁰ W. Rein, A. Pickel, E. Scheller, *Theorie und Praxis des Volksschulunterrichts nach Herbartischen Grundsätzen. Das erste Schuljahr*, 6. Auflage, Leipzig, Verlag von Heinrich Bredt, 1898 (1. Auflage 1878).

¹¹ O. Flügel, *Literatur der Philosophie Herbarts und seiner Schule*, in W. Rein (edd.), *Encyklopädisches Handbuch der Pädagogik*, 2. Auflage, Langensalza, Hermann Beyer & Söhne (Beyer & Mann), 1906, 5. Band, pp. 254-264; C. Ziegler, *Literatur der Pädagogik Herbarts und seiner Schule*, *ibid.*, pp. 264-278.

¹² R. Koschnitzke, *Herbart und Herbartsschule*, Aalen, Scientia Verlag, 1988.

Lehrplänen ausgestattet»¹³ war, was auch für das österreichisch-ungarische Schulsystem galt. Ein derart instrumentalisierter Herbartianismus war zwar tatsächlich nicht stark verbreitet, man

darf [...] aber jene innere Durchschlagskraft nicht übersehen, mit welcher es dem Herbartianismus gelang, den wissenschaftlichen Unterbau der Deutschen Schule zu bestimmen und Lehrverfahren und Methode nachhaltig zu beeinflussen. Wie wäre sonst der heftige Kampf verständlich, der um den Herbartianismus entbrannte, wenn er nicht doch im inneren, im geistigen Sinn eine lange andauernde Herrschaft ausgeübt hätte¹⁴.

Basierend auf der Analyse der pädagogischen Fachpresse – vor allem derjenigen, die den Lehrern in der Grundschule gewidmet war – ist das Grundthema, das die Lehrverfahren und Methoden in der schulischen Praxis definierte, leicht zu rekonstruieren. Dabei geht es um eine didaktische Analyse der theoretischen Ausgangspunkte und der Anwendung der formalen Stufen – genau auf dieses Thema konzentriert sich das meiste von dem, was in der Geschichtsschreibung mit dem Herbartianismus in Verbindung gebracht wird und zu leidenschaftlichen Disputen führte. Der *heftige Kampf*, den Maier erwähnt, bezieht sich größtenteils auf die erwähnte Theorie und Praxis der formalen Stufen, die Wirkung dieser Kontroverse wurde noch zusätzlich durch die Tatsache verstärkt, dass es sich hier nicht um eine akademische Debatte handelte, sondern zahlreiche praktizierende Lehrer an dem Disput teilnahmen.

Unter den Verfassern von Fachartikeln (auch wissenschaftlichen Artikeln) in der damaligen fachlichen Periodik finden wir oft gewöhnliche Volksschullehrer, mit abgeschlossener Lehrerbildungsanstalt¹⁵. Vor allem aber entwickelten das pädagogische Fachgebiet Lehrer an den Lehrerbildungsanstalten, die aufgrund der Art ihrer Arbeit Fachleute für die Methodik des Lehrens ihrer Fächer waren. Besonders aktiv waren die Schulleiter der Lehrerbildungsanstalten, die an ihrer Institution Pädagogik unterrichteten (Erziehungslehre, Unterrichtslehre, Geschichte der Pädagogik) und nach Dienstpflicht die Vorbereitungen auf die Probelektionen, Durchführungen, Hospitationen und Lehrerversammlungen führten, wobei unter ihrer Leitung eine Analyse des gesamten Geschehens verlief¹⁶. Von der pädagogischen Belesenheit und Erfindungsgabe des Schulleiters hing es ab, ob die pädagogische Befähigung der zukünftigen Lehrer

¹³ H. Maier, *Die Geschichte des Vereins für wissenschaftliche Pädagogik*, Leipzig, Felix Meiner Verlag, 1940, p. 153.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

¹⁵ Vgl. E. Protner, *Die Formalstufen und die «Verdammung» des Herbartianismus am Beispiel Sloweniens*, in E. Edam, G. Grimm (edd.), *Die Pädagogik des Herbartianismus in der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie*, Wien, Berlin, Lit Verlag, 2009, pp. 113-129.

¹⁶ Vgl. E. Protner, *Pädagogischer Takt und Lehrerpersönlichkeit in herbartianischen Konzepten der Lehrerbildung*, in R. Coriand (ed.), *Herbartianische Konzepte der Lehrerbildung*, Bad Heilbrunn /Obb., Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, pp. 205-223.

nach Routine-Mustern mit im Lehrplan vorgeschriebenen Lehrinhalten oder mit dem Erproben und Durchsetzen von neuen Ideen verlief.

Das Ziel dieses Beitrags ist eine Rekonstruktion der Präsenz des Herbartianismus in Slowenien bis zum ersten Weltkrieg. Dabei wird das Augenmerk nicht auf die theoretische Konzeptualisierung gerichtet, sondern auf die notwendigen schulorganisatorischen und die fachkompetenzbezogenen Umstände, auf deren Grundlage die Lehrer Interesse an dem Konzept entwickeln, es annehmen und in die Praxis umsetzen konnten. Der Prototyp dieser Entwicklung kann anhand einer Analyse einer der hervorstechendsten Persönlichkeiten der slowenischen Pädagogik in der österreichisch-ungarischen Epoche, Henrik Schreiner, Direktor der Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt in Maribor, aufgezeigt werden. Festgehalten werden muss, dass die herbartianische Theorie im Hintergrund seiner meisten pädagogischen Tätigkeiten, die er als Schulleiter der Lehrerbildungsanstalt, Redner bei Lehrerversammlungen, Inspektor, Verfasser von theoretischen Diskussionen und Lehrbüchern und als Vorsitzender der Slovenska šolska matica (Slowenischer Schulliteraturverlag – im Weiteren SŠM) stand. Wenn man die Dimension seines Einflusses versteht, erklärt dies auch die Dimension des Herbartianismus auf slowenischem Boden. Ehe Schreiners Beitrag auf jedem der erwähnten Gebiete gesondert angesprochen wird, müssen die Geschehnisse in den Rahmen der Schulgeschichte eingeordnet werden.

Schulgeschichtlicher Rahmen

Das Reichsvolkschulgesetz aus dem Jahr 1869 kann als bedeutendstes Schulgesetz der ehemaligen Monarchie Österreich-Ungarn bewertet werden. Zahlreiche Standards und Systemlösungen dieses Gesetzes waren fast ein Jahrhundert lang Grundstein der Schulgesetzgebungen in den Ländern, die ein Teil der Monarchie Österreich-Ungarn waren – das gilt noch besonders für die Lehrerbildungsanstalten, die mit diesem Gesetz zu Kerninstitutionen der Ausbildung von Lehrern wurden und – im Vergleich zu vorangehenden Regelungen – eine neue und höhere Qualität darstellten. Nicht nur, dass sich die herbartianische Pädagogik anhand pädagogischer Lehrbücher schon bald als die dominierende Doktrin an Österreich-ungarischen Lehrerbildungsanstalten durchsetzte, auch die Organisation der praktischen Lehrerausbildung an sogenannten Übungsschulen ist herbartianischen Ursprungs¹⁷. Schon Herbart

¹⁷ Eine Fülle an Informationen zur Entwicklung der Lehrerbildung gibt der Themenblock in S. Polenghi, E. Protner, *The development of teacher education in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 8, n. 1, 2013, pp. 11-15 wider. Der Herbartismus als dominierendes Paradigma der Lehrerausbildung war nicht nur

sorgte in seinem pädagogischen Seminar in Königsberg für eine systematische Verknüpfung von Theorie und Praxis. Dieses Modell der universitären Ausbildung behielten auch die führenden Vertreter der herbartianischen Pädagogik Ziller und Stoy bei und entwickelten sie noch weiter. Aufgrund der Seminare für Grundschullehrer in Beilitz (Bielsko/Biala), die von Stoy zwischen 1866 und 1869 organisiert und geleitet wurden, beeinflusste sein Modell auch direkt die Organisation der Lehrerbildungsanstalten in der Österreich-ungarischen Monarchie¹⁸.

Das gesamte heutige Slowenien war bis zum Jahr 1918 Teil der Monarchie Österreich-Ungarn, das heißt auch ihrer Gesetzesregelung. Mit der Durchsetzung des Reichsvolksschulgesetzes wurden auch hier Lehrerbildungsanstalten gegründet, wovon es aber nicht viele gab – man konnte sie an den Fingern einer Hand abzählen¹⁹. Slowenien ist klein und hat eine niedrige Einwohnerzahl²⁰ – auch das war unter anderen einer der Gründe, weshalb die Slowenen im Rahmen der Monarchie Österreich-Ungarn zahlreiche nationale Interessen nicht durchsetzen konnten – unter anderem auch die sprachlichen. An den Lehrerbildungsanstalten auf dem Gebiet, wo Slowenen lebten, war die deutsche Sprache weiter verbreitet als die slowenische, obwohl diese Lehreranstalten auch Lehrer für die slowenischen Volksschulen ausbildeten²¹. Der Germanisierungsdruck war aber auch der Grund dafür, dass

innerhalb der Monarchie präsent (z. B. in Kroatien – vgl. Š. Batinić, I. Radeka, *The development and prospects of teacher education in Croatia*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», *ibid.*, pp. 43-62 und Bosnia und Herzegovina – vgl. S. Šušnjara, *The position of teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», *ibid.*, pp. 85-106), sondern auch in den Ländern, die geschichtlich eher mit dem osmanischen Reich verbunden waren (z. B. in Serbien – vgl. N. Vujisić Živković, V. Spasenović, *The development of primary school teacher education in Serbia in the 19th and the first decade of the 20th century*, *ibid.*, pp. 63-83 und Macedonia – vgl. S. Miovska-Spaseva, *Development of primary teacher schooling in Macedonia (1869-1963). Roots and fruits of a century-long tradition*, *ibid.*, pp. 129-146). Es werden nur die Länder angeführt, die sich nach dem Zerfall von Österreich-Ungarn (1918) zum Königreich Jugoslawien zusammenschlossen. Es scheint, dass die organisationelle Konzeptionalisierung der Lehrerausbildung auf diesem Territorium nicht mit der pädagogischen Theorie Schritt halten konnte, da die Ausbildungsstandards in der Lehrerausbildung in Österreich-Ungarn an manchen Orten (z. B. in Montenegro) erst zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen erreicht wurden (vgl. V. Zorić, *The development of primary school teacher education in Montenegro*, *ibid.*, pp. 107-127).

¹⁸ Vgl. Protner, *Pädagogischer Takt und Lehrerpersönlichkeit in herbartianischen Konzepten der Lehrerbildung*, cit., pp. 205-223.

¹⁹ Vgl. E. Protner, *The development of private education regulation in the field of teacher training in Slovenia*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 8, n. 1, 2013, pp. 17-41.

²⁰ Im Jahre 1910 lebten auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Sloweniens 1,320.000 Einwohner (F. Gestrin, V. Melik *Demokratična in socialna prebuja na Slovenskem* [Demokratisches und soziales Erwachen in Slowenien], in *Zgodovina Slovencev* [Geschichte der Slowenen], Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba, 1979, pp. 527-597, namentlich p. 540), außerdem lebten zahlreiche Slowenen außerhalb der heutigen Grenzen (z.B. in Triest, in Klagenfurt, in Istrien...). Heute leben in Slowenien etwas mehr als zwei Millionen Einwohner.

²¹ In den Jahren zwischen 1869 und 1918 änderte sich die Lage der slowenischen Sprache –

es den Slowenen bis zum Zerfall der Donaumonarchie nicht gelang, eine eigene Universität zu gründen (die erste slowenische Universität wurde im Jahr 1919 gegründet).

Die theoretische Gestaltung der Pädagogik in Slowenien vor dem ersten Weltkrieg entsprang nicht, wie in den anderen Ländern innerhalb Österreich-Ungarns, den universitären Kreisen der Pädagogen, sondern den Lehrerkreisen (und insbesondere der Schuldirektoren) an den Lehrerbildungsanstalten. In dieser Hinsicht ragte auf slowenischem Gebiet die Lehrerbildungsanstalt in Marburg, die der Schulleiter Henrik Schreiner (1850-1920) leitete, hervor²². Die österreichischen Schulbehörden ernannten Schreiner im Jahr 1890 aufgrund seines fachlichen Ansehens, das er als Lehrer von naturwissenschaftlichen Fächern auf der Lehrerbildungsanstalt in Bozen/Bolzano erwarb, wo er zuvor seit 1878 angestellt war, und auch aufgrund des deutsch klingenden Namens, der eine Person, die den deutschsprachigen Charakter der Anstalt festigen sollte, versprach. In Wirklichkeit war Schreiner ein slowenischer Heimatliebender, der aber in der Zeit seiner Leitung der Lehrerbildungsanstalt (1890-1920) die nationalen polarisierenden Drucke aneinander und geduldig den Druck der österreichischen offiziellen Schulbehörden einerseits und das aufkommende slowenische Nationalbewusstsein andererseits anzunähern vermochte²³. So wie er das richtige Maß für die Schaffung eines toleranten nationalen Miteinanders in der Anstalt finden konnte, so fand er auch das richtige Maß bei der Wahl und bei der Durchsetzung von verschiedenen pädagogischen Konzepten, die unter seiner Leitung in die Ausbildung der zukünftigen Lehrer eingeführt wurden.

Mit der Vorstellung Schreiners und seiner Leitung der Lehrerbildungsanstalt kann das Bild der Lehrerausbildung in der damaligen Zeit illustriert werden, aber auch der Umstände, die zur Durchsetzung der herbartianischen pädagogischen Konzepte führten. Dieses Bild basiert nicht auf irgendwelchen großen Geschichten, scharfsinnigen theoretischen Ideen, außerordentlichen pädagogischen Innovationen u. ä., sondern auf dem richtigen Maß an Vermeidung von Extremen laut dem gesunden Menschenverstand. Das wussten

allmählich wurden immer mehr Fächer in slowenischer Sprache unterrichtet. Am schlechtesten war die Lage der slowenischen Sprache an der Mariborer und Klagenfurter Lehrerbildungsanstalt (genauer dazu in F. Strmčnik, *Razvoj izobraževanja osnovnošolskega učiteljstva na Slovenskem v obdobju od leta 1869 do razpada Avstro-Ogrske* [Die Entwicklung der Lehrerschaft an an slowenischen Grundschulen in der Zeit von 1869 bis zum Zerfall Österreich-Ungarns], in V. Schmidt ua. (ed.), *Osnovna šola na Slovenskem 1869-1969* [Die Gundschule in Slowenien 1869-1969], Ljubljana, Slovenski šolski muzej, 1970, pp. 339-441.

²² Es folgt eine Zusammenfassung nach E. Protner, *La formazione degli insegnanti in Slovenia e l'applicazione "ragionevole" dell'herbartismo*, in S. Polenghi (ed.), *La scuola degli Asburgo: pedagogia e formazione degli insegnanti tra il Danubio e il Po (1773-1918)*, Torino, SEI, 2012, pp. 241-263.

²³ Vgl. M. Tancer, *Življenje in delo Henrika Schreinerja* [Henrik Schreiners Leben und Werk], in E. Protner (ed.), *Delo in pedagoški nazori Henrika Schreinerj* [Henrik Schreiners Leben und seine pädagogischen Ansichten], Maribor, Univerza v Mariboru, 2002, pp. 11-20.



Bild 1. *Henrik Schreiners Denkmal* (ein Werk des akademischen Bildhauers Gabrijel Kolbi) – im Hintergrund die ehemalige Lehrerbildungsanstalt in Marburg, die Schreiner leitete (heute eine Volksschule). Foto: Uroš Lobnik.

Schreiners Zeitgenossen, die in ihm die größte fachliche Autorität anerkannten, und auch pädagogisch Schaffende in der nahen Vergangenheit, die ihm vor seiner Lehrerbildungsanstalt ein monumentales Denkmal aufstellten, zu schätzen.

In den meisten biographischen Niederschriften wird (unter Anführung von Verdiensten und pädagogischen Ansichten) gewöhnlich erwähnt, dass sich Schreiner für die Einführung von Formalstufen in der Grundschul-Praxis einsetzte. Schreiner kann man zweifellos zu den bedeutendsten Vertretern des Herbartianismus auf slowenischem Boden zählen²⁴. Deshalb ist es umso interessanter, dass in zahlreichen Niederschriften diese theoretische Richtung von Schreiner überhaupt nicht erwähnt wird oder sie gemeinsam mit einer Entschuldigung für seine «Verirrung» und mit der Warnung, dass Schreiner nicht die negativen Extreme des Herbartianismus annahm, erwähnt wird. So schrieb z. B. Šilih²⁵, dass «Schreiners umfassendstes Werk ‘Analyse des geistigen Gesichtskreises des Kindlichen und des geistesforschenden Lernprozesses. Formalstufen-Lehre’ [...] beweist, dass sein Autor damals noch vollkommen in

²⁴ Vgl. E. Protner (ed.), *Delo in pedagoški nazori Henrika Schreinerja* [Henrik Schreiners Leben und seine pädagogischen Ansichten], Maribor, Univerza v Mariboru, 2002.

²⁵ Gustav Šilih (1893-1961) war Professor an der Lehrerbildungsanstalt und einer der angesehensten slowenischen Pädagogen in der Zeit zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen und in den ersten beiden Jahrzehnten nach dem II. Weltkrieg.

den Fesseln der derzeitigen amtlichen österreichischen Herbart-Pädagogik lag. Jedoch empfand er Abneigung gegenüber der Herbart-Schablone, so dass er selbst vor ihr warnt»²⁶. An einer anderen Stelle schätzte er, dass sich Schreiner im erwähnten Werk «als Anhänger von Herbarts Pädagogik vorstellt, jedoch als kritischer Geist, der nicht blind übernimmt, was Autoritäten lehren»²⁷. Šilih schreibt so, als wäre die Bezeichnung «Herbartianer» beschämend. Auch er konnte die vorherrschende negative Bewertung des Herbartianismus nicht vermeiden, die (ab der Jahrhundertwende) die Reformpädagogik im Kampf um die Durchsetzung eines neuen pädagogischen Paradigmas aufzwang. Heute kann festgestellt werden, dass Schreiner der bedeutendste Vertreter der herbartianischen Pädagogik auf slowenischem Boden war, und damit wird sein Ansehen nicht geringer.

Aus seinen offiziellen Berichten über den Betrieb der Institution²⁸ kann geschlussfolgert werden, dass er einige Elemente der herbartianischen Pädagogik schon zu Beginn seiner Leitung der Lehrerbildungsanstalt eingeführt hatte. Bei der Einführung der herbartianischen Ideen in den Unterricht auf der Übungsschule wurde Schreiner mit zahlreichen Schwierigkeiten konfrontiert, da er die herbartianische Doktrin mit dem amtlichen Lehrplan in Übereinstimmung bringen musste. Aufgrund klarer theoretischer Ausgangspunkte gelang es ihm, die Arbeit der Lehrer auf der Lehrerbildungsanstalt (vor allem der Methodiker) mit der Arbeit der Lehrer an der Übungsschule übereinzustimmen, sie für Zusammenarbeit zu begeistern und sie für theoretische und praktische Fortbildung aufzumuntern. Die Marburger Lehrerbildungsanstalt wurde unter Schreiners Leitung zum Zentrum von herbartianischen experimentalen Versuchen der herbartianischen Pädagogik auf slowenischem Boden. Aber allein mit der Präsenz der herbartianischen Pädagogik in der Lehrerbildung lässt sich die Dominanz dieses Konzepts nicht erklären. Es mussten auch die älteren Lehrer herangezogen werden und ihnen das Konzept als eine moderne pädagogische Innovation vorgestellt werden, wozu sich insbesondere Lehrerversammlungen eigneten.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 667.

²⁷ G. Šilih, *Pedagoško delo Henrika Schreinerja* [Die pädagogische Arbeit Henrik Schreiners], «Sodobna pedagogika», n. 5-6, 1951, pp. 218-231, in partic. p. 224.

²⁸ H. Schreiner, *Schulnachrichten*, in H. Schreiner (ed.), *Erster Bericht der k. k. Lehrerbildungsanstalt in Marburg*. Marburg, Marburg, Verlag der k. k. Lehrerbildungsanstalt, 1982, pp. 63-79 und H. Schreiner, *Schulnachrichten*, in H. Schreiner (ed.), *Zweiter Bericht der k. k. Lehrerbildungsanstalt in Marburg*, Marburg, Verlag der k. k. Lehrerbildungsanstalt, 1895, pp. 1-28.

Lehrerversammlungen als Medium zur Einführung der herbartianischen Pädagogik

Einige Neuigkeiten, die er in die Praxis der Marburger Lehrerbildungsanstalt einföhrte, begründete Schreiner theoretisch und stellte sie schon im Jahr 1891 einem breiteren Kreis von Grundschullehrern vor – also bereits ein Jahr nach dem er die Stelle des Direktors übernommen hatte. Damals las er für *den Lehrerverein der Marburger Umgebung* (die Sitzung fand in den Räumen der Lehrerbildungsanstalt statt) über die Konzentration des Unterrichts vor. Aus dem knappen Bericht über diesen Vortrag²⁹ kann geschlossen werden, dass er mit dem Vortrag die Lehrer für eine Zusammenarbeit gewinnen wollte. Dem Vortrag folgte eine lebhaftete Debatte, der zwei Beschlüsse folgten:

- a) Daran zu arbeiten, dass mit der Zeit der Unterricht auf unseren Schulen aufgrund der Konzentration geregelt wird,
- b) im Sinn der Konzentration detaillierte Lehrpläne für alle Schulkategorien unseres Bezirks aufgrund der Heimatlehre ausarbeiten³⁰.

Die Aufgabe sollte der Vereinsausschuss durchführen.

Kurz danach wurde der Text in der zentralen slowenischen pädagogischen Fachzeitschrift jener Zeit (Popotnik/Wanderer) veröffentlicht³¹. Neben der theoretischen Aufgliederung und der Erklärung des Begriffes der Konzentration setzte er sich auch für die Durchsetzung der Formalstufen ein. Ihre erste theoretische Begründung in Slowenien veröffentlichte schon zuvor auch G. Majcen³², ein Lehrer in der Übungsschule der Marburger Lehrerbildungsanstalt, was aber die fachliche Aktivität dieser Anstalt unter Schreiners Leitung zusätzlich illustriert.

Die entscheidende Bedeutung für die Durchsetzung des Herbartianismus auf slowenischem Boden kann aber Schreiners Vortrag bei der Versammlung des *Verbands slowenischer Lehrervereine* im Jahr 1893 zugeschrieben werden, da er damals erreichte, dass einige herbartianische Ideen zum Programm-Ausgangspunkt der weiteren Entwicklung der slowenischen Schulen wurden. Der Titel seines Vortrags lautete *Die neuesten Reformationstendenzen auf dem pädagogischen Gebiet* – schon in der Einleitung erklärte Schreiner, dass er den Zweck der Versammlung des Verbandes darin sieht «dass wir uns [...] nur in den Hauptzügen unserer Aktivität einigen, dass wir die Richtung, in

²⁹ H., *Maribor*, «Popotnik», nn. 19, 20, 21, 1891, pp. 310-312, 323-324, 341-342.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ H. Schreiner, *O koncentraciji pouka v ljudski šoli* [Über die Konzentration des Unterrichts in der Volksschule] «Popotnik», nn. 1, 2, 1892, pp. 2-4, 19-23.

³² G. Majcen, *Psihologično-metodična utrditev učne slike* «Iznajdba knjigotiskarstva» [Psychologisch-methodische Festigung des Unterrichtsbilds «Erfindung des Buchdrucks»], «Popotnik», nn. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 18, 1892, pp. 51-54, 69-71, 85-87, 99-100, 118-120, 167-170, 207-209, 287-288.

die es weitergehen soll, bestimmen»³³. Offensichtlich erkannte Schreiner den Herbartianismus als «diejenige moderne Reformbestrebung, die bei uns noch nicht genug bekannt ist, und die durchgesetzt werden muss»³⁴. Er machte darauf aufmerksam, dass er nicht vor hat, Herbarts Ideen zu bewerten und dass Herbarts Psychologie schon überwunden sei, jedoch setzte er aus, «dass mit Herbart ein neues Zeitalter in der Geschichte der Unterrichts- und Erziehungskunde ein Zeitalter, dass das wissenschaftliche genannt wird, beginnt»³⁵. Offensichtlich wollte Schreiner mit diesem Vortrag die Reform der slowenischen Schule, die auf anderen Ausgangspunkten begründet sein sollte, einer Reform, die wissenschaftlich begründet wäre und mit der die slowenische Schule mit der Pädagogik im Ausland Schritt halten könnte, ermuntern. Unter diesen Neuigkeiten dachte Schreiner vor allem an diejenigen, die er schon auf der Lehrerbildungsanstalt einleitete und probierte: Konzentration des Unterrichts und die Formalstufen.

Schreiner hatte pädagogisch gesehen einen breiten Horizont und war auch mit pädagogischen Strömungen in anderen Teilen der Welt vertraut – er kannte gut die Polemiken, die bei einigen der radikalsten theoretischen Ideen von führenden Herbartianern (vor allem Ziller) entwickelt wurden. Bei ausgearbeitetem Gefühl für die praktische Durchführung machte er parallel mit der Einführung des Herbartianismus auch auf einige Übertreibungen aufmerksam. So beschrieb er mit Spott Zillers Idee der Konzentrierung und setzte sich gleichzeitig für die Durchsetzung einer weniger radikalen Form ein. Die größte Bedeutung schrieb Schreiner aber der Durchsetzung der Formalstufen zu. Beim erwähnten Vortrag beschrieb er sie kurz, begründete sie psychologisch und schloss ab:

Ich muss noch hinzufügen, dass es nicht nötig und manchmal auch nicht möglich ist, dass jede Lehreinheit genau nach fünf Stufen durchgeführt wird. Wer das möchte, müsste sich oft zwingen und der Theorie zuliebe ohne Bedürfnis den Unterricht dehnen. Das wäre ein Formalismus. Aber es ist ohne Zweifel von Nutzen, wenn der Lehrer stets, wenn er sich vorbereitet, vor den Augen die Formalstufen hat. Wenn ihm die eine oder die andere nicht zu recht kommt, soll er sie auslassen³⁶.

Auch in diesem Fall bestimmte Schreiner die grundlegenden Richtlinien für ein vernünftiges und durchdachtes Übertragen der theoretischen Ausgangspunkte in die Schulpraxis. In der Durchsetzung der Formalstufen sah er ein Mittel, dass dem Lehrer eine Unterstützung für eine durchdachte und fachlich begründete Artikulierung der Lehrstunde dienen sollte, weil er aber die Kritik, die darauf aufmerksam machte, dass die Formalstufen die Kreativität des Lehrers beengen

³³ *Peta skupščina «Zaveze slovenskih učiteljskih društev» v Mariboru* [Fünfte Versammlung des «Verbands slowenischer Lehrervereine» in Maribor], «Popotnik», nn. 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, pp. 209-210, 241-244, 257-263, 278, 290-294, 305-312, 324-327 und p. 261.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

und ihn in einen Technizismus und Schematismus drängen, kannte, ermunterte er schon von Anfang an die slowenischen Lehrer zur Selbstständigkeit und fachlicher Überlegenheit auf.

Schreiners Initiative war wirksam³⁷ – durch seinen Verdienst wurden die Formalstufen in den folgenden Jahren zum Kernthema auf verschiedenen Lehrerkonferenzen und lokalen Versammlungen und ein allgemeiner didaktischer Rahmen der Schulpraxis (vorerst in der slowenischen Steiermark, nach 1901 aber auch im größeren Teil des slowenischen Gebiets). Auch nachdem über die Formalstufen eine heftige Polemik aufgeflammt war, galt Schreiners Meinung als maßgebend. Es handelt sich um die Polemik, die im Jahr 1903 und Anfang 1904 in *Popotnik* von Viktor Bežek und Fran Hubad geführt wurde. Zu Meinungsverschiedenheiten führte Bežeks Feststellung, dass in Krain immer öfter über Formalstufen diskutiert wird und die Verwunderung, dass darüber als über eine moderne *Strömung gesprochen* wird³⁸, da sie in der Welt schon längst überholt seien. Den Formalismus und Schematismus und deren Anwendbarkeit in der Schulpraxis illustrierte er mit der Information, dass ein Bezirksschulinspektor von den Lehrern verlangt, dass sie ihm beim Eintritt in die Klasse genau auf die Frage, bei welcher Formalstufe sie momentan seien, antworten können³⁹. Hubad, der sich als Landes-Schulinspektor (alles zeigt auf Schreiners Anregung) bemühte in den Schulen in Krain die Formalstufen durchzusetzen, begründete bei dieser Polemik theoretisch ihre Aktualität und verteidigte sie.

Schreiner schloss sich der Polemik indirekt an. Alles weist darauf hin, dass die Fachöffentlichkeit sein Bekenntnis zu dieser Frage erwartete – er machte es ihr Recht mit einem Vortrag, den SŠM im Narodni dom (Volkshaus) in Laibach (Ljubljana) organisierte und auch hier setzte er sich erneut für eine fachlich durchdachte und autonome Anwendung der Formalstufen ein. Von der Aktualität dieser Frage zeugt die Anwesenheit, denn es kamen so viele Besucher, dass einige im Vorzimmer standen. Über Schreiners Vortrag und die Reaktionen darauf schrieb ein Berichterstatter folgendermaßen:

Allgemein ist er [Schreiner] dafür, dass der Unterricht nach bestimmten Stufen ausgetragen wird, jedoch ist er der Meinung, dass es nicht angemessen und auch nützlich wäre, jeden Unterricht auf fünf Stufen aufzuteilen, da das die Lehrer zum *kargen Formalismus* führen

³⁷ Auch wenn der leitende katholische Ideologe der damaligen Zeit (Anton Mahnič) in Schreiners Vortrag antikatholische Ausrichtung erkannte, wurde er auch von den katholischen Pädagogen sehr geschätzt (vgl. E. Protner, *Das Verhältnis der katholischen Pädagogen zur Herbartianischen Pädagogik auf slowenischem Gebiet*, in J. Hopfner, A. Németh (edd.), *Pädagogische und kulturelle Strömungen in der k. u. k. Monarchie*, Frankfurt am Main ua., Peter Lang, 2008, pp. 103-121.

³⁸ V. Bežek, *O formalnih in didaktičnih stopnjah in pa o razvijajoče-upodabljajočem pouku* [Über die formalen und didaktischen Stufen und den entwickelnd-darstellenden Unterricht], «Popotnik», nn. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 1903, pp. 1-5, 33-42, 65-73, 134-154, 202-210, 235-246, namentlich p. 1.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

würde! Oft *mus*s die eine oder die andere Stufe weglassen werden; bei einigen Fächern ist aber die Berücksichtigung der Formalstufen sogar unmöglich. Während der Rede, besonders aber beim Abschluss, haben die Anwesenden mit lautem Lob und heftigem Klatschen dem Herrn Redner zugestimmt⁴⁰.

Schreiner bemühte sich die ganze Zeit beide Akteure der Polemik zu beruhigen. Er erhielt mit beiden gute freundschaftliche Beziehungen aufrecht, jedoch war es offensichtlich, dass er theoretisch eher Hubad wohlgesinnt war. Das ist auch aus seinem Buch *Analyse des geistigen Gesichtskreis des Kindlichen und der geisterforschende Prozess des Lernens mit dem Untertitel Formalstufen-Lehre*⁴¹ sichtbar, das er auf Bitte des Ausschusses der SŠM veröffentlichte, um als pädagogische Autorität die Leidenschaften zu beruhigen. Schreiner drängte die Formalstufen niemals auf, obwohl er sie im erwähnten Buch verteidigte. Eine größere Bedeutung ist seinem Wunsch beizumessen, «dass es von nun an kein Mitglied der slowenischen Lehrerschaft mehr gäbe, das sich ungeachtet von den Standpunkten, die es gegenüber den Formalstufen habe, über ihre Theorie gut belehren lassen würde. Denn gerade eine standhafte wissenschaftliche Unterlage befähigt den Lehrer für eine überdachte selbstständige Urteilskraft, sie hebt den Lehrer-Handwerker zum Lehrer-Künstler»⁴². Zusammen mit dem Herbartianismus brachte Schreiner in den slowenischen Raum auch eine neue Sicht auf das professionelle Bild des Lehrers und verfestigte die Überzeugung, dass eine breite pädagogisch-theoretische Belesenheit Grundlage für eine qualitätsvolle Schulpraxis ist. Die theoretischen Begründungen setzte er auch als Schulinspektor in der Schulpraxis durch.

Rolle der Schulinspektion bei der Einführung des Herbartianismus

Bald nach der Ernennung zum Schuldirektor an der Lehrerbildungsanstalt wurde Schreiner zum Schulinspektor für den Marburger Bezirk ernannt und bekleidete dieses Amt bis Ende des Jahres 1899. Die Dimension und Bedeutung dieser Arbeit illustriert (ein bisschen befangen, jedoch genug real) Bezjak, der sein Mitarbeiter auf der Lehrerbildungsanstalt war. Er schrieb:

Das war für die Lehrerschaft dieses Bezirks die größte Erwerbung; denn Schreiner trug seine Erziehungskennnisse und seine didaktisch-methodischen Anschauungen unter seine Lehrerschaft und machte sie mit neuen Ideen auf dem Gebiet der Erziehungskunde vertraut.

⁴⁰ *Predavanje v «Slovenski šolski Matici»* [Vortrag in «Slowenischer Schulliteraturverlag»], «Učiteljski tovariš», n. 12, 1903, p. 95.

⁴¹ H. Schreiner, *Analiza duševnega obzorja otroškega in dušeslovni proces učenja. Nauk o formalnih stopnjah* [Analyse des geistigen Gesichtskreis des Kindlichen und der geisterforschende Prozess des Lernens Formalstufen-Lehre], Ljubljana, Slovenska šolska matica, 1903.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Bei den einheimischen Lehrerkonferenzen, die er an jeder Schule einmal jährlich jedes Jahr anlässlich seiner Inspektion durchführte und auch bei den Bezirkslehrerversammlungen lehrte er die Lehrerschaft und begeisterte sie für den Fortschritt in der Lehrmethode und die eigene Fortbildung⁴³.

Schon bei der ersten Lehrerkonferenz für den Marburger Bezirk⁴⁴, die Schreiner als Bezirksschulinspektor führte, empfahl er den Lehrern die Durchsetzung von *schriftlichen Präparationen* und sagte voraus, dass er sie bei den folgenden Inspektionen durchsehen werde. Das zeigt, dass er eine relativ neue Praxis, die vorher nicht bekannt war und die wesentlich zur Durchsetzung der Formalstufen beitrug, einführte. Wahrscheinlich wurde über Formalstufen schon bei dieser Konferenz gesprochen (der Bericht erwähnt sie nicht), denn unter den Lehrern in Marburg war Majcens Diskussion, die eine neue Richtung bei der methodischen Durchführung des Unterrichts vorhersagte, sicher schon bekannt. Schreiner stärkte seinen Einfluss auf die Marburger Lehrer auch so, dass er sich (zusammen mit Majcen) intensiv in die Aktivitäten des *Lehrervereins für die Marburger Umgebung* einschloss. Es wurde schon erwähnt, dass er Ende des Jahres 1891 dem Verein über die *Unterrichtskonzentrierung* vorlas, kurz darauf wählten ihn die Vereinsmitglieder zum Vorsitzenden.

Die Lokalgrenzen überschritt Schreiner mit dem erwähnten Vortrag bei der 5. Versammlung des *Verbandes*, den man als Umbruch bei der Entwicklung und im Prozess der Durchsetzung des Herbartianismus auf slowenischem Boden bezeichnen kann. Obwohl die Versammlung vor einem Forum, der alle slowenischen Lehrer vereinigte, verlief, setzte sich der Herbartianismus nicht gleichmäßig in allen einzelnen Ländern durch. Nach Schreiners Verdienst (als Schulinspektor und Direktor der Lehrerbildungsanstalt) war der Herbartianismus am stärksten in der Steiermark anwesend. In den Berichten über offizielle und vereinsmäßige Versammlungen in Krain und im Küstengebiet wird bis zur Jahrhundertwende keine Erörterung der herbartianistischen Themen wahrgenommen.

Aber auch in der Steiermark waren Lehrerversammlungen, bei denen über Formalstufen diskutiert worden ist, nicht sehr häufig, jedoch war ihre Anwesenheit unvergleichlich größer als in anderen slowenischen Ländern. Dabei ist besonders zu betonen, dass Schreiner und seine Mitarbeiter an der Lehrerbildungsanstalt die Formalstufen den Lehrern ohne gewaltiges Aufdrängen vorstellten und sie für sie begeisterten. Davon zeugen zahlreiche Berichte über die Tätigkeit des Vereins *Učiteljsko društvo za mariborsko okolico* (Lehrerverein

⁴³ J. Bezjak, *Občna zgodovina vzgoje in pouka s posebnim ozirom na ljudsko šolstvo za moška in ženska učiteljska* [Ausführliche Geschichte von Erziehung und Unterricht, mit besonderem Fokus auf der Volksbildung an den Lehrerbildungsanstalten, getrennt für Männer und für Frauen], Ljubljana, Kr. zaloga šolskih knjig in učil, 1921, p. 252.

⁴⁴ H., *Maribor*, cit.

für die Marburger Umgebung)⁴⁵, der in der Zeit, als er Schulinspektor war, von Schreiner geleitet wurde. In dieser Zeit führte er die Gewohnheit ein, dass die Lehrer in ihren Vereinstreffen Hospitationen organisierten – der Lehrer, Gastgeber des Treffens, führte in seiner Klasse eine Musterstunde durch. Alles weist darauf hin, dass diese Initiative gut angenommen wurde⁴⁶, da die Lehrer zu einer solchen Tätigkeit auch Lehrer in anderen Bezirken anregten, was nicht ohne Echo blieb. So schrieb ein Berichtstatter, dass «man es manchenorts schon nachmacht. Es lebe die Idee und ihr Vater, Herr Inspektor Schreiner»⁴⁷.

Laut den Berichten über diese Hospitationen folgte den einzelnen Hospitationen eine Debatte. Diesbezüglich war der Bericht über die 8. Hospitation vielsagend⁴⁸. Die Berichtstatterin (mit der Zeit nahmen auch Lehrerinnen an den Hospitationen teil) schrieb darüber: «Das Gespräch nach dem Unterricht war ab und zu lebendig, wie noch keines zuvor. Ich hatte den Eindruck als wollten alle Inspektoren werden. Das war ein Durcheinander! Aber ich muss zugeben, dass ich keine Ausschreitungen bemerkte [...] Herr Inspektor gab zuerst das Wort den Hospitanten und erst danach sprach er selbst. Herr Referent hatte immer die Gelegenheit, sich zu verteidigen, wenn das nötig war»⁴⁹.

Obwohl das Schlusswort immerhin der Leiter hatte, waren die Lehrer keinesfalls passive Beobachter der pädagogischen Neuigkeiten, sondern wirkten aktiv mit. Für die Professionalisierung der Lehrarbeit und die Stärkung ihres Selbstbewusstseins war das von außerordentlicher Bedeutung.

Als Hubad im Jahr 1901 Landesschulinspektor in Krain wurde, versuchte er dort nach Schreiners Vorbild das Schulwesen zu reformieren. Das Schicksal seiner Reformbemühungen ist auch für die heutigen Schöpfer der Grundschul-Reformen aufschlussreich. Während die Formalstufen in der Untersteiermark unter Schreiners Leitung spontan, fachlich durchdacht und mit Unterstützung und Zusammenarbeit der Lehrer durchgesetzt wurden, wurden sie in Krain mit bürokratischem Zwang, der die fachliche Autonomie der Lehrer abschaffte, durchgesetzt⁵⁰. Ein ungünstiger Umstand kam noch dazu: die Reform fiel mit der allgemeinen Wirtschaftsrezession und der Kürzung der Einkommen im Schulwesen zusammen. Den größte Schaden verursachte aber Maier, der

⁴⁵ *Maribor. (Zborovanje)* [Marburger (Versammlung)], «Popotnik», n. 22, 1896, pp. 346-347. M.C., *Iz mariborske okolice. (Hospitacija)* [Aus der Marburger Umgebung (Hopitation)], «Popotnik», n. 14, 1896, p. 220; Id., *Iz mariborske okolice. (Hospitacija)* [Aus der Marburger Umgebung (Hopitation)], «Popotnik», n. 16, 1896, pp. 258-259.

⁴⁶ M.C., *Iz mariborske okolice. (Hospitacija)* [Aus der Marburger Umgebung (Hopitation)], «Popotnik», n. 18, 1897, pp. 285-287.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

⁴⁸ Mi-ci, *Zadnja naša hospitacija* [Unsere letzte Hospitation], «Popotnik», n. 6, 1898, p. 94.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ E. Protner, *Die Formalstufen und die «Verdammung» des Herbartianismus am Beispiel Sloweniens*, in E. Edam, G. Grimm (edd.), *Die Pädagogik des Herbartianismus in der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie*, Wien, Berlin, Lit Verlag, 2009, pp. 113-129.

Kreisschulinspektor für die Laibacher Stadtschulen, der mit seinem gewalttätigen, unsachgemäßen und bürokratisch begrenzten Wirken bei den Lehrern einen allgemeinen Widerstand auslöste⁵¹. Ein Zeitgenosse schrieb über ihn: «Vor ihm Angst, Entsetzen, Zittern – nach ihm Verzweiflung, Tränen, Zähneknirschen, Schwingen von geballten Fäusten! Mit seiner Grausamkeit und Unwissenheit machte er die Lehrerschaft aus zwei Bezirken irre, mit seinen Formalstufen diskreditierte er das ganze Land. Die Verwirrung war komplett!»⁵². Gerade Maier war derjenige, der beim Eintritt in die Klasse den Lehrer fragte, bei welcher Formalstufe er sei und gerade sein Verdienst war es, dass sich die Formalstufen (und der Herbartianismus) im einheimischen pädagogischen Bewusstsein als Bezeichnung für die *alte Schule* einprägten. Wie anders wurde Schreiner aufgenommen und wie anders war die Beziehung der Lehrer gegenüber den Formalstufen in der Untersteiermark. Schmoranzner schrieb z. B., dass «über die Gesichter der Schüler eine Freude glitt, wenn Schreiner in die Schule trat. [...] Deshalb brauchen wir uns nicht zu wundern, dass sich auch der Lehrer freute, wenn Schreiner zur Inspektion kam. Das erzählten mir mehrmals verschiedene Lehrer des Marburger Bezirks»⁵³.

Zweifellos trugen Schreiners persönliche Qualitäten viel zum Einfluss und der Autorität bei, die er unter den Lehrern und der Fachöffentlichkeit hatte. Wesentlich ist jedoch die Tatsache, dass Schreiner schon von Anfang an eine klare Vision der Entwicklung der slowenischen Grundschule, die auf überdachten und kohärenten theoretischen Ausgangspunkten begründet war, hatte. Den Umfang von Schreiners Einfluss rundet die Vorstellung seiner Verfasser-Tätigkeit ab.

Einführung des Herbartianismus über die Verlagspolitik und Schulbücher

Parallel mit dem beschriebenen Einsatz für die Durchsetzung der Formalstufen (und Unterrichtskonzentrierung), setzte sich Schreiner (schon seit dem Jahr 1892) für die Reform der Grundschul-Lesebücher ein⁵⁴. Die Texte mit realistischem Inhalt, die bis dahin Bestandteil der Grundschul-Texte waren, sollten durch literarische Texte ersetzt werden. Auch diese Idee hatte eine

⁵¹ Näheres dazu siehe in E. Protner, *Nadzornik Anton Maier in formalne stopnje* [Schulinspektor Anton Maier und die formalen Stufen], «Šolska kronika», n. 1, 1999, pp. 16-31 und E. Protner, *Herbartianismus zwischen Normalität und Exzess am Beispiel des Unterrichtsbildes der «Katze»*, in A. Nóbik, B. Pukánszky (edd.), *Normalität, Abnormalität und Devianz. Gesellschaftliche Konstruktionsprozesse und ihre Umwälzungen in der Moderne*, Frankfurt am Main ua., Peter Lang, 2010, pp. 59-71.

⁵² *Maierjevci* [Maiers Leute] «Učiteljski tovariš», n. 31, 1911, pp. 1-2.

⁵³ J. Schmoranzner, *Henrik Schreiner*, in *Pedagoški letopis* [Pädagogisches Jahrbuch], Ljubljana, Slovenska šolska matica, 1920, pp. 10-28.

⁵⁴ Davon sprach er bei der 5. Steirischen Lehrerkonferenz (*Peta štajerska učiteljska konferenca* [Fünfte steirische Lehrerkonferenz], «Popotnik», n. 13, 1892, pp. 275-278, 289-291, 306-308).

erkennbare herbartianische Herkunft – zusammen mit anderen reformistischen Eingriffen sollten so konzipierte Texte zu einem effizienteren erziehenden Unterricht führen⁵⁵. Den nächsten Schritt zur Verwirklichung dieser Idee stellte die *Denkschrift des Verbandes der Slowenischen Lehrervereine* dar, die Umgestaltung der *Volksschul-Lesebücher* aus dem Jahr 1895 betreffend, die der Verband an das Kultusministerium adressierte. Es handelt sich um ein außerordentlich bedeutendes Dokument, das beweist, dass die slowenische Pädagogik (vor allem nach Schreiners Verdienst) damals schon für eine selbständige und unabhängige Bildung der slowenischen Grundschule genug entwickelt war. Die vorgeschlagene Grundschul-Lesebücher-Reform begannen im Jahr 1897 J. Koprivnik und G. Majcen zu verwirklichen⁵⁶, die die Fibel für die slowenischen Volksschulen herausgaben, welche im Jahr 1902 Schreiner und Hubad mit dem Lesebuch für die allgemeinen Volksschulen ergänzten⁵⁷. Jedoch bekommt die Dimension dieses Projekts eine ganz neue Bedeutung, wenn wir sie zusammen mit der Aktivität der SŠM, deren Vorsitzender Schreiner von ihrer Gründung im Jahr 1900 bis zu seinem Tod war, betrachten. Die Übersicht über die Bücher, die dieser Verlag in dieser Zeit veröffentlichte⁵⁸, deckt auf, dass Schreiners Redaktionspolitik fast vollkommen mit (herbartianistischen) Ideen, die er unter den slowenischen Lehrern von der Übernahme der Schulleiter-Stelle in Marburg durchsetze, übereinstimmte.

Weil es in den erwähnten Lehrbüchern keine realistischen Lehrinhalte mehr gab, ergänzte der SŠM die entstandene Lücke – er fing an, Bücher, die den Lehrern beim Geschichts- und Naturwissenschaftsunterricht als Hilfe dienen sollten, herauszugeben (also Inhalte, die vorher in den Lesebüchern eingeschlossen waren, jetzt sollten sie aber Lehrer vertieft wiedergeben).

Diese Inhalte waren auch in die Sammlungen der Lehrvorbereitungen, die eine mustergültige methodische Ausführung der einzelnen Lehrstunde unter Verwendung von Texten aus Grundschul-Lesebüchern zeigten, mit eingeschlossen. Zwischen den Jahren 1902 und 1905 erschienen mehrere solche Lehrbildersammlungen – erst diese Sammlungen setzten in den slowenischen Schulen endgültig die herbartianische Unterrichtsform fest, da sie hauptsächlich aus der Theorie der Formalstufen stammten. Schreiner begründete und erklärte

⁵⁵ E. Protner, *Vpliv herbartizma na reformo osnovnošolskih beril v obdobju pred 1. svetovno vojno* [Einfluss des Herbartismus auf die Volksschulfibeln in der Zeit vor dem ersten Weltkrieg], «Sodobna pedagogika», n. 5, 1999, pp. 16-31.

⁵⁶ J. Koprivnik, G. Majcen, *Začetnica za slovenske ljudske šole* [Fibel für die slowenische Volksschule], Wien, C. kr. založba šolskih knjig [im kaiserlich-königlichen Schulbuchlager], 1897.

⁵⁷ H. Schreiner, F. Hubad, *Čitanka za obče ljudske šole. (Izdaja v štirih delih.) II. del. (Za drugo in tretje šolsko leto štiri-in večrazrednih ljudskih šol)* [Fibel für die allgemeine Volksschule (Ausgabe in vier Bänden), II. Teil (Für die zweite und dritte Klasse der vier- und mehrjährigen Volksschule)], Wien, V cesarski kraljevi zalogi šolskih knjig. [im kaiserlich-königlichen Schulbuchlager], 1902.

⁵⁸ *Seznam knjig, izdanih in založenih po Slovenski šolski matici* [priloga]. [Liste der verlegten und ausgegebenen Bücher nach dem Slowenischen Schulliteraturverlag (SŠM)], in *Pedagoški zbornik*, Ljubljana, Slovenska šolska matica, 1940.

diese Theorie im (schon erwähnten) Text *Analyse des geistigen Gesichtskreises des Kindlichen und der seelenkundliche Lernprozesses* mit dem Untertitel *Lehre über Formalstufen*, das der SŠM im Jahr 1903 herausgab. Außerdem veröffentlichte der SŠM planmäßig die Methodik der einzelnen Fächer, die inhaltlich auf Schreiners Redaktionspolitik abgestimmt waren.

Schreiner verfolgte sorgsam die pädagogischen Neuigkeiten im europäischen und einheimischen Raum. Er war Zeitgenosse der unaufhaltsamen Pluralisierung der pädagogischen Theorie, die vom Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts den Herbartianismus als überwiegendes pädagogisches Paradigma verdrängte. Diesem Geschehen schloss sich Schreiner als toleranter Fachmann an, worüber auch seine Redaktionsbeziehung zu den erwähnten Büchern zeugt.

Schluss

Wie soll im Kontext der beschriebenen Entwicklung der herbartianischen Pädagogik in Slowenien Oelkers Zitat aus der Einführung dieses Beitrags, dass *der Herbartianismus keine historische Realität beschreibt*, verstanden werden? Die Antwort muss sinnvoller Weise in der Antwort auf die Frage gesucht werden, ob Schreiner ein Herbartianer war. Es wurde deutlich, auf welche Weise Schreiner als Schulleiter die Lehrerbildungsanstalt entwickelte, wie er das ausgewählte (herbartianische) theoretisch-pädagogische Konzept befürwortete, es unter seinen Mitarbeitern und Lehreranhängern (Schülern) durchsetzte und wie er als Vorsitzender des Lehrervereins dieses Konzept (mit Hilfe von Mitarbeitern) den Lehrern seines Schulbezirks vorstellte und erklärte. Als ihr Schulinspektor erklärte er dieses Konzept zusätzlich und überprüfte, ob es entsprechend in die Schulpraxis umgesetzt wurde. Das Konzept, das er zuerst in Marburg und der Umgebung durchsetzte, stellte er bald auch der breiteren fachlichen Öffentlichkeit vor und umriss damit die Richtung der damaligen Reformbemühungen der slowenischen Grundschule. Diese Bemühungen begleitete er theoretisch und organisatorisch die ganze Zeit und gab ihnen Orientierung. Endgültig festigte er diese Bemühungen mit der Verlagstätigkeit im SŠM, der mit Handbüchern und anderer Literatur für Lehrer unmittelbar die Form des Unterrichts vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg und auch in der Zeit zwischen den Weltkriegen prägte. Schreiners Beispiel illustriert eine ganzheitliche und geschlossene Logistik der Einführung des Herbartianismus in Slowenien.

Aber es wurde auch deutlich, dass sich Schreiner von Anfang an von zahlreichen herbartianischen Ideen und ihrer unkritischen Einführung in die Schulpraxis distanzierte. In seinen pädagogischen Überlegungen verschränken sich unterschiedliche pädagogische Ansichten, Konzepte und Ideen. Ihr gemeinsamer Nenner sind Schreiners Bemühungen, das pädagogische und didaktische Erscheinungsbild der konkreten slowenischen Schulen zu erneuern,

die er als Schuldirektor und als Inspektor, kurz als eine Person, die mit der Schule und den Lehrern in ständigem Kontakt war, sehr gut kannte. In dieser Verflechtung theoretischer Ausgangspunkte und praktischer Lösungen dürfen aber die Komponenten seines gesunden Menschenverstands bezüglich seines pädagogischen Engagements nicht übersehen werden. Das Einzwängen in ein vorgegebenes pädagogisches Konzept ist in Schreiners Fall problematisch und in diesem Kontext ist auch die Darstellung des Herbartianismus als *historische Realität* problematisch. Die beschriebene Logistik der Einführung des Herbartianismus in Slowenien kann zwar nicht direkt auf andere nationale Umstände übertragen werden, aber es kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass gerade die Schuldirektoren in der gesamten Monarchie schicksalhaft das Erscheinungsbild des Schulwesens prägten.

Auch wenn der Herbartianismus als *historische Realität* nie wirklich fassbar ist, da es unmöglich ist, ein ideales herbartianisches Konzept oder einen idealen Herbartianer zu abstrahieren, kann die Dimension, auf die bereits in der Einleitung mit den Worten von Maier hingewiesen wurde, nicht ignoriert werden. Nach Maier darf man «[...] jene innere Durchschlagskraft nicht übersehen, mit welcher es dem Herbartianismus gelang, den wissenschaftlichen Unterbau der Deutschen Schule zu bestimmen und Lehrverfahren und Methode nachhaltig zu beeinflussen». So wie für die deutschen Schulen, galt auch für alle die Schulen, an denen die Lehrer auf die herbartianische pädagogische Theorie trafen, dass der Herbartianismus nicht nur durch die Lehrer, die sich für die herbartianischen Ideen begeisterten, über sie diskutierten, sie in ihre Praxis umsetzten und ihrem Unterricht anpassten, sondern genauso oder noch stärker durch das Auslösen von Polemiken und Widersprüchen, also durch Fachdiskussionen, die theoretische Darstellungen und Reflexion forderten, auf die Schulen einwirkten.

In diesem Zusammenhang kann die Debatte darüber, ob Schreiner als Herbartianer bezeichnet werden kann, als völlig irrelevant eingestuft werden. Wichtig ist die Erkenntnis, dass sich mit Schreiner auf slowenischem Boden neue, höhere Standards in der Diskussion und im Schreiben über pädagogische Fragen durchsetzten und dass dabei die entscheidende Rolle des Herbartianismus nicht übersehen werden darf. Die *historische Realität* des Herbartianismus darf also nicht in den theoretischen Konzeptualisierungen der führenden Herbartianer, nach Möglichkeit noch aus akademischen Kreisen gesucht werden, sondern in der Professionalisierung der Lehrarbeit, die auf hohen Standards fachlicher Diskussion basierte und in diesem Zusammenhang ist der Herbartianismus von besonderer Bedeutung.

Il liceo napoleonico di Brescia

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The Napoleonic liceum in Brescia

ABSTRACT: The introduction of high schools (licei) in the Italian Republic (1802) was almost coeval with its creation in France. Established in the department's capital city, the modern high school system represented a new beginning, not only educational but cultural as well. The intentions of the Napoleonic regime was to use high schools to educate future élite generations to both civil and military career or to practice law, medicine, or other professions in the sciences and literature. This essay focuses on the liceo of Brescia, one of the most important cities in Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy, on the basis of rich archival sources.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Secondary Education; Educational Reform; Italy; XIX Century.

1. *Il liceo, nuova istituzione nel riordino della Pubblica Istruzione napoleonica (1802-1805)*

Il passaggio dai secolari ordinamenti veneti al nuovo ordine repubblicano-rivoluzionario introdotto dalle armi francesi corrispose anche a Brescia con rapide e radicali trasformazioni¹. Il settore scolastico ed educativo, considerato strategico nel progetto politico-pedagogico in chiave nazional-patriottica, fu da subito al centro di ampi e appassionati dibattiti, com'è ben noto, ma poté tradursi in una complessiva riorganizzazione sul territorio solamente con la stabilizzazione politica e istituzionale al tempo della Repubblica Italiana, creata nel 1802 sotto la presidenza di Bonaparte. Nel medesimo anno una serie di leggi organiche gettò le fondamenta del nuovo edificio statale *italiano*,

¹ Sulla cesura rivoluzionaria si incentra, fin dal titolo, D. Montanari, S. Onger, M. Pegrari (edd.), *1797 Il punto di svolta. Brescia e la Lombardia veneta da Venezia a Vienna (1780-1830)*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 1999.

dall'organizzazione e giurisdizione dei tribunali all'ordinamento amministrativo periferico e locale, all'introduzione della coscrizione militare obbligatoria; fino all'organizzazione della Pubblica istruzione². Quest'ultima, infatti, in base alla legge 4 settembre 1802 fu articolata in tre gradi distinti: *sublime*, *media* ed *elementare*. Tra le novità di maggior rilievo, oltre all'istituzione di alcune alte scuole d'impianto tecnico-scientifico, fu l'introduzione del liceo, varato anche nella Francia consolare nel medesimo 1802. Solamente in anni recenti si sono prodotti studi analitici sul panorama complessivo nella nostra penisola di questa istituzione scolastica³. Se ne sono calibrate originalità e imitazione rispetto al modello francese, dopo che a lungo si erano privilegiati il profilo normativo, singoli aspetti e figure, rispetto al funzionamento concreto e all'interazione con le istituzioni politico-amministrative e la società, mentre analisi approfondite si incentravano più di frequente sulla scolarizzazione di base, sulle dinamiche dell'alfabetismo.

Ogni capoluogo di dipartimento poteva istituire un liceo, con risorse patrimoniali e fiscali riconosciute al dipartimento stesso dalla legge, ma era tenuto

² Tra i lavori più recenti sullo Stato *italico*, cfr. E. Pagano, *Enti locali e Stato in Italia sotto Napoleone. Repubblica e Regno d'Italia (1802-1814)*, Roma, Carocci, 2007; A. Robbiati Bianchi (ed.), *La formazione del primo Stato italiano e Milano capitale (1802-1814)*, Milano, Istituto Lombardo Accademia di Scienze e lettere-LED, 2006; A. Pillepich, *Milano capitale napoleonienne, 1800-1814, Préface de Jean Tulard*, Paris, Lettrage, 2001.

³ Della bibliografia sulla pubblica istruzione napoleonica, ormai consistente, ci si limita qui a segnalare alcuni recenti e specifici contributi sui licei. Sui licei francesi, cfr., per tutti, J.-O. Boudon (ed.), *Napoléon et les lycées. Enseignement et société en Europe au début du XIX^e siècle*, s.l., Nouveau Monde Éditions / Fondation Napoléon, 2004. Per l'area Repubblica/Regno d'Italia: E. Pagano, *I licei di Napoleone presidente e re*, in A. Bianchi (ed.), *L'istruzione maschile e femminile tra Sette e Ottocento*, Vol. II. *Da Milano a Napoli: casi regionali e tendenze nazionali*, I, *Studi*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2012, pp. 35-88; E. Pagano, *I professori di liceo nel primo Ottocento. Nascita di una professione moderna*, in E. Pagano, G. Vigo, *Maestri e professori. Profili della professione docente tra Antico Regime e Restaurazione*, Milano, Unicopli, 2012, pp. 125-190; E. Pagano, *Gli istruttori militari nei licei del Regno d'Italia (1808-1814)*, in M. Ferrari, F. Ledda (edd.), *Formare alle professioni. La cultura militare tra passato e presente*, a cura di, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2011, pp. 180-192; E. Mazzella, *Dall'abecedario alle «scienze sublimi». Scuola e istruzione nel Novarese napoleonico (1800-1814)*, Macerata, eum, 2011, pp. 195-257; E. Pagano, *Ginnasi e Licei (Lombardia e Veneto, 1802-1848)*, in A. Bianchi (ed.), *L'istruzione in Italia tra Sette e Ottocento. Lombardia – Veneto – Umbria*, Vol. I. *Studi*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2007, pp. 269-302, alle pp. 271-77, 295-99; Vol. II. *Carte storiche*, pp. 36-38, Brescia, La Scuola, 2007; E. Pagano, *I licei italici tra iniziativa statale e realtà urbane*, in E. Brambilla, C. Capra, A. Scotti (edd.), *Istituzioni e cultura in età napoleonica*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2008, pp. 454-474; E. Brambilla, *I licei e l'Università imperiale: un confronto tra Italia e Francia*, *ibid.*, pp. 431-53; Ead., *Licei e collegi ecclesiastici tra Chiesa e Stato: la formazione di un sistema scolastico nazionale in età napoleonica (1802-1814)*, in Robbiati Bianchi (ed.), *La formazione del primo Stato italiano*, cit., pp. 669-718; E. Pagano, *La scuola nelle Marche in età napoleonica*, Urbino, QuattroVenti, 2000, pp. 69-99. Sull'area napoletana, cfr. M. Lupo, *Tra le provvide cure di Sua maestà. Stato e scuole nel Mezzogiorno tra Settecento e Ottocento*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2005, capitoli 7 e 8; Id., *L'istruzione superiore pubblica nel Mezzogiorno continentale (1767-1861): strutture, problemi ed interpretazioni storiografiche attraverso un approccio quantitativo*, in Bianchi (ed.), *L'istruzione in Italia tra Sette e Ottocento*, Vol. II. *Da Milano a Napoli*, cit., pp. 535-578.

ad attivarlo nel caso non vi fosse alcun ginnasio. Anche i ginnasi rientravano nell'istruzione media, ma erano posti a carico dei comuni ove avevano sede. I licei furono attivati, in effetti, nelle sole città principali. L'ordinamento degli studi, una volta rispettata una griglia di base di insegnamenti, durante la Repubblica Italiana, rispose a esigenze locali. Il legislatore aveva lasciato agli organismi politico-amministrativi di livello provinciale – Consigli generali e Amministrazioni dipartimentali – la prerogativa di istituire cattedre reclutandone i docenti, fatta salva la superiore approvazione del governo. La copertura finanziaria era assicurata da dotazioni particolari, già attribuite all'istruzione. In caso di assenza o d'insufficienza di tali risorse, il Consiglio generale poteva deliberare sovrimposte sull'intero estimo dipartimentale, in un regime di relativa autonomia amministrativa. L'ente dipartimentale ne poté fruire in settori di grande rilievo, quali, oltre all'istruzione media, i tribunali, le strade e le acque⁴. Nei primi licei repubblicani si realizzò così un'offerta formativa assai ricca e, al contempo, difforme. Elena Brambilla ha posto l'accento sul compromesso all'origine dell'organizzazione degli studi medio-superiori nella Repubblica Italiana: «un compromesso tra le esigenze di uniformità del governo centrale, e le aspirazioni all'autonomia delle élites censitarie dei maggiori governi cittadini», tanto da configurarsi in una pluralità di «sistemi scolastici territoriali»⁵. I licei vi assolvevano il ruolo di 'università in miniatura' per preparare i figli dei maggiorenti locali alle professioni liberali o agli uffici pubblici. Si evitavano così, o si abbreviavano viaggi e soggiorni dispendiosi presso le uniche due università della Repubblica, Bologna e Pavia.

L'ampiezza delle prerogative dei ceti dirigenti urbani, anche in materia di istruzione pubblica, non era sfuggita al vicepresidente Francesco Melzi d'Eril, il quale tentò di indurre il Consiglio Legislativo a emendare alcuni punti della legge 4 settembre, così che ai Consigli generali dipartimentali fosse imposto di inserire nelle liste doppie di candidati i professori benemeriti già in servizio, onde tutelarli, in nome di «diritti pregressi». Il Legislativo, tuttavia, si espresse a favore della piena libertà decisionale dell'assemblea dipartimentale, riconoscendo al governo solamente la facoltà di sospendere le nomine, in nome di un superiore potere ispettivo sui titoli dei candidati⁶.

⁴ Sul tema, cfr. E. Pagano, *Il contributo delle province alla finanza pubblica nel primo Ottocento. Dalla napoleonica Repubblica Italiana al Regno Lombardo-Veneto*, in F. Agostini (ed.), *Le amministrazioni provinciali in Italia. Prospettive generali e vicende venete in età contemporanea*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2011, pp. 16-37.

⁵ E. Brambilla, *Selezione delle élites tra vecchi e nuovi luoghi di educazione (da fine Settecento all'età napoleonica)*, in G. Tortorelli (ed.), *Educare la nobiltà*, Bologna, Pendragon, 2005, pp. 11-41, in partic. alle pp. 20-21.

⁶ Carteggio in Archivio di stato di Milano (d'ora in avanti ASMi), *Studi*, parte moderna (d'ora in avanti p. m.), cart. 678. Sulla vicenda cfr. più ampiamente Pagano, *I licei italici tra iniziativa statale*, cit., pp. 456-457.

Il Consiglio generale del dipartimento del Mella, in particolare, si distinse per l'ampiezza con cui progettò il piano di studi del nuovo liceo di Brescia, definendo *curricula* tra i più ambiziosi dei licei repubblicani.

2. Il liceo dipartimentale del Mella. La forza di una tradizione municipale

All'origine del liceo di Brescia (come di quello bergamasco), è evidente, più che altrove, una matrice recente, di epoca rivoluzionaria e cisalpina⁷, allorché il problema pedagogico parve strettamente connettersi al processo di rinnovamento politico e civile. L'inedita priorità che assunse l'istruzione nazionale si concretò nel 1797 in nuove o rinnovate istituzioni scolastiche. Sotto la Repubblica Cisalpina, nell'ottobre di quell'anno, si era deliberata l'istituzione di un Ginnasio pubblico, mantenuto con un fondo costituito con beni di corporazioni religiose ed enti soppressi, e collocato nell'ex convento di san Domenico. Vi era attivata una quindicina di insegnamenti, compresi diversi di rango universitario, come diritto civile e criminale, matematica sublime, istituzioni mediche, clinica, anatomia, chirurgia. Vi era annessa una scuola di belle arti ove si insegnavano disegno di figura, prospettiva e ornato, architettura, incisione su rame⁸. Le tormentate vicende politiche e l'occupazione austro-russa compromisero in parte la riuscita di quell'ambizioso polo scolastico.

Il liceo dipartimentale nacque sul finire del 1802 come istituzione scolastica scissa dall'omonimo Liceo-Accademia di Scienze, Lettere, Agricoltura ed Arti meccaniche, fondato pure nel 1802 e trasformato nel 1811 in Ateneo. Il Liceo-Accademia fu originale istituto di alta cultura progettato dal Comitato di pubblica istruzione del Mella e voluto dal ceto politico bresciano di orientamento repubblicano con una duplice finalità: promuovere le lettere, le arti e le scienze; programmare e favorire lo sviluppo dell'istruzione nell'intero dipartimento⁹.

Il liceo dipartimentale, distintosi dunque dall'Accademia, fu inaugurato nell'anno scolastico 1803/1804. Il Consiglio dipartimentale, approfittando sino in fondo della possibilità offerta dalla legge, vi aveva istituito cattedre numerose, non poche delle quali di livello universitario, di modo da equiparare,

⁷ Cfr. G. Fossati, *I licei e i ginnasi di Bergamo e di Brescia (1802-1815). Aspetti e problemi dell'istruzione medio-superiore in età napoleonica*, tesi di laurea, Università Cattolica di Milano, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, a.a. 2003-2004, relatore E. Pagano.

⁸ ASMi, *Studi*, p. a., cart. 219; Archivio di Stato di Brescia (d'ora in avanti ASBs), *Imperiale regia delegazione*, cart. 3074.

⁹ ASMi, *Studi*, p. m., cartt. 382, 721; ASBs, *Prefettura del Mella*, cart. 276; cfr. la voce «Liceo» in *Enciclopedia bresciana*, Brescia, Edizioni La Voce del Popolo, 1987, Vol. VII, pp. 174-175; E. Morato, *L'Ateneo nell'Italia preunitaria*, in S. Onger (ed.), *L'Ateneo di Brescia (1802-2002)*, Brescia, Geroldi, 2004, pp. 31-86.

nel *curriculum* liceale, almeno un anno di studio negli Atenei statali¹⁰. Questo vantaggio fu sottolineato dalle autorità a più riprese: nel *Proclama della costituzione del Liceo dipartimentale del Serio*, pubblicato dall'Amministrazione dipartimentale di Bergamo il 15 novembre 1803; e, con parole quasi uguali, nell'avviso del prefetto del Mella, all'apertura del successivo anno scolastico 1804/1805. Il prefetto informava che, grazie a «tutte quelle cattedre che possono condurre la Gioventù al grado di scienza necessario per divenire utile a sé, alla Famiglia, alla Società e allo Stato [...], due anni di studio in questo Liceo equivaleranno ad uno nelle due Università della Repubblica»¹¹.

Nel liceo bresciano gli insegnamenti furono esplicitamente raggruppati in tre «facoltà», secondo corsi propedeutici al conseguimento dei gradi accademici nelle università nazionali: *fisico-matematica* (Elementi di geometria e algebra, Matematica applicata, Fisica, Architettura civile e militare, Principi di figura, Ornato); *medica* (Storia naturale, Agricoltura e botanica, Chimica e farmacia, Anatomia e ostetricia, Istituzioni chirurgiche, Patologia, Clinica medica); *legale* (Analisi delle idee e filosofia morale, Eloquenza e storia, Diritto civile, Istituzioni civili). Nel 1806 fu istituita pure una «scuola di Apiaria», affidata ad Antonio Barbaleni, autore di un progetto di apicoltura¹².

Alla metà del 1805, il mutamento politico-istituzionale dalla Repubblica al Regno d'Italia, che tra l'altro portò alla cessazione delle Amministrazioni dipartimentali le cui funzioni furono concentrate nelle prefetture, fece temere che il liceo potesse essere uguagliato ai licei senza fondi propri, cioè declassato e impoverito nel piano di studi. Il reggente della scuola, Odoardo Colombo, si affrettò a inoltrare al direttore della Pubblica istruzione, il consultore Moscati, il *Piano disciplinare e scolastico* del liceo, presentando l'istituzione in termini lusinghieri. Già sotto la Cisalpina essa aveva prodotto «i più bei frutti alla Patria, e dava alle famiglie di questa vasta Provincia le più lusinghiere speranze sulla sorte felice de' loro figli»¹³. I professori godevano della pubblica stima e tutti avevano alle spalle lunghi anni di servizio. Lo stesso prefetto dipartimentale aveva appoggiato in pieno, accompagnandola al viceré Eugenio di Beauharnais, «l'istanza dei Bresciani» per la conservazione del liceo, «*considerée* – parole testuali – *comme une université*»¹⁴. Sentito il parere del Consiglio di stato, si decise che Brescia potesse mantenere l'ordinamento fino ad allora in vigore, in

¹⁰ Quattordici cattedre risultano in un prospetto di fine 1804, ASMi, *Studi*, p. m., cart. 402.

¹¹ ASBs, *Prefettura del dipartimento del Mella*, cart. 276.

¹² Su quest'ultima scuola cfr. ASBs, *Prefettura del dipartimento del Mella*, cart. 287. Per le altre cattedre cfr. il prospetto 13 dicembre 1804, in ASMi, *Studi*, p. m., cart. 402; il *Piano disciplinare e scolastico per il liceo del dipartimento del Mella*, Brescia MDCCCXV, presentato dal reggente Colombi al consultore della P. I., Moscati, il 3 settembre 1805; e la *Specificazione degli onorari pagati...* (quadro degli insegnamenti attivati) del 1807, alla vigilia della riorganizzazione dei licei, *ibid.*, cart. 721.

¹³ Il reggente Colombi al consultore Moscati, 3 settembre 1805, ASMi, *Studi*, p. m., cart. 721.

¹⁴ Il prefetto Mosca, 19 agosto 1805, il cui rapporto è poi condensato da un funzionario ministeriale in una sintesi in francese per il viceré, *ibid.*

attesa del varo del «nuovo piano generale dei licei-convitti». Ciò consentì alla città – o meglio, alle sue *élites* – di avvalersi fino al 1808 della ‘mini università’ nata in epoca repubblicana, ordinata secondo il prospetto seguente¹⁵.

Tab. 1. Liceo dipartimentale del Mella. Cattedre, docenti, assistenti (1807)

<i>Cattedre / incarichi</i>	<i>Docenti</i>	<i>Stipendio (lire milanesi)</i>
Reggente ed economo	Colombo Odoardo	350
Elementi di geometria e algebra	Elena Domenico	1.750
Logica e morale	Colombo Odoardo	1.750
Belle lettere, storia antica e moderna	Anelli Angelo	2.350
Fisica generale e particolare	Marini Paolo	1.750
Chimica e storia naturale	Malacarne Giuseppe	2.058
Botanica e agricoltura	Brocchi Giambattista	2.058
Istituzioni del diritto civile	Giuliani Andrea	1.750
Matematica	Cocoli Domenico	2.350
Chirurgia e clinica chirurgica	Castellari Gaetano	1.750
Ostetricia e anatomia	Mosti Giambattista	1.750
Disegno di figura	Cattaneo Santo	1.164
Disegno di ornato	Viganò Vincenzo	1.164
Architettura	Berenzi Vincenzo	1.164
Incisore anatomico	Pontoglio Gaetano	588
Direttore scuola Apiaria	Barbaleni [Antonio]	500
Assistente clinica chirurgica	Schiantarelli Giuseppe	351
Supplementario medicina teorico-pratica	Alberti Tommaso	2.000
Supplementario fisiologia e patologia	Malacarne Giuseppe	1.500
Giardiniere botanico	Farulli Angelo	1.000
altri stipendi e spese		1.833
	<i>Totale spese</i>	30.930

Con l'anno scolastico 1808/1809 anche a Brescia furono applicate le riforme in materia liceale varate tra il 1807 e il 1808. Il decreto 14 marzo 1807 aveva infatti riorganizzato i licei del Regno, introducendo l'importante novità dei licei-convitti, sul modello del *Lycée* imperiale, sorta di alternativa laica e statale ai collegi-convitti religiosi. E con il decreto 15 novembre 1808 le rendite dei licei senza convitto erano avocate all'amministrazione dello Stato: era precisamente il caso del liceo bresciano. L'organizzazione e gli insegnamenti liceali fu

¹⁵ *Ibid.* La lira milanese, in vigore fino al 1807, corrispondeva a 0,7675 lire italiane.

uniformata in una griglia più ristretta, dalla quale erano espunte ormai le discipline mediche e tutte quelle dichiarate universitarie. I licei si configurarono allora come grado preparatorio agli studi universitari. In tal senso fu definito l'esame finale obbligatorio per l'ammissione a una delle facoltà universitarie del Regno, vale a dire la facoltà legale, quella di medicina, chirurgia e farmacia, quella di fisica e matematica. Lo studente di fine corso doveva sostenere l'esame di fronte a una commissione presieduta dal reggente del liceo e composta di tre professori da lui designati, sulle materie proprie dell'istruzione ginnasiale e liceale. Il piano di studi bresciano non si distingueva più da quello degli altri licei senza convitto¹⁶.

Tab. 2. Cattedre, docenti, stipendi nel 1810

<i>Cattedre</i>	<i>Docenti</i>	<i>Stipendio (in lire italiane)</i>
Reggente	(un docente a turno)	191,88
Elementi di geometria e algebra	Elena Domenico	1.600
Logica e morale	Colombo Odoardo	1.600
Belle lettere, storia antica e moderna	Arici Cesare	1.600
Fisica generale e particolare	Marini Paolo	1.600
Chimica e storia naturale	Malacarne Giuseppe	1.600
Botanica e agricoltura	Brocchi Giambattista	1.600
Istituzioni del diritto civile	Giuliani Andrea	1.600
Disegno	Cattaneo Santo	1.500
Lingua francese	Borgna Girolamo	1.200

L'assetto definitivo all'istruzione media fu dato dal decreto 6 novembre 1811. Il principio dell'uniformità didattica fu posto alla base del sistema scolastico. I ginnasi comunali furono definitivamente declassati a gradino preparatorio dei licei i quali, a loro volta, furono confermati come scuole propedeutiche alle facoltà universitarie. La dipendenza gerarchica era ormai evidente: nessuno studente si sarebbe potuto iscrivere all'esame di ammissione al liceo se non presentando la «patente» della licenza ginnasiale, né alcuno sarebbe potuto essere ammesso al 'test d'ingresso' (per usare il linguaggio odierno) a una facoltà universitaria senza esibire analoga patente liceale. Il decreto aveva inoltre introdotto una tassa per le matricole dei licei: ogni trimestre lo studente doveva pagare «un napoleone d'argento» (5 lire italiane) e tre napoleoni nell'ultima

¹⁶ *Ruolo degli onorari, ed assegni del Liceo non convitto* [...], ex decreto vicereale 8 aprile 1810, ASMi, *Studi*, p. m., cart. 433. Stipendi in lire italiane.

rata alla fine del secondo anno. Tramontava così il principio della gratuità, fino allora salvaguardato, nella scuola media.

Il piano di studi era semplificato per accorpamenti di discipline in una sola cattedra e la libertà di scelta degli studenti fu compressa. Lingua francese fu declassata a insegnamento ginnasiale, Agraria e botanica fu soppressa. Rimasero infine cinque cattedre: 1. Storia, geografia, principi generali sulle belle arti; 2. Istituzioni di logica e morale ed istituzioni civili; 3. Elementi di algebra e geometria; 4. Elementi delle scienze naturali, cioè fisica, chimica e storia naturale; 5. Principi e pratica del disegno. Una norma consentiva tuttavia ai docenti in servizio di conservare il proprio spezzone di cattedra, fino all'esaurimento dei vecchi ruoli. Si evitarono così impopolari licenziamenti, mentre in quegli anni prendeva avvio un processo di professionalizzazione del corpo docente¹⁷. Da triennale il corso liceale diveniva biennale. Nel primo anno, per tutti gli studenti erano previsti insegnamenti ripartiti su tre cattedre: Logica e morale; Storia, geografia e principi generali di belle arti; Elementi di matematica e principi di disegno. Nel secondo anno erano previsti due indirizzi, l'uno «per quelli che si destinano alle scienze naturali», l'altro «per quelli che si destinano alla facoltà legale». Le differenze tra i due percorsi erano invero minime: in comune restavano le materie di scienze naturali, storia e belle arti, mentre come discipline caratterizzanti si distinguevano, per il primo, disegno, per il secondo, Istituzioni civili, ossia lo studio del Codice Napoleone.

È in tale cornice normativa, segnata da cambiamenti ravvicinati in un breve volgere di anni, che si svolse la vita scolastica al tempo di Napoleone.

3. *Docenti, studenti, vita scolastica*

Il funzionamento e il prestigio di un'istituzione scolastica, allora come oggi, è data dalla correlazione di alcuni fattori: la qualità del personale docente e dirigente, l'affluenza, l'estrazione sociale e la preparazione di base degli studenti, l'adeguatezza delle strutture architettoniche, dei materiali didattici e dei corredi tecnico-scientifici. Le informazioni di cui disponiamo sono sufficienti per ricostruire almeno in parte, specialmente negli ultimi anni del Regno, le dinamiche della vicenda liceale. Ne emerge un quadro nel complesso positivo, di stabilità e di radicamento nella società locale, pur a fronte della temibile concorrenza esercitata da istituzioni private e religiose, il Collegio Peroni e il seminario vescovile fra tutti.

Quanto ai docenti, i cui nomi compaiono nei ruoli sopra riportati, le fonti sembrano confermare profili soddisfacenti, con qualche figura di eccellenza nella cultura del tempo. Ciascuno di essi visse la nomina alla cattedra liceale in maniera

¹⁷ Cfr. Pagano, *I professori di liceo nel primo Ottocento*, cit.

diversa, chi come ambito raggiungimento, chi come accettabile sistemazione, chi come ruolo provvisorio, in attesa di più appetibili incarichi. Di quest'ultimo avviso era senza dubbio Giambattista Brocchi (1772-1826), studioso autorevole, docente di botanica e agricoltura al liceo fin dalla fondazione, dove si prodigò nell'allestimento dell'orto botanico e del gabinetto di storia naturale, arricchito con centinaia di minerali e fossili da lui raccolti nelle esplorazioni delle Valli bresciane¹⁸. Nel 1808 accolse la nomina a ispettore del Consiglio delle miniere come una liberazione, come «la massima delle fortune, perché darei un calcio al liceo, da cui sono ammorbato»¹⁹. Da allora percorse una carriera istituzionale e scientifica, che lo portò tra l'altro all'Istituto reale di scienze lettere e arti, senza peraltro spegnerne l'ardore per la ricerca mineralogica che lo spinse a viaggi continui, al dissesto finanziario, fino alla morte in Sudan, sulle tracce di antiche miniere.

Altro personaggio di un certo spicco e di forti ambizioni nella cultura letteraria del tempo fu Cesare Arici (1782-1836). Di nobile famiglia bresciana, poeta e traduttore, esordì nella carriera degli uffici giudiziari, dopo la laurea in legge, come cancelliere criminale presso la corte d'Appello di Brescia nel 1802. Nominato supplente alla cattedra di eloquenza nel 1809, lasciata vacante da Angelo Anelli, fu autore di diverse opere. In uno stile non privo di eleganza, sulla scia dell'accademismo classico, esprimeva una vena celebrativo-didascalica. Il suo poemetto in sciolti *La coltivazione degli ulivi* (1805, rivisto nel 1808) piacque a Monti che appoggiò la nomina dell'autore all'Ateneo bresciano di scienze e lettere. Con la vena encomiastica conviveva l'orientamento politico un po' ondivago²⁰. In contatto con il disciolto gruppo de «Il Conciliatore», Arici si arrischiò persino, a lezione, a fare del sarcasmo sugli Asburgo, per cui fu ammonito, tenuto d'occhio, e nondimeno rimase in cattedra²¹.

Almeno altri tre docenti presentano profili piuttosto singolari, più orientati alla vita pubblica e a carriere professionali che non all'insegnamento: due Giuliani (o Zugliani), originari di Padenghe, Francesco (1743-1806) e Giuseppe Andrea (1764-1835) e Angelo Anelli (1761-1820). Il primo, già medico condotto

¹⁸ Su Brocchi cfr. V. Giacomini in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (d'ora in avanti DBI), Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1972, Vol. 14, pp. 397-399; G. Marchesi, *Quei laboriosi valligiani. Economia e società nella montagna bresciana tra il tardo Settecento e gli anni postunitari*, Comunità Montana di Valle Sabbia- Brescia, Grafo, 2003, pp. 125 ss.; G. Berti, *Un naturalista dall'Ancien Régime alla Restaurazione. Giambattista Brocchi (1772-1826)*, «Quaderni bassanesi», Storia, n. 1, 1988; *L'opera scientifica di Giambattista Brocchi (1772-1825)*, Museo-Biblioteca-Archivio, Bassano del Grappa, Banca Popolare di Vicenza, 1987.

¹⁹ Cit. in Brambilla, *Licei e collegi ecclesiastici*, cit., p. 698 n.

²⁰ Dopo aver celebrato Napoleone (nell'ode *Le vittorie*) e i napoleonidi, durante la Restaurazione non fece mancare versi encomiastici per l'arciduca Ranieri. Cfr. il suo fascicolo personale in ASMi, *Studi*, p. m., cart. 723, e N. Tanda in DBI, Roma, 1962, Vol. 4, pp. 151-153.

²¹ Su questo caso e su quelli di Domenico Elena e Paolo Marini, cfr. D. Giglio, *I ginnasi e i licei lombardi nell'età della restaurazione*, in I. Ciprandi, D. Giglio, G. Solaro, *Problemi scolastici ed educativi nella Lombardia del primo Ottocento*, Vol. II. *L'istruzione superiore*, Milano, Sugarco 1978, pp. 87-192, alle pp. 167-171, 181.

a Chiari, era nel ruolo liceale come professore di fisiologia patologica, dopo gli studi di medicina a Venezia e un periodo di apprendistato all'Ospedale Maggiore di Milano. Era stato membro della Commissione di pubblica istruzione della Repubblica Cisalpina e socio fondatore dell'Accademia di Brescia²². Giuseppe Andrea Giuliani, giacobino della prima ora, aveva partecipato al 'celebre' concorso del 1796²³. Avvocato, al liceo insegnò Istituzioni civili per l'intera età napoleonica. Il profilo più vivace, tuttavia, è forse quello di Angelo Anelli, di Desenzano. Anch'egli repubblicano convinto, laureato *in utroque iure* a Padova, fu incarcerato nel 1799 dagli austriaci. Nel 1802 ottenne la cattedra di eloquenza e storia al liceo bresciano, dove rimase fino al 1809, quando, seguendo la sua principale passione, il testo melodrammatico, partecipò a un concorso in quell'ambito bandito dalla direzione generale della Pubblica Istruzione. Vincenzo Monti, che era nella commissione giudicatrice, non premiò nessuno. Anelli (che già era detestato da Foscolo) si sarebbe vendicato qualche anno dopo bersagliando il Monti nel libretto satirico *Dalla beffa al disinganno* (1815, musica di G. Pacini). In realtà, Anelli fu apprezzato autore di libretti, composti tra il 1799 e il 1817 per molti e anche grandi musicisti²⁴. Tornò in seguito ai giovanili studi di diritto e nel 1817 fu chiamato alla cattedra di procedura giudiziaria all'università di Pavia.

Al mondo professionale artistico appartenne il professore di disegno (specialmente disegno di figura), Santo Cattaneo (1739-1819), il più anziano dei docenti di epoca napoleonica. Nato a Salò, studiò disegno e pittura a Brescia presso il pittore bolognese Francesco Monti. Nella propria abitazione aprì un'accademia di pittura che divenne molto frequentata, finché l'amministrazione civica gli concesse l'uso di un locale più ampio (presso il medesimo liceo) dove insegnò fino alla morte²⁵.

Gli altri docenti, con percorsi individuali pur diversi, sembrano rientrare nondimeno nel profilo più tipico dell'insegnante di livello medio-superiore. Studiosi e letterati di provincia o ex religiosi, come furono Elena e Colombo (o Colombi), entrambi di simpatie gianseniste, vissero sotto Napoleone forse

²² Cfr. D'Aversa-M. Zorzi, *Le arti sanitarie tra scienza e assistenza. Contributo dei medici soci dell'Ateneo nei due secoli di vita dell'Accademia*, in *L'Ateneo di Brescia*, cit., p. 468.

²³ Cfr. A. Saitta (ed.), *Alle origini del Risorgimento: i testi di un "celebre" concorso (1796)*, 3 voll., Roma 1964, Vol. III, pp. 247-276; P. Preto, *Ideali unitari e indipendentistici dei «giacobini» veneti*, «Società e storia», n. 85, 1999, pp. 617-645 (alle pp. 638-639); E. Pagano, *Pro e contro la Repubblica. Cittadini schedati dal governo cisalpino in un'inchiesta politica del 1798*, Milano, Unicopli, 2000, p. 119 (dipartimento del Benaco: «Zuliani Giuseppe Andrea»).

²⁴ A lui si devono *L'Italiana in Algeri*, musicata nel 1808 da Mosca e nel 1813 da Rossini, e la *Griselda*, musicata nel 1793 da Piccinni e nel 1797 da F. Paër. Cfr. R. Capasso, DBI, Roma 1961, 3, pp. 170-171. Nel 1806 aveva anche organizzato il collegio Bagatta di Desenzano: cfr. E. Camprostrini, *Per una storia del Collegio Bagatta*, in B. Falconi, S. Onger, A.M. Zuccotti (edd.), *Principi degli studi. Ritratti di allievi nei collegi dell'Ottocento*, Ginevra-Milano, Skira, 2005, pp. 27-28.

²⁵ Poco prima aveva rifiutato un posto all'Accademia Carrara di Bergamo. Notizie in ASMi, *Studi*, p. m., cart. 724; e in A. Barigozzi Brini, DBI, Roma 1979, Vol. 22, pp. 483-484.

la stagione più soddisfacente e matura della loro vita professionale, come professori del liceo, apprezzati per la lunga esperienza didattica e le doti morali. Elena, docente di algebra e geometria, non sarebbe stato confermato dal restaurato governo austriaco. Colombo fu a lungo reggente e professore di filosofia fino al 1825.

Due o tre generazioni di uomini furono rappresentate nei ruoli del liceo, come in parte si evince da un prospetto sull'anzianità di servizio dei docenti nel 1812²⁶.

Tab. 3. Anzianità del personale docente nel marzo 1812

<i>Docenti</i>	<i>nomina</i>	<i>età</i>	<i>Cattedre</i>
Elena Domenico	1797, 23 nov.	52	Elementi geometria e algebra
Colombo Odoardo	1797, 23 nov.	46	Logica e morale
Arici Cesare	1810, 16 apr.	28	Belle lettere, storia antica e mod.
Marini Paolo	1797, 23 nov.	56	Fisica generale e particolare
Malacarne Giuseppe	1800, 15 apr.	34	Chimica e storia naturale
Zendrini Gianmaria	1811, 11 apr.	28	Botanica e agricoltura
Giuliani Andrea	1800, 15 apr.	46	Istituzioni del diritto civile
Cattaneo Santo	1797, 23 nov.	72	Disegno

Siamo di fronte a un corpo docente stabile, esperto, entrato in ruolo in epoca repubblicana, spesso con precedenti anni di servizio alle spalle; a parte il caso dei più giovani Arici e Zendrini. Anche quest'ultimo, tuttavia, nativo di Oreno, prima di entrare in ruolo era stato per almeno un triennio supplente sulla cattedra già appartenuta all'illustre Brocchi²⁷.

Le relazioni degli ispettori generali della Pubblica istruzione, redatte tra il 1811 e il 1813, rivelarono che il liceo di Brescia era una buona scuola, con alcuni elementi di eccellenza. Una ricchissima collezione di minerali (quasi un migliaio) era stata raccolta nel gabinetto di storia naturale. Nella biblioteca, oltre ai libri inviati dalla direzione generale di Pubblica istruzione, erano confluiti «750 volumi d'opere letterarie e scientifiche mercé il dono fattole dalla liberalità del Governo nella soppressione de' chiostri» (liberalità col patrimonio altrui, verrebbe da dire). Nell'orto botanico si poteva studiare oltre duecento piante²⁸. «Magnifico» era il gabinetto di fisica, secondo l'ispettore Luigi Lamberti²⁹. Il reggente Colombi, «esperto degli affari e delle discipline

²⁶ *Tabella de' Sig.ri Professori del Liceo di Brescia* [...], spedita dal reggente alla direzione generale di Pubblica istruzione, 26 marzo 1812, in ASMi, *Studi*, p. m., cart. 433.

²⁷ Il fascicolo personale di Zendrini è *ibid.*, cart. 725.

²⁸ *Rapporto a S. A. I. in cui il consigliere di Stato Direttore gen. le della istruzione pubblica espone le cose meritevoli di superiore considerazione accadute negli anni 1809-1810 ne' licei del Regno*, luglio 1811, ASMi, *Studi*, p. m., cart. 665.

²⁹ Relazione del 1812, *ibid.*, cart. 34.

del liceo per lunga pratica», «zelante e attento», era stato in grado di garantire stabilità e autorevolezza all'istituzione. «Abilissimi anche gli altri professori», annotava l'ispettore Luigi Rossi. «La [loro] dottrina attestata anche dal gran concetto che si sono acquistato i più nella Repubblica letteraria promette ottimi allievi»³⁰. Persino il più severo Vincenzo Brunacci, nella sua visita dell'agosto 1813, ebbe parole di apprezzamento per la complessiva gestione della scuola («tutto è regolato con la massima esattezza»). Degli alunni rilevava un accettabile grado di preparazione «eccettuato nelle matematiche» (scienza di cui Brunacci era docente universitario). Dei professori riferiva la buona opinione di cui godevano, salvo che per il docente di Istituzioni civili, Andrea Giuliani, «trascurato ne' suoi doveri». All'ispettore Brunacci era pervenuto reclamo del reggente e degli altri docenti che l'antico giacobino «per massima generale non interviene mai alle funzioni, specie religiose, ove interviene in corpo il liceo, e questo con scandolo degli altri suoi colleghi». L'ispettore chiese allora al reggente e al prefetto stesso di ammonire Giuliani che non mancasse più ai suoi doveri. Si capisce che il corpo docente del liceo era concepito come corpo di pubblici funzionari (i professori erano obbligati, tra l'altro, all'uso della toga), con un suo rango nello spazio civile: rappresentava lo Stato, anche nelle celebrazioni religiose. Persino sul piano didattico Giuliani diede motivo di rilievi. Avrebbe dovuto limitarsi, infatti, a spiegare il Codice Napoleone, mentre «per quanto riguarda il confronto con le leggi naturali e romane, approfitterà del tempo, che gli rimarrà libero, limitandosi ai titoli più importanti, giacché per una maggiore estensione di cognizioni legali i giovani saranno istruiti nelle R. Università»³¹. Il che ci fa capire, tra l'altro, come non potesse più esservi confusione tra programmi universitari e programmi liceali.

Per il prestigio sociale, la presenza nello spazio pubblico, a stretto contatto con autorità politiche di primo piano quali i prefetti, l'impegno didattico e, in parte, il livello di stipendio, i docenti dei licei dell'epoca non sono comparabili con gli odierni insegnanti delle superiori e neppure, si crede, con la maggior parte dei docenti delle nostre massificate e provincializzate università, bensì piuttosto con più visibili *élites* accademico-culturali di oggi. Quanto al carico didattico, secondo la normativa del 1811, ogni professore di liceo doveva tenere quotidianamente due lezioni di un'ora e mezzo ciascuna, attenendosi a norme minute, come ad esempio l'alternanza regolare d'interrogazioni individuali, spiegazioni ed esercitazioni collettive.

L'anno scolastico cominciava il 1° novembre e terminava il 15 agosto (compleanno dell'Imperatore). Terminati gli esami finali, si distribuivano i 'grandi' premi nelle varie discipline, in una cerimonia pubblica alla presenza del prefetto dipartimentale, delle autorità scolastiche e municipali. Agli alunni che

³⁰ Il cavaliere Luigi Rossi, ispettore generale della Pubblica Istruzione, al direttore generale della medesima, *Rapporto sul liceo di Brescia*, 22 gennaio 1813; ASMi, *Studi*, p. m., cart. 35.

³¹ Verbale della visita di Brunacci, 12 agosto 1813, ASMi, *Studi*, p. m., cart. 34.

avevano superato l'esame finale del biennio liceale si apriva l'accesso all'esame di ammissione all'università, mentre quelli respinti dovevano ripetere l'ultimo anno. Le lezioni cominciavano effettivamente il 15 novembre, una volta che si erano conclusi gli esami di ammissione al liceo, ed erano inaugurate da una prolusione tenuta a turno da ciascun professore. Ogni trimestre avevano luogo esami presieduti dal reggente del liceo, alla presenza dei professori, degli studenti e di tre persone colte scelte dal prefetto dipartimentale.

Il materiale didattico fu oggetto di ripetuti interventi da parte della direzione generale di Pubblica istruzione. L'obiettivo era eliminare le difformità nell'adozione dei testi e favorirne il controllo scientifico e politico. Prima ancora, tuttavia, si intendeva indurre i docenti all'adozione di un testo a stampa, anziché perpetuare l'inveterata pratica di dettare gli appunti personali, desunti da propri studi o da testi diversi, come anche nel liceo bresciano accadeva nei primi anni³². Si riportano di seguito i testi e gli autori in adozione negli anni del Regno³³. Accanto ad alcuni testi tradotti di autori stranieri del passato, considerati autorevoli tra i moderni, quali il filosofo scozzese Hugh Blair o il noto ecclesiastico francese Jacques-Benigne Bossuet, autore di oratoria e storia, si notano i nomi di specialisti della didattica scolastica, insegnanti essi stessi, come il somasco Francesco Soave e il barnabita Ermenegildo Pini, o come Vincenzo Brunacci, docente universitario e ispettore della Pubblica istruzione.

Tab. 4. Principali testi in adozione nei licei durante il Regno d'Italia

<i>Cattedre/materie</i>	<i>Autore</i>	<i>Titolo</i>
Algebra e geometria	Vincenzo Brunacci	<i>Elementi di algebra e geometria coll'aggiunta delle sezioni coniche</i>
Botanica e agraria	Filippo Re	<i>Elementi di economia campestre</i>
	Paolo Sangiorgio	<i>Elementi di botanica</i>
Chimica e Storia naturale	Jacotot	<i>Corso di fisica sperimentale e di chimica</i>
	Ermenegildo Pini	<i>Elementi di storia naturale degli animali</i>
	André J.F.M. Brochant	<i>Elementi di mineralogia</i> (Milano 1807)
		Catalogo ragionato dei fossili dell'Accademia mineralogica di Freiberg
Disegno per l'ornato e per l'architettura	Giocondo Albertolli	<i>Elementi d'ornamento</i>

³² Lo rivela un sondaggio su testi e «metodi d'insegnare» del 1803, ASMi, *Studi*, p. m., cart. 402.

³³ Nell'ultimo triennio, con la reintroduzione dell'insegnamento in lingua latina nel corso di Logica e morale, al testo di padre Soave il governo fece sostituire P. Mako, *Compendiaria Logicae Institutio*; ed Epitteto, *Epicteti Enchiridion et Sententiae*. Cfr. ASM, *Studi*, p. m., c. 418; Pagano, *I licei italici*, cit., pp. 461-465, Id., *La scuola nelle Marche*, cit., pp. 37-40.

	Vignola (Jacopo Barozzi detto il)	Elementi d'architettura
		Trattato d'ombreggiamento (Milano, Reale Accademia)
		Raccolta d'ornamenti ombreggiati (Milano, Reale Accademia)
Fisica	Fisher	<i>Fisica meccanica</i>
Istituzioni civili		<i>Codice Napoleone</i>
Logica e Morale	Francesco Soave	<i>Corso di logica e morale</i>
Storia geografia principi di belle arti	Jacques-Benigne Bossuet	<i>Discorso sulla storia universale</i>
	Hugh Blair	Tavole cronologiche
	Hugh Blair	<i>Corso di retorica (Transunto a cura di F. Soave, Vigevano 1808)</i>
		Carte geografiche in classe
	Giuseppe Parini	Principi generali e particolari di belle lettere applicati alle belle arti
	Giuseppe Parini	Orazione inaugurale per la cattedra di belle arti

Non è facile valutare quale fosse stato il gradimento effettivo riscosso dal liceo nella società del tempo, misurabile specialmente nell'affluenza degli studenti nel corso degli anni. Le informazioni al proposito sono piuttosto scarse e le fonti possono prestarsi a non univoche interpretazioni. Era invalso l'uso, ad esempio, di indicare gli alunni iscritti a ciascuna cattedra («scuola») e poi sommare in un totale complessivo le quote di ciascun insegnamento, senza contare che medesimi studenti erano iscritti a due o tre insegnamenti. I numeri, talvolta un po' gonfiati, avrebbero potuto essere un argomento convincente per mantenere corsi o aprirne di nuovi. Nel complesso si può dire che il liceo bresciano, bene organizzato e inserito in un'area popolosa e ricca, riuscì a mantenere, meglio di altri (ad esempio del vicino liceo di Bergamo) un discreto livello di frequenza. E tuttavia non si poté impedire un certo calo, negli ultimi anni del Regno, come indicherebbero le cifre e i carteggi delle autorità scolastiche. Assumendo con cautela cifre che variavano sensibilmente da un trimestre all'altro, si passa da 95 studenti nel 1802/03 a 82 nel 1807. Nel 1808/09 si risale a 148 iscritti *matricolati*, dotati cioè di un libretto attestante una complessiva frequenza, e 30 *uditori*, liberi frequentanti di un solo corso, di solito disegno: è forse il picco massimo del periodo. Nel 1812/13 si riscende a 73. Nell'agosto 1813, in occasione della visita ispettiva di Brunacci, risultano in effetti 67 studenti matricolati e 5 uditori: si tocca forse in quel momento il minimo storico. Nel 1814/15 si è già risaliti a 105 studenti³⁴. Diversi fattori interagirono sulla

³⁴ Cfr. prospetti e statistiche in ASMi, *Studi*, p. m., 34, 35, 382, 396, 665. Per il 1814/15, cfr.

frequenza. Importante fu la concorrenza di istituzioni religiose quali seminari e collegi. E a Brescia il seminario vescovile e l'antico Collegio Peroni, sia pure con un'offerta formativa più modesta, sottraevano giovani a un liceo statale che, agli occhi di molti genitori tradizionalisti, poteva assumere la fisionomia, nel profilo di taluni docenti, dell'irreligione o del malcostume³⁵. Un altro fattore era, in mancanza di un convitto, il costo di viaggi e alloggio in città, eccessivo per non poche famiglie, pur civili, della remota provincia. Inoltre, in quegli anni di guerra, la chiamata alle armi di molti giovani o l'arruolamento volontario in corpi scelti di taluni rampolli del notabilato urbano crearono dei vuoti nelle classi liceali (e ancor più nelle aule universitarie).

Un elenco completo dei 73 studenti matricolati nell'anno scolastico 1812/13 ci offre un prezioso spaccato sociale del mondo studentesco di allora³⁶. Ben 51 su 73 sono figli di «possidente», altri 12 di professionisti (notaio, legale, ragioniere, medico, chirurgo, ingegnere, speciale). Un solo genitore è negoziante, uno è orefice, uno oste, uno droghiere. Poco meno della metà, 35 ragazzi, sono di Brescia città, mentre gli altri provengono da varie località del dipartimento, anche lontane come Breno, Iseo, Salò. L'età media è alquanto alta per i nostri parametri: diciotto anni, considerando che vi è un solo quattordicenne, 30 sono compresi tra i 15 e i 17 anni, 29 tra i 18 e i 19, 12 tra i 20 e i 23, mentre il più vecchio, un trentaduenne, potrebbe essere il padre del più giovane. Ventidue di questi studenti, superati gli esami finali, furono «riconosciuti capaci di passare alle R.R. Università», il più anziano dei quali era l'ormai trentatreenne di cui sopra (Vincenzo Astorri, di Manerbio, figlio di un farmacista) e il più giovane era il sedicenne Giuseppe Pedrioni, figlio di un ingegnere di Brescia³⁷.

* * *

In definitiva, nel liceo del Mella, come negli altri delle città capoluogo, si realizzarono una nuova articolazione nell'ordinamento degli studi secondari e, al tempo stesso, una novità culturale. A un ambizioso sapere enciclopedico fu data una sistemazione all'interno di 'materie' scolastiche, ove alla dimensione teorica si accompagnava, in diversi casi, l'esperienza sul campo: nell'orto botanico, nei laboratori di fisica e di chimica, nel gabinetto di mineralogia; in biblioteca. Come vestibolo preuniversitario vi si preparava alle professioni liberali. I futuri

lo *Stato complessivo de' licei* [lombardi], *ibid.*, cart. 4. Con quest'ultima valutazione concorda anche Melchiorre Gioia nella sua *Statistica del dipartimento del Mella*, consegnata verso il 1814 al governo e rimasta inedita fino al 2007 (vedasi l'edizione a cura di T. Maccabelli e E. Morato, Brescia, Grafo, p. 151).

³⁵ Un bilancio di fine Regno si può tracciare specialmente dai rapporti dei reggenti e dai verbali delle visite degli ispettori Rossi e Brunacci nel 1813 (ASMi, *Studi*, p. m., cartt. 34 e 35).

³⁶ *Elenco degli scolari del liceo di Brescia An. Scol. 1812, 1813*, in ASM, *Studi*, p. m., c. 35.

³⁷ *Elenco degli studenti del liceo di Brescia riconosciuti capaci di passare nelle RR. Università, nel 1812=1813*, *ibid.*, cart. 418.

ceti dirigenti del giovane Stato, per la prima volta italiano, vi trovarono la palestra per la propria educazione *nazionale*. Il regime napoleonico, in effetti, intese fare, anche del liceo, strumento politico di creazione del consenso, di una 'società civile' che, crollato l'antico ordinamento, era da riplasmare e da rilegittimare, sotto l'egida dello Stato medesimo. Nella sua specificità storica, del resto, il liceo di quegli anni rappresentò un'esperienza in sé irripetibile per una generazione di giovani, nati a un di presso tra il 1790 e il 1802; una generazione cresciuta all'ombra di Bonaparte e formatasi al crocevia tra le scienze, il culto dello Stato e dell'imperatore, le lettere e le armi.

A case-study: gyms and gymnastics teachers in Apulia and Basilicata (1861-1893)

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ABSTRACT: In this paper the author analyses the historical documentation stored at the Central Archive of the State in Rome. The goal is to reconstruct the role that political and social educational agents had, both at national and local level, in conditioning the teaching of gymnastics in schools, along with the socio-economical status of gymnastics teachers and the conditions of gyms and playfields. The focus is on the regions of Apulia and Basilicata, in southern Italy, and on a time period between the unification of Italy (1861) and the approval of new programs for physical education in 1893.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Gymnastics; Teaching; Educational Policies; Italy; XIX Century.

1. *Introduction. Interactions between sporting activities and institutions: directions and research models*

In 1986 Stephen Hardy, professor at the University of New Hampshire, suggested in his paper *Entrepreneurs, Organizations, and the Sport Marketplace. Subject in Search of Historians* which directions historical research should have taken when investigating the sport product. The sport product itself constitutes the main subject of inquiry, together with issues regarding the role of entrepreneurs and investors in developing the product, as well as the study of types of organizations involved in sport industry. In his essay Hardy emphasized the role played by formal organizations – such as Federations – in influencing the «activity or game form»¹. He defined the utility that could be captured from

¹ «As a game form, the sport product consists of activities embodied in the rules defining the way the game is played [...] Of course anyone can make up a game [...] But this is of little consequence until rule-making is organized and controlled by particular groups who regulate the game form's distribution, or who try to regulate it» (S. Hardy, *Entrepreneurs, organizations, and*

sport by national and local institutions or other organizations as «service»² and, lastly, he adopted the term «goods»³ to designate the sport equipment.

The goal pursued by this essay is to reconstruct the role and aims that political and social, national and local institutions had in conditioning the teaching of gymnastics in schools, along with the socio-economical status of gymnastics teachers and the conditions of gyms and playfields in southern Italy. The focus is on a time period between the unification of Italy and the approval of new programs for physical education in 1893. This research area refers to the «service» category previously mentioned.

At the same time Hardy's essay was being published in the USA, there was in Italy a pioneer in sport history research, Stefano Pivato. He reported the general lack of interest in sport as a subject of historical analysis in Italy, starting a fruitful debate on the reasons of this exclusion⁴. The only exceptions to this deplorable situation were the pioneering works of Antonio Ghirelli, Felice Fabrizio, Sandro Provvisionato and Stefano Jacomuzzi⁵, together with some essays published in Italy in the 1980s⁶. Among these, a treatise by Edoardo Grendi, which appeared in 1983 on the journal «Quaderni storici», complained about «the difficulties of founding a sports historiography conditioned neither by the obsession with a search for origins, nor, all the more so, the one with grand gestures and their reflections on the public»⁷. The debate started by Pivato in 1989 continued in the following year on the pages of the journal «Italia Contemporanea», further investigating the causes and motivations that

the sport marketplace. Subject in search of historians, «Journal of Sport History», vol. 13, n. 1, Spring 1986, pp. 14-33, in partic., p. 17).

² «Some utility beyond competition – not expressed or implied in the rules – is appended to the game performance. This utility is the sport service [...]. Sport services have existed historically in many aspects, including education, status, military preparation, urban boosterism, political propaganda, and most extensively, entertainment». *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³ «The third component of the unified sport product involves the goods, the physical objects necessary to the game form that are recognized or regulated in the rules». *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴ See S. Pivato, *Le pigrizie dello storico. Lo sport tra ideologia, storia e rimozione*, «Italia contemporanea», n. 174, 1989, pp. 17-27.

⁵ A. Ghirelli, *Storia del calcio in Italia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1954; F. Fabrizio, *Storia dello sport in Italia: dalle società ginnastiche all'associazionismo di massa*, Rimini, Guaraldi, 1977; S. Provvisionato, *Lo sport in Italia: analisi, storia, ideologia dal fascismo ad oggi*, Roma, Savelli, 1978; S. Jacomuzzi, *Gli sport*, 3 vols., Torino, Utet, 1964-1966.

⁶ E. Grendi, *Lo sport, un'innovazione vittoriana?*, «Quaderni storici», n. 53, 1983, pp. 679-694; A. Papa, *Le domeniche di Clio: origini e storie del football in Italia*, «Belfagor», n. 2, 31/03/1988, pp. 129-143; S. Pivato, *Il mondo cattolico e lo sport: Gino Bartali*, «Belfagor», n. 2, 1980, pp. 227-232; L. Di Nucci, *L'eroe atletico nell'Europa delle masse. Note alla cultura del tempo libero nella città moderna*, «Società e Storia», n. 34, December 1986, pp. 867-902; G. Panico, *Dai salotti alle pelouses: le origini del football a Naples*, «Nord e Sud», n. 1-2, 1988, pp. 229-245.

⁷ G. Panico, *La storiografia dello sport in Italia: gli inizi (1983-1996)*, in S. Battente (ed.), *Sport e società nell'Italia del '900*, «Quaderni della Rassegna di diritto ed economia dello Sport», vol. 5, 2012, p. 11.

had resulted in hampering the interest of historians in sport. It highlighted a prejudice held by historians against the subject of sport, mistakenly considered as a prerogative of sports journalism and often regarded at the same level of sportscast, with its lists of records established by the athletes and commentaries on competitions⁸. Other causes have been identified in the difficulty of indicating a linear historiographical methodological approach to sports history⁹, given its connections to other humanities fields, such as anthropology¹⁰, and the difficulty of acquiring documentary sources¹¹.

Although the gap in the sports history research is still apparent today, after more than 25 years since the publication of Hardy's essay, it has been partially filled by a series of studies noteworthy for investigating the links between sport and Italian society. The idea of a sports history indissolubly intertwined with the national political history has finally been understood and valued by researchers. An example of this link is the extension of the «piemontesizzazione» process – meaning «expansion of Savoy monarchy and continuity of its political and administrative institutions [...] spread to the whole peninsula»¹² – to the sports/gymnastics institutions at least up to the 1870s. The research performed in this direction, which culminated in the conference on «Sport and society in Italy in the 20th century» held in Siena in 2010, has shed new light on the importance of physical activities, nowadays considered «an important field for historiographical research, able to contribute to the reconstruction of the nation and state building process in Italy, facing the challenge of modernity»¹³. The «sports archives that up to few years ago were merely regarded as spaces for the preservation of an extensive albeit underutilized documentation, precisely because sport in Italy [...] was not considered crucial in relation to culture»¹⁴ have become the primary source for the study of sporting activities. The importance of sports archives and, consequently, of their organization and cataloguing cannot be ignored, as Angela Teja and Nora Santarelli reported in an essay published in 2010 under the title *Sport archives, vital centres of sport culture*¹⁵.

⁸ About the roundtable sparked by Pivato's essay, See *Sport e Storia dello Sport. Contributi a una discussione*, «Italia Contemporanea», n. 176, September 1989, pp. 155-165 e n. 179, June 1990, pp. 341-368.

⁹ Hardy himself cautioned «that the social history of sport does not constitute the totality of sport history». Hardy, *Entrepreneurs*, cit., p. 15.

¹⁰ See R. Grozio, *La «sportologia» tra antropologia e storia*, «Italia Contemporanea», n. 179, June 1990, pp. 345-347; S. Pivato, *Storia e costumi del «gioco degli dei»*, «Viaggi di Erodoto», n. 13, April 1991, pp. 25-37.

¹¹ See V. Fannini, L. Rossi, *Scaffali pieni di buste vuote. Le fonti introvabili di una storia da scrivere*, «Lancillotto e Nausica», n. 1, 1998, pp. 36-38.

¹² F. Bonini, *Le istituzioni sportive italiane: storia e politica*, Torino, G. Chiappichelli, 2006, p. 28.

¹³ Battente, *Introduzione*, in Id. (ed.), *Sport e Società nell'Italia del '900*, cit., p. 6.

¹⁴ Bianchi, *Importanza degli archivi dello sport in Italia*, *ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁵ N. Santarelli, A. Teja, *Archivi sportivi, centri vitali di cultura dello sport*, in Santarelli, Teja

Therefore it is not a coincidence that this research has focused on the study of the archival series of the General Secretariat (1861-1894) of the Ministry of Public Instruction. It contains the records regarding the practice and spread of gymnastics in the schools of the Reign, along with private associations, partitioned geographically according to provinces. It is not a futile rhetorical exercise to remind the reader that in Italy sporting activities stemmed directly from the practice of gymnastics¹⁶.

Indeed the sections for the practice of Anglo-Saxon sports arose within the gymnastics associations and evidence thereof is in the ministerial documentation previously mentioned. Hence it is no coincidence that «in the first fifteen years of the 20th century, once the Ministry of Public Instruction ceased to keep records about gymnastics associations and Federation (as a consequence of the increasing gap between these associations and the schools), archival sources [about the associations and Federation are, A/N] negligible»¹⁷. Conversely, in the second half of the 19th century, starting from the Sixties, there is a «strong link between gymnastics institutions and scholastic ones, fostered by political institutions»¹⁸. The opening of the first – and for a long time, the only – school to offer a gymnastics teaching qualification, at the Turin Society, was proof of this tie, which was investigated by education historians. This was made possible, in particular, by the research conducted by Bonetta about gymnastics education in the liberal Italy, which emphasized the importance of educational practices of the body:

a new body culture can be created by means of body education; a culture able to promote an ethically-inspired investment of physical and muscular energies, to shape the personality in order to have good citizens and valiant soldiers, and, lastly, to develop appropriate political and ideological mentalities, fitting to the social system¹⁹.

Therefore the historical research hereby presented cannot ignore the importance of the «corporeity» as a field of study of great interest in the last years, on which different humanities disciplines converge, from history to philosophy, from education to sociology. Panico himself stressed it in his essay presented at the conference in Siena previously mentioned, by writing «when advocating for the specificity of sports history I do not think of a monad without doors and windows. It is obvious that sports history is connected to various components of culture and of the contemporary society. I will mention only three of them:

(ed.), *Lo sport negli archivi in Italia*, Roma, Società Stampa Sportiva Roma, 2010, pp. 11-19.

¹⁶ See V. Verratti, *Società sportive e tessuto civile in Italia. Una storia istituzionale*, Torino, Bradipolibri, p. 24.

¹⁷ P. Ferrara, *L'Italia in palestra. Storia, documenti e immagini della ginnastica dal 1833 al 1973*, Roma, La Meridiana Editori, 1992, p. 22.

¹⁸ Bonini, *Le istituzioni sportive*, cit., p. 29.

¹⁹ G. Bonetta, *Il secolo dei Ludi. Sport e cultura nella società contemporanea*, Roma, Lancillotto e Nausica, 2000, p. 8.

the history of the body, of cultural consumption and of information»²⁰. The international conference *Corporeity: humanities contribution*, held in Florence in 2010, has highlighted the culture of *embodiment*, «that is, the embodiment as experience set in the relationship between education and formation, social and inner communication, care for the others and care for the self, social model and personal task, public and private sphere»²¹. It showed how ancient the origins of the process that led to the disciplined body myth are and how, throughout the centuries, «the mythization of the modern body»²² was reached. The analysis of the historical data stored at the archives of the Ministry of Public Instruction will then be aimed at investigating what became of the gyms in the provinces of Apulia and Basilicata under the influence of the guidelines laid down by public institutions, in collaboration with private sports/gymnastics association. More specifically, the goal is to determine whether and to what extent these gyms have become «a metaphorical and tangible place for a collective action [...] of moral exercise, a display of pride of an ethnic group firmly resolved to gain its own connotation»²³.

2. Training of the teaching staff after the De Sanctis law enactment (1878) in the southern regions

In 1883 two gymnastics conferences took place in Turin and in Naples, both attended by several teachers of this discipline. The outcome was that «useful resolutions were voted by the vast majority, all aiming at employing the most suitable means to achieve the progress and the spread of military gymnastic disciplines in and out the schools»²⁴.

Thus the teachers were entrusted with a critical role, which required them to have a high-level education and a committed adhesion to the educational principles upon which gymnastics teaching in schools was founded.

However, only a few years later Daniele Marchetti (1855-1935)²⁵, deplored the approach of the Government. According to him it had not introduced

²⁰ Panico, *La storiografia dello sport in Italia*, cit., p. 18.

²¹ A. Mariani, *La corporeità: il contributo delle scienze umane*, in Mariani (ed.), *La corporeità: il contributo delle scienze umane*, «Humana Mente», n. 14, July 2010, p. X.

²² R. Frasca, *Mito, mitologia, mitografia e mitopoiesi educativa del corpo umano*, in Mariani (ed.), *La corporeità*, cit., p. 106.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Letter from the Royal [henceforth R.] Prefecture of Turin, Provincial Scholastic Council [henceforth P.S.C.] to the Ministry of Public Instruction (henceforth P.I.), *Relazione e verbali delle Conferenze di ginnastica*, Turin 19/10/1883, in the Central State Archives [henceforth ACS], Ministry of Public Instruction (henceforth MPI), General Secretariat, [henceforth GS], Gymnastics and Shooting Sports [henceforth G], b. 3, f. 7.

²⁵ Daniele Marchetti was a teacher of gymnastics born in Vicenza. He studied with Emilio

gymnastics in the schools, but rather thrust it upon them «as a superfluous addition, almost as a purely ornamental subject, foreign to the school itself»²⁶. As a consequence, the role of the gymnastics teacher brought unhappiness and dissatisfaction over its legal-economic statute.

I do not aim at reconstructing here the legal vicissitudes that brought this teaching into the Italian school system²⁷. However I deem important to highlight how the training of the teaching staff, following the enactment of the law 7th July 1878 n. 4442, had largely contributed to make the teachers «apathetic, not in the least ideal-driven in their jobs, [therefore compromising, A/N] the desired educational benefits»²⁸. The fifth article of the above-mentioned law established gymnastics courses for elementary school teachers, to be held in autumn within a five-year plan, later extended to six years²⁹. The Ministry of Public Instruction considered these courses already inadequate because of their short duration³⁰ and bad management³¹. The negative effects caused by the implementation of this law were particularly deleterious in the geographical areas of interest for this study, for reasons that will be shortly summarized here and better explained in the following. There are three main reasons: the bad reputation had by teachers in the public's opinion, the shortage of venues assigned to the practice of gymnastics and the poor financial conditions of the teachers, such that they were unable to take part in the autumn courses held in province and district capitals.

Baumann and graduated from Scuola Normale di Ginnastica of Bologna in 1878. In 1880 he served on the Italian Committee at the World Gymnastics Congress held in Frankfurt. His main contribution to sport diffusion was the introduction of football in Northern Italy. See S. Giuntini, *I calciatori delle palestre. Football e società ginnastiche in Italia*, Torino, Bradipolibri Editore, 2011, pp. 41-44.

²⁶ D. Marchetti, *La ginnastica e chi l'insegna nelle scuole secondarie e normali*, Bologna, Stab. Tip. Zamorani e Albertazzi, 1900, p. 7.

²⁷ See D.F.A. Elia, *Storia della ginnastica nell'Italia meridionale*, Bari, Progedit, 2013, pp. 1-31.

²⁸ Bonetta, *Corpo e nazione: l'educazione ginnastica, igienica e sessuale nell'Italia liberale*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1991, p. 209.

²⁹ «The Ministry of P.I. will take care that elementary school teachers [...] be enabled to comply with the law, both with specific instructions illustrative of texts, programs and exercises, and with inspections and by establishing autumn educational courses». M. Gotta, *Legislazione e Ordinamenti dell'Educazione Fisica nella Scuola Italiana (dal 1859 al 1953)*, Rome, Scuola Tipogr. Mutilatini di Guerra, 1953, p. 28.

³⁰ See Letter from the Ministry of P.I. to the President Prefect of the P.S.C. of Bari, *Risposta a un telegramma di saluto*, Rome 31/10/1879, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 11, f. 20. The brevity of the courses was apparent to the prefects themselves. Indeed the Prefect of Foggia wrote to the Ministry, asking in vain for «an autumn course that would last at least 40 days». Letter from the R. Prefecture of Capitanata to the Ministry of P.I., *Corso autunnale di ginnastica*, Foggia 6/11/1878, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 26, f. 63.

³¹ In some cases, faced with the lousy organisation of the scholastic offices, the Ministry itself exhorted the prefects to reduce the duration of the autumn courses, just to allow the provinces to establish these courses. See Letter from the Ministry of P.I. to the R. Prefect of Lecce, *Corsi di ginnastica*, Rome 27/09/1878, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 30, f. 77.

On the other hand, the basis itself, on which the implementation of the law 7th July 1878 n. 4442 was founded, was underdeveloped in the provinces of Apulia and Basilicata, as shown in the reports sent by Prefects and Scholastic Inspectors to the Ministry of Public Instruction³². The launch of the autumn courses, although allowing a very high percentage of teachers to obtain the qualification for gymnastics³³, underlined the little interest teachers had in these courses³⁴, besides the financial difficulties that prevented teachers from participating³⁵. Several municipalities in Apulia and Basilicata asked the Ministry for an official license to start municipal autumn courses, in order to relieve the State of the financial burden of their management³⁶. However, the venues designated for the courses did not allow a full implementation of the required activities and exercises. In this regard, the concerns expressed by the Central Inspector for gymnastics, cav. Felice Valletti, over equipping the gym of the Liceo-Convitto «Cirillo» in Bari – local seat of the Scuola Magistrale di

³² See Letter from the Ministry of P.I. to the R. Inspector of Studies for the province of Potenza, *Istruzione ginnastica*, Turin 23/08/1864, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 48, f. 126 and Letter from the R. Prefecture of Terra d'Otranto to the Ministry of P.I., *Ispezione di ginnastica*, Lecce 31/05/1878, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 30, f. 77.

³³ At the end of the autumn courses the fraction of teachers who proved to be qualified to teach gymnastics per province was as follows: 96% in Foggia (See Letter from the R. Prefecture of Foggia to the Ministry of P.I., *Notizie statistiche pei corsi autunnali di ginnastica*, Foggia 24/11/1882, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 26, f. 63); 89% in Bari (See Letter from the President Prefect to the Ministry of P.I., *Notizie statistiche pei corsi autunnali di ginnastica*, Bari 23/11/1882, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 11, f. 20; 95% in Lecce (See Letter from the R. Prefecture of Terra d'Otranto to the Ministry of P.I., *Invio di prospetti statistici di ginnastica*, Lecce 8/11/1882, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 30, f. 77.) e 36% in Potenza (See Letter from the R. Prefecture of the Province of Basilicata to the Ministry of P.I., *Statistica dei corsi autunnali di ginnastica*, Potenza 20/11/1882, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 48, f. 126). The number reported for the province of Bari has to be increased to 90%, considering the teachers who obtained the qualification after the cited document was completed.

³⁴ Commenting on the autumn courses held in Bari in 1879, the director, Pezzarossa, remarked how «generally speaking, the course for women was very satisfactory in terms of behaviour, discipline and advancement, unlike the course for men, where a certain carelessness and unwillingness to work have prevailed. The reason for all this was the deceptive idea that the teachers would all obtain a certificate with praise, as it had happened on the previous occasion, while spending a month with nice weather in Bari». Letter from Pezzarossa to the Commissioner of Bari, *Relazione finale*, Bari 11/10/1879, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 11, f. 20.

³⁵ In the province of Potenza, where the number of qualified teachers was significantly lower than in the provinces of Apulia, the lack of subventions by the State starting from 1880, together with the impossibility of Basilicata's municipalities to bear these expenses, prevented any formative activity in 1880-1881. See Letter from the R. Prefecture of Basilicata to the Ministry of P.I., *Corsi autunnali di ginnastica per i maestri e le maestre elementari*, Potenza 8/09/1880, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 48, f. 126.

³⁶ The start of qualifying courses at the instance of the municipalities was generally accepted by the Ministry, «provided that the necessary expenses, i.e. the salaries of the teachers and the compensations for the members of the examining committee who lived outside the municipality, [were, N/A] covered by the Municipality». Letter from the Ministry of P.I. to the President Prefect of the P.S.C. in Lecce, *Corso di ginnastica in Francavilla Fontana*, Rome 27/05/1881, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 30, f. 77.

Ginnastica³⁷ and venue for the courses – are revealing³⁸. Moreover in some cases the courses were taught by teachers with no qualification for gymnastics, for lack of qualified personnel³⁹.

The last factor was the low esteem accorded to gymnastics, which pushed headmasters and municipal administrators to show indifference, when not ill-concealed hostility, towards this subject. In their opinion gymnastics was replaceable with manual labour in the fields or in the factories. In some cases the teachers were downright humiliated. They were forced to sign false statements, which claimed a regular run of the scholastic program, while the latter was actually only partially or not at all carried out. An example was the case of the Liceo-Convitto «Cirillo» in Bari, where charges were pressed against the headmaster⁴⁰. The chagrin endured by the teachers could also have major financial implications. Given the lack of adequate venues and required equipment, as in the case previously hinted at, the solution produced by some headmasters was to reduce salaries to gymnastics teachers, since they were not considered useful to the pupils' education⁴¹. However this solution was rejected by the Ministry and by the President Prefect of the province of Bari⁴².

In 1884 the government took charge of the designation of the gymnastics teachers, however this did not improve their socio-economic status. The reason was that the Ministry held in high consideration the judgments pronounced by the R. Commissioners about the teachers. Yet these judgements were aimed more at stating a moral approval for the teachers' conduct, even without any justification whatever, rather than providing actual indications on ways of teaching gymnastics, according to objective criteria⁴³. In this regard, the main

³⁷ During the second half of 19th century, in Italian school system «liceo» referred to a senior high school attended between 15 and 17 years; «convitto» was a boarding school and «Scuola Magistrale di Ginnastica» was part of higher education system and offered a one-year course. At the end of Scuola Magistrale di Ginnastica students received a degree which enable them to teach gymnastics in elementary and/or high schools. For a detailed description of different degrees which enable to teach gymnastics, see Elia, *Storia della ginnastica*, cit., pp. 41-50.

³⁸ «When inspecting the Scuole Magistrali di Ginnastica in Southern Italy I stated that the gym of Bari was inadequate for that Scuola Magistrale, and in fact it was necessary to supply its furnishings [...] because if a proper space and proper furnishings of a school always contribute to make teachings of all subjects more efficient, all the more they are crucial in a gymnastics school, where everything is founded on order and aesthetics». Draft of F. Valletti, *Palestra della Scuola Magistrale di Bari*, Rome 12/12/1879, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 11, f. 20.

³⁹ See Letter from Masselli to the General Secretary of the Ministry of P.I., [unnamed], Naples 3/08/1882, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 26, f. 63.

⁴⁰ Anonymous manifesto, *Un po' di luce*, undated, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 11, f. 20.

⁴¹ See Letter from the Rector of the R. Liceo Ginnasio and Convitto Nazionale to the Ministry of P.I., *Insegnamento della ginnastica e proposta di economia*, Bari 10/11/1888, *ibid.*

⁴² See Letter of the President Prefect to the Ministry of P.I., *Insegnamento della ginnastica*, Bari 27/11/1888, *ibid.*

⁴³ An example is given by the judgements made by the R. Prefect of Lecce: «Danese teaches with skill and zeal, has an inclination to enforce discipline, has a good moral and civil conduct and exhibits a commendable behaviour. [...] Scatigna as well is a skilled and zealous teacher, of good

teaching method adopted by teachers in Apulia and Basilicata proved to be Obermann's. This was a confirmation of what had already emerged during the meeting of gymnastics teachers held in Bari in 1885. The participants were indeed teachers coming from the considered regions⁴⁴, who were against the innovative directions proposed by Baumann and his followers.

A further factor that has to be underlined is that autumn courses for female teachers were established late and there was a lack of gymnastics teachers for these courses⁴⁵. In the early years this shortage of staff was temporarily bypassed by appointing male teachers as supervisors of the courses for female teachers, provided that they worked in collaboration with women in the capacity of school attendants⁴⁶. In the following years, although a Scuola Magistrale Femminile had been opened in Naples in 1882, no female teachers coming from there were recorded to be members of a teaching staff. On the contrary, the only available information shows that female teachers were still coming from the Turin School, where they had studied. There was no strong correlation between the geographical origin of these teachers and the location where they taught, implying a certain degree of mobility, which was a result of the lower number of available teachers and of a supply spread over the whole nation⁴⁷.

conduct and praiseworthy behaviour [...] whereas the gymnastics teacher [...] Ms. Adelaide De Mundis has proven rather ineffective at maintaining discipline: but she is too infinitely capable and has shown a good behaviour. [...] Zullino has taught [...] with honourable diligence and sufficient ability, always behaving in a good manner». Letter from R. Prefecture of Terra d'Otranto to the Ministry of P.I., *Insegnanti di ginnastica negli Istituti governativi d'istruzione secondaria classica e nelle Scuole tecniche e normali di questa provincia*, Lecce 9/08/1890, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 30, f. 77.

⁴⁴ See *Verbale di una seduta straordinaria tenuta in Bari il 2 settembre dai Maestri di ginnastica*, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 3, f. «AAGG», sf. 1885.7.

⁴⁵ In Italy gender inequalities during the late decades of the 19th century were notable regarding school attendance as well as literacy, quality of education and the ratio of women teachers. Education inequalities were at their highest levels in Southern regions. It is worth noting, for example, that in 1881 female illiteracy in Piedmont and Lombardy was around 40% (40 and 41% respectively), while it was 86% in Apulia and 93% in Basilicata. See S. Olivieri, *Donne a scuola. Per una storia dell'istruzione femminile in Italia*, in E. Beseghi, V. Telmon, *Educazione al femminile: dalla parità alla differenza*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1992, p. 53. Severe economic and social differences made it impossible to overcome the backwardness of Southern regions despite the promulgation of successive school laws. See D. Bertoni Jovine, *Storia dell'educazione popolare in Italia*, Bari, Laterza, 1965, pp. 152-153. On the same topic see also E. Bosna, *Lotte e contrasti per l'alfabetizzazione delle popolazioni meridionali prima e dopo l'Unità*, Bari, Cacucci, 1999 and C. Ghizzoni, S. Polenghi (edd.), *L'altra metà della scuola. Educazione e lavoro delle donne tra Otto e Novecento*, Torino, SEI, 2008.

⁴⁶ See Letter from the President Prefect of Bari to the Ministry of P.I., *Remunerazioni agli insegnanti di ginnastica*, 16/11/1880, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 11, f. 20.

⁴⁷ The autumn courses for women held in the province of Potenza in 1882 were supervised by two female teachers, Tagliaferri Carolina and Pavoni Giuseppina, respectively from Piacenza and Fano. See Letter from R. Prefecture of the Province of Basilicata to the Ministry of P.I., *Corso autunnale di ginnastica*, Potenza 22/08/1882, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 48, f. 126.

The last factor worth mentioning is the presence of gymnastics teachers coming from the army, mainly in the provinces lacking other qualified teachers⁴⁸ and in a time period prior to the introduction of autumn courses and teaching schools. Some of these teachers managed to obtain a qualification later⁴⁹. However their presence in the scholastic environment can be seen as proof of the deep bond between educational sphere and military sphere with regard to gymnastics teaching⁵⁰.

The interactions between students and teachers and the complaints voiced by the latter about managing their classes will be the subject of the next paragraph. Here I will remark that, notwithstanding the goals set at the conferences in Naples⁵¹, gymnastics was a school subject kept in low esteem in the southern regions during the whole 19th century. There were few exceptional cases, in which farsighted municipal administrations and teachers gifted with a remarkable know-how managed to raise gymnastics out of its miserable condition. The fault of the discrimination against gymnastics was to be ascribed to a legislation with little sensitivity towards the teachers and to the public opinion. In fact, especially in Southern regions public opinion was, at best, briefly infatuated with gymnastic/playful activities⁵², but indifferent for the most part, when not openly hostile. However, it is worth reminding the

⁴⁸ See Letter from the R. Prefecture of Basilicata, *Istituzioni di ginnastica della Provincia*, Potenza 22/06/1878, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 48, f. 126 and Letter from the Scholastic Delegate of the Province of Foggia to the Ministry of P.I., *Corsi di ginnastica educativa*, S. Giovanni Rotondo, 8/08/1882, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 26, f. 63.

⁴⁹ It is the case, for example, of Mr. Augusto Rocchetti, already petty officer in the Army and later qualified at the Scuola Ginnastica of Turin. See the following documents: Letter from the Convitto Nazionale in Potenza to the Ministry of P.I., *Insegnamento della ginnastica*, Potenza 15/03/1871 e Letter from the R. Prefecture of Basilicata to the Ministry of P.I., *Corsi autunnali di ginnastica educativa*, Potenza 17/07/1878, *ibid*.

⁵⁰ See Giuntini, *Sport, scuola e caserma*, Padua, Centro Grafico Editoriale, 1988, p. 41.

⁵¹ At the end of the eighth session of the conferences in Naples, the assembly voted unanimously the following order of the day: «in order for the gymnastics teacher to be excellent and to have moral and intellectual qualities that suit his noble task, it is necessary, among other things, to improve his moral and financial condition». *Resoconto della tornata 8°*, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 3, f. 7.

⁵² An article appeared on the pages of the «Bullettino della Pro-Patria» of Bari in 1894 denounced how often «there was a multitude of requests for admission to our Society [...] but [...] those multitudes, those enthusiasms, were just a flash in the pan; and of many new members that were present at the Gym, on the occasion of public experiments, very few did not defect, soon weary of paying the small contribution of one lira». [Nameless], *Dal dire al fare...*, «Pro-Patria», a. 1, n. 4, 25/10/1894, p. 5.

reader that this hostility was not caused only by prejudices against gymnastics and inadequate legislation. The scholastic programs were still following Obermann's «educational gymnastics»⁵³ and proved unable, after the spread of sports of anglosaxon origin, to appeal to a youth not interested in a physical activity considered boring and repetitive⁵⁴.

3. *The reports by the gymnastics teachers (1884-1893) to the Ministry of Public Instruction*

The reports submitted by gymnastics teachers at the end of each school year were already required by the «Regulations, programs and instructions for primary, secondary, normal, male and female schools of the Kingdom», approved by royal decree on the 16th December 1878⁵⁵. However they are only available from the school year 1883-84 in the regions under consideration. These reports represent an useful source to identify in detail the numerous obstacles that made teaching gymnastics difficult, as well as to reconstruct the few but significant successes the teachers achieved in terms of equipment and more adequate gyms provided by municipal and provincial administration. The historical reliability of the reports is not to be taken for granted, because of their importance to the teachers, since a report could affect whether they got reappointed. There are examples of reports compiled only to gratify ambitious headmasters, as in the case of the R. Liceo Ginnasio «Lanza» in Foggia, where the temporary headmaster found out only in 1889, by going personally to the school gym, that there were «neither students, nor teacher»⁵⁶. Hence it can be inferred that this documentation was afflicted by a tendency to exaggeration, in order to protect the name of the institute under consideration. Notwithstanding this flaw, the reports can provide interesting data on the relationship between schools and municipal administrations and teachers in regard to gymnastics,

⁵³ «Education, to be complete, must not only aim at developing intellectual and moral abilities, but at the same time must attempt to develop and increase the physical strength, following the precept: a sound mind in a healthy body. This is why educational gymnastics, and not acrobats' gymnastics, is important». Letter from Danese to the Headmaster of the R. Liceo «Palmieri», *Relazione sull'insegnamento della ginnastica nel R. Liceo Palmieri per l'anno scolastico 1884-85*, Lecce 13/07/1885, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 30, f. 77.

⁵⁴ «It is generally considered as a boring addition to other classes [...] hence it gets a number of hours which is not sufficient». F. Valletti, *Relazione sull'insegnamento della ginnastica nelle Scuole del Regno*, 1889, in ACS, MPI, GS, G., b. 4, f. «AAGG», sf. 1889.26.

⁵⁵ The 13th article of the above-mentioned regulations, decrees indeed that «at the end of the school year the teacher of gymnastics submit a report on his activity together with a summary sheet». See: <<http://www.archivionline.senato.it/scripts/GeaCGI.exeREQSRV=REQPROFILE&REQCARDTYPE=28&ID=1750462>> (last access: August 4st, 2013).

⁵⁶ Letter from the headmaster of the R. Liceo Ginnasio «Lanza» to the Ministry of P.I., *Ginnastica*, Foggia 12/04/1888, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 26, f. 63.

on the teaching methods employed in the schools and on the relations between teachers and students. In a general perspective, it can be stated that the relations among teachers, headmasters and mayors tended to improve over the years⁵⁷. However this improvement should not be seen as homogeneous. A fundamental role in accelerating or slowing down this process of collaboration was performed by «cult ministers» – an expression dear to historian Fabrizio – i.e. actors of the local establishment interested in promoting themselves through the development of gymnastic/playful activities⁵⁸. Their benevolence was crucial in driving school gymnastics' fortune, by building and equipping gyms, without which the teachers were in a very tight spot⁵⁹. Conversely, when the «cult ministers» were not active, advocating for the necessity of endorsing other causes⁶⁰, the only option for gymnastics teachers was to address their requests to the Government, hoping for a financial and moral support to their subject⁶¹.

Anyway, it is possible to spot similarities among the reports, regarding factors that were in part already revealed during the conferences in Turin and Naples in 1883. One of these analogies was in the relationship between teachers and students. For example, the teachers complained about how the students in Convitti showed stronger discipline and commitment during the execution of the exercises in comparison to external students. This is a significant difference, if one takes into account that teachers took better care of the students in Convitti and that the latter did gymnastics separately from their peers⁶², as required by

⁵⁷ «I am glad to state that the headmaster put the teaching of gymnastics on the same level of the other subjects, conferring to it equal importance, looking for ways to improve it, and fighting tirelessly against the idleness and the stubbornness of the fathers». Letter from de Blasiis to the headmaster of the R. Liceo-Ginnasio in Matera, *Relazione finale di ginnastica*, Matera 16/07/1891, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 48, f. 126.

⁵⁸ See Fabrizio, *Fuoco di bellezza*, Milano, Sedizioni, 2001, pp. 35-37.

⁵⁹ «I am confident I will be able to equip it [the gym, A/N] a little better in the upcoming year, and to this aim I have already been authorized by the municipal administration to order instruments for the price of two hundred or two hundred and fifty lire; I will do more, whenever I can». Letter from Livraghi to the Director of the even Ginnasio in Ostuni, [*Relazione*], Ostuni 2/07/1884, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 30, f. 77.

⁶⁰ «However the economic conditions [of the province, A/N] are such that there is barely hope left for repair services of absolute necessity, such as fixing the latrines and the water main inside the Convitto». Letter from the headmaster of the R. Ginnasio and Liceo «Salvatore Rosa» and Convitto Nazionale in Potenza to the Ministry of P.I., *Palestra ginnastica*, Potenza 30/11/1887, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 48, f. 126.

⁶¹ «If the authorities do not employ all possible means to make the municipality abide by what is required by the regulations and the programs, educational gymnastics will always be neglected in these schools». Letter from de Blasiis to the Director of the R. Scuola Normale Superiore Maschile di Potenza, *Relazione finale di ginnastica*, Matera 29/06/1885, *ibid.* «Scuola Normale» offered a three-years course and enable students to teach in elementary schools.

⁶² «The reasons for this separation are all and solely disciplinary, i.e. the same for which the students belonging to the Convitto are kept separated from the others also in the classrooms, as it is fit». Letter of the headmaster of the R. Liceo Ginnasio and Convitto Nazionale of Terra di Bari, *Insegnamento della ginnastica agli alunni dei Convitti Nazionali*, Bari 24/04/1889, in ACS, MPI,

the 8th article of Regulations 23rd October 1884. This shows the effects that the implementation of ministerial norms had on teaching gymnastics, proving therefore Hardy's model with regard to the «service». The same conclusion can be drawn from the recourse to doctors employed at the Military Health Service, demanded by teachers and headmasters in order to avoid the worrying scarcity of students during gymnastics hours⁶³. Indeed abetting family doctors granted dispensations and exemptions from compulsory class attendance too easily. However, the implementation of this norm⁶⁴ was often disregarded, also because of the costs it imposed on non-governative schools⁶⁵. Indeed, according to the collections of *Statistical data about gymnastics teaching* compiled at the end of the school year 1889-90, 19 institutes out of 33 surveyed in that occasion had not subjected their students to a medical examination, often without providing reasons for this choice. Other common elements found in the reports concern the teaching method, characterized by the influence of Obermann's «educational gymnastics»⁶⁶ and the will of the teaching staff to appear as influential figures in the eyes of the students. The teachers' opinion was that

the technical knowledge alone is not sufficient for someone who aims at training the youth in the exercises of gymnastics. He must also be equipped with a certain degree of intellectual instruction and with rectitude, a quality of which no one who deals with the education of the youth can be devoid⁶⁷.

GS, G, b. 11, f. 20.

⁶³ «In order to decrease the number of absent or dispensed students, the assembly proposes that the gyms become annexed to the schools, that the schedule of this subject be integrated into the one of the other classes and that before the beginning of gymnastics class all students be examined, possibly by a military doctor». *Resoconto della 7° tornata*, in ACS, MPI, GS, G., b. 3, f. 7.

⁶⁴ See Ministerial circular of 15/05/1884 n. 740, in Letter from the R. Prefecture of the Province of Basilicata, *Visita medica agli alunni dei R. Licei di Potenza e di Matera per la dispensa dagli esercizi di ginnastica*, Potenza 6/01/1885, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 48, f. 126 and Circular of the Ministry of War, 18/02/1885, *Visite mediche da praticarsi dagli ufficiali medici ad individui dipendenti da autorità civili governative*, cit. in Ferrara, *L'Italia in palestra*, cit., p. 156.

⁶⁵ «I reply to your letter by notifying you of the fact that military doctors can examine free of charge only the students of the governmental schools in the city in which they operate, at the military district or regimental quartermaster». Letter from the Ministry of P.I. to the President Prefect of the P.C.S. of Bari, *Visite dei medici militari*, Rome 1/04/1885, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 11, f. 20.

⁶⁶ The following reports constitute an example: letter from De Grandi to the P.S.C. of Potenza, [*Relazione insegnamento ginnastica*], Marsiconuovo 8/07/1885, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 48, f. 126; Letter from Scatigna to the headmaster of the R. Liceo Ginnasio «Archita» in Taranto, *Relazione sull'insegnamento della ginnastica*, Taranto 30/06/1884, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 30, f. 77; Letter from Turchiarelli to the Ministry of P.I., *Relazione finale dell'insegnamento delle Scuole Secondarie di Foggia – anno scolastico 1883-84*, Foggia 5/10/1884, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 26, f. 63.

⁶⁷ R. Obermann, *Lezioni pratiche di ginnastica dettate dal maestro Rodolfo Obermann*, Torino, Candellero Apolline, 1865, p. 402.

One of the reasons that pushed the teachers to pay special attention to the education of the students was the reluctance expressed by many parents towards gymnastics, because they considered it useless and dangerous⁶⁸. In order to encourage the youngsters to practice gymnastics, it was common to accompany the physical exercises with singing⁶⁹ and gymnastics games⁷⁰, with promising results. However in some cases the basics of the subject, which were supposed to be taught during primary school, had not been acquired by the students and the teachers at secondary schools had to modify their programs to allow their classes to remedy it⁷¹.

The reports on gymnastics teaching often contained complaints about the bad conditions of gyms and playfields in schools, highlighting the inefficiencies of the system and the stratagems devised by the teachers to take position against the lack of adequate venues. This will be the subject of the next paragraph.

4. *Gymnastics in southern Italy: gyms and playfields*

In the gym dates take place, in the gym people smoke, sometimes even during class. Until the gym becomes a temple [...] the families and the citizenry will never start to love gymnastics. [...] The current gyms are insufficient, incomplete, filthy, the junk room, the place where the students take the break, and the machines for gymnastics often are used for hanging clothes and wet fabric to dry in the sun [...]⁷².

The description quoted above well conveys the picture that people in the field had of gyms during the second half of the 19th century: inadequate, unhygienic, lacking equipment and deprived of their primary function. Although I do not aim at illustrating here the events that unfolded in each individual gym – which is beyond the scope of this research – I deem important to conduct a first statistical survey. The twofold goal is to ascertain, on one hand, how many

⁶⁸ «I have to say – wrote the teacher Iura from San Severo in his report – that there are many who are wary of gymnastics; hence I had to avoid opposing their beliefs by not bringing the students outside when the winter was harsh». Letter from Iura to the Ministry of P.I., [*Relazione sull'insegnamento della Ginnastica nell'anno scolastico 1883-84*], San Severo 8/09/1884, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 26, f. 63.

⁶⁹ See Letter from the R. Liceo Ginnasio «Broggia» and Convitto Nazionale of Lucera to the Ministry of P.I., *Ginnastica, scherma, ed esercizi militari nei Convitti Nazionali*, Lucera July 1888, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 26, f. 63.

⁷⁰ See Letter from Susanna to the headmaster of even Ginnasio «Pietro Galatino», *Relazione sull'insegnamento della ginnastica*, Galatina 6/10/1884, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 30, f. 77.

⁷¹ See Letter from Solazzi to the headmaster of the R. Istituto Tecnico of Melfi, [*Relazione sulla ginnastica*], Melfi 1/08/1884, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 48, f. 126.

⁷² *Resoconto della 7° tornata*, cit.

gyms were located in the provinces under consideration, and on the other hand which gymnastic instruments were more common and which rare. The first data are gathered from the survey launched by the Ministry of Public Instruction at the end of the year 1871-1872⁷³. Based on this information, it has been possible to extract the number of gyms present in the geographical area of interest. Additional information on the quantity and the quality of instruments available to the few gyms in province and district capitals is inferable from the reports on gymnastics teaching submitted by the President Prefects to the Ministry of Public Instruction. The province of Foggia, where 10 gyms have been considered, provides a clearer picture about the conditions of the equipment. Half of the gyms were located in the two most densely populated municipalities, Lucera and Foggia, and proved to be adequately equipped. Conversely the gyms of the smaller towns, Cerignola, San Severo and Ascoli Satriano, were not properly equipped or had provided no data in this regard⁷⁴. The situation in the 9 gyms in the province of Bari was partially different. The gyms sufficiently equipped were not located only in the district capitals (Bari, Barletta and Altamura) but also in the neighboring municipalities, such as Bitonto. Likewise gyms poorly equipped or with no instruments at all were present both in small towns like Minervino Murge and bigger ones, as shown by the examples of the gyms in the R. Scuola Normale Maschile of Bari and in the Collegio «Panunzio» of Molfetta⁷⁵. Lecce's province included only 3 gyms, of which two were in Lecce itself and 1 in Galatina. However only the gym of the National Convitto «Palmieri» in Lecce had adequate equipment⁷⁶, and the same held for the only gym of Basilicata⁷⁷.

In 1878 it became necessary to collect new data on the condition of the equipment in school gyms. The reason was the introduction of the autumn qualifying courses. The Ministry wanted to verify that the gyms were ready for the formation of the teaching staff and also for the introduction of gymnastics as a compulsory subject in schools.

The «Regulations for gymnastics teaching» ratified in December of the same year included a list of instruments required for a gym, which consisted

⁷³ Occasional indications on the condition of the gyms before 1871 can be found in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 48, f. 126 e b. 26, f. 63.

⁷⁴ See *Istruzione ginnastica anno 1871-72*, Foggia 2/07/1872, *ibid.*

⁷⁵ See Letter from the R. Prefecture of Bari to the Ministry of P.I., *Specchietto dell'insegnamento della ginnastica nell'anno scolastico 1871-1872*, Bari 6/07/1872, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 11, f. 20.

⁷⁶ See Letter from the R. Prefecture of Terra d'Otranto to the Ministry of P.I., *Ginnastica*, Lecce 5/07/1872, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 30, f. 77.

