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Images of the European Child

edited by

Bernat Sureda Garcia and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés

Images of the European Child. Presentation

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ABSTRACT: The well known notion of childhood as a social construct that gradually changes in parallel with the evolution of history can also be applied to how childhood is portrayed. On many occasions, however, visual studies have marginalized images of children, considering them to be trivial, sentimental and too simple. The issue presented here focus specifically in the images of the child. We considered this approach rather innovative for two reasons. Firstly, in the history of education, the theme of childhood has not very often been tackled from a solely iconographical perspective, exploring the different characteristics, models, conceptions and portrayals reflected in these images. Secondly, it examines a wide range of sources, techniques and formats, including paintings, etchings, photographs, children's drawings and illustrations from textbooks, facilitating an in-depth methodological analysis of the role of images as sources in the history of education.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; History of childhood; Cultural studies; Images of children; Childhood; Collective Imaginary; Europe; XVIIth-XXth Centuries.

Historians coincide in the notion that childhood is a social construct. Childhood, a concept forged over the course of many centuries and consolidated during the last three hundred years, is a specific way of construing and assessing the initial stages in a person's life. Our vision of childhood has been moulded by factors like demographic ones, the development of the industrial society,

the middle class revolution, advances in hygiene and scientific progress. We strive to improve the wellbeing of our young, to protect them from danger and to guarantee their rights. We foster a solid policy of socialization for them through schools. We also acknowledge the specificity of childhood, creating products exclusively conceived for children. In the development of this social construct, images have played a very important role. Through images, we convey the virtues that we wish to inculcate in children, we illustrate the young's need for protection from the dangers that surround them, we shape their identities, we highlight differences between them for various reasons, and we offer them a realization of their status as students in different circumstances. This monographic issue aims to highlight some of the ways that images have helped to define and disseminate the social construct that is today identified with childhood.

For several decades now, visual sources have been used in research into the history of childhood and education. This interest in visual testimonies was originally sparked off by the in-depth process of methodological renewal in the field of history that has now been going on for almost a century. In 1952, the French historian and major reference in new innovations in history, Lucien Febvre, claimed in his book *Combats pour l'histoire* that history is constructed with written documents when there are any but that it can and must be constructed with all those that the historian's ingenuity allows him to use. That new approach to history, outlined in the journal *Annales*, went beyond the positivist notion of limiting the construction of history to written documents supposedly able to offer an objective account of past events. Rather than describing past occurrences, the 20th century discipline was a science that tried to understand and interpret them. History's fruitful collaborations with other social sciences also boosted an interest in visual testimonials.

This notion of childhood as a social construct that gradually changes in parallel with the evolution of history can also be applied to how childhood is portrayed. On many occasions, however, visual studies have marginalized images of children, considering them to be trivial, sentimental and too simple. Philippe Ariès' work is well known to have marked the starting point for modern research into childhood, and iconographic materials were extensively used in it. More recent studies have started to seek models for interpreting visual images of childhood in the belief that it is «a challenge to map the social and psychological history of their production and reception»¹.

In the field of the history of childhood and education, a volume of the international journal «*Paedagogica Historica*» was published in the year 2000 on the theme of images as sources of information. Under the title *The History of Education and the Challenge of the Visual*, the journal presented papers given

¹ M.R. Brown, *Images of Childhood*, in P.S. Fass (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society*, 2 vols., New York, Macmillan Reference, 2004, vol. 2, p. 449.

at the 20th yearly conference of the ISCHE, held in Leuven in 1998². Since then, several journals specializing in the history of education have featured Special Issues on the subject or articles that deal with visual aspects. In 2001, the British journal «History of Education» published papers presented at the yearly conference of the European Educational Research Association, held in Finland in 1999, on the advantages and disadvantages of the use of images in research into the history of education. Further contributions to debate on visual images in the history of childhood and education can be found in the monographic issue published by «History of Education» on the theme *The Body of the Schoolchild*, with several articles based on visual methodologies³. In 2010, the journal «Educació i Història» also brought out a special issue on the theme of *Photography and the History of Education*, coordinated by Francisca Comas⁴. One year later, «Paedagogica Historica» dedicated another monographic issue to documentaries and films, analysing their possible applications in research into the history of education⁵. In 2016, the journal «Encounters on Education» also published a monographic issue on photography and the history of education⁶. Recently, in 2017, «Paedagogica Historica» devoted a monographic issue to *Images and Films as Objects to Think With: A Reappraisal of Visual Studies in Histories of Education*, coordinated by Inés Dussel and Karin Priem⁷. That same year, «Educació i Història» brought out a monographic issue entitled *The History of Education in Films: A Contemporary Pedagogy Perspective*, coordinated by Josep Casanovas Prat and Núria Padrós Tuneu from Vic University in Catalonia⁸.

The origin of this last Special Issue about *Images of the European Child* that we present today can be traced back to several different research projects run with public funding from 2007 through to today by the University of the Balearic Islands' History of Education Studies Group, in conjunction with researchers from Alcalá University and Complutense University of Madrid.

² M. Depaepe, B. Henkens (edd.), *The Challenge of the Visual in the History of Education*, «Paedagogica Historica», Supplementary Series, vol. 6, Ghent, CSHP, 2000.

³ C. Burke (ed.), *The Body of the Schoolchild in the History of Education*. Special Issue, «History of Education», vol. 36, n. 2, 2007. In particular, the article by C. Burke and H. Ribeiro de Castro, *The School Photograph: Portraiture and the Art of Assembling the Body of the Schoolchild*, *Ibid.*, pp. 213-26.

⁴ F. Comas Rubí (ed.), *Fotografia i història de l'educació*, Special Issue, «Educació i Història: revista d'història de l'educació», vol. 15, n. 1, 2010.

⁵ P. Warmington, A. van Gorp, I. Grosvenor (edd.), *Education in Motion: Uses of Documentary Film in Educational Research*. Special Issue, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 47, n. 4, 2011.

⁶ C. Martínez Valle (ed.), *Photography and School Cultures*, Special Issue, «Encounters in Theory and History of Education», vol. 17, 2016.

⁷ K. Priem, I. Dussel (edd.), *Images and Films as Objects to Think with: A Reappraisal of Visual Studies in Histories of Education*, Special Issue, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 53, n. 6, 2017.

⁸ J. Casanovas i Prat, N. Padrós Tuneu (edd.), *La història de l'educació a través dels films: una mirada des de la contemporaneïtat pedagògica*, Special Issue, «Educació i història: Revista d'història de l'educació», vol. 31, n. 1, 2018.

These projects were headed by the team that has coordinated this Special Issue and by lecturer Francisca Comas from the University of the Balearic Islands.

The issue presented here is innovative for two reasons. Firstly, in the history of education, the theme of childhood has not very often been tackled from a solely iconographical perspective, exploring the different characteristics, models, conceptions and portrayals reflected in these images. Secondly, it examines a wide range of sources, techniques and formats, including paintings, etchings, photographs, children's drawings and illustrations from textbooks, facilitating an in-depth methodological analysis of the role of images as sources in the history of education. Its broad historical time span (from the 17th century through to today) is useful in gaining an understanding of the way in which society learnt to observe and interpret images: visual materials that, in time, came to play an increasingly common part of everyday life. In order to ensure greater unity, we decided to use certain pre-established titles for the project, followed by more specific subtitles chosen by the authors of each contribution. It is worth pointing out the authors' different origins, from four different European countries (Holland, Spain, Italy and the UK). Most of them have been researching subjects associated with their articles for several years and their work has been widely published both nationally and internationally. These experienced academics were joined by a small but important group of young researchers, whose innovative emerging fields of research auger a rosy future in this field of investigation.

The articles all demonstrate the major role that images have played in shaping our concept in Europe of what a child represents from the early Modern Age onward. The images reflect ideal notions of what children should be like, serving to popularize and consolidate models of behaviour and emotional control, as Jeroen J.H. Dekker explains in his article. This author uses various different Dutch visual sources, dating back to the Early Modern European Age, to analyse the progressive application of a programme aimed at educating children in actions and sentiments based on religious dogma. To understand the symbolism and meaning of images of childhood and school, their origins must be traced and their development explored by contrasting them with visual portrayals from other places associated with other mentalities. This is the aim of the study by Juri Meda and Marta Brunelli on the «dunce's cap»: an object of exclusion and social stigmatization introduced to schools and widely recognized in the West as a symbol of punishment for bad behaviour or a lack of application. The articles by María del Mar del Pozo and Jeremy Howard offer an insight into how images of childhood and school in engravings and paintings have been constructed and popularized. Both studies coincide in exploring the tension between images of childhood and children's progressive integration into an increasingly regularized school system. Through a historical analysis in rich dialogue with other social sciences, these articles transform artworks into testimonials, bearing witness to the evolution of the ideals and

mentalities that formed the basis of the development of schools as institutions and their popularization and legitimization. From the early 19th century, with the increasing popularity of children's literature, a new medium for the dissemination of images was born, able to reflect gradual changes in general perceptions of childhood. This is the subject that Silvia Assirelli tackles in her article, analysing the visual imagery of authors representative of illustrated children's books in Italy. This article pays particular attention to the necessary dialogue between words and images, a prerequisite of any study of visual sources. One of the key underlying ideas behind Pere Capellà's article is the notion that childhood portrayals and illustrations for children should not just be regarded in terms of their artistic value but also as testimonials of a certain era and certain society. It gives good reason to reflect on how illustrations for children and representations of childhood fit into visions of cultural history. A wide variety of mediums can be used to convey visual messages for educational purposes, as demonstrated in the article by Anna Ascenzi and Roberto Sani on illustrations in school exercise books during the Italian Fascist period (1922-1943). The article is based on a large collection of exercise books, over one thousand in total, kept at the University of Macerata's *Centro di documentazione e ricerca sulla storia del libro scolastico e della letteratura per l'infanzia* and at the *Istituto Nazionale di Documentazione, Innovazione e Ricerca Educativa* (INDIRE) in Florence. The covers of these books have a strong iconographic message, extolling the Fascist regime's ideal concept of youth.

Since the invention of photography and its development in the 20th century, this visual medium has come to play an important role in bearing witness to the history of education. Not only can photographs offer objective information about events but, more particularly, they can reflect the educational ideas and ideals of a particular period. Several articles in this monographic issue explore different subjects on the theme of photographic images. The article by Sara González and Bernat Sureda uses photographs to gain an insight into Barcelona City Council's educational policies between 1909 and 1933. Using a large number of photographs from 68 published books as a source, the authors highlight Barcelona City Council's wish to visually record its reformist approach to education, inspired by the new pedagogical ideas of the time which were put into practice in schools and childcare services. The article by Sjaak Braster also uses photographic sources, in this case numerous images of school activities published in the journal «The New Era» from 1920 to 1939. The article analyses how differences are visually portrayed between children at new progressive schools and others attending traditional ones and how new ways of portraying childhood and its associations with school gradually develop. Images of children during the 20th century's armed conflicts were publicized for numerous different purposes, with differing impacts on how childhood was perceived and socially appraised. The article by Avelina Miquel and Francisca Comas analyses a large number of photographs associated with childhood,

published in over two hundred magazines directed at Spanish troops during the 1936-39 Civil War. The article demonstrates how images of children were used for propaganda purposes, deliberately appealing to the troops' emotions through photographs of defenceless children. Photographs are also major sources of information in the article by Teresa Rabazas and Sara Ramos. This explores the school culture fostered in Franco's Spain by the Institución Teresiana, a Catholic institution with a prestigious reputation for female education. In this case, the photographs are taken from the photographic archives of the collection of teacher training reports kept at Complutense University of Madrid's «Manuel Bartolomé Cossío» History of Education Museum. The article demonstrates the capacity of photographs to record everyday practices in schools, together with the identification of key aspects of the ideas that these photographs uphold and convey. Lastly, the article by Maria Luce Sijpenhof tackles how people are portrayed in history books in Dutch secondary schools (1968-2017) so as to find out how much racism toward the coloured population they reflect. The article highlights another link between images and education: the capacity of images to convey certain identities or stereotypes and to shape the values upheld in schools.

The Images of the European Child that are presented and analysed in this special issue cover different periods and different places. Nonetheless, they all confront us with a challenge: to try and tackle crucial issues posed by the children of yesteryear and also by the children of today.

The restrained child: imaging the regulation of children's behaviour and emotions in Early Modern Europe, The Dutch Golden age*

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ABSTRACT: For the study of the restraining of children's behaviour and emotions in Early Modern Europe, genre paintings, drawings, and emblems, thus images, were used as sources. They seem to be manifestations of an educational discourse of Early Modern Europe that was deeply influenced by Humanism, Renaissance, and the Reformation. This discourse emphasizes that children should be educated into emotionally balanced adults so that they could behave according to the virtues. Apart from analysing the selected images, the article addresses the methodological issue of the interpretation of images and the epistemological question of how the concept of representation could clarify the relationship between sources and reality. The analysis of the images, including a drawing by Rembrandt and a painting by Jan Steen, confirms that notwithstanding fundamental religious differences there was almost unanimity of stimulating the Renaissance ideal of adults with a balanced personality by teaching parents to regulate children's behaviour and emotions. Genre paintings, drawings and emblems could give insight in this missionary educational movement, this notwithstanding the main differences – in style and in public – between the sources used. Although the case of the Dutch Republic in the Golden Age was specific in many ways, it also seems to be a manifestation of a transnational European phenomenon. The emblem book *Mirror*, produced for a Dutch readership, has an international scope by using proverbs from and in many languages and cultures, and by extensively referring to texts from the Bible and from Ancient Greece and Rome, so providing its Dutch readership with a European moral and educational discourse. The European dimension was also caused by the great transnational influence of Renaissance, Humanism and Reformation on the educational discourse, with Erasmus of Rotterdam as one of the most important contributors.

* The first ideas for this article were developed in a lecture at the Colloquium History of Emotions of the Center for the History of Emotions, Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin, 9 May 2017, and in a presentation at the Annual Conference of the International Society for Cultural History in Umeå, Sweden, 27 June 2017.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Images; Pupil behaviour; Restrained child; Representation by images; Early Modern Europe; Belgium; XVIIth Century.

Introduction

Restraining children's behaviour and emotions in Early Modern Europe is the subject of this contribution. Behaviour and emotions are narrowly related and in this paper this relationship is understood by looking at emotions as the often varying affective tone that belongs to human behaviour¹. As a matter of fact, we can observe neither behaviour nor emotions in the past in a direct way. We therefore need sources that in their role of representations can tell us more about this. In this article, the main sources used are images as representations of aspects of reality. To get insight into patterns of behaviour in the past, we selected pictures from a sample of genre paintings, drawings, and emblems, i.e. a combination of image with caption and text. The sources used are produced in the Dutch Republic in the Golden Age. But it seems that they also have a broader dimension by covering a transnational European phenomenon, and so can serve as a manifestation of a transnational European phenomenon, notwithstanding its Dutch specifics.

Before looking at the selected images in section 4, we will first in section 2 briefly turn to their cultural and educational context by looking at the educational discourse of Early Modern Europe, a period during which restraining emotions and behaviour of children became more important. The contemporary educational discourse emphasized that children should be educated into emotionally balanced adults so that they could behave according to the Christian and cardinal virtues. This educational discourse was deeply influenced by Humanism and Renaissance and was of major influence on much genre painting and drawing on educational topics. Also the Protestant Reformation, of decisive influence on Dutch culture and society with major impact on educational practices, was deeply inspired by that discourse through its religiously based mission of restraining children, as became manifest in catechisms and in specific child rearing advice books.

In section 3, we turn to the methodological question of how images used as sources for cultural history of education could function as representations of behaviour of children and of parents in restraining their children's behaviour.

¹ See the classic book on emotions by N.H. Frijda, *The Emotions*, Cambridge/Paris, Cambridge University Press/Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1986, pp. 72-75; A.L. Collins, P.J. Jordan, S.A. Lawrence, A.C. Troth, *Positive affective tone and team performance: The moderating role of collective emotional skills*, «Cognition and Emotion», vol. 30, 2016, pp. 167-182; J.M. George, *Personality, affect, and behavior in groups*, «Journal of Applied Psychology», vol. 75, 1990, pp. 107-116.

We will focus on two essential issues: the relationship between source and reality and the role of the representation theory in clarifying that relationship, and the pros and cons of the iconographical method in analysing the meaning of images. In section 4, the results of the interpretation of a selection of Dutch images with a transnational European dimension from drawings, genre paintings and emblems on restraining the child will be presented. A conclusion follows in section 5.

1. *Restraining children's behaviour: a discourse and a mission in Early Modern Europe*

Learning to restrain children's behaviour became a discourse and a mission in Early Modern Europe. Parents should get more educational literacy to raise their children to come of age properly and that meant in this period of history learning to behave according to the main Christian and cardinal virtues². This was only possible by restraining one's behaviour and emotions, and teaching a child to do that was considered the parent's task. This almost missionary educational movement was strong in both protestant and catholic countries. It resulted, apart from specific catechisms for children, also in a great supply of family and child rearing advice books, and particularly in the Netherlands in education focused emblem books, among them best and long sellers, and in numerous genre paintings and drawings. This supply of texts and images on education, parenting and childhood filled an increasing demand from a growing bourgeoisie and it was based on a new discourse about the regulation of children's behaviour in the family and at school on which authors like Norbert Elias, Philippe Ariès, and Michel Foucault have paid attention³.

² Cf. J.J.H. Dekker, *Moral Literacy: The pleasure of learning how to become decent adults and good parents in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 44, n. 1/2, 2008, pp. 135-149.

³ See more extensively: J.J.H. Dekker, I.J.M. Wichgers, *The Embodiment of Teaching the Regulation of Emotions in Early Modern Europe*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 54, n. 1/2, 2018 (in print). Cf. P. Ariès, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime*, Paris, Librairie Plon, 1960, 1973²; M. Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison*, Paris, Éditions Gallimard, 1975; N. Elias, *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1982 (or. 1939). Cf. on Ariès and Foucault: J.J.H. Dekker, D.M. Lechner, *Discipline and Pedagogics in History. Foucault, Ariès, and the History of Panoptical Education*, «The European Legacy», vol. 4, 1999, pp. 37-49; J.J.H. Dekker, *Éduquer et punir. Michel Foucault et l'histoire de l'éducation surveillée*, «Sociétés et Représentations», vol. 3, 1996, pp. 257-268; J.J.H. Dekker, L.F. Groenendijk, *Philippe Ariès's Discovery of Childhood after Fifty Years: The Impact of a Classic Study on Educational Research*, «Oxford Review of Education», vol. 38, n. 2, 2012, pp. 133-147. See also: G.H. Bantock, *Educating the emotions: An historical perspective*, «British Journal of Educational Studies», vol. 34, n. 2, 1986, pp. 122-141.

For the change of the educational discourse, the influence of the Northern European Renaissance and Humanism was essential with its texts on the regulation of behaviour and accompanying emotions by authors like Erasmus and Descartes who themselves were strongly inspired by classical and Christian examples. This discourse was based on a strong belief in the power of education, also characteristic for the Protestant Reformation and the Contra Reformation (Catholic Reformation) that made the Europe of Reformation a House Divided in the words of the title of Diarmaid MacCulloch's impressive book⁴.

It is true that restraining behaviour and emotions was not new in the European theological and philosophical debate. Major contributions to the contrast between passions and reason as accompanying aspects of behaviour are to be seen in texts by Augustine (354-430) and Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) and both authors did influence strongly René Descartes (1596-1650). Descartes, generally known for his theory of rationalism in *Discours de la méthode* from 1637, also wrote extensively about something different, namely the passions, or emotions, in *Les passions de l'âme* from 1649, in which he stated that passions need to be controlled and educated and in which he emphasized the role of education by advising that bodily sources of passion should not be suppressed but shifted into morally sanctioned paths by good upbringing⁵.

Already earlier Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) by his publications on childhood and education contributed both to the discourse and to practical advices. Erasmus of Rotterdam, a European humanist, probably was the author with the most impact on the Early Modern Europe educational discourse.⁶ According to him, education is necessary and this is the basic assumption in his *Declamatio de pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis* from 1529, in English *On the obligation to educate children immediately and broad-minded*. He

⁴ D. MacCulloch, *Reformation. Europe's House Divided 1490-1700*, London, Allen Lane/Penguin Books, 2003.

⁵ P. Harrison, *Reading the passions: The fall, the passions, and dominion over nature*, in S. Gaukroger (ed.), *The soft underbelly of reason: The passions in the seventeenth century*, London/New York, Routledge, 1998, pp. 49-78, p. 59; R. Descartes, *Discours de la méthode*, Paris, Librairie Larousse/Classiques Larousse, 1943 (or. 1637); R. Descartes, *Les passions de l'âme. Introduction, notes, bibliographie et chronologie par Pascale D'Árchy*, Paris, Flammarion, 1996 (or. 1649). On *Les passions*, see: C. Talon-Hugon, *Les passions rêvées par la raison. Essai sur la théorie des passions de Descartes et de quelques-uns de ses contemporains*, Paris, Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2002. Cf. Dekker, Wichgers, *The Embodiment*, cit.

⁶ See: J. Revel, *Les usages de la civilité*, in P. Ariès, G. Duby (edd.), *L'histoire de la vie privée*, vol. 3, *De la Renaissance aux Lumières*, Paris, Seuil, 1986, pp. 169-209, pp. 172-173; E. Becchi, *Humanisme et Renaissance*, in E. Becchi, D. Julia (edd.), *Histoire de l'enfance*, vol. 1, *De l'antiquité au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, Seuil, 1998, pp. 160-199; D. Julia, *L'enfance aux débuts de l'époque moderne*, in Becchi, Julia, *Histoire de l'enfance*, cit., pp. 342-361. Notwithstanding his major impact on the educational discourse in Early Modern Europe, the influence of Erasmus on Dutch pedagogues from the nineteenth century was limited, see: J. Exalto, *De vader, het kind en de appel: Erasmus door de ogen van Nederlandse pedagogen*, in S.L.H. Hage (ed.), *Desiderius Erasmus over opvoeding, Bijbel en samenleving*, Apeldoorn, Uitgeverij De Banier, 2017, pp. 129-159.

applauds education as «totius humanae felicitatis caput ac summam», or, «the culmination of human happiness»⁷. In the time Erasmus lived, happiness meant as a matter of fact Christian happiness, or *pietas* (piety), in the context of the *vera religio*⁸. Erasmus stated that children «are to be seen initially as empty vessels to be filled by the teacher, or as wax to be moulded»⁹. Parents and other educators were responsible for filling those empty vessels or blank slates in an efficient way, which means that children should enjoy it¹⁰. Erasmus wrote extensively about controlling behaviour and emotions in order to learn to behave according to etiquette. This Renaissance style education «held cognition and feeling in a peculiarly creative tension» together according to Bantock¹¹, and was interpreted in the context of the control of behaviour in a process of civilization, in other words in disciplining and restraining children and youngsters¹².

2. *Representation and meaning: on the interpretation of seventeenth century genre paintings, drawings, and emblems*

Before, in section 4, interpreting a selection of images on childhood and parenting from Early Modern Europe, we first look at two main issues on its interpretation: first how to consider the relationship between those images and reality, and secondly how to assess the potential of the iconographical method when being in search of the meaning of the images used as sources.

⁷ Y. Lindeman, *Macropedius' Rebelles and Erasmus' principles of education*, «European Medieval Drama», vol. 13, 2009, pp. 137-146. Cf. W. Frijhoff, M. Spies, 1650. *Bevochten eendracht*, The Hague, SDU Uitgeverij, 1999 [English edition W. Frijhoff, M. Spies, W. van Bunge, M. Scholz, 1650: *Hard-won unity*, Assen/Basingstoke, Royal Van Gorcum/Palgrave Macmillan, 2004], p. 239, quoting Erasmus' *De pueris*. See: J. van Herwaarden, 'Mensen ... worden niet geboren maar gevormd'. *Erasmus en het principe van de opvoeding*, «BMGN/The Low Countries Historical Review», vol. 122, n. 4, 2007, pp. 519-537.

⁸ Van Herwaarden, *Mensen*, cit., pp. 531-532.

⁹ J. Mearns, *The influence of Erasmus' educational writings on Nicolas Bourbons' Paidagogeion*, «Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance», vol. 72, 2010, pp. 65-81.

¹⁰ J.M. Parrish, *Education, Erasmian humanism and More's Utopia*, «Oxford Review of Education», vol. 36, 2010, pp. 589-605, p. 594 referring to *De pueris*.

¹¹ Bantock, *Educating the emotions*, cit., p. 135. Erasmus' book on educating children good manners, *De civilitate morum puerilium* from 1530 (cf. Baldassar Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano*, Venice, Aldine Press, 1528, intended for adults) was translated into Dutch in 1546. Cf. on Erasmus and Dutch education: Hage (ed.), *Desiderius Erasmus*, cit., and L.F. Groenendijk, *Jong gewend, oud gedaan. Protestantse moralisten over de opvoeding van het jonge kind* [Inaugural Lecture], Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit, 2005.

¹² Cf. Elias, *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*, cit. Cf. Dekker, Wichgers, *The Embodiment*, cit.

2.1. *The relationship between images and reality: the theory of representation*¹³

In the second half of the sixteenth century, under the influence of the Calvinistic Reformation, Dutch painting and drawing got new topics and daily life, more generally secular painting, replaced religious life as one of the main topics on Dutch paintings and drawings. Genre painting in particular covered a «startling variety of subject matter» and, although also occurring in other European countries, «not on the prodigious scale that one finds in the Netherlands»¹⁴. The paintings on daily life, among them about children, family life and parenting, were according to the art historian J. Bruyn «more true-to-life» and with «greater emphasis on everyday subjects and motifs» than before¹⁵. They seem to have an «ostensible capacity to proffer unmediated access to the past» and notwithstanding the fact that artists of genre painting generally use conventions and traditions, among other reasons in response to the demands of the market that liked those conventions¹⁶, it is understandable, according to Franits even «excusable» that those paintings were in a naïve way considered as «slices of life» with «direct transcriptions of the mundane experiences of contemporary Netherlanders»¹⁷, in other words as mirrors of reality because of their «stunning verisimilitude»¹⁸. For the rest, this looking at genre paintings as mirrors of realities was part of the discourse of seventeenth century Dutch art theorists, among them Samuel Hoogstraten in his *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst* [Introduction to the High School of Painting] from 1678¹⁹.

In the twentieth century, the idea of Dutch genre paintings as images giving «access to contemporary life», or reality, began to become questioned under the influence of *Studies in Iconology* from 1939 by Erwin Panofsky. He applied his iconological method, developed for the analysis of Italian art, also on Dutch fifteenth century art. Confronted with its «boldly naturalistic» style, he developed his theory of «disguised symbolism». Also seemingly rather realistic images did now, according to this theory, contain complex messages. This theory deeply influenced the Dutch art historian Eddy De Jongh in his

¹³ Cf. J.J.H. Dekker, *Images as representations. Visual sources on education and childhood in the past*, in J.J.H. Dekker, P. Smeijers (edd.), *Educational Historiography, (Re-)Presentations, Realities, Materialities*, Special Issue, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 51, n. 6, 2015, pp. 702-715.

¹⁴ W. Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 2008 (or. 2004), p. 1, p. 261 n. 3, p. 3 on secular painting.

¹⁵ J. Bruyn, *A Turning-Point in the History of Dutch Art*, in G. Luijten, A. van Suchtelen, R. Baarsen, W. Kloek, M. Schapelhouman (edd.), *Dawn of the Golden Age, Northern Netherlandish Art 1580-1620*, Amsterdam/Zwolle, Rijksmuseum/Waanders, 1993, pp. 112-121, in partic. p. 112.

¹⁶ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit., p. 1.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁹ On Van Hoogstraten and the seventeenth century art theorists, see: Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit., p. 2.

interpretation of seventeenth century genre painting²⁰. Now, «even images formerly assumed to depict only what could have been seen by an ‘innocent eye’ were in fact the products of conscious or unconscious manipulation: Dutch genre scenes and still lives, for instance»²¹. Adherents of the iconological method now regarded Dutch genre paintings, notwithstanding their remaining realistic magic, primarily as complex symbol systems to be decoded by iconological methods in order to understand the languages hidden in those paintings. The influential studies by De Jongh on sixteenth and seventeenth century Dutch genre painting underwent major impact by Panofsky's ideas²². Moreover, De Jongh believed in the method of understanding the «disguised symbolism» by looking at other contemporary sources, in particular emblems. Inspired by him «many specialists considered emblems magical keys capable of unlocking the signifying mysteries of Dutch genre painting», this even leading to consider Dutch paintings as «painted emblems» and the interpretation process as «emblematic interpretation»²³.

But also this way of looking at pictures as complex symbol systems was questioned. While applauding the value of emblems and other literary texts for the interpretation of paintings because of those sources giving insight in «contemporary notions, superstitions, prejudices» etc., Franits emphasizes the specific character of art being «a purely visual phenomena, governed by its own distinct conventions and traditions», and underlines that too complex symbolism is not compatible with «the realistic look of Dutch art»²⁴. Franits was inspired by art historians such as Svetlana Alpers and Jan Baptist Bedaux who also focused on that realistic look and who were of the opinion that

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²¹ F. Haskell, *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 1993, p. 5. See on Haskell: W. Hardtwig, *Der Historiker und die Bilder. Überlegungen zu Francis Haskell*, «Geschichte und Gesellschaft», vol. 24, 1998, pp. 305-322; E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology. Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, New York, Harper and Row, 1972, (or. 1939).

²² E. de Jongh, J.B. Bedaux, P. Hecht *et al.*, *Tot lering en vermaak. Betekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1976; E. de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw. Huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw*, Zwolle, Waanders, 1986; E. de Jongh, *Jan Steen, dichtbij en toch veraf*, in H. Perry Chapman, W.Th. Kloek, A.K. Wheelock Jr. (edd.), *Jan Steen. Painter and Storyteller*, Amsterdam/Washington DC, Rijksmuseum/National Gallery of Art, 1996, pp. 39-51, in partic. p. 40; E. de Jongh, G. Luijten, *Mirror of everyday life. Genreprints in the Netherlands 1550-1700*, Amsterdam/Ghent, Rijksmuseum/Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1986. Cf. P.C. Sutton, *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1984, p. 49.

²³ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit., p. 5, referring to S. Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1983, and J.B. Bedaux, *The reality of symbols. Studies in the iconology of Netherlandish art 1400-1800*, 's-Gravenhage/Maarssen, Gary Schwarz/SDU, 1990. See E. De Jongh, *Zinne- en minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw*, Nederlandse Stichting Openbaar Kunstbezit/Openbaar Kunstbezit in Vlaanderen, Amsterdam/Antwerpen, 1967.

²⁴ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit., p. 5.

probably even contemporaries could not be able to understand the extremely difficult symbols assumed in the iconological interpretation of genre paintings. While again placing emphasis on the realistic aspects of these paintings, they did not have that ‘innocent eye’ and the illusion of a genre painting as a mirror of realities as their nineteenth century forerunners. Bedaux, a former student of De Jongh, lost his Panofskyian faith and symbolized his transition through the title of his dissertation, *The Reality of Symbols*²⁵.

The discussion between art historians about the interpretation of seventeenth century genre paintings is, apart from a number of technical and methodical issues, about an issue which is fundamental for all historians when using sources, namely the relationship between source and reality. Also when looking at images on the history of education, that question should be posed: is the image a mirror of reality, a unity of symbols, or something in between, for example as formulated by Bedaux with the title of his book, ‘the reality of symbols’? This brings us to the theory of representation.

This theory seems to be able to at least partly clarify the relationship between sources, in particular images, and reality²⁶. According to the philosopher and historian Frank Ankersmit²⁷, sources always only refer to aspects of reality. Representing reality does not mean mirroring reality, for the representation always only refers to aspects of reality²⁸. A representation thus only lays down specific and selected aspects of the past, with the uniqueness of a representation being the specificity of those aspects. Representation is not limited to the representation of real people. Also patterns of behaviour and even symbols as for example flags that represent nations and states can represent realities. But as a matter of fact, they do not suggest similarity with them²⁹.

²⁵ Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, cit.; Bedaux, *The reality of symbols*, cit., pp. 112-113. Cf. Frijhoff, Spies, *1650. Bevochten eendracht* [English edition: Frijhoff et al. *1650: Hard-won unity*], cit., p. 458, pp. 100-102; J.B. Bedaux, *Introduction*, in J.B. Bedaux, R.E.O. Ekkart (edd.), *Pride and Joy. Children's portraits in the Netherlands 1500-1700*, Ghent/Amsterdam /New York, Ludion and Abrams, 2000, pp. 19-22; J.J.H. Dekker, L.F. Groenendijk, J. Verberckmoes, *Proudly raising vulnerable youngsters. The scope for education in the Netherlands*, in Bedaux, Ekkart (edd.), *Pride and Joy*, cit., pp. 43-60; J.J.H. Dekker, *Mirrors of reality? Material culture, Historical Sensation, and the Significance of Images for Research into Long-Term Educational Processes*, in P. Smeyers, M. Depaepe (edd.), *Educational Research: Material culture and its representation*, Dordrecht, Springer, 2014, pp. 31-51, 38-40.

²⁶ Based on Dekker, *Mirrors of reality?*, cit., and Dekker, *Images as representations*, cit.

²⁷ See F.R. Ankersmit, *Meaning, truth, and reference in historical representation*, Ithaca/New York, Cornell University Press, 2012; F.R. Ankersmit, *Representatie als cognitief instrument*, «Algemeen Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Wijsbegeerte», vol. 103, n. 4, 2011, pp. 243-262, and F.R. Ankersmit, *De navel van de geschiedenis. Over interpretatie, representatie en historische realiteit*, Groningen, Historische Uitgeverij Groningen, 1990.

²⁸ Ankersmit, *Representatie*, cit., pp. 246-249, 250-252. Cf. Ankersmit, *Meaning, truth and reference*, cit., pp. 64-86.

²⁹ Ankersmit, *Representatie*, cit., pp. 250-252.

Ankersmit's idea of representation is of value for the use of images as sources for the history of education and childhood. Both real people – children, parents, educators – and ideas and messages on patterns of behavior belong to historic realities³⁰. Not only images about real people in individual and group portraits, but also genre paintings and genre prints which do not represent real people but patterns of behaviour can give the researcher a closer experience with the realities studied³¹. But a closer experience with realities does not mean that such sources do mirror reality: they can only refer to aspects of realities³².

2.2. *In search of the meaning of an image*

When historians are in search of the meaning of an image, notwithstanding the criticism on the interpretation of genre painting by the iconological theory of Panofsky some iconography can help us. Iconography, literally the description of an image, is the description, analysis and interpretation of the subject of images³³. Which makes iconography of interest for historical research is its emphasis on the meaning of an image. According to James Hall in his classic *Dictionary of subjects and symbols in art*, iconography with its focus on the meaning and the subject-matter of art, on the stories it tells and on the people it portrays made art more important for cultural history. Understanding symbols in art can help «the present-day spectator to see it as the artist's contemporaries saw it». By looking at art that way «the elements of a picture make not only

³⁰ See for textual sources on patterns of behaviour: D.M.B. Sturkenboom, *Spectators van hartstocht. Sekse en emotionele cultuur in de achttiende eeuw*, Hilversum, Verloren, 1999, pp. 84 (n. 202), 86, 88; R. Chartier, *Le monde comme représentation*, «Annales Économies, Sociétés, Cultures», 1989, vol. 44, n. 6, pp. 1505-1520; R. Chartier (ed.), *Les usages de l'imprimé (XV^e-XIX^e siècle)*, Paris, Fayard, 1989; J. Dane, K. Ghonem-Woets, R. Ghesquière, P. Mooren, J.J.H. Dekker, *For Religion, Education and Literature: a Comparative Study of Changes in the Strategy and Profile of Traditionally Religious Publishing Houses in Belgium and the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 42, n. 6, 2006, pp. 707-727.

³¹ See: De Jongh, Luijten, *Mirror of everyday life*; Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit.

³² Cf. C. Ginzburg, *Miti Emblemi Spie. Morfologia e storia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1986, p. 160; C. Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, pp. 97-98; Ankersmit, *De navel*, cit., pp. 50-51, 57. See further: Dekker, *Images of reality?*, cit., p. 31.

³³ The method was developed by: E. Panofsky in his *Studies in Iconology. Humanistic themes in the art of the Renaissance*, New York, 1939; see: Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit., p. 4. Cf. E. Panofsky, *Iconography and Iconology: an introduction in the study of Renaissance art*, in E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the visual arts*, Garden City (NY), 1955, pp. 26-41. See: R. van Straten, *Inleiding in de iconografie*, Muiderberg, Dick Coutinho, 1987, p. 14 (cf. English version: *An introduction to iconography*, Yverdon, Gordon and Breach, 1994). Cf. E.H. Gombrich, *Icones symbolicae. Philosophies of symbolism and their bearing on art*, in E.H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images. Studies in the art of the Renaissance*, London, 1972, pp. 123-191.

a unity of design but contain a unity of meaning, sometimes not immediately recognizable»³⁴.

While various stages of iconographical analysis are distinguished, in practice they often merge, although Panofsky himself was of the opinion that the differences between them should be seen in a rather principal way³⁵. In fact, the stages distinguished are also, and perhaps better to be approached as several aspects of the same analysis. Main aspects are (1) stylistic and historical research into aspects like style, artist, and date, in other words the classic work of the art historian; (2) the enumeration of the main elements in the image, such as persons, colour, and furniture (often mentioned within iconography the so-called pre-iconographic description); (3) stating the subject-matter of the image by interrelating its several elements, mentioned the iconographic description and assuming knowledge of the symbol language of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, dominated by symbols from Ancient Greece and Rome and from Christianity, and using personifications, allegories, or symbols in images of real people to enforce a character and in images of patterns of behaviour to enforce a message³⁶; (4) search after deeper layers of meaning of the subject, in particular in genre paintings and drawings, mentioned the iconographic interpretation, for iconographers like Panofsky a very important stage of research, but also a tricky one for risking to easily result in over-interpretation, as Bedaux's study with the title *The Reality of Symbols* makes clear³⁷; finally (5) relating the image to its cultural context, also mentioned the iconological interpretation. This interpretation, which in essence does not seem to differ from what cultural historians normally do, should contribute to knowledge about the aspects of reality that are represented by the image when it is used as a source³⁸.

³⁴ J. Hall, *Dictionary of subjects and symbols in art*, London, John Murray, 1991, or. 1974, p. X.

³⁵ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit., p. 4.

³⁶ Hall, *Dictionary*, cit., p. 254. The main source for personifications is Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia overo Descrittione Dell'imagini Universali cavate dall'Antichità et da altri luoghi*, New York, Garland, 1976 (a reprint of the edition of 1611, Padua; the first edition is from 1593). This book, a bestseller, contained ca. 1250 personifications and was according to Van Straten, *Inleiding in de iconografie*, cit., p. 22, like a travel guide for artists, and translated in several languages (the Dutch version was published in 1644, reprinted in facsimile, Soest 1971, with an introduction by J. Becker, as *Iconologia, of uytbeeldingen des Verstandes*, Amsterdam, D.P. Pers). Essential for subjects in iconography from Ancient Greece and Rome was Ovide's ca. 250 numbering *Metamorphoses*, based on sources like Homer, and mentioned the painter's bible. The Dutch painter Karel van Mander wrote an introduction, *Wtlegginghe op den Metamorphosis*, for his colleagues, see Van Straten, *Inleiding in de iconografie*, cit., p. 53.

³⁷ Bedaux, *The Reality of Symbols*, cit.

³⁸ J.J.H. Dekker, *Looking at Filtered realities: Images of Childhood and Parenting in the Dutch Golden Age*, in K. Te Heesen, U. Hägele (edd.), *Pädagogische Reflexionen in Malerei und Fotografie*, Münster & New York, Waxmann-Verlag, 2014, pp. 27-46; Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, cit.; J.J.H. Dekker, *Het verlangen naar opvoeden. Over de groei van de pedagogische ruimte in Nederland sinds de Gouden Eeuw tot omstreeks 1900* [From Educational

When interpreting images, historians can get support from contemporary art theorists, for they systematized the symbolic representation of behaviour and emotions. Two of them are the already mentioned painter's guide by Cesare Ripa and a text by the French painter Charles Le Brun (1619-1690). This text, originally a presentation from 1688 to the French *Académie de Peinture*, was inspired by the Cartesian way of rationalizing emotions in *Les passions de l'âme* by Descartes. It is, in the words of art historians Honour and Fleming, «a pictorial lexicon of the passions of the soul, accompanied by theoretical justifications based on current philosophical treatments»³⁹. According to Le Brun, the passions are most clearly expressed in the face, particularly in the eyebrows⁴⁰.

In the next section, in order to understand the meaning of the images analysed, we will look at them with the above described aspects of the iconographical analysis in mind. Also, we will as far as possible – also historians are children of their own time and can never totally give up their own time's gaze – try to do as the contemporary sixteenth and seventeenth readers did: looking at the picture with knowledge of how symbols were used to express and describe educational behaviour and ideas, reading the text when the source is an emblem and combines image and text, and so trying to understand the pictures in the cultural, educational and image language of the time, familiar for many costumers of images by reading texts like the Bible, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and texts by contemporary authors like Ripa and Le Brun.

3. *Restraining the child: images of childhood and parenting in the Dutch Republic*

3.1. *Filling a blank piece of paper: images on restraining the child in the Dutch Republic*

After the destruction of religious art in 1566 with the iconoclasm, mentioned *Beeldenstorm*, during the Calvinistic Reformation, art became less inspired by religion and more by classic mythology, history painting, and by topics on daily life. Looking at such images means that people were looking at themselves

Aspiration to Educational Supervision. Childhood and Education in the Netherlands from the Golden Age until 1900], Amsterdam, Bert Bakker, 2006.

³⁹ According to Louis XIV, Le Brun was the 'greatest French artist of all time', see H. Honour, J. Fleming, *A World History of Art*, London, Laurence King Publishing, 2009, 7th edition, p. 604. According to Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions. An Introduction*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015, p. 19, until the nineteenth century, Le Brun's 'taxonomy of facial expression' was used.