⁷⁷ See Letter from the R. Prefecture of Basilicata to the Ministry of P.I., *Ginnastica*, Potenza 21/08/1872, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 48, f. 126.

of 26 gymnastic instruments⁷⁸, of which five were optional⁷⁹. Therefore it was possible, at least theoretically, to equip all the gyms in the Italian schools in the same way, in order to make gymnastics teaching as homogeneous as possible according to ministerial instructions. The results of this second statistical survey, carried out throughout 1880, revealed an alarming situation: no gym in Apulia or Basilicata had complete equipment. At the same time the number of gyms was increasing in all the provinces (except Foggia's, where it was downsized to 4). From a single gym registered per province the number increases to 4 in Potenza's, 7 in Lecce's and 12 in Bari's. This shows a considerable boost of gymnastics in the schools of Apulia and Basilicata, also outside the province capitals.

In the same years of this survey, a Commission of gymnastics teachers, established at the Conferences in Naples, had compiled a list of fundamental instruments, which included «jump rope, horizontal bar, climbing pole and vertical ropes ('palco di salita'), parallel bars and balance beam»⁸⁰. Comparing this list with the one of the five most common instruments in the gyms under consideration, there is only one common element, the horizontal bar⁸¹. It is not possible, with the current documentation, to reconstruct the causes of this discrepancy between the instruments actually used and the ones considered indispensable. However some considerations can be made in this regard. First of all, in spite of the gap previously discussed, it shall be noticed that the list of the five least common instruments⁸² does not include any of the ones deemed fundamental by the teachers gathered in Naples. This is a clear sign that these instruments were fairly present in the gyms of Apulia and Basilicata. Secondly, a comparative analysis of the prices of the instruments reveals that the balance beam and the «palco di salita» had prohibitive prices for most schools, while other instruments, such as dumbbells and rods⁸³, were more

⁷⁸ The ministerial list included the following instruments, numbered according to a progressive order: «1. sticks of various lengths; 2. dumbbells of various weights; 3. pallet; 4. Jäger's wooden and iron rods; 5. fencing wooden sticks; 6. vaulting pole; 7. javellins; 8. ropes; 9. ditch; 10. Obermann's balance beam and Baumann's balance beam; 11 lean beam; 12. parallel bars; 13. horizontal bars; 14. horizontal ladder; 15. climbing frame; 16. still rings; 17. pommel horse; 18. vaulting horse; 19. assault platform; 20. trapeze; 21. bull's eye with balls; 22. javellin throw target; 23. cannonballs, stones and showels; 24. boxing gloves; 25. rope for tug war; 26. games equipments». See <<http://www.archivionline.senato.it/scripts/GeaCGI.exeREQSRV=REQPROFILLE&REQCARDTYPE=28&ID=1750462>> (last access: August 4st, 2013).

⁷⁹ The five optional instruments were: «lean beam; horizontal ladder; vaulting horse; assault platform; trapeze». See <<http://www.archivionline.senato.it/scripts/GeaCGI.exeREQSRV=REQPROFILLE&REQCARDTYPE=28&ID=1750462>> (last access: August 4st, 2013).

⁸⁰ *Resoconto della Tornata 10°*, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 3, f. 7.

⁸¹ The other instruments were: vaulting horse; horizontal ladder; dumbbells and trapeze.

⁸² The least common instruments were: fencing wooden sticks, Jäger rods, javelins, pommel horse, bull's eye with balls and games equipments.

⁸³ The prices in the catalogue of the company owned by Giuseppe Pezzarossa show how in 1884, for an equal weight of 1 Kg, dumbbells costed L.0,65 whereas Jäger rods were sold at a

affordable and less bulky. The third factor, closely linked to the previous one, was the availability of indoor gyms. Indeed several instruments were not bought because there was no adequate space to position them and no available protection against bad weather, or, if bought, lay in a partially damaged state, posing a danger for the students⁸⁴. In 1880 the fraction of gyms lacking more than half the instruments considered compulsory by ministerial guidelines⁸⁵ was lower than 50% in all the provinces under consideration. This is proof of the improvements achieved in those years with regard to gymnastics teaching. This progress was favoured by the necessity to make the school gyms suitable for the autumn qualifying courses and by the ratification of the regulations of 1878, which stated explicitly which instruments had to be necessarily present in the schools. Outdoor gyms were the most common: out of 6 gyms reporting on these data, 4 were outdoors and 2 had both indoor and outdoor facilities. The reports compiled between 1884 and 1885 on the new equipment, with which some gyms were provided, provide further insight into this topic. Although the sample is not very representative (it comprises 10 schools), it is interesting to notice how, shortly after Naples' Conferences, already 4 out of 5 of the instruments deemed fundamental were present in the school gyms in Apulia and Basilicata. These were the horizontal bar, the jump ropes, parallel bars and «palco di salita». In the future further data could improve this reconstruction, which is currently still incomplete.

Ten years after the survey carried out in 1880, the situation of the gyms registered by the end of the school year 1889-90 had overall improved. It is however difficult to quantify the improvement in gymnastics teaching, considering that not all the overviews provided data on which instruments were present. Therefore the number of considered gyms is lower in comparison to previous surveys, being 5 for Bari and Lecce and 3 for Foggia. Potenza, instead, had an increase in the number of gyms, which amounted to 7. The greatest improvement was recorded in the province of Bari, where all five gyms had more than half of the fundamental instruments. It is plausible to speculate that the presence in this province of the factory of scholastic and gymnastic instruments owned by Giuseppe Pezzarossa made the procurement of gymnastic equipment

higher price, i.e. L. 1,25. See L. Pezzarossa, *Gli attrezzi di ginnastica: un primo passo nelle utili riforme secondo le esigenze didattiche, igieniche ed economiche*, Bari, Tip. F.lli Pansini, 1884, pp. 49-62.

⁸⁴ «In that venue there is no indoor gym, and the courtyard [...] is no place where the students can do exercises during the winter, without major hazard for their health, because it is noxious: even the instruments that are fixed there undergo considerable alterations because of the humidity». Letter from the R. Liceo Ginnasio «Salvatore Rosa» to the President Prefect of the P.S.C., *Palestra di ginnastica*, Potenza 4/02/1881, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 48, f. 126.

⁸⁵ In this case only the gyms that provided data concerning gymnastic equipment are taken into account.

faster and cheaper. However also this hypothesis needs further confirmations in the future, although current data seem to support it⁸⁶. Yet the lack of logs of the Pezzarossa company does not allow us to systematically extend the study to the whole territory under consideration⁸⁷. Foggia was the only province that registered a clear worsening: 2 gyms out of 3 lacked more than 50% of the gymnastic equipment. This information however has to be taken cautiously, because in the previous survey twice the gyms had been considered, but there was no follow-up on this other half. Indoor gyms constituted an unresolved issue. Although during the conferences in Naples the necessity of building indoor gyms had been underlined, only 8 gyms out of 28 were indoors. Then 4 had both indoor and outdoor facilities and 16 were outdoors.

Moreover the definition itself of gym was less precise than the one suggested by Valletti in his work⁸⁸, often indicating spaces that were inadequate for housing either equipment or students⁸⁹.

Not all the schools experienced the same difficulties. Indeed, the intervention of the «cult ministers» could be crucial in obtaining the required equipment. Essentially these interventions belonged to one of three categories: national⁹⁰, municipal⁹¹ or private⁹². The scattered distribution of the gymnastics enthusiasts belonging to these groups has resulted in an uneven progression in the southern regions, where the teacher played a key role. He advanced request for new equipments and/or bigger and healthier spaces, starting a dialogue with the local administration and, through it, with the national institutions, prompting a debate whose outcomes were complex and never predictable.

⁸⁶ See Pezzarossa, *Gli attrezzi di ginnastica*, cit., p. 63, for a list of the municipalities in the province of Bari that availed themselves of the services of Pezzarossa's factory.

⁸⁷ See also the Letter from the Directorate of the R. Scuola Normale Femminile Superiore of Foggia to the R. Ministry of P.I., *Pagamento di attrezzi di ginnastica*, Foggia 20/03/1889, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 26, f. 63; the documents in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 30, f. 79 regarding the gymnastic society «Salentina» and the papers in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 11, f. 20, concerning the gyms of the Liceo-Convitto «Cirillo» and of the R. Scuola Normale Maschile in Bari.

⁸⁸ See F. Valletti, *La ginnastica nelle scuole italiane*, Torino, Paravia, 1895, pp. 135-139.

⁸⁹ See R. Prefecture of Potenza, *Osservazioni*, Potenza 23/05/1890, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 48, f. 126.

⁹⁰ See Letter from the Ministry of P.I. to the headmaster of the R. Scuola Normale Femminile of Foggia, *Attrezzi di ginnastica*, Rome 30/03/1889, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 26, f. 63.

⁹¹ The aid granted by the municipal administrations, besides being economic (See *Relazione finale dell'insegnamento della Ginnastica nel Ginnasio, nel Liceo e nella Scuola tecnica di Altamura*, undated, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 11, f. 20), could also be an indirect support to allow the execution of the whole scholastic program or parts thereof in non-scholastic areas. (See Letter from Cerquetti to the R. Commissioner of Lecce, *Relazione finale*, Brindisi August 1884, in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 30, f. 77).

⁹² In this regard, the indoor gym made available by Pezzarossa in 1888 for the schools in Bari should be mentioned. See ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 11, f. 20.

5. *Conclusions: which was the role of the «cult ministers» in southern Italy? An uneven progression*

The results of the present research have showed how the progression of the gymnastic/playful activities in the provinces of Apulia and Basilicata between the eighties and nineties of the 19th century has not been homogeneous. Nonetheless there is a distinct common substratum for the work of the teachers, both cultural, social and economic, characterized by a lack of adequate spaces and equipment. Also the motivations behind gymnastics teaching are shared in this phase: gymnastics is supposed to be «educational», under the influence of the doctrines imported in the Kingdom of Sardinia by Obermann in 1833⁹³, and is still far apart from the innovative directions proposed by Baumann.

However it would be reductive to extend these common conditions to the results achieved by the teaching staff, not only by virtue of the practical support of the «cult ministers», wherever present, but also thanks to the ability of each single teacher to face severe difficulties. Since this varies according to each individual and the outcome is different from case to case, the set of results cannot be ascribed to a single paradigm. Instead another common feature is the adhesion of the teachers to the values of a gymnastics aimed at forming a soldier-citizen. And it could not be otherwise, given the importance of the «cult ministers» in this phase of formation of the Italian gymnastic system. The «cult ministers» embodied monarchic and laic ideals and their influence entailed a homogenization of the values that educational gymnastics held. Headmasters, municipal and provincial administrators, local representatives and senators firmly promoted service utilities⁹⁴. In this phase the latter saw to a faithful execution of the governative programs in southern Italy⁹⁵. This influence was stronger on private societies and local shooting galleries. Although these events are not the subject of the present research, they contributed to a strengthening of the bond between educational needs and control needs imposed from above. New perspectives on the link between the institutions and the scholastic gymnastic activities could surface from unknown documentation concerning, for example, the relation between quality and quantity of the gymnastic instruments⁹⁶ and

⁹³ See M. Tanga, M. Gori, *Linee storiografiche sul corpo e su alcune pratiche motorie*, Milano, Casa Editrice Ambrosiana, 2005, p. 83.

⁹⁴ «Indeed – as Bonini correctly remarked – the Italian political class is, up to the war, hardly ‘interventist’ in the social processes. But although politicians of the major party may be reluctant to invest the scarce resources of the State in sports, they take upon themselves roles, even prominent, in the sports institutional system that is already developing». Bonini, *Le istituzioni sportive italiane*, cit., p. 34.

⁹⁵ About the role played by the local establishment in organizing gymnastic and sports societies, as well as in launching local shooting galleries, see the reports edited by the President of the Shooting Sports Society of Matera in ACS, MPI, GS, G, b. 49, f. 127.

⁹⁶ Except for few references to purchases of gymnastic instruments at the factories in Turin and Bologna and the contribution of Pezzarossa (See notes 84-85), there is little information

the degree of involvement of the students in gymnastics classes. A study of the sketches of the uniforms that the students were supposed to wear during official parades and classes would also be useful, in order to understand which influence military uniforms had on the creation of the ones for the students⁹⁷.

available on the workshops able to provide the schools with the required equipment.

⁹⁷ A first study on school uniforms has been conducted by Ferrara, *L'Italia in palestra*, cit., pp. 150-153.

Un *Cuore* azzurro, un *Cuore* rosa: da De Amicis a Haydée nell'Italia liberale

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A blue 'Cuore', a pink 'Cuore': from De Amicis to Haydée between XIX and XX Centuries

ABSTRACT: This article compares in gender perspective two works, which are presented as complementary: *Cuore* (1886) by Edmondo De Amicis, and *Allieve di quarta: il "Cuore" delle bambine* (written in 1913, published in 1922) by Haydée (alias Ida Finzi). The universe of *Cuore*, which became the most read book of youth in late XIX century Italy, is essentially masculine, while the second book, who wants to be the first female correspondent, transposes the composition, the writing and the typology of the characters in a strictly feminine universe. What is the *gender* identity of *Cuore*? The book reflects a strong male identity, that makes of heroism, in particular the military one, his fundamental stereotype; though, De Amicis' book offers 'universal' values and models, that are illustrated and offered to children, without distinction as to sex. On the other hand, with her *Allieve di quarta*, Haydée doesn't want to offer to girls the representation of the school-life that boys have found in *Cuore*: she intends to study the specific virtues and defects of women in their barely trained female soul. This article tries to analyze this construction of the female identity in this "*Cuore" delle bambine* («*Cuore* for little girls»), whose gender identity is far more assertive than in De Amicis' book.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children's and Youth Literature; Women's Education; Italy; XIX-XX Centuries.

Publicato nel 1886, *Cuore* di Edmondo De Amicis incontrò immediatamente l'adesione del pubblico, e divenne un successo di libreria straordinario; le tirature successive venivano esaurite una dopo l'altra, e il libro fu il primo best-seller dell'edizione italiana¹. I contemporanei lo considerarono come il miglior libro che fosse mai stato scritto per l'infanzia²; imposto dalla scuola, offerto dalle

¹ Negli anni 1960 se ne vendevano ancora 600.000 copie l'anno.

² Fu salutato come tale durante una seduta del Parlamento dal deputato Roux e il ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica Boselli. Cfr. M. Grillandi, *Lo straordinario successo del Cuore*, in *Emilio*

famiglie, fu letto da milioni di fanciulli delle nuove generazioni italiane e penetrò nelle coscienze, agendo come «uno degli strumenti più potenti di unificazione culturale nazionale»³. Assunto a «autobiografia infantile collettiva», sorta di «prima 'sintassi' che persiste in tutte le visioni e le prospettive della vita»⁴, fu utilizzato come un breviario dei valori consacrati dell'epoca, che cristallizzò in miti e modelli destinati ad essere condivisi durante un lungo periodo.

Il trionfo di *Cuore* e il suo successo duraturo suscitarono un numero importante di imitazioni; e se alcuni autori si limitarono ad un ammiccamento nel titolo – come per *Cuoricino ben fatto* (1891) e *Cuore del popolo* (1892) di Emma Perodi, *Il cuore dei ragazzi* di Fiorenza – altri invece confezionarono dei pastiches il cui scopo era di volgere l'opera di De Amicis ad altre finalità o ideologie⁵. Tale fu pure il progetto che sottendeva *Allieve di quarta*, concepito da Haydée come risposta alla domanda di una piccola lettrice:

Perché in CUORE non c'entra nessuna bambina?». Da questo rimpianto di una scolaretta, espresso dopo la lettura del capolavoro del De Amicis, è nato questo libro. Non dunque certo, nella mente dell'autrice e dell'editore, l'idea di un qualunque assurdo confronto artistico; ma l'idea di colmare una lacuna, offrendo alle bambine, dagli otto ai dodici anni, lo specchio della loro vita scolastica che i ragazzi trovano con tanta gioia in CUORE⁶.

Allieve di quarta è dunque stato scritto come una versione al femminile del libro di De Amicis per riparare una mancanza (tanto che, nella seconda edizione, il titolo diventerà *Il «Cuore» delle bambine. Allieve di quarta*)⁷. Nata a Trieste nel 1867, di confessione israelita, Haydée (per l'anagrafe Ida Finzi), dopo il liceo, si mise a scrivere per venire in aiuto alla famiglia, le cui finanze erano state dissestate dalla cattiva gestione del padre. Diventò giornalista⁸ di cronache mondane e di critica teatrale, e scrittrice di novelle e di romanzi di

Treves, Torino, UTET, 1977, pp. 429-439.

³ A. Asor Rosa, *Le voci di un'Italia bambina: Cuore e Pinocchio*, in *Storia d'Italia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1975, Vol. IV, Tomo 2, pp. 925-940, p. 928.

⁴ F. Flora, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, Milano, Mondadori, 1940, Vol. III, p. 501.

⁵ Ad esempio in *Vita di collegio* Carlo Maria Viglietti traspose *Cuore* in un collegio religioso, ed orienta il testo secondo un'altra ideologia: i genitori come i maestri pensano solo a dare un'educazione cattolica ai propri figli, a loro volta sinceramente devoti. Sulle imitazioni di *Cuore*, vedi P. Boero, *Libri a forma di cuore*, in *Cent'anni di Cuore. Contributi per la rilettura del libro*, a cura di M. Ricciardi e L. Tamburini, Torino, Allemandi, 1986, pp. 147-154.

⁶ Haydée, *Premessa, Allieve di quarta*, Firenze, Bemporad, 1922, p. V.

⁷ Haydée, *Il «Cuore» delle bambine (allieve di quarta)*, Firenze, Bemporad, 1926.

⁸ Collaborò a diversi grandi quotidiani italiani («Il Piccolo», «L'Illustrazione italiana», «il Secolo XX», «Il Fanfulla della domenica», «La Sera») e a riviste («Nuova Antologia») e conobbe un certo successo nel periodo 1910-1925. Parecchi suoi romanzi vinsero dei premi (come Faustina Bon, 1914). Su Haydée, vedi *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Roma, Treccani, 1997, Vol. 48; R. Curci, G. Ziani, *Per qualche centimetro in meno: Haydée*, in *Bianco, rosa e verde. Scrittrici a Trieste fra '800 e '900*, Trieste, Lindt, 1993, pp. 117-148; A. Sabot, *Ida Finzi e il suo doppio. La narrativa di Haydée*, Tesi di laurea, dir. Ezio Guagnini, Università di Trieste, 1994.

successo; pubblicò anche libri per i fanciulli⁹, di cui *Allieve di quarta* è il più noto. Volendo restituire al femminile l'opera di De Amicis, Haydée si rivolge a destinatarie dello stesso livello: i ragazzi «tra i nove e i tredici anni»¹⁰ diventano «le bambine dagli otto ai dodici anni»¹¹, e gli scolari della terza elementare di *Cuore* lasciano posto alle scolare di una classe di quarta¹². Il libro uscì nel 1922, ma «era già pronto nel 1914»¹³, dichiara Haydée; «pubblicandolo oggi, abbiamo preferito lasciarlo tal quale»¹⁴, assicura l'autrice nella prefazione. L'intervallo cronologico ridotto (tra il 1886 e il 1913) permette che si proceda ad un confronto fra questi due testi appartenenti entrambi al periodo dell'Italia liberale, di cui uno è notissimo, e l'altro quasi del tutto dimenticato.

Tipologia dei personaggi

De Amicis ha rinnovato la produzione letteraria per i ragazzi mettendo la scuola al centro della narrazione; grazie alla sua intuizione profonda della forza del nuovo legame fra l'infanzia e la scuola, ne ha fatto il tema centrale che determina i personaggi ed il contenuto ideologico. La scuola di *Cuore* non è soltanto l'istituzione dove si impara a leggere e scrivere; per De Amicis, è il luogo in cui l'umanità diventa migliore, il bastione contro l'ignoranza e la barbarie, la prima ispiratrice delle idee che formano gli individui e trasformano i popoli. Ma il suo universo diegetico è fondamentalmente maschile: al centro del racconto vi è una classe di ragazzi, il maestro è un uomo; i personaggi che si muovono a scuola, in strada e negli altri luoghi pubblici o privati sono dello stesso sesso. Le presenze femminili sono rare, e rimangono nell'ombra; oltre alle madri (e in particolare alla madre del narratore), si incontrano solo figure secondarie, come Silvia, la sorella maggiore di Enrico Bottini, il cui ruolo si riassume del resto a quello di un doppione materno; non agisce in modo autonomo, e scrive una lettera al fratello in cui ricorda di aver vegliato su di lui bambino, e lo assicura: «se una sventura tremenda ci colpisse, ti farei da madre io, e ti vorrei bene come a un figliuolo»¹⁵. Soltanto alle maestre De Amicis dedica uno spazio particolare, con le pagine vivaci dove appare la galleria dei ritratti rimasti in tutte le memorie (la maestrina dalla penna rossa, la monarchina...), o

⁹ Pubblicò fra l'altro da Treves *Paolo Landi* (1889), *Gli amici di Lucia* (1890), *Racconti di Natale* (1908) e, da Bemporad, *Bimbi di Trieste* (1916).

¹⁰ E. De Amicis, *Cuore*, Torino, Einaudi, 1972, p. 3.

¹¹ Haydée, *Premessa*, cit., p. V.

¹² In realtà il livello di studi è lo stesso; il cambiamento è dovuto al fatto che la classe di Ia non comporta più due livelli (Ia inferiore e Ia superiore) ma uno solo, e quindi la IIIa è diventata la IVa.

¹³ Haydée, *Premessa*, cit., p. V. La data menzionata alla fine è «novembre 1913».

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ De Amicis, *Cuore*, cit., p. 212.

quelle melodrammatiche sulla malattia e morte della maestra di I^a superiore¹⁶ di Enrico. *Allieve di quarta* riprenderà in modo simmetrico lo stesso schema: in una scuola femminile allieve e maestre appariranno allo stesso sesso, e a queste ultime Haydée dedicherà ugualmente una pagina intitolata «Le maestre»¹⁷. Fra le figure maschili appariranno di sfuggita alcuni padri, ma solo il padre di Gina conserverà una funzione importante, non narrativa ma morale e intellettuale; in questo universo quasi integralmente femminile, saranno soltanto i fratellini ad essere rappresentati con una certa freschezza.

A prima vista, si potrebbe affermare che «[il] ‘cuore delle bambine’ nasce come segno di fedeltà al mondo deamicisiano colpevole solo di aver trascurato l’infanzia femminile»¹⁸. Haydée conserva in effetti un identico impianto narrativo, adottando una scrittura a tre livelli: quello del diario che una scolaria, Gina Fantis, tiene durante un anno scolastico, con una successione giornaliera di episodi, scene e ritratti; a questi si aggiungono i racconti letti in classe e le lettere del padre e della madre¹⁹. Tuttavia Gina non è l’unica narratrice; lo spazio concesso all’espressione infantile (o supposta tale) è più ridotto che in *Cuore*, e la maggior parte delle pagine sono scritte alla terza persona da un narratore sentenzioso, portavoce dell’autrice²⁰; le lettere dei genitori conservano un ruolo importante, mentre i racconti mensili sono in calo. A questo mosaico testuale non mancano né unità né coerenza: l’unità spazio-temporale è assicurata dalla permanenza del luogo (la sezione «Vittoria Colonna» a Firenze), l’unità di tempo dall’anno scolastico (il 1911-1912), e l’unità d’azione dalla presenza delle stesse compagne di classe, fra cui spicca un gruppo centrale di personaggi modellato su quello di *Cuore*. Le scolare sono chiamate col loro cognome e caratterizzate da qualche tratto insistente, che fissa il loro ritratto fisico e psicologico secondo una tipologia che le differenzia in base a criteri soprattutto morali, dividendole fra buone e cattive; seguendo la tecnica ritrattistica di De Amicis, la vivacità della prima presentazione viene sempre ripresa, cosicché il tratto originario diventa permanente e permette di identificarle. La Niccoli per le sue qualità è una Derossi in gonnella, presentata come un modello di virtù (buona scolaria, è gentile, servizievole, coraggiosa) che suscita ammirazione ed affetto, ma è la seconda e non la prima della classe; Zavagna «la mammina» ricorda Coretti: porta sempre gli stessi abiti (uno scialle a quadretti), e accudisce i fratellini al posto della madre portinaia. Sul versante negativo troviamo due ragazzette piene di superbia, vestite sempre con eleganza come Nobis e Votini: la Pugliese è una fanciulla vanitosa e senza cuore, la Marrati ha modi sprezzanti; il malvagio Franti poi trova la corrispondente femminile nella Fossaro, «una

¹⁶ Cfr. «La mia maestra morta», *Cuore*, cit., pp. 353-355.

¹⁷ Haydée, «Le maestre», *Allieve di quarta*, cit., pp. 85-87.

¹⁸ P. Boero, *Libri a forma di cuore*, in *Cent’anni di Cuore. Contributi per la rilettura del libro*, a cura di M. Ricciardi e L. Tamburini, Torino, Allemandi, 1986, p. 151.

¹⁹ I 100 capitoletti di *Cuore* diventano 73 in *Allieve di quarta*.

²⁰ Su cento capitoletti, solo 16 appartengono al diario di Gina.

vera peste, col fare addormentato, ma così bugiarda e maligna e attaccabrighe che tutte hanno paura della sua lingua velenosa»²¹, e come il piccolo criminale in erba di *Cuore* fa anch'essa parte «dei terreni ribelli dove nessun germe di benignità e d'affetto riesce a produrre alcun buon frutto»²². Fra i due poli opposti si stende una gamma di caratteri intermedi, con qualità e difetti meno marcati: la Stracciasacchi con le sue smorfie è il pagliaccio della classe, come il muratorino deamicisiano, le sue smorfie sono irresistibili, «muovendo i sopraccigli e gli occhi e le labbra sa fare i lampi e le nuvole e i fulmini che è un divertimento»²³; l'Ambrosio «così bruna e forte, come un maschio, con quel suo fare da soldatina»²⁴, adora la ginnastica e ricorda Garrone per la forza fisica; alla Marchesetto, «la gran ciarlona [...] con gli occhi azzurri e una boccuccia vermiglia come una ciliegia, che non tace un momento»²⁵, piace ripetere tutti i pettegolezzi; la Manni che «ha l'aria di un sorciotto e l'anno scorso fu la prima della classe»²⁶, è un personaggio antipatico, che ricorda Stardi per la forza di volontà con cui si consacra allo studio, ma brilla per l'intelligenza paragonabile a quella di Derossi; la Zizzì «era sciatta da non dirsi, aveva sempre qualche bottone che mancava o qualche nastro ciondoloni»²⁷, etc. Non manca neppure la figura femminile omologa del ragazzo calabrese, il cui arrivo nella scuola torinese era servito per una lezione alla scolaresca sulla recente unificazione post-risorgimentale; stavolta, l'Italia lontana è rappresentata dalla piccola Gambresich, una ragazzina venuta da Trieste. La sua presenza dà alla maestra l'occasione di spiegare che, mentre quasi tutte le regioni italiane dopo il 1870 «si abbandonavano alla gioia divina di sentirsi libere e italiane, ve ne furono alcune che per ragioni politiche dovettero rimanere sotto il dominio di altri Stati»²⁸: le terre *irredente* donde veniva, giustamente, la triestina Haydée²⁹.

Interclassismo e questione sociale

«La tua classe è una miniatura del mondo in cui vivrai più tardi»³⁰, spiega la madre di Gina a sua figlia. Come in *Cuore*, la galleria dei ritratti infantili

²¹ *Allieve di quarta*, cit., p. 10.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁸ «La Triestina», *ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁹ Haydée aderiva alla causa irredentista, e nel 1914 si rifugiò a Firenze. Contro di lei fu pronunciata nel 1916 una condanna per «alto tradimento» (cfr. Curci, Zani, *Per qualche centimetro in meno: Haydée*, cit., p. 126).

³⁰ *Allieve di quarta*, p. 260.

è completata dalla menzione della condizione socioculturale dei personaggi, provenienti da ceti diversi: la Pugliese e la Marrati, figlie di un avvocato e di un banchiere, appartengono all'alta borghesia; Gina Fantis e l'Ambrosio, alla media borghesia; le figlie dei negozianti come la Giannetto o la Bruzzi, alla piccola borghesia; tutte le altre fanno parte del ceto popolare, e subiscono una situazione di povertà più o meno dura. Come in *Cuore*, i personaggi più meritevoli fanno parte del popolino: la piccola Zavagna studia di sera come Coretti, e dichiara a Gina: «Io di giorno non ho mai tempo di fare il compito [...], devo lucidare gli ottoni delle porte, devo portare il pranzo al mio fratello maggiore. Io faccio la lezione tardi, la sera, quando ho messo a letto i piccoli, mentre la mamma rattoppa gli abitini»³¹; la Niccoli vive in un misero appartamento dove non dispone né di un letto proprio, né di un tavolino per studiare; e tuttavia, grazie alle sue capacità, «tutto le riusciva più facile che alle altre; risolveva i problemi con rapidità, trovava subito la risposta giusta»³². Come Enrico ammira Coretti, che si alza tutti i giorni alle cinque per spaccar legna come un uomo, Gina ammira le sue compagne piccole massaie, che sanno cucire e preparare la conserva di pomodoro, badano ai più piccoli e prodigano le loro cure ai neonati come agli adulti, e si accorge che «a casa sua 'la piccola' era lei, che aveva pure undici anni, e ancora le regavano balocchi, e pensavano a sorvegliarla, e a farla accompagnare»³³. In ciò, *Allieve di quarta* è un riflesso fedele dei modelli di classe, in corrispondenza coi quali «la bambina borghese è molto controllata e seguita dagli adulti, la bambina del popolo è presto responsabilizzata ad affrontare il lavoro e la cura della casa»³⁴. Ma nell'intreccio, le differenze sociali generano una tensione etica, e queste bimbe povere che crescono in fretta servono da esempio alle figlie delle famiglie borghesi per la loro generosità e il loro spirito di sacrificio.

L'interclassismo della scuola deve incoraggiare la solidarietà: riprendendo una delle più celebri lettere del padre a Enrico («Gli amici operai»)³⁵, è la madre che s'incarica di spiegare a Gina che vi sono «mogli di muratori e figliuole di spazzini che hanno il sentimento più delicato e il cuore più affettuoso che certi signoroni e certe dame eleganti»³⁶, ragion per cui il popolo può vantare una superiorità morale sulle élites. Per educare il cuore di sua figlia, come il padre di Enrico³⁷, la madre incoraggia Gina a invitare a casa le compagne o a recarsi da esse, senza temere le differenze di classe, per far amicizia con tutte e migliorare

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 258.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁴ G. Di Bello, *Le bambine tra galatei e ricordi nell'Italia liberale*, in S. Olivieri (ed.), *Le bambine nella storia dell'educazione*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1999, p. 292.

³⁵ «Gli amici operai», *Cuore*, cit., p. 257-260.

³⁶ *Allieve di quarta*, p. 243.

³⁷ «Mio padre vuole che ogni giorno di vacanza io mi faccia venire a casa uno de' miei compagni, o che vada a trovarlo, per farmi a poco a poco amico di tutti», scriveva Enrico (De Amicis, *Cuore*, cit., p. 79).

se stessa affratellandosi alle altre. «È questa la vera fraternità, Gina», spiega ella, «il legame che, attraverso le differenze sociali, unisce strettamente e dolcemente i cuori che sanno amare»³⁸. La solidarietà e l'aiuto reciproco prendono la forma della beneficenza, che si manifesta a varie riprese; come i genitori di Enrico, quelli di Gina vengono in soccorso alle famiglie nelle strettezze, e il loro intervento permetterà alla piccola Calende, una bimba malata la cui famiglia versa in condizioni miserabili, di essere accolta durante l'estate nell'Ospizio marino di Pisa. Questo sfoggio di buoni sentimenti non cancella la drammaticità del male sociale: insalubrità, malattia, alcoolismo, delinquenza sono descritte con realismo, e non mancano quadri a forti tinte delle condizioni di vita degli operai, come la descrizione estrapolatamente dettagliata del tugurio dei Calende, dove Gina rimane sbigottita nell'entrare: «era quella la più povera fra tutte quelle poverissime abitazioni; una gran cucina affumicata e mezzo scura, col pavimento sporco, divisa in due da una vecchia cortina stinta, dietro alla quale s'intravedevano due grandi letti sbilenchi»³⁹.

In *Cuore*, la questione sociale era non ignorata, ma trasposta in termini di questione civile; nella società descritta da De Amicis, i rapporti di dipendenza tra ricchi e poveri erano «sublimati nell'osservanza comune delle regole di contribuzione al miglioramento della civiltà»⁴⁰. Ma nel primo Novecento i termini non sono più gli stessi; il partito socialista è stato fondato (1892), il sindacalismo si è affermato e gli scioperi si sono moltiplicati⁴¹; mentre De Amicis non immaginava nessuna mobilità sociale, Haydée invece la teme, e non rimane indifferente di fronte ai progressi del movimento operaio. In *Allieve di quarta* si rinvengono più di una volta rappresentazioni negative del mondo popolare che esibiscono una connotazione antisocialista. Il primo esempio è offerto dal racconto mensile «Il vestitino scozzese», in cui una bimba è travolta dal treno mentre cercava di avvisare il conducente per evitare un deragliamento: si tratta di un atto di sabotaggio le cui cause sono chiaramente denunciate: «nel villaggio, alla fabbrica di laterizi, c'era uno sciopero... ma alcuni operai anarchici, esclusi dal lavoro, minacciavano attentati, per vendetta»⁴², e l'azione criminale compiuta dagli anarchici ucciderà una piccola innocente. Saranno poi alcuni padri operai a profanare la santità della scuola adducendo a pretesto la giustizia sociale. Uno degli episodi più lunghi e movimentati dell'intreccio⁴³ vede entrare in campo i genitori Fossaro, perfidi e maligni quanto la loro figlia, che attaccano le maestre accusandole di proteggere un'allieva «perché è figliuola

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 278.

⁴⁰ V. Spinazzola, *La comunità dei ragazzi di cuore*, in *Pinocchio & C. La grande narrativa italiana per ragazzi*, Milano, il Saggiatore, 1997, p. 130.

⁴¹ In particolare, il primo sciopero generale del 1904 spaventò la borghesia.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴³ Vedi «Uno spintone», pp. 120-125 e «La mamma della Fossaro», pp. 125-128.

d'un capitano, mentre noi siamo povera gente»⁴⁴, e brandiscono una terribile minaccia: «vi metteremo sui giornali, vedrete, brutte schifose!»⁴⁵ «Detto fatto: il giornale *la Malalingua* pubblica una poesia intitolata *La maestra democratica*, in cui la signorina Parrini «era accusata di picchiare spesso e volentieri le scolare povere»⁴⁶; ma tutti volano in soccorso della maestra calunniata che sarà scagionata. Poi sarà la volta di un altro operaio, «ubriaco che non si reggeva, con una guardatura torbida»⁴⁷, di interpellare la Direttrice accusandola: «son venuto a sentire perché non danno la medaglia alla mi' figliuola [...]; che adesso c'è la giustizia, e le metteremo sui giornali le maestre che vogliono dare le medaglie solo alle figlie dei signori»⁴⁸, prima di concludere: «perché io le ingiustizie non le voglio»⁴⁹. Quest'operaio è Calende, un personaggio apparentemente costruito sul modello deamicisiano di Precossi padre, il fabbro ubriacone e violento che maltratta il figlio; salvo che questi sarà convertito al lavoro e agli affetti dalla medaglia attribuita al figlio per meriti scolastici, mentre quegli verrà a reclamarla egli stesso in nome della giustizia sociale. Non ci sarà nessuna redenzione per questo cattivo operaio socialista, e fino alla fine verrà ribadito che «sarebbe un bravo calzolaio, ma ha poco lavoro [...]. È per questo che hanno tanta miseria in casa»⁵⁰; il suo vizio lo discredita e provoca nella sua famiglia sofferenza e malattia senza rimedio.

Molti degli altri episodi che scandiscono l'anno scolastico sono ripresi dal libro di De Amicis, e restituiti con nuovi personaggi. Ma rispetto a *Cuore* le vicissitudini appaiono scolorite, le attività si limitano alla routine scolastica o familiare, l'esistenza delle scolare conosce «solo piccoli eventi di tutti i giorni: la scuola, le amicizie, il vestito della festa»⁵¹, e le giornate sono ritmate dalle abitudini familiari. Inoltre le protagoniste si muovono in un raggio limitato, tra scuola e casa; se poi vengono dalla borghesia, non sono mai sole in strada, ma sempre accompagnate da una domestica o dalla madre. Invece i ragazzi di *Cuore* godono di un'autonomia e di una libertà di movimenti molto più grande, e agli spazi pubblici è riservata una maggiore incidenza: parecchi episodi hanno per teatro la strada, più aperta agli incontri, e molte solennità cerimoniali si svolgono all'esterno, in luoghi monumentali come il teatro Vittorio Emanuele o il Palazzo di Città. Le allieve di Haydée avranno diritto ad un'unica uscita, quando alla fine dell'anno andranno insieme alla maestra alle Cascine, dove potranno giocare «a rincorrersi o a rimpiattino»⁵² e far merenda

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴⁷ «L'ubriaco», p. 159.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁵¹ F. Lazzarato, D. Ziliotto, *Bimbe, donne e bambole. Protagoniste bambine nei libri per l'infanzia*, Roma, Artemide, 1987, p. 47.

⁵² «Chi si rivede alle Cascine», *Allieve di quarta*, cit., pp. 247-254.

sull'erba. Il ritmo monotono degli eventi è talvolta interrotto da qualche fatto di maggior rilievo, che viene a turbare la vita quotidiana. I fatti portatori di gioia sono rari: solo una nascita nella famiglia Zavagna rallegra tutta la classe, e soprattutto la sorella, che vede nella neonata una bambola «viva da fasciare e da cullare»⁵³. Invece le sofferenze e le disgrazie, considerate più educative (come in *Cuore*) perché eccitano la commozione e suscitano la volontà di reagire operativamente, sono più frequenti: la madre operaia di una scolara ha la mano stritolata da una macchina in fabbrica, Marrati padre, «quel banchiere così ricco e così superbo»⁵⁴, fa bancarotta; viene arrestato e condotto in prigione, ed il suo fallimento manda in miseria la famiglia Niccoli, il cui padre era usciere nella stessa banca. Infine un'epidemia di difterite colpisce la piccola comunità: diverse bambine si ammalano, e una fra esse, Lilla Falchi, muore. Riguardo a *Cuore*, dove le situazioni e le scene funebri sono così numerose da aver spinto la critica a definirlo un «trionfo della morte espresso in termini ottocenteschi»⁵⁵, il tema mortuario è qui molto discreto; la morte di Lilla è l'unico lutto dell'anno scolastico, e dà luogo alla sobria descrizione di un funerale affatto laico (ripreso da un'analogha paginetta deamicisiana)⁵⁶, dove appare solo un corteo stradale – una cassa funebre seguita dalle maestre e da «tutta una fila di vestitini bianchi, intorno alla quale la gente si raccoglieva con un mormorio pietoso»⁵⁷ – che senza il minimo accenno a una funzione religiosa si dirige dall'abitazione della bimba defunta verso il cimitero.

In *Allieve di quarta* è rigorosamente assente non soltanto ogni manifestazione confessionale, ma anche il semplice sentimento religioso. *Cuore* sostituiva alla fede cattolica «la fede nell'umanità civilmente consorziata, secondo gli ordinamenti della borghesia moderna»⁵⁸, cancellava Natale e Pasqua dal calendario, tuttavia lasciava sussistere un certo teismo, affidandolo alla sensibilità religiosa della madre di Enrico. Nella lettera intitolata «Speranza» – sul significato della quale vi è stato un dibattito della critica⁵⁹ –, dopo aver ricordato che il figlio segue la «scuola di religione»⁶⁰, gli parla con fervore di Dio (il cui nome riappare a varie riprese nella lettera), lo invita a pregare il Signore per poter diventare sempre migliore, e conclude affermando la propria

⁵³ *Ibid.*, cit., p. 155.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁵⁵ A. Faeti, *Guardare le figure. Gli illustratori italiani dei libri per l'infanzia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1972, p. 125. Ma vedi anche, per la frequenza del tema nella letteratura infantile dell'800, S. Soldani, *La morte educante: un inedito di Marino Raicich*, «Passato e Presente», n. 50, pp. 107-135; M. Colin, *La mort expliquée aux enfants au XIX^e siècle: des cimetières aux champs de bataille*, «Transalpina», n. 5, 2001, pp. 47-70.

⁵⁶ De Amicis, «Un piccolo morto», *Cuore*, cit., p. 202.

⁵⁷ *Allieve di quarta*, cit., p. 214.

⁵⁸ Spinazzola, *La comunità dei ragazzi di Cuore*, cit., p. 99.

⁵⁹ Dibattito riassunto in una lunga nota di Luciano Tamburini a pp. 139-140 dell'edizione Einaudi, alla quale rimando.

⁶⁰ De Amicis, *Cuore*, cit., p. 139.

fiducia in «una bontà suprema e una pietà infinita», che autorizzi «in un'altra vita» la «celeste speranza» di un ricongiungimento delle anime dopo la morte⁶¹. In *Allieve di quarta* si riscontra invece un laicismo integrale, del tutto inabituale in un libro rivolto alle fanciulle, per le quali l'educazione religiosa era allora ancora più ovvia che per i maschi. Ma non si tratta di una scelta audace: tale posizione radicale deve essere con ogni probabilità ricondotta all'appartenenza religiosa di Haydée, di confessione israelita, che non potendo illustrare né la confessione cattolica, né la propria, se ne astenne del tutto.

Per la patria e per il re

Il percorso educativo delle scolarette, colto come processo di formazione individuale legato alla loro condizione sociale, viene riassorbito nella dinamica globale in atto nella scuola. La scuola è il luogo della loro educazione collettiva, dove riceveranno degli insegnamenti comuni, e faranno insieme l'apprendistato della vita sociale orientata dagli obblighi verso la famiglia, gli altri e la patria. In *Cuore*, il sentimento nazionale e patriottico impregnava tutto il libro; l'unificazione recente dei diversi stati regionali in un solo stato unitario era spesso ricordata dal maestro, e la bellezza del territorio nazionale celebrata con lirismo nella lettera del padre dedicata all'*Italia*⁶²; in *Allieve di quarta*, è solo la varietà dei dialetti parlati nella penisola a segnalare le diverse origini regionali dei suoi abitanti. Nel patriottismo di *Cuore* prendeva posto la storia, che era innanzi tutto la storia del passato recente in cui l'Italia si era costituita in nazione, e l'epopea eroica del Risorgimento veniva illustrata dalla presenza dei quattro «padri della patria»: Vittorio Emanuele II, Cavour, Mazzini e Garibaldi, trasformati in statue da venerare. Ma quanto era ancora d'attualità per *Cuore* (l'ultimo di quei grandi personaggi, Garibaldi, entrava solennemente nel libro il giorno della propria morte, sopravvenuta il 2 giugno 1882), appare più sfocato in *Allieve di quarta*, la cui redazione data del 1913, ossia più di cinquant'anni dopo l'Unità. Le allusioni alla situazione della penisola prima del 1861 non mancano, ma si tratta di brevi richiami al Risorgimento; è invece la guerra di Libia, alla quale viene spesso fatto riferimento, ad essere in primo piano: in novembre, una lettera del padre annuncia a Gina il massacro dei soldati caduti in un agguato a Sciara Sciat («oggi laggiù, nell'oasi lontana dove l'Italia ha inviato il suo esercito [...], trenta soldati sono caduti sotto i colpi degli arabi che ci hanno traditi; trenta giovani belli, forti, sani, partiti col sorriso sulle labbra»)⁶³; in marzo, un corteo che accompagna due reduci passa davanti alla

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁶² «Italia», *Cuore*, cit., p. 342. Si tratta di una lettera del padre.

⁶³ *Allieve di quarta*, p. 28.

scuola fra gli evviva della folla e la musica della banda militare, e le bambine fanno cadere dalle finestre «una pioggia di mazzolini di seta, bianchi rossi e verdi»⁶⁴; in aprile, il giovane Ambrosi, fratello di una compagna di Gina, parte per il fronte con il suo reggimento: una cerimonia patriottica ha luogo alla stazione, le famiglie sono commosse ma non piangono, poi il treno parte «col suo carico di bella giovinezza vibrante di amor patrio»⁶⁵. Ma per inculcare all'infanzia «l'amore santo per la nostra Italia»⁶⁶, nulla vale l'emozione provata durante un'esperienza vissuta; e così le scolare della sezione «Vittoria Colonna» saranno invitate dalla Direttrice a implicarsi personalmente in favore dei combattenti in occasione delle feste di Natale:

Bambine, son venuta a dirvi questo: in tutta l'Italia, voi lo sapete, si raccolgono offerte per inviare dei doni di Natale ai nostri soldati che combattono in Africa [...]; il dono, se volete, lo dovete fare proprio voi, coi vostri risparmi di scolarette, coi centesimi che spendereste in qualche piccolo capriccio [...]. Avete un mese per prepararvi⁶⁷.

Le ragazzine si entusiasmano e si impegnano tutte nel raccogliere fondi con piccoli sacrifici: le più agiate rinunciano ai dolci, le più povere al formaggio da mangiare col pane, altre ancora lavorano a maglia dei berretti di lana. Il giorno in cui sono rotti i salvadanai, la Direttrice conta la somma raccolta, poi riserba le sue lodi più fervide alle bambine più povere, che «avevano raggranellato [...] risparmiando il companatico, nella loro grama colazione, e mangiando pane asciutto per un mese per amore dei soldati italiani»⁶⁸. Con questa adesione alla campagna di Libia, Haydée (di cui abbiamo segnalato le opinioni irredentiste) si associava all'entusiasmo che si manifestò allora nella penisola, dove gran parte della stampa borghese⁶⁹ (compresa la stampa femminile)⁷⁰, approvò la spedizione.

La monarchia trova pure posto in *Allieve di quarta*, ma come lo comanda il paradigma femminile, saranno le regine e non il re ad essere celebrate; l'occasione è data da una visita della famiglia reale a Firenze. La maestra spiega chi siano: «queste sono le due regine buone che gli italiani amano e gli stranieri rispettano»⁷¹, e disegna due ritratti femminili atti a suscitare il loro affetto: la regina Margherita brilla per «la grazia luminosa, la dolcezza squisita, la carità,

⁶⁴ «I reduci», *ibid.*, p. 166.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶⁸ «Natale a Tripoli», *ibid.*, p. 73.

⁶⁹ Ad eccezione dei socialisti. Sulla guerra di Libia, vedi A. Del Boca, *Gli italiani in Libia. Tripoli bel suol d'amore (1860-1922)*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1886; S. Romano, *La quarta sponda: la guerra di Libia, 1911-1912*, Milano, Longanesi, 2005; N. Labanca, *La guerra italiana per la Libia, 1911-1931*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2012.

⁷⁰ Cfr. A. Forti Messina, *La guerra spiegata alle donne: l'impresa di Libia nella stampa femminile (1911-1912)*, Roma, Biblionk, 2011.

⁷¹ *Allieve di quarta*, p. 289.

l'intelligenza nobilissima»⁷²; quanto alla regina Elena, «graziosa e modesta», è risaputo «quale mamma affettuosa, quale ottima educatrice ella fosse pei suoi bambini»⁷³. Un'ennesima volta, Haydée segue il «metodo del cuore», e suscita l'affetto per i Savoia introducendo un personaggio accattivante. Enrico andava ad assister all'arrivo del re a Torino accompagnato dai due Coretti, figlio e padre; quest'ultimo doveva evocare i suoi ricordi militari e stringere la mano a re Umberto, presentandosi come un veterano del famoso «quadrato di Villafranca»⁷⁴. Ad un'analogha esperienza affettiva verrà affidata l'educazione del sentimento dinastico, e più precisamente alla partecipazione delle bambine alla cerimonia in onore dei sovrani: le allieve faranno parte dei cori che canteranno in presenza delle due regine, che dopo averle ascoltate vorranno congratularsi e rivolgeranno loro «delle parole d'incoraggiamento e di dolcezza»⁷⁵. Sarà per Gina, a cui «il cuore batteva dentro, per la commozione»⁷⁶, un momento indimenticabile, che potrà associare al ruolo storico della corona nella formazione dell'Italia unita, ringraziando con tutto il cuore «la buona sorte che aveva unito in un sol pensiero con Garibaldi e con Cavour, il Re Vittorio Emanuele II, un Savoia lui pure, della stessa casa delle due Regine che ora erano là»⁷⁷.

In *Cuore*, l'effetto atteso dall'episodio dell'incontro con re Umberto non è solo di farlo amare, ma anche di invitare gli scolari a seguire l'esempio di Coretti padre, che si diceva pronto a versare il proprio sangue per il re⁷⁸; nel regno d'Italia, il sovrano è il capo delle forze armate, e la vocazione militare è profondamente radicata nella dinastia dei Savoia⁷⁹. Gli scolari devono esser pronti a versare il proprio sangue in combattimento, quando saranno soldati ed andranno all'assalto del nemico al grido di «Savoia!», perché per De Amicis l'amor di patria è strettamente legato al dovere militare, e alla prontezza con la quale i suoi figli sono pronti a sacrificarle la propria vita; per l'autore de *La vita militare* (1868), la morte sul campo d'onore continua ad essere oggetto di uno sfruttamento retorico costante, che le conferisce un ruolo centrale nell'educazione morale dei futuri cittadini-soldati.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 228.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁷⁴ De Amicis, «Re Umberto», *Cuore*, cit., p. 232-237.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

⁷⁸ Coretti padre dirà un'ultima volta ai ragazzi, durante una passeggiata: «e se avrete da far dei quadrati anche voi, badate di tener duro come noi altri, ragazzi!» (*Cuore*, cit., p. 349).

⁷⁹ Vittorio Emanuele II si definiva ufficialmente nei suoi proclami «il primo soldato dell'indipendenza italiana».

L'identità maschile: eroismo e virilità

Nel diario di Enrico, il tema militare ritorna varie volte. Nel mese di novembre, troviamo dapprima una pagina intitolata «I soldati». Mentre passa in strada un reggimento di fanteria davanti agli scolari, il Direttore ne approfitta per fare una lezione di patriottismo e ricordare quale sia la loro missione: «Sono i nostri difensori, quelli che andrebbero a farsi uccidere per noi, se domani un esercito straniero minacciasse il nostro paese. Sono ragazzi anch'essi, hanno pochi anni più di voi»⁸⁰. A fine anno, in posizione di chiasmo, si trova la descrizione della sfilata militare per la festa nazionale; l'entusiasmo manifestato da Enrico alla vista di uno spettacolo così esaltante è subito corretto dalle riflessioni del padre, che associa con gravità i bei reggimenti che passano in piazza Castello ai campi di battaglia, dove potranno cadere sotto il fuoco nemico. E la vera conclusione del discorso del genitore si trova nella pagina seguente («Italia»), dove il padre invita il figlio a giurare: «Se verrà il giorno in cui dovrò dare per te il mio sangue e la mia vita, darò il mio sangue e morirò, gridando al cielo il tuo santo nome e mandando l'ultimo mio bacio alla tua bandiera benedetta»⁸¹. La morte per la patria e il sangue versato in combattimento ritornano in due noti racconti mensili, «La piccola vedetta lombarda» e «Il tamburino sardo», dove due fanciulli sono mostrati ad esempio per essersi sacrificati obbedendo agli ordini di un ufficiale. Nel primo racconto un contadinello di dodici anni, ucciso dagli austriaci mentre era salito su un albero per far da vedetta, riceverà gli onori di guerra e sarà salutato come un eroe dai soldati, perché «è morto da soldato»⁸². Nel secondo racconto, il protagonista è un tamburino di quattordici anni incorporato nell'esercito piemontese nel 1848; gravemente ferito mentre esegue una missione pericolosa su ordine del suo capitano, sarà amputato di una gamba e avrà diritto al riconoscimento supremo da parte del superiore: «Io non sono che un capitano: tu sei un eroe»⁸³. Questo secondo racconto introduce una lettera paterna consacrata a «L'amor di patria», dove il padre insegna al figlio che la vigliaccheria è la massima colpa per un giovane; tanto che se un giorno venisse a sapere che Enrico è tornato sano e salvo da un combattimento per essersi nascosto davanti al nemico, lo respingerebbe inorridito: «io t'accoglierei con un singhiozzo d'angoscia, e non potrei amarti mai più, e morirei con quel pugnale nel cuore»⁸⁴.

Nel fare della piccola vedetta lombarda e del tamburino sardo due giovani eroi combattenti destinati ad imprimersi nella memoria⁸⁵ delle giovani generazioni,

⁸⁰ De Amicis, «I soldati», *Cuore*, cit., p. 61.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁸⁵ Cfr. A.M. Banti, *La memoria degli eroi*, in A.M. Banti, P. Ginsborg, *Storia d'Italia*, Annali 22, *Il Risorgimento*, Torino, Einaudi, 2007, pp. 637-664.

l'obiettivo di De Amicis «è sempre l'esaltazione degli atti di grande eroismo di cui si rivelano capaci ragazzi che han la stessa età dei compagni di Enrico»⁸⁶, in modo che tutti i lettori debbano essere spinti ad emularli. L'autore di *Cuore* non ricerca un'integrazione in uno schema culturale che metta in rilievo nei ragazzi lo spirito di competizione, la voglia di dominare, l'aggressività, l'energia e tutti gli altri stereotipi comportamentali che, secondo gli studi sul genere, condizionano i bambini di sesso maschile (*vs* quelli di sesso femminile)⁸⁷ nella cultura occidentale. Anzi De Amicis, che veniva spesso criticato per le effusioni sentimentali di cui inondava la sua prosa – era stato soprannominato da Carducci «Edmondo dei languori il capitano cortese» – preferisce generalmente mettere in scena personaggi poco virili, e immagina situazioni ricche di effetti patetici. Di fronte a un Garrone protettore dei compagni più deboli, e ad uno Stardi che difende la sorella dagli strattoni di Franti, quante lacrime sgorgano in abbondanza da occhi maschili, quanti baci sono deposti dai maestri sulla fronte dei loro allievi e dagli ufficiali⁸⁸ su quella dei loro soldati, mentre i bersaglieri gettano fiori sui caduti, e i figli maschi servono da infermieri ai padri malati⁸⁹... Ma quando insegna ai suoi lettori a sormontare la paura della guerra e ad affrontare la morte in battaglia, l'autore di *Cuore* si conforma pienamente ai valori della borghesia del suo tempo, che valorizzava l'identità maschile a partire dalle virtù militari. Come insegna Georges L. Mosse⁹⁰, per l'uomo del secolo XIX amare, sacrificarsi ed accettare di morire per la patria formano la triade che costituisce la prima prova della virilità per l'uomo moderno; per il cittadino-soldato, la guerra diventa sacra, e la virtù del sacrificio supremo si confonde con l'onore di battersi per lo stato-nazione. In quanto «manuale delle emozioni patriottiche da utilizzare per insegnare la 'bellezza' di una morte eroica»⁹¹, *Cuore* contribuisce alla costruzione dello stereotipo dell'eroe maschile⁹² nel quale De Amicis fa consistere la virilità: il cittadino che è eroe non per la forza fisica o l'abilità nel maneggio delle armi, ma per la sincerità del suo amore patriottico, che genera il coraggio per affrontare la morte in battaglia.

⁸⁶ Spinazzola, *La comunità dei ragazzi di cuore*, cit., p. 110.

⁸⁷ Cfr. E. Gianini Belotti, *Dalla parte delle bambine: l'influenza dei condizionamenti sociali nella formazione del ruolo femminile nei primi anni di vita*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1973; L. Lipperini, *Ancora dalla parte delle bambine*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 2007.

⁸⁸ Vedi l'ufficiale che manda un bacio alla piccola vedetta lombarda, e l'ufficiale che «baciò tre volte sul cuore» il tamburino sardo.

⁸⁹ Cfr. «L'infermiere di tata», e l'assistenza prestata da Coretti alla madre malata.

⁹⁰ Vedi G.L. Mosse, *L'immagine dell'uomo: lo stereotipo maschile nell'epoca moderna*, Torino, Einaudi, 1997.

⁹¹ A.M. Banti, *Sublime madre nostra. La nazione italiana dal Risorgimento al fascismo*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2011, p. 74.

⁹² Cfr. L. Riall, *Eroi maschili, virilità e forme della guerra*, in Banti, Ginsborg, *Storia d'Italia*, Annali 22; *Il Risorgimento*, cit., pp. 253-288; J.-P. Bertaud, *La virilità militare*, in A. Corbin, J.-J. Courtine, G. Vigarello, *Histoire de la virilité*, Vol. II: *Le triomphe de la virilité. Le XIX^e siècle*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 2011, pp. 157-202.

Per De Amicis, il coraggio maschile non ha età, e il fanciullo deve possederlo prima di essere adulto; in *Cuore* gli eroi fanciulli sono celebrati dai racconti mensili letti in classe, i quali sviluppano la tipologia dell'eroismo infantile, secondo una ripartizione giudiziosa che permette di illustrarne le diverse categorie: l'eroismo patriottico (tre racconti)⁹³, il coraggio civile (due racconti)⁹⁴, l'abnegazione familiare (quattro racconti)⁹⁵, che parecchi protagonisti incarnano fino a sacrificare la propria vita⁹⁶. Tali racconti devono avere una funzione di *exemplum* narrando ogni mese «un atto bello e vero, compiuto da un ragazzo»⁹⁷, ed invitando i lettori a conformarsi a loro volta all'*ethos* virile, che domanda di possedere la stessa forza d'animo.

Questa educazione alle prove di coraggio, presentate come l'etica incombente ad ogni ragazzo, viene ripresa in *Allieve di quarta*, ma profondamente modificata per essere adattata all'identità femminile. In una lettera del padre di Gina (analoga a quella del padre di Enrico), il patriottismo delle donne, invece di condurre alle virtù guerriere e al sacrificio supremo, è di un'altra specie: «Questo è il patriottismo che anche voi donne dovete nutrir gelosamente nell'anima; patriottismo non fatto di prepotenza, di astio contro le altre nazioni, ma formato tutto d'amore»⁹⁸. Anche i soldati descritti dal padre compiono innanzi tutto una missione civile, e si mettono al servizio delle popolazioni disastrose come durante il terremoto di Messina, quando furono «teneri come madri, pazienti come infermiere per i feriti»⁹⁹. E la madre di Gina, in una lettera intitolata «Il più bel coraggio», ricorda: «A noi donne nessuno domanda il coraggio fisico, il coraggio che consiste nell'andar contro le fucilate senza tremare»¹⁰⁰, le donne però possono battersi per una giusta causa. Tuttavia queste dichiarazioni non propongono un'alternativa critica, fondata sugli ideali femminili, alla società costruita dagli uomini. Ciò che preme alla scrittrice è di provare che, in materia di coraggio femminile, è la differenza di genere che importa: «l'atto è ancora più bello quando viene da una donna mite, da un essere abituato alla sommissione e alla soavità»¹⁰¹. E in corrispondenza con la sua definizione del coraggio delle donne, Haydée propone cinque racconti suddivisi tra gli esempi di coraggio civile (due: «Il vestitino scozzese»¹⁰², «Alle marionette»)¹⁰³ e di abnegazione

⁹³ «Il piccolo patriotta padovano», «La piccola vedetta lombarda», «Il tamburino sardo».

⁹⁴ «Valor civile», «Naufragio».

⁹⁵ «Il piccolo scrivano fiorentino», «L'infermiere di Tata», «Sangue romagnolo», «Dagli Appennini alle Ande».

⁹⁶ I protagonisti de «La piccola vedetta lombarda», «Naufragio», «Sangue romagnolo».

⁹⁷ De Amicis, *Cuore*, cit., p. 23.

⁹⁸ *Allieve di quarta*, «28 dicembre», p. 78.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁰¹ *Allieve di quarta*, p. 14.

¹⁰² Una bambina, accortasi di un guasto al binario di un treno, cerca di segnalare il pericolo al conducente, e muore travolta dalla locomotiva.

¹⁰³ In un teatro di marionette scoppia un incendio. Per evitare un movimento di panico, mentre viene spento il fuoco da tutta la truppa, la piccola Giovanna assicura da sola lo spettacolo.

familiare (tre: «Biribis»¹⁰⁴, «Trenta pezze di stoffa»¹⁰⁵, «Fra due letti»)¹⁰⁶, i più numerosi, che confermano come il sacrificio femminile resti nell'ambito domestico.

Un «Cuore» per le bambine: l'identità femminile

Scrivendo *Cuore*, De Amicis pensava di comporre un'opera che, a causa del quadro generale e dei suoi personaggi, fosse rivolta a lettori di un solo sesso? Se i destinatari a cui si rivolgeva nella prefazione erano «ragazzi delle scuole elementari, i quali sono tra i nove e i tredici anni»¹⁰⁷, da cui si congedava con l'augurio: «Ora leggete questo libro, ragazzi: io spero che ne sarete contenti e che vi farà del bene»¹⁰⁸, gli interlocutori da lui immaginati erano essenzialmente maschili? Oppure bisogna vedere nel termine «ragazzi» un semplice plurale collettivo, che inglobasse in realtà ragazzi e ragazze (comme nell'appellativo generico «letteratura per ragazzi»), e nella scelta di personaggi maschili una coincidenza dovuta al fatto che fosse padre di due figli maschi, Furio e Ugo? Si può discutere su ciò, come si può discutere sulle opinioni di De Amicis a proposito delle differenze di genere; ci si può chiedere se lo scrittore sottoscrivesse ancora, nel 1886, agli stereotipi sui due sessi da lui enunciati nel 1868, quando aveva scritto nei bozzetti della *Vita militare* che «la donna cerca e ama tutto ciò che significa pace, debolezza ed amore, l'uomo si slancia con ardore verso tutto ciò che rappresenta la forza, la potenza e la gloria»¹⁰⁹. Oppure considerava scontato che *Cuore* fosse fondato su categorie universali come la famiglia, la patria e l'umanità, ed esaltasse la dignità del lavoro, degli studi e del merito facendo astrazione da ogni differenza di sesso? Su questi interrogativi il dibattito rimane aperto. La questione invece si pone in tutt'altri termini per quanto riguarda le motivazioni di *Allieve di quarta*: Haydée, facendo delle bambine le proprie destinatarie, non si limita ad offrir loro lo specchio del loro mondo scolastico, ma persegue un obiettivo moralista – che possiamo considerare «di genere» – centrato esclusivamente sull'identità femminile e così formulato: «l'idea di studiare, nell'anima femminile che si schiude appena, i germi delle virtù e dei difetti particolari alla donna, per incoraggiare quelle e

¹⁰⁴ Una servetta sopporta il dolore provocato da una bruciatura per non turbare la cerimonia del matrimonio della sua padrona.

¹⁰⁵ Durante l'occupazione austriaca, per proteggere la sua famiglia una bambina passa la notte a nascondere delle pezze rosse, bianche e verdi che si trovavano nel magazzino del padre.

¹⁰⁶ Una bambina rassicura il padre convalescente nascondendogli la malattia che ha colpito la madre.

¹⁰⁷ De Amicis, *Cuore*, cit., p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ Il testo è estratto dal bozzetto *Il figlio del reggimento*, pubblicato nel luglio 1868 nella «Nuova antologia» e inserito nell'edizione del 1869 della *Vita militare*.

reprimere questi»¹¹⁰. Nel corso del testo, si nota come, in confronto ai ragazzi di *Cuore*, pesi un maggior numero di norme e di obblighi sulle bambine, che sono rimproverate ogni volta che si mostrano impazienti o rumorose, ciarliere o disordinate, golose o pigre. Inoltre per loro è in gioco non soltanto l'*ethos*, ma l'*exis*; l'atteggiamento del corpo dev'essere sempre decente e modesto, e viene portata un'attenzione particolare alla loro tenuta e ai loro abiti; il loro fisico deve corrispondere al canone della grazia femminile, e la povera Zizzì, soprannominata «la grassona» dalla classe, viene schernita senza pietà per la sua andatura goffa «come quella delle oche delle quali ella aveva la grassezza e l'andatura dondolante e comicamente grave»¹¹¹.

Questo programma pedagogico traspare in filigrana in tutto il libro, specie nella tipologia dei personaggi, alcuni dei quali sono caratterizzati da difetti stereotipati (come la tendenza al pettegolezzo o la vanità), ma viene espresso in maniera più esplicita nelle lettere che i genitori scrivono nel diario di Gina; i loro interventi, fatti di avvertimenti o di rimproveri, rinforzano le nozioni trasmesse dalla narrazione, e tracciano un modello per la figlia, insistendo sui precetti fondamentali per l'educazione femminile. In parallelo alla scuola, qui è la famiglia che appare detentrica dei valori fondamentali da mettere in pratica, e tale funzione didascalica viene distribuita fra i genitori lasciando una funzione preponderante al padre, come in *Cuore*¹¹²: su dieci lettere gliene sono attribuite sei, e quattro alla madre. A lei competono i compiti che appartengono in proprio al suo sesso: inculcare la gentilezza, far capire cosa siano il rispetto, l'amore e la compassione. Le maniere gentili devono essere una seconda natura per le ragazzine, e la madre rimprovera Gina per la sua scortesie verso la servitù: «ti odo rispondere troppo vivacemente alle donne di servizio, dare un ordine con poco garbo, impazientirti se non viene capito»¹¹³; l'amore non dev'essere considerato dalle fanciulle come un passatempo, perché «l'amore, nella vita di noi donne [...] è qualcosa di serio, di bello, di grande, dal quale dipende la felicità di tutta l'esistenza»¹¹⁴; infine la fraternità comanda di compatire quelli che sono nel bisogno, che per ottenere un prestito devono impegnare al Monte di Pietà «un ricordo, un oggetto caro»¹¹⁵. È invece al padre – tradizionalmente figura virile dell'autorità familiare – che viene affidato da Haydée il ruolo, in apparenza paradossale, di spiegare quali siano i veri valori della femminilità, mettendoli a confronto con i difetti. Per prime vengono le lagrime. A differenza dei maschi, la propensione al pianto non dev'essere rimproverata alle donne, perché è insita nella natura del loro sesso: «Sì, a voi donne è permesso il piangere

¹¹⁰ Haydée, *Allieve di quarta*, cit., p. III.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

¹¹² In *Cuore* si contano dieci interventi del padre, sei della madre e uno della sorella di Enrico.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 130. Vedi sull'insegnamento delle buone maniere Di Bello, *Le bambine tra galatei e ricordi nell'Italia liberale*, cit., pp. 247-296.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

anche in circostanze nelle quali in noi il pianto sembrerebbe debolezza e viltà; è permesso, perché voi siete più gracili fisicamente, più delicate, più sensibili, più affettuose»¹¹⁶; bisogna tuttavia saper distinguere le vere lacrime, che sono «le lacrime del dolore vero»¹¹⁷, dalle lacrime false, di cui abusano certe donne per arrivare ai propri scopi. La grazia è pure un attributo femminile, e uno dei migliori modi di mostrare la finezza e la delicatezza, anche se si studia, è quello di coltivare «quei lavori di cucito e di ricamo ai quali le nostre nonne si dedicavano con passione»¹¹⁸. L'ordine deve diventare un'abitudine per Gina, che sarà un di padrona di casa come sua madre, e il padre le dice di voler vedere «nella [sua] stanza ben ordinata il riflesso della [sua] mente sana, della [sua] giovine anima chiara, desiderosa del bene»¹¹⁹. La dolcezza è la più grande qualità delle donne, assistere e curare un malato è la loro vocazione naturale, perché «sanno essere madre e sorelle per lui»¹²⁰. «Mai, credilo», scrive il padre, «come accanto al letto d'un malato, si può vedere il valore immenso della dolcezza femminile nel mondo»¹²¹. Chiude la serie il ritratto della bambina modello:

Studia, e s'interessa a quel che studia; ricama, coltiva i fiori, lavora in cucina; e nessuna di queste occupazioni femminili le sembra sciocca o noiosa, poiché vede in ognuna d'esse un modo grazioso di abbellir la vita di chi le è vicino: i fiori, che adornano così gentilmente la casa, i cibi buoni che aguzzano l'appetito di chi torna stanco dal lavoro, e gli provano l'affetto di chi lo aspettava¹²².

Un ritratto che, in piena età giolittiana, restringe l'orizzonte della fanciulla confinandola in un mondo domestico chiuso e atemporale, dal quale sono escluse le grandi questioni politiche, sociali e culturali dell'epoca. Haydée non rimette in discussione la necessità della scolarizzazione per tutte le donne, nella quale vede un dato di fatto irreversibile, ma si guarda bene dall'elevare un inno all'istruzione pubblica femminile, in confronto all'incuria del periodo precedente. Il padre di Gina, constatando che ormai «le bambine studiano come i ragazzi, vanno al ginnasio come loro, vanno anche all'università, prendono i loro bravi diplomi»¹²³, approva questi cambiamenti, ma a condizione che tali studi migliorino le competenze femminili, e che si tratti di un'«istruzione capace di rendere le donne mogli e madri sempre più capaci e insostituibili»¹²⁴ nelle loro eterne missioni. Le bambine che non corrispondono a questo canone

¹¹⁶ «Le lacrime», *ibid.*, p. 27.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ «L'ago», *ibid.*, p. 98.

¹¹⁹ «Ordine», *ibid.*, p. 68.

¹²⁰ «La signora della lampada», *ibid.*, p. 199.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹²² «Le buone compagne», *ibid.*, p. 260.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹²⁴ F. Borruso, «Piccole donne crescono». *La letteratura didattico-morale per la gioventù femminile*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 7, n. 1, 2012, pp. 557-574, p. 559.

sono viste come esseri senza cuore: così è la Manni, la prima della classe per intelligenza ed ardore allo studio, ma di carattere freddo e ambizioso. L'autrice, che le ha affibbiato un fisico ingrato e privo non solo di femminilità, ma quasi anche di umanità – piccola e magra, «ha l'aria d'un sorcietto silenzioso, con due codini sottili stretti sugli orecchi»¹²⁵ – si accanisce contro questo personaggio singolare, che «capiva tutto a volo, ricordava tutto senza uno sbaglio, senza esitazione»¹²⁶, ma non manifestava riconoscenza alla maestra, né affetto alle compagne: «pareva che quell'orgoglio le bastasse, e restava fredda e dura, *come se non fosse una bambina* ma una persona grande e ambiziosa, che sa dove vuol arrivare e non si cura di altro»¹²⁷. Contrariamente alle compagne infatti, la piccola Manni sa perfettamente dove vuole arrivare: «Io farò la professoressa di Filologia [...]. Avrò le borse di studio, darò lezioni, frequenterò l'Istituto Superiore, poi avrò un posto al ginnasio in qualche città lontana e andrò ad occuparlo»¹²⁸. Questa scolara che accarezza un progetto che le permetterà, malgrado la grande povertà della famiglia, di raggiungere lo scopo che si è fissata, è ripudiata dall'autrice, che le rimprovera continuamente la sua determinazione e «il suo involucro di essere ambizioso, intelligente e duro»¹²⁹. L'unico merito che le verrà riconosciuto è quello di amare teneramente il fratellino¹³⁰, che curerà con abnegazione femminile quando sarà colpito dall'epidemia di difterite.

Alla fine dell'anno scolastico, dopo i risultati degli esami, la classe si divide in due gruppi: le scolare che l'anno seguente continueranno gli studi in quinta, e quelle che dovranno interromperli per venire in aiuto alla famiglia: «la Zavagna, la mia cara portinarina, andrà a lavorare da sarta; e per la stessa ragione non vedrò più gli azzurri occhi un po' attoniti della Marchesetto, e non riderò più delle fresche uscite della Stracciasacchi»¹³¹, scrive Gina nel suo diario. Invece la durata dell'obbligo è cambiata dai tempi di *Cuore*, quando non andava oltre la terza elementare; la legge Orlando del 1904 l'ha prolungata fino ai dodici anni, ed ha aggiunto al ciclo elementare i due anni del corso popolare. A detta di legge, tutte le allieve di quarta dovrebbero passare alla classe superiore, ma Haydée sembra ignorarlo. Per De Amicis, la divisione della scolaresca sancita dalla scuola dell'obbligo era senza appello, e sembrava scontata; in una società che l'autore vedeva ancora chiusa ad ogni mobilità sociale, ciò sembrava ovvio tanto al padre di Enrico, che scriveva al figlio: «Finita la quarta, tu andrai al Ginnasio ed essi faranno gli operai»¹³², quanto a Coretti padre, che profetizzava: «fra qualche anno, chi sa, Enrico e Derossi saranno avvocati o professori, o che

¹²⁵ *Allieve di quarta*, p. 8.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* Il corsivo è nostro.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹³⁰ «La Manni e il suo fratellino», *ibid.*, pp. 116-119.

¹³¹ *Allieve di quarta*, cit., p. 285.

¹³² *Cuore*, cit., p. 257.

so io, e voi altri quattro in bottega o a un mestiere»¹³³; l'importante, per l'uno come per l'altro, era preservare l'amicizia nata sui banchi di scuola: «quando tu sarai all'Università o al Liceo, li andrai a cercare nelle loro botteghe o nelle loro officine, e ti sarà un grande piacere il ritrovare i tuoi compagni d'infanzia»¹³⁴, scriveva il padre a Enrico. In *Allieve di quarta*, la rigidità delle divisioni sociali è temperata dalle riforme dell'età giolittiana, cosicché nel gruppo delle allieve che non lasceranno la scuola figurano due ragazzine povere ma meritevoli (la Manni e la Niccoli), che ricevono aiuti dallo Stato; è del resto degno di nota che per Haydée due bambine di condizione poverissima possano essere le migliori della classe. Dopo le elementari, le scolare andranno alla Scuola Normale: Haydée traccia dei limiti conformi alla situazione concreta della maggioranza delle fanciulle appartenenti alla media e piccola borghesia del suo tempo, e non solo non immagina che Gina e le altre possano in futuro diventare avvocato, medico o «senatore del Regno», ma critica la Manni che ambisce ad una situazione superiore alla propria condizione sociale.

Così si conclude il *Cuore delle bambine*, che Haydée sembrava aver concepito in una prospettiva egualitaria per offrire alle piccole lettrici un libro sulla scuola di cui le ragazzine fossero le protagoniste. La lettura che ne abbiamo fatto diverge da quella di Pino Boero, che passando in rivista i rifacimenti di *Cuore* ha affermato che Haydée, con questa biografia infantile collettiva al femminile, «ha il coraggio di affrontare globalmente *Cuore* senza operarne quel saccheggio sistematico tipico di molti degli autori fin qui esaminati»¹³⁵. L'autrice saccheggia invece, e finisce con l'impovertire il senso del testo di De Amicis, privandolo della sua dimensione utopica universale legata alla scuola e all'istruzione, per piegarlo ad progetto conformista e normativo legato alla famiglia. Preoccupata innanzitutto dall'idea di costruire un'identità femminile colta, ma rinchiusa in ruoli subordinati, Haydée scrive: «certo è bene che le donne leggano e s'istruiscano, ma perché voler che rinuncino a essere donne?»¹³⁶; e invece che dal mondo scolastico, è dal mondo familiare che verrà l'insegnamento dell'ethos femminile per le piccole lettrici. Nella coppia perfetta formata dai genitori di Gina, la madre rappresenta il modello di donna ideale. «Tua madre ama leggere», spiega il padre, «tu e i tuoi fratelli la vedete seguire con intelligenza e con amore i vostri studi»¹³⁷; tuttavia la vera comunione fra i due coniugi avviene la sera, precisa il padre, quando «ella viene col suo lavoro accanto a me che scrivo, siede dall'altra parte del tavolino ripassando i vostri vestiti [...] dando qua un punto, riattaccando là un bottone, mutando il merletto d'un grembialino o il nastro d'un cappello»¹³⁸. La trasposizione al femminile

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

¹³⁵ Boero, *Libri a forma di cuore*, cit., p. 152.

¹³⁶ Haydée, *Allieve di quarta*, cit., p. 99.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

di *Cuore* messa in opera da Haydée non ha dunque un suo potenziale utopico, né una carica innovativa rispetto agli schemi convenzionali, ma finisce col riproporre gli stereotipi femminili tradizionali che sono «le virtù dell'obbedienza alle autorità familiari, della fedeltà, della mitezza, del silenzio, della delicatezza, della dolcezza, dell'abnegazione, del sacrificio»¹³⁹. Così *Allieve di quarta*, alla stregua della letteratura rivolta alle lettrici adulte dello stesso periodo¹⁴⁰, rinvia ai modelli cristallizzati dalla borghesia di fine '800¹⁴¹ invece di annunciare la modernità del nuovo secolo: le donne non esistono in quanto cittadine (ed in effetti, non hanno diritto di voto), ma continuano ad essere madri e mogli, e le professioni aperte loro sono quelle che ne prolungano le qualità naturali: maestre di scuola ed infermiere. Le operaie esistono, ma sono tali per necessità e non per scelta; sono le «donne del popolo che, per dar da mangiare alle loro creature, sono costrette ad andar a lavorare nelle fabbriche»¹⁴².

Epilogo

In confronto a *Cuore*, il successo incontrato da *Allieve di quarta* fu modesto, e le ragioni che possono spiegarlo sono molteplici. Pubblicato nel 1922, fu sottoposto nel 1925 al giudizio della Commissione centrale sui libri di testo per le scuole elementari presieduta da G. Vidari, la quale, pur giudicandolo «un po' prolisso e antiquato», gli riconobbe delle qualità: «pittura vivace della vita di scuola, caratteri ben tratteggiati, naturalezza di stile, esaltazione del dovere fino al sacrificio di ogni sentimento generoso, primo l'amor di patria»¹⁴³. La Commissione deplorò invece che l'edizione del 1922 fosse «priva di illustrazioni che molto gioverebbero a render il libro più attraente»¹⁴⁴, ragion per cui nel 1926 Bemporad fece stampare una seconda edizione, ornata dai disegni di Marina Battigelli.

¹³⁹ Borruso, «Piccole donne crescono». *La letteratura didattico-morale per la gioventù femminile*, cit., p. 564.

¹⁴⁰ Cfr. P. Boero et al., *Storie di donne: contessa Lara, Anna Vertua Gentile, Ida Baccini, Jolanda: scrittura per l'infanzia e letteratura popolare fra Otto e Novecento*, Genova, Brigati, 2002.

¹⁴¹ Cf. G. Fraisse, M. Perrot (edd.), *Storia delle donne in Occidente*, Vol. 4: G. Duby, M. Perrot, *L'Ottocento*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1991.

¹⁴² *Allieve di quarta*, cit., p. 95.

¹⁴³ Cfr. *Lecture. Libri utili per maestri, per biblioteche e per premio*, in *Relazione della Commissione ministeriale per l'esame dei libri di testo da adottarsi nelle scuole elementari*, BUMPI 23 febbraio 1926, oggi in A. Ascenzi, R. Sani, *Il libro di scuola tra idealismo e fascismo (1923-1928)*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2005, pp. 429-573, p. 502.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

In seguito Haydée aderì al fascismo, e negli anni Trenta pubblicò *Il libro della mamma e del bambino*¹⁴⁵, in cui elogiava la politica natalista di Mussolini, ed affermava come la missione femminile esigesse che la donna si consacrasse alla famiglia ed ai figli, rinunciando ai progetti che potessero portarla all'esterno del focolare. Ma tale dichiarazione di fedeltà al regime non le portò il riconoscimento sperato, e *Allieve di quarta* non andò oltre la seconda edizione. Una delle cause fu probabilmente il fatto che questo libro patriottico sì, ma interamente laico, potesse continuare ad essere proposto alle bambine dopo l'introduzione dell'insegnamento della religione a scuola, reso obbligatorio nel 1923 con la riforma Gentile, seguito poi dal ravvicinamento tra lo Stato fascista e la Chiesa cattolica nel 1929. La sfortuna del libro di Haydée doveva accrescersi anche per un'altra ragione: a partire dal 1938, la legislazione razziale proibiva la pubblicazione o la riedizione delle opere degli scrittori ebrei, che vennero radiate dalle biblioteche pubbliche. Ida Finzi scomparve dopo la Seconda Guerra mondiale, nel 1946. Sulla scia di *Cuore*, che ritrova un ampio consenso dopo la caduta del fascismo, *Allieve di quarta* esce di nuovo nel 1951 da Cappelli. Nel clima della guerra fredda dei primi anni Cinquanta, il libro sarebbe potuto piacere per il moralismo e il conservatorismo di cui era portatore; tuttavia l'assenza totale di una anche minima componente confessionale non poteva convenire ad un'epoca in cui l'ipoteca cattolica gravava pesantemente sulla scuola e sull'educazione dell'infanzia. Così l'edizione del 1951 fu l'ultima, e il *Cuore delle bambine* non conobbe più successo.

¹⁴⁵ Haydée, *Il libro della madre e del bambino. Volume dedicato alle madri d'Italia*, Trieste, Moscheni, 1934.

«Moulding the peasant masses to make our Italy into a Nation». Ottavio Gigli and the National Association for the Founding of Rural Infant Schools, from the struggle against illiteracy to nation-building (1866-1873)

Part Two*

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ABSTRACT: Having gathered a rich collection of archive and printed material, the authors retrace the origins and significant developments of the National Association of Rural Infant Nurseries, the society founded in Florence in 1866 by the Roman man of letters and educationalist Ottavio Gigli with the support of some of the most distinguished figures of the political and cultural life of the newly unified state: Terenzio Mamiani, Carlo Matteucci, Bettino Ricasoli, Gino Capponi and Niccolò Tommaseo. The National Association of Rural Infant Schools was received with considerable favour by national public opinion and it generated a huge movement of support for the creation of nursery schools for the education

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of peasant children, especially in those rural areas where elementary schools founded as a result of the Casati law (1859) proved to be of little effect in addressing the problem of widespread illiteracy and completely ineffective in containing the massive scale of school absenteeism. The Association became the prime mover in a robust campaign for the radical reform of the Casati legislation regarding primary education and – based on the Anglosaxon model – for a greater presence of private initiatives and voluntary associations which were an expression of civil society.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Rural School; Nursery School; Illiteracy; Private Funds; Italy; XIX Century.

2. The founding of the National Association of Rural Infant Nurseries and the beginning of the new initiatives for popular education in the agricultural areas of the peninsula

Whilst Ottavio Gigli did take up some of the proposals advanced in the previous months by the National Association for Popular Education in Italy, including the idea of public shareholding and a broader involvement of individuals for the promotion of instruction and education in the country, his initiative in Florence, right from the outset, defined objectives that were substantially different from those set by the Milanese association. And the difference was highlighted at several junctures, with the purpose, probably, of underlining its originality and autonomy compared to the ill-fated creature brought into being by Giuseppe Sacchi and the other directors of the *Associazione Pedagogica Italiana*:

We are consoled – read one of the first advertising pamphlets of the Milanese association – that generous towns like Milan, Siena, Como and others also intend to improve the moral and intellectual conditions of the people of the country; but as they adhere to the Statute of the Milan Committee, whose purpose is to subsidise and to reward, they do not share our aim which is to found and promote rural nurseries where they are lacking. Mr. Ottavio Gigli gave us his plan, shown below, which acts as a foundation stone of this Promoting Committee, along with the four letters from the illustrious *Gino Capponi*, *Bettino Ricasoli*, *Terenzio Mamiani* and *Carlo Matteucci*, who with him were the founders. Our promoting society thus intends to take this action according to the defined rules¹.

Archives and abbreviation: ACS = Archivio Centrale dello Stato (State Central Archives, Rome); AMCR = Archivio del Museo Centrale del Risorgimento (Archives of Central Museum of Risorgimento, Rome); ASIF = Archivio Storico dell'Istituto Nazionale di Documentazione, Innovazione e Ricerca Educativa (Historical Archives of the National Institute of Educational Documentation, Innovation and Research, Florence); ASR = Archivio di Stato di Roma (State Archive, Rome); ASV = Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican Secret Archives, Vatican City); ASVR = Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma (Historical Archives of the Vicariate of Rome); BNCF = Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (National Central Library in Florence, *Manuscripts and rare books Section*); BCF = Biblioteca Comunale «Aurelio Saffi» in Forlì (Municipal Library in Forlì, *Piancastelli Collection*); BNBM = Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense di Milano (Braidense

Founded in the space of a few weeks, due to the many and high-quality applications for membership that came from all over the peninsula, by the start of 1866 the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* Supporters Committee counted more than 250 members, amongst whom 25 parliamentary deputies and senators, numerous members of the landowning aristocracy and the urban bourgeoisie of traders and professionals, as well as a large body of men of letters, scholars, educationalists and educators: the names included Aleardo Aleardi, Iacopo Bernardi, Vincenzo De Castro, Angelo De Gubernatis, Francesco De Sanctis, Pietro Fanfani, Cesare Guasti, Mauro Macchi, Achille Mauri, Enrico Mayer, Anna Maria Mozzoni, Luisa Amalia Paladini, Antonio Pavan, Giuseppe Sacchi, Pietro Siciliani, Carlo Tenca, Giuseppe Vago, Pacifico Valussi and Atto Vannucci, to name only the most celebrated².

In April 1866 the Promoting Committee was called upon to approve the *Statute* of the burgeoning *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*³. Founded «in Florence as in the capital of the Kingdom», the Association had «as its purpose to found rural infant nurseries throughout Italy, and thus to prepare the education of the people of the country in the easiest and most affordable way». Its members included «all those who are united for this purpose and according to this Statute, who sign up for a share of at least two lire a year for a period of five years». In order to reach its aims, the Association could take advantage, besides the «obligatory contribution of signed up members», also of the «ordinary and extraordinary donations by members and all meritorious participants in the association», of the «subsidies that the Government, the Provinces and the *Comuni* could provide for the founding and maintenance of the nurseries; this would be in the form of money, premises, materials, books, instruction given to teaching staff», and, lastly, of «objects in kind of any description, especially from the children's parents, income from performances, readings, festivals, fairs, etc.»⁴.

National Library in Milan, *Manuscripts and rare books Section*); BNCr = Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma (National Central Library in Rome, *Manuscripts and rare books Section*); BOP = Biblioteca Oliveriana di Pesaro (*Mamiani Archive*); MI = Ministry of the Interior; MPI = Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione [Ministry of Public Education]; CSPI = Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione [Upper Council of Public Education]; b./bb. = busta/buste [*folder/folders*]; doc./docc. = documento/documenti [*document/documents*]; f./ff. = fascicolo/fascicoli [*file/files*]; reg./regg. = registro/registri [*volume-register/registers*].

¹ *Società promotrice della fondazione di Asili rurali per l'Infanzia. Avvertenza*, cit., pp. 9-10.

² See the full list in *Associazione Nazionale per la fondazione di Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, cit., pp. 3-4.

³ On this subject see the handwritten memoir, almost certainly written by Ottavio Gigli himself, entitled *On the Origins of the Promoting Society of the Foundation of Rural Infant Nurseries*, undated but 1867 or 1868, in ASIF, «Ottavio Gigli» Archive, b. 7 (*Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali*), *Corrispondenza e varie* (1866-1873).

⁴ *Società promotrice della fondazione di Asili rurali per l'Infanzia. Statuto (1866)*, in *Associazione Nazionale per la fondazione di Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, cit., pp. 15-18, artt. 1-3.

Regarding the decision-making organs of the Association, the *Statute* established first and foremost that the «general assembly of members» would meet ordinarily «once a year in the autumn at the invitation of the Central Committee published in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale*»; the Central Committee was also able to «request the extraordinary convocation of the general assembly of members», even at other times of the year. In defining the specific prerogatives of this organ, the *Statute* stated: «The assembly listens to the annual report of the Directors, following approval by the Committee, and members are free to make their own observations; it listens to and discusses the proposals of the Directors and of the Committee and the auditors' report; it receives proposals by individual members and then passes them on to the Committee; it discusses the best means for promoting the aim of the Association: it nominates among the members, on the basis of a relative majority, the Committee members and auditors of accounts». It also specified that every member, «for however many shares he has subscribed», could only express one vote⁵.

The *Statute* also established that the central committee of the Association would be made up of «seventy-five members, from all provinces of the Kingdom without distinction», and that it would constitute to all effects «the governing council and deliberative representation of the Society», whose task was to determine «the rules of its action» and to elect «from its core five directors, a treasurer and a secretary»⁶.

The governing body of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* was «appointed by absolute majority by the Committee at its core», and was made up of «five persons, who elected the President from among themselves». This constituted «the executive organ of the Committee and the Society», that was expected to «keep the protocol and conserve the Association's records, correspondence, cash and anything else that belonged to the Society»; to correspond «with the Government, with Provinces and *Comuni* and their relative Councils, with school authorities, with heads of educational institutions, with individual members and with whatever may be in the interests of the aims of the Society»⁷.

Lastly, the *Statute* established that the Association would be constituted to all effects only in the case in which there were «subscriptions for at least one thousand shares»; that it would have five years duration and, where formal notice of cancellation was not registered, that it could be renewed «from one period of five years to the next, until such time that it had achieved the purpose for which it was created; with the faculty of being able to modify and enlarge with the agreement of the assembly at the end of every five year period»⁸.

⁵ *Ibid.*, artt. 4-6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, art. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, artt. 11-12.

⁸ *Ibid.*, artt. 17-18.

In October 1866, in his role as Minister of the Interior, Bettino Ricasoli sent a circular to all the «Prefects and Subprefects of the Kingdom» in which he illustrated the aims of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, urging them to support its local work with all the means available. After underlining the utility and unquestionable advantages of the initiative that the Association proposed to carry out in rural areas, the Minister of the Interior put great stress on exhorting the representatives of the government to facilitate «the foundation and propagation» of rural nurseries «in all *Comuni* of the Kingdom»:

This Association – concluded Ricasoli – aims at casting into infant souls the first seeds of virtue and culture, especially amongst those classes which are more distant from highly populated areas; it has a clear and particular aim, that in its modesty contains a fecund proposal of great and necessary social reforms. The foundation and propagation of this Association thus requires your warm support in all *Comuni* of the Kingdom. [...] In this way the Italian nation will be able to become worthy of its history, and a match for new fortunes that the near future reserves, if with strong initiatives and tireless perseverance it can move ahead along the roads of true liberty and genuine progress⁹.

Ricasoli's circular, sent on 1 October 1866 to the prefects and subprefects, was followed, in the next weeks, by several others, signed this time by members of the promoting committee, which were destined to make the local religious and administrative authorities aware of the important objectives that the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* intended to pursue and in order to obtain the greatest possible support.

The first of these circulars was the one sent, at the beginning of November, to Italian parish priests. Drafted by Ottavio Gigli and then submitted for approval by the other members of the promoting committee, it was in certain respects supported by Niccolò Tommaseo, who, in a letter sent to Gigli on 26 September, had drawn attention to the need, for the promotion of rural nurseries to work successfully, to generate the greatest possible involvement of the pastoral clergy:

Everywhere, but principally in Italy and in the Italian rural population – underlined Niccolò Tommaseo – no institution can bear fruit if it has a priest as an enemy. By relating to a priest, albeit suspicious or in disagreement, in the way that is done by laymen or men who disagree, with whom we have to live, or like tradesmen, who to achieve their everyday purposes do not ask to know their opinions on politics, aesthetics or theology, we can soon overcome serious difficulties, which would not be possible if we gave these other topics too much heed. To be worthy of educating the new generation, we should educate ourselves: and we all, both priests and laymen, need education¹⁰.

⁹ *Circolare del Ministro dell'Interno Bettino Ricasoli (Firenze 1° ottobre 1866)*, Firenze, Tip. Mariani, 1866.

¹⁰ Letter from Niccolò Tommaseo to Ottavio Gigli, Florence 26 September 1866, in ASIF, «Ottavio Gigli» Archive, b. 15 (Signed letters to Ottavio Gigli), Letters from Niccolò Tommaseo (1802-1874).

In his reply, Ottavio Gigli showed himself to be largely in accord with the convictions that had driven Tommaseo to solicit the involvement of the clergy:

The words which concluded the very courteous letter which was sent to me – wrote the Roman man of letters and educationalist – suggested a useful alliance with the clergy to accompany us in promoting the instruction and education of the masses. I was always of the same mind as I know *a priori* how important this is in the country: and because in Rome since 1846 I have seen how quickly evening schools have progressed due to their work. Baron Ricasoli, in his circular to the prefects and subprefects, in which he recommended our association, mentioned the fact that help could be requested from everyone without distinction of party or without mentioning *people's names*. I thus decided to turn to all the parish priests in a circular, of which I enclose a copy, to ask them to join us, to lend us a hand, and I also sent them some questions that struck me as an effective springboard for sowing the first seeds of good in those places, which are in such need of bearing fruit¹¹.

The circular addressed to the parish priests intended firstly to underline the *naturaliter christiana* matrix and the unquestionable effects on peasant moralisation of the work undertaken by the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, not to mention the Association's total extraneousness (inspired by the «common principle of morality and love for good which all honest men must acknowledge») to the contrasting «opinions» or ideologies that were poisoning the political and social life of the country:

A loving work of charity and education should be started – stated the circular to the parish priests – with the creation of a Society, whose aim is to found rural nurseries for infants. The undersigned, considering that your Most Reverend's evangelical Ministry advises you to support and promote all institutions that favour the instilling of the seeds of culture and virtue in tender hearts, take the liberty of inviting you to join such a useful and sacred undertaking¹².

The decision to attempt, right from the start, to involve the pastoral clergy, and to solicit the membership and local participation of over 18 thousand parish priests working in the various Italian regions was destined, understandably, to produce modest results, involving in reality only parish priests of strong moderate liberal persuasion, also due to the condemnation in the columns of the intransigent Catholic press regarding Gigli's Association¹³.

¹¹ Letter from Ottavio Gigli to Niccolò Tommaseo, Florence 21 October 1866, in BNCF, Archive of Manuscripts and Rare Works, *Carteggi Niccolò Tommaseo*, 86-67. See also the letter from Ottavio Gigli to Gino Capponi, Florence 21 October 1866, in BNCF, Archive of Manuscripts and Rare Works, *Carteggi Gino Capponi*, VII.45.

¹² *Circolare ai Parrochi*, in *Il progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia nel suo primo quinquennio. Relazione del segretario Ottavio Gigli*, Firenze, Tip. Pellas, 1873, pp. 6-7. The original manuscript of the circular is conserved in BNCF, Archive of Manuscripts and Rare Works, *Carteggi Niccolò Tommaseo*, 86-67.

¹³ Cf. *L'associazione nazionale degli Asili rurali per l'infanzia*, «La Civiltà Cattolica», n. 9, 1867, pp. 339-343.

In April 1867, out of a total of 4,361 members who had signed up for at least one share, the parish priests amounted to 389, i.e. less than 10%¹⁴. More than one year later, in spite of a substantial increase in membership in the period, the number of parish priests who had accepted the Association's invitation expressed as a percentage of the total looked unquestionably meagre. Ottavio Gigli himself drew attention to this when he specified:

In the education of the children of the populous, our Association was not proposing to conduct sectarian proselytism, but to demonstrate in practice the equality of rights that was first proclaimed in the Gospel. [...] The invitation to follow us on this path was made to 18,000 parish priests, who were asked to accompany us as ministers of the altar and as citizens. [...] Thus these venerable men, who were not conducting this holy ministry for material gain or for partisan ambition, are those who are now our companions and whom we should praise. But of the eighteen thousand parish priests invited, oh gentlemen, do you know how many are now with us? Scarcely a thousand¹⁵.

Somewhat different subject-matter and tones from those used regarding the parish priests, were used in the circular sent to the promoting committee on 30 November 1866, «to the Mayors of all Italian *Comuni*». After lamenting «the truly pitiful state in which the education of the people finds itself», this circular underlined, primarily, how the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* proposed «not only to bring education to the country», but also to «equip the *comuni* with that given number of nurseries that would proportionally serve the primary needs of the growing generation, so that in our infant schools, from the age of 3 to the age of 8, they can receive a baptism of intelligence».

More in particular, the Association proposed to support the efforts being made by municipal authorities as regards popular education through a series of initiatives which were to prove «economically and morally useful»:

The Association – read the circular to mayors – offers its help: a) by proposing a popular school called *Asilo Rurale* [Rural Nursery] and which, due to the vast experience acquired in Italy and abroad, has improved and grown in all aspects that regard the economy and moral, intellectual and physical progress of the generations that need to have educated; [...] b) by presenting a system of rules that lay down the directives for teaching and administration; c) by promoting in every provincial capital a Boarding College for teacher training with a model nursery where they effectively receive instruction using simple and accessible means to which the *Comune* would contribute by sending those young people who wish to return and exercise the teaching profession in their place of birth; d) by sending a drawing showing a

¹⁴ *Riassunto delle forze economiche e morali dell'Associazione Nazionale degli asili Rurali per l'Infanzia dal 1° ottobre 1866 al 15 aprile 1867*, «Il Progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia», vol. 1, n. 1, 19 June 1867, pp. 15-16. It is worth pointing out that the total number of parish priests who became members of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, including those who had not signed up for shares amounted to 569 (*ibid.*, p. 16).

¹⁵ O. Gigli, *L'infanzia e l'avvenire d'Italia. Relazione del Cav. Ottavio Gigli letta nell'Adunanza del Comitato Centrale*, Firenze, Tip. Mariani, 1868, pp. 44-45.

plan and elevation of a school which serves to provide a blueprint for a new construction or a guideline for the transformation of an old building, along with all the related components that are essential and that cannot be overlooked, accompanied by appropriate health and safety procedures; d) by enclosing drawings with suitable proportions of the furnishings chosen specifically not only to minimise the cost of the initial foundation but also because they can be adapted both for infant schools and for the needs of adults, thereby saving on the creation and cost of rent of other premises, and thus uniting the nursery with free time and evening school for adults.

The circular went on to condemn the elementary schools created by the Casati law, deemed as totally unsuitable for dealing with illiteracy and for promoting the education of the rural populations:

The education and instruction in the *comune* schools of rural villages – it stated on the matter – is of little or no use for a reason that all can see, namely that in rural *comuni* children of more than 8 years old use it for the purposes of work, there is also no way to keep them constantly at school, and the few that do remain in the villages, in the streets, after that age with their swearing and vices, who are bound by law to attend school, with their already spoiled attitudes due to deviant behaviour, scarcely one tenth of them may derive some benefit; whence the need arises for nurseries to provide universal and sure instruction, and to send not only one tenth of the pupils to the *comune* schools but all of them, tidy, intelligent and hardworking.

Lastly, after recalling that the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* availed itself, «in order to begin and continue with the work of redeeming the masses», of the «mixed contribution, that is to say the permanent contributions of *Comuni*, Provinces, private citizens and of the beneficiaries themselves who, either with a small monetary payment or by offerings in kind, provide help to the educational institution», the mayors were asked to offer «their own support to the undertaking», either by signing up of a certain number of «shares of 2 francs a year» («only one will suffice to demonstrate good will and hardworking support for the good cause»), or by setting up, in their own *comune*, a branch committee, that is «those assemblies of good citizens who in their various areas agree to bring about the objectives of the Central Association»¹⁶.

On the same date as the circular was distributed «to the Mayors of all Italian *comuni*», 30 November 1866, the promoting Committee of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* sent a message of greeting to the «more than fifty» branch Committees that had already been formed in various parts of the peninsula. The message, after reiterating the basic aims of the association and illustrated the responsibilities that the *Statute* assigned to the association's other organisms, the latter were exhorted to undertake the substantial task of

¹⁶ The Promoting Committee, *Ai Sindaci di tutti i Comuni italiani, Firenze 30 Novembre 1866*), printed circular, in ASIF, *Fondo Ottavio Gigli*, b. 7 (Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali).

creating public awareness amongst their local populations regarding the themes of the instruction and education of «country children»¹⁷.

In April 1867, six months after the start of the procedure for the official constitution of the association, the 4,361 shareholding members were called upon to elect the 75 members of the central Committee of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*. Amongst those elected, apart from Carlo Matteucci, Ottavio Gigli, Terenzio Mamiani, Gino Capponi and Bettino Ricasoli, who were in the first places having received the greatest number of votes, there were Niccolò Tommaseo, Benedetto Cairoli, Luigi Alessandro Parravicini, Pietro Fanfani, Pacifico Valussi, Emilio Treves, Giuseppe Vago, Gaspero Finali and two Italian prelates: the Archbishop of Syracuse Mons. Angelo Robino and the Bishop of Cremona Mons. Antonio Novasconi¹⁸.

In the middle of April when calls were being sent out for the first assembly of the central Committee, which was to be held in Florence on 2 June 1867, the emerging *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* could already count on the support of men and institutions, and on a relatively strong base in the various provinces of the peninsula. Shareholding members amounted to 4,361, for a total of 8,587 shares, to which could be added the 500 subscribed by King Vittorio Emanuele II, the 100 of «H.R.H. the Prince of Carignano» and, lastly, the 400 acquired by the Ministry of the Interior.

Of the 4,361 members who had signed up for shares, 235 were rural *comuni*, prevalently from northern and central Italy¹⁹; 389 were parish priests, also resident prevalently in the regions of the north and the centre of the peninsula²⁰; 3,664, finally, were private benefactors (landowners, traders, self-employed professionals, senior government executives and officers etc.), who were equally distributed throughout the nation²¹.

Furthermore, 109 premises had been made available at no charge for the creation of rural nurseries by municipalities or individuals, whilst a further 256 were offered for the same use «at a modest rent». 211 premises were indicated

¹⁷ O. Gigli, *Ai Comitati Filiali. Circolare n. 1 (30 Novembre 1866)*, printed, in ASIF, *Fondo Ottavio Gigli*, b. 7 (Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali).

¹⁸ See the list of the 75 elected members of the central Committee in *I settantacinque eletti pel Comitato Centrale in Firenze dell'Associazione Nazionale degli asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, «Il Progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia», vol. 1, n. 1, 19 June 1867, pp. 18-19.

¹⁹ Of the overall 235, 176 were small *comuni* from northern Italy, 46 from central Italy and 13 from the south and the islands.

²⁰ Of the 389 subscribed parish priests, 163 conducted their pastoral ministry in northern Italy, 147 in central Italy and 79 in the south and islands. More than half of the parish priests came from only three regions: Tuscany (89), Piedmont (62) and Lombardy (51). It should be noted, lastly, that also seven Italian bishops – ordinary bishops of the dioceses and archdioceses of Alessandria, Cremona, Pavia, Siracusa, Sassari, Verona and Vicenza – had signed up for a certain number of shares.

²¹ Of the 3,664 private benefactors who had signed up for shares, 1,580 came from the north, 1,083 from the centre and 1,001 from the south and islands.

as having the presence of «trained female Directors» and ready to take on «management of rural nurseries», whilst 237 others were recorded as having «available female Directors but not yet trained». Lastly, 166 places, likewise equally distributed throughout the country, saw the presence of «Benefactors who stated that they were available to found a nursery»²².

On 2 June 1867, as has already been mentioned, in the *aula magna* of the Royal Museum of Physics in the Tuscan capital, the first assembly was held of the central Committee of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*. Carlo Matteucci was called upon to preside and in his introductory speech he retraced the stages that had led to the birth of the association, he stressed the growing and unanimous support that the association had encountered, right from the very beginning, from the institutions and from national public opinion and the extraordinary progress that had been made in the space of just a few months:

The fact that we are gathered here today – stated Matteucci – is certainly a novelty for our country, and it is not even so commonplace in the history of countries that are much more advanced than us in civilisation and liberty. This is the first time that, upon the invitation of a small number of citizens to become involved in a project for popular education, the response came from all parts of the peninsula with a participation that was spontaneous, broad, diversified, without the interference of government or political interest, to the extent that one can really nurture the well-founded hope that the nation, penetrated by the common importance of the project, with its free and diverse strength, wishes to lend a hand to this great undertaking. We are here from a kind of plebiscite that has no precedent in the peninsula, elected by more than 2,000 voters, which places upon us a very great responsibility, namely [...] to give or not to give to the nation a great example of what its spontaneous and natural forces, without interference and incitement from the Government, by free act of association, can do in favour of the country. [...] Today, the association is composed of 4,361 subscribers, who represent 8,587 shares, which means for 5 years, the association has already amassed, through subscriptions and other commitments, an economic strength of 424,910 Lire; something approaching half a million, that is, 10 or 20 times what past governments of the peninsula spent on education. [...] People from all walks of life without difference of political opinion or rank have participated in this cause; there are 23 senators, 57 deputies, 118 municipalities, 7 bishops, 80 magistrates, 389 parish priests. [...] beyond this ascertained strength of which we are now in possession, there are 2,031 other shares promised as soon as the first nurseries are founded.

Following his speech, Carlo Matteucci, apart from informing the central Committee about the forming, in the various parts of the peninsula, of a large number of branch Committees («as a result of our encouragement, 118 branch Committees have been instituted here and there, composed of the most respectable and influential people in the communities»), he dwelt on a description of the

²² *Riassunto delle forze economiche e morali dell'Associazione Nazionale degli asili Rurali per l'Infanzia dal 1° ottobre 1866 al 15 aprile 1867*, «Il Progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia», vol. 1, n. 1, 19 June 1867, pp. 12-16.

Association's programme, and provided a series of important details regarding the particular type of rural nurseries and he referred to the complex and ambitious role that they would play in the agricultural areas of the country:

What do we wish to do with this Association? Rural nurseries, as the promoting committee sees them, are not exactly common nurseries, which already exist in various Italian provinces, principally in Lombardy and in Piedmont where the worthy Aporti began their foundation at his own expense, those nurseries where the children of the poor go to spend their day, where they get soup, they go for walks and sing with certain rhythms. Those nurseries are certainly a saintly and excellent thing, and in cities they offer great benefits. But that kind of nursery is not a rural nursery, it is not a nursery for the countryside and rural communities, it is not the nursery where the children of three quarters of our population, made up of farmers, labourers, farm hands, and people who are not absolutely poor, must be able to keep their children for many hours each day, also paying a minimal fee, and where they remain from four or five until the age of nine receiving all the education and instruction that for most of them is all the intellectual baggage that they can obtain in the whole of their lives. This is the Nursery that the Committee wished for, and wishes to promote, and which is essentially a primary school for the children of country and village folk, which is entrusted to teachers, established with very modest means, and in part supported by the participation of the children's families themselves. It is this combination of nursery and primary school that is now spreading in all the variety of ways to which it is susceptible, in England, in Germany, in Switzerland of which a great deal has been said, also by us, and which has these very great advantages. [...] The institution that we wish to promote, that which we believe responds to the greatest need of our people, is a nursery and an elementary school created together, entrusted to the care of teachers, and where country and village children will be educated from four or five until nine years old, with the participation of the families who are destitute, who would pay a minimal fee that the branch committees will establish, or will not establish at all, and which will be used to provide a better wage for the teachers, and extend the number of the schools themselves²³.

In substance, the rural nurseries «as the promoting committee sees [saw] them» of the Association, in Carlo Matteucci's brief and effective summary, implemented both the model that Ottavio Gigli had suggested in the columns of «*L'Artigianello*» during the years he spent in Rome²⁴, and which then became a reality with the creation of the rural nursery in Castello and Quarto, and the proposals tabled on several occasions by Matteucci himself regarding the effectiveness of an institution like a school and a nursery together in order to deal with illiteracy in country communities²⁵.

Later on in the assembly of 2 June 1867, the chairman Carlo Matteucci presented to the Central committee the text of «a petition to Parliament to ask

²³ *Resoconto dell'adunanza tenuta nell'aula del R. Museo di Fisica in Firenze il 2 giugno 1867 dal Comitato Centrale dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, «Il Progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia», vol. 1, n. 1, 19 June 1867, pp. 1-4.

²⁴ Cf. *Progetto per facilmente aprire le scuole di carità per l'infanzia anche nelle campagne*, «*L'Artigianello*», vol. 4, n. 18, 29 April 1848, pp. 142-144.

²⁵ Cf. C. Matteucci, *Ancora due parole al lettore*, in Id., *Raccolta di scritti varii intorno all'istruzione pubblica*, Prato, Tip. F. Alberghetti e C., 1867, 2 vols., Vol. II, pp. XIV-XV.

for a subsidy or at least a participation in our Association»²⁶, which, after ample debate, was unanimously approved²⁷. Immediately afterwards, in accordance with art. 11 of the *Statute*, they went on to elect the Association Directors:

Once the count had been completed – read the Central Committee’s report on the assembly – the Chairman announced the following result of the vote. Voters 47. By the terms of the Statute the majority is 25. To become permanent Directors the greatest number of votes were obtained by: Comm. Carlo Matteucci, Senator, with 45 votes; Marquis Gino Capponi, Senator, with 45 votes; Count Terenzio Mamiani, Senator, with 45 votes; Baron Bettino Ricasoli, Deputy, with 42 votes; Pacifico Valussi, Deputy, with 29 votes; Count Luigi Sanvitale, Senator, with 26 votes; Federico Bellazzi, Deputy, with 26 votes; for Secretary, Ottavio Gigli, with 44 votes; for Treasurer Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, Senator, with 38 votes. All the abovenamed having obtained more than the majority of votes, the Chairman thus proclaimed the definitive board of Directors to be constituted²⁸.

A few days later, on 6 June 1867, in the same *aula magna* of the Royal Museum of Physics in Florence the members of the Board had met to elect the Chairman of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l’Infanzia*. As stated in the assembly report, drafted by the secretary Ottavio Gigli, of common accord the directors jointly decided to choose Carlo Matteucci, who was elected with a very sizeable majority²⁹.

The choice in favour of the scientist and ex-minister of education derived from a series of reasons. Firstly was Matteucci’s unquestionable expertise in the field of schools, along with a profound knowledge of the ministerial bureaucratic mechanism. Also, as Bettino Ricasoli underlined, «in the person of the Honourable Senator Matteucci» they found «two outstanding requisites, namely his industriousness, and his superlative knowledge and intelligence that make him fully worthy»³⁰.

In spite of the numerous and burdensome political, institutional, academic and scientific³¹ roles that he had to take, the newly-elected chairman distinguished himself for the passion and extraordinary commitment with which he worked in order to promote the growth and establishment, in the various areas of the peninsula, of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l’Infanzia*. At the

²⁶ On this see *Resoconto dell’adunanza tenuta nell’aula del R. Museo di Fisica in Firenze il 2 giugno 1867 dal Comitato Centrale dell’Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l’Infanzia*, cit., p. 5.

²⁷ Terenzio Mamiani and Gino Capponi, amongst others, spoke in support of the petition to be presented to Parliament. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁹ Cf. *Verbale dell’Adunanza tenuta nell’aula del R. Museo di fisica in Firenze a dì 6 giugno 1867 dalla Direzione dell’Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l’Infanzia*, «Il Progresso dell’Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l’Infanzia», vol. 1, n. 1, 19 June 1867, p. 11.

³⁰ Letter from Bettino Ricasoli to Ottavio Gigli, Brolio 6 June 1867, in ASIF, «Ottavio Gigli» Archive, b. 15 (Signed letters to Ottavio Gigli), Letters from Bettino Ricasoli (1809-1880).

³¹ Cf. F. Toscano, *Per la scienza e per la patria. Carlo Matteucci, fisico e politico nel Risorgimento italiano*, Milano, Sironi Editore, 2011, pp. 276-279.

very first board meeting on 6 June 1867, Carlo Matteucci «proposed the theme of the form that should be given to the new Nurseries and the ways in which they could be made more economical as a general standard in all parts of the countryside». «We asked ourselves», recalled Ottavio Gigli a few years later,

if the Aporti model of nursery had had the necessary economy to be able to proliferate, if there had been other primary schools in the countryside where courses of instruction could be followed, and if methods for infant schools had been followed such as those attempted in other nations and also in Tuscany. [...] Whereupon we resolved to publish our rules and instructions which were sent to the branch Committees and to all those who were our companions in this undertaking³².

Indeed, at the assembly of 23 June 1867, after a long and lively debate³³, the Board approved the *Rules and instructions for the institution of rural infant Nurseries*³⁴, which were to act as a point of reference for the Association's branch Committees that were being formed in the various provinces of the peninsula. This important document specified primarily that the Association would create nurseries «in communities, in hamlets and in villages», but on the condition that «at least 30 children» were registered as available to attend them. Children would be accepted from «between 3 and 4 years old» and «until 9 years old». The teaching in these institutions would have to include «reading, writing, arithmetic with whole numbers and decimals, a knowledge of weights and measures, a basic grounding in geography, Sacred History, Italian History, Natural History and Agronomics». The nurseries would maintain «tested and useful pedagogical methods and disciplines, amongst which especially gymnastics and singing are particularly recommended».

The internal running, instruction and education of the children were to be entrusted «to a female teacher selected by the branch Committee». Furnishings required for every nursery included: «dual use tables, that is, which can be used both for the nursery and for evening classes; a chair for the teacher, a board with moveable letters for reading, an abacus for arithmetic, a few lecterns for reading and writing and various moveable benches»³⁵.

The rural nurseries had to be open «every working day of the year», with a timetable that was designed to correspond with family commitments, they had to provide a teaching that was «varied and with breaks for physical exercise so

³² *Il progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia nel suo primo quinquennio. Relazione del segretario Ottavio Gigli*, Firenze, Tip. Pellas, 1873, p. 10.

³³ In this regard see the aforementioned manuscripted memoir entitled *Sulle origini della Società Promotrice della fondazione di Asili rurali per l'Infanzia*, cit., p. 2.

³⁴ *Norme e istruzioni per l'istituzione di Asili rurali per l'infanzia*, Firenze, Tip. Mariani, 1867. The definitive version of the *Norme e istruzioni per l'istituzione di Asili rurali per l'infanzia* [Rules and instructions for the institution of rural infant Nurseries], approved by the Board at the assembly of 23 June 1867, after it was printed, was sent out to all the branch Committees of the Association.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, artt. 1-3 and 14-15.

that the children do not tire their minds and with their attention always alert they can receive and retain everything that it taught». The premises that would house the nursery had to be «well-ventilated, dry and well-lit, with a lawn or garden where the children can run and find recreation». Finally, where the economic means permitted, it was appropriate «at midday for the children to be given a healthy and copious helping of soup».

A Deputation of «5 people of both sexes» was appointed «by the local Committee and the town authorities» to visit the nursery at frequent intervals, to check on how the educational activities were faring and to take steps to encourage «parents to decide to send their children there». Every month, the Deputation, in cooperation with the Director of the nursery, would conduct «an inspection to which, as regards moral and religious education, the Parish Priest will be invited». The Deputation necessarily had to include «the local doctor», who «upon the invitation of the *Comune* had to send a report on the health of the children attending the nursery». The local Committee was obliged to present «every 6 months» to the Board of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* «a report which, in accordance with the Association's rules, will describe the moral and intellectual, physical and economic condition of the nursery or nurseries for which that Committee was responsible»³⁶.

The *Norme e istruzioni per l'istituzione di Asili rurali per l'infanzia* then went on to examine «the economic forces that were necessary for the nursery to last, and to which the branch Committees should principally devote their attention». On this subject, the following were specified: «1st monetary or any other type of donation, 2nd a cheque from the Municipal Council, 3rd a cheque from the Provincial Council, 4th a fee, that would be imposed on families that were not destitute who send one or more children to the nursery by the local Committee with the consent and approval of the *Comune*, 5th a subsidy from the Central Board in the form of money or furnishings».

In order to reduce costs and guarantee the best service, the branch Committees «would be able to meet as a consortium in order to create rural nurseries at a shared cost, when special circumstances required it». In order to «obtain a subsidy from the Central Board, furthermore, the branch Committees had to make a specific application, accompanied by the following documentation: «1 that the premises have been found, 2 that a Director has been proposed with documented necessary morality and ability, 3 the income to be paid as a wage to the teacher, who, having her residence inside the nursery, can be no less than 400 Lire»³⁷.

The Board of Directors of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* took it upon itself to provide the branch Committees with «all the moral, intellectual and technical training that could be of use in order to improve, with the benefit of practical experience, the running of these nurseries». It also took on

³⁶ *Ibid.*, artt. 4-7 and 9-10.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, artt. 11-12.

the task of «appointing extraordinary Inspectors to visit the rural nurseries that have already been founded, as well as those that have still to be founded. These inspections shall be entrusted to members of the Board of Directors and to the Central Committee or to persons who are well-esteemed for their economic and educational studies, and for their love of education of the people».

Lastly, believing it to be «necessary for the rural nurseries to have good books to read», the Board made efforts to «obtain the most suitable readings which are already printed or others, to amke up for the lack, that could be written specially with prizes»³⁸.

With secretary Ottavio Gigli's valuable help, in the course of the second half of 1867 Carlo Matteucci promoted a series of initiatives to create extensive awareness of the Association in the agricultural areas of the peninsula. In August 1867, for example, He managed to persuade the Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Trade, Francesco De Blasiis, to invite the 183 agricultural committees that had already been formed to collaborate and support the work of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*³⁹. A few weeks later, on 18 September, in order to take maximum advantage of the situation that had been created, Matteucci sent a circular to the presidents of the agricultural Committees, inviting them to deliberate on «the transformation of organisations into branch Committees» of the Association⁴⁰: this was an invitation that was destined to meet with a certain success as it was welcomed by more than fifty Committees⁴¹.

We should also not forget the solid ties that were formed by Matteucci with the Italian Medical Association, by virtue of which, in the course of its 4th national Congress held in Venice from 11 to 18 October 1867, decided to recommend the initiatives promoted by the local committees of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* to its over 4 thousand member doctors⁴².

³⁸ *Ibid.*, artt. 16 and 20.

³⁹ Cf. *Messaggio del Ministro d'agricoltura, industria e commercio comm. Francesco De Blasiis ai Comizj agrari*, Firenze, Tip. Barbèra, 1867.

⁴⁰ A copy of the *Circolare* sent on 18 September 1867 by the Board of Directors of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* to the Agricultural committees of the various provinces of the peninsula is conserved in BOP, Mamiani Archive, *Lettere di Ottavio Gigli a Terenzio Mamiani*, n. 6589. On the roles and the work carried out at the time by the agricultural Committees, formed upon the proposal of the Minister for Agriculture, Industry and Trade Francesco Cordova with the R.D. 22 December 1866 n. 3452, see P. Corti, *Fortuna e decadenza dei Comizi agrari*, «Quaderni Storici», n. 36, 1977, pp. 738-758.

⁴¹ *Sulle origini della Società Promotrice della fondazione di Asili rurali per l'Infanzia*, cit., pp. 4-5.

⁴² Cf. *Atti del quarto Congresso della Associazione Medica Italiana, tenuto in Venezia nei giorni 11-18 ottobre 1868*, Venezia, Stabilimento G. Antonelli, 1868, pp. 22-23. Both Prof. Carlo Burci, president of the Italian Medical Association and Dr. Amerigo Borgiotti, secretary of the same association were part of the central Committee of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*. On the working relationship that was created between the two associations as early as the second half of 1866, see the references contained in Gigli, *L'infanzia e l'avvenire d'Italia. Relazione del Cav. Ottavio Gigli letta nell'Adunanza del Comitato Centrale*, cit., 1868, p. 51.

The work of orientating and stimulating the branch Committees to action, carried out by the new president, was particularly effective, as testified in the two important circulars sent to the Committees in the second half of 1867. In the first, dated 2 September, Matteucci drew attention primarily to the progress achieved by the Association during its few months of existence:

In the midst of the troubles that all too often cause us grief – he wrote –, when we compare the condition of studies and scholastic institutions in our country with that of other great nations of Europe, we must at least feel some consolation by thinking of how the National Association for the institution of rural nurseries continues to be received in all provinces of Italy. Hardly two months have passed since the first meeting, according to the provisions of our Statute, of the Central Committee elected by more than two thousand voters: on that occasion, called on behalf of the promoters to report back to the Committee on the combined forces of our Association, I stated that 118 branch Committees had already been formed, made up of the most respectable and influential people in the various places; I said that the Association was composed of 3,461 subscribers who had committed themselves for five years to pay for one or more shares of two Lire each, thus making a share total on that day of 8,587. I added that premises, teachers and other means had been offered to found Nurseries. Since then, the number of shares has more or less doubled and has now achieved the precise figure of 15,148. In a word, it can be said that there is not a corner of the Peninsula where the voice of our Association has not reached and has not been received with sympathy and with the belief that it is the voice of honest and earnest people, who wish to promote the education of the most numerous and most useful classes in our populous and which should therefore be effectively assisted and helped in order to succeed.

Later on in the circular, the newly-elected chairman described the basic policy that the leadership of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* intended to pursue in the months to come:

The experience of these few months – he affirmed – has demonstrated with increasing clarity the goodness and the justice of the principles that this Board has adopted within the framework of its work: we mainly wish to instill in the branch Committees that life that is today represented by the national Association, and we thus intend a good portion of the collected shares is distributed by the very Committees who collected them. The Board is happy to come to the aid of all those Committees, *comuni*, parish priests and private individuals who request a subsidy for the creation of a rural Nursery; but in the interests of our institution it wishes that all attempts are made to seek private charity in order to collect the greatest amount of necessary resources for the undertaking, so that what is left for us to do is possible, given our limited strength, namely in one measure to make up for the shortfall in local means. [...] We rejoice in the thought that in two months of life this Board of Directors has already had the fortune to see the emergence, due to its own actions, and has directly given some nurseries in the various provinces of the Kingdom and that many more of these institutions are about to open. When one sees, as happens every day, with how much variety of ways, of sentiment, of ideas men of all conditions have responded and continue to respond to our invitation, from the most remote and obscure places, as well as the richest and most populous towns, Parish Priests, Bishops, Mayors, Teachers and country landowners; when one thinks that all this ferment of charity and education constitutes a spontaneous and growing movement, one is really led to believe that the institution of rural Nurseries is now seen universally as a great cause and as the

work that nowadays best meets one of the most urgent needs of our Society. Moved by this conviction, the Central Committee and the Board of Directors feel the duty not to fail in their very weighty responsibility that they have taken upon themselves in all ways to seek private charity, because, even in Italy, such collective and free action can bring about the foundation of a vast educational institution for the children of the people.

Finally, in a motion proposed by Ottavio Gigli and unanimously approved in the board meeting of 27 July 1867, Carlo Matteucci managed to involve the branch Committees in bringing pressure to bear on the local authorities until the inefficient lower elementary schools founded in agricultural areas were transformed into rural nurseries set up according to the schemes and regulations defined by the Association:

The Board of Directors – wrote the newly-elected chairman – have decided that, in order to institute rural Nurseries, full advantage should be taken of Rural Elementary Schools which are present in many of our villages, which unfortunately offer little benefit, and which are easy to transform into School-Nurseries replacing the work of the infant schoolmistress with that of the elementary schoolmaster. The essential reasons for our proposal are so clear and useful that it is our pleasure to repeat them. Children in the upper classes, especially in rural *comuni* and villages, at 7 or 8 years of age have already developed moral habits and acquired a spirit that makes them no longer apt, no longer docile or patient, to be able to benefit from school. They soon tire of even the easiest teachings and they prefer to live in the open air, heeding to nothing but their whims. Even their families have every interest in keeping them at work in the fields rather than at a school desk. All told, once children have reached that age, without having started to bow their souls to obey, nor learnt how to pay attention with their minds, it is impossible that in such conditions a school could offer them anything but a meagre benefit. The child of the country, the child of the poor, who is very often abandoned and left alone in the fields or at the mercy of the bad lessons taught by older children, needs to be promptly entrusted to the education of a good schoolmistress who acts as his mother. Nurseries can thus instill good habits if they remove the influence of bad examples and lead to real benefits by the time the children reach 7 or 8 years of age⁴³.

In the following circular sent to the branch Committees on 16 December 1867, Carlo Matteucci once again highlighted the opportunity, in the agricultural areas of the peninsula, for the lower elementary schools founded by the *comuni* in compliance with the Casati law, to be substituted by rural infant nurseries, and he dwelt greatly on the advantages of such a substitution defining it as one of the Association's basic objectives:

All our laws regarding elementary education – wrote Carlo Matteucci – prescribed that, even in every rural *Comune*, a free elementary school is established at the *Comune's* cost for both sexes up to the age of 7 years. In Italy we have a large number of these schools which are unfortunately deserted for much of the year about which there is no-one who knows or takes the responsibility of knowing what benefit is obtained. The official documents

⁴³ C. Matteucci, *Ai Comitati filiali dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili rurali per l'Infanzia*, Firenze, Tip. Edit. dell'Associazione, 1867.

contained in the statistics relating to public education demonstrate this negative result, and anyone can easily verify this by thinking that if we only had forty or fifty pupils in every one of those rural schools that cost us many millions, that would suffice at least to double the number of children that receive some form of elementary education in Italy. The example of the United States, England and Switzerland demonstrate that children, especially in the country, do not benefit from elementary school if they only begin their education at the age of eight years. At that age their families know that they can obtain some help from them and thus it is unlikely that they can be persuaded to send them to school. At that age, children have already set the habits of their hearts, minds and bodies that make them unruly and impatient pupils and indifferent to school. Only at nursery, under a good schoolmistress, is the four-year-old child able to receive an educational foundation and only in this way can his mind become used to a certain level of attention. With this preparation, which is completed at the age of 9 years, we obtain the transformation of elementary education into school-nursery which is evidently one of the most useful educational reforms that can be introduced today thanks to this Association that is making every effort to promote it. [...] It is impossible at present to specify the methods of achieving this transformation and we thus believe that it is useful to give full liberty to the *Comuni* in the choice of methods as we are satisfied for now that we have demonstrated the nature of this reform which seems to us to be the most worthy to be propagated as offering the most effective benefits.

In this first stage, therefore, it was considered sufficient that the branch Committees became aware of the «extreme importance» that the question of the transformation of lower elementary schools into rural nurseries represented for the spread of instruction and infant education in the countryside. No surprise then that the analysis of «methods to adopt in order to effect such a transformation», was deferred to a later juncture.

3. «*Multiply the Nurseries and make them become a municipal institution*». *The Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia in its first five years of activity*

Most probably encouraged by the significant results obtained in the space of a few months, between 1867 and 1868 Ottavio Gigli became the advocate, in a series of letters to Carlo Matteucci, of a number of proposals which would provide a further boost to the activities of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*.

As already mentioned, in the circular sent on 2 September 1867 to the branch Committees, the chairman had disclosed the unanimous approval, at the Board meeting of 27 July 1867, for Gigli's proposal to exert pressure on *comuni* in agricultural areas to substitute the lower elementary schools created under the Casati law with rural infant nurseries organised according to the designs and rules established by the Association itself.

Enthusiastically relaunched by Matteucci in the next circular to the branch Committees on 16 December 1867, the idea was re-examined and further

developed by Gigli in a letter sent to the chairman of the Association on 31 December of the same year:

For many days – wrote Ottavio Gigli – I have been wanting to write about various aspects regarding the most efficient way of making education more accessible to the people, both with the reform of new schools and with certain materials that would be better for the task; but before talking about this reform, please allow me to dwell a little on schools which I believe, along with a uniformity of methods and disciplines, should be given a moral and intellectual strength which to my mind is missing in the elementary schools that we currently have. They accept children who are already formed, whilst, as Tommasèo said, «education starts with the first sensations of life and at the age of seven years, when one wished to begin to form the man, he is already formed; the profound and indelible impressions he has received have begun to mould certain qualities, judgments and actions in him; the seeds sown in him had started to bud, his character has been given a lasting form». And what is the school that really educates the child and forms the man, that fills this gap between infancy and boyhood if not the Nursery? But in Italy it only receives 61 thousand children, or in other words, it provides a benefit that until now favours few people.

In Gigli's opinion, however, the traditional «Aporti Nursery» had shown itself to be an institution that did not adequately meet requirements, especially considering its substantial start-up and management costs:

You were aware – the Association's secretary once again recalled – of the importance of these schools for early infancy that you wished to introduce so that this policy would encourage Mayors to open them; but you may not have sufficiently considered that the Aporti model of nursery had certain characteristics and disciplines that could not be satisfied unless they preserved the form which the founder gave them; this was intended to cater for the moral, intellectual and physical instruction of the multitudes, and Aporti wished that for food and hygiene the children were even provided for by the charity of citizens. But my illustrious friend having studied all possible economic solutions determined that village Nurseries needed no less than 2,520 Lire of annual maintenance apart from the costs of foundation. Now you can see that those poor *Comuni* by wishing to satisfy your intentions and to meet the need for instruction were forced to include in their budgets such an enormous sum to be added to that of the elementary schools required by the law. This Nursery was thus of little service and cost a great deal; this cost factor prevented and continued to prevent all of these pitiful refuges from increasing in number. Let us see therefore if there is a way of reducing that cost and if the Nursery could do without certain elements hitherto considered necessary, without compromising the institution or damaging its beneficial effects; indeed I believe that were there to be something that could be removed, then this saving could increase its morality; and this is precisely the daily food that should be given to children. [...] And proof that this act of charity is superfluous and not the only motive for which children are brought to the nursery can be seen in France where by not luring little children with soup is now educating more than 250 thousand! [...] Therefore, the Association for rural Nurseries recommends this reform as the means to obtaining two very great benefits: *multiplying the Nurseries and making them become a municipal institution.*

This led to the design of a different type of «School-Nursery», which, whilst generally inspired by the Aporti model, was characterised by its very limited costs and its capacity to provide – unlike what produced the «inefficient and

costly rural lower elementary schools» – an education and instruction that was suitable for the country populations: «With the School-Nursery – concluded the secretary of the Association – we shall give the poor *Comuni* everything they need with an institution that is perfect in all its aspects: and by favouring it, it will sow the seed of that ineffable good that comes from uniform feeling and thinking, which is a principle and foundation of the moral and intellectual strength of a nation»⁴⁴.

In the first days of January 1868 Ottavio Gigli sent a second letter to chairman Matteucci in which he proposed to provide a rigorously documented overview of the «absolute inadequacy of the rural lower elementary schools» and, at the same time, to go into more detail about the grounds for his proposal:

In my other letter – wrote the secretary of the Association – I told you how it was possible to multiply the number of Nurseries in Italy and how they could supply that general and uniform instruction that prepares education, which Romagnosi defined as a duty of the State. [...] Now we shall see if the rural lower elementary schools, who should accept these children at the legally prescribed age to be admitted, will perform this progressive educational reform which is permanent and sure to produce young people who are fully educated in their hearts and instructed in their minds. [...] These schools must lament very serious problems which are partly due to the ungraduated and limited early childhood education and partly to school absenteeism caused by the agricultural condition of our populations, and also to the methods and disciplines that are inappropriate to that type of teaching. Some would point out, however, that lower elementary schools for the rural classes alone amount to 21,446 with 866,237 pupils. That there are 12,720 schoolmasters and 8,114 mistresses. That we are spending 10,003,522 Lire on these schools. That other schools are being opened anyway. That ask what more could be wished for. With these figures that appear in our recent statistical records, the belief amongst most people is that the rural population is being educated, at least those who attend the schools. But this is only what appears to be the case, as these schools in the summer are practically deserted, and out of 909,644, which is the number that should attend school in the winter, only 592,672 attend in the summer; which shows that on average only 30 percent benefit from education.

In Italy, observed the secretary of the Association later on in the letter, «we have 21 thousand schools with 8,113 schoolmistresses and 12,720 schoolmasters, we have premises, furniture and everything that is required to make a school complete. But if this school could be used by children and adults, would that not be a great progress and a very great saving?». And to clarify his thoughts he added:

Many reading this letter will say that this is a dream because every school has its own particular rules and disciplines and certain furnishings that cannot be mixed with others without compromising the educational standards; but when the rural schools are deserted for a good half of the year and those children that attend can be instructed in evening

⁴⁴ Letter from Ottavio Gigli to Carlo Matteucci, Florence 31 December 1867, in ASIF, «Ottavio Gigli» Archive, b. 7 (Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali), Correspondence and various (1866-1873).

schools and on holidays, those premises and those teachers who are not working for nearly the whole day, can easily apply themselves to another type of teaching. And if the furnishings that are in these schools served a double purpose, both for children and for adults, who fails to see that a great many of these schools, i.e. those that have suitable premises and intelligent teachers, could readily be converted into Nurseries? [...] You can thus understand that if the furnishings were designed to respond to the need, we would provide a solution to the matter that I presented to you in my first letter, namely to increase by 2/3 the number of pupils that attend these schools without creating any burden whatsoever on school budgets. [...] There are 4,893,373 children of between 2 and 12 years who should be educated in proportion to the population; 1,300,217, however, are effectively receiving education; there are therefore 3,593,156 who need to be educated. In the rural schools 866,237 are receiving instruction, 309,106 do not attend school in the summer, 557,131 are left to instruct. Now, supposing that only half of those schools were reduced in the way described above, given that in each one on average 50 children are educated, 40 in evening school and 30 in rest day school, we would have half the number of schools, 536 thousand children educated in the Nurseries, 428,800 in evening classes and 311,600 in the rest day classes: we would thus be able to provide overall education in rural areas of 1,286,400 instead of 557,125 who would be educated in the other half of the schools (continuing to exist in the way they are today), without counting that large number of illiterates that could be removed with the Nurseries whose numbers we propose to multiply and in which the new furnishing would be used.

In substance, concluded Ottavio Gigli at the end of his long and reasoned analysis, the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* needed to undertake a «great reform» of the country infant schools which could guarantee «proportionate and sure instruction to such a large part of our populus» and to prepare «honest and hardworking citizens for the nation»⁴⁵.

In a letter sent to Gigli on 21 January 1868, Carlo Matteucci expressed his full accord with the secretary's proposals, without failing to underline his reservations regarding the organisation and priorities that had until then characterised the policy decisions of the post-unification ruling class:

I rejoice – he wrote – for the good ideas that you put forward in your letters and which will certainly make the work of our Committee more practical and fruitful. For many years I have been thinking, for both professional and personal reasons, about how to liberate these people from ignorance, idleness and the bad habit of not loving work and truth always and at any price. I admire the financial systems that our statesmen are creating in order to obtain balance in the State finances and I wish them success, but I am profoundly convinced that if we do not promptly introduce to our people and to future generations strong habits of order, economy and work, we shall never manage to make this Country rich and happy. Having said that, I concur with you that the *School-Nursery entrusted to a Schoolmistress*, when established on a vast scale, is the institution that most effectively and promptly can contribute to that great outcome. And a School-Nursery can be created in the poorest *Comuni* or villages, or in the least wealthy and populous lands.

⁴⁵ Letter from Ottavio Gigli to Carlo Matteucci, Florence undated [but January 1868], in ASIE, «Ottavio Gigli» Archive, b. 7 (Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali), Correspondence and various (1866-1873).

In order to achieve the broadest introduction of School-Nurseries, it was necessary to launch a vast campaign to raise awareness among country landowners and, more in general, amongst the wealthy classes («gentlemen»), without failing, where needed, to set a modest school attendance fee, on the model of what was successfully applied in France, for pupils from the «least needy» families:

I hope – concluded the Chairman of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* – that if our ideas weave their way into Italian society with the same authority as good and useful proposals inevitably have a way of doing, we shall not have to wait long to see the emergence of many of these institutions. I am convinced that in a few years there will not be a country landowner or a parish priest or a doctor who will not feel the duty to promote our cause. [...] And you are right to say that it is not necessary for nurseries to provide soup to children as there is no poor man who does not have a piece of bread to put in his child's basket and with whom is not happy to share a little soup. What you say about on the use of the same premises by different schools is also true; and your idea is very opportune of using those desks with slight modifications for schools for both children and adults. I see no harm in having children from less needy families, who would make a small payment for the teachers, alongside children from poorer families: in France the very small school fee produces millions and millions. In short, I believe that there has never been such an opportune and sought-after idea than the one we are promoting, which needs no more than a gentleman or an honest and intelligent citizen in every corner of the nation who takes it to heart, and I would be very wary of my country's future if we were not certain of finding such a person. Let us then seek these gentlemen and we will find them, and they will be the best Italians, the best citizens in the Kingdom⁴⁶.

An unquestionable and very authoritative confirmation of the poor performance of the rural elementary schools in the fight against illiteracy and of the consequent need to draft an urgent and effective reform of primary and popular education in rural areas emerged in the following months from the results of the Broglio Enquiry on elementary education which had started in the spring of 1868⁴⁷. On this, one of the first documents produced for the

⁴⁶ Letter from Carlo Matteucci to Ottavio Gigli, Florence 21 January 1868, in ASIF, «Ottavio Gigli» Archive, b. 15 (Signed letters to Ottavio Gigli), Letters by Carlo Matteucci (1811-1868). The proposal presented to the Board to transform the rural Nurseries into School-nurseries and to replace the latter for the inefficient lower elementary schools created under the Casati law in rural areas was approved, by a very large majority, at the meeting of the central Committee on 18 October 1868. Cf. *Il progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia nel suo primo quinquennio. Relazione del segretario Ottavio Gigli*, Firenze, Tip. Pellas, 1873, pp. 47-48.

⁴⁷ Promoted by the Minister of Public Education Emilio Broglio (27 May 1867-13 May 1869) following a vote in the Senate (May 1868), the Enquiry on elementary education began, as we know, with the creation of a ministerial commission which included Michele Amari, Terenzio Mamiani, Domenico Berti, Bertrando Spaventa, Carlo Tenca, Ruggero Bonghi, Pasquale Villari and, in the role of secretary, Girolamo Buonazia.

The minutes of the Commission are conserved in ACS, MPI, Primary and Normal Schools Division 1860-1893, b. 3. On the results of the Broglio Enquiry see *Documenti sulla istruzione elementare nel Regno d'Italia. Parte prima*, Firenze, Eredi Botta, 1868; *Parte seconda*, Firenze, Eredi Botta,

Broglio Enquiry, namely the *Stato dell'istruzione elementare nelle Provincie Meridionali e Settentrionali d'Italia* [State of elementary instruction in the Southern and Northern Provinces of Italy], presented a decidedly problematic picture of conditions that prevailed in elementary schools, particularly in small villages and rural areas:

The gradual increase in the number of schools – read the text – does not always correspond with the number of pupils. Indeed there were places where these two increases proceeded in inverse directions; and the difference almost everywhere between the number of registered pupils and those who attend is not small. [...] It is sad to say: in many schools the instruction is conducted, as in the past, by country priests: completely mechanical. The youngsters practiced how to read and write without understanding the words from their lips or their pens. [...] Most of these teachers do not awaken the intellect, they cause it to fall asleep; they do not teach with the necessary harmony, they tire one or two faculties of the soul to the detriment of the others; whereupon the pupil, as soon as he can, all too readily leaves the school and does not retain any pleasant trace or memory of it. [...] It also needs to be said that the blame for this infelicitous condition of the schools is to be largely attributed to the lack of suitable premises and appropriate furnishings. [...] With this irregular and tiresome experience, the pupils, sent to school at 7 years of age and removed at 9, soon forget what they unwillingly and all too briefly learn⁴⁸.

In a successive document presented in the ambit of the Broglio Enquiry on the *State of popular instruction*, the causes of the poor performance of the rural elementary schools were described using tones and reasoning that were not unlike those employed by Ottavio Gigli in the letters sent to Matteucci:

In the single and mixed rural schools – he stated –, where all the teaching is entrusted to one person, another difficulty arises, that the school comes to an abrupt end, because the children abandon it too young in order to run to the fields or to hectic jobs as soon as the strength in their bodies allows it. The teaching they have received remains incomplete and bears no fruit. It is lost and forgotten, if it is not rescued by another path whereupon it can recover strength and vigour. A type of school is therefore still lacking that completes and ensures the education of the children who started in the rural classes. [...] It is a question of fighting with a good organisation the pure ignorance that surrounds the purpose of schools, the distrust of the most uncouth commoners and of a sizeable number of town authorities towards the same⁴⁹.

In the final report sent to the minister of Public Education, Girolamo Buonazia's bitter reflections come as no surprise:

All the efforts made in the last 11 years by the *comuni* and by the Italian Government for elementary instruction have managed to gather 1,430,012 pupils into the lower elementary

1870; *Parte terza*, Roma, Eredi Botta, 1872; *Appendice alla Parte terza*, Roma, Eredi Botta, 1873.

⁴⁸ *Stato dell'istruzione elementare nelle Provincie Meridionali e Settentrionali d'Italia*, in *Documenti sulla istruzione elementare nel Regno d'Italia. Parte prima*, cit., pp. 2-5.

⁴⁹ *Stato dell'istruzione popolare*, in *Documenti sulla istruzione elementare nel Regno d'Italia. Parte terza*, cit., pp. 11-12.

classes. [...] If, therefore, the teaching that is provided in the lower elementary classes should continue to be disorganised, incomplete, imperfect and ineffective there is little hope that the defect could be remedied by the teaching and the teachers in the upper schools which are, as we can see, too few in number by comparison. [...] today, teaching in the lower elementary and rural schools takes three years; and the question naturally arises if this period, however limited lower grade instruction may be, is sufficient for a lasting education. [...] We can be certain that out of 1,111,466 male and female pupils from the lower elementary schools of less than ten years of age, a large number are lost on the way because they cannot find a higher grade of school or any completion of their education and who thus fall back into their carefree ignorance. [...] The documents published by the Ministry show, even in northern Italy where elementary schools have been working for the longest, the difference in benefit that is obtained from the teaching in towns and more populated places compared to schools in the countryside. Even in the provinces of Milan and Genoa [...] rural schools are in a deplorable state, whilst those that are in towns and large *Comuni* are flourishing; [...] numbers that go to prove how difficult it is to organise schools and how meagre the result is that has hitherto been obtained. [...] We must give rural schools an educational power that the sterile and incomplete teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic cannot achieve⁵⁰.

Lastly, once again with reference to the Broglio Enquiry, amongst the replies that arrived from the presidents of provincial school Councils to the requests put forward by the ministry of Public Education in the Ministerial Circular of 16 April 1869, attention should be drawn to those relating to «request seventeen», which asked «the school authority of every province» to describe «all those other reasons, learnt in the light of experience, for which elementary teaching is not proceeding properly», and to propose «the most opportune ways to protect against them»⁵¹.

By way of confirmation the by now substantial influence exerted by the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* over local school administrations and its increased ability to reach the various areas of the peninsula, most of the prefect-presidents of the provincial school Councils proposed the «Institution of rural nurseries wherever possible»⁵².

On 11 June 1868, from his Livorno home in Ardenza, Matteucci, weakened by the worsening illness that for months had kept him away from Florence and political affairs, wrote a long letter to Ottavio Gigli in which, summing up the

⁵⁰ *Relazione di Girolamo Buonazia al ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Antonio Scialoja, 16 luglio 1873, in Documenti sulla istruzione elementare nel Regno d'Italia. Appendice alla Parte terza, cit., pp. 15-22.*

⁵¹ This refers to the circular sent by minister Broglio to the prefects in their role of presidents of the provincial School councils on 16 April 1869 in order to gain an analytical understanding of the condition of elementary schools in their respective provinces (17 requests). See the ministerial Circular with the questionnaire and the *Risposte ai 17 quesiti fatti dal Ministero ai signori Presidenti dei Consigli provinciali scolastici per la lettera circolare che ha la data del 16 aprile 1869 ed il n. 240*, in ACS, MPI, primary and Normal Schools Division 1860-1893, b. 3.

⁵² *Quesiti intorno allo stato della istruzione elementare e Riassunti delle risposte ai 17 quesiti fatti dal Ministero ai signori [Prefetti] Presidenti del Consigli provinciali scolastici per la lettera circolare che ha la data del 16 aprile 1869 ed il numero 240*, in *Documenti sulla istruzione elementare nel Regno d'Italia. Parte terza, cit., pp. 78-86.*

main points that had been central to the recent experience of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, compiled a sort of *work in progress* balance sheet of the results thus far obtained and, above all, the objectives that needed to be pursued in the immediate future:

It is a real consolation for us, and especially for you, – wrote the chairman – to be able to tell the public that a private association such as ours is making constant progress in the number both of its shareholders and of its branch Committees, which is of very great importance, because the local life of the institution lies in the Committees, which is almost the same as saying the whole life of the institution. It is good to assert that more than three hundred Nurseries have opened and are being created in the last few months due to the work of our Committees or of the Parish Priests or of the *Comuni* with whom the Board of our association had connections, either by giving a small subsidy, or by obtaining premises, or by finding a teacher, or by giving some advice. No less important is certainly the impulse given by our association in founding and maintaining Nurseries at a very small expense and which is minimal compared to the what was paid and is still being paid in the town Nurseries. [...] And our Committees, free to regulate their own institutes, perceived the advantage they had in accommodating the Nursery according to the wealth, conditions and habits of families. Thus the Nurseries opened by our Committees show all the variety in ways of maintaining and serving the cause, which is unquestionably the best guarantee of their durability.

In the conclusion of the letter, maybe in the presage that his life was nearing its end, Carlo Matteucci sent his friend and partner Ottavio Gigli an affectionate encouragement for him not to give up the work that had been undertaken with the creation of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, for which he once again expressed his most heartfelt appreciation:

So take heart, dear Gigli – he wrote –; you have already done a great deal, but the greater part still needs to be done, so keep going and do not tire. Continue to keep alive the work of the local Committees, to increase their number, to build them with good people, to encourage them to emulate each other, and I am sure that the nation and the Government will come to know the good work that you have done, and will help you to develop it⁵³.

This was the last letter sent to Ottavio Gigli by Carlo Matteucci, who, as we know, died prematurely two weeks later, on 24 June 1868, at his villa in Ardenza (Livorno), at the age of 57. What was entrusted to the Roman man of letters and educator amounted to a kind of *spiritual will* that Ottavio Gigli took on as a moral commitment and as a plan of action for the future of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*⁵⁴.

⁵³ Letter from Carlo Matteucci to Ottavio Gigli, from Ardenza (Livorno) 11 June 1868, in ASIF, «Ottavio Gigli» Archive, b. 15 (Signed letters to Ottavio Gigli), Letters from Carlo Matteucci (1811-1868).

⁵⁴ Cf. Letter from Ottavio Gigli to Gino Capponi, Florence 5 July 1868, in BNCF, Archive of Manuscripts and Rare Works, *Carteggi Gino Capponi*, VII.45. But see also *Il progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia nel suo primo quinquennio. Relazione del segretario Ottavio Gigli*, cit., pp. 19-20.

4. «Where we hoped for greater help, we encountered resistance to our work that was even more vigorous and tenacious». The standoff with the ministry of Public Education on the question of School-nurseries and the demise of the Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia

Following the premature death of the chairman Carlo Matteucci, the group of directors of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* had to take on the delicate task of electing a successor capable of continuing the work that had been started by his illustrious deceased predecessor.

On 7 July 1868, in this regard, secretary Ottavio Gigli wrote to Terenzio Mamiani, who in his role as deputy chairman was acting as temporary caretaker of the Association, not only so he could quickly establish a way of electing a new chairman but also to evaluate the possibility of his own candidacy. This was opportune by virtue not only of the Pesaro statesman's unquestionable prestige which he commanded in political and parliamentary circles but also due to his specific competence in his role as ex-minister of Public Education and authoritative vice-president of the Upper Council⁵⁵ – for schools⁵⁶.

In his reply Terenzio Mamiani appeared to be particularly concerned that the prolonging of the time for the election could generate misunderstandings and incorrect interpretations between the members of the Board:

It is really urgent – he wrote –, that you, as soon as possible, call upon the Directing Committee to appoint its Chairman. You know the nature of these men to be upstanding and benevolent. Almost all of them think that something is being hidden from them and I already hear some complaints about not having been consulted etc. So please do me the favour of calling us to meet. Because I cannot bear to appear to be too different from what I am. [...] and eager to overwhelm.