⁴⁰ Cf. Harrison, *Reading the Passions*, cit., p. 61.

both literally, at individual or family portraits, and symbolically, at patterns of behaviour in genre paintings, prints, and emblems. This became part of the Dutch burgher's lifestyle in a society characterized by a broad bourgeoisie because of a flourishing and expanding economy⁴¹. Those burghers possessed visual literacy in order to be able to understand the symbolic language of those images⁴². Images were everywhere: this was an image culture, made possible by an almost industrial art production, much of it low priced. In the mid-seventeenth century, ca. 700 painters produced ca. 70,000 paintings yearly. The economic historian Ad van der Woude estimated the number of paintings produced in the Dutch Republic at between five to ten million paintings⁴³, this apart from the production of genre prints, drawings and emblem books. People liked images on daily life topics, often with moral and educational messages, and this demand «influenced the content of works». This resulted in a mass production of art varying in price from below 10 to above 1000 guilders in a society with a middle-class salary of 500-700 guilders per year⁴⁴.

A great deal of those images dealt with moral messages on education⁴⁵ and were based on the above mentioned Erasmus inspired assumption that the child was a *tabula rasa*, a blank piece of paper, with parents responsible for what eventually ended up in the child's *tabula rasa*. Seventeenth century emblem book authors like Cats in his *Marriage* described the child as «absorbing all things like a blank piece of paper». He also emphasized the responsibility of parents for good content to be put in that blank piece of paper⁴⁶. To support parents,

⁴¹ Frijhoff, Spies, 1650. *Bevochten eendracht* [English edition: Frijhoff et al. 1650: *Hard-won unity*], cit., pp. 496, 637; A.M. van der Woude, *De schilderijenproductie in Holland tijdens de Republiek*, in A. Schuurman, J. de Vries, A. van der Woude (edd.), *Aards geluk. De Nederlandse en hun spullen van 1550 tot 1850*, Amsterdam, 1997, pp. 223-258; J. de Vries, A. van der Woude, *Nederland 1500-1815. De eerste ronde van moderne economische groei*, Amsterdam, Uitgeverij Balans, 1995 [English edition: *The first modern economy success, failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500-1815*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997], pp. 147, 701. See on the market of cheap paintings, A. Jager, 'Galey-schilders' en 'dosijnwerck': *De productie, distributie en consumptie van goedkope historiestukken in zeventiende-eeuw Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam, 2016 (PhD thesis). On genre art, see De Jongh, Luijten, *Mirror of everyday life*, and Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit.

⁴² Cf. Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, cit.

⁴³ Van der Woude, *De schilderijenproductie*, cit., p. 239; De Vries, Van der Woude, *Nederland 1500-1815* [English edition: *The first modern economy success*], cit., p. 404. Cf. J.J.H. Dekker, *Beauty and Simplicity. The Power of Fine Art in Moral Teaching on Education in 17th Century Holland*, «Journal of Family History. Studies in Family, Kinship, and Demography», vol. 34, n. 2, 2009, pp. 166-188; Dekker, *Het verlangen naar opvoeden*, cit.

⁴⁴ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit., pp. 2-3.

⁴⁵ See Dekker, *Looking at Filtered Realities*, cit., Cf. S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, London, William Collins, 1987. Cf. J.J. H. Dekker, L.F. Groenendijk, *The Republic of God or the Republic of Children? Childhood and Child-Rearing After the Reformation: An Appraisal of Simon Schama's Thesis about the Uniqueness of the Dutch Case*, «Oxford Review of Education», vol. 17, n. 3, 1991, pp. 317-335.

⁴⁶ When, according to Cats, a child misbehaved, not the child but the parents should be blamed, J. Cats, *Huwelijk* (edited by A.A. Snekker, B. Thijs), Amsterdam, Querido, 1993, pp. 118-120.

apart from a number of instructive child rearing advice books for readers from specific religious circles⁴⁷, many paintings, drawings and emblem books were produced to learn in a more funny way how to discipline and restrain children: by looking at (genre) paintings and by decoding and interpreting text puzzles and images in emblem books. People who bought those paintings, drawings and emblem books did so because they, apart from being amused as Franits emphasizes⁴⁸, would like to be frequently remembered to their parental duties. The images told them to educate their children and how to do that with as an important goal to learn them to behave according to the main virtues. Emblem 1 from the highly popular emblem book *Mirror* by Jacob Cats, entitled 'A young twig can be bent, but old trees not' after the proverb of the same name, makes this clear⁴⁹. A man on a ladder tries in vain to bend the tree, but his mate on the ground already knows that he will never succeed. For, and then he quotes the words of the proverb: «Young twig can be bent, but old trees not». With this symbolic language, the emblem tells the readers that you should start as early as possible with child rearing. When the child compared with a young twig is still young, filling its tabula rasa with good content, i.e. the virtues, is still possible. But when child becomes older, symbolically compared with the tree, educational time is running out: successful parenting is no longer possible⁵⁰.

⁴⁷ Examples are Johannes de Swaef's (1594-1653) *De geestelijcke queeckerije* (The Spiritual Nursery) from 1621, Petrus Wittewrongel's (1609-1662) *Oeconomia christiana* from 1655, and Jacobus Koelman's (1631-1695) *The Duties of Parents to educate their children for God* from 1679. On Wittewrongel and Koelman, see respectively L.F. Groenendijk, *De Nadere Reformatie van het gezin. De visie van Petrus Wittewrongel op de christelijke huishouding*, Dordrecht, Van den Tol, 1984, and L.F. Groenendijk, *Jacobus Koelman: inhoud en bronnen, grondslag en ambitie*, Apeldoorn, Labarum Academic, 2017. See on those instructive child rearing advice books also Dekker, *Het verlangen*, cit., pp. 58-116; J.H. Dekker, *Educational Ambitions in History. Childhood and Education in an Expanding Educational Space from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2010, pp. 33-41; Dekker, Groenendijk, Verberckmoes, *Proudly raising vulnerable youngsters*, cit., p. 10.

⁴⁸ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit., p. 213.

⁴⁹ In Latin *Rami correcti rectificantur, trabs minimè*, in Dutch *Jonck rijs is te buygen / maer geen oude boomen*.

⁵⁰ Emblem I from J. Cats, *Spiegel Van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tijd, Bestaende uyt Spreekwoorden ende Sin-Spreucken, ontleent van de voorige ende tegenwoordige Eeuwe, verlustigt door menigte van Sinne-Beelden, met Gedichten en Prenten daer op passende; Dienstigh tot bericht van alle gedeelten des levens; beginnende van de Kintsheyt, ende eyndigende met het eynde alles vleech*, 's Graven-Hage, Isaac Burchoorn, Boeck-drucker, 1632, reprinted in a facsimile edition, Amsterdam, Facsimile Uitgaven Nederland NV, 1968. Cf. J. Cats, *Spiegel Van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tyt*, Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper, 1657 (special Collections, University of Groningen) with the same images as in the 1632 edition. See more on this emblem in Dekker, Wichgers, *The Embodiment*.

3.2. *Images as sources on parenting and restraining the child*

In the following, we will look at a selection of images as representations or filtered realities of childhood and parenting that deal with restraining the child, namely a drawing by Rembrandt, two paintings by Jan Steen, and some emblems by Jacob Cats⁵¹. Looking at images from the point of view of history of education means another assessment of images than when looking at them from the point of view of art history. While for the art historian's approach, the aesthetic quality often dominates, for the historian of education what first counts is the image's capacity to address the research question posed. Thus, for the selection the first criterion is not its aesthetic value but its value as a historical source.

When looking at images that way, the emblem books by Jacob Cats should get a high source score for at least three reasons. The first reason is that emblem books by Jacob Cats (1581-1660) became best and long sellers and thus got a wide readership⁵². He successfully adopted and adapted the style of the *ars amatoria* of Dutch writers such as Daniël Heinsius (1580-1655) and Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft (1581-1647) for his emblem books, which belonged to the most popular books in the Dutch Republic. That popularity was stimulated through (1) the combination of text and image which made them attractive and accessible for a wider public; (2) a focus at Christian virtues of faith, hope and love, and cardinal virtues of wisdom, justice, fortitude, and temperance instead of on specifically church-bound doctrines, special in Protestant Reformation Europe and making the emblems popular outside the circle of his Calvinistic fellow believers too; (3) his use of easy-to-learn rhymes⁵³.

The second reason that makes emblems by Cats important sources is due to the combination of text and image. This makes the interpretation of an emblem

⁵¹ Cf. Dekker, *Looking at Filtered Realities*, cit.

⁵² Cats was not only successful as the author of emblem books. He belonged to the richest and powerful men of the Dutch Republic and was for many years Grand Pensionary (in Dutch: *Raadspensionaris*), i.e. the first adviser of the States of Holland and Zeeland, in some aspects with an anachronism somewhat like a 'prime minister' of the Dutch Republic.

⁵³ See further J.J.H. Dekker, *Woord en beeld: Jacob Cats en de pedagogische cultuuroverdracht in de zeventiende eeuw*, in J.W. Steutel, D.J. de Ruyter, S. Miedema (edd.), *De gereformeerden en hun vormingsoffensief door de eeuwen heen*, Zoetermeer, Meinema, 2009, pp. 47-65; K. Porteman, *Miscellanea emblematica*, «Spiegel der Letteren», vol. 17, 1975, pp. 161-164; K. Porteman, 'Het embleem als *'genus iocosum'*. Theorie en praktijk bij Cats en Roemer Visscher», «De zeventiende eeuw», vol. 11, 1995, pp. 184-196; K. Porteman, 'Ey, kijckt toch, kijckt toch eens, geseelen...' Vierhonderd jaar vader Cats (1577-1660), «Ons Erfdeel», vol. 20, 1977, pp. 732-746; Dekker, *Educational Ambitions*, pp. 45-46, 55-66; A.Th. van Deursen, *De raadspensionaris Jacob Cats*, in A.Th. van Deursen, *De hartslag van het leven. Studies over de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden*, Amsterdam, Uitgeverij Prometheus, 1996, pp. 362-374 (or. 1979); E.K. Grootes, *Literatuurhistorie en Cats' visie op de jeugd*, in M. Spies, J. Jansen (edd.), *Visie in veelvoud. Opstellen van prof.dr. E.K. Grootes over zeventiende-eeuwse letterkunde ter gelegenheid van zijn zestigste verjaardag*, Amsterdam, 1996, pp. 9-28.

less speculative than of a painting or drawing. The text gives extra information about the meaning of the emblem – the image covers only part of the meaning of the text – while the meaning of paintings or drawings has mostly no extra support by an accompanying text.

The third reason for making emblem books by Jacob Cats important sources is its European scope. Although his emblem books were produced for a Dutch readership and his best seller *Marriage* [*Houwelick*] from 1625 was written in Dutch only and intended for mothers, other emblem books intended for parents, in particular fathers, like *Sinne- en Minnebeelden* [Images of Passions and Love] and *Spiegel Van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tijd* [Mirror of the Ancient and Modern Time] possess an international scope. *Sinne- en Minnebeelden* tells how it is to come of age properly and to become a decent Christian by distinguishing three phases of respectively pleasure of the youth, emergence of risks and dangers, finally living according to the virtues⁵⁴. The best example of an emblem book with a European scope is *Spiegel* from 1632, with texts by Cats and pictures by Adriaan van de Venne. In *Spiegel*, with more than 1,600 proverbs in many languages, each emblem is entitled after a proverb whose meaning is explained in a text using many languages and extensive quotes from the Bible, in particular the Old Testament, and from Ancient Greece and Rome, in particular Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Compared with the popular emblem books, paintings produced by famous painters like Jan Steen remained outside the reach of most people, with the exception of the customer, his family, and people who could visit his home. The Dutch Republic was a culture without museums and nowadays famous paintings did reach only a very small public. But this is only part of the story. Many people were able to look at paintings on roughly the same topic: the production of famous painters only formed a very small part of the enormous supply of paintings in the Republic, exhibited in private homes but also in semi-public buildings like inns. In particular the great supply of genre paintings was often an elaboration of a well-known and popular proverb, as also Cats did in his emblem books and Steen in his paintings. In other words, when looking at a unique painting by Steen, we also look at a representation of a broadly accepted educational discourse which could be seen in many other paintings. Notwithstanding the above sketched difficulties with directly interpreting genre paintings with emblems, it remains important to maintain that paintings and emblems contributed substantially to the supply of the same information about education and that the more explicit information from emblems thus could be used for the interpretation of genre paintings.

⁵⁴ A scientific edition of *Sinne- and Minnebeelden* is J. Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden* [edited by H. Luijten, *Jacob Cats Sinne- en minnebeelden*], 3 Vols., The Hague, Constantijn Huygens Instituut, 1996. See a complete list of editions of the works of Cats in: J. Bos, J.A. Gruys (edd.), *Cats Catalogus. De werken van Jacob Cats in the Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands*, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1996.

In the following, specific images on parenting and the restrained child will be described and interpreted: a drawing by Rembrandt, genre paintings by Jan Steen, and emblems by Jacob Cats.

3.3. *Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669), The naughty boy: restrained and unrestrained*

Rembrandt's drawing from ca. 1635 (Picture 1), at first sight made from nature, no doubt was inspired by a situation observed by him in a Dutch city, probably in his place of residence the city of Amsterdam. But in drawing the face of the naughty boy, the leading figure in the drawing, he combined, not unusual for seventeenth century artists, reality with existing examples, among them drawings by himself and by other Dutch artists, and Michelangelo's *Bruges Madonna*⁵⁵. The drawing is about the rage of a young child inside an early seventeenth century Dutch house. The boy cries loudly and rage is to be seen in all parts of the boy's body: his face, arms, and legs. The boy beats around so strongly that his right shoe is flying through the air. This seems to be an unrestrained child.

But two adults try to restrain this child. The mother (we assume she is his mother, but it might also be his nurse) needs all her corporal force to hold the raging and angry little boy who almost slips out of her arms. She is irritated about the child's behavior, as is shown by her clenched eyebrows, but she controls her emotions. The child is not punished, but restrained. The mother is supported by an elder woman, perhaps the grandmother. With her left hand lifted she warns the child for his unrestrained behaviour. That warning has no effect at all on the boy for he cannot see her and is totally filled with rage. Next to the child and the two adults, two elder children observe the situation curiously from outside through the open door. Probably they came down to the sound because of the rage of the little boy.

The reason behind the boy's rage remains unknown, but probably the boy wanted to do something the mother did prevent him from doing, which led to the outbreak of rage. The image, a brilliant drawing, shows an educational situation: it is not only about the rage of a child, but also about educational attempts to control and restrain the child⁵⁶. The strength of the Rembrandt drawing is its perfectly showing the expression of the child's extremely strong

⁵⁵ Holm Bevers, *Rembrandt. Die Zeichnungen im Berliner Kuperstichkabinett*, Berlin/Ostfildern, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Hatje Contz Verlag, 2006, pp. 64, 67 n. 2, mentions Rembrandt's drawing *Abduction of Ganymede* in the Dresden Kupferstich-kabinett, drawings by other Dutch artist, and Michelangelo's *Bruger Madonna*.

⁵⁶ *Der ungezogene Knabe*, 207x142 mm, ca. 1635, Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, KdZ 3771. On the drawing, see Bevers, *Rembrandt. Die Zeichnungen im Berliner Kuperstichkabinett*, pp. 64-67.

emotions and of the mother's restrained ones when she has to cope with the regulation of her child's emotions. Through its outstanding quality, it brings us almost face to face with children's emotions within an educational relationship. The drawing shows how adults try to control the child's behaviour, a parental task that became dominant in the educational and moralist Erasmian discourse of the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, as mentioned above, that emphasized to learn to control emotions.

3.4. *Jan Steen: Entertaining and warning about the parental responsibility*

A number of paintings by Jan Steen, the master genre painter of the Dutch Republic, approach the topic of restraining children too, but in a different way⁵⁷. They do not focus on the child, as Rembrandt did, but emphasize how parents and other adults should behave in serving as an example for their children who are considered as perfect imitators of parental and adult behaviour. Educating children and teaching them how to learn to behave decently and according to the virtues thus first of all means that parents should do it themselves. Steen was inspired by sixteenth century art, among them prints of unruly households and paintings by Breughel, and by Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678) from the Southern Netherlands, himself inspired by the emblem books by Jacob Cats⁵⁸.

The educational message of the impact of the parental example on the child's behaviour was concisely expressed by the popular proverb 'As the Old Sing, so Pipe the Young'⁵⁹. This proverb expressed the belief in the impact of the parental example for filling the blank piece of paper, or, the child's *tabula rasa*, and it inspired many authors and artists. Jacob Cats used it frequently in his emblematic books, for example in emblem IV from *Sinne- en minnebeelden* [Images of passions and love]⁶⁰. Also genre painters, often inspired by emblem books, used the proverb for their paintings. The already mentioned Jacob Jordaens did so by showing decent companies where children and youngsters imitated the adult's behaviour⁶¹. Jan Steen developed the genre further by

⁵⁷ On Steen, see Perry Chapman, Kloek, Wheelock (edd.), *Jan Steen. Painter and Storyteller*, cit.. On his position in Dutch genre painting, see Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit., pp. 203-214. Cf. De Jongh's classic study *Zinne- en minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw* and De Jongh, Luijten, *Mirror of everyday life*. On Jan Steen and education, see A. Gruschka, *Der heitere Ernst der Erziehung. Jan Steen malt Kinder und Erwachsene als Erzieher und Erziehene. Eine Entdeckungsreise durch die Bildwelten Jan Steens und seiner Zeit*, Wetzlar, Büchse der Pandora Verlag, 2005.

⁵⁸ On the influence of Cats on Jordaens, see De Jongh, Luijten, *Mirror*, n. 12, p. 256; Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit. pp. 206, 208.

⁵⁹ In Dutch: *Soo de oude songen, soo pypen de jonge*.

⁶⁰ The proverb 'En, naer het oude singht, soo pijpt het kleyne jonck', in Jacob Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden* (edition Luyten, vol. 1), p. 56, emblem IV, 'Amor, formae condimentum'.

⁶¹ See De Jongh, Luijten on Jordaens's influence on Dutch genre prints, *Mirror of everyday life*, cit., pp. 253-256.



Pic. 1. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Der ungezogene Knabe* [*The naughty boy*], ca. 1635. Drawing, 207x142 mm (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 3771).

using the didactic approach of showing the opposite, i.e. wrong behaviour by parents and other adults, so making clear what could happen with children due to morally wrong adult behaviour. In unruly three generation households, he shows how children imitate wrong adult's behaviour like smoking and drinking and how parents and other adults even encourage them to behave in such a way. Those paintings emphasize the loss of self-control of adults and its consequence for the behaviour of the children. The message is that bad behaviour is particularly learnt when children are still young and that children became unrestrained because of lack of parental responsibility⁶².

In most of his paintings with a message about the impact of the parental example on children's behaviour, Steen shows wrong behaviour with the message that we should not behave that way in order to raise our children properly.

The complex canvas 'When living in wealth, beware' (Picture 2), in Dutch *In weelde siet toe*, from 1663, painted when Steen stayed in Haarlem between 1660-1670, the «most productive and outstanding decade of his career»⁶³, was different. In this painting, Steen depicts both people with wrong behaviour and people who warn against that behaviour, so making his message stronger and more explicit. At the beginning of the story – for a genre painting by Steen is like a story – mother is falling asleep, although not because of drinking too much, as is the case in a rather similar painting, *The Dissolute Household*, c.

⁶² See Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit., p. 212. Cf. Dekker, *Educational Ambitions in history*, cit., pp. 42-43, on Jan Steen, *Het vrolijke huisgezin* (*Soo de oude songen, soo pypen de jonge*), 1668, oil on canvas, 110x141 cm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). Cf. Perry Chapman, *Jan Steen*, cit., pp. 172-175, also on another painting on the same theme: Jan Steen, *Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen*, ca. 1663-1665, oil on canvas, 134x163 cm (Den Haag, Mauritshuis). See Durantini, *The Child*, cit., pp. 59-61, H. Perry Chapman, *Jan Steen's Household Revisited*, «Simiolus. Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art», vol. 20, n. 2/3, 1990/1991, pp. 183-196; C. Brown, *Sources of Everyday Life: Dutch Genre painting of the Seventeenth century*, London, 1984 (the Dutch version: «...Niet ledighs of ydels...». *Nederlandse genreschilders uit de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam, J.H. de Bussy, 1984), pp. 83-88.

⁶³ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit., p. 206.



Pic. 2. Jan Steen, *In weelde siet toe* [*When living in wealth, beware*], 1663. Canvas, 105x145 cm (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie).

1661-1664⁶⁴. As a result, she, too tired of all her duties, no longer is able to keep order. Immediately, adults and children alike, let slacken the reins. The baby plays with money and valuables while throwing bowl and an important, for sealed document, on the floor. A boy smokes a pipe and eats out of the pantry. A couple in the centre of the painting shows very impertinent and erotic behaviour. With mother falling asleep and so authority disappearing, control is over. This is the danger of wealth, the title of the painting which can be seen in the little slate in the right corner of the painting. But it is not only that proverb in the little slate which warns us for the consequences of wealth and why control and discipline – away with mother falling asleep – are so important. Steen adds two other people to his canvas: an old and pious couple, situated just behind the couple with the indecent behaviour. The man, according to Perry Chapman a Quaker, reads a religious book, while the woman, probably a beguine, throws

⁶⁴ *The Dissolute Household*, c. 1661-1664, oil on canvas, 80.5 x 89 cm, London, The Board of Trustees of the Victoria & Albert Museum. See Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit., pp. 206-208, figure 194. This painting shows, as was usual for unruly household paintings by Steen, only wrong behaviour and is «a scene of utter chaos and parental abandon».

up her hand to warn the young man of the couple. But the young man laughs at her⁶⁵.

No doubt this and other unruly household paintings by Steen contain explicit moral and educational messages. Yet, an only “strict didactic reading” is insufficient. For when we try to understand how contemporaries, among them customers, looked at those paintings, it seems that the reason to buy them to be warned regularly about their bad parental acting could not be the only one. When looking at Steen’s genre paintings, we should not underestimate the role of amusement and entertaining. Steen contributed to that not only by painting funny scenes, but also by frequently putting him in the painting in a “laughing narrator” role. According to Franits, it even might be that paintings by Steen, who himself loved traditional art with certain nostalgia, also were appreciated and with rising prices in the years after his death because of another, moral nostalgia: they «appealed to a certain nostalgia among high-born viewers for an earlier era in which civilizing codes were less evolved»⁶⁶.

3.5. *Emblem books by Jacob Cats on the necessity of education*

Notwithstanding the great difference between the purely visual paintings with its own conventions and the emblems that combine text and image, the transition from genre painting on childrearing to emblem books on the same subject is not that great. For, as we saw above, emblem books did have major impact on painters, and both sources often made use of the same popular proverbs, thus the same content, about education, childhood and the responsibility of parents because of the impact of their behaviour on the behaviour of their children. Cats, author of the most popular emblem books on moral and educational issues, in his *Mirror from the ancient and modern time* dealt with three different topics in respectively part I, part II, and part III: child rearing and courtship, marriage, and people’s roles in society. From the 52 emblems in part I, containing 168 pages plus an appendix of 56 pages, seven emblems deal with child rearing and the necessity of education, while the other emblems deal with courtship and its dangers, the main and single topic of another emblem book by Cats, *Sinne- en Minnebeelden* [Images of Passions and Love]⁶⁷. That education should start as early as possible was made clear in Emblem 1, entitled ‘A young twig can be bent, but old trees not’, as we saw above. That parents should become active

⁶⁵ Jan Steen, *In weelde siet toe*, 1663, canvas, 105x145 cm (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, KHM-Museumsverband). See Perry Chapman, *In weelde siet toe*, in Perry Chapman et al., *Jan Steen*, cit., pp. 166-168.

⁶⁶ See Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth Century Genre Painting*, cit., pp. 213-214.

⁶⁷ On this topic in *Sinne- en Minnebeelden* [Images of Passions and Love], see Dekker, *Het verlangen*; Dekker, *Educational Ambitions*; on courtship in *Spiegel* [Mirror], see Dekker, *Wichgers, The Embodiment*, cit. .



Pic. 3. Emblem VI, *Es muß ein ieder ein par narren Schuhen vertreten, wo nicht mer* [One must wear a pair of shoes from a jester, before one is truly wise], Jacob Cats, *Spiegel van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tyt*, 1657, part one (Special Collections, University Library, University of Groningen).

educators, and not take the position of wait and see is made clear in emblem IV, in German ‘Wann man die Sauer kutzelt, so legt sie sich im dreck’, in English ‘When the swine is pampered, she goes lying in the manure’⁶⁸. The message is that when you treat a child like a swine, the children become lazy and will

⁶⁸ Cats used various languages for his emblem titles.

never become disciplined and restrained adults. The parent's task is to educate the children. Image and accompanying text reinforce each other in putting forward this message⁶⁹.

While most emblems are focused on parents, in emblem VI, 'Es musz ein ieder ein par narren Schuhen vertretten, wo nicht mer', or, 'One must wear a pair of shoes from a jester, before one is truly wise', Cats changes from position and puts himself into the youngster's position, as he systematically did in the first part of each emblem from *Images of Passions and Love*. That emblem book is about the dangers of coming of age. Apart from warning, he also makes clear that he understands youngsters and that the stage of youth is a stage of trial and error. In doing that, he differed from the above mentioned orthodox protestant child rearing advice book authors like Johannes de Swaef, Petrus Wittewrongel and Jacobus Koelman's (1631-1695). *The Duties of Parents to educate their children for God* by Koelman from 1679 is until nowadays read in orthodox-protestant circles and did, instead of promoting trial and error, emphasize strict education. That education started with breaking the disobedient child's will⁷⁰. The emblem books by Cats approach the topic differently. According to him, youngsters should enjoy that stage of their life, also when it should include sensual pleasures, and he used a popular proverb like *Quand on est jeune, on aime en fol*, 'When young, one loves foolishly' to make that clear⁷¹. It was not by accident that Cats used the format of the classic *ars amatoria* by Ovid and source of inspiration for many sixteenth and seventeenth authors for writing his own on moralization focused emblem books⁷².

Emblem VI also could have had 'When young, one loves foolishly' as a title. As in *Images of Passions and Love*, Cats tells us that human development is a process of trial and error. You are not wise as a matter of course. You have to develop into that direction, and in order to develop into the good direction you need active educators. But those educators have to be aware that during that stage of development, youngsters cannot than behave as youngsters, which means that they should be admitted to from time to time walk on jester's shoes, which means behave stupid instead of wise. It is simply related to the developmental stage, and parents and other adults should understand that and give space for some foolish behaviour: «Allow the youth her sweet quirks», says Cats in the accompanying text. The image only shows joy. But as a matter of fact, also this stage should end, so tells us the emblem's text. Trial and error as such are not valuable, but only

⁶⁹ Jacob Cats, Emblem IV, *Spiegel*, cit., pp. 10-11; see further Dekker, Wichgers, *The Embodiment*, cit..

⁷⁰ Koelman, *De pligten der ouders*. On Koelman, see Groenendijk, *Jacobus Koelman*; Dekker, Groenendijk, Verberckmoes, *Proudly Raising vulnerable youngsters*, cit., p. 10.

⁷¹ Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, vol. 1, Emblem I, *Quod perdidit, optat*, 39, vol. 2, p. 160. See further Dekker, *Educational Ambitions in History*, cit., pp. 59-64.

⁷² H. Rodney Nevitt jr., *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 101; R. van Stipriaan, *Het volle leven. Nederlandse literatuur en cultuur ten tijde van de Republiek (circa 1550-1800)*, Amsterdam, Bert Bakker, 2002, pp. 140-148.

when eventually contributing to another goal, namely becoming wise and knowing how to behave according to the virtues⁷³.

Conclusion

The sources used show that teaching parents to regulate children's behaviour and emotions was a missionary movement that was represented in numerous texts and images and inspired by Renaissance, Humanism, and the Protestant and Catholic Reformation. It seems that notwithstanding fundamental religious differences in Reformation Europe, there was almost unanimity of stimulating the Renaissance ideal of adults with a balanced personality. Genre paintings, drawings and emblems could serve as adequate sources for insight in this missionary educational movement on parental and childish behaviour. The sources differed each other both in art quality and in the public they could reach. Specific pieces of art were as a matter of fact only accessible for a few people. But while the paintings as such were unique, many of their topics were not. It therefore is likely that many people belonging to the broad bourgeoisie of the seventeenth century Dutch Republic were able to see paintings and drawings with rather the same content and topics, although not of the same quality as was the fact with pieces of art by Rembrandt or Steen.

This was different with the emblem books. They were best and long sellers and probably number three on the Dutch Republic's best seller list, after the Bible and *De Imitatione Christi* by Thomas à Kempis, and almost all Dutch burghers possessed at least one of those books. The emblem books were widely appreciated as an attractive way of educational support and information. Both Protestants and Roman Catholics bought and read them, evidence for the fact that a majority of Dutch burghers shared its educational messages including the underlying discourse.

The case of the Dutch Republic in the Golden Age was specific in many ways. Yet, it seems to also be a manifestation of a transnational European phenomenon. *Mirror*, although produced for a Dutch readership, has a very international scope by using proverbs from and in many languages and cultures and by extensively referring to texts from the Bible and from Ancient Greece and Rome, in particular Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. It provided its Dutch readership with a European moral and educational discourse. The European dimension of the Dutch case was also caused by the great transnational influence of Renaissance, Humanism, and Protestant and Catholic Reformation on the educational discourse, with Erasmus of Rotterdam one of the most important contributors.

⁷³ Jacob Cats, Emblem VI, *Spiegel*, 15-18. For *Images of Passions and Love*, see Dekker, *Het verlangen*, cit., pp. 151-153. Cf. on this emblem Dekker and Wichgers, *The Embodiment*, cit.

The dumb child: contribution to the study of the iconogenesis of the dunce cap*

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ABSTRACT: This article aims to develop a cultural history of the ancient punishment of the *cappello d'asino* (literally «ass cap») in Italian schools, which will be analysed from an iconogenetic viewpoint in an attempt to highlight its symbolic roots. An exploration of the practice reveals a fairly complex iconogenesis: on the one hand, the dunce cap stems from the late medieval custom of stigmatising the madness of fools and jesters with a hat characterised by animal attributes such as donkeys' or other animals' ears. On the other hand, the practice reveals strong links with the ancient practice of marking heretics and infidels with a pointed hat, from the *pileus cornutus* used to distinguish Jews, to the *capirote* imposed on people sentenced for religious motives by the Spanish Inquisition. The obligation to publicly wear such headgear was designed to give public visibility to the wearers' intellectual or spiritual deviance and to expose them to public contempt in order to oust them from the community of the faithful. In the following centuries, the symbolic significance of the pointed hat became so deeply rooted in popular culture that it pervaded the school environment too. Thus the obligation for dumb pupils to wear the school version of this headgear (*ass cap*) began to mark their ousting from the micro-community of the classroom and to stigmatise their refusal (or inability) to learn: a refusal that was considered akin to downright apostasy, equating the renunciation of reason (by fools) with the abandonment of faith (by heretics). Drawing on Foucault's and Bourdieu's research on the hegemonic nature of the modern

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educational system, it is also interesting to note how this and other school punishments did not stem from an educational matrix only but descended from public systems for the control and repression of social and religious deviance. These punishments were transferred to a symbolic level and adapted to the “condemned”, according to their age and their physical and mental ability to endure them.

EET/TEE Keywords: History of education; Punishment; History of mentalities; Collective imaginary; Cultural studies; Popular culture; Italy; XIX-XXth Centuries.

Premise

This article is a historiographical experiment. It is a fact that the history of education has traditionally favored the history of pedagogical ideas, the institutional history of the school and more recently the history of methodologies, techniques and didactic devices. It was only in the last decade that new and fruitful lines of research began to emerge. Already in 2004, attempting to outline possible lines of historiographical development, Fulvio De Giorgi – in the introduction to the dossier *La storia dell’educazione come storia culturale* [The History of Education as Cultural History] published in a well-known Italian contemporary history journal – wondered about the possibility of translating the history of education as cultural history, meaning it as «the history of mentality, behaviours, customs, symbols, models, myths, which had a formative dimension in intergenerational relationships»¹.

Although the change of perspective proposed by De Giorgi was fascinating, very few in recent years have abandoned the methodological *habitus* typical of the history of ideas, institutional history and social history in order to verify the possible use of the historiographical categories elaborated by Georges Duby, Carlo Ginzburg and other cultural historians in the context of the history of education. There are many reasons for this. First and foremost, cultural history is based on an interdisciplinary approach, able to combine different heuristic perspectives and various types of sources. We believe that the indispensable contribution provided to this historiographical line by sociology, semiotics, art history and cultural anthropology discouraged the historians of education from undertaking studies that risked questioning the epistemological status of the history of education.

This article will attempt to show what results may derive from the application of the historiographical categories elaborated by cultural history to the history of education, adopting a research method of a logical-significative nature, based on the interpretation of meanings and on the decoding of symbolic forms in which the system of behaviours and values shared by a given society (in

¹ F. De Giorgi, *Introduzione*, «Contemporanea», vol. 7, n. 2, 2004, pp. 259-265.

this specific case Italian and more broadly Western) is expressed in a given chronological period – in this instance the one between the end of the Early Modern age and the Nineteenth century. For this reason, alongside the more canonical sources, such as pedagogical treatises, compendiums of didactic methodology and school memoirs – we will also use prints, engravings and paintings² in order to define, through the recurrence in the collective imaginary of certain symbolic forms, the evolutionary trajectory of a punitive practice used in Italian and European schools between the Sixteenth and Twentieth centuries, and to determine its symbolic roots.

The study of the origins of the *cappello d'asino*³ (literally «ass cap»), however, represents also a pretext for a broader investigation, which is not limited to reconstructing the history of the «signs of infamy» used in Italian schools for corrective and repressive purposes, but attempts to trace the profile of the «educational culture» underlying these same signs, consisting – paraphrasing the definition given by Clifford Geertz – in «a system of conceptions inherited and expressed in symbolic forms, through which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge and attitudes towards [education]»⁴.

To do this, we will use the interpretative categories elaborated by the so-called «sociology of the imaginary», capable of capturing – through the study of figurative representations, cultural traditions, religious beliefs, etc. – the cultural paradigms that underlie and subliminally animate human societies.

² From the beginning of the XXI century, in the context of the international historiographic debate, an increasing number of scholars began to wonder about the heuristic potential of iconographic sources in the history of education; we refer to them for a general understanding of the issue: I. Grosvenor, *On Visualizing Past Classrooms*, in I. Grosvenor, M. Lawn, K. Rousmaniere (edd.), *Silences and Images: the Social History of the Classroom*, New York, Peter Lang, 1999, pp. 83-104; K. Rousmaniere, *Questioning the Visual in the History of Education*, «History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society», vol. 30, n. 2, 2001, pp. 109-111; also see the monographic issues: M. Depaepe, B. Henkens (edd.), *The Challenge of the Visual in the History of Education*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 36, n. 1, 2000; I. Dussel, K. Priem (edd.), *Images and Films as Objects to Think With: A Reappraisal of Visual Studies in Histories of Education*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 53, n. 6, 2017. More specifically, on the use of engravings and paintings as sources for the history of education, see: A. Bagleya, *Bruegel's "The Ass at School": a Study in the Iconics of Education*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 24, n. 2, 1984, pp. 357-378; A. Viñao, *Iconology and Education: Notes on the Iconographic Representation of Education and Related Terms*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 36, n. 1, 2000, pp. 75-91; J. Dekker, *Images as Representations: Visual Sources on Education and Childhood in the Past*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 51, n. 6, 2015, pp. 702-715; M. del Mar del Pozo Andrés, S. Braster, *Exploring New Ways of Studying School Memories: The Engraving as a Blind Spot of the History of Education*, in C. Yanes-Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, Cham, Springer, 2017, pp. 11-28. These studies were the sources for the heuristic assumptions of this work.

³ In order to facilitate the comprehension of this study and to avoid ambiguity, the Italian terms will be translated literally for the first time, and then will be used in their original language in italics in the rest of the text.

⁴ C. Geertz, *Interpretazione di culture*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1987, p. 139 (original edition: *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York, Basic Books, 1973).

The symbolic form of the *cappello d'asino*, in fact, has penetrated deeply into the Western imaginary and still affects it today, so much so that when we see a pointed hat or one with two donkey ears, a transfer mechanism is activated within us and immediately recalls the scholastic universe, even if we have not personally suffered from this form of punishment.

We can therefore affirm that the *cappello d'asino* represents a true «paradigm of the collective imaginary», an archetype of that set of symbols and concepts that make up the genetic heritage of the forms of cultural representation of a given community, and are deeply rooted in the collective memory. In the sociological and anthropological fields – namely those which have focused more on this concept – the definition of collective imaginary is not unanimous.

Scholars in particular disagree about the origins of this specific imaginary: some of them believe that the symbolic forms that make up the collective imaginary come from an immemorial heritage generated in some kind of collective subconscious, while others believe that they are characterized by historical features and therefore, starting from the study of those features, it is possible to describe the way in which they were formed.

According to the French anthropologist Gilbert Durand, the imaginary is organized around physical structures and symbolic superstructures (namely intellectual meanings) and it is the result of an imaginative transposition largely independent from empirical perception, based on the figurative power of imagination (cultural metabolism)⁵. If – as we believe – the symbolic forms that make up the collective imaginary are characterized by historical features and are organized around physical structures, then they can be investigated by the historian.

Our studies on the iconogenetic origin of the *cappello d'asino* have shown how this school punitive device – on the one hand – has assimilated the symbolic forms elaborated in the context of rituals of marginalization regarding the unwanted elements of society (such as Jews, heretics and witches, but also the foolish and lepers) and – on the other hand – of criminal ceremonies, both of civil and religious nature, in use from medieval to modern times.

The reasons for this imaginative transposition are multiple and complex. First of all, educational institutions up to the Late Modern age included among their declared educational objectives the transmission of social sentiments such as submission to authority and unconditional acceptance of the current ethical codes, namely those dominant cultural values that characterized Western society at the time and that would become pedagogical taboos only many decades later⁶.

⁵ G. Durand, *Les structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire*, Grenoble, Allier, 1960. About these concepts in general also see: A. Abruzzese, *L'intelligenza del mondo. Fondamenti di storia e teoria dell'immaginario*, Roma, Meltemi, 2001.

⁶ In reality, once the use of traditional punitive devices was banned and became taboos, such social feelings continued to be implicitly conveyed (*hidden curriculum*) within the formal learning contexts, for

This transmission took place both by prescribing an extremely strict code of conduct and by applying the principles of what the German sociologist Katharina Rutschky had defined in 1977 the *Schwarze Pädagogik* (literally «black pedagogy» or «poisonous pedagogy»)⁷. According to this pedagogy – based on the anthropological premise of the inherently evil nature of the child who needed to be redeemed and corrected by any means – pupils were subject to penalties and punishments that often recalled the same imposed on adults by judicial institutions, but commensurate with the seriousness of their infantile faults, such as irreverence and disobedience.

There is also another aspect to consider. The task historically assigned to educational institutions has not always only been that of educating, teaching and transmitting knowledge to pupils, but also that of judging the levels of learning they achieved. As a matter of fact, the *cappello d'asino* was imposed on those who demonstrated that they had not reached the level of learning expected by the teacher and were therefore considered stupid.

For this intrinsic judicial nature, educational institutions had to be inspired by the same symbolic forms adopted by the institutions responsible for the administration of criminal justice during the Early Modern age, resorting to the public ridicule and the implementation of «signs of infamy» to repress disreputable behaviours. To the same extent in which derision was the stigma placed by the entire community on the judgments and punishments issued by judicial institutions, so in the scholastic microcosm derision by the entire class, expressed the approval of the punishment inflicted by the teacher, which was supposed to provoke a spontaneous onset of shame in the soul of the pupil who was punished.

It is well known that, as early as the Seventies, Pierre Bourdieu⁸ and Michel Foucault⁹ denounced the coercive nature of educational institutions and their manipulation by the state apparatus as bodies of social reproduction and

example through the organisation of space. On this process of implicitation, see in particular: I. Dussel, M. Caruso, *La invención del aula. Una genealogía de las formas de enseñar*, Buenos Aires, Santillana, 1999; P. Pineau, I. Dussel, M. Caruso, *La escuela como máquina de educar: tres escritos sobre un proyecto de la modernidad*, Buenos Aires, Paidós, 2001; J. Prosser, *Visual methods and the visual culture of schools*, «Visual Studies», vol. 22, n. 1, 2007, pp. 13-30; T. Marcus, *Early Nineteenth Century School Space and Ideology*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 32, n. 1, 1996, pp. 9-50.

⁷ This concept, which refers to those forms of «naive pedagogy» or – to put it in Bruner's words – «popular pedagogy», considers the punishment as an instrument of moral correction and a lawful and effective educational method, see: K. Rutschky, *Schwarze Pädagogik: Quellen zur Naturgeschichte der bürgerlichen Erziehung*, Frankfurt am Main-Berlin, Ullstein, 1977.

⁸ Cf. P. Bourdieu, J.-C. Passeron, *La reproduction. Éléments pour une théorie du système de enseignement*, Paris, Editions de Minuit, 1970.

⁹ Cf. M. Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison*, Paris, Gallimard, 1975; Id., *La société punitive: cours au Collège de France (1972-1973)*, Paris, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales-Gallimard-Seuil, 2013. For a historical-educational interpretation of Foucault's theories, cf.: I. Dussel, *Foucault and Education*, in M.W. Apple, S.J. Ball, L.A. Gandin (edd.), *The Routledge International Handbook of the Sociology of Education*, London-New York, Routledge, 2010, pp. 27-36.

therefore of moral conformism. The original contribution provided by the study of punitive practices of a moral rather than corporal nature in use within those same institutions could make it possible to reconstruct the mental maps, customs and attitudes of human groups and individuals belonging to subaltern cultures, especially concentrated in rural areas. These cultures, in fact, did not share the system of behaviour and values of the elite, and their members could be induced to conform to them only through the onset of shame, a feeling based on a strong conformist push.

The punitive devices used within educational institutions in the Modern age are frequently represented in paintings, prints and engravings and automatically assimilated to the practice of teaching, whose practitioner (the teacher) was immediately made identifiable by these prerogatives of power¹⁰. The symbolic juxtaposition of these punitive devices¹¹ with the figure of the teacher gives

¹⁰ On punitive practices in schools and education, see: A. Beriger, *Orbilius plagosus: zur Geschichte des prügelnden Lehrers im Spätmittelalter und in der Renaissance*, Zug, Veröffentlichungen der Kantonsschule Zug, 1990; K. Rousmaniere, *Losing Patience and Staying Professional: Women Teachers and the Problem of Classroom Discipline in New York City Schools in the 1920s*, «History of Education Quarterly», vol. 34, n. 1, 1994, pp. 49-68; K. Rousmaniere, K. Dehli, N. de Coninck-Smith (edd.), *Discipline, Moral Regulation and Schooling: A Social History*, New York-London, Routledge, 1997; J. Verger (ed.), *École et violence*, «Histoire de l'Éducation», n. 118, 2008; H.A. Weaver, *Object Lessons: A Cultural Genealogy of the Dunce Cap and the Apple as Visual Tropes of American Education*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 48, n. 2, 2012, pp. 215-241; F. Loparco, *Former teachers' and pupils' autobiographical accounts of punishment in Italian rural primary schools during Fascism*, «History of Education», vol. 46, n. 5, 2017, pp. 618-630; P. Bianchini, *Cattivi maestri: la violenza fisica e psicologica nella scuola moderna*, in R.S. Di Pol, C. Coggi (edd.), *La Scuola e l'Università tra passato e presente. Volume in onore del Prof. Giorgio Chiosso*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2017, pp. 37-52. Although not explicitly focused on punitive school practices, this study found interest in the research conducted in the past by Inés Dussel about the systems of disciplining bodies through the clothing codes adopted in school. In the end, the *cappello d'asino* also constitutes a «school uniform», which disciplines who ever wears it, setting the person apart rather than aligning it with others. On this topic in particular, cf.: I. Dussel, *School uniforms and the disciplining of appearances: towards a history of the regulation of bodies in modern educational systems*, in T.S. Popkewitz, B. Franklin, M. Pereyra (edd.), *Cultural History and Critical Studies of Education*, New York, Routledge, 2001, pp. 207-241; Ead., *Los uniformes como políticas del cuerpo. Un acercamiento foucaultiano a la historia y el presente de los códigos de vestimenta en la escuela*, en Z. Pedraza Gómez (ed.), *Políticas y estéticas del cuerpo en América Latina*, Bogotá, Universidad de los Andes, 2007, pp. 131-161.

¹¹ In addition to the «signs of ignominy» in Italy, there were also *verghe*, *sferze*, *ferule*, *nerbi*, *staffili* (some types of whips and crops) and *discipline* (disciplines). In foreign paintings and prints, on the other hand, there were mainly *martinet* (typical of France), *paddle* (typical of the United Kingdom), *Birkenrute* (typical of the Germanic area), *plak* (typical of the Flemish area) and *palméta* or *palmatória* (typical of the Iberian area). The latter term comes from the Latin *palma* (palm of the hand). *Palmatória* was a portable candleholder used in religious services to illuminate liturgical books: it consisted of a circular plate with a candle holder, and equipped with a long handle. By analogy, the same term was used to define a correctional instrument endowed with similar formal characteristics – but made of wood – which was used to beat the palms of the hands of the less disciplined pupils, and it confirms the symbolic genesis of numerous punitive scholastic practices by the clerical Catholic culture, which we will see confirmed elsewhere in this study.

credence to the educational value placed over corporal and moral punishments by the entire society of the time (both by the ruling classes and the subordinate classes), which is also confirmed by the analysis of the folkloristic testimonies contained in some ancient dictionaries of the Italian language and collections of popular proverbs.

It is interesting to note that these punitive devices, although still widely present in the educational imaginary of the Nineteenth century, have not managed – unlike the *cappello d'asino* – to penetrate the collective unconscious in the long term. What is the reason why, when we see a pointed hat or when two donkey ears pop up, a transfer mechanism is activated in us that immediately brings us back to the scholastic universe, while, when we see the devices used for corporal punishment, this mechanism no longer activates?

There are many reasons for this, too. First of all, because – during the «century of the child» predicted by Ellen Key in 1900¹², which saw the birth of children's rights – the practice of corporal punishment in Western schools was definitively eradicated and turned into a taboo. Secondly, because – with regard to the *cappello d'asino* – what survives in the popular sense is the comic and derisory meaning of it, stripped of its normative connotations, as evidenced by its use today in comedy, political satire, pop art, etc.

Like we already noticed, the *cappello d'asino* represents a true «paradigm of the collective imaginary». As such, it represents – as well as other «signs of infamy» used in schools – a sort of hybridization between materiality and immateriality, as it is endowed with precise physical and morphological characteristics, but – at the same time – it is characterized by a high rate of symbolicity, which refers to complex paradigms of the imaginary.

In fact, unlike other punitive devices, «signs of infamy» do not constitute a punishment per se (just like those used for corporal punishment), but they become punitive because of the emotions and feelings they provoke in those who wear them (*shame*) and in those who see them worn (*derision*).

In this sense, using Durand's teachings in analyzing this subject, it is necessary to distinguish between physical structure and symbolic superstructure.

1. *The «ass cap» as a physical structure*

The use of the «ass cap» in schools has been attested since the Early Modern age, although the origins of this practice probably date back to earlier times. First of all, it should be specified that based on the studies we conducted, it was possible to determine that there were at least four distinct punishments related

¹² Cf. E. Key, *The Century of the Child*, New York-London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1909 (first edition: *Barnets århundrade*, Stockholm, Bonnier, 1900).

to the asinine symbolism used in Italian schools still present in the 19th century: the *mitera* (miter), the *ciuco* (donkey), *orecchi d'asino* (donkey ears) and the *banco dell'asino* (the equivalent of the dunce stool). Each of these punishments – as we will see – refers to the same symbolic sphere (the asinine one), while distinguishing itself from the others for some formal characteristics¹³.

The *mitera* basically consists of what today is called the *cappello d'asino*, even though at the time it had completely different formal characteristics, in that it did not have a conical shape, as in other cultural contexts¹⁴, but it

¹³ In Italy, there is a fifth type of punishment referring to this symbolic sphere, that of the «donkey tail that was pointed to the lower parts of the back of the guilty person kneeling in the middle of the school». This fifth punishment has been documented in only one single finding: within the autobiography of the anarchist Gaetano Darchini curated by Amedeo Tabanelli, that mentions the «paedagogical-didactical tools subsidiary to the whip» used in school by Don Monduzzi in Imola (cf. «Movimento Operaio», vol. 4, marzo-aprile 1952, p. 232). Darchini, on the other hand, recalled how – unlike the «famous donkey ears, a Medieval inheritance as everyone knows» – Don Monduzzi held the «patent of invention» (*ibid.*, p. 232) for this specific punishment. A further punishment belonging to the same symbolic sphere is documented in Germany, but without being confirmed in any of the Italian regions: that of the *Eselritt* (stroll on the donkey), during which the children were seated – with the *Eselkappe* on their heads and a sign saying: «I am a donkey» – on a chair shaped like a donkey (*Holzesel* o *Schandesel*) where they were exposed to public pillory. This punishment was a derivation of the instrument of torture known as *Spanischen Esel* (Spanish donkey), a donkey shaped chair with a triangular seat on which the convicts were seated on horseback so that their weight – increased by weight tied to the their ankles – increased the pressure on the edge. It was customary for those condemned to such torment to be exposed to public pillory. In German painting there are numerous representations of this punishment, the most famous of which is undoubtedly the engraving entitled *Lacht ihn brav aus!* (*Taschenbuch- oder Almanachblatt*) (around 1830) by Johann Michael Mettenleiter (1765-1853), kept at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg (Graphische Sammlung; Inv. n. HB26100). A copy of the same engraving, entitled *Der faule Schüler auf dem Esel*, was published in: I. Weber-Kellermann, *Die Familie: Geschichte, Geschichten und Bilder*, Frankfurt am Main, Insel Verlag, 1976, p. 135. In this engraving there is a pupil keeping his head down, wearing an *Eselkappe* and holding a bunch of tied twigs traditionally used to whip children on their buttocks (*Birkenrute*), exposed to the ridicule of his companions on a rocking donkey. At the feet of *Holzesel* another punishment, typical of the German schools, is represented: genuflexion on a wooden stump placed on the floor (*Holzseheit*), where, again, the weight of the punished pupil would increase the pressure on his knees.

¹⁴ The rule of wearing conical hats for punitive purposes in schools is also documented in United Kingdom (*dunce cap* or *dunce hat*), Sweden (*dumstrut*), Denmark (*dosmerhat*) and Norway (*dumrianhatt*), Portugal (*chapéu de burro* or *chapéu de bobo* or *tampão de burro*) and Spain, where this headgear was known as *capirote*. The use of *capirote* as a sign of ignominy even outside the inquisitorial practices and more specifically in the educational field is attested by the Spanish saying «tonto de capirote», which basically means stupid, and that derives from the ancient practice used in Spanish schools of placing a *capirote* or a «gorro en forma de cucurucho» (cone-shaped cap) on the heads of poorly performing students. In the testimony given on December 14th, 1848 by the student Crisóstomo Raposo regarding a serious episode of indiscipline at a school in San Felipe (Chile), reference is made to a «gorro ignominioso» placed on the head of the most undisciplined students (P. Toro Blanco, *La letra ¿con sangre entra? Percepciones, normativas y prácticas de disciplinas, castigos y violencias en el liceo chileno, c.1842-c.1912*, in *Concurso Bicentenario Tesis Doctoral 2007*, Santiago de Chile, Comisión Bicentenario, 2009, p. 380).

was shaped in the same way as the headgear used by Catholic bishops during liturgical celebrations, without the donkey ears¹⁵.

In a dictionary from 1833, *mitera* was defined as a: «Crumbled sheet of paper, which is put on the head of whoever is sent from Justice on the donkey, or held in pillory; *mitra chartacea* sometimes used as an injury, as a gallows, and the like»¹⁶. From this derives the verb *miterare*, which means «put on the miter». In fact, the *mitera* – as we will learn more in depth later – was used in medieval and modern times as a mark of infamy both in religious and civil justice and from there – by analogy – it was transferred to the educational context. There are countless testimonies to the use of this headgear in schools. When recalling the years spent at school, for example, Ferdinando Martini used these words to describe the fierce punishments inflicted on him and his companions by the teacher Gaetana Marchionni:

[The teacher] after taking the small offender by one ear, according to his misdemeanor, used to either hit him with his bony hand with repeated strokes on the most round and fleshy part of the body [...] or put him in a corner after covering his head with a conical cap made of turquoise cardboard, on which a donkey head was drawn by an inexperienced hand¹⁷.

Paolo La Rocca Impellizzeri, in his article *I castighi di 20 anni fa nelle scuole primarie* [The punishments of 20 years ago in primary schools], originally published in the periodical of Ragusa «La Scintilla» and later – in summary – in the press review of the periodical «L'Avvenire della Scuola», noted that the classic punishment of prolonged genuflection¹⁸ was followed by that of pillory:

Among the various instruments of humiliation and torture, teachers used to keep on their desk various painted paper sheets, representing a *mitra*, some *cappe*¹⁹ [capes] and some

¹⁵ A correct representation of the asinine miter is provided by the Neapolitan painter Giuseppe Costantini in his oil painting *Il maestro napoletano* (1873), today kept in the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki (Mackelvie Trust Collection; Inv. n. M1885/1/77) in New Zealand. From the same author see Picture n. 1, in which another asinine miter is represented.

¹⁶ *Vocabolario italiano e latino ad uso delle R. scuole accresciuto di molte aggiunte*, Torino, per Giacinto Marietti, 1833, p. 376.

¹⁷ F. Martini, *Confessioni e ricordi: Firenze granducale*, Firenze, Bemporad, 1922, pp. 3-4.

¹⁸ The punitive practice of genuflection (*ginocchioni*) – which once again confirms the symbolic genesis of numerous punitive scholastic practices from the clerical Catholic culture and, more specifically, from penitential practices – was declined in infinite variations, the most renown of which was that of *stare in ginocchio sui ceci* (kneeling on chickpeas), which also entered in the popular lexicon. We found evidence of these legumes being replaced by other dried legumes (peas), grains of corn, stone chippings, but also by more complex shapes, such as «kneeling on top of their hands, or even kneeling on walnut shells, while raising their arms holding a brick in each hand» (P. Tassinari, *Le scuole elementari della città di Bra dal 1847 al 1896*, Bra, Tipografia Racca, 1896, p. 63).

¹⁹ In this article we will not delve into the use of *cappe infamanti* (defaming hoods) in schools, whose connection with the penitential practices typical of religious movements such as those of the Flagellants and Disciplinantes (whose members celebrated the ritual of self-flagellation in public by wearing simple cloaks made of rough fabrics in order to expiate their sins) would open further avenues of research. The penalty – reported by Ceselia, Darchini, De Capitani D'Arzago and Tassinari

cartelloni [signs to put around the neck]. *Mitra* and *cappe* were used as a first punishment: an insulting sign on the back of the unfortunate pupil indicated his name, as he had to walk around the school, and sometimes even around the school courtyard and public streets, followed by his companions who ridiculed him for fun but also for edifying purposes too²⁰.

This kind of punitive practice was also documented by Giuseppe Pitrè in his book on ancient Sicilian schools, in which he included among the *gastighi di obbrobrio* (infamous punishment) reserved for negligent children the «cardboard *mitra* with a donkey roughly painted on it»²¹. Today the term (*mitera* or *mitra*) has lost its ancient connotation, and it is no longer associated with this kind of scholastic punishment, even though when speaking of the *cappello d'asino* this is still what one unconsciously refers to.

Another punishment related to the asinine symbolic sphere is the *ciuco*. In 1887, in his dictionary of Italian language, Policarpo Petrocchi defined it as follows: «Punishment that teachers used to put on the head or neck of the undisciplined guys or those who did not study; it consisted of a sheet of paper with a painted donkey or a hood with a pair of donkey ears»²². However, there used to be some regional variations, given that in Neapolitan schools the *ciuccio* (donkey) consisted of a «painted donkey head, made to be worn by punished pupils kneeling down in the middle of the school»²³. The onoccephalic punishment is attested elsewhere²⁴. Here is what is reported in this regard, in the periodical «I Diritti della Scuola»:

Many schools, as part of the main teacher tools also included the donkey head and ears as symbols of ignorance. The donkey head was actually a donkey mask, which, just like a helmet, slipped over the head of the guilty pupil, up to the height of the eyes, so that the ears, made of papier-mâché, could remain on the sides of the face. The simple donkey ears were a kind of mask without the animal's face. The punished pupil had to stand at attention, as portrayed in Cicconi's painting²⁵; but most of the time on his knees. It is easy

(see *infra*) – of tracing crosses with the tongue on the classroom floor can also be ascribed to these practices.

²⁰ «L'Avvenire della Scuola», vol. 5, nn. 27-28, 8 agosto 1879, p. 433. The same article can be found in: S.A. Costa, *La scuola e la grande scala: vita e costume nella scuola siciliana dal 1860 agli inizi del Novecento*, Palermo, Sellerio, 1990, p. 158.

²¹ G. Pitrè, *Vecchie scuole in Sicilia*, a cura di M. Marino, Comiso-Palermo, Documenta-Illa Palma, 2003, p. 69 (the book constitutes the volume n. 44 of *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Giuseppe Pitrè*). Pitrè added that older children were forced to carry «a red rag thrown over their shoulders, and hold a cane in their hands», but no other evidence could be found concerning this practice. For more on this topic, see from the same author: G. Pitrè, *I gastighi scolastici d'una volta*, «Il Corbaccio», vol. 1, n. 1, 1 luglio 1912, pp. 34-38.

²² P. Petrocchi, *Novo dizionario universale della lingua italiana*, Milano, F.lli Treves, 1887, p. 486.

²³ R. Andreoli, *Vocabolario napoletano-italiano*, Torino, Paravia, 1887, p. 179.

²⁴ On the first biblical statements of this kind of punishment see: R. Pack, *An Onoccephalic Mask*, «Harvard Theological Review», vol. 48, n. 1, January 1955, pp. 93-97.

²⁵ Ferdinando Cicconi (1831-1886) was an Italian painter. The cited painting is *La scuola dei vecchi tempi* (s.d.), which represents the *castigo del cavallo* or *del cazzallo* (literally «horse punishment»), first kept in the Pinacoteca of Ascoli Piceno and now in a private collection. Of particular note from the same author is the painting entitled *La scuola sotto i passati governi* (s.d.),



Pic. 1. Giuseppe Costantini (1844-1894), *La scuola di villaggio* [The village school], 1886. Oil on canvas (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Roma/Istituto Nazionale di Documentazione, Innovazione e Ricerca Educativa, Firenze – Italy). Courtesy of INDIRE. The child kneeling at the foot of the table wears a *mitera* with the word «Asino» on it.

which represented a poor classroom. A frame was affixed on one of the walls with the writing: *Che buon pro facesse il verbo / Imbeccato a suon di nerbo / Nelle scuole pubbliche* (May you all benefit from the words / prompted to the sound of the whip / in public schools). This last painting was first exhibited at the First National Exhibition of Fine Arts in Parma in 1870, and then at Milan in 1872 (cf. *Catalogo delle opere esposte nella mostra italiana d'arti belle in Parma*, Parma, Tipografia Grazioli, 1870, p. 13; P.C. Ferrigni, *Fra quadri e statue. Strenna di ricordo della Seconda Esposizione Nazionale di Belle Arti*, Milano, F.lli Treves, 1873, p. 195). The horse punishment «consisted in beating with a whip or a scourge someone riding on another's back» (G. Rigutini, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana*, Firenze, Barbèra, 1874, p. 233); the diffusion of this punishment is attested by the broad demological tradition referred to it, as in the case of the expression *fare il latino a cavallo* (to study Latin while horse back riding), used to indicate those doing something by force and against their own will (*Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, vol. 2, Firenze, Tipografia Galileiana, 1866, p. 709), or the Tuscan proverb: *La prima si perdona, alla seconda si bastona e alla terza si dà il cavallo* (At the first misbehavior you are forgiven, at the second you are beaten, and at the third one you ride the horse) (G. Giusti, *Raccolta di proverbi toscani*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1853, p. 86).

to deduce that these punishment masks were objects of hilarity for schoolchildren; but it was also necessary to exercise inhibitory power against this feeling, so as not to provoke a storm of masterly anger that made the laughter turn into tears²⁶.

This particular punishment consisted – according to another book – «in a cap in the form of a donkey head that is placed on the head of the punished girl, from which hang some figurines representing devils and other similarly ugly images²⁷: on her knees with a sign on her chest indicating her misbehaviour. The young girls had to stay that way until the housemothers of the convent liked»²⁸; the author added that this was one of those «extremely miserable [punishments] used in all those institutes where friars and nuns presided over the education of youth»²⁹.

²⁶ R. Mariani, *Castighi scolastici di altri tempi*, «I Diritti della Scuola», vol. 30, n. 13, 6 gennaio 1929, p. 605.

²⁷ It is interesting to note that from multiple testimonies relating to the trials against heretics it emerges how they were put on the back of a donkey, facing the tail and wearing «paper crowns and miters painted with images of devils» (E. Rubini, *Giustizia veneta: lo spirito veneto nelle leggi criminali della Repubblica*, Venezia, Filippi Editore, 2010, p. 174), and then exposed to the public pillory before their torture. This testifies to the fact that the symbolic translation of these caps from inquisitorial to scholastic justice probably took place within the Congregationalist schools in the Late Modern age through a complex process of semiotic signification, based on guilt and shame. In this sense, it is interesting to note that in 1874 – in the midst of the serious crisis of the relationship between State and Church following the Capture of Rome (1870) – the pedagogue Emanuele Celesia in his *Storia della pedagogia italiana* denounced, with evident anti-clerical intent, the heavy obscurantism characterizing the educational institutions administered by priests and nuns in the Early Modern age. The same author added that, if in antiquity rhetors and grammarians used to torment bodies with the *ferula* [ferule], only priests had been able to find «the way to mortify and kill the soul» by introducing the «mitria dell'asino and other similar grime» (E. Celesia, *Storia della pedagogia italiana. Parte II: dal secolo XVI a' di nostri*, Milano, Libreria editrice di educazione e d'istruzione di P. Carrara, 1874, p. 174).

²⁸ *I misteri di Roma contemporanea: racconto storico-politico*, Torino, presso Augusto Negro, 1861, p. 448.

²⁹ Evidence of this punitive practice was also found in Germany (*Eselsmaske*), as attested by the 1845 painting *Die Dorfschule, Jobs als Schulmeister* by the German painter Johann Peter Hasenclever (1810-1853), now kept at the Stiftung Sammlung Volmer of Düsseldorfer Malerschule. In this work – among other things – there are two interesting details: next to the teacher, under the blackboard, a pupil is depicted wearing a *ciuco* around his neck, consisting of a wooden donkey, while on the top shelf of the bookcase in the background is a donkey head, which was worn by the most undisciplined pupils. In this regard, Sjaak Braster pointed out: «An example of the methods [of this teacher] was the donkey that was hung around the neck of a pupil as a punishment. The use of the image of a donkey in a school room was not unusual at the end of the Eighteenth century, but it normally came as a picture on a wooden board (in the Netherlands for instance) or as a set of donkey ears (in Spain for instance), but not as a puppet» (S. Braster, *The people, the poor, and the oppressed: the concept of popular education through time*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 47, n. 1-2, 2011, p. 7). It should be noted that Hasenclever dedicated two other paintings to the same theme (*Jobs als Schulmeister*), one in 1846 (today part of a private collection) and one in 1853 (currently kept at the Museum Kunstpalast in Düsseldorf). From this painting, Tamme Weyert Theodor Janssen (1816-1894), a fellow student of Hasenclever at the Kunstakademie in Düsseldorf, also drew the famous engravings published in the heroic-comical poem *Die Jobsiade* by Karl Arnold Kortum (ed. 1851). The practice must be very ancient if already in an engraving present in a posthu-

According to the practice, the *ciuco* had to be worn while kneeling in the middle of the classroom, exposed to the ridicule of their companions. According to other testimonies, the pupils punished in this manner could also be forced to go in procession in other classrooms or even along public streets in order to be ridiculed by everyone.

The third punishment that pertained to the asinine symbolic sphere was *orecchi di ciuco* or *orecchi d'asino* (donkey ears)³⁰. This punishment was defined in 1875 within another Italian language dictionary: «A sort of headband made of paper, and surmounted by two big ears, similar to those of the donkey, sometimes placed on boys' heads in schools in order to reprimand them»³¹. The

mous edition of the moral treaty *Speculum Vitae Humanae* by the Spanish bishop Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo (Augsburg, Peter Berger, 1488), a student is represented standing at the bottom of the classroom, facing the wall, and wearing a donkey head (source: *Pictura Paedagogica Online*).

³⁰ Evidence of this punitive practice was also found in Spain (*orejas de burro*) and France (*oreilles d'âne*). Some different formal characteristics emerge compared to the *bonnet d'âne*, where donkey ears were mounted on a simple cloth headdress, as we can see – for example – in a nineteenth-century lithography drawn from a painting by the French painter Philippe Jacques Linder (reproduced in: M.M. Rabecq-Maillard, *Au temps des cancre et des coups*, «Flammes et Fumées: bulletin trimestriel de liaison du personnel du S.E.I.T.A.», n. 57, 1969), or in the original *bonnet d'âne* of the mid-Nineteenth century preserved at the Fondation Vaudoise du Patrimoine Scolaire di Yverdon-les-Bains (Switzerland). The *oreilles d'âne*, on the other hand, according to iconographic sources found so far, consisted of two donkey ears mounted on a headband with the writing «Âne», as can be seen in the postcard *Souvenirs de jeunesse. Ma première punition: bonnet d'âne* (1904) printed by the Phototypie A. Bergeret & Cie in Nancy (authors' private collection). The *bonnet d'âne* had heterogeneous formal characteristics compared to the hats of ignominy whose use is attested in European schools, because it did not have a conical shape (unlike the *capirote* and the *dunce cap*, which also in some cases were represented with the addition of two donkey ears), with the exception of the German *Eselskappe* (or *Eselsmütze*), which consisted in a cap from which hung two long diamond-shaped sections, at the ends of which were hanging little bells, making it very similar to the headgear typical of the medieval jester. In a 1821 treatise that talks about the chess pieces made in Bender (Moldova) by the painter Vander Werf, the *bishop* (referred to in Italian as the standard-bearer) is described wearing a miter with bells, and it is also said that: «In some places it is customary to put a cap or a red miter with bells on the head of the lunatics. I believe that the name of *bishop* given to this piece in England, or rather that of *lunatic*, which is given to him in France, determined Vander Werf's idea of decorating the head of his *bishop* chess pieces in such a bizarre way. Furthermore, in the United Kingdom, some teachers used to punish their disciples who performed poorly in the school with that same kind of miter» (*Il giuoco degli scacchi renduto facile a' principianti*, Parma, presso Giuseppe Paganino, 1821, p. 17). The iconographic sources found so far prove that the bells were in some cases applied to the English dunce cap, as can be seen in the colorful engraving published in an English nineteenth-century spelling book, in which is painted a «Dunces Corner» (*Nursery Novelties for Little Masters and Misses*, London, Harris & Son, 1820, p. 11) (see Picture n. 2), or even in the watercolor «The Dunce» by the English painter John Masey Wright (1777-1866).

³¹ G. Rigutini, P. Fanfani, *Vocabolario italiano della lingua parlata*, Firenze, Tipografia Cenniniana, 1875, p. 1063.

use of this punishment is attested in schools in Milan³² and Florence, where it was known as *benda* (headband) o *mitera a bendoni*³³.

The *orecchi d'asino* are often confused in the popular imaginary with the *cappello d'asino*, a term that – from a philological point of view – can be exclusively referred to as the *mitera*. The question, apparently of little importance, is instead fundamental from the iconogenetic point of view, since the *cappello d'asino* as it is imposed in the contemporary collective imaginary (i.e. a pointed hat with a pair of donkey ears) constitutes an «historical false», a result of the welding between two distinct symbologies, as we will try to demonstrate at the end of this work.

The last punishment for the symbolic asinine sphere was the *banco dell'asino* or *del somaro*³⁴, also known as *banco della vergogna* (shame bench), *panca del biasimo* (blame bench) or even *banco d'inferno* (hell bench)³⁵, which usually coincided with the last bench or with one placed symbolically a part from the other benches to symbolize the exclusion of the pupil from the scholastic community³⁶. There are countless testimonies about the use of this desk in

³² Several references to this can be found in: C.A. Mor, *L'istruzione elementare pubblica in Milano: cenni storici e statistici*, Milano, Pallestrini, 1906.

³³ G. Volpi, *Saggio di voci e maniere del parlar fiorentino*, Firenze, Le Lettere, 1932, p. 9. The headband – according to the definition given by Volpi – consisted of a «sort of hat, with a cylindrical form, made of paper; that was put on the heads of negligent or misbehaving pupils as punishment in elementary schools, like some from my generation will remember; and it was a tradition derived from the miter, an ancient moral punishment for common convicts, which was done in the same way and was also called *mitera a bendoni*».

³⁴ As evidence of the diffusion of this punishment in all Italian schools, dialect dictionaries attest numerous regional variations, such as Genoese *banca dell'aze* (G. Casaccia, *Dizionario genovese-italiano*, Genova, Tipografia Schenone, 1876, p. 100), Piedmontese *banca d'aso* (V. di Sant'Albino, *Gran dizionario piemontese-italiano*, Torino, Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1860, p. 213), Parmesan *banch d'asen* (C. Pariset, *Vocabolario parmigiano-italiano*, Parma, Ferrari e Pellegrini, 1885, p. 53) and Roman *bancaccio* (F. Chiappini, *Vocabolario romanesco*, Roma, Leonardo Da Vinci, 1945, p. 36). The punishment is also confirmed in Germany under the name of *Faulbank*, and in Spain under the name of *cáncana*.

³⁵ This variation can be found in: Celesia, *Storia della pedagogia italiana*, cit., p. 174.

³⁶ Such punishment is attested also in Flemish schools, as reported in the essay: M. Depaep, F. Simon, P. Verstraete, *Valorising the Cultural Heritage of the School Desk through Historical Research*, in P. Smeyers, M. Depaep (edd.), *Educational Research: Material Culture and Its Representation*, Cham, Springer, 2014, pp. 13-30 (in particular p. 20). Penalties of exclusion were very recurrent (staying outside the door, standing behind the blackboard, going in procession to the other classes carrying insulting signs, etc.) and, among these, there was also the «prison», attested to in more than one testimony. For example, a manual for Lancasterian schools of the early Nineteenth century, says that «punishments for the most serious shortcomings consist in being put in prison in a place designed for this purpose» (A. de La Borde, *Piano di educazione per li fanciulli poveri secondo i metodi combinati del dottor Bell e del sig. Lancaster*, Napoli, presso Angelo Coda, 1817, pp. 98-100). Again, still in 1865 another source reports that «in some schools it is sometimes used to isolate the insubordinate child in a room like in a prison» (*Sulle condizione della pubblica istruzione nel Regno d'Italia: relazione generale presentata al Ministro dal Consiglio Superiore di Torino*, Milano, Stamperia Reale, 1865, p. 432).

schools. The biography of Francesco Cherubini, translator of the Peitl method in Italian, dated 1852, says:

[The teacher] had to be endured by us. On the contrary, we risked leaping from his emperor desk to the *banco dell'asino* in a corner of the classroom. I sat on that bench several times and almost always for disciplinary transgressions, and I also wore the donkey miter that is still used today. But if I were to tell all of the pedagogical oddities of our uneducators, I would never finish³⁷.

As we have already had a chance to observe, these «pedagogical oddities» were the result of the still wide diffusion of the precepts of the «poisonous pedagogy», that was spread throughout all the social classes during the Modern age and that only started to regress from the middle of the last century. According to that pedagogy, moral and corporal punishments were not only legitimate, but would also refrain children – naturally prone to deviance – from taking on bad habits or vicious behaviours, teaching them from an early age the unavoidability of the rules and the suffering that their transgression entailed³⁸.

Actually, even until the first decades of the Nineteenth century, punishments were considered necessary in educational treatises. Emblematic in this sense was the famous Charles Rollin's essay *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles-lettres, par rapport à l'esprit et au cœur* (Paris, 1740) in which you can

³⁷ G.B. De Capitani D'Arzago, *Cenni intorno alla vita ed agli scritti di Francesco Cherubini*, Milano, Tipografia Pirota, 1852, p. 17.

³⁸ This type of pedagogy finds numerous validations in the popular vocabulary, which – as we have already tried to demonstrate – constitutes an inexhaustible source of information for those who wish to study the evolutionary lines of the Western educational imaginary and determine the material presuppositions and allegorical origins of now-extinct educational practices, but which for long influenced the «popular pedagogy». In this sense, some sayings seem to be particularly suggestive. This is the case of the Spanish saying *La letra con sangre entra* (The letter enters with blood) that, not by chance, was used as a title for a famous sketch by Francisco Goya, dated between 1777 and 1785 and now preserved at the Museo de Zaragoza, which represents a scene of corporal punishment at school. Very similar is the Sicilian saying *La ferla 'nsegna littri, nomi e verbi* (The whip teaches letters, nouns and verbs), which Giuseppe Pitrè cited for the first time in 1880 in his «Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane». In this regard, Pitrè observed in the second volume of *La vita in Palermo cento e più anni fa* (Firenze, G. Barbèra Editore, 1944), in which an entire chapter was dedicated to old chastisements and mischiefs in the Sicilian popular schools, that: «Several popular axioms that have come to us are authentic of the educational theories of the past. It was said that the children learned to read not because of the teacher, but because of the whipping; and everyone repeated by hearsay the verse of [Antonio] Veneziano: *La ferla 'nsegna littri, nomi e verbi*. The whip was the God of education and, without it, it was impossible to hope for good» (p. 437). In Sicilian dialect there is also another saying with the same meaning: *Firredda 'nsigna zitedda* (The whip teaches the little girl) (V. Scarcella, *Adagi, motti, proverbi e modi proverbiali siciliani*, Messina, Stamperia Fiumara, 1846, p. 87); but similar sayings can also be found in other regional parlances, like the Tuscan *Cogli asini fa meglio il bastone che l'ammonizione* (With donkeys, sticks work better than admonitions), that Giusti remembered having often heard repeated in class by his teacher (Giusti, *Raccolta di proverbi toscani*, cit., p. 101). In the same way, still nowadays in Italian it is common to use the expression *dare una lezione* (to give a lesson) to indicate when a particular conduct is inculcated with violence into someone.

read in the chapter «Regole da osservarsi ne' gastighi» [Rules to be observed in punishments] that:

Teachers have the great merit of being able to imagine many sorts and different degrees of punishments to correct their pupils. They have the ability to attach the concept of ignominy and of opprobrium to thousands of things that, by themselves, have no meaning: things that would have never become a punishment, before such concept had been attached to them. I have heard of a school of the poor where one of the worst and most common punishments consists in making the student sit on a separate bench wearing a headgear, especially during a visit by a notable guest. It is torture to stay in such a humiliating situation while all the others are standing and [with their head] uncovered. You can invent a thousand similar punishments, and I use this example only with the aim to demonstrate that all depends on the teacher's inventiveness³⁹.

The Rollin's passage is necessary to comprehend the logic underlying the punishments connected with the asinine symbolism, and which were based on the use of shame intended as a pedagogical tool. However, just at the beginning of the Nineteenth century the application of these punishments began to be questioned by the most enlightened educators and, as a result, to be regimented by the legislators. In the provisional regulations for the elementary schools of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies of 1812, in fact, Art. 11 explicitly forbade corporal punishments, while the *banco della vergogna* and the *banco di onore* (honor bench) were tolerated, as well as other similar educational expedients⁴⁰. Likewise, in the Circular of July 18, 1819 n. 202, aimed at the local authorities and containing guidelines to implement the reform of the primary school system in the Lombard-Venetian Kingdom, in the *Instructions for the teachers in the major primary schools* we can read, in paragraph 36:

It is unseemly that the angry teacher says abusive words to the students caught in error, or immediately resorts to punishment. The use of any corporal punishment (such as slapping on the cheeks or the ears, or tearing hair, shoving and beating, putting the children on their knees over sharp objects or even on the ground, etc.) is strictly prohibited. Mistreating a pupil to the point of injuring him, is a serious transgression that is initially punished with arrest for the term of three days up to one full month, and then, if relapse occurs, with arrest and interdiction from the teaching profession⁴¹.

³⁹ C. Rollin, *Della maniera d'insegnare, e di studiare le belle lettere, per rapporto all'intelletto e al cuore*, tomo 4, Padova, Stamperia del Seminario, 1744, pp. 235-236 (original edition: *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles-lettres, par rapport à l'esprit et au cœur*, Paris, chez la veuve Estienne, 1740).

⁴⁰ Cf. *Regolamento provvisorio per le scuole primarie del Regno*, Napoli, Tipografia di Angelo Trani, 1812.

⁴¹ *Collezione di leggi e regolamenti pubblicati dall'Imp. Regio Governo delle provincie venete*, vol. VI, parte II, da luglio a dicembre 1819, Venezia, Tipografia Andreola, 1819, pp. 98-99. Such indications coincided substantially with those given in the paragraph 47 of the *Instructions for the teachers in minor primary schools*, i.e. the rural schools (*ibid.*, pp. 84-85).

Therefore, the first school regulations censored corporal punishments but admitted the so-called *castighi beffativi* (shame punishments)⁴², which were allowed as they did not cause physical harm to the students. Already in 1826, however, the German educationalist Joseph Peitl, in the chapter «Massime generali intorno all'applicazione delle ricompense e dei castighi» [General statements on the assignment of rewards or punishments] of his work *Metodica*, widely used in the schools of the Lombard-Venetian Kingdom⁴³, firmly admonished teachers against the misuse of such punishments:

The teacher must totally abstain from shaming pupils in dishonourable ways, such as using plebeian and insulting words, making any ignoble or inopportune comparisons, or imposing publicly offensive punishments such as the *mitra dell'asino* [ass miter] and others. Finally, he must abstain from exposing the punished child to the mockery of his schoolfellows. Such punishments do not improve [the situation], but rather they degrade and make it worse⁴⁴.

Peitl's precepts were recalled also within the rules of conduct for the primary school teachers of the Lombard-Venetian Kingdom, purposefully translated from German. In particular the chapter on school discipline highlighted that:

As for the rewards, so also for the punishments a gradation must be observed. Therefore, children to be punished will be forced to stand in the middle of the school in front of everyone else (but never kneeling); they will not receive Certificates of diligence; they will be deprived of the certificates previously received; they will not be entered in the Book of honor; their names will not be published with honors; they will be deprived of the places of honor, if previously assigned; their names will be cancelled from the Book of honor, if previously entered; they will be excluded from the school's or the church's duties to which they were assigned for reasons of honor; neither incisions will be shown to them, or stories told them; they will not be conducted on a walk, but they will be placed on the last benches and, finally, on the shame bench⁴⁵. But in

⁴² This definition is used in: S. Giuffrida, *Nuovo corso di pedagogia elementare: ad uso delle scuole normali e delle scuole pedagogiche*, Torino, Libreria scolastica di Grato Scioldo, 1911, p. 380.

⁴³ On the school system of the Lombard-Venetian Kingdom and, more specifically, on the diffusion of the Normal method, see: S. Polenghi, *La pedagogia di Felbiger e il metodo normale*, «Annali di Storia dell'Educazione e delle Istituzioni Scolastiche», n. 8, 2001, pp. 245-268; Ead. (ed.), *La scuola degli Asburgo. Pedagogia e formazione degli insegnanti tra il Danubio e il Po (1773-1918)*, Torino, Società Editrice Internazionale, 2012. About the relationship between the spread in Italian schools of the Normal method (despite the Individual method) and the progressive decline of the coercive nature of education, see: J. Meda, *Genesi ed evoluzione dei consumi scolastici in Italia tra XIX e XX secolo*, «Rivista di Storia dell'Educazione», vol. 4, n. 2, 2017, pp. 103-117 (in particular, pp. 104-107).

⁴⁴ J. Peitl, *Metodica ovvero precetti intorno al modo di ben insegnare le materie proprie delle scuole elementari maggiori e minori. Opera di Giuseppe Peitl tradotta dal tedesco e accomodata per uso delle scuole italiane da Francesco Cherubini*, Milano, Imperial Regia Stamperia, 1826, p. 241 (original edition: *Methodenbuch oder Anleitung zur zweckmäßigen Führung des Lehramtes für Lehrer in Trivial- und Hauptschulen*, Wien, Wimmer, 1820; first Italian edition edited by F. Cherubini in 1821).

⁴⁵ It is interesting the distinction made between the *panche inferiori* (literally «last benches»), the *panche della vergogna* (shame benches) and the *panche dell'asino* (ass benches) combined with the *mitera*. While the use of the first two was authorized for corrective purposes, the last one – more directly related to the asinine symbolic sphere – was strongly condemned.

no school will there be room for the so-called *panche o mitre dell'asino* [ass benches or miters], nor for any similar abominable punishments⁴⁶.

About ten years later, Raffaello Lambruschini recalled the precepts of Peitl in his *Osservazioni preliminari sopra un miglior sistema di premiare e di punire, da adottarsi nella Scuola Livornese di Mutuo Insegnamento* [Preliminary observations on a better system of reward and punishment, to be adopted in the Livornese School of Monitorial System], published in 1939 in the periodical «Guida dell'Educatore». The text severely denounced the *castighi beffativi* (shame punishments), considered so harmful to the soul, as were the corporal punishments to the body. So wrote the Tuscan educationalist:

For Heaven's sake, let us remove from our schools those pains that recall the pillory, and that I do not hesitate to define abominable. I mean the exposure in the so-called place of punishment, the signs hanging from the neck, or walking in front of the students lined up. [...] Sometimes we are legitimated to shame in order to punish effectively, because shame is the mother of honesty and teacher of innocence. But we must act with caution, and never in public, since [shame] is a very dangerous agent. We remember cases of a total discouragement, or on the contrary of fierce rebellion, which were caused by derision or contempt of the schoolfellows!⁴⁷

The increasing awareness by the most influential Italian educationalists of the deleterious consequences of the use of these shame punishments in schools, brought – as it often does – to the intervention of the legislators. The Regulations of primary schools which was approved with the Royal Decree of September 15, 1860, and in which this kind of punishment was explicitly forbidden by Art. 98, stated:

Insulting words, beatings, signs of ignominy, and corporal punishments such as forcing children to kneel or stand with open arms, etc. are prohibited, as well as the *pensi*⁴⁸, when they are not the simple repetition of poorly executed work⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ *Norme pei maestri delle scuole elementari minori tradotte dal tedesco e rese adatte all'uso che far ne devono gli italiani*, Milano, Imperial Regia Stamperia, 1827, p. 98.

⁴⁷ «Guida dell'educatore: foglio mensile», vol. 4, nn. 37-38 gennaio-febbraio 1839, p. 28.

⁴⁸ The word *penso* derives from the Latin term *pensum* (vb. *pendere*: «to weigh») that – originally referred to the weight of wool that the slaves had to spin every day – came to mean also the daily work of Roman pupils. Over time, the *penso* assumed the meaning of an extra schoolwork (usually consisting of copying texts) that the teacher assigned to the most unruly pupils as punishment and as exercise aimed to reinforce learning. In the Lasallian schools the *pensi* were formally introduced in the 1811 edition of the *Conduite des écoles chrétiennes*, where they were defined «the most honest punishment for a teacher, the most advantageous and the most pleasant for parents»; presented with the aim to replace corporal punishments, this practice was intended as an effect of overcoming the repressive pedagogy in favour of a new emulative pedagogy (Fratel L. Lauraire FSC, *La Guida delle Scuole. Approccio diacronico. Evoluzione del testo dal 1706 al 1916*, Roma, Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane, 2014, pp. 87-89). With the same meaning, such punitive practice was so described in an Italian law collection of 1840: «The *pensi* are school compositions, useful for instruction, which must be written with diligence and memorized» (*Indice analitico ed alfabetico della raccolta generale delle leggi per gli stati di Parma, Piacenza e Guastalla degli anni 1814 al 1835*, vol. 4, Parma, Stamperia Carmignani, 1840, p. 306).