As for the candidacy envisaged by Gigli, the Pesaro politician manifested, at least apparently, little enthusiasm for taking it into consideration. In reality, further on in the letter he showed that he was not altogether against the prospect of taking on the role of chairman of the Association, especially where he defined the single condition that the electors should be present, in a «collegial assembly» of the members of the Board, and not, as normally happened, through consultation of the members at a distance, or by each member sending his voting slip to the secretary⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ Cf. A. Carrannante, *Terenzio Mamiani nella storia della scuola italiana*, «Cultura e Scuola», vol. 31, n. 122, 1992, pp. 199-210; and especially M.C. Morandini, *Scuola e nazione. Maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato unitario (1848-1861)*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2003, *passim*. On Mamiani's role as ordinary member and then as vice-president, from 1868 to 1884, of the Upper Council of Public Education see A. Brancati, *Mamiani Della Rovere Terenzio*, in *DBI*, 68 (2007), pp. 388-396.

⁵⁶ Letter from Ottavio Gigli to Terenzio Mamiani, Florence 7 July 1868, in BOP, Mamiani Archive, n. 6600.

⁵⁷ Letter from Terenzio Mamiani to Ottavio Gigli, Florence 8 July 1868, in ASIF, «Ottavio

In the following days, the secretary of the Association made contact with the other members of the board to sound out their orientation and to ascertain any alternative candidacies to that of Mamiani. On that basis, on 16 July he was able calmly to write to Mamiani:

Out of respect for your request regarding the method of conducting the election of our Chairman, could you tell me the day that would be most convenient to you, so that I can call upon our Colleagues? Meanwhile, in order to show you that your wishes are my dearest commands, I am sending you the letter signed by our Baron, which I am sure you will appreciate, and you will see how I pressed him to find out what his feelings would be if he were elected. After this letter and what Capponi told me about his decision to give you his vote, I really do not know how you could fail to assume the government of our Association. Insofar as I am able, I will see to all the small and irksome tasks that come with this office, and I will make my sacred duty to save you time for studying which I know is of such value and honour for our Italy. But please believe me when I say that the Appointment is urgent as we have many letters to send and many very serious matters to attend to⁵⁸.

As mentioned in the letter, referred to above, from Gigli to Mamiani, in the preceding days Bettino Ricasoli, opportunely 'tempted' by the secretary⁵⁹, had made clear his absolute unwillingness to take on the role of chairman of the Association, and adding his own support for the election of the politician from Pesaro⁶⁰.

Having reached a very broad agreement on the name of Terenzio Mamiani to succeed Matteucci, the election of the new chairman of the Association was then put off for more than six months due to Mamiani's decision, recalled above, to proceed with the vote in the course of an opportunely convened «collegial assembly», and not by means of the quicker method of consulting the members of the Board at a distance⁶¹.

In the end, at the Directors' assembly held in Florence on 21 February 1869, Terenzio Mamiani was elected chairman of the Association to replace the late Matteucci⁶². In the message sent to the branch Committees a few days after his election, Mamiani presented a flattering outline of the activities undertaken by the Association, precisely thanks to the many Committees that had emerged in the various provinces of the peninsula, and of the results obtained over the last year:

Gigli» Archive, b. 15 (Signed letters to Ottavio Gigli), Letters from Terenzio Mamiani (1799-1885).

⁵⁸ Letters from Ottavio Gigli to Terenzio Mamiani, Florence 16 July 1868, in BOP, Mamiani Archive, n. 6603.

⁵⁹ Cf. Letter from Ottavio Gigli to Gino Capponi, Florence 20 luglio 1868, in BNCF, Fondo manoscritti e rari, *Carteggi Gino Capponi*, VII.45.

⁶⁰ Letter from Bettino Ricasoli to Ottavio Gigli, Brolio 12 July 1868, in ASIF, «Ottavio Gigli» Archive, b. 15 (Signed letters to Ottavio Gigli), Letters from Bettino Ricasoli (1809-1880).

⁶¹ Letter from Ottavio Gigli to Gino Capponi, Florence 28 July 1868, in BNCF, Manuscript and Rare Works Archive, *Carteggi Gino Capponi*, VII.45.

⁶² See the letter from Ottavio Gigli to Gino Capponi, Florence 19 February 1869, in BNCF, Manuscript and Rare Works Archive, *Carteggi Gino Capponi*, VII.45.

Having been elected a few days ago as chairman of this Association by my honourable colleagues – he wrote –, I address you affectionately just like my illustrious late predecessor often did, to thank you for your cordial and constant work in the performance of our cause. [...] Notwithstanding the Government's exceptional commitment to run alongside the efforts of private individuals in hard work and zeal, ignorance continues to survive and has barely lessened, only touching the surface of the towns and large villages. Hence you should rejoice that our Association, with great care, attention and diligence in the introduction of its School-nursery amongst the little people of the country, can now show you two wondrous things; how through its strenuous and laborious efforts it has found thousands of men to support it and to make it work, and how from love and speech they managed to produce an action that is constant and fruitful for the entire nation. [...] We are confident to be able to awaken those feelings of love and liberality felt by private citizens and municipalities towards our Institution; who, in the knowledge of having the companionship of 220 branch Committees and 2,000 elected people in every Province, will surely wish to make the Institution their own, by multiplying and transforming their rural lower schools.

Further on in the *Message*, Mamiani once again drew to the attention of the branch Committees the controversial and delicate question of the gradual transformation of the lower elementary schools in the countryside into School-nurseries, without forgetting to specify that a similar transformation needed to be carried out gradually and in a way that was agreed as far as possible with the school authorities. On this issue, indeed, he made reference to a circular drafted during the previous months and sent by the Association «to all the Mayors of Italy», in which precise information was requested regarding the local school situation and the basis was created in order to take concrete steps towards effecting the transformations recalled above:

We believe – concluded chairman Mamiani – that rural elementary schools may over time transform into School-nurseries, [...] But this transformation must be slow and very well thought out; and we bear witness to this, so that no doubts can be raised by those who consider this change as being devoid of passion, in the circular to all the Mayors of Italy, that accompanies this letter to you, in which there are various requests for information about the moral, intellectual and economic state of their rural lower elementary Schools, to know if there are many that could, teaching the same things using better methods, transmute into School-nurseries that accept children. [...] We wish to lend a hand to the Government in its arduous task. It is from this concord of intelligence that we are committed to the success of our undertaking. Woe to the world, said Lambruschini, if this free cooperation of citizens and, often, this common effort to create a model had not indicated a better way of behaving to those who oversee public education!⁶³

Dated 26 March 1868 and addressed not only to the mayors, but also to the prefects of the Kingdom in their role as presidents of the provincial school Councils, the circular sent by the Board of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, referred to in the *Message* from the new chairman

⁶³ *Messaggio del Presidente Terenzio Mamiani ai Comitati filiali dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili rurali per l'Infanzia* (Firenze, 2 marzo 1869), Firenze, Tip. dell'Associazione, 1869.

Terenzio Mamiani, substantially aimed to attain a double objective: to acquire precise information on the prevailing conditions of popular education in the countryside and, also, to promote agreements between the Association itself and the municipal authorities in order to enable the creation, under extremely advantageous conditions, of School-nurseries in all the rural *comuni*. In order to achieve the first of the two objectives, the circular was accompanied by a questionnaire containing 40 questions «on the material, moral and intellectual state of the schools in all the *Comuni* of the Kingdom»:

Material State. Questions: 1) How many rural lower elementary schools does the *Comune* have? 2) Are the school houses the property of the *Comune*? 3) If rented, at what price? 4) Is there a dwelling place for the school master or mistress? 5) Where is it located? 6) How far is it from the most populated part of the village? 7) General description of the premises. 8) Details of each room or hall. 9) Dimensions of each one in metres. 10) How they are presented. 11) Are there verandas, lawns or gardens? 12) Is the *comune* proposing or has it decided to build, at its own cost, the school or the teacher's house? 13) What sum does it intend to spend? 14) In the *comune* are their monasteries or government premises that could be adapted to be used as nurseries or schools? *Moral and Intellectual State. Questions:* 1) Is the school directed by a schoolmaster or mistress? 2) How long has he/she been teaching? 3) First name and surname. 4) What is his/her age? 5) Does he/she have a diploma? 6) Could he/she obtain documents from the local authorities testifying to his/her honesty and hardworking intelligence? 7) In his/her free time, does he/she teach others? 8) Does he/she receive any allowances? 9) What is his/her salary? 10) How many pupils attend his/her classes? 11) Average over the summer and winter seasons. 12) How many pupils could attend the school? 13) Are there any agricultural or manufacturing businesses in the village? 14) What are they? 15) Is there an evening or rest-day school in the premises or in others? 16) Where? 17) Does the *comune* make a contribution, and how much? 18) Average number of pupils attending the evening and rest-day schools by sex. 19) School timetable. 20) Are there rules and regulations? 21) Are exams set? 22) What are the results of these exams? 23) What books are used? 24) Are paper, books, pens etc. given to the pupils as prizes? 25) Does the parish priest visit the school, and does he question the pupils? 26) On average, how many pupils are there when the school opens, and how many when it closes?⁶⁴

As underlined by Ottavio Gigli, who was behind the initiative and drafted the questionnaire, the survey into the state of elementary education in rural areas aimed to provide legitimacy and force to the Association's battle in favour of the replacement of lower elementary Schools with School-nurseries:

We addressed the Mayors and the Prefects – he wrote –, in the certainty of coming to the Government's aid and to that of most of the *Comuni* who were spending money with very little benefit. [...] We wished to know where it was necessary to propose our reform, or where the rural lower elementary schools were devoid of every effective teaching or education. [...] It was never our intention to interfere with upper elementary schools, only

⁶⁴ A printed copy of the questionnaire enclosed with the circular of 26 March 1868, entitled *Domande sullo stato materiale, morale e intellettuale delle scuole*, is conserved in ASIF, *Fondo Ottavio Gigli*, b. 7 (Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali).

the lower and rural schools; and the questions were directed at this aim concerning the material, moral and intellectual state of schools and they were sent to all the *Comuni* of the kingdom: this was the statistical work that exposed the gangrene in the wound and which persuaded many to do something concrete to heal it⁶⁵.

As regards the other objective, namely the making of special agreements between the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* and the local authorities in order to make it possible to found School-nurseries in the countryside to replace the lower elementary Schools instituted in compliance with the Casati law, the circular of 26 March 1868 addressed to the mayors and prefects of the Kingdom referred to article 14 of the *Regulations for elementary instruction* issued on September 1860, which established, as we know, that «Schools founded by special groups, by private associations or by private individuals for the benefit of the public shall be taken into account to be paid for totally or partially by the local *Comune*, on condition that they are maintained in conformity with the law»⁶⁶.

On the basis of this measure, the Association proposed that the mayors of rural *comuni* sign a real agreement for the creation, in the place of the lower elementary Schools defined by the Casati law, of special School-nurseries, which, as has been recalled above, were to perform the dual function of daytime schools for the education of children of between 3 and 9 years and of evening and Sunday schools for adult literacy:

The Association – stated the circular – in promoting school-nurseries has learned that many municipalities would have been willing to found them if they had known the necessary costs of building them and of the subsequent need to continue providing the service. To avoid any further delay to these plans that have hitherto not been acted upon, our Association, eager to see the building of these institutions on a basis that makes them long lasting and fruitful, has decided to offer to start and continue the schools itself, whose creation it believes is urgent in every part of Italy. It therefore proposes, having obtained the necessary premises free of charge from the *Comuni*, to contribute to a part of the costs, the so-called initial outlay, and for 800 Lire a year to provide for the teacher, the attendant and for whatever may be needed by the school-nursery, which, being a scholastic and not a charitable institution, does not hand out bread which restores the body, but that which restores the soul and the intellect; to provide for the management, the teaching and for every other intellectual and moral need of the nursery: thus doing it could accept between 40 and 60 children⁶⁷.

The circular was accompanied by a *Printed Note of the school furnishings* «with prices, as charged in Florence», which listed all the furnishings and teaching material necessary for the running of the School-nursery and presented

⁶⁵ *Il progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia nel suo primo quinquennio. Relazione del segretario Ottavio Gigli*, cit., pp. 39-41.

⁶⁶ R.D. 15 September 1860, n. 4336 – *Regolamento per l'istruzione elementare*, in Racc. Uff., 1860, pp. 1379-1396.

⁶⁷ The Board of Directors, *Circolare ai Sindaci di tutti i Comuni del Regno*, Firenze 26 marzo 1868, printed copy in ASIF, *Fondo Ottavio Gigli*, b. 7 (*Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali*).

two types of cost estimate, according to whether the intention was to create «a Nursery for 50 children a school for 40 adults», or «a Nursery for 60 children and a school for 50 adults»⁶⁸.

It was precisely the questionnaire for the mayors with the *Questions on the material, moral and intellectual state of schools* that was destined to raise a series of concerns within the ministry of Public Education and to mark the first disagreements between the branch Committees of the Association and the local school authorities. An echo of the unexpected and serious difficulties encountered in the relationship with the ministry and of the growing discomfort that was being felt within the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* can be noted in the letter sent on 27 October 1869 by Ottavio Gigli to Niccolò Tommaseo, in which the secretary painted a decidedly problematic picture of the situation that had been created:

I am saddened – wrote Gigli – by the correspondence from two hundred or more of our Branch Committees who tell me of the impediments that they are meeting. [...] But what causes me most grief are the scholastic authorities, who, either for fear of losing their bread, seeing that virtuous and disinterested men absolve their duties somewhat better, visiting our schools and theirs, or because they have received an order from the Ministry of Public Education (and this I think is true) I know that when the ranks are broken they are fighting us where they are, apart from on rare and honourable occasions, and they distort or destroy our work. Their pretext was that, by proposing to transform rural lower schools into School-nurseries, we intend to overturn and eliminate the school system; and we have never dreamt of such a thing; but moved by patriotic charity, we wished to signal on the official Documents that we are spending 10 million lire and that one million pupils are not being instructed but scarcely 400 thousand; and none are receiving a real education; and of course it would be better when the opportunity comes to transform them into our School-nurseries. Please judge for yourself if this proposal could be dangerous [...] Unfortunately Mamiani, as vicepresident of the Upper Council, must do everything to please, but I have no ambitions and I fear no-one, and I have said and I have urged others to say that if this shameful behaviour does not cease, from our correspondence I shall present reasons to shame not only the Ministry, but particularly Parliament which failed to find the words or the money to assist this part of the administration, that (in all honesty!) is worse than the others⁶⁹.

⁶⁸ The Note included: «1) A full teacher's desk. 2) 4 large school desks of 4 metres in length with benches. 3) 5 wall-mounted lectern-desks, each one of 70 cm in length, 60 cm in width, and 50 cm in height, and benches for seating. 4) A double-sided blackboard with easel. 5) An abacus with iron rungs and 10 square blocks. 6) A complete chequerboard. 7) A 16 metre dining table for children. 8) A 16 metre bench for sitting at the abovementioned. 9) 16 metres of clothes hooks, with welded iron brackets and double hooks». A reproduction can be seen in *Il progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia nel suo primo quinquennio. Relazione del segretario Ottavio Gigli*, cit., pp. 43-44.

⁶⁹ Letter from Ottavio Gigli to Niccolò Tommaseo, Florence 27 October 1869, in BNCF, Manuscripts and Rare Works Archive, *Carteggi Niccolò Tommaseo*, 86-67. But see also the controversial article, published anonymously, but directly inspired by ministerial circles, on *Gli Asili d'Infanzia e gli Asili-Scuole*, «La Perseveranza», n. 11, 26 September 1869, p. 8; and the letter from Ottavio Gigli to Terenzio Mamiani, Florence 12 October 1869, in BOP, Mamiani Archive, n. 6623.

In the following weeks, to remedy the «misunderstandings that had emerged between the Society and the Ministry, who caused significant damage to the agreed activities of these two institutions which were born one for the other», chairman Terenzio Mamiani deemed it necessary to clarify the situation with the minister of Public Education⁷⁰, also in order to «bring back the light of truth and show how wrongly our Association was suspected of what it never intended to do». To this end, on 3 November 1869, Mamiani met both the general director Pasquale Villari, and the minister, to whom he handed a large report⁷¹, in which, after retracing the origins and the work of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* and fully described its aims, precise details were presented concerning the proposal to replace in the country the inefficient lower elementary Schools created in accordance with the Casati law with School-nurseries:

The Board – stated the report – proposed by way of a solution to the problem existing in those places where rural lower schools did not satisfy requirements, that they would be transformed into School-nurseries. But with this proposal, inspired by a profound sense of good, it never contemplated overturning and violating the Law, but to interpret it in its spirit and to support what I had proposed in article 14 of the Regulation of 15 September 1860, namely that «Schools founded by special corporations, by private associations or by private individuals for the benefit of the public shall be taken into account to be paid for totally or partially by the local *Comune*, on condition that they are maintained in conformity with the law». My Regulation, art. 25, to make elementary education maternal and efficient, proposed that «where there are numerous villages where the creation of a school is obligatory, and the *Comune's* income is inadequate, it would be feasible if one teacher taught the boys in the hours of the morning and the girls in the afternoon. These schools, where possible, would be entrusted to the schoolmistresses». And it is upon this article that we justify our School-nursery that, by educating children, maintains the prescribed syllabus of teaching. [...] Now we ask your Excellence, how we, in effectively satisfying the spirit of the Law, indeed allow me to say, being within the Law, how we should be misunderstood and on occasions defined as being in contrast with the Law; and how in this erroneous opinion of our activities efforts are being made to disable us and to set the scholastic and administrative authorities of the kingdom against us, as appears to have happened as a result of some order or circular issued by the Ministry⁷².

⁷⁰ Angelo Bargoni was minister of Public Education in the third Menabrea government, from 13 May to 14 December 1869. On him G. Talamo, *Istruzione obbligatoria ed estensione del suffragio*, in L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita. Dalla Legge Casati al Centro-Sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001, pp. 58-59.

⁷¹ On this report, drafted by the secretary of the Association and amended in certain parts by Mamiani, see the letter from Ottavio Gigli to Terenzio Mamiani, Florence 26 October 1869, in BOP, Mamiani Archive, n. 6626; and Mamiani's reply to Gigli, Florence (undated but end of October 1869), in ASIF, «Ottavio Gigli» Archive, b. 15 (Signed letters to Ottavio Gigli), Letters from Terenzio Mamiani (1799-1885).

⁷² A copy of the report, dated 4 November 1869, dispatched from Terenzio Mamiani to the minister of Public Education Angelo Bargoni is conserved in ASIF, *Fondo Ottavio Gigli*, b. 7 (Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali).

The reply from the minister of Public Education Angelo Bargoni, contained in a letter sent to chairman Mamiani on 19 November 1869⁷³, seemed to be driven by the desire to minimise any controversy and to seek a resumption of the cooperation between the parties, as was shown by the decision to shrug off as simple misunderstandings the comments that had been made concerning the Association's work. Ottavio Gigli emphasised:

The Ministry replied that regarding the intentions of the Board there was no need for clarification, as just to see the names that composed the members of the Board was quite sufficient; nevertheless he considered it his duty to give credence to certain facts that occurred due to the activities of the branch Committees for which he could not hold the central management responsible: he noted certain discrepancies between our Regulations and Instructions and the law; the Ministry wished to remove any thought by the *Comuni* that they could substitute legally instituted schools with our School-nurseries: he wished to remedy the damage that could have been caused to existing institutions by an exaggerated and ingenuous interpretation of the Circulars of the branch Committees *without preventing, indeed by helping, as far as he was able, to create new institutions; he therefore found himself to be in full agreement with the central management*⁷⁴.

In reality, in the following weeks, the conciliatory tone and collaborative spirit shown by the minister Bargoni were destined to give way to an increasing contentious stance, which then culminated in a total breakdown in relations. As from 4 November, on this question, namely in the aftermath of talks between the chairman Mamiani with the minister of Public Education Angelo Bargoni and the chief superintendant for primary and popular education Pasquale Villari, Ottavio Gigli was obliged to put the chairman of the Association on his guard against the underlying intentions, if not of the minister himself, at least of some of his colleagues and, more in general, of the directors of the department over which he presided.

The occasion arose from a disconcerted letter sent to Gigli from the prefect of Ancona, who, in reply to his request for clarification delivered to the ministry about the possibility of authorising the creation of school-nurseries in the place of lower elementary Schools specified by the Casati law in some rural *comuni*, he found himself faced with a sharp rebuff:

I received an authenticated copy – wrote the secretary of the Association – of the letter written to the prefect of Ancona from the Ministry, in which we are slandered, stating that we said and did things that we never dreamt of. No document of ours, and you have read them all diligently, ever said or printed that the *Comuni* should transform the Elementary Schools into Rural Nurseries. We always spoke of *rural Lower Schools*, which are quite different from *elementary schools in general*; and for the Rural Nurseries to substitute the

⁷³ Letter from Angelo Bargoni to Terenzio Mamiani, Florence 19 November 1869, in ASIF, Fondo Ottavio Gigli, b. 7 (Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali).

⁷⁴ *Il progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia nel suo primo quinquennio. Relazione del segretario Ottavio Gigli*, cit., p. 52.

rural lower Schools, it was clearly specified, *where necessary*. These words show that the Municipality could have sought an explanation from the Ministry. We could not impose, we could only ask that a potentially useful reform is discussed: apart from the fact that the Ministry employees are not even aware of the Regulations, which give Associations the right to constitute Schools (of which the name is not prescribed) which may be at the total or partial obligatory expense of the *Comune*. I am astonished that Villari signed these Circulars without having asked you, who he sees so often; and as you can see from the date of this letter written by Villari, he wrote it after the meeting he had with you. This whole furore was directed against us by the bigotry that prevails in the Ministry; not in the Minister, but in those who stir up that part of public education. Even poor Matteucci, in to many similar cases, had to face this fact⁷⁵.

With the arrival of Cesare Correnti at the head of Public Education, on 14 December 1869⁷⁶, differences worsened between the ministry and the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* and went on to lead to a complete breakdown in relations. It should be recalled, on this subject, that on the very same day that the new government took office, 14 December 1869, the chief supervisor for primary and popular education Pasquale Villari sent a letter in the name of the minister to the chairman of the Association Terenzio Mamiani in which, whilst expressing hearty appreciation for the work that had been carried out until then by the Association, on the basis of a restrictive interpretation of article 14 of the *Regulations for Elementary Education* issued on 15 September 1860, referred to several times above, set very strict limits regarding the creation of School-nurseries in rural areas, yet again notably restricting the Association's ambit of operation:

Certain Provincial School Councils – wrote Pasquale Villari – addressed this Ministry requesting «to provide precise norms for the School-nurseries so that they are founded in line with the intentions of the national association; and in particular if the small *Comuni* and villages who have such nurseries, can be exempted from all legal obligations». This request is a clear sign of the hard-working love with which the National Association of which you are the chairman is committed to introducing to the poor populations of the countryside, the highly useful Rural Nurseries, for which the undersigned offers heartfelt thanks to you and to the worthy Colleagues of the same association. And in order that their generous

⁷⁵ Letter from Ottavio Gigli to Terenzio Mamiani, Florence 4 November 1869, in BOP, Mamiani Archive, n. 6628.

⁷⁶ On the school policy of Cesare Correnti, who, as we know, after a first term as minister of Public Education in the 2nd Bettino Ricasoli government, from 17 February to 10 April 1867, he returned to head the same department for the government of Giovanni Lanza, from 14 December 1869 to 5 August 1872, see: T. Massarani, *Cesare Correnti nella vita e nelle opere*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1907; D. Visconti, *L'opera di Cesare Correnti come ministro*, «Nuova Rivista Storica», vol. 38, 1954, pp. 162-181; P. Scoppola, *Laicismo e anticlericalismo*, in *Chiesa e religiosità in Italia dopo l'Unità (1861-1878)*, *Atti del IV Convegno di Storia della Chiesa (La Mendola, 31 agosto - 5 settembre 1871)*, *Relazioni*, II, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 1973, pp. 225-274; B. Pisa, *Cesare Correnti e il dibattito sulla laicità dell'insegnamento*, «Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento», vol. 67, 1975, pp. 212-229; M. Bendiscioli, *La Sinistra storica e la scuola*, «Studium», vol. 73, 1977, pp. 447-466.

work is not hindered by the Law, it would seem opportune to identify precisely the cases in which the creation of Nurseries may be promoted without detriment to the founding of elementary schools which have been declared obligatory for the *Comuni*. Above all in order to prevent any uncertainty in those *Comuni*, whether they have populations above or below 500 inhabitants, having already opened their elementary schools which may not ever be substituted by infant Nurseries or School-nurseries.

Some doubts could be raised, the minister's letter went on to say, concerning «those *Comuni* and those villages where no school had yet been founded, although this is an obligation according to the Law of 13 November 1859 and the Regulation of 15 September 1860»; and nevertheless, also in this case the limitations imposed by current legislation appeared to be insurmountable:

Thus – continued Pasquale Villari – it would be better if the *Comuni* had the means to fulfill this obligation alone, or at least with the assistance of the government. In the former case, the School Council and the Provincial Deputation have the compulsory duty to allocate in the balance sheet the legally required sum to pay the salaries of the Teachers and for the other requirements for the school premises and furnishings: in the latter case, the School Council usually proposes to Government a subsidy to be granted for the purpose, which is ordinarily always awarded. But nor can those places be considered in need of the loving kindness of this honourable Association. The matter must therefore only refer: 1 To those *Comuni* who have a population of less than 500 souls and who on account of their poverty (p. 53) recognised by the School Council and the Provincial Deputation have not been able or cannot sustain the costs of the schools in compliance with the Law; 2 To the villages with populations lower than 500 inhabitants, or to those others who belong to *Comuni*, of which we have a great many where the establishment of schools is obligatory, and for which they do not dispose of sufficient income. In these latter *Comuni* and in these Villages the National Association has a vast terrain upon which to carry out its charitable work which, as they are cases of similar nature, will certainly see the effective participation of this Ministry⁷⁷.

On 18 December 1869, when passing to chairman Mamiani the letter from Pasquale Villari in the name the minister Correnti, Ottavio Gigli rightly underlined how, beyond the deference and conciliatory tones used in the letter, the ministry's intention was to drastically redefine the space in which the Association operated, effectively disempowering the real reform in popular education in rural areas that the Association intended to enact by replacing the inefficient lower elementary Schools instituted in compliance with the Casati law with School-nurseries:

I am sending to you – wrote the secretary of the Association – the last letter I received from the Ministry of Public Education. As you will see, he is a stern man who praises us and thanks us for our work; but when we come to concluding where and how we may conduct our activities, by referring to various hypotheses, he eliminates it and almost reduces it to nothing; and he makes no mention of Your regulations with which all is rendered clear,

⁷⁷ Letter from Pasquale Villari to Terenzio Mamiani, Florence 14 December 1869, in ASIF, *Fondo Ottavio Gigli*, b. 7 (Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali).

effective and long-lasting. The work specified by the letter I enclose is limited to *Comuni* of under 500 souls and which do not have a School, and to those *Comuni* which include so many villages that they cannot afford fully to satisfy the Government requirement. The article in the Regulations does not specify the number of inhabitants or villages, but speaks in general; and all the *Comuni* that find themselves in those specific conditions have the benefit of other Schools, which are totally or partially covered by legal obligation. And it was in this sense that I wrote my reply, which I ask you to feel free to correct should you think otherwise.

In his reply to the ministerial note, originally drafted, as we have seen, by Gigli, chairman Terenzio Mamiani focused on the particular significance of article 14 of the *Regulations for elementary education* issued on 15 September 1860, which, in his opinion, constituted the real cornerstone that made the Association's work possible and compliant with the law:

I received your Excellency's revered letter – he stated in the letter of 18 December 1869 addressed to the minister Correnti –, to which I have the privilege to reply. I thank you, also on behalf of my Colleagues for your courteous words regarding our work for the benefit of popular education. Your Excellency wishes that *Comuni*, Associations and Private individuals operate within the letter of the law; but by 'law' we also mean the Regulations that are part of it, and it is article 14, whose exact words we quote, that has determined our actions: «In order to determine the nature and extent of the obligation of the *Comuni* to provide for elementary education, their income, obligatory costs, tax and all other economic conditions of the place should be taken into consideration. Schools founded by special groups, by private associations or by private individuals for the benefit of the public shall be taken into account to be paid for totally or partially by the local *Comune*, on condition that they are maintained in conformity with the law». If, therefore, there are *Comuni* in the conditions referred to in the article, we can legally found our School Nursery in total or partial waiver of the obligations they have towards the Government. We hope that the Provincial School Councils have received a reply from the Ministry that corresponds to the above determination of the law. We will not proceed with the institution of School nurseries, in substitution of the legally prescribed schools, if not within the defined limit and when the President of the Provincial School Council has recognised its necessity⁷⁸.

The remark on article 14 of the *Regulations* made in Mamiani's letter, far from ending the controversy, produced a harsh reaction from the minister, who, by literally interpreting the law under discussion, once again raised the question of whether the article, by referring explicitly to «schools», could be correctly applied to institutions of a different type, such as the «rural infant nurseries»:

Article 14 of the Regulations that you kindly enclosed in your letter – wrote minister Cesare Correnti to chairman Mamiani on 20 January 1870 –, certainly admits that schools founded for the benefit of the public by particular private associations or private individuals can

⁷⁸ Copy of letter from Terenzio Mamiani to Cesare Correnti, Florence 18 December 1869, in ASIF, *Fondo Ottavio Gigli*, b. 7 (Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali).

either totally or partially replace elementary state schools. But, as is specifically stated in the article, on condition that they are maintained according to the law. The Nurseries are not schools that are maintained according to the law, as they do not even depend on the Ministry of Public Education but on that of the interior as pious works⁷⁹.

Chairman Mamiani's reply, whilst calm in tone, was very hard in its substance, especially where, by referring to school legislation and to the history of Aporti nurseries, he effectively exposed the questionable distinction between «schools» and «infant nurseries» which the minister Correnti had adopted, ended by implicitly accusing the Minister of not having a clear and complete picture of the situation:

I believe it my duty – wrote chairman Mamiani on 7 February 1870 – to reply to your Excellency's most courteous letter. The Regulations for the law on elementary education were published in 1860, it intended that article 14 gave the right to private individuals and Associations to provide help to the *Comuni* and to public education with new schools: and it was said that these schools could be in total or partial waiver of the obligations of the *Comune*; thus Sunday schools, evening schools and the Nurseries themselves were included in this number: and it was in this way that the variety of types of schools was able to help public education to make progress. The Nurseries, with a royal decree of 21 August 1853, approved their Regulation which included articles 71, 72, 73 and 74, were counted as Schools; and the school Authorities were obliged to ensure that the premises were healthy, that they were suitably furnished and that they had a school teaching. The first Nursery founded by Aporti proposed to provide education and shelter for orphans and widows' children; and by proposing to provide charity as well as education, it was able to be called a charitable Institution: thus these Institutions were part of the works of charity that depended on the Ministry of the Interior. But the Nurseries, according to the statistics published by the honourable Aporti, grew and improved and went on to be called infant Schools, and the intention was to have them provide a preparation for the local schools of the *Comuni*. Therefore, the words «according to the law», to me, must refer to the subjects taught and not on the basis of the type of school. However, I do not claim to be able to interpret the law, and I feel it my duty to observe it scrupulously: whilst I believe that this matter can be fully agreed upon and resolved⁸⁰.

At the assembly of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* held on 12 February 1870⁸¹, a few days after Mamiani's reply to minister Correnti, it was established that, «being in possession of documentary evidence that the Ministry did not oppose the opening of our Schools in communities of less than 500 inhabitants», the Association was to note «that our activities were not hindered» and to send «a Circular to the branch Committees that

⁷⁹ Letter from Cesare Correnti to Terenzio Mamiani, Florence 20 January 1870, in ASIF, *Fondo Ottavio Gigli*, b. 7 (Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali).

⁸⁰ Copy of letter from Terenzio Mamiani to Cesare Correnti, Florence 7 February 1870, in ASIF, *Fondo Ottavio Gigli*, b. 7 (Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali).

⁸¹ On this subject see the letter from Ottavio Gigli to Terenzio Mamiani, Florence 21 February 1870, in BOP, Mamiani Archive, n. 6633.

encouraged those timid Committees that were holding back when hearing the rumour that the Ministry of Education was opposing us»⁸².

Drafted in the following weeks and signed by all the members of the Board, the circular, sent on 2 March 1870 to the branch Committees, aimed at relaunching the Association's work, making the most of the albeit reduced manoeuvring space that the ministry allowed to them:

Our faith in the future of the Association – it stated –, the practical means that we use to achieve our aims, the reverence, that is not blind, which we have for the law, when it could have been read more broadly and more rightly in the Regulations, and the voice of two million children who have no charitable shelter nor a School that receives them with method and instruction, persuaded the Minister to help us in our modest and effective work of educating the children of the multitudes that live in the countryside, and he granted us the right to open School-nurseries in *Comuni* of less than 500 inhabitants and where due to a lack of income of the *Comuni* there are villages, of whatever size of population, which have no school. We can thus found our School-Nurseries in their thousands in total or partial waiver of the obligations of the *Comuni*, according to what was permitted by article 14 of the Regulations⁸³.

In the last part of the circular to the branch Committees, the members of the Board expressed their conviction that «what we have noted could perhaps persuade the government that an important reform of elementary education could be tried with the School-Nursery at its base that can provide an initial education to our whole people and thus make the schools of the *comuni* [...] useful for the moral and intellectual needs of the nation». In reality, during precisely the same days in which the top management of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* were preparing the circular to the branch Committees, on 29 February 1870, in a slightly unexpected manner, the chief superintendent for primary and popular education, Pasquale Villari, requested on behalf of the minister the opinion of the Higher Council of Public Education «regarding the transformation of rural elementary schools into school-nurseries».

Such a decision, which was probably made on the basis of minister Correnti's desire not to exacerbate the controversy and to protect the ministry from the charge of senselessly hindering the very praiseworthy activities being carried out in rural areas by the Association, caused great nervousness amongst the Board members, especially for Mamiani, who was, as we know, the vice-president of the School Council of Public Education, and for Ricasoli. «Yesterday – Gigli

⁸² For the occasion, «notes of all the *Comuni* of less than 500 inhabitants were printed» and copies were sent out, attached to the circular, «to every branch Committee», so that «in that place they could fully perform their activities» (*Il progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia nel suo primo quinquennio. Relazione del segretario Ottavio Gigli*, cit., pp. 59-60).

⁸³ Central Management of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, *Ai Comitati filiali*, Firenze, Tip. dell'Associazione, 1870.

noted in a letter to Mamiani of 8 March 1870 – Baron Ricasoli visited me and today I went to visit him, and I learnt everything about what happened in the Upper Council; as Villari, writing to him about other matters, touched upon it. He was truly astonished and does not understand how the Ministry could move against us»⁸⁴.

The request for the opinion of the Higher Council of Public Education, made by Villari on behalf of the minister Correnti, was opened by an analytical presentation of the current legislative context, which was followed by a reconstruction of the factors that had led to the controversy between the ministry and the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*:

Article 319 of the Law of 13 November 1859 and articles 23 and 24 of the Regulations of 15 September 1860 – stated the document – determined the obligations of the Municipalities with relation to elementary education, prescribing that one school for boys and another for girls should be opened in *Comuni* of more than 500 inhabitants, and in villages of more than 800 which should be separated from the main centre by at least three kilometres, or, although located nearer, cannot, due to some other impediment, benefit from the school of reference. The same obligation exists for *Comuni* of less than 500 inhabitants and for villages that have more than 500 and less than 800 inhabitants except that the duration of the schools may be reduced to four months. Article 25 of the quoted Regulations allows that one sole teacher may teach the boys in the morning and the girls in the afternoon, and only where there are many villages where the creation of a school is obligatory and the *Comune* has insufficient income, and it states that such schools are entrusted, where possible, to the schoolmistresses. Since the first appearance of the associations for Rural Nurseries, some *Comuni* intended to transform the legally obligatory schools into institutions of this type.

More in particular, Pasquale Villari emphasised:

The Prefect of Ancona asked this Ministry in a letter of 21 May 1869 if the sums allocated in the town budget for elementary schools could be diverted and used instead for the maintenance of rural nurseries, without which, he said, it was not possible to erect and to live in such nurseries. Having examined the above request, the Committee for elementary education, chaired by the honourable Senator Raffaello Lambruschini, recognised that the obligations imposed by the Law of the Kingdom upon the *Comuni* for the maintenance of elementary school were compulsory, and could not be used by Ministerial order. For this reason the Ministry of Public Education replied on 28 May [1869] to the Prefect of Ancona: «The proposal to substitute elementary schools with rural infant nurseries found encounter insurmountable obstacles in current law. For all that it wished to favour the charitable institution of rural nurseries, elementary education must not suffer any detriment. The Minister's understanding is thus that the Law must be followed».

A few months after the request from the prefect of Ancona, the question returned following a series of concerns raised by the prefect of Cuneo to the ministry of the Interior:

⁸⁴ Letter from Ottavio Gigli to Terenzio Mamiani, Florence 8 March 1870, in BOP, Mamiani Archive, n. 6641.

In the month of October 1869 the Provincial School Council of Cuneo, having received a Circular from the Association, manifested some doubts to the Ministry of the Interior regarding the convenience and utility of substituting elementary schools with school nurseries; and that Prefect «feared that the Municipalities, as they have sometimes shown such tendencies, could fail to apply the law relating to the obligation to have schools». Soon after the Association presented a report insisting on its proposal, report to which the Ministry of Public Education replied, once again negatively, on 13 November last. In a letter dated 14 of the same month the Prefect of Siena raised doubts to this Ministry about the same issue, and asked «to provide precise norms for the School-nurseries so that they are founded in line with the intentions of the national association», and wished to clarify «if the small *Comuni* and villages who have such nurseries, can be exempted from all legal obligations».

Subsequently, with the aim of closing the matter once and for all, in the previously quoted letter of 14 December 1869 to the chairman of the Association Terenzio Mamiani, the minister of Public Education Pasquale Villari had given a precise definition of the limits and the particular conditions within which the work of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* could go ahead:

After which, in order to bring an end to the controversy, the Ministry of Public Education wrote on 14 December to the honourable chairman of the National Association, that he could be sure of the effective participation of the Government by limiting its activities: 1 To those *Comuni* who have a population of less than 500 souls and who on account of their poverty recognised by the School Council and the Provincial Deputation have not been able or cannot sustain the costs of the schools in compliance with the Law; 2 To the villages with populations lower than 500 inhabitants, or to those others who belong to *Comuni*, of which we have a great many where the establishment of schools is obligatory, and for which they do not dispose of sufficient income. The Association replied by referring to article 14 of the Regulations of 15 September 1860, which provides that «Schools founded by special Corporations, by private Associations or by private individuals for the benefit of the public shall be taken into account to be paid for totally or partially by the local *Comune*, on condition that they are maintained in conformity with the law». To which the Ministry observed that nurseries were not the same as the schools to which the Law refers, to the extent that they depend on the Ministry of the Interior; if some of these nurseries satisfied the law, it would be advisable to consider the Association's proposals case by case, but the Ministry therefore cannot provide general instructions to the School Councils on this question.

Faced with these further difficulties and the clearly impossible task of reaching an agreement between the ministry and the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, concluded Pasquale Villari on behalf of the minister Correnti, they resolved «to pass the consideration of this very serious matter to the Upper Council», which was asked to make a pronouncement on the following questions:

1. Given the peremptory dispositions of the Law, how should the assertions contained in the assembled letters, dated 10th, be considered having been received from the honourable Chairman of the association for rural nurseries and the Vice-President of the Upper Council of Public Education?
2. Can the legal obligations of a *Comune* with more than 500 inhabitants and of a village with more than 800 be considered to have been performed when a school

nursery has been created there in the place of a school, which it would appear must by law be instituted, one for boys and one for girls, with distinct rooms and different teachers? 3. If the reply is positive, should a school nursery under similar conditions depend directly on the National Association, or on the Ministry of the Interior, or on the Municipalities and on the Ministry of Public Education, like the other elementary schools?⁸⁵

In the days that immediately followed, the ministerial offensive against the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* rose to another level. On 5 March 1870, the prefects, in their role as presidents of the Provincial School Councils, were sent a ministerial circular signed by Pasquale Villari himself, in which, for the first time, accusations of falsity were levelled at the declarations contained in the previously recalled circular of 2 March 1870 to the branch Committees about the space guaranteed for the Association's activities by the ministry:

This Ministry – read the ministerial circular – which is committed to the idea that the funds allotted for obligatory elementary Schools are not diverted in order to create rural Nurseries, must warn the school Council, so that it is not misled by the Association for nurseries' last Circular as the assertions contained therein cannot in any way be considered to be compliant with the compulsory dispositions of the law. Instructions will therefore be given case by case⁸⁶.

The final confrontation, however, took place inside the Upper Council of Public Education, where the councillors Carlo Tenca and Michele Amari had been charged to prepare a report for the meeting of 4 June 1870⁸⁷. The text they had prepared, on this matter, apart from the formal recognition of the goodness of the work done by the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* completely embraced the position of the ministry of Public Education, rejecting *in toto*, on the other hand, the reasoning presented by the association led by Terenzio Mamiani:

On this controversy – stated the Report by Amari and Tenca – the Minister has requested the opinion of the Upper Council and has invited it to answer the following questions. 1. If the interpretation given to article 14 of the Regulations of 15 September 1860 is founded. 2. If the school-nursery can be considered to satisfy the obligation to maintain a school of the *Comuni* with normal populations and conditions of wealth. 3. Upon which authority does the school-nursery depend if its substitution for a school were to be admitted? Regarding the first

⁸⁵ *Quesiti sottoposti dal Provveditore Centrale per l'istruzione primaria e popolare, Pasquale Villari, al Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione in ordine alla trasformazione delle scuole elementari rurali in asili-scuole*, Florence 29 February 1870, in ACS, MPI, CSPI 1849-1903, Processi verbali, 1870, 1, pp. 1333-1334 bis.

⁸⁶ A partial reproduction can be found in *Il progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia nel suo primo quinquennio. Relazione del segretario Ottavio Gigli*, cit., p. 60.

⁸⁷ Concerning the appointment of the two presenters Carlo Tenca and Michele Amari, in a letter sent to chairman Mamiani on 20 April 1870, Ottavio Gigli stated: «I do not trust Tenca much, he is a friend of Minister Correnti's; and then, having said that, Tenca has a face from which I have never been able to understand what he is thinking» (Ottavio Gigli to Terenzio Mamiani, Florence 20 April 1870, in BOP, Mamiani Archive, n. 6647).

question, it appears to our commission that there can be no doubt about the interpretation of article 14 of the Regulations of 15 September 1860. Firstly, the law is explicit in this regard. Whilst in reality the law does tolerate the makeshift measure of an irregular school in *comuni* whose resources are limited, when their populations are lower than 500 inhabitants, this does not exonerate, either totally or partially, those *comuni* with the right quantity of inhabitants but with particular problems from the obligation of providing a regular school. For these the law requires that the State provides assistance with an annual allocation of funds in the desire that the school is maintained correctly. It is thus evident that the law, for *comuni* who are obliged to keep a regular school, does not allow the exoneration from this obligation unless through the substitution of another similarly regular school. And it is only in this sense that article 14 of the Regulations of 15 September 1860 should be understood, where, speaking of the substitution of schools that have been founded by private individuals or by particular associations for public benefit, it requires that these schools are maintained in accordance with the law. It would be difficult to understand how the legislator imposed certain obligatory conditions for the building of a school, then to allow them to fail to observe these requirements by substituting any private school for that of the *comune*. It would follow that the *comuni* could circumvent the law as and when they wished, and that the legislator, who considered it necessary to have certain guarantees to ensure the quality of the school, when the *comune* provides for it directly, no heed is paid to when a private institution assumes the *comune's* obligations. Another and even more singular contradiction would arise, whereby in the school which in such manner substitutes the *comune's* school, there would be no requirement to certify the suitability of the teacher, whereas that uncertified teacher could not keep an elementary school, even a private one. For these reasons our Commission does not consider to be founded the interpretation that the *Associazione degli Asili rurali* believes it can give to article 14 of the Regulations of 15 September 1860.

In the light of the answer to the first question, according to the presenters, it was also possible to determine the answer to the second:

The *Associazione degli Asili rurali* – wrote again Amari and Tenca –, in seeking to widen the sense of the law, implicitly recognises that a school-nursery does not possess all the characteristics of an elementary school. If it possessed them, the controversy would never have arisen. Without examining this institution's statute, suffice it to notice two points, in which the requirements of the law are not performed. The first is that of the two schools imposed on each *comune*, one for boys and one for girls, which would be substituted by one single school-nursery, which would not prove to be suitable and acceptable in all cases. The other, more serious, is the question of the suitability of the schoolmistress, who must provide qualifications that are legal for elementary school, whilst this is not the case for the school-nursery, as it is not bound by legal obligations. No other considerations are necessary to be able to declare that the school-nursery would not satisfy the obligation that the *comuni* have regarding elementary education.

Lastly, regarding the third question proposed by the ministry, the two members of the Upper Council of Public Education expressed themselves thus:

Concerning the third question, about which authority the school-nursery should answer to, one could conduct a general examination on whether this mixed-nature institution, but which has more of the character of a school than of a charity, should depend on the Ministry of public education rather than that of the interior. It is anyway beyond doubt in all cases in which a school-nursery enters into the place and state of an elementary school, albeit

irregular, it falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education, whose role it is to keep watch over the *comuni* for the observance of the law of 13 November 1859. In these cases it is obvious that, for the government, the school-nursery, by substituting the *comune* school, takes on its characteristics and legal status. Our Commission thus recognises that the Ministry acted correctly by insisting on the application of the law, just as it did in favouring, within the allowed legal limits, the initiative of the *Associazione degli Asili rurali*. We must not support the small-mindedness of those *comuni* – and unfortunately there are a great many – whose sole aim is to rid themselves of the burden of a school. However, should a *comune* present exceptional circumstances, for which it would appear appropriate to make an exception to the rigorous application of the law, the Commission does not dissent from what the Ministry proposed, namely to judge case by case and to allow the institution of a school-nursery for the purpose. As the matter, however, regards *comuni* that are obliged by law to maintain a regular school, this should be considered as an extraordinary concession, which does not exempt them from the duty they have, and which shall cease when the circumstances cease for which the concession was given. And the concession should be limited only to those *comuni* that have no school, so that help from private concerns as well as from the government is directed, before transforming existing schools, to create them where there are none⁸⁸.

In the course of the meeting of 4 June 1870, presided over by none other than the vice-president Terenzio Mamiani, the Upper Council of Public Education approved and adopted the reasoning and judgments expressed in the report presented by Amari and Tenca:

3. *Associazione per gli Asili Rurali*. Subsequently – read the minutes of the meeting – Councillor Tenca stated that having examined with Councillor Amari the requests of the Society for rural-nurseries for authorisation to institute its school-nurseries also in places where the population exceeds 500 inhabitants in substitution for elementary schools, which the *comuni* are legally obliged to have, the two presenters noted the great utility of that meritorious Association, and how, starting with very limited and modest means, it managed to obtain general support in many Provinces of the Kingdom, and went on to assume vast proportions and to render important services to education and morality in villages, to the extent that it merited the participation of the Government in order to assist in its activities, which, steered correctly, could produce even greater advantages than those presently obtained. They observed, however, that the support to be granted to this philanthropic work should not enlarge the institution beyond its objectives, precisely defined by the name it has assumed; lest it should falsify its purpose and avoid any possibility of violation of the regulations on elementary education by encouraging the evasion of the law regarding performance of the prescribed conditions for schools and the reluctance of Municipalities to satisfy their obligations.

The conclusions reached by the Upper Council of Public Education which were submitted to the ministry in response to the questions it had formulated, were totally against the position of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*:

⁸⁸ *Relazione letta in Adunanza del dì 4 giugno 1870*, in ACS, MPI, CSPI 1849-1903, Processi verbali, 1870, 1, pp. 1335-1342.

As a consequence of their considerations the two presenters proposed to respond to the three questions at issue submitted by the Ministry as follows: 1. There being explicit prescription in the law, and the final section of art. 14 of the regulations of 15 September 1860, the interpretation of the cited article cannot be extended, which is the aspiration of the Society of Rural-Nurseries, to permit *comuni* of more than 500 inhabitants to waive the legal requirements for obligatory elementary schools, unless extremely exceptional conditions make a special provision necessary; 2. As the school-nurseries are not regulated by law and elementary schools must be thus regulated, it is not permitted for the former to substitute the latter in *comuni* that are in a normal condition of population and wealth, except in rare and exceptional cases to be dealt with individually; 3. There can be no doubt that the school-nurseries, every time they enter into the place and state of elementary schools, must be placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education, whose role is to verify observance of the law of 13 November 1859. Furthermore, the presenters deem it opportune to invite the Government carefully to examine the forms and results of the institution promoted by the hard-working activities of the Society of rural-nurseries, lest this generous initiative should be abandoned to itself, and it recommends that the Ministry, considering that this initiative has in some way entered the school mechanism, fosters it, advises it, rectifies it where necessary and obtain from it the best result that it can give. The various conclusions illustrated by the presenters were then put to the vote and were approved unanimously⁸⁹.

In substance, if it were true, as Carlo Tenca and Michele Amari had underlined in the conclusive part of their report, that «even with these limitations, the field that is open to the activities of the *Associazione degli Asili rurali* is very large»⁹⁰, it was also true that a similar position, acknowledged and adopted by the entire Upper Council, was destined to thwart, at at least to drastically reduce, the commitment thus far shown by the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* to «remedy the sorry state of elementary education, principally in rural areas, and to sow the seed of a reform that, through education, could have moulded our agricultural multitudes»⁹¹. This was bitterly stressed by Ottavio Gigli when he took stock *in itinere* of the work the Association had done in its first five years of activity: «The impediments that were raised against us», he stated, «if they did not halt our slow progress and the certainty that we would succeed in the purpose that we had defined from the outset, they caused a painful delay in this reform which had initiated with so much study and attention»⁹².

In fact, a few weeks after the pronouncement of the Upper Council of Public Education, in the ministerial circular of 29 July 1870, Cesare Correnti defined

⁸⁹ *Consiglio Superiore di Pubblica Istruzione – Adunanza del dì 4 giugno 1870*, in ACS, MPI, CSPI 1849-1903, Processi verbali, 1870, 1, pp. 1317-1320 (the report of the entire session includes pp. 1317-1327).

⁹⁰ *Relazione letta in Adunanza del dì 4 giugno 1870*, cit., p. 1342.

⁹¹ Gigli, *L'istruzione ufficiale nelle Scuole elementari rurali*, cit., p. VII.

⁹² *Il progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia nel suo primo quinquennio. Relazione del segretario Ottavio Gigli*, cit., p. 46.

the narrow ambit within which the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* would be able to operate:

More than one provincial school authority – stated the minister of Public Education – asked this Ministry for precise norms regarding the value of the school-nurseries that may have been instituted according to the understanding of the national association, and some doubt existed as to whether the small *comuni* and villages who may have opened such nurseries could be exempted from the obligation prescribed in article 319 of the law of 13 November 1859 and in articles 22, 23 and 24 of the regulations of 15 September 1860. The Ministry responded appropriately to a similar question; despite that, in order to establish a rule that henceforward shall leave no space for uncertainty, it decided to submit this serious matter to the upper Council of public education, which on last 4 June declared to be of the following opinion: 1. That the law does not permit *comuni*, who have an obligation to maintain a school, to be exonerated from this obligation, if not with the substitution of another equally regular school. It would be difficult to understand how the legislator imposed certain obligatory conditions for the building of a school, then to allow them to fail to observe these requirements by substituting any private school for that of the *comune*. If this were the case, it would follow that the *comuni* could circumvent the law as and when they wished: indeed another and even more singular contradiction would arise, whereby in the school which in such manner substitutes the *comune's* school, the teacher would not require documented certification, whereas that uncertified teacher could not keep an elementary school, even a private one.

With reference to the other reasons that had caused the Upper Council of Public Education totally to reject the position taken by the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, minister Correnti expressed himself thus:

2. That the school-nursery does not have all the characteristics of an elementary school. And suffice it to notice two points, in which the requirements of the law are not performed to demonstrate that with this nursery the *comuni* do not satisfy the abovementioned obligation. The first is that of the two schools imposed on the *comuni*, one for boys and one for girls, which would be substituted by one of the institutes under discussion, which may not prove to be suitable and acceptable in all cases. The other, more serious, is the question of the suitability of the schoolmistress, who must provide qualifications that are legal for elementary school, whilst this is not required for the school-nursery, as it is not bound by legal obligations.

3. That in all cases in which a school-nursery enters into the place and state of an elementary school, albeit irregular, it falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education, whose role it is to verify that the *comuni* observe the law of 13 November 1859. 4. That, should a *comune* present exceptional circumstances, for which it would appear appropriate to make an exception to the rigorous application of the law, cases need to be judged on an individual basis as to the advisability of making the extraordinary concession of allowing the institution of a school-nursery, which however does not exempt them from the obligation they have to provide elementary education, but it will only be an singular exception which shall cease when the circumstances cease for which the concession was advised. And this concession should be limited only to those *comuni* that have no school, so that help from private concerns as well as from the government is directed, before transforming existing schools and thus violating the law, to create them where there are none.

Lastly, under the pretext «To get to know it [*l'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*] more closely, to examine the forms and results of the school-nurseries promoted by it, in order to be able to foster it more attentively, to rectify it where necessary and to obtain from it the best result that it can give», minister Correnti ordered a series of «special inspections» and «rigorous controls» of the School-nurseries that had already been founded in the rural *comuni* of the peninsula:

This Ministry – he wrote – came to the decision of ascertaining the number of those institutes that have hitherto emerged province by province, and the benefit that they have brought there. The undersigned therefore requests that your excellency order the district inspectors and, where there are none, the regional superintendent to conduct a special visit to the school-nurseries instituted under the auspices of the national association in those places that are subject to their respective jurisdiction, and then to prepare and send a detailed report through yourself to this central office⁹³.

The very harsh reply from secretary Ottavio Gigli to the affirmations contained in the ministerial circular of 19 July 1870 are unequivocal testimony to the different cultural sensitivity and radical diversity of approach to the problems of illiteracy and of popular education between the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* and the highest levels of the ministry of Public Education:

Certain observations [...] – wrote Gigli – will prove beyond doubt that the questions presented to the Upper Council and the documents that they needed to clarify were not submitted to that illustrious assembly as they should have been in order to produce a judgment that was sure and not dubious. Some school authorities asked the Ministry if the small *comuni* and the villages, by opening a Nursery, could be exempt from the obligations of the law and the regulations: and in Italy there were more than 1,705 small *comuni* with less than 500 inhabitants. As for the villages, statistics show that there were 5,526 without a school. Neither the one nor the other type of school, if they were to be created, fell under the jurisdiction of the law, which did not oblige the *Comuni* to create the school unless the number of inhabitants exceeded 500. Could the Minister present this question that was not regulated by the law and which entitled free Societies to carry out charitable work? Or if he wanted to ask a general question, should he not have made this exception? The Upper Council responded that the law does not allow the *Comuni*, who have an obligation to maintain a school, to be exonerated from this obligation, unless by substituting it with another equally regular school. But in giving this opinion the Upper Council did not speak of article 14 of the Regulations, even though it is law. And how should we understand the word *partial*, referred to in that article, if not that account had to be taken in the exams of how much these schools opened by associations or private individuals have benefitted the pupils by *total* or *partial* waiver of the *Comune's* obligations? The Upper Council makes the case that the *Comune* must and can perform its obligations; but if in Italy we have, like in the province of Sicily, only one school for 1,650, for 2,030, for 2,152 inhabitants; in the

⁹³ C.M. 29 July 1870, n. 277 – *Gli asili-scuole e le scuole elementari*, in *Documenti sulla istruzione elementare nel Regno d'Italia. Parte terza*, Firenze, Eredi Botta, 1872, pp. 138-139.

area around Bari only one school for 1,130, and similarly in others; if one were to find in these unfortunate provinces some individuals or associations who wished to open schools instead of the *Comuni*, which do nothing or are not able to do anything, in the opinion of the Upper Council, should they not be opened? Would one have to leave those places in ignorance, until such time as the *Comune* provided three schools for every 1,000, which is the least that can be asked for? For the Council, either the 40 thousand schools that we need must be legal or they must not exist. The charity of citizens must not forge an alliance with the Government to bring love, teaching, money and time for the benefit of education.

The abstract formalism and the clear albeit unjustified diffidence towards private initiative that had characterised the choices and activities of the ministry of Public Education in the course of the whole affair, once again underlined by the secretary of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, had reached unacceptable levels when the discussion had dwelt on the way that the School-nurseries were organised and on the quality of the schoolmistresses called upon to teach there:

According to the wisdom of minister Correnti [...] – wrote Ottavio Gigli – everything should be pondered with the law and with regulations, and nothing should be left to those who create private initiatives that are loving and effective. The Upper Council found a singular contradiction; namely, that in a school that is substituted in such a way for the *comune's*, the schoolmistress does not have suitable qualifications: but, we ask, does article 19 of our norms and instructions not require suitability of the schoolmistress? Does the law itself not give to schools for adults, to nurseries, that are still schools according to the royal decrees, the right for a teacher not to be certified, if he/she can prove his/her suitability with other documentation? It affirms that the School nurseries do not have all the characteristics of elementary schools: we demonstrated that School-nurseries have all the characteristics of rural lower elementary schools, and we proved this by quoting the law and the regulations by comparing them with our rules and instructions. The intention was to prove that they do not have the characteristics of elementary schools because the *Comune* needs two schools, one for boys and one for girls, that cannot be substituted by a single institute.; but the illustrious members of the Upper Council forgot that the law also authorises single and mixed schools, that are tantamount to Horace's monster. [...] Then they do not have the characteristics of elementary schools because they must have the legal qualifications for the schoolmistress and this is not required for School-nurseries. We have already replied about this; but better than us was the minister Correnti himself who proved it in his circular of 1 April 1870, namely that there are more than 3,500 schoolmistresses *without legal qualifications and real abilities*: which proves the impartiality of the Minister in judging the philanthropic work of our association.

Finally, the dense network of inspections ordered by the ministry of Public Education of the existing School-nurseries, far from bringing real improvements to the activities of those institutions, produced the sole result, noted Ottavio Gigli, of discouraging not only the municipalities, but also the private benefactors from continuing with their efforts in the fight against illiteracy and the promotion of popular education in rural communities:

The Upper Council wished – concluded the secretary of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* – that in all cases in which this institution took the place of an

elementary school, which in any case was not regular, it should fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry. But, according to the Regulations of Minister Lanza and the instructions given to the Inspectors, from 1853 did infant schools not fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry because as from that time they were considered as schools? How is it possible that these provisions of the law on such an important theme were not drawn to the attention of the Upper Council? Finally, it wished that when in exceptional cases these schools were to be opened, it was necessary to assess each individual case on whether or not to consent to it as an extraordinary measure, without in any way exempting the *Comuni* from the obligation that they have; and that such a concession *shall cease with the circumstances for which it was advised; and that this concession should be limited only to those Comuni that have no school*. And the Minister, after all these warnings to the *Comuni* who they caused to suspect the invalidity of our work, went on to say that the field that is open to the activities of the *Associazione degli Asili rurali* is very large! And he concluded that its generous strength and initiative should not be abandoned as in some way it entered the school mechanism, amongst other things, in order to rectify it where necessary; and he sent the Inspectors to chase after out School-nurseries, because also, if necessary the Superintendent for schools could visit them and send a *detailed report* about them. Lastly, it wanted the Circular to be sent to every Municipality where there was a Nursery of this kind or where one was about to be opened, which amounted to saying that if there was any hope of opening one, with that Circular all hope would be destroyed. According to minister Correnti it was a proven fact that our Society was outside the law; ignorance was preferable to the School-nurseries that the association wanted to found⁹⁴.

Ottavio Gigli considerations regarding the ministerial circular of 29 July 1870 constituted a veritable *j'accuse* directed at the minister of Public Education, guilty of having opposed with all means the «proposals for reform» of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* and for having «destroyed those first buds of virtuous cooperation» of the private benefactors and large sections of civilised society in the promotion of the education of the people that the association had managed to «generate in every part of Italy»⁹⁵.

The fact that the resolute attitude manifested by minister Correnti in the face of the the Association's «proposals for reform» was not an end in itself, but was part and parcel of a specific school strategy, totally insensitive and, indeed, fundamentally hostile both to the idea of a reconsideration of the centralised and uniform system of the Casati law, and to the prospect – of clearly Anglosaxon inspiration – of the direct and mass participation of private individuals, alongside the State and the local authorities, in the fight against illiteracy and in the organisation and management of elementary and popular education, was to be demonstrated, in the following months, by the choices made by the minister of Public Education in this ambit, primarily that of providing exclusive backing for the introduction of compulsory schooling in order to raise school attendance levels and a more widespread teaching of the alphabet in the countryside.

⁹⁴ *Il progresso dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia nel suo primo quinquennio. Relazione del segretario Ottavio Gigli*, cit., pp. 65-68.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

On this subject, we would like to refer to the parliamentary bill on compulsory schooling presented by minister Correnti to the Chamber of Deputies on 17 April 1872, which, as we know, after being rejected by Parliament, was recovered and presented again in 1877, with a few amendments, by the new head of Public Education Michele Coppino, to become, following parliamentary approval, the law of 15 July 1877, n. 3725⁹⁶.

Conclusions

In the circular sent to the branch Committees on 31 May 1872, on the eve of the end of the first five years of life of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, the chairman Terenzio Mamiani, after having expressed his own deep bitterness regarding the inexplicably hostile position taken by the ministry of Public Education («I have always believed that the Government could not want anything other, in education, than to be successfully emulated by everyone, and for there to be associations of citizens of such zeal and ability to be able to surpass it at least in some areas»), asserted the goodness of the plan to «multiply our School-nurseries» and to «transform in part the rural elementary schools into School-nurseries»⁹⁷.

The results obtained over the past five years, further underlined Mamiani, have been notable («418 nurseries were promoted or opened, 249 branch Committees were formed»), even though, in the last two years, the Association had to deal with a very serious crisis of credibility and of registered support following the publication of the Correnti circular of 29 July 1870, that had publicly disavowed the work and insinuated grave doubts on the very legitimacy of the School-nurseries that the Association had promoted⁹⁸.

Following «the first five years» and having completed «the role to which I was appointed with so much honour by the Central Committee», stated

⁹⁶ Cf. D. Visconti, *L'opera di Cesare Correnti come ministro*, «Nuova Rivista Storica», vol. 40, n. 1, 1954, pp. 162-181; B. Pisa, *Cesare Correnti e il dibattito sulla laicità dell'insegnamento*, «Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento», n. 72, 1975, pp. 212-229; M. Bendiscioli, *La Sinistra storica e la scuola*, «Studium», n. 73, 1977, pp. 447-466; and R. Sani, *State, Church and school in Italy from 1861 to 1870*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 6, n. 2, 2011, pp. 109-112.

⁹⁷ T. Mamiani, *Messaggio ai Comitati filiali dell'associazione Nazionale degli asili Rurali per l'Infanzia*, Firenze, Stab. G. Pellas, 1872, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁸ «With our proposal – underlined chairman Mamiani – the system of rural lower elementary schools did not change, but it gained strength and improved: School-nurseries gave education, suitability and the affection of schoolmistresses that substituted schoolmasters, and rendered teaching complete and possible where there were no other schools: it finally removed the *non-attendance* that every day tore the warp and the weft of proletariat education. [...] But our intention was misunderstood, and we were seen and almost condemned as irreverent to the law» (*ibid.*, p. 3).

Mamiani in the conclusion, it was now for the new Board of Directors, to be formed after the members' vote and the renewal of the central Committee, to pick up and vigorously relaunch the battle for the introduction of School-nurseries, in order to «complete a project that was initiated with study and love and was always conducted thus»⁹⁹.

In reality, following the growing hostility shown by the minister of Public Education Cesare Correnti and by his successors and, especially, with the prevalence, in politics and parliament, of the thinking that led, in a short time, to the above-mentioned introduction, with the law of 15 July 1877, of compulsory schooling, the work of the *Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'Infanzia* – now bereft of all ambitions for reform and led back to the modest confines of philanthropic initiative – saw a rapid, unstoppable and general decline that caused the directors to declare the experience to have come to an end even before completing its second five year term¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ On this subject see the letter from Terenzio Mamiani to Ottavio Gigli, Rome 22 March 1876, in ASIF, «Ottavio Gigli» Archive, b. 15 (Signed letters to Ottavio Gigli), Letters from Terenzio Mamiani (1799-1885). Mamiani was reconfirmed as chairman of the Association for the second five years.

L'istruzione tecnica nel Meridione nel quarantennio postunitario (1861-1898). L'esperienza del Molise*

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Technical education in Southern Italy in the period 1861-1898. The Molise region experience

ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to describe the results of a research contributing to understand the history of the technical education programmes in Italy – a field characterized by a limited number of specific contributions – through the analysis of the most significant educational experiences with a technical orientation which took place in Molise region during the post-unification period, and their development related to the national context. In particular, the quality is underlined of these institutes and of the educational policy followed by the Liberal and business classes of Molise region that, in the period considered, operated in a highly underdeveloped industrial and cultural context. In addition, coherently with the specific historiography focused on the relationship between the economic and educational policies, a thorough interpretation is provided of this complex issue, given its equidistant position between the educational and business environment.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Technical Education; Italy; Educational Policy; Italy; XIX Century.

* Elenco delle abbreviazioni: ACS = Archivio Centrale dello Stato (Roma); MPI = Ministero della Pubblica; DSM (1861-1910) = Divisione Scuole Medie (1861-1910); DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896) = Divisione Scuole Medie, Scuole Tecniche (1860-1896); DGISM, AG (1897-1910) = Direzione generale istruzione media, Archivio generale: regolamenti, programmi, relazioni e ispezioni, esami, libri di testo, ecc (1897-1910); MAIC = Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio; ACP = Atti del Consiglio della Provincia di Molise; ASCb = Archivio di Stato di Campobasso; ASCIs = Archivio storico comunale di Isernia; ALSU = Archivio Liceo Scienze Umane «Giuseppe Maria Galanti» di Campobasso; C.M. = circolare ministeriale; R.D. = regio decreto; b = busta; f. = fascicolo.

Premessa

L'istruzione artistica, tecnica e professionale ad oggi risulta uno degli ambiti meno indagati dalla storiografia storico-educativa. Finora questo segmento dell'istruzione è stato spesso oggetto di rapide analisi o di semplici segnalazioni da parte degli studi di settore che hanno teso più che altro a illustrare il tema nelle linee generali, evidenziando i passaggi più significativi della sua evoluzione legislativa, o a inquadrarlo all'interno di un particolare contesto territoriale, quasi sempre caratterizzato da una forte tradizione industriale. Escludendo qualche titolo – tra i quali si segnalano quelli pubblicati da Carlo Lacaïta¹ a partire dagli anni Settanta, attenti ad analizzare lo sviluppo dell'istruzione tecnica e professionale perlopiù in ambito lombardo – i lavori dedicati, pochi, datati e cronologicamente lontani tra loro², in generale non offrono uno studio organico ed esaustivo sull'argomento che appare complesso in ragione della sua posizione equidistante dal mondo dell'educazione e quello della produzione. L'approfondimento della conoscenza degli istituti e dei modelli educativi indirizzati alla formazione dei tecnici risulta, infatti, utile per comprendere non solo i processi che hanno accompagnato lo sviluppo del sistema d'istruzione nel suo insieme, ma anche quello dell'assetto economico, industriale e sociale del Paese. La classe dirigente liberale lungo tutto il quarantennio postunitario attraverso i canali di formazione a indirizzo tecnico e professionale, destinati al medio e basso ceto, tentò contemporaneamente di aggiornare il sistema di

¹ Tra gli studi pubblicati sul tema dallo studioso, in particolare, si segnalano: C.G. Lacaïta, *Istruzione e sviluppo industriale in Italia 1859-1914*, Firenze, Giunti G. Barbera, 1973; Id., *Alla ricerca dell'economia perduta. L'istruzione tecnica e lo sviluppo economico in Italia, 1840-1914*, «Rivista milanese di economia», n. 19, luglio-settembre 1986, pp. 135-144; Id., *L'istruzione tecnico-professionale e la modernizzazione italiana*, «Nuova Secondaria», n. 7, 2010, pp. 35-42. Oltre ai testi di Lacaïta si indica il saggio di Simonetta Soldani, *L'istruzione tecnica nell'Italia liberale (1861-1900)*, «Studi storici», n. 1, 1981, pp. 79-117.

² G. Castelli, *L'istruzione professionale in Italia*, Milano, Vallardi, 1915; A. Tonelli, *L'istruzione tecnica e professionale di stato nelle strutture e nei programmi da Casati ai giorni nostri*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1964; F. Hazon, *Storia della formazione tecnica e professionale in Italia*, Roma, Armando Editore, 1991. Si segnalano, inoltre, a titolo esemplificativo i seguenti saggi e volumi: A. Santoni Rugiu, *Nostalgia del maestro artigiano*, Firenze, L. Manzuoli, 1988; F. Bacchetti, *Il dibattito sull'istruzione tecnica e la legge Casati nell'Italia della destra liberale*, in G. Genovesi (ed.), *Cultura e istruzione tecnica-professionale in Italia tra '800 e '900. Atti del V Convegno Nazionale CIRSE (Centro italiano per la ricerca storico-educativa)*, Venezia, novembre 1988, Pisa, ETS, pp. 23-24; A. Santoni Rugiu, *Il braccio e la mente: un millennio di educazione divaricata*, Scandicci, La nuova Italia, 1995; M.F. Gallifante, *L'insegnamento tecnico nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento. Aspetti del dibattito prima e dopo l'inchiesta Scialoja sull'istruzione secondaria*, in *La scienza economica in Parlamento. 1861-1922. Una storia dell'economia politica dell'Italia liberale*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2002, Vol. 1, pp. 199-228; F. Pruneri, *L'istruzione professionale in Italia: lo sviluppo della legislazione*, in E. Bandolini (ed.), *L'eredità del Beato Lodovico Pavoni. Storia e sviluppo della sua fondazione nel periodo 1849-1949*, in *Atti del Convegno di studi*, Brescia, Congregazione dei Figli di Maria Immacolata Pavoniani, 2007; A. Santoni Rugiu, *Breve storia dell'educazione artigiana*, Roma, Carocci, 2008.

produzione e di completare il processo di costruzione politica e sociale dello Stato nazionale che non si era concluso con l'Unità. La classe dirigente liberale nazionale, attraverso l'adozione della legge Casati, che prevedeva all'interno del sistema scolastico un percorso di formazione post-elementare e secondario di tipo tecnico (le scuole tecniche e gli istituti tecnici)³ alternativo al classico, cercò, da una parte, di estendere il consenso tra il ceto medio e di formarne l'identità nazionale e, dall'altra, di dotarsi di un percorso di studi funzionale all'economia, regolato da un meccanismo di scarsa mobilità sociale che garantisse il mantenimento degli equilibri sociali e politici del Paese. Per tali considerazioni l'istruzione tecnica e professionale fornisce un punto di vista altro rispetto ai consueti proposti dalla storiografia di settore da cui osservare non soltanto le vicende scolastiche nazionali, ma anche valutare i limiti e gli effetti che il modello educativo di Stato, fondato sulla superiorità culturale delle *humanae litterae*, ebbe nello sviluppo del sapere scientifico e tecnologico e, di conseguenza, su quello industriale della Nazione. Sulla base di tali considerazioni, raccogliendo le indicazioni della produzione storiografica, attenta ad indicare il rapporto d'interdipendenza tra la politica economica e quella scolastica⁴, si vuole

³ L'istruzione tecnica prevista dalla legge Casati si articolava in due rami: uno di primo grado, la scuola tecnica (triennale), e uno di secondo grado, gli istituti tecnici, articolati in quattro sezioni: commerciale-amministrativa (di due anni), chimica (di due anni), agronomica e fisico-matematica (tre anni). Per le scuole tecniche, che sarebbero sorte nel capoluogo di ogni provincia (art. 279), la legge Casati disponeva i seguenti insegnamenti: la lingua italiana (la francese nelle provincie in cui era in uso questa lingua); la lingua francese; l'aritmetica e contabilità; gli elementi di algebra e di geometria; il disegno e la calligrafia; la geografia e la storia; elementi di storia naturale e di fisico-chimica; nozioni intorno ai doveri ed ai diritti dei cittadini. Mentre gli istituti tecnici, organizzati nelle sezioni fisico-matematica, agronomia, agrimensura, commercio e ragioneria industriale, prevedero un piano di studi regolato sulle seguenti materie: la letteratura italiana (la francese nelle provincie in cui si parlava questa lingua); storia e geografia; le lingue inglese e tedesca; istruzioni di diritto amministrativo e di diritto commerciale; economia pubblica; la materia commerciale; aritmetica sociale; la chimica; la fisica e la meccanica elementare; algebra, geometria piana e solida e trigonometria rettilinea; disegno ed elementi di geometria; agronomia, e storia naturale. La competenza delle scuole tecniche, in quanto affini alle scuole elementari, venne attribuita ai Comuni, mentre gli istituti alle Provincie (artt. 280, 284). Come quelle elementari, anche le scuole tecniche erano gratuite (art. 298) e, quindi, rivolte a garantire un'istruzione di base ai ceti sociali meno abbienti. La legge Casati rappresentò un momento particolarmente importante nella storia dell'istruzione tecnica: essa per la prima volta fu inserita all'interno del sistema scolastico, guadagnando un intero titolo (IV). Per l'analisi dei contenuti della legge Casati si rimanda a: G. Talamo, *La scuola dalla legge Casati all'inchiesta del 1864*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1964; M. Barbagli, *Disoccupazione intellettuale e sistema scolastico in Italia (1859-1973)*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1974; G. Vigo, *Istruzione e sviluppo economico in Italia nel secolo XIX*, Torino, ILTE, 1971; L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani, *Scuola e società. Dalla legge Casati al Centro Sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001; il numero 1 della rivista «I problemi della pedagogia» dedicato all'analisi del Regio decreto del 13 novembre 1859. Per un quadro generale del titolo IV della legge Casati, riservato all'istruzione tecnica, si rinvia al contributo di A. Silvestri, *Francesco Brioschi e l'istruzione tecnica*, in C.G. Lacaita, M. Fugazza (edd.), *L'istruzione secondaria nell'Italia unita*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2013, pp. 157-164.

⁴ Oltre ai titoli citati nelle note n. 2 e n. 3 si ricordano: M. Lupo, *Tra le provvide cure di sua Maestà. Stato e scuola nel Mezzogiorno tra Settecento e Ottocento*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2005;

col presente contributo illustrare lo sviluppo dell'istruzione tecnica in Molise all'interno delle coordinate socio, politiche ed economiche nazionali e locali, ottenute attraverso un approccio di studio aperto alle sollecitazioni provenienti dalle scienze sociali, *in primis*, della storia economica⁵. Lo studio si è avvalso, inoltre, dei lavori che hanno approfondito l'aspetto filantropico della questione, esaminando le scuole di lavoro sorte su iniziativa degli enti pubblici o privati di beneficenza⁶, e di quelli afferenti alla storiografia storico-artistica dedicata all'analisi del linguaggio figurativo dell'arte industriale, sviluppatasi in Europa dalla metà del XIX secolo, e dei percorsi formativi ad essa connessi, finalizzati principalmente all'acquisizione della cultura e delle abilità disegnative funzionali al settore della produzione⁷.

R. Pazzagli, *Il sapere dell'agricoltura. Istruzione, cultura, economia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2008; R. Pazzagli, *Economia e conoscenza. Scuola e agricoltura nel Mezzogiorno a cavallo dell'Unità*, «Glocale», n. 2-3, novembre 2010-maggio 2011, pp. 21-35.

⁵ Per delineare il contesto socio-economico nazionale nel quale nacquero i percorsi di formazione a indirizzo tecnico nel quarantennio postunitario si è fatto riferimento ai seguenti contributi: G. Are, *Alle origine dell'Italia industriale*, Napoli, Guida Editori, 1974; G. Baglioni, *L'ideologia della borghesi industriale nell'Italia liberale*, Torino, Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi, 1974. Per la ricostruzione del contesto socio, politico ed economico locale sono risultati utili i seguenti saggi e volumi: R. Lalli, *L'Ottocento*, in R. Lalli, N. Lombardi, G. Palmieri, *Campobasso Capoluogo del Molise*, Campobasso, Palladino, 2008, Vol. I, pp. 97-146, in partic. p. 131; I. Zilli, *L'economia nell'Ottocento*, in G. Massullo (ed.), *Storia del Molise*, Roma, Donzelli, 2006, pp. 99-146; P. Macry, *Appunti per una fenomenologia del crollo*, in P. Macry (ed.), *Quando crolla lo Stato. Studi sull'Italia preunitaria*, Napoli, Liguori, 2002-2003, pp. 255-257; M. Iarossi, *Mercato e commercio fra Otto e Novecento*, in Massullo (ed.), *Storia del Molise*, cit., pp. 147-184; *Relazione della Camera di Commercio ed arti di Terra di Lavoro, Benevento e Molise a sua eccellenza il Ministro dell'agricoltura Industria e Commercio del Regno d'Italia sopra la statistica e l'andamento commerciale ed industriale del proprio distretto per gli anni 1863 e 1864*, Caserta, G. Nobile e C., 1866.

⁶ Tra gli studi che hanno approfondito il tema dell'istruzione tecnica e professionale a sfondo assistenziale si segnalano: M. Lupo, R. Salvemini, D.L. Caglioti, *Risorse umane e mezzogiorno. Istruzione, recupero e formazione tra '700 e '800*, Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1999; R. Del Prete, *Piccole tessitrici operose. Gli orfanotrofi femminili a Benevento nei secoli XVII-XIX*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2010; R. Sani, *Le scuole notturne per gli artigiani nella Roma pontificia (1818-1870) e Carità ed educazione. L'opera delle nuove fondazioni religiose in Lombardia, in Sub specie educationis. Studi e ricerche su istruzione, istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formativi nell'Italia contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2011, pp. 227-275.

⁷ Di seguito si propongono, a titolo di esempio, alcuni titoli: F. Bologna, *Dalle arti minori all'industrial design: storia di una ideologia*, Bari, Editori Laterza, 1972; M. Picone Petrusa, *L'arte nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia dall'Unità alla seconda guerra mondiale*, in *Storia del Mezzogiorno. La cultura contemporanea*, Napoli, Edizioni del Sole, Rizzoli, 1991, Vol. XIV, pp. 163-241; U. Bile, *Musei e Scuole Tecnico Industriali e formazione professionale a Napoli tra il 1806 ed il 1848*, in *Musei, tutela e legislazione dei beni culturali a Napoli tra '700 e '800. Quaderni del Dipartimento di Discipline Storiche dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli*, Napoli, Luciano, 1995, pp. 146-171; L. Arbace, *Dalle Esposizioni murattiane e borboniche alla nascita del Museo Artistico Industriale di Napoli: brevi note sulla «promozione»*, in *Civiltà dell'Ottocento. Le arti figurative*, Napoli, Electa, 1997, pp. 111-122; O. Selvafolta, *Arti industriali e istituzioni scolastiche tra Ottocento e Novecento: una realtà lombarda*, in D. Bigazzi, M. Meriggi, *Storia d'Italia. Le regioni dall'Unità ad oggi. La Lombardia*, Torino, Einaudi, 2001, pp. 861-897; F. Mangone (ed.), *Architettura e arti*

Nello specifico, lo studio che qui si presenta mira a spiegare, attraverso la ricostruzione delle vicende dei principali episodi formativi a indirizzo tecnico, registrati in particolare a Campobasso e a Isernia dalla nascita dello Stato unitario alla fine del secolo, le caratteristiche dell'istruzione tecnica in un'area particolare del Mezzogiorno, qual era il Molise. Principalmente in questa sede, si vuole sottolineare il ruolo assegnato dalla dirigenza locale all'istruzione tecnica nel piano di ammodernamento della Provincia di Molise che, nel periodo analizzato, appariva ancora priva di un assetto industriale e caratterizzata da un'economia arretrata, prevalentemente agricola. Tale ricostruzione vuole evidenziare, inoltre, le dinamiche del rapporto rispetto alle istituzioni formative a indirizzo tecnico di tipo governativo tra l'autorità del potere centrale e quelle delle realtà municipali e provinciali locali, non mancando di rilevare le scuole di mestiere nate su iniziativa delle forze politiche e imprenditoriali della provincia molisana all'indomani dell'Unità. Un diffuso sentimento di paternalismo patriottico tra i liberali diede vita a diverse esperienze formative rivolte agli operai, finalizzate alla formazione del sentimento nazionale e al progresso materiale della Provincia di Molise nel quadro di quella dello Stato.

1. *L'istruzione tecnica nel nuovo contesto nazionale. Il dibattito fra gli amministratori locali e le prime iniziative*

All'indomani della nascita dello Stato unitario, Campobasso e tutti i comuni del suo circondario, provvidero al riordino dell'istruzione attraverso l'applicazione dei provvedimenti che estendevano alle province meridionali le prescrizioni previste dalla legge Casati per lo sviluppo delle scuole⁸. Tra il gennaio e l'agosto del 1861, attraverso una serie di decreti, si determinò l'estensione del modello piemontese: il 1° gennaio il luogotenente Farini istituì le figure degli ispettori agli studi; il 7 gennaio un decreto stabilì il regime della luogotenenza delle province napoletane sull'istruzione elementare; il 12 gennaio venne varato il regolamento per le scuole elementari; il 10 febbraio un decreto regolò l'istruzione classica e un altro del 16 febbraio quello sull'amministrazione centrale e locale dell'istruzione pubblica. Nel luglio dello stesso anno il ministro De Sanctis emanò alcuni provvedimenti con i quali ridefinì l'assetto della pubblica istruzione: con il decreto del 25 luglio provvide al riordino della pubblica amministrazione; rimandò alla competenza del ministro della PI le attribuzioni demandate alla Segreteria generale di PI di Napoli; trasformò il Consiglio

applicate fra teoria e progetto. La storia, gli stili, il quotidiano 1850-1914, Napoli, Electa, 2005.

⁸ Per un quadro puntuale dell'istruzione nel capoluogo molisano, si faccia riferimento al contributo di A. Barausse, *Le istituzioni scolastiche dall'Unità al fascismo (1861-1933)*, in R. Lalli, N. Lombardi, G. Palmieri (edd.), *Campobasso. Capoluogo del Molise*, Campobasso, Palladino, 2008, Vol. II, pp. 67-106.

superiore di Napoli in una sezione del Consiglio superiore della PI; istituì delle delegazioni straordinarie nelle provincie napoletane per amministrare i licei, i ginnasi, le scuole normali e primarie. In applicazione del decreto ministeriale del 4 agosto, che delegava alcune speciali istruzioni alle autorità scolastiche locali e provinciali, fra le quali i consigli scolastici provinciali, i provveditori, gli ispettori, per quanto concerneva le scuole secondarie classiche e tecniche, le scuole normali magistrali e primarie, furono diffusi due distinti decreti: quello del 13 agosto che stabiliva le nuove attribuzioni dei consigli provinciali per le scuole e quello del 25 agosto che definiva, invece, le attribuzioni ai regi provveditori⁹.

Le condizioni di arretratezza economiche e culturali della provincia molisana inizialmente consentirono di provvedere soltanto al riordino dell'istruzione elementare e liceale. Per quanto concerne l'istruzione tecnica e professionale non si registrarono provvedimenti significativi. All'interno dello stato generale di emergenza della pubblica istruzione del periodo immediatamente successivo alla creazione dello Stato unitario, le scuole a indirizzo tecnico non rappresentarono una priorità. La disattenzione verso l'istruzione tecnica era dovuta, oltre che alla poca dimestichezza della classe dirigente, formatasi presso le scuole classiche, con la cultura non umanistica, alla difficoltà iniziale ad adattare il proprio *modus operandi* al nuovo contesto nazionale e, soprattutto, a intraprendere una politica formativa funzionale all'economia locale che versava in condizioni assai difficili. Il traguardo risorgimentale a dispetto di quanto si aspettava la dirigenza locale non aveva provocato miglioramenti sostanziali. Lo scenario che all'indomani dell'Unità nazionale si dispiegò agli occhi dei connazionali molisani era quello di sempre: isolato e arretrato, a causa della mancanza di una rete di comunicazione stradale e di un sistema produttivo efficiente, e con una popolazione decimata dall'emigrazione che andava assumendo sempre più dimensioni allarmanti. Inoltre, i settori dell'artigianato e del commercio non potevano più contare sulla politica d'incoraggiamento condotta dalla Società economica che ormai versava in uno stato di declino¹⁰. Ben si comprende come un tale contesto impedi la programmazione e l'avvio di progetti formativi a indirizzo tecnico organici e di ampia portata e permise, al contrario, soprattutto al principio, la realizzazione di piccole scuole quasi sempre senza convitto sostenute principalmente dai finanziamenti comunali. Le dimensioni ridotte di tali esperienze, come vedremo più avanti, rappresentarono uno dei fattori determinanti della labilità della loro esistenza. All'aumento dei corsi e degli iscritti non corrispose quasi mai un aumento adeguato del sussidio; inoltre, la mancanza dei convitti e delle vie di comunicazione scoraggiava le famiglie dei

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁰ I. Zilli, *La Società economica di Molise fra accademia e realtà*, Quaderni di Studi storici del Dipartimento Seges, Campobasso, Università degli Studi del Molise, 1995, p. 38.

comuni limitrofi ad iscrivere i propri figli presso le scuole, aperte maggiormente nei capoluoghi dei circondari.

In principio in provincia il dibattito intorno all'istruzione tecnica andò di pari passo con quello legato al processo di laicizzazione dell'istruzione invocato dall'ala progressista della dirigenza locale. Per i suoi rappresentanti l'istruzione tecnica rappresentava oltre che un mezzo funzionale alla politica di crescita economica e sociale, l'antidoto e l'alternativa a quella confessionale dei seminari, additata come la negazione del progresso. Il prefetto Arditi già nel 1863 nella *Relazione sulle scuole Secondarie Pubbliche e private della Provincia di Molise* inviata al MPI, a proposito dei seminari, scriveva:

[I seminari] che per lo più innanzi essendo stati commessi alla dipendenza di coloro, che nulla di mente, li hanno tenuti in perpetua contraddizione col progresso dei lumi e con la sapienza civile del popolo e della Nazione¹¹.

La riformulazione dei seminari sulla base degli ordinamenti ministeriali dei ginnasi-licei e degli istituti tecnici avrebbe avviato la rigenerazione morale e materiale della provincia. Il prefetto Arditi continuava:

Perciò il Governo adoperi alacremenente che almeno in ogni Capoluogo di Circondario esistano degl'Istituti Classici e Tecnici, e massime al presente che le classi meno agiate e sono le più numerose della Provincia sentono vivamente il bisogno di Scuole Tecniche che le avviano e rendono atte alla Agronomia ed al commercio. È vero che prima degli Istituti sarebbero richieste esse scuole Tecniche, ma le cognizioni da' appararsi in esse potrebbero essere compartite dai seminari, qualora questi si modellassero ai Licei Ginnasiali, come lo contrario i Seminari si potrebbero giovare degli Istituti Tecnici per la Fisica, Chimica e Botanica, materie richieste per gli aspiranti al Sacerdozio negli esami di Licenza Liceale, e ciò nella supposizione di poter essere accolto lo innanzi designato progetto circa la riforma e riordinamento degli studi clericali¹².

Il suo successore, Alfonso De Caro, l'anno successivo avviò in Consiglio provinciale la discussione circa la possibilità di aprire le scuole tecniche. «Molise» – affermava il prefetto nel discorso di apertura del Consiglio provinciale del 7 settembre – «è forse è la sola provincia italiana che non abbia ancora una Scuola tecnica ed un asilo infantile». Una mancanza a suo giudizio grave che penalizzava il progresso economico e sociale della provincia¹³. Il prefetto indicava la città di Campobasso quale sede migliore per istituire la prima scuola tecnica municipale sul cui esempio, a poco a poco, sarebbero sorte le altre nei principali centri della provincia come Agnone, Isernia, Termoli e Larino¹⁴. Il

¹¹ *Relazione sulle scuole secondarie pubbliche e private della Provincia di Molise del prefetto Arditi al ministero della Pubblica Istruzione del 26 aprile 1863*, in ACS, MPI, DSM, *Scuole tecniche (1861-1910)*, b. 43.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ ACP, Seduta del 7 settembre 1864, Campobasso, Stamperia Solomone, 1865, pp. 23-24.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

discorso di De Caro non sortì nessun effetto nell'immediato. A Campobasso l'anno seguente sorse soltanto la Scuola serale per gli operai che, per un periodo breve e imprecisato, costituì l'unico canale formativo a disposizione per gli addetti alle professioni pratiche della città. Nel bilancio della pubblica istruzione del 1865 presentato dal prefetto, l'istruzione tecnica e professionale rappresentava l'unica nota negativa¹⁵. Nel discorso di apertura della sessione del 6 settembre 1865 il prefetto De Caro esortò ancora una volta il Consiglio ad aprire le scuole tecniche per rimediare a quello che non esitò a definire «un grandissimo torto per la patriottica ed intelligentissima provincia di Molise»¹⁶. L'appello del prefetto questa volta accelerò il dibattito sul tema all'interno del Consiglio provinciale. Dalla lettura degli atti del Consiglio degli anni Sessanta emerge chiaramente la preoccupazione e l'impegno condiviso di molti esponenti del ceto dirigente a intraprendere una politica efficace, volta a risollevare le sorti economiche del territorio che in quel momento era attanagliato anche dalla piaga dell'emigrazione. Bisognava arrestare o, quanto meno, rallentare il flusso migratorio attraverso un'operazione di potenziamento dell'economia locale, ottenibile anche mediante la promozione dell'istruzione tecnica. Prolificarono così le discussioni in Consiglio provinciale sull'urgenza di impiantare istituti di formazione funzionali all'economia, come le scuole pratiche di agricoltura, le tecniche e quelle di arti e mestieri per rimediare all'arretratezza economica del territorio. Il sottoprefetto del distretto di Isernia de Feo in una nota del 13 aprile 1865 suggerì al sindaco del capoluogo pentro, di aprire le scuole ginnasiali e l'istituto tecnico – che non sarà mai realizzato – presso i locali dei conventi dei Padri Cappuccini e di quelli Minori Osservanti e di chiedere al re di convertire il seminario della città in Ginnasio. Scriveva:

Il Consiglio chiegga pure i due Conventi, potendo bene occorrergli si per aprire la detta Scuola di Agricoltura con l'aggiunta di un Orto Agrario, si per altri essi; una sarà opera veramente patriottica chiedendo la conversione del Seminario in Ginnasio, e deliberando nel modo preaccennato. Forse taluno osserverà che bisogna conservare il Seminario tanto più chi al medesimo sarebbero aggiunte delle scuole esterne pe' laici. A chi pone innanzi siffatte osservazioni rispondo che gli alunni ecclesiastici possono bene esser ammessi nel vicino

¹⁵ De Caro riassume così l'andamento della pubblica istruzione: «Le scuole elementari maschili sono cresciute a 47 sopra 42 comuni nel circondario di Campobasso; a 79 sopra 58 comuni nel circondario di Isernia; a 44 sopra 35 comuni nel circondario di Larino. Le femminili poi sono 40 nel primo, 33 nel secondo, 29 nel terzo, in uno 102, per guisa che i comuni, che ancora ne mancano, da 50, che erano l'anno scorso, sono ora ridotti a 33 [...]. Al che d'altronde vengono opportunamente a contribuire la scuola magistrale maschile, e la normale femminea, entrambe tenutesi in questo capoluogo nel volgente anno, l'una frequentata da 24 aspiranti maestri, e l'altra da 60 alunne [...] Nel convitto del [Liceo Sannitico] hanno albergato 84 alunni, ed al nuovo anno saranno non meno di cento. Le scuole ginnasiali e liceali sono state inoltre frequentate da 36 alunni esterni». *Discorso del prefetto della Provincia Alfonso De Caro nella apertura della sessione del 6 settembre 1865*, ACP, Sessione ordinaria 1865 e straordinaria 1866, Campobasso, Tipografia Luigi Solomone, 1866, pp. 13-14.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

Seminario Condiocesano di Venafro; che il numero de'Seminari nella nostra Provincia è già troppo, ed è utile sia ristretto, essendo [?] a' vitali bisogni della civiltà Italiana che alla carriera Ecclesiastica siano preferite quelle carriere nelle quali si può essere veramente utile alla patria; – che infine le scuole aggiunte pe' laici non potrebbero rispondere a' bisogni del paese, perocché in esse si avrebbe sempre una Istruzione o monca, o falsa, o viziata dallo spirito clericale¹⁷.

Tale insofferenza nei confronti dell'istruzione di tipo confessionale si fece sempre più grave.

Il medio evo deve sparire innanzi al Congresso di Ginevra! L'umanità deve togliersi una volta dai piedi i preti, ministro dell'oscurantismo e satelliti della tirannide¹⁸.

Così il consigliere provinciale Vincenzo de Lisio chiuse tra gli applausi il suo intervento pronunciato durante la seduta del 12 settembre 1867, ottenendo l'approvazione della proposta di convertire tutti i seminari, «baluardi della superstizione», ritenuti «incompatibili col progresso» in scuole tecniche-ginnasiali¹⁹. I toni e i concetti espressi da Vincenzo de Lisio e i suoi sostenitori indicavano che i tempi erano maturi per istituire le prime scuole tecniche municipali in Molise. Il consigliere Mascilli nella tornata del 19 settembre propose di fondare la prima scuola a Campobasso²⁰. La scuola avrebbe finalmente allineato la provincia alle altre «spesso inferiori a Molise per condizioni economiche e morali» che avevano scuole «non solo nel capoluogo della Provincia, ma perfino in qualche luogo secondario». Il dibattito sull'istruzione tecnica era finalmente partito.

2. Tra aperture e chiusure: la prima stagione delle scuole tecniche della provincia

Il 29 novembre 1869 a Campobasso fu inaugurata la Scuola tecnica-ginnasiale pareggiata. La sua presenza stimolò in provincia l'avvio di una serie piuttosto lunga di iniziative simili, promosse dalle amministrazioni comunali, società operaie e singoli cittadini, volte a favore dell'istruzione dei lavoratori. In quello stesso anno, ad esempio, il Consiglio comunale di Agnone approvò

¹⁷ *Scuola Ginnasiale e Istituto Tecnico*, Nota del sottoprefetto della Provincia di Isernia al sindaco di Isernia, Isernia 13 aprile 1865, in ASCI, b. 89, f. 1038.

¹⁸ ACP, Seduta del 12 settembre 1867, Campobasso, Tipografia Solomone, 1867, p. 124.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ ACP, Seduta del 19 settembre 1868, Campobasso, Tipografia Solomone, 1869, pp. 110-112.

l'istituzione di una scuola tecnica di tre classi da annettersi al ginnasio diretto da Luigi Pannunzio²¹ e aprì una scuola serale per gli artigiani²².

La diffusione dei canali d'istruzione per gli addetti al commercio e alle piccole professioni interessò molti intellettuali locali. La redazione del periodico «La Palestra del Sannio», per esempio, incitò più volte la Società operaia di Campobasso a imitare l'esempio agnonese ed aprire una scuola serale, approfittando delle sovvenzioni messe a disposizione dal MPI²³. La Società operaia «Michelangelo Ziccardi» raccolse l'invito e, un anno dalla sua istituzione, organizzò i primi corsi serali e festivi per i figli dei soci²⁴. Il Comizio agrario di Campobasso, intanto, decretava l'istituzione di una scuola podere per «formare mediante l'insegnamento agricolo-teorico e pratico, sia buoni agricoltori sia fattori od agenti di campagna» che, però, fu fondata solo otto anni più tardi²⁵. In Consiglio provinciale si cominciò a discutere sull'opportunità di stanziare dei fondi per le scuole tecniche superiori. I problemi di viabilità e lo stato ancora in erba dell'istruzione tecnica elementare motivarono il respingimento della proposta. Si propose anche, senza ottenere l'approvazione, l'istituzione presso l'Ospedale della Provincia una scuola di ostetricia.

Nel 1872 ad Isernia nacque la Scuola Tecnica Municipale. Il prefetto Michele Spadaro Calapaj nell'apertura del Consiglio dell'anno 1873 presentò un bilancio positivo dell'istruzione tecnica: a Campobasso, Agnone e Isernia esisteva una scuola tecnica e un'altra era in procinto di aprirsi a Venafro²⁶.

Ben altra fu la percezione dell'andamento dell'educazione tecnica del provveditore agli studi Francesco Antonio Marinelli²⁷. Nel settembre del 1872 Marinelli inviò al MPI una relazione in cui manifestò la sua delusione per i risultati dell'istituzione alto molisana che su tre classi contava complessivamente solo 19 iscritti e sull'andamento dell'istruzione tecnica della provincia in generale. Il suo tono appariva amareggiato nel constatare il mancato sviluppo

²¹ *Cronaca locale*, «Gazzetta della Provincia di Molise», n. 47, 25 novembre 1869, pp. 2, 3.

²² *Cronaca*, «La Palestra del Sannio», n. 6, 7 febbraio 1870, p. 44.

²³ *Scuole serali e festive*, «La Palestra del Sannio», n. 11-12, 21 marzo 1870, p. 88.

²⁴ *Cronaca locale*, «Gazzetta della Provincia di Molise», n. 12, 24 marzo 1870, p. 2.

²⁵ N.O. Albino, *La scuola podere di Molise ed il Comizio agrario di Campobasso*, Benevento, Tipografia di Luigi De Martini, 1878.

²⁶ *Discorso del commissario regio avv. M. Spadaro Calapaj per l'apertura del Consiglio del 1873*, ACP del 1873, Campobasso, Tip. De' Frat. Giovanni e Nicola Colitti, 1874, p. 49.

²⁷ Sulla figura di F.A. Marinelli si vedano i seguenti contributi: G. Di Primio, *Francescantonio Marinelli*, «Il Piccolo Sannita», n. 8, 15 gennaio 1893, pp. 57-58; L. Gamberale, *Il mio libro paesano. Ricordi di maestri e scuole agnonesi*, Agnone, Tipografia Sammartino-Ricci, 1915; C. Carlomagno, *Agnone dalle origini ai giorni nostri*, Campobasso, Lampo, 1965; M. D'Alessio, *L'itinerario educativo di Francescantonio Marinelli nel secondo Ottocento molisano. Con alcune notizie dal carteggio con l'allievo Luigi Gamberale*, Estratto da: *Almanacco del Molise 2002/2003*, Ferrazzano (CB), Edizione Enne, 2004; M. D'Alessio, *Scuola e lingua del Molise di fine Ottocento*, Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche italiane, 2005, pp. 99-129; si veda, infine, la scheda su Francesco Antonio Marinelli curata da V. Miceli, in *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione*, diretto da G. Chiosso e R. Sani, scheda n. 1401, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013, Vol. 2, p. 111.

di un ramo formativo che riteneva tanto necessario allo sviluppo economico del territorio. Scriveva:

Se si guardassero le ragioni topografiche, le economiche e le morali del Molise, credo che facilmente si riconoscerebbe quanto qui sia opportuno l'insegnamento tecnico sopra ogni altro. Perché dove non v'è terreno fertile, non ricchezza pubblica, non possibilità di commerci, non comunicazioni stradali, non resta se non il lavoro industrie dell'artigiano. In fatti a questa provincia non è mancata mai una certa riputazione di cultori insigni delle arti belle, né fama di manifatture di qualche pregio. Le arti e i mestieri vi troverebbero popolazione ingegnosa, sobria e laboriosa. Intanto mentre in altre provincie l'insegnamento tecnico si spande ed allarga, qui non v'è modo come farlo sorgere nelle città maggiori. E dovrebbero averla una scuola Tecnica i Comuni di Riccia, Casacalenda, S. Elia, Triventi, Frosolone, Larino, perché centri di una popolazione da 5 ad 8 mila abitanti. Invece dopo 10 anni non vi sono ordinate neppur bene le scuole elementari, e s'incontra una gran fatica ad indurre quei Municipi a nominare una seconda maestra, un secondo maestro. [...] Questa Provincia di Molise che ben può dirsi la Svizzera d'Italia, perché tutta montagne con poca e magra terra coltivabile, non ha altro modo come fermarsi nel cadere che fa ogni giorno più, se non quello di volgersi alle arti con l'insegnamento speciale. Ma essa non ha per ora forza a muoversi in questa via. Il governo provvido dovrebbe tener conto delle condizioni speciali di questa popolazione che non può avere altri modi di vita che le arti e le industrie, e aiutarla con una fondazione di scuola di arti e mestieri, o muoverla con tutti i suoi mezzi, o eccitarla a muoversi²⁸.

I finanziamenti stanziati dai Comuni e dalla Provincia, infatti, risultavano insufficienti per far fronte ai bisogni delle scuole. La penuria finanziaria, la mancanza di locali adatti, l'impreparazione degli insegnanti gettò in uno stato di profonda crisi le scuole tecniche molisane, provocandone la chiusura.

Dalla *Relazione sulle condizioni della Provincia di Campobasso* letta al Consiglio nella seduta del 22 settembre 1875 dal prefetto Francesco Contin di Castel Seprio si apprende che tra tutte quelle istituite rimase in piedi la Scuola Tecnica di Campobasso e qualche classe di quella sorta a Frosolone accanto al Ginnasio. I costi richiesti dal MPI per aprire le scuole scoraggiavano anche i comuni più volenterosi come Isernia, Trivento, Larino e Agnone, le cui casse erano già messe a dura prova dal mantenimento delle scuole elementari maschili e femminili. «L'obbligo ai Comuni troppo giustamente imposto dalla legge d'aver fornito prima, in piena regola le scuole elementari maschili e femminili, e la spesa necessaria a mantenere cinque Professori almeno, un Direttore, un acconcio locale e un gabinetto» – continuava il prefetto – «superano le forze o almeno le disposizioni de' municipi, sicchè o impiantate cadono, o non s'impiantano punto»²⁹.

²⁸ *Relazione sulle scuole tecniche della Provincia del Regio Provveditore Francesco Antonio Marinelli del 1872*, in ACS, MPI, DSM, *Scuole tecniche (1861-1910)*, b. 43.

²⁹ *Relazione sulle condizioni della Provincia di Campobasso letta al Consiglio provinciale nella seduta del 22 settembre 1875 dal Conte Cav. Francesco Contin di Castel Seprio, prefetto della Provincia*, ACP dell'anno 1875, Campobasso, Tip. e cartoleria de' fratelli Giovanni e Nicola Colitti, 1876, pp. LVI-LVII.

Tali difficoltà non scoraggiarono la città di Agnone: dopo la chiusura della scuola tecnica il 20 aprile del 1879, su iniziativa dei giovani artigiani della città, sorse la Scuola Serale di disegno applicato alle arti presso la quale gli alunni avrebbero seguito pure corsi di canto, di contabilità e di diritti e doveri³⁰. Inoltre, nel 1880 il Comune avanzò la proposta in Consiglio provinciale di istituire una scuola di arti e mestieri applicata all'industria da annettere alla scuola normale maschile³¹. La causa fu sostenuta da Gennaro Carissimi che nella seduta del 12 maggio del Consiglio provinciale illustrò all'assemblea i vantaggi che da tale istituzione sarebbero derivati all'economia e alla classe operaia locale. Egli affermò:

Invano si pretende che i figli degli operai e dei contadini vadano a scuola, invano che imparino quanto non è ancora entrato nelle consuetudini e nei costumi delle loro famiglie che debbano imparare, invano che spendano il loro tempo per far quello che non ancora per essi si manifesta come un bisogno. Il sentimento del proprio dovere e della propria dignità, la gentilezza dei costumi e la coltura della mente, certe soddisfazioni di ordine morale, son cose tutte le quali non può ancora dirsi che sieno arrivate ad impressionare le classi inferiori. Ed inutilmente del pari, si invitano i comuni ad impiantar nuove scuole, o che rimangono deserte o che sono destinate a perire per mancanza di mezzi, tanta è la mole oppressiva di spese ad essi oramai addossata senza giusto criterio delle loro forze e dei veri bisogni dei cittadini. A sì grave inconveniente dovrebbe innanzi tutto provvedersi con un'opportuna riforma legislativa, la quale mettesse le scuole popolari in grado d'insegnare le cose più strettamente collegate con la istruzione e educazione necessaria al popolo, e nelle quali questo possa trovare allettamento, in luogo delle aride ed incomplete nozioni di analisi logica, storia sacra, catechismo e somiglianti altre materie. Finché le scuole popolari sono ordinate come oggi, l'istruzione è messa in contraddizione con la vita. Occorre dunque che l'istruzione popolare abbia ben altro indirizzo, e sia tale da far comprendere che essa è produttiva di utile e immediato materiale. Tra i mezzi più acconci a soddisfare questo bisogno vanno, e meritamente, annoverate in prima linea le scuole d'arti e mestieri³².

La scuola di arti e mestieri non sorse. La spinta propulsiva in direzione educativo-professionale si interruppe ancora una volta. Nel 1881 il quadro dell'istruzione tecnica era nuovamente negativo. Nella seduta del 19 settembre il commissario del governo affermò:

³⁰ Cronaca, «La libertà», n. 33, 30 aprile del 1879, p. 3.

³¹ La proposta seguiva la circolare il 7 ottobre 1879 inviata dal ministro del MAIC Benedetto Cairoli ai prefetti, alle Deputazioni provinciali, alle Camere di commercio e ai Comuni per l'istituzione di scuole serali e domenicali d'arti e mestieri. C.M. del 7 ottobre 1879, n. 48, *Scuole d'arti e mestieri, e d'arte applicata all'industria*, in *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, dei decreti e delle istruzioni circolari dell'anno 1879 ed altre anteriori*, Roma, Presso gli Editori, 1879, p. 1308. A questa fece seguito quella del 24 gennaio 1880 del successore Luigi Miceli, regolante le richieste di contributi da parte dello Stato. C.M. del 24 gennaio 1880, *Apertura di scuole serali e domenicali d'arti e mestieri, e d'arte applicata alle industrie*, in *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, dei decreti e delle istruzioni circolari dell'anno 1880 ed altre anteriori*, Roma, Presso gli Editori, 1880, p. 436.

³² ACP, Seduta del 12 maggio 1880, Campobasso, Stabilimento Tipografico Fratelli Colitti, 1881, p. 64.

Non è senza rammarico vedere che in questa Provincia da 20 anni non sia sorta ancora una vera e propria Scuola tecnica; gli sforzi fatti in varie parti non riuscirono a stabilirne una, anzi pare che si sia restati disanimati, e, tranne la operosa Larino, nessun altro comune della Provincia rinnova il suo tentativo³³.

Sia la città di Agnone sia quella di Campobasso non avevano più una scuola tecnica. A partire da questo momento gli sforzi di entrambe le amministrazioni comunali saranno convogliati a riaprirle e a ottenere la loro conversione in governative.

Nel 1885 il prefetto De Felice, nell'intento di risollevarne l'economia locale e arginare l'emigrazione massiccia della popolazione, invitò il Consiglio provinciale ad avviare iniziative più efficaci sul fronte dell'istruzione tecnica. Sugerì di annettere, sopprimendo il corso preparatorio, un corso tecnico alla scuola normale maschile di Campobasso e di fondare le scuole dell'officina e quelle pratiche di agricoltura³⁴. Affermava, infatti, che: «non basta oggi l'aratro, – vi bisogna anche *la scuola dell'aratro*: non *l'officina*; ma con *l'officina la scuola dell'officina*»³⁵.

Per tale ragione incitò il Consiglio a sostenere il progetto presentato dal Consiglio municipale di Campobasso di istituire una scuola di arti e mestieri. L'istituzione, finanziata dalla Camera di Commercio, la Società operaia, il Comune e la Congregazione di Carità, inizialmente avrebbe compreso soltanto «le sezioni di fabbro ferraio con specialità in lavori di acciaio, di scalpellino, di ebanista, e di intagliatore»³⁶ alle quali successivamente si sarebbero aggiunti altri indirizzi. La proposta fu avanzata dal Consiglio provinciale scolastico nella seduta di quello provinciale del 6 ottobre 1885. In quell'occasione i consiglieri Falconi e Ionata chiesero di considerare anche la città di Agnone, la cui giunta comunale a tal fine aveva già stanziato i fondi nel bilancio, approntato il locale e provveduto all'acquisto degli arredi. Il Consiglio a conclusione dell'adunanza deliberò «lo stanziamento di lire 3000 per ognuna delle due scuole, tecniche o d'arti e mestieri, da impiantarsi in Campobasso ed Agnone»³⁷.

Dal punto di vista dei costi le scuole tecniche rispetto a quelle di arti e mestieri risultarono più alla portata delle casse delle amministrazioni comunali e di quella provinciale. Nella discussione del Consiglio provinciale del 22 settembre 1886 Gennaro Carissimi rilanciò la proposta di rimetterle in piedi sfruttando gli incentivi del governo che avevano permesso l'apertura in tutta Italia di oltre 40 scuole e lavorare, affinché, attraverso un adeguato sussidio provinciale,

³³ ACP, Seduta del 19 settembre 1881, Campobasso, Tipografia e Ligat. di Domenico de Nigris, 1882, p. 202.

³⁴ ACP, Seduta del 28 settembre 1885, Campobasso, Tipografia Colitti, 1886, p. 90.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Scuola d'Arti e Mestieri*, «Il Sannio», n. 173, 7 giugno 1885, p. 4.

³⁷ ACP, Seduta del 6 ottobre 1885, Campobasso, Stab. Tip. Fratelli G. e N. Colitti, 1886, pp. 273-275.

potessero essere dichiarate governative³⁸. Le scuole da istituirsi inizialmente sarebbero state tre: una a Campobasso, un'altra a Larino e un'ultima ad Agnone. Un sussidio pari ai 2/5 delle spese totali avrebbe consentito di ottenere delle scuole tecniche regolari, le quali, ormai, aggiungeva il consigliere – «specialmente son diventate una necessità» in quanto senza una licenza tecnica non si poteva accedere più «in nessuna agenzia o stabilimento industriale, in nessuna casa di commercio, nelle amministrazioni ferroviarie e così via». La mancanza di queste scuole per Carissimi toglieva «un utile indirizzo educativo, ed un mezzo decoroso di sussistenza ad un migliaio di giovani appartenenti a famiglie civili della nostra Provincia»³⁹.

Le amministrazioni comunali di Campobasso e di Agnone a partire da questo momento gareggiarono per riaprire per prime la propria scuola tecnica in modo da usufruire delle agevolazioni economiche previste dal MPI per i comuni che ne fondassero una nelle provincie ancora sprovviste. L'amministrazione comunale di Campobasso mostrò maggiore determinazione rispetto a quella agnonese che fu tacciata più di una volta dalla stampa cittadina di lassismo. La scuola campobassana risentì del rinnovato interesse dell'amministrazione comunale verso il tema dell'istruzione che, come ha rilevato Alberto Barausse, si tradusse in «un'effettiva crescita degli impegni finanziari, che nell'arco di quattro anni, tra il 1880 e il 1884, risultarono aumentati di più del doppio» e della volontà del ceto dirigente politico campobassano «di dare risposta a una nuova domanda di istruzione, emergente soprattutto fra le fila della piccola e media borghesia che lentamente si andava affermando»⁴⁰.

Nel 1885 l'amministrazione campobassana avviò il primo corso della scuola tecnica annessa a quella Normale maschile⁴¹. Ad Agnone, invece, il Prof. Amedeo Borsello istituì una Scuola di disegno ornamentale e lineare applicato alle arti⁴²; il 24 novembre dell'anno seguente nella stessa città sorse ad opera dell'amministrazione comunale, la Scuola Tecnica.

Riavviate le scuole, l'obiettivo delle rispettive amministrazioni comunali, direttori e del Consiglio provinciale scolastico fu quello di ottenere la loro conversione in governative. Le votazioni per il rinnovo dei deputati alla Camera dei Deputati, previste per il 23 maggio di quell'anno, giocarono un ruolo determinante per l'avvio e il disbrigo delle pratiche. La campagna elettorale,

³⁸ ACP, Seduta del 22 settembre 1886, Campobasso, Stab. Tip. Fratelli G. e N. Colitti, 1887, p. 140.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁴⁰ Barausse, *Le istituzioni scolastiche dall'Unità al fascismo (1861-1933)*, cit., p. 78; pp. 80-81.

⁴¹ V. Miceli, *Formare maestre e maestri nell'Italia meridionale. L'istruzione normale e magistrale in Molise dall'Unità a fine secolo*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2013, p. 101. Sull'istruzione normale in Molise si faccia riferimento anche al saggio di A. Barausse, V. Miceli, *Le origini e i primi sviluppi dell'istruzione normale femminile in Molise: 1861-1898*, in C. Ghizzoni, S. Polenghi (edd.), *L'altra metà della scuola. Educazione e lavoro delle donne tra Otto e Novecento*, Torino, SEI, 2008, pp. 135-158.

⁴² *Scuole tecniche*, «Aquilonia», n. 2, 16 gennaio 1885, p. 3.

infatti, intensificò i rapporti tra i dirigenti locali con gli esponenti maggiori della politica nazionale del tempo. Fu, infatti, durante una breve visita nell'inverno del 1886 che Francesco Crispi s'impegnò con il sindaco Bucci per accelerare la pratica per ottenere il passaggio della Scuola Tecnica di Campobasso da municipale a statale. Anche Scipione di Blasio⁴³ e Luigi Mascilli⁴⁴, i deputati alla Camera rappresentanti del circondario di Campobasso, e Cardarelli⁴⁵, Falconi⁴⁶ e Fazio⁴⁷, deputati di quello di Isernia, si adoperarono presso il MPI per ottenere la conversione, che arrivò per entrambe nel 1888.

3. *L'istruzione tecnica a Campobasso. La Scuola serale per gli operai: tra continuità e patriottismo (1861-1865)*

All'indomani dell'Unità accanto alla Scuola di disegno lineare, aperta nel 1842, sorse la prima scuola per operai della città. I promotori dell'istituzione furono gli esponenti del cattolicesimo liberale che guardavano allo Stato nazionale come a una possibilità per realizzare le iniziative politiche, culturali e formative nate nel clima di fermento culturale e politico prodotto dal sogno costituzionale del 1848, interrotti con la repressione. La Scuola serale per gli operai in un certo senso realizzò il progetto mai avviato della scuola di mutuo insegnamento, annunciato nel 1848 da Camillo De Luca su «Il Sannita»⁴⁸. La scuola quarantottina descritta

⁴³ Scipione di Blasio nacque il 26 ottobre 1834 a Casacalenda e morì l'11 gennaio 1901. Venne eletto deputato a Larino e Campobasso. Si confermò primo nelle legislature IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII. Alla Camera sedette a sinistra. A. Malatesta, *Ministri, deputati, senatori dal 1848 al 1922*, Milano, Istituto editoriale italiano Bernardo Carlo Tosi, 1940, pp. 362-363.

⁴⁴ Il carteggio conservato presso l'Archivio Centrale dello Stato contiene la lettera del 15 luglio 1887 con la quale il deputato Mascilli sollecitò il ministro della PI Michele Coppino a concedere la conversione della Scuola Tecnica di Campobasso. ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52. Luigi Mascilli nacque a Campobasso circa nel 1825 dove vi morì il 1° gennaio 1890. Risultò primo nelle legislature XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI. Fu patriota e partecipò attivamente ai moti del 1848 e del 1860. Sedette al centro sinistra. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁴⁵ Antonio Cardarelli nacque il 29 marzo del 1832 a Civitanova del Sannio (CB) e morì l'8 gennaio 1927. Fu deputato e senatore del Regno. Venne eletto deputato a Isernia e Campobasso nelle legislature XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII. Alla Camera sedette al centro destra. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁴⁶ Nicola Falconi nacque a Capracotta il 16 dicembre 1834 e morì a Campobasso il 28 dicembre 1915. Fu eletto deputato ad Agnone e Campobasso secondo nelle legislature XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXVI. Fu nominato senatore il 4 aprile 1909 e ricoprì la carica di consigliere di Corte di Cassazione. Alla Camera sedette inizialmente a destra all'opposizione, per passare in seguito al fianco di De Pretis. Fece parte del Ministero Pelloux da maggio 1899 al giugno 1900 come sottosegretario della giustizia. *Ibid.*, p. 316.

⁴⁷ Enrico Fazio nacque verso il 1845. Fu eletto deputato a Boiano e Campobasso. Secondo nelle legislature XIV, XV, XVI. Fu liberale e alla Camere sedette all'estrema sinistra. *Ibid.*, p. 405.

⁴⁸ La Scuola serale per operai proposta nel 1848 rientrava nel progetto educativo di tipo professionale a sfondo assistenziale messo a punto dal ceto liberale cittadino che prevedeva anche l'istituzione di una Casa pia di lavoro per formare e avviare ai mestieri i giovani orfani della città. Il progetto, pilotato dai galantuomini della città, gravitanti attorno alla redazione de «Il Sannita»,

da De Luca non avrebbe dovuto limitarsi a insegnare al popolo a leggere, scrivere e a far di conto, ma «formargli il cuore» con gli insegnamenti di religione e di morale e fornirgli le nozioni utili al suo mestiere⁴⁹. Ad assolvere tale compito civile erano chiamati i galantuomini della città preparati nel campo delle scienze e delle belle arti. De Luca affermava:

Il perché bisognerebbe che tutti coloro che sanno do scienze e di arti belle rubassero ne' di' festivi un momento di tempo alle loro occupazioni per ammaestrare i nostri concittadini. [...] Nella cattedrale di mutuo insegnamento vorremmo veder subitamente stabilito anche un maestro di scuola secondaria, il quale facesse ai nostri contadini una lezione di agricoltura, e insegnasse loro tutto che fa di bisogno per l'immeigliamento della coltivazione delle terre; li persuadesse a dismettere le cattive pratiche agricole [...]. In quella cattedra vorremmo anche che il maestro di disegno lineare facesse la sua lezione, e liberasse l'artigiano dalla vergogna di dover mendicare disegni pe' i suoi lavori; li mettesse nel caso di poterli inventare da sé con le norme dell'arte che avrà apparata. In quella cattedra da ultimo vorremmo che i fisici spogliassero una volta il popolo dagl'innunerevoli errori e pregiudizi da cui ha esso ottennebrato la mente, e non più il vedremo spaventato dai fenomeni della natura; ma franco e sicuro studierà i mezzi acconci a far prosperare il più che può le sue industrie e le sue culture. A dire breve, se non vogliamo, diletteatissimi concittadini, rimanerci spettatori neghittosi all'universale avanzamento, ed amiamo che l'istruzione popolare sia opera nazionale e rigeneratrice, fa mestieri che su queste basi venga ordinato l'insegnamento della novella cattedra, cioè che sia a un tempo stesso letterale, agricola ed industriale⁵⁰.

Tali concetti furono ribaditi nel discorso inaugurale della Scuola serale per gli operai tenuto dall'ispettore scolastico Achille Greco nel settembre del 1861. Alberto Barausse ha rilevato come per l'ispettore lo sviluppo dell'istruzione popolare rappresentasse lo strumento «per il rafforzamento e il consolidamento dell'unità nazionale sulla base del radicamento nel popolo delle necessarie virtù civili e religiose»⁵¹. Infatti, i valori del lavoro, dell'educazione popolare e del progresso ora si univano al sentimento patriottico e di celebrazione degli eroi nazionali. L'ispettore affermava:

si interruppe nel 1848 con la repressione che causò, tra l'atro, la sospensione del giornale, accusato di essere sostenitore della Rivoluzione. Nel 1861 «Il Sannita» rinacque sotto il nome de «Il Sannita unitario» grazie ad Antonio Bellini, uno dei due ex direttori della testata sospesa, che attraverso di esso riprese a condurre le sue campagne politiche e di progresso economico. I campi-modello, l'istruzione agraria, le colonie agricole, la *Società economica* tornarono ad essere proposti quali gli ingredienti base per il miglioramento della sorte economica del territorio. Per un quadro dell'istruzione tecnica e professionale nel Molise nel periodo preunitario si veda V. Viola, *Agli albori dell'istruzione professionale in Molise (1848-1865)*, in H.A. Cavallera (ed.), *La ricerca storico-educativa oggi. Un confronto di metodi, modelli e programmi di ricerca*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia Editore, 2013, pp. 591-603.

⁴⁹ *Sulla cattedra di mutuo insegnamento in Campobasso. Poche parole di Camillo De Luca ai valorosi suoi concittadini*, «Il Sannita», n. 3, 25 marzo 1848, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Barausse, *Le istituzioni scolastiche dall'Unità al fascismo (1861-1933)*, cit., p. 71.

Erudiamo dunque il popolo con ogni guisa che ne è data, il patrimonio doniamogli della mente e' l tesoro dello spirito, che lo sorgano alla propria personalità riconquistare; né doveri maestria molo verso Dio, verso gli uomini, verso la patria, verso se stesso; e con lo svolgere i sentimenti, le attitudini, e le facoltà di lui, instilliamogli in fine la scienza del suo lavoro, la intelligenza de'suoi interessi, e'l conoscenza dei suoi dritti⁵².

«Promossa, agevolata e aggrandita la pubblica e universale istruzione, derivando in ogni paese particolari e pubblici istituti, scuole elementari e serotine e festive», come ordinava il neonato governo, si sarebbe assolto a un «nuovo officio, non meno evidente e bello a riunire e perfezionare l'unione dell'italica famiglia [...]»⁵³.

La scuola nella quale fu mirabile il concorso degli «operaj che tutti indistintamente dal capo di bottega all'ultimo fattorino» si mostravano desiderosi d'istruirsi, sorse ad opera di Francesco Antonio Marinelli, direttore della scuola magistrale, e fu mantenuta grazie al contributo di molti benemeriti cittadini. Stabilita presso l'Orto agrario dal 7 settembre 1861 fu trasferita, insieme a quella elementare a quella di disegno lineare, nel palazzo comunale in occasione del primo anniversario del plebiscito nazionale. La cronaca dell'inaugurazione, contenuta nel numero de «Il Sannita» del 1° novembre 1861, consente di ricostruire in linea di massima il profilo culturale e sociale degli alunni, il piano di studi, la composizione del corpo docente e il tipo libri di testo adottati nella scuola.

Agli alunni della scuola furono distribuiti a spese del Municipio «60 copie del Sillabario per i fanciulli, e 60 copie delle Prime letture per la Classe Superiore». Un corpo insegnante, comprendente nomi di spicco del panorama culturale cittadino, dava gratuitamente le lezioni sulle materie utili alla formazione del cittadino e dell'operaio: il canonico Francescopaolo Giancarlo e Domenico Eliseo impartivano le lezioni di nomenclatura alla 2^a classe; il sacerdote Luigi Fiore e il canonico Francesco Fazio insegnavano il sillabare e le prime letture alla 1^a classe; l'avvocato Ugo Petrella, il catechismo politico; l'architetto Antonio Pace, l'aritmetica, il sistema metrico e la nomenclatura geometrica; i signori Achille Zita e Berardino Petti, il catechismo igienico. Nei giorni festivi l'ispettore agli studi Achille Greco forniva gli insegnamenti di catechismo morale e religioso, mentre Michele Fiore e Francesco Fracassi, quelle di disegno lineare.

Dagli atti del Consiglio provinciale del 1862 si appura che l'articolo «Premio per gli insegnanti della scuola serale» era stato soppresso. I risultati non furono all'altezza delle aspettative. La scuola, affermerà Domenico Bellini più tardi, «lasciava a desiderare ed il numero degli apprendisti era assai scarso»⁵⁴. Chiusa se ne aprì un'altra nel 1865 fondata «sopra più ampie basi» presso la quale si

⁵² A. Greco, *Discorso per l'inaugurazione della scuola serale in Campobasso 7 settembre 1861*, Campobasso, Dalla Tipografia Nuzzi, 1861, pp. 12-14.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

⁵⁴ *Scuola serale*, «Il Sannita Unitario», n. 8, 26 marzo 1865, p. 5.

iscrissero circa 200 alunni⁵⁵. Probabilmente anche questa, di cui per ora non si possiedono altre notizie, non resistette a lungo. Le cronache locali di quegli anni non ne fanno cenno. Neanche Domenico Bellini, autore della notizia, che aveva promesso di trattarne più ampiamente, non ne fece più menzione. Bisognerà attendere quattro anni per poter tornare a leggere sulle cronache locali dell'istruzione tecnica. Nel 1869, infatti, sorse, a conclusione di tante discussioni e proposte, il primo corso della Scuola Tecnica municipale della città che si trasformerà, dopo un'esistenza turbolenta, scandita da chiusure e ripristini, in governativa soltanto nel 1888.

4. *La Scuola Tecnica municipale di Campobasso dalla fondazione alla chiusura (1869-1880)*

Il 21 novembre 1869 fu inaugurato il primo corso della Scuola tecnico-ginnasiale pareggiata di Campobasso. Il fautore dell'iniziativa fu Emmanuele Marone, titolare di un ginnasio-convitto della città. Al principio comprese un solo corso. Trovò collocazione al pian terreno del Palazzo De Capoa in largo San Leonardo, non lontano dal Liceo Ginnasiale Mario Pagano con il quale condivideva il rettore Gabriele Valente e alcuni docenti che vi prestavano servizio senza pretendere compenso: Vincenzo De Paola (lingua italiana); Francesco Tarra (geografia); Giovanni Bonardi (storia); Giacomo Mola (aritmetica); Giambattista Bianchi (lingua francese); Daniele Fracassi (disegno lineare ed ornato)⁵⁶. Marone ne descrisse scopi e caratteristiche in un articolo pubblicato in settembre su «La Nuova Provincia di Molise». La scuola – scriveva il suo fondatore – per la ristrettezza dei mezzi di cui si disponeva sarebbe stata umile nei locali, ma non nello scopo che perseguiva⁵⁷. Il corso di quattro anni comprendeva le seguenti materie: lingua italiana; lingua francese, e più tardi, la lingua inglese; storia e geografia; lingua latina lingua greca; aritmetica, geometria e computisteria, elementi di storia naturale, «e principalmente la chimica applicata, per quanto sarà possibile, alle arti, ed all'agricoltura»; disegno lineare e calligrafia; «nozioni elementari della struttura organica dell'uomo, e delle sue principali funzioni, e facili lezioni d'igiene educativa, la quale con la pulitezza del corpo insegna ai fanciulli la gentilezza dei modi».

Nata la scuola, finalmente la città ebbe l'illusione di disporre di un mezzo veloce su cui poter percorrere la via del progresso. Il discorso inaugurale del Professor Vincenzo de Paola era animato da un'insolita frenesia:

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Cronaca locale*, «Gazzetta della Provincia di Molise», n. 46, 18 novembre 1869, p. 2.

⁵⁷ *Scuola tecnica-provinciale in Campobasso per l'anno 1869-1870*, «Gazzetta della Provincia di Molise», n. 39, 30 settembre 1869, pp. 2-3.

Questa è l'ora del volere. Ma non si deve aspettare, non si deve indugiare: perché l'età corre, anzi fugge. E la fuga è così rapida, che ne gira la testa, e ne vien meno il respiro. Par che il mondo abbia fretta di arrivare al suo termine. Nazioni, città, ville, borgate, tutto s'agita, tutto si rivolge, tutto si rinnova. Non sentite la voce festiva che ne vien di lontano? Non udite di lontano lo strepito delle macchine, lo sforzo delle leve, il suono de' martelli e delle seghe, onde la natura muta faccia a ogni passo? Non vi percuote di lontano l'orecchio il romor delle ruote, il fischio de' vapori, il sibilo delle corde elettriche, onde persone, cose, pensieri s'incontrano, si toccano, si confondono, e ne nasce una sola universale armonia? Che star più dunque, e che tardare? Lo stare e il tardare è morte, e noi, pur mo rinati, vogliam vivere e rifarci grandi. Né solo la vostra città che fra le altre d'Italia ebbe, io non so perché, meno amica la fortuna, ma l'Italia tutta bisogna che s'affretti, se vuol giungere a tempo. Si affretti, dico, in ogni cosa, nella via delle scienze e nella via delle lettere; ma più, poi, in quella delle arti, delle industrie e de' commerci. Perché, è forza il dirlo, e le scienze e le lettere hanno un altissimo valore, contengono anzi il germe di ogni valore; pur le arti, le industrie, i commerci sono la vita del mondo⁵⁸.

I numeri tratti dalla relazione sull'istruzione secondaria compilata nel 1870 dal provveditore Marinelli, dimostrano che non furono in tanti a salire su quello che di Paola indicava come il mezzo destinato al progresso. Il ginnasio-convitto di Marone contò solo 20 alunni tra esterni ed interni⁵⁹.

Andò meglio l'anno seguente. Il provveditore nella relazione del settembre 1872 sulle scuole tecniche della provincia elogiò l'andamento tenuto nell'anno scolastico 1870/71 dall'istituzione campobassana rispetto a quella agnonese. Gli iscritti ammontavano a 27, di cui 19 erano iscritti alla 1^a classe e 8 alla 2^a classe⁶⁰. L'impreparazione degli studenti ereditata dal corso elementare superiore nella lingua italiana spinse il provveditore a rinunciare ad attivare il corso di francese⁶¹.

I primi tempi la vita della scuola trascorsero senza grandi problemi. I sussidi elargiti dal Comune e dalla Provincia bastarono a far fronte ai costi di un numero contenuto di studenti e di corsi. Nell'anno scolastico 1872-1873 il numero degli iscritti era quasi raddoppiato. Sui 93 alunni totali delle tre scuole della provincia, quella di Campobasso ne contava 53: 30 alla 1^a classe, 14 alla 2^a e 9 alla 3^a. Rispetto a quelle di Agnone e di Isernia – scriveva il provveditore Marinelli nella relazione delle scuole tecniche del novembre del 1873 – la scuola di Campobasso era la «più ordinata». Il buono stato di salute dell'istituzione spinse addirittura a prevedere presso di essa l'istituzione di un corso preparatorio «il cui compito fosse di svolgere le materie della 4^a elementare in modo acconcio

⁵⁸ V. di Paola, *Discorso letto nell'apertura di una scuola tecnica gratuita in Campobasso, addì XXI novembre 1869*, Campobasso, Tip. de' Fratelli Giovanni e Nicola Colitti, 1870, p. 13.

⁵⁹ *Relazione sulle Scuole secondarie della Provincia di Molise dell'anno 1869-70 del Provveditore Francesco Antonio Marinelli del 1870*, in ACS, MPI, DSM, *Scuole Tecniche (1861-1910)*, b. 43.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

alla età e capacità di giovanetti da metterli in grado da poter trarre tutto il profitto che si deve dalla 1^a Tecnica»⁶².

Le cose cambiarono con l'aumento degli alunni. I fondi stanziati non risultarono più sufficienti per coprire le spese dei corsi aggiuntivi e del corpo docente che, di fronte all'aumento del monte ore, non garantiva più il servizio gratuito. Nel 1874 l'istituto che, comprendeva l'intero corso triennale sul quale erano distribuiti 70 alunni, di cui provenienti da altri comuni, mostrò i primi segni di debolezza: tra il corpo docente mancava un professore di matematica per l'insegnamento delle sezioni coniche e della geometria analitica e, inoltre, i gabinetti di storia naturale e di geografia scarseggiavano di molti arredi e sussidi didattici. Il consigliere provinciale Pinto, che era anche direttore della scuola, nella seduta del 21 settembre rivolgendosi al Consiglio, affermò:

La scuola di storia naturale ha bisogno di diversi arredi, e quella di Geografia di un globo terrestre, della sfera armillare e di mappe molto esatte. Ora il Municipio di Campobasso ha fin qui esso solo provveduto a tutto, impiantando la scuola, sobbarcandosi alla pigione del locale e pagando gli stipendi a' non pochi maestri che sono stati chiamati ad insegnarvi. I vantaggi ottenuti sono incontrastabili, ma le spese fatte per conseguirli sono state superiori alle forze del Comune, il quale senza una opportuna sovvenzione, non potrebbe per l'avvenire occuparsi così efficacemente, come ha fatto finora, del progresso di un'opera tanto bene incominciata⁶³.

Le dimensioni assunte dall'istituzione imponevano una sede più grande e decorosa e un corpo di insegnanti speciali da non condividere più con le altre scuole. Il prefetto Francesco Contin di Castel Seprio sostenne in prima persona la causa. Nella *Relazione sulle condizioni della Provincia di Campobasso* letta al Consiglio provinciale nella seduta del 22 settembre 1875, dichiarò:

E per la stessa ragione mi tarda vedere stabilita sopra un piede più regolare, e collocata in un casamento sufficiente la scuola tecnica di Campobasso, la quale attualmente è situata in un locale angusto sott'ogni riguardo inopportuno, e saperla dotata di professori speciali, che non distratti da altri incarichi possano dedicare all'Istituto tutte le loro cure, e procurare coi frutti abbondanti del lor insegnamento un numeroso concorso a siffatti studii, finora non peranco convenevolmente apprezzati⁶⁴.

La presenza della Scuola Tecnica ad Isernia, nata nel 1872, e di quella istituenda di Agnone escludevano la possibilità di aumentare il finanziamento provinciale che ammontava a 500 lire. Priva dei fondi necessari la scuola si

⁶² *Relazione sulle Scuole Tecniche della Provincia di Molise del Regio Provveditore Francesco Antonio Marinelli del 1873*, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole Tecniche (1861-1910), b. 43.

⁶³ ACP, Seduta del 21 settembre 1873, Campobasso, Tip. De' Frat. Giovanni e Nicola Colitti, 1874, pp. 243-244.

⁶⁴ *Relazione sulle condizioni della Provincia di Campobasso letta al Consiglio provinciale nella seduta del 22 settembre 1875 dal Conte Cav. Francesco Contin di Castel Seprio, prefetto della Provincia*, ACP del 1875, Campobasso, Tip. e cartoleria de' fratelli Giovanni e Nicola Colitti, 1876, pp. LVI-LVII.

avviò verso un inarrestabile declino. I dissapori tra la giunta municipale e il MPI per questioni relative all'insegnamento elementare contribuirono a complicare il quadro già critico. Nel 1879 il MPI minacciò di non autorizzare la scuola al rilascio della licenza tecnica se il Comune non si fosse messo in regola con le prescrizioni previste dalla legge riguardo ai locali della sede scolastica e al trattamento economico degl'insegnanti. In un articolo pubblicato su «La libertà» del 26 luglio 1879, si legge:

Intanto – ci si dice – che per una decisione presa dalla giunta Municipale di questa Città, pur di non aprire una scuola elementare femminile, alla quale era nominata la maestra De Sanctis, si perdeva un sussidio di lire 500 che il Ministero concedeva [...]. Che n'è nato? Che il Ministero, quasi per punizione, ha rifiutato il decreto di quest'anno per la Licenza tecnica, chiedendo prima che il Municipio si mettesse in regola con la legge⁶⁵.

Tale intoppo rischiava di vanificare i progressi compiuti per ottenere la conversione della scuola da comunale in governativa. In quel frangente, tra l'altro, la scuola stava per essere trasferita nel nuovo palazzo municipale che, rispetto alla vecchia sede, possedeva i requisiti minimi per poter richiedere l'avvio della pratica. Il prefetto della Provincia e il direttore, s'impegnarono per distogliere il ministero dall'intenzione di negare la licenza alla scuola. Anche se gli esami alla fine si svolsero regolarmente, l'istituto non risultò fuori pericolo⁶⁶. Nella discussione del bilancio della tornata del 22 settembre del 1880 del Consiglio della Provincia si discusse se negargli o meno il sussidio:

De Rubertis dice che la scuola funziona male, e soggiunge essere questa una cosa notoria. In conseguenza chiede che o sia soppresso l'assegno, o che almeno non si paghi se non quando essa venga riformata⁶⁷.

Il Consiglio si divise. Per chi ne scongiurava la chiusura, la negazione dell'assegno rappresentava il colpo di grazia. Tra questi il consigliere Pinto, che riteneva che una maggiore vigilanza e qualche piccola riforma avrebbero rimesso in piedi l'istituzione ristabilendone la reputazione macchiata dai risultati negativi degli esami finali dell'anno che si era chiuso da poco⁶⁸. Per i consiglieri Carissimi e Mascilli la subordinazione dell'assegno «al lodevole andamento» ne avrebbe garantito la sopravvivenza ed evitato lo sperpero dei fondi provinciali. Per il consigliere Mascione la Scuola Tecnica non andava salvata perché era già «cadavere». Affermava:

⁶⁵ *Cronaca*, «La Libertà», n. 58, 26 luglio 1879, p. 3.

⁶⁶ *Cronaca*, «La Libertà», n. 79, 8 ottobre 1879, p. 3.

⁶⁷ ACP, Seduta del 22 settembre 1880, Campobasso, Stabilimento Tipografico Fratelli Colitti, 1881, pp. 142.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

La scuola tecnica di Campobasso è già fatta cadavere: qualunque sforzo sarebbe perduto, qualunque mezzo riuscirebbe inefficace per galvanizzarla ed infonderle una scintilla di vita: seppelliamola dunque e non ne disturbiamo ulteriormente il riposo⁶⁹.

Nonostante le gravi perplessità, a conclusione della seduta, il Consiglio concesse alla Scuola Tecnica di Campobasso un sussidio di 500 lire, da pagarsi «sol quando essa avrebbe funzionato lodevolmente, e dopo il favorevole avviso del Regio Provveditore agli Studii». Contro la chiusura della scuola s'impegnarono anche alcuni esponenti dell'ambiente culturale cittadino. Per Domenico Bellini, la scuola, «sebbene nessun progresso vero» aveva prodotto «nel risvegliare e richiamare l'idea di arti e mestieri», andava salvata. Nella *Monografia industriale della città di Campobasso* del 1879 affermava che se fosse stata chiusa avrebbe compromesso ulteriormente il già negativo quadro economico del territorio⁷⁰. Il passaggio della scuola alla dipendenza statale sembrava anche all'intellettuale molisano l'unica soluzione possibile per evitarne non solo l'estinzione, ma anche per assicurarle un futuro più sicuro. Le pagine di Bellini, che allora non servirono a mutare le sorti della scuola, oggi permettono di aggiungere qualche elemento in più alla scarsa documentazione relativa al primo periodo di esistenza dell'istituzione. Dal passaggio di Bellini di seguito riportato, ad esempio, si ottengono dati precisi riguardo all'andamento della popolazione scolastica e dei licenziati del periodo compreso tra il 1874 al 1879:

In quanto ad insegnamento essa si attiene strettamente ai programmi approvati col Decreto del 10 ottobre 1867. Non essendo la detta scuola né governativa, né pareggiata, ma puramente Comunale, così per rilasciarsi la licenza Tecnica a coloro che la frequentano, vi è bisogno dell'autorizzazione ministeriale, la quale si ottiene anno per anno. La media dei studenti, che vi concorrono da tutti i comuni della Provincia è di circa cinquanta all'anno, a settantatrive dei quali è stata concessa la licenza tecnica.

7 nel 1874
6 nel 1875
10 nel 1876
14 nel 1877
17 nel 1878
25 nel 1879⁷¹.

Tali risultati non autorizzavano una chiusura definitiva: i nuovi tempi non permettevano più lasciare troppo a lungo il ceto medio senza la sua scuola.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁷⁰ D. Bellini, *Monografia agricola industriale del circondario di Campobasso compilata secondo il programma dell'onorevole giunta d'inchiesta agraria*, Campobasso, Colitti, 1879, pp. 79-80.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, nota n. 1, p. 79.

5. *La Scuola serale per adulti di Campobasso (1882-1885)*

Nel 1882 la città di Campobasso mancava di un percorso di formazione di tipo tecnico. La Scuola Tecnica era stata chiusa ormai da due anni e da parecchio tempo prima quelle sorte per gli operai e per i contadini. A tale inconveniente volle riparare Pier Paolo Fongoli, direttore della Scuola Normale di Campobasso, istituendo una Scuola serale per gli adulti⁷². Una commissione composta dallo stesso Fongoli, dai professori Fidini e Boccaleri e dal maestro Gamberale, ebbe il compito di avviare presso il Consiglio scolastico della Provincia e il Municipio di Campobasso le pratiche necessarie per ottenere gli aiuti morali e materiali per la fondazione della scuola. Fongoli sosteneva che dall'istituzione ne avrebbero tratto giovamento sia gli operai e i contadini della città sia gli alunni della Scuola Normale presso cui sarebbe sorta. Questi ultimi, infatti, presso le classi della Scuola serale avrebbero svolto le esercitazioni pratiche delle regole didattiche per l'istruzione popolare.

L'istituzione, rivolta ai giovani di età maggiore dei 14 anni⁷³, aprì nel gennaio del 1883. Fu accolta dall'entusiasmo generale. La sera dell'inaugurazione accorsero insieme alle autorità, tra cui il Sindaco Bucci, il consigliere delegato Vitelli, il regio provveditore Marinelli, giovani, artigiani, contadini, maestri di bottega, professori e signori. L'orario delle lezioni fu fissato dalle 5½ alle 7 di sera. Le discipline previste, impartite da Fongoli e da tutti gli insegnanti elementari della Scuola Normale, erano: lettura, scrittura, aritmetica e sistema metrico decimale, nozioni elementari di scienze fisiche e naturali, d'igiene e d'agricoltura pratica, diritti e doveri del cittadino, geografia e disegno⁷⁴. Per nessuna di esse si prevedero libri di testo, tranne che per la lingua italiana insegnata nelle sezioni superiori per la quale si indicò il sillabario *L'artiere italiano* di Giuseppe Menghi⁷⁵. Furono istituite 3 sezioni: la 1ª per gli analfabeti, affidata ai Sigg. Baccheroni e Moccia, successivamente suddivisa in tre scuole a causa dell'elevato numero di iscritti⁷⁶; la 2ª al Sig. Gamberale; e la 3ª al Sig. Boccaleri (lingua italiana), al Sig. Castrilli (aritmetica; sistema metrico decimale e disegno lineare geometrico), al Sig. Cariaggi (nozioni di agricoltura e di scienze fisiche) e al Sig. Fracassi (disegno d'ornato)⁷⁷. I risultati al termine del primo anno

⁷² Miceli, *Formare maestre e maestri nell'Italia meridionale*, cit., p. 97.

⁷³ Adunanza del 16 dicembre 1882, in ALSU, *Registro dei processi verbali del Consiglio degli insegnanti dell'anno 1882-33*, cit. in Miceli, *Formare maestre e maestri nell'Italia meridionale*, cit., p. 97.

⁷⁴ Cronaca, «La Nuova Provincia di Molise», n. 1, 3 gennaio 1883, p. 2.

⁷⁵ Adunanza del 10 gennaio 1883, in ALSU, *Registro dei processi verbali del Consiglio degli insegnanti dell'anno 1882-83*, in Miceli, *Formare maestre e maestri nell'Italia meridionale*, cit., p. 98.

⁷⁶ Adunanza 29 aprile 1883, in ALSU, *Registro dei processi verbali del Consiglio degli insegnanti dell'anno 1882-83*.

⁷⁷ Adunanza del 10 gennaio 1883, cit.

furono incoraggianti: su 196 iscritti, seguirono assiduamente 120⁷⁸ di cui 87 si presentarono a sostenere l'esame finale⁷⁹. Dal secondo anno il numero delle iscrizioni registrò un calo progressivo: i 108 iscritti del 1884 passarono a 81 nel 1885⁸⁰. Questi ultimi alunni erano distribuiti in 4 sezioni: nella 1^a vi insegnava il direttore Pier Paolo Fongoli, nella 2^a il sig. Luigi Carlomagno e, nella 2^a e nella 3^a sezione, Daniele Fracassi il disegno applicato alle arti⁸¹. I risultati del 1885 non risultarono confortanti: sugli 81 alunni soltanto una cinquantina seguirono assiduamente le lezioni⁸². Non si possiedono al momento dati utili a profilare l'andamento del numero degli iscritti degli anni seguenti. Il tono di soddisfazione espresso dal sindaco Bucci per i risultati dell'istituzione nel resoconto amministrativo dell'anno seguente⁸³ autorizza ad escludere un ulteriore e significativo disavanzo della popolazione scolastica. Nel documento si legge:

Anche nella scuola serale per gli adulti si vide molta frequenza da parte dei discenti, e l'insegnamento vi fu egregiamente esercitato dai nostri maestri Municipali⁸⁴.

La scuola di fatto chiuse poco dopo per mancanza di fondi, a soli tre anni dalla sua apertura. Nel 1898 Matteo Vitolo, professore della Scuola Normale, scrisse in proposito:

Se non fosse, più tardi mancato l'appoggio materiale del Municipio e del Governo, questa Scuola che era un vero bisogno di questa popolazione, avrebbe continuato a funzionare e, con un corso di lezioni da cinque a sei mesi, il frutto che se ne poteva avere sarebbe stato senza dubbio assai soddisfacente⁸⁵.

La città rimase di nuovo senza una scuola a indirizzo tecnico. Per poco tempo, però. Il direttore Fongoli poco dopo aprirà al suo posto, sempre accanto alla Scuola Normale, il primo corso della Scuola Tecnica.

⁷⁸ Adunanza 29 aprile 1883, cit.

⁷⁹ Adunanza 17 giugno 1883, in ALSU, *Registro dei processi verbali del Consiglio degli insegnanti dell'anno 1882-83*.

⁸⁰ Miceli, *Formare maestre e maestri nell'Italia meridionale*, cit., p. 99.

⁸¹ *Scuola serale*, «Il Sannio», n. 163, 29 marzo 1885, p. 6.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Il sindaco Bucci scriveva: «Anche nella scuola serale per gli adulti si vide molta frequenza da parte dei discenti, e l'insegnamento vi fu egregiamente esercitato dai nostri maestri Municipali». *Resoconto amministrativo (Seduta del Consiglio Comunale del dì 11 ottobre 1886)*, Campobasso, Stab. Tip. de' fratelli G. e N. Colitti, 1886, p. 11.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ M. Vitolo, *L'opera della scuola normale maschile di Campobasso dalla istituzione sino alla minacciata soppressione (1872-1898)*, Campobasso, Tipografia Colitti, 1898, p. 12.

6. *La Scuola Tecnica di Campobasso: dalla riapertura alla fine del secolo*

All'indomani della soppressione della scuola il Comune di Campobasso e il Consiglio provinciale si rimisero a lavorare per riaprirla e, soprattutto, per metterla in condizioni di essere dichiarata governativa. Nella riunione del Consiglio della Provincia del 26 settembre 1881 Gennaro Carissimi riferì:

Il Comune è venuto nel lodevole proposito di impiantare una Scuola Tecnica, la quale a differenza dell'antica che fu dovuta chiudere lo scorso anno, avesse tali requisiti da poter essere subito riconosciuta pareggiata. Questa istituzione sarebbe municipale di nome ma provinciale di fatto, poiché, secondo il passato dimostra, alla Scuola Tecnica del capoluogo, la sola nella Provincia, accorrono numerosi alunni da tutte le parti. Ma perché essa abbia tutti i requisiti di bontà e serietà, e corrisponda alla generale aspettativa, occorrono mezzi, e non pochi. Il Comune dà i suoi locali e gli arredi, ma si vede impossibilitato a far fronte con le sole sue forze al pagamento degli stipendii al personale insegnante ed alle altre spese ordinarie di mantenimento⁸⁶.