⁴⁹ The text of the regulation is reproduced in the *Codice dell'istruzione secondaria classica e*

The new school regulation of 1860 produced some first concrete results. In the inquiry on the public education presented to the Minister of Education in 1865, in fact, among the answers to the fourth question posed to the provincial school inspectors («What are the punishments generally used by the teachers?»), one can read:

The Mayor of Camajore replied: «After the abolition of corporal punishment, the allowed punishments are those inspired by the healthy norms of pedagogy, and tolerated by the civilization of the times tending to arouse in children not hate against teachers, but to awaken repugnance against the failing that one punishes, and finally to encourage a noble emulation». Also the Mayor of Pietrasanta wrote: «The only punishments applied by the primary teachers in the municipal schools are those prescribed by the Regulation of September 15, 1860. Beatings, penances, *orecchi d'asino*, or pillories, are strictly prohibited»⁵⁰.

Nevertheless, the school inspector of Arezzo, after declaring to be against beatings, boasted of having introduced «in some schools the bench of punished students, and this form of correction has given excellent results»⁵¹. This testimony demonstrates – as a proof of what we have previously seen – that the *panca della vergogna* (shame bench) was still not perceived among those «signs of shame» that the same regulation had prohibited.

The encouraging information contained in the inspectors' reports should not induce one to believe that teachers had slavishly conformed to the ministerial regulation, but only that a process had begun of dissimulation of these punitive practices. These punishments, in fact – although concealed from the school authorities in order to avoid disciplinary sanctions – kept on being practiced without many qualms, substantially, until the second post-war period. After all, still in 1897, i.e. almost forty years after the mentioned regulation of primary schools, the *cappello d'asino* continued to be considered the worst punishment for the most recidivist children, even more effective than whipping the palms of the hands or the segregation in a classroom corner, as the hygienist Marco Venanti prescribed:

Since I usually find good in everything, I would not like that they ban the punishment of penitence, the genuflexion and, if necessary, the imposition of the headgear with donkey ears for those pupils who have deserved such chastisement. This punishment, in particular, is the most severe because it combines together the chastisement of genuflexion and the shame of the headgear. In this way, the negligent pupil is condemned and, at the same time, he is more severely exposed to derision by the schoolfellows or by anyone entering the classroom in that moment»⁵².

tecnica e della primaria e normale, Torino, Tipografia Scolastica di Sebastiano Franco e figli, 1861, pp. 372-411 (citation from p. 389).

⁵⁰ *Sulle condizioni della pubblica istruzione nel Regno d'Italia*, cit., p. 432.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

⁵² M. Venanti, *L'igiene pratica della scuola, coi principali rimedi delle malattie scolastiche*, Firenze, Bemporad, 1897, p. 71.

Nevertheless, after a period of clandestinity in which the principles of the so-called «poisonous pedagogy» continued in various places and cultural contexts to exert their influence on the educational practices of teachers⁵³, those punitive practices which had long been permitted in Italian schools finally fell into disuse, only surviving in idiomatic expressions and in the collective imaginary, as we have already highlighted.

2. *The «ass cap» as a symbolic superstructure*

School punishments often have a strong symbolic nature. In this meaning they are also inspired by the principle – proper of the Catholic culture – of the so-called *contrappasso* (literally «countersuffering»), whereas the sentence imposed on offenders must constitute the opposite of the fault committed, or be similar to it. As an example of this one can cite the several punishments applied in nineteenth-century schools where the pupils who violated the «rule of silence»⁵⁴ by interrupting lessons or distracting peers with their talkativeness were punished with the bit gag, the tongues of paper or cloth, and the water in the mouth⁵⁵. The use of the bit gag (in Italian: *mordacchia*) in schools is attested

⁵³ The extraordinary persistence of such pedagogy is attested by what, still in 1874, wrote a parish priest of a small village in the upper Val Seriana, in Lombardy: «The child is unruly since the cradle. As the horse needs the brake and the donkey the rode, in the same way – says the Holy Spirit – it is necessary to use the stick on the backs of fools. Some sentimental people believe that the new generation should be subtracted from the legacy of pain, but the fact is that when we rule the flesh, the spirit rises. So, among those we estimate as good men, there is not one who has not suffered beatings in childhood» (G. Maffei, *Genio delle scuole rurali: cenno pedagogico-didattico*, Bergamo, Tipografia Carlo Colombo, 1874, p. 83).

⁵⁴ The adoption of the «rule of silence», in schools as well as in libraries, would confirm that school discipline borrowed its moral archetypes from Catholic clerical culture, possibly through the mediation of the schools run by the clerical congregations. In this regard, already in 1909 Emilia Formigini Santamaria wrote, in her book on the popular education in the State of the Church, that: «The specific aim of all these coercive means was to impose silence. [...] Such imposition was not so much inspired by a wrong concept of order, as probably dictated by the belief that silence was a powerful means of moral improvement. [...] For ecclesiastics, in fact, silence not only is a physical mortification, and as such pleasing to God; in addition, silence is a necessary condition for carefully refocusing on oneself, and examining one's own actions» (E. Formigini Santamaria, *L'istruzione popolare nello Stato Pontificio: 1824-1870*, Bologna, A.F. Formigini Editore, 1909, pp. 144-145).

⁵⁵ The Italian expression «water in the mouth», in fact, still in use in the popular lexicon, is related to the school punishment through which the silence was imposed by forcing children to stand still with their mouths full of water and their arms crossed behind their back. Another school punishment indirectly recalled by the popular expression «to wet the nose», is testified in 1831 by Francesco Bosisio when describing the «abusive and barbarian» teacher of a primary school of Lodi: «He locked us up in a closet next to the school, and this was the lesser evil. He also put us at the “donkey bench” with a wooden sign depicting a donkey hanging from our neck. Another

by Emilia Formiggini Santamaria in her book *L'istruzione popolare nello Stato Pontificio: 1824-1870* [Popular education in the State of the Church: 1824-1870] where such «barbarically ingenious tool» is described as «a wooden stick, tied at both ends, and put in the mouth of the chattering child like a bit [for horses]»⁵⁶. But the same punishment is also represented in the oil on panel *An Italian Village School* or *The School House* by the Neapolitan painter Giuseppe Costantini, dated 1888⁵⁷. Similarly, in the Piedmont region is attested the use of tongues of paper or cloth, which were applied to the mouth of the chatty schoolgirls, with ribbon knotted behind their nape⁵⁸.

After these premises, the time has come to explore the complex symbology underlying the *cappello d'asino*. We will try to retrace, on the one hand, the cultural origins of the physical and morphological structure of this punitive tool; on the other, we will analyse the real reason why such an object aroused derision in members of the micro-community of the school, so inducing shame in the punished children. The derision by schoolfellows⁵⁹ and the consequent

punishment consisted in putting the guilty at the pillory on the blackboard, and making him wet his nose with the spit from the other pupils, when they had to leave the school to go home» (F. Bosisio, *Il grido della natura*, Bergamo, Tipografia Gaffuri e Gatti, 1874, pp. 12-13). Paolo La Rocca Impellizzeri witnesses the same practice in his article about the punishments applied in the primary schools of Ragusa (Sicily) during the second half of XIX century. Writes the author: «As a reward for the diligent schoolboys, and as a punishment for the less studious ones, the teacher used to give the former the right to wet with their saliva the nose of the latter» («L'Avvenire della Scuola», vol. 5, nn. 27-28, 8 agosto 1879, p. 433). The expression still survives today to mean that one overcomes the opponent in a competition. These examples demonstrate that the research on the school imaginary could draw interesting information from lexicological and folkloristic studies as well.

⁵⁶ Formiggini Santamaria, *L'istruzione popolare nello Stato Pontificio: 1824-1870*, cit., p. 144 (the expression «barbarically ingenious tools» is cited in the review published by Baldo Peroni in: «Rivista Pedagogica», vol. 2, n. 10, luglio 1909, p. 1012). The use of the same punishment is attested, again, in the aforementioned article by Paolo La Rocca Impellizzeri, who writes that «after the *mitra* followed another most humiliating punishment: the so-called *morso* [bit] or *briglia* [bridle]», consisting in «a piece of wood with a string tied at both ends» («L'Avvenire della Scuola», vol. 5, nn. 27-28, 8 agosto 1879, p. 433).

⁵⁷ See: Giuseppe Costantini (1844-1894), *An Italian Village School*, 1888. Oil on panel (Carderdale Metropolitan Borough Council Museums and Arts, Halifax, United Kingdom; Inv. n. 1974.483). The painting depicts a scene similar to that in the oil painting *The Village School* preserved at the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna in Rome (and reproduced above in Picture n. 1). In this second painting the punished child, instead of wearing an asinine miter, is represented kneeling and holding a rudimentary wooden bit-gag in his mouth.

⁵⁸ In this regard, 1909 Giacomo Mantellino wrote: «We all remember having heard of donkey ears, of two-palms-long paper tongues put in the mouth of mouthy children, of signs around the neck describing the fault, of ear-pullings» (G. Mantellino, *La scuola primaria e secondaria in Piemonte e particolarmente in Carmagnola dal secolo XIV alla fine del secolo XIX*, Carmagnola, presso l'autore, 1909, p. 21).

⁵⁹ About the social practice of public derision see, in particular: G. Minois, *Histoire du rire et de la dérision*, Paris, Fayard, 2000; B. Wiedl, *Laughing at the Beast. The Judensaw: Anti-Jewish Propaganda and Humor from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period*, in A. Classen (ed.), *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Epistemology of a Fundamental Human*

feeling of shame induced in the punished child⁶⁰ represented, in fact, the real foundations of this punishment, although it resulted more often in degradation, rather than in the redemption of the sins committed.

Even though the effects produced by this punishment are undisputed, however the assumptions on which the same practice is based are not clear. We all know that such particular headgear provoked those effects, although we do not know exactly why. In other words: why just a pointed hat (at least in our cultural tradition), and why not a different kind of headgear? Unlike other school punishments, in order to explain the cultural origins of this punitive practice, it can be useful to pass from the analysis of the explicit meaning to the analysis of the over-meaning, which consists of a prelogical meaning of subliminal nature, able to influence the unconscious and to condition behavior.

A first possible interpretation was put forward in 1990 by the art-historian Jean-Yves Tayac, who hypothesized that such headgear constituted a real penalty of *contrappasso*:

Peut-être peut-on expliquer cette association du fait que biologiquement les oreilles sont la partie visible de la réception du langage et de ce fait prennent une importance considérable dans l'éventuelle compréhension du message. L'institution scolaire, partant du principe que ce qu'elle enseigne et la façon dont elle s'y prend ne saurait être discuté, peut expliquer la mauvaise compréhension de l'élève par son incapacité à recevoir correctement l'enseignement. Ce faisant, elle joue sur l'ambiguïté polysémique du mot entendre et prend alors l'oreille comme représentation imagièremment efficace de cette déficience. Ainsi le bonnet d'âne a-t-il une existence liée à une pédagogie qui ne se pose pas le problème de la prise en charge d'individus plus ou moins doués mais au contraire fait "porter le chapeau" à ceux qui réussissent le moins bien⁶¹.

Following Tayac, we could say that the exorbitant donkey ears were the hyperbolic representation of an organ that the *duri di comprendonio* (dunces)

Behavior, its Meaning, and Consequences, Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 2010, pp. 325-364.

⁶⁰ About the social use of shame see, more in general, the following: J. Wettlaufer, *Evolutionäre und pädagogische Aspekte des sozialen Schamgefühls. Zum sozialen Gebrauch von Emotionen im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel der Schand- und Ehrenstrafen*, in J. Kurig, A.K. Tremel (edd.), *Neue Pädagogik und alte Gehirne? Erziehung und Bildung in evolutionstheoretischer Sicht*, Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2008, pp. 237-248; B. Sère, J. Wettlaufer (edd.), *Shame between Punishment and Penance. The social usages of shame in the Middle Ages and Early Modern times*, Firenze, SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013. About the pedagogical use of shame see: J. Meda, *Vergogna. Storia culturale di un'emozione scolastica: un primo approccio critico*, in Ana M^a Badanelli et al. (edd.), *Libro de Resúmenes del XIX Coloquio de Historia de la Educación «Imágenes, discursos y textos en historia de la educación» (El Escorial – Madrid, 19-22 de septiembre de 2017)*, Alcalá, Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación – Universidad Complutense de Madrid – Universidad de Alcalá – Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2017, pp. 424-427.

⁶¹ J.-Y. Tayac, *L'archéologie de la sanction en milieu scolaire*, «Revue d'Archéologie Moderne et d'Archéologie Général», n. 8, 1990, pp. 139-169 (citation from p. 152). In the same article two paragraphs are specifically devoted to these topics: «Le bonnet d'âne» (pp. 151-153), and «Couronne de mérite et bonnet d'infamie» (pp. 153-154).

did not use properly, since they did not understand the lesson explained⁶². The same thing could be said for the tongues of paper or cloth, which were used to punish chatterers with the same aim, i.e. to point out the organ used to break the school rules. In the case of the ass cap, the hypothesis presented by Tayac seems to indicate a possible reading of the reason why just the hearing organ, and not other organs, has been chosen to symbolically represent the intellectual deficiencies of certain subjects. However, such interpretation does not capture the real historical dimension of this symbol, nor is it able to clarify the symbology underlying the other fundamental morphological characteristic of the hat, i.e. the pointed shape.

Another explanation could be retraced in the natural teachers' attitude – mentioned in 1740 by Charles Rollin – to «attach the concept of ignominy and of opprobrium to a thousand things that, by themselves, have no meaning: things that become punishments when such concepts have been attached to them»⁶³. Based on this assumption, the *cappello d'asino* would not have anything defamatory in itself, except for the archetypal idea that generations of teachers had associated with it. It would therefore constitute an educational expedient, at the beginning symbolically neutral, but which assumed an over-meaning determined by the finality that was attached to it for such a long time, and within such a wide area, that it finally established itself in the popular sense. However, even this explanation appears to be reductive since it leaves out an older cultural root of this practice, which clearly emerges from the morphological analysis of the *cappello d'asino*, and especially of its miter form.

None of the aforementioned interpretations, in fact, can explain the complex process of cultural signification that over the centuries arose around the *cappello d'asino* thanks to the contribution of a multiplicity of symbolic channels.

In the first place, we must take into account the imaginary related to the donkey, which since Antiquity was considered the emblem of ignorance in Western culture; secondly, the imaginary concerning the foolish, which in the Middle and Early Modern ages was usually represented with animalistic

⁶² In this perspective, it is interesting to note that, in the popular parlance, the intellect and the reason are indicated with the word *comprendonio*. Such popular expression – of which the archaic forms *comprendómine* and *comprendónico* are attested (G. Gherardini, *Supplimento a' vocabolarj italiani*, vol. 2, Milano, dalla Stamperia di Giuseppe Bernardoni, 1853, p. 305) – substantially indicated the intellectual process as a mere comprehension of what others say (passive knowledge), rather than an autonomous elaboration of thought (active knowledge). Through the Early Modern age, in fact, men and women, especially of popular classes, were expected to not think autonomously, but only to correctly understand what they were asked to do. Not by chance, in the popular parlance, the expression *intendacchio* was also attested with the same meaning. Nevertheless, the popular culture, which – at least until the middle of the XX century – was mainly founded on oral transmission, assigned to the hearing apparatus a symbolical connection to the acquisition of knowledge and of reason. At the same time, the auricles represented the visible part of the apparatus and, as such, the incriminable and punishable part.

⁶³ Rollin, *Della maniera d'insegnare*, cit., p. 235.

attributes; thirdly, the imaginary relative to unbelievers and heretics, upon whom the pointed hat was imposed in the procession towards the place of their execution; and, finally, the imaginary connected with those condemned (for adultery, bigamy, incest, etc.) who were exposed to public humiliation by wearing zoomorphic masks (the masks of shame or masks of infamy) or by receiving the so-called «marks of shame», marked on their bodies with heated irons.

The *cappello d'asino* condenses in one single object various elements proper of all these imaginaries and that – far beyond the disappearance of the original practices to which they were related – over time had been assimilated in depth by the popular culture and had finally filtered into the popular sense. Consequently, as we will demonstrate, the dunce cap represents to all effects a «metaphor of exclusion», just like the pointed hat or the mask of shame.

As far as the first symbolic channel, the Italian medievalist Franco Cardini evidenced that already «the medieval bestiaries – that drew on both the tradition of the Holy Scriptures and the Scholastic tradition handed down through the Phaedrus' fables – emphasized the obtuseness and obstinacy of the donkey»⁶⁴ and converted this animal into a symbol of silliness⁶⁵.

Subsequently, such prejudice deeply filtered down into the popular sense (as already attested by the folkloristic testimonies mentioned above) to the point that – in the popular parlance – words such as *asineria*, *asinaggine* or *asinità* (in Latin: *asinitas*) entered into common usage to mean roughness and

⁶⁴ F. Cardini, *Mostri, belve, animali nell'immaginario medievale / 6: L'asino*, «Abstracta», n. 11, 1987, pp. 46-53 (citation from p. 53). The widespread use of the asinine metaphor in the iconography of education and of ignorance (in close connection with the iconography of knowledge and its contrary, developed in the Medieval and Early Modern ages), is present in the scholastic universe in many forms. In addition to the aforementioned hats, ears and benches, the ass recurs also in popular expressions such *asino vestito* (literally «dressed donkey»), *asino in calzoni* (literally «donkey with pants») or *asino di Buridano* (Buridan's ass) in order to indicate the less intellectually gifted pupils. Again, the mnemotechnical expedient known as the *ponte degli asini* (literally «the donkey bridge», a trick to remember something), was widespread in schools to help the dumb pupils keep in mind sequences of names or grammatical rules. An example is the Italian trick «Ma con gran pena le reca giù», used to remember the sequence of the Alpine mountain ranges. The asinine origin of such expedient is confirmed by the similar expressions *Eselsbrücke*, in German, and *ezelsbruggetje*, in Dutch. About the asinine symbology see, in general, the recent book: R. Finzi, *Asino caro o della denigrazione della fatica*, Firenze, Bompiani, 2017.

⁶⁵ Actually, we should remember that the donkey has not always symbolized stupidity in all European cultures; for example, in the Breton folk culture the cow was commonly considered a symbol of stupidity (cf. M.-O. Mergnac, C. Brancq, D. Vilret, *Les écoliers et leurs maîtres en France d'autrefois*, Paris, Archives & Culture, 2005, p. 126). Not by chance, in the schools of this French area the punishment called *la vache* (the cow), also known as *le symbole*, was imposed on students who spoke in Breton instead of French. This mark of shame varied from school to school (e.g.: clogs bound together to wear around the neck, a sign or a slate on which the guilt was written, or a button, a ribbon or a headgear). About these marks, in particular, see: P. Giolitto, *Abécédaire et férule: maîtres et écoliers de Charlemagne à Jules Ferry*, Paris, Imago, 1986.

ignorance⁶⁶. Since the school is by definition the place where, from an early age, the intellectual faculties of the members of a community are formed, the asinine symbology started being largely used in this context to indelibly mark pupils who were judged of poor intellect and lacking the necessary requirements to be emancipated from a status of social and cultural subalternity⁶⁷. If reason distinguishes men from beasts, students who were lacking of it were assimilated to animals, and in particular to the animal that embodied the very antithesis of reason, that is, the donkey. The bestial metamorphosis that the dunces were forced to symbolically undergo, when they were wearing the *cappello d'asino* or two long ears, condemned them to a social, cultural and educative marginality.

Ignorance and lack of reason were not the only human conditions to be historically stigmatized with bestial metamorphoses in Western culture. The same also happened with foolishness and madness, whose representations constitute the second symbolic channel through which the complex process of cultural signification of the object of this research has taken place. In medieval depictions, in fact, the foolish and the insane man (in contiguity with the wild man, the *homo selvaticus*) presented animalistic attributes⁶⁸. Flemish painting between the XV and the XVI centuries, from Hieronymus Bosch to Pieter Bruegel the Elder, is characterized by the representation of scenes and events taken from everyday life (*genre painting*). We find numerous archetypal depictions of the foolish, who did not have to respect the conventions of society in which he lived insofar as he agreed to be marked as different and, as such, marginalized. The mark of foolishness could take different forms: from the cone-shaped hat (as

⁶⁶ About this concept see, in particular: N. Ordine, *La cabala dell'asino. Asinità e conoscenza in Giordano Bruno*, Napoli, Liguori, 1987.

⁶⁷ The application of the asinine symbology within the educational context took place very quickly. This is confirmed by iconographic sources, such as the late fifteenth-century engraving where – as we have already seen – a student is depicted standing at the back of the classroom, facing the wall and wearing a donkey head (cf. *Speculum Vitae Humanae*, cit.). Similarly, around the mid-Sixteenth century the Flemish painter Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525-1569) with his painting *Ass at School* sanctioned the inability of the school to redeem those children who were *asini di natura* (literally «donkeys by birth»), children who were not worthy to be provided with tools such as books, glasses or candles. Bruegel's painting – after which Pieter van der Heyden made the famous engraving published by Hieronymus Cock in 1556-1557 – and its complex, underlying symbology, have already been extensively studied by the American scholar Ayers Bagleya (A. Bagleya, *Bruegel's "The Ass at School"*, cit.).

⁶⁸ About this topic in general, see: M. Foucault, *Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique*, Paris, Gallimard, 1972; J.S. Neaman, *Suggestion of the Devil: Insanity in the Middle Ages and the Twentieth Century*, New York, Octagon Books, 1978. More specifically, concerning the representation of madness in Medieval and Early Modern ages see: P. Ménard, *Les emblèmes de la folie dans la littérature et dans l'art (XII^e-XIII^e siècles)*, in *Farai chansoneta novele: hommages à Jean-Charles Payen: essais sur la liberte creatrice au Moyen Age*, Caen, Université de Caen, 1989, pp. 253-265; C. Segre, *Fuori del mondo. I modelli nella follia e nelle immagini dell'aldilà*, Torino, Einaudi, 1990 (in particular: *Quattro tipi di follia medioevale*, pp. 89-102); M. Laharie, *La folie au Moyen Âge, XI^e-XIII^e siècles*, Paris, Le Léopard d'Or, 1991; A. Gross, *L'idée de la folie en texte et en image: Sébastian Brant et l'insipiens*, «Médiévales», vol. 25, 1993, pp. 71-91.

represented in *The Fight Between Carnival and Lent* by Bruegel the Elder)⁶⁹, to the inverted funnel worn as headgear (as in some paintings by Hieronymus Bosch)⁷⁰. However, in Western culture the incarnation of madness par excellence was the jester, who usually wore multicolored clothes, and cloaks with hoods representing the cock's crest on top or donkey ears (*orecchi d'asino*)⁷¹ on the sides, or a three-pointed hat with little bells, known as the «fool's cap»⁷².

The overlapping between the *cappello d'asino* and the *cappello dello sciocco* (the fool's cap) emerges from various iconographic sources, among which two seem particularly significant. In the first one, the previously mentioned engraving by Harry Herald entitled *Dunces Corner*, the symbolic connection between the emblems of foolishness and of asinity is explicitly clarified both by the scene and by the inscription represented in the picture, where you can read: «The Cap of a Fool fits the head of a DUNCE» [Picture n. 2]. The second source is a painting by the Flemish painter Matthijs Naiveu, where a punished pupil is represented standing on a table, with his pants down and wearing a fool's cap; the child is in tears while the teacher admonishes him by brandishing a *plak*, and the rest of the class mocks him [Picture n. 3].

With regard to the third symbolic channel, i.e. relating to the representation of unbelievers and heretics, much has already been said. The seminal work by Bernhard Blumenkranz on the representation of the Jews in medieval Christian iconography has represented an indispensable reference for beginning the present research. In his essay the Austrian historian – supported by an extensive use

⁶⁹ Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Fight Between Carnival and Lent* (1559). Oil on panel (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Gemäldegalerie; Inv. n. 1016).

⁷⁰ Hieronymus Bosch (1450-1516), *The Extraction of the Stone of Madness* (1501-1505). Oil on panel (Museo del Prado, Madrid; Inv. n. P02056); again of Hieronymus Bosch, see the *Triptych of the Temptation of St. Anthony* (around 1501). Oil on panel. (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon). The symbology of the inverted funnel – which refers, once again, to the cone – probably recalls the Christian symbology according to which the illumination of Saints and Prophets was represented as a cone of light over their heads and descending from God. This illumination would later be defined «infused science» by Christian theology. The funnel (used to pour liquids into containers with a narrow opening) would therefore represent a lack of knowledge in the person who wears it, because – as overturned – it would not allow knowledge to be infused into the person through the head, the seat of rational thought. Such «liquid nature» of knowledge would be attested also by the Italian idiomatic expression *bersi il cervello* (literally «to drink one's own brain»), to mean «lose one's mind». The inverted funnel could constitute the laical variation of the pointed hat worn by heretics: if the one indicates the lack of the *lume della ragione* (the light of reason), the other indicates the lack of divine illumination (faith).

⁷¹ Cf. Quentin Massys (1466-1530), *An Allegory of Folly*, (s.d.). Oil on panel (private collection).

⁷² About this topic see, in particular: T. Saffiotti, *Nei panni del buffone. L'abbigliamento dei giullari tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Milano, Jouvence Historica Editore, 2015. More in general, about the jester one can see: P. Camporesi, *Rustici e buffoni: cultura popolare e cultura d'élite fra medioevo ed età moderna*, Torino, Einaudi, 1991; T. Saffiotti, *Gli occhi della follia. Giullari e buffoni di corte nella storia e nell'arte*, Milano, Book Time, 2009.

of iconographic sources – showed that the *pileus cornutus*⁷³ was mandatorily imposed as a stigma to German Jews since the second half of the 13th century, and then it spread (although more weakly) in France, Spain and Italy⁷⁴.

The same stigma was also subsequently used in the historical context of the fight against heresies, when during the *autodafé* – the ceremonies in which the penance or the sentence decreed by the Inquisition were executed *coram populo* – the custom was established by forcing the condemned to wear one *mitera*, while being conducted on a donkey's back through the streets for the public humiliation⁷⁵. Based on the research conducted so far, we formulate the hypothesis that the use of the asinine *mitera* has established itself within the educational contexts, especially related to the popular schools promoted by the teaching congregations after the Catholic Counter-Reformation for the purpose of evangelization and spiritual literacy⁷⁶. The punitive tools used in those contexts were often borrowed – as we have previously demonstrated – from the symbolic penitential as well as inquisitorial sphere⁷⁷. In the educational environment the pointed hat – which had been used since medieval times to stigmatize the «apostasy of faith» in Jews and heretics (excommunicated, i.e. expelled from the community of the faithful)

⁷³ The *pileus cornutus* was a white or yellow cone-shaped hat (in French: *chapeau juif*; in German: *judenhut*; in Spanish: *gorro judío*).

⁷⁴ Cf. B. Blumenkranz, *Il cappello a punta. L'ebreo medievale nello specchio dell'arte cristiana*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2003. More in general on this topic, see: D. Hassig, *The Iconography of Rejection: Jews and Other Monstrous Races*, in C. Hourihane (ed.), *Image and Belief. Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 25-46; D. Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews. Making monsters in Medieval Art*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2003, pp. 95-155; D. Freedberg, *Il potere delle immagini*, Torino, Einaudi, 2007 (in particular, see the chapter X «Infamia, giustizia e stregoneria»); M. Merback (ed.), *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, Leiden, Koninklijke Brill, 2007; G. Capriotti, *Lo scorpione sul petto: iconografia antiebraica tra XV e XVI secolo alla periferie dello Stato Pontificio*, Roma, Gangemi, 2014; G. Ortalli, *La pittura infamante: secoli XIII-XVI*, Roma, Viella, 2015. More specifically, on the symbology of the pointed hat, see also: D. Sansy, *Chapeau juif ou chapeau pointu? Esquisse d'un signe d'infamie*, in G. Blaschitz et al. (edd.), *Symbole des Alltags, Alltag der Symbole. Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag*, Graz, Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1992, pp. 349-375.

⁷⁵ Pictorial representations of these criminal ceremonies, where the formal analogies existing between the *mitera* used in *autodafé* and the asinine *mitera* used in schools emerge, are present in the etching of Francisco Goya, *No hubo remedio*, 1797-1799 (Museo del Prado, Madrid; Inv. n. G02112), as well as in the oils on canvas by Eugenio Lucas Velázquez (1817-1870), *Condenado por la Inquisición*, ca. 1860 (Museo del Prado, Madrid; Inv. n. P04412), and *Condenada por la Inquisición*, ca. 1860 (Museo del Prado, Madrid; Inv. n. P04438).

⁷⁶ For a general overview of the educational institutions of Catholic religious congregations in Italy between the XVI and XVII centuries, see: R. Sani, *Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam: istituti religiosi, educazione e scuola nell'Italia moderna e contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2009.

⁷⁷ In this meaning, we will limit to highlight how – in the areas subjected to the cultural influence exerted by the Protestant Reformation – the morphological characteristics of these shame signs have been mostly defined by the symbology related to social representations of madness. This is the case of the German *Eselkappe*, which consists of a fool's cap that reminds the jester, as also suggested by the presence of traditional rattles.



Pic. 2. Harry Herald, *Dunce's Corner*. Coloured engraving. From: *Nursery Novelties for Little Masters and Misses*, London, Harris & Son, 1820, p. 11. (The book belongs to the series «Harris's Cabinet of Amusement and Instruction»). On the sign hanging on the wall we read: «The Cap of a Fool fits the head of a DUNCE».

– began being adopted to symbolize the «apostasy of reason», that is to say the refusal of knowledge by the donkey-child: a refusal that caused his exclusion from the micro-community of the school, through a ritual that culminated precisely in the imposition of the hat.

It is interesting to see how the symbolic structure underlying the *cappello d'asino* has borrowed its forms not only from the inquisitorial imaginary, but also from the imaginary related to the criminal ceremonies of civil justice in Medieval and Early Modern ages. During these ceremonies, in fact, and depending on the sentence, the condemned was led to the place of punishment on the back of a



Pic. 3. Matthijs Naiveu (1647-around 1721), *A Schoolroom Interior*, s.d. Oil on canvas (private collection). Source: Projet «Cantus Scholarum» du Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance (Université François Rabelais, Tours), <<https://www.cantus-scholarum.univ-tours.fr/ressources/iconographie/>> (last access: 20.01.2018).

donkey with his face turned towards the tail of the animal, or he was paraded through the streets of the town and exposed to the pillory. The studies of the Italian medievalist Andrea Zorzi have highlighted the wide use of such ritual in the criminal ceremonies that were staged in numerous Italian municipalities during the Late medieval age, and have offered a valuable contribution to the study of the defaming asinine symbology, previously analysed by Pauline Schmitt-Pantel⁷⁸. Such symbology also emerges from another public punishment, which

⁷⁸ P. Schmitt Pantel, *L'âne, l'adultère et la cité*, in J. Le Goff, J.-C. Schmitt (edd.), *Le charivari: actes de la table ronde organisée à Paris (25-27 avril 1977)*, Paris, EHESS, 1981, pp. 117-122 ; A. Zorzi, *Rituali di violenza, cerimoniali penali, rappresentazioni della giustizia nelle città italiane centro-settentrionali (sec. XIII-XV)*, in P. Cammarosano (ed.), *Le forme della propaganda politica nel Due e nel Trecento*, Roma, École Française de Rome, 1994, pp. 395-425 ; A. Zorzi, *Dérision des corps et corps souffrants dans les exécutions en Italie à la fin du Moyen Âge*, in É. Crouzet-Pavan, J. Verger (edd.), *La dérision au Moyen Âge: de la pratique sociale au rituel politique*, Paris,

was imposed by the civil justice system in Early Modern times: the «masks of shame» (German: *Schandmaskes*). These zoomorphic metal masks – which are still preserved in many torture museums throughout Europe – were a substitute for the pillory and were used to publicly punish sexual harassers, usurers, slanderers, pimps and prostitutes. The masks often reproduced the features of animals, which were considered stupid or impure (usually the donkey or the pig) in order to raise the hilarity of all who witnessed it.

Even though this first, necessarily rapid approach to the matter has impeded further analysis of each symbolic channel, we believe we have shown that the *cappello d'asino* is the result of a complex and centuries-lasting process of cultural signification, and that it constitutes a real «paradigm of the imaginary». Such a punitive device finally experienced in the course of the Twentieth century and certainly in Italy, a process of iconographic and symbolic overlapping whereby the «pointed hat» (reminiscence of the inquisitorial tradition) overlapped with the *orecchi d'asino* (which came from different origins) to create one single object that is still strongly installed in our collective imaginary: a pointed hat with two big donkey ears.

The undisciplined child: the image of the rebellious childhood in an age of educational disciplining (1809-1840)*

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ABSTRACT: In this article I shall undertake a biographical/iconological analysis of the image «A Picture of Youth; or, The School in an Uproar». Of all of the extant versions of the picture I have chosen that from the portfolio published in 1822, of which Henry James Richter, author of the original watercolor from 1809, was the sole engraver. The article sets out to reveal the different meanings and connotations in the three contexts – scientific, pedagogical and social – in which Richter carried out his work. The scientific context will examine the way painters relied on physiognomy to try to understand children's natures. The pedagogical context will delve into the hidden aspects of the print based on Richter's school experience and his philosophical training as a fervent defender of Kant. For the social context I will focus on the political and ideological connotations contained in the image, relating them to Richter's artistic approach and his explanation of the way he portrays childhood.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Discipline; Childhood; Physiognomy; English education; XVIIIth Century.

1. *The assembly of the pictorial and biographical turns: The biography of an image*

In an essay published several years ago, Igor Kopytoff posed the question of why we do not write biographies of things, as we do when we write the story of people's lives. He maintained that questions used in research are not so

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different from those that we formulate when taking a biographical approach to a person's life, namely, questions regarding the origin, authorship, and, above all, the cultural significance within the context in which it arose and during the «thing's 'life'»¹. From this first work, collected essays about «things» have almost become a genre, with the book edited by the historian of science Lorraine Daston being one of the most renowned specimen in this category².

If we understand images to be things, that is, physical objects created with a given technology, then we may propose at least two different methodological approaches that combine iconographic and biographical analysis. One of these approaches involves physiognomy; we study the character or personality of someone famous by examining the images of the person over the course of his or her life³. For the second approach, we take one specific image and follow it through time and space⁴. This kind of image tends to be an iconic one, its social and cultural «biography» serving not only to comprehend the image itself but to understand the importance of its visualization at a given historical moment⁵. Thus, a work such as Karl Bodmer's watercolour portrait titled «Mandan Buffalo Dancer» (1834), and its successive reproductions using different technologies and produced in different historical and cultural contexts of the 19th and 20th centuries, help us to better comprehend the stereotypes that existed among the inhabitants of Native-American and non-Native settings⁶.

In a previous study I used this second biographical/iconographic approach to analyze an image of the 19th century school titled «A Picture of Youth» (1809). Its author, Henry James Richter (1772-1857), made the original watercolour – lost today – for the purpose of presenting it at an exhibition at Old Bond Street in London. The picture enjoyed considerable success and was immediately acquired by William Chamberlayne (1760-1829), MP (Member of Parliament) for Southampton. In the following years art experts made reiterated requests for

¹ I. Kopytoff, *The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process*, in A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 66.

² L. Daston (ed.), *Things that Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science*, New York, Zone Books, 2004.

³ C. Schmölders, *Hitler's Face: The Biography of an Image*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006 and S. Schevermann, *The Iconic Dr. Johnson. Biography of an Image*, Texas, Virtualbookworm.com Publishing Inc, 2016.

⁴ O.W. Nasim, *On seeing an image of a spiral nebula: From Whewell to Flammarion*, «Nuncius», vol. 24, n. 2, 2009, pp. 393-414 and V. Smith, *Funny Little Man. The Biography of a Graphic Image*, New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1993.

⁵ A. Lahikainen, *Représentant d'une grande nation: The Politics of an Anglo-French Aquatint*, «Print Quarterly», vol. 29, n. 1, 2012, pp. 22-32, T. Allbeson, *Visualizing Wartime Destruction and Postwar Reconstruction: Herbert Mason's Photograph of St. Paul's Reevaluated*, «The Journal of Modern History», vol. 87, n. 3, 2015, pp. 532-578 and K. Rousmaniere, *Nostalgia and educational history: an American image*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 53, n. 6, 2017, pp. 697-706.

⁶ K. Ronan, *Buffalo Dancer: The Biography of an image*, Doctoral Thesis, Department of History of Art (Supervisor: David Doris), Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 2016.

an engraving to be made from the watercolour, and eventually Richter himself published a portfolio with various scenes from the original work (1822), which were then copied in a smaller format and pirated repeatedly. Richter, availing himself of this fame, made a new watercolour titled «A Picture of Youth; or, the School in an Uproar, a second picture on the subject» (1823), with the express intent of having it reproduced as an engraving. This engraving was carried out by the known artist Charles Turner, who published the first edition in 1825. Over the course of the 19th century, different publishers turned out countless reprints of the work, to say nothing of the pirated copies; its images were used to decorate everyday objects such as handkerchiefs and dishes; it inspired *tableaux vivants* by a number of theatre groups from at least 1853 until 1907; and it continued to appear in the British press until at least 1900. The work travelled as well; in France, the prints that were made starting in 1825 enjoyed a popularity similar to that in England, with different adaptations of it bearing names such as «Le Vacarme dans l'École» and «Le désordre dans l'École». In the United States, prints appeared regularly in a variety of annuals – which were typically offered as Christmas presents – between 1829 and 1831, receiving enthusiastic comments by the press. Whereas all of these versions of Richter's work had been marketed to buyers from the middle and upper classes, in 1876 a German publisher, the Scholz House of Mainz, published a collection of prints on cheap paper, specifically meant for mass consumption by the working class. One of these prints, whose title appears in four languages «Der Dorfschullehrer», «El maestro de escuela de un pueblo», «Le maître d'école du village» and «Il maestro di scuola del villaggio», shows an updated version of Richter's image, in which the children's dress and appearance are adapted to suit its diffusion in Mediterranean countries. The objective impact that this representation had throughout European and American society fully justifies our designating it «the iconic image of the school» in the 20th century⁷.

In this article I intend to focus exclusively on one of these editions, that of the portfolio published in 1822. There are several reasons for my doing so; first of all, it is the oldest extant version of Richter's image, given that the original watercolour was lost. Secondly, Richter was both the painter and the engraver of this work, i.e., he was the work's only author and was thus able to represent, without intermediaries, his personal interpretation of childhood and education. Finally, the original picture was made into four large scenes, affording me the chance to analyse the most minute details, including elements and symbols that are not to be found in any of the countless subsequent versions.

⁷ M.M. del Pozo Andrés, S. Braster, *Exploring New Ways of Studying School memories: The Engraving as a Blind Spot of the History of Education*, in C. Yanes-Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, Cham, Springer, 2017, pp. 11-27.

I intend to analyse this image from a biographical/iconographic perspective and to reveal its cultural connotations and significance based on the three contexts – scientific, pedagogical and social – in which its author, Henry James Richter, carried out his work. Each of these perspectives should help bring me closer to the representations of childhood that underlie this work. This, in turn, shall help me to determine just what Georgian viewers perceived in these prints, and the ultimate explanation for their immense popularity.

2. *The Image: «A Picture of Youth; or, The School in an Uproar» (1822)*

On July 6th, 1822, the London-based literary press gave enthusiastic reviews of a portfolio titled *Illustrations of the Works of Henry Richter. First Series*, which had been published in May of the same year. The portfolio contained five numbered prints, without captions. Print Number 1 consisted «of a small vignette frontispiece of the original in the possession of Wm. Chamberlayne»⁸, the MP to whom Henry Richter dedicated the entire series, presenting himself as «his devoted friend and servant» (Picture 1). The other four prints showed enlargements, carried out by means of a rather original zoom technique, of specific scenes taken from the initial drawing and identified numerically (Picture 2, Picture 3, Picture 4, Picture 5). Accompanying the set was an explanatory pamphlet signed by someone purporting to be a schoolmaster by the name of Timothy Whackumwell, an obviously fictitious name adopted by Richter to refer to the activity that teachers were most known for at the time (Picture 6).

This collection of prints is exceptional in that it was created by a single artist, Henry James Richter, who began his career in 1790 as a book illustrator before dedicating himself almost exclusively to the realm of watercolours. Richter made the original drawing in a reduced size, while the enlarged scenes were made as lithographs. The fact that a painter would do the engraving as well was unusual and can be chalked up to a strange coincidence. Only rarely did Richter work in the field of engraving; we know something of his perfectionism and his insistence that engravers reproduce his watercolours on steel plates, and that he would personally supervise such work and demand that the images be copied directly from nature, and not from his paintings⁹.

It is possible that Richter decided to engrave his own works as a way of adjudicating to himself the entire pictorial authority of the work and avoiding «the tension between the authorship of the painter and the “translation” of

⁸ *Intelligence, Literary, Scientific, &c.*, «The Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, & C. The Second Series», vol. 14, n. 80, August 1, 1822, p. 123.

⁹ J. Sartain, *The Reminiscences of a very old man*, New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1899, pp. 117-128.



Pic. 1. (left) *Illustration of the Works of Henry Richter. First Series*, London, Published by R. Ackermann, May 1822. N° 1 (provided by kind permission of M.M. del Pozo & S. Braster, Private collection, Madrid/Zoetermeer).

Pic. 2. (center) *Illustration of the Works of Henry Richter. First Series*, 1822. N° 2 (provided by kind permission of M.M. del Pozo & S. Braster, Private collection, Madrid/Zoetermeer).

Pic. 3. (right) *Illustration of the Works of Henry Richter. First Series*, 1822. N° 3 (provided by kind permission of M.M. del Pozo & S. Braster, Private collection, Madrid/Zoetermeer).



Pic. 4. (left) *Illustration of the Works of Henry Richter. First Series*, 1822. N° 4 (provided by kind permission of M.M. del Pozo & S. Braster, Private collection, Madrid/Zoetermeer).

Pic. 5. (center) *Illustration of the Works of Henry Richter. First Series*, 1822. N° 5 (provided by kind permission of M.M. del Pozo & S. Braster, Private collection, Madrid/Zoetermeer).

Pic. 6. (right) *Illustration of the Works of Henry Richter. First Series*, 1822. Pamphlet explanatory of the engravings (provided by kind permission of M.M. del Pozo & S. Braster, Private collection, Madrid/Zoetermeer).

the reproductive engraver»¹⁰, so common in the artistic circles of early 19th century London. But it is also possible that he felt obligated to produce a series of original prints that were not an exact copy of the watercolour from 1809, which he had sold to his patron and benefactor William Chamberlayne as a unique and exclusive work of art which, if it were to become an engraving and be reproduced countless times, would require its owner's approval. This led Richter to present the series as an «invention of the Original Picture in his possession», that is, as a variation of the picture from 1809, but with a series of novel details that connected it more closely to the year 1822, when it was made. This fact, together with the artist's rather servile dedication to Chamberlayne, give us an idea of the relationship of dependence and submission that painters maintained with their benefactors, a situation in which only geniuses such as Reynolds could actually speak on equal terms with them.

The publisher of the portfolio, Rudolph Ackerman, (1764-1834) was, like Richter, of German origin, although he had acquired British nationality in 1809 and had prospered in the publishing business, particularly with his market of prints and books known as «Repository of Arts», which from 1798 onward expanded throughout Europe and America. The Richter portfolio from 1822 appeared repeatedly in Ackerman's art catalogues throughout the 19th and into the 20th century¹¹. The fact that Ackerman's name was associated with the images virtually guaranteed their success, as his reputation made him much more than a print salesman: «he was a colourman, a drawing master, a Merchant, a stationer, an art dealer, an innovator, and a noted figure in London society»¹².

The portfolio was met with enthusiasm by the literary press because «the original drawing from which these groups are taken, has lived in our memory since the first appearance in one of the early exhibitions of the Society of Watercolour Painters»¹³, a reference to the exhibition that has taken place in Spring of 1809. The work made a strong impression on viewers, who nonetheless lamented the fact that the watercolour had not been made into an engraving, given that «the comic familiarity and whim of the subject, and the excellent way in which it was treated, must have insured its success»¹⁴. And although there was praise for the new format with individual scenes from the print, yet «the whole, and nothing but the whole, of this excellent composition, can do

¹⁰ G.J. Fyfe, *Art and reproduction: some aspects of the relations between painters and engravers in London 1760-1850*, «Media, Culture and Society», vol. 7, 1985, p. 403.

¹¹ *Catalogue of Lithographic Prints, Books, &c. in the Art Gallery of the Fuchs & Lang MFG. Co. New York*, New York, The Fuch & Lang Manufacturing Co., 1913, n. p.

¹² J. Baker, *The Business of Satirical Prints in Late-Georgian England*, Cham, Springer, 2017, p. 87.

¹³ *Fine Arts*, «The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, & C.», n. 285, July 6, 1822, p. 425 and *Fine Arts. Illustrations of the Works of Henry Richter. Series I. London, published for the Author by R. Ackermann, 1822*, «The Literary Gazette: A weekly journal of literature, science, and the fine arts», n. 285, July 6, 1822, p. 425.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 425.

justice to the talents of the artist»¹⁵. If viewers longed to see the picture in its entirety, this was because «the subject is so intimately connected with our early associations, is made to speak a language so obvious to all capacities»; everyone will want to share in the joy «of this Graphic Drama» and want to acquire a reproduction of the original scene¹⁶.

Two of the prints from this set – the one showing the unexpected arrival of the schoolmaster and the one in which a student is riding «horseback» on a bench – were copied countless times in smaller formats and in different contexts, such as in the collections published by Samuel Maunders around 1830. Numbers 13 and 14 from one of this publisher's series, titled «The Angry Schoolmaster» and «The Idle Scholar», were no more than schematic, reduced versions of the original prints by Richter, whose name was nowhere to be found (Picture 7 and Picture 8). In subsequent editions – some of them pirated – the comic figure of the teacher carried a more dramatic title: «The Enraged Schoolmaster» (Picture 9). All of this was enabled by the legal void regarding copyright and intellectual property rights at the time, which allowed for massive copying of popular works with no regard for original authorship, with print-sellers selling plates to other publishers who could then make unlimited copies in different sizes and formats¹⁷.

3. *Scientific Approach: The use of physiognomy for understanding the child character*

Physiognomy, an age-old pseudoscience, was based on the belief that facial features reflected a person's character and behaviour and that individuals showed their emotions through the use of different facial expressions. In a sense, physiognomy can be considered «the tentative beginnings of a tradition of modern psychological thought»¹⁸. Although it has been studied broadly, it enjoyed its greatest popularity in London during the first half of the 19th century. At this time physiognomic practices were extended to include the analysis of gestures, body positions and movements, of «distances between the self and others»¹⁹, physical contact, clothing, hairstyles «and other forms

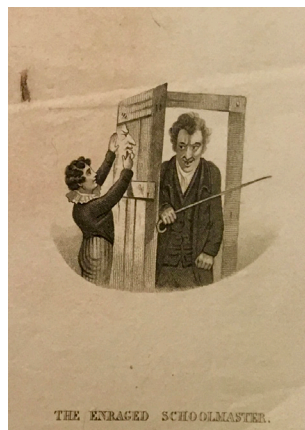
¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 425.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ H. Guise, *Great Victorian Engravings. A Collector's Guide*, London, Astragal Books, 1980, pp. 11-15.

¹⁸ L. Hartley, *Physiognomy and the meaning of expression in nineteenth-century culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 3.

¹⁹ M.S. Lindauer, *The Expressiveness of Perceptual Experience. Physiognomy reconsidered*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamin Publishing Company, 2013, p. 104.



Pic. 7. (left) «*The Angry Schoolmaster*». Printer: Samuel Maunder, 1830s (provided by kind permission of M.M. del Pozo & S. Braster, Private collection, Madrid/Zoetermeer).

Pic. 8. (center) «*The Idle Scholar*». Printer: Samuel Maunder, 1830s (provided by kind permission of M.M. del Pozo & S. Braster, Private collection, Madrid/Zoetermeer).

Pic. 9. (right) «*The Enraged Schoolmaster*». Pirate copy, unknown date (provided by kind permission of M.M. del Pozo & S. Braster, Private collection, Madrid/Zoetermeer).

of self-decoration»²⁰. Georgians as well as Victorians became «literate» in physiognomy, interpreting the character and personality of their fellow citizens through the observation of their bodies. This trend would ultimately affect artistic practices; as artists no longer depended solely on their patrons but on all potential viewers (and buyers) from the middle and upper classes, to get ahead in the new markets it was no longer enough to create works in the styles favoured by rich sponsors²¹. Sculptures, paintings and prints had to adapt to the tastes of a broader public and its desire for images that seemed realistic or that aligned with their own experience of the world. In this context, physiognomy helped in creating a common pictorial language between artists and the public, using novel visual conventions to enable portraits to transmit a kind of biographical information that was new. And although they would have been unlikely to confess it, most painters now «engaged with physiognomic ideas even without explicitly naming them, often drawing on the shared scientific, artistic, and physiognomic language of observation and perception»²².

We can be almost completely certain that Henry James Richter was abreast of the latest advances in physiognomy described in Johann Caspard Lavater's famous book on the subject, which he would have been able to read in its

²⁰ P. Sharrona, *About Faces. Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2010, p. 1.

²¹ M. Ceron, *Collecting Prints by Giulio Bonasone in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain*, «Print Quarterly», vol. 31, n. 2, 2014, pp. 155-167.

²² Sharrona, *About Faces. Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, cit., p. 87.

original German version (1775-1778) or in one of its very successful English translations (1788-1799)²³. Lavater was convinced that all facial and bodily elements, whether at rest or in movement, transmitted «in man the most distinct, intelligible, and lively display of his internal feelings; of desire, passion, revenge, regret, or any other motive which may actuate him»²⁴, and that a person's moral character and intellectual faculties were reflected in his or her gestural and corporal language. While he was of the opinion that it was difficult to read the gestures and expressions in infants that would indicate their future adult character, Lavater's work did include children's faces and figures, accompanied by an interpretation of personality traits as he deduced them from expressions and attitudes.

It is likely that Henry James Richter also shared the ideas of the anatomist and surgeon Charles Bell, given the three years during which he studied anatomy with William Cumberland Cruikshank, who taught from 1771 until 1800 in the school of anatomy at Great Windmill Street, London. Bell directed his work not only towards artists but also towards natural philosophers²⁵, and in 1806 he expressed his belief that «the painter must study, as a necessary part of his profession, the traits of human expression. The noblest aim of painting unquestionably is to reach the mind, which can be accomplished only by the representation of sentiment and passion; of the emotions of the mind, as indicated by the figure, and in the countenance»²⁶. We know that Richter was considered a figure painter, and that he introduced a personal work method for drawing the human body. «This was to construct little models in clay or wax, to represent the figures he wished to introduce into his picture, so as to be able to arrange them and get their proper relative positions before he began to paint»²⁷. In the telling of his colleagues, around 1818, he would put the models in different postures until he found one that reflected the most pertinent attitude for transmitting the message that he wished to convey. We can see, then, that Richter took great care in his use of facial features and body language in his works.

And yet it is very possible that Richter held contradictory opinions regarding physiognomy, as did his teacher, the philosopher Immanuel Kant, who Richter helped introduce into Great Britain. Lavater's ideas were part of a debate on education that was taking place in German-speaking states in the first half of the

²³ J.K. Stemmler, *The Physiognomical Portraits of Johann Caspar Lavater*, «The Art Bulletin», vol. 75, n. 1, 1993, p. 151.

²⁴ J.C. Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy calculated to extend the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind*, vol. 1, London, H.D. Symonds, 1797, p. 8.

²⁵ C. Berkowitz, *Charles Bell and the Anatomy of Reform*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2015, p. 27.

²⁶ Ch. Bell, *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting*, London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1806, p. 7.

²⁷ A.T. Story, *James Holmes and John Varley*, London, Richard Bentley and Son, 1894, pp. 27-28.

19th century and that sought to identify a scientific psychology on which to base pedagogical knowledge. Kant believed that physiognomy could conceivably constitute part of that psychology, but he also believed that this psychology could never be a science²⁸. In the opinion of some authors, Kant's later works on topics of psychology (1798) were «influenced by physiognomical ideas about the relation between bodily features and character»²⁹. However, other authors maintain that in his lectures on anthropology in 1785 the philosopher held «that physiognomists are correct in their analyses of character only when they know the people they are supposedly analyzing»³⁰, and that his works from 1798 demonstrate his rejection of the practice fairly clearly, especially in his statement that physiognomy was «no longer in demand, and nothing has remained of it»³¹.

Most of Richter's English colleagues, though, were firm believers in physiognomy, including the well-known poet, painter and engraver William Blake (1757-1827), who, in addition to being a personal friend of Richter's, created some of the prints for Lavater's book. According to his biographer, Alexander Gilchrist, the friendship between Blake and Richter took root in the decade beginning in 1810, and the author calls attention to the fact that it was during this period that Richter published a «(mentally) very physiognomic brochure» with a very characteristic title³². It is not hard to imagine the contradictory sentiments harboured by Richter through the depictions he made of the teacher in «A Picture of Youth; or, The School in an Uproar» (Picture 5). On the one hand, his character displays all of the features that in physiognomy books are identified with rage, it coming as no surprise then that the pirated editions of the work show a caption that reads «The Enraged Schoolmaster». Richter himself described it this way in his explanatory pamphlet (Picture 6): «His wig bristles behind, his eyes goggle, and his few remaining teeth form a defective grin; his cheeks swell and his brows impend». After this horrid description, he concludes – somewhat incongruously – «yet he seems not ill-humoured». With this final phrase the author seems to be saying that the facial expressions do not necessarily display a predetermined emotion.

²⁸ W.E. Pickren, A. Rutherford, *A History of Modern Psychology in Context*, Hoboken NJ, John Wiley & Sons, 2010, p. 33.

²⁹ M. Reuter, *Physiognomy as Science and Art*, in S. Heinämaa, M. Reuter (edd.), *Psychology and Philosophy. Inquiries into the soul from late Scholasticism to Contemporary Thought*, n.p., Springer, 2009, p. 160.

³⁰ A. Zweig (ed. and trans.), *Kant. Philosophical Correspondence, 1759-99*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1967, p. 14.

³¹ R.T. Gray, *About Face. German Physiognomic Thought from Lavater to Auschwitz*, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 2004, p. 139.

³² A. Gilchrist, *The life of William Blake*, London, John Lane, 1907, p. 313. Emphasis in the original. Gilchrist is referring to the following work: H. Richter, *Day-Light; a recent discovery in the art of painting with hints on the philosophy of the Fine Arts and on that of the human mind, as first dissected by Emanuel Kant*, London, R. Ackermann, 1817.

Knowing the dominant scientific context of the period in which the series of prints «A Picture of Youth; or, The School in an Uproar» was published, we may ask ourselves whether Richter resorted to some of the examples described in physiognomy texts to insinuate something about the character of the thirteen children who appear in the pictures. An analysis of their faces leads us to a number of conclusions.

The first thing we notice is that the dominant facial feature in all thirteen children is the nose, as if the artist wanted to use this specific attribute to portray different personalities, using in some cases the reinforcement of other elements such as their hair, mouth, eyes, chin or their gestures. In the first group of five children (Picture 2), two of them (the one sitting with the teacher's glasses and garments and the one who is behind him, observing the scene) have a perfectly straight, well-shaped «Greek» nose, an indicator of refined character, a love for the arts and manual dexterity. This feature, however, could also indicate sly behaviour and a tendency to act evasively and avoid direct actions. These traits provide us with a fairly accurate description of the child who is observing, whose hand gestures and gaze suggest something of a contemplative attitude – «cautious not to interrupt» is how Richter described him (Picture 6). He is obviously enjoying the scene and can barely contain his laughter, showing no intention of warning his classmate about the damage that the ink is about to do to the schoolmaster's cap and to his own hair. The villain in this work – the boy who is about to empty the ink on his classmate's head – has a different kind of nose, similar to that of the student who is resting his hands on the back of his mate. This type of appendage was given the name «celestial nose» in a satirical treatise and supposedly it indicated a «natural weakness, mean, disagreeable disposition, with petty insolence»³³. In contrast we have the fifth student, whose «Roman» nose was meant to denote a great fortitude of character, energy and power. This power is also expressed in his body language; the open legs and akimbo arms can be seen to intimidate or challenge an audience and are likely derived from the «Renaissance elbow», which has been interpreted as a typical manifestation of masculine power³⁴. As for the two students who are standing and performing some burlesque kind of exam (Picture 6), Richter described them as «irreverent and audacious».

The next scene (Picture 3) shows us a boy riding horseback on a school bench. His nose is a typical example of what we call a «snub nose», which revealed not only a weakness of character but of intelligence, defects that are reinforced by the depiction of his eyes, lost in a vacuous, unfocused look, and by his half-open mouth with its thick lips and long teeth. While some authors conceded that

³³ G. Jabet, *Nasology: or, Hints towards a Classification of Noses*, London, R. Bentley, 1848, p. 19.

³⁴ J. Spicer, *The Renaissance elbow*, in J. Bremmer, H. Roodenburg (edd.), *A Cultural History of Gesture. From Antiquity to the Present Day*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1991, pp. 84-128.

«snub noses denote amiability, humor, drollery, and common sense», this was only true when they were combined with «other good features»³⁵. The pirated copies of this scene added a caption that read «The idle scholar», and one of Richter's humorous touches can be observed in his putting this child in charge of the birch, «the awful rod of authority and instruction», in the author's own words (Picture 6). His irony goes further yet when he uses the boy's suspenders as ad-lib reigns, on which we see as iconotext the phrase pronounced by Admiral Nelson before the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), «England expects every Man to do his Duty». On the floor we see a copy-notebook in which the phrase «Zeno loved Silence» has been copied several times, an allusion to the Greek philosopher Zeno of Elea. Richter made it quite clear that the boy was «little conscious» «of the importance of this truly English obligation» and that he had no interest whatsoever in the opinions of Zeno (Picture 6).

The third scene (Picture 4) depicts two children fighting over an apple which seems about to disappear through a hole in the wooden floor. In the explanatory pamphlet, Richter mentions the «fable of the boys and the apple», a possible reference to the poem by Adelaide O'Keeffe «The Boys and the Apple Tree» (1804), which portrays children who are more interested in stealing apples than in reading. The moral is obvious in the author's drawing: the apple thief, after being struck by its owner, is going to lose not only his booty but also «the marbles, which he may have honestly won» (Picture 6). Two of the three protagonists in this drawing have snub noses and Richter shows the indifference of the «thoughtless rogue» who was lifting the school bench with no concern for the drama taking place before his eyes. In addition to his snub nose, the thief has a «projecting chin» that «denotes harsh strength, and firmness amounting to obstinacy»³⁶. All of the facial features and muscular movements correspond to physiognomical descriptions of a violent passion identified with rage. The child who thwarts the thievery is the only one out of the thirteen who is portrayed with a «Cogitative nose», which «indicates a Cogitative mind, having strong powers of Thought, and given to close and serious Meditation»³⁷.

In the fourth scene (Picture 5) we find four children standing around the door through which the teacher is about to re-enter the classroom. The one Richter calls «the Spy» is trying to warn his classmates of the schoolmaster's arrival. His hand and facial gestures correspond to those classified as expressions of fear³⁸, while his nose as well as that of the other three are of the celestial variety. One of them, however, the improvised painter who is busy drawing a caricature of the teacher on the back of the door, is clearly differentiated from the other twelve students. He has got a Greek nose and longer, wavier hair than any of

³⁵ *How to read the Face: or, Physiognomy explained according to the Philosophy of Lavater*, London, C. Goodman, 1860, p. 12.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁷ Jabet, *Nasology: or, Hints towards a Classification of Noses*, cit., p. 17.

³⁸ Bell, *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting*, cit., p. 142.



Pic. 10. «Three Heads after Raphael» (Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy calculated to extend the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind*, vol. I, London, H.D. Symonds, 1797, p. 102).

his classmates. His figure is strongly reminiscent of the way in which poets and artists are portrayed in treatises on physiognomy and in fact bears an extraordinary likeness to a print from Lavater's book (Picture 10), «an ideal head after Raphael, from the Athenian school»³⁹.

Richter evidently saw in this boy a future painter with whom he could identify, basing his portrayal of the child on the memory of his own past. Richter's son talks about the painter's experience as a student at the Soho Academy. «There we hear of his displaying much talent, not for learning but for making caricatures of his schoolfellows»⁴⁰. This quote would seem to shed a new light on the print: that of its possibly autobiographical nature.

³⁹ Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy calculated to extend the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind*, vol. 1, cit., p. 102.

⁴⁰ J.L. Roget, *A History of the «Old Water-Colour» Society now the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours*, vol. 1, London, Longmans, Green and Co, 1891, p. 384.

4. *Pedagogical Approach: Between Nostalgic Resilience and Hopeful Naturalism*

Timothy Whackumwell, the fictitious character through whom Richter describes his work, begins by providing a context for it: «the scene before us is aptly laid in the interior of an old-fashioned country School» (Picture 6). The brief description evokes a model of school that was already considered a thing of the past, one verging on extinction. The author seems to be anticipating its substitution by a new pedagogical model associated with the big city, the industrial revolution and the monitorial or mutual system of teaching. If we consider the dates in which the original watercolour and the prints of «A Picture of Youth; or, the School in an Uproar» (1809-1822) appeared, we find that they coincide neatly with the expansion in Great Britain of the educational systems advocated by Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster. Consequently, an initial iconological interpretation of these images highlights the contrast between the disorganized, individual model of the rural school and the disciplined mutual system of urban schools, which is best exemplified by the Borough Road School founded by Lancaster in 1798, with its thousand students and 67 monitors⁴¹ (Picture 11). David H. Solkin, who studied not the 1822 portfolio but the second watercolour from 1823, concludes that «the fact that Richter portrays the “uproar” taking place under the ostensible supervision of a boy who has assumed the teacher’s role» suggests that the painter was quite familiar with the monitorial system and was presenting us its counter image: «instead of showing a well-oiled disciplinary machine run by the students themselves, he described a rebellion in the ranks, with a “monitor” in the role of chief mutineer, orchestrating a challenge to structures of government within, but also implicitly beyond, the confines of the classroom»⁴².

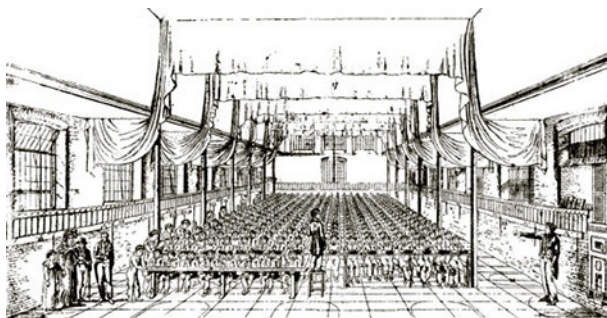
Interesting as it may be, this conclusion has its weak points. In the first place, when Richter painted his original watercolour «A Picture of Youth; or, the School in an Uproar» in 1809, the monitorial system was not yet well known, making it unlikely that Richter would choose a critique of it as his central motive. In fact, the system’s advocates in subsequent years turned out to be individuals who were close to the painter, such as his patron William Chamberlayne and his brother, John Richter. The former, in his 1820 presidential address to the annual meeting of the Royal British Free School – a Lancasterian girls’ school created in Islington in 1817 – «expressed satisfaction that prejudice against general instruction was disappearing»⁴³; while John Richter was a member of

⁴¹ E. Hopkins, *Childhood transformed. Working-class children in nineteenth-century England*, Manchester & New York, Manchester University Press, 1994, p. 134.

⁴² D.H. Solkin, *Painting Out of the Ordinary. Modernity and the Art of Everyday Life in Early Nineteenth-century Britain*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 2008, p. 117.

⁴³ D.R. Fischer, *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons, 1820-1832. IV. Members A-D*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 630.

the committee of the West London Lancasterian Association, founded in 1813 under the motto «Schools for all», and that was enthusiastic enough about the monitorial system to propose extending its use to secondary education⁴⁴. Many radical English groups that sympathized with the same French revolutionary ideas that captured the Richter brothers «were attracted



Pic. 11. *Borough Road School, London, British and Foreign School Society (Joseph Lancaster)*. (P. Monroe (ed.), *A Cyclopaedia of Education*, vol. 4, New York, The MacMillan Company, 1913, n.p.).

by the experimental and mechanical character of Lancaster's educational methods»⁴⁵. The second reason for our scepticism regarding Solkin's theory has to do with the fact that the students who served as monitors in the Lancaster schools felt closer to their teachers than to their classmates, as they had been trained from early on as «apprentices of the scholastic profession»⁴⁶; they were more likely to cut a rebellion short than to provoke one, at least according to one of them, namely, James Bonwick, a student at the Borough Road School (Picture 11) from 1823⁴⁷. And finally, the enthusiasm with which the original watercolour and prints were received was not due to some veiled pedagogical message, but to the work's evocative power and its way of awakening a collective memory in so many former British pupils. This was possible because Henry Richter, a painter who practiced «radical naturalism», who «called for a new art adapted to modern society», and who strove to reach with his works «to the feelings and understandings of the common people»⁴⁸, – recommending to his peers that they include in every painting «all that is connected either in fact or by association with the incident he depicts»⁴⁹, – drew his most faithful recollections from his own school days, recollections that reflected those of several generations of English gentlemen.

Henry Richter began learning his first letters at St. Martin's Library School, also known as St. Martin's Free School. The institution was founded in 1697

⁴⁴ G. Wallas, *The Life of Francis Place (1771-1854)*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1919, p. 98.

⁴⁵ E. Halevy, *A History of the English People in 1815*, Introduction by A. Briggs, London & New York, ARK Paperbacks, 1987, p. 462.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 462.

⁴⁷ J. Burnett, *Destiny Obscure. Autobiographies of Childhood, Education and Family from the 1820s to the 1920s*, London & New York, Routledge, 1982, pp. 171-176.

⁴⁸ A. Hemingway, *Landscape imagery and urban culture in early nineteenth-century Britain*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 102-103.

⁴⁹ Richter, *Day-Light*, cit., p. 33.

– at the same time as the library – in the churchyard of the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields, and served 30 children, who were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar and Latin grammar. Richter, who likely attended the school beginning around 1778, had as his teacher Mr. Pownall, and among his schoolfellows figured his brother John (1769?-1830), the future engraver Abraham Raimbach (1776-1843), and Charles Mathews (1776-1835), one of Georgian theatre's great actors. In his memoirs, Raimbach makes only passing mention of his school days with a few bittersweet comments – «Are not a schoolboy's troubles in due proportion to his power of bearing them?»⁵⁰ – that lead us to suspect a general unhappiness in his time there. Charles Mathews is far more explicit in his telling, affirming openly that Mr. Pownall positively enjoyed meting out physical punishment and striking the children: «I am convinced that my first pompous pedagogue had no gratification equal to the superintending a flagellation. "Let this little gentleman feel the rod!" I have the sound in my ears at this moment»⁵¹. Mathews always took to school a piece of glass, which he used to catch and reflect the sun's rays, confounding his teacher, who would try to ascertain how the sun was coming in through the shades. When Mathews was finally caught, in his own words, «I was horsed, and now *really* flogged – barbarously birched; while Pompey Pownall roared out, with a voice of thunder, this facetious moral, – "That, sir, will teach you, I hope, not to cast reflections on the heads of the school!"»⁵².

Mathews describes two outstanding traits in his teacher: cruelty and pomposity. Thus Mr. Pownall's nickname, Pompey, after the Roman consul famous for ostentation. He also confesses to having developed a special knack for imitating his teacher's voice and gestures and to using this skill to parody him, presumably behind his back. It may be one of these performances that Richter shows us in his print (Picture 2), which he describes with what is a perfect characterization of a pompous person (Picture 6): «one of the boys, who has dared to usurp the seat of his Master, and even to ape the solemnity of his demeanour [Appears] Dressed in his flannel gown and red worsted cap, and settling his spectacles with a ridiculous formality».

At about the age of ten, middle-class Georgian children were typically sent off to boarding school, and such was the case with Henry Richter, who went to Soho Academy. He likely attended the school as a day pupil from 1782 until 1787, when he began his artistic formation. Soho was considered by its contemporaries «the *first* academy in London»⁵³. Nicholas Hans classified it as part of the group

⁵⁰ M.T. Scott Raimbach (ed.), *Memoirs and Recollections of the Late Abraham Raimbach*, Published originally in 1843, Digitally printed version, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 4.

⁵¹ *Memoirs of Charles Mathews*, «The Metropolitan Magazine», vol. 34, n. 93, January 1839, p. 99.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁵³ D. Morrice, *The Art of Teaching or Communicating Instruction, examined, methodized and*

of «multilateral academies»⁵⁴, meaning those London institutions connected with Freemasonry. Indeed, Martin Clare, the school's founder, became Deputy Grand Master in 1741 and in 1747 he published a book on Freemasonry. Clare had opened his first school, focused on training youth for trade and business, in 1717. In 1725 he moved the institution to Number 8, Soho Square, naming it Soho Academy. Between 1744 and 1751 Clare was joined as co-director of the Academy by Cuthbert Barwis, his son-in-law, and together they published *Rules*, a text explaining the broad curriculum offered to students in subjects such as Mathematics, Algebra, Geometry, Astronomy, Geography, French, Drawing, Dancing, Fencing, Grammar (Latin, Greek and English) and Book-keeping, in addition to public lectures on Morality, Religion, and Natural and Experimental Philosophy «for the Explication of which, a large Apparatus of Machines and Instruments [is] provided»⁵⁵. Disciplinary rules were spelled out clearly and ranged from minor offenses, for which fines were gathered by the monitors, to «capital offences», punishable by «whipping». Although the *Rules* expresses a wish «to banish the rod as far as possible», straps and birches seem to have been basic instruments for maintaining discipline at Soho Academy⁵⁶.

Following the death of his father-in-law in 1751, Cuthbert Barwis stayed on as sole headmaster of the academy. Barwis introduced amateur theatricals based on comic works and on Shakespeare, and represented by the children⁵⁷ and inaugurated a Drawing School. Many of the most famous Georgian actors discovered their talent through these performances, and «from the number of artists and painters educated at Soho Academy it seems likely that it had a special “stream” of artistic education preparing for the Royal Academy»⁵⁸. One of these artists, Thomas Rowlandson, also displayed his pictorial skills at the school, which he attended at the end of the 1760s, where «he drew humorous characters of his master and many of his scholars, before he was ten years old»⁵⁹.

But by the 1780s, when Henry Richter enrolled in Soho Academy, artistic studies had gone downhill. The biographers of the famous painter Joseph

facilitated, as well as applied to all the branches of the scholastic education, London, Lackington and others, 1801, n.p.

⁵⁴ N. Hans, *New Trends in Education in the 18th Century*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951, p. 87.

⁵⁵ F.H.W. Sheppard, *Survey of London: Volumes 33 and 34, St Anne Soho*, London, London County Council, 1966, pp. 60-63. In *British History Online*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vols33-4>> (last access: 07.12.2017).

⁵⁶ J.H. Cardwell, H.B. Freeman, G.C. Wilton and others, *Men and Women of Soho. Famous and Infamous*, London, Truslove and Hanson, 1903, pp. 118-121.

⁵⁷ A Correspondant, *Joseph George Holman*, «The Literary Gazette, and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Politics, etc.», n. 52, January 17, 1818, p. 44.

⁵⁸ Hans, *New Trends in Education in the 18th Century*, cit., p. 92.

⁵⁹ J. Grego, *Rowlandson the Caricaturist. A Selection from his Works. With Anecdotal Descriptions of his famous caricatures and a Sketch of his Life, Times and Contemporaries*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1880, vol. 1, p. 52.

Mallord William Turner, who studied at the institution between 1786 or 1787 and 1788, tell of his «drawing flowers and other objects, after the tambour-frame manner, for Heaven knows what indefinite commercial purpose, under a Mr. Palice, a floral drawing-master»⁶⁰. Richter, who was at the Soho Academy only a year or two before, may well have studied under the same drawing teacher – and been subjected to the same lack of interest in the subject – as Turner. The theatrical activity that had given such a reputation to the school was discontinued in 1789, purportedly because the students «devoted more attention to their months of rehearsing than to their lessons; *Lear* would be Soho Academy's last play»⁶¹.

Such changes in the academic orientation of the school were due in good part to the arrival of a new director around 1780; Dr, William Barrow (1754-1836) was, according to most sources, Richter's schoolmaster at Soho Academy. Despite his youth, Barrow championed pedagogical ideas that, for an age of educational enlightenment, were puritanical as well as outmoded. In a work published in 1802, after he had abandoned the teaching profession, he expounded openly on his views regarding education from his years at Soho Academy. While he did not go so far as to «attempt to refute the ingenious theories of Locke; or to expose the delusive paradoxes of Rousseau»⁶², he did point out that «Locke and Rousseau were never school-masters; and no instructor of youth has yet been able to carry their theories into effect and practice»⁶³. His experience as an educator led him to reject all pedagogical doctrine advanced by «reformers» and «innovators» that advocated «excluding the discipline of the rod», for «without the use or the fear of it not a single scholar was ever made»⁶⁴. Students did not understand reason; only fear would motivate them to study. His conclusion, the great lesson he arrives at in the tome's more than five hundred pages, is that «observation and experience have so fully convinced me of the necessity of corporal correction, as the ultimate resource of discipline in a school»⁶⁵.

William Barrow's work was reviewed widely by the literary press of the time and within two years had gone into a second edition. Richter must surely have been curious about the pedagogical opinions of his old schoolmaster, which he would inevitably have approached from a double perspective: his emotional side recalling the direct effects that the teacher's credo had on his adolescent

⁶⁰ Thornbury, *The Life of J.M.W. Turner, R.A., founded on letters and papers furnished by his friends and fellow-academicians*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1897, p. 14.

⁶¹ D. Stewart, *The Boy who would be Shakespeare. A Tale of Forgery and Folly*, Cambridge, Da Capo Press, 2010, n.p.

⁶² W. Barrow, *An Essay on Education; in which are particularly considered the merits and the defects of the discipline and instruction in our Academies*, vol. 1, London, F. & C. Rivington, 2nd ed., 1804, p. XV.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 2^a ed., 1804, p. 262.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 2^a ed., 1804, p. 108.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 1802, p. 154.

body and spirit, while his rational side would surely have grappled with the best way to counter such obsolete doctrines and to escape from the exile that Barrow wished upon «our modern philosophers»⁶⁶, which was precisely what Richter had become. I intend to interpret «A Picture of Youth; or, The School in an Uproar» in the light of this double perspective.

Although Richter presents his image as that of a «village school», what we are really seeing are some of his own school memories, particularly from his time at Soho Academy; we should not forget that the original title with which he exhibited the 1809 watercolour was simply «A Picture of Youth». This title may well have been inspired by a book published the year before called *The Academy or a Picture of Youth*⁶⁷, which, in keeping with the genre of school stories, narrated the adventures of a group of adolescent students at a village boarding school. Given Soho Academy's theatre tradition, it is quite probable that the children would have invented and put on depictions of classroom scenes, a widespread custom among the English middle class during the Georgian era. Richter himself alludes to the theatrical significance of this scene when he refers to «the old boarded stage on which this busy scene is acted» (Picture 6). While the *atrezzo* and the scenery recreate the feeling of a village school, the figures in the drawing are city children, the type of characters that he knew best.

We cannot help but wonder how these urban children would have responded to the reiterated use that their teachers made of the birch. It is at this point that we can envision a dialogue between Barrow's book and the print of his pupil, Henry Richter. Barrow was unable to conceive of learning without suffering; Richter shows us the children's reaction to the humiliation of corporal punishment: violent, furious rebellion. The four drawings put on display some of what Barrows considered boys' «vices» that merited punishment with the rod. The outlet that the boys give to their accumulated rage can be seen in the image of the child horse-whipping an imaginary horse – the school bench (Picture 3). Charles Matthews, who attended a similar type of academy, describes how his classmates achieved «the abolition of flogging» by means of a carefully orchestrated rebellion: when the master was preparing to punish the student, two hundred of his mates came into the lobby where the flogging was to take place, they «hosted the pedagogue, rescued the victim, and scattered the birch into fragments, each one carrying off a twig in token of victory»⁶⁸. Richter uses this same image of the destruction of the teacher's power through the disintegration of his symbol of authority: «the shreds of the birch strew the floor around him» (Picture 6).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 1802, p. 328.

⁶⁷ William Mackenzie (attributed to), *The Academy or A Picture of Youth*, London, J. Harris, Darton & Harvey and W. Berry, 1808.

⁶⁸ *Memoirs of Charles Matthews*, cit., p. 101.

At Soho Academy the monitor was not an instructor, as in the mutual system; he was an inspector, and he helped the teacher maintain discipline. In Barrow's description he was the «captain of the class», implying that only one child could hold this position in each class and that his purpose was to «keep a register of the defaulters and their transgressions»⁶⁹. The monitor was a senior student, one whose studiousness and good behaviour stand out and who, as a reward, «assists the discipline of the master»⁷⁰. Barrow brushed aside objections regarding the difficulty of choosing an appropriate monitor, suggesting that an experienced teacher – such as himself – knew how to pick the ideal candidate, whose behaviour was then guaranteed by the confidence invested in him. Richter responded to this conceit with a subtlety and an irony that must surely have delighted his contemporaries. The class monitor is not the one dressed up in the teacher's clothes but rather the one he calls the «Spy», who stands apart from the others, next to the door (Picture 5). Supposedly in charge of keeping order over the students during the teacher's absence, he ends up following *their* orders instead, and he is stationed by the door as a lookout. The predicament in which he finds himself, being unable to fill either role, can be clearly seen in the fear and desperation on his face.

All of these images appeal to the emotional memory of several generations of Englishmen. But Richter's rational, logical side is also patent in the print. The flying books in Picture 2 symbolize «the Battle of the Books» or the «Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns», between the classical philosophers and the modern or rational philosophers⁷¹. Richter, who helped introduce Kant's ideas to the British, undoubtedly belonged to the latter group. In the first lectures dealing with Kant that Friedrich August Nitsch gave in London between 1794 and 1797, Richter and a friend «sat at his feet and imbibed there their fanatic enthusiasm for Kant»⁷². In 1797 he sent a lengthy letter to *The Monthly Magazine* explaining some of the Kantian principles of causality⁷³. He took active part in the Kantian circle and «what seems clear is that the group was known for its progressive politics»⁷⁴.

I do not know if Richter was familiar with Kant's works on education. The philosopher's Philanthropinum letters were published in Germany 1776 and 1777; his lessons on pedagogy, in 1803. And while these works were not translated into English during Richter's lifetime, he may well have read them in his native tongue. Kant clearly saw in the Philanthropinum, founded by

⁶⁹ W. Barrow, *An Essay on Education*, cit., vol. 1, 2^a ed., 1804, p. 321.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 1802, p. 136.

⁷¹ Pozo Andrés, Braster, *Exploring New Ways of Studying School memories*, cit., p. 24.

⁷² R. Wellek, *Immanuel Kant in England, 1793-1838*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1931, p. 9.

⁷³ G. Micheli, *The early reception of Kant's Thought in England, 1785-1805*, in G. MacDonald Ross, T. McWalter, *Kant and his Influence*, Cornwall, Continuum, 2005, p. 255.

⁷⁴ M. Class, *Coleridge and Kantian Ideas in England, 1796-1817. Coleridge's Responses to German Philosophy*, London, Bloomsbury Academy, 2012, p. 44.



Pic. 12. *Detail of Pic. 3. Models of forks (c. 1700) from the V&A Museum*, in: A. Azzarito, «Past & Present: History of the fork», in <<http://www.designsponge.com/2009/08/past-and-present-history-of-the-fork-collecting-care.html>> (last access: 10.12.2017).

Basedow in 1774 and inspired by Rousseauian naturalism, the perfect plan for education. Richter, in his prints, shows us children learning on their own, and he contrasts the futility of memory and book-based learning with the importance of vital childhood experience. In several of his drawings we can observe a «multitude of little rings, of half-inch radii, scratched on the wall» (Picture 6), as well as on the benches (Picture 12). We can interpret this well-known Masonic symbol to be alluding to the Masonic origins of the Soho Academy or to the Masonic affiliation of Richter's patron, Chamberlayne, who we know to have joined the Cambridge Scientific Lodge No. 106 in 1803. Richter's explanation is rather different: the circles were made by the children, «they are drawn with a common two-legged fork, in the empty intervals before dinner. From such paltry rings, perhaps, first sprang Geometry!» (Picture 6). This seems to have been Richter's way of demonstrating the efficacy of experiential learning as opposed to the abstract geometrical principles found in books.

5. *Social Approach: To read bodies as social texts*

In order to understand a print we must read the bodies that appear in it in the social context in which they were produced. To do so we rely mainly on the categories of clothing and gestures, with the understanding that if an artist wanted to alter the context of his drawing, it would be through the modification of these two elements. Richter defined the social context of «A Picture of Youth; or, The School in an Uproar» by means of the children's clothing, whose considerable variety indicates the mixture of classes that was so typical of village schools. The children gathered around the door and the young painter (Picture 5) are dressed and wear their hair in keeping with the style from around 1790-1800⁷⁵, and are reminiscent of «The Wood Children» (Joseph Wright of Derby, 1789)⁷⁶, «The Master Douglas» by E. Harding, published in 1794⁷⁷, and the children from «The Schoolboys' Collection», painted by William Redmore Bigg in 1800⁷⁸. For the most part they wear skeleton suits, short coats and jacket and breeches. The schoolteacher, on the other hand, sports an antiquated model from about 1780. The child who is gazing at his classmate dressed as a teacher (Picture 2) is wearing a long frock coat that also appears rather *démodé*. All of these children are attired in a decidedly bourgeois style. The contrast in social classes can be seen in 3 and 4, where we find one child in bare feet – with its suggestion of poverty – and another with a smock-frock, a vestment typical of rural workers such as shepherds at the end of the 18th century.

The one figures' clothing does not seem to coincide with any of the typical outfits worn by children in Georgian England. The pupil who is challenging the authority of the make-believe teacher is wearing long striped woollen trousers and a white shirt that is unbuttoned so far as to make him appear almost shirtless. Such garb was common in revolutionary France during the early 1790s, when workers, merchants and artisans proudly dressed this way, earning the moniker *sans-culottes*⁷⁹. This begs the question: what is a French revolutionary doing in an otherwise «old-fashioned country School» in England?

The former schoolmaster of the Soho Academy, William Barrow, dedicated a chapter of his book to describing in apocalyptic terms the nefarious consequences of the French Revolution on British education. To his mind, the Revolution had brought with it a new kind of man, «a Jacobin or a Democratist», who challenged the authority of his parents and his teachers, a man with no moral or religious

⁷⁵ I. Brooke, *English Children's Costume, 1775-1920* (originally published in 1930), New York, Dover Publications, 2003, pp. 14-15.

⁷⁶ M.R. Brown, *Images of Childhood*, in P.S. Fass (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood In History and Society*, vol. 2, New York, MacMillan Reference, 2003, p. 452.

⁷⁷ F. Gordon Roe, *The Georgian Child*, London, Phoenix House, 1961, n.p.

⁷⁸ C. Rose, *Children's Clothes Since 1750*, London, B.T. Batsford Limited, 1989, p. 51.