Un sussidio di 4000 lire avrebbe permesso finalmente di stipendiare in maniera adeguata i professori speciali evitando di ricorrere a quelli impiegati già presso altri istituti. Il consigliere Pinto a tal proposito dichiarò:

la poco buona pruova che dette di sé l'antica scuola fu causata da non avere insegnanti speciali. È vero che ciò era una necessità, perché coi mezzi ristretti di cui allora si disponeva non poteva farsi assegnamento che su i Professori degli altri istituti dai quali era facile ottenere la prestazione della loro opera mediante un compenso tenuissimo. Ma stanche delle lezioni date altrove, e sovente anche per incompatibilità degli orari, come mai questa loro opera poteva riuscire efficace? Ora per avere insegnanti speciali, bisogna compensarli adeguatamente; ed ecco la necessità delle maggiori spese che si ricchieggono, se veramente vuoi avere una istituzione seria e durevole [...] ⁸⁷.

Nel 1882 il Consiglio comunale indisse un concorso per reclutare gli insegnanti forniti dei requisiti richiesti dalla legge per poter istituire la scuola tecnica statale⁸⁸. Nel 1884 la scuola, che finalmente avrebbe «riempito un vuoto nella istruzione specialmente della classe artigiana di Campobasso e della Provincia», però, non c'era ancora. Dal resoconto amministrativo del comune di Campobasso di quell'anno risulta che il concorso non diede i risultati sperati e che, mancando le condizioni minime per avanzare richiesta al MPI, la scuola non riaprì⁸⁹.

⁸⁶ ACP, Seduta del 26 settembre 1881, Campobasso, Tipografia e Ligat. di Domenico de Nigris, 1882, pp. 187-188.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Resoconto amministrativo per l'esercizio 1882 (seduta del Consiglio comunale del 7 maggio 1883)*, Campobasso, Stab. Tip. ditta G. e N. Colitti, 1883, p. 12.

⁸⁹ *Resoconto amministrativo anno 1884 (seduta del consiglio comunale del 30 ottobre 1884)*, Campobasso, Stab. Tipografico fratelli G. e N. Colitti, 1884, pp. 14-15.

La riapertura della scuola tecnica fu inserita nel bilancio di previsione comunale dell'anno 1886. Abbandonata l'idea di ottenere nell'immediato la conversione, sarebbe stata istituita nuovamente come municipale con un solo corso annesso alla Scuola normale⁹⁰ al posto del corso preparatorio. La soluzione fu discussa in Consiglio provinciale nel settembre 1885. A proporla fu il prefetto De Felice che si rivolse così alla platea:

L'è un fatto doloroso, che la istruzione tecnica rimane un vano desiderio di un sentito bisogno in questa Provincia, poiché sminuzzata così come n'è la popolazione nei 133 Comuni, nessuno di essi è stato in grado di fondare con successo una scuola tecnica. Gli sforzi sostenuti dai centri maggiori riuscirono a tale che dopo qualche anno le scuole dovettero chiudersi, perché mancavano di largo e ben fondato impianto. Or senza personale, almeno iniziato a quella coltura, mal si regge al presente veruna industria od arte, ed il piccolo commercio istesso non può essere condotto senza quelle preliminari nozioni che gli sono indispensabili. Fondare una scuola tecnica, che ben prometta di sé io non m'illudo, solo la mano del Governo lo può. Ma finché il Governo non provvederà, ci resteremo dal tentare qualche cosa, che per alcun tempo valga a sopperirne anche in parte lo sperato beneficio? Domando: accanto alla normale maschile non potrebbe, sopprimendosi l'attuale corso preparatorio, istituirsi l'insegnamento tecnico? Non corrisponde benissimo il programma delle scuole tecniche al bisogno dei giovani, che vogliono prepararsi all'ammissione del corso normale? Vi occorrerebbe è vero, nei venturi anni una maggiore ampiezza di locali, e solo a cominciar dal questo anno scolastico un aumento di stipendii agl'insegnanti. Ebbene, non sarebbe il Consiglio disposto a provvedervi in concorso del Municipio di questa città?⁹¹

In realtà, come ha rilevato Valeria Miceli, il fautore dell'iniziativa fu Antonio Coppola, professore di scienze fisiche e naturali, insegnante presso la Scuola Normale femminile e, fino al gennaio 1884, professore della Normale maschile⁹². Il professore, infatti, un mese prima sul periodico «La nuova Provincia di Molise» propose l'annessione di una scuola tecnica alla Normale maschile. Per Coppola l'operazione rappresentava un valido espediente per disporre di un canale di formazione di istruzione tecnica a basso costo nell'attesa di ottenere il tanto sospirato provvedimento da parte del governo. Il professore, infatti, affermava e domandava retoricamente ai lettori:

Culliamoci pure in questa speranza, aspettiamo questa manna dal Cielo, ma *en attendant* si vive nell'inedia anzi si muore dalla fame. Non sarebbe forse miglior partito tentare qualche mezzo, e sia anche per cosa provvisoria, affin di soddisfare un bisogno impellente, e lasciare all'avvenire il definitivo?⁹³

⁹⁰ *Resoconto amministrativo anno 1885 (seduta del consiglio comunale del 19 ottobre 1885)*, Campobasso, Stab. Tipografico fratelli G. e N. Colitti, 1885, p. 12.

⁹¹ ACP, Seduta del 28 settembre 1885, Campobasso, Tipografia Colitti, 1886, pp. 89-90; *La scuola tecnica e la scuola normale*, «La nuova Provincia di Molise», n. 32, 27 agosto 1885, p. 2.

⁹² Miceli, *Formare maestre e maestri nell'Italia meridionale*, cit., p. 101.

⁹³ *La scuola tecnica e la scuola normale*, «La nuova Provincia di Molise», n. 32, 27 agosto 1885, p. 2.

La soluzione presentava diversi vantaggi: innanzitutto, avrebbe sfruttato a pieno la Scuola Normale maschile, sproporzionata per spazio e numero di docenti a una popolazione scolastica esigua. Un direttore e 9 insegnanti, infatti, erano impiegati su un istituto dal quale uscivano mediamente soli 6 o 7 alunni con patente di grado superiore, di cui 3 soltanto si davano «alla poco seducente carriera di maestro», mentre i restanti ad altre professioni come quella di segretario comunale, di telegrafista, di ufficiale postale, agrimensore etc etc. Con la scuola tecnica, inoltre, si sarebbe offerto un indirizzo di studi adeguato a molti giovani che, in mancanza, ripiegavano su altri in contrasto con le loro inclinazioni. La presenza della scuola avrebbe anche evitato ai giovani della provincia dediti «all'esercizio delle loro arti o alle professioni di modesto ordine di uscir fuori del proprio paese» e a quelli intenzionati a studiare ingegneria «di compiere in casa propria il primo periodo dei loro studi». L'operazione di annessione, poi, comportava un risparmio economico significativo. La compresenza nei *curricula* di studio delle due scuole di uguali insegnamenti come la lingua italiana, matematica, scienze naturali, storia, geografia, diritti e doveri, calligrafia e disegno avrebbe evitato di reclutare altri docenti rispetto a quelli già impiegati. Lo studio della pedagogia sarebbe stato esclusivo per i normalisti, come quello del francese per i tecnici, e la direzione, visto l'esiguo numero di studenti, poteva essere affidata allo stesso Fongoli o a un altro docente dell'istituto⁹⁴.

Il Consiglio municipale, d'accordo con le autorità scolastiche, deliberò l'istituzione di una scuola tecnica con gli stessi orari, professori e il direttore della Scuola Normale alla quale veniva annessa⁹⁵. Agli esami di ammissione al 1° corso, si presentarono 11 candidati, dei quali 8 furono approvati e promossi al 2° corso, tra i quali uno meritò il premio di 1° grado. Ristabilita la scuola, il Comune si attivò prontamente per ottenerne la conversione. Il reclutamento di nuovi docenti, il trasferimento presso una nuova sede e, soprattutto, un fitto dialogo intessuto con le autorità centrali, permetteranno ai dirigenti locali di raggiungere il sospirato obiettivo finalmente nell'agosto del 1888. Nel resoconto amministrativo del 1886 la giunta comunale comunicò il programma che aveva predisposto per ottenere la conversione dell'istituto: dopo l'attivazione del 2° corso, previsto per l'anno successivo, si sarebbero avviate, con il sussidio concesso dal Consiglio provinciale, le pratiche necessarie per costituire il 3° corso e richiedere finalmente al MPI che la Scuola Tecnica fosse dichiarata regia⁹⁶. L'Ufficio scolastico provinciale il 6 settembre 1886 inoltrò al sindaco della città la comunicazione del MPI in cui erano indicate le condizioni per

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Adunanza del 29 ottobre 1885, in ALSU, Registro dei processi verbali del Consiglio degli insegnanti dell'anno 1885-86.

⁹⁶ *Resoconto amministrativo (Seduta del Consiglio Comunale del dì 11 ottobre 1886)*, Campobasso, Stab. Tip. de' fratelli G. e N. Colitti, 1886, p. 11.

guadagnare il riconoscimento⁹⁷. Intanto, alla fine del primo anno la Scuola Tecnica raccolse risultati soddisfacenti. Nel resoconto amministrativo del Municipio di Campobasso del 1887, si legge:

[...] presso la Scuola Tecnica annessa alla Normale, furono compiuti gli esami annuali nel tempo stabilito dal Regolamento. Di 22 allievi di 1^a classe e di 10 di 2^a ammessivi, ne furono promossi a primo scrutinio in tutte le materie 6 per classe, gli altri furono rimandati quali in una, quali in un'altra delle materie in esame, e potranno riparare nel corrente mese. Del risultato ottenuto si può essere abbastanza soddisfatti⁹⁸.

Tale progresso, però, non placò le perplessità di alcuni consiglieri provinciali riguardo alla proposta di finanziare le spese necessarie per l'adeguamento dell'istituto per richiederne la conversione. Tale sentimento di sfiducia non risparmiò la Scuola Tecnica di Agnone che, però, rispetto a quella campobassana offriva maggiori garanzie. Quando Gennaro Carissimi nel corso della discussione del Consiglio provinciale del 22 settembre 1886 propose di sovvenzionare le scuole tecniche della provincia con un sussidio più lauto – sfruttando gli incentivi del governo che avevano permesso l'apertura in tutta Italia di oltre 40 scuole – più di un consigliere mostrò qualche riserva nei riguardi dell'istituzione del capoluogo⁹⁹. La scuola di Campobasso, che vantava «una larva esistenza, e per farla andare innanzi» fu «necessario annetterla alla Scuola normale maschile», ispirava meno fiducia di quella di Agnone che già «aveva locali ed arredi, ed era stata dotata di tutte le classi meno l'ultima»¹⁰⁰. Le buone intenzioni e gli sforzi compiuti fino ad allora dalla giunta municipale di Campobasso convinsero il Consiglio a riservare per entrambe le scuole lo stesso trattamento. Il presidente del Consiglio provinciale, infatti, a conclusione della seduta, dichiarò:

di dover rimanere assolutamente esclusa la idea che il concorso provinciale testé deliberato possa darsi senza che le scuole diventino governative. Saggiunge inoltre che le scuole di Campobasso e di Agnone continueranno a restare per tutto il venturo anno nello stato in cui trovansi presentemente, avranno dritto ognuna al consueto sussidio di lire 16500 che formerà oggetto di special stanziamento¹⁰¹.

I buoni risultati riscossi dalle due istituzioni non riuscivano a promettere stabilità. Fino a quando non fossero state dichiarate governative, la loro esistenza sarebbe stata labile. Lo sosteneva il consigliere provinciale Cremonese che nella discussione del 14 settembre del 1887 invitò il Consiglio a non limitarsi a concedere il sussidio, ma a sostenere le due scuole con «provvedimenti energici

⁹⁷ *Resoconto amministrativo (Seduta del Consiglio Comunale del dì 19 ottobre 1887)*, Campobasso, Stabilimento Tipografico Colitti, 1887, p. 15.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁹⁹ ACP, Seduta del 22 settembre 1886, Campobasso, Stab. Tip. Fratelli G. e N. Colitti, 1886, pp. 140-141.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

ed efficaci per ottenere la loro stabilità mediante la conversione in Istituti governativi, eccitando all'uopo il zelo dei Comuni, e sollecitando l'adesione del Ministero»¹⁰².

Cremonese non interpretava un'opinione condivisa. Alcuni consiglieri si mostrarono insofferenti a investire ancora sulle due scuole. Il consigliere Valerio nella seduta del 15 settembre addirittura mise all'ordine del giorno la soppressione del sussidio per l'anno 1888 qualora le scuole non fossero passate alla dipendenza dello Stato¹⁰³. La corrispondenza intercorsa tra il Consiglio provinciale scolastico e il MPI, reperita presso l'Archivio centrale dello Stato, attesta che, intanto, dall'anno precedente il Comune aveva intensificato gli sforzi per ottenere la conversione¹⁰⁴. Il prefetto presidente del Consiglio provinciale scolastico in una nota del 28 luglio a nome del Municipio di Campobasso si rivolse al ministro della PI per conoscere più in dettaglio gli obblighi di spesa richiesti alle amministrazioni per aprire le scuole tecniche governative¹⁰⁵. La richiesta era prematura perché la scuola non possedeva ancora i requisiti minimi per avviare la pratica. Il 13 agosto il ministro, infatti, dopo aver fornito le informazioni richieste, spiegò al suo interlocutore che, giacché il Municipio di Campobasso non aveva «completato la sua scuola», non riteneva il «caso di trattare la conversione»¹⁰⁶. Da quel momento in poi il Comune di Campobasso concentrò i suoi sforzi per adeguare la scuola agli standard indicati dal ministero. In quello stesso anno la trasferì in un locale più ampio di proprietà della famiglia Iacampo sulla strada Linforzi, l'attuale via Marconi, sistemandola secondo le indicazioni dettate dal ministero¹⁰⁷.

Nell'anno scolastico 1886-1887 l'istituto, la cui direzione era passata al Prof. Giacomo Mola, comprendeva tutti e tre i corsi. Contava 39 alunni, dei quali furono promossi 16. Tre ottennero la licenza tecnica ed altri furono ammessi agli istituti tecnici di Napoli e di Foggia. Il 24 maggio del 1887 il Consiglio comunale si adunò per chiedere al MPI che la Scuola Tecnica municipale di

¹⁰² ACP, Seduta del 14 settembre 1887, Campobasso, Stab. Tip. Fratelli G. e N. Colitti, 1887, p. 75.

¹⁰³ La proposta di Valerio venne messa all'ordine del giorno: «Il Consiglio concede per l'anno 1888 il sussidio di lire 3000 a ciascuna delle due scuole tecniche comunali di Agnone e Campobasso, con prevenzione che tale sussidio resterà soppresso nel 1889, ove per quel tempo le scuole non si trovino passate alla dipendenza dello Stato». ACP, Seduta del 15 settembre 1887, Campobasso, Stab. Tip. Fratelli G. e N. Colitti, 1887, p. 95.

¹⁰⁴ ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52.

¹⁰⁵ *Schiarimenti sulle spese di una scuola tecnica governativa*, Nota del prefetto del Consiglio provinciale scolastico di Campobasso al ministro della PI Michele Coppino, Campobasso 28 luglio 1887, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52.

¹⁰⁶ *Comune di Campobasso. Istituzione di una scuola tecnica*, Risposta alla nota del 28 luglio del ministro della PI Michele Coppino al prefetto del Consiglio provinciale scolastico di Campobasso, Roma 13 agosto 1886, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52.

¹⁰⁷ *Resoconto amministrativo (Seduta del Consiglio Comunale del dì 19 ottobre 1887)*, cit., pp. 14-15.

Campobasso fosse dichiarata governativa¹⁰⁸. Alla deliberazione del Comune seguì quella del Consiglio provinciale scolastico del 17 giugno, inviata dal prefetto il 27 giugno seguente¹⁰⁹.

La vicenda subì un'accelerazione grazie all'intervento di Francesco Crispi. Nel corso di una visita veloce alla città dell'anno prima il ministro, mostrandosi meravigliato del fatto che in provincia mancassero scuole e istituti tecnici statali, offrì al sindaco Bucci la sua collaborazione affinché il comune avesse finalmente la sua scuola regia. L'8 agosto 1887, infatti, Crispi scrisse al ministro della PI Michele Coppino per sollecitare il disbrigo della pratica:

Stimatissimo Collega,

Il sindaco di Campobasso mi ha significato aver fatto istanza a codesto Ministero onde ottenere che la scuola tecnica municipale, ora precariamente annessa alla normale sia dichiarata governativa a norma di legge, e mi ha pari tempo pregato di confortare tale istanza con i miei buoni uffici. Sembrandomi che il desiderio del Comune di Campobasso sia meritevole di essere preso in considerazione dal Governo, trattandosi su un'intera popolosa provincia che non possiede una scuola scuola tecnica governativa per la istruzione specialmente delle classi popolari, mi permetto raccomandare la cosa al vostro competente e savio giudizio. Vi sarò grato se vi compiacerete farmi conoscere a suo tempo la determinazione che avrete presa la riguardo [...]¹¹⁰.

Il 28 agosto con una nota Coppino manifestò a Crispi la disponibilità ad accogliere la richiesta, informandolo che, in quello stesso giorno, era stata indirizzata una comunicazione al prefetto della Provincia nella quale venivano indicate le condizioni necessarie per ottenere il passaggio della scuola da comunale in governativa per il 1° ottobre 1888¹¹¹.

A parte il cenno del sindaco Bucci contenuto all'interno del Resoconto amministrativo del 1887, la documentazione consultata finora non ha consentito di ricostruire la rete dei rapporti tra i protagonisti della politica locale e Crispi. E' probabile che il ministro visitò Campobasso in occasione della campagna elettorale precedente le elezioni del 23 maggio 1886¹¹² per appoggiare i candidati alla Camera dello schieramento di sinistra¹¹³ come Scipione De Blasio

¹⁰⁸ *Provvedimenti da parte del Consiglio per la spesa necessaria allo stabilimento di una Scuola Tecnica in Campobasso*, Deliberazione del Municipio di Campobasso del 24 maggio 1887, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52.

¹⁰⁹ *Deliberazione del Consiglio provinciale scolastico di Molise del 17 giugno 1887*, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52.

¹¹⁰ Nota di Francesco Crispi al ministro della PI Michele Coppino, Roma 8 agosto, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52.

¹¹¹ Nota del ministro della PI Michele Coppino a Francesco Crispi, Roma 28 agosto 1887, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52.

¹¹² Gli eletti per il circondario di Campobasso furono: De Blasio, Caterini, Quarto e Mascilli. Per quello di Isernia: Cardarelli, Fazio e Falconi. «Aquilonia», n. 9, 16 giugno 1886, p. 1.

¹¹³ L'attivismo di Crispi in tal senso è documentato dalla sua lettera pubblicata su «Aquilonia» del 16 giugno 1886 insieme a quella del ministro Cairoli a sostegno di Enrico Fazio, candidato per il circondario di Isernia. *Dopo le elezioni*, «Aquilonia», n. 8, 16 giugno 1886.

e Luigi Mascilli¹¹⁴, che furono gli interlocutori diretti del ministro Coppino sulla vicenda della conversione della scuola. Con una nota del 29 luglio 1887 Coppino, infatti, comunicò ai due deputati eletti l'impossibilità ad accogliere per quell'anno la richiesta di passare la scuola di Campobasso alla competenza dello Stato, in quanto non possedeva ancora i tre i corsi previsti dalla legge e perché la discussione era già passata in Parlamento.

La Scuola Tecnica per l'anno seguente avrebbe avuto il corso completo. Lo annunciò il sindaco Bucci nel resoconto amministrativo del Comune di Campobasso del 1887¹¹⁵. Il budget a disposizione dell'amministrazione comunale, però, complicava la realizzazione del programma comunicato dal sindaco. Il prefetto della Provincia il 18 agosto 1887 chiese, per conto del sindaco della città, al MPI di concorrere in via eccezionale ai 2/5 della spesa del personale. Le finanze comunali «ristrettissime per una importante condotta di acqua», non consentivano ulteriori spese per la Scuola Tecnica rispetto a quelle già sostenute «per l'adattamento del nuovo locale, e per compiere l'arredamento scolastico e per l'impianto dei Gabinetti»¹¹⁶.

Nel gennaio 1888 la scuola sembrava in regola per poter essere dichiarata regia. Nella deliberazione del 26 gennaio 1888, con la quale il Consiglio comunale rinnovava la richiesta al MPI, infatti, si legge:

la scuola medesima oggi funziona regolarmente, perché è già fornita di tre corsi, ha il necessario personale insegnante, è posta in locali adatti ed è fornita dell'occorrente materiale scolastico e scientifico. La nostra amministrazione quindi, non solo ha così mantenuto i suoi impegni verso del paese, ma pure si è messa in grado di ottenere la conversione della detta scuola da comunale in governativa¹¹⁷.

L'onorevole Mascilli nel febbraio del 1888 ricevette rassicurazioni dal MPI circa lo stanziamento dei fondi a favore della scuola e la comunicazione che a breve essa sarebbe stata ispezionata dai suoi incaricati¹¹⁸. Il 17 febbraio 1888 il

¹¹⁴ Luigi Mascilli s'impegnò per la conversione in governative della Scuola Normale maschile e di quella Tecnica. *Cronaca. Scuole normali e tecniche*, «Il Sannio», n. 284, 7 febbraio 1888, p. 3.

¹¹⁵ Il sindaco Bucci nel resoconto amministrativo del 1887 pubblicò la lettera con la quale il ministro Crispi lo informava sullo stato di avanzamento della pratica. Nel documento si legge: «Interessato dalla S.V. col pregevole di Lei foglio del 29 luglio scorso, non mancai di fare presente al mio onorevole collega Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione i voti di codesta città per la conversione in governativa della Scuola Tecnica Municipale. Ora l'onorevole Ministro mi significa avere già scritto al prefetto della Provincia, indicando le condizioni alle quali la conversione verrebbe concessa per il 1° ottobre 1888, ove come è a sperarsi, il Parlamento voglia accordare il fondo che all'uopo sarebbe richiesto [...]». *Resoconto amministrativo (seduta del Consiglio Comunale del dì 19 ottobre 1887)*, cit., p. 16.

¹¹⁶ *Scuola tecnica di Campobasso. Invito per l'anno scolastico 1887-88*, Nota del prefetto della Provincia di Campobasso al ministro della PI Michele Coppino, Campobasso 18 agosto 1887, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52.

¹¹⁷ *Deliberazione del Consiglio comunale di Campobasso del 26 gennaio 1888*, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52.

¹¹⁸ *Cronaca. Scuole normali e tecniche*, «Il Sannio», n. 284, 7 febbraio 1888, p. 3.

MPI, infatti, comunicò al prefetto che la richiesta del comune era stata accolta e che sarebbe passata al giudizio del Parlamento. Il Municipio trascorse i mesi seguenti a perfezionare la scuola per poter procedere alla conversione. A giugno la sede della scuola, però, non passò l'esame degli ispettori ministeriali. Il 26 dello stesso mese il MPI riferì al prefetto del Consiglio provinciale scolastico che il locale della scuola non era idoneo, «tanto pel numero che per la grandezza delle stanze di cui si compone» e proponeva le opportune modifiche¹¹⁹. «In attesa dell'edificio definitivo che dovrà costruirsi di sana pianta» tali accomodi risultavano l'unica soluzione indicata dal ministero per ottenere il passaggio della scuola tecnica alla dipendenza dello Stato¹²⁰. Il 9 agosto 1888 il prefetto del Consiglio scolastico provinciale informò il ministero che il Comune aveva provveduto all'adeguamento dei locali della scuola ad eccezione della palestra: i giovani tecnici provvisoriamente avrebbero usufruito di quella del Liceo Ginnasiale. Finalmente con R.D. del 6 agosto 1888 la scuola fu dichiarata regia. Fu aperta il 16 e diretta dal signor Stanislao de Chiara.

Nell'autunno del 1888 la Regia Scuola Tecnica di Campobasso contava 47 iscritti e 4 uditori: 27 alla 1^a classe, 11 alla 2^a e 9 alla 3^a. Dei 47 alunni iscritti, furono promossi 25¹²¹. Anche l'anno seguente si concluse con «un altro rallegrante risultato»:

Presso la detta Scuola furono iscritti 49 alunni. Alla 1^a classe 25; alla 2^a 17; ed alla 3^a 7. Vi furono pure 4 uditori. Dei 49 alunni iscritti, 19 furono promossi, cioè alla 2^a 10; alla 3^a 9; e 4 ottennero la licenza; dei quali 2 furono ammessi agli Istituti Tecnici di Napoli e Caserta, e gli altri furono impiegati nelle Ferrovie e nella Intendenza di Finanza¹²².

¹¹⁹ *Campobasso. Conversione in governativa della scuola tecnica*, Nota del ministro della PI Paolo Boselli al prefetto presidente del Consiglio provinciale scolastico di Campobasso, Roma 26 giugno 1888, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52.

¹²⁰ Il sindaco Bucci riportò il verdetto degli ispettori nel resoconto amministrativo del comune del 1888. In esso si legge: «Gli ispettori governativi che visitarono la scuola, riferirono al Ministero che il locale non era sufficiente, ma con che tuttavia nel pianterreno della casa, di cui la scuola allora occupava il piano superiore, si poteva, con opportune demolizioni, coll'apertura di un arco e la costruzione di un piccolo corridoio, apparecchiare altre 3 sale sufficientemente ampie, delle quali una poteva essere destinata alla 1^a classe, un'altra alla 2^a, e la 3^a servire per la scuola di disegno; e nel piano superiore allora occupato, sarebbero rimaste le due aule per la 3^a classe, il Gabinetto di scienze naturali, l'ufficio di direzione, la sala d'aspetto dei Professori, e una stanzette per l'Archivio e la Biblioteca. Riferirono pure gli ispettori che il gabinetto di scienze naturali avrebbe dovuto essere accresciuto di una collezione mineralogica, nonché del corredo necessario di esemplari, modelli e tavole per l'insegnamento della Zoologia e della Botanica; che la suppellettile scolastica doveva accrescersi coll'ampliamento dell'edificio; che dovevano provvedersi gli armadii per le collezioni scientifiche e per la biblioteca, ed accrescersi le collezioni per la scuola di disegno». *Resoconto amministrativo per l'esercizio 1887 letto dal sindaco comm. Francesco Bucci nella seduta del Consiglio Comunale del 29 ottobre 1888*, Campobasso, Stab. Tipografico Ditta G. e N. Colitti, 1888, p. 6.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹²² *Resoconto amministrativo per l'esercizio 1889 letto dal sindaco comm. Francesco Bucci nella seduta del Consiglio Comunale del 4 dicembre 1890*, Campobasso, Stab. Tip. ditta G. e N. Colitti, 1890, p. 14.

A partire da questo momento la vita dell'istituto proseguì abbastanza serenamente. È quanto emerge dalla lettura degli atti della deputazione provinciale e dalla documentazione reperita presso l'Archivio Centrale dello Stato. La consultazione di quest'ultima, costituita in gran parte dalle relazioni annuali della scuola inviate dai direttori al MPI, in particolare, ha permesso di ricostruire con una certa precisione la fisionomia e l'andamento dell'istituzione. Dalla nota inviata dal ministro della PI Pasquale Villari l'11 aprile 1892 al prefetto presidente del Consiglio provinciale, relativa all'esito dell'ispezione condotta sulla scuola da due incaricati del MPI dal 29 marzo al 1° aprile, è possibile, per esempio, ricomporre il corpo docente¹²³. Stanislaò De Chiara, direttore e insegnante di lingua italiana, dirigeva una scuola in cui erano impiegati i seguenti insegnanti: Achille Guberti (lingua francese); Enrico De Vincenzi (storia e geografia); Carlo Castrilli (matematica); Giovanni Lepore (scienze naturali); Benvenuto Bovi (disegno); Pasquale De Rienzo (computisteria); Giovanni Trotta (calligrafia). Il giudizio complessivo sulla preparazione degli insegnanti fu buono, fatta eccezione per Carlo Castrilli di «cultura assai modesta». «La scuola» – affermava il ministro – «non potrebbe né meglio essere ordinata né disciplinata»¹²⁴. Diversa risultò la valutazione riguardante la sede e la suppellettile scolastica. Il ministro nella nota del 22 aprile riferì al sindaco di Campobasso l'insoddisfazione degli ispettori. Questi, infatti, giudicarono i locali inadatti per dimensioni, organizzazione spaziale e condizioni igieniche. Per una scolaresca di circa 70 alunni le aule risultavano piccole, alcune umide, altre comunicanti e c'era un solo bagno. La biblioteca, inoltre, era sfornita e inadeguata alla cultura degli alunni delle scuole tecniche¹²⁵.

L'amministrazione comunale rimandò la questione al settembre seguente quando si sarebbe stabilito se la scuola fosse rimasta presso quella sede o trasferita in un'altra. Per quanto concerneva la biblioteca, il sindaco garantì al ministro di inserire lo stanziamento di un fondo speciale nella formazione del nuovo bilancio «per quanto le stremate forze economiche» del comune lo avessero consentito¹²⁶. Il ministro della PI rispose che, qualora la scuola fosse rimasta nella sede ispezionata, il Comune avrebbe dovuto provvedere alla costruzione di una seconda latrina e a fornire quanto prima la parte del materiale scientifico riconosciuta più urgente¹²⁷.

¹²³ *Risultato dell'ispezione alla scuola tecnica*, Nota del ministro della PI Pasquale Villari al prefetto presidente del Consiglio provinciale scolastico di Campobasso, Roma 11 aprile 1892, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Condizioni materiali della scuola tecnica*, Nota del ministro della PI Pasquale Villari al sindaco della città di Campobasso, Roma 22 aprile 1892, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52.

¹²⁶ *Condizioni materiali della scuola tecnica*, Risposta alla nota del 22 aprile del sindaco della città di Campobasso ministro della PI Pasquale Villari, Campobasso 26 aprile 1892, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52.

¹²⁷ *Provvedimenti per il locale della Scuola tecnica*, Risposta alla nota del 26 aprile del ministro

Le notizie più dettagliate sulla scuola provengono dalla relazione finale stilata nel giugno successivo dal direttore Stanislao De Chiara. Il rendimento degli allievi era soddisfacente e la disciplina «addirittura ammirevole». I gabinetti scientifici e l'aula di disegno mancavano di poche cose; la biblioteca appariva la più penalizzata, in quanto, non esistendo ancora un fondo nel bilancio comunale, si ritrovava fornita dei pochi volumi concessi dalla generosità dell'autorità municipale.

La nuova sede costituì il problema centrale di questo periodo. Nell'estate del 1892 tra l'amministrazione comunale e il ministero intercorse una fitta corrispondenza riguardo alla designazione e all'approvazione della nuova collocazione individuata per la scuola tecnica. La scuola da casa Iacampo si sarebbe trasferita al pian terreno del palazzo municipale, opportunamente adattato secondo le indicazioni degli ispettori. Una serie di planimetrie, contenute nel carteggio conservato presso l'Archivio Centrale dello Stato, restituisce la fisionomia spaziale dell'edificio presso il quale la scuola risulta trasferita sin dal 1893. Di nuovo il locale fu giudicato non del tutto corrispondente alla destinazione d'uso assegnatagli dal comune. Questa volta a sostenerlo fu Michele Dardanelli, il direttore della scuola. Nella relazione annuale dell'a.s. 1893/94 indirizzata al ministro della PI, il direttore lamentò l'adiacenza degli ambienti della scuola agli uffici municipali e alle scuole elementari, e la loro inadeguatezza ad ospitare gli studenti che aumentavano di anno in anno. Nel 1892 la scuola, infatti, contò 95 studenti che nel 1893 salirono a 106. Secondo il direttore la cessione del piano superiore destinato alle scuole elementari e la creazione di un ingresso separato avrebbero risolto il problema. Rispetto ai primi anni di esistenza la scuola, tranne che per la palestra che divideva col Liceo, ora sembrava fornita di tutto il necessario: l'aula di disegno dei modelli essenziali, il gabinetto di fisica delle principali macchine, di attrezzi e vetri per la chimica, di quadri a stampa per le scienze naturali; la biblioteca, che quell'anno aveva solo sottoscritto un abbonamento per i fascicoli della Geografia e del Raclus, contava circa 120 volumi. Il profitto e la condotta degli allievi e degli insegnanti si mantenne soddisfacente, ad eccezione dell'insegnante di disegno che non riusciva a mantenere il silenzio durante le sue lezioni e di quello di ginnastica che dava lezioni agli allievi del Liceo, del Ginnasio, della Scuola Tecnica e del Convitto Nazionale. Il problema più preoccupante indicato dal direttore era rappresentato dalla mancanza di sbocchi che la scuola offriva ai suoi licenziati che, per condizioni economiche e di famiglia, non potevano trasferirsi fuori provincia per proseguire gli studi. Scriveva:

Nel por fine a questa relazione il sottoscritto crede opportuno osservare al Ministero che in Campobasso essendo senza importanza il Commercio, e nulla l'industria, ne conviene che gli allievi licenziati da questa scuola tecnica, ed impediti dalle condizioni economiche della

famiglia di frequentare gli Istituti tecnici della provincia [...] rimangono senza impiego, veri spostati¹²⁸.

Era opportuno che il ministero, assecondando le richieste avanzate nel giugno di quell'anno dal Municipio e dalla Provincia di Campobasso¹²⁹, fondasse un istituto tecnico presso il quale i licenziati della Scuola Tecnica potessero completare la loro istruzione¹³⁰. Se l'istituto tecnico non riuscì a decollare, la Scuola Tecnica continuò a raccogliere buoni risultati. La relazione scritta da Michele Dardanelli due anni dopo restituisce l'immagine di una scuola in crescita. Gli iscritti da 120 dell'anno scolastico precedente erano saliti a 129¹³¹. Le basi della scuola sembravano solide. Restava da darle un'intitolazione. Il 29 aprile 1897 il Collegio degl'insegnanti incaricò il professore di storia Enrico Deuriger di proporre un nome. Il nome scelto dal professore fu quello di «Vincenzo Cuoco». Tale intitolazione, spiegava il professore nell'adunanza del Consiglio dei docenti del 30 luglio 1897, rendeva merito all'illustre molisano ed esaudiva il desiderio della cittadinanza «espresso invano al Governo di correggere lo sbaglio commesso nel '63 e vedere ribattezzato il Liceo-Ginnasio col nome del Cuoco»¹³².

Intanto, tra la classe dirigente e gli organi direttivi della scuola si discusse sull'opportunità di provvedere a una formazione funzionale alle professioni pratiche e meglio rispondente alle caratteristiche economiche del territorio. La vocazione agricola del territorio, infatti, fece propendere il Consiglio scolastico per istituire presso la scuola, tra quelle indicate dal MPI dal R.D. n. 488 del 25 ottobre 1898¹³³, la sezione di agricoltura¹³⁴.

¹²⁸ Relazione finale della Regia Scuola Tecnica di Campobasso dell'a.s. 1893-94 del direttore Michele Dardanelli del 23 luglio 1894, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole Tecniche (1860-1896), b. 54, f. 311.

¹²⁹ ACP, Seduta del 18 giugno 1894, Campobasso, Stab. Tipografico ditta G. e N. Colitti, 1894, p. 29.

¹³⁰ *Relazione finale della Regia Scuola Tecnica di Campobasso dell'a.s. 1893-94 del direttore Michele Dardanelli del 23 luglio 1894*, cit.

¹³¹ *Relazione sulla Regia Scuola tecnica di Campobasso del direttore Michele Dardanelli del 28 novembre 1896*, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1860-1896), b. 8, f. 52.

¹³² *Copia della deliberazione del Consiglio degli insegnanti della Scuola Tecnica del 30 luglio 1897; R.D. del 29 dicembre 1898 con il quale la R. Scuola Tecnica di Campobasso viene intitolata col nome di "Vincenzo Cuoco"*, in ACS, MPI, DGIM, AG, b. 124. f. 44.

¹³³ Il decreto mirava a riordinare alcune scuole tecniche indirizzandole ai bisogni dell'agricoltura, dell'industria, del commercio e dei pubblici servizi d'indole tecnica nell'obiettivo di formare «i giovani veramente atti ai traffici, per le industrie agricole e manifatturiere». R.D. del 25 ottobre, n. 488 *che indirizza alcune scuole tecniche ai bisogni dell'agricoltura, dell'industria e del commercio e dei pubblici servizi di indole tecnica* in *Raccolta Ufficiale delle leggi e dei decreti del Regno d'Italia*, Parte principale, Roma, Stamperia Reale, 1898, Vol. III, p. 2669.

¹³⁴ *Riforma di alcune scuole tecniche. Risposta del 3 gennaio 1899 del Consiglio scolastico provinciale di Molise al ministro della Pubblica Istruzione alla circolare del 19 novembre 1898*, in ACS, MPI, DGIM, AG, (1897-1910), b. 124. f. 44.

Gli orientamenti ministeriali solleccitarono in seguito le amministrazioni locali a insistere per fondare in città un corso di studi professionalizzante. Da questo momento s'intensificarono gli sforzi e i dibattiti tra i politici locali per l'istituzione di una scuola di arti e mestieri. La Camera di Commercio di Campobasso nel 1896 consultò il MAIC e i direttori delle scuole di arti e mestieri di Udine e di Bologna per ottenere indicazioni utili per fondarne una a Campobasso¹³⁵. La Provincia di Molise non voleva che il nuovo secolo la cogliesse ancora una volta impreparata. I tempi erano maturi per realizzare finalmente, dopo più di mezzo secolo dalla prima proposta, la sua scuola per i tecnici dell'industria¹³⁶.

7. *L'Istituto Tecnico di Campobasso: tra proposte e tentate aperture (1892-1894)*

Stabilite le scuole tecniche governative di Agnone e Campobasso, in provincia si fece sempre più forte l'esigenza di fondare un istituto tecnico. L'istituto avrebbe: messo fine alla diaspora di studenti verso altre provincie; offerto la possibilità ai licenziati delle scuole tecniche che non potevano trasferirsi fuori provincia di proseguire gli studi in sede; ottenuto il miglioramento delle tecniche di produzione delle aziende locali; ridotto il numero degli spostati, ovvero, dei giovani che, non avendo potuto completare gli studi tecnici, non possedevano un profilo professionale definito. Tali considerazioni alla fine degli anni Ottanta riempivano sempre più spesso le pagine dei giornali locali. La redazione del periodico isernino «Il Grillo» nel 1887, interpretando un sentimento diffuso, invitò i deputati molisani in Parlamento a fornire la

¹³⁵ Nel repertorio delle delibere della Camera di Commercio di Campobasso del 16 marzo 1896 alla voce *Studio per l'impianto di una scuola d'arti e mestieri in Campobasso*, si legge: «Il Presidente riferisce che per secondare il desiderio più volte espresso da ciascuno dei componenti questo consiglio, di impiantare in questa città una scuola d'arti e mestieri, prima di venire a qualsiasi proposta, ha interpellato il Ministero di Agricoltura Industria e Commercio per sapere quali istituti di tale natura fiorenti in Italia, diano i migliori risultati congiunti alla massima economia, a cui allo scopo di avere dei dati pratici sui quali poter formulare delle proposte concrete rispondenti ai bisogni dei cittadini messi in relazione al modo di provvedere all'esito occorrente all'uopo. Il lodato Ministero con nota in data 20 gennaio n. 447 si è compiaciuta di far sapere a questa Presidenza che gl'istituti di cui si chiedevano i nomi sono quelli di Bologna, dire di Udine. In seguito si scrisse ai Direttori dei prefati Istituti, per avere copie degli statuti, regolamenti, programmi e tutte le altre notizie relative allo impianto di essi, e tutti hanno cortesemente risposto all'invito, per cui si è in grado di poter esibire, come si esibisce alla Camera una raccolta di notizie sufficienti a cominciare gli studi per l'impianto che vorrebbe farsi in Campobasso della scuola di arti e mestieri». ASCb, Camera di Commercio, Repertorio delle delibere, n. 136.

¹³⁶ L'istituzione della Scuola di arti e mestieri fu avanzata la prima volta in Provincia nel 1843. *Scuola di arti e mestieri*, Consiglio distrettuale di Campobasso, Seduta del 20 marzo 1843, in ASCb, Intendenza di Molise b. 74, f. 68.

provincia almeno di un istituto tecnico. Nel numero del 18 settembre, si legge: «Per noi sarebbe una manna: avremmo, certamente, sensibile diminuzione degli spostati, miglioramento immenso nelle arti e nelle industrie. Ma i deputati del Molise che ne pensano?»¹³⁷.

A prendere l'iniziativa fu ancora una volta la città di Campobasso. Una serie di circostanze favorevoli incoraggiarono nel 1892 il Consiglio comunale, capeggiato dal sindaco Magno, a tentare la realizzazione del progetto. Il risparmio di spesa nel bilancio comunale di quell'anno, ottenuto dalla detrazione del sussidio alla Scuola Normale maschile che era stata dichiarata governativa, e dell'affitto dei locali della Scuola Tecnica, trasferita presso il palazzo municipale, offrì l'occasione al Consiglio comunale per tentare l'avvio del primo corso dell'istituto. Il progetto trovava, inoltre, il sostegno del corpo docente, disponibile a prestare servizio in cambio di una «discreta retribuzione». Il 26 ottobre dello stesso anno la giunta comunale deliberò la decisione e la trasmise alla Prefettura. La redazione de «Il Sannio» nel novembre pubblicò il manifesto dell'Istituto Tecnico municipale, che sarebbe stato inaugurato il giorno 15 dello stesso mese. Presso l'istituto, diretto dal Prof. Michele Dardanelli della Regia Scuola Tecnica, avrebbero insegnato: il Prof. Flaminio Pellegrini del R. Liceo Mario Pagano (lettere italiane); Prof. Giacomo Mola del R. Liceo Mario Pagano (matematica); Prof. Michele Dardanelli (storia generale e geografia); Prof. Achille Guberti (francese); Prof. Giuseppe Abetini (disegno); Prof. Giovanni Lepore (storia naturale). Una volta aperto l'istituto si sarebbe avviata la pratica per ottenerne il pareggiamento «per modo» – scriveva l'autore dell'articolo – «che i giovani possano essere iscritti, senza bisogno di altri esami, ai corsi di qualsiasi altro Istituto del Regno»¹³⁸. Una serie di intoppi burocratici distolsero l'amministrazione dal portare a termine l'impresa. La Prefettura rimandò indietro la richiesta affinché fosse perfezionata. Il MPI si era mostrato perplesso ad autorizzare a impiegare presso l'istituto i docenti e il medesimo direttore della Scuola Tecnica. Così riassunse la vicenda l'allora sindaco Mercurio Magno:

La Giunta non mancò di prendere una deliberazione di urgenza sul riguardo nel 26 ottobre ultimo, che fu subito trasmessa alla R. prefettura, la quale però nel 4 novembre p.p. la rinviò senza alcun provvedimento affinché la medesima fosse sottoposta al consiglio comunale, per esaminarla e ponderarla bene, e provvedere ai mezzi per sopperire alle spese, avvertendo che se ciò importasse aumento di sovrainposta, occorrerà innanzi tutto conseguire l'autorizzazione per eccederne i limiti, e quindi sarà opportuno che lo affare sia discusso insieme al bilancio del prossimo venturo esercizio, sul quale dovrebbe gravare interamente la spesa. Inoltre il R. Ministero della pubblica istruzione ha incontrato difficoltà a consentire che si prestassero il Direttore e i Professori della scuola tecnica, ed ha manifestato essere necessaria la preventiva autorizzazione. Dietro domanda a corredarsi di documenti per giudicare se la istruzione corrisponda alle prescrizioni di legge, avvertendo che gli studi del

¹³⁷ *Di palo in frasca*, «Il Grillo», n. 38, 18 settembre 1887, p. 2.

¹³⁸ *R. Istituto Tecnico*, «Il Sannio», n. 366, 15 novembre 1892, p. 3.

cennato primo corso d'istituto tecnico non possono avere nessun effetto legale. In questo stato di cose la Giunta non saprebbe fare di meglio che rimandare al nuovo anno l'apertura per meglio comporre il personale insegnante, e determinare gli onorarii, che naturalmente saranno maggiori, ed avere professori non occupati in altre lezioni¹³⁹.

L'istituto non aprì nemmeno l'anno seguente. La giunta comunale che aveva sostenuto il progetto cadde e quella che le successe non lo portò a termine. Il nuovo sindaco, Francesco Bucci, nel marzo di quell'anno a sua discolpa indicò la causa della mancata attuazione nel difetto del progetto iniziale:

Plaudendo alla iniziativa presa dalla Giunta, non posso con essa convenire circa la dichiarazione di economia della partita di lire 1600, la quale doveva meritare le stesse considerazioni fatte per l'apertura dell'Istituto tecnico, a prescindere dall'indiscutibile obbligo che ha il Comune di pagare annualmente all'amministrazione Provinciale le dette lire 1,600. Oltre a ciò, osservo che se la pratica relativa alla proposta in discorso, fosse stata ben ponderata e meglio studiata, o la proposta non si sarebbe fatta, oppure si sarebbe presentata alla discussione del Consiglio (non vedendo la ragione della deliberazione di urgenza della Giunta), e forse in questo anno, salvo a vedere se il bilancio ne avesse potuto sopportare la spesa, avremmo avuto il primo corso d'Istituto tecnico¹⁴⁰.

All'interruzione dell'iniziativa la città non si rassegnò facilmente. La redazione de «Il Molise» il 16 settembre del 1893, a conclusione di un articolo che riassumeva i risultati degli esami degli 11 licenziati della Scuola Tecnica, invitò il delegato straordinario di «rifare mano alle pratiche, già intraprese dallo sciolto Municipio, per l'impianto di qualche classe dell'istituto tecnico [...]»¹⁴¹. Un anno dopo il 18 giugno 1894 il Consiglio provinciale deliberò all'unanimità l'avvio del 1° e 2° corso d'Istituto Tecnico a Campobasso¹⁴².

Le notizie dell'Istituto Tecnico si fermano qui. Nei bilanci di previsione contenuti negli atti del Consiglio provinciale dal 1894 al 1899 accanto alla voce di spesa per le scuole tecniche di Agnone e di Campobasso non compare quella relativa all'Istituto. La mancanza di altri riferimenti, sia nella documentazione reperita presso l'Archivio Centrale dello Stato sia nella stampa periodica locale, autorizza a pensare che l'istituto non fu più avviato. Probabilmente il progetto fu soppiantato da quello della scuola di arti e mestieri i cui costi non consentivano la prosecuzione di altre iniziative simili. I locali, le officine, il corredo di macchine e di strumenti di cui necessitava la nuova scuola richiedevano agli enti locali uno sforzo finanziario notevole.

¹³⁹ *Relazione sul bilancio preventivo dell'anno 1893 della Città di Campobasso del sindaco Cav. Mercurio Magno, tornata 15 dicembre 1892*, Campobasso, Tipografia e cartoleria Jamiceli, 1892, pp. 5-6.

¹⁴⁰ *Poche osservazioni alle relazioni sul bilancio presuntivo del conto 1891 della Città di Campobasso*, Campobasso, Stab. Tip. Ditta Giovanni e Nicola Colitti, 1893, pp. 6-7.

¹⁴¹ *Scuola Tecnica*, «Il Molise», n. 12, 16 settembre 1893, p. 4.

¹⁴² ACP, Seduta del 18 giugno 1894, Campobasso, Stab. Tipografico ditta G. e N. Colitti, 1894, p. 29.

8. *L'istruzione tecnica a Isernia all'indomani dell'Unità*

La Scuola Tecnica municipale di Isernia nacque nel 1872, dopo tre anni rispetto a quelle di Campobasso e di Agnone. Eppure, Isernia fu la città che rispetto agli altri centri della provincia, già all'indomani dell'Unità, si mostrò particolarmente sensibile al progetto di progresso economico sostenuto dal ceto liberale dirigente di ala progressista, fondato sulla diffusione e sul potenziamento delle scuole professionali e di quelle a indirizzo tecnico previste dalla legge Casati.

Il Comune pentro, infatti, già il 31 ottobre del 1861 deliberò l'istituzione oltre che del ginnasio, di una scuola teorico-pratica di agricoltura e di un Orto Agrario. La scuola e l'orto agrario non sorsero. L'amministrazione comunale ritenne l'impresa due anni dopo. Il 20 agosto 1863 il Municipio di Isernia inviò al MAIC la richiesta per istituire «una scuola tecnico pratica di agriconomia, coll'aggiunta di un orto agrario sperimentale». Prima di rispondere, il MAIC chiese al prefetto della Provincia di Molise di verificare la convenienza, fattività e la disponibilità dei Comuni e della Provincia a partecipare all'elevazione della scuola. Il Consiglio provinciale nella seduta del 14 settembre del 1864 rispose affermativamente suggerendo di estendere l'iniziativa anche ai comuni di Campobasso e Larino¹⁴³. Le scuole non furono aperte in nessuno dei tre centri. Il Consiglio provinciale nella seduta del 12 settembre del 1865 deliberò di stornare dal bilancio la voce di spesa relativa stanziata l'anno precedente¹⁴⁴. La giunta comunale del capoluogo pentro, abbandonata l'idea di aprire la scuola di agricoltura, deliberò di fondare un istituto tecnico e un asilo infantile. L'istituto tecnico sarebbe sorto, con il sostegno di alcune rendite e della carità cittadina, nei locali – se si fosse ottenuta l'autorizzazione – dei monasteri dei Padri Cappuccini e dei Minori Osservanti. Anche questa proposta cadde nel vuoto. Il motivo risiedeva nella qualità delle proposte stesse: troppo ambiziose per le dimensioni industriali ed economiche del territorio. Lo sosteneva il sottoprefetto di Isernia de Feo in una nota indirizzata al sindaco del 13 aprile del 1865. Prima di trasmettere la richiesta al ministro dell'Interno, de Feo invitò, infatti, il sindaco a considerare alcune difficoltà intrinseche al progetto. Scriveva:

Per potersi stabilire un siffatto Istituto nell'uno o nell'altro de'cennati Conventi è necessaria pria di ogni altra cosa, una serie non piccola di modificazioni, le quali richiedono una spesa significativa. A nessuno può entrare in mente la idea di aprire lo Istituto in uno di due locali nello Stato in cui si trovano. Ma ciò è poco. Modificato il locale così da renderlo atto ad aprirsi in Istituto bisogna provvedere a mobiliarlo completamente, e corredarlo di tutta quella quantità di macchine, senza le quali gl'Istituti tecnici non possono esistere. E mobili e macchine richiedono una grande spesa; ma ciò anche è poco. Mancando ogni sorta di

¹⁴³ ACP, Seduta del 14 settembre 1864, Campobasso, Stamperia Solomone, 1865, pp. 144-145.

¹⁴⁴ ACP, Seduta del 12 settembre 1865, Campobasso, Tipografia Luigi Solomone, 1866, p. 68.

rendite proprie dell'Istituto che si vuol fondare, né potendo farsi assegnamento sopra sussidi dello Stato o della Provincia, come si provvederebbe alle molte spese annuali ordinarie pel mantenimento dell'Istituto, e specialmente agli Stipendii de'Professori, i quali dovrebbero essere ben pagati per aversi ottimi o almeno buoni?¹⁴⁵

Il sottoprefetto invitò la giunta municipale ad abbandonare, quindi, il progetto che giudicava «poco attuabile e a sostenerne vigorosamente un altro attuabilissimo» che prevedeva la conversione del seminario in ginnasio, del quale l'istituto tecnico avrebbe costituito parte integrante. Solo dopo si sarebbe potuto pensare a realizzare il disegno iniziale di annesso al ginnasio la scuola di agricoltura. De Feo affermava:

Ora io credo che la miglior cosa e la più fattibile prontamente sarebbe quella di domandare al Governo del re che il Seminario di questa Città sia convertito in Ginnasio, rimanendo a quanto assegnato tutte le rendite che il seminario possiede [...] Il Consiglio comunale con la sua deliberazione, insistendo per siffatta conversione, dichiarerebbe: 1. Di provvedere ai propri mezzi, in aggiunta alle suddette rendite, alle spese necessarie per le modificazioni da apportarsi al locale, e per tutt'altro che occorre a fini di metterlo in tale stato da servire ad uso di Ginnasio Circondariale. 2. di provvedere all'annuo mantenimento del Ginnasio ed al personale con le rendite stesse, con le somme mensili che si corrisponderebbero dagli alunni interni, e con propri mezzi, salvo il concorso di tutti i Comuni del Circondario. 3. Di provvedere in prosiegua allo Stabilimento di un Istituto tecnico da formar parte integrale del Ginnasio, riferendosi poi istituire nel modo conveniente una Scuola teorico-pratica di Agricoltura¹⁴⁶.

Nel distretto di Isernia il livello di attenzione attorno all'istruzione tecnica, dunque, era alto, ma non sufficiente per realizzare nessuno dei progetti discussi. I tempi erano prematuri. La conversione del seminario era fuori discussione: la Chiesa e l'ala conservatrice liberale della dirigenza locale ostacolarono l'operazione¹⁴⁷. Presso il seminario non sorse né il ginnasio, né altro. Apriranno altrove qualche anno più tardi.

¹⁴⁵ *Scuola ginnasiale ed Istituto Tecnico*, Nota del sottoprefetto della Provincia di Isernia al sindaco della città di Isernia, Isernia 13 aprile 1865, in ASCIs, b. 89, f. 1038.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ di Lullo scriveva: «Ma il governo fu sempre sordo ai giusti voti di questa cittadinanza, forse per la nuova tendenza della politica ecclesiastica, per la quale – continuava parafrasando Marinelli in una lettera del 21 maggio 1871 – della facoltà usata nel 1865 di convertire i seminari in istituti laici non si usava più ora che i seminari erano per riprendere la loro vita sotto l'ombra della libertà della Chiesa». Naufragato il progetto della conversione, il comune tentò di istituire nel seminario, col concorso del Municipio, accanto al ginnasio-convitto per i chierici, un ginnasio-convitto laico, per ben tre volte: la prima nel 1871, la seconda nel 1873 e l'ultimo nel 1876. *Monografia del ginnasio "O. Fascielli" di Isernia compilata dal direttore di Lullo nel 1923*, in ASCIs, b. 89.

9. *La Scuola Tecnica municipale di Isernia (1871-1873)*

Il Consiglio comunale di Isernia deliberò l'istituzione della Scuola Tecnica il 22 luglio 1871 che fu approvata dal Consiglio provinciale scolastico il 23 settembre 1871. La vicenda è riassunta nella monografia del 1923 del Ginnasio O. Fascitelli di Isernia compilata dal direttore di Lullo, reperita presso l'Archivio storico comunale di Isernia. Nel documento si legge:

la prima volta il Consiglio comunale deliberò l'impianto delle scuole tecniche, come quelle forse che importavano minore onere la comune, «facendo voti che il Real Governo e la Provincia si benignassero di concorrere nelle spese d'impianto e mantenimento di dette scuole». E il Consiglio provinciale scolastico nella tornata del 23 settembre 1871 approvò questo impianto, congratulandosi del Consiglio Comunale della iniziativa presa tendente a sollevare la coltura delle classi artigiane ed agricole del Circondario. E la scuola tecnica infatti incominciò a funzionare nel novembre del 1871. La seconda volta il Consiglio Comunale deliberò di aggiungere alle scuole tecniche le ginnasiali, che infatti incominciarono a funzionare nel novembre del 1873¹⁴⁸.

Le notizie della scuola tecnica sono scarse e si concentrano nel breve periodo compreso tra il 1871 e il 1873. Le relazioni sulla scuola scritte dal direttore Nicola Sbrocco nel 1872, indirizzate al sindaco di Isernia e alla Commissione dell'inchiesta sull'istruzione secondaria promossa dal ministro Scialoja (1872-1875), forniscono pochi dati utili per ricomporre il quadro dettagliato dell'istituzione relativamente al corpo docente, alla composizione della scolarasca e alla fisionomia dei locali. Nei due documenti, come pure nel lungo articolo pubblicato su «Il suggeritore» del 1873, il direttore fornisce più che altro la sua personale visione sull'istruzione tecnica in generale, senza fornire ragguagli sulla scuola che dirigeva. Qualche informazione utile per abbozzare il quadro dell'istituzione proviene da: il regolamento della scuola, approvato nel 1872; un articolo dell'ottobre dello stesso anno sull'esito degli esami degli alunni firmato dal professore di lingua italiana, storia e geografia Carlo Andreucci; la relazione sulle scuole tecniche della provincia del provveditore agli studi Francesco Antonio Marinelli del novembre del 1873¹⁴⁹. Dalla lettura dei citati documenti si appura, per esempio, che all'epoca dell'inaugurazione, avvenuta il 21 maggio del 1872, la scuola, comprendeva soltanto il primo anno e un corso preparatorio. Le due classi – in attesa della costruzione della casa comunale dove avrebbe avuto sede la scuola tecnica – furono ospitate presso l'edificio alle scuole elementari.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Regolamento disciplinare interno per le Scuole Tecniche della Città di Isernia, approvato dal Consiglio comunale nella seduta del 6 Maggio 1872*, in ASCIs, b. 88, f. 1026; «La Palestra del Sannio», n. 33, 23 ottobre, 1872, p. 2; *Relazione sulle Scuole Tecniche della Provincia di Molise del Regio Provveditore Francesco Antonio Marinelli del 1873*, in ACS, MPI, DSM, Scuole tecniche (1861-1910), b. 43.

L'apertura tardiva della scuola costrinse a concentrare il calendario delle lezioni da maggio a settembre e a prevedere due ingressi giornalieri: dalle 6 alle 6 e $\frac{1}{4}$ al mattino e dalle 5 alle 5 e $\frac{1}{4}$ al pomeriggio¹⁵⁰. Il calendario fu ulteriormente aggravato con le lezioni aggiuntive di lingua italiana. Alle 2 ore previste dalle disposizioni ministeriali il professore Andreucci ne aggiunse altre 3¹⁵¹. La scelta fu dettata dal basso livello di conoscenza della lingua nazionale posseduto dagli allievi. Tale deficit non permetteva a giudizio del professore di osservare rigidamente le disposizioni ministeriali al riguardo e di procedere oltre l'insegnamento della grammatica. Per gli alunni le lezioni di grammatica non rappresentarono una ripetizione, ma «il primo incontro». Il rendimento fu mediocre anche negli altri insegnamenti, fatta eccezione per quelli di matematica e di disegno. Tale lacuna derivava dall'impreparazione ereditata dalle scuole elementari. Il provveditore Marinelli nella relazione sulle scuole tecniche della provincia del 1873 scriveva:

Nelle altre materie il profitto non potette essere che mediocre, perché l'apparecchio dell'anno antecedente non giunse a riempire i vuoti che que' giovani sentivano pel difetto di studii elementari bene ordinati¹⁵².

Il rendimento risultava, inoltre, compromesso dal fatto che molti studenti erano anche lavoratori. Sui 20 che sostennero gli esami finali, 12 svolgevano un lavoro al di fuori dell'orario scolastico¹⁵³.

La presenza della Scuola Tecnica stimolò l'interesse in città verso i percorsi formativi degli operai. Nicola Sbrocco, a chiusura di un suo lungo articolo sull'educazione tecnica pubblicato nel 1873 su «Il suggeritore», di cui era direttore, sollecitò il Comune ad aprire una Scuola di disegno applicato all'industria e una di agricoltura. Per la prima, aveva già dato la sua disponibilità ad insegnarvi gratuitamente il signor Buonpensieri, valente professore di disegno. Affermava:

La volontà di un uomo non è bastata in Isernia a dare sviluppo all'istruzione elementare, vita alle tecniche, incoraggiamento alle ginnasiali. Manca una scuola speciale di agricoltura e di disegno applicato alle arti ed ai mestieri. Il signor Buonpensieri, valente professore di disegno, si è offerto con santa carità cittadina di dare gratuitamente queste ultime lezioni,

¹⁵⁰ *Regolamento disciplinare interno per le Scuole Tecniche della Città di Isernia, approvato dal Consiglio comunale nella seduta del 6 Maggio 1872, cit.*

¹⁵¹ *Relazione che in ordine al quadrimestrale insegnamento – Lingua italiana, Storia e Geografia – dato nel corso preparatorio alla Scuola Tecnica municipale di Isernia – lesse ne giorno 11 ottobre 1872 nel darsi dagli allievi pubblico sperimento di lor profitto- L'insegnante Domenico Andreucci, «La Palestra del Sannio», n. 33, 23 ottobre 1872, p. 2.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

purché abbia locale acconcio e materiale scolastico: un maestro di agricoltura non è difficile a trovare: su via dunque, questa volontà ferma, tenace e tanto presa dal bene del popolo compia tant'opera, e metta su pel vegnente corso queste due scuole; renda le scuole tecniche di Isernia tali che da esse altri Comuni faccian ritratto [...] ¹⁵⁴.

L'entusiasmo del direttore non trovava riscontro nella realtà. Di lì a poco chiusero sia le scuole tecniche sia quelle ginnasiali. Il direttore di Lullo riassunse così la vicenda:

Ma così le une e le altre, venuti a mancar gl'invocati sussidi, vissero stentatamente e con poco e niun profitto; tanto che il Municipio dapprima cercò affidarli a privati sussidiati dal Comune, e poscia, fallito anche il progetto di una specie di istituto-convitto consorziale tra tutti i comuni del Circondario, ne deliberò la chiusura ¹⁵⁵.

Chiusa la Scuola Tecnica la città di Isernia restò senza un percorso di studi tecnici fino agli inizi del secolo successivo. La Regia Scuola Artistico Industriale sarà fondata soltanto nel 1908.

¹⁵⁴ «Il suggeritore», n. 3, 1873, pp. 42-43.

¹⁵⁵ *Monografia del ginnasio "O. Fascitelli" di Isernia compilata dal direttore di Lullo nel 1923*, cit.

Cattolici, educazione e scuola nei primi anni dell'Unione popolare (1906-1909)

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Catholics, education and schools in the early period of the Unione Popolare (1906-1909)

The paper intends to illustrate the stance taken by the Unione Popolare Cattolica Italiana concerning education and schools. As is well known, the Unione Popolare, together with the Unione Elettorale and the Unione Economico-Sociale, unified the Catholic movement by virtue of the new asset promoted by the encyclical *Il Fermo Proposito* (11th June 1905). Despite not having received the attention it deserved from historians of the Catholic education in Giolittian era, the Unione Popolare actually took active part in the political debate on education of the time, which revolved around the theme of school laity and the transition of primary school management from the municipalities to the State. Through the analysis of coeval material – both published but not adequately appreciated, and unpublished (in particular the «Carte Toniolo» in the Vatican Apostolic Library) –, the paper intends to fill a gap in the respective literature and reconstruct the initiatives promoted by the Unione in its early years, namely from 1906 to 1909. During this period, the foundations of the new organization were laid under the influential presidency of Giuseppe Toniolo. I intend to document the continuity, as well as the innovations, found in the positions adopted by the Unione Popolare with regard to the opinions formerly expressed by the Catholic movement. This will be achieved by analyzing material from three key sources; the lessons on education that were held during the «Settimane sociali» of the time, the discussion that took place during the Genoa Congress on education (1908), and the advertising material produced by the Unione Popolare.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Popular Education; Catholicism; Principles of Education; Italy; XX Century.

Premessa

Durante l'età giolittiana, due principi fondamentali dell'azione dei cattolici in ambito scolastico – ovvero l'obbligatorietà dell'istruzione religiosa e la libertà di insegnamento – subivano significativi attacchi e da parte della legislazione

emanata in quel periodo e da parte del dibattito politico-scolastico e pedagogico. Infatti, mentre sia la Legge Orlando dell'8 luglio 1904 sia la Daneo-Credaro del 4 giugno 1911 intendevano arginare la piaga dell'analfabetismo e consolidare l'istruzione popolare con un intervento sempre più deciso dello Stato¹, la presenza dell'insegnamento religioso nella scuola primaria – l'unico ordine in cui esso sopravviveva, sia pure in forma facoltativa – veniva fortemente messa in discussione². La Mozione Bissolati, che chiedeva l'abolizione dell'insegnamento catechetico nelle elementari e discussa alla fine del febbraio del 1908, fu bocciata³, tuttavia il Regolamento Rava dello stesso anno andava nel senso di un ulteriore restringimento degli spazi della religione nella scuola primaria, la cui attivazione era ora soggetta alla decisione della maggioranza del Consiglio comunale.

Si tratta di fatti noti, su cui le ricerche di storia dell'educazione si sono già da tempo soffermate, così come sono state indagate le posizioni espresse dai cattolici in merito a tali vicende⁴. In proposito, però, va detto che una peculiare attenzione è stata rivolta a chi, come ad esempio gli uomini della Lega Democratica Nazionale, nel quadro del riformismo religioso e politico, metteva in discussione le ragioni che tradizionalmente avevano sostenuto le lotte per quei principi⁵. Studi sono stati altresì svolti sulle battaglie condotte dai maestri

¹ In proposito, per il momento, ci si limita a rinviare ai seguenti studi sulla scuola in età giolittiana: E. De Fort, *La scuola elementare dall'Unità alla caduta del fascismo*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1996, pp. 199-309; L. Pazzaglia, *La scuola fra Stato e società negli anni dell'età giolittiana*, in L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita. Dalla Legge Casati al Centro-Sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001, pp. 171-211; R. Sani, *Sub specie educationis. Studi e ricerche su istruzione, istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formativi nell'Italia contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2011, pp. 381-407.

² Sulle vicende dell'insegnamento religioso nella scuola italiana fra Unità e primi del Novecento cfr. C. Betti, *La religione a scuola tra obbligo e facoltatività*, vol. I (1859-1923), Firenze, Manzuoli, 1989; Ead., *Sapienza e timor di Dio. La religione a scuola nel nostro secolo*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1992; E. Butturini, *La religione a scuola. Dall'Unità ad oggi*, Brescia, Queriniana, 1987, pp. 9-33.

³ Si vedano: A. Aquarone (ed.), *Lo Stato catechista*, Firenze, Parenti, 1961; L. Pazzaglia, *Stato laico e insegnamento religioso in alcuni dibattiti del primo Novecento (1902-1908)*, «Pedagogia e Vita», n. 4, 1980-1981, pp. 379-416 (in specie pp. 388 ss.); Betti, *La religione a scuola tra obbligo e facoltatività*, cit., pp. 196-250; Ead., *Sapienza e timor di Dio*, cit., pp. 1-81.

⁴ Oltre agli studi citati nella nota precedente, si veda C. Betti, *Religione e Patria. Cattolici e scuola nell'età giolittiana*, Firenze, Centro Editoriale Toscano, 1994.

⁵ In merito cfr. L. Pazzaglia, *L'intervento del Fogazzaro al Senato nella discussione sul progetto di legge Orlando (2 luglio 1904)*, in *Studi di letteratura e di storia in memoria di Antonio di Pietro*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 1977, pp. 332-369; P.A. Carozzi, *L'introduzione della Storia delle religioni nell'insegnamento universitario italiano: il contributo di Uberto Pestalozza e di Tommaso Gallarati Scotti*, «Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni», n. 49, 1983, pp. 389-415; L. Pazzaglia, *Cultura religiosa e libertà d'insegnamento nella riflessione di Tommaso Gallarati Scotti*, in F. De Giorgi, N. Raponi (edd.), *Rinnovamento religioso e impegno civile in Tommaso Gallarati Scotti*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 1994, pp. 91-136; L. Pazzaglia, *Tommaso Gallarati Scotti lettore delle «Cinque Piaghe»*, in M. Marocchi, F. De Giorgi (edd.), *Il 'gran disegno' di Rosmini. Origine, fortuna e profezia delle «Cinque piaghe della Santa Chiesa»*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 1999, pp. 213-244.

cattolici riuniti nell'associazione «Nicolò Tommaseo» sorta nel 1906, anche se la sua origine in polemica con l'Unione Magistrale Nazionale, sempre più attestata su posizioni anticlericali, e la sua azione nelle diverse regioni italiane attendono ancora una ricostruzione unitaria⁶. Non sono mancate, infine, ricerche più specifiche sulla presenza dei cattolici nell'ambito dell'editoria educativo-scolastica e della letteratura per l'infanzia⁷.

Meno messa a fuoco e più lasciata sullo sfondo delle ricostruzioni richiamate, la posizione assunta in tema di educazione e scuola dall'Unione popolare cattolica italiana che, come è noto, insieme all'Unione elettorale e a quella economico-sociale raccoglieva il movimento cattolico in virtù del nuovo assetto promosso dall'Enciclica *Il fermo proposito* (11 giugno 1905). Istituita nel 1906, con compiti di formazione e di preparazione alle diverse attività dei cattolici, essa era strumento di organizzazione del popolo attorno alla gerarchia ecclesiastica per la difesa e la promozione dei principi religiosi nella società e nella vita civile⁸. La concordia interna e l'obbedienza alle direttive della Santa Sede erano garantite da un ordinamento su base diocesana, posto sotto la stretta sorveglianza dei Vescovi. Nello specifico l'Unione popolare si proponeva «di educare la coscienza pubblica specialmente in ordine ai doveri etico-spirituali del paese [...] di fronte al laicismo di fuori e alle scissure disciplinari e dogmatiche al di dentro!»⁹. Di qui, costante fu l'attenzione per i provvedimenti governativi riguardanti la scuola, specie quella elementare, e per il confronto molto vivo in quel periodo nel Paese sulle questioni educative.

Tuttavia, mentre sono stati approfonditi gli atteggiamenti tenuti dall'Opera dei Congressi in tema di educazione e scuola nei trent'anni della sua vita

⁶ Sulle origini e sulle iniziative promosse dalla «Nicolò Tommaseo» fra età giolittiana e prima metà degli anni Venti si vedano: F. Manzotti, *Il movimento magistrale cattolico e lo Stato liberale*, «Rassegna storica del Risorgimento», a. 52, n. 4, 1965, pp. 463-488; L. Pazzaglia, *L'associazionismo magistrale cattolico: la vicenda della Nicolò Tommaseo*, in Id. (ed.), *Cattolici, educazione e trasformazioni socio-culturali in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1999, pp. 529-593; C. Ghizzoni, *Cultura magistrale nella Lombardia del primo Novecento. Il contributo di Maria Magnocavallo (1869-1956)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2005, pp. 210 ss.

⁷ Cfr. R. Sani, *L'editoria scolastica cattolica tra età giolittiana e ventennio fascista: il caso della Società Editrice Internazionale (SEI) di Torino e dell'Editrice La Scuola di Brescia*, in Id., *Sub specie educationis*, cit., pp. 479-495; S. Fava, *La letteratura per l'infanzia tra fine Ottocento e Grande Guerra: un terreno di contesa o di conciliazione tra laici e cattolici?*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 6, n. 2, 2011, pp. 203-227 (in specie pp. 209 ss.).

⁸ Sull'Unione popolare, si vedano tra gli altri: G. De Rosa, *L'azione cattolica. Storia politica dal 1905 al 1919*, Vol. II, Bari, Laterza, 1954; Id., *Il movimento cattolico in Italia. Dalla Restaurazione all'età giolittiana*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1988, pp. 252 ss.; S. Tramontin, *Unione Popolare*, in *Dizionario storico del movimento cattolico in Italia 1860-1980*, diretto da F. Traniello, G. Campanini, Casale Monferrato, Marietti, 1981, Vol. I/2, pp. 394-395; D. Veneruso, *L'azione Cattolica durante i pontificati di Pio X e di Benedetto XV*, Roma, AVE, 1984, pp. 13-30.

⁹ *A Sua Santità Pio X, ottobre 1907*, in G. Toniolo, *Lettere*, III: 1904-1918, raccolte da G. Anichini, ordinate e annotate da N. Vian, Città del Vaticano, Edizione del Comitato Opera omnia di G. Toniolo, 1953, p. 120. La lettera era a firma di G. Toniolo, Emiliano Avogadro della Motta, Guido Garelli, don Giandomenico Pini, Giorgio Castelli, Giuseppe Rosselli, don Adolfo Braccini.

(1874-1904)¹⁰ così come quelli poi assunti dall'Azione Cattolica negli anni del fascismo¹¹, alle decisioni e alle iniziative dell'Unione popolare tra il 1906 e il 1922 non sono stati dedicati studi specifici. Il presente lavoro intende sanare, sia pure in parte, questa lacuna storiografica, ricostruendo le attività promosse in ambito educativo nei primissimi anni di vita dall'organizzazione voluta da Pio X, e più precisamente dalle origini nel 1906 al 1909, allorché cioè, sotto l'autorevole presidenza di Giuseppe Toniolo, si posero le basi dell'azione di questo organismo. Nel colmare tale lacuna, esso mira altresì a lumeggiare ulteriormente l'evolversi dell'agire cattolico nel settore educativo-scolastico fra primi del secolo e Grande Guerra.

1. *Prime iniziative dell'Unione popolare sulla questione scolastica: dalla Settimana sociale di Pistoia (1907) al Congresso di Genova sull'educazione (1908)*

Anche se alle prese con l'organizzazione e la promozione delle proprie attività, sia in relazione con gli altri settori dell'azione cattolica sia a livello diocesano, l'Unione popolare manifestò, fin dall'apertura dell'Ufficio Centrale a Firenze alla fine del 1906, una viva attenzione per la questione scolastica¹². Tale questione, infatti, non solo venne inserita nel programma della prima Settimana sociale, svoltasi a Pistoia nel settembre del 1907, ma, come emergeva agli inizi di quell'anno, la presidenza meditava di tenere «un congresso per l'educazione e l'istruzione popolare». Il proposito, come vedremo, si sarebbe realizzato l'anno successivo, ma già dai primi mesi del 1907 veniva avviata la non facile preparazione dell'evento¹³.

Il fatto che il tema scolastico fosse messo all'ordine del giorno della prima Settimana sociale documenta l'interesse e l'attenzione con cui a questo tema si guardava da parte del nuovo sodalizio cattolico. Infatti, come la storiografia ha sottolineato, una delle iniziative più significative dell'Unione popolare fu la promozione delle Settimane sociali, fortemente volute da Giuseppe

¹⁰ Sugli orientamenti educativo-scolastici dell'Opera dei Congressi si vedano: L. Pazzaglia, *Educazione e scuola nel programma dell'Opera dei Congressi*, in *Cultura e società in Italia nell'età umbertina*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 1981, pp. 420-474; R. Sani, *I periodici scolastici dell'intransigentismo cattolico (1879-1904)*, in G. Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1993, pp. 223-288.

¹¹ Si rinvia in merito a A. Gaudio, *Scuola, Chiesa e fascismo. La scuola cattolica in Italia durante il fascismo (1922-1943)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1995.

¹² Per le azioni intraprese dall'Unione popolare subito dopo l'avvio dell'Ufficio Centrale, si veda G. Bennet, *La questione scolastica e l'Unione Popolare*, «La Settimana Sociale», a. 1, n. 6, 29 febbraio 1908, p. 2.

¹³ G. Toniolo a mons. P. Pisani, 6 febbraio 1907, in Toniolo, *Lettere*, III: 1904-1918, cit., p. 99. Sulla preparazione del Congresso si veda anche *A Sua Santità Pio X, ottobre 1907*, cit., p. 120.

Toniolo¹⁴, quale luogo e momento di riflessione nonché di elaborazione di proposte concrete e operative sui temi più urgenti della questione sociale. Inizialmente politematiche, le prime Settimane sociali prevedevano, accanto a lezioni su la legislazione sociale e i problemi del lavoro, la questione agraria e quella operaia, la famiglia, l'organizzazione professionale, anche interventi sull'istruzione professionale e popolare, sulla libertà di insegnamento e sulla scuola. Al problema scolastico, peraltro, prima della guerra e dunque della loro sospensione fino al 1919, fu dedicata tutta la Settimana sociale di Venezia del 1912¹⁵.

Nel corso della prima Settimana sociale, furono studiati i seguenti aspetti: «Movimento cattolico e azione sociale. Contratti di lavoro. Cooperazione. Organizzazione sindacale. Scuola»¹⁶. Su quest'ultimo punto tenne una relazione il sacerdote Riccardo De Micheli che nello specifico trattò dei *Problemi della scuola popolare*. Egli sollecitava i cattolici a riflettere sulla «importanza e gravità» della questione trattata: la battaglia condotta in molti paesi cattolici a favore della laicità della scuola nonché l'impegno profuso da laici e socialisti per diffondere l'istruzione popolare ne erano la prova. Dopo avere precisato che per scuola popolare in quella sede si intendeva quella primaria, il corso popolare vero e proprio e quella professionale, nonché tutte le opere complementari e integrative della scuola (asili, scuole festive e serali, biblioteche circolanti, università popolari, refezione ecc.), il religioso rilevava che lo sviluppo impresso all'educazione del popolo era assolutamente condivisibile, ma che era compito dei cattolici vigilare affinché esso non avvenisse «senza di loro, e contro di loro»¹⁷. Il sacerdote chiariva che i socialisti intendevano promuovere una scuola popolare obbligatoria da cui non solo fosse bandito l'insegnamento religioso, ma nella quale vi fosse anche un'impostazione culturale scienziata; il mezzo da loro individuato per diffondere tale tipo di istruzione era l'avocazione delle scuole elementari allo Stato.

¹⁴ Non è possibile circoscrivere in una nota indicazioni bibliografiche esaustive su Giuseppe Toniolo (1845-1918), protagonista di punta del movimento cattolico tra Ottocento e Novecento e figura di spicco della cultura cattolica. Sullo stato della ricerca sull'economista cattolico si veda P. Pecorari, *Bilancio storiografico e prospettive di ricerca su Giuseppe Toniolo*, in Id., *Alle origini dell'anticapitalismo cattolico. Due saggi e un bilancio storiografico su Giuseppe Toniolo*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2010, pp. 73-99. In questa sede ci si limita a richiamare le opere di carattere biografico, rinviando alle note successive l'indicazione di contributi più specifici sull'opera del professore pisano: P. Pecorari, *Toniolo Giuseppe*, in *Dizionario storico del movimento cattolico in Italia 1860-1980*, cit., Vol. II (1982), pp. 636-644; D. Sorrentino, *L'economista di Dio. Giuseppe Toniolo*, Roma, AVE, 2012.

¹⁵ Per le Settimane sociali nella fase di avvio, ovvero quella di cui si occupa questo lavoro, si veda *La cultura sociale dei cattolici italiani alle origini. Le «Settimane» dal 1907 al 1913. Materiali documentari per una ricostruzione degli atti*, a cura di A. Robbiati, 3 voll., Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 1995-1996.

¹⁶ Si vedano gli interventi alla Settimana sociale di Pistoia in *La cultura sociale dei cattolici italiani alle origini*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 7-27.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

Insomma già in questo intervento alla prima Settimana sociale emergevano gli obiettivi che avrebbero cadenzato l'impegno dell'Unione popolare – e più in generale dei cattolici – nel periodo preso in esame, ovvero la lotta per il mantenimento dell'insegnamento religioso nelle elementari e quella contro la loro statalizzazione. La relazione di don De Micheli si segnala non tanto per i temi proposti – erano infatti oggetto della riflessione del movimento cattolico da anni – quanto piuttosto per il richiamo ai cattolici a prendere atto dell'urgenza della questione attinente all'educazione popolare, settore nel quale essi erano tradizionalmente attivi anche con loro istituzioni, ma che ora rischiavano di vedersi sottrarre in virtù dell'intraprendenza dei socialisti¹⁸ e per effetto dei provvedimenti legislativi da più parti invocati o varati.

Il richiamo all'azione formulato a Pistoia documentava la consapevolezza presente a livello di presidenza dell'Unione popolare circa l'urgenza del problema scolastico. Come accennato, già nei primi mesi del 1907 essa lavorava all'organizzazione del Congresso su *Istruzione ed educazione cristiana del popolo italiano* in programma a Genova dal 28 al 30 marzo del 1908¹⁹. Le motivazioni per le quali si era giunti alla promozione di quell'evento erano spiegate a più riprese in quei mesi dagli uomini alla guida del movimento cattolico e trovavano una chiara sintesi nella circolare di convocazione del 29 febbraio 1908²⁰, espressione della Direzione generale dell'azione cattolica, da poco costituita e diretta da Toniolo²¹. Dopo le «tristi esperienze di parecchi anni», si legge nel documento in questione, era giunto il momento che i cattolici

¹⁸ S. Pivato, in *Clericalismo e laicismo nella cultura popolare italiana*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1990, parla di «sindrome degli 'avversari'» a proposito dell'atteggiamento che caratterizzò i cattolici nel confronto con i socialisti in tema di educazione popolare (p. 121). Sull'attenzione del Partito Socialista per la questione educativa si vedano: M.G. Rosada, *Le università popolari in Italia 1900-1918*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1975; *Scuola e società nel socialismo riformista (1891-1926). Battaglie per l'istruzione popolare e dibattito sulla «questione femminile»*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1982; P. Zamperlin Turus, *Il P.S.I. e l'educazione: alle origini di un impegno (1892-1914)*, Bologna, Pàtron, 1982; L. Rossi (ed.), *Cultura, istruzione e socialismo nell'età giolittiana*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1991.

¹⁹ Si segnala che l'Unione popolare si dotò di un proprio organo di stampa solo a partire dal 1908: il 19 gennaio di quell'anno usciva, infatti, il primo fascicolo de «La Settimana Sociale». Notizie sulla promozione del Congresso genovese sono state reperite, oltre che sulla pubblicistica a stampa cattolica di cui si darà conto via via nelle note, nella corrispondenza intercorsa fra i dirigenti delle Unioni in questo lasso di tempo. In specie si sono rilevate ricche di notizie le lettere scritte da Toniolo, in parte editate (cfr. G. Toniolo, *Lettere*, I: 1871-1895; *Lettere*, II: 1896-1903; *Lettere*, III: 1904-1918, raccolte da G. Anichini, ordinate e annotate da N. Vian, Città del Vaticano, Edizione del Comitato Opera omnia di G. Toniolo, 1952-1953), e inedite, depositate presso la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (d'ora in poi BAV, *Carteggi Toniolo*). Colgo l'occasione per ringraziare il dott. Paolo Vian, direttore del Dipartimento dei Manoscritti della Biblioteca stessa, per la cortese disponibilità con cui mi ha seguita nella consultazione delle Carte Toniolo.

²⁰ La si veda in *Atti del Congresso per la istruzione ed educazione cristiana del popolo italiano, Genova 28-30 marzo*, Firenze, Stabilimento Tipografico S. Giuseppe, 1908, pp. 7-10.

²¹ Cfr. *Stabilimento di una direzione generale delle associazioni cattoliche. Suoi primi provvedimenti*, «La Civiltà Cattolica», vol. 1, q. 1386, 21 marzo 1908, pp. 743-745.

si raccogliessero in un pubblico convegno per trarre giovamento dall'unità e per «reclamare efficacemente [...] dalle autorità il rispetto dei [...] diritti di cristiani e cittadini»²². L'occasione «concreta e urgente» per un simile evento non mancava ed era data dal «crescere minaccioso dei problemi che [toccavano] a fondo la vita religiosa e morale della nazione e che [...] massimamente si [appuntavano] dovunque, come segnacolo di battaglia, alla laicità della scuola»²³. La questione educativa insomma, dopo le lacerazioni che avevano diviso il mondo cattolico e che erano state all'origine dello scioglimento dell'Opera dei Congressi, rappresentava l'«occasione di un problema intorno a cui parve che il paese intero volesse essere davvero unanime», come spiegava Toniolo a F. Crispolti²⁴.

Oltre a dare prova di unità di intenti, l'incontro genovese doveva ovviamente orientare i cattolici nel loro agire sociale e politico in ordine alla questione scolastica. Proprio in quei giorni alla Camera dei Deputati veniva bocciata la Mozione Bissolati: si trattava di un importante risultato, come sottolineava l'organo di stampa dell'Unione popolare, «La Settimana Sociale», che però i

²² *Atti del Congresso per la istruzione ed educazione cristiana del popolo italiano*, cit., p. 8. Firmata dai presidenti delle tre Unioni e della Società della Gioventù cattolica, la circolare fu di fatto preparata da Toniolo, come documenta una sua lettera del 29 febbraio 1908 a S. Medolago Albani, presidente dell'Unione economico sociale: Cfr. G. Toniolo a S. Medolago Albani, 29 febbraio 1908, in Toniolo, *Lettere*, III: 1904-1918, cit., pp. 138-140. La lettera è interessante in quanto fa luce sulle difficoltà affrontate nella preparazione del Congresso, ma anche sulle attese della S. Sede nei confronti dell'iniziativa. Medolago Albani aveva fatto presente a Toniolo alcune osservazioni relative al testo della circolare del 29 febbraio 1908, di cui però il professore di Pisa non era riuscito a tenere conto perché gli erano giunte tardi, a causa di un'indisposizione dello stesso Medolago. Con schiettezza, che, come hanno scritto gli studiosi, emerge in tutto il loro carteggio e documenta amicizia, franchezza nei rapporti, pur all'interno di una visione non sempre in sintonia sulle questioni relative al movimento cattolico, Medolago Albani rilevava alcune eccezioni riguardanti non la sostanza del documento, «sanzionata dal pontefice stesso», ma la forma (*ibid.*, p. 140). Nello specifico egli avrebbe preferito che la Direzione generale dell'azione cattolica, «per la prima volta che si [presentava] al pubblico, ed in una occasione, come questa, solenne», lo avesse fatto «con maggiore preparazione e ponderazione». Avrebbe altresì desiderato «che la circolare indicante il convegno o congresso di Genova avesse forse un'altra forma, che i particolari ne fossero, dal lato pratico, più studiati: ma ormai – concludeva Medolago – che *alea iacta est* non dirò né farò più nulla che abbia anche solo lontanamente sentore o di critica o di malcontento. Anzi pel poco che sono capace mi studierò [...] a che la cosa abbia quell'esito felice che è nei voti»: BAV, *Carteggi Toniolo*, n. 5241, S. Medolago Albani a G. Toniolo, 3 marzo 1908. Si noti che la missiva, mentre documentava il malcontento di Medolago nei confronti del vigente assetto dei cattolici organizzati nelle tre Unioni, denunciava gli oggettivi limiti della Direzione generale dell'azione cattolica, debole fin dalle origini nella sua funzione di coordinamento. Sui rapporti fra i due protagonisti del movimento cattolico si veda: A. Cova, *Problemi del movimento cattolico nel carteggio Toniolo-Medolago Albani*, in P. Pecorari, *Giuseppe Toniolo tra economia e società*, Udine, Del Bianco Editore, 1990, pp. 215-238.

²³ *Atti del Congresso per la istruzione ed educazione cristiana del popolo italiano*, cit., p. 8. Il concetto era stato sostenuto dal professore pisano, a un anno dalla costituzione dell'Ufficio centrale a Firenze, anche nell'appello steso per ribadire i fini dell'Unione popolare e il lavoro di formazione che essa doveva svolgere: *Nel primo anniversario dell'Unione Popolare. Appello del prof. G. Toniolo*, «La Settimana Sociale», a. 1, n. 4, 5 febbraio 1908, p. 1.

²⁴ G. Toniolo a F. Crispolti, 24 marzo 1908, in Toniolo, *Lettere*, III: 1904-1918, cit., p. 142.

cattolici non dovevano disperdere, prestando attenzione alle iniziative politiche che avessero attentato ancora al diritto educativo della famiglia, ma soprattutto attivandosi al loro interno su più fronti²⁵. Nello specifico il sacerdote milanese Benedetto Galbiati²⁶ notava che il mantenimento o meno dell'insegnamento religioso non esauriva il problema scolastico attuale, che riguardava più ampiamente la diffusione dell'istruzione popolare, come già era stato detto a Pistoia. Egli rilevava che occorreva sensibilizzare i genitori a riflettere sull'importanza della relazione fra scuola pubblica e famiglia, organizzare a livello parrocchiale associazioni di padri che vigilassero sugli insegnanti e sulle singole amministrazioni e sostenere la «Nicolò Tommaseo» nella sua opera di preparazione di maestri militanti non piegati alla mentalità laicista²⁷.

La difesa della presenza della religione nella scuola statale e l'azione di propaganda, che tradizionalmente facevano parte del programma del movimento cattolico, non rappresentavano però gli unici obiettivi individuati da «La Settimana Sociale». Anche facendosi interprete di un'esigenza che si stava affermando in quel momento nel mondo cattolico e, in specie, negli ambienti magistrali, don Galbiati rilevava la necessità, soprattutto per i sacerdoti, di attrezzarsi sul piano delle competenze pedagogiche, affinché l'insegnamento religioso nelle classi fosse rinnovato sul piano metodologico così da suscitare l'interesse e la curiosità degli alunni²⁸. Occorreva poi, notava infine il religioso,

²⁵ Si veda O. Baldi, *Per la scuola cristiana*, «La Settimana Sociale», a. 1, n. 5, 15 febbraio 1908, p. 1, ma soprattutto, dopo la bocciatura della Mozione, *La prima fase della lotta per la scuola cristiana*, *ibid.*, a. I, n. 6, 29 febbraio 1908, pp. 1-2, che comprende più articoli cui si farà cenno nelle note successive.

²⁶ Subito dopo l'ordinazione a sacerdote nel 1906 da parte del cardinal Ferrari, don Galbiati frequentò la Facoltà di Giurisprudenza a Pisa, su invito del cardinale Maffi, interessandosi soprattutto della questione sociale e delle condizioni delle classi più umili. Sollecitato da Toniolo, in questo stesso periodo divenne propagandista dell'Unione popolare. Sulla figura di questo religioso, pubblicista, predicatore apprezzato e fra i fondatori dell'Opera Cardinal Ferrari a Milano, si veda la voce biografica curata da M. Milan e a lui dedicata in *Dizionario storico del movimento cattolico in Italia 1860-1980*, cit., Vol. III/1 (1984), pp. 388-389.

²⁷ Cfr. B. Galbiati, *Sempre avanti!*, «La Settimana Sociale», a. 1, n. 6, 29 febbraio 1908, p. 1.

²⁸ Si vedano le riflessioni a tal proposito avviate in quel periodo in seno al movimento magistrale cattolico milanese in Ghizzoni, *Cultura magistrale nella Lombardia del primo Novecento*, cit., pp. 236-239, 248-252; in specie, in questo ambito, tale istanza fu avanzata da A. Coari, figura di primo piano dell'emancipazionismo cattolico e dei fasci democratico-cristiani. In merito si rinvia anche a P. Gaiotti de Biase, *Le origini del movimento cattolico femminile*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 1963 (nuova ed. 2002), pp. 103-107; L. Pazzaglia, *Modernismo, femminismo cristiano e educazione nell'Italia del primo Novecento*, in M. Tarozzi (ed.), *Direzioni di senso. Studi in onore di Piero Bertolini*, Bologna, Clueb, 2006, pp. 283-288. Si tenga presente che, in quegli stessi anni, in coincidenza con il rilancio della catechesi per volontà di Pio X, innanzi tutto con l'Enciclica *Acerbo nimis* (1905), anche in seno al movimento catechistico si stava facendo strada, sia pure con lentezza, l'esigenza di un rinnovamento della didattica dell'istruzione religiosa. In tal senso si sarebbe espresso il Congresso catechistico svoltosi a Brescia nel 1912 in cui veniva avanzata l'idea che l'istruzione religiosa nelle parrocchie avvenisse secondo il metodo intuitivo e ciclico, poi, di fatto, sviluppato da monsignor Lorenzo Pavanelli e da monsignor Luigi Vigna. In proposito cfr. M. Carminati, *Un trentennio di storia della catechesi italiana (1900-1930)*. Lorenzo Pavanelli e Luigi Vigna e il «Catechismo in

tenere presente che la questione scolastica andava oltre i confini della scuola e comprendeva le opere integrative della stessa, ovvero patronati, refezione scolastica, colonie, biblioteche ecc. Come già era stato fatto in occasione della Settimana sociale di Pistoia, don Galbiati segnalava ai cattolici l'urgenza di affrontare una questione e un campo di attività in cui i laici e i socialisti cominciavano a essere attivi.

Il Congresso di Genova intendeva raccogliere queste istanze e, come precisava Toniolo nella già ricordata circolare, voleva «illuminare reciprocamente i cattolici sul più conveniente atteggiamento da prendersi a proposito di recenti regolamenti amministrativi sulla scuola, e in previsione di analoghe e più radicali disposizioni legislative in un prossimo avvenire», nonché consentire un accordo «intorno ai provvedimenti pratici che oggi incombono al laicato credente in ordine alla vita spirituale (cultura, costume e religione) del [...] popolo»²⁹.

Non fu semplice, per la presidenza dell'Unione popolare, la preparazione del Congresso che dovette fare i conti con diverse difficoltà. Innanzi tutto ci si preoccupò di coinvolgere persone, associazioni, enti che a diverso titolo in ambito cattolico erano impegnati sul versante scolastico. Di qui i contatti epistolari avviati con La Scuola editrice di Brescia³⁰ e nello specifico con don Angelo Zammarchi, tra i fondatori dell'editrice (insieme a Giorgio Montini, Luigi Bazoli e Nicolò Rezzara) di cui dirigeva l'attività editoriale³¹. Egli era anche anima della rivista didattica «Scuola Italiana Moderna», una delle voci, anche se non ufficiale, della «Tommaseo» che, dopo l'avvio stentato negli anni Novanta dell'Ottocento, divenne nei primi decenni del Novecento uno dei periodici scolastici più diffusi fra i maestri³². A don Zammarchi Toniolo

forma di vera scuola», Leumann Torino, Elle Di Ci, 1995; L. Nordera, *Il catechismo di Pio X. Per una storia della catechesi in Italia (1896-1916)*, Roma, Las, 1988. Recentemente P. Alfieri ha sottolineato come, ancor prima dell'assise del 1912, il movimento oratoriano milanese avesse avviato nella prassi un rinnovamento metodologico della catechesi: P. Alfieri, *Oltre il «recinto». L'educazione popolare negli oratori milanesi tra Otto e Novecento*, Torino, SEI, 2011, pp. 95-111, 190-200. Merita infine segnalare che, in questo stesso periodo, si verificò un'espansione delle Scuole di Religione rivolte a studenti secondari e universitari, a insegnanti primari e, più in generale, ai giovani per consolidare la conoscenza delle verità di fede e la pratica della vita cristiana: si veda in proposito la Sezione monografica dedicata a *Le Scuole di religione in Italia*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», n. 18, 2011.

²⁹ *Atti del Congresso per la istruzione ed educazione cristiana del popolo italiano*, cit., p. 8.

³⁰ Sull'attività della casa editrice bresciana si veda L. Pazzaglia (ed.), *Editrice La Scuola 1904-2004. Catalogo storico*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2004.

³¹ Sul religioso bresciano si vedano i seguenti profili biografici: F. Molinari, *Zammarchi Angelo*, in *Dizionario storico del movimento cattolico in Italia 1860-1980*, cit., Vol. III/2 (1984), p. 907; M. Taccolini, *Zammarchi Angelo*, in *Enciclopedia Pedagogica*, diretta da M. Laeng, Brescia, La Scuola, 1994, Vol. VI, cc. 12607-12613; Pazzaglia (ed.), *Editrice La Scuola 1904-2004*, cit., pp. 95-100; e ora la voce curata da G. Bertagna e E. Scaglia in *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, 2 voll., diretto da G. Chiosso, R. Sani, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013, Vol. II (L-Z), pp. 671-672.

³² Sull'ultracentenaria rivista scolastica bresciana, si vedano: Sani, *I periodici scolastici dell'intransigentismo cattolico (1879-1904)*, cit., pp. 246 ss.; la scheda ad essa dedicata e curata da

scriveva affinché «impegnasse la Tommaseo ad essere *pars maxima* in questo congresso» e con lui si incontrava sempre per questa stessa ragione in occasione di un suo viaggio a Bergamo³³.

D'altro canto, uomini della Scuola editrice e della «Tommaseo» figuravano tra i relatori al Congresso genovese e a loro erano affidate alcune delle relazioni più importanti e impegnative: a Ettore Arduino, direttore di «Scuola Italiana Moderna», era chiesto l'intervento – poi letto da don Riccardo De Micheli – sull'istruzione religiosa nelle scuole pubbliche; a Carlo Zanoni, maestro milanese tra i promotori della «Nicolò Tommaseo» di cui era vicepresidente³⁴, era affidata invece la relazione sull'atteggiamento dei cattolici italiani rispetto alla recente legislazione, con specifico riferimento al Regolamento Rava.

Insomma il tentativo compiuto dalla presidenza dell'Unione popolare era quello di creare una rete di relazioni e di avviare un lavoro sinergico che coinvolgesse, se possibile, tutte le realtà attive nel mondo cattolico nel settore educativo. Tale tentativo nasceva non solo dalla volontà di mettere a punto una risposta corale e quindi incisiva all'attacco sferrato dalla campagna anticlericale. Lo sforzo organizzativo sostenuto cercava, se possibile, di arginare altresì i problemi causati dalla debolezza strutturale dell'Unione che, pur svolgendo compiti formativi rivolti a tutti i laici, non aveva funzioni di coordinamento fra i diversi rami dell'azione cattolica e, di fatto, come si è detto, vedeva le proprie decisioni filtrate a livello locale dalle direzioni diocesane. Non a caso a Medolago Albani, che, come si è visto, si era lamentato perché era stata pubblicata la circolare relativa al Congresso di Genova senza attendere le sue osservazioni, Toniolo faceva notare che il rapido succedersi degli eventi proprio alla vigilia del Congresso – emanazione del Regolamento Rava, bocciatura della Mozione Bissolati – poneva la necessità di agire con rapidità affinché l'Unione potesse formulare un orientamento cui tutti i cattolici avrebbero dovuto fare riferimento. In merito segnalava che la direzione diocesana di Roma aveva indetto il 1° marzo del 1908 un'adunanza per deliberare sul voto sulla Mozione Bissolati: «L'esempio – egli scriveva – può essere facilmente seguito da altri, e allora al solito noi verremmo ultimi, quando altri avrà deciso forse meno rettamente e solennemente di noi o quando i primi ardori del pubblico saranno sbolliti»³⁵.

L'impegno profuso dalla presidenza dell'Unione per coinvolgere il maggior numero di soggetti nell'assise genovese, con particolare riferimento al mondo

G. Chiosso in Id., *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia 1820-1943*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997, pp. 622-627; M. Cattaneo, L. Pazzaglia (edd.), *Maestri educazione popolare e società in «Scuola Italiana Moderna» 1893-1993*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997.

³³ G. Toniolo a S. Medolago Albani, 29 febbraio 1908, cit., p. 140.

³⁴ Su C. Zanoni si veda Ghizzoni, *Cultura magistrale nella Lombardia del primo Novecento*, cit., pp. 207 ss. e la recente voce curata da A. Comi in *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, cit., Vol. II (L-Z), pp. 677-678.

³⁵ G. Toniolo a S. Medolago Albani, 29 febbraio 1908, cit., p. 139.

magistrale, era ovviamente finalizzato anche a creare consenso attorno all'evento. Se il Congresso doveva essere il segno della ritrovata unità del movimento cattolico e testimoniare la vitalità, era necessario che registrasse una partecipazione numerosa e qualificata tanto più che il presidente del comitato locale, Domenico Buffa, richiamava l'attenzione sul problema della effettiva partecipazione degli invitati, ovvero il clero, le donne, i maestri, gli iscritti. Molti in città nutrivano dubbi sul numero reale di coloro che sarebbero intervenuti: «Le signore – egli scriveva – si muovono difficilmente, il clero in gran parte è legato a cura d'anime. Nella Nicolò Tommaseo moltissimi sono gli ascritti ma gli attivi e i mobilizzabili son pochi»³⁶.

Nella fase di preparazione del Congresso di Genova, l'Unione popolare dovette fare i conti anche con un'altra difficoltà: arginare preventivamente dissensi, tensioni, polemiche in sede di discussione dei temi all'ordine del giorno così da evitare che il Congresso fallisse nel raggiungimento del fine auspicato, ovvero dare prova della ritrovata unità del movimento cattolico.

La parola d'ordine che guidava la dirigenza dell'organizzazione cattolica in questa fase era quel *prudenter* consigliato da Pio X allorché era stato deciso di indire un convegno sul tema educativo³⁷. Infatti se, come precisava «La Civiltà Cattolica», non ci si poteva professare cattolici «senza convenire nel principio dell'educazione morale, fondata sull'istruzione religiosa, almeno per le scuole elementari», in merito «all'applicazione pratica di questo principio e ai mezzi idonei, [...] ai metodi più acconci per attuarlo» e all'azione da condurre nei confronti dei pubblici poteri per vederlo riconosciuto, le discrepanze potevano invece emergere³⁸. La questione più delicata, rilevava Toniolo, era rappresentata dalla partecipazione dei «democratici più o meno murriani»³⁹. I maggiori timori venivano dal gruppo milanese, come egli precisava nel marzo del 1908 in una lettera a Medolago Albani, al quale scriveva:

I democratici cristiani di Milano (don Grugni) della *Tribuna Sociale* hanno fatto inviti larghi, per mezzo del Noberasco di Savona, ai confratelli di trovarsi a Genova per l'occasione del congresso [...]. In congresso non faranno opposizioni, e insisteranno solo per la presentazione di un ordine del giorno per la libertà di insegnamento; ma vogliono profittare di quel ritrovo, per riunirsi fra loro e ribadire la loro 'organizzazione democratica' non opposta ma distinta dalle Unioni che essi dicono ufficiali.

Tale organizzazione, che, sulla base delle notizie raccolte anche da colloqui avuti a Milano con il Cardinal Ferrari, non era la Lega Democratica Nazionale, rappresentava già «una perpetuazione di scissura e un'insidia avvenire al

³⁶ BAV, *Carteggi Toniolo*, n. 5215, D. Buffa a G. Toniolo, 26 gennaio 1908.

³⁷ Cfr. *A Sua Santità Pio X, ottobre 1907*, cit., p. 120; *G. Toniolo a S. Medolago Albani, 29 febbraio 1908*, cit., p. 139.

³⁸ *Il Congresso cattolico di Genova*, «La Civiltà Cattolica», 1908, Vol. II, q. 1388, 18 aprile 1908, p. 141.

³⁹ *G. Toniolo a F. Crispolti, 24 marzo 1908*, cit., p. 142.

movimento cattolico unificatore e papale, specialmente (nota bene) come dicono alla Unione elettorale»⁴⁰.

Di qui la puntuale attenzione della dirigenza dell'Unione popolare alla definizione delle norme per la partecipazione all'assise e alla composizione del tavolo della presidenza del Congresso⁴¹. Per quanto riguardava quest'ultimo aspetto, fissato il criterio che le Unioni, in quanto promotrici dell'evento, non tenessero la vera e propria presidenza e destinata la presidenza onoraria all'arcivescovo di Genova, inizialmente si era pensato per quella effettiva a Giuseppe Allievo⁴², che l'anno prima, nel 1907, aveva contribuito alla promozione dell'Unione pro schola libera, impegnata nella battaglia per la rivendicazione della libertà di insegnamento⁴³. Egli, però, per diversi motivi aveva rinunciato all'ultimo momento. La spinosa questione, che creò anche incomprensioni e discussioni fra le Unioni⁴⁴, fu risolta solo pochi giorni prima del Congresso: Toniolo rivolse l'invito, poi accolto, a Filippo Crispolti, per l'autorevolezza

⁴⁰ G. Toniolo a S. Medolago Albani, marzo 1908, in Toniolo, *Lettere*, III: 1904-1918, cit., p. 143. Di fronte a queste notizie, Medolago Albani, già demotivato nei confronti dei nuovi impegni in seno al movimento cattolico di cui non condivideva il modello tripartito, esprimeva la propria amarezza, temendo che si andasse incontro «ad un altro congresso di Bologna!». Poiché ormai non vi era «più rimedio» essendo le «cose [...] troppo innanzi», egli manifestava l'intenzione di non partecipare al Congresso (BAV, *Carteggi Toniolo*, n. 5272, S. Medolago Albani a G. Toniolo, 22 marzo 1908). L'intenzione era destinata a rientrare nei giorni successivi, come egli scriveva a Toniolo, assicurando la sua presenza a Genova e la volontà di continuare a lavorare con lui e con gli amici: cfr. BAV, *Carteggi Toniolo*, n. 5277, S. Medolago Albani a G. Toniolo, 25 marzo 1908.

⁴¹ Cfr. G. Toniolo a S. Medolago Albani, marzo 1908, cit., p. 144.

⁴² Cfr. G. Toniolo a F. Crispolti, 24 marzo 1908, cit., pp. 141-142.

⁴³ Sul pedagogista cattolico, docente all'Università di Torino, si vedano i seguenti profili biografici: F. Corvino, *Allievo Giuseppe*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960, Vol. II, pp. 503-504; M.P. Biagini, *Allievo Giuseppe*, in *Enciclopedia Pedagogica*, cit., Vol. I, cc. 377-381; nonché il recente contributo di A. Marrone, *Giuseppe Allievo e la libertà d'insegnamento*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 7, n. 2, 2012, pp. 173-191.

⁴⁴ Cfr. BAV, *Carteggi Toniolo*, n. 5266, S. Medolago Albani a G. Toniolo, 17 marzo 1908, dove Medolago si diceva preoccupato perché non aveva più avuto notizie in merito all'imminente convegno, in specie alla questione della presidenza, e perché a Bergamo si diceva che essa sarebbe stata affidata a N. Rezzara. Questi, cui pure era legato da anni di lavoro comune nelle file del cattolicesimo organizzato, non gli sembrava la persona più indicata per quel compito e scriveva: «Ripeto che la scelta non mi sembra troppo felice se pure è vera; 1° perché egli fa parte, come segretario della U.E.S. [Unione economico sociale], della Direzione generale; 2° perché è troppo fiacco, ed al primo accenno di qualche burrasca ne sarebbe travolto. M.^r Radini dice sarebbe ottimo Domenico Buffa». A queste obiezioni, Toniolo rispondeva tranquillizzandolo e precisando i compiti che sarebbero spettati a Rezzara: «Non posso prescindere da lui come direttore dell'assemblea; fu proposto dalla commissione di Genova e da tanti e già accettò. Lo stesso arcivescovo di Milano lo preferisce a Minoretti [...]. Ma si conviene che potranno sostenere il Rezzara (anche per alleggerirgli fatica) il Pericoli o il Buffa»: G. Toniolo a S. Medolago Albani, marzo 1908, cit., p. 144. Su Rezzara, esponente di primo piano del cattolicesimo bergamasco impegnato attivamente anche in ambito educativo-scolastico, si veda: L. Trezzi, *Rezzara Nicolò*, in *Dizionario storico del movimento cattolico in Italia 1860-1980*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 537-540; P. Gios, *Nicolò Rezzara e il movimento cattolico in Italia*, Roma, Edizione Cinque Lune, 1990; E. Scaglia, *Rezzara Nicolò*, in *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, cit., Vol. II (L-Z), pp. 406-407.

di cui godeva⁴⁵ e subito gli forniva alcune avvertenze. Dopo averlo messo in guardia rispetto ai possibili dissensi manifestati dai fasci democratico-cristiani, lo invitava a coordinarsi con Nicolò Rezzara, quale direttore dell'assemblea, rilevando che, «attendendosi strettamente all'ordine del giorno», non sarebbe stato difficile «troncare o sviare ogni proposta e discussione irritante». «Se – egli scriveva – il congresso offrirà una nota armonica, avremo fatto un gran passo, un minimo screezio può farci paurosamente retrocedere»⁴⁶.

Dalle lettere di Toniolo sembra che le preoccupazioni della dirigenza dell'Unione popolare fossero causate soprattutto dalle istanze autonomiste dei democratici-cristiani e dagli esponenti della Lega Democratica Nazionale. Non dovevano però essere estranee a queste preoccupazioni anche le posizioni assunte da questi stessi ambienti in ordine alla questione scolastica. Ricordiamo, ad esempio, che fra i punti programmatici sostenuti dalla Lega Democratica Nazionale con riferimento alla questione scolastica (e argomentati soprattutto da Tommaso Gallarati Scotti nel corso del Congresso del sodalizio cattolico di Rimini nel 1908)⁴⁷, figurava l'abolizione dell'insegnamento religioso nella scuola primaria, la cui sopravvivenza era vista come l'anacronistico retaggio di un passato ormai superato e che, peraltro, non avrebbe favorito il consolidamento della fede, in quanto vissuto dagli studenti come un apprendimento imposto al pari delle altre materie. In virtù della visione separatista dei rapporti fra Chiesa e Stato che li ispirava, gli uomini della Lega ritenevano che spettasse alla prima attivarsi per contrastare il processo di secolarizzazione in atto. Nel contempo sostenevano che i cattolici dovessero battersi per la libertà di insegnamento, non in opposizione allo Stato e alle sue istituzioni come auspicavano gli intransigenti, ma per dare vita a un sistema scolastico pluralista in cui tutte le diverse concezioni e idee potessero contribuire all'educazione dei giovani.

Il 28 marzo del 1908 finalmente iniziava il Congresso sull'educazione. Dopo i discorsi introduttivi e di saluto tenuti dall'arcivescovo di Genova, da Domenico Buffa e da Filippo Crispolti, prendeva la parola G. Toniolo che illustrava le ragioni dell'incontro. Innanzi tutto ribadiva che alla dirigenza delle Unioni il problema della scuola era apparso «un'occasione propizia»⁴⁸ per riunire a convegno tutte le rappresentanze delle forze cattoliche al fine di dare prova del lavoro di ricostruzione svolto negli ultimi anni, in quanto esso documentava molto bene il processo di laicizzazione in atto nella società europea e poneva nuove responsabilità ai cattolici⁴⁹. Convinto che la scuola del tempo non potesse

⁴⁵ G. Toniolo a F. Crispolti, 24 marzo 1908, cit., pp. 141-142.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁴⁷ Sulle posizioni assunte dalla Lega Democratica Nazionale in tema di educazione e scuola si vedano: Carozzi, *L'introduzione della Storia delle religioni nell'insegnamento universitario italiano*, cit.; Pazzaglia, *Cultura religiosa e libertà d'insegnamento nella riflessione di Tommaso Gallarati Scotti*, cit.; Id., *Tommaso Gallarati Scotti lettore delle «Cinque Piaghe»*, cit.

⁴⁸ *Atti del Congresso per la istruzione ed educazione cristiana del popolo italiano*, cit., p. 23.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

più limitarsi, né di fatto si limitasse più, a fornire a tutti i cittadini le «nozioni *elementari stromentali del sapere*», ma dovesse trasmettere «quel minimo di cognizioni complesse [...] necessarie a tutta la vita morale, civile, materiale del popolo» nella quale la religione aveva un posto fondamentale, egli riteneva che i cattolici dovessero battersi per un «programma massimo di penetrazione cristiana generale nella nazione». A suo giudizio occorreva cioè che la funzione educatrice della scuola non venisse assicurata solo dall'insegnamento religioso, ma «[zampillasse] da tutti i rami di studio: dirigendo, con didattica sapiente, testi e lezioni a far vibrare cristianamente l'anima del discepolo; e a tal uopo curando che [fosse] prima cristiano il maestro»⁵⁰.

Sembra di potere dire che per il professore pisano, l'ideale educativo da perseguire fosse quello della creazione di un sistema scolastico in piena sintonia con il magistero della Chiesa, in cui cioè docenti, programmi e libri di testo fossero armonicamente volti a una formazione culturale fondata sulla religione cattolica. Si trattava di un obiettivo che appariva in linea con lo schema tipico della battaglia dell'intransigentismo per la libertà di insegnamento, volta a rivendicare non solo maggiori garanzie giuridiche per la scuola privata contro il monopolio scolastico statale, ma anche a difendere il diritto delle famiglie e della Chiesa di avere una scuola pubblica in tutto aderente ai principi educativi cristiani⁵¹.

Il perseguimento di tale programma, che Toniolo definiva massimo secondo una terminologia in uso in quel momento⁵², non doveva, tuttavia, distogliere i cattolici «dall'analizzare e accogliere quegli espedienti concreti» che la vigente legislazione e le condizioni storiche suggerivano.

Non rinunzieremo – precisava – ad un briciolo di vantaggi reali ed effettivi dell'oggi, per gli ideali di un remoto avvenire. Ma siamo convinti, che prefiggendo alla nostra propaganda questo termine superiore e comprensivo, noi abbiamo affermato quanto di più elevato e vivo vi abbia nelle vocazioni legittime della scuola moderna⁵³.

Non era semplice tatticismo quello che spingeva l'economista cattolico a invocare una strategia di piccoli passi, che sapesse cogliere le opportunità offerte dal quadro legislativo o dal dibattito politico-scolastico. La sua proposta

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

⁵¹ Sul significato attribuito dall'intransigentismo ottocentesco alla battaglia per la libertà di insegnamento si rinvia a L. Pazzaglia, *Movimento cattolico e questione scolastica*, in *Dizionario storico del movimento cattolico in Italia 1860-1980*, cit., Vol. I/2, pp. 72-82; Id., *Educazione e scuola nel programma dell'Opera dei Congressi*, cit.; Sani, *I periodici scolastici dell'intransigentismo cattolico (1879-1904)*, cit.

⁵² Sui programmi per la battaglia per la libertà di insegnamento messi a punto dalle diverse anime del mondo cattolico nel primo ventennio del Novecento mi permetto di rinviare a C. Ghizzoni, *Educazione e scuola all'indomani della Grande Guerra. Il contributo de «La Civiltà Cattolica» (1918-1931)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997, pp. 44-144.

⁵³ *Atti del Congresso per la istruzione ed educazione cristiana del popolo italiano*, cit., pp. 26-27.

si riallacciava al tema a lui caro di democrazia cristiana. Come precisava nella seconda parte del suo intervento, dall'incontro genovese doveva uscire non solo un programma d'azione, ma anche «*la invocata unificazione*»⁵⁴ dei cattolici, che nel problema scolastico erano chiamati a individuare il tema centrale del loro agire in campo sociale. Accostando la questione secondo una lettura sociologica, egli si soffermava sul nesso fra sviluppo dell'istruzione e progresso civile. Dopo avere ricordato come, secondo l'impostazione della scienza sociale sorta nell'Ottocento, al fine di favorire l'avanzamento della civiltà, occorresse assicurare al popolo l'istruzione obbligatoria, epurata però da ogni fondamento religioso, precisava il significato di «civiltà» e di democrazia secondo la prospettiva cristiana.

Civiltà è – scriveva Toniolo – partecipazione di tutti nel più alto grado rispettivamente possibile, al benessere materiale, coordinato ai beni dello spirito, scala alla loro volta alle promesse sovranaturali. Ma se democrazia è elevazione graduale delle moltitudini a fruire proporzionalmente di tutti i benefici della civiltà, dobbiamo reclamare che al nostro popolo sia innanzi tutto accomunato il tesoro della verità e delle virtù religiose.

Egli pertanto riteneva che, a cominciare dal Congresso, i cattolici, concordi, dovessero incardinare «sul fondamento della *scuola cristiana* [...] la ripresa d'ogni altro aspetto del [...] programma sociale e civile»⁵⁵. Le riflessioni sulla questione educativa, osservava infine Toniolo, dovevano rinviare altresì alla parola recentemente pronunciata da Pio X nella Enciclica *Pascendi*, volta a affermare la verità della fede e a illuminare nel contempo gli animi sui diritti della ragione nella conquista della verità scientifica, contro le degenerazioni del riformismo religioso e ogni forma di agnosticismo.

Il programma dell'assise genovese prevedeva interventi e discussioni su questi quattro temi: l'insegnamento religioso nelle scuole pubbliche e la rivendicazione della libertà di insegnamento; l'atteggiamento dei cattolici rispetto alla recente legislazione scolastica; le possibili azioni di vigilanza sulla scuola; le iniziative da sviluppare per l'educazione cristiana della gioventù con particolare attenzione ai lavoratori.

Due erano le relazioni relative al primo punto: la prima, stesa da Ettore Arduino e letta, come già si è detto, dal sacerdote Riccardo De Micheli, riguardava l'istruzione religiosa nella scuola pubblica popolare, la seconda, di Ferdinando Rondolino, era relativa alla libertà di insegnamento. L'intervento di Arduino dimostrava la necessità dell'insegnamento della religione sulla base delle tradizionali posizioni sostenute dal movimento cattolico e dalla Chiesa, ovvero in nome dell'appartenenza della maggioranza degli italiani alla religione cattolica e del primato del diritto educativo della famiglia rispetto

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

alla scuola pubblica, cui spettava una funzione integrativa e non vicaria⁵⁶. Se la maggioranza delle persone intervenute concordava con il relatore e, anzi, suggeriva che si chiedesse l'istruzione religiosa anche nelle scuole secondarie, vi fu chi, come ad esempio il già ricordato don Carlo Grugni, figura di spicco del movimento democratico-cristiano di Milano⁵⁷, notava che i cattolici, nel condurre la giusta battaglia per l'istruzione religiosa nelle scuole, avrebbero dovuto mostrare però di accettare il moderno stato costituzionale, espressione di diversi punti di vista, e prodigarsi affinché la religione fosse presente non solo nella scuola, ma in tutta la vita del popolo. Dal canto suo Guido Miglioli, attivo protagonista del movimento sindacale contadino «bianco», affermava di non condividere la posizione del relatore sul dovere dello Stato di garantire l'istruzione religiosa: poiché la legge aveva attribuito questa facoltà ai comuni, dovevano essere i cattolici a impegnarsi per conquistare le amministrazioni municipali con una intensa azione sociale. Le differenze però erano destinate a rientrare e a convergere in un unanime voto finale sulla necessaria presenza dell'insegnamento religioso nella scuola pubblica e sulla rivendicazione della libertà di insegnamento⁵⁸.

Seguiva l'intervento Ferdinando Rondolino, organizzatore del movimento cattolico in Piemonte e tra i promotori della democrazia cristiana, che, in vece del prof. Allievo e dell'Unione pro schola libera, illustrava il tema dell'insegnamento libero, denunciando le infrazioni compiute dalla legislazione in vigore nei confronti dell'inalienabile diritto delle famiglie a educare i figli⁵⁹.

⁵⁶ Cfr. *ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

⁵⁷ Oltre all'azione di propagandista e pubblicitista svolta in seno al Fascio democratico cristiano, don Grugni (1877-1910) si impegnò molto nella provincia milanese nel mondo del lavoro. Fece parte del piccolo gruppo dei cappellani del lavoro nominati dal cardinal Ferrari agli inizi del Novecento e fu vicino alle organizzazioni professionali, chiamate a farsi carico delle rivendicazioni del proletariato urbano e di quello contadino, opponendosi alla propaganda socialista. Insieme a A. Coari, don Grugni fu altresì animatore del movimento emancipazionista femminile cattolico. Colpito dalla campagna antimodernista, nel 1908 fu costretto a lasciare le iniziative in cui era impegnato. Su di lui si veda il breve profilo biografico tracciato da M.A. Colombo in *Dizionario storico del movimento cattolico in Italia 1860-1980*, cit., Vol. III/1, pp. 439-440; ma cfr. anche L. Bedeschi, *I cappellani del lavoro a Milano nei primi anni del '900*, in *Aspetti religiosi e culturali della società lombarda negli anni della crisi modernista 1898-1914*, Como, Cairolì, 1979, pp. 211-237; L. Osnaghi Dodi, *L'azione sociale dei cattolici nel milanese (1878-1904)*, Milano, Sugarco, 1974, *passim*. Sul suo impegno nel campo delle organizzazioni femminili cattoliche si vedano Gaiotti De Biase, *Le origini*, cit.; I. Pera, *Chiesa, donna e società moderna: don Grugni e il femminismo cristiano*, «Storia e problemi contemporanei», vol. 13, n. 26, 2000, pp. 25-47.

⁵⁸ Cfr. *Atti del Congresso per la istruzione ed educazione cristiana del popolo italiano*, cit., pp. 37-42. Ecco il testo dell'ordine del giorno votato alla fine: «Il Congresso, riaffermando il diritto della Nazione all'istruzione religiosa cattolica nelle scuole pubbliche di tutti i gradi, delibera di intensificare la propaganda per la libertà di insegnamento di fronte alle tendenze odierne al laicismo di Stato» (*ibid.*, pp. 36-37).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-42. Su F. Rondolino, poi anche presidente per molti anni dell'Unione pro schola libera di Torino, si veda la voce biografica curata da A.S. Bessone in *Dizionario storico del movimento cattolico in Italia 1860-1980*, cit., Vol. III/2, p. 736.

Dopo un dibattito che, sulla base degli *Atti*, appare decisamente più concorde di quello riguardante l'istruzione religiosa, il relatore presentava un ordine del giorno, approvato dall'assemblea, che plaudiva all'opera svolta dall'Unione pro schola libera di Torino cui dava mandato di individuare i mezzi necessari a salvaguardare le tutele della libertà di insegnamento ancora presenti a livello legislativo.

Il secondo tema in discussione, ovvero l'atteggiamento da tenere rispetto al Regolamento Rava, era illustrato da Carlo Zanoni⁶⁰. Questi denunciava l'incostituzionalità del provvedimento che condizionava il diritto educativo delle famiglie sottoponendolo al parere della maggioranza del consiglio comunale, in contrasto con il dettato della Legge Casati, ancora in vigore, che affermava l'obbligatorietà dell'istruzione religiosa nelle scuole elementari. Egli sottolineava la necessità di un'organizzazione di classe dei docenti, quale era la «Tommaseo», e di leghe di padri di famiglia per protestare contro il Regolamento e richiamava i cattolici a battersi, nelle sedi opportune, per ottenerne la sospensione. Il voto espresso da Zanoni non fu condiviso però da tutta l'assemblea e alla sua relazione seguì un dibattito articolato, diviso sull'atteggiamento da tenere sul piano concreto nei confronti del Regolamento Rava.

Paolo Pericoli, presidente della Società della Gioventù cattolica, faceva rilevare, ad esempio, che, pur essendo d'accordo con le critiche espresse da Zanoni, non condivideva la richiesta di sospensione del provvedimento, in quanto vi era il rischio che l'insegnamento religioso non venisse per nulla attivato nelle scuole primarie. Per il momento occorre prendere atto e «usufruirne per quanto [poteva] servire» allo scopo⁶¹. Poiché tali riserve erano condivise anche da altri, Rezzara si impegnava a presentare un ordine del giorno che contemplasse entrambi gli aspetti evidenziati da Zanoni, ovvero la battaglia per dimostrare l'incostituzionalità del Regolamento e la definizione degli obiettivi immediati dell'agire sociale e politico dei cattolici. La presidenza del Congresso, mentre confermava l'intervento di Rezzara, proponeva di stralciare subito dall'ordine del giorno in preparazione il voto sull'incostituzionalità. L'assemblea accoglieva questa istanza e dava mandato alla presidenza dell'Unione popolare di intentare un'azione giuridica contro il Regolamento.

Merita notare che il dibattito sorto in seno al Congresso di Genova sull'atteggiamento più opportuno da assumere rispetto alla nuova normativa riguardante l'insegnamento religioso e sulla necessità di non limitarsi alla protesta, ma di individuare strategie di lotta più realistiche e perseguibili in tempi rapidi, rifletteva il pragmatismo nel frattempo dimostrato dagli ambienti magistrali cattolici. Significativo, ad esempio, il giudizio espresso dalla

⁶⁰ Cfr. *Atti del Congresso per la istruzione ed educazione cristiana del popolo italiano*, cit., pp. 43-47.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

presidenza della sezione milanese della «Tommaseo»⁶², che, mentre ribadiva la necessità di mantenere l'insegnamento religioso nella scuola elementare e denunciava i limiti delle nuove disposizioni legislative, rilevava che se si voleva veramente trasformare in una vittoria la sconfitta subita in Parlamento dalle sinistre con la bocciatura della Mozione Bissolati, occorreva assumere in pieno le responsabilità che tale sconfitta poneva, preoccupandosi, come già accennato, di formare maestri professionalmente e culturalmente preparati a impartire un'istruzione religiosa rinnovata nei metodi e nei contenuti. Di qui i ripetuti inviti rivolti agli insegnanti primari affinché assumessero essi stessi tale insegnamento e non lo delegassero ai sacerdoti e approfondissero la loro cultura religiosa.

Va detto però che, al di là della sintonia tra gli atteggiamenti espressi dal Congresso di Genova e la linea assunta dalla «Tommaseo», le discussioni sorte in seno all'assemblea indetta dall'Unione popolare documentano una scarsa penetrazione nei dibattiti interni al mondo della scuola e segnatamente all'associazionismo magistrale cattolico. Anche quando a Genova emergevano voci di dissenso, esse spostavano l'attenzione dall'aspetto più prettamente educativo-scolastico alla questione sociale e a quella della presenza dei cattolici nella vita politica, ovvero alle questioni che in quel momento maggiormente dividevano il mondo cattolico⁶³. Significative, ad esempio, le obiezioni di alcuni esponenti del movimento sindacale cattolico (G. Miglioli e M. Chiri) che, in opposizione a quanto sostenuto da E. Soderini sull'opportunità di approntare una battaglia elettore e parlamentare «sotto la bandiera della *libertà*» di insegnamento, facevano notare che una battaglia politica tra i ceti popolari, condotta insieme anche a altre forze, sotto il vessillo della lotta alla laicità delle scuole era destinata al fallimento, e quindi alla vittoria dei socialisti, se disgiunta da un forte programma sociale, ispirato ai principi della *Rerum Novarum*⁶⁴.

Il rinvio al programma sociale dei cattolici, che in Toniolo riconosceva il suo massimo teorico, sollecitava l'intervento del presidente dell'Unione popolare, il quale esprimeva ovviamente il suo consenso. Egli però richiamava i presenti a non tradire il tema del Congresso e, assumendo anche in questa occasione il ruolo di mediatore svolto negli anni precedenti in seno all'Opera dei Congressi, sollecitava la messa a punto di un testo che coniugasse la questione educativa a quella sociale. L'assemblea accoglieva questa istanza e votava un ordine del giorno che componeva le posizioni espresse, da un lato, da Soderini e, dall'altro, da Chiri e Miglioli, legando l'impegno dei cattolici sul piano politico, fondato sulla difesa dei principi religiosi, alla esplicitazione «in tutta la sua integrità ed efficienza» del «programma sociale cristiano»⁶⁵. La discussione su questo tema

⁶² Cfr. Ghizzoni, *Cultura magistrale nella Lombardia del primo Novecento*, cit., pp. 246-252.

⁶³ Cfr. De Rosa, *L'azione cattolica*, cit., p. 202.

⁶⁴ *Atti del Congresso per la istruzione ed educazione cristiana del popolo italiano*, cit., pp. 53-57 (il brano citato è a p. 53).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

si concludeva con la votazione dell'ordine del giorno preparato da Rezzara sulla base della relazione tenuta da Zanoni e della discussione che ne era seguita. Esso era articolato in due punti⁶⁶: il primo prevedeva che i cattolici si impegnassero in quegli ambiti in cui le leggi scolastiche in vigore assicuravano maggiore libertà di azione, quali le scuole serali e festive, l'istruzione paterna, i corsi professionali di arti e mestieri, l'istruzione agraria; il secondo riguardava il Regolamento Rava e stabiliva che i cattolici si prodigassero in azioni di controllo delle amministrazioni locali per verificare che venisse rispettato in fase di applicazione.

Nella terza e ultima giornata del Congresso erano discussi gli altri due temi, ovvero: «Opere collaterali, complementari e di vigilanza della scuola da parte del clero, dei padri di famiglia e delle varie classi sociali» e «Istituzioni preservative e tutrici della fede e della moralità privata e pubblica, con speciale riguardo alla educazione della gioventù maschile e femminile, particolarmente nelle moltitudini lavoratrici». La giornata era cioè dedicata alla individuazione delle iniziative che, come istituzioni complementari della scuola pubblica, potevano contribuire all'educazione del popolo secondo i principi cristiani. La densità delle relazioni e degli interventi era stata tale che la presidenza del Congresso aveva incaricato Toniolo di tenere una relazione riassuntiva, di cui negli *Atti* sono indicati solo i punti centrali.

Si trattava di interventi interessanti, che superavano la tradizionale prospettiva della lotta per la preservazione dell'insegnamento religioso o per i diritti della scuola privata. Essi si concentravano, ad esempio, sulla formazione artigiana, tecnica e professionale, sull'assistenza e educazione dei giovani lavoratori, ovvero su settori in cui il cattolicesimo sociale e le congregazioni religiose erano attivi in ambito locale, ma in cui, secondo l'assise genovese, erano necessari interventi di coordinamento e di valorizzazione, sia per venire incontro alle istanze poste dall'evoluzione socio-economica del Paese, sia per contrastare la presenza socialista più recente ma più intraprendente di quella cattolica⁶⁷.

Insomma, come rilevava soddisfatto Toniolo nelle lettere scritte a Pio X durante e alla fine del Congresso, le paventate tensioni e polemiche si erano sì verificate e in specie erano state sollevate dal gruppo dei democratici cristiani guidati dai milanesi o dagli uomini più legati all'azione sociale, ma esse erano rientrate e si era riusciti a pervenire a deliberazioni unitarie, accolte

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-61 e 64.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-73. Ampia, e molto spesso legata a singoli contesti o istituzioni, è la bibliografia su queste tematiche. Per le iniziative sostenute dalle congregazioni religiose si rinvia a G. Rocca, *Gli istituti religiosi e l'istruzione professionale*, in E. Bandolini (ed.), *L'eredità del Beato Lodovico Pavoni: storia e sviluppo della sua fondazione nel periodo 1849-1949*, Atti del Convegno di studi, Brescia, 13 ottobre 2007, Milano, Ancora, 2009, pp. 91-117 (in specie pp. 112-115). Per una visione sintetica, ma esaustiva delle opere integrative della scuola in età giolittiana, cfr. De Fort, *La scuola elementare dall'Unità alla caduta del fascismo*, cit., pp. 252-260.

pubblicamente anche dai dissenzienti⁶⁸. Il Congresso, scriveva il professore pisano al pontefice, aveva conseguito gli scopi previsti, ovvero

di dimostrare e rafforzare il sentimento religioso di tutti in ordine alla istruzione ed educazione cristiana del popolo; di attestare il pieno ossequio del laicato italiano verso l'integrità della dottrina cattolica, a proposito della recente enciclica, e verso il pontificato; ad unificare gli animi intorno al programma sociale, morale, civile, sotto le supreme disposizioni dell'autorità ecclesiastica, da parte dei cattolici, rappresentati in tutti i gradi, compresi i giovani⁶⁹.

Effettivamente, se si valuta l'esito dell'assise genovese sulla base della dimostrazione dell'unità ritrovata, si può dire, come sosteneva Toniolo, che il fine perseguito era stato raggiunto: gli *Atti* e la documentazione coeva sottolineavano la concordia degli intervenuti al Congresso al momento delle deliberazioni. Anche «La Civiltà Cattolica», che pure non sottovalutava i timori iniziali di divisioni, notava che esso aveva conseguito «il suo scopo remoto e supremo, cioè l'unificazione delle nostre forze militanti, e il suo scopo prossimo e immediato, cioè la difesa dell'insegnamento nelle scuole coi mezzi più acconci ed idonei, perché imposti dalle condizioni dei tempi»⁷⁰.

Certo non si può fare a meno di notare che le giornate genovesi si erano mosse nel solco della continuità con il passato, concentrando le forze prevalentemente su temi consueti, quali la libertà di insegnamento e la difesa dell'insegnamento religioso. Non erano però mancati elementi di novità. Da segnalare l'interesse (sia pure sacrificato in tempi ristretti dell'assise) per temi che, secondo i presenti, avrebbero dovuto avere maggiore centralità nell'impegno profuso dai cattolici nell'ambito dell'educazione popolare, quali la promozione di organizzazioni professionali che sapessero coniugare la preparazione tecnica con la formazione cristiana o l'avvio di istituzioni che seguissero i giovani operai e artigiani nella fase del collocamento per il tirocinio. Se anche su questo fronte non veniva meno l'ottica difensiva nei confronti della propaganda socialista, nondimeno devono essere riconosciuti l'attenzione per temi di grande attualità e lo sforzo volto a affrontare la questione della formazione professionale nelle sue diverse articolazioni⁷¹.

⁶⁸ Cfr. G. Toniolo a Sua Santità Pio X, 18 [ma 28] marzo 1908, in Toniolo, *Lettere*, III: 1904-1918, cit., pp. 145-146; G. Toniolo a Sua Santità Pio X, 1 aprile 1908, *Ibid.*, pp. 146-148.

⁶⁹ G. Toniolo a Sua Santità Pio X, 1 aprile 1908, cit., p. 146. Sul significato del Congresso genovese per il movimento cattolico si veda anche: G. Toniolo, *Ciò che fu fatto e si vuol fare*, in Id., *Iniziative culturali e di Azione cattolica*, Città del Vaticano, Edizione del Comitato Opera omnia di G. Toniolo, 1951, pp. 418-420 (*Opera Omnia*, Serie IV, Vol. III).

⁷⁰ *Il Congresso cattolico di Genova*, cit., p. 150.

⁷¹ Per una documentata ricognizione delle posizioni assunte e delle iniziative avviate dal movimento cattolico nell'ambito dell'istruzione professionale fra Unità e primi anni del '900, si veda A. Robbiati, *Iniziative di istruzione professionale dei cattolici lombardi (1874-1914)*, «Bollettino dell'Archivio del movimento sociale cattolico in Italia», a. 18, n. 2, maggio-agosto 1983, pp. 199-267.

Mi sembra che si debba anche rilevare la volontà dell'Unione popolare di trattare la questione educativa non in modo isolato, ma intrecciando relazioni e istituendo collaborazioni soprattutto con soggetti presenti nel mondo della scuola (la «Tommaseo», l'editrice La Scuola) al fine di rendere più visibili e efficaci le battaglie per la tutela dei principi educativi cattolici. Va detto che la stessa dirigenza dell'Unione popolare si rendeva conto dell'urgenza del problema organizzativo: il Congresso di Genova poneva solo le basi di un lavoro che occorreva rendere operativo. Di qui il richiamo di don Galbiati su «La Settimana Sociale» affinché la discussione non restasse sulla carta ma si traducesse in azioni concrete, «perché – egli precisava – non si ripeta ancora una volta il fatto doloroso che i cattolici sanno con meravigliosa intuizione avvisare alle necessità sociali, ma non arrivano a tradurre in atto i loro programmi, i quali servono da guida agli avversari per osteggiarli e sconfiggerli»⁷².

2. *La scuola primaria fra comune, provincia e Stato*

Mentre era in atto il dibattito sulla laicità dell'insegnamento, il mondo della scuola era attraversato da un altro confronto, ovvero quello sul passaggio dell'amministrazione delle elementari dai comuni allo Stato. Già negli ultimi anni dell'Ottocento, l'ipotesi avocazionista aveva preso vigore a livello parlamentare e governativo, sostenuta dagli uomini della Sinistra e dalla stampa democratica come battaglia per il miglioramento delle condizioni della scuola primaria e dei maestri⁷³. La questione era destinata a emergere in modo più impellente durante l'età giolittiana sulla spinta di motivazioni diverse, tutte però convergenti a mettere in discussione l'assetto dato dalla Legge Casati all'amministrazione scolastica⁷⁴.

La statalizzazione della scuola primaria era invocata dall'Unione Magistrale Nazionale e dagli ambienti magistrali socialisti in quanto vista come soluzione e all'analfabetismo diffuso in molte zone del Paese e alle sperequazioni esistenti in materia di trattamento economico e giuridico dei maestri elementari⁷⁵. Le

⁷² B. Galbiati, *Il patto del Congresso di Genova*, «La Settimana Sociale», a. 1, n. 11, 4 aprile 1908, p. 1.

⁷³ Cfr. G. Bonetta, *Scuola e socializzazione fra '800 e '900*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1989, pp. 19-32; C. Betti, *La prodiga mano dello Stato*, Firenze, Centro Editoriale Toscano, 1998, pp. 7-28.

⁷⁴ Sull'avocazione della scuola primaria allo Stato, oltre alle opere citate nella nota precedente, si vedano: G. Bonetta, *La fine dell'autonomia scolastica dei comuni: il progetto politico e culturale dell'avocazione (1900-1909)*, «Storie e storia», n. 5, 1981, pp. 93-158; Id., *L'avocazione della scuola elementare allo Stato*, in Pazzaglia, Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita*, cit., pp. 213-256; S.Q. Angelini, *La scuola tra Comune e Stato. Il passaggio storico della Legge Daneo-Credaro*, Firenze, Le Lettere, 1998.

⁷⁵ Si veda in merito A. Barausse, *L'Unione Magistrale Nazionale dalle origini al fascismo (1901-1925)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2002, pp. 226-240.

difficoltà connesse con la gestione della scuola da parte dei comuni erano denunciate non solo dai maestri, ma anche dai comuni stessi, in specie in alcune zone dell'Italia meridionale e insulare, perché incapaci di adempiere alle richieste della legge in tema di istruzione obbligatoria. Proprio di queste difficoltà doveva farsi carico la legge speciale per il Mezzogiorno del 15 luglio 1906 che, com'è noto, prevedeva interventi straordinari dello Stato per l'istituzione di scuole rurali nei comuni del Sud al fine di contribuire allo sradicamento dell'analfabetismo, condizione necessaria per il riscatto economico dell'intera nazione.

L'Inchiesta sullo stato della scuola primaria condotta nell'anno scolastico 1907-1908 confermava le inadempienze dei comuni relativamente alle elementari⁷⁶. La relazione stesa da Camillo Corradini, direttore generale dell'Istruzione Primaria, non si limitava a rendere conto dello stato della scuola elementare – numero degli istituti, livelli di scolarizzazione, tasso di alfabetizzazione, numero dei docenti e qualità del loro insegnamento –, ma prendeva in esame anche l'impegno finanziario dei comuni e dello Stato per l'istruzione primaria e popolare e verificava la prima applicazione della legge Orlando e della legge del 15 luglio 1906. Essa fotografava una realtà che presentava ancora forti difformità nelle diverse zone del Paese in ordine alla diffusione dell'istruzione. Esse erano l'esito di differenti modelli di sviluppo socio-economico, ma anche delle inadempienze delle autorità competenti, in specie comunali. Il fatto che le amministrazioni municipali ottemperassero a questo compito secondo le proprie finanze faceva sì che un servizio come quello scolastico – che doveva essere uguale per tutti – fosse offerto in modo diseguale.

Né a molto, notava il dirigente del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, sembravano essere valse gli sforzi profusi dallo Stato sul piano economico per aiutare i comuni in difficoltà. Anzi, poiché questi fondi erano stati erogati dallo Stato in proporzione al numero delle classi esistenti in un determinato comune, ne era conseguito che essi erano stati stanziati in «in ragione inversa della ricchezza degli enti locali e dei bisogni scolastici»⁷⁷. L'Inchiesta denunciava i punti critici del sistema vigente dall'Unità in virtù del quale l'erario statale aveva provveduto all'istruzione elementare aiutando economicamente i comuni. Questo sistema non solo non aveva sanato le difficoltà, cristallizzando di fatto le sperequazioni, ma era risultato controproducente anche per l'erario statale, sottoposto a continui prelievi non sempre però volti a affrontare le situazioni più gravi. Nella relazione, Corradini sottolineava che due erano i rimedi: la riforma dell'amministrazione scolastica nel senso dell'accentramento della

⁷⁶ Cfr. Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, *L'istruzione primaria e popolare in Italia con speciale riguardo all'anno scolastico 1907-908. Relazione presentata a S.E. il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione dal Direttore Generale per l'Istruzione primaria e popolare dott. Camillo Corradini*, Roma, Tip. Operaia Romana Cooperativa, 1910-1912, 4 voll.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 554-555.

scuola primaria nelle mani dello Stato e un maggiore impegno finanziario dello stesso Stato per l'istruzione elementare.

L'Inchiesta non solo rilanciava la questione dell'avocazione della scuola primaria, ma contribuiva ad attenuare le opposizioni di carattere ideologico che, negli anni precedenti, nel clima teso della polemica sulla laicità della scuola, avevano caratterizzato il dibattito su tale questione, come era emerso soprattutto dopo la presentazione della legge per il Mezzogiorno. Com'è noto, infatti, il testo originario conteneva anche un articolo che impegnava il governo a predisporre entro un anno un progetto di legge per il progressivo passaggio degli istituti primari dai comuni allo Stato. L'articolo in questione, di fatto respinto, aveva però radicalizzato il confronto nel Paese sull'avocazione contrapponendo fra loro, da una parte, i socialisti e i radicali, favorevoli all'avocazione anche perché così speravano di poter procedere in modo più celere alla laicizzazione della scuola, e i cattolici, dall'altra, i quali paventavano una riduzione della presenza della Chiesa in campo educativo⁷⁸.

Merita sottolineare che in seno al mondo cattolico le posizioni circa l'amministrazione della scuola primaria non erano proprio all'unisono. Anche se difensori dei diritti delle autonomie locali, alcuni esponenti della Lega Democratica Nazionale, ad esempio, nella primavera del 1907 si dichiaravano favorevoli alla statizzazione, ritenuta una soluzione straordinaria e non definitiva alle gravi e evidenti carenze dell'amministrazione comunale in alcune realtà del Paese⁷⁹. La grande maggioranza dei cattolici non accettava l'avocazione delle scuole elementari allo Stato, nemmeno come rimedio transitorio ad una situazione eccezionale. A loro avviso era dovere dello Stato intervenire predisponendo adeguati sostegni finanziari ai comuni, ma preservandone l'autonomia in tema di istruzione primaria. Secondo l'impostazione tradizionale dell'intransigentismo cattolico, si riteneva infatti che i comuni fossero chiamati a farsi carico della formazione delle giovani generazioni in sintonia con le famiglie. In tal senso ad esempio si esprimeva «Scuola Italiana Moderna» che, nell'inverno del 1907-1908, pubblicava alcuni articoli contrari non solo alla statalizzazione della scuola elementare, ma anche all'ipotesi della provincializzazione che, in questi mesi, prendeva consistenza tra le forze avocazioniste⁸⁰.

Su posizioni analoghe si attestò il primo Congresso nazionale della «Tommaseo» svoltosi a Milano nell'autunno del 1907. In quella sede Luigi

⁷⁸ Per una ricostruzione del dibattito su questo punto della legge speciale per il Mezzogiorno si vedano Bonetta, *Scuola e socializzazione*, cit., pp. 46 ss.; De Fort, *La scuola elementare dall'Unità alla caduta del fascismo*, cit., pp. 228-233; Betti, *La prodiga mano dello Stato*, cit., pp. 46-57.

⁷⁹ Sulle posizioni assunte dalla Lega Democratica Nazionale e, più in generale, dai cattolici in ordine alla questione dell'avocazione si rimanda a Pazzaglia, *Stato laico e insegnamento religioso*, cit., pp. 394 ss.; Id., *La scuola fra Stato e società*, cit., pp. 204 ss.

⁸⁰ Cfr., ad esempio, *Contro l'avocazione delle Scuole allo Stato*, «Scuola Italiana Moderna», «Testo», a. XVI, n. 1, 5 ottobre 1907, p. 1; f.z., *La scuola alla provincia?*, *ibid.*, a. 16, n. 11, 4 gennaio 1908, pp. 81-82.

Bazoli, autorevole esponente del cattolicesimo bresciano, presentava un ordine del giorno su questo aspetto. Esso sottolineava il carattere complementare della scuola primaria rispetto alla famiglia nella formazione dei figli e rilevava che, per tale ragione, essa doveva essere affidata al comune, essendo l'ente più vicino ai genitori e, in suo difetto, allo Stato. Bazoli si diceva dunque contrario all'avocazione dell'istruzione primaria, perché tale provvedimento avrebbe trasformato la scuola in «*instrumentum regni* nelle mani partiti dominanti»⁸¹.

Tali premesse non impedirono ai maestri cattolici di misurarsi con i problemi che assillavano la scuola elementare e per risolvere i quali era chiesta l'avocazione. Il tema della lotta all'analfabetismo fu trattato al Congresso milanese dal già ricordato Carlo Zanoni e il suo intervento fu oggetto di un ampio dibattito. In particolare i maestri cattolici si confrontarono su quegli articoli dell'ordine del giorno predisposto dall'insegnante che prevedevano l'istituzione di scuole da parte dello Stato qualora il comune non fosse stato in grado di far fronte a tale impegno e che affermavano il dovere del governo di sussidiare le amministrazioni municipali in difficoltà. L'ordine del giorno finale votato dall'assemblea fu corretto nel senso di sottolineare la provvisorietà dell'azione statale nella creazione di scuole in vece dei comuni inadempienti. Si aveva insomma il timore che la proposta di Zanoni fosse intesa come un'apertura alla tesi avocazionista⁸².

Pur rifiutando quindi l'ipotesi del trasferimento delle competenze relative all'istruzione elementare dai comuni allo Stato, l'ordine del giorno conclusivo relativo alla relazione di Zanoni approvato dal Congresso della «Tommaseo», nel rimarcare l'urgenza della lotta all'analfabetismo, richiamava il governo al dovere di rendere più rigida la sorveglianza sull'operato degli enti locali in ordine all'applicazione della legge sull'obbligo scolastico e chiedeva l'aumento degli istituti primari in rapporto al numero di abitanti, l'estensione dell'obbligo scolastico, nonché la creazione di scuole serali e festive e l'impiego delle scuole reggimentali e di cattedre ambulanti per la promozione dell'alfabetizzazione degli adulti.

Non fu facile per il movimento magistrale mettere a punto, nei mesi successivi, concrete soluzioni ai problemi degli insegnanti primari e della scuola elementare alternative all'avocazione conciliabili con la difesa dei principi della battaglia scolastica cattolica (ovvero l'autonomia dei comuni). Le difficoltà si palesarono allorché, nella primavera del 1909, il deputato moderato Antonio Baslini, presidente della «Tommaseo» dal 1908, si diceva favorevole all'ipotesi del trasferimento delle competenze sulla scuola elementare dai comuni alle province.

⁸¹ *Il Congresso della «Nicolò Tommaseo»*, *ibid.*, a. 15, n. 38, 7 settembre 1907, p. 317; ma si veda anche *Il primo Congresso della «Nicolò Tommaseo»*, *ibid.*, a. 15, n. 37, 20 agosto 1907, pp. 297-300.

⁸² Per l'intervento di Zanoni e per il dibattito che ne seguì in sede congressuale si vedano *Il Congresso della «Nicolò Tommaseo»*, *cit.*, pp. 311-313; *Il primo Congresso della «Nicolò Tommaseo»*, *cit.*, pp. 298-299.

Consapevole che ormai la statizzazione era ritenuta da più parti inevitabile, egli proponeva di elaborare una riforma che scongiurasse l'avocazione totale delle scuole allo Stato, affidando alle province l'amministrazione dell'istruzione elementare. A suo giudizio il passaggio delle elementari alla provincia poteva rappresentare un primo passo verso un decentramento dell'amministrazione scolastica⁸³.

Le parole di Baslini sollevarono negli ambienti cattolici non poche proteste e le prime vennero proprio dalla stessa «Tommaseo». Nello specifico i maestri milanesi Carlo Zanoni e Paolo Carcano, rispettivamente vicepresidente e segretario della «Tommaseo», contestarono al loro presidente di tradire i principi fondamentali del programma scolastico cattolico. Alla fine di aprile del 1909 essi indissero un *referendum* tra le sezioni in cui si chiedeva ai soci di pronunciarsi circa l'avocazione della scuola alla provincia⁸⁴.

Nel contempo, dalle colonne del periodico da loro fondato «La Scuola Nuova», denunciavano l'incompatibilità di Baslini con la carica di presidente del sodalizio cattolico e affermavano: «La 'Tommaseo' non è col suo presidente; egli non si vuol dimettere perché trova qualche pseudo appoggio personale in qualche avvocato di Brescia; ebbene i maestri si staccheranno da lui in massa»⁸⁵. La circolare che accompagnava il *referendum* ribadiva la loro volontà di prendere le distanze dalla dirigenza della «Tommaseo» e si concludeva con queste parole:

La risposta affermativa ci obbligherà dolorosamente a ritenere staccati dal vecchio tronco della *Tommaseo* i soci e le sezioni che non possono approvare l'indirizzo sempre seguito. Chi non può essere con noi, mandi direttamente la sua adesione all'on. Baslini, avvocato, e ai colleghi avvocati che dell'onorevole dividono le idee. *Noi lavoriamo per il pensiero cattolico e per il sacrosanto diritto della classe e vogliamo sperare che i maestri saranno coi maestri*⁸⁶.