⁷⁹ A. Soboul, *The sans-culottes: The Popular Movement and Revolutionary Government, 1793-1794*, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1980, pp. 2-3.

principles, one who had no qualms about breaking the law and selling out his country. The only way to impede the expansion of such individuals was through «a wiser system of education [...]. Those who are thoroughly impressed with the tenets of the new philosophy, must in all probability be resigned as hopeless and incorrigible»⁸⁰. Naturally, the most effective remedy for this breakdown of moral and political principles was «to invigorate the discipline of our schools»⁸¹.

Apparently, Richter took this Jacobin character that so irritated his teacher Barrow and put him in the very centre of his print. But the image is far more than a humorous response to an obsolete, outdated text and it goes well beyond being a mere caricature of the ideological tensions that existed towards the end of the 18th century among the English bourgeoisie and middle classes, between those defending a traditional hierarchy and values and those republican radicals – like Richter – who believed in and struggled for, a more egalitarian and democratic society⁸². In the picture's amalgamation of emotional and rational elements we have reason to suspect that the character confronting the official power and authority is Henry James Richter's brother, John Richter, one of the best known Jacobins in Great Britain.

John Richter's political career was closely associated with radical groups active between the French Revolution and the Great Reform Act of 1832⁸³. He was a member of the London Corresponding Society as of 1792 and he joined the Society for Constitutional Information. Both of these groups were heavily influenced by revolutionary ideology; the former was a radical organization that sought to establish universal male suffrage and reform parliamentary principles so as to establish equality at birth⁸⁴; the latter, connected «with later English Jacobinism»⁸⁵, actively promoted Paine's *Rights of Man* and collaborated with other reformist groups. In May of 1794 John Richter was arrested for high treason together with other members of the London Corresponding Society. While in prison, awaiting his trial along with his colleagues in London Tower, his brother Henry James visited and drew portraits of all of the prisoners, portraits that were published in the radical periodical *Register of the Times* and sold and circulated separately (Picture 13). These pictures «show men dignified and steadfast of purpose [...]», like heroes of the Roman republic, transplanted

⁸⁰ Barrow, *An Essay on Education*, cit., vol. 2, 1802, p. 323.

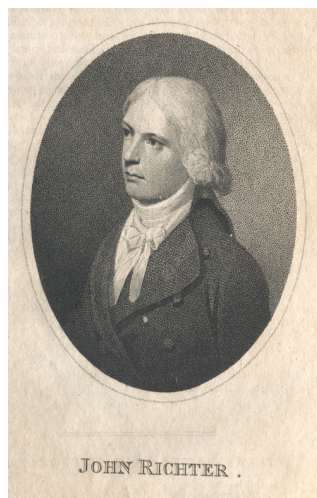
⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁸² A. O'Malley, *The Making of the Modern Child. Children's Literature and Childhood in the Late Eighteenth Century*, New York, Routledge, 2003, pp. 3-4.

⁸³ A. Prochaska, «John Richter», in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/63602>> (last access: 07.12.2017).

⁸⁴ J.B. Hunt, *Understanding the London Corresponding Society: A Balancing Act between Adversaries Thomas Paine and Edmund Burke*, Doctoral Thesis (Supervisor: Dan Gorman), Ontario, University of Waterloo, 2013.

⁸⁵ D.V. Erdman, *Blake. Prophet against Empire*, New York, Dover Publications, 1991 (first published in 1954), p. 36.



Pic. 13. [Richter, Henry]. *John Richter*. B. Crosby, 20 December 1794, in J. Barrell, *Radicalism, Visual Culture and Spectacle in the 1790s*, «Romanticism on the Net», n. 46, 2007, <<http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/016131ar>> (last access: 04.12.2017).

to 18th century London⁸⁶. A comparison of the hair, forehead, eyebrows, nose, lips and chin of John Richter as portrayed in the print from 1794 with those of the brash adolescent (Picture 2), reveals many common traits in both faces; it is easy to imagine the latter being a depiction of the former, albeit some ten years younger.

I have every reason to believe that Henry Richter sympathized with the radical ideas of his brother John and that he applied them to his artistic approach. He is considered to have established a «correlation between naturalism and democracy»⁸⁷, which took the form of a style of painting that was far more realistic than was typical of the era. Most of his colleagues, including such close friends as Williams Blake, tended to portray childhood adhering to the model of «the Romantic Child», «enveloped in a concept of “original innocence” derived from Rousseau»⁸⁸. Reynolds and Gainsborough, along with many others, had created a new image of youth that «revolved around an innocent child body»⁸⁹. This was an idealized, non-existent and, to Richter’s naturalist worldview, unacceptable image.

It is widely acknowledged that in the 18th century bullying was a major problem in English public schools, to the point that some authors go so far as to affirm that «sensitive boys probably suffered less physical and mental torture from their masters than from their bullying fellow-pupils»⁹⁰. In Soho Academy itself a pupil stabbed another to death simply because he had stolen a piece of his cake⁹¹, and although this event took place in 1743, long before Richter was born, the episode may very well have become part of the school imaginary and been known to him. I maintain that none of the children

⁸⁶ J. Barrell, *Radicalism, Visual Culture and Spectacle in the 1790s*, «Romanticism on the Net», n. 46, 2007, <<http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/016131ar>> (last access: 04.12.2017).

⁸⁷ Hemingway, *Landscape imagery and urban culture in early nineteenth-century Britain*, cit., p. 103.

⁸⁸ H. Hendrick, *Constructions and Reconstructions of British Childhood: An Interpretative Survey, 1800 to the Present*, in A. James, A. Prout (edd.), *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*, London, Falmer Press, 1997, p. 37.

⁸⁹ A. Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence. The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1998, p. 23.

⁹⁰ E.N. Williams, *Life in Georgian England*, London, B. T. Batsford, 1962, p. 36.

⁹¹ M.J. Cawthorne, *The Curious Case of the Schoolboy Who was Killed*, Leicester, Troubador Publishing, 2017, pp. 20-22.

in the gravures are innocent, nor is what they are engaged in simple childhood mischief; several of the scenes attest to a latent degree of violence, while the absence of comradeship is glaring.

Sex is another school taboo that is present in the print «A Picture of Youth; or, The School in an Uproar». Michel Foucault maintained that discourse on sexuality was reconfigured during the Enlightenment⁹². «The reshaping includes new codes of propriety for the verbal and visual representation of children in relation to sexuality»⁹³. Sexual expressions were incorporated into other discourses of power, such as that of the teacher over the pupils, for example⁹⁴. In Picture 2 a new power relationship is configured through the two children who defy the authority of the pretend teacher. As we already know, one of them carries with him a political symbolism, but in this scene the second one can be seen holding his tongue between his lips in what seems to be a mocking gesture but in Victorian times had a clear sexual connotation. On the wall behind them is the classic hangman's game; while the origin of this game is dated in the late Victorian period, we see here that it was popular at least from the end of the 18th century. The term that is supposed to be guessed by the students also had an overtly sexual meaning which has since been lost⁹⁵. As a result, the realm of power established in the classroom and whose domain was presided over from the teacher's chair is challenged by three students: one symbolizing the new post-revolutionary political power; another personifying the power of sex in daily life; and a third who represents society's power to overthrow pre-established structural hierarchies.

The print «A Picture of Youth; or, The School in an Uproar» became a caricature in the 1820s and 1830s, and we have no way of knowing if these versions were based on the 1822 portfolio or if they were inspired by Turner's print from 1825. The four drawings that we know – all different and none of them bearing Richter's name – (Picture 14, Picture 15, Picture 16, Picture 17) contain rather significant changes in the way that they represent the original group of boys.

The anonymous artists responsible for these caricatures based on Richter's original ideas not only simplified them but left out all of the symbols from the prints pertaining to the 1822 portfolio. While the title is always the same, «The Village School in an Uproar», only the decor and the landscape seen through the window suggest a rural school, as the children are all dressed alike, wearing

⁹² M. Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité. I. La volonté de savoir*, Paris, Gallimard, 1994, pp. 33-49.

⁹³ A. Müller, *Framing Childhood in Eighteen-Century English Periodicals and Prints, 1689-1789*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2009, p. 52.

⁹⁴ J. Milam, *Sex education and the child: gendering erotic response in eighteenth-century France*, in M.R. Brown (ed.), *Picturing Children. Constructions of childhood between Rousseau and Freud*, London, Routledge, 2017, p. 49.

⁹⁵ Pozo Andrés, Braster, *Exploring New Ways of Studying School Memories*, cit., p. 23.



Pic. 14. (left) «*The Village School in an Uproar*». No author, no printer, no date (1820s) (provided by kind permission of M.M. del Pozo & S. Braster, Private collection, Madrid/Zoetermeer).

Pic. 15. (right) «*The Village School in an Uproar*». No author, London, J. Fairburn, no date (1820s) (provided by kind permission of M.M. del Pozo & S. Braster, Private collection, Madrid/Zoetermeer).



Pic. 16. (left) «*The Village School in an Uproar*». No author, London, John Bysh, no date (1830s) (provided by kind permission of M.M. del Pozo & S. Braster, Private collection, Madrid/Zoetermeer).

Pic. 17. (right) «*The Village School in an Uproar*». No author, no printer, no date (1830s) (provided by kind permission of M.M. del Pozo & S. Braster, Private collection, Madrid/Zoetermeer).

the skeleton suit with short jacket and «cotton shirt with wide frill collar». Such attire can be found in paintings from 1800 and continued to be popular until 1830, although the peak of its popularity was reached sometime around 1818-1820⁹⁶. Just one of the pupils is wearing overalls, reminiscent of the farmers' smock-frock, but this discrepancy does not carry over to his shoes, which are the same as the other students'. All said, the scene does not show a mixture of social classes.

⁹⁶ J. Peacock, *Children's Costume. The Complete Historical Sourcebook*, London, Thames & Hudson, 2009, n.p.

Meanwhile, the more violent scenes from the portfolio are not to be found in these versions; the make-believe teacher is not about to be doused in ink, his chair is just going to be moved; the student who looked confrontational now seems simply amusing; there are no visible sexual references on the wall or on the face of the student as in the original print; in fact, this student has vanished. The fight for the apple has been reduced to a student's sliding along the bench, while the child who was so enjoying pulling apart the birch is now having a grand time riding on the back of the other, more humbly dressed student. The only elements that really bring to mind the original print are those of the ingenious painter and the unexpected arrival of the schoolmaster. Among the versions there are small but significant differences as well; for example, Picture 15 shows a child's knee resting on a book; while the text appearing in each copy is different and unintelligible, this particular one contains a sketch of the «eye of Providence», the panopticon eye, a symbol bearing Masonic connotations.

We may conclude that the more educated and knowledgeable Georgian viewers would have perceived in these caricatures a representation of the political scene, given the custom of satirists to resort to educational settings for airing political commentary and satire. Also in keeping with the time, the different figures depicted would tend to be identified with relevant social personalities or members of parliament.⁹⁷ In this case, the different scenes come together to form an allegory of the struggle by different groups and political figures to control parliament.

The less perceptive viewer, on the other hand, would likely have viewed these scenes with a sense of nostalgia for past times. The image «A Picture of Youth; or, The School in an Uproar» became part of the collective memory of the school in the first half of the 19th century, a school which, notwithstanding the harsh discipline and horrible punishments, was perceived as a place of happiness and carefree play, where several generation of Englishmen spent some of the most cherished moments of their lives.

⁹⁷ Müller, *Framing Childhood in Eighteen-Century English Periodicals and Prints, 1689-1789*, cit., pp. 103-111.

The imagined child: visualising Cowie youngsters, signs of life and learning in images of children from a fishing community of northeast Scotland, ca. 1870

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ABSTRACT: The painting of *Cowie School* is a visualisation of rural children in the humble schoolroom of a small fishing village of Kincardineshire, north-eastern Scotland. Unlike other nineteenth-century Scottish painted images of poor children at school, these imagined children are site-specific “realist” constructions. Thus this essay explores *Cowie School* as a signifier of adult ideas of childhood that can be tied to concrete reality. The question of identifying the children and their teachers is raised, along with the treatment of the individual as collective. “Stories” of the artwork, in terms of local socio-economic history, pedagogy, materialities of learning, Scottish education history and religion (particularly Episcopalianism), are probed. The interpretation of *Cowie School* as a rare paradigm of historical document and propagandic fiction is complemented by analysis of local counterparts, these including a postcard, other paintings, photographs, a sampler, scrapbook prints, and press reports, all of which feature imaginings of the local child.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Village school; Rural youth; Representation; Collective imaginary; Religious education; Scotland; XIXth Century.

Introduction

The painting and postcard of *Cowie School* (1870 and 1878 respectively) [Pic. 1 and Pic. 5], are visualisations of rural children in the humble schoolroom of a small fishing village of Kincardineshire, north-eastern Scotland. They harbour a common lineage with other Scottish painted images of the schooling of rural youngsters created a little earlier, most notably by George Harvey and

Thomas Faed¹. All such works have as their subject and setting numerous poor children active in cottage-like interiors that have been adapted for purposes of education. Yet the representations of childhood schooling in Cowie are place-specific, complementary “realist” constructions, the nuances and rarity of which set them apart from the more generic and playful artifice that underpins Harvey’s and Faed’s interpretations. Through this essay’s deconstruction and contextualisation of the *Cowie School* images we should approach an understanding of conceptions and experience of impoverished youth in the era of the Education Act (Scotland) (1872), this marking the moment of establishment of the Scotch Education Department and thereby the nationwide, state-controlled, systemisation of compulsory elementary learning².

The focus here is on the surviving painting, *Cowie School*, so that it may be taken as paradigmatic. It proposes concrete notions (“imaginings”) of individual and communal being, that while ostensibly about the child are largely adult³. Exploration of its questioning of child-adult categorisation derives from study of its composition and patronage, and, with these, its structure of fosterage. In turn, its “imagined children” are traced to the real youngsters of Cowie fishing village. Thus our understanding of the painting’s vocabulary and meanings is assisted by acquaintance with the historical local reality (or at least contentions of it), this including the material, social and religious order of the community, i.e. its living conditions, feudal structure and Episcopalian faith. The roles played by the local clergy and landowners, in particular Reverend Alexander Penrose Forbes and the Innes family, are seen as pivotal for our reading of this construction of youth and place. Ultimately *Cowie School*, together with the related artworks and albums considered below, is construed as both historical document and propagandic fiction. Besides and through artistic device it hints

¹ See, for example, Harvey’s *Village School* (pre-1825) and *A Schule Skailin* (1846), both in National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, and *Catechising in a Scottish School* (1832), Leicester City Museums Service; and Faed’s *Visit of the Patron and Patroness to the Village School* (1851), Dundee Art Galleries and Museums. Comparative analysis with these works is worthy of separate study. John Morrison has led the way in deconstructing the painted images of nationhood and labour in nineteenth-century Scotland, and in so doing has paid important attention to those of impoverished rural society, the role of the Presbyterian church and the upbringing of children: see John Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1920*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2003, and John Morrison, *Painting Labour in Scotland and Europe, 1850-1900*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2014.

² For an informative survey of the contemporary history of Scottish education, see R.D. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995.

³ Concerning adult formulations of childhood with regard paintings, but without concern for images of schooling, see, for example, G.M. Thomas, *Impressionist Children: childhood, family and modern identity in French art*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2010, and E. Langmuir, *Imagining Childhood*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2006. For more extensive and interdisciplinary surveys of the visual history of adult imagery of children, again without images of schooling, see A. Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1998, and M.R. Brown, *Picturing Children: Constructions of childhood between Rousseau and Freud*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002.



Pic. 1. Robert Weir Allan (?), *Cowie School*, oil on canvas, 76x122 cm, 1870, Private Collection. (Photograph by Carolyn Scott).

at materialities of learning, pedagogy, benefaction and status. Revealing this we may take it as signifier both of the state of education in mid-Victorian Scotland, and of imagined and real, collective and individual, childhood.

1. *Background*

With its affectation of contemporary snapshot *Cowie School* adheres to the so-called “realist” trends in painting of its time. As such it portends to observe village children at their lessons in their actual schoolroom and this means it stands apart from the numerous paintings reproduced and noted in the most comprehensive survey to date of painted Scottish school life: Carlaw and Ogston’s *Children at School: An Illustrated Account of Schooling in the Nineteenth Century*⁴. It does, however, share its constructed rootedness of

⁴ M. Carlaw, D. Ogston, *Children at School. An Illustrated Account of Schooling in the Nineteenth Century*, Kelso, Baillieknowe, 2005. This contains (p. 49) just one image, incorrectly captioned and unattributed, of an actual school: a lithograph of James Cassie’s sketch *Interior of Port Elphinstone School* (1849), Aberdeenshire Museum Service, Mintlaw.

childhood education with a number of painted images, mostly also of the late nineteenth century and from various parts of Europe as previously considered by Rachael Shepherd and the present author⁵. Its imagined and real youngsters also serve to throw light on the ideas and practices for fostering youth's minds, bodies and souls in the absence of other more conventional documentation, such as school rolls or log books. Indeed, as the research for this paper has shown, *Cowie School* and its adjuncts highlight lacunae in that documentation, since the surviving records are missing, not being among the Episcopal papers for the Diocese of Brechin in the archives of Dundee University or the Stonehaven educational records held by Aberdeenshire Archives. Furthermore, no photographs of Cowie school as a working institution are known to have survived and hence we are denied the source that has most attracted historians of education since their concern with the signs of learning began to take its most recent visual turn⁶. Ultimately then, our aim here is to utilise the images of Cowie School as a springboard for socio-historical enquiry rather than a complementary form of historical knowledge. Through interpreting them as document, evidence and fabrication we can articulate a sense of how and for whom they are visual conceptions of period and place. At the same time, we should not consider their testimony as intrinsically reliable or stable. Since they are laden with unfixed meanings and every observer may construe their cultural resonance differently it makes sense to adopt a standpoint akin to that suggested by Peter Burke:

images are neither a reflection of social reality nor a system of signs without relation to social reality, but occupy a variety of positions between these extremes. They testify to the stereotyped yet gradually changing ways in which individuals or groups view the social world, including the world of their imagination⁷.

Cowie School is the title given to a painting that is in a private collection in Scotland. To this is added, in handwriting on the work's frame, a date of 1870. The image is in oil on canvas and measures 76x122 cm. It is unsigned, though the existence, in the same family collection, of the discoloured postcard of a similar, yet distinct, painting (possibly a watercolour) is signed and dated in the

⁵ See J. Howard, R. Shepherd, *Painting Lessons and Students' Associations: School's Out*, «Umění: Journal of the Institute for Art History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic», vol. 53, n. 5, 2005, pp. 482-500, and J. Howard, *Classroom Genres. Aspects, Values and Interpretations of Painted School Interior Scenes*, in S. Braster, I. Grosvenor, M. del Mar del Pozo Andrés (edd.), *The Black Box of Schooling: A Cultural History of the Classroom*, Brussels, Peter Lang, 2011, pp. 59-77, pp. 292-293, pp. 313-317.

⁶ See, for example, I. Grosvenor, M. Lawn, K. Rousmaniere (edd.), *Silences and Images: The Social History of the Classroom*, New York, Peter Lang, 1999, and U. Mietzner, K. Myers, N. Peim (edd.), *Visual History: Images of Education*, Bern, Peter Lang, 2005.

⁷ P. Burke, *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, London, Reaktion Books, 2001, p. 183.

bottom left corner: «Robert W. Allan. 1878»⁸. Both images of *Cowie School* are studies of learning, essentially of children as depicted in its schoolroom, but also, apparently, of a young artist developing his craft, and of the teacher and society concerned in terms of their experimentation with schooling. We can piece together an historical picture of Cowie School's existence from data as diverse as contemporary press notices, local censuses and valuation rolls, the surviving schoolhouse and its location, family albums of the painting's (and village's) owners, photographs featuring village children, records of a nearby village's Episcopalian school, and an understanding of the place of Episcopalian schools in the history of Scottish education. The painting and its postcard alternative underscore, expand and even distort that which, in isolation, these materials contain or convey.

On 20 October 1846 the following announcement was made in the local newspaper, the «Stonehaven Journal»:

St James's Episcopal Church [...]. We understand that a school, in connection with the church, is about to be opened in the village of Cowie; and that Mr Innes, the proprietor, on being made aware of the circumstance, kindly gave a house, with playground attached, to be occupied in part as a school and partly as a dwelling for the teacher. We are happy to say that the teacher selected is well suited for the situation⁹.

This founding of Cowie, as an Episcopalian school, should be seen within its mid-nineteenth century moment of Scottish education. Although the idea of rural parish schooling across Scotland had been advocated by Protestant reformers as early as the 1560s, and thereafter partially implemented, there could be no such thing as an Episcopalian school until the 1840s, when the Church of Scotland lost its educational monopoly and a new state grant system encouraged school denominationalism. The creation of Cowie School by Forbes and his sister was one of the first signs of the new era of state-church collaboration, and of a burgeoning rivalry for the fostering of the real and imagined child between the various churches as well as with the wider public and private sectors. By 1851 thirty-six Episcopalian schools had opened and 2000 children were enrolled. Seven years later Episcopalian schools numbered seventy-four, with over 6000 registered children, this out of a total of almost 1400 church schools and 93,000 church school children in the country. After

⁸ Printed across the centre of the reverse of the postcard are the details of its publisher: «William Murray, Art & Photographer, 74 Broomilaw Street, Glasgow». If Robert Weir Allan (1852-1942) was the artist of the extant *Cowie School* painting and it was created in 1870, he would have been seventeen or eighteen years of age at the time. Glasgow-born, he began exhibiting in 1873 and had a spell studying art in Paris between 1875 and 1880. He settled in London in 1881 and became known as a seascape and harbour scene painter, often working in watercolour and often including figures. An early work, *Doorway and Figures* (1875, Glasgow Museums), of a mother and child in a country courtyard, reveals similar interests and approach to *Cowie School*.

⁹ *St James's Episcopal Church*, «Stonehaven Journal», 20 October 1846, p. 4.

the Education Act (Scotland), in 1874, Episcopalian schools numbered 75, against 1352 Board schools and 607 Church of Scotland schools. As the state took over most public education, so the following years were times of gradual decline for Episcopalian schools¹⁰. Thus, for all its reality, the imagined Cowie child was but a temporary figment, a two-dimensional silhouette, turned head, obscured body, and the creation of an adult mind. To believe in it we need a certain faith.

So what do we know of the actual school? It was built on Cowie links, that is the flat, grassy and sandy ground close to the shoreline facing Stonehaven Bay on the east coast of Scotland, some twenty-four kilometres south of Aberdeen. It was the southernmost house of Cowie fishing village's small cluster of low-lying terraced cottages, Cowie itself being a northern extension, beyond the little river known as Cowie Water, of the harbour town of Stonehaven¹¹. It opened on 2 November 1846 and its first teacher was Miss Ann Greig¹². Its establishment coincided with that of another Episcopalian school together with a library on the High Street of Stonehaven, this being in or neighbouring St James' Episcopal Chapel¹³. The foundation of these modest learning institutions can be attributed to the arrival in Stonehaven in late June 1846 of the future Bishop of Brechin, Alexander Penrose Forbes (1817-1875) and his sister Elizabeth Forbes (1808-1885). It was the former's first appointment as a priest. Almost forty years later, in early 1885, the then incumbent pastor, George Grub, recalled a meeting with Elizabeth Forbes a few weeks earlier:

she spoke to me in Edinburgh of her «Dear Bishop» as she called him [her brother Alexander Penrose Forbes], and the old days when they lived together in Stonehaven. Her face brightened up when she heard of our new school-house in Cowie, and the rising prosperity of the village. She remembered the time when her brother and herself first opened a school for the children there in a little room in one of the cottages. Later on the Church School in the Old Town was built, and Elizabeth Forbes gave £100 for its endowment. In her I have lost the only surviving subscriber to our schools; but no doubt God will raise up others in her place¹⁴.

¹⁰ Concerning these trends and statistics, see, in particular, Anderson, cit., pp. 46-47, 75, 308-309.

¹¹ The building survives as a residence, its interiors much altered, but with cottage features suggestive of those in the painting.

¹² According to the 1851 National Census records, Ann Grieg was then living alone in the schoolhouse and was born about 1822 in Inverbervie (16 kilometres south of Cowie), making her 24 years old when she took up her post.

¹³ Subsequently replaced by a purpose-built school that opened on the High Street in 1851 and was extended in 1897 (now Sea Cadet Hall). On the occasion of the opening of the enlarged school, Reverend William Christie noted that «the school was founded 52 years ago by Bishop Forbes» (in: *St James' Episcopal School. Enlargement of Buildings*, «Stonehaven Journal», 6 January 1898, p. 3). The chapel itself was replaced by the new St James Church on nearby Arbutnott Street in the late 1870s. A third, apparently short-lived, Episcopalian school appeared in Stonehaven in the 1860s, this being known as «Miss Fairweather's».

¹⁴ *Death of Miss Elizabeth Forbes*, «Stonehaven Journal», 15 January 1885, p. 4. The «rising prosperity» of Cowie is unsupported by its then declining fortunes.

Such a history could not have been expected from a letter the young Oxford graduate Reverend Forbes wrote to his father less than three weeks after his Stonehaven incumbency began. For in this he was disconsolate at the prospects for the upbringing of the local youth. Thus, despite his subsequent renown for founding schools for the poor after his appointment as Bishop of Brechin in late 1847, on 17 July 1846 Forbes wrote: «the town contains many who never look near a church, who are worse than heathen and who won't go to school. I really know not what to do about it. There is no use building a school for them, for they won't go; every account I get only distresses me more and more»¹⁵. We do not know what reply he received from his father, the Edinburgh judge and committed Episcopalian Lord Medwyn, but perhaps unsurprisingly given their mutual sense of faith and duty, three and a half months later Forbes, undoubtedly encouraged by his sister, had overcome his initial despondency and overseen the opening of not one but two schools in his Stonehaven parish.

In his address to the Stonehaven Episcopal Church annual meeting, shortly after his notice of the death and contribution of Elizabeth Forbes, Reverend Grub paid tribute to another principal benefactor of the school, remarking also on its acquisition of a new building:

the little historical school room at Cowie had been replaced by a new school room or village hall, which had been handed over for the use of the church through the kindness of Capt. Innes, the proprietor. The previous night he (Mr Grub) happened to be passing through a village not 100 miles from Stonehaven, and seeing a room in the village brilliantly lighted up, he entered, and found a very large evening school, composed not merely of the young people of the village, but of the old people as well, all cheery, all bright, all enjoying themselves, and working with them he found the laird of the village and his lady. If there were more lairds like that one and more tenants like these, they should hear a great deal less of the troubles that were so often given expression to. That village, he need not say, was their own village of Cowie, and the laird was Capt. Innes¹⁶.

Cowie School closed in 1898, in part due to the extension of its sister Episcopal School in Stonehaven the previous year, but also as a result of the 1876 building of a large and modern Public School in the town. Constructed by the new Fetteresso and Rickarton School Board, the latter was an imposing,

¹⁵ Alexander Penrose Forbes, Letter to John Hay Forbes, 17 July 1846, Records of St Paul's Cathedral, Dundee, as cited in W. Perry, *Alexander Penrose Forbes: Bishop Brechin. The Scottish Pusey*, London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1939, p. 33. Similar excerpts from the letter also appear in R. Strong, *Alexander Forbes of Brechin. The First Tractarian Bishop*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 39.

¹⁶ *St James' Church Social Meeting*, «Stonehaven Journal», 19 February 1885, p. 4. The laird at this time was William Disney Innes (1851-1928), he having succeeded to the Cowie estate, upon the death of his father, in late 1883. William Disney was the most active, philanthropic and well-liked of all the Innes lairds. A keen and proficient artist, like his sister Maria (see below), in 1893 he was ordained a deacon and in 1895 a pastor, of the Episcopal Church, this after the death of his wife in 1892. Earlier, i.e. from 1886, as a lay reader, he held services in the new Cowie School. During his lairdship dances, lectures and meetings regularly took place in the school.

two-storey and five-bay Gothic-detailed edifice designed to accommodate four hundred children¹⁷. Just over Cowie Water, on the corner of Ann and Bath Streets in Stonehaven's new town, it was less than a kilometre away from Cowie School. Thus the painting and postcard of Cowie School are records of a small rural institution that, though it survived half a century, was soon to be superseded by centralised and larger-scale projects for children's education.

In November 1846 a second notice about the school appeared in the «Stonehaven Journal». It stated that the fees were «nominal» and that «in these contentious days, when national efforts to educate the masses are so strongly impeded by sectarian prejudices and illiberality, every philanthropist must find matter of gratulation in unobtrusive instances of well-doing such as that under notice»¹⁸. Ann Grieg resigned as teacher in early 1855 and was replaced by Miss Eleanor Riddell. Born locally in 1825 Eleanor Riddell remained the Cowie schoolmistress until the 1890s by which time she had been joined in the teaching by her niece, Eleanor Search¹⁹. This means Miss Riddell is the teacher most identified with the school and that it should be her who is the teacher represented in both painting and postcard. That the teacher in the first appears rather younger than forty-five, as Miss Riddell would have been in 1870, suggests either that she was youthful-looking for her age, and/or a certain artistic licence was at work in her representation, or that the date on the picture frame is a few years' earlier than the actual date of painting.

We will return to Miss Riddell and her appearance as a village matriarch later. First, however, let us introduce the kind of education children in her charge appear to have received. Local author Elizabeth Christie has provided the sole historical account of the learning model at Cowie, noting the following:

The teacher, Miss Riddell, was [...] an Episcopalian and saw that her pupils knew their prayer book and Holy days [...]. [Her] methods were mostly repetition but it was amazing what she managed to instil into the children. She would gather the small ones round her and go over the alphabet while the older ones did some copy-writing or sums. The reading books

¹⁷ In 1881 the entire population of Stonehaven was recorded at the time of the national census as just under 4000, it having increased by almost 1000 since 1841.

¹⁸ *Episcopal School*, «Stonehaven Journal», 17 November 1846, p. 6. Immediately after this notice on the same page it was announced that «the Free Church congregation here has opened a seminary for the various branches of an ordinary and classical education». The average fee per schoolchild was two pence per week.

¹⁹ See E. Christie, *The Empty Shore. The Story of Cowie, Kincardineshire*, Stonehaven, Bruce, 1974, p. 44. Eleanor Riddell died in the schoolhouse on 7 December 1899. Aged seventy-four she had been suffering from Bright's Disease for two years and hemiplegia for a year. She was born in Invercarron, part of Stonehaven, the daughter of Lewis Riddell, a butler and his wife Mary Ann. She never married. The Fetteresso Parish census return for 1891 records her living in the schoolhouse with her twenty-year-old niece Eleanor and that they are then both teachers. Born in July 1870 Eleanor Search (m. Ellis, 1870-1929) is recorded as teaching at the school in January 1887 («Stonehaven Journal», 20 January 1887, p. 4), making her no older than sixteen years of age when she began to assist her aunt at Cowie.



Pic. 2. School House, Cowie, Kincardineshire, Scotland. (Photograph by Jeremy Howard.)

in those days invariably had a spelling list and some questions on the lesson and these were very helpful in a mixed class such as was there. Geography and history were also taught, the former by repetition (and how well it stuck) and the latter by story. Every day opened with the collect for the day followed by a Bible story. Sewing and knitting were also taught and a favourable means of correction was a hard tap on the head with a thimble finger²⁰.

Writing some three-quarters of a century after the school had closed and Eleanor Riddell had died the veracity of Christie's concept of the limited, rote-based, pedagogy of Eleanor Riddell is somewhat questionable. Her style of writing suggests her form of historical knowledge is based on local information yet she does not divulge her sources. Her assertions might, therefore, be part-evidential, part-conjectural and part-memorial. How much she derived from local documents, popular myths of Victorian rural education or interviews with older members of the community, remains to be revealed. The same questions apply to her description of the schoolhouse.

²⁰ Christie, *The Empty Shore*, cit. pp. 43-44.

2. *School Building*

At present we also have to rely on Christie for the only published report of the schoolhouse(s) [Pic. 2]:

The school building was originally made with two rooms and a central door. The walls had panelling half way up and the top half was plastered. One room was the teacher's house and the other was the schoolroom. Later the teacher moved into the house next door and the two rooms were made into one long room, the central door being built up and a small porch being added to the end of the building. The ceiling was attractively raftered, reminiscent of a church²¹.

While Christie's sources for her accounts of Miss Riddell's teaching and the arrangements of the school building are currently unclear they both, to some extent, tally with and depart from the painting and postcard. There are, for instance, no signs of wall panelling or rafters, although the plastered raked ceiling suggests the pitch of the roof and hence that the original schoolroom was in a low, single-storey cottage. Locally, most of these were in the simple "but and ben" style, i.e. of two rooms ("outer" and "inner"), with earth floors, often sprinkled with sand from the shore. The added porch survives at the south-western end of the house and this would suggest that the view in the images is from near this entrance. This being the case the sunlight streaming through the skylight must be from the second half of the day. We do not know the school hours in Cowie, yet they can be estimated from an «Educational Grant Application» completed in 1868 and relating to the slightly larger Episcopal School at Newtonhill, a coastal village nine kilometres to the north of Stonehaven, this stating its hours as 10 am to 1 pm and 2 pm to 4.15 pm²². Assuming similar hours were observed in Cowie, this makes the afternoon sunlight falling on the heads of the children in *Cowie School* a possibility.

In early May 1855 Cowie and the other local Episcopal Schools were subject to an official visit by «the Rev. T[homas] Wilkinson, one of her Majesty's school inspectors»²³. Prizes of books, for attainment in Religious Knowledge, Arithmetic, Geography, Grammar, Writing, Reading, History, Sewing, Knitting, Attendance, Good Conduct, Improvement and Attendance at Church were awarded to the children attending St James' School in Stonehaven. None were reported as being given to Cowie children. The visit coincided with Ann Greig's resignation as teacher and the appointment of Eleanor Riddell. Three annual reports, by the same inspector, produced in 1868, 1869 and 1870 respectively, i.e. just before the painting was created, gave approval to the education Cowie children were receiving at their school, though the phrasing

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

²² George Masson collection, Chapelton, Kincardineshire.

²³ *Stonehaven. Episcopal School*, «Stonehaven Journal», 10 May 1855, p. 3.

was less positive in terms of progress and attainment than that accorded to the other two Stonehaven Episcopalian schools. Couched in extremely general terms they recorded the following about Cowie:

[1868] Miss Riddell's: This small rural school continues to be conducted in a very sensible manner by a sensible teacher. The desultory attendance of the children, whose poor fisher parents call them away from school on the most trivial occasions, keeps the school at a very elementary point of instruction. The teaching the children get is very good and suitable of its kind though entirely elementary²⁴.

[1869] Miss Riddell's. This school presents a neat appearance and is conducted by a very respectable teacher, who discharges her duties in a commendable spirit. The instruction is elementary, but very suitable to the ages and circumstances of the scholars²⁵.

[1870] Cowie. The instruction here seems to be very well imparted and to be most suitable to the wants of the place. Miss Riddell has been long and successfully engaged in this school and her services are very much appreciated by the people²⁶.

3. *Cowie School: The Painting... and Postcard*

What we see in the painting depends on what we are looking for, and we should admit that any historical eye we may have is as compromised as those of our forebears from the painting's period and place, and likely in quite different ways. Since it is a handcrafted, two-dimensional, oil-painted artefact which also conveys pretensions to realism, the tensions between it as an imaginative construct and the historical reality of its location and people may never be surmounted. That said our moves towards some form of rhetorical resolution of its imagined-real dichotomy, are worth commencing with visual analysis of its main formal elements. The artist has assumed a low viewpoint near what can be called the back of the schoolroom and, presumably, the entrance to it, which should, therefore, be behind him or close by to one side out of sight. The adopted viewpoint means that we are presented with the scene as if seated and on a level with the children within it. There are sixteen discernible figures in the room, these including a young-looking teacher and her teenage assistant. Both teacher and assistant are female. None of those depicted look towards the artist (or viewer). As if unaware of his intervention in their routine they are all actively involved in their own school time worlds. The four children on the long low wooden forme (bench) in the foreground have their backs turned to the viewer and, together with the long sloped buird (table) at which they study, act as a screen which has to be traversed by our eyes in order that we take in most of the activities of the background. The diagonal of a second forme, placed

²⁴ *Local Intelligence. Stonehaven*, «Stonehaven Journal», 4 June 1868, p. 4.

²⁵ *School Reports*, «Stonehaven Journal», 17 June 1869, p. 3.

²⁶ *Reports on the Episcopal Schools*, «Stonehaven Journal», 2 June 1870, p. 3.

alongside the right-hand wall and under the window transects the foreground and background spaces, its four youngsters (two boys and two girls) appearing somewhat separate and independent of the others. The terracotta-coloured floor would seem to be earthen. The room has a greyish, fairly low raked ceiling with an openable skylight cut into the rake to the left. Sunlight streams through this window onto the heads of two girls on the far side of the buird and onto the centre of the table itself. This means shadows are cast to the right of the figures and objects as we perceive them. It also means, somewhat unusually, that the boy and girl in the centre of the foreground mainly appear as dark silhouettes²⁷.

Before coming to the children it is worth pausing for a moment to consider the furniture and fittings of the schoolroom, together with their arrangement, since these provide important clues to the educational experience. An overriding quality of the “pre-industrial era” is evident, suggesting the plain wooden furniture to be the product of a local joiner. There would seem to be four wooden formes, all of simple plank construction and without backs. Two are placed either side of the buird and two along the walls. Apparently of slightly differing length and height, they are capable of seating about six children each, with their height and breadth being roughly in accord with norms for school forme dimensions of the early-mid-nineteenth century (i.e. ca. 36-40x22 cm). The buird is a wooden desk, with plank tops, at least one of these being sloped and another flat²⁸. It has a long plank frieze rail and no book ledge. It is raised on square legs whose extended end stretchers also form its feet, akin to a sledge base. While a central leg is visible the leg to the rear left is absent/hidden behind the nearest boy’s figure.

In the far right corner is a large cupboard. Of simple rectangular shape it has two main parts: the lower, painted brown possibly containing a drawer, and the upper, painted green with long central hinged door. The green colour, door and proportions accord with contemporary convention. On the top of the cupboard there would seem to be some rolled up teaching aids, possibly maps or wall charts. In the opposite, far left, corner is a tall teacher’s desk on whose sloped and flat top there are various papers, at least one book and a small wooden box. The book is small and thick with dark brown binding. Its slightly splayed pages suggest use, while its form suggests it could be a Bible or prayer book. Although partially obscured by the figures and objects in front

²⁷ In stressing the artifice of the work we could compare aspects of its composition, not least the view of the nearest central figure from behind, slumped boy to the left and play of chiaroscuro, with, for instance, those of Caravaggio in *The Calling of St Matthew* (1599-1600, San Luigi dei Francesi, Roma).

²⁸ An extant desk of similar kind, with slopes on two sides, dated to late 18th or early 19th century, is from the Old Grammar School at Heptonstall, Yorkshire, this now being Heptonstall Museum. A Scottish buird somewhat akin to that at Cowie appears in David Wilkie’s unfinished *Village School* (ca. 1815-20), this said to have been based, albeit loosely, of the artist’s schooling at Kingskettle, Fife in 1798-99 (see N. Tromans, *David Wilkie. The People’s Painter*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007, pp. 38-39).

of it the desk can be regarded as typical of its period. Probably a little over ninety centimetres in height and with a locker top and lower cupboard, the teacher would either stand at it or be seated near it on a tall chair, this allowing observation around the room. However, its being turned to the wall rather than into the school space prevents it from becoming a barrier between children and teacher. Nearby, along the far wall (from the viewer), comes a large blackboard and then, above the right edge of this, hangs a centrally-placed map that has been rolled up and loosely tied. With its elongated vertical “portrait” format this map is in all likelihood one of either of Scotland or the British Isles. Looking closely at the exposed sliver of unrolled-up map we can make out white empty space (“the sea”, i.e. North Atlantic) surrounded by framing horizontal and vertical lines. In the centre of this sliver, just to the right of the string that ties up the roll, the artist has applied a couple of darker patches of paint. These could well represent a northerly tip of Scotland, since nineteenth century maps of Scotland and the British Isles could have the Orkney Isles in such a position. An oil lamp hangs, currently unused, on a thin wire from the ceiling in front of the map. Rather than being a typical schoolroom suspension lamp it is a simple carrying lamp. The walls are plastered and painted in monochrome cream and buff tones. The left wall has some streaks on it as if there has been water ingress from the skylight above. Besides the map the walls are unadorned, though two, untypical, satchel-bags hang from their shoulder straps on the left. The apparent emptiness and sparsity of the bags (two others have been dropped by the feet of the buird) concords with the plainness of the décor. It also ties in with the “blankness” of the blackboard and slates which the four children in the foreground have. Such *tabula rasa* is significant.

If writing or arithmetic is being learned in Cowie progress would seem to be at an elementary stage. Indeed, there is only one child with writing implement in hand, the boy second from the left in the foreground who works with a slate pencil on a characteristic rectangular, wooden-framed slate. [Pic. 3] Aided by the shaft of light coming from the skylight and forming the main focal point of the picture, this literal conjuring up of his mental effort is watched over with rapt amusement by his two neighbours, as if the artist is making a comment on the value of independent learning activity within the school environment. What this kempt and focused boy is scratching on his slate is unclear – his light greyish-silver lines are hard to identify as letters or signs of sums. Working with his right hand he has produced some abstract lines near the top of his slate and seems to be striking diagonally downwards from a central point at the base of these, almost as if he is producing an imaginary sketch or caricature rather than writing or calculating. Likewise his lap supports a hard-to-distinguish object. For all its lack of definition, it would seem that this roughly curved brownish mass is a natural sea sponge which acts as the school slate cleaner, it being placed on a cloth on the boy’s trousers in order to keep them clean. Is it significant that the scratching of signs, and readiness to erase their traces, takes



Pic. 3. Detail of Robert Weir Allan (?), *Cowie School*, 1870. Oil on canvas, 76x122 cm, Private Collection. (Photograph by Carolyn Scott).

place under the surface of the buird and out of sight of the teacher? It could be an artistic device to emphasise the soundly construed “ordered freedom” of the school. In any case it also draws the viewer’s attention to the form of activity most closely associated (at least in the 1870s) with the creation of visual art, i.e. manual dexterity, combined with concentration and some imagination. The slightly removed boy to the young artist’s left places his hand on his slate but there is no sign of pencil, cleaner, or anything to copy from. Teaching and learning materials, it would seem, are in very short supply. This “outsider” boy is turned away from a pile of neglected papers on the forme behind him and rests his head on his other arm on the table as if “stuck”. Two inkpots are visible yet both look ignored and marginalised, one being pushed to the back of the window sill (where it would have been exposed to the sunlight), the other towards the right end of the buird. The latter contains the only pen visible in the room. Thus, blank paper, exercise books and the implements for their use

appear in short supply. If we read between such lines we might suggest that the artist, while ostensibly celebrating Cowie education is also subtly critiquing it.

Elsewhere there is some display of reading, the most obvious instance being the older girl on the right sharing a book with the boy by her side. Diagonally opposite this group a boy leans against the wall by the teacher's desk and seems to read some papers held in his left hand. There is a closed book on a surface in front of him. To the right of this, the inclined heads of the three girls and a boy seated in a line facing the end wall, suggest that the four could be reading, perhaps from some texts placed on a table hidden from view by the buird in the foreground. Although the youngish teacher holds a small book, apparently with her finger between its pages, it is also closed, as is that with a red cover on the buird. Three open, thin, exercise or text books lie neglected: one on the flat surface of the buird in front of the boy leaning his head on its slope; another, seemingly containing some indecipherable handwritten script and a round inkblot-like mark, at the opposite end under the closed, red-bound book; and the third on the floor at the feet of the boy in the back right corner. This "side-lining" treatment of books is telling apropos the construction of the experience of the children ensconced in Miss Riddell's educational care. Furthermore, given the last boy's isolated position and pose, with right arm behind his head and left hand rubbing his eye, it may be that he is enduring some punishment. His indolence in reading accords with the indolence in writing of the boy diagonally opposite him at the left end of the buird. At the same time the white pages of his book have a counterpart in the white sheet of paper on the floor before the girl in the front right corner. Ignored, the small size of this paper compares to the larger, probably foolscap, dimensions of the overlooked sheets in the middle of the buird. While the central flat surface of the buird is level with the artist's eye, making it hard to discern, its presence is established by the open book, a slate and the inkpot that are distributed along it. The one obviously forward-facing figure in the picture is the small, seemingly standing, fair-haired boy who rests his elbow on this surface. Alone, his downward gaze hints that he is reading. Obscured behind him, to the right, is the fourth seated child of the far row. Finally, another small boy stands facing the teacher in front of the blackboard. The teacher inclines her head towards him and puts her free left hand on his shoulder in a gesture of kind nurture²⁹. In many ways the construction of the childhood learning scene at Cowie appears a visual complement to the surviving contemporary Newtonhill School record that shows, while all attendees were receiving instruction (from a Miss Anne Milne) in «Our Holy Religion» and

²⁹ There are indications in the brushwork behind the teacher that an earlier intention was to have her placed further back towards the corner and away from the children. One may speculate that this may have suggested too much of a division between teaching and taught, and hence that the final version of the painting offers a more mediative interpretation.

«Sacred Music», only a half were being trained in reading and considerably less in writing, arithmetic and grammar³⁰.

Having outlined the complement and arrangement of figures and objects in *Cowie School*, together with the treatment of light and colour, the significance of these in terms of both educational provision and “imagined child” formulation is worth further probing. Key signifiers of this situation in Cowie are the poses, gazes and dress codes of the painting’s actors. If we were to draw lines from the eyes of each figure, as far as they can be determined, only the teacher and boy who she touches, directly gaze at one another. There is no other eye contact. Instead, with one exception (the cropped girl on the far right who stares vacantly or enviously across the room), the eyes of the children look down. This bowing of heads suggests subordination and performance of order. There is discipline here despite the youthful teacher and her assistant only attending to two of the fourteen children. Learning collectively and individually is stressed by the respective grouping and isolation of figures, with there being three groups of two or three figures and about seven children “on their own”. For all the apparent naturalness of these what we are presented with is careful staging. There is a considered mix of poses which hints at the concept of school as a stage for “ordered freedom” as mentioned above. Hence, for instance, the four on the foreground forme, kneel on it, grasp it, cross and curl their legs under it. The bodies all look well-formed and rude health is emphasised by rosy complexions. The mix of red, fair and brown heads of straight and curly hair is complemented by the variety of simple styles in which the girls’ hair is kept, theirs being longer than the boys and braided, tied or loose. Furthermore the children are given distinctive costume. All seem well-attired, with good leather footwear visible. Given the local poverty and the fact that local children were relatively unlikely to possess shoes, unless there were local dress and shoe funds, such smart attire seems unlikely³¹. In fact, their clothes are tidy, sensible and, like their hairstyles, gendered: boys wear long trousers, shirts and a variety of waistcoats and jackets; girls wear long dresses, and in the case of the girl in the centre foreground, a tasselled tartan shawl. Only the boy at front left looks slightly dishevelled and unkempt. The medley of dress is enhanced by its coloration, this varying from blue jacket of the “artist” boy, to red dress of the girl beyond him and green, browns, blacks, pinks, of the others. The teacher looks smart, with her dark brown hair neatly tied up at the back, this offset

³⁰ The completed Educational Grant Application for Newtonhill School (1868) also indicates that half the children studied geography, while twelve of the thirty-four registered girls were instructed in sewing (as opposed to none of the twenty-six boys). It goes on to note that primers were used for reading, arithmetic, geography and history.

³¹ Concerning attitudes to the lower parts of the body, their cladding or otherwise, in modern schooling, and how these may articulate underlying pedagogical and formational concepts, see C. Burke, *Feet, footwork, footwear, and “being alive” in the modern school*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 54, n. 1-2, 2017, DOI: 10.1080/00309230.2017.1358287.

by the white bow of her neck scarf and buttoned green frock. Her assistant also combines practicality with aesthetic consideration, her taupe jacket and long skirt with folds being covered by a yellowish apron, while her neckline is adorned with the only piece of jewellery on show – a necklace of blue stones. The attire of this teenage girl sets her apart from the little girl to her left, the tidy, white-buttoned frock of whom has a hemline just below her knee. As such the two become an imaginative study in dress code for contemporary working class girls, with the respective height of hemline above ankle according with what was then commonly regarded as “proper” for girls in respect of their age [Pic. 4].

Much of what we see in the painting remains similar in the postcard but much also changes [Pic. 5]. Given that the latter is dated 1878, unless the artist was painting from memory and sketches of what he had witnessed some eight years earlier (or that the handwritten date on the frame of the surviving painting is wrong), we are now being presented with different children (and their number has increased to nineteen). Furthermore, for all their mutual compositional craft, there is a higher degree of authenticity to the postcard than the painting. Now, however, the viewpoint has subtly altered, hence while we still have the skylight in raked ceiling to the left, the window and wall to the right are beyond the frame. And while the teacher’s desk and cupboard are still in their respective distant corners, facing the same way, and looking essentially similar, the postcard’s cupboard, is cut off by the picture edge and is of a different construction to that of the painting. The alterations to spatial arrangements and focal point reveal more about artistic device and motivation than changes in educational practice or experience. For now, with the aim, presumably, of sales and wider dissemination, space is opened up, view is uninterrupted, strong light is pervasive and shade is restricted. In the postcard we look more to the left and across an empty space to a group of four children gathered round the teacher. There are two buirds, with single sloped and flat tops, and these are turned towards one another from either side of the room, their converging diagonal lines reinforcing the perspective and leading to a vanishing point behind the teacher’s group. Children (four on the left, five on



Pic. 4. Detail of Robert Weir Allan (?), *Cowie School*, 1870. Oil on canvas, 76x122 cm, Private Collection. (Photograph by Carolyn Scott).



Pic. 5. Robert Weir Allan, *Cowie School*. William Murray postcard photograph of a painting/watercolour, 1878. (Private Collection).

the right) sit on formes in front of the buirds, most of them actively engaged in independent reading. One girl, seated close to the teacher's desk, sews. The girl standing behind her may also be engaged in needlework of some kind. One boy grasps his slate close to his body in meditation. The children seated at the buirds are bent over in their writing or holding open books aloft. Inkpots are close by on both buirds, the wall map is unfurled (if without hints of geography) and the oil lamp is a conventional schoolroom lamp, replete with shade. Four bonnets hang from hooks along the left wall. While their positioning is unusual, their appearance closely resembles that of contemporary knitted bonnets, at least two of them boys', from east coast Scotland. The blackboard has disappeared and in its place there is a blackened cast-iron kettle before an open fireplace. A little in front and to the right of this there is a low "cutty" stool, its three-legged form according with that of Scottish vernacular tradition. Could it be significant that it is empty? After all, in Scots church lore, such a stool was the seat of repentance for those whose innocence had been tainted.

The more open aspect of the postcard creates an illusion of greater space than previously and in reality, as if the painter has employed a photographer's wide-angle lens. While no child's gaze meets that of the viewer, since they are all engrossed in their communal time as before, more faces are visible. As are more



Pic. 6. Joseph Wright of Derby, *A Philosopher lecturing on the Orrery*, ca. 1766. Oil on canvas, 147x203 cm, Derby Museum and Art Gallery. <https://www.europeana.eu/portal/en/record/2063624/UK_280_003.html> last access: 31.10.2017. Creative Commons License: <<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode>>.

feet, not least because at least half of those in the centre of the room (i.e. of four children) wear no shoes. Now the teacher, who appears to have gained weight since the previous painting, crouches down to her group, becomes more a part of it. We are presented with backs and sides of the three foremost children of the group, these replacing the three in the foreground of the supposedly earlier work. The overall effect is at once more domestic, due to the central hearth, and more choral. The latter quality is achieved thanks to both the tiered choir-stall-like alignment of the seating to the sides of the room and the increased sense of picturesque, coordinated ensemble (this being enhanced by the raising of similar books and open faces of three girls on the left). For all the changes this is still Miss Riddell's decorum. And it is not the school playground outside.

4. *Reading, recognising and imagining the Cowie School children*

While the prominent but nevertheless subtle presence of the tartan shawl in the surviving painting emphasises the Scottish identity of the children and their scene, the rolling up of the distant and hardly legible map masks such definition. If the painting and postcard are documents of contemporary history and life they are also artistic contrivances whose genre of narration hints at that of a conversation piece, albeit of a seemingly lowly and solemn kind. For both are objects of group portraiture in which the individuals, with some informality and variety, share in a common activity, in this case of learning. As such they can be regarded as counterparts to Joseph Wright of Derby's highbrow *A Philosopher lecturing on the Orrery* (ca. 1766, Derby Museum and Art Gallery) in which light suggests the spreading of knowledge, understanding and wonder across diverse members of a focused group [Pic. n. 6]. In this case the viewing of the serious scene via an illuminated central model of the solar system and past the silhouetted figure of a rapt young girl, has particular resonance with the early *Cowie School* painting³².

The duality of imagined and real identity is furthered when we investigate who those present may actually be. There are 15 children of both sexes in the painting (8 or 9 boys, 6 or 7 girls) and 19 in postcard (c. 5 boys and c. 11 girls). This compares to 28 recorded on the school roll and in actual attendance when the census of children in education in the parish was undertaken in May 1873, i.e. just after the passing of the Education Act³³. What should one make of such statistics? The children in *Cowie School* appear to be primarily between about six and eleven years old, with the girls in the centre foreground and second from right slightly older. The seniority of these two girls, and in particular that on the right, is emphasised by their listening, observing and sharing modes. Carried out on the night of 2 April 1871 the National Census shows most of the head

³² A case can also be made for interpreting *Cowie School* as a counterpart to Raphael's fresco *School of Athens* (1509-11, Apostolic Palace, Vatican City). That the Raphael was a treatise on the nature and concept of wisdom visualised mainly through the collective portrayal of great ancient Greek philosophers, suggests a subject at the opposite end of the learning and historical spectrum to *Cowie School*. For all this the inclusion in the foreground of Pythagoras and Euclid next to engaged children, and their using of small wooden-framed slates as educational instruments, have suggestions of the learning activity of the foremost trio in *Cowie School*. The similarities between the latter's boy drawing on a slate and Raphael's crouched Pythagoras writing in a book on his knee are unmistakable, while the youthful group next to Euclid are as entranced by his lines on the slate as the children next to the drawing boy in *Cowie School*. Yet Scottish children are not just props for major adult thinking. Instead their status is raised and they are envisaged as building blocks of society. The modest treatment, scale and subject of the painting could tempt some to argue that by comparison with Raphael, the artist of *Cowie School* is lowering art. He or she is certainly making something less lofty, and as such, in turn suggests a relationship with Jan Steen's *A School for Boys and Girls* (1670, National Galleries of Scotland), this being a subversive, ironic reflection on *School of Athens*.

³³ *The Census*, «Stonehaven Journal», 8th May 1873, p. 2.

of households of the Schoolhouse neighbours as «White fishers»³⁴. In Eleanor Riddell's household (recorded as «Schoolhouse», Cowie's No. 32 dwelling), are her sister Mary Search (39 years), niece Isabella Search (2 years), niece Eleanor F. Search (9 months), nephew Edward Wilis (9 years, «scholar») and nephew Lewis Wilis (8 years, «scholar»). Miss Riddell's profession is indicated as «Teacher, Episcopal Mixed School»³⁵. The 1871 Census indicates that Cowie village has 138 residents living in thirty-six small houses. Those in education, «at school or home» number twenty-three, nine of whom are boys, fourteen girls. The ages of these are from five to ten years. Thus the images of the fifteen children in the extant painting can be regarded as “portraits” of local individuals. It is presently impossible to identify who is who, but the children recorded as receiving an education and living in the vicinity of the school, in addition to Miss Riddell's two nephews, were: Ann Brodie (6 years), William and George Adam (8 and 7 years), Susan and William Christie (10 and 5 years), Jessie and Mary Taylor (7 and 5 years), Ann, Susan and Elizabeth Lees (10, 8 and 6 years), Isabella Lees (10 years), Jessie, John and Jane Taylor (9, 7 and 5 years), Elizabeth Masson (6 years), Elizabeth and Robert Masson (8 and 6 years), Jean, Mary and Alexander Masson (9, 7 and 5 years) and James Taylor (6 years). Five of the seven boys aged between eleven and sixteen were already in employment according to the census (three as white fishers, one at the local rope works and one as a cooper). Of the three girls in the same age bracket one is employed (as a domestic servant).

While respective ages of those in the census can be compared to those in the painting in order to estimate identity, here we may simply note that the two, seemingly, older girls could be the fifteen-year-olds not listed as in education or employment in the census (Margaret and Mary Taylor) or one of them could even be the fifteen-year-old daughter of the laird, Maria Innes. Although only two photographs of the latter are currently known, one as an infant and one aged about twelve, both show features (dark hair, straight nose and slightly plump cheeks) akin to the assistant teacher on the right of *Cowie School*³⁶. One can even see echoes of Maria Innes' mother in this girl, her visage being known from a mid-century oil portrait and numerous photographs in the

³⁴ *Census of Scotland 1871*, County of Kincardine, Registration District of Fetteresso, Enumeration District, No. 9, Mr Alexander Cormack, Enumerator, p. 16.

³⁵ In the 1861 Census of Scotland Eleanor Riddell is shown as living alone at the Old Toll House, Cowie. By the time of the 1881 Census only her two nieces are recorded as living with her, these both being described as scholars (then 12 and 10 years respectively). In the 1891 Census the schoolhouse was home just to its two teachers, Eleanor Riddell and Eleanor Search. All three censuses between 1871 and 1891 record the schoolhouse as having two rooms with one or more windows.

³⁶ The photographs are in the scrapbook-photograph album of Ann Katherine Leith Innes (1821-1908), spouse of the Cowie laird Alexander Innes (1812-1883). The creation of this spanned much of the late nineteenth century, i.e. the same period as the school. A second, more professional, photograph album, mainly of sites of interest, but which also includes artwork by her children William Disney and Maria, is in the collection of Historic Environment Scotland, Edinburgh.



Pic. 7. Unknown Artist, *Portrait of Ann Katherine Leith Innes*, ca. 1842. Oil on canvas, 119x94 cm (Private Collection).



Pic. 8. Cowie Villagers, photograph, 1890s. (Private Collection).

family collection. [Pic. 7] That the teenage Maria might be in *Cowie School* should not surprise us. After all, the painting belonged to her family and was hung in their nearest home, Cowie House, following its creation. As indicated by a large portfolio of her father's highly competent watercolours of European and Scottish architectural and landscape views created ca. 1850s-1860s (which also survives in the Innes collection), the contemporary family was inclined to artmaking, and in particular a form of two-dimensional representation based on visual illusionism. Furthermore, Maria herself was an aspiring, competent young artist, as a sketch book, with some loose watercolour and pencil drawings, in the same collection, shows. Her own portfolio comprises numerous studies from nature, local Scottish scenes, plus a range of landscapes, architectural and figure sketches created during her "Grand Tours" of the Low Countries, German, Swiss and Italian lands in the early 1870s³⁷. Irrespective of any speculation about the children in the painting, we can compare the artistic treatment of Miss Riddell with her appearance in an 1890s photograph of the Cowie villagers³⁸. [Pic. 8] Posed on and in front of their fishing boats a little

³⁷ One work, featuring nine pencil drawings of birds, is captioned «Ornithological Examples. Maria Innes. Midsummer Examination. 1872». How much input Maria or her father may have had in the actual creation of the painting remains unclear.

³⁸ This is one of several well-composed photographs of Cowie life from an album of photographs belonging to the Innes family that is reproduced in Christie, *The Empty Shore*, cit. (this being opp. p. 64 and captioned «The Villagers in the 1890's. Miss Riddell, the Teacher, is in Centre Front holding a Child in front of her»).



Pic. 9. Isabella Robina Lees, sampler, wool on linen, 1870 (Private Collection). (Photograph by Carolyn Scott).

over fifty adults and about twenty children are depicted in seven uneven rows with Miss Riddell holding an infant at the centre of the front row. She wears a neck scarf similar to the one in *Cowie School*, while her frontal set and broadish face recall those of the teacher in the postcard. It would seem highly likely that children from the painting and card are amongst those assembled around her, now predominantly being fishermen and their wives, and thereby parents of the next young generation visible in the front rows.

Other material helps us imagine the *Cowie School* children, and their learning, in different ways. A sampler survives with its needlework revealing that it was stitched by Isabella Robina Lees on 29 January 1870 at Cowie Links. [Pic. 9] This identification comprises the woollen needlework of the

bottom two of the sampler's fourteen rows of multi-coloured cross stitch across a squarish piece of bleached linen. Following in the tradition established across Europe from the eighteenth century, besides being a school exercise in sewing, the sampler conveys its young stitcher's learning of the standard Latin alphabet and numbers. Thus the top three rows are two alphabets in capital letters, the fourth from bottom row is an alphabet in miniscule and below that comes the numbers from 1 to 18. The letters are treated very simply, and are a mixture of serif and sans-serif types. The central seven rows are plain capital letter exercises. «W» dominates, followed by «J», «M», «S» and «A». Other than the "signature" in the bottom two rows, words are absent, with the sequences of letters suggestive of "teaching by repetition" pedagogy. Decoration consists of the multi-coloured lines below each row and occasional space-filling diagonal cross-in-square forms.

According to the 1871 Census for Cowie, Isabella Lees, at ten years of age, was the youngest daughter of the white fisher John Lees and his wife Susan. This makes her eight or nine when she stitched the sampler and possibly appeared in the painting. The family lived in what was listed as the nineteenth cottage in the village, it possessing two rooms with one or more windows. Members included Isabella's siblings: older brothers John and Andrew, who at 23 and 17 respectively, were already fishermen, and sisters Elizabeth and Susan (21 and 15), both of whom were domestic servants. By the time of the 1881 Census, the last in which she appears as a Lees, Isabella is also recorded as a domestic servant. Married to Andrew Masson, a fisherman-neighbour, two years later, Isabella can be imagined as a highly representative female citizen of Cowie³⁹. Her assumption of a middle name on her sampler is indicative of what is known locally as a tee-name, this form of distinguishing nickname-style appellation being commonly used in northeast Scotland, where the vast majority (100 percent in Cowie) of folk had just one given name.

If we can imagine Isabella Lees' and her ilk's humble childhood through *Cowie School* and the sampler, our picture of the village child may be further embellished by the reports and photographs of contemporary school feast day celebrations and outings⁴⁰. Akin to the painting, postcard and sampler these also document people, place and practice, yet, and again, if taken in isolation, they are picturesque fabrications of benefit and beneficence, supporting the

³⁹ Buried in the nearby kirkyard of Cowie's ruined «St Mary of the Storms» church, Isabella died on 17 July 1927. She was pre-deceased, in 1914, by her husband whom she had married in St James's Episcopal Church, Stonehaven, on 10 November 1883. The couple had eight children, two of whom died very young. The 1891 Cowie Census records two boys and two girls, one of each already being at Miss Riddell's school. Like all of Cowie fishermen the Massons paid rent (£2 per year according to the local valuation rolls of 1885 and 1895) for their cottage to the Innes family at Cowie House.

⁴⁰ An undated, highly-posed and sunlit photograph of village schoolchildren, female members of the Innes family and servants, in the grounds of Cowie House is reproduced in Christie, *The Empty Shore*, cit., p. 44.

social status quo and divorced from local harsh realities of everyday life, not to mention the bleak material and limited intellectual prospects of the children. Thus, it is recorded that on Holy Innocent's Day (28 December) 1857, the Cowie schoolchildren joined their Stonehaven peers for a morning service led by Reverend John Comper in the old town's Episcopal Church. Their subsequent outing proved typical:

the whole [148 children] formed into line, two deep, and marched to Cowie House, accompanied by Mr and Mrs Comper, and several others interested in their welfare. The amusements then commenced with Mr Innes' magic lantern, which surprised and delighted all. They next went to a loft, from which light was all but excluded, (all being quiet and in good order). Two curtains at the upper end of the room were drawn aside, and, to the great astonishment of every one, a beautiful Christmas Tree appeared in the back ground, well lighted, and evidently got up with superior taste. At this stage of the proceedings a hymn, styled «The Christmas Tree», was sung with grand effect, after which every child got any one thing from the tree that they fancied. Tea and biscuits were next served; after tea a few Christmas Carols were sung, and books given to each. The day's enjoyments ended with three hearty cheers to Mr and Mrs Innes for their kindness, to the other ladies and gentlemen, and to Mr and Mrs Comper. The excellent feast was solely provided by Mr Innes⁴¹.

In this way the local newspaper reassuringly presented its middle- and upper-class readership with a view of the outings as a nobly given form of civic relief. While the celebrations' venues varied, the organised "fun" was always of a similar didactic kind. Hence in December 1868 in Stonehaven Music Hall, the Cowie schoolchildren joined the others from the town's Episcopal Schools in the following entertainment:

A great treat [...] was the exhibition of a magic lantern by Mr Archibald Abernethy, shoemaker [...] the views comprised scenes in Palestine, Italy, Switzerland etc., while others were of a highly amusing character, and were evidently relished by the juveniles [...] hymns, chants [...] the children were liberally treated to cake and fruit⁴².

Reports indicate that the children could be treated to two outings a year, with the Christmas festival event being complemented by a midsummer local excursion. In June 1862 and 1863 this meant a two kilometre walk west to St Kiernan's Well, under the arches of Glenury Viaduct, then recently erected for the Caledonian Railway over Cowie Water. The events of the day were reported as follows:

At the Bridge of Cowie, the procession [of 11 children from St James' School] hailed with three hearty cheers the Scholars from Cowie, who numbered upwards of 30, and who had assembled there accompanied by their teacher, Mrs Innes and Mrs Nevins. On arriving at

⁴¹ *Christmas Feast*, «Stonehaven Journal», 31 December 1857, p. 3.

⁴² *Entertainment to School Children*, «Stonehaven Journal», 31 December 1868, p. 3. A very similar event occurred twelve months later, see «Stonehaven Journal», 5 January 1870, p. 3.

the Well-house, they were all seated within the hall, and a band of active stewards served out to them, after a blessing had been asked by Rev. W. Nevins, a plentiful supply of tea and cake. This over, they all went out for a little and scampered about on the beautiful braes under the railway viaduct which spans this part of the glen [...] As the rain was now beginning to fall rather heavily, the children were all called into the hall, where a number of them were formed into a class (the remainder being seated along with the visitors, round the hall), and sang very sweetly several glees, including the new national song «God bless the Prince of Wales», «The Blue Bells of Scotland», «From Oberon in Fairyland» etc. [...] accompanied by Mr Macdonald, the teacher [of St James’], on the harmonium. A dancing party was next got up, and to the excellent music of some amateurs on the violin and flute, the young folks “tripped the light fantastic toe” for a short time, which was eventually joined in by a few of the old folks present. A quantity of sweetmeats were strewn on the floor, which caused a scramble for the possession of them, and was entered into with great glee by the children [...]. A great source of encouragement to the young people at these meetings is the countenance given to it by ladies and gentlemen, as well as parents and others, and the spirit with which they enter into the pastimes of the children. Amongst those present on this occasion we observed Captain Innes of Cowie and lady [...]⁴³.

5. «*Mercifully look upon this child*»: the Historical and Religious Child Imagined

The rosy Christian, local and national picture painted by our images, as well as the local press, clergy and gentry of life for Cowie schoolchildren, for all its papering over the cracks in their largely destitute existence (and often early deaths), reached new pastures with the exhibition of *Cowie School* in one of Aberdeen city’s most prestigious, central venues: the grand neo-classical Music Hall on Union Street. The occasion was the festival organised to celebrate the centenary of the consecration in Aberdeen of the first American Episcopal bishop, Samuel Seabury. Opened on 7 October 1884, the event was attended by Anglican clergy from all over the English-speaking and British colonial world. A principal feature of the celebrations was the *Loan Exhibition of portraits of Church dignitaries, ecclesiastical curiosities, and antiquarian relics* held under the dome and oculus of the Corinthian-columned Round Room⁴⁴. In a display

⁴³ *Entertainment to School Children*, «Stonehaven Journal», 11 June 1863, p. 3. In 1864 a cholera outbreak in Cowie killed up to thirty of the villagers, i.e. a fifth of the population, including children. In the following years the children were taken further afield and on the train, heading thirteen kilometres south to East Kinmonth farm, near the village of Drumlithie. In August 1881 Miss Riddell also took at least twelve of her wards to the Kincardineshire Exhibition of Industry and Art, held in Stonehaven town hall, a showcase of craft of unparalleled local ambition. See «Stonehaven Journal», 25 August 1881, p. 4.

⁴⁴ For a detailed review, see *The Seabury Centenary*, «Aberdeen Journal», 7 October 1884, p. 2. The occasion was extensively trailed and reported. See, for instance, An Edinburgh Layman, *Seabury Centenary Handbook. A Comprehensive Sketch of the facts relating to, and the results of, the Consecration of Dr Seabury as the First Bishop of the American Church*, Edinburgh, St. Giles,

designed to acquaint the visitor with the material heritage of the Episcopalians in Scotland, the precious church artefacts, manuscripts and portraits were arranged so as to lead the eye towards an image of Seabury. A description of the show reveals a predictable hierarchical order in which the imagined yet real (and likely still living) Cowie child remains at best picturesque and collective, at worst nameless, overlooked and in last place:

a beautiful engraving of Bishop Seabury [...] receives a prominent position on the east side of the hall, and is shown on a ground of crimson cloth, surmounted by a small mitre and two bannerets, representing the national colours of America and this country. The bishop is represented in an easy posture, and wearing his official robes. He has a large and massive head, and while his face indicates a geniality of disposition, the firmly-set mouth and flashing eye denote great force of character. The breadth of the forehead is also an evidence of superior intellectual power. There are also here the bishops who officiated at Seabury's consecration [...] Kilgour [...] Skinner [...] portraits of former Bishops of Aberdeen [...] and an interesting representation of a baptism being administered from a window of Stonehaven gaol during the persecution of the Episcopal Church in 1745. There is also shown a beautiful picture of the interior of the Episcopal School in Cowie⁴⁵.

«Flashing eyes», «firmly-set mouths» and «broad foreheads» cannot be discerned in the «beautiful interior» of *Cowie School*. «Great force of character» and «superior intellectual power» are evidently not imagined here, though there is a place for some «geniality of disposition». Indeed its modest, community genre coincides with that of the historical «persecution» painting exhibited alongside it at Aberdeen, and this complementary earlier work allows us to historically contextualise and conclude our reading of *Cowie School*.

It may be the case that certain children appear in both *Cowie School* and the second last artwork mentioned in the review of the Seabury Centenary exhibition: *Baptism from Stonehaven Jail* (1865). [Pic. 10] For the latter's artist, George Washington Brownlow, had created it during his stay in the Stonehaven area in 1864 and 1865⁴⁶. The scene represents an event from the winter of 1748-49, when three local Episcopalian clergymen were imprisoned for six months in the town's tollbooth. They had been found guilty of sedition on the basis of their conducting illegal services (i.e. where more than five persons were

1884. The engraving of Seabury is likely to have been that of William Sharp, published in London in 1786, after the painting of Thomas Spence Duché.

⁴⁵ *The Seabury Centenary*, «Aberdeen Journal», 7 October 1884, p. 2.

⁴⁶ The painting was commissioned by Charles Binny Skinner, grandson of John Skinner, who, as Bishop of Aberdeen, had been one of the three consecrators of Samuel Seabury in 1784. Skinner was a very wealthy East India Merchant and owner, from 1867, of Chantry Park, Ipswich. It would seem he is depicted as the painting's baptising pastor: see C.A. Milne, *Fisherfolk to Torryfolk. A glimpse at the lives of our ancestors from the fishing villages of Kincardineshire, Scotland*, Aberdeen, C & G, 2000, p. 62. Subsequently donated by one of Skinner's descendants to the Bishop of Brechin and successors, *Baptism* now hangs in St Paul's Cathedral, Dundee. Brownlow (1835-1876) was an Essex-based artist known for genre depictions of the poor, not least mothers, children and fishermen, from various parts of the British Isles.

present) and failing to pray for the monarch. This came in the wake of the 1689 disestablishment, and subsequent repressions, of their church. Having origins in the struggles of Reformation Scotland, and unlike its rival Presbyterian Church (that became the recognised Church of Scotland), the Episcopalians advocated government by bishops and supported the Jacobite cause against Hanoverian oppression, particularly after their 1745 rising. As a result their local chapels were destroyed by British government forces in the aftermath of Jacobite defeat at the Battle of Culloden. During their incarceration the Reverends Alexander Greig, John Petrie and John Troup continued to practice their faith and even conducted divine services, the most significant of which became their baptisms of babies through the barred tollbooth window:



Pic. 10. George Washington Brownlow, *Baptism from Stonehaven Jail*, 1865. Oil on canvas, St Paul's Cathedral, Dundee. (Photograph: by Carolyn Scott).

baptism was considered of so much importance that the fishermen's wives [...] were to be seen trudging along the sea-beach with their creels on their backs, in which were carefully concealed the unconscious bantlings that were to be secretly presented at the baptismal font. After wading [...] the conjoined streams of Carron and Cowie, which could only be done at the reflux of the tide, they had to clamber a considerable distance among rugged rocks before reaching the back stair of the Tollbooth, where they had to watch for a favourable opportunity of approaching the cell of their pastor. After the child was baptised, the mother again carefully depositing it in her creel, returned the same route⁴⁷.

The significance of Brownlow's *Baptism*, as representative of this legendary rite, and its creation of a particularly iconic "imaginary" child, was recognised as early as 1907 by John Archibald:

⁴⁷ R. Duthie, *Memoranda historical, descriptive and antiquarian relating to the eastern portion of Strathmore, more particularly in the neighbourhood of Stonehaven (continued)*, «Stonehaven Journal», 26 December 1867, p. 3. Histories of the local Episcopalian presence, the imprisoning and painting are given in Milne, cit., pp. 43-65. Milne also gives important background on Cowie and its relationship with the Innes family. Shortly after his incumbency at Stonehaven (Craigmacaire in Gaelic) Penrose Forbes published a romantic novella in which the tolbooth baptisms are a prominent feature: see A.P. Forbes, *The Prisoners of Craigmacaire*, London, 1852.

There is a tradition that the hardy denizens of that rocky coast used to take their children to be baptised by their own ministers in the early morning or in the stillness of the night. An interesting picture represents the little one set in a creel or osier basket, well known in Scottish sea-towns, and held up to the window of the prison by the strong arms of the parents. Through the iron bars [...] the priest put forth his hand and baptised the child with water in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. A small congregation stands on the rocky ledge as witnesses of the ceremony, and not far off are seen the foaming waves dashing against the shore. Amid such surroundings, the words of the Church's service would be peculiarly significant: «Mercifully look upon this child; wash him and sanctify him with the Holy Ghost; that he, being delivered from Thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's church; and being steadfast in faith, joyful through hope, and rooted in charity, may so pass the waves of this troublesome world that he may come to the land of everlasting life»⁴⁸.

A valuable, if somewhat ambiguous description of the models for *Baptism* was published in 1954⁴⁹. Most have the surnames Masson, Christie and Lees. Of the fourteen figures engaged in the clandestine ceremony six are children or babies. The barefoot, pensive boy with fishing rod and broad bonnet on the left is «William Masson». The thoughtful little girl in front of him is «Jane Christie». The young woman kissing the baptised baby before replacing it back in the wicker creel, is said to be Elizabeth or Isabella Masson. An Isabella Masson holds aloft, seemingly with her father Robert, another creel with baby for dousing. Behind her a girl, subsequently known as Mrs Lees, wears a tartan headscarf and holds a fruit-bearing toddler in her arms. As with *Cowie School* none of the children can, at least at present, be definitively identified, in this case since, where we do have names, such names, could apply to more than one local child. What we, and the original audiences, can imagine, however, is that they all, irrespective of their poverty and suffering, are being trained up for a life in keeping with the beliefs and values of the Episcopal Church. The image of the hunched, older creel- (and baby-?) carrying woman in the middle distance emphasises such journey. Their expressions are stern and they join together as one, along with the fish in the baskets, as emblems of community. Again sun shines on clean faces and dress, this despite there being a hint of rain and wind in the air. As we look out, from the north quay of Stonehaven harbour and its sixteenth-century seat of “justice”, past the predominantly young figures on the left, our eyes meet the rough North Sea waters in Stonehaven Bay. On the far side of the bay, stretches the little, low-lying village of Cowie, and on the promontory above it we can just discern the ruined Chapel of St Mary of the Storms, it being three centuries older than the tollbooth. This, with its Kirk

⁴⁸ J. Archibald, *A Ten Years' Conflict and Subsequent Persecutions; or, A Struggle for Religious Liberty*, Dumfries, R.G. Mann, 1907, pp. 157-158. The book includes a reproduction of *Baptism* as its frontispiece, along with the following rhyme, this being another evocation of the imagined Episcopalian and Cowie child: «Lord of the baptismal wave, Little ones receive and save; Rescue by Thy Word of power, In the dark and stormy hour».

⁴⁹ See Milne, cit., p. 62.

yard, is the last resting place of many of the *Cowie School* and *Baptism* children (and adults).

6. *Flowers and Rustics: Ann Katherine Innes' Imagined Children*

Belonging to the Innes collection, the two known versions of *Cowie School* clearly have intrinsic connections to the family that, two generations earlier, had gained charge of the local feudal system. We have seen something of the Innes interaction with the village children in terms of upbringing⁵⁰. The large scrapbook-photograph album created by Ann Katherine, the then current laird's wife, with all its signs of Innes cultural orbits of colonial India, Renaissance-legacy Italy and highland Scotland, is endowed with relatively few images of children, either as family members or artworks⁵¹. Yet early on in the album there is a page with nine black and white reproductions, which reveals Mrs Innes' appreciation of imaginary childhood. [Pic. 11] The sheet is dominated by two photographic portraits of Ann Katherine and her spouse, neither in the first flush of youth, she taking central place in a feminised oval form and light ground underneath her husband's masculinised rectangular dark-shrouded visage. Other images include prints of Giorgio Vasari's sixteenth-century portrait of the aged, grey bearded sculptor Benvenuto Cellini, and two images of romantic youth: Frank Stone's *Heart's Misgivings* (ca. 1842) and Frédéric-Henri Schopin's *Paul et Virginie égarés (retrouvés par Domingue)* (ca. 1843). But there are also two photographs of "imagined" children. Both are dominated by forward-facing, "sweet" young girls gazing directly at the viewer, their poses and situation contrasting significantly with those in *Cowie School*. The first is a reproduction of Sir Thomas Lawrence's 1826 painting titled *Miss Murray*, under which is written «Girl with Flowers». [Pic. 12] This work by the President of the Royal Academy, was widely known and copied. The young girl is seen full-length, upright and set in a garden. She holds up her white lace skirt in which she cradles colourful petals. She appears caught in

⁵⁰ At the time of the creation of *Cowie School*, the laird of Cowie, Alexander Innes, was busy as farmer, Deputy Lieutenant of the county, Justice of the Peace, and leader of the new Kincardineshire Artillery Volunteers, for which he had a makeshift Drill Hall constructed near the jetty in Cowie (this, in turn, in 1879, becoming a short-lived zoological station for the study of marine life, headed by the then young biologist Patrick Geddes).

⁵¹ Ann Katherine Innes was born into the large north Aberdeenshire family of General Sir Alexander Leith and his wife Maria. The album includes two, dark group photographs of Cowie fishermen, some of whom we can imagine as having been in *Cowie School*: outside a cottage and carrying creels on the shore. It also contains two children's picture story plates, each illustrated with twelve images. Published ca. 1870 by S.B. Beal, a London picture dealer, and of *Little Red Riding Hood* and *Ali Baba or the Forty Thieves*, these may be imagined as being for Ann Katherine's grandchildren, three of whom were born in the 1870s.



Pic. 11. Detail of page from Ann Katherine Leith Innes' scrapbook-album, ca. 1850s-80s, (Private Collection).

mid-ballonné step. Her dainty ghillie shoes and white stockings are ribboned, as is her bonnet which she wears thrown back on her ringletted hair. Suggestion of a Scottish country dance position might be explained by her origins: Louisa Georgina Murray (1822-1891) was the daughter of General Sir George Murray and Lady Louisa Erskine. The Innes family had close social, military, political and property ties with the Murrays, many photographs of their Perthshire estate, Ochertyre, and Louisa's cousin, the amateur astronomer Sir William Keith Murray, appearing in Ann Katherine's album. Thus this inclusion of the unnamed *Miss Murray*, who, by the time of her pasting into the album was already a widow, was more than a random selection of captured, fleeting innocent youth: it was of a girl, born within months of Ann Katherine, who was probably known to her in adulthood if not before. With her fashionable dress and ringletted hair, Mrs Innes has placed herself next to Louisa towards whom she sombrelly gazes, suggesting both close identification and nostalgic reminiscence of her own childhood. Indeed, with its treatment of nature, dress and pose, her oil portrait, which was probably painted to mark her marriage at the age of twenty in 1842, could almost be taken as the *Girl with Flowers* coming of age.

The other case of imagined childhood on the album's page draws us away from *Miss Murray* towards *Cowie School*. [Pic. 13] Pasted in the top right corner, the children in the picture that Ann Katherine has captioned 'Return from School. Grenier' are next to the photograph of Captain Innes⁵². Due to his

⁵² The artist is almost certainly the French painter François Grenier de Saint-Martin (1793-



Pic. 12. Sir Thomas Lawrence, *Miss Murray*, 1824-26. Oil on canvas, 135.9x108 cm (English Heritage, Kenwood, London).



Pic. 13. Francois Grenier de Saint-Martin, *Return from School*, Paul Émile Chappuis photograph of painting, 1860s. Ann Katherine Leith Innes' scrapbook-album. (Private Collection).

pose and placement, he turns his back on the scene. While *Return from School* focuses on a girl in the foreground and she would appear to be about the same age as Louise, i.e. about five or six, her stare towards us is markedly different. With a tinge of melancholy rather than delight, Grenier's girl has both feet firmly placed on the ground, suggestive more of static existence and sedentary social position. Her shoes lack ties and are for every day, outdoors wear while she wears an apron and carries a page-marked book. The low viewpoint with which we had looked up at *Miss Murray*, momentarily standing on one leg, is raised a little so that we appear more on the girl's level. Her naturally wavy hair is covered by a loose headscarf and she wears a checkered blouse. On the threshold of a closed rustic wooden door into an old stone building, whose render is cracking, the girl pulls on its cord handle to gain entrance. She is accompanied by a sad-looking black and white dog, a stabyhoun-type of mongrel. Bearing a basket with corked

bottle and book in its mouth the dog joins its human partner in having to move past another bottle, on a bench, if they are to enter their home. We can imagine their temporary reluctance as induced by recognition of the awaiting horrors of adult drunkenness. There is both loyalty and resignation in the depiction of this couple, a sense of age and experience altogether different to that of Louise. Their harsh moment is set against a house overgrown with weeds and bushes and thereby suggestive of lowly station rather than elegant aspiration. Behind them in the middle distance two other small girls approach a bush, while in the background a tall woman stands in front of small cottages to the side of village church. The gentle piety of the scene undoubtedly appealed to Ann Katherine, and gluing it into her book she was probably reminded of the Cowie children, whose lives intertwined with hers. Reassured by such sentimental imagining of status quo in moral and social order, which chimes with that of the *Cowie*

1867). The reverse of the image indicates it is a photograph by Paul Émile Chappuis (1816-1887), a London-based French photographer.

School painting on one of her many tall, well-maintained walls, she could retreat from the reality of the impoverishment and lack of opportunity being offered to her husband's fisher folk tenants. As such Mrs Innes and the multiple creators of the imagined child in *Return from School* and *Cowie School* are following Solomon's dictum to «Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old he will not depart from it»⁵³.