Si trattava dunque non solo di un atto di dissenso nei confronti della presidenza del sodalizio cattolico, ma di un vero e proprio tentativo secessionista che, di fatto, si consumò di lì a poco allorché Carcano e Zanoni fecero pervenire al Consiglio direttivo delle «Tommaseo», riunito in assemblea a Milano il 9 maggio, una circolare nella quale essi dichiaravano decaduto il massimo organo

⁸³ Sulla presa di posizione di Baslini si vedano Manzotti, *Il movimento magistrale cattolico*, cit., pp. 467-469; Pazzaglia, *L'associazionismo magistrale cattolico*, cit., pp. 536-538.

⁸⁴ Si veda il testo del *referendum* accompagnato da una circolare, nella quale venivano spiegate le ragioni che erano all'origine dell'iniziativa, in *Dopo le dichiarazioni del Presidente nell'Unione*, «La Scuola Nuova», a. 1, n. 2, 15 maggio 1909, pp. 3-4. Si veda altresì *Ancora per la cronaca. Uno strano «referendum» intorno all'avocazione delle scuole alla Provincia*, «Scuola Italiana Moderna», «Testo», a. 17, n. 27, 8 maggio 1909, pp. 201-202.

⁸⁵ *Dopo le dichiarazioni del Presidente nell'Unione*, cit., p. 3.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

dirigente dell'associazione e costituito un nuovo Consiglio direttivo di cui convocavano anche la prima adunanza⁸⁷.

Questi eventi gettarono la «Tommaseo» in una profonda crisi. Diverse erano le ragioni all'origine di questa difficoltà⁸⁸. Essa nasceva sicuramente da rivalità personali, diversità di mentalità fra i membri della dirigenza, contrapposizioni fra Milano, da cui la crisi era partita, e Brescia, e nello specifico il gruppo della Scuola Editrice, accusato di volere creare una gestione monopolistica del sodalizio e di volerlo affidare alla guida di elementi estranei al mondo della scuola. Tale crisi era però anche la spia della sfida che la «Tommaseo» doveva affrontare nel tentativo, come si è detto, di coniugare la tutela di uno dei postulati fondamentali del programma scolastico cattolico – l'autonomia dei comuni – e la necessità di elaborare una proposta in grado di risolvere le oggettive inadempienze dell'amministrazione scolastica municipale.

Le vicende interne alla «Tommaseo» richiamarono l'attenzione dell'Unione popolare, preoccupata sia per la crisi del sodalizio su cui, come si è visto in occasione del Congresso di Genova, puntava per il coinvolgimento delle forze magistrali, sia per la spaccatura emersa sul tema dell'avocazione. Va subito detto che le prese di posizione della dirigenza del sodalizio per il periodo analizzato – ovvero finché fu presidente Toniolo – si connotano per un richiamo continuo ai cattolici sul significato ideologico sotteso alla statalizzazione della scuola primaria. Tuttavia mancano in questa fase analisi articolate di questo tema e la definizione della linea d'azione, come era invece successo per il dibattito sull'insegnamento religioso.

Le Settimane sociali che si tennero in quel torno di tempo affrontarono questioni educativo-scolastiche. In specie durante la seconda (Brescia 6-13 settembre 1908) e la quarta (Firenze, 27 settembre – 3 ottobre 1909) ci furono relazioni sulla libertà di insegnamento. Esse furono svolte rispettivamente da Giuseppe Piovano e da Antonio Boggiano Pico.

Il primo relatore trattava il tema secondo l'impostazione data dall'Unione pro schola libera di Torino, alla cui promozione egli aveva contribuito. Il suo

⁸⁷ Cfr. *Lettera aperta del vice-presidente al Consiglio direttivo*, «La Scuola Nuova», a. 1, n. 2, 15 maggio 1909, pp. 8-9; *La crisi della «Nicolò Tommaseo». Una circolare del Consiglio direttivo*, «Scuola Italiana Moderna», «Testo», a. 16, n. 28, 15 maggio 1909, pp. 212-213; *Crisi?*, «Scuola e Vita», a. 1, n. 4, maggio 1909, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁸ Rinvio in merito a Ghizzoni, *Cultura magistrale nella Lombardia del primo Novecento*, cit., pp. 259-271. Di particolare interesse e utilità per comprendere le motivazioni all'origine delle difficoltà della «Tommaseo» sono stati due scritti, uno inedito e uno edito, di A. Coari, che aveva partecipato al processo costitutivo del sodalizio e che, in quel momento, era attestata su posizioni critiche, in quanto non aveva condiviso la deliberazione della Lega magistrale milanese (sezione della «Tommaseo») di separarsi dall'Unione Magistrale Nazionale. Ella era convinta che la divisione avrebbe indebolito la classe magistrale e che fosse dovere dei credenti restare all'interno dell'Unione per trattare i problemi della scuola da un punto di vista cattolico, richiamandosi al pensiero della pedagogia spiritualista dell'Ottocento: Fondazione per le Scienze religiose (Bologna), *Fondo Adelaide Coari*, n. 927, *La crisi della Tommaseo*, s.d.; A. Coari, *Sulla crisi della «Tommaseo»*, «La Tribuna Scolastica», «Testo», a. 5, n. 35, 19 giugno 1909, pp. 254-255.

intervento rifletteva un atteggiamento più pragmatico rispetto alle prese di posizione prevalse fino a quel momento in casa cattolica. Senza mettere in discussione la tradizionale e sempre valida «distinzione fra la tesi e l'ipotesi, tra l'ideale ed il reale», egli precisava che i cattolici non dovevano perdere di vista che il loro agire si svolgeva nel mondo reale. Essi dovevano chiedere libertà per tutti e non solo per le scuole confessionali⁸⁹. In modo ancor più esplicito, in un opuscolo curato per l'Unione popolare nel 1908, egli affermava: «Conosco la distinzione tra l'astratto e il concreto, tra l'ideale e il possibile, tra la tesi e l'ipotesi. È vero, e noi non si vuole metterlo in dubbio, è vero che la sola verità ha diritti e che l'errore non ne ha; ma è anche vero che le condizioni della nostra società sono talmente ingarbugliate che ciascun partito si crede di battere le vie della verità e della giustizia»⁹⁰. A suo giudizio, era dunque destinata al fallimento la battaglia che vedeva contrapposte la scuola confessionale e quella neutra. Meglio impegnarsi per l'abolizione del monopolio scolastico governativo attraverso la messa a punto di obiettivi realisticamente perseguibili volti a garantire maggiormente la libertà delle scuole private. E i cattolici potevano farlo – precisava Piovano – esercitando i loro diritti di cittadini, ovvero mandando petizioni al Parlamento e votando nelle elezioni candidati, anche non cattolici, che si riconoscevano in questa battaglia⁹¹.

Meno pragmatica e più vicina alle consuete rivendicazioni cattoliche era invece l'intervento di Boggiano-Pico alla Settimana sociale di Firenze. Il giurista genovese, che di lì a poco avrebbe assunto la presidenza dell'Unione popolare, affermava che «troppo piccola cosa» era a suo giudizio chiedere maggiori garanzie di libertà per le scuole private⁹². In virtù del diritto educativo della famiglia a orientare anche moralmente l'educazione dei figli, egli riteneva che ci si dovesse battere anche perché le scuole pubbliche fossero informate ai principi religiosi e della morale cattolica in cui essi credevano.

Insomma le due relazioni citate riflettevano il dibattito interno al mondo cattolico sul significato da dare alla lotta per la libertà di insegnamento e sui modi con cui tale lotta doveva essere condotta. Nessuna delle due però toccava il tema dell'avocazione. Come in altre sedi è stato messo in luce, il tema rinviava a un postulato dell'azione sociale dei cattolici (la difesa delle autonomie locali), ma era altresì strettamente legato a questioni di urgente

⁸⁹ G. Piovano, *La libertà di insegnamento*, in *La cultura sociale dei cattolici italiani alle origini*, cit., Vol. I, p. 330. Su Piovano si vedano le seguenti voci biografiche in *Dizionario storico del movimento cattolico in Italia 1860-1980*, cit., Vol. III/1, pp. 669-671; e in *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, cit., Vol. II (L-Z), p. 345.

⁹⁰ G. Piovano, *Le odierne questioni della scuola*, Firenze, Ufficio centrale dell'Unione Popolare fra i Cattolici d'Italia, 1908, p. 60.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-63.

⁹² A. Boggiano [Pico], *La libertà di insegnamento*, in *La cultura sociale dei cattolici italiani alle origini*, cit., Vol. I, p. 99. Su di lui si vedano le voci biografiche in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., Vol. XI (1969), pp. 176-178; *Dizionario storico del movimento cattolico in Italia 1860-1980*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 45-47.

e oggettiva drammaticità, ovvero le condizioni di disagio in cui versavano molte scuole elementari italiane, le rivendicazioni dei maestri e le difficoltà finanziarie dei comuni. Non era facile trovare per tali problemi soluzioni alternative a un più deciso intervento dello Stato non solo di tipo finanziario, ma anche gestionale; proprio nel tentativo di individuare queste soluzioni, di fatto, nei mesi successivi era destinato a dividersi il mondo cattolico, in specie magistrale, confrontandosi con il progetto di legge Daneo-Credaro⁹³.

Anche se non messa a tema nelle Settimane sociali svoltesi fra il 1907 e il 1909, l'avocazione in ogni caso attirò subito, come detto, l'attenzione della dirigenza dell'Unione popolare che espresse una netta opposizione. Toniolo diede la propria adesione al referendum indetto da Carcano e Zanoni e formulò una condanna ferma dell'ipotesi di riforma amministrativa della scuola primaria avanzata da Baslini⁹⁴. Egli manifestava quasi sorpresa per il quesito posto, in quanto riteneva che il passaggio della scuola alla provincia costituisse un'offesa alle autonomie comunali e un primo passo verso la statalizzazione. Legare «le sorti dell'insegnamento al più artificiale, al più anemico, e al più impopolare dei nostri organismi amministrativi», argomentava, avrebbe portato ai seguenti risultati: distrarre l'interesse dei ceti più attenti della società civile dal problema scolastico; introdurre disposizioni scolastiche uniformi in un territorio più ampio (la provincia) e, infine, – quale conseguenza – suscitare ulteriori argomenti a favore del passaggio delle scuole allo Stato. «Orbene: – concludeva il presidente dell'Unione popolare – dell'insegnamento scolastico i cattolici e tutti gli onesti italiani hanno fatto finora questione di libertà di coscienza, o meglio di fede, poi di *diritti personale e familiare*; ora urge di farne tema ardente di *autonomia de' nostri Comuni*»⁹⁵.

Anche «La Settimana Sociale» rispondeva al quesito referendario con il fascicolo dell'8 maggio 1909. Il timore che la questione assumesse un carattere personale – come di fatto avvenne – aveva convinto il periodico a ritardare l'adesione all'inchiesta, poi comunque formulata nella convinzione che si trattasse di un problema urgente. L'ipotesi della provincializzazione era respinta riprendendo le argomentazioni del presidente Toniolo e precisando che, per i «democratici», essa rappresentava un «attentato» all'autonomia dei comuni⁹⁶. La rivista era consapevole che la riforma amministrativa era invocata dai maestri quale soluzione alle iniquità compiute dai comuni nei loro

⁹³ Si vedano in merito le ricostruzioni di Manzotti, *Il movimento magistrale cattolico e lo Stato liberale*, cit., pp. 469-477; G. Chiosso, *La stampa scolastica torinese nel primo '900*, in *Giornalismo scolastico stampa satirica fogli sindacali*, Quaderni del Centro Studi Carlo Trabucco, 3, giugno 1983, pp. 17-53; Pazzaglia, *L'associazionismo magistrale cattolico*, cit., pp. 536-543; Ghizzoni, *Cultura magistrale nella Lombardia del primo Novecento*, cit., pp. 270-283.

⁹⁴ *Non vogliamo l'avocazione della Scuola alla Provincia [Risposta di G. Toniolo]*, «La Scuola Nuova», a. 1, n. 2, 15 maggio 1909, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁹⁶ La Settimana Sociale, *Per un referendum degli amici della scuola*, «La Settimana Sociale», a. 2, n. 19, 8 maggio 1909, p. 71.

confronti. La soluzione prospettata però non appariva del tutto efficace, in quanto avrebbe proiettato gli insegnanti nella confusione del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Insomma, concludeva il periodico, la risposta dell'Unione popolare alla proposta di Baslini era un fermo «no», in quanto abbandonava la scuola primaria al disegno di laicizzazione invocato dalle forze radicali e dalla massoneria.

In merito alla crisi che stava dilaniando la «Tommaseo», il presidente dell'Unione popolare affermava che si trattava di una «sventura», perché sul sodalizio magistrale si fondavano «tante speranze di contro al laicismo settario»⁹⁷. Toniolo auspicava che dal prossimo Congresso del sodalizio, in programma per il settembre del 1909 a Como, uscisse una soluzione positiva della crisi, soprattutto con riferimento alla proposta dell'avocazione della scuola alla provincia che comprometteva gravemente la libertà di insegnamento. Egli richiamava in proposito il giudizio espresso da «La Civiltà Cattolica» e lo indicava ai cattolici quale «documento autorevole per la soluzione avvenire»⁹⁸. La rivista dei gesuiti aveva manifestato il desiderio di una composizione dei dissidi interni alla «Tommaseo» nel rispetto però di uno dei principi fondamentali del suo programma: «l'opposizione assoluta a qualsiasi forma diretta o indiretta, aperta o palliata di avocazione dell'insegnamento elementare allo Stato»⁹⁹.

Alla difesa di questo principio furono ispirati gli interventi dell'Unione popolare nei mesi successivi, fino alla fine della presidenza di Toniolo nel novembre del 1909. Significative le osservazioni formulate, nel maggio di quell'anno, sulla mutualità scolastica che, già avviata in Francia¹⁰⁰, si stava diffondendo in quel periodo anche in Italia. Dopo avere illustrato l'iniziativa, che prevedeva il versamento di piccole quote settimanali da parte degli alunni al fine di formare un fondo di risparmio per aiuti in caso di malattia e per la vecchiaia, Toniolo affermava che essa era da ritenere buona, in quanto coniugava risparmio e previdenza e aveva una finalità educativa¹⁰¹. I cattolici,

⁹⁷ G. Toniolo, *Istruzione, educazione, cultura*, in Id., *Iniziative culturali e di Azione cattolica*, cit., p. 427, già edito in «La Settimana Sociale», a. 2, n. 27, 3 luglio 1909. La crisi della «Tommaseo» preoccupò la dirigenza dell'Unione popolare, come documentano alcune lettere recapitate a Toniolo. Si veda, ad esempio, BAV, *Carteggi Toniolo*, n. 5628, D. Buffa a G. Toniolo, 16 maggio 1909, che chiudeva la missiva formulando i migliori auguri per la pacificazione della «Tommaseo»; BAV, *Carteggi Toniolo*, n. 5713, G. Allievo a G. Toniolo, 1 gennaio 1910, in cui il pedagogista torinese lamentava la pubblicazione, avvenuta a sua insaputa, di una lettera a Carcano e a Zanoni nella quale aveva espresso il proprio dissenso per lo scorretto contegno dell'ex-presidente Baslini.

⁹⁸ Toniolo, *Istruzione, educazione, cultura*, cit., p. 428.

⁹⁹ *Crisi nella «Nicolò Tommaseo»*, «La Civiltà Cattolica», «Cose italiane», 1909, Vol. II, q. 1415, p. 632.

¹⁰⁰ Si vedano in merito V. Vincenzi, *Mutualità scolastica*, in *Enciclopedia Pedagogica*, cit., Vol. IV, cc. 8037-8040; F. Quaranta, *Quando la previdenza iniziava alle elementari. La Mutualità Scolastica Vercellese: 1910-1929*, «Quaderni degli infortuni e delle malattie professionali», 2008, pp. 13-40.

¹⁰¹ G. Toniolo, *Le mutualità scolastiche*, «La Settimana Sociale», a. 2, n. 22, 29 maggio 1909, p. 85.

cui erano sacre le parole di «istruzione, educazione, carità reciproca, previdente abnegazione», dovevano considerare la nuova istituzione giusta come idea in sé¹⁰². Egli, però, paventava l'eventualità che in fase di disciplinamento normativo, di cui si discuteva e che avrebbe portato al varo della legge 17 luglio 1910, n. 521, si pervenisse a una statalizzazione di questa forma di previdenza e a una maggiore o esclusiva tutela per gli studenti delle scuole pubbliche. Occorreva vegliare e attrezzarsi affinché questa iniziativa si realizzasse anche con il concorso delle società di mutuo soccorso e assicurative cattoliche e garantisse la parità fra studenti degli istituti pubblici e di quelli privati.

L'Unione popolare temeva, infatti, che, nel testo legislativo in preparazione, fosse precisato che il fondo destinato al sussidio per le malattie potesse essere trasferito a altre società di mutuo soccorso purché non confessionali o che, ancora, l'erogazione promessa dal governo per ogni allievo iscritto andasse solo a favore esclusivo delle scuole di Stato. Di qui la preoccupazione del presidente di dare una «nozione sommaria e una prima direttiva in proposito», lasciando a altri il compito di fornire indicazioni più dettagliate in merito¹⁰³. L'analisi non voleva essere quella di uno specialista e agli specialisti rinviava per una disamina più precisa. Egli intendeva fare emergere le possibili derive stataliste al fine di mettere in guardia i cattolici e di sollecitarli all'azione. Di qui ancora gli articoli dedicati alla mutualità scolastica dall'organo di stampa dell'Unione popolare anche nei mesi successivi e la lezione ad essa dedicata nella Settimana sociale di Firenze del 1909 dall'esponente della Tommaseo, il maestro G. Carpanese¹⁰⁴.

A questo punto dell'analisi merita rilevare che i giudizi espressi dall'Unione popolare sui temi educativo-scolastici, nel periodo in cui si imponeva la questione della statalizzazione della scuola primaria, sono prevalentemente animati dalla volontà di richiamare i cattolici all'unità e alla coerenza con i principi tradizionalmente professati. Se tali richiami appaiono giustificati dalle sfide poste dalla battaglia anticlericale, dalle istanze di rinnovamento mosse dall'interno del mondo cattolico e non ultimo dalle divisioni subito emerse fra i maestri cristiani attorno al tema dell'avocazione, è indubbio che essi si rivelano poco attenti ai reali problemi che travagliavano il mondo della scuola e incapaci di tradursi in concrete linee operative per l'agire politico dei cattolici in ambito scolastico.

Va però detto che, se è evidente una certa estraneità ai reali problemi dell'istruzione popolare, l'atteggiamento assunto dall'Unione popolare su educazione e scuola durante il periodo della presidenza Toniolo sfuggiva al pericolo dell'arroccamento su posizioni esclusivamente difensive. Nel maggio del 1909, benché si fossero appena concluse le Settimane sociali di Brescia e

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Cfr. XXX, *I cattolici e la mutualità scolastica*, «La Settimana Sociale», n. 28, 10 luglio 1909; n. 30, 24 luglio 1909; n. 32, 7 agosto 1909; si veda l'intervento di G. Carpanese su *Mutualità e previdenza scolastica*, in *La cultura sociale dei cattolici italiani alle origini*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 78-83.

Palermo, la dirigenza dell'organizzazione cattolica avvertiva infatti l'esigenza di rivolgere un appello ai cattolici per dare impulso alla loro azione in seguito a alcuni avvenimenti che avevano interessato il Paese¹⁰⁵. Nel testo, dal titolo *Per una più vigorosa ripresa del nostro programma*, Toniolo sottolineava tre temi: l'anticlericalismo del programma politico perseguito dai socialisti, in accordo con la massoneria e gli ambienti del radicalismo; la questione scolastica; la risposta del Paese al terremoto in Sicilia e in Calabria.

In merito alla scuola egli affermava che in Italia il disegno volto alla sua laicizzazione aveva individuato un nuovo obiettivo: la statalizzazione della scuola primaria. Le diverse iniziative avviate – dalle «insidiose mutualità scolastiche» ai ricreatori, dalle biblioteche popolari alle istituzioni per l'educazione fisica – documentavano, a suo giudizio, «uno sforzo sistematico, di volere anco fra noi, come in Francia, bandire dalle menti e dalle coscienze della nazione ogni eco di Dio e ogni palpito di vita spirituale». Toniolo poneva in merito alcuni quesiti volti a stimolare il dibattito e la ricerca di opportune soluzioni. Egli innanzi tutto invitava i cattolici a riflettere sulla «necessità di estendere il problema della scuola a quello più ampio della *cultura cristiana* a tutti i gradi all'interno e all'estero»¹⁰⁶. Secondo il professore pisano, la questione scolastica – anche della scuola popolare – si inscriveva in quella più ampia della necessità di una qualificata e pervasiva presenza della cultura cattolica nel nostro Paese che molto gli stava a cuore, a cui da tempo lavorava e che lo portava, tra l'altro, a sollevare il problema della fondazione di un ateneo cattolico.

È questo un tema che è stato ben indagato dagli studi di N. Raponi relativi alle origini dell'Università Cattolica¹⁰⁷, cui rinvio, e nel quale non mi addentro in quanto va al di là delle tematiche affrontate. Preme piuttosto rilevare in questa sede che il legame posto da Toniolo tra istruzione popolare e qualità e presenza dell'impegno culturale dei cattolici aveva il pregio di proiettare le battaglie per una scuola cristiana e per la libertà di insegnamento in una prospettiva non asfitticamente chiusa nella contrapposizione ai provvedimenti legislativi varati dallo Stato, ma che chiamava in causa la visibilità dei cattolici nella vita culturale del Paese e li sollecitava a riflettere sugli strumenti di cui dovevano attrezzarsi per sostenere il confronto con il mondo laico.

Proprio in ordine agli «strumenti», sempre nell'appello del 1909, Toniolo poneva una questione relativa all'aspetto organizzativo. Egli cioè si interrogava su come si potessero coordinare fra loro le diverse istituzioni educative, scolastiche e culturali promosse numerose dai cattolici. Sia pure in un modo ancora non

¹⁰⁵ G. Toniolo, *Per una più vigorosa ripresa del nostro programma*, «La Settimana Sociale», a. 2, n. 20, 15 maggio 1909, p. 77.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Si vedano N. Raponi, *Giuseppe Toniolo e la preistoria dell'Università Cattolica*, «Bollettino dell'Archivio del movimento sociale cattolico in Italia», a. 20, maggio-agosto 1985, pp. 248-282; Id., *Toniolo e il progetto di università cattolica*, in Pecorari, *Giuseppe Toniolo tra economia e società*, cit., pp. 257-302.

esplicito, anche questa seconda questione sollevata nel maggio del 1909 aveva il merito di porre l'attenzione su un problema avvertito e segnalato anche da altri esponenti del mondo cattolico: la mancanza a livello di Unione popolare di un organismo che valorizzasse e coordinasse queste iniziative, che le affiancasse nelle battaglie contro i provvedimenti governativi o le amministrazioni locali.

Di lì a pochi mesi Toniolo dava le dimissioni dalla presidenza dell'Unione¹⁰⁸ e questo tema solo abbozzato sarebbe stato ripreso dai suoi successori. Nel 1911, sotto la presidenza di Ludovico Necchi, l'Unione popolare istituiva infatti il Segretariato Pro Schola¹⁰⁹, con compiti di propaganda e di coordinamento nel settore educativo-scolastico, destinato a svolgere, dopo una difficoltosa fase iniziale¹¹⁰, un ruolo sempre più centrale nel movimento cattolico fra Grande guerra e primo dopoguerra¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁸ G. Toniolo, *Ai soci dell'«Unione Popolare»*, in Id., *Iniziative culturali e di Azione cattolica*, cit., pp. 430-434: si tratta della lettera, datata giorno dei Santi 1909, con cui Toniolo rassegnava le dimissioni dalla presidenza dell'Unione popolare.

¹⁰⁹ La decisione di istituire un centro coordinatore delle numerose iniziative «pro schola» sparse in Italia fu presa dall'Unione popolare nel corso di un convegno svoltosi a Milano nel maggio del 1911: S. Bassi, *La prima adunanza Pro-Schola a Milano*, «La Settimana Sociale», a. 4, n. 22, 27 maggio 1911, p. 169. Il Segretariato prevedeva un ufficio centrale e commissioni diocesane: cfr. Il Segretariato, *Per rendere efficace l'azione Pro Schola*, *ibid.*, a. 4, n. 50, 9 dicembre 1911, p. 395.

¹¹⁰ Delle difficoltà del Segretariato Pro Schola e della necessità di un suo consolidamento si prendeva atto nel corso della Settimana sociale di Venezia del 1912, come è documentato da una lettera inviata dalla presidenza dell'assise a Pio X nel settembre del 1912: si veda il testo della missiva in Toniolo, *Lettere*, III: 1904-1918, cit., pp. 304-309. Per il rilancio del Segretariato, già nel corso del 1913, cfr. *L'Unione fra i cattolici di Italia nel 1913*, «La Settimana Sociale», a. 6, n. 48, 1913, pp. 393-394. Dallo stesso anno, il periodico dell'Unione ospitava una rubrica dal titolo «Pro Schola».

¹¹¹ Cenni in Gaudio, *Scuola, Chiesa e fascismo*, cit., p. 15.

School subjects didactics in the history of education. Sources and methodology. Italian studies

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ABSTRACT: The history of school subjects is rather recent: it started in the last four decades, in France. It shows not only the influence of so-called 'high-sciences' on school, but also the internal and local production of 'school culture', that has its own dignity and indeed its effects on society. The article rapidly reconstructs the birth and development of this field, pointing out the most relevant sources to be used. It then highlights the most recent results of the Italian research into this topic, showing cases of gap between school official rules and prescriptions and real teaching in classes in the last two centuries. The latest Italian books on the teaching of History, Latin, Geography, Italian, Calligraphy are remembered, as well as new methodological approaches.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Curriculum Subject; Historical Research; State of the Art review; Italy; XIX-XX Centuries.

1. *From curriculum theory to cultural studies: the beginning of research into school subjects*

The history of school subjects is rather recent, having been started in the last four decades. The «curriculum theory»¹ that spread in the '70s focused attention

¹ See at least: S.B. Robinsohn, *Bildungsreform als Revision des Curriculums*, Neuwied a. Rhein u. Berlin, Luchterhand, 1967; L. Stenhouse, *A cultural approach to the sociology of the curriculum*, Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1963; W.K. Richmond, *The School Curriculum*, London, Methuen, 1971; A. Nicholls, S.H. Nicholls, *Developing a curriculum: a practical guide*, London, George Allen & Unwin, cop. 1972; J.P. White, *Towards a Compulsory Curriculum*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973; V. and G. De Landsheere, *Definir les objectives de l'éducation*, Paris, PUF, 1975; P.H. Taylor, *Aims, Influence and Change in the Primary School Curriculum*, Frankfurt, National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales, 1975; L.

to the matter, also from an historical point of view; the sociology of education too, thanks to Ivor F. Goodson's works of the '80s, opened this new path. Goodson published in 1981 his first work on the subject², followed by other important works in the following years which had a wide echo, particularly in the USA and UK, where curriculum studies were an already developed field³. After having researched into the history of some school subjects in England, Goodson devoted attention to the history of teachers.

Both the «curriculum theory» and Goodson's sociological perspective urged people to dedicate attention not only to the legislative acts but also to the internal processes of schooling. One has to study the school policy about school subjects, e.g. school laws, acts and decrees, 'external' prescriptions to teachers and pupils, school codes and rules imposed by Church, Congregations and the State, that defined school subjects and (often) imposed school text books and teaching methods. Yet the knowledge of this apparatus is not enough to define the curriculum, being just the skeleton that supports the entire school life. To understand this fully, one has to examine its flesh, so to speak, viz to see if and how the central prescriptions were really applied by teachers and how teachers really taught. In fact, they often did not follow the superior prescriptions, which could be differently interpreted in different cultural and social contexts.

In the 80s the 'cultural studies' trend influenced this approach, as well as the impact of the post '68 cultural movements, which deeply concerned schools. The effects of democratization in academic fields and secondary schools reflected on a new interest of teachers in their job and of students on learning. The reflection on the meaning, the consequences, the ways of teaching/learning, and on the role of pupils and teachers was therefore stimulated and hence it stimulated the historical approach.

It was in France that a number of important works on school subjects developed—it is enough to recall Françoise De Dainville's studies on the teaching in Jesuit colleges. André Chervel was the one who particularly developed the idea of 'school culture', with an analysis soon accepted by educational historians⁴.

Stenhouse, *An introduction to curriculum research and development*, London, Heinemann, 1975; Id., *Curriculum research and development in action*, London, Heinemann Educational, 1980.

² I.F. Goodson, *Becoming an Academic Subject: Patterns of Explananation and Evolution*, «British Journal of Sociology and Education», 1981, pp. 163-180.

³ See at least: I.F. Goodson, *School Subjects and Curriculum Change. Case Studies in Curriculum History*, London, The Falmer Press, 1983; I.F. Goodson, S.J Ball (edd.), *Defining the Curriculum. Histories and Ethnographies*, London, The Falmer Press, 1984; I.F. Goodson (ed.), *Social Histories of the Secondary Curriculum*, London, The Falmer Press, 1985. See also: *History of Curriculum Issues*, «History of Education review», 1988, and for USA: T.S. Popkewitz (ed.), *The Formation of School Subjects. The Struggle for Creating an American Institution*, London, The Falmer Press, 1987, and for UK: A. Kent (ed.), *School Subject Teaching. The History and Future of the Curriculum*, London, Kogan Page, 2000.

⁴ A. Chervel, *L'histoire des disciplines scolaires. Réflexions sur un domaine de recherche*, «Histoire de l'éducation», n. 38, 1988, pp. 59-119, then reprinted in A. Chervel, *La Culture scolaire. Une approche historique*, Paris, Belin, 1988.

In his reflections about the definition and the heuristics of school subjects it is clear that school subjects are not just the passive application/simplification of high culture. On the contrary, 'school culture' implies an active role of teachers, inspectors, text-books writers and pupils. A school subject is not just the object as defined by ministerial laws or by any other code (e.g. the Jesuits' *Ratio studiorum*): it is rather the final result on how these superior/central laws were understood/(mis)applied. The content of the subject itself is therefore deeply influenced by other factors, such as text-books, the culture of teachers, the social and cultural conditions of pupils and their families, etc. School actors are not merely executors, they are active interpreters of pedagogical theories and school policy. One may talk about sub-cultural groups, teachers' culture, as well as students' and adolescents' culture. Chervel gives the example of the study of grammar at school: under this name, school taught a system of ideas: the results of the historical analysis

interdisent définitivement de considérer cette matière comme une vulgarisation scientifique. Elle montre d'abord que, contrairement à ce qu'on aurait pu croire, la 'théorie' grammaticale enseignée à l'école n'est pas l'expression des sciences dites, ou présumées, de 'référence', mais qu'elle a été historiquement créée par l'école elle-même, dans l'école et pur l'école. Ce qui suffirait déjà pour la distinguer d'une vulgarisation [...] la grammaire scolaire française est, en fait, embarquée dans le grande entreprise nationale d'apprentissage de l'orthographe, entreprise qui n'a rien à voir avec une quelconque vulgarisation [...]. La grammaire scolaire elle-même n'est qu'une méthode pédagogique d'acquisition de l'orthographe⁵.

Chervel goes on contesting the idea of school as a mere transmitting agent, a place of conservatism, routine and lethargy and asserts that school subjects are the results of original and creative creations, depending on different factors, one of which being the age of pupils –teaching mathematics to university students, high schools or elementary school pupils, for instance, implies different grades of pedagogical capacities. Besides, school has never had just the aim of instructing, of teaching contents, but also of educating, teaching moral, religious and social values – the teaching of classic languages, for instance, had in Modern Age a strong moral aim too. Chervel rightly suggests that historians do keep in mind a «double aim/double documentation» when researching into school subjects: to discover the aims of a single school subject teaching, one has to know the aims fixed by legislators, without sticking to them: they show us the school policy, the intentions of the legislators, but not necessarily the real process of teaching inside class-rooms: «L'étude des finalités ne peut donc en aucun cas faire abstraction des enseignements réels. Elle doit être menée simultanément sur deux plans, et faire intervenir une double documentation, celle des objectifs affichés, et celle de la réalité pédagogique»⁶.

⁵ Chervel, *L'histoire des disciplines scolaires. Réflexions sur un domaine de recherche*, cit., pp. 66-67.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

In any case, it is the teacher who is at the centre of the process of passing on these aims. It is therefore important to research into teachers' culture and education, bearing in mind that their freedom was limited not only by school laws, but also by pupils themselves: their age, their capacities, their families, etc. Chervel underlines, for example, that up to 1850 the majority of schools still retained the single-form, where pupils of different ages sat together and individual teaching was still to be used. He also stresses the importance of teacher turnover and renewal for the update and renovation of the subject, as well as the importance of lifelong education for teachers.

Chervel also points out how the history of school subjects is linked to the history of didactics and of the debate on teaching methods: normal, Socratic, intuitive, direct, lessons of things, gradual and so on. A very relevant source is the text-book, along with pedagogical reviews and teachers' notes and diaries. But also evaluating systems and exams results are important sources. Chervel goes on putting a key question: how effective was the teaching? How much did pupils actually learn? The main source here is given by exercise-books and texts written by pupils, which, particularly for the Modern Age, were scarcely preserved and kept. Other important sources that Chervel suggests are the inspectors' reports. So school culture, in Chervel's analysis, becomes a part of the cultural history of the society, deeply connected with the culture of the times. Therefore it is not only linked to school policy and to the history of pedagogy, but to science, religion, economy, culture and education. It is a specific product of school thinking and practice, a culture for the school, coming from the school itself.

As already stated, studies about school culture flourished in France, particularly with works on the culture of colleges in the Modern Age. Observations on the theme were carried out by Chervel, Marie-Madeleine Compère, Annie Bruter, Bruno Belhoste and Dominique Julia⁷ – to quote but

⁷ See at least: M.-M. Compère, *La question des disciplines scolaires dans les écoles centrales. Le cas des langues anciennes*, «Histoire de l'éducation», 1989, pp. 139-181; M.-M. Compère, A. Chervel (edd.), *Les Humanités classiques*, special issue of «Histoire de l'éducation», 1997; A. Bruter, *L'Histoire enseignée au Grand Siècle. Naissance d'une pédagogie*, Paris, Belin, 1997; D. Julia, *La culture scolaire comme objet historique*, in A. Nóvoa, M. Depaepe, E.V. Johanningmeier (edd.), *The Colonial Experience in Education*, «Paedagogica Historica», suppl. series, n. 1, pp. 353-382; D. Julia, *Riflessioni sulla recente storiografia dell'educazione in Europa: per una storia comparata delle culture scolastiche*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», 1996, pp. 119-147; Id., *La construcción de las disciplinas escolares en Europa*, in J. Ruiz Berrio (ed.), *La cultura escolar en Europa. Tendencias históricas emergentes*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2000, pp. 45-78; B. Belhoste (ed.), *L'examen. Evaluer, sélectionner, certifier, XVI^e-XX^e siècle*, special issue of «Histoire de l'éducation», May 2002; Id. *La formation d'une technocratie. L'École polytechnique et ses élèves de la Révolution au Second Empire*, Paris, Belin, 2003; Id., *Culture scolaire et historique des disciplines*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», 2005, pp. 213-223. See also: F. Waquet, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe. XVI^e-XX^e siècle*, Paris Albin Michel, 1998; the monographic issues *Histoire des enseignements scientifiques* (in «Histoire de l'éducation», n. 41, 1989, pp. 3-78), and *History of Teaching and*

the most famous. Subjects such as Latin, French language and grammar, as well as mathematics and sciences have been analyzed. The XVI-XVII centuries, with the long preparation of the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* and its implementation and then crisis, with the writing of the *Ratio* of other Congregations, Piarists, Barnabists, Somascans, Lassalle, Oratorians were the period of the construction of school subjects in a modern meaning.

It is worth recalling Julia's suggestions about the need of discovering the so called 'black-box' of school, videlicet the necessity for historians to enter in the class-rooms of the past, and try to describe and analyze how really teachers taught, with which tools, and how pupils learned⁸.

The inputs coming from Anglo-Saxon and French research were taken up in Spain by different researchers, so that Spain soon overcame the gap and produced an impressive mass of studies on the theme. The majority of these researches dealt with school-books, but other aspects, such as exercise books and teachers education were also investigated⁹. As both Julia and Antonio Viñao Frago pointed out, the history of school-books does not coincide with the history of school subjects, for it is wider, since there are some aspects of school-books as objects of investigation that go beyond school culture (e.g. questions about school books as commercial products, as fruit of publishing houses strategies concern more the history of printing houses). The opposite is nevertheless true: school culture is always related to school-books¹⁰. Viñao Frago again stresses the link between school subject and teachers' power and self-consciousness: mastering one's own subject is a key element in the history of teachers' professionalization. Again, the history of teaching and of school subjects is strongly related to the history of teachers as a professional group¹¹.

Since 1991 a group of university professors, secondary school and primary school teachers, named Fedicaria, worked critically in the field of teaching, up to 2006, producing books on specific subjects and on the epistemology of the school culture. It came to the idea of 'subject code' (*código disciplinar*) as a whole of ideas, values, rules and routines that supersede practical teaching: it is a social tradition, historically set out, which determines what is socially accepted as educationally valid. Just as important is the study of the professional field,

Learning Mathematics (in «Paedagogica historica», 2006, nn. 4-5) as well as B.Belhoste and H Gisper's essays about *L'histoire des disciplines* (in «Paedagogica historica», 2004, vol. 40, n. 3).

⁸ Julia, *Riflessioni sulla recente storiografia dell'educazione in Europa*, cit.

⁹ See the very good reconstruction by A. Viñao Frago, *La historia de las disciplinas escolares*, «Historia de la educación», 2006, pp. 243-269. See also J. Ruiz Berrio (ed.), *La cultura escolar de Europa. Tendencias históricas emergentes*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2000; A. Escolano Benito, J.M. Hernandez Díaz, *La memoria y el deseo; cultura de la escuela y educación deseada*, Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch, 2002.

¹⁰ Viñao Frago, *La historia de las disciplinas escolares*, cit., p. 256.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

the formation of clear as well as invisible subcultures. The Spanish researchers are very active in the field and have produced relevant studies in the last 20 years¹².

2. Sources and methodology

In order to study school subjects, one has to deal with different sources, as demonstrated above. First of all, it is necessary to trace the appearance/disappearance of the subject, its changes as foreseen in curriculum plans (of religious congregations, of the State, etc.), its prescribed contents: aims, programs, school-books. Then, one has to verify if those books were indeed used, or which books or notes were used. School-books are a relevant and complex source: authors, publishing houses, contents, language and style, pedagogical traits and political hints are to be investigated¹³. In Italy Giorgio Chiosso led a wide research about school publishing houses both in the XIX and in the XX century¹⁴. Indeed, school-books are such a rich source (not only for school culture, as stressed above), that in various countries indexes and electronic catalogues of school-books have been build, suffice it to recall the French Emmanuelle, the Spanish Manes, that includes also Latin America, the Italian Edisco and REEducationis, Picture This in Belgium, etc¹⁵. School-books may be addressed with different methodologies, both quantitative and qualitative: the number of editions, the geographical diffusion, the iconographical content, the didactics displayed, the values transmitted (religious, moral, political, civic) etc. are all different points to consider.

The history of teachers is indeed as relevant, that is to say the education and training, the selection's criteria, the career steps, the trade unions and associations, the memories, ego-documents and diaries or letters of teachers. The

¹² A view *ibid*. See also A. Escolano Benito, *Etnohistoria y historia de la escuela*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», 2005, pp. 197-206.

¹³ On the complexity of this source see the recent: M. Depaepe, A. Van Gorp, *Introduction: In Search of the Real Nature of Textbooks*, in A. Van Gorp, M. Depaepe, *Auf der Suche nach der wahren Art von Textbüchern*, Bad Heilbrunn, Klinkhardt, 2009, pp. 17-23.

¹⁴ G. Chiosso (ed.), *TESEO. Tipografi e editori scolastico-educativi dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2003; G. Chiosso (ed.), *TESEO '900: editori scolastico-educativi del primo Novecento*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2008.

¹⁵ See at least A. Choppin, *Les Manuels scolaires, histoire et actualité*, Paris, Hachette Education, 1992; A. Escolano Benito, *Historia ilustrada del libro escolar en España*, Madrid, Fundación Ruipérez, 1998-99, 2 voll.; M. del Mar del Pozo Andrés, J. Dekker, F. Simon, W. Urban (edd.), *Books and Education. 500 Years of Reading and Learning*, «Paedagogica Historica», 2002; G. Bandini, P. Bianchini (edd.), *Fare storia in rete. Fonti e modelli di scrittura digitale per la storia dell'educazione, la storia moderna e la storia contemporanea*, Roma, Carocci, 2007. On the web, as for Italy, see: <<http://www.reseducationis.it/edisco/default.aspx?lang=it>> and <<http://www.reseducationis.it/default.aspx>> (last access: October 3rd, 2013).

history of the process of professionalization is closely related to the building of school-subjects in contemporary age. If academic study was the cultural key for the education of secondary school teachers, pedagogy gradually became, in the XIX and above all in the XX century the subject that distinguished elementary school teachers. The slow improvement in elementary school teachers' education, in the last two centuries, grew parallel with the strengthening of the elementary school curriculum and with the imposition of compulsory school attendance¹⁶.

Teachers themselves produced magazines and reviews, which are a window on their problems, feelings, life. They are an important source, too, showing the efforts for a teaching renewal and for economic recognition. It is worth remembering the great researches carried out in Italy again under the guide of Giorgio Chiosso, which ended up with the publication of the catalogues of school and education magazines and reviews in Italy before and after unification¹⁷. A very good example of research that enquires the link between teachers' associations/unions, text books, publishing houses, and pedagogical ideas is the one carried on by Mirella D'Ascenzo, who has deeply investigated the school world and culture of Bologna in various books¹⁸. A great picture of teachers' culture, associations, magazines, teaching methods and their shifts in Lombardy has been conducted by Carla Ghizzoni¹⁹. These works are very good examples of the value of local studies, that are in fact constantly related to national history, which they indeed allow to better depict.

Other significant sources are the ministerial inquiries and the reports of inspectors. Comparing these official texts with the examination of school plans, school books, teachers' diaries and magazines allows us to enter more closely into the classroom.

Class registers and exam tests and results are also significant sources, to discover how evaluation really acted and which parts of the programs were tested and how. Inspectors reports and acts of parliamentary committees are a source not to be forgotten, too, since these allow us to know in detail the

¹⁶ As for Italy, see at least A. Barausse, *L'Unione magistrale nazionale: dalle origini al fascismo, 1901-1925*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2002; C. Ghizzoni, *Cultura magistrale nella Lombardia del primo Novecento: il contributo di Maria Magnocavallo, 1869-1956*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2005.

¹⁷ G. Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nel Risorgimento. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione prima dell'Unità*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1989; Id. (ed.), *I periodici scolastici nell'Italia del secondo Ottocento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1992; Id. (ed.), *La Stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997; Id., *Editoria e stampa scolastica tra Otto e Novecento*, in L. Pazzaglia (ed.), *Cattolici, educazione e trasformazioni socio-culturali in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1999, pp. 499-527; Id., *Libri di scuola e mercato editoriale. Dal primo Ottocento alla Riforma Gentile*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2013.

¹⁸ See at least the latest M. D'Ascenzo, *Col libro in mano. Maestri, editoria e vita scolastica tra Otto e Novecento*, Torino, SEI, 2013.

¹⁹ C. Ghizzoni, *Cultura magistrale nella Lombardia del primo Novecento. Il contributo di Maria Magnocavallo (1869-1956)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2005.

conditions of teaching in the view of competent men. If it is true that one has to check inspectors' words, purging them from their personal bias (e.g. the strong anti-Church feelings of the inspectors of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy led them to criticize heavily religious colleges), they are nonetheless an important element that often allows to shed light on little schools.

Last but not least exercise-books are today considered an important source. As for school-books, they can be studied from different point of view: as a (relevant) part of the economic strategies of printing houses; as an element of political propaganda, especially under totalitarian regimes – see the images printed on the covering, as well as the titles of little essays given and the essays written; as a source to check how teachers taught; as an instrument to research into children's writings. The importance of studying the products of pupils, their text, home-works, tests, exams and exercise-books has been in fact underlined for many years, particularly in France²⁰, and to-day it is well known. The most recent and biggest effort in this direction has been an international symposium, held in Italy and organized by the University of Macerata and the INDIRE of Florence, whose acts were published in two volumes in 2010²¹.

Finally, the question of other didactic tools still has to be deeply analyzed. The whole apparatus of teaching tools, from the old blackboard to the digital tools, from the abacus to the geographic maps, from the iconic tools to films, from the *Wunderkammer* to the laboratory of physics and biology, from teaching aids to writing instruments and various stationery still waits to be fully discovered²².

A very good summary of the state of the art of the historiography on school culture both in Spain and in Italy has been recently edited by Juri Meda and Ana Badanelli, who collected the acts of the 1st Italian/Spanish workshop held in Berlanga de Duero, Spain, on November 14th-16th 2011²³. The books, written by foremost historians of the two countries, presents not only a complete balance of the research on school books and school exercise books, but also clever and clear perspectives for future works. It also deals with school museums and educational heritage. The richness of the contents and the authoritativeness of the authors make the book really worthy of mention.

²⁰ See the two special issues dedicated to this theme by the review *Histoire de l'éducation*, 1990, 46 and 1992, 54, both directed by P. Caspard. See also P. Albertini, *L'enseignement classique à travers les exercices manuscrits des élèves*, Paris, Institut national de recherche Pédagogique, 1986.

²¹ J. Meda, D. Montino, R. Sani (edd.), *School Exercise Books: A Complex Source for a History of the Approach to Schooling and Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Firenze, Polistampa, 2010, 2 vols.

²² A very good methodological essay is J. Meda, 'Mezzi di educazione di massa'. *Nuove fonti e nuove prospettive di ricerca per una 'storia materiale della scuola' tra XIX e XX secolo*, «History of education & Children's Literature», vol. 6, n. 1, 2011, pp. 253-280.

²³ J. Meda, A.M^a Badanelli (edd.), *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en Espana: balance y perspectivas*, Macerata, eum, 2013.

3. *Italian studies: methodology and examples*

I would like to produce just few examples of recent Italian researches, in order to sketch rapidly how different approaches may be used²⁴. The teaching of certain subjects has been deeply invested by political aims, particularly Italian language, history and geography. Anna Ascenzi has in various works shown how the teaching of history in Italy has never been 'objective', but has always answered to a political aim: praising the Savoia Monarchy before and after the unification; constructing the national feeling; showing the greatness of Mussolini and his regime, and so on. The political aims heavily replaced the moral value traditionally attributed to the study of history: the more it became modern and contemporary history rather than ancient and sacred history, the more lay and political values replaced religious ones. Programs and school-books still retained the scheme of moral examples, though. The content was graduated according with different school levels and orders: in high school it was more political, in technical school more space was given to history of science, in maritime schools to history of sea enterprises, in girls' school it was reduced and catalyzed on the model of the good mothers, like the Roman Cornelia, who sacrifice themselves for their children's sake in a patriotic sense²⁵.

But it would be wrong to think that other subjects were not involved by political intents. Maria Cristina Morandini, for instance, has shown that also mathematics was concerned: in the decade before Italian unification in Piedmontese elementary school books problems of maths were provided, where the pupils had to work out how many the inhabitants of Italy were –even if the country was not yet united²⁶. It is clear that the study of school subjects is closely related to the role of the political *élites* and managerial groups in the different historical phases and in the transmission and control of knowledge.

The increasingly thorough study of the norms and law which since Unification have regulated the field has also shown the political and not just pedagogical

²⁴ For a complete overview see A. Ascenzi, *The history of schoolmanuals and textbooks in Italy. An evaluation and new research prospective*, «History of education & Children's Literature», vol. 7, n. 2, 2011, pp. 405-423.

²⁵ A. Ascenzi, *Tra educazione etico-civile e costruzione dell'identità nazionale. L'insegnamento della storia nelle scuole italiane dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2004; Ead., A «Homeland Religion» for educating the Italian people. *The history manual by Lorenzo Bettini (1882), from didactic innovation to 'sacralisation' of the Risorgimento epic*, «History of education & Children's Literature», vol. 6, n. 1, 2011, pp. 119-144; Ead., *La storia nelle scuole secondarie tra le due guerre*, in P. Bianchini (ed.), *L'origine delle materie. Discipline, programmi e manuali scolastici in Italia*, Torino, SEI, 2012, pp. 191-216; also D. Montino, *La storia nei libri scolastici del dopoguerra*, *ibid.*, pp. 217-246. On girls' education and history see A. Ascenzi, *Il Plutarco delle donne: repertorio della pubblicistica educativa e scolastica e della letteratura amena destinata al mondo femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Macerata, eum, 2009.

²⁶ M.C. Morandini, *Scuola e nazione. Maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato unitario 1848-1861*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2003.

control over school-texts. The entire corpus of laws about schoolbooks in united Italy has been reconstructed by Alberto Barausse, Anna Ascenzi and Roberto Sani. The last two have also published the acts of the famous Lombardo-Radice Committee, that in 1923 managed to judge all the elementary school text-books then in use. Since Giuseppe Lombardo Radice was a prominent educationalist whose ideas deeply influenced the works of the committee, the results of the Committee's works were severe, clever and pitiless, and failed most of the books, hence urging a pedagogical reform, which was stopped by Fascism few years later²⁷.

The works of Patrizia Morelli have focused on Latin as a subject. Her reconstruction shows the gap between the official programs, coming from the minister of education, and the real teaching in grammar schools and high schools in Italy, after unification²⁸. The teaching was aimed exclusively at learning grammar and philology, with no attention to the historical context of the authors, to poetry and literature. This arid grammatical analysis of the text was heavily based on mnemonic capacities. The results were very poor: teachers did not manage to examine all the authors prescribed by the official programs, and inspectors' reports all concluded that pupils were oppressed by a mnemonic study without really appreciating the texts they were reading. This excess of philology actually produced boredom and a dry discipline. The gap between the extensive official program and the few texts actually examined in the classrooms, the inadequacy in pupils' preparation were repeatedly pointed out by inspectors and by the investigating committee of 1872-75, until eventually the report of

²⁷ A. Ascenzi, R. Sani (edd.), *Il libro per la scuola tra idealismo e fascismo. L'opera della Commissione centrale per l'esame dei libri di testo da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice ad Alessandro Melchiorri (1923-1928)*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2005; A. Barausse (ed.), *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al fascismo. La normativa sui libri di testo dalla legge Casati alla riforma Gentile (1861-1922)*, 2 vols., Macerata, Alfabetica, 2008; A. Ascenzi, R. Sani (edd.), *Il libro per la scuola nel ventennio fascista. La normativa sui libri di testo dalla riforma Gentile alla fine della seconda guerra mondiale (1923-1945)*, Macerata, Alfabetica, 2009; A. Barausse, *Dal Regno di Sardegna al Regno d'Italia. Continuità e discontinuità nelle politiche del libro scolastico*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 5, n. 1, 2010, pp. 377-415; vol. 5, n. 2, 2010, pp. 301-338; A. Ascenzi, «Per impedire l'intrusione nell'istruzione nazionale del seme di mala scienza e di mali costumi». *La relazione di Luigi Gabriele Pessina sull'esame dei libri di testo (1881)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 5, n. 2, 2010, pp. 339-381.

²⁸ P. Morelli, *Contro la «pedanteria grammaticale». La relazione di Giovanni Pascoli sull'insegnamento del latino nei ginnasi-licei al Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Ferdinando Martini (1893)*, «History of education and Children's literature», vol. 3, n. 2, 2007, pp. 315-372; Ead., *Una cultura classica per la formazione delle élites. L'insegnamento del latino nei Ginnasi-Licei postunitari attraverso l'Inchiesta Scialoja sull'istruzione secondaria (1872-1875)*, Macerata, eum, 2009; Ead., *L'insegnamento del latino nell'Italia post-unitaria (1860-1900)*, in P. Bianchini (ed.), *L'origine delle materie. Discipline, programmi e manuali scolastici in Italia*, pp. 47-66. Martini shared Pascoli's view, which represented the belief of quite a few brilliant teachers and which originated in the contrast between the traditional teaching and the German approach, spread in the North of Italy. See G. Milanese, *I "lacci e gli sbadigli": Pascoli, Martini, Giolitti e l'insegnamento di latino e greco nell'Ottocento italiano*, «Aevum», vol. 84, n. 3, 2010, pp. 889-904.

the poet and teacher Giovanni Pascoli (an eminent Latinist himself, shortly later appointed professor of Latin and then Italian literature), prepared in 1893 at the request of the minister of education, did change the teaching of Latin. The minister Martini and his follower Baccelli in fact entirely approved Pascoli's view and prescribed a new approach, that stressed the importance of literature in the study of Latin. Not only memory, the heart had to be involved, too: pupils were to appreciate the intimate meaning of the Latin literature, they had to admire and love the Latin authors, understanding their spirit. Grammar was the first step, but in the last three years of study, in the high school (*Liceo*) the new programs of 1894 prescribed the study of Latin literature, in a historical sequence. This didactic revolution meant that new school books were soon written. Thanks to this deep change, and in 1923 thanks to the reform of minister Giovanni Gentile, the idealist philosopher, Latin kept for decades a key role in the education of the young sons of the leading class. Fascism then considered Latin from a nationalistic point of view as the matrix of Italian culture, but also the rational power of the language was stressed by minister Giuseppe Bottai, who prescribed that after elementary school all pupils had to learn Latin for three years. In Republican Italy, when the debate about the role of Latin arose, the foremost professor of Latin Concetto Marchesi, an MP of the Communist Party, strongly supported the revolutionary idea that every pupil had the right to learn Latin, which had to be compulsory, precisely because the study of it empowered the rational abilities of the mind. That view was in direct opposition to the position of the Communist party and of the left-wing culture in general, which accused Latin of being an instrument of class selection, discriminating against pupils belonging to poor families.

Another case of a gap between the prescribed programs and the real teaching in class-rooms is given by the situation of grammar schools (*Ginnasio*) in the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venetia, when after Napoleon's fall the Austrian dominion cancelled the French school system and introduced the Gymnasium Code of Vienna. Some subjects, such as French and all the new subjects of the Napoleonic *Liceo* (law, medicine, etc.) disappeared, and a curriculum that retained the old Jesuit stamp was imposed. Greek was reintroduced, after years of total neglect. In the 5 years of the *Ginnasio* only two teachers were admitted by the law: one for the first 3 years and another one for the following 2 years. As a result, since no teacher could master all subjects and since many were priests, Latin was even more the core subject: teachers actually reduced the time they dedicated to other subjects, particularly mathematics and Greek. Even if compelled by law, many teachers did not use the prescribed books, but stuck to their own notes. Exams were strict, but results were not very good, since class-rooms were crowded. The remarks of the Director of Ginnasi were nevertheless ignored by Vienna²⁹.

²⁹ S. Polenghi, *From Vienna to Milan: the Austrian Reform of the Gymnasium and its*

Also the study of teaching of geography after unification shows the distance from the programs and the difference in content among various books actually used in different parts of Italy: very mnemonic or more pedagogical, or already with a nationalistic stamp³⁰. A very recent book edited by Gianfranco Bandini proves the importance of this discipline for the education of young Italians, who had to believe in the new State and in their Italian identity³¹. Ideology, more than science, and political aims played a key role in the teaching of geography already in the last decades of the XIX century, let alone in Fascist era. Racism and imperialism crept into the pages of these books, already with Crispi's colonialism, anticipating many Mussolini's themes.

The study of Italian anthologies carried out by Lorenzo Cantatore is also very interesting, since it discovers constancies and changes in the teaching of Italian language and Italian history of literature, it proves the key role of publishing houses and highlights the importance of Giosuè Carducci, another prominent Italian poet, master of Pascoli³².

Other works point out the role of teachers and inspectors in renewing the didactics, particularly in the XX century, thanks to conferences, reports and magazines³³. Most recently, some researchers have applied an informatics approach to the study of school culture and school-books. Also by using a software of automatic treatment of texts, Paolo Bianchini has analyzed 394 books, published in Piedmont from 1814 to 1839. Among other things, he proves the disappearance of the term «catechism» in the titles, and the appearance in school-books of the term «handbook», that came to define school contents and which then gained a foothold³⁴. This lexical shift is a consequence of the passage to a more lay and pedagogical approach.

Other examples of distance between the norm and the classroom have been investigated. A relevant one is the failure of the Gabelli programs of 1888 for

Implementation in Lombardy and during the Restoration, with some Data on the Ginnasio di Brera, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 2, n. 2, 2007, pp. 101-126.

³⁰ See G. Bandini, *I maestri e la geografia dopo l'Unità d'Italia*, in Bianchini (ed.), *L'origine delle materie. Discipline, programmi e manuali scolastici in Italia*, cit., pp. 111-138.

³¹ G. Bandini (ed.), *Manuali, sussidi e didattica della geografia. Una prospettiva storica*, Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2012.

³² L. Cantatore, «*Scelta, ordinata e annotata*»: *l'antologia scolastica nel secondo Ottocento e il laboratorio Carducci-Brilli*, Modena, Mucchi, 1999; Id., *La letteratura italiana sui banchi di scuola. Valori, modelli e antimodelli nelle antologie dell'età liberale*, in Chiosso (ed.), *TESEO*, cit., pp. LXIII-LXXX.

³³ See for instance C. Ghizzoni, *Cultura magistrale nella Lombardia del primo Novecento*; M. Ferrari, M. Morandi, E. Platé, *Lezioni di cose, lezioni di immagini: studi di caso e percorsi di riflessione sulla scuola italiana tra 19. e 21. secolo*, Azzano, Junior, 2011; G. Chiosso *Alfabeti d'Italia: la lotta contro l'ignoranza nell'Italia unita*, Torino, SEI, 2011; M. D'Ascenzo, *Col libro in mano*; S. Polenghi (ed.), *La scuola degli Asburgo. Pedagogia e formazione degli insegnanti tra il Danubio e il Po (1773-1918)*, Torino, SEI, 2012.

³⁴ P. Bianchini, *La nascita delle discipline scolastiche nel Piemonte della Restaurazione*, in Id. (ed.), *L'origine delle materie. Discipline, programmi e manuali scolastici in Italia*, cit., pp. 12-46.

elementary schools. Written by the foremost professor of education Aristide Gabelli, the new programs stressed the importance of teaching not only reading, writing and the elements of maths, but also history and geography, providing children with literacy and patriotism. The spirit of Nation building and of improving the level of knowledge of Italian people nevertheless failed, in spite of its unquestionable value, when faced with the sheer ignorance of rural teachers, who simply ignored these subjects, as was shown by official enquires³⁵.

As for elementary school, a key question to understand the real teaching is given by teachers education and training. The study of the text-books of pedagogy in Austrian Lombardy, as well as that of the exams and tests to become a teacher, made by the present author, prove the effectiveness of the Austrian pedagogy of Vincenz Milde and the progressive improvement of teacher training³⁶. After unification, the study of text-books of pedagogy for the Normal-schools shows the gradual shifts in pedagogical trends³⁷.

A very recent book on the history of calligraphy shows the tight connection between the fading importance of that discipline from the last decades of XIX century and the lower status of teachers of calligraphy³⁸. It also goes in depths in analysing the contents of the school subject and its changes. A relevant source used by the author are the archival acts of State examination for aspiring teachers, which show the scarcity of good candidates in the XX century: the lower their status became, the fewer people applied to become teachers of calligraphy. The book highlights the didactic materials, from the paper to the different kind of pens, too.

In spite of the richness of the works so far produced, much has still to be done. A field not yet adequately investigated is that of didactic tools, for which the Didactic and School Museums, such as those of Rome, Florence, Bologna, Padua, Bolzano, Turin, Campobasso and Macerata, are important³⁹.

³⁵ Chiosso *Alfabeti d'Italia: la lotta contro l'ignoranza nell'Italia unita*, cit.

³⁶ S. Polenghi, *La formazione dei maestri nella Lombardia austriaca*, in Ead. (ed.), *La scuola degli Asburgo*, pp. 45-90; Ead., *Elementary school teachers in Milan during the Restoration (1814-59): innovations and improvements in teacher training*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 8, n. 1, 2013, pp. 147-166.

³⁷ M. D'Ascenzo, *Un manuale per i maestri: le istruzioni di Maurizio Serra*, in R. Sani, A. Tedde (edd.), *Maestri e istruzione popolare in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2003, pp. 287-329, G. Zago, *I testi di storia della pedagogia*, in Bianchini (ed.), *L'origine delle materie. Discipline, programmi e manuali scolastici in Italia*, cit., pp. 67-95; Chiosso, *Alfabeti d'Italia*, cit.

³⁸ F. Ascoli, *Dalla cancelleresca all'inglese. L'avventura della calligrafia in Italia dal Cinquecento ad oggi*, Alessandria, Ed. dell'Orso, 2012. See also Id., *The Role of Calligraphy in the Italian Schools of Modern Times*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 4, n. 1, 2010, pp. 193-218.

³⁹ On overview in L. Caimi, *Luoghi e strumenti della ricerca e dell'insegnamento della storia dell'educazione in Italia*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», 2005, pp. 317-340. See also C. Covato, *Mauro Laeng Historical Museum of didactic at University Roma Tre: past and present*, «History of education & children's literature», vol. 1, n. 2, 2006, pp. 429-

In conclusion, the study of the teaching of school subjects has been recently renewed, thanks to the use of different and overlapping new sources. This process resulted in

the redefinition, and at times the complete upheaval, of a series of generalizations and clichés inherited from preceding scholastic historiography often the fruit of a lack of systematic and thorough research, of a missing or only partial use of archive and printed material; and finally, in some cases, of an approach that at times tended to perpetuate – even with reference to scholastic events – a view of history of the ideas and pedagogical doctrine and, at other times, limited itself to assuming acritically and to filling the reconstructions of history of the teaching and school policies with general interpretations drawn from political history and from the history of cultural processes, not always alien, these latter, from ideological prejudices⁴⁰.

436; M. D'Ascenzo (ed.), *Scuola, didattica e musei tra Otto e Novecento: il Museo didattico Luigi Bombicci di Bologna*, Bologna, Clueb, 2008; M. Brunelli, *The «Centre for Documentation and Research in History of Textbook & Children's Literature» in University of Macerata (Italy)*, «History of education & Children's Literature», vol. 4, n. 2, 2009, pp. 441-452.

⁴⁰ R. Sani, *La «bonifica fascista» dei testi scolastici dalla riforma Gentile alla Carta della Scuola di Bottai*, in Id., *Sub specie educationis. Studi e ricerche su istruzione, istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formativi nell'Italia contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2011, pp. 409-410.

«Il Vittorioso»: a magazine for youth education beyond Italian fascist propaganda

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ABSTRACT: At the beginning of 1937 the *Italian Youth of Catholic Action* created a new weekly magazine for boys called «Il Vittorioso», intended mainly for those Italian adolescents who didn't read other magazines which were openly in favour of fascism such as «Il Balilla» nor the debatable comics of American origin such as «L'Avventuroso», «L'Audace» or «Topolino» («Mickey Mouse») accused of inciting violence. «Il Vittorioso» found a place in the press of the fascist period with a certain continuity comparable with the best tradition of Italian children's magazines such as «Corriere dei Piccoli», but also contained aspects which broke with tradition. The choice to publish many comics by exclusively Italian authors was farsighted because «Il Vittorioso» gave birth to an experimental laboratory for comics with young writers such as Gian Luigi Bonelli, Benito Jacovitti and Lino Landolfi who could write and draw in an original way for young people and were able to interpret their basic cultural needs. The language used could appeal to a fascist mentality by playing on the different meanings of certain terms. «Il Vittorioso» was well able to interpret the changes taking place in communication and these were more and more influenced by and modeled on the widespread popularity of the cinema, but they were also affected by the brief and direct structures of speech of the futurist movement. While these changes in communication were accepted as being useful for propaganda by fascism, they also found a place in an educational project grounded in the Catholic tradition of good press as an aspect of the social teaching of the Church.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children's and Youth Literature; Periodical; Comics; Literary Criticism; Italy; XX Century.

On Saturday, January 9, 1937, the first eight-page issue of the periodical, «Il Vittorioso»¹ [The Victorious], much desired by *GIAC* [*Italian Youth of*

¹ For an overall picture of the history of «Il Vittorioso», refer to the recent work of G.



Pic. 1. Cover of «Il Vittorioso», n. 1, 1937 illustrated by Paola Bologna, see G. Vecchio, *L'Italia del «Vittorioso»*, Roma, AVE, 2011, p. 65.



Pic. 2. Cover of «Il Vittorioso», n. 27, 1940, written and illustrated by Caesar, see G. Vecchio, *L'Italia del «Vittorioso»*, Roma, AVE, 2011, p. 114.

Catholic Action], was distributed in parishes and on newsstands. It could not have escaped the attention of the most careful readers of the time that a non-random combination of choices was being carefully positioned onto the Italian journalistic landscape for children. *Catholic Action*, which was the only association allowed by the fascist regime, was able to offer not only a forward-looking vision of the weekly comic, with elements of continuity within the best tradition of comics that had been published thus far, but also aspects of fracture and innovation that came to characterize the originality of this new publication for children.

The decision to debut during the Christmas festivities was not entirely by chance. It was, indeed, in the best tradition of twentieth-century journalism in Italy, outlined by «Corriere dei Piccoli»² [Courier of the Little Ones], which

Vecchio, *L'Italia del «Vittorioso»*, Roma, AVE, 2011 and to E. Preziosi, *Il Vittorioso. Storia di un settimanale per ragazzi (1937-1966)*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2012.

² For a historical overview of «Corriere dei Piccoli», see in particular the most recent volumes: G. Ginex (ed.), «Corriere dei Piccoli». *Storie, fumetto e illustrazione per ragazzi*, Milano, Fondazione Corriere della Sera, Skira, 2009; R. Lollo (ed.), *Il «Corriere dei Piccoli» in un secolo di riviste per ragazzi*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2009.

had chosen December 27, 1908 to enter the homes of Italian children, and «Il Vittorioso» had also favoured a period of time intentionally removed from school attendance to mark out a free reading space which was seen as separate from reading to educate.

However, the leaders of *Catholic Action* clearly had in mind the secular and liberal nuances of «Corriere dei Piccoli» which had celebrated, by that time, thirty years of glorious existence and which was an undisputed reference model for each new magazine. Therefore, in considering the debut during the most enjoyable holiday period of the young audience, it also highlighted the difference between its older brother. Famously, the children's supplement of «Corriere della Sera» was published during Christmas, 1908³ and, in the editorial, Silvio Spaventa Filippi requested readers to welcome it with the same grace and care as one would welcome newborn babies. It was so suggestively worded as to perceive the link to the birth of Jesus without ever naming it explicitly⁴. On the other hand, the choice made by Don Francesco Regretti⁵, the first editor of «Il Vittorioso», is clear because, in favouring the proximity to the feast of the Epiphany⁶, he highlighted significance of the event of the child Jesus to the world and the value of relationships and communities of his coming among peoples, and for peoples, without further distinction.

A polysemic and formative title

Even from these fundamental choices, a unique identity emerges that «Il Vittorioso» meant to carve out for itself among the other periodicals of the time. The title certainly gives a nod of approval to Nerbini's, «L'Avventuroso»⁷ [The Adventurous], to which, however, it meant to oppose the morally grave, nationalist and politically committed standpoint, which were interpreted by the American-derived comics under discussion by Nerbini. These were accused, along with other comics of the thirties, of inciting violence and the use of sloppy and vulgar language. Concurrently, in a period of autarky and aggression (the war in Ethiopia was an on-going reality) the choice to publish only stories by Italian authors was visionary and brought with it all the characteristics of

³ S. Spaventa Filippi, *Come fu*, «Corriere dei Piccoli», n. 1, December 27, 1908, p. 2.

⁴ For an interpretation of the editorial, see S. Fava, *Silvio Spaventa Filippi direttore del «Corriere dei Piccoli»*, in S. Bonsera (ed.), *Silvio Spaventa Filippi fondatore e direttore del «Corriere dei Piccoli»*, Potenza, Erreci, 2004, pp. 13-30.

⁵ This is the first director of «Il Vittorioso» and head of the Azione Cattolica Press Office. He was its head for a period of two years, from 1937 to 1939, when he was replaced by Luigi Gedda.

⁶ The first issue of «Il Vittorioso» is dated January 9, 1937 although it began to be distributed in the days around Christmas, 1936. See Vecchio, *L'Italia del «Vittorioso»*, cit., p. 11.

⁷ J. Meda, *Stelle e strisce. La stampa a fumetti italiana tra americanismo e antiamericanismo*, Macerata, eum, 2007.

success. In advance of the anti-American prohibitions released to the press by MinCulPop⁸ [The Ministry of Popular Culture], «Il Vittorioso» created its own comics experimentation workshop, which gave it a certain advantage over the most direct competition.

A case could be made for agreement with Giorgio Rumi when he asserts that the myths and nationalist values exalted in the stories of the early years is the

price paid to the regime so as not to interrupt its ability to fulfil its mission, to ensure its survival [...], and so in the columns of *Il Vittorioso*, alongside a necessarily costly situation, it has never lacked its own identity or direction⁹.

A similar argument to the certainty that the regime would continue to publish is also visible in the famous «Corriere dei Piccoli», despite having maintained a clear opening to foreign and Jewish literature until the *Bonifica Libreria* [Book Purge] of 1939.

«Il Vittorioso» assumed, as did the «Corriere dei Piccoli», an equilibrium position with regard to the regime. It did not show a decline in the rhetoric, which had, to the contrary, always characterized the weekly, *Balilla*¹⁰, described as the direct emanation of the dominant ideology. The Catholic youth paper used, if at all, a language for which it could find room for feedback and consensus in fascism with a play on the polysemy of certain terms. The themes of the exotic, adventure and derring-do had a wide variety of shades in terminology from multiple values, including certain ones close to the rhetoric of the regime.

An unmistakable feature of «Il Vittorioso» was, from the outset, a clear educational propensity toward the younger generation. Moreover, if the weekly conceded little to immediate sensations, it offered a proactive position on staff planning, not resigning oneself to the present, foreshadowing horizons of inner elevation, and freedom. To understand the significance, it is necessary to go beyond a number of proclamations, even if they are present, of the exhortation to live a ‘victorious adventure’ of the exaltation of the Italian character that could pacify the regime¹¹. Symbolically, the title is in the singular because each reader could become ‘victorious’, identifying himself as part of the group of supporters of the magazine and go well beyond the most superficial meaning of

⁸ La Bonifica Libreria [The Book Purge] was in 1939 and the ban on publishing comics in 1942.

⁹ G. Rumi, *Un'occasione di riconoscimento per la gioventù credente*, «L'Osservatore Romano», February 25, 1987, p. 3.

¹⁰ It is well known that from February 1923, the Fascists desired the paper, «Balilla», to train boys and that from 1931 it had the role as official organ of the *Opera Nazionale Balilla*, and was distributed in elementary schools.

¹¹ It is believed in this sense that the editorial debut actually contains expressions with possible rhetorical overtones with the clear aim of finding acceptance on the part of the regime, although the distinctive value remains eminently Christian, tied to the value of the active apostolate, and victory is seen as inner growth. See, *Radiovitt*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 1, January 9, 1937, p. 2.

the position that he could, in this sense, be very dear to the regime. Therefore, each reader can be 'victorious' if, not so much the physical strength in heroic acts is exerted, but the evangelical inner strength in everyday life. Each reader is 'content' and, therefore, joyous in the present and hopeful for the future, 'loyal', or rather responsible, honest and reliable, and 'courageous', especially in the expression of his ideals before he even shows courage in physical confrontation. The quality of courage was without doubt the most flexible regarding approval of fascist ideology and, indeed, after World War II it was the only quality that the management considered substituting with that of generosity. Therefore, the identity card of each reader who could be described as 'victorious', became «strong, happy, loyal and generous». On the other hand, the educational goal summarized in the slogan, «enjoyment through teaching and teaching through enjoyment», remained unchanged over time, indicating a clarity of purpose from the outset, and not subservient to the rationale of power.

The comic: a choice of field and modernity

At first, the process of affirmation of the weekly by GIAC was also rather difficult because of the attempt to maintain a competitive price of 30 cents, which was then the cost set by the most influential paper for children in Italy, «Corriere dei Piccoli». It may be noted that from March 1937, the «Corriere dei Piccoli» raised the price to 40 cents but could count on a circulation of about 400,000 copies, compared to 60,000-90,000 of «Il Vittorioso», and production costs all secured for the use of cutting-edge machinery for printing¹². «Il Vittorioso», on the other hand, could not rely on such a large circulation or sophisticated tools for printing and, with regard to the mode of distribution of the copies, the start was somewhat problematic. The industrial framework that supported the production of «Corriere dei Piccoli» was the same as that which was employed daily for the newspaper, «Corriere della Sera», while «Il Vittorioso» was able to progressively rely on a more effective distribution network only from 1938, when it started to be published by Ave Editor. To confirm the problematic nature in circulation, the magazine repeatedly appealed to readers to report kiosks and areas not reached by the weekly.

In order to maintain a foliation of eight pages compared to sixteen in «Corriere dei Piccoli», «Il Vittorioso» resumed the first consolidated, internal structure organized into fixed pages intended for texts and a number of columns, which were phased in only gradually. This type of structure had already proven

¹² M. Marvulli, «Corriere dei Piccoli». *Cronologia e dati storici*, in Ginex (ed.), *Corriere dei Piccoli. Storie, fumetto e illustrazione per ragazzi*, cit., p. 271 and Vecchio, *L'Italia del «Vittorioso»*, cit., p. 11.

to facilitate compilation, without obliging the newspaper to compose pieces which necessitated the continual pursuit of current affairs stories, but allowing the preparation of files within a reasonable period of time.

From the outset, there is a noticeable imbalance in quantity in favour of the comic (in the first edition, six of the eight pages are dedicated to comics) that indicates the choice of field executed by the debut magazine marking its future character and appearance. Indeed, there is an impression that there was an effective, innovative investment in the narrative text and even less of the poetic, which was almost absent. In addition, the recurring authors, Olga Visentini and Giuseppe Fanciulli had already been long-established, mature figures, while names like Vittorio Emanuele Bravetta strongly consolidated the highly adventurous vein, which has already been discussed at length in the area of comics.

The true distinction of «Il Vittorioso» is precisely related to the comic with the speech bubble, which gives greater dynamism to the drawn stories and introduces a narrative complexity compared to the formal rigidity and repetition of the eight-syllable verses with which the comic entered Italy at the beginning of century in «Corriere dei Piccoli».

These were fitting choices aimed at a target male audience as many magazines had actually undertaken to make during that time, including the above-mentioned «Avventuroso», «L'intrepido» [The Intrepid] and «Topolino» [Mickey Mouse], which was soon accepted as the template of American comics.

«Il Vittorioso» therefore carved out for itself an adolescent-specific, formative publishing space according to a Catholic standpoint, which was not covered by the magazines mentioned and not even comparable to other papers known in the Catholic world. Indeed, it was not comparable to the weekly «L'aspirante» [The Aspirant] which was left tied to the circulation inside *Catholic Action* and neither to the periodicals for children, «Fiamma viva» [Living Flame] and «Giovani amici» [Young Friends], published by Vita e Pensiero and connected to the active support of the cultural and educational project organized by Università Cattolica¹³. Neither was it similar to «Il Giornalino» [Little Newspaper], published by Edizioni San Paolo, in existence since 1924 and today the longest running Italian weekly, since the masthead of the latter catered to the reading needs of children but not adolescents.

«Il Vittorioso» knew perfectly well how to interpret the changes taking place in communication and language, which was increasingly influenced and shaped around the dissemination of films, but it was also not averse to the use of brief but incisive sentences resembling those of the Futurist style. While

¹³ See R. Lollo, *Children's literature and Modernity in Europe*, in J. De Mayer et al., *Religion and Children's Literature in Western Europe, 1750-2002*, Kadoc, studies, Leuven Press, 2003; M. Ferrari, *I periodici dell'Università Cattolica per ragazzi*, in Lollo (ed.), *Il «Corriere dei Piccoli» in un secolo di riviste per ragazzi*, cit., pp. 105-136.

these communicative changes were recognized as fascist propaganda, they were located within a well-established educational paradigm in the Catholic tradition of quality press as an extension of the social ministry of the church.

A hotbed of young cartoonists shapes young readers

The ability to understand the signs of modernity was favoured by an editorial team that was decidedly young and came from the youth organization of *Azione Cattolica*. The leaders of *Azione Cattolica* had already demonstrated in those years particular care regarding the vocational development of young people, spotted emerging talent and guided them toward various modes of expression. This occurred even in the planning phase of the magazine, when Sebastiano Craveri (1899-1973) was contacted by Prof Emilio Giaccone of *Azione Cattolica* and was invited to help to outline the format of the first issues and gave to the public the beloved *Zoolandia* series, which, with some thirty issues, would continue until 1947. Together with Prof Giaccone, one finds Franco Caprioli (1912-1974), the pillar of «Vittorioso» until the end of the paper in December 1966 and staunch supporter of the educational value of comics. There are also persons such as cartoonists, Antonio Canale (1915-1991) and Raffaele Paparella (1905-2001)¹⁴. Neither should Gian Luigi Bonelli (1905-2001) be forgotten, who had already made his debut on the «Corriere dei Piccoli» and had landed at «Il Vittorioso» in 1938. Gaetano Strazzulla¹⁵ is of the opinion that the resumption of the weekly after the first rather unsatisfactory year is due to the texts of Bonelli. To this group of original employees, young potential talent would soon be added. It was a unique generation of the 1920s that a person between fourteen and seventeen years old entered the editorial office of «Vitt» for the first time and was encouraged to observe with curiosity how much happened in this artists' studio. This is the story of Gianni De Luca (1927-1991), who joined the editorial staff of the weekly while still at school and took some drawings to the editor in chief, Pier Costante Righini. He attended this school entirely informally for six years before being able to publish his first strips in 1948¹⁶.

Moreover, the story of Lino Landolfi (1925-1988) was not so different. At age fourteen he was introduced to the forge of «Vitt» thanks to editorial priest, Don Albino and, from that day, was encouraged to work diligently on the drawings, taking his efforts to the editorial office to be able to publish the

¹⁴ Among his recollections: *I ragazzi di Piazza Cinquecento* appearing in «Il Vittorioso» in 1945.

¹⁵ G. Strazzulla, *Enciclopedia del fumetto*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1970, p. 228.

¹⁶ *Gianni De Luca, dall'illustrazione al fumetto*, «Comic Art», May 1992, p. 8.

series, *L'ineffabile Gyn* [The Ineffable Gyn] for *L'albo dei quattro cerchi* [The Comic of Four Circles] in 1947¹⁷.

However, the true champion of the group was Benito Jacovitti (1923-1997). Approached in 1940 by the director of *Azione Cattolica*, Bartolo Paschetta during a football match in an oratory in Florence, he was invited to collaborate on the *GIAC* weekly thanks to a number of drawings, which, in the meantime, had been circulated among the companions and through cartoons that appeared in the humorous paper, «Il Brivido» [The Thrill]. The young, imaginative and sarcastic man was not required to spend a period of apprenticeship, as did his peers. At the end of 1940, he published the cartoon, *Pippo e gli inglesi* [Goofy and the British], with a message which was decidedly anti-British and, therefore, not unpopular with fascism but, at the same time, with decidedly sarcastic and fundamentally sacrilegious sections as regards the dramatic nature of events. With this character, which came out a little on the sly, Jacovitti inaugurated the fun series of strips called *il ciclo dei 3P* [the cycle of the 3Ps] of which the main characters were the popular *Pippo, Pertica and Palla*¹⁸.

The editorial style, which began with this group of young collaborators eager to experiment through comics, became a distinguishing feature of the magazine even after World War II. One might say that this generation of cartoonists, born in the twenties, was enriched by the editor in chief (Red Cap), Domenico Volpi (1925), who was appointed in 1948 by the following director Carlo Carretto¹⁹. Volpi became an indispensable, ideational mind of the golden age of the magazine throughout the 1950s. In addition, thanks to Volpi, a singular figure of teacher would soon arrive at «Il Vittorioso» in the guise of former schoolmate, Alberto Manzi (1922-1997)²⁰.

Within the cultural climate and significant human relationships which began at the end of the 1930s, a new school of Italian comics was being organized, which managed to create an empathetic relationship with its readers, even by virtue of the generation gap it contained. In those years, young people wrote and drew for young people and, without denying the educational asymmetry that separated them from their readers because of the cultural recommendations of the comics they created, they were certainly in a position of proximity regarding the emerging educational needs of young people, and they were able to respond to them in creative ways.

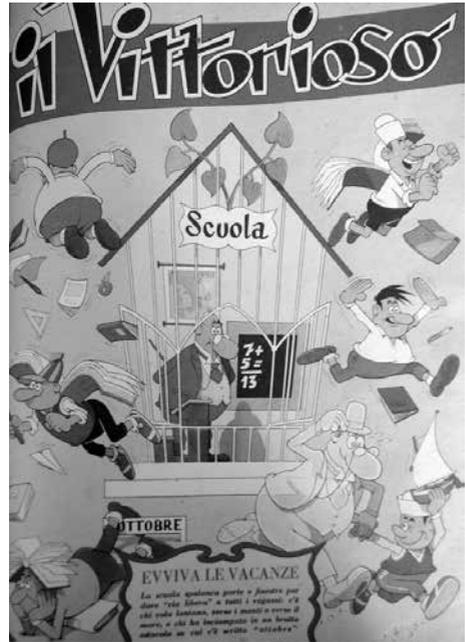
¹⁷ *Radiovitt presenta: Lino Landolfi*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 48, 1953, p. 3. Sometimes he uses the pseudonym, Procopius, the same name as one of his best known characters.

¹⁸ For an initial overview, see L. Boschi, L. Gori, A. Sani, *Jacovitti*, Bologna, Granata Press, 1992; A. Cadoni, *I settant'anni dei 3 P*, «Vitt e dintorni», n. 15, 2010, pp. 4-6.

¹⁹ Carlo Carretto edited the weekly from 1949 to 1953.

²⁰ The information regarding the meeting between Volpi e Manzi going back to the schooldays is taken from an interview by Manzi published in «Il Vittorioso». See *Radiovitt presenta: Alberto Manzi*, n. 45, 1955, p. 5.

Pic. 3. Cover «Il Vittorioso», n. 22, 1955, illustrated by Jacovitti (Photo by the author).



Pics. 4-5-6. Editorial Staff during 1950s: *Lisca di Pesce* (Benito Jacovitti), *Red Cap* (Domenico Volpi) and Alberto Manzi (Photo by the author).



Readers tell their story

What did the readers think of «Il Vittorioso»? Here, one enters an area of difficult historiographical exploration because the documentary sources are fragmentary from the small amount of available objective evidence because it is often circumscribed to the retrospective testimony of people of culture.

Along these lines there is also, for example, a recollection by Umberto Eco, omnivorous reader and precocious child, since, already from the age of eight beside «Corriere dei Piccoli» he read «Il Vittorioso», in which, among others he loved

the delicious stories in *Zoolandia*, [...] the adventures of mock-heroic *Pippo*, *Pertica* and *Palla* [...] and stories inspired directly by the on-going war. Those that struck me most were the stories of *Romano il legionario* [Romano, the Legionary] for the detail, with almost an engineer's precision, of war machines, aircraft, tanks, destroyers and submarines²¹.

On the other hand, in the field of journalism the testimony can be quoted by Giorgio Calcagno, one of the founders of the cultural supplement *Tuttolibri*, connected to the national newspaper «La Stampa». He remembers the debut of «Il Vittorioso» at the age of eight, waiting impatiently for «the heroes of the weekly» who were much more compelling than those of «Balilla» and soon became the subject of conversation among friends. Indeed, the most talented reproduced drawings of their paper heroes on their desks²².

The psychologist Fulvio Scaparro remembers leafing through «Il Vittorioso» even before being able to read it, and then «alone or with my close friends, we often resorted to that treasure trove of dreams to enrich everyday life lacking in certainty»²³.

Within the limits of the subjectivity of the testimonies one perceives, however, early majority approval among the readers towards the *GIAC* weekly that, perhaps, far beyond the expectations of its founders, was able to garner even the support of smaller children who were vividly drawn to new stimuli, and which could involve a diverse audience by social background and education.

The magazine – a gathering place for young people

The joyful, informal and experiential atmosphere of the editorial office is the expression of pedagogical activism fielded in the 1930s by *Catholic Action* in

²¹ U. Eco, *La misteriosa fiamma della Regina Loana*, Milano, Bompiani, 2004, pp. 228-229.

²² G. Calcagno, *Invece di Eja alalà gridavamo viva vitt*, «La Stampa», October 27, 1994, p. 18.

²³ F. Scaparro, *Interviews*, «L'Avvenire», November 3, 1994, p. 18.

addressing young people in need of fun, lively and concrete experiences²⁴ but different in substance from that which was the case in the dynamic systems of the regime beginning from the Balillas to reach the GUFs [University Fascist Groups]²⁵. The President of *GIAC*, Luigi Gedda, in office from 1934, was a firm believer in this policy and, emphasizing the enterprise and the dynamic design of an individual boy, he tried to mature in every young person the awareness of his role in society and, when the political climate of the post-war period allowed it, sought to promote the active participation of each person in the political, cultural and social life of the country. In this sense, «Il Vittorioso» represented an opportunity for identity and recognition for all Italian youth regarding high horizons and ideals founded on the Christian commitment that could not be reduced by fascist rhetoric. Without offering opportunities for direct confrontation with fascism, the magazine actually prepared a breeding ground for readers and contributors who were able to look at a cultural proposition that could be developed after the immediate post-war period.

It was a combination of style and charisma that led to securing the loyalty of the readers, looking for their active participation in the life of the newspaper through membership in competitions, offering its carefree and engaging writing in the column, *Convegno dell'Allegria* [Conference of Joy], and filling the pages of correspondence with meaningful questions from young people who were curious and eager to grow. Riding this wave, there was a gradual construction of a network of subscribers in cohesive groups and of loyal propagandists. Moreover, if the seeds were sown in 1950 with the establishment of the «Ala Vitt» [The Vitt Wing], the rewards were reaped in 1941 with the birth of the «loyalists». Readers who were part of this group were classified as «ardenti diffusori del Vitt» [fiery speakers of Vitt] and were coordinated by «drivers» who had the task of organizing and coordinating social and cultural gatherings in which they kept alive the sense of belonging in the «loyalists».

²⁴ L. Caimi, *Modelli educativi dell'associazionismo cattolico nel primo dopoguerra (1919-1939)*, in L. Pazzaglia (ed.), *Chiesa, cultura e educazione tra le due guerre*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2003, pp. 217-286.

²⁵ The extracurricular youth associations desired by Fascism included an internal organization split by gender and age and included: «Figli della lupa» and «Figlie della lupa» from six to eight years; «Balilla» and «Piccole italiane» from eight to fourteen years; «Avanguardisti» and «Giovani italiane» from fourteen to seventeen and «Gruppi universitari fascisti» (GUF). The organization of the groups became organic (authoritarian) starting in October, 1926 with the birth of the *Opera Nazionale Balilla* that prepared the dissolution of various youth organizations established in January, 1927. This provision, for example, established the dissolution of scouting. The only association excluded from this measure was Catholic Action. In 1937, the *National Fascist Party* gave birth to *Gioventù italiana del Littorio* [Italian Youth of the Lictor], which also took over the management of the *Opera Nazionale Balilla*. See N. Zapponi, *Le organizzazioni giovanili del fascismo, 1926-1943*, «Storia contemporanea», n. 4-5, 1982, pp. 569-633; C. Betti, *L'Opera Nazionale Balilla e l'educazione fascista*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1984; P. Dal Toso, *Nascita e diffusione dell'ASCI, 1916-1928*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2006.

The *air* metaphor used in the middle of the Second World War was undoubtedly well aligned with the fascist dictates, although it was not reducible within the limits of rhetorical language. At the same time it allowed the perception of the vertical tension towards the achievement of ever-higher goals regarding spirituality and personal maturity.

Reader loyalty was also structured through specific language and slang, which increased internal cohesion and identified a channel of communication for mutual recognition between subscribers. Familiar fascist expressions were adopted but far removed in meaning from this line of reasoning. In this sense, it was easy to oppose the fascist cry, «eja, eja, alalà» with that of «viva, viva, Vitt» of the association and the magazine. Even though it traces out the rhythm of the famous fascist motto, it kept its distance, substantially to enhance the desired centrality of existence and of «Il Vittorioso» in the children's lives.

To find something similar in magazines for Italian children, one must return to the beginning of the twentieth century with the happy days of «Il Giornalino della Domenica» [Little Sunday Newspaper] (1906-1911 and 1918-1924) and the initiative of the *Confederazione del girotondo* [Confederation of the human circle] which, through secular and antiparliamentarian foundations, summoned the readers far beyond the confines of the pages of the weekly²⁶. Nothing of this sort was part of the tradition of the «Corriere dei Piccoli», except for the early years when the page of *Corrispondenza* was in the hands of Zia Mariù, who had the extraordinary power to unite the readers in the common good of popular literacy through the ingenious apparatus in the establishment of «small libraries for rural schools»²⁷. In the 1930s, the active involvement of subscribers of «Corriere dei Piccoli» did not spread beyond the page of *Palestra dei Lettori* [Readers' Gym] and the visible logic consisted of entertaining and contacting each individual reader and not the group with its own identity. The liberal line favoured individual education in cultural, emotional and moral terms. The social commitment stemmed mainly from an intellectual knowledge of the problems to which one deferred to make one's own contribution (although the difficulties were not understood internally). A significant change is perceived only in the 1950s under the leadership of Giovanni Mosca. Despite holding a conservative line and a nostalgia in the best traditions of the magazine with regards to the paper heroes of the early decades, he felt the need to engage in empathetic dialogue with the readers and, armed with his charisma, he successfully reactivated the advice column calling it, *Il direttore risponde* [The Editor Replies]. These

²⁶ P. Pallottino (ed.), *L'incredibile avventura del «Giornalino della Domenica»*, Bologna, Bonomia Press, 2007; A. Ascenzi, M. Di Felice, R. Tumino, *Santa Giovinezza. Lettere di L. Bertelli e dei suoi corrispondenti*, Macerata, Alfabetica, 2008.

²⁷ See S. Fava, *Il progetto culturale del «Corriere dei Piccoli» avviato da Silvio Spaventa Filippi*, in Lollo (ed.), *Il «Corriere dei Piccoli» in un secolo di riviste per ragazzi*, cit., pp. 45-71; L. Cantatore, *Con il Diavolo Zoppo fra verità e fantasia. La Corrispondenza di Zia Mariù*, *ibid.*, pp. 73-85.

were also the years in which «Corrierino» (an alternative name for «Corriere dei Piccoli») became less elitist, managing to intercept the approval of the then emerging white collar middle class who felt that information, education and culture were safe passage to social emancipation. In confirmation of this more popular accessibility, there is more significant focus on sport, especially football and cycling, which had already been in the minds of those at «Il Vittorioso» at the beginning, with the celebrations of Gino Bartali, winner of the *Giro d'Italia* in 1936 and 1937, and the *Tour de France* in 1938.

Within the comic storyboard – being winners beyond propaganda

If the value of «Il Vittorioso» gave back the inner strength rather than the physical strength of the individual, it would be instructive to investigate how this aspect was dismissed in some comics in the difficult balance between adherence to imperialist themes dear to the regime and sought-after areas of autonomy.

The genre of adventure crosses most of the narratives presented by the magazine, not only because of the period in history, but also with regard to the audience who were mostly teenage males and at whom the material was targeted. As for comics that represent the distinctive characteristic of the magazine, the adventure comes to life in various forms. The style is imaginary and sarcastic, the stories are of twentieth century war and combat, and go as far as embracing the historical narrative. In all these diverse narrative situations there remains a strong connection to the present moment experienced by young readers and the narrative is not just an opportunity to escape, but remains anchored to a complex reality because it is characterized by imperial war, firstly in Ethiopia and Spain, and only then in the national territory. In these scenarios, the comics display action and battles, but at the same time provoke subtle reflection, highlighting simply and effectively the values of honesty, justice and respect for human dignity.

In this regard, the tireless output may be of interest of Sebastiano Craveri who, from the first issue drew the comic panel, *Zoo – Film*²⁸, which later became the *Zoolandia* series portraying imaginary and high-spirited anthropomorphization of animals outside of the emerging framework of the Disney stable of characters, as characterized by a network of friendships between equals and not by certainty of parental relationships in an eternal and indistinct present. Between January and April of 1938, «Il Vittorioso» published fourteen issues of *Il giro ciclistico di Zoolandia*²⁹ [The Zoolandia Cycling Tour] where one can sense the light-

²⁸ See S. Craveri, *Zoo – film*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 1, 1937, p. 6.

²⁹ S. Craveri, *Il giro ciclistico di Zoolandia*, «Il Vittorioso», from n. 2, January 15 to n. 15, April 16, 1938. The anastatic reprint of the tables is contained in Vecchio, *L'Italia del «Vittorioso»*,

hearted tone of the narrative fairy tale and the exact reference to the emerging Italian youthful fascination for cycling. The cycling competition sets the scene for likeable animals who take turns in the victory of the seven stages, not only in personal skill, but also in lending support to friends³⁰, for acts of generosity that unknowingly reap rewards³¹, the sudden chase of a mouse which leads directly to the finish line³², for an accident that becomes a source of victory³³, and for a disguise that frightens the opponent³⁴. In this way, the competition does not become adversarial superiority in terms of physical performance. The race is experienced as joyful participation, and the end result also sees the emergence of inner qualities, which find a mode of expression and one is presented with the smile of victory. It is not by chance that Craveri chooses to conclude each comic panel with the expression of the winner's frame of mind, immortalized in a sort of portrait photography. The dog, Bull, crosses the finish line «falling from the clouds»³⁵ and is rewarded for his tenacity. «Giraffone, the runner, good-natured and generous»³⁶, wins the tour cup by virtue of his altruism: while he strives to help others, he arrives rapidly at his goal.

From this perspective, winning does not mean overwhelming or even leaving out the opponent. Although the name, 'final jury' makes us think of a formal and intimidating rigidity as much as the name of the judge, *Pelacani*³⁷, in reality, their conduct is not intended to eliminate the runners, but rather to bring them back from time to time in terms of being able to continue to compete. The Christian, educational ideal to create unity and not hostility or exacerbated individualism is clearly visible in this strip from the messages and spirit that are far removed in substance from those espoused by fascism in those years. This is in spite of the language play regarding the duplicity of interpretation, which was often only superficially accessible to the dominant ideology.

cit., pp. 98-111.

³⁰ It was the friends who supported the victory of the cat, 'Micio', the fox, 'Birba' and the pig, 'Porcellino', See S. Craveri, *Il giro ciclistico di Zoolandia*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 7, February 19, 1938; n. 9, March 5; n. 11, March 19.

³¹ This is the first victory of 'Giraffone'. See S. Craveri, *Il giro ciclistico di Zoolandia*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 3, January 22, 1938.

³² The victory of Tomcat who picks up the pace in the attempt to catch a mouse. See S. Craveri, *Il giro ciclistico di Zoolandia*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 7, February 19, 1938.

³³ The fox Birba wins because her bicycle tyres suddenly become elastic and catapult her through the air to land at the finish line. See, S. Craveri, *Il giro ciclistico di Zoolandia*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 9, March 5, 1938.

³⁴ A white shirt lands on the cat, 'Micio' and she is mistaken for a ghost by her opponents and in this way she overtakes them to win. See, S. Craveri, *Il giro ciclistico di Zoolandia*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 13, April 2, 1938.

³⁵ See S. Craveri, *Il giro ciclistico di Zoolandia*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 5, February 5, 1938.

³⁶ See S. Craveri, *Il giro ciclistico di Zoolandia*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 3, January 22, 1938.

³⁷ The jury is already on the scene from the first episode and has a rather discrete presence throughout the duration of the story.

The series, *Romano il Legionario* by Kurt Caesar, is of a completely different nature. Caesar was the only foreign author of German origin on the editorial staff who made his debut on the weekly in 1938 and became a big hit with this character from an evocative name: the glories of ancient Rome enhanced with regards to propaganda from fascism³⁸ coexist, firstly in the military dedicated to the defence of the nation in various Spanish and Ethiopian conflicts and then with the entry of Italy into the war, in a variety of air and terraqueous missions. In the circumstances of a narrative of marked convergence with Italian imperialist policy, the series *Per l'Italia* [For Italy] is situated. The comic strip entitled *cineromanzo*, published between the summer and autumn of 1940³⁹, symbolically marked the entry of Italy into World War II and reinforces the exhortation to victory published in the weekly as a direct call to readers to support the soldiers committed to the front through unity and prayer⁴⁰.

Romano is deliberately presented in the opening as an «old legionary of Spain»⁴¹ to emphasize his lengthy experience in military enterprise. At the same time his transition is suggestively evoked through his human happiness as a newlywed. He can barely spend a few days on honeymoon with his wife, Isa, before suddenly having to return to fight again because of the declaration of war on France and England proclaimed by Mussolini⁴². The joy of suffering and private life survives as an unaffected allusion, but is nevertheless subordinated, without hesitation or fear, to the civilian duty to fight for the victory of the Fatherland. It is interesting that the hero of the air reaches the war zones with extraordinary feats together with his wife, bound in turn to serve the nation as a Red Cross nurse⁴³. The sharing of the mission is natural and immediate, not the result of confrontation. Isa supports her companion courageously and participates in the successes, while her husband works in danger with determination, «perfect calm»⁴⁴ and is concerned with not causing excessive fear in his wife during his aerial convolutions. Despite the focus being

³⁸ On the issue of the literary decline for children regarding propaganda of the exaltation of imperial Rome. See R. Lollo, *Letteratura per l'infanzia e fascismo*, in Pazzaglia (ed.), *Chiesa, cultura, educazione in Italia tra le due guerre*, cit., p. 377.

³⁹ K. Caesar, *Per l'Italia*, «Il Vittorioso», from n. 27, July 6 to n. 42, October 19, 1940.

⁴⁰ Information taken from E. Preziosi, *Il Vittorioso*, cit., p. 176 and from L. Becciu, *Il fumetto in Italia*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1971, p. 210.

⁴¹ K. Caesar, *Per l'Italia*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 27, July 6, 1940.

⁴² The presentation gives some rhetorical character both in making reference to «Duce» and not to «Mussolini» and in the unlikely reaction of *Romano* to feel «electrified by the news», and to decide to «reach the fatherland and fight for victory». *Ibid.*

⁴³ Isa's role during the war is explained in the fourth episode when the couple separates: At the camp, Romano and Isa greet everyone to fulfil their duties in the service of the Fatherland: Romano, aviator. Isa, Red Cross nurse. See K. Caesar, *Per l'Italia*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 30, July 27, 1940.

⁴⁴ The hypothetical call to calm is presented, for example, in the following passage. «With perfect calm, each in his place, the Italian sailors perform the difficult, rapid manoeuvre, as if it were a normal exercise... the serene confidence of the crew arouses the admiration in Isa, now calm, by Romano's side». See K. Caesar, *Per l'Italia*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 29, July 20, 1940.

an act of war in dramatic surroundings, the language is extremely controlled, not at all rhetorical and, at times, paradoxically reassuring. There is no room for reflection, the sentences are short because the narrative rhythm is insistent, and attention is focused onto acting because everything is played out in the here and now. The images are crucial to outline both particularly dynamic and detailed action scenes. Aircraft and submarines are designed in great detail, which Umberto Eco calls «almost engineering»⁴⁵, in their impetuous darting in all directions, fiery trails, clouds of smoke and parachutes, which occupy the skies of most cartoons. The attention to detail cannot be bloody because little is granted to the wounding of soldiers, and killed servicemen are not represented at all. Mostly fixed or mobile targets are struck, such as aircraft, ships and military vehicles – symbols of progress, but when they become out of commission, it does not irreversibly affect the person who drives them. The enemy, never reprimanded disparagingly, is forced to surrender and is arrested, but killings are neither represented nor directly evoked. Moreover, this is not because they are absent, but rather because death deserves respect and discretion.

Romano proves to be the winner but he is not described as invincible. He, too, is a victim of a full-contact battle with British soldiers, is taken prisoner and «providence»⁴⁶ protects him from almost certain death, allowing him to be freed by his companions. This reaffirmed sense of human limitations and the goal of victory are achieved thanks also to the inscrutable divine. Beside the storming of the fort, where the Italian tricolour stands as a symbol of victory, a group of soldiers quietly prays during the Holy Mass⁴⁷. The Christian message is a reminder, then, that each victory brings with it, however, the cost of human lives escaping the easy, rhetorical triumphalism of the fascist mould.

As the armed conflict proceeds, the spirit, which is at least formally triumphant, of the repeated victories of *Romano il legionario* is not enough to withstand an ever increasingly difficult backdrop for a young public to accept. The escalation of comic books with a historical background able to emphasize the epics of Christianity does not seem to be entirely coincidental. It is so distant from a present in which it is increasingly more complex to be situated fairly, and reaffirms the substantial value of the Christian roots of Italian people. In 1941, in this very environment, one can also find the historical cartoon novel by Gian Luigi Bonelli and drawings by Raffaele Paparella entitled, *I tre gigli*⁴⁸ [The three lilies]. This comic by Bonelli – future author of the famous Tex Willer⁴⁹ strips –

⁴⁵ U. Eco, *La misteriosa fiamma della Regina Loana*, Milano, Bompiani, 2004, p. 229.

⁴⁶ The image caption that represents the protagonist prisoner points out, 'Providence protects Romano once again. Saved from the collapse of the building, he manages to break the ties that bind him with a broken beam'. See, K. Caesar, *Per l'Italia*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 36, September 7, 1940.

⁴⁷ See K. Caesar, *Per l'Italia*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 42, October 19, 1940.

⁴⁸ G.L. Bonelli, *I Tre gigli*, «Il Vittorioso», from n. 24, June 14 to n. 40, October 4, 1941, for a total of 17 episodes.

⁴⁹ As is well known, Gian Luigi Bonelli would create the comic book character and the

set in the eighth century A.D. at the time of the wars between Longobard King, Desiderius and Frankish King, Charlemagne⁵⁰, subtly emphasizes the defence of Christianity by Charlemagne against Desiderius who, at that point, has been excommunicated by the pope and, for this reason, viewed in a dim light. In the fictional narrative there is indeed skilful play in the disruption of points of view and in the presumption, from the very beginning, of the apparent defence of the Longobards who suffer at the hands of the Frankish invasion and who state proudly, «We will show the Franks what kind of blood flows through the veins of the Italic peoples»⁵¹. In actual fact, the story soon begins to outline a more complex situation than the simplistic juxtaposition between military formations. The reader is led to transcend the Manichean vision between winners and losers, and is led to discover the force of values capable of overthrowing situations of apparent power. Symbolically, it is stated that «power is a double edged sword, and often kills those who wields it»⁵². Thus the apparent advantage gained by the traitor is unmasked and the strongest is the one who has faith in institutions guaranteeing justice. In this way, anyone can be a winner in the assigned role. Not only does Charlemagne stand out as a winner because he acts fairly, and in this sense is a worthy guardian of Christianity, but also the memory of Longobard Count, Valbruna, betrayed by his servant and for this, killed⁵³, finds justice in the loyalty of his men who work to restore the lost sense of legality. On different levels, the winners of the novel are those who, in their actions, embody the values of allegiance, justice and even mercy, not exercising vengeance for a wrong suffered. This was the meaning symbolically represented by the crest of the three lilies. The readers of «Il Vittorioso» could identify with these values and learn to trust in a way of thinking that favours inner depth rather than mere physical force, equity compared to arrogance, the dignity of the person compared to blind submission, and the search for a common good rather than that of just the individual.

The examples offered reveal in the magazine the presence of stories in comic form which are not simplistically classifiable within the borders of rhetorical language, let alone meeting the programmatic values of «clarity and speed»⁵⁴ hoped for by Giuseppe Fanciulli in regard to journalism for young people at

eponymous magazine, Tex Willer in 1948 along with Aurelio Galleppini (Galep).

⁵⁰ The historical context is explained in the opening where it states, «773. All attempts in vain to peaceful agreement between Desiderius, King of the Lombards, and Charles, King of the Franks, the latter beginning the war campaign and, having passed the Cenisio, clashed at the locks with the opposing army». See G.L. Bonelli, *I Tre gigli*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 24, June 14, 1941.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² See G.L. Bonelli, *I Tre gigli*, «Il Vittorioso», n. 28, July 12, 1941.

⁵³ It should be noted that, unlike in the comic, *Per l'Italia*, here the theme of death appears much more bearable thanks to the historical distance which lightens the sense of anguish, which is more easily noticeable against a narrative that relates to the present moment.

⁵⁴ G. Fanciulli, *Il giornalismo per i ragazzi: quello che è stato, quello che è, quello che potrebbe e dovrebbe essere*, in *Convegno nazionale per la letteratura infantile e giovanile*, Relazioni, Roma,

the first Child and Youth Literature Convention held in Bologna in November, 1938. While the distinguished literary critic, now authoritarian with respect to fascism, thought of speed as the requirement of action because «even today, a child has no time to waste» being projected into industriousness to serve the nation, *GIAC* held the idea that brief language was less exposed to the risk of rhetoric. The clarity of the word for Fanciulli avoided dubious interpretations, while «*Il Vittorioso*» carved out a polysemic language space to introduce opening messages over and beyond the dark confines of militarism and exaggerated nationalism. It was just these cartoon spaces, prohibited by the speakers at the conference in Bologna on anti-Americanism, which were the object of experimentation in the Italian Catholic magazine. Taking advantage of the peculiarities of the modern communicative medium, the comic suggested more than in other traditional spaces of the magazine, an instant message which was, at times, fresh and allowed young people to believe in a more authentic view of man.

This outline reveals some surprising conclusions, if they are assessed within a longer span of time and includes the first few decades of the democratic construction of Italy. It does not seem to be the case that the speakers noticed at the aforementioned conference of 1938. «*Il Vittorioso*» had been in existence for two years, yet there are only indirect references to the magazine. In none of the accounts presented at the conference is there an explicit reference, not only because there were no obvious elements of criticism, but also one could not even highlight the size of the full involvement on the part of the dominant ideology. The reflections of the regime around the periodical press of apparent indifference to the new Catholic weekly are actually a clear indication of non-peaceful sharing of its project, so as not to be able to validate it among output by the regime. Leaving it in a silent limbo perhaps reveals some concern regarding the solidity of the editorial plan that the weekly was organizing. The Catholic paper took advantage of this limbo to silently organize a message capable of acting in the depths of young hearts and minds and which, over time, produced valuable learning outcomes.

Problems and the course of education in Terezín Ghetto*

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ABSTRACT: The education of the children and youth was considered one of the most important issues in Terezín Ghetto. Many educators and take-carers searched for the 'proper' or 'real education', or for what the meaning and aim of education in a ghetto is supposed to be. In a ghetto which represented just a kind of transfer station on the way further to the East. In a ghetto where the death was everyday reality and where all the rules and values valid in a common society were trodden on in an unprecedented way. What is or should be the aim of education in a forced society, in a ghetto which was founded on the basis of the depraved ideology of national socialism and the aim of which was to exterminate and whose 'inhabitants' were in thousands transported to their deaths? The following study deals not only with the issue of aims and means of education in Terezín, the formation of the department of Jewish self-government *Care for Children and Youth*, but also with the issue of children homes and their everyday educational programme. The issues investigated is also put to the context of Terezín Ghetto, or to the «Final Solution» to the Jewish Problem in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia¹.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children; Education; Concentration Camps; II World War; Racial Segregation; Czechoslovakia; XX Century.

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¹ When Czechoslovakia became occupied by Germany, the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia was established on March 15, 1939. The Czechoslovak government led by the president Edward Beneš was forced to go to exile in London. They came back to Prague only after the liberation of Czechoslovakia in May 1945. For the whole duration of the Protectorate a state president Emil Hácha was formally appointed, but the real holder of the power was Reich Protector in Bohemia and Moravia. The Protector, as a representative of Adolf Hitler, appointed and dismissed the members of the protectorate government, issued his own decrees and he could veto any protectorate act, decree or judgement which was in contradiction with German interests. Konstantin von Neurath was appointed the Reich Protector in March 1939.

1. *What was Terezín Ghetto like*

Terezín Ghetto was used as a collection camp for Jews not only from the Protectorate, but also from other parts of Europe (Austria, Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands, etc.). The main function of Terezín Ghetto was to collect and transport Jews further to the East to extermination and concentration camps. After Czechoslovakia was broken by Nazi Germany, after Munich Agreement was signed in September 1938, after the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia was established in March 1939 and after Reinhard Heydrich became the Reich Protector in September 1941, the occupying power started to concentrate also on the solution of the «Jewish problem» on the territory of the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia. The decision was made that a «collection and transit camp»² for inhabitants of Jewish origin according to Nurnberg law will be established. The ghetto was established on 24th November 1941 when the first transport of Protectorate Jews, so called Aufbaukommando, arrived at Terezín.

The fortress character³ of this town which had about 3,500 inhabitants before the war is usually presented as one of the main reasons why the Nazis chose Terezín. High stone walls around the whole town hindered prisoners' escape, barracks enabled a lot of people to be housed there. Straight, symmetrical, and wide streets easily provided information on what was going on in the town. The proximity of Prague (about 60 km) and the access to the important railway which could be used to bring in and take away the Jews were further reasons.

From the beginning of its existence, the Nazi occupying power assigned Terezín Ghetto several functions in the «final solution» of the Jewish problem. Terezín was used as a temporary transit camp, as a ghetto⁴ for the old, it was the place of decimation and it also played an important role as a means of propaganda. The functions were mutually interconnected, in different periods they overlapped and they often worked in contradiction.

² A meeting at Heydrich's on October 10, 1941. A record from the meeting, compare K. Lagus, J. Polák, *Město za mřížemi (City behind bars)*, Praha, Naše vojsko, 1964, pp. 58-61.

³ Terezín fortress was founded in 1780 by the Emperor Joseph II. and was supposed to be used as a protective military fortress against invasions from Prussia. Although it was considered the most modern in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, it had never been used for war purposes, mainly for the reason of changes in military strategies.

⁴ On terminology whether to refer to Terezín as a ghetto or a concentration camp compare P. Klein, *Terezín: ghetto, nebo koncentrační tábor?*, «Terezínské studie a dokumenty», 2006, pp. 100-111. Klein in his study presents a very complex analysis of historic facts and documents which led to the decision that it is more appropriate to refer to Terezín as a ghetto than a concentration camp.

1.1. *Terezín as a transit camp*

It was decided in October 1941 that Terezín would function as a «temporary collection camp». Altogether 139,654 European Jewish inhabitants were deported to Terezín out of which more than half, 73,608 people, were Jews from the Protectorate. Terezín fulfilled the function of a transit camp almost from its beginning. Transports from Terezín to eastern concentration and extermination camps, mainly to Auschwitz, started already in January 1942, which means six weeks after the ghetto was established. In total, 86,934 prisoners were deported from Terezín, out of which 83 thousand did not survive the war⁵.

1.2. *Terezín as a ghetto for the old*

The function of Terezín as a ghetto for the old was mainly connected with the decision of Nazi leaders not to deport old meritorious Jews from the Third Reich directly to eastern concentration camps, but to transport them to Terezín ghetto first. Heydrich talked openly about Terezín as a ghetto for the old (*Altersghetto*) on a conference in Wannsee. In the minutes from this meeting there is written: «It is intended not to evacuate Jews over 65, but to transport them to a ghetto for the old – Terezín is supposed to be the place»⁶. Deportations to Terezín were intended to prevent frequent interventions which accompanied transports of German Jews. The public was presented a misleading idea of Terezín as a camp where the old are taken care of.

1.3. *Terezín as a place of decimation*

Almost 24% (33,430 people exactly) of the prisoners in Terezín died. The decimation of Terezín prisoners reached its peak in the period between August 1942 and April 1943 when up to 65% of the prisoners who were kept at the ghetto at that time died (21,877 people)⁷. The Jews in the ghetto were exposed to cruel living conditions. The housing conditions could be referred to as catastrophic. In the middle of March 1943⁸ there was a person per

⁵ The data taken from Lagus, Polák, *Město za mřížemi*, cit., pp. 18-19.

⁶ Cited according to H. Krejčová, *Prominenti v ghettu Terezín*, Praha, Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1996, p. 26. The translation of the minutes of the meeting is stored in the archive of the Ministry of Interior of the CR (MV ČR), 325-90-7.

⁷ The data taken from Lagus, Polák, *Město za mřížemi*, cit., p. 22.

⁸ Compare G.H. Adler, *Theresienstadt 1941-45: Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft*, JCB Mohr, 1955, pp. 326-327.

approximately 2.05 m². The ghetto was overcrowded, which caused serious hygiene and health problems. Bad health conditions, frequent illnesses and epidemics constantly on spread were reflected in high mortality rate. Also the malnutrition of the absolute majority of Terezín prisoners contributed to it. Unbalanced, poor and monotonous diet caused permanent hunger. In Terezín, hunger, although it was a bit less cruel than in eastern extermination camps, was one of the main means of decimation. In the ghetto, there were different diet categories and the ones who did not work, namely old people, we given the smallest and poorest portions. The prisoners were allowed from time to time to get a parcel from the outside world from their relatives or friends, which could, at least temporarily, improve their situation a bit.

1.4. *Terezín as a means of Nazi propaganda*

Terezín ghetto was also used for the purpose of propaganda. The Nazi propaganda used it as a main argument against a growing amount of news about extermination of Jews which started to appear in the world from summer 1942. Terezín was supposed to be living evidence against this ‘rumour’. The international public was, however, presented not real, but fictitious Terezín – as a model and model ghetto.

For this purpose a project *Stadtverschönerung* (‘making the town pretty’) was announced in December 1943 that the prisoners in Terezín accepted with very contradictory feelings. On the one hand it led to further deportations because the Nazis concluded that for the presentation of Terezín to be successful, the number of the imprisoned people had to be radically decreased. In the autumn 1943 and in May 1944 more than 17 thousand Terezín prisoners were transported to Auschwitz-Birkenau. On the other hand, the project led to certain improvements in the life in the ghetto because certain so far forbidden premises were made accessible, the possibility of being outside was extended, a ‘coffee shop’ was opened and ‘cultural life’ began. An entry from a diary well depicts the atmosphere in Terezín: «Every day concerts, lectures, plays or even a revue take place and at the same time German Jews are dying here of hunger in the barracks»⁹. The idea of ‘free’ artistic life would be a mere illusion in this context because too free a statement reflecting the feelings of the imprisoned or the real face of the ghetto meant a death sentence in the form of inclusion in the nearest transport or transfer to the prison of Gestapo in the Small Fortress.

On June 23, 1944, International Red Cross delegation came to Terezín. In the morning its representatives inspected Terezín accompanied by Reich’s-

⁹ *Deník Evy Roubíčkové*, cited according to M. Kárný, *Konečné řešení: Genocida českých židů v německé protektorátní politice*, Praha, Academia, 1991, p. 104.

officials following an in-advance-prepared route (and checked by the Nazis several times), so they were denied the real picture of Terezín. In the final report by the International Red Cross it is stated: «Terezín camp is a final camp and no one who entered the ghetto is sent elsewhere»¹⁰.

The attempts to use Terezín for propaganda to the maximum extent reached its climax when a 'documentary' film was made. The film was called *Theresienstadt – Ein Dokumentarfilm aus dem jüdischen Siedlungsgebiet*¹¹. The film, the main aim of which was to present a false picture of the life in the camp and to falsely inform the world about the fate of European Jews, was shot in the ghetto in August and September 1944. Hundreds of Terezín prisoners were forced to cooperate on its production, including a German director Kurt Gerron, who was appointed the leader of the Jewish realization team by the Nazis. «The film does not lie so much in what it shows as in what it does not show: hunger, poverty, concentration of people in a small space, slave labour for German war economy, high rate of mortality and mainly transports leaving for the East»¹², Karol Margy concludes in his study on this film. After the film was shot, 18,402 Terezín prisoners were deported to Auschwitz, out of which an overwhelming majority were killed in gas chambers.

2. Looking for the 'purpose of existence' in the Terezín Ghetto

The first question which preceded the search for the purpose of education was search for the 'purpose of existence' in Terezín.

The central question, people who found themselves in the centre of the life threatening camp reality looked for an answer to, was the purpose of their existence. What was the meaning of life in conditions which denied life? What was the meaning of life in the middle of immense suffering and destruction? What meaning could be found in complete uncertainty where no one knew what the following minute would bring? The purpose of existence in a concentration camp was a primary question each prisoner had to face. Each alone. And each by him/herself.

With each attempt to rise inside, to prevent mental or physical 'fall', the question of the purpose of one's own existence came forward again and again. Literally Copernicus-like turnout can be found in the reasoning of Viktor

¹⁰ Zpráva Maurice Rossela o prohlídce Terezína 23. června 1944, «Terezínské studie a dokumenty», 1996, pp. 188-206.

¹¹ More closely on this, compare K. Margy, *Nacistický propagandistický film o Terezíně*, in M. Kárný, V. Blodig (edd.), *Terezín v "konečném řešení židovské otázky"*, Praha, Logos, 1992, pp. 208-225.

¹² Margy, *Nacistický propagandistický film o Terezíně*, cit., p. 223.

Emanuel Frankl (1905-1997)¹³, the founder of logotherapy, who personally experienced concentration camps in Terezín and Auschwitz and who saw the main strategy or philosophy of survival in finding the meaning of life, in finding the meaning of life even in suffering and death. Frankl believed that «it is not at all important what we expect of life, but rather what life expects of us»¹⁴. A man is not the one who asks about the meaning of his/her life, but life challenges a man by means of questions and problems. It is a man who is responsible for fulfilling tasks life presents him/her with.

The question about the meaning of life, according to Frankl, cannot ever be answered in a general way. No man and no fate can really be compared with another one. In each situation which is always different and unrepeatable a man is again and again faced with new questions and is challenged to act in a different way. What answer to a specific situation a specific man chooses is always their individual choice. If, therefore, the fate has a specific man live through suffering, then a man should understand it as their specific task which life requires from them. Since in a concentration camp it was no longer just the matter of meaning of life, but «also the meaning of suffering and death that we fought for»¹⁵.

The reality in Terezín Ghetto and other concentration camps was hideous, was 'mad' and it denied all human experience gained to that time. Nothing in it corresponded with what a man usually perceives as reality. It was turning unreal. A man perceived it as a deception, as an illusion, as a result of ill imagination. And only a few prisoners were able to distinguish between reality and deception. Hans Günther Adler (1910-1988)¹⁶, a historian and a former Terezín prisoner¹⁷, speaks in this connection about the fact that reality was

¹³ Viktor Emanuel Frankl was born in Vienna in 1905 in a Jewish family. His parents were Austrian. He completed studies of medicine at Viennese University, where he later, in 1937, established his own private surgery specialized in neurology and psychiatry. In 1942 he was transported to Terezín Ghetto, from which he was then deported to the concentration camp Auschwitz and then Türkheim. During his imprisonment in the concentration camps, the first ideas of logotherapy started to form in his head. He organized secret meetings and tried to convince fellow prisoners that if they had something to live for they would survive. After the liberation he published a book already in the year 1945 called *A přesto říci životu ano* [And Yet to Say Yes to Life], in which he described the fundamentals of logotherapy and summarised strategies of survival in a concentration camp.

¹⁴ V.E. Frankl, *A přesto říci životu ano*, Kostelní Vydří, Karmelitánské nakladatelství, 1996, p. 73.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁶ Hans Günther Adler was a Czech Jewish writer and historian. He was born in Prague in 1910 where he also studied music at a university. He was deported to Terezín together with his wife and parents in February 1942. In 1944 he was deported to Auschwitz and then to subsidiary camps of Buchenwald. After the liberation he lived in Prague. No one else from his family survived. In February 1947, he emigrated to London, where he lived till his death in 1988.

His trilogy about the life in Terezín Ghetto, *Terezín 1941-1945: Tvář nuceného společenství* [Terezín 1941-1945. The face of forced society], became particularly popular.

¹⁷ H.G. Adler, *Terezín 1941-1945: Tvář nuceného společenství*, Brno, Barrister&Principal,

not perceived as existing, but it was deconstructing into im-possibility, into un-reality because each value or trait of character lost or changed its originally valid meaning. In the reality of Terezín everything fell down in an instant in order to originate again and then fall down again. People were confused all the time and were being misled again and again. They lived on the border between something and nothing. Every day and every hour they balanced on a narrow border between being and not being. In this sense people perceived their existence as provisional. As temporary. They, however, even did not know how long they «will be able» to «stay» here. They did not know how long they would be forced to put up with trials of everyday life, they did not know they how long they would have to «endure» it¹⁸. Duration and transience were interlinked here.

Emil Utitz (1883-1956)¹⁹, Terezín prisoner and psychologist, noticed during his numerous observations of the life in the ghetto that prisoners were becoming irritated and numb. He saw the reasons in physical and psychical difficulties – permanent hunger, lice, cold, lack of privacy, permanent queues for everything. It did not skip his attention that it is either great optimists, or people involved in professions where they were useful for others, who could cope with the difficult conditions in the ghetto best. And also people with creative souls.

Another characteristic phenomenon of the life in a camp is described by Utitz as «the escape into the past»²⁰. People whose lives were levelled escaped to their past which provided seeming safety. To the past which if needed could be amended in various ways. People in a ghetto made up their past to escape from the present. The past enabled them to forget the horror and all the wrongs of the present.

This focus on the past, however, represented a certain kind of danger. It devalued the present and all the horrors which took place in it. On the other hand this devaluation prevented the perception of impulses needed to create the reality, impulses for the tasks a man was challenged to perform by life or fate. Frankl comments on it:

2007.

¹⁸ Compare Adler, *Terezín 1941-1945*, cit., p. 49.

¹⁹ E. Utitz, *Psychologie života v terezínském koncentračním táboře* [Psychology of Life in Terezín Concentration Camp], Prague, 1947. Emil Utitz, a university professor, born to a German-Jewish family in Prague. After the graduation at a grammar school in Prague he studied law in Munich, then Philosophy at German University in Prague and he also studied at Wilhelm Wundt in Leipzig. From 1910 he worked as a Professor of Philosophy at the university in Rostock. In 1924-34 he gave lectures in Philosophy at the university in Halle. Because of the onset of fascism he left Halle and went to Prague where he worked as a professor of Philosophy, Psychology and Aesthetics at German University. In 1939 all universities in the Protectorate were closed. In the years 1942-1945 he was imprisoned in Terezín Ghetto. After the war he worked at the Institute of Philosophy of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague. In 1956 he died during a lecture stay in Jena.

²⁰ Utitz, *Psychologie života v terezínském koncentračním táboře*, cit., p. 17.

Such people forget that it is a difficult situation which provides a man with an opportunity to internally exceed oneself. Instead of accepting the difficulties of the life in a camp as a trial of their inner conviction, they do not take their present existence seriously; they devalue it into something alien which is best to be shut away and people are left just with their past lives. Lives of such people then come to a deadlock²¹.

On opposite tendency of mind and an important strategy of survival in a concentration camp was the faith in the future. Those who lost faith in the future lost an important mental support which strengthened them and provided courage and hope. Faith in the future supported the will to survive. An inner fall into despair and sadness significantly weakened the immunity of an organism, which could lead to succumbing to a trivial disease.

It was necessary to use all possible occasions to remind the imprisoned people of 'the why' of their lives, to help them to see what is awaiting them and what other tasks they still have in before them. In such cases people became strong and tough and were able to cope with terrible 'how' in a concentration camp. «Those who have a 'why' in their lives can cope with all kinds of 'how'»²². Inner strength, a mind directed at a specific target related to the future, represented one of the miracles of survival in inhumane conditions of concentration camps. People who were able to realize their responsibility towards their work or a beloved person were not able to 'lose' their lives. Those who understood 'the why' of their existence were also able to bear any 'how'²³. On the other hand, people who did not find or could not find 'the why of their existence' lost themselves, lost their dignity, were people dead while alive whose total physical exhaustion and fading eyes signalled the nearness of death. In a concentration camp such a person was referred to as a «Musselmann»²⁴.

3. *The limits of education in Terezín and Jewish prison self-government*

3.1. *Jewish self-government in Terezín*

The self-government consisting of Terezín prisoners took part in the ghetto operation, but in fact it could not decide about it because its operation was governed solely by orders coming from the Nazi leaders of the camp. The Jewish self-government was led by the Jewish Elder (*Judenälteste*)²⁵ and the

²¹ Frankl, *A přesto říci životu ano*, cit., p. 70.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

²⁴ More on this topic, compare J. Améry, *Bez viny a bez trestu: Pokus o zvládnutí nezvládnutelného*, Praha, Mladá fronta, 1999.

²⁵ The first Jewish Elder in Terezín was Jacob Edelstein (the former chair of the Jewish Community in Prague). Edelstein was deported to Terezín on 4th December 1941. In January

Council of Elders (*Ältestenrat*). The Jewish Elder was fully answerable to the Nazi commanders who he was in everyday contact with; he reported to them about the ghetto and at the same time received orders from them on a daily basis. The Council of Elders was an advisory body of the Jewish Elder, which decided about important issues of the ghetto, about its inner government and about all aspects of life of the prisoners. The management itself was performed by an extensive administrative apparatus which consisted of several central departments which were divided into a number of sub-departments and sections. The most important departments were the department of transport and the department of central records where records about all Terezín prisoners were kept. Other departments included department of economy, inner management, technical, financial and health department, department of the care for the youth, leisure time department and labour department. Nazi commanders transferred all the work and agenda connected with the operation of the camp to the Jewish self-government, but they strictly controlled and ordered it.

3.2. Egon Redlich and Fredy Hirsch, leaders of the department of care for the children and youth

Children and youth were managed in the ghetto by the department of self-government called Care for Children and Youth (*Jugendfürsorge*), which took care of children between 4 and 16 years old. Under the limited conditions it strived to make lives of the children in the ghetto more bearable (bigger portions of food, better accommodation, etc.) and at the same time to protect the children from the influence of the forced society on their personalities.

From the beginning *Jugendfürsorge* was led by Egon (Gonda) Redlich, a member of the Zionist movement. He saw the future, after war, life and also the direction of education in Terezín in the life in Palestine. Redlich became the leader of the department (an ideologically loaded position) as a twenty-

1943 Edelstein was dismissed from the office of the Jewish Elder, based on an order by a SS leader of the camp. In November 1943 Jacob Edelstein was arrested, deported to Auschwitz in December where he was shot in June 1944 after he had to witness the death of his wife and his only son. The second Jewish Elder was Paul Eppstein (the former chair of the Reich Association of Jews). Paul Eppstein was arrested in September 1944 and immediately executed in the Small Fortress. Benjamin Marmelstein was the last Jewish Elder in the period from September 1944 to the liberation of Terezín in May 1945. After deportations in autumn 1944 during which the majority of Terezín prisoners were carted off to Auschwitz, Marmelstein and the Jewish self-government managed to re-establish the inner operation of the ghetto, which significantly contributed to the fact that the Nazis abandoned the idea of the complete destruction of Terezín (autumn 1944). More on this topic compare K. Lagus, J. Polák, *Město za mřížemi*, Praha, Naše vojsko, 1964. And also M. Kárný, V. Blodig (edd.), *Terezín v "konečném řešení židovské otázky"*, Praha, Logos, 1992.

five year old student of law. His pedagogical experience came from long-term involvement in youth Zionist movement and from his work as a leader of a Prague school for out-migration of Jewish youth. Redlich turned out to be a good organiser who implemented modern teaching methods and organized evenings of literature and music²⁶.

Redlich kept a detailed diary in Terezín in which he described different aspects of life in the ghetto. Redlich noted the following about the activities of *Jugendfürsorge* in his diary: «Sometimes a lot of work. We do not manage»²⁷. He devoted many evenings to dialogs with educators about education, not only Jewish. He focused his attention also on problems of behaviour. We can read about one of them, frequent thefts performed by children (*schleussen*):

Problems: how to deal with the question of *Schleussen*, where the difference is between the theft for a group and the theft for an individual. It is difficult here where we lack examples to bring the children up to a hundred percent morale. There are problems here which are extremely interesting from the viewpoint of education, but very difficult to solve²⁸.

Several months later Gonda found himself in a situation typical for the education in Terezín. He met a group of children suffering from whooping cough who were allowed to go out to a meadow by the Nazi commanders. He asked one of the children if he is ill. The child answered that he is not. When he urged him to say when asked that he also had a cough, the child answered that he was not a liar²⁹. Educators in Terezín had to solve similar situations which were difficult to solve and answer much too often.

Fredy (Alfred) Hirsch, another well-known person of Zionist youth movement before Terezín, came to the department in the middle of 1942. Hirsch was German who emigrated to Czechoslovakia in the 30th from Berlin where he studied at Sport Academy. By means of his temperament, vitality and enthusiasm Hirsch managed literally to carry Terezín children away so it could have seemed that it is Hirsch, not Redlich, who is the leader of the department.

Fredy was fully devoted to the idea of Zionism and promoted the spread of sport activities among Terezín youth. Remembers Zuzana Růžičková, who was fourteen at that time:

Fredy insisted on us exercising each morning and playing games on the barracks yard. He kept repeating again and again that careful personal hygiene and keeping fit are the only way to survival [...] Whenever the weather got a bit better he managed to get permission to take us once a week outside to the fresh air. Even today, I can still see his silhouette against

²⁶ M. Kryl, *Redlichův deník*, in E. Redlich, *Zítřka jedeme, synu, pojedeme transportem*, Brno, Doplněk, 1995, p. 77.

²⁷ *Redlich's records from February 4th and March 18th, 1942*. Cited according to E. Redlich, *Zítřka jedeme, synu, pojedeme transportem*, Brno, Doplněk, 1995, pp. 91 and 104.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, record from November 14th, cit, 1942, p. 158.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, record from June 19th, 1942, p. 127.

the blue sky as he demonstrated the exercises, his whistle beating time. The time on the walls was always the best in the whole week³⁰.

On 6th September 1943 Alfred Hirsch was transported to the so called family camp Auschwitz-Birkenau, where he again took care of children at a children's block. Numerous testimonies illustrate Hirsch's tireless pedagogical efforts in the cruel conditions of an extermination camp. Together with other educators he organized a programme for the children there which included at least some teaching and he again insisted on hygiene and tidiness. In the period between 7th and 9th March 1944 all former Terezín prisoners from September 1943 transports were killed in gas chambers. F. Hirsch allegedly committed suicide shortly before thousands of Czech men, women and children were slaughtered³¹.

4. *Formation of children's homes*

1st July 1942, the official date of the opening of Terezín ghetto, represented a radical change in the lives of children and adults in Terezín. Since that day the whole town of Terezín had been used as a Jewish ghetto, after all its former inhabitants had left. The opening of the ghetto meant bigger perception of freedom for the prisoners because they stopped being guarded by German armed police in several barracks and could move in the whole territory of the camp.

The opening of the ghetto also brought a significant change in the organization of life of the children in Terezín. They were moved from the former children's *kinderheimů* in barracks to separate buildings which were allocated solely for children and youth. The first boys' home L 417 was founded in the building formerly belonging to school in the summer 1942 and others soon followed. Most of the children under the age of ten lived in children's homes. The young between ten and fifteen lived in youth's homes. The home for the youngest, L 318, was for children between four and nine. Among the youth homes, boys' home L 417 and girls' home were of real significance. L 410 and also German and Austrian Youth Home L 414 are well known. Apprentices' homes were for the young under 18 and were labelled as Q 609, Q 706-710, L 218.

³⁰ Cited according to L. Ondřichová, *Příběh Fredyho Hirsche*, Praha, Sefer a Institut Tereziánské iniciativy, 2001, pp. 58-59.

³¹ Also R. Vrba and A. Wetzler reported on the tragic end of the so called Czech family camp and on the personality of F. Hirsch. They managed to escape from Auschwitz in April 1944. See their book: R. Vrba, A. Wetzler, *Továrna na smrt*, Praha, Sefer, 1998. And also R. Bondyová, *Dětský blok v rodinném táboře*, in T. Brod, M. Kárný, M. Kárná, *Tereziánský rodinný tábor v Osvětimi-Birkenau*, Praha, Melantrich, Nadace Tereziánská iniciativa, 1994, pp. 50-63.

4.1. *Common features of education in children's homes*

Based on the surviving reports, diary entries or memories³² of the people who survived we can see some common features of children's homes which are characterized both by external determiners as well as by everyday content of educational attempts in Terezín³³.

Transports to extermination camps in the East, mainly to Auschwitz, represented one of the determining moments of life in a home. With each transport a large number of children and educators left and their places were taken by other children and educators, so the 'inhabitants' of homes constantly changed. Transports into unknown and frequently broken up friendships contributed to great sadness and uncertainty of Terezín children.

Insufficient food and hunger afflicted not only the adults, but also the children, even despite the attempts of Jewish self-government to provide the children with bigger portions of food, because it was children who were considered the future of the Jewish nation. Poor Terezín diet and the number of inhabitants in the ghetto contributed to high sickness rate of the children and spread of epidemics. Helga Weiss writes about typhoid epidemic in her diary:

This is not a home any longer, this is a hospital. Everyone tries to avoid us, half of L 410 is ill. Thermometers constantly at 40 degrees. The number of the sick is growing every day. The sick room is not big enough. Rooms are full of sick people and the doctor does not know what to do³⁴.

Compulsory work in gardens, where children grew fruit and vegetables for German commanders filled children's days mainly in spring and summer. In winter children had more free time and could do also other activities: «While in summer girls had to devote all their time to work in the garden, now their interest in mental work is more and more awoken and they get involved in it as much as their free time allows them»³⁵.

Lack of space was a problem for a number of children in homes. Children slept on triple bunk beds which usually took up almost the whole room. In

³² More on this topic, compare J. Hořec (ed.), *Deníky dětí: Deníky a zápisky z koncentračních táborů*, Praha, Naše vojsko, 1961. And also P. Ginz, *Prager Tagebuch 1941-1942*, Berlin, Berlin Verlag, 2006. Then children's magazines stored in the archive of Terezín Memorial. Reports by educators stored in Jewish Museum in Prague. Memories of survivors in the collections of the Jewish Museum in Prague.

³³ On education in Terezín, compare: D. Kasperová, *Výchova a vzdělávání židovských dětí v protektorátu a v ghettu Terezín*, Praha, Humanitas, Charles University in Prague, 2010. And D. Kasperová, *Erziehung und Bildung der jüdischen Kinder im Ghetto Theresienstadt und im Protektorat*, Bad Heilbrunn, Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, 2014.

³⁴ *Diary of Helga Weiss-Hošek*, in J. Hořec (ed.), *Deníky dětí: Deníky a zápisky z koncentračních táborů*, Praha, Naše vojsko, 1961, p. 35.

³⁵ Unsigned report without a title about girls' home L 410 is stored in Terezín Memorial, file no. A 7598.

the middle there usually used to be a table with benches where the children ate, learned, read and talked. They stored their personal belongings on shelves which they had on their bunk beds. The lack of space represented a frequent source of problems and quarrels among the children:

I was ill and lay on my bed. Girls at the table were preparing a bread cake for our educator. We were really looking forward to the moment when we would give her the cake made of bread we managed to save. I had a fever and tossed and turned on my bed and in delirium I dropped some shoe polish on the almost finished cake. No one can imagine the exasperation which fell upon the home³⁶.

Life in a home – unified educational principles, common children's interests and the possibility to take part in the operation of the home were the prerequisites for the creation of a mutual community. Not all the children felt to be closely connected with the home and the way of introducing at least a unifying idea or thought was often very difficult. «After a long discussion about principles which the girls actively participated in we managed to reach their acceptance which we wanted to develop further by means of regular discussions»³⁷, says the report from L410 from November 1942, which was probably written by Rosa Engländer.

Children's self-government – the majority of homes had their own children's self-government. Thanks to the children's parliament and children's self-government the children gained a direct influence on what was going on in the home, which led to a certain level of co-responsibility and it also facilitated children's autonomy. Children's self-government appropriate for the age of the boys was supposed to facilitate team spirit, was supposed to lead to responsibility for the whole group and to suppress egocentrism which was often criticised by Terezín children. Yet reports by Terezín educators present mainly positive results of education *in* and *for* community. They describe situations when the children themselves came with an idea or initiative and for example suggested to give a share of the little food they were given to the old who suffered from hunger.

Principle of children's self-government was frequently used in boys' homes. For the first time and with the best results the self-government was used in boys' home I in L 417 with the name *Republika Škid* (Škid Republic) under the leadership of Valtr Eisinger. On the basis of this model, other children's self-governments started to appear in other homes.

Girls' self-government – as an example it is possible to mention self-government Maagal, which came into existence in room 28 in L 410 in April

³⁶ A personal message by Marta Kottová to the author. Interview with Marta Kottova. CD-ROM, 2013.

³⁷ Unsigned report without a title about girls' home L 410 is stored in Terezín Memorial, file no. A 7598.

1943 under the leadership of Ella Polak. The girls formed a two-chamber parliament, the educators were ministers. Every week there were elections to Maagal parliament and only the girls who could represent an example for the others could be elected. Girls could get to the lower chamber of the parliament when they managed to get 15 points for various activities in the home or they had to be elected by the other members. They could advance to the upper chamber when they were elected twice – it means the girls who were respected by the others. The parliament, together with the educators, made decisions about everyday issues of the home – daily programme, praise, rewards, cleaning duties, etc.

Common symbols – the homes often created their own symbols – watchword, emblem, flag, anthem or salutation – which on the one hand distinguished the homes one from the other and gave them a certain perception of uniqueness and on the other hand it expressed the fact that they all were heading to the same target. The girls from Maagal were led in the Zionist spirit to create a community in which each individual has its own irreplaceable position and they all contribute by means of their work to the success of the whole community. The name of the self-government was based on the Hebrew word «maagal», which means a circle, perfection or fulfilment. By means of joint work and common spirit which dominated room 28, the girls tried to fulfil all the three meanings of this Hebrew word. Also the following watchword belonged to the common features: «Věř mi, věřím ti, buď jak buď, nezradíš, nezradím (‘Have faith in me, I have faith in you, whatever comes you will not betray me, I shall not betray you’)», flag and anthem:

My chceme jeden celek být
chceme se vesměs rády mít
chceme a budem, přišly jsme a půjdem
chceme se domů navrátit.

(We want to be one unit
we want to like each other
we want and shall, we came and we will gowe
want to go back home.)

Maagal musí zvítězit
nás k dobré cestě obrátit,
my zlo zkrotíme
dřív se nevrátíme,
pak zazpíváme píseň svou³⁸

Maagal must win
and become good,
we will supress evil
we shall not return sooner,
then we shall sing our song.)

Children’s parliament, self-government and the symbols connected to it contributed to the sense of belonging or to certain identification with the world which for the children was represented by the home.

Magazines – another means of support of the mutual cooperation among the children in the home were magazines which the children themselves made. Out

³⁸ Cited according to H. Brenner-Wonschick, *Die Mädchen von Zimmer 28*, München, Droemer Verlag, 2004, p. 77.

of the magazines in L 417, a collection of all the issues of the magazine of home I survived which was called *Vedem* ('We are in the lead', over 800 pages), then several issues of the magazine of home X *Noviny* ('News') and also twenty-one pieces of the magazine *Rim Rim Rim* issued by home VII, which already before that had been writing the magazines *Nešarim* and *Listy sedmičky* ('Pages of Seven'). Other known magazines are *Domov* ('Home'), written by the children at home II, and so called *Tam-Tam* from home VI³⁹.

The children wrote reports on the life in their homes, stories, columns, essays, poems, jokes and reviews of books they had read. Many magazines report on lectures, drama performances, concerts, operas or cabarets which the children attended in Terezín. Many articles are devoted to wishes and plans of the children for the future. Some magazines published special issues for the children going to a transport:

Dear friends who are leaving! I do not have words which could express what I feel now, when you are leaving, my friends, who I had shared my life with for almost two years. I would like to say only that although you are leaving today we shall stay bound by the bond of friendship. And when we meet again one day and you will need something, then other members of home *Nešarim* will help you because we are like one family. Let's hope that providence will join us together again and that we will live together, but more freely⁴⁰.

Illegal teaching – a part of everyday education was also illegal teaching, officially called *daily occupation*. The leadership of *Jugendfürsorge* wanted children to be taught even in the specific conditions of a ghetto. They followed the principle that it would be a waste not to use the mental potential of the adults in the ghetto to the benefit of the children and youth. It belonged among the 'duties' of adults in Terezín to provide access to knowledge, art, Jewish culture and traditions to the future generation. Along with educators children were taught also by outstanding persons – university professors, artists, rabbis, opera singers, engineers, doctors, etc. who occasionally used to come to the children⁴¹.

Teaching in homes was carried out in various ways, and since Jewish children in the Protectorate were banned from education, teaching behind the walls of Terezín happened illegally. A certain level of mystery which was shrouding teaching in Terezín evoked the feeling of 'sweetness' of forbidden fruit in children. When teaching was going on one of the children kept watch in front of the home and in the case of danger (e.g. when a commander appeared)

³⁹ Magazines are written in Czech, in hand or with a typewriter, and are supplemented by a number of drawings and illustrations. All children's magazines are stored in depositories of the Terezín Memorial, file no. A 1189.

⁴⁰ Terezín Memorial, file no. A 1189.

⁴¹ More on this topic, compare R. Křížková, K.J. Kotouč, Z. Ornest, *Ist meine Heimat der Ghettowahl?*, Hanau, 1994.

the child informed the others by means of an agreed on signal who changed teaching into an everyday activity – e.g. singing.

It follows from the memories of Hana Pollak that although teaching took place every day, it was not governed by any fixed plan because both teachers and children often changed. It was strange teaching. If a teacher of English was available, English was taught. And when the teacher had to go to a transport shortly afterward, he/she was replaced by another teacher who did not speak English, but was a specialist in Mathematics and thus it was Mathematics that was taught. Everything was uncertain. Also the children constantly came and went. As far as the circumstances allowed it, all school subjects were taught – Czech, Latin, Hebrew, History, Mathematics, English and other. Children also received a school report, as it was noted down in her diary by Helga Weiss, in which not only the subjects taught were evaluated:

I have excellent results in everything. If it is true, and I can believe it only now, then I have completely changed. I am not who I was in Kyjov any longer. Cleanliness – excellent, tidiness – excellent, behaviour – excellent, learning – excellent⁴².

Also in the memories of the surviving girls from L 410, Terezín education is evaluated as very positive as well as the personalities of educators and teachers which can be supported by the following memory: «Irenka formed us there really unbelievably, in all aspects»⁴³.

5. *Dispute over the course of Terezín education*

When analysing education in Terezín, when searching for its fundamentals and ideals, when trying to describe its means and aims, it is possible to use unique surviving primary sources – reports written by Terezín educators themselves. These 34 reports⁴⁴ were presented in Terezín in the summer 1943, when a meeting of educators and leading representatives of the department of self-government *Care for children and youth* took place at the occasion of the first ‘anniversary’ of the establishment of children’s and youth homes. The reason for these reports to be written was the motivation of individual educators to reflect on or analyse the direction of education in Terezín and consider other options of education and care for children in the extreme situation of the ghetto. The reports are unique also for the reason that they were supposed to serve and

⁴² Hořec (ed.), *Deníky dětí: Deníky a zápisky z koncentračních táborů*, cit., p. 36.

⁴³ Memories of Michaela Lauscherová, Eva Beldová, Eva Weilová and Willy Groag. Jewish museum in Prague, Collection of memories of the victims of holocaust.

⁴⁴ Reports are written either in Czech or in German. The majority of these reports have survived and they are stored in the Jewish Museum in Prague, collection Terezín no. 304.

a basis for a summary report for the Nazi leaders of the camp. They therefore uncover the way in which the educators themselves thought about aims, ideals, issues or limits of Terezín education.

The reports were presented by significant representatives of the Jewish self-government as well as by educators from the individual homes. Among others it is possible to mention Otto Zucker (deputy of the Jewish Elder Jacob Edelstein), Leo Janowitz (the head of the secretariat of the Jewish Elder), then Egon Redlich (head of the department of Care for Children and Youth), Ota Klein (leader of boys' home L 417), Rosa Engländer (leader of girls' home L 410) or Fredy Hirsch (deputy of Egon Redlich). Reports by educators and caretakers, who shared everyday reality with the children, represent a significant part of these reports.

When we analyse the reports written by educators or by the representatives of Jewish self-government (which suggests the high level of interest devoted to education in Terezín), we can see that the question of the aim of Terezín education was one of the most important issues of this educational reasoning. At the same time a relations comes forward from it between the aims of education and the society in which the education takes place and into which the educated person was introduced. Terezín education, however, was confronted with the situation where there was not a community into which and for which a young person should be brought up. Instead of community all Terezín prisoners lived in a makeshift – both in the area of everyday material and also in the intellectual area which, as Leo Janowitz confirms in his report⁴⁵ reflected chaotic clash of different educational opinions and beliefs.

Despite the Terezín makeshift, the homes were supposed to become a community based on common social values, on respect and love of educators to children. Education in a community (in children's homes) was means of education and at the same time also a main educational pillar in a report by Otto Zucker *Ein Jahr L 417*⁴⁶. In the conception of education leading to community we can see the focus on surpassing the everyday reality, on searching for the sense of life in the reality of a ghetto. In this way the leaders of the self-government of the department Care for Children and Youth as well as educators themselves tried to face the everyday conditions in the ghetto, the fatality of Terezín reality determined by omnipresent death, hunger and suffering of all kind. Even in this everyday horror children's and youth homes were supposed to be places where commonly accepted rules are still valid, where the mutual respect was supposed to be a weapon against the prison camp reality.

⁴⁵ Report written by Dr. Leo Janowitz, [Without a title], Jewish Museum in Prague, Terezín collection, file no. 304. Dr. Leo Janowitz born on 08/12/1911. He came to Terezín by a staff transport on 04/12/1941. He was deported to Auschwitz on 06/03/1943 and he died there on 08/03/1944.

⁴⁶ Ing. Otto Zucker, born on 03/10/1892. He was deported to Terezín on 04/12/1941. He was deported to Auschwitz on 28/09/1944 and on the same day killed in a gas chamber.

What were the ideals and aims Terezín education was directed at? Although education to Jewishness represented a strong direction of Terezín education, as has already been illustrated in connection with the ideas of Zionism in the leading representatives of the department *Care for Children and Youth*, this direction was not superior to other educational aims or conceptions. In Terezín very varied concepts could be witnessed which co-existed along one another although in terms of teleology, they were significantly different. In the ghetto the children were brought up in the spirit of Zionism, of community spirit of scouts⁴⁷, *Sokol* (sporting organization), in the spirit of Jewish assimilation, but also in the spirit of education to Jewishness. In this respect it is necessary to see the meaning also in so called agreement on apolitical education which was adopted in summer 1943. This agreement meant the confirmation of the idea of plurality and freedom in the choice of educational procedures and aims. The main starting point of education was the personality, experience and opinions of each individual teacher.

If we return back to the question of Jewish education in the analysed reports, we can see that although the importance of Jewish education is accented in them (report by Israel Kestenbaum *Jüdische Erziehung*)⁴⁸, it was found out that the Jewish element in education has to be in balance with education to collective responsibility⁴⁹ and conceptual openness (report by the leader of the department Egon Redlich *Trojí úkoly péče o mládež* ('Three Tasks in Care for Youth')⁵⁰). The issue of the overestimation of Jewish education was also dealt with in a report *O takzvané politické výchově mládeže* ('On So Called Political Education of the Young') written by Ota Klein⁵¹, who pointed out the fact that any ideologically or politically focused education would have had to fail in Terezín ghetto since the children there were so different that it was not possible to offer education focused on just one ideological direction. If the education was focused only on Zionism, it would be just a brief, shallow introduction of Jewish education which would ignore the fact that most of the imprisoned children believed in assimilation.

⁴⁷ T. Kasper, *Výchova či politika: Úskalí nemeckého reformně pedagogického hnutí v Československu v letech 1918-1933*, Praha, Karolinum, 2007, p. 63.

⁴⁸ Biodata were not identified.

⁴⁹ The question of the importance of community in Terezín education was significantly reflected in activities of the leader of home 1 in boy's home L 417 Valtr Eisinger, who conducted education in the spirit of education for the community. His ideas were based on his socialist orientation. We can notice remarks on the positive influence of a group on an individual in a number of articles in the magazine «Vedem» ('We are in the lead'), which were published by V. Eisinger himself or by a number of boys from home 1 who we authors of articles in the magazine «Vedem».

⁵⁰ Report written by Egon Redlich, *Trojí úkol péče o mládež*, Jewish Museum in Prague, collection Terezín, file no. 304.

⁵¹ Ota Klein was born on 21/02/1921. He was deported to Terezín 04/12/1941. He was deported to Auschwitz on 28/09/1944, where he was liberated. In some sources Buchenwald is stated as a place of liberation. After the war he worked in the field of sociology at Czech Academy of Science. He died in Paris in 1968.

The answer to the relation between aims and conditions in Terezín education is offered by Gertrud Bäuml⁵² in the report *Über positive Erziehung*, in which she characterizes the basic feature of Terezín education as ‘in spite of’: «All our work in Terezín happens ‘in spite of’. This also refers to educational work in all its details and tasks»⁵³. Bäuml does not want to ignore the determinateness of Terezín education and educational efforts. It could not have been based on freedom of accepted rules, code. An educator was a person who had to bear enormous educational responsibility in the extreme situation of the ghetto. Educators could not surrender to the camp reality, they had to aim higher in their educational thinking and direction, above the reality of the ghetto, strive to prepare the young for life after the war so that they could become a part of the future after-war society.

Fredy Hirsch in his report *Unsere Jugend in Theresienstadt* applies similar reasoning⁵⁴. Also he arrived at the conclusion that Terezín education has to cope with a big ‘in spite of’. Moreover Hirsch saw educationally moral task in Terezín education, and this in spite of the fact that Terezín was not only a place of suffering and inhumanity, but also environment where many solved there fatal situation by means of the loss of consideration for old or sick people. Hirsch makes an appeal for education not to make concessions on moral principles and to educators to always be the ones who are not only a moral example, but the ones who support it in everyday life in homes. Educators were supposed to be a moral counterpart of Terezín temporary world. A community based on values was supposed to be the aim and also the means of Terezín education which should mainly strive to bring up a morally strong and steadfast person. This should be facilitated by means of PE. He did not perceive it as the means of body cultivation, but mainly the means of balanced physical firmness and moral strength. «It would be terrible if Terezín meant permanently repairable mental and physical fall. They would not be able to find there place anywhere»⁵⁵.

If the previous reports accented the questions of collective responsibility, moral maturity and development of education *in* and *for* community, then reports written by two Terezín educators expressed the emphasis on permanent respect for specific characteristics of children in educational attempts. Rosa Engländer⁵⁶ in her report *Unsere Aufgabe – Unser Weg* points out the fact that

⁵² Dr. Gertrud Bäuml was born on 29/09/1898. She was deported to Terezín on 02/07/1942. She was deported to Auschwitz on 23/10/1944. She died.

⁵³ Report written by Gertrud Bäuml, called *Über positive Erziehung*, Jewish Museum in Prague, collection Terezín, file no. 304.

⁵⁴ Report written by Fredy Hirsch, *Unsere Jugend in Theresienstadt*, Jewish Museum in Prague, collection Terezín, file no. 304.

⁵⁵ Report written by Fredy Hirsch. *Unsere Jugend in Theresienstadt*, Jewish Museum in Prague, collection Terezín, file no. 304.

⁵⁶ Rosa Engländer was born on 25/05/1897. She was transported to Terezín together with her husband and daughter on 30/01/1942. She was liberated in Terezín on 08/05/1945. She died in Prague in 1984.

the aim of education should be self-education of children as a part of which they learn to cope with demands and situations of the free world. The free world was however denied by Terezín reality and could be present only indirectly, through images and views of educators. Educators were not supposed to force their picture of the world and society on the children. The boundary of free creation of the picture of the world and the position of men in it was not supposed to be crossed. The duality of needs of an individual and the demands of the society was not supposed to be solved by means of surrender to an outer power or even by following it blindly – out of fear, lack of knowledge, loss of freedom or just habit. In the Terezín misery Engländer introduces Rousseau-like concept in which Terezín education is supposed to «help children to develop their positive features, to support the effect of positive influence and to change bad or inappropriate conditions»⁵⁷. A big role of educators resided in the fact that they were supposed, even in the extreme conditions of the ghetto, to create such educational situations which supported both the development of positive features of children's personalities and provided space for exemplary behaviour of educators and children. Engländer was aware of the fact that it is not possible to completely prevent the negative impact of the ghetto on children's personalities, but she at least called for its minimization.

The report by Berta Freud *Erziehung ist Kunst – Kunst ist Erziehung*⁵⁸ calls for respect for the unique individuality of children's personalities and reminds that education should not only take this uniqueness into account, but also support its development – also in the ghetto. Terezín education was supposed to offer children enough artistic experience which was important for the development of their spiritual and psychical sphere. Artistic education in Terezín: children's drawings, preparation of children's opera Brundibár, children's performances, etc.) are now considered extraordinary demonstrations and results of education and teaching in Terezín. They were important not only because they enabled the children to forget about the horrors of the surrounding world at least for a while or to come to terms with it at least partially. Artistic activities of the children in Terezín also led to respect for individualities of the children their free expression in the extreme life situation⁵⁹.

The reports also provide information on health conditions of the children. In the report by the doctor of L 417, MUDr. Rudolf Klein⁶⁰, it says that the number of sick children in homes commonly was as much as 35%. Epidemics

⁵⁷ Report written by Rosa Engländer, *Unsere Aufgabe – Unser Weg*, Jewish Museum in Prague, collection Terezín, file no. 304.

⁵⁸ Report by Berta Freud, *Erziehung ist Kunst – Kunst ist Erziehung*, Jewish Museum in Prague, collection Terezín, file no. 304.

⁵⁹ More on this topic, compare Kasperová, *Výchova a vzdělávání židovských dětí v protektorátu a v ghettu Terezín*.

⁶⁰ Dr. Rudolf Klein was born on 20/10/1886. He was deported to Terezín on 08/02/1942. He was deported to Auschwitz on 23/10/1944. He died.

of typhoid, scarlet fever or hepatitis were frequent. Despite the unbelievably difficult material situation of Terezín prisoners the department of Care for Children and Youth gradually managed to stabilize the operation and function of children's homes – a repair of clothes was set up, children were given more food, a register of so called social cards of children (where it was recorded how each child lived in Terezín, everything about its conditions, but also about things which it had allocated) was set up. All this led to the fact that the impact of Terezín camp on the children was partly softened. It was all possible only at the expense of the enormous effort of educators and social workers. «Inflow and outflow of new children, frightened, often dirty, ill, uncertainty and restlessness. It was mainly necessary to nurse the numerous ill. Newcomers needed a place to sleep, services of repair and washing, and provision in the case they had to continue their journey. We started bare-handed, organizing our work according to what the children needed most at the moment» summarizes the situation in children's homes Luisa Fischer⁶¹.

6. Significant representatives of Terezín educators

Educators in Terezín were required by the difficult situation to demonstrate much more love, understanding and tact than in common life. On the one hand they were expected to be creative, which was supposed to enable them to solve unusual everyday educational problems, and on the other hand they had to be able to see the appropriate boundary between excessive liberalism and binding discipline so that they gained and were able to keep the trust of Terezín children.

These and other tasks were awaiting one of the most significant personalities in Terezín education, along with already mentioned Fred Hirsch, Valtr Eisinger. Eisinger was an admired and controversial educator who several times quarrelled with the leadership of *Jugendfürsorge* about the course of Terezín education because he himself was a supporter of the communist party and he led «his boys» in this left spirit. Eisinger gained boys' trust by his firm principles, 'contagious' altruisms and the inner strength of his personality, but also by the exceptional ability to admit his own faults and mistakes, to accept criticism from the children and not to take himself so seriously, which can be, among other things, demonstrated by the fact that he himself used a not very nice nickname *Prcek* ('Shorty'), which he often used to sign his articles in the magazine «Vedem» ('We are in the lead').

Valtr Eisinger, the leader of boys' home I «Republika ŠKID» in L 417, worked as a teacher at a grammar school in Brno before the war. He was deported to Terezín on 28th January 1942. In June 1944 in Terezín he married

⁶¹ Report written by Luisa Fischer.

Věra Sommerova, a former student at the grammar school in Terezín. They both believed that they would be transported together. It however was not so. When Eisinger was put into transport to the East in September 1944 alone, his wife voluntarily enrolled into the following transport of so called relatives. She, however, never met her husband again. Valtr Eisinger was deported from Auschwitz further to the concentration camp Sachsenhausen and from there to Buchenwald in the march of death in January 1945. Personal testimonies exist about the death of professor Eisinger, according to which he was shot during the march of death. According to the report of Geneva International Tracing Service the last mention of Valtr Eisinger is in the files of the concentration camp Buchenwald where it says that he died of total exhaustion 1945 in the camp on 15th January⁶².

Another noticeable person of Terezín education is beyond all dispute Růžena Engländer. She participated in work with youth from the beginning of her internment in Terezín and when in September 1942 the first girls' home in building L 414 was established, she became its leader. Jewish self-government, or Care for children and youth, led by Egon Redlich, strived to improve material, hygiene and health conditions of the children, including educational activities. Engländer gradually, with a lot of effort, managed to create a community out of heterogeneous group of ten to fifteen-year old girls which headed forward the joint aim – to mutual tolerance, respect and friendship. Engländer strove to search for the way not only to the reason, but also to the souls of the girls so that they did not surrender to the horrible and miserable reality of the ghetto. Mainly at the time of transports to eastern extermination camps when there was incredible chaos and despair in Terezín, everyday patient work with the children was needed so that the children did not lose the faith in the future, hope for better tomorrow, so that they did not lose the perception of human dignity or the sense of human existence⁶³. These were everyday tasks Terezín educators had to face.

According to Engländer, the main aim of education was self-education and inner freedom of a person. This premise, however, put high demands on educators because one of their main tasks was to recognize the right time or moment in the development of a child when the child psychically separates from an adult and it becomes responsible for its acts and accepts responsibility for its own development, or self-development⁶⁴.

The inner worlds of children and therefore also possibilities of their separation from educators were dangerously narrowed in Terezín. Engländer considered the stay in Terezín very depressing for a child and limiting for its

⁶² Report of International Tracing Service. Terezín Memorial, APT/ K4/ Gh, file. no. 1285.

⁶³ More on this topic, compare J. Friesová, *Dívčí penzionát – L 410*, «Židovská ročenka 5731 (1970-71)», 1971, pp. 64-65.

⁶⁴ Report written by Rosa Engländer, *Unsere Aufgabe – unser Weg*, Jewish Museum in Prague, collection Terezín, file no. 304.

future mental development⁶⁵. A Jewish child in Terezín suffered from permanent fear for itself and its relatives, it was exposed to excessive uncertainty of the world in which it lived and from which it could not escape because children live mainly in the present. The task of an educator is to try to compensate for the negative influence of the ghetto on a child's soul. An educator was supposed to try by means of everyday educational work (meaningful daily programme, understanding, support), to strengthen harmony in a child because a certain mental balance presented one of the inner powers helping to survive, to cope with demands of the outer world.

There are other outstanding personalities among Terezín educators. Along with others we can mention for example Willy Groaga (he taught in girls' home L 410), Bruno Zwicker (he taught in boys' home L 417), Friedl Dicker-Brandeis (she taught children painting), Ella Polak (the leader of home 28 in L 410), Arnošt Klauber (the leader of boys' home V *Dror* in Zionist spirit), Jiří König (he led home VI *Lvičata* in scout spirit) and many others.

Conclusion

Ghetto Terezín was used as a collection camp for inhabitants of Jewish origin before they were deported to the East. Terezín ghetto can to a certain extent be perceived as an interchange station between life and death. Considering these facts Terezín education needs to be seen as a completely exceptional phenomenon. Education behind Terezín walls ran in difficult and disastrous conditions – lack of food, epidemics, constantly present death, transports, lack of privacy – all that burdened both the children and educators physically and mentally and hindered all educational efforts. Yet it can be detected in existing archive materials (diaries, drawings, magazines, reports, letters etc.) that despite the problems children's communities were established where the sense of mutuality, friendship, selflessness and humanity survived and was cultivated. Children's self-government supported children's feeling of responsibility not only for themselves but also for the others – for the community. Even behind the walls of the ghetto, the children were taught – either in the form of illegal instruction, or by means of their participation in theatre plays, lectures, literary evenings or numerous concerts which took place in Terezín. Terezín educators, Valtr Eisinger, Růžena Engländer, Fredy Hirsch, Egon Redlich, and a number of others, due to their devotion and personal effort brought forth the 'miracle' of Terezín education. Terezín children usually did not live to see their liberation⁶⁶, but their legacy lives on.

⁶⁵ In the same source.

⁶⁶ Out of 9,500 Jewish children who were imprisoned in Terezín Ghetto and then further

*Archival sources**Jewish Museum in Prague*

Reports by Terezín educators. Jewish Museum in Prague. Collection Terezín, file no. 304

Memories of Michaela Lauscherová, Eva Beldová, Eva Weilová and Willy Groag. Jewish Museum in Prague, Collection of the victims of holocaust

Archive of Terezín Memorial

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transported to eastern extermination camps (mainly to Auschwitz), only 636 children survived the war. Compare L. Chládková, *Terezínské děti – bilance*, in M. Kárný, V. Blodig (edd.), *Terezín v "konečném řešení židovské otázky"*, Praha, Logos, 1992, pp. 144-148.

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Appropriating *Robinson Crusoe* in Chinese primary school after-class compulsory reading: applauding a 'Kind-Hearted' Crusoe*

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ABSTRACT: Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* has been for many years read by Chinese readers, including pupils. In 2011 the Chinese Ministry of Education issued a new curricular standard, which stipulated that this novel is among the recommended reading list for all Chinese pupils. The present paper analyzes six different editions of *Robinson Crusoe* which are especially translated and adapted for Chinese pupils, and reveals how Defoe's original story has been appropriated by Chinese educators to fit it in the Chinese educational context, which produces a much different Crusoe, whose 'kind-heartedness' stands in stark contrast to James Joyce's famous comment on him.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children's Book; Translation; Reading; Curriculum; Primary education; China; XXI Century.

Introduction

China's Ministry of Education began a large scale experimental reform of compulsory education (from grade 1 to grade 9) in many parts of the country in 2001, and in 2011 it issued the New Curricular Standards for Compulsory Education (NCSCE) based on the ten-year experiment. The new standards

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include all the eleven courses, among which the Chinese course is one of the most important core courses. In Appendix 2, NCSCE provides suggestions concerning after-class reading:

Students should have read more than four million words/characters of after-class reading materials, including books and magazines. It is suggested: [...] For novels, such as Wu Chengen's *Journey to the West*, Shi Naian's *The Outlaws of Marsh*, Lao She's *Luo Tuo Xiangzi*, Luo Guangbin and Yang Yiyang's *Hongyan*, Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, Emily Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, Maxim Gorky's *Childhood*, Nikolay Ostrovsky's *How the Steel is Tempered*¹.

The nine examples of novels given here are quite noteworthy. Among them, four are Chinese novels (two are among the four Chinese classics), five are western novels. And these five include three British novels and two Russian novels (these two are the cultural and ideological heritage of the period when China had an intimate relationship with the former USSR in the 1950s). When putting the Chinese classics and the USSR novels aside, the remaining three British novels attract anyone's attention who is interested in why they are selected among numerous alternatives in the recommended reading list. Eighteenth-century adventure novels account for two among the total three, which testifies the Chinese, especially educational officials and teachers', preference for them.

All publishers detected this lucrative opportunity to publish those recommended novels, and soon more than a dozen versions of *Robinson Crusoe* appeared, whose publishers ranged from educational publishers to commercial publishers, even university publishers included. However, publishers scrupulously replaced 'recommended' with 'compulsory' on the book covers of their editions of the recommended literary works, possibly because of the NCSCE statement that these recommended reading materials might appear in examinations.

This paper collects several editions of *Robinson Crusoe* which are especially designated to conform to the requirements of NCSCE, and analyzes their adaptations of Defoe's original novel, in order to find out how Chinese publishers have appropriated this eighteenth-century British adventure story for its own purpose in the context of China's educational reform in the recent years. This paper goes beyond the common analytic framework of foreignization vs/plus localization, and suggests that these editions are old ideology, educational and pedagogical traditions, and market-driven publishing strategies.

¹ Ministry of Education, *Yiwu Jiaoyu Yuwen Kecheng Biao zhun* [Curricular Standards for the Chinese Course in Compulsory Education], Beijing, Beijing Normal University Press, 2011, p. 41.

1. Criteria for selecting the editions

The criterion for the selection of the editions of *Robinson Crusoe* is that they should be labelled *New Curricular Standards for the Chinese Course*, though the exact phrasing may be different. The second criterion is to include editions by diverse publishers as possible. Based on these two criteria, six editions are selected, which are summarized in the table below:

Tab. 1. Summary of the selected editions of *Robinson Crusoe*

	<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Illustrated</i>	<i>With prefatory comments</i>	<i>With in-text comments</i>	<i>With questions</i>	<i>With book report/ review</i>	<i>Price (RMB)</i>
1	Beijing Educational Press	√	√	√	×	√	10
2	Commercial Press	×	√	√	√	√	14.8
3	Nanjing University Press	×	×	×	√	×	12
4	Hebei Children and Youth's Press	√	×	×	√	×	16.9
5	Huangshan Book House	√	√	×	×	×	12.5
6	Zhejiang Arts Press	×	×	×	√	×	16

The focus of the paper is not the main body of the adaptation but the paratexts. Paratexts refer to the «framing elements of a core text, like titles, prefaces, notices, and forewords»². First, these paratexts occupy prominent place in the editions, and hence easily draw the reader's attention. Second, compared with the textual transformations in the text which are subtler and therefore inconvenient to deal with due to their length, these paratexts, which often appear in the form of comments or guidance for readers, are far more clear in meaning. Therefore, paratexts are often the first (considering the reader's reading and cognitive process) and the most important (considering their prominent place) text to be noted by readers, and they shape the reader's interpretation from the very moment when he begins to read the book³.

² S. Chatman, *Mrs. Dalloway's Progeny: The Hours as Second-Degree Narrative*, in J. Phelan, P.J. Rabinowitz (edd.), *A Companion to Narrative Theory*, London, Blackwell, 2005, p. 270.

³ In fact, there is another factor which explains paratext's importance. As will be discussed later, a practical use of reading these books is to prepare students for exams. The paratexts in recommended books are often written by editors or teachers with a direct and implicit purpose for exams. And the first thing student search inside such a book is such information related to exams.

2. *The Beijing Educational Press edition (adapted by Shuntao Kang)*

Beijing Educational Press was founded in 1983, and is a sub company of Beijing Press (founded in 1956), which has a governmental background and enjoys a purported market share of 10% in 2005. Beijing Press was among the seven presses that were approved by the State General Administration of Press and Publication in 1999 to transform into a modern market-driven enterprise. Therefore, Beijing Press, together with its sub company Beijing Educational Press, has been successfully combined its historical privilege of being a governmental press and an acute motivation for making profits in the ferocious book market together with its enormous connections.

This edition of *Robinson Crusoe* is illustrated and has Mandarin transcriptions. Its back cover is occupied by recommendations from four famous teachers and principals. Another appealing feature is its price, which is the lowest among the six editions and prominently labelled both in the front and the back covers. The design of the covers shows a successful marketing strategy.

The prefatory comment says: «This novel, in its plain language, tells us a story: Crusoe was born in a rich family in Britain. He loves adventures since his early childhood. When he is nineteen, against his parents' oppositions, he resolutely (*yi ran*) embarked a long sea journey»⁴. This sentence not only summarizes the beginning of the story, but reveals the adapter's attitude towards Crusoe's behaviour quite explicitly through some adverbs. It is noteworthy that the adverb use to describe Crusoe's embarking «resolutely» (*yi ran*) has no exact counterpart in English. «Resolutely» means determined, but *yi ran* has a commendatory connotation. The word conveys a positive opinion toward Crusoe's leaving home, which is quite different from that in the original novel, in which Crusoe more than once regretted this behaviour and attributed his later misfortune as its punishment. In this way, the reader, even before he begins reading the story, receives a very clear guidance of how to interpret the story. This effect is made even stronger when we consider that Chinese students are highly sensitive to the word *yi ran*, which often indicates a good command of vocabulary and is therefore a favourite word in compositions. Students' familiarity with the word and its commendatory connotation amplifies the effect of this guidance to a more favourable reconstruction of the protagonist.

This prefatory guidance is further reinforced by the comment at the end of the first chapter, which says: «From Crusoe, we must learn that man should have great ambition (aspiration), and make advancement to it step by step»⁵. The change from the adverb *yi ran* (resolutely) in the preface to the verb «learn»

⁴ Kang Shuntao, *Preface*, in Kang Shuntao (adapt.), *Lu Binxun Piaoliuji* [Robinson Crusoe], Beijing, Beijing Educational Press, 2012, p. 1.

⁵ Kang Shuntao, *Lu Binxun Piaoliuji* [Robinson Crusoe], cit., p. 11.

shows an on going editorial desire to control readers' interpretation of the story as well as an effort to domesticate Crusoe's wanderlust in the after-class reading activity of Chinese students. More importantly, Crusoe's 'original sin', which has for a long time been held by some western critics to be the theme of the novel⁶, is transformed by Chinese educators as great ambition and a moral of the story, worthy to be learned.

The intentional distorting adaptation of the Crusoe story is not a contingent decision by an individual publisher, but is a practice directed by a NCSCE statement of the goals of the Chinese course «to help students to form correct world views, view of life, and values»⁷. Despite Defoe's intentions and literary critics' ongoing debates over its interpretation, Chinese educators have long ago found industry and independence useful for the moral education of Chinese pupils. This explains why this novel ranks the first among all the five western novels. As pointed out by some educators, with the exception of USSR novels, nearly all western works selected in the Chinese textbooks depict negative sides in the west, either the folly, cruelty, corruption, suppression of the upper class, or the misery of the working class⁸. No wonder Zeng Chufeng criticized ironically that the textbook taught students only the dark side of the west. USSR novels are included in textbooks also for the same ideological prejudice. Among all the western works, Defoe's novel is indeed an exception, in the sense that it has won its place not with any negative description of the west or socialist propaganda, but with its strong moral fiber of industry and independence. What Chinese educators, publishers and adapters do is to push the novel a little bit on the road to perfection of the protagonist, and to delete, distort and transform all the inharmonious episodes to fit the new theme. Therefore, it is quite understandable that Crusoe's leaving home is conceived and 'tamed' as a sure sign of resolution and aspiration, in stead of an event leading to Crusoe's later misfortunate and repentance in Defoe's original novel.

The comment of the last chapter also bears an obvious Chinese mark. This chapter is about Crusoe's returning to the island, and the comment says: «Crusoe uses his own money to invest in the development of the island, turning it to a populous, prosperous and joyful happy island. When he has become rich, he leads others to work hard and make fortunate, which is worth our learning»⁹. In fact, the plot here is nearly the same as in the original, but its interpretation is definitely an echo of Deng Xiaoping's famous saying that we

⁶ See Maximillian E. Novak, *Robinson Crusoe's 'original sin'*, «Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900» vol. 1, n. 3, 1961, pp. 19-29.

⁷ Kang Shuntao, *Lu Binxun Piaoliuji* [Robinson Crusoe], cit., p. 1.

⁸ Zeng Chufeng, *Weishenme Yuwenke Rang Xuesheng Bu Kaixin?* [Why the Chinese Course Often Makes Pupils Unhappy?], in Kong Qingdong, Mo Luo, Yu Jie (edd.), *Shenshi Zhongxue Yuwen Jiaoyu* [On Middle School Chinese Literary Education], Shantou, China, Shantou University Press, 1999, p. 25.

⁹ Kang Shuntao, *Lu Binxun Piaoliuji* [Robinson Crusoe], cit., p. 212.

should support some population to get rich first, and that they then should help others to become rich too. Deng's saying is a modern and modified version of the Chinese idea of 'find[ing] delight in helping others', which occupies an important place in school education. The adapter loses no chance to use Crusoe's story for moral education and the story becomes highly didactic.

Reviews, or, as the Chinese call it, 'thoughts after reading', is a common form of writing exercise in the Chinese course. The Beijing Education Press edition appendices two reviews. The first one is commonplace in its contents and organization, following the banal formula of giving an overview of the work, pointing out what should be learnt from the protagonist. The most common Chinese comment of this novel is that Crusoe has admirably overcome the material difficulties and psychological loneliness in his twenty-eight years on the island. What's ironic with the first review is that the editor comments that this review is refreshing in its parallelism. This short comment unwittingly reveals a long-existing problem in the Chinese course, i.e., the teaching of formulaic writing. In a Chinese writing course, students are often given a positive topic, such as returning a purse that you've picked up on the road, a letter to a parent, helping the elderly to cross the road. The problem is that the topic is often about something that reveals the protagonist's good traits but unfortunately occurs very rarely in our daily life that most of us do not have such experience. Students then are forced to make up stories in which they have become such good characters. In fact, neither the topic nor those traits are wrong. What is wrong is that they stipulate nearly everything in a composition: the theme, the story, the conclusion; the only place allowing variance is the place, name and time. It is both highly improbable and confining, stifling students' creativity and at the same time encouraging lying in writing. An educator once told a real story about a composition class in Wuhan. All the fifty students in a class wrote exactly about the same event – cleaning the toilet. The toilet was blocked. After some time of inner struggle, the protagonist, who was on duty that day and was supposed to clean it, finally overcame the repulsion and decided to dredge it by hand¹⁰. It was not plagiarism. No student cheated in the exam. But their composition bore an amazing resemblance. It is worse than plagiarism. It is a problem, not with students, but with our Chinese education.

3. *The Commercial Press edition (adapted by Wen Zhong)*

The Commercial Press is one of the oldest presses in China. Founded in 1897, it has an indisputable reputation in the field. It mainly publishes reference

¹⁰ Zeng Chufeng, *Weishenme Yuwenke Rang Xuesheng Bu Kaixin?* [Why the Chinese Course Often Makes Pupils Unhappy?], cit., p. 25.

books, works of social sciences and humanities, and translations of western academic classics. Its importance in Chinese cultural industry is as printed on the back cover of its edition of *Robinson Crusoe*: «The Commercial Press, together with Peking University, are twins of Chinese culture».

The cover page emphasizes the importance of reading with several slogans and quotes. The first is «Decision determines growth, while reading determines one's life», below which there is a tiny icon labelled «clever bear». The second sentence is a quote from a famous educator Zhu Yongxin, who serves as the Vice secretary of China Political Consultative Conference and vice president of China Association of Education. It says «The spiritual level of a nation depends on its level of reading» with Zhu's signature. The third is an incomplete sentence «Accessible reading material» (no obstacle in reading). The fourth is similar to Zhu Yongxin's sentence, though different in phrasing: «The national reading ability level determines its civilization». All the advertisements on the cover page perform the same function arguing that reading is critical for the individual as well as for the nation. In this sense, the importance of the book is effectively emphasized.

This edition gives a strong emphasis of providing guidance during reading. The preface for the series states that it has taken five measures to help students to read the book. The first measure is to highlight memorable quotes in the book, which contain valuable life experience and wisdom. The second measure is 'accessible reading': difficult words are explained, characters are analyzed, and good sentences are commented. The third measure is to provide guidance for reading from nationally-famous teachers. The fourth measure is to include many illustrations for better understanding. The fifth measure is that the book conforms to the NCSCE. The implication of the five measures is, to borrow Bacon's phrase, that the editor serves as a deputy, who reads the book and lays everything 'study-worthy' before readers. In this way, the edition is especially geared for students. It is different from an annotated edition in that the guidance, explanations and comments do not care so much about a correct understanding of Defoe's work as about how the novel will be examined. In fact, they are no different from a standard exam answer on the novel. A practical problem with NCSCE recommended novels is that they are too long to be included in textbooks and dealt with in class, so these editions provide another way for students to study the novels as they study lessons in class. This practical orientation is manifest in the appendix, which includes a list of memorable quotes, related quotes, notes on the author, notes on the characters, theme of the novel, artistic features, reviews, and (most importantly and eye-catchingly) exam questions and answers. The essence of Chinese classroom teaching is to prepare students for exams. Classes teach knowledge and abilities, and the best way that Chinese educators have come across to test the efficiency of classroom teaching is to give exams. So experts from the Ministry of Education have designed a long and detailed list of the knowledge and abilities that

students should have acquired after several years of formal education, and then textbooks are written according to this designation, decomposing the whole list into different levels and knowledge points and incorporating them in lessons. Teachers make sure that the knowledge and skills contained in each unit are well understood by students, who can pass the exams based on this complex system. The overall determining principle of Chinese formal education is exams and scores. It is not surprising that after-class reading materials, once they appear in NCSCE, are also incorporated in this exam system. «Exam contents» section is an indispensable part of editions to make sure they sell well. In this light, the Chinese course, not theoretically but practically, assimilates western novels into its examination system.

A further look into the types of questions in the «Exam contents» section is illuminating. It has three types: filling the blanks, multiple choice and short essay questions. The first two types of questions are almost exclusively concerned with particulars about the novel, such as the publication date of the novel, the name of Crusoe's the earliest companion on the island, how many cannibals were at the feast when Crusoe first saw them through the telescope. These questions are designed to check whether students have carefully read the novel or just read some overview. The essay questions ask students to summarize part of Crusoe's experience and then try to lead them to conclude Crusoe's traits, which focus invariably on Crusoe's industry, independence and perseverance. These questions reveal how educators and examiners conceptualize the novel in the context of formal education in China and how they fit the novel among others, especially Chinese novels that are the majority in a textbook selection. They have taken out some of Crusoe's traits that are most valued and desired by the Chinese and ignore his failings and complexities. Even Crusoe's disobeying his father, a behaviour that totally violates the Chinese attachment to filial duty, is seldom questioned, highlighted or corrected. Among the six editions, only two point out this mistake that would be unpardonable for the Chinese in other circumstances. On the other hand, it also reveals a utilitarian and practical understanding of the novel: there are few questions about aesthetic appreciation of the novel. This edition, in a «Notes on characters» section in the appendix, reveals its attitude toward Crusoe even more explicitly, which is a typical distorting judgment on him that is characteristic of the way the Chinese course syllabus treats positive western novels. It says:

Crusoe, who is unwilling to live an ordinary life like his father, is longing for an overseas life full of adventures and challenges. So he resolutely abandons his easy and comfortable life, embarks on a ship without notifying his parents, to realize his dream of travelling around the country. [...] Crusoe is unafraid of adventures, and he dares to pursue a free and unfettered life [...] he embodies the entrepreneurial and pioneering spirit of the bourgeoisie in its booming period¹¹.

¹¹ Wen Zhong (adapt.), *Lu Binxun Piaoliuji* [Robinson Crusoe], Beijing, Commercial Press,

The sentence with «entrepreneurial and pioneering spirit of the bourgeoisie in its booming period» especially deserves our attention. Nearly all the *Robinson Crusoe* editions in China, be they translations for adults, or school editions, bear this sentence in their preface or elsewhere, as long as they contain such a part. The earliest example is the People's Literature Press edition published in 1959. The influence of this saying is far reaching, but its source is seldom known by people outside the education circle. In the 1999 great debate on the Chinese course education¹², one of the most famous scholars on Chinese literature explained that this saying could be dated back to the 1960s, when Chinese intellectuals were greatly influenced by Zhdanov from USSR, who argued that western literature from Renaissance to the nineteenth century were worthy to be studied, because the bourgeois was in its booming/upward period. The peak of the literature in this period is critical realism, which invariably focused on exposing the corruption of the upper class and cultivating sympathy for the lower class. Literature from the end of the nineteenth century to the twentieth century were deemed by Zhdanov as totally reactionary, which means they are not proper to be read or studied. Though its source is long forgotten, its influence is still tangible or even ingrained now in Chinese textbooks. A direct result is that Chinese students know a lot of famous literary works prior to the end of the nineteenth century, but very little about those in the twentieth century. But the real significant influence is not the disparate familiarity with western literature in different periods. By providing such 'insights' into a famous novel that has entered the NCSCE recommended reading list, it instils and establishes an analysis mode that is widespread in present China but outdated in its core. This kind of comment begins to appear in a student's reading material as early as when they are in low grades, in textbooks and compulsory after-classing readings, and they have a fundamental shaping influence on the development of the ability to read and to analyze written materials (including fiction). Since such analytic mode is part of the contents of early reading course, they might be in conflict with or even exclude other possibilities to interpret a text. A similar example is given by a literature professor Xue Yi, who have taught some students who were to become Chinese teachers in the future. One of the students asked him in a lecture: «We don't believe in that kind of literary analysis. Do teachers who teach that kind of literary analysis believe themselves?». Xue answered:

I don't know exactly how many believe in that mode. But don't think it has no effect on you if you do not believe it. [...] Never overlook the power of discourse. Once you get used to a particular way of analysis, though you don't believe it, it still dominates your mind. Suppose now you don't have any external pressure, let me give you a paragraph from a famous

2012, p. 212.

¹² In 1999, there came out a fierce debate on the problems of the Chinese course. Many Chinese teachers themselves joined in the criticism of the futility and failure of the Chinese course.

Chinese work, please write down your comment. I'm sure you will write down exactly what you don't believe and have despised. It is the only way we are taught how to write¹³.

This example illustrates precisely the mechanism of such seemingly naïve way of literary education. The subtlety is that it does not have to be convincing. It is effective as long as it dominates the reading class and exclude other possibilities, which is exactly how beneficial bacteria living on our skin protect us: they do not fight harmful bacteria directly, but occupy the limited space on the surface, so that their opponents have no room and resource to grow.

4. The Nanjing University Press edition (adapted by Wang Xinliang)



Pic. 1. Cover page of the Nanjing University edition.

Being published by a university press, this edition assures readers of its scholarship, and it has several distinctive features.

First, the cover design is unique among all the six editions. Judging from the cover design, other editions seem to target at lower grades students, with their innocent, naïve and exaggerated portrait of Crusoe, whereas the cover of this edition features a Crusoe totally out of our imagination of an eighteenth-century English young man. It seems the adapter has picked out a warrior from a Japanese *anime* and put him here (cfr. Pic. 1).

The «Knowledge point» section in the appendix is similar to other editions, which gives an overview of the plot and the personality of Crusoe. It simplifies Crusoe's life into three paragraphs, and ignores the negative aspects of Crusoe, especially his disobeying his father, and gives a list of positive adjectives to describe him. One is 'kind-heartedness'¹⁴, which is directly opposed to James Joyce's famous comment on Crusoe's

¹³ Xue Yi, *Yuwen Jiaoyu de Beiai* [The Bitterness of Literary Education], in Kong Qingdong, Mo Luo, Yu Jie (edd.), *Shenshi Zhongxue Yuwen Jiaoyu* [On Middle School Chinese Literary Education], cit., p. 57.

¹⁴ Wang Xinliang (adapt.), *Lu Binxun Piaoliuji* [Robinson Crusoe], Nanjing, China, Nanjing University Press, 2013, p. 323.

«unconscious cruelty». The opposing views reflect Chinese appropriation of the famous independent hero for its own moral education, which conceives Crusoe as a positive example and understands all his behaviours in a favourable light. Crusoe's independence, perseverance and industry earn him other praises such as «kind-heartedness, decent, sincere»¹⁵, and even «handsome»¹⁶, without evident text proof. And the conclusive words used to describe Crusoe in fact are no different from those of other heroes. This reveals a pedagogic tradition in moral education in China that the moral and the story sometimes do not have inherent links. The moral is the goal of a specific lesson and comes out first. Then a story is made up or appropriated from elsewhere to match the moral.

In this edition, not only is Crusoe more heroic in the Chinese way¹⁷, his father also bears a definite Chinese mark. In Defoe's original story, Crusoe's father tries to persuade Crusoe to settle in the middle station of life, but this Chinese edition explains: «When I was born, my father is senile, and puts all his hope on his youngest son – me, wishing me to become a somebody»¹⁸. For the British Crusoe's father, the life he intends for his son is the best that he can think of. It has nothing to do with his own unfulfilled dreams. In fact, this is the life he enjoys – he has made a fortunate and settled down as a gentleman. Chinese parents typically regard their children as their offspring biologically as well as in terms of wishes and ambitions. Nearly everyone has some kind of unfulfilled life ambitions, and Chinese parents consciously or unconsciously want their next generation to fulfil those wishes and ambitions that have not been realized by the parents themselves. This is different from the father's intentions in Defoe's stories, and reflects the distorting adaptation attitude in the Chinese students' edition that cares more about Chinese culture, whether implicitly or explicitly, than faithfulness to the original.

The treatment of the core text is also noteworthy. Other editions, though they sometimes abridge certain part of the story, make little modification of the main plot and the basic narrative structure. But the Nanjing University Press edition adopts the Captain wife as the explicit narrator of the story. The book is divided into two parts, and the old lady appears in the introduction chapters of each part. She begins the story by briefing her unfortunate life, and then tells readers that, despite her ill fate, she has been fortunate to meet a decent and honourable young man Robinson Crusoe. And then Crusoe's adventurous life begins to unfold before readers. Defoe's original story of Crusoe is thus transformed into an embedded narrative by the old lady.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ He has earned some praises such as «kind-hearted» from Chinese educators not because he is really so in the original story but because he is industrious and independent and naturally earns other praises common to most heroes.

¹⁸ Wang Xinliang (adapt.), *Lu Binxun Piaoliuji* [Robinson Crusoe], cit., p. 7.

This kind of narrative transformation is very similar to a famous eighteenth-century adaptation of the novel by Joachim Henrich Campe, in which Mr. Billingsley narrates the story of Crusoe to his children. By framing Crusoe in the subordinate narrative level of the Billingsley family, Campe has successfully silenced Crusoe and domesticated the castaway in the didactic story telling, commenting, imitating, criticizing and communicating activities of the family members. Thus the potential danger latent in the Crusoe story¹⁹ is avoided. In the Campe edition, the narrative level of the Billingsley family and the Crusoe level are evenly distributed and intermingled in the discourse, whereas the Nanjing University edition the first level, i.e. the one in which the Captain wife tells the story, serves as the framing narrative structure. After the introductions of the two parts in which she tells the origin of the Crusoe story, she only very rarely appears in the story and lets Crusoe to tell the story himself, or, as she says herself, she only transcribes what Crusoe tells her. The first introduction mainly briefs her life and then quite abruptly introduces Crusoe to whom she gives the highest praise. Then their conversation goes on. The introduction to the second part tells the comfort the old lady derives from reading the draft of Crusoe's story and how Crusoe helps her financially. It then goes on to tell how Crusoe returns to England. Through explicit characterization at the very beginning of the story, this kind of framing narrative is unequivocal in its guiding comment toward the protagonist and serves a clear pedagogical function in a reading material for low-grade students. The narrative structural adaptation of the novel is in accordance with other editions in turning the protagonist into a didactic example. The old lady uses such words as «resolute, steadfast, humble, sincere» and «heroic» to describe Crusoe, and such comments fit other commonplace heroic figures in Chinese textbook better than Crusoe. In fact, the precision of these descriptive words does not matter so much: what is really important is that these words are expected answers in an exam – students memorizes these 'answers' and customarily ignores the whole thick book.

5. *Other editions*

The Hebei Children and Youth's Press edition, the Huangshan Book House edition, and the Zhejiang Arts Press edition are quite similar in their treatment and adaptation and shall be discussed together. The first edition is the fanciest, with rich colour illustrations throughout and Pinyin transcriptions to facilitate reading for low-grade students. Its question section is especially designed for

¹⁹ As for the danger latent in children's imitating Crusoe's behaviours, see A. O'Malley, *Crusoe at home: Coding domesticity in children's editions of Robinson Crusoe*, «Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies», vol. 29, n. 3, 2006, pp. 337-352, in partic. cit. from p. 337.

examinations, which is titled «mock exam of necessary knowledge». Its patterns include multiple choice, true or false questions, and essay questions.

The Huangshan Book House edition is monochromatic illustrated, without questions, but offers a prefatory comment similar to other editions, which expresses an explicit confirming attitude towards Crusoe's leaving home, interpreting it as his resolution to abandon a comfortable life in the pursuit of his ambition.

The Zhejiang Arts Press edition is the plainest one. It has no illustration. Its cover is extremely austere: apart from the few words «conforming to new standards», the title, the name of the translator, the press and a very small picture of Crusoe aiming at a cannibal, the rest three fourths of the page is plain green background colour. The only mark indicating that it is a students' edition is its appendix which provides guidance, comments and questions.

These three editions can be grouped together because they have largely left the core text intact in terms of both plot and structure. They have neither significantly changed the structure of the story as the Nanjing University edition does, nor added running comments throughout the core text as the other three editions. In stead, they give block guidance mainly in the appendix. Though they also include comments, they differ sharply from the more immediate comments added at the end of each chapter. Here we have to distinguish two kinds of comments. Comments at the ends of each chapter in fact are woven into the whole core text of the Crusoe story, though at a different narrative level. They constantly jumps out to communicate and to inculcate, providing continuously guidance through the reading process, which tries to ensure that the readers' understanding is kept on the 'right' track. Guidance at the appendix has considerable less influence on readers' understanding of the story, which has already been formed when readers have finished reading the story and come to this part of the book. The different structural comments in the three editions is a sign of less editorial intervention and guidance.

Conclusion

The above-discussed six editions, despite their different backgrounds of publishers, reveal a common practice of Chinese educators and publishers when they provide supplemented reading materials to students. The whole process, from the decision that *Robinson Crusoe* be included in the recommended reading list, to the adaptation strategy and purpose, to the specific way that such editions are used by students, and how these novels are tested in exams, reveals how the Chinese perceives this world classic and turns it for its own educational, pedagogical, moral and ideological uses.

The NCSCE states that the Chinese course has ten goals. The first goal is to foster patriotism, collectivism, socialist morals and healthy aesthetic standards. The second goal is to teach Chinese culture and foster students admiration of it, as well as absorbing and respecting other countries' cultures. The third one is to teach literacy, and the rest stipulate other specific requirements. The nature of the Chinese course is already obvious in the first goal. In this light it is quite understandable that western novels account for such little proportion in the textbook. It is also understandable that the selected novels unexceptionally describe the misery of the lower class and are the products of the middle class in its 'upward period'. Though this goal sounds modern and not out-dated, the selection of novels, both Chinese and western ones, are reminiscent of a strong Soviet Union influence forty years ago²⁰.

The first goal of the course is the dominant factor of the adaptation process, which determines that *Robinson Crusoe* be selected as compulsory reading and how it be adapted for Chinese students. Since all selected reading materials, both in the textbook and in recommended reading, must foster a clear and healthy socialist moral, *Robinson Crusoe*, with its prominent feature of independence and industry, is surely among the recommendation list. Independence is a traditional character cherished by the Chinese. It is recorded in one of the oldest Chinese classics *The Book of Changes*. But it enjoys an unusual popularity among educators and parents in the recent twenty years, because young people in China have been criticized as dependant, lazy and egocentric during this period, which coupled with booming economy, the one-child policy and a much better social and economic growing environment for young people. Though the problem has long ago been pointed out and heatedly debated on, on the contrary it is becoming even worse. That partly explains the increasing popularity of *Robinson Crusoe* and its inclusion in various recommended reading list.

Once included in the reading list, Defoe's novel is changed. The two features that have earned it the admittance into the list now become the dominant factors in the adaptation, suppressing other features of Crusoe, especially negative ones. James Joyce's 'cruel' Crusoe now becomes «kind-hearted», a word that has been repeated almost in every students' edition's preface or appendix. The diversity and conflicts in the personality of Defoe's Crusoe have disappeared, and a new Crusoe rises from the basis of independence and industry. The fact that the Chinese Crusoe has only two or three obvious traits makes it easier for students who have no time to browse through Defoe's interesting story to memorize him. In fact, textbooks and other related books do not allow much diversity of a rounded character's personality. There would not be as many traits as there are many positive heroic figures in such books. The result is that these heroes are strikingly similar to each other in the summary and overview

²⁰ Even the selected Chinese works, whether they are narrative stories or expository writings, are almost written before 1980.

provided for students at the appendixes. One conclusion of a character may be easily used elsewhere without the danger of mismatch.

Apart from adopting a uniforming and heroizing adaptation strategy, students' editions also stress their orientation toward exams, but their questions show a pattern quite different when compared with those in textbooks. The teaching methodology of the Chinese course is consisted almost inclusively of the analysis of figures of speech, structure, and theme, while students' editions of supplemented readings, due to the considerable length, cannot use such questions about artistic features. Instead, they turn to questions about the particulars of plots, such as at what age Crusoe left home, how many years he spent on the island. The numbers, events and names are picked out of the story for students to memorize for exams. It is a practical way to fulfil the reading requirements. NCSCE stipulates that students should have read materials of more than four million words at the end of the ninth grade, but, due to heavy after-school exercise, it is not possible for many students, who have practically little time when they have finished their exercises after school. Then an overview becomes an efficient way to comply with such requirements. Another conflict between theory and practice which is relevant to the discussion here, is that NCSCE rightly requires: «teachers should pay more attention to providing guidance to students during the reading process, cherish their unique understanding and experience. They should not substitute students' reading practice with their [teachers'] analysis, and should not use formulaic analysis to substitute students' own reading»²¹.

This is exactly what the «Knowledge sections» in students' editions of novels have done – deputy reading. Students no longer have to bother their precious brain and time to read lengthy novels. All the points 'study-worthy' are already there, sometimes even highlighted in big, colour fonts. Not only outside the classroom, it is also so in it. It is a tradition in the teaching methodology in Chinese classroom to provide answers for students rather than fostering critical thinking. The result is that for students the appendix part has become the most important part and almost the only factor that leads them to buy the book.

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²¹ Ministry of Education, *Yiwu Jiaoyu Yuwen Kecheng Biaoqun* [Curricular Standards for the Chinese Course in Compulsory Education], cit., p. 22.

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Primary School Teachers' Associations in Italy from Unification to late nineteenth century: origin and development between processes of professionalization and nationalization*

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ABSTRACT: This paper summarizes the most recent studies on primary school teachers' associative phenomenon in Italy between Unification and late Nineteenth century. The aim of this paper is to trace the evolution of associations and the transition from mainly local, mutual modes of social organization to more professional and nationally organized groups. This process started at the end of the forties of the nineteenth century in the State of Piedmont, thanks to the activism of inspectors, teachers or liberal politicians which believed in the value of education to develop better economic, social and political overview. In this period association members undertook higher professional qualification in order to increase primary and popular education. They promoted kindergartens, evening classes and Sunday schools, male and female elementary schools; and they also drew up plans to build new 'normal' schools and new forms of mutual aid. After the birth of the Italian State, teachers' associations multiplied, especially in urban centers such as Milan, Naples, Rome, Florence, Genoa etc. However, only since the eighties of the nineteenth century early experiences with national traits began. In particular, we will take into account some of the most significant examples of primary school teachers' associations of the 19th centuries such as the *Associazione Nazionale fra gli insegnanti elementari d'Italia* born in 1880.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Primary Education; Teacher; Professional Association; Teacher's Role; Italy; XIX-XX Centuries.

* Legend of abbreviations: ASC = Archivio Storico Capitolino (Historical Archive of Rome); ACS = Archivio Centrale dello Stato; MPI = Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione; DGIPP = Direzione Generale Istruzione Primaria e Popolare; b. = busta, f = fascicolo. DBE = *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione (1800-2000)*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica Italiana, 2013; SPES = G. Chiosso (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997; NE = «Il

Introduction

When conducting historical research on Italian education, pedagogical, professional and trade union teachers' associations and teachers in general are still today a field of inquiry in large part to delve into. After the pioneering research of Bertoni Jovine¹, only starting from the 1970s the first studies that focused on the role of teachers, their social status, legal position, institutional role, life and work conditions, educational background, professional and trade union organizations were introduced². Until the 1980s of the twentieth century, Italian historical research could make use of the studies by Santoni Rugiu and L. Ambrosoli, on secondary school teachers, and of the archival research by Ester De Fort on primary school teachers³. More recently, the role of primary school teachers' category was analysed by some sociologists who were sensitive to the historical perspective, such as M. Dei⁴; and the history of the primary school teachers' association in the first decades of the 1900s, has been further analysed by Barausse⁵, while that of the Associazione Italiana Maestri Cattolici (AIMC) and of Unione Cattolica Italiana Insegnanti Medi (UCIIM), during the years of the Italian Republic was studied by Sani⁶. Some research on the phenomenon of associations has been brought forward as part of broader investigations on the developments of education locally or as part of studies of individual figures of the Italian teachers' reality or teachers journals. In particular the work of

Nuovo Educatore»; RMI = «Rivista della Massoneria Italiana»; IP = «L'Italia Pedagogica»; RE = «Il Risveglio Educativo», AME = «L'Associazione dei Maestri Elementari d'Italia».

¹ D. Bertoni Jovine, *Storia dell'educazione popolare in Italia*, Bari, Laterza, 1965, pp. 191-198.

² See G. Vigo, *Il maestro elementare italiano nell'Ottocento. Condizioni economiche e status sociale*, «Nuova Rivista Storica», vol. 61, n. 1-2, 1977, pp. 43-84; S. Ulivieri, *I maestri, L'istruzione di base in Italia*, Firenze, Vallecchi, 1977, pp. 165-211; A. Broccoli, *L'insegnante e il sistema scolastico. Ruolo, status e formazione dell'insegnante italiano dall'Unità ad oggi*, Milano, Isedi, 1978, pp. 11-131; F. Manzotti, *Il movimento magistrale cattolico e lo stato liberale, Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, vol. 52, n. 4, 1965, pp. 463-488; G. Chiosso, *Dal mestiere alla professione magistrale. Note sul lavoro dei maestri elementari nel secondo Ottocento*, «History of Education and Children's Literature», vol. 2, n. 1, 2007, pp. 85-115.

³ See A. Santoni Rugiu, *Il professore nella scuola italiana. Dal 1700 alle soglie del 2000*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1981; L. Ambrosoli, *La Federazione Nazionale insegnanti Scuole Medie dalle origini al 1925*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1967; L. Cremaschi, *Cinquant'anni di battaglie scolastiche*, Roma, Edizioni de I Diritti della scuola, 1952; E. De Fort, *L'associazionismo degli insegnanti elementari dall'età giolittiana al fascismo*, «Movimento operaio e socialista», n. 4, 1981, pp. 375-409; Id., *I maestri elementari dai primi del Novecento alla caduta del fascismo*, «Nuova Rivista Storica», vol. 68, n. 5-6, 1984, pp. 527-576.

⁴ M. Dei, *Colletto bianco, grembiule nero. Gli insegnanti elementari italiani tra l'inizio del secolo e il secondo dopoguerra*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1994.

⁵ See A. Barausse, *L'Unione magistrale nazionale. Dalle origini al fascismo*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2002.

⁶ See R. Sani, *Le associazioni degli insegnanti cattolici nel secondo dopoguerra (1944-1968)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1990.

Morandini on the Kingdom of Piedmont, along with those of D'Ascenzo on the Bolognese reality⁷, of Russo on Basilicata in the first decade of the twentieth century⁸, of Pruneri on Brescia⁹, of Miceli on Molise¹⁰, of Loparco on Sezione maestre e maestri della Camera del lavoro di Milano¹¹, of Ghizzoni on the figure of Maria Magnocavallo¹² just to mention a few, have expanded our knowledge that, however, is still mostly incomplete¹³.

Based on these premises lies the reason for choosing to work on the reconstruction of Italian teachers' associations in the 1800s and first 1900s, making a distinction between these associations and educational associations and gymnastics associations. Firstly, this paper aims at reconstructing a geography of the phenomenon in the period between the Unification of Italy and the first twenty-five years of the twentieth century. Secondly, the contribution intends to verify the nature and the characteristics of these early forms of association. Thirdly, the article aims to determine the role played by associations in the process of nationalization and professionalization of teachers. The paper aims at focusing on the origins of teachers' associations to better identify the promoters of the initiative, the nature and the characteristics of the teachers' movement and the nature assumed by the associations during the second half of the nineteenth century and in the first twenty-five years of the twentieth century. The reconstruction of the modes in which the process of unification of Italian schoolteachers developed, aims at identifying the specific contribution that organizations have given in establishing the national traits of the teacher.

⁷ M.C. Morandini, *Scuola e Nazione. Maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato unitario (1848-1861)*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2003; D'Ascenzo, *La scuola elementare nell'età liberale. Il caso di Bologna (1859-1911)*, cit.

⁸ T. Russo, *Istruzione e sociabilità in Basilicata 1900-1921*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2005.

⁹ F. Pruneri, *Oltre l'alfabeto. L'istruzione popolare dall'Unità d'Italia all'età giolittiana: il caso di Brescia*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2006.

¹⁰ V. Miceli, *Associazionismo degli insegnanti e bollettini magistrali nel secondo Ottocento. Una ricerca in corso in Molise*, in H. Cavallera (ed.), *La ricerca storico-educativa oggi. Un confronto di metodi, modelli e programmi di ricerca*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, Vol. 1, pp. 389-403.

¹¹ F. Loparco, *La Sezione Maestre e Maestri della Camera del Lavoro di Milano (1893-1898). Parte prima*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 8, n. 1, 2013, pp. 675-713.

¹² C. Ghizzoni, *Cultura magistrale nella Lombardia del primo Novecento. Il contributo di Maria Magnocavallo (1869-1956)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2005.

¹³ M. Cattaneo, L. Pazzaglia (edd.), *Maestri educazione popolare e società in "Scuola italiana Moderna"*, 1983-1993, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997. In particular, see C. Ghizzoni, *Dall'aula alla redazione. Il contributo di Maria Magnocavallo*, pp. 347-388; L. Caimi, *L'ideale del maestro nella riflessione e nelle iniziative di Vittorio Chizzolini*, pp. 413-448; C. Scurati, *Scuola del popolo e professionalità magistrale in Marco Agosti*, pp. 389-412.

The Sources

The recent historiographical debates have highlighted the need for further analysis in those areas of investigation in the historical and educational research which are still little explored and the use of methodologies and tools which are typical of historical investigation. In particular what has been highlighted is the need to pay greater attention to the historical and cultural contextualization supported by archival research¹⁴. From a methodological point of view the reconstruction of the associative phenomenon among teachers can make use of a meaningful number of sources, both archival and print. Among the first, in fact, we can point out the usefulness of different documents preserved in the municipal archives or in the archives of the State. In some case, for example, a useful tool to identify the presence of associations, is represented by the reports that inspectors sent to the Ministry of Education in Rome. The structure of the questionnaires used by personnel when collecting the information was a specific question on the form asking if there were teachers' associations.

In addition to the evidence provided by the inspection staff equally significant are those provided by the teaching staff. Private archives of important figures of Italian pedagogy keep significant records of associational life among teachers. Just to mention one, the numerous correspondences preserved in the archive of Luigi Credaro has helped to reconstruct the early stages of National teachers' union of the twentieth-century.

Furthermore, besides archival sources, another invaluable tool is represented by school periodicals. The development of associations is closely related to that of pedagogical and school publications in Italy in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. It is sufficient to give a quick glance at the repertoire edited by G. Chiosso, to realize immediately the close relationship between school press and elementary school teachers' associations. Numerous leaflets and reports published between 1861 and 1900 were the expressions and organs of respective teachers' associations. Many of these printed materials lasted a short time, others longer.

¹⁴ See R. Fornaca, *La ricerca storico-pedagogica*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1974; L. Pazzaglia, *Problemi e prospettive delle ricerche storico-pedagogiche*, «Ricerche pedagogiche», n. 56-57, 1980, pp. 56-57; F. Cambi, *La ricerca storico-educativa in Italia 1945-1980*, Milano, Mursia, 1992; F. Cambi, *La scuola italiana nella storiografia, La scuola italiana dall'Unità ai giorni nostri*, a cura di G. Cives, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1994, pp. 363-426; G. Cives, *Le molte dimensioni della ricerca storico-educativa*, «Nuovo Bollettino del Cirse», vol. 7, n. 1, 2010, pp. 13-20; R. Sani, *Sub specie educationis. Studi e ricerche su istruzione, istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formative nell'Italia contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2011.

The origins and the pioneers of Italian teachers' associations and the first development during the years of the historical Right (1861-1876)

A first phase of associative life is found within the period between the decade previous to pre-unification and the one following the founding of the national state.

From the limited research conducted on the subject, what can be noticed is that the origins of the associative phenomenon among elementary school teachers, dates back to the first half of the nineteenth century. Among the most important pre-unification associations we find the *Società di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti* ('Teachers' mutual aid society') founded in Turin in 1853 and the *Pio istituto di mutuo soccorso fra i maestri privati di Lombardia* established in 1857 ('The Pious Institute of mutual aid for private school teachers of Lombardy')¹⁵. At the present state of research it has been possible to identify some evidence that reveal the existence of such associations both in Bologna¹⁶ and in Naples¹⁷.

An association among teachers has also been documented in the Kingdom of the two Sicilies. Actually from an 1848 document there is confirmation of the intentions of the Neapolitan Minister of Education P.E. Imbriani to support the development of a partnership among teachers, but this attempt did not last long, also documented by Giuseppe Vago's memoir, who is one of the future leaders of Neapolitan associations.

During the first fifteen years which followed the period of unification, only a few associations were established. The geography of the birth and the development of associations is a useful starting point to shed light on the contexts that had a major impact on the development of the actual phenomenon. In the current state of research it has been possible to identify the setting up of twenty-three associations: fifteen in northern Italy, three in centre and four in southern Italy. Out of twenty-three associations, fourteen of those were founded in the late 1870s; nine instead were established in the early 1870s.

¹⁵ Società d'istruzione di educazione e di mutuo soccorso fra gli insegnanti, *Regolamento generale della Società d'istruzione, di educazione e di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti*, Torino, Tip. scolastica S. Franco e figli, 1861; P. Rossi, *La società d'istruzione, di educazione e di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti [di Torino]*. Monografia presentata all'Esposizione generale italiana in Palermo 1891, Torino, Tip. Lit. Camilla e Bertolero, 1891. References to the Turin society's initiatives as that Milanese also, M.C. Morandini, *Scuola e nazione. Maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato unitario (1848-1861)*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2003, pp. 210-220; G. Chiosso, *Un catalogo scolastico di metà Ottocento. La tipografia Sebastiano Franco*, in G. Chiosso (ed.), *Il libro per la scuola tra Sette e Ottocento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2000, pp. 117-123.

¹⁶ *Statuti per l'Unione di sussidio ai maestri e sotto maestri delle scuole elementari della città e diocesi di Bologna che si erige sotto gli auspici di M. Vergine Sedes Sapientiae e dei santi protettori degli oratori delle suddette scuole*, Bologna, Tip. Fava e Garagnani, 1842.

¹⁷ See G. Vago, *Le mie memorie*, Napoli, Tip. di G. Errico e Figlio, 1900, p. 84.

List of the Teachers' Associations from 1861 to 1876

<i>Name</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>
Società di madri di famiglia e di maestre elementari toscane	Bibbiena	1872
Società magistrale di Bologna	Bologna	1864
Società degl'insegnanti di Chiaravalle	Chiaravalle	1867
Società pedagogica e di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti di Ferrara	Ferrara	1870
Società magistrale di Legnago	Legnago	1869
Società fra gli insegnanti di Livorno	Livorno	1874
Società pedagogica magistrale	Mantova	1871
Circolo pedagogico peloritano	Messina	1872
Istituto di mutuo soccorso fra gl'istitutori ed educatori d'Italia	Milano	1861
Lega degli asili infantili italiani	Milano	1874
Pio Istituto dei maestri di Lombardia	Milano	1850
Società degli insegnanti di Mirandola	Mirandola	1870
Società degl'insegnanti di Napoli	Napoli	1865
Libera società degl'insegnanti in Palermo	Palermo	1866
Società di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti del Comune	Parma	1869
Società di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti	Perugia	1864
Corpo insegnante primario della provincia di Reggio Calabria	Reggio Calabria	1869
Società d'incoraggiamento e di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti con sede in Roma Società d'insegnanti di Roma	Roma	1872
Società di fraterna beneficenza fra gl'insegnanti primari	Torino	1870
Società di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti di Torino	Torino	1853
Società pedagogico didattica per le scuole popolari del Litorale adriatico	Trieste	1869
Associazione generale dei docenti	Venezia	1866
Società veronese di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti d'Italia	Verona	1869

It is evident that the phenomenon, at least in its earlier forms, was predominantly urban, affecting mainly the cities from Milan – which boasted two partnerships and Turin¹⁸. In the years immediately after the birth of the unified State, aside from the two partnerships in Turin, also in Milan there was the establishment of the *Istituto di mutuo soccorso fra gl'istruttori ed educatori* ('Mutual aid institute among teachers and educators') born in 1861 and in Bologna, in 1862, a society founded by some primary teachers: both on the model of the Society of education and instruction and mutual aid society of

¹⁸ The data are extrapolated from G. Chiosso (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997, [henceforth SPES] on teachers' periodicals.

Turin¹⁹. Three years later, in 1865, a society among the teachers of Naples was founded while in Florence, instead, the associations started to develop in 1866 when the *Società italiana educatrice e di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti* ('Italian educational society and mutual aid among teachers') arose²⁰. Other associations were established in Palermo, Reggio Calabria, Trieste, Verona and Venice. Among the smaller centers, a mutual aid society among teachers in Perugia was set up in 1864²¹ and another one in Parma, in 1869²², aside from the ones in Legnago (province of Verona) and Chiaravalle (province of Ancona). Clearly, the fragmentation of the schools on national territory and transportation difficulties forced teachers to almost total isolation, and the only moments for them to be in contact with one another were occasional and rare meetings, like 'educational and pedagogical conferences' and association assemblies, thus offering teachers the opportunity to meet and socialize. We cannot exclude the possibility of the presence of other associations during this phase that only a careful analysis of documents of that time could reveal.

One of the interesting aspects that historiographical research should consider in more detail, is the profile of the pioneers of associations. Who were the first proponents of associations? Which is the profile of the promoters for teachers' associations? Even from this point of view, a significant evolution can be noticed; indeed the development of this phenomenon is accompanied by the generational change that accompanies this category of professionals. In fact, the first associations were initiated because of significant pressure from liberal politicians, as well as philanthropists, university professors and representatives of school management such as inspectors, supervisors or directors of normal schools, along with – although more rarely- with the best teachers. It is difficult, but not impossible, to detect a more precise political identity among the masters and mistresses who were involved in associational life. It is difficult, but not impossible, to detect a more precise identity, also political, in teachers who were involved in associative life. Initially, the motivation leading to form associations was represented by the difficult economic and legal conditions around it.

The Turin society emerged within the *Società d'Istruzione e di educazione* ('Educational and Instruction Society'), which was not only an expression of the pedagogical reflection and political development of exponents of liberal

¹⁹ D'Ascenzo, *La scuola elementare nell'età liberale. Il caso Bologna (1859-1911)*, cit., pp. 162 ff.

²⁰ *Statuto della Società Italiana Educatrice e di Mutuo Soccorso fra gl'insegnanti stabilita in Firenze*, Firenze, Tipografia di M. Ricci e C., 1869.

²¹ *Statuto della Società di Mutuo Soccorso fra gl'insegnanti dell'Umbria*, Perugia, Tip. Santucci, 1864.

²² In a booklet published in the early 1980s, a reference can be found on the Memorial ceremony for Francesco Rossi, who died at the age of 80 on December 29, 1879, professor of «liberal arts», founder and president of the Association «for nearly three decades». *Regolamento interno per della Società di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti del Comune di Parma*, Parma, Tipografia Adorni Michele, 1880, p. 12.

Catholicism; but also the result of the contribution of pedagogues such as Aporti and Rayneri and of exponents of the political liberalism sensitive to the development of education such as Lanza, Berti, Boncompagni, Albini, Capellina and others²³. The second was close to the initiatives promoted by Ignazio Cantù and developed simultaneously to the Milan pedagogic society (afterwards called *Società Pedagogica Italiana*) of Giuseppe Sacchi²⁴. Even at the center of initiatives that led to the establishment of the Neapolitan teachers' associations, we find teachers and pedagogues, close to the liberal Catholicism, but also journalists and those who were responsible for educational press with a distinct position compared to their colleagues from Lombardy and Piedmont, and however more sensitive towards the demand for autonomy. From the first associative experiences the relationship with the pedagogical and teachers' press was very tight²⁵. The Turin society published a newsletter «Il saggiatore scolastico» (1854-1855) then called the «Bollettino mensile. Atti ufficiali della Società di mutuo soccorso» (1856-1882) and lastly «L'amico dei maestri» (1882-1940). It became an important reference point and a powerful pressure group thanks to the relationships that the association, through its newsletter, managed to build with other scholastic journals. The presence of scholastic periodicals was usually a prerequisite or the voice which gave birth to associations. As regards to the experience in southern Italy, initially the director and the professors were the ones to enliven the pages of the journal «L'Amico delle scuole popolari». Mauro Valente and the presbyter Giuseppe Vago²⁶ put great effort in supporting the teachers' organization; later on academics, professors and directors of normal schools such as Edoardo Fusco and Pietro Rossi, gave life to another periodical «Il Progresso Educativo» (1869-1874), and acted as intermediaries both with the teachers of those schools and with the many teachers who had graduated from those same schools²⁷.

²³ G. Chiosso, *Educare e istruire il popolo a Torino nel primo Ottocento*, L. Pazzaglia (ed.), *Chiesa e prospettive educative in Italia fra Restaurazione e Unificazione*, La Scuola, Brescia 1994, pp. 227 ff.; Id. (ed.), *Associazionismo e bollettini magistrali. Uno sguardo in Abruzzo e a Brescia, Scuola e stampa dell'Italia liberale*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1993, pp. 289-292.

²⁴ See S. Bucci, *Associazioni pedagogiche Nazionali*, *Enciclopedia Pedagogica*, edited by M. Laeng, Brescia, La Scuola 1989, pp. 1127-1135.

²⁵ See SPES.

²⁶ On the figure of the Molisan teacher see the record n. 2238 in *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione (1800-2000)*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica Italiana, 2013 [henceforth DBE], edited by A. Barausse.

²⁷ For these magazines, see the profiles in the records n. 22 and n. 847 in SPES, cit. and G. Bonetta, «Il Progresso Educativo» per la ricchezza della Nazione e del Meridione, in G. Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1993, pp. 111-139.

Nature, initiatives and projects of the first teachers' associations

The aspect around which seems useful to investigate locally, regards the nature of these early teachers' organizations. It is important to bear in mind that the teachers' associations for at least two decades was primarily an expression of local realities; a phenomenon which was due to the fact that primary education depended on the local municipalities and, therefore, primary school teachers were considered municipal employees. The boundaries, therefore, within which the first associative experiences of teachers were held, during the first two decades after the Unification of Italy, were delimited in the area of the municipality. Therefore the problems and needs of the teaching body did not go beyond this area. A first survey would seem to reveal that the nature of the first associations was mainly mutualistic based on social welfare and social security. They aimed at assuring economic support to teachers and, sometimes, protection from the breaches of municipalities. Aside from this, they also served to train and upgrade teachers. Although the first associations operated predominantly at a local level, under a mutual point of view, the range of action was wider. For example, mutual benefit societies from Turin, Milan and Naples wanted to be solid benchmarks for all teachers in Italy as regards to the extension of economic forms of mutuality. On this front, however, the two northern organizations proved to be more solid. The financial fragility of associations, often small in terms of number of members, did not allowed the possibility to provide social security to its associates. The Umbra society, whose aims was to «protect the rights and to improve the economic and moral condition of teachers» through «grants in case of illness or other difficult circumstances» and «in order to offer a better future, to ensure the economic condition of members with decent and stable pensions»²⁸. The company born in Florence with the aim of «promoting the education [and] improving the status of teachers» had a social fund for the management of grants and annuities to ensure predominantly welfare measures. The members, who paid an annual fee of 12 lire, could request subsidies if members for at least two years or a pension if at least a fifteen year membership had been paid; and the families of deceased members could enjoy subsidies if members for at least ten years or a pension if enrolled for at least fifteen years²⁹.

In other cases, the interventions were of cultural character.

The initiatives of the first teachers' associations, were supported by the pedagogical project to foster on one hand the maturation in the teaching staff of a genuinely national cultural identity on ethical and religious grounds; on

²⁸ *Statuto della Società di Mutuo Soccorso fra gl'insegnanti dell'Umbria*, Perugia, Tip. Santucci, 1864, p. 2.

²⁹ *Statuto della Società Italiana Educatrice e di Mutuo Soccorso fra gl'insegnanti stabilita in Firenze*, Firenze, Tipografia di M. Ricci e C., 1869, p. 3.

the other hand they aimed at promoting the development of new educational institutions within the municipality, for example educational and rural schools, evening classes and courses on public holidays, supported by circulating libraries and reading rooms as well as from the use of social funds, together with the attention to people's education, the construction of a balanced and solid socio-political system. Such ideas had their roots and were a reflection of the cultural pedagogical historical (*Risorgimento*) Catholic-liberal period³⁰. In Bologna, the association founded by some teachers³¹ in 1862 following the example of the Turin Society of instruction and education and mutual aid, initially developed activities more of a cultural kind rather than political and claiming rights, especially through discussions of pedagogical-didactic character through initiatives such as the Cabinet of reading or circulating library³².

Furthermore the associations established in Southern Italy acted in the context of a broader commitment in the spreading and promotion of a popular education in the southern provinces and the re-launching of the Neapolitan school, started by the periodical from its birth³³. In urging both public and private teachers «to form a phalanx» to join forces in order to protect and increase their dignity and to improve public education³⁴. Moral and material benefits deriving from initiatives³⁵ were traced back to the increasing decorum and the high esteem of

³⁰ G. Chiosso (ed.), *Il libro per la scuola tra Sette e Ottocento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2000, *passim*.

³¹ D'Ascenzo, *La scuola elementare nell'età liberale. Il caso Bologna (1859-1911)*, cit., pp. 162 ff.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 163.

³³ The editors published a front-page update on the condition of the Association, stating its continuity with both the cultural tradition of the Neapolitan and the activity performed by «The Friend» in support of popular education. Here, it seems relevant to quote a few excerpts: «In the last five years, our periodical has powerfully proved how strong is the need to educate and instruct people, how important the dignity, material and moral well-being of the teacher are, and how important it was for us to reject the calumnies of people who, ignorant of our affairs, and invested with authority, believed to dictate laws, to absolve and condemn [...] The only way to reach this goal was to raise our voice with all the strength and involve all teachers who, united and getting to know one another, may respect one another and be respected». *La Società degl'Insegnanti in Napoli*, «L'Amico delle Scuole popolari», vol. 5, n. 24, 1865, p. 369.

³⁴ In this article that sounds like a manifesto of the future Association one reads that «if teachers really want to have the chance to rise to the dignity and vindicate the high place that they are entitled to, they must begin to reach out to their colleagues, to the many who share with them those same concerns and, let's face it, the same pains, and thus form a community that, by combining their efforts and their own ingenuity, can make better public education, raise their dignity and see also arise from their breast who, sitting in the municipal, provincial, political meetings have also thought to contribute to the moral amelioration of the class to which they belong» (La Redazione, *Per un'Associazione degli insegnanti. Invito*, «L'Amico delle Scuole popolari», vol. 5, n. 20, 20 maggio 1865, p. 307).

³⁵ In the periodical it has been printed the speech held by Professor G. Mastriani in the occasion of the first meeting of the teachers' Association, which he stressed the civil and cooperative spirit of the professional union: «The Association creates civil courage which is the only means to fight against injustices and oppressions of any sort of administrator». *L'Associazione degli insegnanti di*

the educator, to the ability to offer reciprocal encouragement and protection, foster adequate promotions for those who had conscientiously and successfully carried out their duties, ensuring pensions and benefits even to teachers who had not reached the number of working years required by law. In addition the editorial staff of the Neapolitan journal hoped that through the formation of a teachers' association, assistance could finally be given to the teachers in the difficult task of choosing textbooks, highlighting worthy textbooks that were not widespread and ensuring the publications of new works³⁶. Last but not least, it was possible to recruit representatives to propose for the municipal and political elections from the teachers' associations, in order to guarantee the possibility to have their say in leading circles.

It seems convenient to report the articles listed in the Status regarding the aforementioned issues:

Aims of Association³⁷ Article 1. The aim of the association is: 1. Promote the development and diffusion of instruction and education; 2. Improve the social and economic status of teachers 3. Obtain by means of mutual aid, the possibility to take a stand for teachers' right. Article 2. The means to achieve it: 1. Bring together teachers, so that respective knowledge is communicated, for common benefits and for teaching uniformity 2. Promote the didactic work of the different teaching branches and spread the best that have already been published 3. Approve promotions for those teachers who fulfill their duties with zeal and success 4. Help the members in their blameless misfortunes according to the means of the association and the needs of the members 5. Participate effectively in political and administrative elections.

The improvement of the material and moral conditions of teachers appeared to be the most urgent matter in presenting the association program in May 1865 and it was reaffirmed more clearly in the Statute. Secondly the document recorded the need to give the Neapolitan experience a National extension, through the promotion of Annual Conferences to be held from time to time in the major cities of the Kingdom. In doing so, there would have been the possibility to exchange views on common grounds and evaluate possible operational decisions in view of effectiveness and practicability³⁸.

Napoli, «L'Amico delle Scuole popolari», vol. 5, n. 22, 3 giugno 1865, pp. 337-339.

³⁶ See La Redazione, *Per un'Associazione degli insegnanti. Invito*, «L'Amico delle Scuole popolari», vol. 5, n. 20, 20 maggio 1865, p. 307. The dramatic conditions on textbooks, was presented in July 1865 by Giovanni Antonio Rayneri in a report on the state of education for the elementary and normal schools and, where laid out some questionable practices in particular in the South, «First, too frequent change of books adopted by the teachers; secondly, the spread of episodes of malpractice and reprehensible behavior, as in the case of teachers who adopted textbooks not for virtue of their intrinsic value but because of dealings with local printers and publishers». A. Barausse, *Il libro per la scuola dall'unità al fascismo. La normativa sui libri di testo dalla Legge Casati alla Riforma Gentile (1861-1922)*, Macerata, Alfabetica, 2008, Vol. I, p. 6.

³⁷ *Statuto organico della Società degli insegnanti*, «L'Amico delle Scuole popolari», vol. 5, n. 31, 5 agosto 1865, pp. 465-469; Id., n. 31, 5 agosto 1865, pp. 481-484.

³⁸ *Statuto organico della Società degli insegnanti*, «L'Amico delle Scuole popolari», vol. 5,

In the draft of the Statute proposed in 1866, what was suggested was to divide the association in order to gather the teachers in a similar organism ensuring that the two units worked in agreement. Furthermore, since the members had increased by accepting teachers of different subjects, it seemed appropriate to distinguish differentiated work sectors, assigning for each section a chairman and a secretary with the obligation to report before the General Assembly every six months³⁹.

The intentions of the Society did not remain mere abstraction: at the beginning of 1866 a plan was predisposed to establish retirement funds to ensure a pension to primary school teachers who suffered from the contradictions of the specific laws applied in the Neapolitan provinces. The impossibility to be reconfirmed automatically after the first three years led the Association to propose a definite appointment after a three year trial period, the regulations of a retirement system similar to the one provided for municipal employees, and alternatively, in case the municipality of Naples wanted to create funds for municipal teachers revoked after three years of work, the mutual aid model to be followed was that of the Educational and mutual aid Association of the teachers of Turin. The board questioned the municipal costume to withhold tax deductions even if the teachers were not reappointed after the legislative trial period⁴⁰.

Therefore, if the basics of the origins of teachers' associations during the first decades of post unification were mainly of a municipal and local dimension there is the need to analyze thoroughly the role played by this limited associative world, in defining programmed proposals or school policies elaborated by post-unification governments.

The early post-unification years were characterized by the reactions to the extension of the Casati law throughout the National territory. Teachers' associations confronted themselves with the legislative measures, expressed by Minister De Sanctis motivated more by a desire of streamlining administrative bureaucracy rather than by the recognition of local autonomy, and by Mamiani (parallel to the administrative decentralization projects advocated by Minghetti between January and April 1862); with Berti's ministerial experience who tried to reorganize the central and suburban school system according to an

1865, n. 31, 5 agosto 1865, pp. 481-484.

³⁹ *Associazione degli'insegnanti. Progetto per la modificazione dello Statuto*, «L'Amico delle Scuole popolari», vol. 6, n. 4, 27 gennaio 1866, pp. 61-62.

⁴⁰ *Atti della Società degli'Insegnanti. Relazione della Commissione pel progetto di una Cassa municipale degli'Insegnanti*, «L'Amico delle Scuole popolari», vol. 6, n. 8, 24 febbraio 1866, pp. 113-116. The pre-monarchic law of March 20, 1865 on provincial and municipal administration stated in the art. 17 that municipalities have to elect for no more than three years their teachers, after which they could be confirmed for a second three-year period or for a longer period or removed from their duties at the discretion of the municipality. The law also stipulated in art. 28 the establishment of a special fund to ensure the future of the teachers of municipal elementary schools, where they were unable, for old age or illness, to deliver their services effectively.

anti-centralist control, and Coppino's plan to repeal Berti's decree, the old system was restored⁴¹. Within this context, there were positions taken at the national level that fueled the demands of the primary school teaching class. I would like to underline the attitudes assumed by the Association among the teachers of Naples regarding the trends undertaken by the ministry concerning public education (in the Neapolitan area there was an important tradition of private schools, mainly secondary)⁴²; or, above all, the initiatives carried out by the first teachers' associations, that became advocates of the periodical of the Turin Society «L'institutore» and several school delegates (with a school administrative role) that led to the presentation of a petition in Parliament in 1869 signed by over 5567 primary school teachers which requested:

(1) That after some years of praised employment, elementary school teachers may achieve the right not to be dismissed from work, by applying the provisions of Article 216 of the Law November 13, 1859, which concerned teachers working in secondary school; (2) to take into account the present straits of society by establishing primary school teachers' salary in order that they may live with less disadvantage, and even abolish the reduction of a third on teachers' salaries; (3) to establish a retention of a certain amount on elementary school teachers' salaries so that the government may provide them with a pension when they retire [...] (4) that teachers who are already in their working careers can obtain an accumulation of funds for their pensions even for those year prior to the legal obligation of licenses [...]; (5) to make mandatory public education for all children, fining parents or guardians who do not send their children to school, and devoting all the sums gained from the fines for the benefit of poor children, and to establish more public libraries; (6) to raise teachers' dignity by granting them, according to the voting age required by the law, the political right to vote⁴³.

The development of associations in the early 1870s

These actions undoubtedly contributed to the slow maturation of a type of association more sensitive to the leading role of the teachers who began to show more attention to national events.

In the early seventies teachers' associations began to grow significantly while maintaining a non-uniform characterization. In most cases they continued to be characterized by two features, mutualistic welfare and cultural, but with

⁴¹ G. Talamo, *La scuola dalla legge Casati alla inchiesta del 1864*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1960; Id., *Centralismo e autonomia nell'organizzazione scolastica dalla legge Casati alla prima guerra mondiale*, in *Storia della scuola e storia d'Italia*, Bari, De Donato, 1982, pp. 100-105.

⁴² *La Società degli Insegnanti di Napoli e la Relazione del Cav. Giuda sull'insegnamento privato napoletano*, Napoli, Stabilimento Tipografico di V. Morano, 1876.

⁴³ *Petizione degli insegnanti elementari italiani al Parlamento Nazionale e al R. Governo preceduta da una succinta Relazione compilata dal Professore Domenico Gagliolo*, Torino, Tipografia del giornale il Conte Cavour, 1869, pp. 23-24.

greater emphasis on the leading role of teachers. In Bologna, the *Società degli Insegnanti* ('Society of Teachers') through a change to the bylaws, introduced alongside the cultural activities, initiatives based on brotherhood through assistance and security among members⁴⁴. In the seventies teachers' associations began to take on decidedly more demanding reforms such as that developed by the Society of fraternal charity (established in January 1871), after the *Società magistrale Carlo Pozzi* ('The teachers' association Carlo Pozzi'), of Turin, which was among the first to abandon those mutualistic connotations typical of previous associations⁴⁵. Some of these new associations arose on the setting of the slow but progressive maturation of an educational and pedagogical rationalistic and laical culture. Around this cultural turning point various experiences of associations matured which expressed cultural contents, programmed objectives and proposals, with school policy guidelines different from those of the past. Among the associations which diverged from the previous ones there was the one of Mantua, promoted by very important figures belonging to educational positivism such as Francesco Veniali, who as headmaster of elementary schools, tried to move the predominant cultural and political axis within educational associations controlled by members of the Lombard moderation such as Giuseppe Sacchi⁴⁶. From the pages of «Il Nuovo Educatore» ('The new educator') he also supported the development of an association among elementary school teachers who were more sensitive to the demands of economic and legal improvement, on the one side, and also to expressions of the pedagogic culture and scientific positivist didactics on the other⁴⁷.

Another association born in the early seventies but in a different cultural context, was the one established in Rome, where, in 1872, a group of teachers of the district of Trastevere promoted the initiative to create a partnership among teachers, the *Società fra gl'insegnanti di Roma* ('Society of teachers from Rome') including members «of both sexes with the aim to help one another in their moral and material interests»⁴⁸. The association operated in a different

⁴⁴ D'Ascenzo, *La scuola elementare nell'età liberale. Il caso Bologna (1859-1911)*, cit., pp. 163 ff.

⁴⁵ B. Chiara, *Società magistrale 'C. Pozzi' nel sessantennio 1871-1931*, Torino, Tip. Bandoni e Stringa, 1931.

⁴⁶ F. Veniali, *Una proposta ai maestri elementari d'Italia*, NE, voll. 1-2, n. 9, 1 giugno 1872, pp. 129-131; he urged the convening of provincial teachers' pedagogical Congress to develop a more independent professional line to support, such as current, within the National Pedagogical Congress. La Direzione, *A proposito del futuro congresso pedagogico*, *ibid.*, n. 11, 15 giugno 1872, pp. 161-162; *Eppur si move*, *ibid.*, n. 13, 29 giugno 1872, pp. 193-195; F. Veniali, *I maestri e i congressi*, *Risposta all'egr. sig. prof. G. Marconi direttore del giornale Il Maestro di se stesso*, *ibid.*, n. 19, 10 agosto 1872, pp. 293-295; *Congresso pedagogico provinciale di Bologna*, *ibid.*, pp. 304.

⁴⁷ On the figure of Francesco Veniali and his secularist and anticlerical roots see the interesting pages of G. Verucci, *L'Italia laica prima e dopo l'unità*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1996; on the role of *Il Nuovo educatore*, see the profile n. 756 in SPES edited by R. Sani.

⁴⁸ On March 5, 1872 teachers sent to the Mayor of Rome, Grispigni, the regulation outline of

cultural context. The different generations of teachers who were part of it, were united by the goal of supporting an idea of teacher who is a protagonist and they were more animated by strong feelings of philanthropy and secularism. The president of the company was Natale Inverardi and included among the advisers Giulio Passamonti and Giacomo Veniali, son of Francesco. In 1874 to chair the association was Biagio Placidi who aside from being minister in the first years of the new city council, he also was at the head of the *Lega romana per l'istruzione del popolo* ('The Roman league for the education of the people') expression of the philanthropic movement. It is no coincidence that the birth of this new associative experience was viewed favorably by political and social circles of the anticlerical left⁴⁹. The statute assigned a major role to teachers who were members, while providing four types of members (the founders, the active members, the honorary members and the benefactors), the Society was provided with a board of directors composed of 10 members, a chairman, two vice-presidents, six counselors and a secretary. The majority of the ten members of the board (and at least 6) had to be chosen among the active members who actually were «teachers of any class and level». It was, therefore, a choice that wanted to underline the professional character of the society⁵⁰.

The considerations set out in the proposed program made it clear that the promoters to assign a greater role directly to the male schoolteachers and female schoolteachers with a more cultural and charitable dimension rather than exclusively a social or mutual one that however seemed to characterize associations: «If we come to reflect on our position both morally and materially, it is logical that we are not considered in all respects» the planning document stated, «we should learn to do things on our own rather than continue waiting for the things we were expecting» emphasized the promoters. The experience of mutual aid often lived spontaneously, had to give way to a more organized model. In order to support the aspirations of teachers, the trend to be organized in an association had to be caught:

If, colleagues and co-workers look at the main societies which exist among teachers, you will find that most of them are based on the sole purpose of providing a pension to those members who have paid their membership fees for at least twenty-five years, and almost none consider to subsidize according to current needs, or even if there is such assistance, it is minimum, having invested most of the capital on the pension plan. Without a doubt, to ensure our old age pension by investing a few hundred liras is wise, but it is not less

94 articles. See the *Schema di regolamento della Società d'incoraggiamento e di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti*, ASC, Titolo Postunitario/Titolo 11 Pubblica Istruzione, *Proposta e programma d'una Società fra gl'insegnanti*, b. 5, fasc. 13.

⁴⁹ The newspaper «La Capitale» hailed the establishment of the Society as a positive event. See *Cronaca cittadina. Bella iniziativa*, «La Capitale», 22 febbraio 1872. See *Cronaca cittadina. Bella iniziativa*, «La Capitale», 22 febbraio 1872.

⁵⁰ Titolo Postunitario/Titolo 11 Pubblica Istruzione, *Proposta e programma d'una Società fra gl'insegnanti*, b. 5, fasc. 13.

important to provide at the same time for our most heartfelt needs in case we are caught by an accident or illness [...]. No one, we hope to believe, will oppose to this principle of ours and will even doubt the importance of solidarity among us in our moral and material interests, and if someone were to do so, he would deny himself, declaring himself as the enemy to all of us⁵¹.

On the basis of these premises, the association aimed to ensure: the assurance of a relief to the sick and chronically ill, old age pensions, loans of honor, and the protection and the safeguard of members' widows and children (Art. 3)⁵².

The interventions of social assistance and the demands for better economic conditions addressed to the municipal authorities, were accompanied by «moral and intellectual» forms of support of the members. In particular, the objective of ensuring cultural growth of their members was achieved through the establishment of a didactic library, maintenance of a cabinet of reading, grants for the publication of works⁵³. In 1873 one of the schools in the centre offered space where to place the circulating library «which is maintained and enriched with the money from monthly fees that teacher members pay, with funds from other members and the yearly sum that the municipality gives and is allocated in its budget». During the monthly meetings, teachers also discussed legal issues and proposals to submit to the Department of Public Education. These conferences «at the same time informative and educational»⁵⁴ stressed the president, who thus described the work of the association:

After a long discussion on a given topic, which is purely didactic or pedagogical, the Assembly appointed a commission with the responsibility to form a well elaborated, well defined and well written and to read it during another assembly which decides whether the report should be sent to the press or not, or if it should be modified or edited in content or style. At the end of the year all the reports that were deemed worthy will be published in a volume⁵⁵.

In order to support and to encourage the efforts for the improvement of teachers' pedagogical and teaching the president Biagio Placidi, in March 1874,

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ The regulation provided an opportunity for members to take advantage of a grant, the event of illness, of L. 2, extensible to L. 3, against a payment fee of 3 per month. *Regolamento della Società d'incoraggiamento e di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti con sede in Roma*, Roma, Tipografia della Società Cooperativa, 1872, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁴ «And it is desirable, and certainly useful that the primary teachers of the municipality participate regularly in order that those who know more can present what they know orally or in written form, and the others make treasure of this knowledge of theirs so that they themselves will slowly be more confident and present orally or written what they also know. These conferences are mainly informative but at the same time educational». Letter dated 5th March 1874 on letterhead paper Società d'Incoraggiamento e di mutuo soccorso fra gli insegnanti with offices in Rome, ASC, Titolo Postunitario/Titolo 11 Pubblica Istruzione, b. 13, fasc. 23.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

addressed the City Council in order to obtain funding to grant members as «awards to those authors who have written the best didactic and teaching materials» and also for those members who have proven to be more assiduous in attending the association meetings, but he received a denial, sweetened by a declaration in support of any application submitted to the Ministry of Education⁵⁶.

Within this framework of interventions which supported social and cultural issues, the association did not fail to exert a greater pressure on local authorities in order to demand better economic conditions. A significant trace of this type of action is the one relating to the presentation of a petition to the political administrative authorities, on May 15th 1878, requesting that the improvement of the economic conditions of the municipal teachers and in particular of «the lower classes» according to what they believe is «most appropriate». The board of directors was hoping that the request would be embraced in the belief that «even in this circumstance consideration will not come less [...] to those who labor to prepare better citizens for the nation»⁵⁷.

The development of associations during the years of the Historical Left (1876-1898)

The years between 1876 and 1898, which largely coincided with the historic left government saw new primary teachers' associations flourish. Up to this point 64 new associations have been counted, which helped to broaden the geographical base of associations. Of these 31 were found in area in northern Italy, 17 in the central part of the country, and 16 in the south.

List of the Teachers' Associations from 1861 to 1898

<i>Name</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>
Associazione per emancipare il maestro elementare	Milano	1893
Lega fra i maestri delle valli della Stura	Alessandria	1884
Associazione magistrale Valsugana e Perginese	Borgo (Trento)	1887
Società magistrali trentine	Borgo (Trento)	1888
Società pedagogiche marchigiane	Ancona	1884

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ At that stage, the executive board was composed of A.G. Mandolini, A. Pavesi, G. Bernardini. ASC, Titolo Postunitario/Titolo 11 Pubblica Istruzione, b. 26, fasc. 38 *Richiesta di un aumento di stipendio*.

Società pedagogica valdostana	Aosta	1887
Associazione magistrale valdostana	Aosta	1897
Società fra gli insegnanti della provincia di Arezzo	Arezzo	1890
Associazione di mutuo soccorso fra gli insegnanti elementari della provincia	Avellino	1882
Società degl'insegnanti	Bari	1880
Società di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti primari di Bari	Bari	1888
Società fra gli insegnanti elementari della provincia di Bergamo	Bergamo	1890
Associazioni magistrali Valsugana, Perginese, Fiemme, Fassa, Val Lagarina e laterali	Borgo Valsugana	1885
Società pedagogica bresciana	Brescia	1883
Lega magistrale circondariale	Caltagirone	1898
Associazione fra gl'insegnanti primari della provincia di Campobasso	Campobasso	1886
Società pedagogica fra i maestri elementari del circondario di Casalmaggiore	Casalmaggiore	1886
Società pedagogica e di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti	Casale Monferrato	1891
Associazione di mutuo soccorso	Caserta	1881
Associazione dei maestri elementari di Terra del Lavoro e province contermini	Caserta	1893
Associazione magistrale campana Umberto I	Caserta	1893
Lega fra gl'insegnanti elementari	Castellamare di Stabia	1893
Società educatrice-cooperativa fra gl'insegnanti elementari	Catania	1893
Società educativa Marruccino Frentana	Chieti	1882
Società magistrali di Como e Lecco	Como	1897
Associazione di mutua assistenza fra gl'insegnanti della provincia	Cremona	1884
Associazione fra gl'insegnanti primari del III collegio elettorale di Cuneo	Cuneo	1884
Lega degli insegnanti elementari della provincia di Cuneo	Cuneo	1886
Circolo magistrale di Firenze	Firenze	1882
Associazione magistrale della Capitanata	Foggia	1888
Comitato provinciale fra i maestri di Capitanata-Lega degli Educatori	Foggia	1879
Società «Filippo Marinelli» tra gl'insegnanti della provincia di Forlì	Forlì	1883
Società magistrale del circondario di Lecco	Lecco	1890
Associazione degl'insegnanti primari nella provincia di macerata	Macerata	1876
Società d'insegnanti primari della provincia	Mantova	1885
Società di mutuo soccorso fra i maestri comunali di Messina	Messina	1897
Associazione magistrale milanese	Milano	1894

Unione insegnanti elementari della provincia di Milano	Milano	1899
Comitato nazionale dei maestri rurali	Milano	1894
Federazione magistrale modenese	Modena	1884
Federazione delle Società magistrali mandamentali della provincia di Modena	Modena	1884
Società magistrale di Modena	Modena	1881
Società di mutuo soccorso tra gli insegnanti della provincia	Modena	1895
Società pedagogica del circondario	Modica	1882
Associazione fra i maestri elementari delle Marche	Montegiorgio	1883
Società magistrale del circondario di Fermo	Montegiorgio	1883
Comitato di Monza dell'Associazione nazionale fra gli insegnanti primari	Monza	1883
Associazione magistrale lomellina Aristide Gabelli	Mortara	1893
Associazione tra gl'insegnanti di Napoli	Napoli	1892
Associazione degli insegnanti privati di Napoli	Napoli	1886
Circolo degli insegnanti	Napoli	1886
Unione magistrale di Napoli	Napoli	1895
Società pedagogica novarese	Novara	1883
Società pedagogiche confederate di Novara e Biella	Novara	1885
Mente e Cuore. Società tra maestri elementari	Padova	1883
Circolo degli insegnanti comunali di Palermo	Palermo	1899
Lega degli educatori siciliani	Palermo	1881
Società fra gli insegnanti primari di Palermo	Palermo	1889
Società libera degli'insegnanti	Palermo	1897
Associazione magistrale parmense	Parma	1894
Società magistrale della provincia di Pavia	Pavia	1888
Società pedagogica e di mutuo soccorso fra i maestri della provincia di Pesaro e Urbino	Pesaro	1895
Società educativa Cadorina	Pieve di Cadore	1883
Società di mutuo soccorso fra i maestri della provincia di Pisa	Pisa	1878
Società fra gl'insegnanti primari del mandamento di Pordenone	Pordenone	1883
Società degli insegnanti rurali	Ravenna	1880
Unione fra gli insegnanti primari residenti in Reggio Emilia	Reggio Emilia	1883
Società degli insegnanti	Rimini	1880
Associazione generale fra i maestri elementari	Roma	1877
Associazione nazionale fra gli insegnanti primari d'Italia	Roma	1885
Associazione pedagogica evangelica italiana	Roma	1876
Associazione pedagogica tra gl'insegnanti delle scuole normali	Roma	1889

Comitato centrale per l'ordinamento elettorale degli insegnanti del Regno	Roma	1880
Federazione nazionale fra le Società magistrali	Roma	1880
Pro-schola	Roma	1897
Unione fra i maestri elementari italiani dei sordomuti	Roma	1894
Società di mutuo soccorso e patrocinio fra gl'insegnanti elementari del Polesine	Rovigo	1888
Comitato circondariale dei maestri di Saluzzo	Saluzzo	1883
Società pedagogica di Sassoferato	Sassoferato	1881
Società magistrale della provincia di Teramo	Teramo	
Associazione magistrale umbra	Terni	1891
Federazione fra le Società magistrali delle province subalpine	Torino	1884
Comitato provinciale torinese dell'Associazione nazionale fra gl'insegnanti primari	Torino	1884
Associazione nazionale fra gli insegnanti delle scuole secondarie	Torino Milano	1883
Società di mutuo soccorso fra i maestri elementari di Treviso	Treviso	1889
Lega degli insegnanti di Trieste	Trieste	1896
Associazione magistrale friulana	Udine	1894
Società magistrale dei mandamenti Valenza-Bassignana	Valenza	1896
Comitato varesino dell'Associazione nazionale fra gli insegnanti primari	Varese	1886
Associazione pedagogica fra gli insegnanti elementari della città e provincia di Brescia	Brescia	1885
Società di Mutuo Soccorso fra i docenti della provincia di Vicenza	Vicenza	1887 RE

Further subdividing the long period it is possible to detect that the phenomenon has begun to take on a major extension, during the decade of the eighties: for this period fifty-five new associations were counted, to which were added, during the first half of the 1890s, thirty new associations. The numbers, however, seem to be underestimated. Some articles in periodicals, in fact, indicate the presence of a number of associations between two and three hundred⁵⁸. It is therefore even more essential to further investigate the issue at a local level and compare the information found in school journals to redial in order to have a more complete and exhaustive picture of the situation and collect the spreading of other mutual aid associations, especially those based on the smaller administrative unit (named «circondariali» or «mandamentali»

⁵⁸ «Our Italy counts a lot of pedagogy societies, which in the restricted limit of their forces bring great benefits to the school and to teachers alike. Such meritorious sodalities though, because of lack of constraints and common intent, can hardly affect the overall progress of education and cannot represent the unity of forces of all educators [...] the individual societies should retain their autonomy and their own statutes [...]. In Italy, there are more than three hundred pedagogy societies with approximately 17,000 teachers», NE, vol. 4, n. 14, 17 gennaio 1885, p. 210.

groups) which are also the most difficult to detect, that can be highlighted only through an in-depth research.

In this period, associations that promoted both cultural interests and forms of mutual aid protection coexisted with associations that fostered more advanced positions. The *Società di Mutuo Soccorso fra gl'insegnanti del Comune di Parma* ('Society of Mutual Aid among teachers in the Municipality of Parma') «tend[ed] only to help ill members, and to give only one subsidy to member's family in case of death»⁵⁹. The company could count on member's entry fees that amounted to three lire, together with the payment of a monthly fee of lire 1,25. The money which was collected was put in Parma's Savings Bank⁶⁰. The governing body of society was a directorate board composed by president, one secretary, five council members, two treasurers, two auditors. Members could be active members, honorary and benefactors. The first were «female and male teachers, aged between twenty and thirty-five». Members who after six months from their admission to the society had become ill, would be entitled to a daily allowance of lire 1,50 for the first sixty days; of lire 1 for the following sixty days and lire 0,75 for other sixty days. However, each member could not claim a grant exceeding lire 195. Diseases caused by pregnancy, childbirth and postpartum, were not eligible for payment⁶¹. Each member could, regardless of illness, be entitled to a loan of lire 40 after two years from its first registration to the society. In the case of death of a member «his or her family was entitled to a single allowance of lire 50»⁶². The surviving spouse could request to be accepted as an active member. In the case of a chronic disease the association would assist the member not with the ordinary subsidy but with a grant⁶³ that was compatible with the income and financial status of the company⁶⁴.

Besides these types of benefits, other organizations expressed greater attention in promoting a deeper knowledge among teachers. Organizations like the *Società Pedagogica e di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti di Ferrara* ('Pedagogical Society and mutual aid among teachers in Ferrara') on the other hand, pursued different purposes:

a) to build among educators relationships of fraternal union, b) to promote better understanding and application of school regulations, and dissemination of methods that are

⁵⁹ *Statuto della Società di Mutuo Soccorso fra gl'insegnanti del Comune di Parma*, Parma, Tipografia di Pietro Grazioni, 1878, p. 1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁶³ The Regulation later approved stated that the chronic disease gives entitlement to a bridging allowance which had not exceed sixty lire per year; and that in the event of death, the Association would have covered the funeral and burial expenses. The document approved on July 6, 1879 *Regolamento interno per della Società di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti del Comune di Parma*, Parma, Tipografia Adorni Michele, 1880.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

judged most suitable to the increase instruction and education and c) to protect and improve the social and economic condition of Teachers, using every legal means and setting up a fund of Mutual Aid for teachers⁶⁵.

Similar was the largest commitment undertaken by associations that were rooted as the *Società educativa Marruccino Frentana* ('Educational society Marruccino Frentana') in Chieti⁶⁶ or in a small area such as the Sicilian one of Modica, where a Public and Private Primary Teachers' Association was promoted, with the aim to «provide their moral and materialistic well-being, and to develop popular education and instruction»⁶⁷. The active members and benefactors, who had to pay an annual fee of lire 4, had the duty to «interpose their good offices, so that if among them there was a teacher who had been unjustly fired, he or she could be provided with another employment»⁶⁸. Among the main cultural activities the association promoted, by statute, the organization of educational exhibitions and the establishment and management of the circulating library⁶⁹.

At this stage we have partnerships that provide a differentiated presence of members. Thus we find bodies such as the Società Pedagogica e di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti di Ferrara, and «all those who deal with education» and pay one lira a month can be part as full members. Several associations still counted on the support of the local education authority. Among the honorary members of the society of Parma, for example featured the director of education Giuseppe Laudisi⁷⁰. In a similar way, even in a small area like Molise, associations were established thanks to the remarkable contribution of the director of education, Francescantonio Marinelli, and school inspectors⁷¹.

Also in the district of Modica it was the director's initiative:

Teachers need to be awakened – discouragement, disillusionment, disregard towards them, abuses from municipalities, have slumped them morally and materially. In order to

⁶⁵ *Statuto organico della Società Pedagogica e di Mutuo Soccorso fra gli insegnanti in Ferrara*, Ferrara, Tipografia Sociale, 1883, p. 5.

⁶⁶ On the Abruzzese Society see L. Gorgoni Lanzetta, *Il Bollettino della Società Educativa Marruccino-Frentana di Chieti*, in Chiosso, *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale*, cit. pp. 292-311.

⁶⁷ *L'istruzione primaria del circondario di Modica. Anno scolastico 1880-81. Relazione del prof. Filomeno Marcellino R. Ispettore Scolastico*, Modica, Tipografia Temistocle Avolio, 1881, p. 33 in ACS, MPI, DGIPP (1860-1896), b. 144 ter, f. 1881 *Siracusa*.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

⁷⁰ In June 1880, the members were a total of 33, 15 women and 18 men. The members of the executive board were,stead, the President Alessandro Guareschi, the social funds Treasurer Oreste Cornini, the loans Treasurer Domenico Pini, the Secretary Demetrio Delfrate, and the Counselors Antonio Iasoni, Luigi Renzi, Tommaso Tassi, Luigi Pederzani, Bartolomeo Cazzanelli, and the Auditors Gian Maria Leoni e Carlo Bonaconza. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷¹ See Miceli, *Associazionismo degli insegnanti e bollettini magistrali nel secondo Ottocento. Una ricerca in corso in Molise*, cit., pp. 389-403, in partic. pp. 398 ff. On Marinelli see the record n. 1401 written by the same author and edited for DBE.

install in them the studies dictated by the new pedagogy, I have set up a pedagogical and mutual assistance society among the teachers of this district with the organization of annual conferences and educational exhibits, as well as the installation of a circulating pedagogical library⁷².

During this period, several associations were directed to amend its statute in order to emphasize the enhanced protection of the interests of the teachers. So in Mantua the definite constitution of the teachers' association was regarded as a greater guarantee in defending the rights of the masters and mistresses. The new committee, chaired by Ettore Berni, was a guarantee of defense: «whenever it comes to defending a teacher from abuse on behalf of a municipality and to keep up the prestige of the school and the teacher, they will not stop so easily»⁷³. Even other associative realities, through the election of new representatives, seemed to be directed towards the acquisition of a more combative configuration at national level. It was the case of the Society of Mutual Aid among teachers of Rome, which elected to the presidency Siro Corti, a teacher himself very popular among teachers also for his work as a journalist⁷⁴.

If progressively in the course of the eighties on one hand emerged a type of association that was more aware of the social and economic identity of the teacher; on the other, what also emerged were forms of association that wanted to preserve the social order or to respond to the expansion of secularization within the teaching profession. After a few years in Rome, in order to contrast the ability of aggregation of the Roman association of a secular nature, a mutualistic association of a religious type was founded. In 1885, in fact, on the initiative of the Vicariate, an association among teachers with interests for the Roman catholic religion was found and it was called *Società Monte-Pensioni fra gl'insegnanti dela Società Primaria Romana fra gl'interessi cattolici*⁷⁵. The association combined the objective «to provide for the future of the masters»⁷⁶ for purposes of a religious nature and the affirmation of the precise identity of the organization was that of an association «predominantly Roman Catholic», which, therefore, was placed under the protection of Saint Mary, the great patriarch St. Joseph and St. Thomas Aquinas. Goals that were pursued through specific training sessions as spiritual retreats with the organization of special events each year «in the Church where young school pupils gather with their teachers» in order to celebrate the great deeds of the protector and patron saints.

⁷² *L'istruzione primaria del circondario di Modica. Anno scolastico 1880-81. Relazione del prof. Filomeno Marcellino R. Ispettore Scolastico*, cit.

⁷³ *Mantova*, NE, vol. 4, n. 32, 23 maggio 1885, p. 56.

⁷⁴ *Cronaca dell'istruzione. Società di Mutuo Soccorso fra gli insegnanti di Roma*, NE, vol. 4, n. 42, 15 agosto 1885, p. 226. On the figure of Siro Corti see the biographical record contained in DBE n. 677 edited by A. Barausse.

⁷⁵ *Statuto della Società Monte-Pensioni fra gl'insegnanti delle scuole della Società Primaria Romana fra gl'interessi cattolici*, Roma, Tipografia editrice industriale, 1885.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Interventions of a mutual welfare type were approved by the governing bodies⁷⁷, and were secured by the payment by each teacher for the first two years of 3% on the monthly payment and then 1%⁷⁸; a pension was granted on condition to have at least thirty years of teaching in the catholic schools, and in the case of death, the widow could replace her husband. In addition to measures of social security benefits, in order to subtract teachers from the «hands of usurers»⁷⁹ it was possible to receive an amount as a credit-bearing determined by the Commission.

At the same time, the birth of some teachers' associations can be registered especially in small rural area, with a very conservative political nature. Along with the thrusts aimed at aggregating the teachers and accentuating the tone in defense of many masters and mistresses who were working without any career prospects and economic security, often victims of discrimination by municipalities, in some of these new partnerships arose strong concerns about a widening of social protest, such as what happened with the Circle of teachers of Saluzzo. The tensions experienced with the associations of this period were affected, then, by the divisions within the articulated teaching reality imposed by the legislation. Among the more obvious those which can be recorded are related to the rural identity of the majority of the masters and the mistresses often conflicting with the masters and mistresses of the city, so to give birth in the nineties the *Comitato Nazionale di maestri rurali* ('National Committee of the rural teachers')⁸⁰.

These new partnerships, though in many ways continued to be crushed on a local horizon, for others confronted with the different political-educational ideas expressed by the governments of the historical left, starting with those outlined by the Minister Coppino, bearers of new instances such as the improvement of the working conditions of teachers, strengthening the role of the state even in primary school, compulsory education, further restriction of teaching freedom of in a social-political climate marked by a strong anti-clerical controversy⁸¹.

⁷⁷ The governing bodies were represented from a Commission composed by president, one ecclesiastic representative, five council members, one treasure, one secretary. Mons. Luigi Grimaldi was the ecclesiastic member who signed the legal document of the society on January 17th 1885. The other members were Giusti D. Edoardo as president, Ottavi Alessandro, Fortunati Alessandro, Di Stazio Raffaele, Flori Domenico e Migliori Giuseppe as council members. Secretary was Pietro Finocchi. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁸⁰ Chiosso (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e magistrale*, cit.,

⁸¹ On education policy of historical Left see M. Bendiscioli, *La Sinistra storica e la scuola*, «Studium», vol. 73, 1977, pp. 447-466; G. Talamo, *Istruzione obbligatoria ed estensione del suffragio*, *Atti del XLIX Congresso di Storia del Risorgimento italiano (Viterbo, 30 settembre-5 ottobre 1978)*, Roma, Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento, 1980, pp. 59-110.

New protagonists and the origins of the National Association of primary teachers

Between the second half of the 1870s and early 1880s, the idea of a national association among the teachers began to emerge. This process matured within the framework of a new political scenario that saw the historic Left in power and a new turning point that would lead to the electoral reform ratified in 1882. This would have granted teachers the right to the vote, resulting in a pivotal moment for the growth of the associative phenomenon and professional identity, as well as a more vindictive and political character of the teachers' movement. The purpose of giving on a more national structure of teachers' associations, emerged from a group of teachers of the schools of Rome, and the stories of some of them were printed on the journal «La Luce» ('The Light')⁸². In this phase of a new leading role of teachers, school press became more and more important. One of the aspects that would deserve a specific analysis is the role and the function that teaching periodical played in promoting and in resisting to the unification process among primary school teachers. In fact during the last decades of the nineteenth century there was a great diffusion of associative periodicals, often published as «Bulletin» the voice and the organ of teachers' pedagogical societies. Most of them (20,4%) appeared after 1880⁸³. The role played by the professional press in the constitution of the associative movement was of fundamental importance because it continued to favor the breaking-up of the traditional isolation, both geographical and sociological of the teachers, and it also helped to change the dominant mentality and the professional needs and daily struggles of the teachers were voiced. Furthermore, it contributed to the diffusion of legislative and regulatory information necessary to conduct the group's interest and it explained the concrete situation of the profession forming a public opinion of the teaching profession. An important role was also played by newspaper editors as advocates of the issues and the problems of this working category towards local and state administration. Even the models of teachers proposed by the new associations and by the press steered towards the idea of the teacher as a lay missionary and as an extension of the mother figure capable of infusing feelings and sense of civic duty. But the role of the teaching press is also crucial in order to understand the internal dialogue associated with the complex world of teachers to see whether, in addition to the function of promoting the phenomenon, it also helped to curb development. What seems quite meaningful are the debates in the 1880s on the pages of periodicals such as «Il Nuovo Educatore», directed by Giacomo Veniali and Siro Corti⁸⁴ or

⁸² See *Associazione degli Insegnanti elementari italiani per gli Interessi dell'istruzione popolare e Svegliamoci*, «La Luce», vol. 2, n. 2, 14 febbraio 1879, pp. 1-2. On the journal which is not readily available see the record written by R. Sani in SPES, n. 656.

⁸³ G. Chiosso, *I periodici scolastici nell'Italia del secondo Ottocento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1992.

⁸⁴ See for example, the debate following E. Berni's article, *Federazione delle società pedagogiche*

even the discussions that accompanied when supporting national association conducted by another member of the Association G.A. Marcati, director of the leaflet of Milan «Il Risveglio Educativo» ('The Awakening of education'), aimed to create a real «political school party» whose strength had to rely on the network of associations distributed throughout the country⁸⁵.

On journals like these were published such as interventions which, like the one of Pietro Cavazzuti, took the opportunity to present the initiatives promoted by the teachers' societies of Modena masterful, to ask the school periodicals to pick up news regarding associations in order to facilitate the formation of «a national beam, which certainly would powerfully affect the topic of public education»⁸⁶.

To bring out the attempts which gave a more national configuration to associations, research, therefore, must be oriented to shed more light on the figures and periodicals which inspired the new ways of interpreting the life of the association. The protagonists of this new season of teachers' associations were the teachers of the new generation trained in the normal school provided by Casati and marked by a stronger professional conscience and identity. However, a small minority developed a great sensitivity towards associations thanks to the affiliation to Masonic lodges or to the social and political associative experiences in the radical or socialist clubs or in the Catholic ones.

Angelo Pavesi and Dominic Beisso were among the figures that animated and urged forces of renewal within the teachers' associations and periodicals. The first assumes significance as the responsible for the preparation of the periodical «La Luce» when the idea of the national association was launched⁸⁷. Pavesi was from Cremona reached the capital city around the 1870s after alternating his professional experience with the enrollment in the ranks of Garibaldi⁸⁸.

e magistrali, NE, vol. 4, n. 14, 17 gennaio 1885, pp. 209-211; S.C., *Viribus unitis*, NE, vol. 4, n. 15, 24 gennaio 1885, pp. 225-226; G. Fanti, *La Confederazione delle nostre società pedagogiche*, NE, vol. 4, n. 16, 31 gennaio 1885, pp. 243-247.

⁸⁵ See S. Chillè, *Editoria e scuola a Milano. Il caso del 'Risveglio Educativo'*; in G. Chiosso [ed.], *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale*, La Scuola, Brescia, 1993, pp. 51-66.

⁸⁶ P. Cavazzuti, *La Società magistrale di Modena*, NE, vol. 2, n. 27, 14 aprile 1883, pp. 437-439. The quotation is at page 437.

⁸⁷ His involvement in the periodical's creation is proved by a letter he wrote to the Minister of Public Education on July, 4 1880, which he asked the full list of both ordinary and teacher schools for his statistical study to publish shortly after in the periodical. ACS, Personale 1860-80, b. 1583, *Pavesi Angelo*.

⁸⁸ Pavesi was born in Pessina Cremonese on April 28, 1840. In 1849 he worked as provisional teacher in Cremona but soon he left teaching to join the army. After the campaign made in the regiment of the Cacciatori delle Alpi he was dismissed in Naples on May 23, 1861. Later, after a new enrollment period for 18 months in the 8th Artillery Regiment, returned to the profession for five years teaching in the schools of Due Miglia's municipality in the province of Cremona. From November 1, 1866 to October 31, 1869 he taught in the third and fourth classes at festive and evenings schools for adults as second grade elementary teacher as higher grade elementary school in the municipality of Sabbioneta, the administrative unit (named *circondario*) of Casalmaggiore (Cremona). Meanwhile at the University of Pavia tried to achieve the qualification for teaching

In Rome, he probably cultivated a close relationship with the more radical democratic left combined with Masonic affiliation⁸⁹. Even Domenico Beisso was not from Rome but from the province of Genoa⁹⁰. There are not many sources about this teacher from Liguria, but he doesn't seem to be an isolated figure as a teacher; actually, the few existing documents reveal significant links with areas of Mazzini's republican democracy and masonry, animator of the life of the lodge «Michelangelo» of Florence and then the «Universe» of Rome in the late 1870s and early 1880s⁹¹. Thanks to the links Beisso built in December of 1877 he turned to the deputy of the old Neapolitan Left, Giorgio Tamajo, in order to be presented to the Director General of the Ministry Girolamo Buonazia in order to get appointed as inspector. He was introduced as a youngster capable of sustaining the great ministerial effort in applying the law on compulsory education⁹². Among his many activities he also was a journalist, and collaborated with some periodicals such as «Il movimento di Genova» (The movement of Genoa), the «Lunigiana» of Sarzana, «Il Fascio Repubblicano» di Buenos Aires. Towards the end of the 1870s, Beisso also started his career as a journalist of school education. His attention was mainly directed to pedagogical issues and to the writing of textbooks for schools⁹³.

Italian, geography and history in technical schools without, however, succeeding. In 1869 moved to Sicily as teacher in the training school annexed at the Royal Normal school of Messina (request presented on February 16, 1971). Later he taught in the primary schools of Rome. The first traces of his teaching in the Capital date back to 1876, as his request to be admitted to educational conferences at the pedagogical Museum shows. During this time he publicly expressed criticism of traditional didactic orientations. A report of the Prefect dated April 29 1879 to the Minister, refers to a conference held at the Association of Human Rights on April 27 in which Pavesi hardly attacked «the current method of teaching». He later moved to Turin. *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Pavesi was affiliated with the identification number 10642. At the age of 55 he became Master of the lodge «Cavour» of Turin. See Archivio Storico del Grande Oriente d'Italia – Registri matricola dei diplomati, *ad vocem*.

⁹⁰ Beisso was born in Sarzana, the province of Genoa, 1848. Currently, there is a lack of research pertaining to the teacher from Liguria. Thanks to the few evidences in our possession, we know that until the mid-1870s, he did not have a permanent teaching occupation. In a note of the Prefect of Rome, which was sent to the Ministry in order to provide information on Beisso who had applied for financial aid, he had some teaching experience in local schools for a few years, and, later, Protestant private schools in Rome. But from another correspondence, we know that Beisso had not received yet the license of higher studies. ACS, Personale 1860-1880, b., f. *Beisso Domenico*.

⁹¹ Beisso was affiliated at the lodge «Michelangiolo» of Florence, with identification number 3255. He later moved to lodge «Universo» of Rome. See Archivio Storico del Grande Oriente d'Italia – Registri matricola dei diplomati. Si veda ad esempio *Discorso pronunziato dal fratello Segretario della Rispettabile Loggia Universo nella solenne occasione dei funerali massonici al compianto Gran Maestro Mazzoni*, RMI, vol. 11, 1880, n. 14-15, pp. 233-236.

⁹² At that time he worked at the General Directorate of Cult. Various reasons and in particular the lack of the license of higher studies, an essential title according to the R.D. n. 2425 on 28 March 1875 to be appointed as Inspector, led the Minister to reject the application submitted by the elementary teacher. Lettera di Tamajo del 7 dicembre 1877, ACS, MPI, F. *Personale (1860-80)*, b. 195.

⁹³ His studies on *Cenni sui doveri individuali e sociali* published in 1878 had therefore a particular resonance; *Del miglioramento educativo in Italia, Osservazioni e proposte*, Roma, Tipografia economica, 1879; *La gioventù iniziata alla vita morale e civile*, Roma, G. Civelli, 1881;

Beisso was the expression of a pedagogic culture that considered the school as a key instrument for ethical and civic training, based on philanthropy or evangelical religion but not Catholic:

The school should be essentially civil [...] introducing them to the great struggle for the triumph of good, forming gradually hardworking and honest men, and women able to understand their position as companions of men and future educators.

In his view, the role and the function of primary school teachers could not disregard the building of a «national conception of the school»⁹⁴.

Not only are the figures of teachers the ones to support the development of an association closer to national connotations. Besides them appears more and more marked even the role of school principals and supervisors. Among these, an important figure for the start of the first experience on a more extended basis, was that of Natale Inverardi. Natale Inverardi was born in Bosco Marengo, a municipality in the district of Alessandria, on December 25th 1836. After attending secondary school in Bosco Marengo with the Dominican fathers (although no document was released which gives proof of this as said in a note dated 6th January 1890), he obtained the lower license in Susa on September 20th 1855 and the higher one in Alessandria on September 28th 1864. After teaching in Liguria⁹⁵, which gave him the possibility to maintain his family, on November 28th 1870 he moved to Rome⁹⁶. He received his first teaching offer there on November 28th of that same year and was confirmed to a full time position on May 29, 1879. Inverardi outset of his experience in the new capital city for the «intelligence and zeal» of which he was able to prove he was called to give a «very effective» aid. Several councilors turned to him because of his expertise in teaching, both for his knowledge in terms of regulations and curricula, and to train other masters entrusting him with the task of giving lectures and lessons to the other teachers. In 1871 he gave lectures on pedagogy to Roman masters commissioned by the councilor and public lectures on rights and duties⁹⁷. On March 30th 1872, he was appointed school director. In 1890

see also the reviews on his studies published in the «Rivista della Massoneria Italiana» (hereafter cited as: RMI). See, particular, *Bibliografia. Cenni sui doveri individuali e sociali*, RMI, vol. 9, 1878, n. 11-12, p. 381; *Bibliografia. Del miglioramento educativo in Italia*, RMI, vol. 10, 1879, n. 22-24, pp. 379-380; *Rassegna bibliografica. La gioventù italiana iniziata alla vita morale e civile*, RMI, vol. 12, 1881, n. 19-20, pp. 317-318.

⁹⁴ D. Beisso, *Del miglioramento educativo in Italia. Osservazioni e proposte*, Roma, Tip. Economica, 1879, p. 9.

⁹⁵ Initially he taught in the municipality of Castellina from 1855 to 1857 and from 1859 to 1861; then in Castellazzo from 1857 to 1859; of Bosco Marengo from 1861 to 1866-67 and in Camogli from 1867 to 1870. See ASC, Ripartizione VI-Posizioni matricolari degli insegnanti (1871-1934), b. 26, fasc. 344 *Inverardi Natale*.

⁹⁶ Married since November 27 1857 with Luigia Traffano, from whom he had three children. *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Inverardi had highly reputed from the director of education agency (provveditore) Carbone

he won the national competition and became an inspector. In October of 1900 he filed an application for retirement⁹⁸ and in 1911 he died in Frosinone.

Even for Inverardi aside from his commitment as a teacher he also worked as a journalist. The specific interest of this master of Piedmont, was directed towards the production of textbooks for the early elementary grades. Prior to his transfer to Rome, he had published *Lezioni di grammatica italiana*, a text approved by the school board of Genoa in 1869, and thereafter the *Primi esercizi del leggere e dello scrivere* approved by twenty-nine provincial school boards supported by a writing course in eight notebooks, an award-winning edition at the Exposition of Paris in 1878⁹⁹.

Figures like those of Beisso, Pavesi or Inverardi are an expression of a generation of elementary school teachers and directors of school administration that, twenty years from the unification, criticized the development of public education and that, within a first assessment of the development of the school system, did not hide a widespread sense of disappointment at the limits of an approach that geared mainly to emphasize the benefits of instruction more than those of education¹⁰⁰. These teachers expressed the belief that the quantitative growth of the schools had not paid attention to a qualitative change in the pedagogic and didactic field and came together to share opinions such as those expressed by other teachers such as the member of the Society of teachers of Naples, then deputy, professor Nicola Del Vecchio:

Our schools' regulations and programs if we consider the way they are ordered and distributed in cities and regions throughout Italy, they still bear the imprint of their first origin. After 18 years of political life, we have done many good things, many useful institutions, but we have not been able to create the Italian national school. Our elementary schools have remained almost petrified with their four classes, their grammar, catechism, history sacred, nomenclature, and the like; almost pedagogical science had not made any progress. The elementary schools are the old pious schools in our villages, where many times there is no limitation to slapping. The ancient method has not purged from the ancient prejudices. The new teachers, if they have changed the way they dress and their books, have the same type of consciousness, the very same soul of their predecessors in teaching. The schools have expanded, multiplied, disseminated, but national morality has not increased,

and the inspectors, Cassone and Massone. See a note dated January 6, 1890. ASC, Ripartizione VI-Posizioni matricolari degli insegnanti (1871-1934), b. 26, fasc. 344. *Inverardi Natale*.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ The lessons evaluations were discussed in «Il Popolo italiano» dating August 20, 1869; the activities, instead, were reported in Casale «La Concordia» (September 16, 1869) and in «L'Educatore» September 18, 1869. See also the Genua provincial school Board evaluation pursuant to the Municipal Regulations Article n. 102. *Sul libro del sig. Inverardi per insegnare a leggere e scrivere. Poche parole di Augusto Mauro*, Roma, Tipografia milanese 1876. ASC, Ripartizione VI-Posizioni matricolari degli insegnanti (1871-1934), b. 26, fasc. 344 *Inverardi Natale*

¹⁰⁰ «A system of education that develops only intelligence, but not improves nature or character which are urgently needed and without which people are doomed to serve always both teachers and servants». See D. Beisso, *Del miglioramento educativo in Italia. Osservazioni e proposte*, Roma, Tipografia economica, 1879, p. 5.

and neither has the desire for freedom [...]. With methods condemned by modern science, with a teaching body depressed by poverty, by oppression of the municipal authorities, by tyrants in the small villages, with very indecent classrooms, with students who hate school, with parents who do not appreciate the utility of education, at what point have we reached? I say this with pain, but I am telling the truth about a situation that is well known to those familiar with our elementary schools. The students will enter full of family prejudices, and leave full of school prejudices which reiterate those of the family. The children will be illiterate when they enter and ignorant when they leave¹⁰¹.

These teachers were the expression of a different sensitivity and pedagogical culture, certainly closer to positivism. The way in which they approach educational school issues reflected the change in mentality that the pedagogical positivism was starting to produce both for the design and the role of the school and educational practices. It was a generation of teachers who drew to a more secular and strongly anticlerical vision¹⁰², designed to also affect the model of master and mistress proposed by the new associations and the press of the time and turned towards the idea of the master as a secular missionary and mistress as an extension of the mother, capable of instilling feelings and sense of civic duty:

As in the days of the Roman decadence, the word of the Carpenter of Nazareth, diffused everywhere, earned to regenerate the human society giving it a more fair and equitable character, in the same way our era the words of civilization diffused by teachers will give way to a new and perfect form to progress¹⁰³.

Among the proposals made by the teacher stood compulsory education up to the fourth grade, the transfer of wealth from the charitable to the poor, the introduction of an educational proposal based on the assertion of an ethical model of the Mazzini type, inspired by the ideals of God, Nation and Humanity, the adoption of a single textbook for public primary schools «divided into four parts, according to the classes, which are summarized by a committee of wise men and learned teachers, the principal moral maxims likely to develop in the minds feelings of honesty, justice and duty».

On January 12th 1875, the schoolteacher Beisso sent a letter to the Minister Bonghi with which he proposed the establishment of a «Corpo Insegnante Primario» (Primary School Teachers' Body). In the letter the teacher from Liguria recalled the importance of the role of the teachers for the education of the people. The exaltation of foreign doctrines and the lack of an accurate national education, the allocation to municipalities of the management of primary schools, and the adoption of «a jumble of different books» constituted

¹⁰¹ N. Del Vecchio, *L'istruzione in Italia: critica e proposte*, Napoli, Giannini, 1878, pp. 1-2; in his pamphlet Beisso cited the words of Neapolitan professor on p. 6.

¹⁰² See D. Beisso, *Del miglioramento educativo in Italia. Osservazioni e proposte*, Roma, Tipografia economica, 1879.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

the three most significant limitations of the choices made during the first fifteen years post-unification conditioned, in his view, by the resistance posed by the clergy (the obscurantist forces) and by the precarious economic conditions of teachers. Beisso felt the need for a recovery of the best national traditional education and called for the establishment by the Government of teachers in a body «teachers and professors would be the active militia of the nation, in the hands of which lies the future of all»¹⁰⁴. Among the proposals made by the teacher stood compulsory education up to the fourth grade, the transfer of wealth from the charitable to the poor, the introduction of an educational proposal based on the assertion of an ethical model of the Mazzini type, inspired by the ideals of God, Nation and Humanity, the adoption of a single textbook for public primary schools «divided into four parts, according to the classes, which are summarized by a committee of wise men and learned teachers, the principal moral maxims likely to develop in the minds feelings of honesty, justice and duty»¹⁰⁵.

In this scenario among the end of 1870s and the early 1880s, the idea of a national unity supported by a group of Roman teachers began to emerge. In 1879 Natale Inverardi, assisted by Francesco Triscornia, Angelo Pavesi, Getulio Rossi¹⁰⁶, Gregorio Pirani, Francesco Rotati, Domenico Beisso and others, founded the National Association of primary school teachers which recruited a few thousand members with branches that extended also in the North and South of the country. The teachers were active in promoting the adhesion of the local associations which arose in the meanwhile¹⁰⁷. Precisely in the capital city in September of 1880, simultaneously to the pedagogical congress, the

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ From the documentation deposited in the Historical Capitoline Archives, Getulio Rossi results to be born in Macerata Feltria. After his studies at the Scuola Normale in Urbino, 1870-1871 he taught at the S. Arcangelo in Romagna and then went to Frascati where he probably taught until 1874. In his letter dated 16th June 1874, he implores the mayor of Rome to give him a position in the capital city referring to «proof given in these four years of teaching». In that same letter he wrote the name of inspector Cassone Ferdinando as a reference. He was nominated substitute teacher in the municipality schools of Rome on the 9th of April 1875 and confirmed for the same position for the following school year that same year on the 7th of September. In October he resigned «personally and for particular reasons» which have never been specified. But Rossi in the termination of contract letter wrote «the certainty of a promotion to full time teacher is too far and the low salary of substitute teachers which does not give the possibility to maintain oneself has induced me to look for another job» (Termination of contract letter 11th October 1875) *Lettera di dimissioni dell'11 ottobre 1875*, in ASC, Tit 11, Pubblica Istruzione, b. 30, fasc. 21.

¹⁰⁷ For example headed by the elementary teacher Achille Santilli, who was designed to a primary role in the teachers' movement but then employed in the municipality schools of Frosinone. It was however the teachers of the schools in Lazio gathered for a conference on gymnastics that sent a note inviting other elementary teachers to be part of the new movement. See il Supplemento a «La Luce», n. 18, 2-4 settembre 1879, p. 1. On the profile of Santilli see the record n. 2000 on the DBE, pp. 470-471. See also *Associazione degli Insegnanti elementari italiani per gli Interessi dell'istruzione popolare* and *Svegliamoci*, «La Luce», vol. 2, n. 2, 14 febbraio 1879, pp. 2-3.

first teachers' congress took place, with the presence and participation of the Ministers of the Public Education and Commerce and Industry. The purpose of the association was defined as follows:

Article 1. The National Association of primary school teachers, based in Rome, has as objective the moral and material well-being of the teachers and the growth of popular education [...]

Article 3. The moral well-being that the association aims at consists in: a) The continuous search to find ways and devices needed to take out teacher from the miserable conditions they are in with the current law that gives the municipalities unlimited power in appointing them, and for being often treated unfairly; b) Supporting the exclusive appointment of teachers to district school inspectors [it is an administrative district], to teachers in normal schools; c) The moral support with the Government, the municipal and educational authorities whenever teachers are dismissed unfairly, treated unjustly, and defend them from harassment; and this support must come directly from the Committee in which the teacher belongs, and from the Governing Council of the association, provided that the member is considered worthy of impeccable behavior and accurate fulfillment of every kind of duty; [...]

Article 4. The materialistic wealth sought out by the association consists in: a) Continuously studying ways and means to allow teachers to achieve an increase in their salary due to the beneficent work teachers pay to the Nation, establishing the minimum salary to 1200 lire; b) Requesting the necessary measures to timely payment of the monthly salary; c) Insisting that an old age pension more convenient than the one fixed by the current law be given to teachers, invoking the provisions of the law dated November 13th, 1859; and that also the senior headmasters and teachers obtain it, to whom the current law denies this benefit, or improve this right; d) Promoting teachers' mutual aid societies in the capital cities of the provinces and districts for mutual assistance for illnesses and old age, and for defense in cases of illegal dismissal; claiming for the teachers decent accommodation or reasonable compensation, and a vegetable garden, or a small field for those who are in rural Municipalities [...] ¹⁰⁸.

It was certainly a more homogeneous association than the previous ones, because it accepted among its members a great number of primary teachers «that teach in public and private schools».

The governing body of the Association, the Central Council of elementary school teachers, promoted the establishment of a «Teachers' Committee» and chaired the teachers' congresses of 1880 in Rome, 1881 in Milan, 1882 in Naples, 1885 in Turin, 1888 in Bologna, 1890 in Bari, and 1892 in Genoa.

The Association broke away from previous national experiences of a moderate type such as the Società Pedagogica Italiana (Italian Pedagogical Society). It was usually close to the political leadership of the historical liberal

¹⁰⁸ The Statutory general lines and the program of the Association were contained in a booklet published in Rome in 1883 by the Stabilimento Tipografico Italiano L. Perelli who, however, has not managed to retrieve copies. Founding of the Association acts, however, are reported in *Lo Statuto e il Regolamento dell'Associazione Nazionale fra gl'insegnanti primari*, «L'Eco», vol. 1, n. 1, 1 luglio 1881, pp. 4-15. See anche D. Beisso, L. Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo. Cronistoria dell'azione magistrale dal 1869 al 1892*, Roma, 1912, p. 38.

left wing and marked by a strong secular identity. The association embraced the nationalistic 'crispine' thesis emerging between the late 1880s and early 1890s¹⁰⁹. The group leader was more oriented to demand secularism and the role of the state in education.

As already mentioned the role of the press was not secondary in promoting and in resisting to the unification process among elementary school teachers, even more in the case of the events of the teachers' associations. Several were the voices of the Association in the course of its existence. Initially, the magazine of the association was «La Luce». But during the year 1881, tensions between the copy editor and the editor in chief of the journal «La Luce» on the one hand, and the board of directors of the association on the other, brought to a serious breach, in such a way that the board of directors of the association encouraged the publication of another independent journal, voice of the association¹¹⁰. However, the new journal «L'Eco» did not have an easy life, as a matter of fact there is no precise information on the duration of the journal. Nevertheless, during the course of that same year, 1881, the board of directors requested that 21 school periodicals would be published in full its acts: 5 in Piedmont, 1 in Liguria, 2 in Lombardy, 1 in Emilia, 1 in Marche, 3 in Tuscany, 2 in Rome, 1 in Abruzzo, 1 in Puglia, 1 in Terra di Lavoro, 1 in Naples, 2 in Sicily. The periodicals which gave their unconditional willingness to publish the proceedings were: «La Collaboratrice della Maestra» and «L'Osservatore Scolastico» of Turin, «L'Istruzione» of Modena, «La Nuova Maestra Elementare» of Florence, «La Vedetta dell'Arno» of Arezzo, «La Scuola Elementare» of Rome, «La Scuola Popolare» of Caserta, «La Lega degli Educatori» of Foggia, «Il Corriere delle Scuole» of Piazza Armerina and «La Rivista Italiana» of Palermo¹¹¹. Through a careful examination of the periodicals of the time, it is possible to reconstruct in great detail the debates that accompanied the early development of the association. There were some intense debates such as the ones generated by the article published in the pages of the journal «Rivista Minima di pedagogia e didattica» which advanced proposals for a National League formed by provincial associations, a body intended not as an association but as a federation, from organs made up of representatives among the members rather than by the general meetings of members, the elaboration of a statute on the basis of a constituent assembly. The substantial fear was that «Rome and the province could manipulate as they wished»¹¹².

¹⁰⁹ Beisso, Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo. Cronistoria dell'azione magistrale dal 1869 al 1892*, cit.

¹¹⁰ *Adunanza del 14 giugno. Franca risposta al Redattore Capo della Luce*, «L'Eco», vol. 1, n. 1, 1 luglio 1881, pp. 17-20

¹¹¹ Pursuant to the resolution of May 18, 1881, in *Rivista della stampa*, «L'Eco», vol. 1, n. 1, 1 luglio 1881, pp. 22-23.

¹¹² The contribution published in «Rivista minima di pedagogia e didattica» was reported in *Rivista della stampa*, «L'Eco», vol. 1, n. 1, 1 luglio 1881, p. 21.

In two conferences the relationship between the association and periodicals was the center of discussion, the first in Naples in 1882 and then in Rome in 1883. If in 1882 there was need for a periodical that would be «the organ of all the associations of Italian teachers», in the following year the theme of the conference was *Federation of the School Press, and its character to better reach the ideals of popular education*. The matter was probably such a delicate one, that Congress voted to suspend the discussion¹¹³, returning to the attention of the organization of the teachers at the beginning of the new decade, when, after the Congress of Bari that took place in August 1890, an intense debate on the constitution of the federation of school press was reopened¹¹⁴.

Meanwhile in 1885 a new editorial journal «L'Italia pedagogica» (*The Pedagogical Italy*) was published, and according to the testimony of Domenico Beisso, (although the first numbers dated back to 1885), it was the official periodical of the association from 1883 to 1892¹¹⁵.

Intense was the debate generated through the periodical press regarding the internal structure of the association. At the beginning of 1885, actually the school press launched again the idea of a federation. It was «Il Nuovo Educatore» the journal directed by Francesco Veniali first and then by his son Giacomo and by the master Siro Corti who pushed for the development of a federation of all the different teachers' associations, on the footsteps of the federation of teachers' associations in Modena. This proposal brought to a very strong debate among elementary school teachers who discussed about it in the pages of «Il Risveglio Educativo», «Il Collaboratore della Scuola», «La Scuola nazionale», «L'Italia pedagogica» the latter was the official journal of the Association of elementary school teachers in Italy¹¹⁶. A more attentive reconstruction on the debate that went on during the period which fostered the creation of the federation of the masters' and mistresses' associations could highlight the dynamics, the limitations, the disagreements which accompanied

¹¹³ Beisso, Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo*, cit., p. 53.

¹¹⁴ Echoes of the debate you can register on the pages of periodicals. See, for example, *Notizie scolastiche. Dall'Associazione della stampa scolastica nazionale*, AME, vol. 10, n. 4, 20 novembre 1890, p. 32; *Associazione della Stampa Scolastica Nazionale*, AME, vol. 10, n. 12, 10-20 febbraio 1891, p. 2.

¹¹⁵ Beisso, Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo*, cit., p. 41.

¹¹⁶ E. Berni from Mantova was the one who inaugurated the debate in «Il Nuovo Educatore» with his article *Federazione delle società pedagogiche e magistrali*, NE, vol. 4, n. 14, 17 gennaio 1885, pp. 209-211. A few references can be found in S. C., *Viribus unitis*, *ibid.*, n. 15, 24 gennaio 1885, pp. 225-226; G. Fanti, *La Confederazione delle nostre società pedagogiche*, *ibid.*, n. 16, 31 gennaio 1885, pp. 243-247; La Redazione, *Ancora della Federazione pedagogica generale in Italia*, *ibid.*, n. 17, 7 febbraio 1885, pp. 257-260; S. Corti, *La federazione nazionale e la stampa scolastica*, NE, vol. 4, n. 18, 14 febbraio 1885, p. 273-274; La Redazione, *Ancora della Federazione pedagogica generale in Italia*, NE, n. 17, 7 febbraio 1885, pp. 257-258; *La federazione delle società fra gl'insegnanti*, IP, vol. 1, n. 1, 1 febbraio 1885, pp. 2-4; Veritas, *La federazione delle società fra gl'insegnanti*, IP, vol. 1, n. 2, 10 febbraio 1885, pp. 14-15.

the laborious attempt. An example is given by the president of the national association of primary school teachers:

It should however be said for great misfortune of our class, and we say it with regret, that we lack the spirit of solidarity, which at this time would have given us and the country many benefits and helped us, what is not less important, to gain respect¹¹⁷.

At the national conference that was held in Turin in 1885, a special committee was formed with the task to prepare a draft statute to reach the federative process. But the confrontation that ensued, for example, highlights the lack of availability of local associations to lose their 'sovereignty' in favor of the organization in Rome¹¹⁸. Subsequently, it was at the Bologna congress that the idea of a confederation of teachers' associations on the national territory was reconsidered, although not accomplished. The difficulty for the realization of the project is also evidenced by the numbers: the representation of teachers' associations at the Congress did not exceed the number of 46. During the first half of the 1890s there is evidence of new attempts to revive the idea of a national organization founded on the bases of a federation¹¹⁹. In the summer of 1893 the regulations of the Federation were drafted which were to be at the base of the new association. The idea was organize a convention in coincidence with The National Exhibition, preceded by a preparatory meeting to be held in Palermo. The project however was temporarily brought to a standstill, which, according to some research, is attributed to the excessive imbalance to the left of some teachers' associations¹²⁰. The impression is that many are the reasons that lie at the basis of this initial stop. Undoubtedly what became more problematic was the relationship between the leadership team, traditional in its views, and the component of the teachers' association geared towards a greater teachers' movement, and less willing to show an attitude of benevolent availability towards the government. These forces, found a valid point of expression, and perhaps a valid supporter, at the Genoa Conference, through the intervention of the socialist deputy Andrea Costa and also some representatives of the teachers' organizations. In particular, just to cite a few: the president of the teachers' association in Milan, or the representative of the Federation of Tuscan teachers¹²¹.

¹¹⁷ *La federazione delle società fra gl'insegnanti*, IP, vol. 1, n. 1, 1 febbraio 1885, p. 3.

¹¹⁸ The President of the Association, Natale Inverardi, elaborated a questionnaire submitted to the eleven members of the committee elected by the Conference. The point of the proposal was cause for greater discussion was that its predominant role attributed to National association within the framework of the federative model. *La federazione delle società magistrali*, NE, vol. 5, n. 7, 28 novembre 1885, pp. 98-100.

¹¹⁹ Beisso, Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo*, cit., pp. 95 ff.

¹²⁰ See G. Chiosso, *Istruzione primaria e condizione dei maestri tra Otto e Novecento*, M. Cattaneo, L. Pazzaglia (edd.), *Maestri, educazione popolare e società in "Scuola italiana Moderna" 1893-1993*, Brescia, 1997 pp. 43-44 and note n. 54.

¹²¹ See the letter of Pontera, President of the Associazione Magistrale Milanese, which was

Important was the contribution of protagonists who took part in congressional life (teachers and experts of educational subjects) to the formulation of bills and proposals aimed at improving the economic conditions of the category (increase and leveling salaries, Monte reform etc.) as well as innovative introduction to teaching methods and programs, to the reform of the structure and scholastic organization (the spread of nursery schools of Froebelian stamp, manual labor, drawing, choral singing, the little field, the attempted unification of school textbooks and the study for popular school). During the years of the ministerial experience of Guido Baccelli, the Association gradually became a more and more authoritative partner. During the Assembly in Rome in 1880, the teachers' organization discussed about the legislative proposal for the improvement of the working condition of teachers presented by the Minister, expressing a positive evaluation of the proposal «an appropriate guarantee for the regular payment of salaries by those Municipalities that do not pay their teachers»¹²². On that occasion, a project to improve the moral and economic condition of elementary school teachers was presented. The intention of that plan was to lay a solid barrier against the municipal referees. In fact, the proposal intended assign to the jurisdiction of the provincial treasuries the payment of salaries, whereas the decision of dismissal could be made only by the provincial school board instead of the municipal council. Furthermore, the state would have a more significant role in deciding teachers' salaries and it also simplified the structure (reducing it to three categories)¹²³. In the following congress which took place in Milan, in 1881, the project was further improved with the proposal of abolishing the distinction in the salaries for teachers in primary school and those in secondary school, as well as that between masters and mistresses. At the same time the association confirmed the will to establish that teachers also teach second, third and fourth grade¹²⁴.

Teachers' requests did not just claim their economic and juridical rights. The board of directors tried to turn the attention of the association to support even the draft law that would reform primary education. In the leaflet branched off to the teachers of Italy, in view of the National Congress of Milan, the Governing Council had clearly expressed this need:

Do you want a well organised school that corresponds to the needs of a nation that must raise its dignity in order to be treated in accordance to the office where you are in charge?

rather critical towards some administrators,cluding Beisso, *Impressioni sul congresso di Genova*, RE, vol. 8, n. 80, 30 settembre 1892, pp. 405-406.

¹²² Beisso, Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo*, cit. p. 52; The Association was received afterwards by Baccelli in occasion of the presentation of the draft law for the improvement of the working conditions of teachers, when he promised to support the organization. *Associazione generale dei maestri*, NE, n. 11, 14 gennaio 1882. But also see *Una visita a S. E. il ministro della pubblica istruzione*, NE, n. 12, 21 gennaio 1882. Beisso, Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo*, cit., p. 52.

¹²³ Beisso, Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo*, cit., pp. 44-46.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Or do you want that the school, directly, and us indirectly, continues to be criticized at the Chamber of Deputies which doesn't even give citizens the right to vote? Our material improvement will be approved by the Parliament in the proportions we want, if we do not prove that by studying assiduously and by actively working for the school, we will compensate the country with the same advantage?¹²⁵

Even through the diffusion of periodicals, it was repeatedly brought to teachers' attention, the opportunity to meet around a table to discuss the renewal of the set of rules. Corti wrote on the pages of the journal «La Luce» indicating absolutely indispensable the need of a reform for primary education for the people:

We do not have at a school for the people. It must be created from scratch. The same elementary school that is improperly called elementary does not respond or responds poorly to its purpose. It is therefore necessary to reorganize the primary school system which prepares for higher education; it is essential to create a school for the people and of the people, a school of national greatness¹²⁶.

Different proposals were presented to introduce innovation in the teaching methods and programs, to the reform of the structure and scholastic organization (the diffusion of nursery schools of Froebelian stamp, with manual labor, drawing, choral singing, vegetable gardens, the attempted unification of school textbooks and the study for the people's school). In 1881, he did not fail to support, at least partially, the draft law submitted by the colonel and deputy Matteo Augusto Mauro, which advocated the establishment of compulsory nursery school and compulsory military service between the ages of fifteen and twenty¹²⁷.

Already at the Congress of Milan in 1881, an agenda was approved calling for the mandatory introduction of kindergartens and its allocation to the authority of the Ministry of Education. At the congress of Naples in 1882, the issue on kindergartens was addressed in a more organic way. The speaker, Angelo Pavesi, in fact, offered a hypothesis of complete reorganization of the kindergarten, not only reaffirming the necessity of making it mandatory and the transition to the Ministry of Education, but also focusing on the profile of the teachers, the characteristics of classrooms allocated to child care, the educational curricula aimed at «creating good family men, proud of their country, with a heart for humanity»¹²⁸. The conference also addressed the issue of the state school. The

¹²⁵ *Franca risposta al Redattore Capo della luce*, «L'Eco», vol. 1, 1 luglio 1881, p. 19.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹²⁷ *Adunanza del 29 giugno [1881]*, *ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

¹²⁸ What can be read from the conclusions of Pavesi; «that the school is based on making kindergarten mandatory and under the direct dependency of the Ministry of Education; 2 that all children aged 5-7 are admitted to the kindergarten-school conducted by a teacher; 3 that the classroom for the kindergarten, built according to sanitary and pedagogical principles, is well furnished; that it contains portraits of the most famous figures that have honored Italy and the

speaker, Achille Santilli¹²⁹, a teacher from Abruzzo explained with these words, the model of primary school to pursue:

What the state school should be, is the current elementary school made obligatory up to the age of 12, provided with vegetable gardens in rural villages, museums, gyms, libraries everywhere. The teaching of grammar should be banned, all instruction should be practical, and always aim to form a good and provident father, and an honest citizen.

The idea was to develop a school that would be «the beginning and end in itself» with a «national, civil, anti-clerical» orientation¹³⁰. On this premise, the organization continued to express a ministerial orientation, by supporting the bills introduced by Baccelli who, on his part, did not miss his assurances to the partnership¹³¹. The association distinguished itself from the outset by the accentuation of its secularist tones. On the agenda of the second national congress of Milan there was the request to confirm the votes expressed in the pedagogical congress of Bologna and Rome, with which it was approved to call for the abolishment of the teaching of religion¹³².

Attention to the paths of educational reform emerged again during the fifth national congress which was held in Turin in September 1885, when there was discussion on *What type of characteristics should the Italian primary school system have so that it may respond to the needs of the Nation* and, consequently, on the practical skills to be developed in primary schools. According to the speaker, Domenico Beisso, the working classes had to be set free by two forces equally destructive. On one hand, «the force that defends the prejudices and the errors of the past, [on the other] the force that enables to support the concept of humanity and brotherhood, which should be driving force behind the people so that they may fulfill their duties». Among the issues that, in his view, restrained the development of schools, were the political, the ecclesiastical and the administrative influences, but also the differences in terms of teaching and the lack of a unified approach on moral education. On the basis of these principles, the speaker had presented a series of proposals, as many as 20, which set up a path of compulsory education that started from kindergartens and schools and came to the festivity schools, moving from elementary schools and the

world, a collection of natural objects, and drawings which represent the arts and professions in support to an intuitive and objective teaching; 4 that the curricula of our kindergarten is the starting point with a continuation in the elementary school of a complete educational system as a start and an end unto itself; with the aim of building a good family man, enthusiastic for the nation, with a good human heart». Beisso, Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo*, cit., pp. 48-49.

¹²⁹ For a description on the abruzzese primary teacher refer to profile n. 2000 of DBE, pp. 470-471.

¹³⁰ Beisso, Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo*, cit., pp. 49-50.

¹³¹ L. Saurus, *Il III Congresso nazionale dei maestri e delle maestre elementari in Napoli*, NE, n. 46, 16 settembre 1882, pp. 305-310; n. 47, 23 settembre 1882, pp. 323-329; *Notizie scolastiche. Il ministro Baccelli e gli insegnanti elementari*, NE, vol. 4, n. 17, 3 febbraio 1883, pp. 279-280.

¹³² Beisso, Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo*, cit., pp. 46-47.

establishment of a popular school for a period of two years for people who did not wish to continue their technical or classical studies.

Within this proposal of reorganization, stood the demand for rural primary schools to ensure a more practical focus, the abandonment of all forms of formalism and the introduction of the «method of observation» into the elementary school, manual labor along with theoretical and practical elements of agriculture in the people's school. The unification of the educational experience was to be accompanied by measures such as the unification of the «textbooks and the coordination for the historical, moral, literal and scientific part» together with the guaranteed distribution of the nation. The introduction of the teaching of choral singing and drawing together the teaching of in civil ethics in the course of studies was capable of giving «the holy religion of duty, originated from the idea of God, of nationhood and humanity». As regards to school administration, an important proposal was made by giving school delegates new roles which began with time to become more and more popular: those of school principals with a salary paid from the state budget¹³³.

A more detailed analysis of the cultural and pedagogical preparation that was on the basis of the guidelines adopted by the teachers belonging to the associations during the 1880s might help to clarify the contribution also in terms of the proposals for the renewal of the pedagogies to be introduced in schools. Particular attention was placed, within the Association, to some themes which were close to the cultural and pedagogical positivist matrix, such as manual labor. Actually, a new significant interest was developing just around this new field within the Ministry of Education, advocated by the minister Coppino himself¹³⁴. During the national conference in Turin in 1885, a teacher from the schools of Rome, Gregorio Pirani¹³⁵, was able to present pedagogical

¹³³ D. Beisso, *Del carattere della scuola italiana. Relazione sul 1 dei temi da trattarsi nel V Congresso Nazionale degli Insegnanti Primari in Torino*, Roma, Stabilimento Tipografico Italiano, 1885, pp. 30-33.

¹³⁴ P. Villari, *Il lavoro manuale nelle scuole elementari, Nuovi scritti pedagogici*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1891; Id., *Viaggio traverso le scuole di avanguardia europee*. On the issue see E. De Fort, *Storia della scuola elementare*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1996.

¹³⁵ Gregorio Pirani, son of Luigi and Elisabetta Malagodi, was born in Finale in the area of Mirandola in province of Modena on the 12th of March 1846. In 1868 he got his license of higher studies, but after studying at private middle schools specializing in classical studies first in 1869 at the private institute of Castelli di Milano and then between 1870 and 1872 at Badia del Polesine, where during those same years he was teacher of the first grade, he reached Rome that same year. After attending the normal school of Velletri, on the 20th of August 1874 he managed to get the certificate of higher studies with a grade of 96/150. He was member and substitute teacher of Scuola Tecnica libera di Finale di Modena and he held a degree in Design in Architecture, music and then physical education. In February 1889 he married Alda Matteucci e they had two children. In 1876 Giacomo Lovatelli wrote to Pignetti, the general director of the schools in Rome and also to the mayor to recommend Pirani as an ideal candidate for the schools in Rome pointing out that he «not only was good in his subjects, but also a skillful drawer and a very honourable man» and therefore «full of impeccable zeal when carrying out his duties». The first job offer in Rome came on the 5th of February 1876 as a substitute teacher, followed by a full time position

proposals on the introduction of manual labor in schools, designed to have an impact also on the guidelines of school policy¹³⁶.

The relationship with the minister Coppino were marked by a positive atmosphere of cooperation. Soon after the congress in Turin and for the entire

in 1878. In 1887 he became full time teacher. In 1907 he participated in the National competition for people with qualifications to become director. He taught in different schools in Rome until 1907, and then retired. He was always admired by the school management and inspectors, being considered «a conscientious schoolmaster who understands the great responsibility he holds, and he is of great benefit, although grouchy, to his pupils. What a pity for being furious!» is what can be read in the management's reports dated 1894-95, and in that of 1896: «he is never satisfied [...] he is very studious, and loving towards his pupils, but neurasthenic, he must make a big effort without always managing in order not to lose his temper». His class from the school located in Biscione square, gained the reading prize 1899-1900. Around the second half of 1880 he started to attend pedagogy lectures by Antonio Labriola at the University of Rome. But his adherence to the positivist pedagogical-educational orientation is proven by his custom to treasure *The student's Decalogue* by Roberto Ardigò: «1. Love your schoolmates who will be your workmates for your entire life; 2. Love your studies and consider it nourishment of the mind; be grateful to the people who teach you, and to your father and mother too; 3. sanctify every day with a good and useful deed, with kind action; 4. Honour the great best people, be respectful towards all, don't turn your back on anyone; 5. Don't hate, don't offend, don't ever take revenge; but defend your rights and don't put up with arrogance; 6. Watch out from cowardice; be a friend to the weak; love above all justice because without it there is nothing but misery; 7. Remember that wealth come from hard work and to benefit from wealth without working is like stealing bread to hard workers; Observe and meditate in order to reach the truth, don't be deceived by others and don't mislead anyone; 9. Don't believe you love your country by hating and despising other countries or by desiring war, which is savagery. Whoever believes this, hates the Nation 10. Hope for the day in which all mankind, as free citizens of one only nation, live in peace and justice with one another». Pirani also wrote texts for elementary school pupils. Among his works, it has been possible to retrieve: *Lezioni topografico-storiche su Roma ad uso delle scuole elementari inferiori conformi al programma comunale compilate dall'insegnante Gregorio Pirani settima edizione*, Roma, G.B. Paravia, 1883. The book was presented at the National didactic exhibition held in Rome in 1879-80 where it was highly considered; *Scuola-lavoro (studio)*, Roma, Tip. Mantegazza, 1886, pp. 70; *Iniziamento al lavoro manuale nella scuola elementare III tema per il V congresso*, Stabilimento tipografico italiano, Roma 1885; *Raccolta di temi per l'avviamento al comporre italiano nelle classi superiori delle scuole elementari*, Roma, Tipografia E. Mantegazza, parte II, 1898; *Raccolta di temi per l'avviamento al comporre italiano nelle classi superiori delle scuole elementari*, Tipografia E. Mantegazza, Roma, Parte I, 1897; Rip. VI, Posizioni matricolari insegnanti, busta 50 fasc. 510 *Pirani* Gregorio; ASC, Ripartizione VI-Posizioni matricolari degli insegnanti (1871-1934), b. 167, fasc. 24 *Pirani Gregorio*.

¹³⁶ In that circumstance what was concluded was the necessity to introduce mandatory manual labour along with the introduction to drawing in the first three grades of primary school, both elementary and normal school, introduction in rural school of fields for practical lessons in gardening, vegetable gardening and agriculture; introduction of laboratories in boys' school with mechanical garages, carpentry, lathe turner, blacksmith and metal workers' shops; encouragement on behalf of municipalities to introduce labour work in schools by giving out prizes in money or other objects to students and an increase of salary or bonuses to teachers who were committed to this; practical workshops at conferences; constitution of sponsorship committees «in which most members were the working class in order to invigilate and facilitate an increase of work in schools»; local, provincial, regional and national exhibitions every ten years; the publishing of reports from other countries. G. Pirani, *Iziamento al lavoro manuale nella scuola elementare III tema per il V congresso*, Roma, Stabilimento tipografico italiano, 1885, pp. 45-46.

three-year period, Coppino did not fail to make known his appreciation for the initiatives of the teachers' organization¹³⁷. In 1886 the Governing Council met with the Minister to request the submission of a provision of law more responsive to the needs of the school and of teachers. The battlefields were, in particular, those relating to the reform of *Monte Pensioni* ('Pension Plan'), and the amendments to the Law 10 April 1885 both as regards to the forms of protection of the teachers by the municipal referees – that allowed teachers' dismissal for lack of deference to municipal authorities and government¹³⁸ and for the opportunity to remove the article of law that required the teacher to present the certificate of release when he was applying for another post. On the educational side he demanded mainly the introduction of manual labor between as a teaching subject. There was pressure to urge parliamentary initiatives such as those aimed at clarifying what the minister meant by deference to the deputy – the questioning of the member of parliament Maffi – or to reduce the price of train tickets. Many were teachers who turned to the central council for support for complaints or allegations of abuse. In this period a valuable support was offered by the Directorate-General of primary school and people's education¹³⁹.

Even the launch at the end of the 1880s of the Crispi experience did not fail the authority acquired by the association, which continued to move along a dual track: on one side the pressure to stimulate the educational reforms and on the other the improvement of the economic conditions of teachers. The relationship was particularly positive with Paolo Boselli, who became minister in February 1888. He was in charge of education and financially supported the association¹⁴⁰ and found a lot of agreement with the resolutions put forward by the Minister who pointed to the primary and people's education reform from kindergarten to the extension of childhood education as an end to itself in line with the statement made by the Casati Law- to educate citizens from the electoral reform of 1882 accustomed to manual labor, «from which only the country can expect well-being and tranquility»¹⁴¹.

During this time the association embraced the nationalistic 'crispine' thesis emerging between the late 1880s and early 1890s and continued to pursue the goal of allocating public education and content of teaching a more national

¹³⁷ See Coppino's letter in *Atti dell'Associazione*, «Italia pedagogica», n. 6, 20 marzo 1885, pp. 61-62.

¹³⁸ Article 39 of the regulations applied according to law 10 April 1885, which called for playoff in case the schoolmaster did not show respect to municipal or government authorities.

¹³⁹ *Resoconto morale e finanziario intorno all'operato della Giunta Centrale, Atti del VI Congresso Nazionale fra gl'insegnanti elementari tenuto i Bologna addì 3, 4, 5 e 6 settembre 1888*, Roma, Tipografia Aldina, 1889, pp. 93-94.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁴¹ The project outline was presented by the Minister himself to the members of the Central Board of the Association. See *Resoconto morale e finanziario intorno all'operato della Giunta Centrale, Atti del VI Congresso Nazionale fra gl'insegnanti elementari tenuto i Bologna addì 3, 4, 5 e 6 settembre 1888*, Roma, Tip. Aldina, 1889, pp. 95-97.

character. They are testimony to the tones and themes discussed in the 1888 Bologna Conference. Antonio Pastore presented the theme *Del sentimento patrio nella scuola primaria* ('Of the patriotic feeling in primary school'), through which he intended to return to the question of national identity formation in primary schools¹⁴². On that occasion six proposals were made to accompany the growth of education in the direction desired by those who promoted the development of the school as «army of the nation» moved by the conviction «that the weapons without the school are ineffective at protecting the States from enemy aggression and pitfalls»¹⁴³. Among them the teaching of history in people's school in a more authentic way: by looking at local monuments, memories, national festivities, educational walks, singing the national anthem; the dissemination of publications aimed at enhancing the «patriotic and humanitarian sentiment»; compliance that regulated education and the work of children; the establishment of a recreation room open daily, the teaching of gymnastics and target shooting. But in the same direction the association pushed ministry for approval of call-back of the school to the state. Important was the Congressional resolution of 1888 in favor of call-back State primary school, who poured the first setting, contrary to this resolution¹⁴⁴; a tendency flanked to the question to ensure a more national connotation of the teaching content¹⁴⁵. The issue featured and accompanied the debate among teachers since the beginning of the associative experience, under the important guidance of Guido Baccelli. Strong disagreements had opened around one of the most significant points of the Association's program namely the line taken by the teachers' association, accused by some more radical components, that they had not wanted to deal with the passage of primary schools to the State (in particular from Siro Conti, the editor in chief of «La Luce»). The Board of Directors of the Association did not fail to point out the inappropriateness of the call-back orientation, expressed by the minister Baccelli to a commission of teachers after his rejection to pursue such direction of the reform. The Minister, as published by the periodical «La Luce», had clearly indicated its orientation:

My thought is this: Freedom in higher education, state interference in lower secondary school. In primary education, perseverance and respect of the tradition of schools in the

¹⁴² A. Pastore, *Del sentimento patrio nella Scuola Primaria, Atti del Congresso Nazionale fra gl'insegnanti elementari. Tenuto in Bologna addì 3, 4, 5 e 6 settembre 1888*, Roma, Tip. Aldina, 1889, pp. 103-113.

¹⁴³ These are the words written on the telegram sent by Crispi to the Congress promoters. See *Atti del Congresso Nazionale fra gl'insegnanti elementari. Tenuto in Bologna addì 3, 4, 5 e 6 settembre 1888*, Roma, Tip. Aldina, 1889, p. 71.

¹⁴⁴ The vote was proclaimed after the speech held by Medardo Burzi who was against the call-back; *Sulla convenienza di passare la Scuola elementare dal Comune allo Stato*, in *ibid.*, pp. 129-139; see the debate at pp. 75-79.

¹⁴⁵ Antonio Pastore adopted the same perspective in *Del sentimento patrio nella Scuola Primaria, ibid.*, pp. 103-113.

towns and autonomy, through the effectiveness of a high level teaching staff. Universities should be autonomous, the people's school has to develop from all the combined forces of the nation, which compensate and complement the action of the state¹⁴⁶.

Even at the Congress held in Bari in 1890 the idea of establishing a real «popular school» was relaunched, and its orientation, mission and programme could match «the needs of people and civilizations» and could express a reaffirmation of the desire to make public education a «secular and national character»¹⁴⁷. Requests for change that were accompanied by other requests such as reduction of programs launched two years earlier and extending compulsory schooling up to the fifth grade; the use of funds derived from the suppression of complementary schools for popular school; the reduction of school hours in the upper classes of the elementary school to allow the attendance to «school and the workshop»¹⁴⁸.

Besides these points particularly relevant, the Association tried to promote other reforms in terms of school administration, either by invoking the opportunity for greater participation of teachers in the establishment of provincial education councils, both to underline again the need to abolish school delegates and replace them with a new profiles, the head teachers. These views were always shared by Ministers such as Coppino and Boselli, the latter in particular enacted actions to support the growth of the professional role of elementary school teachers with a decree that admitted senior teachers to at university¹⁴⁹.

It is possible, then, that the positions of the teachers' associations, may have been deemed by Boselli as one of the most favourable requirements that led the Minister to submit in 1890 the Bill in Parliament on the issue of call back¹⁵⁰. Boselli observed how the reform in terms of call back, met a slow down by some municipalities, strong in defending their prerogatives and independence and by the same Parliament, where a significant number of deputies would not move away from defending the principle of decentralisation. These presuppositions induced him to develop a project that entrusted primary schools to the government of the provinces, the provincial school Board¹⁵¹. Boselli was aware of the ideological value, secularist, which moved many teachers to seek the passage of elementary schools to the State. While agreeing on the need for a greater secularization of the school system, he expressed the belief that such a process would take a long time¹⁵².

¹⁴⁶ *Franca risposta al Redattore Capo della Luce*, «L'Eco», vol. 1, n. 1, 1 luglio 1881, p. 18.

¹⁴⁷ Beisso, Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo*, cit., p. 85.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁴⁹ On the diverse actions adopted by Boselli see E. De Fort, *La scuola elementare dall'Unità alla caduta del fascismo*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1996, pp. 185-196.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹⁵¹ *Disposizioni sull'istruzione primaria*, AP, CD, *Documenti*, leg. XVI, sess. 1889-1890, n. 105.

¹⁵² Beisso, Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo*, cit., p. 86.

The purpose of the elementary school change were constantly accompanied by economic claims to obtain higher wages, equal treatment between male and female elementary teachers, approved by the same minister, improving provisions relating to pension reform. Many of the queries of elementary school teachers, embraced by teachers' association, were accepted into legislative measure set up by Boselli for the approval of the *Regolamento Unico* for elementary school instruction R.D. n. 5292 on 16 February 1888.

The association paid particular attention to the issue of the pension reform (Monte Pensioni). As regards to social security issues, the Association collected proposals at various times. But when Boselli presented a draft amendment to the law, the Council of the Association presented to the minister and the parliamentary commission a number of proposals. The provision of the law approved by Parliament on December 22, 1888, brought numerous instances of change proposed by the Organization of teachers, thanks to collaboration between the leaders of the Association and the president of the commission, Garelli¹⁵³.

The forms of collaboration with the Ministry of education continued to occur even in the early 1890s, despite the difficulty in collecting successes.

The point regarding the passage of elementary schools to the State, was also touched in the 1892 Genoa Conference. In that circumstance minister Martini attended, surprisingly, and he expressed his share, at least in part, of the perspective that moved the leaders of the teacher Association: «I am and I remain firm in the opinion that the first attention of the State in public education, must be towards elementary instructon [...] whoever wants greek can pay for it, whoever wants latin can pay for it». But on the possibility of initiating a political path that would ensure parliamentary approval of the project call back, the minister was clear:

I have no illusions: the idea of elementary teaching entrusted to the State will fail: we must therefore wait for better times when those opinions that today negative will finally be positive¹⁵⁴.

In that circumstance what was discussed again was the issue regarding the best sort of school to be organised in large cities and in the countryside in relation with today's social needs entrusted to professor Eduardo Canevello from Genoa. On that occasion, what was expressed in a more pronounced way were greater instances of «social justice» in education following the idea of pedagogical positivism¹⁵⁵. Among the proposals made at the teachers' assembly,

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Il discorso dell'on. Martini al congresso di Genova*, RE, vol. 8, n. 80, 30 settembre 1892, p. 406.

¹⁵⁵ «The educational practice should be informed by a vigorous moral spirit shaping the boarder's civil consciousness around the principle of social justice which says that people get what

the promotion of new socio-educational institutions like «recreator» was voted, aimed above all at ensuring education to the «children of workers»; the establishment of a national educational through experiences such as educational trips to «prevent an excessive and dangerous fusion of Italian spirits in humanity». As regards to teaching, the proposals advocated a more «practical» approach in teaching the language and arithmetic, and most importantly, greater adherence to the needs expressed by the territorial social context; freehand and geometric drawing, the specialization of vocational schools, industry, arts and crafts and the introduction of principles of associated work, of savings and of the cooperative; the creation of a popular female school (through the integration of a sixth grade to a fifth grade) to foster the development of vocational skills in girls relating to housekeeping and hygiene; an increased focus in rural schools on the teachings which are intended to promote the development of knowledge and skills for agriculture. What was also not missing were precise requests to urge a reorganization which takes into account the ideas regarding school hygiene, like school buildings, classroom space and organisation of school time according to a more effective articulation which did not produce the mental fatigue of the students and the teachers (from which the request of return to Thursday holiday)¹⁵⁶.

As previously mentioned, in the course of the following years, the intention was still that of forming a Federation as proposed in Genoa. The project however was temporarily stopped. But more importantly, it is necessary to focus on the crucial moment at the turn of the century which saw a further development of the phenomenon of primary school teachers' associations and the emergence of new ideas concerning their identity and function.

Against the backdrop of the end of Crispi's age and the fin-de-siècle crisis, while the Associazione Nazionale fra gli Insegnanti Elementari ('Primary School Teachers National Association') was fading out, new groups of combatives teachers, mainly from Milan and Rome, made their appearance. The foundation of the Sezione Maestre e Maestri della Camera del Lavoro in Milan was a significant sign of the activist drive among some of the associated primary school teachers; similarly, the constitution in Rome of the Sezione Insegnanti della Camera del Lavoro by the Republican teacher Sotero Ferri represented another clear indication that something was happening in the teachers' community¹⁵⁷. These associations helped to increase a sense of impatience among the educators

they deserve and deserve what they get as allowed by social resources». *Conclusioni del congresso di Genova*, RE, vol. 8, n. 80, 30 settembre 1892, p. 404.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ On the birth of Sezione Maestre e Maestri della Camera del Lavoro di Milano see F. Loporco, *La Sezione Maestre e Maestri della Camera del Lavoro di Milano (1893-1898). Parte prima*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 8, n. 1, 2013, pp. 675-713; on the activity of Sezione Insegnanti della Camera del Lavoro of Rome see S. Corti, *I maestri e la Camera del Lavoro di Roma*, «Rinnovamento Scolastico», vol. 5, gennaio 1897, pp. 213-214.

who seemed to be unwilling to bend to the Ministry requests. However, it would also be useful to analyze the changes that have occurred within the most powerful teachers' associations, as the one in Rome, to better understand the dynamics that led to the experience which, at the beginning of the twentieth century, would have unified the Italian teachers's representatives in UMN¹⁵⁸.

¹⁵⁸ For a first introduction at the activity of teachers' association of Rome at the end of Century see A. Barausse, *L'Unione magistrale Nazionale. Dalle origini alla prima guerra mondiale (1901-1918)*, Tesi di Dottorato (X Ciclo Dottorato di ricerca in Pedagogia), Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, 1998.

*Sources and
Documents*



Fonti e
Documenti

Ferdinando Martini e la direzione del «Giornale per i Bambini» in alcuni documenti inediti (1881-1889)

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Ferdinando Martini and the management of the «Giornale per i bambini» ('The Children's Journal') in some unpublished documents (1881-1889)

ABSTRACT: The «Giornale per i bambini» ('The Children's Journal') was the most famous Italian children's magazine of its times, well known because of its contents (*Pinocchio* was published here for the first time in 1881), but also because of the relevance of its editors in chief. From the first editor in chief, Ferdinando Martini, to Carlo Collodi and Emma Perodi it is widely agreed that the management of the periodical was undertaken by the most significant writers of that time. However, thanks to the correspondence archived in the Florence National Library, the true story about the «Giornale per i bambini» leadership seems to be very different: business and educational reasons gave birth to a publication in which the management was not really undertaken by Martini and Collodi, but also by unofficial editors in chief, that we call 'shadow editors in chief', such as Biagi and Perodi. From the inception of the journal, Martini's faithful collaborator Guido Biagi was the real soul of the new publication and influenced its contents and its editorial life, giving it a more international imprint. Biagi, however, headed the magazine for a short time and he was quickly replaced by Emma Perodi who became the real 'shadow editor in chief' of the «Giornale per i bambini» from the 1882 to the end of the publication in 1889 and who inspired all the editorial choices of the important children's periodical. Her work, however, was recognized later by the «Giornale» owner Ernesto Oblieght, which is why it is only in 1887 that her name appeared in 1887 as official editor in chief.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children's and Youth Literature; Periodicals; Italy; XIX Century.

Introduzione

Nello studio della storia della stampa periodica – sia essa magistrale, per l'infanzia, politica, satirica o di altro tipo – uno degli aspetti più importanti che lo storico non può esimersi dall'affrontare è quello della direzione della testata oggetto di studio. Stabilire, infatti, chi fosse alla guida di un certo periodico in una determinata epoca, insieme con la durata della sua direzione, i nomi dei suoi collaboratori, i suoi successori e predecessori oltre che il loro corretto ordine di avvicendamento e le vicende storiche ed editoriali legate a tali successioni aiuta a meglio comprendere quali aspetti caratterizzassero il giornale in un determinato periodo, quale ne fosse la linea editoriale e quali fossero le strategie editoriali, commerciali e comunicative adottate dalla redazione, dipendenti assai spesso proprio dalla volontà del direttore e dalla sua collaborazione con l'editore.

Tali considerazioni risultano essere ancora più valide quando ci si addentra in un ambito come quello della stampa periodica per l'infanzia, il quale – per sua natura – è portatore di ulteriori elementi di complessità rispetto alla stampa periodica destinata agli adulti a causa della sua doppia natura di giornale ameno e educativo (tale aspetto è infatti assente nella stampa periodica per adulti, maggiormente orientata all'informazione).

L'analisi delle direzioni delle testate per l'infanzia pubblicate in Italia a partire dagli inizi dell'Ottocento, in particolare, permette di approfondire ulteriormente quelle che sono le caratteristiche di questo tipo di periodici e di far emergere come le scelte editoriali ad essi sottese dipendessero non solo da considerazioni commerciali, ma anche e soprattutto da intenti educativi. Volendosi, infatti, imporre quale mezzo per la formazione delle giovani generazioni, il periodico per l'infanzia ebbe spesso come fine esplicito quello di combinare sulle proprie pagine le istanze formative con quelle amene, cercando così di inculcare nei fanciulli quei principi e quei valori che si riteneva necessario trasmettere loro per formarli a livello etico, civile, religioso e/o socio-politico. Non è, quindi, un caso se in tutti i periodici per l'infanzia pubblicati in Italia nei primi sessant'anni dell'Ottocento la direzione fu assunta da educatori, istitutori privati (spesso religiosi), direttori di scuole e collegi i quali avevano vivo interesse affinché si promuovesse l'opera di acculturazione e di formazione delle giovani generazioni.

Tale processo educativo proseguì con particolare intensità in Italia anche all'indomani della conclusione del processo di Unificazione, il quale – in pochi decenni – aveva riunito nella nuova nazione italiana popolazioni e territori fino a quel momento divisi non solo dai confini geografici e territoriali, ma anche da differenze linguistiche, sociali, economiche e culturali. L'obiettivo di 'fare gli italiani' divenne anzi per la classe dirigente dell'epoca un imperativo ineluttabile, cui era necessario attenersi allo scopo di formare un nuovo spirito di cittadinanza e un forte sentimento di appartenenza nazionale.

Appare pertanto ovvio come tale processo di formazione delle coscienze fosse rivolto non solo al popolo in generale, ma anche e soprattutto ai fanciulli

visti come ‘pagine bianche’ sulle quali era ancora possibile ‘scrivere’ valori etici e sociali aggreganti, in grado di farne – se condivisi – i futuri cittadini italiani e di formarne, così, il carattere e lo spirito. Tale processo fu affidato, in primo luogo, alla scuola elementare la quale – grazie alla legge Casati prima e Coppino poi – divenne il luogo deputato a insegnare ai giovani non solo nozioni di grammatica, matematica, storia e scienze, ma anche valori morali quali l’amore per Dio, la Patria e la Famiglia, riuniti in un trinomio indissolubile.

In questo processo di educazione nazional-sentimentale dell’infanzia italiana, grande rilievo assunsero anche libri e giornali ad essa rivolti, i quali contribuirono in larga misura a rinforzare e rilanciare i messaggi educativi trasmessi nelle aule scolastiche del Regno, cercando – al tempo stesso – di farlo tramite il ricorso a formule e temi nuovi, innovativi e capaci di attirare l’attenzione dei piccoli lettori. Si cercò pertanto di educare l’infanzia a un nuovo ‘sentimento di italianità’, non mancando però di combinare racconti e novelle a sfondo moralistico e paternalistico con altri racconti dai toni e contenuti più divertenti e rispondenti ai gusti dei piccoli lettori; inoltre, sempre più ampio spazio fu concesso all’uso dell’illustrazione al fine di sostenere e incoraggiare la fantasia del fanciullo e di accompagnarne il processo di crescita intellettuale.

In tutto ciò il ruolo del direttore e della redazione dei periodici per l’infanzia divenne sempre più rilevante: non più, infatti, affidato – come si è precedentemente accennato – a singoli istitutori o educatori mossi da intenti eminentemente didascalici ed educativi (in termini assoluti, senza l’assillo della loro effettiva efficacia ed incisività), il giornale per fanciulli acquisì una finalità più spiccatamente commerciale in grado di far coincidere intenti educativi ed economici: per questo motivo si puntò ad ampliare sensibilmente le schiere dei propri lettori al fine non solo – come in passato – di amplificare al massimo i messaggi educativi dei quali il giornale stesso si faceva latore, ma anche di divenire un’impresa economica in grado di procurare consistenti introiti finanziari. Queste finalità economiche divennero anzi, all’indomani dell’Unità d’Italia e dello sviluppo dell’industria editoriale nazionale, sempre più preponderanti per gli editori dei giornaletti i quali cercarono di rendere il loro prodotto sempre più ‘attraente’ perché in grado di seguire, anziché determinare, i gusti dei giovani lettori tramite l’utilizzo sempre più massiccio di testi ameni e di illustrazioni. Questo mutamento d’indirizzo determinò profonde trasformazioni anche alla guida di questi periodici: alla classica figura del ‘direttore pedagogo’ si sostituì quella del ‘direttore professionista’ il quale, spesso già esperto sia del mondo del giornalismo che di quello della letteratura per l’infanzia, era perciò capace di rivolgersi ai piccoli con formule e temi nuovi e più coinvolgenti, avvalendosi sempre di più di collaboratori in grado di conferire al proprio giornalino un *appeal* più moderno e al passo con i profondi mutamenti sociali e culturali in atto¹.

¹ Su questi aspetti e più in generale sulle problematiche connesse allo studio della storia della

Tale fu, ad esempio, il lavoro intrapreso a partire dal 1881 dal più celebre periodico per l'infanzia italiana dell'epoca post-unitaria: il «Giornale per i Bambini».

1. *Il «Giornale per i Bambini» e la 'direzione nell'ombra' di Guido Biagi (1881-1882)*

Il primo numero del «Giornale per i Bambini» vide la luce a Roma il 7 luglio 1881. Costituito da sedici pagine (formato 30x21 cm.), il giornale si rivolgeva a un pubblico sia maschile che femminile, d'età compresa tra i 6 e 12 anni. Il costo relativamente alto della pubblicazione (25 centesimi per numero, 12 lire per l'abbonamento annuale) qualificava immediatamente i suoi lettori come appartenenti alla media e alta borghesia italiana.

Il nuovo periodico era stato fortemente voluto dal ricco finanziere di origini ungheresi Ernesto Emanuele Oblieght² il quale – intuendo i possibili ampi margini di guadagno che potevano venire dalla pubblicazione d'un giornale per bambini – decise di impiegare parte del proprio capitale per la pubblicazione d'un nuovo periodico, affidandone la direzione a Ferdinando Martini, personalità poliedrica ed eclettica in grado di lasciare un segno importate nel clima culturale e politico del suo tempo³. La scelta di Martini non

stampa periodica per l'infanzia tra XIX e XX secolo, cfr.: J. Meda, *Per una storia della stampa periodica per l'infanzia e la gioventù in Italia fra '800 e '900*, in F. Loparco, *I bambini e la guerra. Il «Corriere dei Piccoli» e il primo conflitto mondiale (1915-1918)*, Firenze, Nerbini, 2011, pp. 7-24. Si ringrazia inoltre Juri Meda per i preziosi consigli forniti durante l'elaborazione del presente articolo.

² Ernesto Emanuele Oblieght (1838-1900), nato Ernö Obladt, fondò a Firenze nel 1863 l'agenzia pubblicitaria Ufficio Principale di Pubblicità, ottenendo la gestione delle inserzioni commerciali di numerosi quotidiani. Nel 1870 si trasferì a Roma, appena diventata capitale, dove fondò la Società Generale Italiana per la Pubblicità. Fondò numerosi periodici, come «Il Bersagliere», «Il Diritto», «Libertà», «Italia», «Il Pungolo» e fu il maggiore azionista de «Il Fanfulla». Nel 1886 risultava essere concessionario esclusivo per la pubblicità di alcuni dei più importanti periodici romani: «Il Fanfulla», «Il Fanfulla della Domenica», «Il Popolo Romano», «Il Messaggero» e «L'Osservatore Romano». Deteneva inoltre la rappresentanza esclusiva per la Francia, la Germania, l'Austria e l'Inghilterra di oltre centocinquanta giornali italiani ed era l'agente pubblicitario ufficiale di tutti i giornali d'Italia, Francia, Svizzera, Germania, Austria, Inghilterra, Russia, Turchia e Stati Uniti (queste informazioni sono state ricavate dalla carta intestata utilizzata dall'Oblieght per le sue lettere; cfr. Lettera di E. Oblieght a Carlo Lorenzini del 30 novembre 1886, in Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze [d'ora in avanti: BNCF], Fondo «N.A. 754», fasc. III, b. 47). L'Oblieght fu tra i primi a comprendere l'importanza degli introiti derivanti dalla vendita delle inserzioni pubblicitarie sulle pagine dei giornali, non solo in quanto fonte di sostentamento per gli stessi giornali, ma anche in quanto strumento per controllarli e intrattenere, così, proficui legami con il mondo politico e degli affari.

³ Ferdinando Martini (1841-1928). Non si ritiene qui opportuno offrire cenni biografici sulla sua personalità, assai nota; ricordiamo solamente che – oltre che scrittore, giornalista e direttore

fu casuale: Oblieght, infatti, contava per la riuscita di questa nuova operazione editoriale sul successo di pubblico garantito dal prestigioso nome del direttore, già da tempo noto al pubblico italiano per la sua collaborazione – a partire dal 1872 – con il quotidiano politico «Fanfulla» e per essere il direttore – a partire dal 1879 – del supplemento letterario di quest’ultimo, il «Fanfulla della Domenica»⁴, entrambi di proprietà dell’Oblieght.

Gli interessi economici, tuttavia, non furono i soli alla base della nascita del «Giornale»: il periodico, infatti, intendeva volgersi a quel pubblico borghese il quale non aveva potuto contribuire attivamente al Risorgimento e che quindi doveva essere educato ai principi e ai valori che lo avevano ispirato al fine di consolidare la nazione che ne era sorta. L’educazione che il «Giornale» propugnò dalle sue pagine era un’educazione laica di matrice positivista, basata sulla valorizzazione dell’industria e del lavoro, sulla centralità della famiglia, sulla netta distinzione delle classi che dovevano però imparare a vivere in armonia. Il «Giornale per i Bambini» diveniva anzi strumento all’interno di un disegno pedagogico più volte manifestato da Ferdinando Martini nei suoi interventi parlamentari e che faceva della scuola il perno attorno cui costruire la nuova generazione di italiani:

Convinto che fosse necessario instillare nei fanciulli fin dai primi anni l’amor di patria e la religione del dovere, il M. vedeva nella scuola il fondamento di una religione civile che solo con grande convinzione e impegno di risorse avrebbe potuto affrontare la questione sociale e così spiantare la funzione svolta tradizionalmente dalla Chiesa⁵.

Agli occhi di Martini, pertanto, il «Giornale per i Bambini» doveva assumere una funzione di complemento del sistema scolastico nazionale. Al contempo, tuttavia, si voleva anche andare incontro alle nuove esigenze delle prime generazioni di Italiani, fornendo loro nuovi racconti e novelle, in grado di dilettarli ed educarli tramite la proposta di storie originali e interessanti;

di varie testate politiche e umoristiche – fu prima deputato poi senatore del Regno d’Italia, sottosegretario e poi Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione. Su questa figura, cfr.: R. Romanelli, *Martini Ferdinando*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, Vol. 71, 2008, pp. 216-223; C. Weidlich, *Ritratto di Ferdinando Martini (1841-1928)*, Palermo, Domino, 1934; A. Carli, *Prima del “Corriere dei Piccoli”: Ferdinando Martini, Carlo Collodi, Emma Perodi e Luigi Capuana fra giornalismo per l’infanzia, racconto realistico e fiaba moderna*, Macerata, eum, 2007. Si veda, inoltre, il numero monografico dedicato a Martini «Farestoria. Riv. semestrale dell’Ist. stor. provinciale della Resistenza di Pistoia», a. 10, n. 17, 1991 con saggi di M. Vannini, S. Romagnoli, M. Martelli, M.A. Balducci, N. Labanca, G. Del Bono, F. Tempesti, A. Greco, F. Salvi, S. Lucarelli e A. Triulzi.

⁴ In particolare Ferdinando Martini ne assunse la direzione nel luglio 1879, raggiungendo già l’anno successivo una tiratura di 23.000 copie. Lasciò «Il Fanfulla della Domenica» nel febbraio 1882 per fondare subito dopo la «Domenica Letteraria», pubblicato da Angelo Sommaruga fino al 22 marzo 1885; interrotta, riprese le pubblicazioni dal 3 marzo al 7 novembre 1885, con l’intestazione «Domenica Letteraria. Cronaca Bizantina» (cfr. Romanelli, *Martini Ferdinando*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., p. 217).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

racconti capaci di tenerne desta l'attenzione e di potenziarne la memoria tramite l'utilizzo d'un linguaggio piano, comprensibile a chiunque, ma mai banale. Le varie rubriche – spesso corredate da elaborate illustrazioni – servivano a trasmettere al bambino pratiche nozioni in relazione a molteplici tematiche (da quelle letterarie a quelle scientifiche) e assumevano toni e linguaggi differenti a seconda del 'presunto lettore' a cui erano rivolti: più semplice e piano se la storia era rivolta ai più piccoli, più variegato e denso – anche da un punto di vista grafico – se rivolto a un pubblico più grandicello. Il tutto era ben amalgamato, nella medesima testata, con una forte tensione educativa senza però rinunciare a dilettere i propri lettori.

Il periodico divenne fin dal primo numero lo specchio fedele di quella parte delle *élites* italiane che sostenevano la necessità di educare la gioventù ai valori classici (quali la bontà, la carità e la pietà verso i meno fortunati, l'obbedienza filiale, lo spirito di sacrificio, l'amor di Patria), affiancando però questi valori ai nuovi valori che le aperture internazionali e le sfide commerciali stavano portando sempre più alla ribalta: al classico trinomio Dio-Patria-Famiglia, il «Giornale» volle pertanto affiancare anche una nuova educazione nella quale pari importanza aveva il richiamo al *self-help*, al lavoro, al progresso scientifico e tecnologico⁶.

Il simbolo di questo nuovo connubio tra educazione ai valori tradizionali legati al culto della casa e della famiglia e desiderio di innovazione della stampa periodica per l'infanzia tramite l'apertura a temi nuovi e il confronto con la pubblicistica internazionale è sempre stato Ferdinando Martini, il quale ben esplicitò questo suo desiderio proprio nel suo editoriale di apertura di questo nuovo giornalino per l'infanzia italiana⁷.

Contrariamente a quanto ritenuto finora, tuttavia, Martini non fu mai veramente il direttore del periodico da lui fondato: spinto ad assumersi il ruolo di direttore dalle motivazioni economiche ed educative di cui si è parlato precedentemente, egli affidò in realtà la gestione del periodico a Guido Biagi, suo strettissimo collaboratore già dai tempi del «Fanfulla della Domenica».

In una lettera del 25 dicembre 1880 indirizzata a Giuseppe Chiarini così scriveva, infatti, Martini:

Del *Giornale dei bambini* Le scriverà il Biagi: io ebbi primo l'idea di quella pubblicazione: e perché chi ha da metter fuori i danari (e non ce ne vogliono pochi) pretende valersi del mio nome, io firmerò come Direttore; ma tempo di occuparmene non ho e mi contenterò di dare un'occhiata via via, perché io ho figliuoli e il Biagi non li ha: e trattandosi di ragazzi, bisogna essere scrupolosissimi: a volte anche una parola può far danno, e parere innocente a uno scapolo e a un babbo no⁸.

⁶ Cfr. S. Marini, A. Raffaelli, *Riviste per l'infanzia fra '800 e '900 dai fondi della Biblioteca Alessandrina*, Firenze, Franco Cesati, 2001, p. 27.

⁷ *Come andò...*, «Giornale per i bambini», a. 1, n. 1, 7 luglio 1881, p. 1.

⁸ F. Martini, *Lettere (1860-1928)*, Milano, Mondadori, 1934, pp. 115-116.

L'estraneità di Martini alla guida del periodico per l'infanzia e il ruolo fondamentale assunto invece da Biagi, sono testimoniati anche da una lettera inviata da Martini alla figlia Teresa in data 25 agosto 1881, ovvero a poche settimane di distanza dalla pubblicazione del primo numero del «Giornale»:

Cara Teresina mia

[...] Le gambe son tornate bene e cammino, cammino, cammino, ma anche lavoro e mi tengo in corrispondenza continua col Biagi per quel benedetto Giornale dei bambini che non piace molto neppure a me⁹.

Il giornale appena nato, paradossalmente, non piaceva né al suo direttore né ai suoi giovani figli i quali – in fondo – avrebbero dovuto essere il modello stesso cui Martini si ispirava per la definizione delle linee editoriali che dovevano caratterizzare il suo periodico. Dal carteggio conservato, tuttavia, non sono emerse altre lettere tramite cui poter risalire ai motivi per cui – più nello specifico – la neonata pubblicazione non incontrasse il parere favorevole della famiglia Martini.

Ciò che invece è certo è il ruolo centrale di Guido Biagi¹⁰ – vera anima del «Giornale per i Bambini» – che, con il suo lavoro, contribuì innegabilmente a dare una precisa identità editoriale a questo periodico, conferendogli quelle caratteristiche che lo avrebbero reso unico nel panorama editoriale italiano di quel periodo. Collaboratore dal 1879 del «Fanfulla della Domenica», Biagi era divenuto ben presto – insieme con Enrico Nencioni¹¹ – uno dei più importanti e fidati collaboratori di Ferdinando Martini, affiancandolo non solo nella sua attività giornalistica, ma anche – in seguito – al Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, dove Martini lo volle suo capo di gabinetto sia quando ricoprì la

⁹ Lettera di Ferdinando Martini a Teresa Martini in data 25 agosto 1881, in BNCf, Fondo «Carteggi Vari», fasc. 493, b. 51.

¹⁰ Guido Biagi (1855-1925) fu bibliotecario, giornalista e scrittore. Ancora giovanissimo, fu tra i fondatori della rivista di tendenze carducciane «I Nuovi Goliardi». In campo giornalistico collaborò – oltre che al «Fanfulla della Domenica» e al «Giornale per i Bambini» – anche all'«Athenaeum» di Londra, alla «Rassegna Settimanale», al «Fracassa», al «Corriere della Sera», al «Don Chisciotte» e alla «Nuova Antologia». Inoltre, dal 1880 al 1882 lavorò presso la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma e dal 1882 al 1884 presso quella di Firenze. Sempre a Firenze diresse poi la Biblioteca Marucelliana (dal 1886 al 1889), la Riccardiana e la Laurenziana (dal 1889 al 1923). Nel 1888 fondò la «Rivista delle biblioteche e degli archivi». Si veda: P. Fasano, *Biagi Guido*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., Vol. 9, 1967, pp. 826-827.

¹¹ Enrico Nencioni (1837-1896) fu poeta e giornalista. Fu, fin da giovane, amico di Ferdinando Martini e di Giosuè Carducci, distinguendosi per il suo amore verso la letteratura e la poesia straniera. Dopo anni di travagliata incertezza economica e lavorativa, nel 1879 fu chiamato da Martini a collaborare al «Fanfulla della Domenica», che gli consentì di inserirsi nel dibattito culturale italiano del periodo. Abbandonato il «Fanfulla» nel 1882, seguì Martini alla «Domenica Letteraria». Collaborò inoltre con «La Domenica del Fracassa» e la «Cronaca Bizantina». Nel 1883 ottenne la cattedra di letteratura italiana all'Istituto di magistero e dal 1884 quella di italiano al Collegio della Ss. Annunziata al Poggio Imperiale di Firenze. Si veda M. Marrocco, *Nencioni Enrico (Giovanni Battista)*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., Vol. 78, 2013, pp. 217-220.

carica di segretario generale (1884-1885) sia quando fu nominato ministro (1892-1893).

È a lui, quindi, che Martini decise di affidare la conduzione del giornalino progettato con l'Oblieght ed è a questa importante figura che occorre guardare per comprendere fino in fondo le innovazioni che differenziarono il «Giornale» dalla pubblicistica per l'infanzia edita in quel periodo in Italia.

Così lo stesso Biagi raccontò la nascita del «Giornale per i Bambini»:

E un bel giorno, accanto al *Fanfulla della domenica*, e sotto la direzione di Ferdinando Martini, uscì in luce il *Giornale per i bambini* che ebbe subito un successo strepitoso, raggiungendo lo spaccio di venticinque mila copie. Il giornale si proponeva un compito molto chiaro e preciso: d'offrire ai giovani una lettura piacevole ed istruttiva, e di costringere gli scrittori più illustri a degnarsi di scendere fino a loro. Era una cosa nuova, e oserei dire – se non ci avessi avuto troppo gran parte – che doveva riuscire. Tutti i giornali politici, insieme con il sommario del *Fanfulla della domenica*, recavano quello del *Giornale dei bambini*, e in ambedue i sommari quasi gli stessi nomi: da Paolo Liroy a Enrico Nencioni, da Ferdinando Martini a Michele Lessona. L'Oblieght, editore, mandava ogni tanto a chiamare il Martini e gli diceva nel suo italiano ungherese: «Volere molti nomi, perché il giornale prenda *ràdice*», e per avere buoni nomi e per cotesta *ràdice* il brav'uomo non lesinava; tantoché il *Fanfulla domenicale* e il *Giornale per i bambini* nella storia del giornalismo offrirono ai loro scrittori i più lauti e non più raggiunti compensi¹².

Ciò che colpisce è la consapevolezza con la quale non solo Oblieght ma anche Martini e Biagi guardavano a questo vero e proprio esperimento editoriale, intenzionati a trarne il maggior profitto possibile senza, però, per questo rinunciare alle istanze educative. Per aumentare le vendite del periodico Oblieght e Biagi compresero subito la necessità di puntare sull'*appeal* che i nomi dei maggiori scrittori dell'epoca poteva esercitare sui giovani lettori del periodico (ma anche sui loro genitori) e cercarono, pertanto, di attrarre le più illustri firme della letteratura italiana contemporanea tramite lauti compensi economici; Biagi, inoltre, comprese come fosse necessario presentare ai fanciulli letture in grado di coniugare l'intento educativo con quello ameno, supportandole con un ricco apparato iconografico e suddividendole in rubriche varie e numerose.

Sul «Giornale per i Bambini» sembrano, quindi, affiancarsi – ma non contrapporsi – due diverse interpretazioni della stampa periodica per l'infanzia e del suo ruolo: una più classica, rappresentata dal direttore Martini e da alcuni collaboratori del periodico, quali Emma Perodi¹³ o Ida Baccini, rappresentanti

¹² G. Biagi, *Passatisti*, Firenze, Società Anonima Editrice «La Voce», 1923, p. 113.

¹³ Emma Perodi (1850-1918) fu giornalista e scrittrice per l'infanzia. Iniziò la sua carriera con la pubblicazione del romanzo *Le idee di Elena* sulla rivista «Cornelia». In seguito si trasferì a Roma dove iniziò a collaborare con il celebre «Fanfulla della Domenica» di Ferdinando Martini e, dal 1881, con il «Giornale per i Bambini», di cui ben presto assunse la direzione senza però figurare ufficialmente come direttore (tale riconoscimento le sarebbe stato dato solo a partire dal 1887). Quando nel 1889 il «Giornale per i Bambini» si fuse con il «Giornale dei Fanciulli»

di uno stile più tradizionale e ancora fortemente ancorato al concetto di letteratura per l'infanzia come strumento di formazione morale; e una più moderna, rappresentata da Guido Biagi e da scrittori quali Carlo Collodi¹⁴, che invece cercarono di svecchiare i vecchi canoni letterari utilizzati nei testi per l'infanzia promuovendo una visione del fanciullo più scanzonata, in grado di imbrigliare l'irrequietezza infantile non tramite la proposizione di modelli di virtù, ma con l'esempio pratico dei bambini-monelli di carta. Il rapporto amicale che il periodico strinse con i propri lettori si basava, quindi, in parte su una sorta di 'ammiccamento' che gli autori facevano ai propri lettori e che sembrava voler dire che i comportamenti monelleschi potevano in fondo anche essere tollerati, ma che alla fine il miglior profitto veniva senza dubbio dal seguire le norme di comportamento imposte dalla famiglia e dalla società.

(diretto da Achille Tedeschi e dalla sorella Virginia, moglie dell'editore Giuseppe Treves e nota con lo pseudonimo di Cordelia), la Perodi continuò a scrivere su questa testata i propri racconti per l'infanzia. Negli stessi anni, inoltre, pubblicò con l'editore Paggi i libri di lettura *Cuoricino ben fatto* (1886), *L'omino di pasta: libro per la fanciullezza* (1887), *I bambini delle diverse nazioni a casa loro* (1890), quest'ultimo già precedentemente uscito a puntate proprio sul «Giornale per i Bambini». Nel 1892 uscì, invece, con l'editore Perino il volume *Le novelle della nonna: fiabe fantastiche*, cui seguì *Le fate d'oro: fiabe fantastiche*; contemporaneamente – sempre con l'editore Perino – diede vita al periodico per l'infanzia «Il Tesoro dei Bambini». Nel 1897, dopo aver compilato per l'editore Biondo il ciclo di letture *Cuoricini d'oro*, la Perodi si trasferì a Palermo per sovrintendere al catalogo della produzione scolastica e giovanile della casa editrice siciliana. Nei suoi ultimi anni di vita, la Perodi continuò a dedicarsi alla pubblicazione di opere espressamente educative, tra cui: *Tu sarai una brava donna: libro di lettura educativa ed istruttiva* (1914). Sulla sua figura si veda: A. Carli, *Perodi Emma*, in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione (1800-2000)*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, Vol. I, 2013, pp. 312-313; W. Scancarello, F. Depaolis (edd.), *Emma Perodi. Saggi critici e bibliografia (1850-2005)*, Pontedera, Bibliografia e informazione, 2006; A. Faeti, *Saggio introduttivo*, in E. Perodi, *Fiabe fantastiche. Le novelle della nonna*, Torino, Einaudi, 1993, pp. VII-LXIV; P. Boero, C. De Luca, *La letteratura per l'infanzia*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1995, pp. 74-75.

¹⁴ Carlo Lorenzini (1826-1890), noto anche con lo pseudonimo di Collodi, fu scrittore e giornalista. Non si ritiene qui opportuno offrire cenni biografici sulla sua personalità, assai nota; ricordiamo solamente che collaborò a numerosi quotidiani – quali «La Nazione» e «La Gazzetta del Popolo» – e pubblicò numerosi libri di lettura per l'infanzia tra cui *I racconti delle fate voltati in italiano* (1876), *Giannettino: libro per i ragazzi* (1877), *Minuzzolo: secondo libro di lettura* (1878), *Occhi e nasi: ricordi dal vero* (1881). Il suo lavoro più celebre fu però certamente *Le avventure di Pinocchio: storia di un burattino*, pubblicato dapprima a puntate sul «Giornale per i Bambini» dal 1881 al 1883 e poi in volume dall'editore Paggi (sempre nel 1883). Su questa figura: A. Ascenzi, *Lorenzini Carlo*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 48-49; Boero, De Luca, *La letteratura per l'infanzia*, cit., pp. 24-29 e 49-57; P. Lorenzini, *Collodi e Pinocchio*, Firenze, Salani, 1954; R. Bertacchini, *Il padre di Pinocchio. Vita e opere del Collodi*, Milano, Camunia, 1993; B. Traversetti, *Introduzione a Collodi*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1993. Si veda, inoltre, L. Volpicelli, *Bibliografia collodiana (1883-1980)*, Pescia, Quaderni della Fondazione nazionale Carlo Collodi, 1981.

2. *La nuova 'direzione nell'ombra' di Emma Perodi (1882-1889)*

Il «Giornale per i Bambini», quindi, per il suo primo anno di vita fu sostanzialmente ispirato da Guido Biagi, il quale si fece interamente carico della gestione del settimanale e curò con attenzione soprattutto i rapporti con i collaboratori, allo scopo di dotare il giornale di racconti accattivanti, divertenti e interessanti. Le ricerche condotte hanno tuttavia evidenziato come dopo un solo anno dalla fondazione del «Giornale», anche Biagi smise di dedicarsi alla direzione del periodico.

Nel 1882, infatti, le intricate vicende legate alla direzione del «Giornale per i Bambini» si intrecciarono con il parallelo deterioramento dei rapporti tra l'editore Oblieght e Ferdinando Martini a causa dello scandalo scoppiato in Italia in quello stesso anno in seguito alla decisione del finanziere ungherese di vendere le sue partecipazioni finanziarie a sei giornali di diverso orientamento politico alla società finanziaria francese Union Générale dell'affarista Paul Eugène Bontoux – legato alla Santa Sede e intenzionato a rafforzare la stampa cattolica italiana attraverso l'acquisto di un consistente numero di testate – per quasi tre milioni di lire. Tale somma, infatti, eccedeva il valore reale delle testate vendute e da più parti fu avanzata l'accusa che quel denaro provenisse da gruppi clericali avversi all'Italia. Il timore di un'ingerenza clericale diretta nella vita politica nazionale fu tale da spingere i direttori delle testate coinvolte a dare subito le proprie dimissioni e a costringere l'Oblieght a recedere dal proposito di vendita¹⁵. Sebbene il «Fanfulla della Domenica» non fosse stato coinvolto in questa trattativa, Martini decise ugualmente di abbandonare la direzione del settimanale, offrendosi – al contempo – di acquistarne la testata. Questa ipotesi, tuttavia, dovette essere ben presto accantonata considerato l'elevato costo dell'operazione (Oblieght aveva imposto come prezzo di vendita 80.000 lire)¹⁶ e Martini, quindi, decise di fondare un nuovo settimanale, cui diede nome «La Domenica Letteraria» e sul quale si ritrovarono ben presto a scrivere quasi tutti i vecchi collaboratori del «Fanfulla», i quali decisero di seguire Martini nella sua nuova impresa giornalistica.

¹⁵ Sullo scandalo del 1882 si vedano: V. Castronuovo, *La stampa italiana dall'unità al fascismo*, Bari, Laterza, 1970, pp. 88-91 e F. Cordova, «Caro Olgogigi». *Lettere ad Olga e Luigi Lodi. Dalla Roma bizantina all'Italia fascista (1881-1933)*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1999, pp. 28-30 (in particolare nota 103).

¹⁶ La ricerca di un accordo tra Martini e Oblieght è ben testimoniata dal tono della seguente lettera inviata dal finanziere al suo ex-direttore: «On. sig. Martini, il comune amico Signor Nencioni mi dice che possiamo ancora accomodare la faccenda del Fanf. della Domenica. Io non desidero meglio. Venite e ne discuteremo. Intanto tregua e mentre voi vi obbligate sulla vostra parola d'onore di non fare dichiarazioni ad altri [...] io mi obbligo a non proseguire le trattative per un nuovo direttore» (Lettera di Ernesto Oblieght a Ferdinando Martini del 26 gennaio 1882, in BNCF, Fondo «Ferdinando Martini», fasc. 20, b. 5).

Tutto ciò ebbe notevoli ripercussioni anche sul «Giornale per i Bambini» del quale, però, Martini decise di non lasciare la direzione. I motivi alla base di tale scelta furono esposti dallo stesso Martini in una sua lettera a Nencioni:

E giacché *tu* (non *io*) domandi spiegazioni del perché io sia rimasto al *Giornale dei bambini*, eccotela: [...] perché lo Spaventa, il Crispi, il Mordini, il Correnti, il Cavallotti, tutti quanti, m'han consigliato a lasciare il *Fanfulla della Domenica*, m'han soggiunto che sarebbe ridicola azione abbandonare il *Giornale dei bambini*¹⁷.

Sebbene non spieghi nel dettaglio i motivi che lo portarono a mantenere la direzione del periodico per l'infanzia, sembra essere chiaro il ruolo assunto nella questione da alcuni tra gli uomini politici più in vista dell'epoca, i quali – ritenendo poco opportuno l'abbandono del «Giornale» in quanto non direttamente coinvolto nelle questioni più prettamente 'politiche' che avevano invece convinto Martini ad abbandonare polemicamente la direzione del «Fanfulla» – convinsero quindi il direttore a rimanere (anche se solo formalmente) alla testa del periodico.

I dissidi già precedentemente emersi con l'Oblieght erano però destinati ad acuirsi: nell'aprile del 1882, in particolare, Biagi – trasferitosi da Roma a Firenze – aveva infatti deciso di vendere la sua quota di proprietà del «Giornale per i Bambini»¹⁸, impegnandosi però a continuare il proprio lavoro redazionale «per qualche tempo», in attesa delle nomina di un nuovo direttore su cui sia lui sia Martini chiesero di essere interpellati in quanto co-proprietari¹⁹. Questo fatto fu colto dall'Oblieght quale pretesto per intentare una causa legale contro Biagi e Martini allo scopo di negare loro i proventi delle vendite del «Giornale» per l'anno 1882, con l'accusa di non aver assolto i propri doveri verso l'amministrazione. La vertenza si risolse con la decisione del giudice di riconoscere a Biagi e Martini il diritto di appropriarsi degli introiti del 1882,

¹⁷ Martini, *Lettere*, cit., p. 132.

¹⁸ «Caro sign. Martini, Le scrivo per confermare quanto a mio nome Giulio le ha detto, cioè la mia ferma risoluzione di vendere il mio 1/6 di proprietà del Giornale dei Bambini. Ieri vidi il De Renzis, ma la sua controproposta, riflettendoci, mi pare troppo leonina e non conducente al mio scopo, quello – come ho detto, di vendere –. Se il De Renzis vuole trattare con me queste sono le basi: valore nominale £ 30,000 – effettivo £ 20,000, pagabili, queste, magari in 3 anni con una cambiale da rinnovarsi di trimestre in trimestre: frutto del 5%. Sborso di £ 3000 all'atto del contratto. Spese a carico di lui. Se compra la signora Giacinta le offro patti migliori. Io desidero ovviamente che Ella abbia un compratore di sua fiducia, ma si adopri per trovarmelo presto, affinché io possa esser libero di trattare con altri, secondo le proposte che ho ricevuto, e che ho cercato e cerco di tener lontane, per quei giusti riguardi che debbo a lei. La prego di preoccuparsi di questa condizione di cose, perché io di fronte a proposte poco serie per il mio vero interesse – che è vendere – come quelle dell'on. De Renzis, mi trovo costretto – se ella non si decide – a tener conto delle proposte che mi vengono fatte da altre persone. Spero che vorrà prendere subito qualche provvedimento e mi confermo di cuore suo affezionato Guido Biagi» (Lettera di Guido Biagi a Ferdinando Martini del 30 aprile 1882, in BNCF, Fondo «Ferdinando Martini», fasc. 4, b. 3).

¹⁹ Lettera di Guido Biagi a Ernesto Oblieght del 12 maggio 1882, in BNCF, Fondo «Ferdinando Martini», fasc. 4, b. 4.

ma ciò non bastò a placare i dissidi fra le parti in causa, che furono anzi ulteriormente acutizzati dalla decisione dell'Oblieght di esautorare – anche se non ufficialmente – dalla loro carica Martini e Biagi e di affidare la redazione del periodico a Emma Perodi. La situazione venne così descritta da Biagi all'avvocato Bonani:

Dopo la mia partenza per Firenze che avvenne a metà di maggio [...] l'Oblieght impedì a me e al Martini si usare dei nostri diritti di Direttore e Redattore, affidando la tipografia di ricevere i manoscritti che noi presentavamo per fare il Giornale. – Inoltre si usurpò il diritto di aprire la posta del Giornale medesimo, e spedì ai collaboratori una circolare a stampa invitandoli a mandare l'originale all'indirizzo puro e semplice del Giornale per i Bambini cioè a lui. Con questi 3 atti egli esautorò pienamente il Martini e me dalle rispettive attribuzioni di Direttore e Redattore. In luogo nostro mise una persona di propria fiducia, la quale assunse la direzione del Giornale, scrivendo lettere a tutti i collaboratori per invitarli a mandarle articoli, e ad alcuni scrittori che avevano precedenti impegni con Giornale, questa persona (la Sig.na Perodi) rispose che non era tenuta a rispettarli. [E il fatto a cui alludo è successo alla Sig.ra Baccini]. Ella avrà compreso come dopo queste usurpazioni, il direttorato del Martini e l'opera mia di redattore diventavano cose affatto illusorie; anzi più che illusorie ridicole. Perché allora l'Oblieght non cancellava il nome del Martini dalla testata del periodico, quando poi si serviva di quel nome soltanto per coprire le sgrammaticature stampate dai suoi accoliti? [Si negava] così al Martini e a me il diritto di esercitare le nostre attribuzioni, diritto che consiste [...] nella facoltà di stampare articoli che si scelgono a comporre il numero, nel rifiutare quelli che non si credono opportuni, nel correggere tutti gli scritti; nell'ordinare e nel far pagare ai collaboratori nuovi articoli pagandoli, nell'accettare o rifiutare quelli che vengono spediti – in una parola di fare tutto quello di cui l'Oblieght incaricava la Perodi²⁰.

Fin dal 1882, pertanto, fu Emma Perodi la vera artefice di questo noto periodico per l'infanzia, anche se il riconoscimento di tutto il lavoro svolto sarebbe giunto ufficialmente solo nel 1887, quando sarebbe stata indicata esplicitamente in veste di direttrice del giornale.

Fu anch'essa, quindi, come lo era stato Biagi, una direttrice 'nell'ombra', vera artefice di una testata la quale però continuò a riportare in prima pagina, fino al numero 14 del 15 aprile 1883, il nome di Ferdinando Martini quale direttore. Quando infine nel 1883 Martini si dimise ufficialmente dalla direzione del periodico, la direzione di Emma Perodi continuò a rimanere 'nell'ombra': a occupare ufficialmente il posto del primo direttore, infatti, lo stesso Martini, con una lettera del 29 marzo 1883, chiamò Carlo Collodi:

Caro Collodi,

di uomini ai quali fosse dato far molte cose ad un tempo e farle bene, né io ho mai conosciuti né mi pare dia molti esempi la storia. Figurati se ciò può esser concesso a me; è gala se io mi contento di farne pochissime e mediocrementemente. Son dunque, malgrado le cordiali insistenze, costretto a ritirarmi dalla direzione del Giornale dei bambini, perché non posso permettere né

²⁰ Lettera di Guido Biagi all'avvocato Bonani del 22 luglio 1882, in BNCF, Fondo «Ferdinando Martini», fasc. 4, b. 4.

che il Giornale soffra della involontaria negligenza mia, né che, facendo alcuno oscuramente le mie veci, mi si dia merito dell'opera altrui. Vuoi tu sostituirmi? Meglio che a te non saprei a chi rivolgermi; il tuo nome, noto per tanti scritti educativi, mi è una guarentigia che il Giornale dei bambini vedrà compiersi gli auguri ch'io gli faccio di lunga prosperità²¹.

All'appello lanciato da Martini, Collodi aveva così risposto:

Caro Martini,

grazie delle tue cortesi parole e del garbato invito, che mi fai, a volerti sostituire nella direzione del Giornale per i bambini. Vuoi proprio così? Ebbene, così sia! A scanso di malinconie, io mi rinfranco pensando, che il giornalino immaginato e fatto da te, nacque rigoglioso di vita e di salute. E io, nella virtù del buon sangue paterno, ci credo: e per conseguenza credo anche nel *derivata patris* del vecchio Porretti²². Diavol mai che quel brav'uomo del Porretti, per cagion mia, voglia mancar di parola al Giornale per i bambini. Starebbe fresco. Sarei tomo da dargli una querela per abuso di buona fede²³.

Indicato quale fidato prosecutore della linea editoriale impressa al periodico fin dalla sua costituzione, il Collodi ne divenne il nuovo direttore a partire dal numero 15 del 12 aprile 1883, mantenendo l'incarico fino al numero 52 del 24 dicembre 1885. Anche in questo caso, tuttavia, l'impegno del nuovo direttore fu solo formale e fu Emma Perodi a continuare a occuparsi interamente della conduzione del «Giornale»; ciò è ben testimoniato, ad esempio, dal larghissimo numero di racconti o lettere pubblicati sulle pagine del periodico a firma della stessa.

La direzione collodiana del «Giornale» proseguì fino al 1885, concludendosi con una lunga sequela di polemiche e recriminazioni tra lo scrittore fiorentino e l'editore della testata, scaturita dalla mancata comunicazione da parte dell'Oblieght dello scioglimento del vincolo contrattuale. A questo proposito, così rispondeva lo spregiudicato editore ungherese a una lettera di accusa che Collodi gli aveva inviato il 26 novembre 1886:

Signor Cav. Carlo Lorenzini,

L'Amm. del Giornale per i Bambini mi trasmette la vostra lettera 26 corrente che mi reca non poca sorpresa avendovi in tempo opportuno avvertito che col primo dell'anno corrente non avrei più messo il vostro nome in testa al Giornale per i Bambini: infatti fino dal 1° numero di quest'anno il vostro nome non vi figura più ed il vostro silenzio valse ad avvalorare la nostra convinzione che tutto era in regola con voi avendovi con nostra 11 Gennaio rimesso il saldo del 1885. Ad ogni modo non avreste dovuto aspettare fino al 47° numero a reclamare

²¹ Martini, *Lettere*, cit., p. 148. La lettera fu riportata integralmente nel quindicesimo numero del *Giornale per i Bambini* del 12 aprile 1883, col quale iniziò la direzione di Collodi (cfr. *Lettere di F. Martini e C. Collodi*, «Giornale per i bambini», a. 3, n. 15, 12 aprile 1883, p. 225).

²² Il riferimento è a Ferdinando Porretti, sacerdote e insegnante padovano, autore di una prosodia della lingua latina nel 1743.

²³ *Lettere di F. Martini e C. Collodi*, cit., p. 225.

ciò che voi chiamate vostro diritto. Ritengo che in seguito alle spiegazioni qui sopra non avrete nulla a ridire e colgo l'occasione per riverirvi con distinta stima²⁴.

La risposta di Collodi non si fece attendere:

Signor Commend. Oblieght,

sento che la mia lettera del 26 scorso novembre vi recò non poca sorpresa: e questa vostra sorpresa la capisco benissimo. [...] Voi affermate di avermi dato questo avvertimento, e sarà vero: ma è pur vero, verissimo, che questo avvertimento io non l'ho ricevuto mai: e la mia parola vale la vostra. Ora poi vi domando: per disdire un contratto come quello stabilito regolarmente fra voi e a iniziativa tutta vostra, che bisogno c'era di farmi avvertito che il mio nome non avrebbe più figurato in testa al Giornale? E chi ha fatto mai questione che il mio nome dovesse figurare in testa, o in fondo o fuori dal Giornale per i Bambini? E quando mai per essere direttore d'un giornale c'è stato bisogno di vedere il proprio nome stampato sulla testata? [...] E perché, invece di pretesi avvertimenti, non mandarmi addirittura in tempo opportuno una dichiarazione di scioglimento di contratto, esplicita e netta, come quella che vi ho mandata io coll'ultima mia lettera? E perché invece di tirare a indovinare un silenzio, che non dice nulla, e anche a scampo di malintesi, e di disguidi postali, non chiedermi e [...] non esigere da me, com'era nel vostro diritto, un cenno di ricevuta della rescissione del contratto? [...] E perché, a maggior vostra guarentigia, non pubblicare sul Giornale stesso (come si usa sempre, non foss'altro per delicatezza) due righe per far sapere che il Collodi non ne era più il Direttore? E se il mio nome stampato in testata fu creduto opportuno per ragioni economiche sopprimerlo, perché avete continuato a farlo figurare tutto l'anno nei grandi avvisi di quarta pagina dei vostri giornali, mettendolo il primo sulla lunga [lista] di nomi degli altri redattori [...]? E come si spiega che mentre mi davate l'avvertimento che il mio nome non avrebbe più figurato in testa al Giornale, il vostro Fanfulla pubblicava nella prima colonna della prima pagina le condizioni di abbonamento al Giornale per i Bambini diretto da C. Collodi? Quindi ora, finiamola. [...] Forte della mia nota onestà e delle mie buone ragioni, mi limito a farvi sapere che domani vi sarà presentata una mia tratta a vista di £ 600, a fronte del 1° semestre del cadente anno e serbo ancora speranza che vogliate togliere di mezzo questa piccola pendenza all'amichevole e senza bisogno di tornarvi sopra²⁵.

La conseguenza diretta di queste polemiche fu quella di non permettere all'editore di nominare un nuovo direttore «Giornale per i Bambini», il quale proseguì le pubblicazioni per tutto il 1886 senza alcuna indicazione in proposito. Fu solo con il numero 50 del 1887 che il «Giornale» recò infine il nome di Emma Perodi quale direttrice del giornale. Va però sottolineato come tale annuncio fosse fatto quasi in sordina: pubblicato, infatti, nell'ultima pagina – quella dedicata alle inserzioni pubblicitarie – comparve infatti un vivace annuncio il quale così pubblicizzava la nuova direzione:

²⁴ Lettera di Ernesto Oblieght a Carlo Lorenzini del 30 novembre 1886, in BNCF, Fondo «N.A. 754», fasc. III, b. 47.

²⁵ Minuta di lettera di Carlo Lorenzini a Ernesto Oblieght del 3 dicembre 1886, in BNCF, Fondo «N.A. 754», fasc. III, b. 38.

Il *Giornale per i bambini* diretto da Emma Perodi è il solo giornale per l'infanzia che si pubblichi in Italia e che sia **scritto italianamente** e si studii di mantenere le tradizioni del suo illustre fondatore Ferdinando Martini. Per questo giornale non hanno mai sdegnato di scrivere i più illustri scienziati e letterati [...]; le novelle e gli articoli pubblicati in esso furono quasi tutti raccolti in volumi e formano la nuova letteratura infantile di cui si è arricchito il nostro paese. Si può asserire che il **Giornale per i bambini** in sette anni di vita abbia dato ai piccoli italiani il gusto per la lettura e abbia loro educato il cuore e la mente, ammaestrandoli in pari tempo nello studio della nostra lingua parlata e familiare²⁶.

Sottolineando il ruolo fondamentale avuto dal periodico nel campo della letteratura per l'infanzia dell'epoca, il nome della nuova direttrice fu affiancato a quello del più illustre Martini, il cui nome evidentemente l'editore riteneva ancora in grado di attrarre il pubblico, fornendo rassicurazioni circa la prosecuzione – anche da parte di Perodi – della storica linea editoriale («istruire divertendo») del periodico. Come però abbiamo già avuto modo di sottolineare, questo messaggio pubblicitario potrebbe essere definito tendenzioso, in quanto la vera linea editoriale del «*Giornale per i Bambini*» non era praticamente mai stata dettata dal Martini, ma affidata dapprima alle cure di Biagi e poi della stessa Perodi, già molto tempo prima che quest'ultima ne assumesse esplicitamente la direzione.

Conclusioni

Alla luce di quanto emerso appare evidente come la tradizionale successione dei direttori del «*Giornale per i Bambini*» (Martini, Collodi e Perodi) sia destituita di ogni fondamento.

È evidente, infatti, che i predecessori di Emma Perodi altro non furono che nomi illustri utilizzati dall'editore per assicurare al periodico tirature alte e un pubblico fedele, ma entrambi questi scrittori non furono mai, in realtà, capaci di dare una propria impronta personale al «*Giornale*», il quale infatti non mostrò mai di essere lo specchio fedele delle istanze educative – molto diverse tra loro – di cui i due celebri scrittori toscani si erano resi latori. Ciò spiega anche perché il «*Giornale*» riuscì anzi a mantenere costante la propria linea editoriale, nonostante il passare degli anni e il susseguirsi delle direzioni: all'anima infusa da Biagi al periodico nei primi frenetici mesi di avvio dell'ambizioso progetto editoriale, seguì infatti ben presto la direzione 'nell'ombra' della Perodi la quale – lungi dal voler cancellare le intelligenti innovazioni introdotte dal suo predecessore – diede ampio spazio sul «*Giornale*» a quelli che erano i temi da lei privilegiati e che si incentravano, in particolare, su infantili modelli di

²⁶ *Il Giornale per i bambini*, «*Giornale per i Bambini*», a. 7, n. 50, 15 dicembre 1887, p. 800. Il grassetto è nel testo originale.

virtù esemplari, colpe punite, povertà e carità, conferendo al periodico uno stile che lo resero certamente «ottocentesco» nei contenuti e dunque ancorato a una visione stereotipata e anacronistica del fanciullo, la quale era comune a una buona parte della stampa periodica per l'infanzia coeva e che sarebbe stata gradualmente superata solo a partire dai periodici primo-novecenteschi (il «Giornalino della Domenica», in particolare, ma anche poi il «Corriere dei Piccoli»).

Senza tradire quest'anima ottocentesca, la Perodi ben comprese, però, che per mantenere l'alto numero di lettori attratti dalla freschezza e innovatività apportata dal «Giornale» nel campo della pubblicistica per l'infanzia era allo stesso tempo necessario proseguire sulle pagine del periodico lo straordinario connubio tra intenti educativi e ameni promosso da Biagi.

Fu così che al periodico continuarono a collaborare scrittori in grado di creare quelle storie e quei racconti che avrebbero caratterizzato il «Giornale per i Bambini» e che ai modelli esemplari di virtù riuscivano anche a contrapporre personaggi scaltri e birichini, bimbi 'vivi' perché dotati di caratteristiche tali da renderli quasi identici ai lettori reali. Le storie lacrimevoli e pedantesche lasciarono sempre più spesso il posto a racconti dai toni vivaci e scanzonati in grado di descrivere efficacemente piccole vicende familiari e bozzetti scolastici nei quali tutti i giovani lettori potevano facilmente identificarsi.

Le 'direzioni ombra' – susseguitesì al «Giornale per i Bambini» con Biagi prima e la Perodi poi – puntarono soprattutto a riunire intorno al periodico romano una nutrita comunità di piccoli abbonati, da coinvolgere in un ambizioso progetto educativo, in grado di conciliare istruzione e diletto: è significativo come entrambe queste direzioni posero particolare attenzione nella rubrica di posta tramite cui i piccoli lettori potevano sentire di far parte di un'unica grande famiglia 'giornalinesca' in cui poter esprimere liberamente i propri gusti e desideri e in cui potevano confidare di trovare ascolto, consiglio e comprensione.

Per concludere, il «Giornale per i Bambini» fu davvero lo specchio fedele delle personalità che si susseguirono al suo vertice: differenti per idee, esperienze e interessi, Martini, Biagi, Collodi e Perodi riuscirono tutti a dare un volto e un'anima al periodico per l'infanzia da loro stessi diretto, il quale – nonostante i mutamenti di direzione – mantenne sempre fermo il proposito di educare italianamente le giovani leve della borghesia italiana, alle quali principalmente si rivolgeva.

Appendice documentaria

Lettere conservate nei fondi *ad personam* della «sezione manoscritti» della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze²⁷

Lettere di Guido Biagi

Roma, lì 30 aprile 1882
Caro sign. Martini,

Le scrivo per confermare quanto a mio nome Giulio le ha detto, cioè la mia ferma risoluzione di vendere il mio 1/6 di proprietà del Giornale dei Bambini. Ieri vidi il De Renzis²⁸, ma la sua controproposta, riflettendoci, mi pare troppo leonina e non conducente al mio scopo, quello – come ho detto, di vendere –. Se il De Renzis vuole trattare con me queste sono le basi: Valore nominale £ 30,000 – effettivo £ 20,000, pagabili, queste, magari in 3 anni con una cambiale da rinnovarsi di trimestre in trimestre: Frutto del 5%. Sborso di £ 3000 all'atto del contratto. Spese a carico di lui. Se compra la signora Giacinta le offro patti migliori. Io desidero ovviamente che Ella abbia un compratore di sua fiducia, ma si adopri per trovarmelo presto, affinché io possa esser libero di trattare con altri, secondo le proposte che ho ricevuto, e che ho cercato e cerco di tener lontane, per quei giusti riguardi che debbo a lei.

La prego di preoccuparsi di questa condizione di cose, perché io di fronte a proposte poco serie per il mio vero interesse – che è vendere – come quelle dell'on. De Renzis, mi trovo costretto – se ella non si decide – a tener conto delle proposte che mi vengono fatte da altre persone. Spero che vorrà prendere subito qualche provvedimento e mi confermo di cuore suo affezionato

Guido Biagi²⁹

12 maggio 1882
Caro sign Martini,

stamani sono stato dal Salvadori per prendere la posta e per la cromolitografia. Avendo

²⁷ Le lettere qui di seguito riportate sono state trascritte dagli originali mantenendone inalterata la struttura, la forma, la punteggiatura e gli eventuali errori grammaticali e di sintassi. Le parti di testo non leggibili o omesse sono state indicate tramite la forma grafica [...].

²⁸ Si fa qui riferimento a Francesco De Renzis, uno dei fondatori del «Fanfulla» e stretto collaboratore di Martini.

²⁹ Lettera di Guido Biagi a Ferdinando Martini del 30 aprile 1882, in BNCF, Fondo «Ferdinando Martini», fasc. 4, b. 3.

pregato di passare dall'Oblieght, ci sono andato. La mia conversazione è stata semplicissima, quale si rileva dalla lettera qui acclusa³⁰

Pregiatissimo sig. Oblieght

Le confermo quanto verbalmente Le ho dichiarato stamani, cioè che io d'accordo con l'on. Martini direttore del Giornale per i Bambini, m'impegno, malgrado il mio trasferimento a Firenze, a continuare per qualche tempo la redazione del Giornale, e m'impegno altresì, qualora le occupazioni che verranno dal mio nuovo ufficio non consentano ch'io attenda con la dovuta alacrità alla redazione suddetta di darne tempestivo avviso alla S.V. e al sign. Martini affinché sia provveduto al mio successore, sulla cui nomina conto d'essere interpellato io pure per il diritto che mi spetta quale proprietario. Con ossequio mi confermo di lei

Devotissimo

Guido Biagi

Roma, 12 maggio 1882

Via Firenze n. 11³¹

Caro sign Martini,

ho visto il Bonani che mi ha ripetuto quanto Lei sa e dice che probabilmente nomineranno un arbitro conciliatore. Io ho risposto che vedremo la sentenza e che se è possibile accomodarsi io mi accomodo senza andare in appello. Quanto alla questione della direzione del Giornale, egli la esorta a tener duro e a esercitare i suoi diritti e a fare scrupolosamente il suo debito di direttore. [...]

Firenze, 24 luglio 1882³²

Onorevole sig. Avvocato

Perché mi dispiace che senza piena conoscenza di causa si possa per avventura giudicare della mia condotta, mi permetta di darle alcune spiegazioni che Le mostreranno come stiano veramente le cose. Dopo la mia partenza per Firenze che avvenne a metà di maggio, com'Ella sa, l'Oblieght impedì a me e al Martini di usare dei nostri diritti di Direttore e Redattore, affidando la tipografia di ricevere i manoscritti che noi presentavamo per fare il Giornale. – Inoltre si usurpò il diritto di aprire la posta del Giornale medesimo, e spedì ai collaboratori una circolare a stampa invitandoli a mandare l'originale all'indirizzo puro e semplice del Giornale per i Bambini cioè a lui. Con questi 3 atti egli esautorò pienamente il Martini e me dalle rispettive attribuzioni di Direttore e Redattore. In luogo nostro mise una persona di propria fiducia, la quale assunse la direzione del Giornale, scrivendo lettere a tutti i collaboratori per invitarli a mandarle articoli, e ad alcuni scrittori che avevano

³⁰ Lettera di Guido Biagi a Ferdinando Martini in data 12 maggio 1882, in BNCF, Fondo «Ferdinando Martini», fasc. 4, b. 4.

³¹ Lettera di Guido Biagi a Ernesto Oblieght in data 12 maggio 1882, in BNCF, Fondo «Ferdinando Martini», fasc. 4, b. 4.

³² Lettera di Guido Biagi a Ferdinando Martini senza data, anno 1882, in BNCF, Fondo «Ferdinando Martini», fasc. 4, b. 4.

precedenti impegni con Giornale, questa persona (la Sig.na Perodi) rispose che non era tenuta a rispettarli [E il fatto a cui alludo è successo alla Sig.ra Baccini].

Ella avrà compreso come dopo queste usurpazioni, il directorato del Martini e l'opera mia di redattore diventavano cose affatto illusorie; anzi più che illusorie ridicole. Perché allora l'Oblieght non cancellava il nome del Martini dalla testata del periodico, quando poi si serviva di quel nome soltanto per coprire le sgrammaticature stampate dai suoi accoliti? Negato così al Martini e a me il diritto di esercitare le nostre attribuzioni, diritto che consiste [...] nella facoltà di stampare articoli che si scelgono a comporre il numero, nel rifiutare quelli che non si credono opportuni, nel correggere tutti gli scritti; nell'ordinare e nel far pagare ai collaboratori nuovi articoli pagandoli, nell'accettare o rifiutare quelli che vengono spediti – in una parola di fare tutto quello di cui l'Oblieght incaricava la Perodi; l'Oblieght, aggiungendo anche lo scherno alla prepotenza, reclamava settimanalmente dal Martini i manoscritti per il numero del Giornale che doveva essere stampato, e lo chiamava responsabile dei danni se per avventura non mandava il manoscritto. [...] Ora, l'Oblieght chiedeva al Martini l'invio del 'manoscritto' per ciascun numero che doveva uscire in luce. Il Martini richiese a me i manoscritti che avevo, e io glieli mandai; avvertendolo che reputavo pericoloso ottemperare alla ingiunzione dell'Oblieght e ciò per ragioni che spiegherò a suo tempo. Quando venni a Roma, il Martini mi disse d'aver mandato il manoscritto per un numero o per due, e mi pregò di ripigliare il pacco che gli avevo mandato e di spedirgli da Firenze settimanalmente l'originale occorrente per fare un numero. Io accettai, ma gli dissi che, per non lasciarsi canzonare dall'Oblieght, egli, dopo mandato l'originale per un numero completo con le illustrazioni e i giuochi, se non lo stampavano tale e quale e gli richiedevano nuovo manoscritto, doveva rispondere che ne manderebbe quando l'originale inviato avesse visto la luce. E questa era savia risposta.

Si mandò un numero completo. Il Giornale non uscì con nessuno degli articoli da noi spediti. Per la settimana dopo, risposi che non era necessario mandar nulla perché quel che avevamo dato non aveva visto la luce. La terza settimana comparve uno degli articoli mandati. Io ne spedii tre che sostituivano quell'uno pubblicato. E all'Oblieght restavano in mano gli originali da noi mandati per un numero completo, e altri due articoli in più. [...] mandare il manoscritto all'Oblieght che si arroga il diritto di non pubblicarlo e di serbarlo per avere una scorta di originale, è cascare nel laccio da lui tesoci dandogli modo di arricchire il fondo di manoscritti del Giornale e di ridurci al punto di dovergli dire che non ne abbiamo più.

Per queste ragioni io, e mi pare con accortezza, ho sostenuto che il Martini doveva protestare di non voler dare manoscritto quando non glielo stampavano immediatamente, e quando pubblicavano sotto [...] nome suo manoscritti da lui non riveduti. (si figuri che nell'ultimo fascicolo del Giornale ci son dei versi dove, oltre agli sbagli di metrica, si vede rimare matita con fatica. Le pare che ci sia per il Martini decoro a lasciare che gli commettano queste oscenità?). [...] quel che ho fatto sin ora [...] non tendeva ad altro che a mettere il Martini nella possibilità di poter tirare in lungo di fronte alle richieste di manoscritti fatte dall'Oblieght, le quali [...] nascondono un agguato [...]

Firenze, 22 luglio 1882³³

³³ Lettera di Guido Biagi all'avvocato Bonani in data 22 luglio 1882, in BNCF, Fondo «Ferdinando Martini», fasc. 4, b. 4.

Agosto 1882,

Caro sig. Martini,

[...] ebbi ieri da Giulio la sentenza [...] è buona solo in quella parte in cui nega all'Oblieght il diritto di appropriarsi gl'introiti dell'82. [...] Quanto poi al dire che l'Oblieght per essere il maggior proprietario curasse l'interesse del Giornale, nego. [...] è falso pure che io sia partito il 30 aprile. Il numero del 18 maggio fu rivisto da me e composto da me. [...] Se per giuramento mi chiedono chi facesse il Giornale, dirò che me ne occupavo io essendo con lei d'accordo su tutto. [...] Il Giornale andava bene, lo dice l'Oblieght, nell'81, noi abbiamo fatto sempre lo stesso nell'82. [...] credo [...] che il tribunale di commercio seguirà con le sue vie col perito contabile e con l'arbitro e con la prova testimoniale. [...] Se il Bonani si appella io vorrei fornigli delle prove in contraddizione di quel che afferma l'Oblieght. E siccome per fortuna ho tutto il carteggio del Giornale, la verità si farà strada da sé³⁴.

Lettere di Ferdinando Martini

Cara Teresina mia,

[...] Le gambe son tornate bene e cammino, cammino, cammino, ma anche lavoro e mi tengo in corrispondenza continua col Biagi per quel benedetto Giornale dei bambini che non piace molto neppure a me³⁵.

Caro Biagi,

si tratta di ben altro che del Duprè! Si tratta di sapere [...] se il Giornale dei bambini è stato venduto al Fremy violando i patti del contratto che impongono di interrogarci e di darci la prelazione³⁶.

Lettere di Ernesto Emanuele Oblieght

On sig. Martini

il comune amico Signor Nencioni mi dice che possiamo ancora accomodare la faccenda del Fanf. della Domenica. Io non desidero meglio. Venite e ne discuteremo. Intanto tregua e mentre voi vi obbligate sulla vostra parola d'onore di non fare dichiarazioni ad altri [...] io mi obbligo a non proseguire le trattative per un nuovo direttore³⁷.

³⁴ Lettera di Guido Biagi a Ferdinando Martini in data agosto 1882, in BNCF, Fondo «Ferdinando Martini», fasc. 4, b. 4.

³⁵ Lettera di Ferdinando Martini a Teresa Martini in data 25 agosto 1881, in BNCF, Fondo «Carteggi Vari», fasc. 493, b. 51.

³⁶ Lettera di Ferdinando Martini a Guido Biagi senza data, in BNCF, Fondo «Guido Biagi», fasc. 4, b. 31.

³⁷ Lettera di Ernesto Oblieght a Ferdinando Martini in data 26 gennaio 1882, in BNCF, Fondo «Ferdinando Martini», fasc. 20, b. 5.

Signor Cav. Carlo Lorenzini,

L'Amm. Del Giornale per i Bambini mi trasmette la vostra lettera 26 corrente che mi reca non poca sorpresa avendovi in tempo opportuno avvertito che col primo dell'anno corrente non avrei più messo il vostro nome in testa al Giornale per i Bambini: infatti fino dal 1° numero di quest'anno il vostro nome non vi figura più ed il vostro silenzio valse ad avvalorare la nostra convinzione che tutto era in regola con voi avendovi con nostra 11 Gennaio rimesso il saldo del 1885. Ad ogni modo non avreste dovuto aspettare fino al 47° numero a reclamare ciò che voi chiamate vostro diritto. Ritengo che in seguito alle spiegazioni qui sopra non avrete nulla a ridire e colgo l'occasione per riverirvi con distinta stima.

E.E. Oblieght³⁸

Lettere di Carlo Lorenzini (in arte Collodi)

Sig. Comm. Oblieght,

ricevei la vostra lettera del 4 corrente, nella quale, al solito, mi parlate di una lettera di scioglimento di contratto – lettera che io non ho ricevuto mai – lettera che, sebbene interessasse voi e me, non ho ancora potuto sapere perché fu spedita senz'essere raccomandata e senza mai domandarmene un cenno di riscontro o ricevimento come prescrive l'uso. Eccovi la ragione, per cui io mi sono creduto e mi credo anche oggi, a rigor di contratto, vostro creditore di £ 1200: tanto è vero che, a scanso di [...] spese giudiziali, ho preferito di prendermene appunto per potervelo rammentare. Vi saluto

Carlo Lorenzini³⁹

Signor Comm. Oblieght,

a quanto mi dite, la mia lettera del 26 scorso novembre vi ha cagionato non poca sorpresa e la capisco benissimo. Sentendovi chiedere da me Direttore del Giornale per i Bambini, £ 600 a saldo del 1° semestre scaduto 1866⁴⁰, avrete detto naturalmente e voi medesimo – «Com'è possibile che un perfetto galantuomo, qual è Carlo Lorenzini si sia fatto lecito di chiedermi il saldo di un onorario che gli è più dovuto?» – O, in altri termini anche più vivaci – «Com'è possibile che un uomo che passa generalmente per avere un po' di spirito, qual' è il Collodi, sia diventato a un tratto così cretino, che volendo per burla scroccare a qualcuno una sommarella, abbia preso di mira per l'appunto me, che sono ormai notissimo per la mia singolare accortezza nella pratica degli affari?». Torno a ripeterlo: io intendo benissimo la vostra sorpresa, e non solamente la intendo, ma per giunta la compatisco, seguendo i dettami del mio cuore, eccellente.

³⁸ Lettera di Ernesto Oblieght a Carlo Lorenzini (in arte Collodi) in data 30 novembre 1886, in BNCF, Fondo «N.A. 754», fasc. III, b. 47.

³⁹ Minuta di lettera di Carlo Lorenzini (in arte Collodi) a Ernesto Oblieght in data 8 dicembre 1886, in BNCF, Fondo «N.A. 754», fasc. III, b. 38. In un'altra minuta, incompleta, Collodi specifica «una lettera di scioglimento di contratto, speditami da voi l'11 di dicembre, anno passato» (Minuta di lettera di Carlo Lorenzini (in arte Collodi) a Ernesto Oblieght senza data, in BNCF, Fondo «N.A. 754», fasc. III, b. 38).

⁴⁰ Si tratta di un errore del Collodi, in realtà l'anno è il 1886.

D'altra parte, voi affermate di avermi avvertito che con il 1° dell'anno non avreste più messo il mio nome in testa al Giornale per i Bambini, e che infatti fin dal 1° numero di quest'anno il mio nome non vi figura più...

Intendiamoci subito: voi affermate di avermi avvertito di questa cosa, e sarà vero: io però dichiaro che non ho mai ricevuto un simile avvertimento e sapete che la mia parola di cavaliere in questo caso vale quanto la vostra di Commendatore. Nell'ordine gerarchico Cavalleritico questa vi parrà un'ingiustizia: ma ormai è così e ci vuol pazienza.

Eppo domando io: per disdire un contratto, come quello esistente fra noi, che bisogno c'era di farmi avvertire che il mio nome non figurava più in testa al Giornale?

Il mio nome, invece di figurare in testa al giornale, lo avete fatto figurare nei grandi avvisi di quarta pagina in capo alla lunga nota dei redattori: e ciò che cosa significa? Nulla. E quand'anche il mio nome fosse rimasto soppresso affatto, avrebbe forse questa cosa significato per me rescissione di contratto? Nenchè per sogno! Quando mai per essere Direttori di un Giornale c'è stato bisogno di vedere il proprio nome stampato sulla testata? Me ne appello a voi, che di giornali ve ne intendete quanto me, e anche più di me.

Un'altra curiosità. Eccome si spiega che nei primi dell'anno corrente, quando volevate, secondo voi, farmi avvertire che il mio nome non figurava più nel solito posto il Fanfulla pubblicava nello stesso tempo in prima colonna le condizioni dell'abbonamento pel nuovo anno del Giornale per i Bambini, diretto da C. Collodi? Insomma, non aggiungo una parola di più a tutto quello che potrei dire e che dirò, occorrendo: e forte della mia lealtà e del mio diritto, mi limito a significarvi che vi sarà presentata una tratta a cifra di lire seicento (600), nella speranza che questa piccola pendenza esistente fra noi, possa essere tolta di mezzo amichevolmente e senza bisogno di tornarvi sopra.

Vi saluto distintamente
Devotissimo
Carlo Lorenzini⁴¹

Signor Commend. Oblieght,

sento che la mia lettera del 26 scorso novembre vi recò non poca sorpresa: e questa vostra sorpresa la capisco benissimo. Voi forse vi figuravate una cosa, e invece ne avete vista accadere un'altra. Difatti nella vostra risposta in data 30 novembre ultimo voi affermate «di avermi avvertito in tempo opportuno che il primo dell'anno non avreste più messo il mio nome in testa al Giornale per i Bambini...». E poi aggiungete – «infatti fino dal primo numero di quest'anno il vostro nome non vi figura più, e il vostro silenzio valse ad avvalorare la mia convinzione, che tutto era regolare tra noi».

A buon conto, intendiamoci subito. Voi affermate di avermi dato questo avvertimento, e sarà vero: ma è pur vero, verissimo, che questo avvertimento io non l'ho ricevuto mai: e la mia parola vale la vostra. Ora poi vi domando: per disdire un contratto come quello stabilito regolarmente fra voi e a iniziativa tutta vostra, che bisogno c'era di farmi avvertito che il mio nome non avrebbe più figurato in testa al Giornale? E chi ha fatto mai questione che il mio nome dovesse figurare in testa, o in fondo o fuori dal Giornale per i Bambini? E quando mai per essere direttore d'un giornale c'è stato bisogno di vedere il proprio nome stampato sulla

⁴¹ Minuta di lettera di Carlo Lorenzini (in arte Collodi) a Ernesto Oblieght in data 2 dicembre 1886, in BNCF, Fondo «N.A. 754», fasc. III, b. 38.

testata? Io me ne appello a voi, che giornali ve ne intendete quanto me, e anche più di me. E perché, invece di pretesi avvertimenti, non mandarmi addirittura in tempo opportuno una dichiarazione di scioglimento di contratto, esplicita e netta, come quella che vi ho mandata io coll'ultima mia lettera?

E perché invece di tirare a indovinare un silenzio, che non dice nulla, e anche a scampo di malintesi, e di disguidi postali, non chiedermi e [...] non esigere da me, com'era nel vostro diritto, un cenno di ricevuta della rescissione del contratto? Tocca forse a me a insegnare al Commendatore Oblieght il modo di sciogliere i contratti?

E perché, a maggior vostra guarentigia, non pubblicare sul Giornale stesso (come si usa sempre, non foss'altro per delicatezza) due righe per far sapere che il Collodi non ne era più il Direttore?

E se il mio nome stampato in testata fu creduto opportuno per ragioni economiche sopprimerlo, perché avete continuato a farlo figurare tutto l'anno nei grandi avvisi di quarta pagina dei vostri giornali, mettendolo il primo sulla lunga [lista] di nomi degli altri redattori [*molti dei quali per ingegno, per doti e per forma valeranno cento, mille volte più di me? Volevate per caso che io mi rifiutassi di questo grande onore [...]?]. E come si spiega che mentre mi davate l'avvertimento che il mio nome non avrebbe più figurato in testa al Giornale, io vostro Fanfulla pubblicava nella prima colonna della prima pagina le condizioni di abbonamento al Giornale per i Bambini diretto da C. Collodi? Quindi ora, finiamola. Io non aggiungerò altro a quello che potrei dire, e che dirò, accomando. Forte della mia nota onestà e delle mie buone ragioni, mi limito a farvi sapere che domani vi sarà presentata una mia tratta a vista di £ 600, a fronte del 1° semestre del cadente anno e serbo ancora speranza che vogliate togliere di mezzo questa piccola pendenza all'amichevole e senza bisogno di tornarvi sopra.

In tanto vi saluto distintamente
Vostro devotissimo
Carlo Lorenzini⁴²

⁴² Minuta di lettera di Carlo Lorenzini (in arte Collodi) a Ernesto Oblieght in data 3 dicembre 1886, in BNCF, Fondo «N.A. 754», fasc. III, b. 38.

*Critical Reviews
and Bibliography*



Rassegne critiche,
Discussioni e Bibliografia

Critical Reviews / Rassegne critiche

Between memory and research. The Italian university archives in some recent publications

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ABSTRACT: This paper aims to clarify the current situation of Italian university archives through the presentation of the most significant conferences held on the topic and the analysis of volumes and articles published in Italy in the last two decades. The author also aims to focus its attention on the programs of study, cataloguing and research carried out thanks to the fruitful synergy of scholars and institutions, in order to analyze and improve the situation of the archives of Italian universities from different points of view.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: University; Archives; Historical Research; Italy; XIX-XX Centuries.

Leopoldo Sandri, one of the fathers of Italian archival doctrine¹, used to start his own lessons of Archival Science with the following statement: «The archive is what remains from a great shipwreck». This was a sentence that, as effectively remembered by Gigliola Fioravanti, immediately introduced the

¹ Leopoldo Sandri (28 August 1907-20 November 1984) is considered one of the most important representatives of Italian archival doctrine, thanks to his long career in the administration of archives, started in 1934 in Trieste. In the fifties he was superintendent for the Archives of Lazio, Umbria and Marche. Director of the State Archive of Trent (1949-1951), he worked mostly in the State Archive of Rome, of which he became director in 1956 and where he was also a teacher of the annexed School of Palaeography, Diplomatic and Archival Sciences. In 1959, he reached the most prestigious degree in archival administration: the Superintendence of the Central Archives of the State. Sandri was also chairman of the Special School for Archivists and Librarians at the University of Rome, as well as honorary president of the ISAO (Historical and Artistic Institute of Orvieto). On him, see: M. Del Piazzo, *Ricordo di Leopoldo Sandri*, «Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria», n. 71, 1984, pp. 203-207; *Studi in memoria di Leopoldo Sandri*, Roma, Gangemi, 2001.

students of the Special School for Archivists and Librarians of the University of Rome «La Sapienza» into an «absolutely dramatic context but, at the same time, of immediate significance in relation to the urgency of the problem and the unavoidability of a solution»². Sandri's words indicated the destiny of the papers produced in the past and left, too often, to their fate. Luck and chance, therefore, became the cause of their destruction or dispersion or, in the most favourable cases, of their survival, which allowed scholars to have still the opportunity to consult them and save them. These were the «ingredients of a little bit rhapsodic chain that had handed down the precious testimonies of the medieval period, of the modern one and the contemporary documentation»³.

Such documentation is characterized by a dual and contradictory element. On the one hand, it is possible to find well-ordered archives, sometimes chaotic in their abundance, so as to suggest a sort of necessary reduction in order to facilitate the consultation; on the other, you can also find lacking collections, not organic and therefore with whole decades missing, with dispersions, often related to neglect or unconscious reject. This same problem affects each kind of archive, from that of the small provincial town to the richest university archives up to the rich funds kept in the Central State Archive.

From the last decade of the twentieth century, the scientific literature on the history of the universities has focused its attention to the theme of the university archives. A great impetus to the investigation and the renewal of the studies on this topic is certainly given by the establishment of specific research groups and specialized centers dedicated to the study of the sources and the in-depth analysis of the history of the universities and of the higher education system in Italy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries⁴. In this same period, in several

² See G. Fioravanti, *Dall'archivio come «ciò che resta da un naufragio» all'archivio come bene culturale*, in G. Penzo Doria (ed.), *Cartesio. Atti della 4ª conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (Padova, 24 e 25 ottobre 2002) e della 5ª conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (Padova, 8 e 9 giugno 2006)*, Padova, Cleup, 2006, pp. 123-132 (the quotation is on page 123).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ We refer, in particular, to the Inter-University Centre for the Studies of the history of the universities, *Unistoria*, established in December 1991 and directed by prof. Aldo Mazzacane and whose promoters – i.e. the University of Naples Federico II, the University of Siena and the Italian-German Historical Institute in Trento – have given rise to a wide and varied program of research on the history of universities, then resulted in a series of important conferences and seminars as well as scientific publications, among which we remember A. Mazzacane, C. Vano (edd.), *Università e professioni giuridiche in Europa nell'età liberale*, Napoli, Jovene, 1994; I. Porciani (ed.), *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, *ibid.*, 1994; R. Varriale, *La Facoltà di Giurisprudenza nella Regia Università di Napoli. Un archivio ritrovato (1881-1923)*, *ibid.*, 2000; I. Porciani (ed.), *Università e scienza nazionale*, *ibid.*, 2001. In 1996, however, the Inter-University Centre for the History of Italian universities (CISUI) was established in Bologna as the peak of the first phase of reorganization and revitalization of the studies on the history of the universities and higher education, thanks to the work of a group of scholars from the universities of Bologna, Padua, Messina, Sassari and Turin. Its purpose was to increase the research activities in the field of university history. Since its foundation, the CISUI has presented

Italian universities, specific documentary and research centers on the history of the university were established, often originated from the need to coordinate and implement specific projects of reorganization of local historical archives, further animating the historiographical reflection. Finally, in the universities of secular tradition that already possess such structures, there was a marked recovery of the research activity, with a significant development of the investigation on contemporary age and on the importance of university archives for the detailed and precise reconstruction of the history of each university⁵.

In the wake of these important initiatives, designed to support the revitalization of the studies in the field, the conference *La storia delle Università italiane. Archivi, fonti, indirizzi di ricerca*, held in Padua from the 27th to 29th of October 1994, intended to examine the situation of archival collections and available documentary sources, as well as to establish a first debate between the experts, on the state of research in Italy and on the new addresses of international historiography⁶. The meeting was organized by the Centre for the History of the University of Padua in order to study the history of the universities from three points of view: the archives, the edition of the sources, the historiography. The first part of the meeting in Padua had, then, as an object of interest the university archives. The well-known archivist Elio Lodolini drew a clear, detailed overview of the situation of the time in the work *La memoria delle «Sapienze». Normativa e organizzazione degli archivi universitari*⁷, in which he illustrated

itself as a structure of coordination between different institutes and research centers dealing with the university history in various Italian universities, becoming in a few years a fundamental point of reference for the sector research in Italy and in Europe and gathering scholars and researchers from 24 Italian universities. Currently the CISUI, whose secretary is prof. Gian Paolo Brizzi, regularly organizes international conferences and seminars on the history of the universities and revise the edition of many valuable and prestigious scientific publications. For the updated list of these volumes please refer to the website of CISUI (<www.cisui.unibo.it>, last access: October 8th, 2013). For an in-depth analysis on this topic, but also, more generally, on the renewal of the studies on the history of Italian universities occurred over the twentieth and twenty-first century, see the recent review of studies: L. Pomante, *The researches on the history of University and higher education in Italy. A critical appraisal of the last twenty years*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 5, n. 2, 2010, pp. 387-417.

⁵ It's important to recommend here, among the oldest and most prestigious, the Center for the History of the University of Bologna (1906) and that for the history of the University of Padua (1922), as well as the more recent documentary and research centers (variously named) established in the university of Ferrara, Genoa, Macerata, Messina, Modena, Parma, Pavia, Perugia, Pisa, Rome, Sassari and Turin. See G.P. Brizzi, *Premessa*, in Id. (ed.), *Repertorio nazionale degli storici dell'Università*, Sassari, Chiarella, 1994, pp. 3-4. See also G. Fois, *La ricerca storica sull'Università italiana in età contemporanea. Rassegna degli studi*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», n. 3, 1999, pp. 241-257.

⁶ The contents of this conference were the subject of the following publication: L. Sitran Rea (ed.), *La storia delle Università italiane. Archivi, fonti, indirizzi di ricerca. Atti del Convegno, Padova 27-29 ottobre 1994*, Trieste, Lint, 1996. On the contents of the conference see the careful report of E. Veronese Ceseracciu, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», n. 2, 1998, pp. 258-259.

⁷ See E. Lodolini, *La memoria delle «Sapienze». Normativa e organizzazione degli archivi universitari*, in Sitran Rea (ed.), *La storia delle Università italiane. Archivi, fonti, indirizzi di*

the legislation on the archives of public and private universities, examining, after a careful survey, carried out with the help of archival Superintendents, the situation of thirty-six archives of Italian universities, providing more or less accurate news on the historical events of the single universities as well as a summary of the possessed material.

Georgetta Bonfiglio Dosio's contribution, in the same conference in Padua, *Un'inchiesta sugli archivi delle università italiane*⁸ presented a different approach, but equally important for the future studies. It effectively summed up the results of the first project having as purpose the identification and analysis of the administrative documentation of Italian universities. The initiative was promoted by The Center for the history of the University of Padua that developed a questionnaire based on the models that the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities made available to the archival Superintendents for the implementation of their institutional work. The questionnaire, sent to sixty-two Italian universities, involved the compilation of three tables: the first relating to general information about the University, the second relating to the general archive, the third, more specific, aimed at obtaining technical information about the archive.

Only twenty-six universities⁹ answered the questionnaire. The non-participation and the visibly hurried compilation of the questionnaires revealed the lack of interest for the archival heritage of universities. In addition, according to Bonfiglio Dosio, the analysis of the results showed a situation in which the strong decentralization of the bureaucratic system was the cause of the decentralization in the production and preservation of administrative documents, which inevitably led to a dangerous proliferation of different centers of conservation of the documents within the same structure, with their consequent possible dispersion.

Given the importance of these two just mentioned contributions but also of all the other presented (and then faithfully reported in following proceedings)¹⁰,

ricerca. Atti del Convegno, Padova 27-29 ottobre 1994, cit., pp. 3-55.

⁸ See G. Bonfiglio Dosio, *Un'inchiesta sugli archivi delle università italiane, ibid.*, pp. 57-86.

⁹ The Polytechnics of Bari, Milan and Turin, the University Institute Orientale of Naples, the IULM and the universities of Bologna, Cagliari Camerino, Catania, Ferrara, Genoa, L'Aquila, Lecce, Macerata, Messina, Modena, Naples (Second University), Padova, Parma, Pavia, Perugia, Pisa, Sassari, Siena, Urbino and Viterbo (University of Tuscia) answered the questionnaires.

¹⁰ As already mentioned the theme of the university archives was the subject only of the first of the four parts of the book edited by Luciana Sitran Rea. In addition to the already mentioned Lodolini's and Bonfiglio Dosio's contributions, for further studies on the theme of this article see the other five works of the miscellaneous text: M. Bortolotti, *Gli archivi storici delle università italiane*, in Sitran Rea (ed.), *La storia delle Università italiane. Archivi, fonti, indirizzi di ricerca. Atti del Convegno, Padova 27-29 ottobre 1994, cit.*, pp. 87-92; C. Salmini, *La gestione informatica degli archivi storici, ibid.*, pp. 93-101; G. Catoni, *L'inventario dell'archivio storico dell'Università di Siena, ibid.*, pp. 103-107; G. Adorni, *L'Università di Roma e i suoi archivi, ibid.*, pp. 109-131; G. Fioravanti, A.M. Sorge, *Le fonti dell'Archivio centrale dello Stato per la storia dell'istruzione superiore, ibid.*, pp. 133-157.

this conference can be undoubtedly considered the starting point of a new phase of studies in this area. Since then, in fact, the bibliography has recorded a significant increase in the contributions on this subject, often the result of a teamwork and an essential interdisciplinary collaboration. In addition to the contributions on single historical archives, some of which are particularly significant and produced before the meeting in Padua¹¹, it is appropriate to mention at least other four collective works of great value. We refer to the proceedings of the conference held in Pavia on 28th and 29th of November 2000 entitled *Gli archivi storici delle Università italiane e il caso pavese*, published in «Annali di storia pavese» of 2001, edited by Simona Negruzzo and Fabio Zucca¹²; to the *1° Rapporto sugli archivi delle università italiane* edited by the Group of Coordination of the National project «Studium 2000», published by Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali, Direzione generale per gli archivi, in 2002¹³; to *Studium 2000. Atti della 3^a conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (5-6 aprile 2001)*, edited by Gianni Penzo Doria, published in 2002¹⁴; and finally to *Cartesio. Atti della 4^a Conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (Padova, 24 e 25 ottobre 2002) e della 5^a conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (Padova, 8 e 9 giugno 2006)*, a volume edited in 2006 by Gianni Penzo Doria¹⁵.

All this miscellaneous works, very often the result of the interest emerged during important conferences, are aimed at common objectives: the protection and enhancement of the documents preserved in the archives of the universities; the rational and uniform management of the developing university archives, the will to outline a comparative view that permits to analyze the situation of the archive of a single university in relation to that of other Italian universities. For example, precisely corresponding to the latter purpose, in the already

¹¹ Remember, in particular, G. Adorni, *L'archivio dell'Università di Roma*, in *Roma e lo Studium Urbis. Spazio urbano e cultura dal Quattro al Seicento. Atti del convegno, Roma 7-10 giugno 1989*, Roma, Ministero per i Beni culturali e Ambientali, 1992 (Pubblicazione degli Archivi di Stato. Saggi, 22); Università degli Studi di Siena, *L'Archivio dell'Università di Siena*, Siena, La Nuova Italia, 1990.

¹² See S. Negruzzo, F. Zucca (ed.), *Gli archivi storici delle Università italiane e il caso pavese. Atti del convegno nazionale (Pavia, 28-29 novembre 2000)*, «Annali di storia pavese», n. 29, 2001. For a synthetic overview of the contents of this publication, see A. Turchini, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», n. 6, 2002, pp. 264-265.

¹³ See Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali, *1° Rapporto sugli archivi delle università italiane*, ed. by the Group for the Coordination of the National project «Studium 2000», Padova, Cleup, 2002.

¹⁴ See G. Penzo Doria (ed.), *Studium 2000. Atti della 3^a conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (5-6 aprile 2001)*, Padova, Cleup, 2002. For a synthetic overview of the contents of this publication see E. Angiolini, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», n. 8, 2004, pp. 401-403.

¹⁵ See Penzo Doria (ed.), *Cartesio. Atti della 4^a Conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (Padova, 24 e 25 ottobre 2002) e della 5^a conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (Padova, 8 e 9 giugno 2006)*, cit.

mentioned Simona Negruzzo and Fabio Zucca's volume *Gli archivi storici delle Università italiane e il caso pavese*, we can find not only a considerable number of contributions about the archive in Pavia¹⁶ but also valuable works on the archive of the University of Bologna (Gian Paolo Brizzi, Daniela Negrini), Padua (one by Piero Del Negro, the other by Gianni Penzo Doria), Turin (an essay by Donatella Balani, one by Rita Binaghi), Parma (Roberto Greci), Ferrara (Louis Pepe) and Rome and Perugia (Carla Frova)¹⁷.

The fascinating challenge, therefore, of succeeding both in taking a census of the possessed material and in indicating the most appropriate ways for its use for the purposes of scientific research and teaching, seemed to be taken on by many scholars. This growing interest in the university archives is confirmed by the fact that, during the last two decades, the archive has become the real subject of research and no longer a simple tool of it, including in historiographical areas less specialized in the archival issues. Just think that the three major Italian magazines on the history of the universities, the oldest «Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova» and «Fonti e studi per la storia dell'Università di Pavia» and the latest «Annali di storia delle università italiane», the latter edited by CISUI¹⁸, reserve systematically, in each number, a particular attention to the archive through a series of works carried out by archivists, historians and librarians who have recently thrown light on a documentary heritage preserved in the archives of the Italian universities and considered in the past missing and no longer available.

¹⁶ We remember, among the various contributions: E. Signori, *L'Archivio storico universitario e la storia delle comunità accademiche. Orientamenti di ricerca per l'età contemporanea*, in Negruzzo, Zucca (ed.), *Gli archivi storici delle Università italiane e il caso pavese. Atti del convegno nazionale (Pavia, 28-29 novembre 2000)*, cit., pp. 69-73; S. Negruzzo, *L'Archivio storico dell'Università di Pavia depositato presso l'Archivio di Stato di Pavia*, *ibid.*, pp. 75-81; E. Barbieri, *L'Archivio dell'Università presso il palazzo San Tommaso*, *ibid.*, pp. 83-85.

¹⁷ See G.P. Brizzi, D. Negrini, *L'Archivio storico dell'Università di Bologna*, in Negruzzo, Zucca (ed.), *Gli archivi storici delle Università italiane e il caso pavese. Atti del convegno nazionale (Pavia, 28-29 novembre 2000)*, cit., pp. 17-21; P. Del Negro, *L'Archivio storico dell'Università di Padova*, *ibid.*, pp. 23-28; G. Penzo Doria, *L'Archivio Generale di Ateneo: una realtà dell'Università degli Studi di Padova*, *ibid.*, pp. 49-68; D. Balani, *L'Archivio storico dell'Università di Torino*, *ibid.*, pp. 29-32; R. Binaghi, *I mandati di pagamento conservati nell'Archivio storico dell'Università di Torino*, *ibid.*, pp. 33-35; R. Greci, *L'Archivio dell'Università di Parma*, *ibid.*, pp. 37-40; L. Pepe, *L'Università di Ferrara e i suoi archivi*, *ibid.*, pp. 41-42; C. Frova, *Archivi universitari di Roma e Perugia*, *ibid.*, pp. 43-47.

¹⁸ Since 1997, within the CISUI, the scientific journal «Annali di storia delle università italiane» began being published annually. It aimed not only to stimulate research on university history, but also to maintain firmly both the links between the present and the past (hence the section *Il punto*, which deals in a strictly scientific way with a topical academic issue), and the complex relationship between the history of the individual *studia* and that of the whole network. Hence the decision to dedicate the monographic part of the section *Saggi* to the history of a single Italian university. Since the number 6th of 2002, an organic current and retrospective bibliography on the history of Italian universities has been published, which shows, among other things, all the contributions published in Italy from 1997 to the present.

For example, in the sixteen volumes of the «Annali di storia delle università italiane» published until now, we can recommend, just to mention some of them, Marilena Scali, Alessandro Leoncini, Nicola Semboloni's contribution, *L'Archivio dell'Università di Siena*; Paola Novaria's one, *L'Archivio generale dell'Università di Torino: progetti in corso*; Pio Cartechini's one, *L'Archivio dell'Università di Macerata dalla Restaurazione all'Unità (1816-1860)*; and Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni's one, *Gli archivi dell'Università degli studi di Perugia*¹⁹.

In recent years, moreover, thanks to the autonomy granted by the Ministry of the University and Scientific Research to the academic bodies, it was possible to reconsider the main problems that affected the Italian archival system, through several «study, cataloging and research projects», carried out thanks to the fruitful synergy of scholars and institutions, in order to analyze and enhance the value of the archives of the Italian universities from different points of view.

In this sense, it is worth mentioning the first project «Titulus 1997», promoted by the University of Padua, one of the most active on that research field²⁰, with the aim to propose common rules for the management of the archives to the Italian universities in the full respect of their autonomy²¹. This project, whose purpose is the sharing of the filing plans for the classification of the documents in the universities, one for the central administration and one for the centres, the faculties and the departments, is aimed mainly at the management of the archives and of related problems such as the legal evidentiary and administrative function of the protocol register, the adoption of the filing plan of classification and of the index of filing plan, of the catalogue of the files and the maxims of selection. «Titulus 1997», has gained the support of many Italian universities and offers important solutions to the needs arising from the university reforms

¹⁹ See M. Scali, A. Leoncini, N. Semboloni, *L'Archivio dell'Università di Siena*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», n. 3, 1999, pp. 231-233; P. Novaria, *L'Archivio generale dell'Università di Torino: progetti in corso*, *ibid.*, 10, 2006, pp. 395-399; P. Cartechini, *L'Archivio dell'Università di Macerata dalla Restaurazione all'Unità (1816-1860)*, *ibid.*, n. 13, 2009, pp. 113-124; M.A. Panzanelli Fratoni, *Gli archivi dell'Università degli studi di Perugia*, *ibid.*, n. 16, 2012, pp. 321-337.

²⁰ The University of Padua in 1994 was among the first in Italy to facilitate the establishment of a Commission of archives, in which there were teachers and employees of the university. In 1995, they entrusted to Gianni Penzo Doria, the winner of a competitive exam, the realization of a project which resulted, the following year, in the establishment of a general Archive of the University under the direction of Penzo himself.

²¹ On «Titulus 1997» see F. Cavazzana Romanelli, M. Martignon, R. Pegoraro, *Alla scuola di Titulus. Ipotesi e problemi per un titolare degli archivi parrocchiali della diocesi di Venezia*, in Penzo Doria (ed.), *Cartesio. Atti della 4ª Conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (Padova, 24 e 25 ottobre 2002) e della 5ª conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (Padova, 8 e 9 giugno 2006)*, cit., pp. 115-119; A. Mirandola, G. Penzo Doria, *Titulus 97: un progetto per la gestione, tutela e valorizzazione dei documenti nelle università italiane*, «Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti», vol. 109, n. 2, 1996-1997, pp. 135-147; G. Penzo Doria, *Tre progetti per gli archivi universitari: Titulus 97, Thesis 99 and Studium 2000*, in *Le carte sicure. Gli archivi delle assicurazioni nella realtà nazionale e locale: le fonti, la ricerca, la gestione e le nuove tecnologie*, Trieste, ANAI, 2001, pp. 343-351.

implemented by the Ministerial Decree 509 of 1999 and the Ministerial Decree 270 of 2004²², which had important consequences on the organization of documents.

The absence of common rules, for what concerns the management of the thesis, then brought to the creation of the project «Thesis 99»²³. Once again, this strategic agreement between the universities, coordinated by the University of Padua, and especially by Gianni Penzo Doria, aimed, on the one hand, to create a system for the management and protection of the thesis and, on the other, to promote the necessary legal adjustments²⁴. Due to the legislative vacuum, in fact, the Law has over the years considered the thesis in a very irregular way, sometimes giving them the dignity of a literary work, sometimes considering them a public act, even if of high scientific value, but not subjected to copyright protection. Another complex issue is connected to the conservation of these documents, since the thesis presents itself both as an administrative and a scientific document: hence the need for an harmonization between archive and library. In other words, from an archival point of view the thesis is a simple document, but, at the same time, from a librarian point of view, it has a great scientific value and acquires the dignity of «gray literature» and should therefore be subjected to a bibliographic description. Surely, at the basis of the project «Thesis 99» there is the desire to promote and spread such works and to define the international standards for the presentation and storage on computer supports and, therefore, to ensure the long-term preservation in digital format. The first results of this initiative were announced during the 2nd organizational Conference of the archives of the Italian universities, held on 11th and 12th of November 1999, during which the *Carta dei diritti della tesi di laurea*²⁵ was presented.

Other projects, however, belong to the first decade of the new millennium: they are less ambitious than those above mentioned, but are worthy of consideration and they all have the University of Padua as the leading body. Along with «Titulus Caronte», for the implementation of a software for the

²² Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca scientifica e tecnologica, Decree November 3rd, 1999, n. 509, *Regolamento recante norme concernenti l'autonomia didattica degli atenei* (in OJ 4.01.2000, n. 2); Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca, Decree October 22nd, 2004, n. 270, *Modifiche al regolamento recante norme concernenti l'autonomia didattica degli atenei, approvato con decreto del Ministro dell'università e della ricerca scientifica e tecnologica 3 novembre 1999, n. 509* (in OJ 12.11.2004, n. 266).

²³ See on this problem G. Penzo Doria, *Primi appunti per la gestione, tenuta e tutela delle tesi di laurea*, «Archivi & computer: automazione e beni culturali», vol. 8, n. 1, January-June 1998, pp. 9-24.

²⁴ On «Thesis 99» see the above mentioned Penzo Doria, *Tre progetti per gli archivi universitari: Titulus 97, Thesis 99 e Studium 2000*, cit. but also F. Venuda, *Thesis 99: un accordo strategico tra gli atenei*, in Penzo Doria (ed.), *Studium 2000. Atti della 3^a conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (5-6 aprile 2001)*, cit., pp. 87-98.

²⁵ See in particular G. Penzo Doria (ed.), *Thesis 99. Atti della 2^a Conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (11-12 November 1999)*, Padova, Cleup, 2001.

management of the storage archive, concrete results have been achieved thanks to programs such as: «Ad personam», a project for the management and protection of personal dossier (staff and students), «Atlantis», a project for the drafting of a diplomatic atlas of the Italian universities, «I calzini del principe Carlo», an idea developed in the context of the third review of the filing plan for the archives of the Italian universities participating to the standard «Titulus 97»; «Aurora», acronym for «Amministrazioni Unite per la Redazione degli Oggetti e la Registrazione delle Anagrafiche» (United Administrations for the Drafting of the Objects and the Registration of Personal Data) which aims to lay down some drafting and descriptive rules in order to normalize the recordings of the object in the Protocol; «eXtra», (XML emission between university recordings) presented in 2000, following the implementation of the Decree 428 of 1998 about the computer protocol, then repealed and merged into the *Testo unico sulla documentazione amministrativa* issued by the Decree 445 of 2000; and the more recent «Rete degli archivi storici delle università italiane» (Network of the historical archives of the Italian universities), whose main objective is the creation of guidelines about the management of the university historical archives in order to implement a coordinated and cohesive system for the archives belonging to this Network²⁶.

Equally significant, as Carla Frova²⁷ pointed out and as we have already underlined in this work, is that in the most recent contributions on the history of the universities the theme of the historical archive has obtained its own space. Just think, just to mention some of them, to the already mentioned studies carried out by Piero Del Negro on the historical Archive of the University of Padua, by Gian Paolo Brizzi and Daniela Negrini on that of the University of Bologna and by Pio Cartechini on the University of Macerata.

In this regard, before analyzing the difficult and extremely varied current situation of the historical archives of the Italian universities, we have to talk about the strategic project that can be rightly considered the more wide-ranging project in recent years. Its own purpose is the identification and the recovery of the archives of great cultural value, managed independently by each university on the basis of art. 30 of *Codice dei beni culturali e del paesaggio* del 2004²⁸. We

²⁶ For further information on these projects promoted by the University of Padua and on other initiatives developed in recent years on the issue of the reorganization and enhancement of university archives please see the website of the University of Padua (<<http://www.unipd.it/archive>>, last access: October 8th, 2013) and also the interesting article by G. Penzo Doria, *Gli archivi delle università italiane*, «Atlanti», n. 19, 2009, pp. 221-231.

²⁷ See C. Frova, *Università, storia e archivi*, in Penzo Doria (ed.), *Cartesio. Atti della 4^a Conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (Padova, 24 e 25 ottobre 2002) e della 5^a conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (Padova, 8 e 9 giugno 2006)*, cit., pp. 133-142.

²⁸ Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali, L.D. 22nd of January 2004, n. 42, *Codice dei beni culturali e del paesaggio* (in OJ 24.02.2004, n. 45). For a comment on this *Codice*, which substituted the *Testo unico dei beni culturali e ambientali del 1999*, see R. Tamiozzo (ed.), *Il codice dei beni*

refer to «Studium 2000», whose driving force was, once again, the University of Padua, but that was promoted and supported, since 1999, by the Directorate General for the Archives, Service III, of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities. The project, whose coordination group was composed of eight members²⁹, was aimed at the census, the reorganization and the computerized inventory of the historical archives of the universities involved in the project and it was concluded with the publication of the aforementioned *1° Rapporto sugli archivi delle università italiane*³⁰.

As Maria Grazia Pastura, Director of the Service III of the Directorate General of the Archives, affirmed in the Introduction of the *1° Rapporto*, projects such as «Studium 2000» arising from the «cooperation between the State and the universities are strategic for the archival administration, which has always considered the protection of the university archives as one of the main objectives of the supervision activity. Academic institutions, in fact, by their very nature, play a very important role, being the centres of very interesting archives and having the possibility to enhance them through the use of internal resources of research»³¹.

This *Rapporto* gives details on fifty-eight Italian universities, both public and private, organized by region. It, defined a «document-report»³², is organized into two parts: one for the presentation of the project with a special *Nota per la consultazione* (note for the consultation), the other, instead, consists of fifty-eight file cards describing universities, polytechnics, schools and Italian higher education institutions. The cards, in accordance with the «Guidelines» prepared by the Group of Coordination, reported, in addition to the data identifying the individual universities, information divided into several sections: 1) an outline of the history of the university; 2) general archive of the university; 3) the archives of the teaching and research structures; 4) the bibliography. The section on the archive is, in turn, divided into three sub-sections, concerning respectively the

culturali e del paesaggio. Decreto legislativo 22 gennaio 2004, Milano, Giuffrè, 2005.

²⁹ The Group of National coordination «Studium 2000» included Salvatore Consoli, Giovanna Giubbini, Angela Muscedra, Giuseppe Mesoraca, Remigio Pegoraro, Luigi Previti, Micaela Procaccia, Michelina Sessa.

³⁰ See Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali, *1° Rapporto sugli archivi delle università italiane*, ed. by the Group for the coordination of the National project «Studium 2000», cit. on «Studium 2000» see Penzo Doria (ed.), *Studium 2000. Atti della 3ª conferenza organizzativa degli archivi delle università italiane (5-6 aprile 2001)*, cit. and Penzo Doria, *Tre progetti per gli archivi universitari: Titulus 97, Thesis 99 e Studium 2000*, cit., as well as G. Penzo Doria, *L'archivio dell'Università degli Studi di Padova: strategie e progetti per la conservazione della memoria*, «Atti e memorie dell'Accademia galileiana di Scienze, Lettere e Arti in Padova», n. 115, n. 2, 2002-2003, pp. 149-189.

³¹ See M.G. Pastura, *Introduzione*, in Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali, *1° Rapporto sugli archivi delle università italiane*, ed. by the Group for the coordination of the National project «Studium 2000», cit., p. 15

³² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

historical, the current and the storage archive³³ and then the descriptions of the acquired and joined archives follow. The report, while, on the one hand, gives a precise and detailed picture of the Italian university archives, on the other, highlights very interesting elements in relation both to the greater consistency of certain historical archives in respect to others and to the presence of many joined archives, consisting of documents produced before the founding of the university and of documents of teachers with a prominent role in these faculties, institutes or departments.

In addition, through an analysis of the collected data, it appears obvious that the Italian universities have been, over the years, a real pole of attraction for the archives produced by politicians and cultural personalities, who recognized the universities as having a prestigious and very important role in the formation of the ruling classes of the society both in modern and contemporary age.

In light of this last statement it is useful to examine, although briefly and without the pretension of a complete analysis, the actual situation of the historical archives of Italian universities. The archives of the oldest universities, as pointed out by Gian Paolo Brizzi, the director of the Historical Archive of the University of Bologna, experienced, in fact, many troubles such as:

loss, damages, thefts, some were destroyed during wars, fires or earthquakes, in others the oldest documents were lost (as in most of the universities where the Jesuits operated), and, in general, the documentation is not located in the same site, but with reference to the body that was responsible for its academic activity, the documentation can be preserved among the papers of the municipalities, of the bishop, of a professional college of lawyers and judges or doctors and philosophers, or even of a department responsible of the supervision of the activities of the universities³⁴.

The reasons for such dispersals are usually due to specific moments in the history of the institution that made extremely difficult the following retrieval of documents. Think, for example, to those universities entrusted, in part or in whole, to the Jesuits, such as Sassari³⁵, or to those universities transformed

³³ The university archives, as well as all the other kinds of archives, consist of three organizational phases corresponding to: «current archive», relating to current affairs, including documents for practical and administrative use; «storage archive», including the documents no longer necessary to the administration but not yet destined to permanent conservation, «historical archive», concerning the old documents collected over the years and concerning finished business, therefore destined to permanent preservation.

³⁴ See G.P. Brizzi, *L'Archivio storico dell'Università di Bologna*, in <<http://www.archiviostorico.unibo.it/storico/archivio.asp>> (last access: October 8th, 2013).

³⁵ For further information on the relation between Jesuits and universities in the modern age see G.P. Brizzi, R. Greci (ed.), *Gesuiti e università in Europa (secoli XVI-XVIII). Atti del Convegno di studi. Parma (13-14-15 dicembre 2001)*, Bologna, Clueb, 2003. For specific events connected to the University of Sassari see A. Mattone (ed.), *Storia dell'Università di Sassari*, Nuoro, Ilisso, 2010, 2 voll.; M. Batlori, *L'Università di Sassari e i collegi dei gesuiti in Sardegna: saggio di storia istituzionale ed economica*, Nuoro, Poliedro, 2012.

into high schools during the Napoleonic era, such as Macerata³⁶. In many other cases, the final abolition of a university during the period of restoration or the creation of the national university system started after the Unification process, were very difficult moments of transition in which the archives produced by the universities that have ceased their activity were exposed to transfer, disposal or simple neglect.

Gian Paolo Brizzi has also used the effective expression of «archives without an owner»³⁷ as a possible title for the story suffered by the documents of many Italian universities, whose life was interrupted between the late eighteenth century and the Unification of Italy: archives probably lost forever or that may, in the most optimistic scenario, one day emerge from the oblivion³⁸.

Without any doubt, however, the Unification of Italy and the inclusion of the universities of the pre-unitary State into the new national university system was a moment full of consequences, also for the archival documentations: many universities, although not obliged, decided to give the oldest section of their archive to the new archives of the State, and, waiting for general rules applicable in every cases, the daily produced archives were absorbed by the central archives of the kingdom of Italy (Turin before, then Rome). We should remember, however, that in the majority of the cases such delivery to the State archives permitted the rescue of the oldest documentation, because the universities have not always shown the proper care and the competence to preserve and protect the historical archives.

In the attempt, certainly not too easy, to estimate the patrimony currently preserved in the historical archives of the Italian universities, we notice that the situation is very different from one university to another, not only for the extent and value of the documents preserved but also for the *status* of their historical archives. Some universities reorganized and made an inventory of their archive long ago, to permit the teachers, students and scholars in general to consult it, as far as possible. Sometimes, as already Elio Lodolini pointed out a few years ago, specific committees were set up to oversee the archive in order to entrust it to skilled personnel, with, not only a degree, but also a specific diploma in Archival sciences³⁹.

The first Italian universities to obtain, by the decrees of the Ministry for Cultural and Environmental Heritage, respectively, of the 28th of September

³⁶ For a historical reconstruction of the University of Macerata between Nineteenth and twentieth century, see L. Pomante, *Per una storia delle università minori nell'Italia contemporanea. Il caso dello Studium Generale Maceratense tra Otto e Novecento*, Macerata, eum, 2013.

³⁷ See Brizzi, Negrini, *L'Archivio storico dell'Università di Bologna*, cit., p. 17.

³⁸ This, for example, happened to the documents of the *Studium* of Cesena that, although for a short period of time, was the proud holder of the title of *Studium Generale*. Here the records of graduation that were supposed to be destroyed since the Napoleonic era, then suddenly re-emerged during the reorganization of an ecclesiastical archive.

³⁹ See Lodolini, *La memoria delle «Sapienze». Normativa e organizzazione degli archivi universitari*, cit., p. 3.

1978 and the 20th of December 1980, the recognition of institutions with «particularly important archives», were those of Palermo and Bologna, the latter university has probably the richest and best preserved historical university archive in Italy. It currently preserves all the records and documents produced or received from the offices since 1860: the records of the collegial bodies, student files with their thesis, reports of examinations and graduation exams, registers of lessons, files of the teachers and the technical staff and administrative practices of the faculties and schools, protocol logs, inventories of institutions, archives of schools and of high university institutions.

Closely related to the historical archive of Bologna is also a large photographic archive consisting of over 43,000 images concerning the university building and the academic life and divided into two sections: the historical (1860-1979), fully accessible over the network, and the modern (1980 -present)⁴⁰.

Among the archives of the other Italian universities those of Padua (with the division into «old, nineteenth and twentieth century archive»)⁴¹, Pavia⁴², Siena and Pisa also deserve special consideration. These universities have been ensuring for several years policies of conservation, census, consultation and development of the possessed materials. Moreover, as Simona Negruzzo wrote some years ago, «the rich documentary heritage contained in the academic treasure chests, though still kept in conditions that aren't totally satisfactory in relation to the expectations of scholars and other potential users, is recognized to be of exceptional value not only for the historical memory of the Italian and European universities, but also for the research carried out on those materials, both nationally and internationally»⁴³.

Unfortunately, this optimal situation just described for certain universities is not widespread, and many other archives are often structured in an uncertain way, mainly located in areas too narrow and inadequate, managed by personnel inadequate in number, and then without possibilities to become useful study tools for research. It is also true, however, that the preservation and use of the archival materials in the universities are very often difficult, involving particular problems, mainly due to some regulatory uncertainties of our system. In this regard, it is important to remember that the duties of the state universities in the archival field were established fifty years ago by art. 30 of Presidential Decree

⁴⁰ The historical archive of the University of Bologna has a very updated website which should be consulted for further information on this structure: <<http://www.archivistorico.unibo.it>> (last access October: 8th 2013).

⁴¹ The recognition of «particularly important archive» was also attributed to the archives of the University of Padua with the Ministerial Decree of March 12th, 1992. See the website to know the material preserved in it: <<http://www.unipd.it/archivio>> (last access: October 8th, 2013).

⁴² See the website <<http://www-3.unipv.it/archivio>> (last access: October 8th, 2013).

⁴³ See S. Negruzzo, *Gli archivi storici delle università italiane e il caso pavese. Cronaca del convegno di Pavia, 28-29 novembre 2000*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», 5, 2001, pp. 273-275 (the quotation is on p. 275).

of September 30th, 1963, n. 1409⁴⁴, modified in part by the Presidential Decree December 3rd, 1975, n. 805⁴⁵ and more recently by the above-mentioned *Codice per i beni culturali e il paesaggio* (Legislative Decree January 22nd, 2004 n. 42).

The system established in 1963, however, although modified by following general or particular dispositions, still remains a point of reference. According to this law the state universities have an obligation to preserve and organize their archives, including current documents; to establish «a separate section of the archive», in ordinary usage named «historical archive», for the preservation of documents «related to business concluded more than 40 years ago»; to draw up an inventory of the documentary material that constitutes the historical archive, depositing the inventory, in triplicate, at the Archival Superintendency; to allow scholars the access to the documents of the archive in the chronological limits provided by the abovementioned Presidential Decree, Articles 21 and 22; to perform operations of «rejection» of the documents considered less useful, before the passage of this same documents to the historical archive⁴⁶.

The situation was further complicated by the question of the legal *status* of Italian universities. The nature of public universities and, consequently, that of the archives they produced, was in fact the subject, in the sixties of the twentieth century, of a conflict of authority between the Home Office and the Ministry of Education. The former, in fact, which administrated the State Archives, considered the universities «peripheral organs of the State» and, therefore, entrusted its archives to the State archives responsible for the territory, which would have to undertake the responsibility of the supervision function⁴⁷. The Ministry of Education, instead, considered the state universities as «autonomous bodies governed by public law» or at least as «instrumental bodies of the State»⁴⁸ thus clarifying this position with the issuing of the circular no. 270 of June 20th, 1966 by the Directorate General of Higher Education, Special Office I. This measure forced the universities to keep their own historical

⁴⁴ Presidential Decree September 30th, 1963, n. 1409, *Norme relative all'ordinamento e al personale degli archivi di Stato* (in O.J. 31.10.1963, n. 285).

⁴⁵ Presidential Decree December 3rd, 1975, n. 805, *Organizzazione del Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali* (in O.J. 27.01.1976, n. 23).

⁴⁶ For further information on issues concerning the duties of the universities in the archival field, please refer to Lodolini, *La memoria delle «Sapienze». Normativa e organizzazione degli archivi universitari*, cit.

⁴⁷ For a distinction between the function of «sorveglianza (supervision)» and that of «vigilanza (security)» and other related issues see: R. Collavo Baggio, *Archivi delle Università: sorveglianza o vigilanza*, «RAS», vol. 30, n. 3, 1970, pp. 658-659; Penzo Doria, *Gli archivi delle università italiane*, cit.

⁴⁸ The definition of «autonomous bodies governed by public law» can be found in the circular June 20th, 1966, no. 270 by the Ministry of Public Education. The definition of «instrumental bodies of the State» can be find out from A.M. Sandulli, *Manuale di diritto amministrativo*, Napoli, Jovene, 1984, I, p. 536. A more complex definition of «not territorial instrumental self-sufficient body», was developed by L. Tramontano, *Legislazione universitaria*, Napoli, Simone, 1985, p. 14.

archive, under the supervision of the archival Superintendences (however, this didn't always happen). As Paola Carucci, stated «if there was a problem of supervision, they refer to the nature of State institutions; as State institutions, however, they refused the payment, referring to the nature of autonomous bodies»⁴⁹.

The archives of the Italian universities, thus, developed without fully following the rules, although the pre-unification archives of the older and most important universities enjoyed a positive situation, being preserved in the State archives while the post-unification ones were preserved in the universities themselves. The main problem, however, is to organize the archives within universities. As Carucci underlined, to keep an archive does not mean, as in the case of many universities, «to hold the documents scattered in different places of the same structure, in different closets, often preserved thanks to the good will or intuition or to the sensitivity of the individual teacher», because this would make the archive a structure unsuitable for the research.

Hence the urgent need, even in a time of particular economic difficulty, to be equipped with adequate facilities and to have trained competent personnel⁵⁰, able, within an historical archive where there are documents, books and museum objects, to file books according to bibliographic criteria, to organize and describe the documents according to archival criteria and to classify museum objects according to specific criteria in the field, in order to ensure easy accessibility to teachers, students and scholars.

In addition, the direction of a good historical archive should be carried out in connection with all the departments (until a few months ago with all the faculties) and with the Dean because «a key point for a correct management of the historical archive is the planning of the periodic increases of documents produced daily by the sectors operating within the University. To consider a historical archive as a static thing that should not be increased periodically means to relegate it to a secondary role in the cultural life of the institution»⁵¹.

As Gian Paolo Brizzi, promoter of the recent international workshop *Atelier Heloise 2013*⁵², an initiative interested in the increasingly important role of the university archives in the international historiographical research, stated

⁴⁹ See P. Carucci, *Problemi e prospettive dell'Archivio storico*, in Negruzzo, Zucca (ed.), *Gli archivi storici delle Università italiane e il caso pavese. Atti del convegno nazionale (Pavia, 28-29 novembre 2000)*, cit., pp. 205-208 (quotation on p. 205).

⁵⁰ On these urgent need for the Italian archives, see the interesting and recent 'document-appeal' by the Società Italiana per lo Studio della Storia Contemporanea entitled *Appello della Sisso sulla situazione degli archivi in Italia*, dated back to February 1st, 2013 and available on the website: <<http://www.sisso.it/index.php?id=1713>> (last access: October 8th, 2013).

⁵¹ See Carucci, *Problemi e prospettive dell'Archivio storico*, cit., p. 207.

⁵² About the contents of this meeting, see: L. Pomante, *Atelier Heloise 2013. European Workshop on Historical Academic Databases. The new frontiers of historical research on higher education and universities in a recent international conference*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 8, n. 2, 2013, pp. 679-688.

«the Historical Archive of the University should be considered as a research laboratory, in every sense, and as such must be considered also in its management and its management strategies: it is not a simple warehouse of papers produced and received by the university context, but rather a dynamic element and a growth factor that can help determine certain conditions and developments in the institution; [...] it must be a laboratory for historiographical research but also a training ground for the organizational self-awareness, necessary for an institution always looking for a new balance, that is now regulated by a principle of autonomy that derived its prerogatives and procedures in its own historical memory»⁵³. Therefore, we leave to an experienced and scrupulous archivist, «the architect of memory», the task of planning, controlling and testing what was rightly called «site of memory»⁵⁴.

⁵³ See G.P. Brizzi, *L'Archivio storico dell'Università di Bologna*, in <<http://www.archiviostorico.unibo.it/storico/archivio.asp>> (last access: October 8th, 2013).

⁵⁴ See Fioravanti, *Dall'archivio come «ciò che resta da un naufragio» all'archivio come bene culturale*, cit., pp. 131-132.

Forum / Discussioni

Giovanni Calò tra umanesimo classico e pedagogia cattolica

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Giovanni Calò, between classical humanism and Catholic pedagogy

ABSTRACT: The critical note presents the book of Evelina Scaglia devoted to the biography of Giovanni Calò, scholar of pedagogy lived between 1888 and 1970. In illustrating the reflections of the Author, the script traces the complex contribution to the educational and pedagogical reality of the Italy in the early Twentieth Century provided by Giovanni Calò.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Pedagogical Theory; Book Review; Italy; XIX-XX Centuries.

1.

Senza allievi diretti che ne abbiano coltivata la memoria, Giovanni Calò è finito ingiustamente nel dimenticatoio, solo di tanto in tanto ricordato a margine di vicende di cui fu parte. L'ampia e documentatissima biografia di Giovanni Calò pubblicata recentemente da Evelina Scaglia (*Giovanni Calò nella pedagogia italiana del '900*, Brescia, La Scuola, pp. 346) restituisce finalmente in tutte le sue sfaccettature la personalità di uno studioso che ha percorso da protagonista gran tratto della cultura pedagogica del Novecento.

Nato nel 1882, di origini pugliesi, ma fiorentino d'adozione (a Firenze giunse diciottenne per studiare presso l'Istituto di Studi Superiori ove fu allievo, tra gli altri, di Girolamo Vitelli, Pasquale Villari e soprattutto di Francesco De Sarlo), Calò è stato finora principalmente citato come una delle voci coerentemente più critiche e tenacemente avverse al neoidealismo. Questo è tuttavia solo uno degli approcci possibili alla biografia di Calò. Fu anche il promotore di una conoscenza meno diffidente nei confronti delle esperienze dell'attivismo europeo, storico dell'educazione e della pedagogia (ricoprì dal 1925 fino al

1938 l'incarico di direttore del Museo Didattico Nazionale di Firenze, incarico rioccupato dal 1950 in poi) e, infine, grande navigatore dei marosi della politica, scolastica e non, riuscendo a galleggiare anche nei momenti più difficili e a lui potenzialmente più avversi.

L'autrice indaga nel volume le contrastate vicende di uno studioso dal profilo assai complesso, senza reticenze e senza preordinati intenti elogiativi, in modo scarno e documentato, impegno tanto più meritorio se si considera che le carte personali del pedagogista pugliese – a lungo conservate dal figlio Alfredo che ebbi la fortuna di consultare molti anni orsono, ma solo parzialmente in quanto compromesse dall'alluvione del 1966 – sono andate purtroppo in gran parte disperse alla morte di questi.

2.

Spicca innanzi tutto, senza incertezze e duratura, la netta opposizione di Calò al neoidealismo filosofico e pedagogico in nome di un realismo radicato nella tradizione umanistica che egli professava fin dagli anni giovanili, trascorsi a fianco del De Sarlo. Per quanto Calò e Gentile condividano «l'idea della libertà dello spirito in educazione, i presupposti teoretici ed antropologici di partenza erano differenti». Mentre per Calò «era fondamentale il momento eteronomo affinché lo spirito raggiungesse la sua autonomia, per Gentile lo spirito era autonomo fin dall'inizio, in quanto processo di autoformazione» (p. 41). Secondo Calò il principio di autoformazione era una idealità «puramente etica, non pedagogica».

A partire da questi dissensi – cui si univano più materiali divergenze sulla distribuzione delle cattedre universitarie di filosofia – Croce e Gentile da una parte e De Sarlo e Calò dall'altra se le diedero di santa ragione come documentano i violenti scambi critici e le reciproche velenose recensioni apparse sulle riviste teatro del loro dissenso, «La Critica» e «La Cultura filosofica». Non meno duri furono i contrasti di Calò con Giuseppe Lombardo Radice (che tuttavia andarono con il tempo attenuandosi) e con Ernesto Codignola con cui i rapporti invece non si ricucirono mai, affondando le ragioni dei dissapori non solo su questioni inerenti tematiche scolastiche e pedagogiche, ma purtroppo anche personali.

In quei primi anni del secolo il Calò insieme a qualche altro studioso (soprattutto Giovanni Vidari) tentò di delineare e praticare, tra tardo positivismo ed emergente neoidealismo, una 'terza via' basata su una rilettura della pedagogia herbartiana emendata dai suoi aspetti più didascalici e normativi e concepita come scienza pratica in grado di trattare i processi educativi non solo in chiave filosofica, ma avvalendosi degli apporti di tutte le scienze umane allora in fase di emersione, *in primis* la psicologia.

Scopo dell'educazione era la formazione dell'uomo classicamente inteso, capace di far sue le esperienze esterne, trasformandole in elementi nuovi, foggiandosi e svolgendosi con l'esperienza stessa così raccolta. Converterà tenere bene a mente questo sfondo antropologico perché esso sarà coerentemente perseguito nei decenni a venire fino a manifestarsi negli anni Trenta in forme sempre più fecondate dall'umanesimo classico.

Particolare attenzione Calò rivolse alla formazione dei maestri che voleva ricca di cultura, ma auspicava anche bene innervata nella pratica didattica mediante esercitazioni di tirocinio che ponessero gli allievi a contatto con la vita scolastica. Su questo punto si scontrò in specie con il Codignola che invece concepiva l'istituto magistrale previsto dalla riforma del 1923 essenzialmente come una scuola di cultura disinteressata.

3.

Per molto tempo il pedagogista pugliese non intrattenne particolari rapporti con il mondo cattolico, per quanto egli riconoscesse il valore della dimensione religiosa.

La sua vicinanza alla laicissima Federazione Nazionale degli Insegnanti Medi, la professione di statalismo scolastico e la tiepidezza (per non dire la contrarietà) manifestata verso l'ipotesi dell'esame di Stato nel primo dopoguerra gli attirarono diffidenze e critiche, in particolare, quelle di padre Gemelli (che gli rimproverò una «ambiguità cosciente» e la sudditanza alla «mentalità massonica») e della stessa «Civiltà Cattolica» (pp. 111-115). Ma, come vedremo, in anni successivi l'umanesimo di base del Calò si sarebbe intrecciato con un'esplicita ispirazione cristiana fino a fare dell'ultimo Calò un animatore dei primi incontri dei pedagogisti cattolici raccolti a Scholé.

Il prevalere del neoidealismo, la riforma del 1923 e l'avvento del fascismo costrinsero sulla difensiva il docente fiorentino che seppe tuttavia destreggiarsi con una certa abilità di fronte alla nuova realtà politica. Fermo nel suo dissenso di principio anti gentiliano (tentò anche di dare vita con l'editore Sansoni a una collana pedagogica d'impronta anti idealista, ma senza fortuna), verso la riforma scolastica mantenne un riserbo discreto senza esporsi, come altri suoi colleghi (Credaro, Maresca, Mondolfo per citare solo i più noti) in esplicite e severe critiche.

L'autrice ipotizza che questo atteggiamento sia giustificato dal fatto che alcuni aspetti dei programmi gentiliani – non l'impianto generale della riforma, ovviamente – non spiacerono al Calò come, ad esempio, la centralità assegnata alla cultura classica e l'importanza attribuita alla lettura degli autori, temi che aveva caldeggiato in alcuni scritti prima della guerra. In privato, poi, non na-

scondeva a Lombardo Radice il suo apprezzamento per il nuovo assetto disegnato per la scuola elementare (p. 126).

Gli anni Trenta rappresentarono sotto più di un aspetto una fase di svolta nella riflessione pedagogica di Calò. Lasciata ai margini la polemica anti idealista e attestatosi sul piano politico su posizioni che potremmo definire afasciste (per quanto sulla piccola rivista del Museo Didattico Nazionale, «La Vita scolastica», non mancassero punture di spillo e argomentati rilievi su vari aspetti della politica scolastica del regime), il docente fiorentino andò approfondendo le ragioni del suo umanesimo, partecipando ai dibattiti che in quegli anni, auspici Louis Meylan e Werner Jaeger, si svolsero sulla natura e la forza educativa della classicità.

L'accostamento più puntuale ai valori dell'umanesimo classico si svolse in una duplice direzione. Per un verso essi tracciarono il territorio nel quale si potevano accogliere le pratiche attivistiche, con precisi limiti anti funzionalisti posti agli sfondi antropologici (ho qualche riserva su alcuni accostamenti che Scaglia stabilisce tra Calò e Dewey). Opzione culturale molto interessante che, mentre favoriva una migliore conoscenza di alcuni autori dell'attivismo europeo (segnatamente Ferrière e Kerschensteiner) e ne valorizzava gli apporti sul piano didattico, si differenziava dall'idea di educazione come semplice accumulo riflessivo dell'esperienza (Dewey) oppure come affiancamento dello sviluppo psicologico dell'alunno (Claparède).

Val la pena di ricordare che un analogo percorso compiva in quello stesso periodo Eugène Devaud, documentando la possibile compatibilità tra l'attivismo e la concezione cristiana dell'uomo se si tenevano distinti le pratiche didattiche (il metodo) e i fini dell'educazione. Tesi che, come è noto, aprì al mondo cattolico nuove prospettive di ricerca che furono svolte in specie dai giovani studiosi raccolti intorno alla rivista bresciana «Scuola italiana moderna».

4.

Per altro verso l'umanesimo di Calò andò tingendosi di ispirazione cristiana grazie anche alla vicinanza e mediazione di amici e colleghi come Giovanni Papini ed Enrico Castelli (pp. 215-221). A partire da alcuni studi sul Rinascimento che svelavano una non comune capacità di indagine anche storica (confermata dai saggi poi raccolti nel 1965 nel volume *Pedagogia del Risorgimento*), il pedagogista pugliese nel contrastarne la lettura immanentistica proposta dagli studiosi neoidealisti ne sottolineava invece l'apertura al trascendente e prospettava la convergenza tra l'umanesimo 'eterno' e l'umanesimo integrale cristiano.

L'educazione, dunque, non poteva prescindere dal «guardare anche in Alto» e interrogarsi sulle supreme equazioni della vita, senza tenere conto proposta cristiana.

Di qui in poi – siamo verso la fine degli anni Trenta/inizio anni Quaranta – i rapporti con il mondo cattolico, segnatamente l'Ateneo di padre Gemelli e la casa editrice La Scuola andarono consolidandosi e Calò cominciò a diventare un ospite se non proprio abituale, certamente molto gradito nelle varie iniziative intraprese in quelle sedi. Si ponevano in tal modo le premesse per successive e ben più impegnative intese che, alla fine della guerra, sarebbero maturate intorno al progetto di riforma scolastica dei cattolici perseguito dal ministro dell'Istruzione Guido Gonella che affidò proprio al pedagogo pugliese l'incarico di sovrintendere al progetto, nonostante le riserve critiche espresse in varie circostanze da Benedetto Croce, memore degli antichi contrasti.

È questa la parte della biografia di Calò più nota in seguito agli studi compiuti sulla politica scolastica perseguita dalle élites cattoliche nel secondo dopoguerra, studi di cui l'autrice si avvale con apprezzabile ponderazione.

Alle soglie dei settant'anni Calò ritornò così alla ribalta pubblica come tessitore di una possibile riforma (restata, come noto, incompiuta) che mentre prendeva nette distanze dall'ideologia e dalle ritualità fasciste, tuttavia si poneva su una linea di continuità con la tradizione liberale piuttosto che di brusca rottura. Va qui ricordato, almeno per grandi cenni, che larga parte del mondo cattolico era propenso a questa seconda ipotesi, per quanto modulata in forme diverse. Mentre quanti si riconoscevano nel *Codice di Camaldoli* erano favorevoli a un deciso impegno dello Stato a favore di una scuola aperta in senso sociale, sul versante del cosiddetto 'partito romano' si premeva sui governi a guida democristiana perché si spezzasse il monopolio statalistico e si desse vita a un regime misto, pubblico e privato.

Calò operò per trovare una linea di mediazione capace di pacificare le diverse anime dei cattolici, ma anche di tenere conto del 'continuismo' auspicato dagli alti livelli della burocrazia ministeriale e delle preoccupazioni degli esponenti della cultura laica che temevano un 'colpo di mano' dei cattolici contro la scuola di Stato e a favore dell'istruzione non statale e soprattutto confessionale.

Il docente fiorentino individuò nella tradizione umanistica della pedagogia italiana l'autentica sorgente dell'educazione nazionale capace di opporsi a «ogni concezione anti personalistica, economicista e prammatista». Essa aveva a suoi capisaldi la centralità della cultura classica, l'insegnamento del Cristianesimo e la concezione realista del mondo. A questi principi orientativi avrebbero dovuto ispirarsi i contenuti della nuova scuola. Lo scopo era quello di forgiare un uomo «insieme coscienza di sé come individuo e come umanità», «cultura e lavoro produttivo», «spiritualità che vive in sé l'essere e il dover essere». I cattolici potevano dirsi paghi con il riconoscimento del valore dell'insegnamento religioso concepito, tuttavia, in forme più metaideologiche che confessionali, ai 'continuisti'. Calò concedeva il primato della cultura classica mentre ai laici

timorosi dell'indebolimento della scuola statale dava assicurazioni che questo non sarebbe accaduto.

Tanto equilibrismo gestito con una certa abilità politica e indubbio spessore culturale non sortì tuttavia effetto alcuno perché la fine del ministero di Gonella (1951) coincise con l'abbandono di ogni progetto immediato di riforma e con lo stallo normativo fissato sui provvedimenti del 1944 pilotati dagli Alleati. Ma questa è un'altra storia.

5.

Il ruolo indirettamente politico svolto dal docente fiorentino tra il 1946 e il 1951 ci porta a concludere questa breve nota con qualche riflessione sul Calò impegnato in politica.

Abile navigatore, fu capace in vari e diversi momenti storici di trovarsi al punto giusto nel momento giusto: nazionalista e interventista prima della Grande guerra, con gli ex combattenti nell'immediato dopoguerra (nelle cui liste fu eletto due volte deputato, nel 1919 e nel 1921), approfittando di un breve periodo trascorso come ufficiale nelle retrovie. Emarginato dal fascismo, riuscì tuttavia a conservare la direzione del Museo Didattico Nazionale fino al 1938 quando fu rimosso dal ministro Bottai dall'incarico, evento che tuttavia non gli impedì di partecipare al dibattito sulla scuola del lavoro che, intorno alla *Carta della Scuola*, si aprì all'alba degli anni Quaranta.

Dell'accostamento agli ambienti cattolici abbiamo già detto. Fu addirittura proposto da taluni a De Gasperi come possibile ministro dell'Istruzione, ma pur restando lontano da un così importante incarico ricoprì molti posti-chiave in momenti decisivi della vita scolastica e culturale. Basta pensare, ad esempio, al ritorno alla presidenza del Centro Didattico Nazionale di Firenze (trasformazione del preesistente Museo Didattico Nazionale) e alla partecipazione a numerose commissioni ministeriali. In odore, secondo talune testimonianze, di massoneria (mancano tuttavia allo stato attuale della documentazione riscontri obiettivi e va detto che Calò stesso negò ripetutamente tale appartenenza), è possibile che il docente fiorentino abbia goduto in momenti cruciali di protezioni importanti.

Quello che si può dire con certezza è dire che il prof. Calò dalla sua attività politica non trasse particolari benefici (la cattedra se la conquistò con i suoi titoli), né ebbe vantaggi materiali (visse del proprio stipendio) e neppure approfittò delle sue entrate per dar vita a una poderosa scuola (il suo insegnamento al momento del pensionamento finì addirittura tra le mani del 'nemico' Codignola!). Insomma, comunque lo si giudichi, un perfetto servitore della scuola e della cultura.

Citizens and patriots

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ABSTRACT: This critical review presents a detailed analysis of the book *Citizens and patriots. Education, children's literature and the shaping of national identity in the Soviet Union* written by Dorena Caroli. The book consists of four parts, which analyze the following topics during fifty years of Soviet History: 1) Ideology and national identity in history teaching; 2) Childhood without education; 3) Family and collective education in the Soviet family; 4) Children's literature for the Soviet childhood. The volume analyses how the making of Soviet citizens and patriots changed during the evolution of the Communist ideology and historical events.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Education System; Abandoned Child; Book Review; Soviet Union; XIX Century.

Dorena Caroli's book *Citizens and patriots. Education, children's literature and the shaping of national identity in the Soviet Union*¹ is aimed to show how in the first decades of the history of the Soviet Union the education of the new generation of schoolchildren radically changed. On the basis of some previous works², Caroli searches for the discontinuities of important moments in the history of Russia. The book consists of four parts covering the following topics: 1) Ideology and national identity in history teaching; 2) Childhood without education; 3) Family and collective education in the Soviet family; 4) Children's literature for the Soviet childhood. Each part includes two chapters. These themes are very important because, as Caroli convincingly demonstrates, there was a deep gap between the pre-revolutionary school and the Soviet one.

¹ D. Caroli, *Cittadini e patrioti. Educazione, letteratura per l'infanzia e costruzione dell'identità nazionale nella Russia sovietica*, Macerata, eum, 2011, pp. 312.

² See for example D. Caroli, *New sources for the teaching of history and of the Constitution in the Soviet Union. Textbooks and school exercise books (1945-1965)*, «History of Education and Children's Literature», n. IV/2, 2009, pp. 251-278.

The first part describes the changing status of history as a school subject from the middle of the thirties until the sixties. The first chapter shows how in a short time span the conception of patriotism changed and how history became a battlefield of two worlds, of two opposite points of view. Indeed, after the February Revolution and the October Revolution, the new government carried out a reform of the school system, where history played a big part in the process of arising of the new society.

History was no longer a description of events, dates and customs of a people, but, instead, it became a political instrument supporting the development of new Soviet Patriotism because of the social and historical changes in Soviet society and all over the world. Caroli shows us how, in that time, history could be manipulated and that, in some ways, the new Soviet reality arose from nowhere, as if nothing had existed before it. Or better: History in the Soviet Union, until the de-Stalinization at the end of the fifties, when the educational agencies tried to include modern history in the school programs in order to give students knowledge about the world and the position of the Soviet Union in the world, was taught only through the prism of the Marxist theory.

This trend was the leitmotiv of all Soviet school politics, in spite of the increase of the school program that, telling the truth, opened a wider viewpoint for the students. History was the field of class struggle and demonstrated how the victory of the Russian Revolution resolved all contradictions. The history of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union itself embodied the progress and the achievement of history, according to politicians and official culture, without the perversion of the bourgeois world. In this sense, history textbooks are especially important, because in textbooks published after the Second World War, the Soviet patriotic theme and Russian folklore with its heroes and knights (Aleksandr Nevskij mainly), defending the Russian land from the Teutonic knights – monks, together with Kutuzov, Lenin and Stalin became the leitmotiv of the new deal of the Soviet history.

One should note how the official speeches, documents and textbooks used words which could affect the ‘subconscious’ of Russians in this idealized history of successive wars against the ‘enemy’: e.g. the Patriotic War was the war against Napoleon in 1812. At that time Soviet educational agencies needed to find a key to unite and consolidate Soviet people under the flag of the past and the present, after the nightmare of the war.

The patriotism in the Soviet Union had grown from teaching and learning local history. This is an important feature of Caroli’s study, because only few scholars underlined this theme in Soviet history. The historian N.P. Kuzin collected and studied a lot of historical events from the time of Peter I until the establishment of a capitalistic economy in the Russian empire, but he always paid meticulous attention to local history and, through it, he ‘reinforced’ Soviet patriotism and, so, followed the Communist Party’s political agenda. In 1962, Kuzin, writing his doctoral thesis, found the tales and drawings of children

living in Rzhev (a little town southeastward from Moscow, the site of a battle known as the «Rzhev mincing machine»), a city occupied by German army during the World War II. These recollections describe the atrocities committed by German soldiers in the Soviet territory and these circumstances gave impetus to the rise of Soviet patriotism. Particularly interesting are the children drawings during the Great Patriotic War and the Nazi occupation of the USSR territory. In these children's works one can see how children hated the Germany soldiers and hoped that the glorious Soviet soldiers could help them and take vengeance on the enemies. Caroli has the merit of building her research on the children's works of this time and of demonstrating how official propaganda influenced the development of the children's political consciousness and their creativity. Using also Ljudimila Kiseleva's school exercise books from the fifties, the Author gives us an idea about how the official school politics was aimed at the education of true 'patriots and citizens', aware of where they were living and what they were living for.

These facts are more deeply developed in the second chapter of the first part, which deals with the teaching of the Constitution and of Soviet law. The teaching of such subjects aimed both at the reinforcement of the patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The teachers, using the newspaper articles, tried to show that the Soviet Union was a literate country with a modern school system and that the capitalistic world used its own resources for the oppression of other peoples and countries. In this way the Author underlines that patriotism in Soviet Union was dominated by politics leading to the shaping of consciousness responding to the needs of the time: in the early Soviet Union it was oriented towards the building of the Communist homeland, in the thirties, a citizen as an 'hero' of the collectivization was needed and after the War a citizen able to carry over the building of Communism.

The Author presents a convincing picture of life in the Soviet Union and notices that this representation did not correspond to the reality, as far as the Soviet world lived in ideologically simulated conditions without connections with the outer world. Caroli rightly notices that some historians are trying to give a new interpretation of this question and studying it in the light of historical and social categories, portraying the daily life of common people in order to show the true colors of the complex Soviet reality.

Caroli shows us not only the so-called bright side of Soviet life. The reader may find observations about the dark side of children's life in the Soviet Union, in the second part containing an analysis of abandoned childhood. Here Caroli demonstrates how the difficult social conditions of the Soviet Union, especially at the end of the twenties and in the early thirties, did not give possibilities for normal upbringing and education of these children because of the lack of goods and the impossibility of giving them professional training. In this context, this book sheds a new light on the development of the school system in the early Soviet Union and shows the clear contradiction between the 'official' Soviet

Union with its successes on the ground of political achievements and failures of the ‘unofficial’ Soviet Union. One of the merits of book is, on the one hand, the use of letters, school exercises books and drawings of the children suffering from the war and starvation in the aftermaths of the World War I, the Revolution and the Civil War, and, on the other hand, the Author’s analysis of how politics influenced the children’s creativity. Furthermore, boys and girls became thieves, pickpockets, murderers, prostitutes, and, in this way, an inner social danger for the young Soviet state.

In the third part, the Author positively evaluates Anton Semenovitch Makarenko’s work, the most eminent Soviet pedagogue, who was the founder of two educational colonies for the re-education and social rehabilitation of *besprizornye* in the latter twenties and earliest thirties. In this period the phenomenon of the *besprizornye* was a social plague for the newborn Soviet Republic. The children, having lost their parents and relatives, were marginalized and felt to be victims of social violence. The use of statistical data and children’s letters is very important for our understanding of this social phenomenon, which, according to the Author, on the one hand, led to the continuous reorganization of such institutions as orphanages, and, on the other hand, exposed the Soviet system to the risk of ‘implosion’ because of the steadily increase of abandoned childhood and hooligans, against whom the Soviet government introduced more and more strict measures, including even the execution in the thirties. The children, however, believed in the Soviet power and we can find it in the sincere tone of children’s letters and their hope of getting support from «babushka Nadezhda Kostantinovna» (Nadezhda Kostantinovna Krupskaya, Lenin’s widow), of obtaining a job, or of being fed.

This circumstance shows us how the Soviet authorities couldn’t overcome all the difficulties of the establishment of new way of life and the necessity to erase from the political and social arena its enemies. This struggle became very cruel at the time of Stalin’s great terror accomplishing the revolution from above, starting from the latest twenties. The Author also examines the treatment of ‘dissident’ children in the prisons and concentration camps, revealing the unsolved problem of deviant childhood, even in the conditions of triumphant Socialism.

This part about the tragedy of children carrying the stigma of the ‘enemy of the people’ is full of human pain and sufferance and it graphically portrays this dramatic period of Soviet history. Caroli has collected the letters and the memories of women with children who were sentenced to the detention in the camps with their children. The Author writes about the attempts of the Soviet government to improve the conditions of life of these children and their mothers in the concentration camps of the Gulag system, and presents the data about the children’s mortality, or the low level of literacy of those boys and girls for their future social reintegration after the camps. This chapter about abandoned childhood shows that there was a deep difference between the reality and the

bureaucratic system of the Soviet Union that crushed and carried away the lives of innocent people, who had not committed any crimes, but were just the sons and daughters of «socially alien» and «socially dangerous» people suffering a tragic fate in the complex and politically ambiguous Soviet world. In this context, it is interesting to notice that the children were twice ‘victims’ of the Soviet repressive system, because the parents used the children and asked them to write letters – applications to find a job or ask why their parents were so socially neglected, in spite of their guiltiness. In this way, we can find one of the most important aspects in the analysis. The moment of the contraposition of the good and the evil, it doesn’t care, whether political or social.

These themes are masterfully outlined in the book which links the chapter about abandoned childhood with the one about the heroic children who fought against the German troops in the World War II. The Author analyzes this topic using, among other sources, the well-known film by Andrej Tarkovsky *Ivan’s Childhood* (in Russian *Ivanovo detstvo*), in which, through Ivan’s eyes the war is experienced as a moment of deep rupture with childhood and normal life. Ivan, a twelve-year-old boy without mother, wants only revenge upon the Nazis. Tarkovsky wanted to show how Ivan’s childhood is destroyed by the war, but a «new man» was born from its ruins: the Soviet man with a new consciousness.

The fight for the Sovietization of all aspect of the social and human life, continued with the struggle against non-Marxist doctrines. In this contest, it is important to notice that Caroli shows how *paedology* as a science was destroyed. Such scientists as L.S.Vygotsky, S.S. Molozhavy, M.Ja. Basov and P.P. Blonsky considered that *paedology*, testing the children, should be a way to thoroughly develop them from a cognitive point of view. *Paedology* was an important movement, as long as it has introduced into pedagogical practice some terms and ideas. In the early thirties, the political line of the Communist Party changed abruptly direction, and, thanks to the sober analysis of the Author of this book, we can see a wider ‘overview’ of the banishment of *paedology* from the public libraries, from Universities and from the pedagogical disciplines. The testing practice was the sticking point, which unchained critics of *paedology*. The tests showed that sometimes children from not proletarian families had a higher IQ in comparison with the proletarian ones. It is only one aspect the question. Under the conditions of arising Stalin’s rule, it was unacceptable that the *paedological* officials gave more attention to the biological influence on the personality than to the socio-political ones. As a result of a ferocious press campaign and scientific discrimination ending in the 1936, the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party *About the paedological distortions in the system of people’s Commissariat of Education* was issued. The witch hunt was over. The *paedologists* were wiped out and their books and works have been neglected in the official circles of the Soviet science until the 1990s.

It is important to underline that the void of books in the Soviet Union was filled with the children books and textbooks which have the goal to strengthen

the position of Soviet life against its inner and outer enemies. Once all the enemies had been removed, literature could provide the authorities with a way to show the *besprizornye* could be helped by the social re-education and the shaping of the 'new man'. In the fourth part titled *New children's books after October Revolution*, the Author tells us that children's literature became the monopoly of the Soviet power, but the most important fact that Caroli highlights in a new way is the works of the most famous Soviet pedagogue and writer: Anton Semenovich Makarenko.

Caroli's merit is that she focuses Anton Semenovich as the writer of works about the collective family of the Soviet Union: *The book for the Parents*, a very interesting book containing texts of the radio interviews by Makarenko. This book was popular among the parents and the pedagogues, because the new Soviet family endured crisis as the bourgeois one. According to Caroli, Makarenko was against the idealization of the children's bandit life, to which the attention of such writers as Marshak (founder of the journal «The Little Sparrow», one of the most famous Soviet children's journals) was devoted. Nevertheless, the Author could have provided a deeper analysis of the *Pedagogical Poem*, which describes the real life of the *besprizornye* in the Colony named after M.A. Gorky: this *Poem* offers a true representation of the life of the *besprizornye* in the Soviet colonies of this time.

Finally, Dorena Caroli's book is one of the most interesting works in the contemporary historiography of the history of Soviet schooling and pedagogical sciences, as it provides a vast amount of information about an educational system that remains largely unknown to the Western and Soviet reader. Caroli's discovery of new sources like children's letters and drawings offers a new path for studying the psychological world of Soviet children and understanding how propaganda, politics and teachers influenced the children and all the Soviet people.

The school of the Habsburgs

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ABSTRACT: This critical review presents a detailed analysis of the new investigations edited by Simonetta Polenghi (Catholic University of Milan) and carried out by international scholars concerning the history of the teacher education in the countries of the Habsburg Empire during the XIX Century. In the framework of these reforms of the public education, which were very advanced for that time, new university chairs for pedagogy were introduced, teacher education was improved, a new staff of women teachers was created and the didactic was renewed with a positive impact on the level of alphabetisation in the whole Habsburg Empire, from Italy until Slovenia, Hungary and Transylvania.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Education System; Habsburg Empire; Book Review; Central and Eastern Europe; XIX Century.

The 9th August, 1805 is a historical day for the pedagogy. For the first time in the world it was promoted to the rank of University discipline in Austria under the Emperor Franz I and this marked a big change for the training of teachers in the Austrian Empire and in the Italian territories in particular. The reasons of this promotion by the ministerial decree of 9th August 1805 on the new philosophical plans is of great prominence and is expressed as follows «pedagogy: this part of the practical philosophy has been treated in the last time with so much engagement and such a profit that it deserves its own chair only for this» (p. 3).

The present collection¹, constituted by 11 very innovative essays is the result of a research merged in an international conference, hold in Milan at the Catholic University on 13th May, 2011, dealing with the history of the teacher

¹ S. Polenghi (ed.), *La scuola degli Asburgo. Pedagogia e formazione degli insegnanti tra il Danubio e il Po (1773-1918)*, Torino, SEI, 2012, pp. 300 (Collana Teoria e storia dell'educazione).

education and the progressive institutionalisation of pedagogy at the University during the Habsburg Monarchy in the period of the Restoration.

This group of prominent scholars from Italy and Central Europe dealt with a topic neglected for a long time by the Italian historiography that preferred Maria Theresa and Joseph II's school reforms.

The analysis of the teacher education under foreign rule or colonisation constitutes one of the most interesting topics of the International scientific research, especially in this case, as it deals with Italy under Habsburg Empire, which was faced, as Russia during the same period, to a multiethnic and multilingual population which only the school system could unify and assimilate on the school desks.

As Simonetta Polenghi underlines in her introduction, it is an International volume, which has resorted to the competence of scholars from different countries, which is quite rare for the Italian collections about history of education. From a methodological point of view, the study starts from school legislation promulgated in Vienna in different phases and spread over the territories of the Empire, passing then to speak about the reception of the reforms in various areas and finally presenting a broad and articulated school policy which included, between the various (well-known) fundamental principles, also the compulsory education and training for teachers through a qualifying examination and a progressive public recognition of their profession, and a consequent right to the pension.

The great interest toward the theme of the education and training of teachers and priests brought to the foundation of the first chair in Pedagogy of the Austrian Empire, already existing only in Halle since 1779. The monarch Franz I founded the second in 1805 in Vienna, entrusting it to the great pedagogue Vincenz Milde (1777-1853), the future archbishop of the capital, recently rediscovered as the author of the catholic scientific pedagogy contained in his fundamental text, which was prescribed, from 1814, as the text for all the chairs of pedagogy of the Faculty of Philology of German Language under the Habsburg Monarchy. He was a major personality for all the territories of the Empire and from 1818 also in the Lombardo-Veneto until his ideas, contained in his *Lehrbuch* (1811-1813), were abandoned in favour of Herbart's conception. Furthermore, Simonetta Polenghi takes into consideration the continuity of the reforms of the *Politische Verfassung* dated back to 1805 (enforced from 1818 in Lombardo Veneto), the ideological motivation which obscured this historical period, during which Austria distinguished itself for a school policy which incremented literacy, improving the training of teachers of both genders.

The volume presents two parts which correspond to the different geographical areas of the Hasburgic Empire, Italian, Hungarian, Slovenian and Romanian, over which the academic pedagogy propagated its effects with different rhythms and levels. In the first article that opens the volume, the renown historian Wolfgang Brezinka presents the history of the introduction

of the chairs of pedagogy in all the Universities and institutes of philosophy in Austria, a pioneer country in this field, notwithstanding the period of the Napoleonic war and of the financial difficulties. It was an epochal act for the history of education, completed under the Emperor Franz I, who in 1804 in reaction to Napoleon's Imperial crowning, transformed the Hapsburg territories in the Austrian Empire and sealed the end of the Sacred Roman Empire of the German Nation (1806). As Brezinka reconstructs with admirable clearness, after the suppression of pedagogy following the reform of Austrian gymnasia of 1848, Milde's successors were not able to maintain the connection between this science and the practice and it was anchored to the philosophy. Furthermore, the Austrian historian shows also the events connected to the teaching of pedagogy in Austria from 1871 until 1918, oriented toward the pedagogical theory of Johan Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841), who can be considered the first pedagogue in a modern sense, according to whom the intellectual and moral learning are two faces of the same educational process.

In the second essay Gerald Grimm deals in a very detailed way with the discussion of the reforms of recruiting and education of the gymnasial teachers in Austria after the suppression of the Company of Jesus (1773-1777), which was at the basis of the redefinition of the school policy of the Austrian Empire. The deletion of the Company, closed by the Concordat of 1855, by the following reforms of 1848-49 and by the compromise of 1867, constituted the context in which Grimm placed the reform of secondary education that was very limited in comparison with the one of the primary school, although the framework of the *Ratio Studiorum* was maintained, with the class teacher, and the preponderant role of the Piarists (Order of Poor Clerics Regular of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools) until the revolutionary two years-period of 1848-1850.

In her essay, about the education of teachers in the Austrian Lombardy, Simonetta Polenghi provides an exhaustive description of the route of the future teachers in the public schools until 1848, revealing that before Bonaparte's invasion, in 1796, 1/3 of the municipalities of Habsburg Lombardia had a public school, reaching the number of 800 in 1814, on the basis of Felbiger's *Methodenbuch* in Francesco Soave's translation into Italian. The Author reconstructs also the events of the *Politische Verfassung* extended to Lombardo Veneto after 1818, responsible for having blocked the secularization thus provoking the accusation of confessionalism to the Austrian school policy. Starting from the obligatory use of Peitl-Cherubini's schoolbook thanks to the *Methodenbuch* (1821), derived from Milde's pedagogy, the teacher profession became a profession completely recognized by the Habsburgic monarchy and, thanks to the opening of various schools and opportunities to begin the teacher's career, a new generation of female school teacher was educated. A particular attention has been also devoted to the Normal school in Milan, opened in December 1820 and considered a model school for teacher education in that period.

The appointments of pedagogy teachers at the University of Pavia (1817-1859), one of the most ancient *Studium generale* of Italy (founded in 1361), are analysed by Valentina Chierichetti in a very original essay, which analyses the difficulties in finding specialised teaching staff, as demonstrated by the events linked to the appointments and to the respective competitions for this pedagogy chair, which hindered his autonomy not because of the theoretical debates but because of the simply lack of experts of the discipline. Particularly interesting was the attention devoted by Chierichetti to the sources of this pedagogical theory. The University curricula were reorganized during October 1817, while the reform of the philosophical studies of 1824 established that the teaching of pedagogy, of which the catechists were charged, should be added to the chairs of religious education. The analysis of the contents of Milde's pedagogy, which was the theme of the examination, is really thorough.

In a very rich and articulated essay, Mario Gecchele deals with a less known aspect of the teachers and of their education in the Venetian provinces (1814-1866), where a gap emerged in comparison with Lombardy, which enjoyed a more prosperous economic situation thanks to Maria Theresa and Joseph's II school reforms. This account is well described thanks to detailed statistic tables presenting very rare data for that period because of the differentiation of male and female schools and also the gender of the teachers. Nevertheless, Austrian domination positively influenced the level of literacy also in Venetia, where the request for women in particular was higher, and reveals a plurality of evening, festive and agricultural schools. In the education of teachers, Thun's reform was applied for a longer period of time, with the gymnasia Code of 1851 and the reform of the University of Padua.

Paolo Bianchini's in-depth study passes to the reception of the Austrian and Lombardian pedagogy in Sabaudian Piemonte, trying to present the more significant phases of political and school strategies of Savoia, who made a political use of the didactics and of the Austrian pedagogy. In order to highlight this process, the A. describes, alongside of other authors of previous texts, the importance of the figure of Francesco Soave, characterised by a long success, who contributed to the spreading of an important pedagogical renewal also in other territories of the Italian peninsula. The influence of Austrian pedagogy was more evident after the call in Piedmont of the priest Ferrante Aporti, who diffused the awareness of the relevance of education and selection of the teachers. This combination of Austro-Lombardian innovations and of Sabaudian school system, which at that time characterized a plurality of educational institutions, merged in the Casati Law of 1859, which was extended to the whole Italian Kingdom after the Unification of 1861.

Christof Aichner and Brigitte Mazohl study the cultural roots of the school reforms by Leo Thun-Hohenstein in the period 1849-1860, reflecting on the personality of the Minister, and trying to describe the importance of a school and a university policy which strived to realize the cultural renewal in the context of

the conservative Catholicism, in the Italian territories (Trentin region, Trieste, Lombardy and Venetia Kingdom Veneto with the two university of Pavia and Padova). These authors describe the features of the reform following the 1848 events, with the disappearance of the unique teacher of the class in favour of a more specialized teacher although lacking of pedagogical and didactical basis after the abolition of the chairs of pedagogy established by Thun-Hohenstein's reforms of gymnasia and Universities in Lombardy and Venetia, although this new conception had no lasting effect. It can be compared to the Humboldtian reform of the Prussian school and university system, even though the differences at the level of their influence over the Italian territories. From 1848 until 1871, furthermore, the pedagogy was no more an autonomous discipline in the Austrian Empire.

In the second part of the volume, articles about completely unknown topics for the Italian readers are presented, completing and enriching the description of the history of education under Habsburg rule. With András Németh's essay, we pass to Hungary, where the university pedagogy from the second half of the XIX century until 1918 endured typical changes in the sense that it maintained a very strong catholic mark, as required by the unmistakable scientific approach of Milde's conception until the last Thirty years of XIX century. It's very valuable in Németh's essay the fact that it has shown how modernization of the Hungarian school system involved the preference for Herbart's pedagogy as theoretical University science in the context of Magyar Liberalism.

Béla Pukánszky analyses the professionalization of the teachers and the image of the child in the Hungarian primary elementary school of the XIX century. On the basis of an original research carried out on the basis of 20 Hungarian schoolbooks of pedagogy, it shows how during the XIX century the romantic image of childhood elaborated by Richter, Schleiermacher, Arndt and Fröbel was replaced by a more rationalistic and pragmatic conception of the child. Edvard Protner reflects on the teacher education in Slovenia and on the 'rational application' of Herbart's theory through the personality of Henrik Schreiner, pedagogical director of the Institute for teacher education of Marburg, who demonstrated a quite 'free' interpretation of Herbartism, deeply influencing also the Slovenian school after the Fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and oriented to the renewal of didactic methodology. Ana Victoria Sima, finally, analyses Herbart's reception in Transylvania in the second half of the XIX century, reconstructing the different paths of the students of Philosophy and Theology Faculties who aimed at professorial and sacerdotal activity and career. Some of these students became the promoter of the new Herbart's ideas in the schools and in the Rumanian pedagogical thought in Transylvania.

Theoretical pedagogy and practices, laws and institutions, actors of the reforms and contents, different educational and didactic models from Milde to Herbart in the education of the different generation of teachers make of this brilliant volume a cardinal point of the history of education for Central

Europe, which produced one of the more advanced, if not the most advanced, school systems of that time. It deals with a study which fills a gap of the history of education, examining the pedagogy as a science of education in a historical context characterised by the problem of multiculturalism and multilingual population and it is understandable also for the not specialised scholars of the field.

Many subjects remain to be studied and one could wish for a second volume which could investigate *par le bas* the reforms propagated from Vienna in order to understand in which way centralisation and decentralisation competed, and that could also highlight the educational process and the teachers' reflections, who taught in the Babel tower of the Empire, thanks to the analysis of class registers or to the discovery of diaries of female teachers of some cities of the Empire. It will be welcomed and we would read it with the same interest.

Notices / Recensioni

Notices

Recensioni

Charles Magnin, Christian Alain Muller (edd.), *Enseignement secondaire, formation humaniste et société – XVI^e-XXI^e siècle. Actes du colloque international et pluridisciplinaire tenu à l'occasion du 450^e anniversaire de la fondation du Collège de Genève par Calvin, Genève, 23-26 mars 2009, Avec la collaboration de Blaise Extermann, Genève, Éditions Slatkine, 2012, 438 pp. + 1 CD.*

Le volume *Enseignement secondaire, formation humaniste et société – XVI^e-XXI^e siècle* est issu du colloque international et pluridisciplinaire qui s'est tenu à Genève du 23 au 26 mars 2009 à l'occasion du 450^e anniversaire de la fondation du Collège de Genève par Calvin, auquel ont participé une trentaine de chercheurs et enseignants français et suisses; ce colloque a été organisé par le Laboratoire d'histoire sociale et culturelle de l'éducation (LHiSCHE) de l'Université de Genève, le Collège de Genève et le Service de la

recherche en éducation (SRED) du Département de l'instruction publique. Ces actes rendent compte des travaux qui ont contribué à la fois à mettre l'accent sur le débat actuel concernant la formation humaniste dispensée dans les collèges, gymnases et autres lycées, et à présenter un état des lieux des convictions des enseignants du Collège de Genève sur leur mission en ce début du XXI^e siècle. En effet, cette formation apparaît écartelée entre tradition et innovation, élitisme et démocratisation, utilitarisme et désintéressement, culture générale et spécialisation.

Dans leur avant-propos, Christian Alain Muller, Charles Magnin et Blaise Extermann soulignent que la publication de ces actes s'inscrit dans une série de projets scientifiques visant la célébration du 450^e anniversaire de la fondation du Collège par Jean Calvin et qui ont abouti à un colloque conçu en tant que rencontre de «deux cultures professionnelles et de deux types de savoirs différents: d'une part la

culture professionnelle et le savoir des enseignants du Collège, d'autre part le métier et les connaissances des chercheurs en histoire, sociologie et philosophie de l'éducation» (pp. 12-13). Un autre aspect très original consiste dans l'approche pluridisciplinaire, qui «permet de traiter de l'objet de ce colloque en partant du XVI^e siècle pour remonter jusqu'aux enjeux actuels concernant la formation humaniste dans l'enseignement secondaire, à l'heure où cet enseignement est aussi travaillé en profondeur par la recomposition sociale de son public» (p. 13).

Le volume est composé de deux parties. La première partie comprend 14 articles des chercheur-e-s qui sont intervenu-e-s lors du colloque. La deuxième partie restitue les propos tenus par des enseignant-e-s sur onze disciplines enseignées au Collège de Genève, examinées sous l'angle de leur apport à la formation humaniste des élèves. Enfin, la postface cherche à mettre en exergue quelques lignes de force qui apparaissent à la lecture des propos des enseignant-e-s. L'ouvrage est pourvu de deux sections de références, d'un index des noms propres et d'un index des notions qui permettent au lecteur de mieux s'orienter dans cette richesse d'informations.

Dans l'introduction à la première partie, «Des Humanités à la culture générale: cinq siècles de métamorphoses et de continuités», Christian Alain Muller et Charles Magnin font ressortir les métamorphoses et les continuités clés qui ont marqué l'histoire de la formation humaniste dispensée dans les Collèges, Lycées ou Gymnases occidentaux, depuis cinq siècles. Il suffira ici d'évoquer les auteurs et les titres de leurs interventions érudites et complexes pour découvrir un tableau riche et stimulant: ils s'interrogent sur les raisons de la fortune historique de la formation «dite humaniste» comprise dans ses modèles

successifs que sont les humanités, puis la culture générale; sur son rôle dans la formation des élites, visant «à composer un assemblage de connaissances à la fois cumulatif et suggestif; sur les relations entre la formation humaniste et l'enseignement secondaire, du XVI^e au XXI^e siècle. Comme les auteurs l'affirment dans l'introduction, la longévité de la formation humaniste s'explique par le fait que «le maintien des fonctions fondamentales de légitimation sociale, de distinction culturelle et de préparation technique aux positions dirigeantes – cléricales, savantes, lettrées, administratives et libérales – n'a pu s'opérer qu'au prix d'ajustements et de ruptures qui, produits de luttes sociales, sont faits de renoncements autant que d'innovations. Significatif est, à cet égard, que la première contestation des humanités s'affirme au moment où elles se cristallisent en un modèle scolaire développant un corps de savoirs et de pratiques pédagogiques cohérent qui conquiert l'Europe, soit au milieu du XVI^e siècle» (p. 20).

Ann Blair traite des principes et pratiques de la pédagogie humaniste et réformée au cours des XVI^e-XVII^e siècles, en analysant les changements du contexte pédagogique européen entre 1540 et 1620; Béatrice Nicollier reconstitue le projet de formation du collège de Genève au XVI^e siècle et sa mise en œuvre, par des hommes de Dieu, qui étaient en même temps des humanistes; Pierre-Philippe Bugnard analyse l'élitisme, entre pédagogie de l'exercice et pédagogie magistrale ainsi que les humanités au Collège Saint-Michel de Fribourg, XVI^e-XX^e siècles, en montrant l'histoire d'un collège qui était très différent des Lycées de la Compagnie, mais même précurseur de la *Ratio Studiorum* en 1581; Jean-Luc Le Cam présente la persistance et le renouveau de l'humanisme dans les écoles luthériennes allemandes au XVII^e siècle (Basse-Saxe et

Brunswick), évoquant les liens étroits avec le calvinisme, comme avec le luthéranisme; Christian Alain Muller traite du passage des humanités à la culture générale ainsi que la reconversion de la formation secondaire de l'«élite» à Genève au XIX^e siècle, décrivant la fin de l'hégémonie des humanités; Rebecca Rogers aborde le thème de la formation secondaire des jeunes filles au XIX^e siècle dans une perspective internationale et comparative, en soulignant le décalage de l'enseignement secondaire ou supérieur des jeunes filles par rapport à celui des garçons; André Chervel s'intéresse à la manière dont on est passé des humanités classiques à la culture générale, en montrant comment l'étude de la littérature française a pu s'installer en France dans le cadre des humanités (classiques); Dominique Ottavi s'interroge sur la question épineuse de la perte de sens par les savoirs et la mise en défaut de la pensée pédagogique; Chantal Berthoud présente le cycle d'orientation à l'âge de la formation humaniste pour tous; Christian Alain Muller réfléchit sur la valeur socioprofessionnelle de la maturité gymnasiale à Genève à l'ère de la 'démocratisation des études'; Lucien Criblez analyse l'expansion des gymnases en Suisse alémanique dans la seconde moitié du XX^e siècle, s'interrogeant sur la fonction de leur projet formatif; Clairette Davaud et François Rastoldo traitent de la massification de l'enseignement secondaire et de ses effets à l'âge de la nouvelle 'maturité', 1998-2008; Julia Resnik présente le programme du baccalauréat international et la formation (humaniste?) des élites internationales; Agnès van Zanten étudie les nouvelles formes de 'parrainage' et nouvelles 'chartes' de formation, ainsi les évolutions des modèles nationaux de fabrication des élites. Ces analyses et points de vue offrent un tableau historique très riche qui dévoile les spécificités d'un collège très différent par rapport à

ceux de la Compagnie de Jésus¹, en révélant des continuités et des ruptures assez imperméables à la réforme entamée suite à la publication de la loi du 11 floréal an X (1^{er} mai 1802) et de la législation ultérieure (1808 et 1811) au niveau de l'instruction secondaire².

Dans l'«Introduction à la journée d'interventions des enseignant-e-s», qui constitue la deuxième partie des Actes, Blaise Extermann souligne le rôle de la Société suisse des professeurs de l'enseignement secondaire (SSPES), qui compte aussi des professeurs d'université et qui s'efforce d'instaurer une meilleure harmonisation entre les gymnases de Suisse, offrant un modèle qui permette de créer un trait d'union entre les cultures professionnelles et l'enchevêtrement des pratiques et du progrès scientifique de niveau universitaire (p. 77). Il conclut ainsi en évoquant Pierre Bordieu qui «observait que les milieux à forte imprégnation culturelle, comme les écoles secondaires, fonctionnaient, dans la transmissions de leurs valeurs, selon une cohérence telle, qu'il parlait *d'orchestration sans chef d'orchestre*» (p. 322). La deuxième partie présente les réflexions des enseignants Nicole Grieve et Madeleine Rousset Grenon sur les langues anciennes, Alain Froidevaux sur la philosophie; Véronique Déthiollaz Schi-

¹ Voir par exemple le chapitre *Proposte educative e istituzioni scolastiche delle Congregazioni e degli Ordini religiosi (sec. XVI-XVII)* de l'ouvrage de R. Sani, *Educazione e istituzioni scolastiche nell'Italia moderna (Sec. XV-XIX). Testi e documenti*, Milano, Pubblicazioni dell'I.S.U.-Università Cattolica, 1999, pp. 511-584 et J. Vergara, A. Costa Paris, *La indentidad pedagógica de la Compañía de Jesús en el siglo XVI*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 8, n. 2, 2013, pp. 11-31.

² P. Marchand, *Histoire et commémoration: le bicentenaire des lycées (1802-2002)*, «Histoire de l'Éducation», n. 109, 2006, pp. 75-117.

bler sur les arts plastiques; Hervé Déneraud sur l'éducation physique; Anne-Carol Balthasar, Adrien Jacot-Descombes et Alain Jacquemoud sur le français, Nathalie Leuwylér sur l'histoire, Evelyne Fiechter-Widemann sur le droit, Carolyn Gallis sur l'économie, Martin Cuenod sur les mathématiques, Bernard Vuilleumier sur la physique et les applications des mathématiques et François Lombard sur la biologie. Enfin, dans la postface, «Enseignant-e-s, disciplines scolaires et formation humaniste au collège de Genève, aujourd'hui», Christian Alain Muller, Blaise Extermann et Charles Magnin concluent sur la préférence des enseignants «pour un collège dispensant une formation humaniste, qui est devenue synonyme de l'enseignement d'une 'culture générale' littéraire et scientifique et non plus que des seules 'humanités' gréco-latines de naguère» (p. 405). Cette conviction des enseignants révèle une attitude particulièrement positive et ouverte au changement: «plus encore qu'une vision ou une démarche, le savoir est un langage et la discipline scolaire une initiation au monde des mots, des concepts et des codes, un langage qui permet l'affirmation du sujet, le positionnement face aux idées d'autrui et le dialogue des savoirs entre eux (au nom de la pluridisciplinarité)» (*ibid.*).

Enfin, on ne pourrait pas faire grief de quelques passages de circonstance à cet ouvrage, qui a bien souligné les aspects contradictoires et paradoxaux de la formation humaniste à travers les siècles. Ce volume intéressant, qui s'évertue de lier l'histoire de l'éducation aux pratiques d'enseignement, constitue sans aucun doute un modèle de rencontre entre les cultures professionnelles dans le façonnement de la culture humaniste. Il démontre ainsi dans quelle mesure son défi consiste en la juste fusion avec les autres sciences et la juste adaptation aux changements des

sociétés, qui risquent d'abandonner leur lien avec le passé et de faire de l'histoire et de la conscience historique les timides servantes d'un seigneur toujours nouveau.

Dorena Caroli

Gary McCulloch, *The Struggle for the History of Education*, London and New York, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2011, 139 pp.

The struggle of the different social sciences, and also of the natural ones, to gain a scientific autonomy changed through the centuries. While during the nineteenth-century Pedagogy had to fight for being recognized as an autonomous science, separated from philosophy, and it was necessary to wait until 1805, when Vincenz Eduard Milde (1777-1853) held the first chairs in pedagogy in the University of Vienna, at present it is the time of the *struggle for the history of education*, because its existence is menaced by the hegemony of the other social sciences. The title of the book is fitting with the new mission of the historians of education, because in many European countries it deals with an extinguishing discipline at University level or with a «sub-discipline» which has been absorbed by other social sciences whose investigations consider the history of education as an introductory chapter of the actual educational reforms or sociological processes.

Taking the cue from Marc Depaepé's presidential address to the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE) in Barcelona in 1982 about the meaning of the history of education and from Roy Lowe's address to the History of Education Society in Britain in 2002 which raised the question of whether the history of education was 'central' or

‘peripheral’, the book constitutes a constructive contribution to such a debate, «and seeks to identify what is special and significant about the history of education in the twenty-first century world» (p. 2). The Author has been directly involved in the field of education at a national level in Britain through the membership of the research assessment panels set up in this area by the Higher Education Funding Council and reporting in 1996, 2001 and 2008.

In this passionate and fascinating book, Gary McCulloch, inaugural Brian Simon Professor of the History of Education at the Institute of Education of the University of London, argues that the history of education is a contested field of study, and in several countries has been deleted from the University curricula. It is highly relevant for an understanding of broader issues in history, education, society and political changes, and yet has often been regarded as being merely peripheral rather than central to them. Starting from Sol Cohen’s essay about the history of education whose aim should be «restore the broken links between our generation and our predecessors, to fill in certain gaps in our memory» (p. 2), the Author goes over the several approaches through which the history of education has passed, more recently engaging with different areas such as curriculum, teaching and gender, although often losing sight of a common cause.

This interesting book is introduced by the Author’s assumption that, according to Asa Briggs, «the study of the history of education is best considered as part of the wider study of the history of society, social history broadly interpreted with the politics, the economics and, it’s necessary to add, the religion put in» (pp. 2-3), insisting on the educational as well as the historical value of the history of education. Also the

French sociologist Émile Durkeim offers to the Author a basic argument according to which «the key dynamics of the struggle for the history of education arise chiefly from its strategic location in relation to three broad areas of study: education, history and the social sciences. All of these areas themselves represent a wide and diverse range of values, approaches and interests, and each is contested and changing» (p. 4). The book therefore examines a wide range of approaches to the study of the history of education and contextualizes the struggle for educational history, explaining and making suggestions for the future on a number of topics, including: finding a set of common causes for the field as a whole; engaging more effectively with social sciences and humanities while maintaining historical integrity; forming a rationale of missions and goals of the field; defining the overall content of the subject, its priorities and agendas, and reassessing the relevance of educational history to current educational and social issues.

The book is constituted by seven chapters devoted to the apology of the history of education and by an essential bibliography. After the introduction, the second chapter describes the struggle for social progress and takes into considerations different authors such as Gareth Stedman Jones, Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, A.G. Butchers and Nail Daghlish, considering similarities and differences between US and New Zealand in the 1950s. The Author argues that «A general movement away from a traditional liberal progressive approach to the history of education towards ‘revisionist’ approaches has been very common, but the debate has varied in its timing and also in its specific outcomes based on the particular educational, social and political characteristics of different nations. A struggle to undermine and re-

place traditional national histories of an 'educational' and liberal kind has developed into a struggle to define the particular characteristics of the national histories involved» (pp. 24-25). The third chapter analyses the struggle for social change from R.H. Quick to Robert Anderson, F. Clarke and Raymond Williams, highlighting the challenges posed by Banks and Williams to the traditional historiography of the history of education, underlining that «This new work placed much less emphasis on a chronological and descriptive treatment, and much more on social, cultural and political analysis» (p. 40). The fourth chapter is devoted to the struggle for social equality and takes into account mostly Brian Simon's works, representing «the vanguard of the British Marxist historians of the mid-twenties century, for which he has not always been given full credit» (p. 52). The fifth chapter presents the struggle for educational reform from the Board of Education discussions about education until Elisabeth Hansot and David Tyack, Donald Warren, Charles Webster, Peter Gosden and Harold Silver, arguing that «the role of the history of education in the struggle for educational reforms has been contested and denied not only by policy makers, but also by a number of historians of education who prefer to avoid giving excessive attention to the present. Marc Depaepe has argued against a 'functionalist' approach which attributes to 'frustration and anger' and 'a kind of corporatist defensive reflex' on the part of historians of education» (p. 69).

The sixth chapter describes the struggle for theory and methodology on the basis of a rich collection of reflexions by Roy Lowe, Fritz Stern, Pavla Miller, Clarence Karier and Richard Aldrich, raised around Jürgen Herbst's critique of the field in the early twenty-first century.

The seventh chapter analyses the struggle for new directions from Michael Young, Ivor Goodson, I. Grosvenor and M. Lawn, who have provided «fresh intellectual vitality to the field» (p. 83), striving at stressing the three key topics that have attracted much attention over the years: social disadvantage and the marginalization of specific social groups; teaching and learning in the context of the classroom and in other educational settings; education and empire with a particular focus on British empire. The last chapter presents the struggle for the future according to W.H.G. Armytage, Wendy Robinson, Ellen Condliffe Lagemann and Margaret A. Nash, Jonathan Lowe, Roger Murphy, appraising «the changing position and health of the history of education as a field of study as it attempts to locale itself to survive and prosper in a rapidly shifting environment into the future» (p. 98).

The history of education demonstrates the key changes and continuities in the field and its relationship with education, history and social sciences over the past century. It also reveals how the history of education can build an enhanced sense of its own past, and the common and integrating mission that makes it useful for a wide range of scholars and professionals.

Finally, in order to contribute to the survival of the history of education as an autonomous discipline and science there should be a common front of struggle. Beside the further development of the three main fields of international and national history of education, one could suggest also a global strategy through international societies and conferences, European projects and publications, scientific exchange with teachers and professors of all school degrees, international database about the history of education and scholar networks in order to legitimate its survival as the discipline in the University curricula de-

voted to the education and training of teachers.

Dorena Caroli

L'organizzazione dei saperi all'Università di Pisa. Dalle Facoltà ai nuovi Dipartimenti, Pisa, Pisa University Press, 2012, 238 pp.

Un volume agile, foriero di spunti interessanti e arricchito da un pregevole apparato iconografico. Si presenta così questa pubblicazione edita dalla Pisa University Press e fortemente voluta dal rettore dell'Ateneo pisano, Massimo Mario Augello, nell'intento di raccontare la storia delle diverse facoltà esistenti nell'Ateneo toscano in un momento particolarmente significativo per il sistema universitario italiano. Punto di partenza dell'intero lavoro è infatti rappresentato dalla data del 19 settembre 2012, giorno nel quale l'Università di Pisa, in applicazione della legge 240 del dicembre 2010 sulle *Norme in materia di organizzazione delle università*, ha registrato un cambiamento «epocale», passando da un assetto basato su undici facoltà e quarantotto dipartimenti ad uno imperniato su venti nuove strutture dipartimentali, le quali prevedono un numero minimo di cinquanta fra docenti e ricercatori e che accorpano ruoli e funzioni in precedenza suddivisi. Nell'ottica di una semplificazione attenta a concentrare nel 'nuovo dipartimento' le attività di ricerca e di didattica e quelle rivolte all'esterno, si è così ottenuto un superamento del modello introdotto con la riforma del 1980 che prevedeva un duplice binario tra la didattica, coordinata dalle tradizionali facoltà, e la ricerca, affidata agli allora nascenti dipartimenti. Come efficacemente illustrato dal rettore Augello nella sua *Presentazione* al volume «da allora le fa-

coltà hanno rappresentato le strutture deputate all'organizzazione e al coordinamento delle attività didattiche, oltre che alla gestione di posti di ruolo di professore e di ricercatore, e hanno anche rappresentato un punto di riferimento fondamentale per gli studenti, offrendo opportunità per le sempre più frequenti relazioni con il mondo esterno all'università». Per questo motivo, in un momento in cui la realtà accademica italiana vive una fase di assoluto rinnovamento non solo di facciata ma rispondente alle mutate esigenze della società contemporanea, l'Università di Pisa ha pensato bene di tracciare un rapido ma esaustivo profilo storico di tutte quelle facoltà, oggi estintesi, che hanno costituito nel tempo il cardine intorno al quale si è sviluppato il centro universitario toscano; è proprio nelle facoltà, infatti, che si è andata costruendo quell'eccellenza degli studi che ha da sempre contraddistinto l'Università pisana, «attraverso l'affermazione di 'scuole' di pensiero all'avanguardia in campo nazionale e internazionale, attraverso gli esempi e gli insegnamenti di illustri 'maestri', attraverso la maturazione e la valorizzazione di giovani talenti». Raccolti dalla professoressa Lucia Tomasi Tongiorgi, gli undici contributi che costituiscono il volume, curati dai presidi uscenti delle singole facoltà e da altri eminenti studiosi, con uno stile di scrittura naturalmente variegato e con una quanto mai apprezzabile dovizia di particolari, raccontano la storia delle facoltà pisane con riferimento ai personaggi di spicco che le hanno 'animate' e alle vicende più significative che ne hanno alimentato il prestigio sia a livello nazionale che internazionale. All'elegante scrittura del professor Eugenio Ripepe è spettato il compito di far rivivere i 'fasti' dell'antica facoltà giuridica (*La Facoltà di Giurisprudenza*), la quale affonda le proprie radici addirittura nel secolo XIII, ancor prima che la

bolla di Papa Clemente VI del 1343 istituì ufficialmente lo *Studium* generale pisano. Nel corso di quasi sette secoli di storia si sono succeduti quali docenti della facoltà giuridica, tanto cara in età rinascimentale a Lorenzo il Magnifico, personaggi di spicco del valore di Pompeo Neri, al quale fu affidata la prima cattedra di Diritto pubblico istituita in Italia, del criminalista Giovanni Carmignani, docente a Pisa per quasi quarant'anni, del penalista Francesco Carrara, capofila della 'scuola classica' che avrebbe a lungo influenzato la dottrina penalistica non solo italiana, fino ai più recenti Ugo Natoli e Vincenzo Palazzolo, entrambi «accomunati da un attaccamento alla Facoltà davvero raro». Mario Petrini e Gianfranco Natale ricostruiscono invece le vicende storiche della facoltà medico-chirurgica (*La Storia della Facoltà di Medicina e Chirurgia*), proponendo una periodizzazione in sei fasi che, partendo dalle origini trecentesche ed attraversando il periodo mediceo, il lorenese (sia il primo che il secondo) e il francese, permette di arrivare agli ultimi centocinquantaquattro anni di storia di una facoltà in grado di fornire al mondo della medicina italiana affermati professionisti raccolti prima attorno all'Ospedale Santa Chiara ed oggi a quello più moderno di Cisanello. Al 1818 possono, invece, essere fatte risalire le origini della Facoltà di Medicina Veterinaria, la cui storia è delineata da Alessandro Poli (*La Facoltà di Medicina Veterinaria*) con un'attenzione particolare per la figura di Vincenzo Mazza, veterinario della *Grande Armée* napoleonica e 'padre' della «Piccola Scuola di Veterinaria», sviluppatasi nel secondo decennio del 1800 grazie al fattivo sostegno ed alla protezione del principe di Canossa. A partire da quegli anni figure quali Luigi Lombardini, Pietro Oreste, Arturo Galli ed Aldo Romagnoli, sono riusciti a portare questo settore scientifico dell'Ateneo pisano a li-

velli di eccellenza e ad un'offerta didattica particolarmente diversificata. Ne è la dimostrazione la nascita, nei primi anni del nuovo millennio, del corso di laurea in Tecniche dell'Allevamento del Cane di Razza e Educazione Cinofila che, sin da subito, ha riscosso il consenso di studenti giovani e meno giovani, residenti in regioni anche molto distanti dalla Toscana. Tra le eccellenze dell'Università di Pisa deve essere necessariamente annoverata anche la Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, sia per la sue antiche origini che per la presenza nel suo corpo docente e studentesco di personalità di grande rilievo sia nella propria disciplina che nella vita civile locale e nazionale. Nel loro contributo (*La Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*) Carlo Da Pozzo e Alfonso Maria Iacono tratteggiano con rapidi e nostalgici schizzi la storia di una facoltà che può vantare le docenze di illustri personaggi politici quali Francesco De Sanctis e Pasquale Villari, futuri ministri della Pubblica Istruzione, oltre a quelle di letterati o filosofi di spicco quali Alessandro D'Ancona, Giovanni Pascoli, Gaetano Salvemini e Armando Carlini, tutti e quattro presidi, in periodi diversi, della facoltà pisana. La Facoltà di Agraria dell'Università di Pisa, la cui storia è ricostruita da Manuela Giovannetti (*La Facoltà di Agraria dell'Università di Pisa: 172 anni di eccellenza*), è invece considerata la più antica del mondo. Concepita 172 anni fa dal marchese Cosimo Ridolfi, precettore del figlio del Granduca, essa ha trovato nella Toscana il clima culturale più adatto al suo successo, divenendo con le sue ricerche e con i brillanti risultati raggiunti da docenti e studenti il punto di riferimento per gli agronomi dell'intero territorio peninsulare. Pressoché coeva alla Facoltà di Agraria, è anche quella di Scienze Matematiche, Fisiche e Naturali sulla cui storia si sofferma Paolo Rossi (*Le quattro stagioni degli scienziati pisani. La Facoltà di*

Scienze Matematiche, Fisiche e Naturali). Nel suo contributo lo studioso ricostruisce le tappe fondamentali della storia di una facoltà istituita nel 1866 sulla scia delle precedenti esperienze dei Collegi Universitari (Collegio Matematico e Collegio Fisico e di Scienze Naturali). Quale «padre nobile» della nuova facoltà è indicato il forlivese Carlo Matteucci, fisico e fisiologo, ministro dell'Istruzione nel 1862, professore emerito della facoltà nell'anno della sua istituzione. La maggioranza delle cattedre è appartenuta nei primi settanta anni di vita soprattutto ai matematici grazie al ruolo egemone ricoperto da docenti quali Luigi Bianchi, esponente di rilievo, a cavallo tra XIX e XX secolo, della grande scuola italiana di geometria. Ad Alessandro Faedo è poi legato il destino della facoltà pisana nel corso della seconda metà del Novecento a partire dalla sua chiamata come incaricato nel 1946 fino alla sua ascesa al ruolo di rettore nel 1959 (carica che ricoprì fino al 1972). A Faedo, eletto per due legislature senatore della Repubblica, devono essere ascritte l'istituzione e l'attivazione nel 1969 del primo corso di laurea italiano in Scienze dell'informazione. All'opera appassionata di Giuseppe Orosi, scienziato di grande fama e autore di importanti scritti in campo farmaceutico, si deve invece l'istituzione presso l'Università di Pisa di una vera e propria Scuola di Farmacia dotata di sede, laboratori ed insegnamenti propri, e la cui «vita» è stata accuratamente indagata dal contributo di Claudia Martini (*La Storia della Facoltà di Farmacia a Pisa*). Nel suo lavoro la Martini, partendo da un'analisi del ruolo storico e sociale della corporazione degli Speciali nel medioevo pisano, cerca di sottolineare i principali caratteri della formazione farmaceutica pisana nel corso delle varie epoche, offrendo al lettore anche alcuni dettagliati profili biografici di illustri docenti che hanno esercitato

la loro professione presso la Facoltà di Farmacia. Tra questi si ricordano Giuseppe Bellucci, Giancarlo Berti, Antonio Da Settimo Passetti, Bruno Macchia e Ivano Morelli. Di più recente istituzione ma comunque ugualmente meritevoli di considerazione, sono le facoltà di Ingegneria (Pierangelo Terreni, *La Facoltà di Ingegneria*), di Economia (Dianora Paoletti, *La Facoltà di Economia*) e di Lingue e Letterature Straniere (Bruno Mazzoni, *La Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere*), nate rispettivamente nel 1913, nel 1948 e nel 1955 e le quali hanno potuto annoverare nel proprio corpo docente studiosi come Ulisse Dini, primo direttore della Scuola di Ingegneria, Lorenzo Mossa, ordinario di Diritto commerciale, e Aurelio Zanco, anglista e primo preside della facoltà linguistico-letteraria. La chiusura del volume è affidata ad un ultimo ed interessante contributo a cura di Claudio Palazzolo, Romano Paolo Coppini e Alessandro Breccia dal titolo *Gli studi delle scienze politiche nella storia post-unitaria dell'Università di Pisa*. Il lavoro è una sintetica ed esauriente disamina circa la progressiva affermazione avutasi nell'Ateneo pisano di una particolare attenzione verso gli studi delle scienze politiche; in tal senso, prima di giungere al D.P.R. 3 agosto 1970 con il quale si istituiva a tutti gli effetti a Pisa una Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, i tre studiosi non esitano a descrivere il clima fortemente politicizzato che animava il mondo universitario pisano (ma non solo) nel periodo post unitario, come pure, in pieno ventennio fascista, la ferma volontà di Giuseppe Bottai nel fare di Pisa uno dei principali centri nazionali di formazione della classe dirigente del regime con la conseguente nascita, nel 1928, della «Scuola di perfezionamento in legislazione corporativa». Dal corso di laurea in Scienze politiche alla nascita di una facoltà, seppure tra innumerevoli difficoltà, il

passo è breve e quasi obbligato. Sarà proprio in questo contesto che troveranno terreno fertile per la propria formazione e per la propria successiva affermazione sulla scena nazionale figure chiave quali Furio Diaz, Giuliano Marini, Agostino Palazzi e Silvano Buralassi.

Luigi aurelio Pomante

Giorgio Chiosso, *Libri di scuola e mercato editoriale. Dal primo Ottocento alla Riforma Gentile*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2013, 223 pp.

Questo volume raccoglie sette saggi di Giorgio Chiosso sull'editoria scolastica e pedagogica e sulla stampa magistrale. I suoi interessi nei confronti di questo argomento sono fin troppo noti per essere qui anche sommariamente ricordati. Ci limiteremo allora a citare il repertorio della stampa periodica scolastica e magistrale³ e i due *Teseo*⁴, relativi rispettivamente all'editoria scolastica otto e primo novecentesca; lavori che hanno fatto del Chiosso il principale promotore di quel fecondo filone di ricerca sul libro per la scuola sviluppatosi in Italia negli ultimi 15 anni.

Il filo rosso che si dipana attraverso le pagine del volume è proprio quello del manuale scolastico, una fonte storica tanto povera, dal punto di vista del supporto cartaceo e, non di meno, della tradizionale scarsa cura nella sua conservazione e ca-

talogazione, quanto preziosa. Un semplice sillabario, un libro di lettura, un sussidiario, una collana di classici commentati, a saperli interrogare ci rimandano infatti la storia delle politiche scolastiche, della didattica, dell'industria editoriale del tempo, delle linee culturali adottate, del dibattito in sede pedagogica, dell'idea di educazione propria di una determinata società, della storia materiale del libro (la stampa, il corredo iconografico, etc.), dei fermenti ideologici e filosofici – si pensi alla Riforma Gentile, termine *ad quem* della raccolta di saggi in esame.

L'autore, forte dell'esperienza citata, riesce a far dialogare queste differenti prospettive e piani di ricerca: come il libro per la scuola si colloca al crocevia di saperi diversi, allo stesso modo i capitoli del volume sviluppano tematiche diverse, fermo restando, come detto, il punto di partenza.

I primi due saggi sono dedicati ai librai e tipografi torinesi – ché ancora molto labile si mantenne il confine tra arte tipografica e attività editoriale sino alla fine del XIX secolo – attivi rispettivamente negli anni preunitari e nel secondo Ottocento.

Il contesto geografico, quello dello Stato sabaudo e della prima capitale del Regno d'Italia, si rivela, com'è noto, opportuno: una felice combinazione tra una classe dirigente liberale sensibile al tema dell'istruzione popolare e la presenza di uomini di chiesa impegnati in ambito educativo (si pensi alla Torino dei 'santi sociali') permise al capoluogo sabaudo di collocarsi, assieme al Granducato di Toscana e al Regno Lombardo Veneto, tra gli stati preunitari con la legislazione scolastica più avanzata.

Gli ambiziosi obiettivi di alfabetizzazione delle classi popolari si scontrarono tuttavia con la penuria di personale idoneo e di strumenti didattici. Non stupisce pertanto se negli anni '40 dell'Ottocento divennero fattori strategici nella battaglia contro

³ G. Chiosso (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997.

⁴ G. Chiosso (ed.), *TESEO, Tipografi ed Editori Scolastico-Educativi dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2003 e Id. (ed.), *TESEO '900, Editori Scolastico-Educativi del primo Novecento*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2008.

l'ignoranza sia la formazione dei maestri, cui si accompagnò la pubblicazione dei primi periodici didattici, sia la pubblicazione di testi scolastici predisposti appositamente per l'infanzia. Tra i protagonisti in questo ultimo ambito merita almeno un cenno il sacerdote Michele Ponza, figura poliedrica nella Torino sabauda: maestro elementare, direttore di una rivista letteraria e magistrale e, soprattutto, autore di testi scolastici innovatori. Con i suoi libri, infatti, contribuì in maniera determinante alla diffusione del principio della gradualità nell'apprendimento grammaticale (i suoi testi furono i primi ad essere pensati per alunni e insegnanti di classi specifiche), oltre all'affermazione di una nuova terminologia: il manuale, destinato a sostituire nel linguaggio comune il compendio.

Le opere del Ponza, come di altri autori coevi, erano destinate anche ai maestri, per i quali costituivano un valido sussidio nel lavoro di classe. In alcuni casi essi furono dei veri e propri libri-guide, o 'libri didascalici' secondo la definizione del Rayneri, vale a dire manuali didattici per favorire negli insegnanti l'applicazione del metodo (gradualità, pertinenza, concretezza, simultaneità, etc.). Si trattava non solo di migliorare la preparazione di questi docenti, ma anche di uniformare il metodo di insegnamento, obiettivo perseguito dal Consiglio Superiore dell'istruzione sollecitando – quando non imponendo – l'adozione dei libri approvati. Anche in questi tentativi di controllo sulla produzione editoriale per la scuola, legittimati dagli sforzi per rendere omogenea la didattica o dal tentativo di ridurre le spese per le famiglie, si possono rintracciare gli elementi di continuità tra il Regno di Sardegna e il Regno d'Italia; una tentazione che riaffiorò periodicamente per tutti i decenni successivi, fino agli estremi esiti dell'introduzione del testo unico di Stato decisa nel 1929.

Il progressivo aumento del numero di scolari, favorito anche dalle leggi sull'obbligo scolastico, e la necessità di dotare alunni e insegnanti di adeguati sussidi favorirono la nascita di un'editoria specializzata che iniziò ad investire prevalentemente nel settore scolastico educativo. Agli storici marchi della Stamperia Reale, di Pomba e di Marietti si affiancarono nomi come Paravia, la Tipografia Scolastica di Sebastiano Franco, Vaccarino, Grato Scioldo, etc. L'elenco sarebbe lungo e riflette bene la frammentazione del mercato editoriale scolastico, caratteristica destinata a mantenersi a lungo nel contesto nazionale. Essa fu determinata dalla consapevolezza che il testo per la scuola fosse una fonte di profitti quasi garantiti, almeno fino agli anni Venti del Novecento. Librai, tipografi, piccoli e medi editori per decenni aprirono pertanto i propri cataloghi a opere scolastiche spesso modeste, libretti di lettura compilati da maestri locali e destinati a non superare i confini della provincia, quando non del municipio, ma dallo smercio assicurato.

A fronte di un numero consistente di imprese dagli interessi non esclusivamente scolastici e presenti nei cataloghi per la scuola con pochissime opere, dalla metà del XIX secolo il mercato cominciò tuttavia ad essere egemonizzato dagli editori specializzati, favoriti dalla crescente importanza che andava assumendo l'istruzione, anche a livello di percezione sociale e non solo nei dibattiti pedagogici o politici. Torino, complice un certo dinamismo imprenditoriale e, per alcuni anni, la vicinanza con gli ambienti ministeriali, si rivelò un terreno di coltura particolarmente fertile. Tra le varie ditte che seppero emergere, anche a livello nazionale, primeggia Paravia, capace di offrire un catalogo destinato agli studenti delle scuole di ogni ordine e grado. Alla stampa dei manuali, inoltre, affiancò la produzione di sussidi

didattici, l'avvio di collane di letteratura per ragazzi, la pubblicazione di riviste magistrali, utilizzate spesso come veicolo per una propaganda pubblicitaria smalzata e massiva. Oltre all'organicità dell'offerta, la ditta piemontese poteva contare sulla capillarità del proprio settore distributivo (apri, prima tra gli editori scolastici, succursali nei principali capoluoghi della penisola, garantendo la copertura dell'intero territorio nazionale); sul rinnovamento periodico dell'apparato tipografico, fondamentale per abbattere i prezzi di produzione e arricchire con qualche illustrazione accattivante i libretti per l'infanzia; su una politica editoriale ispirata ad un «sapiente strabismo», riuscendo a far convivere autori di differenti tendenze culturali e pedagogiche.

A contrastare la preminenza di Paravia, soprattutto a partire dalla fine dell'Ottocento, furono soprattutto gli editori fiorentini e milanesi, mentre meno consistenti, tranne isolati casi, furono i poli romano e meridionale in genere. Nomi come Bemporad, Trevisini, Vallardi, Barbera, Le Monnier conquistarono porzioni crescenti di mercato, soprattutto in determinati ambiti come l'istruzione classica e secondaria.

Lo scenario mutò radicalmente, com'è noto, in seguito alla Riforma Gentile e all'istituzione delle commissioni per l'esame dei libri di testo per le scuole elementari presiedute da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice. Marchi storici non riuscirono a modificare per tempo il proprio catalogo secondo le indicazioni ministeriali; altri, grazie anche a politiche scaltre, seppero irrompere con vigore, stravolgendo gerarchie consolidate (si pensi, per limitarci ad un solo esempio, a Mondadori). Chiosso ripercorre con profondità di analisi i canali attraverso cui si consumò questa rivoluzione editoriale, legata in particolar modo all'influenza di Gentile, ai fiancheggiatori della riforma del '23 e al gruppo

dei «lombardiani». La consapevolezza del ruolo ricoperto dal libro di lettura e della necessità di offrire un prodotto di qualità, sia dal punto di vista formale (copertina e illustrazioni a colori, l'adozione di caratteri più grandi, la rilegatura rinforzata a prova di bambino, etc.) che sostanziale (poesie, raccontini e brani in linea con i programmi e con l'idea di scuola serena propugnata dal Lombardo Radice), favorì una produzione editoriale di assoluto valore, pur nella brevissima stagione che le fu concesso di vivere prima dell'introduzione del libro unico di Stato.

Per quanto riguarda le tematiche affrontate dai manuali scolastici, molto interessante risulta la lettura del capitolo dedicato ad un'analisi contenutistica dei libri di lettura negli ultimi due decenni dell'Ottocento, quando i brani furono spesso piegati all'esigenza di formare il piccolo italiano secondo i valori tipici dell'epoca: abnegazione, obbedienza, tenacia, lealtà, etica del sacrificio, etc. Sono riflessioni, quelle di Chiosso, che suggeriscono piste di ricerca da sondare. Proprio su questo versante, infatti, si deve consumare la prossima evoluzione degli studi sulla storia del libro scolastico, come peraltro in parte già si è cominciato a fare⁵: dalla ricostruzione del panorama editoriale è necessario passare alla storia della didattica nelle diverse discipline di studio. Il manuale d'istruzione, assieme ai periodici magistrali, ai quaderni, ai registri, ai diari degli insegnanti, ai sussidi didattici, etc. continuerà in questo modo ad essere una fonte preziosa di indagine storica e contribuirà a colmare una lacuna significativa negli studi storico-educativi nazionali.

Fabio Targhetta

⁵ P. Bianchini (ed.), *Le origini delle materie. Discipline, programmi e manuali scolastici in Italia*, Torino, SEI, 2010.

Paolo Alfieri, *Oltre il "recinto". L'educazione popolare negli oratori milanesi tra Otto e Novecento*, SEI, Torino 2011, 297 pp.

In un recente saggio su *Stato, Chiesa e scuola dal 1861 al 1870*, Roberto Sani si è interrogato sul contributo dato dalla Chiesa e dal cattolicesimo all'edificazione del sistema educativo e scolastico italiano⁶. Egli ha notato che gli studi storici e quelli storico-educativi, dopo essersi prevalentemente soffermati sull'analisi delle diatribe ideologiche che videro contrapposti Chiesa e Stato nella formazione della nuova nazione subito dopo l'Unità, si sono via via preoccupati di ricostruire la multiforme presenza della Chiesa in ambito educativo, e in specie la rete scolastica promossa a integrazione delle carenze statali o in alternativa a esse (scuole primarie e secondarie, collegi, scuole femminili, istituti professionali, asili, scuole speciali) e i modelli educativi proposti. Proprio in merito a quest'ultimo aspetto, Sani conclude il suo intervento riflettendo sulla contrapposizione fra canale pubblico/statale e canale privato/cattolico e domandandosi se la prima vittima di questa alterità/contrapposizione non sia stata proprio la scuola, intesa come luogo di formazione di una cittadinanza condivisa.

È indubbio che lo scioglimento di questo nodo storiografico, che rinvia al più ampio tema del contributo della Chiesa e del peso che il suo messaggio educativo ebbero nella costruzione dell'identità nazionale italiana, su cui si è tornati a discutere nel quadro delle celebrazioni dei centocinquanta anni dell'Unità di Italia, richiederebbe l'avvio di ulteriori ricerche

⁶ R. Sani, *Stato, Chiesa e scuola dal 1861 al 1870*, in Id., *Sub specie educationis. Studi e ricerche su istruzione, istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formativi nell'Italia contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2011, pp. 299-344.

volte a mappare e a esaminare la composita realtà formativa della Chiesa cattolica fra '800 e '900, già studiata⁷ ma che necessita di nuove indagini in ambito locale e in settori e istituzioni in cui il cattolicesimo fu particolarmente attivo fra XIX e XX secolo.

Il libro di Paolo Alfieri, peraltro uscito proprio nel 2011, sembra raccogliere le istanze richiamate in quanto offre una documentata analisi dell'azione educativa svolta dalla Chiesa a livello popolare, fra fine Ottocento e primo Novecento, attraverso l'oratorio, un'istituzione cioè che in molte zone del nostro paese, è stata per molti anni – ed è ancora oggi – per non pochi giovani il luogo della crescita e della formazione, insieme alla famiglia e alla scuola. Esso si concentra sul nuovo modello di oratorio promosso dal Cardinal Ferrari a Milano con lo Statuto promulgato nel 1904, facendo luce sul percorso che condusse alla sua definizione, tramite la valorizzazione di una plurisecolare tradizione, ma anche il confronto con le altre esperienze oratoriane, e seguendone l'evoluzione durante il primo ventennio del Novecento, in un periodo in cui la Chiesa – e quella ambrosiana in particolare – era chiamata a misurarsi con gli inediti problemi posti dal processo di industrializzazione e di modernizzazione in atto. Nella lettera

⁷ Mi limito a ricordare in questa sede gli Atti dei convegni su Chiesa, movimento cattolico, educazione e scuola fra primo Ottocento e fascismo, promossi, a partire dai primi anni Novanta, dal gruppo di studiosi dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, coordinati dal prof. L. Pazzaglia: L. Pazzaglia (ed.), *Chiesa e prospettive educative in Italia tra Restaurazione e Unificazione*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1994; Id. (ed.), *Cattolici, educazione e trasformazioni socio-culturali in Italia fra Otto e Novecento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1999; Id. (ed.), *Chiesa, cultura e educazione in Italia tra le due guerre*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2003.

di presentazione dello Statuto, il Cardinal Ferrari rilevava che occorre che, a «una vita interna dell'Oratorio svolgentesi in piccoli recinti, si aggiungesse anche una vita esteriore, che avviasse i giovani alle nuove condizioni della vita matura». Così, nel delinearne lo scopo, lo Statuto affermava che esso doveva «procurare l'educazione cristiana dei fanciulli e giovanetti» di ogni ceto e professione «in corrispondenza ai bisogni attuali delle famiglie e della società, e di loro agevolare il pratico adempimento dei doveri religiosi» (p. 54).

Se molte sono le ricerche sulla genesi e sugli sviluppi dell'oratorio salesiano, cui, come documenta Alfieri, anche la realtà milanese guardò, meno numerose sono quelle sul modello milanese, destinato però anch'esso a lasciare un segno nella pastorale giovanile, e non solo della diocesi ambrosiana, fino ai giorni nostri. Egli fa tesoro delle indagini già condotte in merito con un approccio storico-ecclesiastico⁸, o anche con un interesse storico educativo, ma più preoccupate dell'aspetto istituzionale in rapporto con la multiforme realtà dell'associazionismo giovanile cattolico⁹. Il suo intento, pienamente raggiunto, è stato quello di andare oltre tali impostazioni, per fare luce sia sulla progettualità pedagogica che sostenne l'affermazione e l'espansione degli oratori nella diocesi ambrosiana, sia sulla traduzione dei modelli formativi nella quotidianità della pratica educativa. In sintonia con i più recenti orientamenti della ricerca storica-educati-

va, egli si è fatto carico di entrare dentro il 'recinto' degli oratori per soffermarsi sulle figure educative e sulle attività proposte.

L'operazione è stata possibile grazie allo spoglio della rivista, «L'eco degli oratorii», di cui si dotò la nuova istituzione dal 1907, e della manualistica specialistica coeva, e alla consultazione della documentazione inedita conservata presso l'Archivio Storico Diocesano di Milano (in specie quella relativa alla Fondazione Oratori Milanesi) e in diversi archivi parrocchiali. Attraverso il sapiente utilizzo del materiale raccolto, l'Autore è riuscito a ritrarre i diversi momenti e aspetti del progetto pedagogico oratoriano, facendone emergere gli elementi costitutivi, i caratteri innovativi e di continuità con il passato, le tangenze con le altre esperienze oratoriane, le analogie e le contrapposizioni con i modelli educativi laici.

Centrale nella proposta formativa degli oratori era ovviamente il catechismo, dove però il rigoroso rinvio al magistero ecclesiastico si sposava con l'attenzione al rinnovamento in atto nell'istruzione religiosa, come è testimoniato, in alcune realtà, dal coinvolgimento attivo dei ragazzi attraverso l'uso di diapositive e di tavole illustrate e dal ricorso al sistema ciclico e al metodo intuitivo. Accanto alla formazione religiosa, alla pratica devozionale e sacramentale, trovavano posto nella vita oratoriana i tempi della ricreazione, intesa soprattutto come gioco libero, svolto sotto l'attenta sorveglianza degli educatori, favorita dall'organizzazione degli spazi. Se la presenza della dimensione ludica non costituiva certamente una novità nell'ambito delle esperienze oratoriane, è tuttavia a questo livello che emerge molto bene l'apertura alla modernità – sempre all'interno di una preoccupazione preventiva – propria del modello ambrosiano avviato dal Cardinal Ferrari. Le porte dei 'recinti' oratoriani si aprirono, infatti, alla ginnastica e allo

⁸ G. Barzaghi, *Tre secoli di storia e pastorale degli oratori milanesi*, Torino, Elle Di Ci, 1985; E. Apeciti, *L'oratorio ambrosiano da San Carlo ai giorni nostri*, Milano, Ancora, 1998.

⁹ Si veda L. Caimi, *Cattolici per l'educazione. Studi su oratori e associazioni giovanili nell'Italia unita*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2006, con specifico riferimento al I capitolo dedicato al periodo compreso fra Unità e Grande Guerra (pp. 7-84).

sport, superando la tradizionale diffidenza della pedagogia cattolica per l'educazione del corpo, e al cinematografo, ponendo così le basi dello stretto legame che si sarebbe poi affermato nel corso del Novecento fra cinema e cattolicesimo. Molte interessanti e nuove, sotto il profilo storiografico, sono le pagine che Alfieri dedica alla ricostruzione di queste iniziative che dovevano attrarre e divertire i giovani, intrattenendoli comunque per fini edificanti. In sintonia con il progetto pedagogico perseguito, esse contribuivano alla formazione globale dei ragazzi, preparati per essere non solo buoni cristiani, ma anche protagonisti avvertiti della società coeva e dei pericoli che essa presentava (proselitismo agguerrito del socialismo, anticlericalismo presente nei luoghi di lavoro e nella scuola, dilagare dei vizi del gioco, del fumo e dell'alcol). È da segnalare, in proposito, l'attenzione rivolta all'educazione civica attraverso le pagine de «L'eco degli oratorii» o le stesse attività ginnico-sportive. Una formazione, scrive l'Autore, che in specie in coincidenza con la Guerra libica e il primo conflitto mondiale si caricò di un «più intenso amor patrio, che, ancorché mai completamente identificabile con il nazionalismo *tout court*, favorì la definitiva penetrazione nella cultura popolare cattolica dei valori e dei simboli della nazione» (p. 282).

Insomma il libro di Paolo Alfieri si rivela non solo un dettagliato affresco della proposta formativa degli oratori milanesi, ma anche una attenta presentazione dei modelli, dei luoghi e dei tempi dell'educazione popolare cattolica del primo Novecento e del contributo che essa diede anche alla costruzione dell'identità nazionale di quei giovani che, nei cortili, nelle sale da gioco e nei saloni per il teatro o il cinema dei 'recinti' oratoriani, crebbero, imparando a confrontarsi con la modernità.

Carla Ghizzoni

Carlo G. Lacaïta, Mariachiara Fugazza (edd.), *L'istruzione secondaria nell'Italia unita. 1891-1901*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2013, 412 pp.

«Lo scopo principalissimo per cui le scuole classiche sono fondate, quello di insegnare a ragionare con precisione rigorosa, a sentire nobilmente, ad esprimersi con chiarezza ed eleganza, non solo non è raggiunto, ma si è ancora lontanissimo». Con queste parole, in una relazione nella quale metteva a punto il problema dell'insegnamento dell'italiano, nel 1880 Pasquale Villari tracciava un severo bilancio di due decenni di vita della scuola che avrebbe dovuto rappresentare il perno della formazione del ceto sociale e politico nelle cui mani affidare il destino dell'Italia. Difficoltà di ogni genere avevano fino a quel momento ostacolato il compiersi del progetto scolastico previsto dalla legge del 1859 e faticosamente estesa negli anni successivi a tutto il Regno: la mancanza di docenti adeguatamente preparati così da dover ricorrere spesso a soluzioni di ripiego, l'ostilità di una parte del clero che in tutti i modi si sforzava di conservare le proprie scuole, la diffidenza delle famiglie che preferivano per i figli le più facili scuole private, le inadempienze delle amministrazioni locali che, pur obbligate per legge, traccheggiavano e spesso stanziavano somme miserevoli per le scuole.

Di tutto questo si discorre con ampiezza di informazione e ricca documentazione nel volume curato da Carlo G. Lacaïta e Mariachiara Fugazza che raccoglie le relazioni, riviste e ampliate, presentate a un convegno svoltosi nell'ottobre 2011 sulle vicende dell'istruzione secondaria tra l'Unità e la fine del secolo per iniziativa dell'Istituto lombardo di storia contemporanea e altri organismi associativi. Iniziativa benemerita che arricchisce la bibliografia finora alquanto scarsa – specie se confron-

tata con l'ampiezza degli studi e delle ricerche che si sono occupate dell'istruzione elementare e di quella universitaria – intorno alla scuola secondaria.

Se in un certo senso è quasi scontato che molti contributi siano dedicati alle vicende dei ginnasii e dei licei – la formazione assicurata dall'istruzione classica costituisce un dato mai posto davvero in discussione nella cultura della borghesia liberale post unitaria – l'attenzione del volume si rivolge altresì ad altri aspetti dell'istruzione secondaria: le scuole tecniche, quelle femminili e l'educazione fisica. In specie sulle scuole tecniche le nostre conoscenze sono piuttosto scarse e talvolta un po' rituali, mentre esse rappresentarono – da quelle post elementari agli antefatti degli attuali Politecnici e cioè per l'intero arco della loro presenza – un fenomeno di rilevanza notevole specie se si considera il proposito di larga parte del ceto dirigente liberale di fare del Risorgimento nazionale un capitolo anche della modernizzazione dell'Italia.

L'evoluzione dell'istruzione tecnica procedette naturalmente in ragione dei cambiamenti che interessarono i processi produttivi e l'implementazione dell'attività industriale e dunque in modo alquanto differenziato nelle diverse realtà italiane (*in primis* in Lombardia e in Piemonte) come risulta dalla distribuzione dei 76 istituti tecnici e delle 413 scuole tecniche funzionanti nel 1881. La crescente rilevanza di questo segmento scolastico appare evidente soprattutto se si tiene conto che anche dal canale degli istituti tecnici emerse una parte non marginale (in specie attraverso la sezione fisico-matematica che dava accesso, come è noto, agli studi superiori scientifici) del ceto dirigente italiano attivo sia sul versante industriale sia impegnato negli studi tecnico-scientifici.

Molto opportunamente nell'ultima parte del volume sono ospitati numerosi

studi concentrati su alcuni aspetti dell'istruzione non classica in Lombardia. Essi danno luce all'ampiezza delle possibilità di formazione che la società del tempo metteva in campo oltre al tradizionale canale delle scuole classiche.

Giorgio Chiosso

Juri Meda (ed.), *Falce e fumetto. Storia della stampa periodica socialista e comunista per l'infanzia in Italia (1893-1965)*, Firenze, Nerbini, 2013, 335 pp.

Quinta uscita della collana Nerbiniana (*Storia della stampa periodica per l'infanzia e la gioventù*), diretta dallo stesso Juri Meda, questa opera costituisce un felice approdo di alcuni recenti filoni di ricerca. Convergono infatti nei dieci saggi che costituiscono il volume gli esiti di alcune tra le più avanzate tendenze storiografiche, come le indagini recentemente promosse sui lettori e sul loro immaginario in formazione, che rappresentano un innovativo approccio alla storia del libro e dell'editoria, o gli studi sui processi di politicizzazione dell'infanzia in età contemporanea, che – a partire anche da *Il popolo bambino* di Gibelli – stanno offrendo riflessioni molto interessanti. In ambito storico-educativo, d'altronde, ci si è fino a questo momento focalizzati sulla storia della stampa magistrale e didattica, tralasciando quasi completamente sia la stampa più propriamente scolastica (come i giornali di classe e/o d'istituto) sia quella 'di intrattenimento', illustrata e no, che pure costituì per lungo tempo un settore fondamentale dell'editoria educativa italiana.

Falce e fumetto nasce pertanto con l'ambizioso obiettivo, dichiarato fin dall'introduzione, di colmare lacune significative e di rappresentare un apprezzabile modello di ricerca interdisciplinare, essen-

do riuscito Meda a coinvolgere studiosi di formazione differente.

L'essere il primo lavoro che indaga in modo organico e approfondito la stampa socialista e comunista per l'infanzia a partire dalla fine dell'Ottocento (gli studi finora pubblicati sono stati dedicati ai periodici del secondo dopoguerra) non costituisce l'unico pregio del volume. Assai ampia risulta infatti la documentazione cui hanno avuto accesso gli autori per i propri lavori, come si evince anche dalla tavola degli acronimi e delle abbreviazioni che compare in apertura al volume. Il puntuale riferimento a materiale archivistico inedito, e spesso di difficile reperimento all'interno di collezioni private o di biblioteche specializzate, costituisce senza dubbio il primo indicatore del rigore metodologico che caratterizza poi l'intera opera, ancora più imprescindibile in un caso come questo in cui ci si addentra in un ambito di studi tanto inedito. Proprio a fronte della rarità delle fonti documentarie, molto interessante risulta l'appendice iconografica, a colori e ad alta definizione, utile a cogliere, anche solo con uno sguardo, l'evoluzione di questi giornaletti sia a livello grafico che contenutistico. Il tardivo mutamento stilistico nei periodici socialisti e comunisti per l'infanzia, con il passaggio dalle «fiabe a quadretti» ai *balloons*, ci suggerisce ad esempio una certa avversione alle innovazioni grafiche, frutto d'un modello che privilegiava la valenza educativa a discapito dell'intrattenimento: si è pensato infatti a lungo che ciò che divertiva non potesse anche educare. Una visione austera che – se pur coerente con le tendenze pedagogiche ottocentesche – risultava già anacronistica nel primo dopoguerra.

Il medesimo criterio adottato per la presentazione dell'apparato illustrativo è stato seguito anche per i saggi, che sono stati raccolti in tre capitoli.

Nel contributo d'apertura Fabiana Loparco ricostruisce con dovizia di particolari la storia delle prime due strenne socialiste rivolte ai fanciulli, *Figli del Popolo* (1893-1898), pubblicato a cura della Sezione maestre e maestri della Camera del Lavoro di Milano, e la *Strenna minima socialista pei ragazzi* (1897-1900), foglietto allegato al periodico *La parola dei poveri*, a sua volta supplemento del torinese *Il grido del popolo*. Sono fogli unici, pubblicati in occasione di precise ricorrenze (il 1° maggio e il capodanno), prive quindi di quel carattere di continuità proprio delle pubblicazioni periodiche. In secondo luogo, si tratta – più che di materiale propagandistico – di scritti educativi, in linea con il concetto di lettura collettiva in uso nei circoli politici di quel periodo. L'alto tasso di analfabetismo e la necessità di emancipare le masse popolari attraverso l'educazione avevano infatti contribuito alla diffusione di una dimensione aggregativa della lettura, facendo dei circoli socialisti e anarchici degli spazi di sociabilità e di acculturazione militante.

Una funzione educativa – oltre a quella aggregativa e celebrativa cui già abbiamo fatto cenno – che si coglie nella sua interezza analizzando i contenuti di questi opuscoli, finalizzati all'educazione civile e morale dei propri lettori secondo i valori e i principi propri del socialismo. Un socialismo più vicino a quello «dei professori», così diffuso nella Torino deamicisiana, venato di una forte carica etica ed erede di un certo moralismo ottocentesco che vedeva nell'abnegazione, nel sacrificio e nello studio (in una parola nel *dovere*) le uniche strade per giungere al pieno riconoscimento dei propri *diritti* in quanto cittadini.

La saltuarietà dei numeri unici – peraltro indirizzati spesso ad un pubblico di lettori indifferenziato, in cui rientravano anche bambini e ragazzi – si rivelò

nel nuovo secolo insufficiente ad instillare i principi socialisti. Accanto a questi fogli celebrativi nacquero pertanto anche periodici per l'infanzia dalla cadenza più regolare, quali il settimanale *Figli del Popolo* (1903-1904) e il mensile *Primavera* (1911-1914).

Invariato, almeno fino alla Prima guerra mondiale, rimase il modello d'infanzia proposto in queste pagine, più vicina al bravo e buon fanciullo borghese che al piccolo rivoluzionario. Juri Meda, nelle interessanti riflessioni sui lettori di questi periodici, ipotizza una sorta di «borghezizzazione dell'infanzia proletaria» patrocinata dai periodici socialisti primonovecenteschi. L'impressione che si ricava è che la corsa di questi ultimi fosse sempre un po' «a inseguire», contrariamente a quanto succedeva nella stampa periodica per gli adulti, dove le iniziative socialiste costituivano un modello per la pubblicistica di diverso orientamento politico, in particolar modo per quella d'ispirazione cattolica. Negli anni in cui nacquero il *Corriere dei Piccoli* e il *Giornalino della Domenica*, infatti, la stampa periodica socialista per fanciulli non riuscì ad aprirsi alla dimensione ricreativa e ludica, privilegiando quella eminentemente educativa, un elemento che pesò sulle fortune editoriali (in genere scarse) di questi giornalotti.

Un iniziale superamento del modello ottocentesco si registrò con la pubblicazione de *Il Germoglio* (1919-1920), primo periodico «di partito» per l'infanzia, e si consumò poi con *Cuore: giornale illustrato per i ragazzi* (1919-1923), chiamato a diventare l'anti-*Corrierino*. Un sapiente dosaggio di fantasia e realtà, divertimento ed educazione, accattivanti illustrazioni e testo scritto ne fecero infatti prodotti editoriali di ottima qualità.

Un'ulteriore evoluzione, quantomeno nel processo di politicizzazione dell'infanzia, fu rappresentata dalla pubblicazione

de *Il Fanciullo Proletario* (1922), primo quindicinale comunista per bambini. La netta avversione al fascismo, alla scuola borghese e alla Chiesa segnarono l'abbandono di quei propositi etici ed educativi propri dei periodici socialisti fin dalla fine dell'Ottocento. La frattura rispetto alla figura del ragazzino coscienzioso veicolata da quelle strenne, è ancora più evidente nei numeri de *Il Fanciullo Proletario* usciti tra il 1927 ed il 1930, unico esempio di periodico antifascista clandestino rivolto all'infanzia. I protagonisti non sono più giovani esempi di virtù morali che combattono con la forza delle idee le disuguaglianze sociali, ma «rivoluzionari in miniatura», in lotta contro il regime.

Seguendo un andamento cronologico, il secondo capitolo è dedicato al secondo dopoguerra e agli anni del *boom* economico (1945-1965). Grazie alla nascita di organizzazioni politiche infantili a carattere nazionale come l'Associazione pionieri d'Italia (API) e l'Associazione falchi rossi italiani (AFRI), alla presenza di personalità illustri nel campo della letteratura per ragazzi (a partire da Gianni Rodari) e alla necessità di moltiplicare il dispiegamento di forze richiesta dalla guerra fredda, le pubblicazioni periodiche socialiste e comuniste per l'infanzia furono protagoniste di un'ulteriore e fortunata evoluzione qualitativa. Marco Fincardi nel suo saggio dimostra come la stampa periodica fosse solo un tassello, anche se investito di una funzione importante, all'interno di un più ampio progetto educativo spiegato dai partiti progressisti in vista di un'«educazione nuova», che ponesse al centro il bambino con la sua autonomia di giudizio critico e il suo senso di responsabilità.

La consapevolezza di questa funzione tuttavia non corrispose, almeno fino alla fine degli anni Quaranta, con una maggiore sensibilità nei confronti dei gusti e delle

tendenze giovanili. Ne offre una valida testimonianza il periodico intitolato *Il Falco Rosso* (1949-1950), analizzato da Ilaria Mattioni. Vittima dell'ostracismo dei vertici nei confronti degli albi illustrati a fumetti, ritenuti emblema della società consumistica statunitense, *Il Falco Rosso* non rinnegò i vecchi schemi grafici e stilistici prebellici ed in particolare la formula del classico «giornalino»: storielle a vignette accompagnate da didascalie in rima, racconti e rubriche.

I dibattiti interni al partito socialista e comunista di quegli anni, d'altronde, come ci ricordano nei loro contributi Sara Mori, Lorenzo Repetti e Leo Goretti, evidenziano una profonda ritrosia nei confronti di qualsiasi innovazione, in particolar modo quella fumettistica. Se, da un lato, si riconosceva l'urgenza di utilizzare i *comics* a scopi educativi e formativi, dall'altro era forte la diffidenza nei confronti di un genere che si riteneva un sottoprodotto culturale di massa di matrice americana, utilizzato fino a quel momento più per incentivare nei giovani lettori la fuga dalla realtà e un individualistico disimpegno che non il contrario. I tempi, tuttavia, erano maturi perché venissero abbattute anche le ultime riserve. Dapprima con *Noi Ragazzi* (1948-1950) e poi con *Pattuglia* (1947-1953) e, soprattutto, con *Il Pioniere* (1950-1962), anche la stampa di sinistra si aprì definitivamente ai fumetti.

A testimonianza del carattere sovranazionale di certi giudizi, la medesima sprezzante condanna nei confronti degli albi illustrati fu formulata in quegli stessi anni anche nei territori della Repubblica Democratica Tedesca, come descritto da Nicola Spagnoli nel saggio di chiusura del volume, dedicato ad una analisi dei periodici socialisti per l'infanzia nella DDR tra il 1949 ed il 1965.

L'auspicio è che quest'ultimo contributo rappresenti il preludio ad una ulteriore

estensione delle indagini fin qui condotte e che – dopo aver indagato con tanta ricchezza di dettagli e profondità di riflessioni il panorama italiano della stampa periodica socialista e comunista per l'infanzia – possano essere avviati studi comparativi a livello internazionale. Essi costituirebbero davvero un tassello fondamentale per studiare i processi di politicizzazione dell'infanzia in età contemporanea in una dimensione europea.

Fabio Targhetta

Riccardo Pagano, *Il pensiero pedagogico di Antonio Gramsci*, Milano, Monduzzi Editoriale, 2013, 140 pp.

Riportare alla luce, ricostruire e riattualizzare il pensiero di un autore ormai ritenuto un 'classico' della storia della pedagogia, e non solo, non è mai semplice; richiede una competenza scientifica che è sì, *storiografica*, ma anche, e soprattutto, *pedagogico-ermeneutica*.

Nel testo che qui presentiamo, *Il pensiero pedagogico di Antonio Gramsci* (2013) di Riccardo Pagano, edito dalla casa editrice Monduzzi Editoriale di Milano, la dimensione storiografica e quella pedagogica in maniera equilibrata si alternano e si integrano e così consentono di comprendere, da un lato, attraverso una sapiente scelta degli scritti più pregnanti dell'intellettuale sardo, la complessità del suo pensiero e, dall'altro, la *vis* educativa che lo sostanzia, valida anche per il presente.

Al centro del pensiero gramsciano – avverte l'Autore – è un'idea di pedagogia che non si risolve in una mera speculazione metafisica, infruttuosa e astratta. Concepita in un'ottica storicista, essa è per Gramsci, la lente che gli consente di mettere a fuoco la complessità della realtà, di

analizzare l'*hinc et nunc* della quotidianità, di svelarne le dinamiche nascoste e le molte criticità.

Quali le tappe che portarono Gramsci a maturare questa idea di pedagogia? Senza dubbio, e in ordine di tempo, l'educazione familiare, l'esperienza scolastica, e quella politica.

Nell'economia del testo, esse trovano spazio nel primo capitolo, *La formazione affettivo-sentimentale, scolastica, politica del giovane Gramsci*. In esso l'Autore, attraverso una lettura attenta, minuziosa, colta e sensibile delle *Lettere* e un incalzare di ricordi, immagini, emozioni, impressioni, con l'abilità di un pittore, di un regista, di uno scrittore, di chi insomma sa dare forma, colore, ritmo ed emozione a ciò che dipinge, rappresenta o narra producendo un effetto quasi di stupore in chi guarda, ascolta, legge, ci presenta l'uomo Gramsci nel contesto in cui visse e si formò. In tale lettura, l'Autore non manca di soffermare l'attenzione sulla fisionomia pedagogica dei personaggi che più contribuirono allo sviluppo affettivo e intellettuale di Gramsci (la madre Pepina, il padre Ciccillo, la moglie Giulia, i figli, Delio e Giuliano, la cognata Tania, il docente di italiano, Raffa Garzia, direttore e proprietario dell'Unione sarda, e, infine, A. Tasca).

Il tema della educazione/formazione, già presente nel primo capitolo come racconto del vissuto esperienziale di Gramsci, viene ripreso e sviluppato più ampiamente nel secondo capitolo. In apertura è un interrogativo che ha la funzione di sottoporre all'attenzione del lettore una questione che – come sottolineato dallo stesso Autore – percorre trasversalmente tutta la produzione letteraria gramsciana: la distinzione Pedagogia-Educazione, l'una intesa come teoria fondata sugli aspetti ontici fondamentali dell'educazione, l'altra come prassi, rivolta al suo dover esse-

re. Il momento teoretico e quello pratico dell'educazione non rappresentano, per Gramsci, due opposti ma un *unicum* che trova la sua sintesi nella natura umana e nella sua dimensione storica. La natura umana è per Gramsci la 'storia' che implica in sé un'immanenza e una trascendenza. L'immanente è la storicità dell'uomo, il suo essere politico. Il trascendente è la possibilità che lo stesso ha di essere libero, di farsi uomo della prassi e del 'senso comune', portavoce di una filosofia, di una ideologia, di una credenza religiosa (p. 53). Nel suo divenire storicizzato l'uomo gramsciano da individuo circoscritto alla sua individualità si fa persona, relazione, socialità, collettività. Tale processo evolutivo e formativo dell'uomo, per Gramsci, assume il carattere della 'molecolarità', ovvero della continuità, della processualità, del divenire, in una parola della storicità (pp. 55-57). Artefice di tale trasformazione è l'educazione, non già intesa come 'cadornismo', ovvero come automatismo e cieca obbedienza ad un educatore o come conformismo alla massa, bensì come libertà di aderire volontariamente e responsabilmente ad una collettività (pp. 58-61).

Da qui la *mission* della pedagogia: farsi dottrina e prassi di un agire politico, promotrice di un'educazione democratica, di una più estesa coscienza civica, nonché di un nuovo umanesimo (p. 74). In quanto '*Weltanschauung* educativa' – sottolinea l'Autore riprendendo il pensiero gramsciano – ad essa spetta il compito di individuare i principi teoretici e pratici che guideranno l'uomo nel suo divenire storico.

Il motivo dell'educazione, già introdotto nei primi due capitoli, trova una più chiara perimetrazione nel terzo e nel quarto capitolo. Nel terzo, in particolare, l'Autore presenta l'idea gramsciana della scuola e dell'istruzione scolastica, intesa

come un tutt'uno con l'educazione. Da qui la critica alla scuola gentiliana, ben lontana dall'interpretare tale modello, e il suo propendere per la scuola della Legge Casati, da lui giudicata più vicina alla realtà e alla cultura italiana (p. 83).

La *raison d'être* dell'educazione gramsciana è la cultura, da lui intesa come valore universale e pratica dell'agire, i cui ancoraggi sono rintracciabili in «una visione del mondo, [in] una struttura della società, [in] una sfera morale, veicolata dagli intellettuali e [...] dall'educazione scolastica» (pp. 86-87). L'educazione, secondo Gramsci, potrà farsi promotrice di una rivoluzione culturale nella misura in cui sarà capace di intercettare i bisogni dell'uomo nel suo tempo, di incidere sulla soggettività e sulle singole coscienze per approdare ad un sentire comune, ad una coscienza planetaria intrisa di eticità, equilibrio, saggezza e rispetto dell'altro. Essa sarà rivoluzionaria, inoltre, se saprà farsi promotrice di una nuova società, coniugando dialetticamente l'«alto» con il «basso», grazie ad un processo di democratizzazione del sapere, mediato da una pedagogia della prassi operante attraverso lo Stato, la Scuola e l'Università e rivolta non già solo alle *élite*, ma a tutto il popolo.

L'originalità del testo, lo abbiamo già accennato in apertura, consiste, a nostro avviso, nella scelta metodologica che ha spinto l'Autore a guardare ben oltre le scelte epistemiche, semantiche e stilistiche, finora compiute dai più nella interpretazione del pensiero gramsciano, per approdare ad una lettura delle sue opere che è, a un tempo, storica ed ermeneutica, vale a dire oggettiva e fedele al documento, da un lato, e soggettiva e aperta al nuovo e all'inesplorato, dall'altro. Il duplice piano di lettura storico-ermeneutico, risultante anche dalla struttura architettonica del testo, consente all'Autore di porsi in relazione dialettica con il testo da inter-

pretare, e, di conseguenza, anche con la tradizione e la storia. Ciò, se da un lato, spinge il lettore a leggere il personaggio Gramsci nel suo tempo, dall'altro, evita di ingessararlo in una visione statica che poco o nulla avrebbe a che fare con la visione antropologica e storica attuale.

Da questo confronto serrato tra la tradizione e i valori educativi del tempo passato e quelli prospettici del presente, emerge un ritratto di Gramsci originale, nel quale è possibile intravedere in fli-grana linee educative preziose e di grande attualità. Gramsci, nella sua umanità, nelle sue tante debolezze e tensioni politiche che lo tennero ancorato alla vita – rileva acutamente l'Autore nell'ultimo capitolo – è uomo del nostro tempo, che vive e combatte in nome di una ideologia, di un sentimento di comune appartenenza che lo lega alla sua gente, al suo popolo sardo, e ad un «*idem sentire pedagogico*» permeato di valori attinti dal sentimento popolare e alimentato dal ripudio del particolarismo, dell'individualismo e del narcisismo (p. 128).

L'ideologia, il sentimento di appartenenza e la civiltà altro non sono per Gramsci che i mezzi e i fini di una pedagogia della prassi che si fa nella storia, muovendo dal basso, dalla «voce del popolo», per farsi promotrice di cultura e guida della società. Affinché ciò si verifichi, essa dovrà spogliarsi di quella dimensione profetica e retorica che ne ha decretato l'inferiorità rispetto agli altri saperi, e dovrà muovere dal basso, dalla scuola, ma non solo; ogni momento e ogni luogo dovrà essere portatore di una dimensione pedagogica.

Emerge in questi passaggi l'attualità del pensiero gramsciano che invita a riflettere sul ruolo attivo che deve avere la pedagogia. Muovendo dalla storia e da una visione pragmatista della realtà, essa – avverte Gramsci – dovrà farsi interprete,

nella società complessa, di una tecnica del pensare per meglio comprendere le istanze presenti e quelle che avanzano, nonché di una esigenza di formazione, a un tempo 'individuale' e 'planetaria', capace di creare una «osmosi tra il contesto e gli individui che in esso operano» (p. 71) per il bene non già solo del singolo, ma della collettività. Come la pedagogia possa riuscire in questa impresa è una delle questioni che l'Autore lascia aperte, riservando al lettore la possibilità, una volta letto il testo ed assimilato l'*humus* del pensiero gramsciano, di rintracciare nelle molteplici strade da lui delineate, quelle più in linea con i nostri tempi e con i bisogni attuali di una società che suole sempre più contraddistinguersi come 'postmoderna'.

Adriana Schiedi

Hervé A. Cavallera, *Storia della scuola italiana*, Firenze, Le lettere, 2013, 313 pp.

L'ouvrage de Hervé A. Cavallera n'est pas seulement une histoire des institutions scolaires en Italie. Cette vaste fresque offre une place importante aux liens unissant l'école italienne à la civilisation occidentale et méditerranéenne dans la formation de la personne et du citoyen. L'auteur évoque un processus dont la réussite fut longtemps liée à la parfaite harmonie entre l'esprit de l'éducation et le contenu des connaissances.

L'école italienne puise ses racines dans le monde gréco-romain. La première éducation chrétienne contribua de façon décisive à la naissance puis au développement des écoles par l'exigence de la diffusion du verbe divin auprès des moins cultivés. La permanence des structures laïques de l'école et la continuité d'une culture dépendante des clercs caractérisaient l'empire romain d'Orient. Cette séparation du

profane et du religieux dans une société pourtant profondément religieuse s'expliquait par l'amour des études classiques comme instrument fondamental de la formation de l'homme. Elle laissera des traces dans l'Italie byzantine. L'éducation médiévale a promu une culture plus attentive à la dimension religieuse, mais qui n'oubliait pas ses répercussions sur le monde laïque. Dans une communauté de maîtres et de disciples, la Scolastique de Thomas d'Aquin avait recours à Aristote pour expliquer la foi chrétienne par la lecture et la discussion des textes sacrés. L'école était réservée à un petit nombre tout en restant très présente dans les institutions religieuses. L'affirmation de la classe sociale bourgeoise italienne entraîna un besoin de sécularisation qui caractérisait l'éducation de la Renaissance. Le plus grand éducateur de la péninsule fut sans conteste Vittorino Da Feltre dont la «Casa gioconda» occupa dans l'humanisme italien la place de l'abbaye de Thélème du monde de Rabelais. Le XVII^e siècle de la Contre-Réforme rendit toute leur place aux institutions religieuses. Elles conçurent la diffusion de la spiritualité dans la société civile avec des modalités précises qui touchèrent un large public malgré les divisions politiques des Etats de la péninsule.

L'illuminisme italien fut beaucoup moins radical que les Lumières françaises et il s'accommoda du despotisme éclairé des Bourbons de Naples et des Habsbourg en Lombardie. Les innovations vinrent du Piémont où des écoles publiques entrèrent en concurrence avec celles des Jésuites, tout en respectant le cursus de la *Ratio studiorum*. Si la dynastie de Savoie entendait former un Etat fort, la réforme jésuite en Lombardie cherchait à satisfaire des ambitions sociales par une meilleure formation des enseignants. Pendant que l'illuminisme lombard visait à la formation d'une bourgeoisie tolérante, celui de

Naples aspirait à une renaissance nationale à travers le développement du commerce et la diffusion des sciences. L'auteur est sévère pour le «Plan de réforme provisoire des écoles de la République cisalpine», qualifié «d'école totalitaire» où tout était déjà présent dans des catéchismes dépourvus d'idées claires sur la façon d'enseigner. Dans l'Italie napoléonienne, émergeait la figure du Directeur général de l'Instruction publique Giovanni Scopoli. Il chercha à limiter l'enseignement du latin dans le royaume d'Italie en donnant plus d'importance aux disciplines techniques; mais le personnage essentiel fut le napolitain Vincenzo Cuoco qui attribuait l'échec de la République parthénopéenne à une conception révolutionnaire trop abstraite de la liberté. Le 'projet' conçu par Cuoco dans le royaume de Murat préconisait un système scolaire organique, avec une école primaire gratuite et un enseignement secondaire à deux degrés basés sur l'enseignement de l'italien et du latin.

L'exigence d'une éducation des enfants dans une conception éclairée de la formation du citoyen s'imposa en Italie pendant la Restauration. La Loi Boncompagni (octobre 1848) imposait l'obligation scolaire et fixait le cadre général d'une instruction publique axée sur la formation d'une conscience civique des citoyens. L'auteur fait une place particulière à Ferrante Aporti qui plaidait pour une école de la première enfance distincte des jardins d'enfants du pédagogue Froebel. En Italie centrale, le problème éducatif était devenu une question fondamentale. Les traditions d'éducation populaire remontaient au Moyen Age toscan et la loi du 30 juin 1852 créa un ministère de l'Instruction publique dans le Grand duché. Une classe de philosophie fut instituée au lycée qui servit de propédeutique à l'université. Dans le royaume des Deux-Siciles, Marco Gatti préconisait une réorganisation du

système éducatif pour promouvoir l'ensemble du Mezzogiorno. L'enseignement classique et linguistique des écoles privées napolitaines va servir d'éducation civique à toute une génération, de Francesco De Sanctis à Giuseppe Pisanelli. A la veille de l'unité nationale, le royaume du Piémont disposait d'un système scolaire laïque qui va s'imposer à toute l'Italie; mais les congrégations religieuses enseignantes avaient joué un rôle irremplaçable dans l'instruction des Italiens.

La Loi Casati (1859) devint la charte fondamentale de l'enseignement du royaume d'Italie; mais elle présentait d'incontestables lacunes au niveau des écoles primaires qui étaient abandonnées à des communes souvent incapables d'en assumer la responsabilité et elle laissait la désignation des maîtres dans le flou. En fait, l'instituteur italien des premiers temps de l'unité puisait son caractère de formateur des âmes et le sens de sa mission dans le milieu religieux plus que dans des pédagogies éclairées. La «Droite historique» qui dirigea le pays jusqu'en 1876 instaura un système scolaire pyramidal et hiérarchisé qui nécessitait des révisions permanentes; mais la Loi Coppino (1877) allait plus loin. Elle instaurait l'obligation scolaire jusqu'à 9 ans et remplaçait l'instruction religieuse par celle des Devoirs de l'homme et du citoyen, avec une application facultative. La fracture se creusait entre les pouvoirs spirituel et temporel dans une logique positiviste destinée à se débarrasser une fois pour toutes de la religion au nom d'une éducation scientifique. Les programmes d'enseignement d'Aristide Gabelli (1888) s'inspiraient d'une méthodologie fondée sur le concret qui débouchait sur un activisme pédagogique. La stature éthique du maître reposait désormais sur ses connaissances et sa psychologie. L'élève n'était plus un être passif, mais s'insérait dans un contexte pédagogique. A l'aube du XX^e

siècle, l'école élémentaire italienne héritait d'une double tradition. L'école de la liberté des sœurs Agazzi se rattachait à la spiritualité catholique, pendant que l'école de méthode de Maria Montessori était d'impregnation positiviste et scientifique.

Les réformes scolaires qui précédèrent la Grande guerre n'obéissaient à aucun plan concerté et répondaient à la pression des nécessités. La lenteur du recul de l'analphabétisme justifia la loi Orlando de 1904 qui prolongeait l'obligation scolaire de 9 à 12 ans et les programmes de 1905 s'inspiraient de la pédagogie positiviste d'Herbart. L'image professionnelle du maître s'améliorait grâce aux associations magistrales. Des Ecoles pédagogiques s'ouvraient dans les universités pour former les inspecteurs scolaires et les directeurs didactiques. L'éducation devenait une science après être longtemps passée pour un art. Dans les programmes Cerdaro (1914) d'inspiration herbartienne, la formation morale et sociale de l'enfant s'adressait aux instincts et aux sentiments pendant que l'éducation intellectuelle et esthétique insistait sur l'association de la représentation mentale à la parole.

Le régime fasciste s'ouvrait sur la réforme Gentile de 1923 qui répondait aux exigences philosophiques de l'idéalisme actualiste, mais restait étrangère au milieu social. Elle rénouvait profondément une école primaire encombrée de savoirs encyclopédiques et de méthodes sclérosées pour rendre sa liberté à l'enfant dans une démarche pédagogique d'auto-éducation. Les nouveaux programmes de l'enseignement secondaire s'inspiraient des humanités classiques pour une formation des élites. La réforme fut ensuite dénaturée par la fascisation de l'enseignement et par les intrusions cléricales de l'Eglise concordataire. Le système libéral fondé sur le mérite fut remplacé par une école orientée vers la formation de «l'homme nouveau»

d'un régime totalitaire. Malgré les efforts des pédagogues Luigi Volpicelli et Roberto Mazzetti pour introduire dans l'enseignement un humanisme moderne fondé sur le travail et la réalité quotidienne, la Charte de l'Ecole du ministre Giuseppe Bottai reposait entièrement sur le système corporatif fasciste. Les programmes de 1945 s'efforcèrent de respecter davantage une réalité sociale, mais ils concernaient l'instruction publique plus que l'éducation nationale.

La Constitution de la République italienne (1946) fut le résultat d'un compromis entre le catholicisme et le communisme. L'enseignement secondaire et l'université demeuraient en l'état. Le concordat de 1929 était maintenu, mais l'école primaire accueillait les suggestions des pédagogies laïques. Les programmes démocrates-chrétiens des années 1950, centrés sur la figure de l'élève, avaient une flexibilité qui leur permit de guider l'école italienne pendant plus de 30 ans. Leurs orientations didactiques concernaient l'éducation religieuse, la vie morale et sociale, la formation linguistique et l'éducation physique. Les gouvernements de centre-gauche ouvrirent une période d'initiatives qui s'acheva dans la subversion de 1968. Les réformes considéraient le système scolaire comme un service social destiné à la formation d'une personnalité démocratique. La vocation d'orientation de l'enseignement l'emportait sur ses finalités intellectuelles, à l'image de l'école unique au premier cycle des études secondaires, mais les gouvernements démocrates-chrétiens réagirent à la contestation étudiante par des réformes qui n'obéissaient à aucune logique particulière. La loi du 16 juin 1977 renforçait l'enseignement de la langue italienne dans le secondaire en y ajoutant des références à ses origines latines. La réforme de l'école maternelle du ministre Ferrari Aggradi insistait sur une

éducation religieuse destinée à développer des rapports fraternels entre les enfants. L'école maternelle de l'Etat venait compléter un système scolaire totalement désarticulé entre ses différents degrés.

Les années 1980 furent au contraire fortement imprégnées de pédagogisme. Les programmes d'enseignement secondaire de 1979 portaient en effet la marque de l'interdisciplinarité, de la programmation et de la socialisation. L'intérêt se déplaçait des connaissances vers les méthodes d'enseignement et les mutations de la réalité scolaire semblaient se bousculer dans le contexte libertaire des 'années de plomb'. Une réforme profonde transformait les universités en centres de recherches scientifiques où les enseignements n'avaient plus qu'un rôle didactique. Une catégorie de professeurs associés s'ajoutait aux titulaires d'une chaire et les assistants devenaient des 'chercheurs'. Des difficultés financières empêchèrent cette ambitieuse réforme d'aboutir. Le nouveau concordat (février 1984) impliquait de nouvelles dispositions pour l'enseignement de la religion dans les écoles publiques. Beaucoup de catholiques acceptaient d'ailleurs qu'il se résumât à la simple connaissance de faits religieux. Les programmes d'enseignement primaire de 1985 étaient empreints du credo de l'époque. La langue italienne devenait la discipline essentielle conçue comme instrument de pensée, moyen de relation sociale, objet culturel et expression de sentiments. L'école primaire abandonnait ses certitudes pour s'ouvrir aux phénomènes sociaux. Elle devenait un centre d'expérimentation dont la réussite aurait nécessité des enseignants de haut niveau. Hervé A. Cavallera émet enfin un jugement critique sur la réforme des universités de 1998-1999. Il condamne la distinction entre la licence et la «licence spécialisée» à finalité professionnelle qui va rapidement devenir un cursus de quali-

té inférieure. Elle provoqua une augmentation du nombre de cours, la baisse du niveau des études et des effectifs pléthoriques d'étudiants.

An début des années 2000, la loi de mars 2003 de la ministre Moratti s'efforça de concilier le traditionalisme de la majorité de Droite au pouvoir avec les ouvertures libérales et européennes de ses prédécesseurs. Elle préconisait le retour au maître unique à l'école primaire, relançait le rôle de la famille dans l'éducation, soulignait la conscience historique d'une double appartenance à une nation italienne et à une communauté européenne, prenait enfin en compte la force croissante de l'économie de marché. Les retouches apportées à ce schéma par le gouvernement de Centre-gauche des années 2006-2007 reprirent la thèse de l'école de la personne. Avec le retour du Centre-droit au pouvoir (2008), la réforme Gelmini accentua la transformation des universités en entreprises et favorisa en fait les filières scientifiques au détriment des enseignements humanistes. Elle accrut les pouvoirs des recteurs au préjudice des facultés transformées en départements et elle affaiblit la spécificité des disciplines. L'âge de la globalisation se caractérise ainsi par un déclin sensible de l'idéal humaniste, au nom d'un nouveau scientisme fortement lié à l'économie de marché.

L'ouvrage de Hervé A. Cavallera était un défi lancé à l'étendue du sujet et à la complexité de ses ambitions. Les capacités de synthèse de l'auteur combinées à sa parfaite maîtrise d'une impressionnante masse documentaire permettent d'en faire une réussite.

Michel Ostenc

Mirella D'Ascenzo (ed.), *Tutti a scuola? L'istruzione elementare nella pianura bolognese tra Otto e Novecento*, Bologna, Clueb, 2013, 289 pp.

L'ouvrage de Mirella D'Ascenzo est le résultat d'enquêtes menées à partir d'archives locales sur l'enseignement primaire dans la plaine bolognaise au XIX^e et XX^e siècles. Le rôle des maîtres et des directeurs didactiques apparaît décisif dans la lutte contre l'analphabétisme. Ils se transmettent leur passion pour l'éducation de père en fils au point de créer de petites dynasties solidement enracinées dans le tissu local et contribuent largement à la formation d'associations magistrales. Ces instituteurs de campagne luttent pour une alphabétisation du peuple qui s'identifie pour eux à une étape essentielle de l'unité nationale. Le combat est particulièrement difficile dans les communes les plus pauvres caractérisées par l'indigence de leur population de travailleurs agricoles. Dix ans après la Loi Coppino sur l'obligation scolaire jusqu'à 9 ans, la fréquentation de l'école reste discontinue. L'absentéisme scolaire est un obstacle majeur à la conquête de l'alphabet dans les plaines émiliennes comme dans le reste de l'Italie, dans les zones montagneuses en particulier. Elle varie en fonction des exigences de l'économie locale et affecte la scolarité des filles en particulier. En 1881, l'Emilie comptait encore plus de 47% d'analphabètes dans la population masculine et plus de 68% chez les femmes. Le problème des locaux scolaires est particulièrement épineux, comme tous ceux qui relèvent d'administrations locales dépourvues de moyens financiers. L'exemple le plus significatif est celui de l'Ecole normale masculine créée par la province de Bologne. Ses enseignements insistent sur la pédagogie, la langue italienne, l'arithmétique, la géométrie, la calligraphie, les sciences

physiques et naturelles. Ses points forts étaient son internat, sa formation pédagogique et son enseignement agricole, au point d'être citée en exemple par le ministère de l'Instruction publique. Elle dut fermer en 1888, après l'échec des tentatives destinées à la placer sous la responsabilité de l'Etat. Toutefois, un effort fut consenti au niveau des livres scolaires, notamment dans la province de Bologne qui bénéficia des débats organisés sur le sujet à la fin des années 1870 et le matériel didactique connut un renouveau relatif pour s'adapter aux programmes de l'école primaire d'Aristide Gabelli (1888). Les enfants de la première classe devaient savoir lire leur syllabaire à la fin de la première année, être capables d'écrire quelques mots sous la dictée et de réciter oralement de brefs récits moraux, connaître l'addition et la soustraction. L'histoire, la géographie et les Droits et devoirs du citoyen n'apparaissaient qu'en dernière année. Les programmes de 1895 insistaient eux aussi sur la langue italienne et sur l'arithmétique. Leur originalité venait d'un «enseignement objectif» basé sur l'observation du milieu qui visait à l'acquisition des noms des personnes et des choses relevant de l'environnement immédiat des enfants. La congrégation religieuse enseignante la plus présente était celle des Frères de la Doctrine chrétienne (*Scolopi*) dont le modèle éducatif, à la différence de celui des Jésuites, était orienté vers les sciences et leurs applications pratiques.

Le début du XX^e siècle posa un double problème dans l'enseignement primaire. L'augmentation massive du nombre d'élèves qui doubla dans l'ensemble du pays entre 1900 et 1915 rendit la condition magistrale de plus en plus difficile. Elle exigeait un recrutement accru d'enseignants avec une meilleure formation des maîtres. L'exemple de la plaine bolognaise montre que les instituteurs devaient aussi

se prémunir contre les contrôles toujours plus envahissants des administrations locales dont ils dépendaient. Les communes justifiaient leurs intrusions dans la vie de l'école par l'assistance aux élèves pauvres. Le débat portait surtout sur le choix des livres scolaires, mais les enquêtes citées par l'ouvrage ne précisent pas la nature politique, philosophique, morale ou religieuse de la controverse. Les traitements des maîtres étaient très variables. Les instituteurs étaient mieux rétribués en ville qu'à la campagne, dans les grandes classes plus que dans les petites, dans l'enseignement des garçons plus que dans celui des filles; si bien qu'un maître d'une classe terminale urbaine pouvait percevoir un salaire trois fois plus élevé que celui d'une maîtresse d'école rurale. Ce contraste saisissant entre le monde des villes et celui des campagnes sous-tend de graves problèmes sociaux qui déboucheront sur les crises agraires de l'après-guerre. Le métier d'enseignant, pénible et mal rétribué, se féminisait d'autant plus que les jeunes filles étaient plus nombreuses à faire des études et elles acceptaient plus facilement la condition magistrale.

L'ouvrage de Mirella D'Ascenzo montre bien l'action menée par les municipalités socialistes émiliennes dans la lutte contre l'analphabétisme. L'accent était mis sur «l'école du peuple» et ignorait l'enseignement secondaire. On sait qu'à Reggio d'Emilie et dans les communes de la province, les maîtres avaient un rôle politique de formation des futurs cadres d'une économie mutualiste dans un nouveau mode de convivialité sociale. L'étatisation de l'école primaire était une revendication socialiste. Giolitti l'accepta tout en refusant sa laïcisation. La mesure s'insérait dans sa politique 'transformiste' consistant à désarmer les socialistes tout en incitant les catholiques à se rapprocher des libéraux. Les enquêtes de l'ouvrage

n'apportent rien sur la question de l'enseignement religieux. La Loi Daneo-Credaro (1911) confiait la gestion des écoles primaires à l'Etat, les communes conservant la charge des livres scolaires, du personnel de service et du matériel didactique. Les catholiques la désavouèrent, leur influence s'exerçant au niveau communal et non national. Les Ecoles normales étant en nombre insuffisant, la loi créait des cours magistraux en deux ans afin de former des instituteurs supplémentaires. Ils seront au cœur du débat engagé par les idéalistes sur la formation des maîtres.

Les enquêtes de micro-histoire de l'ouvrage dirigé par Mirella D'Ascenzo sont centrées sur la demande d'instruction des couches populaires et la réponse apportée par la gestion socialiste des autorités locales. Elles permettent d'appréhender la réalité de la vie scolaire bien au-delà des programmes et des directives ministérielles. A ce titre, elles enrichissent notre connaissance de l'histoire de l'éducation en Italie.

Michel Ostenc

*Scientific News
and Activities
of Research Centres*



**Cronache scientifiche
e Attività
degli istituti di ricerca**

«History of education»

Mapping the discipline / Cartographie de la discipline *histoire de l'éducation*

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ABSTRACT: The research program *Mapping of the discipline «history of education»* is here illustrated as the first step of a collective, international project aimed to describe the recent evolution of the discipline. The forthcoming 36th conference of ISCHE, to be held in London from July 23 through 26, 2014 will be the occasion to present the results of the first inventory carried out on a European level, a sort of a 'cartography' of the emblematic traits characterizing any discipline: its institutional foundation (Institutes, departments, posts), communication networks (associations, scientific events, means for publication), the structures of socialization and education of the new generation (curriculum, diploma, doctoral theses) and the ongoing renewing of knowledge produced by the discipline (research, epistemological foundation, research methods).

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Historical Research; State of the Art Review; Europe; XX-XXI Centuries.

Main objectives of the research program Mapping of the discipline «history of education»

Twenty years after the inquiry realized by the *Service d'Histoire de l'éducation* in the context of the growth, complexification and internationalization of higher education and research, it is fruitful to map the history of education in Europe since the early nineties. This proposal is conceived of as a first step of a collective and international endeavor to realize such a cartography.

The 36th conference of ISCHE in London, July 23 to 26 2014 will be the occasion to draw a first inventory on a European level. We propose a series of symposia on this topic, based on an inquiry realized since last spring in francophone Europe (French speaking Switzerland and Belgium, France), and on contributions of other interested researchers from other linguistic areas.

The mapping of the discipline will focus on the emblematic traits that characterize any discipline: its institutional foundation (Institutes, departments, posts), communication networks (associations, scientific events, means for publication), the structures of socialization and education of the new generation (curriculum, diploma, doctoral theses) and the ongoing renewing of knowledge produced by the discipline (research, epistemological foundation, research methods). It aims to describe the recent evolution of History of Education in order to make it more visible and, in knowing it and in reflecting on it, to reinforce its foundation and legitimacy. It may also serve as reference for prospective planning and for establishing a research agenda.

In order to operationalize this ambitious research program, the inquiry is limited to the recent evolution of the discipline: the last 25 years (1988-2013) in Europe. Later on, or in parallel, a larger time period and other countries can be envisaged. The French and Swiss research group at the origin of the proposal is currently collecting the necessary data in this aim.

For pragmatic reasons, the research program will be realized in different steps. The first is concentrated on the institutional conditions that allow knowledge production in the discipline. Data bases will be produced that take an inventory of the *institutions* (centres, laboratories, research groups, services), the *researchers* (chairs, stable posts), *communication networks* (societies, congresses, journals and series) belonging totally or partially to the discipline. In order to take into account the vital forces of the discipline (young researchers, new topics and studies), particular attention will be paid to doctoral theses and habilitations.

The whole program will benefit from the numerous existing reports (notes of synthesis, analytical records, guides, etc.) that will be listed in a systematic bibliography concerning the historiography of the discipline.

The present program was initiated by a small group of historians in January 2013, on the occasion of preparatory work for the Congress of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft* (DGfE) in Berlin (2014). It will now

be enlarged to a larger group of researchers and networks already specialized in the domain. Research groups from different European countries representing different cultural areas have been or will be contacted.

Being an international association organizing the historians of education ISCHE – and its president Eckhardt Fuchs – will be the privileged interlocutor for sustaining the program (other organizations, like for instance network 17 of ECER «History of education» could also become such an interlocutor). The support makes possible the constituting of research groups through the logistic support provided to produce data bases (to contribute to the reflection for defining criteria of inventory; perhaps also financial support for the work; online publishing of data on the ISCHE website). Support is also possible in offering a platform of discussion for the research groups participating in the program: during the pre-conference of ISCHE (for instance in London in 2014), during workshops, seminars, symposia or through a Standing Working Group during future ISCHE Conferences. Collective publications (and event applications for research subsidies) are already planned. Taking into account the important role of the research program for the discipline, a special issue of «Paedagogica Historica» would be particularly welcome (2015, 2016?). In this respect, its chief editor is also a privileged interlocutor.

At the ISCHE conference, three main topics will be discussed:

- networks and institutions
- journals
- doctoral theses

Networks and institutions

The history of education, following national configurations, is integrated in different disciplines, essentially history and educational sciences, but also history of science and didactics. It is therefore a transversal space that allows it to be in the intersection of different scientific communities. It nevertheless constitutes a coherent epistemological space that creates the conditions to be recognized as such beyond the traditional disciplinary borders and for which it is important to constitute networks and specialized spaces. This question of the practical modalities of institutionalization will be in the center of the inquiry on networks and institutions. In order to elaborate a precise map and to put in evidence systems of interrelations, existing structures have to be analyzed: laboratories and research groups, professional associations that exist in Europe and in the world. An as precise as possible inventory of them has to be made and their position in the national and international disciplinary fields has to be analyzed together with the linguistic and cultural spaces and their history.

Journals

During its history, the publications in education has evolved in important ways. It was first used as an aid for teachers and for spreading pedagogical methods globally. Journals became a potent transnational relay for scientific communities institutionalized in a highly specialized context. It therefore constitutes a privileged space from which to describe research in the history of education on different levels. First, an inventory of journals totally or partially dedicated to the history of education will be established; on this basis, a panorama of the main inquiries that have nourished the domain during the last 25 years will be produced in order to analyze in more detail the evolutions of its contents. In this way, one can measure the part of the studies dedicated to the national and local terrain and evaluate transnational dynamics. The methodologies that are represented in the journals will also be described as will be the epistemological borrowings from other domains (sociology, anthropology, political, economical and social history, etc.). Finally, the journals' institutional contexts and resources and the profile of the authors of the texts will be analyzed in order to describe the contours, the stakes and the possibilities of which that nourishes the scientific debate in the history of education.

Doctoral theses

A pertinent means for measuring the institutional foundation of a discipline is to look at doctoral theses since they constitute the privileged material of its recent dynamics. Young doctors continue the epistemological heritage of the domain and define their own practices, but at the same time construct scientific bridges in order to open new fields of research. In a first step, the way the discipline «history of education» structures doctoral studies will be analyzed. Since the years of producing a thesis are an important moment of socialization, analyzing who are the directors can be revealing for understanding the logic of construction of the discipline on the national and university level. A comparative approach will enable a study of the disciplinary anchoring and of the collective construction of history of education. In this sense, the study of doctoral theses will treat the question of defining the boundaries of history of education in different cultural contexts and in relationship to other disciplines. In a second step, the terminology used in the titles of the theses and the methodologies adopted will be analyzed in order to understand the mainstreams and the renewal in this domain. In the background, the translation of terms will be studied and the notions that each concept covers. Finally, the topics of the theses will be observed as revealing periods, spaces and explored levels in order to define the moments that can be considered as the most important and most innovative in the discipline.

«Für Geist und Licht!... das Dunkel schwand». Die Thun-Hohensteinschen Universitätsreformen 1849-1860. Konzeption – Umsetzung – Nachwirkung. Tagungsbericht

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«For spirit and light!... Darkness vanished». The Thun-Hohenstein's university reforms from 1849 to 1860. Design – implementation – aftermath. Conference report

ABSTRACT: The international conference «Für Geist und Licht!... das Dunkel schwand». Die Thun-Hohensteinschen Universitätsreformen 1849-1860. Konzeption – Umsetzung – Nachwirkung, organised by the research group «Die Thun-Hohensteinsche Bildungsreformen 1849-1860», was held at the University of Innsbruck in June 2013. The meeting was intended to discuss the reforms of the Austrian education systems in the years following the revolution of 1848. In Austrian historiography the reforms are strongly connected to the name of Leo Thun-Hohenstein, then Minister of Education and Religious Affairs. In a first panel researchers analysed the different reasons and models for the reforms. The central part of the conference then addressed the implementation of the reforms at different universities in the single countries of the Habsburg monarchy and allowed thus a comparative perspective on the reforms. The third panel brought together scholars who focused on the historiography of Leo Thun-Hohenstein himself and the perception of the reforms. Furthermore, the organisers of the conference gave first insights into the digital edition of the correspondence of Leo Thun-Hohenstein.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Educational Reform; Principles of Education; Higher Education; Austria; Conference; XIX Century.

An der Universität Innsbruck läuft seit dem Jahr 2010 ein vom Österreichischen Wissenschaftsfonds (FWF) gefördertes und von der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs getragenes Projekt, das sich der Herausgabe der privaten Korrespondenz von Leo Thun-Hohenstein widmet. Leo Thun-Hohenstein war von 1849-1860 Minister für Kultus und Unterricht im österreichischen Kaiserstaat. Mit seinem Namen ist die umfassende Reform des österreichischen Bildungssystems im 19. Jahrhundert verbunden – besonders gilt dies für die österreichischen Universitäten¹. Als verantwortlicher Minister wurde Thun für diese Reformen, die in weiten Teilen von den preußischen Universitäten inspiriert waren, auf der einen Seite als Retter des österreichischen Bildungs- und Wissenschaftssystems gefeiert, gleichzeitig wurde und wird seine rigide und autoritäre Personalpolitik sowie seine Nähe zur katholischen Kirche kritisch beurteilt. Thun bevorzugte in Berufungsfragen konservative und katholische Professoren, mit Hilfe derer er eine geistige Umerziehung der Studenten und deren Abkehr von dem von Thun so sehr gefürchteten Liberalismus erzielen wollte. Der Minister war nämlich von der mächtigsten Kraft einer vom katholischen Glauben durchwirkten Wissenschaft überzeugt, so dass eine Auflehnung der Studenten, wie sie in der Revolution von 1848 erfolgt war, für die Zukunft verhindert werden sollte. Gleichzeitig zielte Thuns Berufungspolitik darauf ab, durch die Berufung von katholischen Wissenschaftlern aus dem gesamten deutschsprachigen Raum ein katholisches Gegengewicht zu den Universitäten im überwiegend protestantisch geprägten Preußen zu schaffen. Dabei sollte auch denjenigen katholischen Wissenschaftlern eine geistige Heimat geboten werden, die an preußischen Universitäten wegen ihres Glaubens benachteiligt worden waren.

Neben den Universitäten wurde auch der heute sogenannte Sekundarschulbereich in den 1850er Jahren einer tiefgreifenden Reform unterzogen. Die Gymnasien wurden um zwei Jahre verlängert und endeten nun mit der Matura als Abschlussprüfung, deren erfolgreiche Absolvierung den Eintritt in die Universitäten erlaubte. Die Basis des Unterrichts bildeten die klassischen Sprachen, wobei jedoch den Realfächern eine bedeutende Stellung eingeräumt wurde und womit eine einseitige Ausrichtung auf den philologischen Unterricht verhindert werden sollte. Wichtige Impulse für diese Reform gaben Franz Exner und Hermann Bonitz. Ersterer, ein Anhänger Johann Friedrich Herbart's,

¹ Vgl. grundlegend zur Reform: H. Lentze, *Die Universitätsreform des Ministers Graf Leo Thun-Hohenstein*, Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1962; P. Wozniak, *Count Leo Thun: A Conservative Savior of Educational Reform in the Decade of Neoabsolutism*, «Austrian History Yearbook», n. 26, 1995, pp. 61-81; B. Mazohl, *Universitätsreform und Bildungspolitik: Die Ära des Ministers Thun-Hohenstein (1849-1860)*, in K. Müller-Salget, S.P. Scheichl, W.M. Bauer (edd.), *Nachklänge der Aufklärung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Für Werner M. Bauer zum 65.*, Innsbruck, Innsbruck Univ. Press, 2008, pp. 129-149; W. Höflechner, *Nachholende Eigenentwicklung? Der Umbau des habsburgischen Universitätssystems nach der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in R. vom Bruch (ed.), *Die Berliner Universität im Kontext der deutschen Universitätslandschaft um 1800, um 1860 und um 1910*, München, Oldenbourg, 2010, pp. 93-108.

konzipierte die Reformen in ihren Grundzügen, starb allerdings nach längerer Krankheit bereits 1853, letzterer begleitete und beeinflusste als Professor an der Wiener Universität, als Berater Thuns und als Herausgeber der «Zeitschrift für die Österreichischen Gymnasien» die Umsetzung der Reformen wie kein zweiter. Neben den Gymnasien wurden auch die Realschulen ausgebaut. Diese sollten in unterschiedlichen Ausprägungen für das praktische Berufsleben vorbereiten und gleichzeitig die Schüler zu loyalen Staatsbürgern erziehen.

Dieses ambitionierte und politisch vielschichtige Programm Thuns und seiner Mitarbeiter kann nun durch die Aufarbeitung der Korrespondenz des Ministers weiter entschlüsselt werden.

Im Frühsommer 2013 lud das Projektteam zu einer Tagung an die Universität Innsbruck, bei der sich einerseits Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler über ihre Forschungen zu Thun und den mit seinem Namen verbundenen Reformen austauschten und andererseits erste Einblicke in die digitale Edition der Korrespondenz Thuns geboten wurden. Die Teilnehmer und Teilnehmerinnen der Tagung kamen aus Österreich, Deutschland, Ungarn, Italien und der Tschechischen Republik². In einem ersten Panel ging es darum, die Ursachen und Gründe für die Reformen sowie deren Konzeption und Vorbilder zu untersuchen. Eine zentrale Rolle spielte dabei die Frage, in wie weit man von der Übernahme des preußischen Modells sprechen könne und welche politischen Implikationen die Adaption dieses Vorbilds mit sich brachte. Im zweiten und zentralen Teil der Tagung wurde die Umsetzung der Bildungsreformen an einzelnen Universitäten untersucht. Wesentlich hierbei war die Feststellung, dass Thuns Universitätspolitik vor allem als Personalpolitik zu beschreiben sei. Außerdem wurde die Frage nach unterschiedlichen Vorstellungen von der Rolle und dem Bildungsauftrag der Universitäten untersucht. In diesem Zusammenhang wurde insbesondere die Reform der philosophischen Fakultät diskutiert, die nun als vollwertige Fakultät vor allem Spezialisten ausbilden sollte und die ihres allgemeinbildenden (philosophischen) Auftrages somit weitgehend entkleidet worden war. Außerdem wurde in diesem Kontext auch die Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Geistes- und Naturwissenschaften erörtert, zumal gerade Letztere durch die Reformen an den Universitäten massiv aufgewertet worden waren und heute in der öffentlichen Wahrnehmung dominieren. Eigens behandelt wurde die Umsetzung der Reformen im Königreich Lombardo-Venetien. Diesem kam insofern eine Sonderrolle zu, da hier einerseits eigene Traditionen im Bildungssystem wirksam waren, andererseits durch das erstarkende Risorgimento die Reform bedeutende politische Implikationen besaß. Im dritten Teil der Tagung befassten sich die Referenten mit den Nachwirkungen der Reformen und der Wahrnehmung derselben durch Zeitgenossen und Geschichtsschreibung. Eine zentrale

² Das genaue Tagungsprogramm und die Titel der einzelnen Vorträge finden sich auf der Website des Projekts: <<http://www.thun-korrespondenz.uibk.ac.at>>.

Problematik in diesem Themenkomplex war die Frage nach Thuns Stellung im System des neoabsolutistischen Regimes der Habsburgermonarchie nach der Revolution von 1848. Dies betraf insbesondere die Rolle der Sprachenpolitik, die ja ein Kernelement der staatlichen Zentralisierungsbestrebungen darstellte, wobei Thun allerdings ambivalente Ansichten vertrat. Ein zweiter wichtiger Aspekt lag darüber hinaus in der vielschichtigen Historiographie zu Thun und die Vereinnahmung seiner Person durch unterschiedliche Gruppen und für unterschiedliche Zwecke. Besonders aufschlussreich erscheint dabei die Zeit nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, als Thun und seine Reformen im Zuge der anstehenden Universitätsreformen in Österreich untersucht und diskutiert sowie für eine ideologische Unterfütterung der damaligen Reformen benützt worden sind. Gleichzeitig diente ein Rekurrieren auf Thun und dessen vermeintlich österreichisches Universitätsmodell in dieser Zeit auch dazu, sich von der jüngsten Vergangenheit und der fatalen Rolle der Universitäten im Dritten Reich zu distanzieren. Abschließend wurden – wie erwähnt – Einblicke in die digitale Edition der Korrespondenz Thuns ermöglicht.

Nunmehr sind die ersten Briefe über die Website des Projekts zugänglich (<<http://www.thun-korrespondenz.uibk.ac.at>>). Im Laufe des Jahres 2014 sollen nach und nach die restlichen Briefe folgen. Außerdem wird ein umfassendes biographisches Verzeichnis zur Verfügung gestellt. Die digitale Edition wird es ermöglichen, alle Briefe aus Thuns Nachlass sowie etwa 130 Autographen des Ministers, die erstmals der Forschung zugänglich gemacht werden, in einer transkribierten Fassung einzusehen.

La tercera edición del *Premio José Manuel Esteve* atribuye a Antonio Viñao Frago

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The third edition of the José Manuel Esteve award attributed to Antonio Viñao Frago

ABSTRACT: The short note provides news of the conferment of the prestigious international award *José Manuel Esteve*, established by the Faculty of Education of the Universidad de Málaga, Spain and attributed to prof. Antonio Viñao Frago for an article published in «History of Education & Children's Literature».

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Historical Research; Reward; Spain; XXI Century.

No ocurre todos los días que se ve un premio de prestigio internacional indiscutible, como él promovido desde 2011 por la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación de la Universidad de Málaga (España) y lleva el nombre de la forma del prof. José Manuel Esteve Zarazaga (1951-2010)¹, por muchos años profesor de Teoría de la Educación en la misma facultad y estudioso de reconocido prestigio internacional², por un artículo que apareció en la revista «History of Education & Children's Literature».

¹ El *Premio Internacional José Manuel Esteve*, con carácter anual, viene dado por la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación de la Universidad de Málaga (España) para fomentar «el fomento y difusión de trabajos pedagógicos que contribuyan a dar a conocer, difundir y profundizar en la reflexión y análisis de la educación, de su ejercicio profesional y de sus ámbitos de actuación».

² José Manuel Esteve Zarazaga (1951-2010) fue doctor en Ciencias de la Educación por la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, donde obtuvo la licenciatura con Premio Extraordinario Fin de Carrera, y profesor en esa Universidad durante ocho años. En 1980 tomó posesión de su plaza de profesor adjunto numerario de la Universidad de Málaga, donde puso en marcha la

De ahí nuestra satisfacción por la noticia que, en ocasión de su tercer año, en diciembre de 2013, el *Premio José Manuel Esteve* fue concedido a Antonio Viñao Frago, profesor de Historia de la Educación en la Universidad de Murcia (España), para el artículo titulado *Del garabato y los palotes a la escritura: notas sobre la génesis y el concepto de preescritura*, publicado en la edición de junio 2012 de la revista «History of Education & Children's Literature».

En la adjudicación del premio, el jurado – presidido por el prof. José Francisco Murillo Mas, Decano de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación de la Universidad de Málaga, y compuesta por los estudiosos Dolores Alcántara Sacristán, Iván Fernández López, Fernando Gil y Carmen Cantero Sanchidrián Blanco (secretario) – pretende hacer hincapié en la importancia y la «originalidad» de la materia objeto del artículo de Antonio Viñao Frago y, al mismo tiempo, el rigor de la argumentación ofrecida por el estudioso: «Este trabajo – se lee en la motivación – aborda los diversos orígenes y la diversidad de ideas, propuestas y actividades comprendidas en el concepto de preescritura, un producto de la cultura escolar desarrollado en el último cuarto del siglo XIX, pero especialmente en la primera mitad del XX. Se estudian, entre otros aspectos, los debates suscitados acerca de la enseñanza de la escritura, la difusión del método global y la disociación entre la enseñanza de la escritura y la de la caligrafía en la escuela en un período en el que la educación infantil se extendió y consolidó como nivel educativo».

sección de Ciencias de la Educación, el embrión de la actual Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación. Desde 1986 fue catedrático de Teoría de la Educación en esta Facultad. En la Universidad de Málaga desempeñó los cargos de Vicedecano de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Director del ICE (Instituto de Ciencias de la Educación), Decano de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación y Secretario General de la Universidad. Ejerció como profesor invitado y colaborador en numerosas conferencias, diplomas universitarios de postgrado, cursos y máster, de diversas Universidades españolas y extranjeras. Fue experto de la Agencia Europea de Educación (EURYDICE) para la redacción del Informe: *The Teaching Profession in Europe. Profile, Trends and Concerns* (Brussels, 2000-2004). Como consultor de UNESCO ha participado en varios Seminarios Internacionales y en la redacción de diferentes informes sobre formación de profesores y la educación en la sociedad contemporánea. Formó parte del Consejo Asesor de la Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos (O.E.I.) para el Programa de Formación de Profesores en América Latina y como responsable del Área de Enseñanzas Universitarias de la Agencia Andaluza de Evaluación y Calidad (AGAE). Por los méritos contraídos a lo largo de su brillante carrera profesional fue distinguido con la medalla de Oro al Mérito en la Educación, de la Comunidad Autónoma de Andalucía en 2001 e investido Doctor Honoris Causa por la Universidad de Oviedo en 2009.

Peer-review policy / Referaggio

All papers submitted for publication are passed on to two anonymous Italian and foreign referees (double-blind peer review), which are chosen by the Editor on the base of their expertise. For further information see the website:

Tutti gli articoli inviati alla redazione vengono sottoposti a referaggio anonimo da parte di due esperti, italiani e stranieri, selezionati dal Direttore sulla base delle competenze e interessi di ricerca. Ulteriori informazioni sul sito:

<<http://www.hecl.it>>

Referees for the year / Revisori per l'anno 2014

Anna Ascenzi (Università degli Studi di Macerata, Italy); Gianfranco Bandini (Università degli Studi di Firenze, Italy); Alberto Barausse (Università degli Studi del Molise, Italy); Luciana Bellatalla Bottaro (Università degli Studi di Ferrara, Italy); Emy Beseghi (Università degli Studi di Bologna, Italy); Vitaly Bezrogov (Russian Academy of Education, Russia); Paolo Bianchini (Università degli Studi di Torino, Italy); Pino Boero (Università degli Studi di Genova, Italy); Edoardo Bressan (Università degli Studi di Macerata, Italy); Antonella Cagnolati (Università degli Studi di Foggia, Italy); Dorena Caroli (Università degli Studi di Macerata); Antonio Castillo Gomez (Universidad de Alcalá, Spain); Giorgio Chiosso (Università degli Studi di Torino, Italy); Mariella Colin (Université de Caen, France); Maria Carmen Colmenar Orzaes (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain); Carmela Covato (Università degli Studi di Roma Tre, Italy); Michelina D'Alessio (Università degli Studi della Basilicata, Italy); Mirella D'Ascenzo (Università degli Studi di Bologna, Italy); Agustín Benito Escolano (Universidad de Valladolid, Spain); Weiping Fang (Zhejiang Normal University, China); Carla Ghizzoni (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy); Martine Gilsoul (Università Pontificia Salesiana, Italy); Teresa González Pérez (Universidad de La Laguna, Spain); Silvina Gvirtz (Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina); Robert Hampel (University of Delaware, USA); Elemér

Kelemen (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary); Pigga Keskitalo (Sámi University College, Norway); Adriana Kičková (University of Nitra, Slovakia); Francisco Javier Lasपालas Pérez (Universidad de Navarra, Spain); Daniel Lindmark (Umeå University, Sweden); Juri Meda (Università degli Studi di Macerata, Italy); Maria Cristina Morandini (Università degli Studi di Torino, Italy); Gabriela Ossenbach Sauter (Uned, Spain); Michel Ostenc (Université de Angers, France); Riccardo Pagano (Università degli Studi di Bari, Italy); Merja Paksuniemi (Institute of Migration, Finland); Elisabetta Patrizi (Università degli Studi di Macerata, Italy); Furio Pesci (Università La Sapienza di Roma, Italy); Helena Pimenta Rocha (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Brasil); Pablo Pineau (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina); Joaquim Pintassilgo (Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal); Simonetta Polenghi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy); Edvard Protner (Università of Maribor, Slovenia); Erika Sarivaara (Sámi University, Norway); Marika Savukoski (Municipality of Pyhäranta, Finland); Miguel Somoza Rodriguez (Uned, Spain); Bernat Sureda García (Universidad de las Islas Baleares, Spain); Fabio Targhetta (Università degli Studi di Padova, Italy); Ariclé Vechia (Universidade Tuiuti do Paraná-Curitiba, Brazil); Javier Vergara (UNED, Spain); Paola Vismara (Università degli Studi di Milano, Italy).

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