Conclusion

Who then is the imagined Cowie child? A figure among the fifteen painted by brush dipped in oil pigment in *Cowie School*? A youngster in the rows of the villager photographs? Someone with the surname Masson, Taylor, Christie, Lees, Adam or Brodie now buried in Cowie Kirk yard? Perhaps Isabella Robina Lees, the creator of the alphabetic sampler? Could it be a model for *Baptism*? Maybe it is a notion of Louisa Murray, Maria and Ann Katherine Innes, separately or rolled into one? Or could it be a concept invented by the Forbes siblings and furthered by William Disney Innes? Ultimately, it, he and she are all of these and more, both a combination and none of them. For the imagined Cowie child cannot be contained, defined, or identified. It may be young, either under eighteen or under twelve, male or female, but it is hardly individual. Primarily collective it is an adult's fantasy of being and (limited) becoming. It is an idea of human belonging and home. It is an artist's, photographer's, property owner's, clergyman's conceit of identity and upbringing. And, of course, it is an (art) historian's exegetic invention of meaning, derived from image as text⁵⁴.

⁵³ Proverbs 22:6, *Holy Bible* (King James Version). A window imagining this aphorism, with eight more imagined children and their divinely-inspired female teacher, created some time after *Cowie School*, adorns St Paul's Cathedral, Dundee, this being Bishop Alexander Penrose Forbes' most important ecclesiastical building.

⁵⁴ Acknowledgments. The author would like to thank the following for their invaluable assistance in the research of this essay: Carolyn Scott, Mike and Jonathan Innes, Bethany Ferguson, George Masson, Dr David Bertie, Rt Revd Dr Nigel Peyton, Enid and Becca Gauldie.

The literary child: childhood and literary iconography between the 19th and 20th Centuries

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this article is to analyse the different methods of representing childhood in some of the most significant illustrated literary texts for educational purposes, published by R. Bemporad & Figlio, a Florentine publishing house whose catalogue is one of the most representative experiences of Italian publishing for children between the end of the 19th century and the '30s of the 20th. The research aims to highlight the changes of the perception of childhood in collective imaginary through the analysis of the iconography in works by the greatest authors of the time, from Pietro Thouar to Ida Baccini, from Carlo Collodi to Térésah. The main areas of research include the representative customs that see several young literary heroes as protagonists and that, over the course of the 20th century, accompany the gradual imposition of a more liberal and modern vision, replacing the rigidly acceptable view, imbued with moral precepts, which characterises the traditions of the 19th century. The methodological framework within which this perspective is developed, is founded on the awareness of the indissoluble relationship that, above all in children's picture books, binds the text with the image, entrusting the illustration with a vital interpretative role. It is therefore not just addressed to the iconographic and stylistic identity of the figures, but especially to the different dynamics that characterise the relationship between narrative content and its translation into iconic text. Through the analysis of illustrations reproduced on the books with different printing techniques, and also catalogues, magazines and advertising brochures, it is finally possible to clear the relevance of these works, which mark the progressive rise of educational literature, not solely for scholastic purposes, and links the names of the best-loved authors with those of well-known artists such as Enrico Mazzanti, Carlo Chiostrì, Attilio Mussino and others.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children's and youth literature; Children's book; Illustration; Childhood; Iconography and educational models; Collective imaginary; Italy; XIXth Century.

1. *The origins*

According with the most recent historical-educational researches, among the studies aimed at reconstructing cultural processes related to childhood, the role played by the history of children's literature is essential. The complexity lies in the interweaving of a wide variety of factors such as educational models and recurring themes: «it would be sufficient here to refer to the infantile imaginary or that of adults on children, and to their evolution over time; but it could even be mentioned the theme of the history of mentality, or the role played by children's literature in the construction of mental patterns, symbolic universes, moral convictions and civic values, designed to model and nourish the universe of individual and collective behaviours»¹. Although debtor of illustrious precursors of the 17th century², the birth of an Italian literature specifically dedicated to childhood is generally located in the first half of the 19th century and it is implicated – in parallel with the first attempts to rationalize sectoral publishing and the first national school policies – in a broad process of diffusion during the post-unitary era. Originally, the circulation of educational and literary models was strictly bound to scholastic purposes, with handbooks and so-called «reading books» and «award books» as favourite tools. Between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, with the development of proper series and editorial projects, we can witness the progressive definition of the «amusing reading», mainly intended for autonomous and extracurricular enjoyment. This process, which is at the origin of the development of the modern Italian publishing, goes with the evolution of themes and models which are originally characterized by the strict precepts of prestigious authors such as Luigi Angiolo Parravicini, who created in *Giannetto*³ the «canon of children's literature»⁴, Cesare Cantù, Giuseppe Taverna, Salvatore Muzzi and Pietro Thouar, and reflects the change of educational thought and perception of childhood in the collective imaginary, toward a more authentic and polysemous conception. As a model to explore the complex development of this process, we choose the experience of R. Bemporad & Figlio, a publishing house founded in Florence in 1889. Its tradition is deeply rooted in the culture and education of pre and post-Unitarian Italy, thanks to the acquisition of the prestigious legacy of the

¹ A. Ascenzi, *La letteratura per l'infanzia come "fonte" per la storia dei processi culturali e formativi*, in F. Bacchetti (ed.), *Percorsi della letteratura per l'infanzia: tra leggere e interpretare*, Bologna, CLUEB, 2013, pp. 29-47, in partic. p. 29.

² We refer to *Novelle morali ad uso de' fanciulli* by Father Francesco Soave (Milano, 1782). A detailed study on the origins of Italian children's literature is offered by Anna Ascenzi and Roberto Sani in *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, vol. 1, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2017.

³ L.A. Parravicini, *Giannetto: opera che ottenne dalla Società fiorentina dell'istruzione elementare il premio promesso all'autore del più bel libro di letteratura morale ad uso de' fanciulli*, Como, da' Tipi di C. Pietro Ostinelli, 1837.

⁴ Ascenzi, Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, cit. p. 77.

Felice Paggi publishing library, a family enterprise founded in 1841, which with the «Biblioteca scolastica» series has created one of the first consistent editorial projects in Italy, designed to «encourage the national unification, politically reached in 1861 but still growing by a linguistic and cultural point of view»⁵. Bemporad's historical legacy offers the possibility to continue the tendencies which characterized the beginnings of Italian educational literature, and it also follows an evolution through a catalogue that, in the passage of the two centuries, expanded, welcoming until 1938 many of the most representative authors of children's literature of that age. The paradigmatic value is confirmed also by the autonomy acquired by the entertaining genre compared to the educational one: if in the early years Bemporad's editorial policy tends to reproduce titles already published by Paggi in the «Biblioteca scolastica», in 1893 the first of many series intended to accommodate only volumes of narrative, fairy tales, tales, poems and rhymes is started, marking the definitive separation between the two sectors. As a result, the relevance given to the quality of illustrations enhances, not only because the aesthetic pleasure of the volumes is an indisputable appeal to the audience of young readers, but also for the high educational function attributed to the image: Paggi's legacy, which linked its hallmark of style to the excellence of a great artist such as Enrico Mazzanti, is a point of reference here as well, having soon guessed the evocative potentials of the image in dialogue with the text, whose message comes disambiguated and amplified by illustration. Following the expansion of the entertaining production for childhood up to the second decade of the 20th century, it is thus possible to observe the evolution of representative modes, styles and iconic customs which, concurrently with the changes of themes and literary models, progressively move away from the descriptive realism of the beginnings to acquire a new imaginative and symbolic value.

2. Themes and models of educational literature in the second half of the 19th century

The educational books of the last decades of the 19th century, which Bemporad reprints largely from the Paggi editions of the «Biblioteca scolastica», are generally structured by coherent and carefully graded themed concepts, where text and image maintain a close relationship, being the second functional to the immediate understanding of the first, without ambiguity. The presence of a literary dimension, even if secondary to the didactic purposes, is often found in the specificity of short stories aimed at the presentation of moral precepts

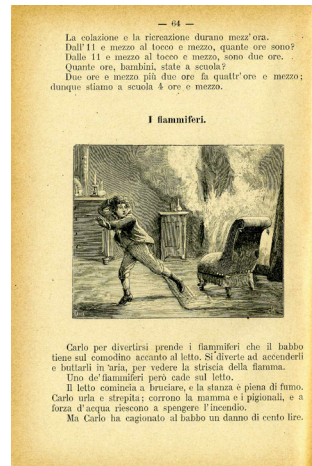
⁵ A. Cecconi, *Prima della Bemporad*, in C.I. Salviati (ed.), *Paggi e Bemporad editori per la scuola*, Firenze, Giunti Editore, 2007, p. 83.



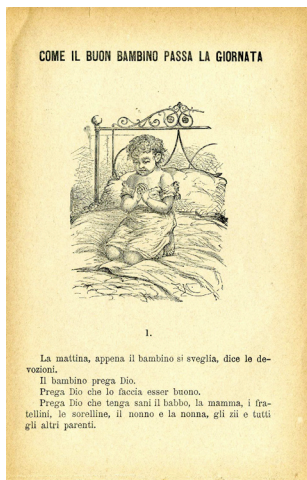
Pic. 1. P. Dazzi, *Il libro per la prima classe elementare maschile*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1896, p. 40, illustration by E. Mazzanti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



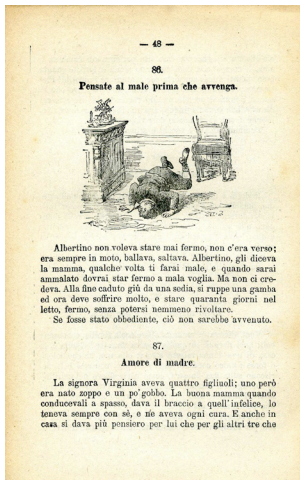
Pic. 2. P. Dazzi, *Il libro per la prima classe elementare maschile*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1896, p. 44, illustration by E. Mazzanti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



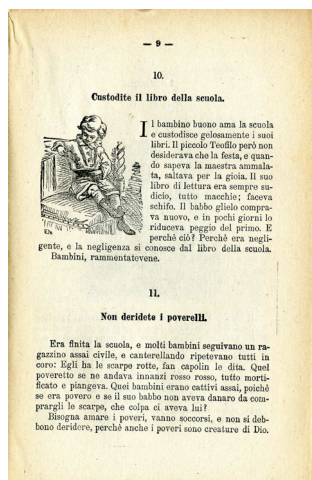
Pic. 3. P. Dazzi, *Il libro per la prima classe elementare maschile*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1896, p. 64, illustration by E. Mazzanti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 4. P. Dazzi, *Il bambino: primo libro di lettura*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1892, p. 5, illustration by E. Mazzanti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 5. A. Pardini, *Racconti per l'infanzia*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1894, p. 48, illustration by E. Mazzanti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 6. A. Pardini, *Racconti per l'infanzia*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1894, p. 9, illustration by E. Mazzanti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).

and examples of correct and incorrect behaviours. An example is a series of reading books edited by the educator Pietro Dazzi since 1871. Among them, *Il libro per la prima classe elementare maschile secondo i nuovi programmi ministeriali* comes to the 6th Bemporad edition in 1896. Illustrated by Enrico Mazzanti, the volume introduces exercises of calligraphy and syllabication followed by educational texts, alternating short stories which always have a child as protagonist, showed in attitudes and actions to be imitated or avoided. Among the examples of virtue, we have little Adolfo, who in the holiday days accompanies the blind grandfather on a stroll, since «Even being children, good things can be done» [Pic. 1], and Luigi, who offers a piece of his bread to a hungry dog, because «good kids, when they go alone, do well as when they are accompanied». Among the behaviours to be avoided, Giovannino's carelessness is distinguished, because «By miracle he did not die, but remained crippled» [Pic. 2] after being hit by a carriage for having uncarefully crossed the road, while Carlo causes a fire playing with the matches [Pic. 3]. Another Dazzi's school book, *Il bambino: primo libro di lettura*, published by Bemporad in 1892 in 17th edition with engravings by Mazzanti, shows how the literary dimension often acquires a greater role in the progression of classes and the consequent growth of the pupils skills, approaching in fact many texts which, born specifically for school, before the birth and spread of books of «amusing reading» and the origin of an independent children's literature, are also considered as autonomous enjoyment. Through a series of precepts showing which conduct a good child should have – to pray, to respect parents, to love school, not to lie, to help the less fortunate, too keep clean, not to envy [Pic. 4] – the author invites the readers to identify themselves into the young protagonists of the short stories. Among these, the unfortunate vicissitudes due to vices are especially important: in *La gola* Agostino steals some of his sister's candies that the teacher has preventively filled with bitter absinthe to show him the consequences of greed: in the conclusion the child understand that «the teacher had made this joke for his good, and that if he had not corrected himself, no one would have ever dealt with him»; in *La curiosità* Beppino is humiliated by his father before some guests for having spied on their conversation, and from that moment «he'd never committed again one of these failings»; in *La vanità* Giustino, diligent but too proud for his school success, is undermined by the modest and gentle Angiolo for the class leadership and becomes sick with anger because «envy puts shadow on us, and makes us not to understand anything». Taken from Paggi's catalogue and reprinted by Bemporad in 1894, Angiolo Pardini's volume *Raccontini per l'infanzia* is composed only by short stories. The educational models are the same, and also the figurative strategies are consistent with previous cases in emphasizing the content of the text often through extension and sometimes for contrast: in *Pensate al male prima che avvenga*, for example, Albertino is shown as he falls from a chair because he is too excited and disobedient [Pic. 5], while in *Custodite il libro della scuola*

the child, immersed himself in reading, is meant to represent a correct model in opposition to the negligence of little Teofilo, who does not take care of his school book [Pic. 6].

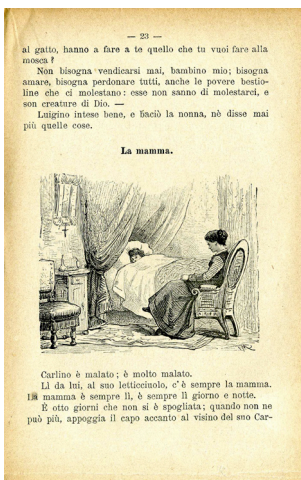
As already mentioned, these themes are by now deeply rooted in that age production for children and are debtors of a long tradition which does not only affect the content, and sometimes gives life to true iconographic habits. Among the many examples offered by the educational literature of Pietro Thouar, whose stories «open minds, enrich with useful knowledge, educate hearts, stimulate souls, awake conscience, excite noble and generous feelings»⁶, a particularly significant example is the illustrated book *Il fanciullo buono e il fanciullo cattivo*, that Paggi published in first Florentine edition in 1870, with figures of Odoardo Borrani. The book consists of 16 short stories inspired by proverbs and concerning the right or wrong behaviour of the brothers Carlino and Pompeo, «one good, one evil», whose declared intent is not just to present «new, extraordinary things, embellished with rhetorical ornaments to entertain you or to thrill you with pain or wonder», but also «to take some lessons from that experience of living that is never too much to keep in mind»⁷. One of the most investigated themes, which will be widely present in the following literature, is linked to the various manifestations of maternal love: sacred, righteous, capable of unconditional protection and harsh punishments as well, if necessary, for the proper growth of children. Among the most popular themes, it emerges the mother's assistance to the sick son, whose purpose is to emphasize the essence of such a figure in the child's life, the consequent moral duty of respect and obedience and, as in the case of the little Pompeo who pays with indigestion to have eaten too much, to warn of dangerous behaviours for health and safety. The illustration presents a simple and immediate compositional scheme, with the mother sitting at the bedside of her son, in a dignified pain [Pic. 7]. This scheme is reshaped or resumed and modified in many books, as it is well shown by some illustrations from Dazzi's *Il bambino* [Pic. 8] or from Francesco Pera's *Affetti e virtù, letture per le famiglie e le scuole*, published for the first time in 1864 by Giacomo Agnelli and reprinted in 4th edition by Bemporad in 1895 [Pic. 9]. Another widespread theme is the help and respect for the unfortunates, which here is shown in different narrative and figurative models: while in Dazzi's *Libro per la prima classe elementare* Adolfo helps his blind grandfather, in other volumes the subject is interpreted in different perspectives, which sometimes have dramatic implications: *Il bambino* is about Pierino, a lame but happy boy who is not envious to watch the games of his mates, and warns that «the unfortunates should not be left», but it also shows the results of the hesitation of Gigino, who by shyness does not warn a poor

⁶ *Libri per Strenne. Anno 1894-95*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1894, p. 12.

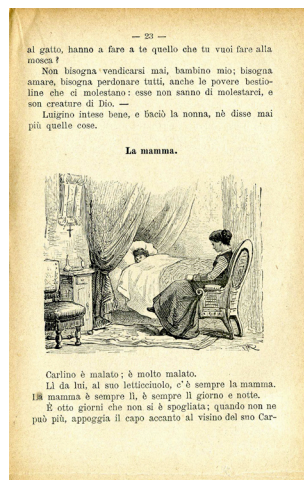
⁷ P. Thouar, *Il fanciullo buono e il fanciullo cattivo: racconto di Pietro Thouar. Prima edizione fiorentina approvata dal Consiglio scolastico*, Firenze, Felice Paggi Libraio Editore, 1870, p. 6.



Pic. 7. P. Thouar, *Il fanciullo buono e il fanciullo cattivo*, Firenze, Felice Paggi Libraio Editore, 1870, p. 23, illustration by O. Borrani (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 8. P. Dazzi, *Il bambino: primo libro di lettura*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1892, p. 23, illustration by E. Mazzanti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 9. F. Pera, *Affetti e virtù*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1895, p. 16, illustration by G. Magni (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).

blind of the presence of a pit on the pavement, while in *Affetti e virtù* Giuseppe Magni illustrates the most annoying consequence of poverty, by depicting a dying mother surrounded by desperate children in the tale *Fanciulli, amate i poverini* [Pic. 10].

In the preface of *Il fanciullo buono e il fanciullo cattivo*, Thouar himself clarifies the general concept underlying the figurative strategies and the relation between text and image in this era's illustrations: «The narrative will be short as the drawings say more than words, and because you have to make your imagination accustomed to colour them with lively but natural colours. Read, look, reflect, learn if you need it; and be healthy»⁸. The role of images is therefore essential, not only because their content must faithfully recall the text, increasing its educational effect through a more immediate understanding, but also for the imaginative and imitation potential, having an active role in the interiorisation of the proposed models. That clearly emerges by the already analysed illustrations, which reveal the presence of models responding to common criteria even through the different artist's styles. The relationship between text and image always follows parameters of close spatial contiguity, where the illustration accurately reproduces or resumes and summarizes the most significant meaning of the related content; in the same way the naturalistic

⁸ *Ibid.*



Pic. 10. F. Pera, *Affetti e virtù*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1895, p. 304, illustration by G. Magni (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).

style clearly describes every detail, emphasising attitudes, expressions and gestures without ambiguity and through a close point of view translating actions, events and situations.

3. *Boys and girls*

The same structure and the same strategies can be found in the specifically intended for girls' educational literature; not so for the transmitted educational models which, generally shaped by the already seen typical themes, differ on some subjects characterizing the genre. Pietro Dazzi's educational book, *Il primo libro della bambina*, reprinted by Bemporad from Paggi's catalogue in 1892 in 20th edition, offers the opportunity to observe and compare these differences, thanks to the strict parallelism with *Il bambino*, to whom is a structurally equal version, but addressed to girls. The already known precepts regarding prayer, respect and obedience for parents, sincerity, good conduct at school and hygiene, are accompanied by examples of virtuous girls who help their mothers in daily occupations – *La bambina amorosa* [Pic. 11] – and there is a growing insistence on some themes such as charity and help for the underprivileged: «the little girl who has a rich breakfast gives some to the little girl who has



Pic. 11. P. Dazzi, *Il primo libro della bambina*, Firenze, Felice Paggi Libraio Editore, 1887, p. 19, illustration by E. Mazzanti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 12. P. Dazzi, *Il primo libro della bambina*, Firenze, Felice Paggi Libraio Editore, 1887, p. 26, illustration by E. Mazzanti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 13. P. Dazzi, *Il primo libro della bambina*, Firenze, Felice Paggi Libraio Editore, 1887, p. 32, illustration by E. Mazzanti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).

just bread», or another one, who «is seven years old, but she is already a little lady», and does not hesitate to give a poor old woman all her savings and a pair of socks requiring a month of work [Pic. 12]. At the same time, the consequences of bad behaviours rarely concern, as for the boys, real dangers or illnesses, regarding indeed elements which seem to be, in a way, more related to female characteristics and inclinations: in *La bambina sbadata*, for example, the careless Silvietta is not run over by a carriage as happen to Giovannino, but she ruins her best dress for ignoring the ban to remove it from the closet [Pic. 13]. A typical theme of stories for girls – never present in the volumes for boys – is the ability in housework, and in sewing and embroidery: in *Le due sorelle* Emilia and Giovannina embroider small handiworks as a gift to their father, but while the first, obedient and skilled, «never raised her head from the frame», the second «did not embroider, or embroidered badly, and the teacher always had to undo what she made»; so that, Giovannina will never give the gift to her father. Pietro Dazzi's *Il secondo libro della bambina*, reprinted by Bemporad in 1889, offers the opportunity to identify another issue which is completely absent in the literature dedicated to boys, and is emblematic of a vision that attributes to female instruction an important but not essential role, always subordinate to other duties: in *Sapienza e modestia* Dazzi refers to the mathematician and benefactress Maria Gaetana Agnesi as an example of virtue, underlining her high intellectual qualities, but pointing out that «This prodigious woman at the age of nine knew Italian, French, Latin. She spoke Latin so well to astonish

even the learned men. But what a woman has to do with Latin? Why let her study it? Well, do not judge too quickly. Certainly, women do not have to study Latin; but the Agnesi had learned it without studying and just hearing it from her brother's teacher»⁹. This subject is indissolubly tied to the importance of home care in Ida Baccini's *La fanciulla massaia*, «a real female etiquette coated by a romance plot»¹⁰, which concentrates and summarizes many collective imaginary typical themes about the female role, and is therefore evidence of the prevailing educational models transmitted to girls. Marietta, the fifteen years old protagonist, takes the role of her sick mother when she is sent to Nice to treat a serious illness. The description given in the first chapter outlines the ideal portrait of a kind, unpretentious, modest girl that every reader should have as example:

Let's have a look; her black tibet dress is sewn with elegant simplicity and just touches the ground: it seems that this little lady does not like very long dresses, and she is right: there is nothing more discomfoting to see a dress, the end of which is powders of dust or mud. Even our girl's hat is very simple; a kind of black velvet hammock from which they descend, somewhat curled, two thick golden braids. And what about her face? We even said she was beautiful; and let's imagine, not as beautiful as it would be described by some novels hack writers. Here there is not to admire the usual alabaster forehead, coral lips, pearl teeth and big eyes. She is a healthy and fresh young girl of fifteen, well made, sturdy, from whose features comes the goodness of the soul. That's all. She has not a poetic name, one of the usual names that you, little girls, are pleased to adopt in your stories, so sure to give your teacher a very flattering idea of your taste [...] she has the name a quite common but still so sweet of Maria, or as they all say, Marietta; and I assure you that this does not affect the gentleness and modesty of our girl¹¹.

Marietta is not a heroine, she is an educational model to aspire and so is outlined: the description of the character relies indeed more to her behaviour than her psychological aspect, and aims to define unambiguously, sometimes didactically, a feminine archetype aware of role and duties, which rejects fashions and frivolities and reveals in goodness the greater beauty. For that matter, the emblematic image of her nature is a Mazzanti's engraving on the frontispiece, which represents Marietta – with the usual insistence on the meaningful details – sitting while sewing, in an ordered room with not showy but pleasing furniture, soberly dressed, straight, composed, intense and peaceful

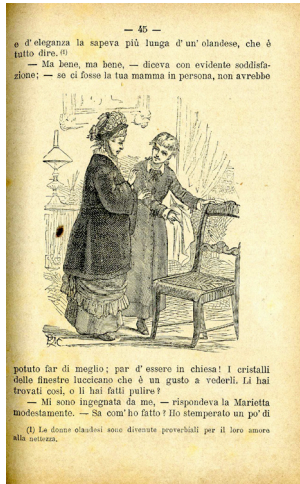
⁹ P. Dazzi, *Il secondo libro della bambina composto dal prof. Pietro Dazzi. Approvato dal Consiglio Scolastico Provinciale. Settima edizione*, Firenze, Felice Paggi Libraio Editore, 1882, p. 132.

¹⁰ L. Cantatore, *Né dottoresse né ignorantelle. Analisi pedagogica dei due testi "maggiori": il «Pulcino» (1875) e «La fanciulla massaia» (1880)*, in F. Cambi (ed.), *Ida Baccini cento anni dopo*, Roma, Editoriale Anicia, 2013, p. 114.

¹¹ I. Baccini, *La fanciulla massaia: libro di lettura per le scuole elementari femminili superiori. Approvato dal Consiglio Scolastico e adottato dal Ministero per le scuole italiane dell'estero. Ottava edizione aumentata e corretta*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1892, p. 12.



Pic. 14. I. Baccini, *La fanciulla massaja*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1892, frontispiece, illustration by E. Mazzanti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 15. I. Baccini, *La fanciulla massaja*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1892, p. 46, illustration by E. Mazzanti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 16. I. Baccini, *La fanciulla massaja*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1892, p. 54, illustration by E. Mazzanti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).

[Pic. 14]. Moreover, to take care of the house and the brothers «as another little mum» and to preserve the domestic economy, she deliberately leaves the school: «I'm almost sixteen: I'll set aside the books, I'll take care of the house and I'll be a good, vigilant, housekeeper». And exactly as a good and vigilant housekeeper she appears in the illustrations, large and closely related to the text, where domestic settings prevail, together with references to daughterly love, to kindness [Pic. 15], to work [Pic. 16]. The book is perfectly aligned to the taste and educational tendencies of the age, and is a success for public and critics; after the first edition by Paggi in 1880, *La fanciulla massaja* is still in the 1892-93 Bemporad's catalogue, with a review from the newspaper «La Nazione»: «The *Fanciulla massaja* is a girl worthy of being recommended to family mothers. Mrs Baccini has succeeded well in her work, because from the true issues of everyday life she has gently created a delightful and eminently instructive book»¹².

¹² *Libri per Strenne. Anno 1892-93*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1892, p. 8.

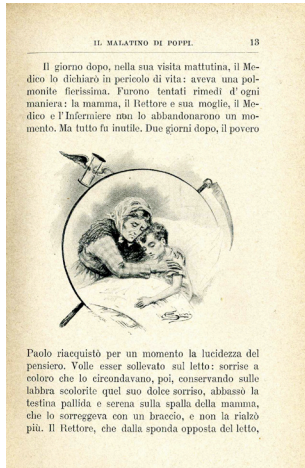
4. Persistence of models between the 19th and 20th centuries

In 1893 all the volumes «for reading», «for reading and for award», «for schools and families» which in the «Biblioteca scolastica» accompanied handbooks of exclusive teaching purpose, converge in the new «Collezione azzurra», definitively named «Biblioteca azzurra» in 1900 and interrupted in 1914 after more than 80 titles. This is the first Bemporad's project whose grammatical intent is to propose texts «of amusing reading for children», aimed at «educate by entertaining» through the interest and variety of subjects, the accuracy of the language, the care of printing and binding, the richness of illustrations¹³. And if on the one hand the new publishing project confirms the importance traditionally assigned to the image, on the other hand it further emphasizes the role of the iconography also to a delightful, evocative and aesthetic purpose. If at the beginning the titles of the «Biblioteca scolastica» are still dominant, over time the collection is enriched with new and unpublished contributions which, however, and at least until the late 20th century, shows a general persistence of themes and models typical of the previous tradition, while the reviews on catalogues and back covers insist on the concepts of clarity of the description, realism and variety of the events, the ability to marvel, move and awaken consciousness as strategies to convey properly the precepts. Compared to the already analysed scholastic and mixed volumes, and precisely because of their autonomous literary identity, the «Biblioteca azzurra» editions give a central role to the narrative dimension, with stories whose educational purpose emerges from complex plots which do not isolate, as before, the single themes, but combine them into a wider framework, through situations and characters with strongly representative features. The same trend is in the strategies adopted for the illustrations, which acquire a new aesthetic and artistic aspect, thanks to a wider variety of points of view, a new dynamism, a higher scenes' complexity.

One of the first volumes of the collection is Ida Falorsi Sestini's *Il cuore dei ragazzi*. Published in 1902 with illustrations by Corrado Sarri, is defined not only «full of colours, feelings, love» but also «educational and effective [...] concerning heroism and the most noble traits of Italian and foreign children»¹⁴. An example of persistence and spread of the mother love's theme is offered by the tale *Il malatino di Poppi*: model of virtue and consciousness, little Paolo keeps on helping his elderly and weak mother despite he has been injured in an accident while he was working. Then, he contracts a serious lung disease that must be operated. In the hospital everyone admires the goodness and the courage of Paolo, including his doctor, who offers to adopt the boy and free

¹³ Allegato al «Giornale della libreria». Per premiazioni scolastiche, per letture in casa, per biblioteche scolastiche. Collezione azzurra Bemporad, «Giornale della libreria», n. 16, 1902.

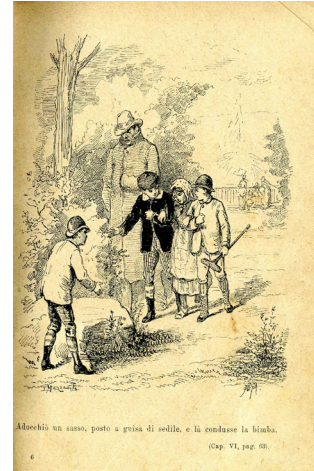
¹⁴ Catalogo della ditta R. Bemporad & Figlio cessionari della Libreria Editrice Felice Paggi. Opere di propria edizione. 1899-1900, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1899, p. 52.



Pic. 17. I. Falorsi Sestini, *Il cuore dei ragazzi*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1902, p. 13, illustration by C. Sarrì (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 18. I. Falorsi Sestini, *Prime pagine della vita*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1894, p. 59, illustration by A. Scarselli (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 19. E. Perodi, *Cuo-ricino ben fatto*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1891, p. 81, illustration by E. Mazzanti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).

him from his extreme poverty. The mother reluctantly accepts, but the child is so worried about leaving her alone that he suddenly worsens and dies in her arms [Pic. 17]. In many other examples, we can see loving children looking after their sick mum, taking in some cases extra works to provide to the family needs. In Ida Falorsi Sestini's tale *Sui tetti* – published in *Prime pagine della vita*, a book printed in 1894 and illustrated by Adolfo Scarselli – Enrico lives alone with his weak mother. They are so poor that he needs to work for a little money and to wake up at dawn to study; the sacrifice, however, does not weigh on him because his only thought is the mother's healing. The story also shows another typical theme of the time: to be generous with the less fortunate. Enrico's neighbour and classmate Sandro, son of a wealthy family, a little overbearing and not so disposed to study but kind-hearted, is in fact moved with compassion and decides to provide periodically a basket full of food on the window sill of the poor family, never showing himself up. Only at the end Enrico finds the origin of the «basket of Providence» and the two become best friends [Pic. 18]. As previously, also in that children's literature which marks the transition between the 19th and 20th centuries, the subject is widespread and almost always focused on two alternating situations: on the one hand, as just mentioned, the help by middle-class children to the poor ones of the same age, on the other hand the support offered to those who have physical disabilities and diseases. The help and friendship of the bourgeois brothers Mario, Baldo and Enrico towards «the little lame» Maria, granddaughter of the elderly and



Pic. 20. I. Falorsi Sestini, *Prime pagine della vita*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1894, p. 90, illustration by A. Scarselli (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 21. I. Falorsi Sestini, *Il cuore dei ragazzi*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1902, p. 70, illustration by C. Sarri (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 22. D. Coleschi, *Racconti per le giovinette*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1901, p. 64, illustration by C. Sarri (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).

needy Nunzia, build the plot of *Cuoricino ben fatto*, a novel by Emma Perodi, «well written [...] inspired by noble sentiments» and «moving the children's love for good»¹⁵, appeared in second edition in 1891 and illustrated by Enrico Mazzanti. Through various events, the three boys and their parents ensure at the end the operation to Maria who, healed, is welcomed and educated in their home [Pic. 19]. The story allows us to observe how often the theme of aid to the less fortunate is associated with the duty of those who belong to subordinate classes to accept their condition and maintain their place, showing modest and sincere gratitude to the benefactors, whose rank of superiority must be recognized and never envied. In the novel, the question of the superiority of the three boys, compared to the unfortunate little one, emerges several times; it is in fact thanks to their intervention that Maria is taken away from a life of suffering, poverty and abandonment, and when the three prepare themselves to teach her the first rudiments of a never received instruction, they turn to her with words in which an unveiled paternalism is perceived: «This necessary food is missing to your mind, Maria, and we have thought to procure it to you: Enrico will teach you to distinguish those signs man has invented to communicate his thoughts to others, that is, he will teach you to read; Baldo will teach you the science of numbers and you will learn how much is twenty chestnuts plus five; I... I will carry you

¹⁵ *Libri per Strenne. Anno 1894-95*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1894, p. 6.

into the sphere of poetry!»¹⁶. The theme is showed more explicitly in *Vinto!*, a tale from the collection *Prime pagine della vita*. Corrado, who lives in poverty, is very envious of his schoolmate Giannino, a virtuous child, good, loved by everyone, diligent and from a very wealthy family. Giannino suffers a lot this aversion and when Corrado gets sick, he suddenly helps him visiting every day his nearly blind grandfather, who now lives together with his grandson the few moments of happiness [Pic. 20]. Because of this good deed, Corrado deplors himself and understands what a grave mistake he has committed envying the superiority of rank and the wealth of his schoolmate who, given these high moral qualities, actually deserves every privilege: «He felt that every Giannino's natural gift, wealth, intelligence, beauty, was blurred by the simple goodness of his heart; he felt that Giannino was worthy of having all the goods he enjoyed and no one better than him could have enjoyed them»¹⁷.

Other stories offer the opportunity to consider, in the literature of the early 20th century, the persistence of traditional educational models also through certain gender specific attitudes. As already seen, one of the most recurring theme is the one concerning the little girl as a housekeeper and a sort of second mother who cares her brothers with the same devotion and love of an adult. In *Il cuore dei ragazzi* we find various examples: the lovely protection that Maria receives from her sister Bitia in *Invece della mamma* [Pic. 21], the brave Jane, «already a little lady at the age of ten», who defends her brother from a puma in *Contro una belva*, Annie's extreme sacrifice, as she dies hit by a train for saving little Ugo in *La morte di un'eroina*. Other significant variations of the theme are in the collection *Racconti per le giovanette* by Domenica Coleschi, published in 1901 and illustrated by Corrado Sarri. In *La conquista di Maddalena*, the young protagonist – who «was gracefully devoted to domestic affairs, trying to keep the little brothers quiet [...] and, not even noticing it, she was the providence of the house»¹⁸ – manages to reconcile the family with her maternal grandfather; in *Nasce un fratellino* Marianna finds the lost happiness after her father's second marriage thanks to the birth of Giovannino, «little king of the house who already commands the sister who would serve him down on her knees»¹⁹ [Pic. 22]; in *Gli angioli del focolare*, Maria accepts with joy to keep her sick grandmother company, while the «young housekeeper» Speranza takes care gladly of her little brothers during the absence of the parents.

Even on the boys' side it is possible to identify some recurring subjects. Among these, it's very common the one concerning the defence of mates teased or insulted by other children as a demonstration of courage, sense of justice

¹⁶ E. Perodi, *Cuoricino ben fatto: libro di lettura per le scuole e le famiglie. Seconda edizione*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1891, p. 165.

¹⁷ I. Falorsi Sestini, *Prime pagine della vita. Racconti con ventitré illustrazioni di Adolfo Scarselli*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1894, p. 112.

¹⁸ D. Coleschi, *Racconti per le giovanette*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1901, p. 6.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

and good heart. One example is Pin, protagonist of the novel *Un piccolo eroe* by Lino Ferriani, published in 1906 and illustrated by Giuseppe Anichini; Pin hurts slightly himself to defend the disabled Carlo from an attack of insults and snowballs. While he is aware that «boys [...] unfortunately, sometimes are ferocious», Pin does not hesitate to help the friend, according to the good education he has received: «mum had taught him that it was not right to mock like that a poor devil, who was really a bit silly, often ill and even crippled»²⁰ [Pic. 23]. Another recurrent admonishment for the boys warns against the bad companies and the bad habits, and the risk to go to prison is the most adopted fear to play on in order to keep them away from illicit temptations. A further episode of *Un piccolo eroe* emblematically exemplifies the persuasion and dissuasion's methods about the danger of any illegal act: Pin observes the violent capture of an eleven years old thief, «pale, dirty, ragged, barefoot», by two guards; ignoring the actions of the boy, he comes to free him from the violent grip of the two, who arrest Pin as well and force him to spend the night in prison. The story ends with the full rehabilitation of the protagonist, who remains however deeply shaken for the terrible reality he witnessed:

They were poor abandoned children who spent all day in the streets without anyone caring about them. Everyone had become thief for hunger, for bad examples, for the excitement of evil companions. They smoked, drank liqueurs, spoke dirty. Our Pin remained as stunned at hearing such stories, to see those suffering faces, and he felt in his heart an infinite pity for those poor wretches driven to evil and condemned to prefer a prison to their homes. Did these children have a home? A mother like him? Some relatives who took them off the road? He tried to make them some questions about their studies, but soon he realized they were almost illiterate, and only two knew a little about reading and writing²¹.

The abandonment, therefore, the absence of family and education, the exposure to bad example are the most common causes of perdition, vice and ruin. And the young delinquents are so desperate to not consider the prison as a terrible place, but a shelter and livelihood impossible to find elsewhere.

5. *The birth of a new childhood model: from Pinocchio to the bad boy*

From 1875 Paggi obtains the collaboration of Carlo Lorenzini, known to everyone as C. Collodi, who in 1883 publishes *Le avventure di Pinocchio: storia di un burattino*. The first figurative translation of the *Avventure* is entrusted to the Enrico Mazzanti's lively trait, replaced, in 1901, by the Carlo

²⁰ L. Ferriani, *Un piccolo eroe: romanzo per fanciulli con illustrazioni a colori di G. Anichini e numerose fotoincisioni*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1906, p. 51.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

Chiostrì's renewed version for Bemporad editions, while in 1911 Attilio Mussino renovates the puppet's image in a large format with modernist four-colour illustrations in every page [Pic. 24]. With a still continuing extraordinary editorial fortune, the innovative purpose of Collodi is decisive, especially because it lies at the origin of that «narrative revolution» of Italian children's literature which «in the '70s of the 19th century and in the first two decades of the 20th [...] spreads a new image of the child»²². Through Pinocchio's adventures, in which reality and imagery, irreverent humour and bride description of vices and human weaknesses live together, the author reshapes many of the typical childhood's themes in an entirely new interpretation, which presupposes a shift of point of view from the adults' perception of reality to the children's one. The protagonist's lead towards the hoped conclusion, which will finally show him as a true boy, is in fact riddled with deviations that often result in painful consequences – hunger, loneliness, abandonment, danger – but also allow him to live the effects of this or that conduct. Pinocchio's training path is thus shaped as a journey of autonomous knowledge of the world, an itinerary through many absurd situations together with hyperbolic and paradoxical characters, which are definitely far from a normative and dogmatic conception of education. In the story, the rejection of this traditional approach is shown in an emblematic passage, representing the moment when, during a quarrel, Pinocchio's schoolmates launch their books in the sea: on the covers, the titles «*Sillabari*, *Grammatiche* [...], Thouar's *Racconti*, Baccini's *Pulcino*» become a symbol, indigestible even to fishes – that «after having caught a few pages or some frontispieces, immediately rejected them with a little grimace»²³ – of an education based on expectations and views of adults and perceived as outdated.

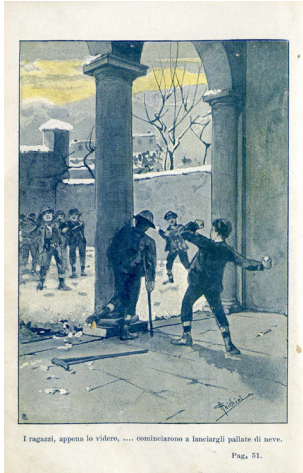
In a sense, and we saw it, also the Thouar's boys were very true; but the Collodi's ones do not resemble them at all. We rather say that these collodian types are much closer to the objective truth or reality, and therefore want to represent the boys «as they are», with at once their virtues and their defects, out of the classic models of the «good child» and «bad boy». [...] Defects appear more numerous and frequent: gluttony, fear, untruthfulness, vainglory, laziness, poor concern for cleanliness, pride, a bit of violence, malignancy, and even cruelty. By the melting of all these elements comes out a new way of seeing the boy «as he is», comes out the brat type, who is loved not only because, after all, he has a good heart, but also because he is carefree, cheerful, different from moment to moment²⁴.

In most cases, however, the undoubtedly innovative potential of children's literature in this part of the 19th century does not seem to distance so much itself

²² F. Cambi, *Letteratura per l'infanzia: testualità e critica*, in Bacchetti (ed.), *Percorsi della letteratura per l'infanzia: tra leggere e interpretare*, cit., p. 9.

²³ C. Collodi, *Le avventure di Pinocchio. Storia di un burattino. Illustrata da E. Mazzanti*, Firenze, Felice Paggi Libraio Editore, 1883, pp. 138-139. The title *Pulcino* refers to Ida Baccini's *Memorie di un pulcino*, published by Paggi in 1875.

²⁴ G. Fanciulli, E. Monaci Guidotti, *La letteratura per l'infanzia*, Torino, Società editrice internazionale, 1926, pp. 234-235.



Pic. 23. L. Ferriani, *Un piccolo eroe*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1906, p. 50, illustration by G. Anichini (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 24. Illustration by A. Mussino for *Le avventure di Pinocchio: storia di un burattino*, 1911 (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 25. A. Cioci, *Lucignolo, l'amico di Pinocchio*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1896, p. 137, illustration by C. Chiostrri (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).

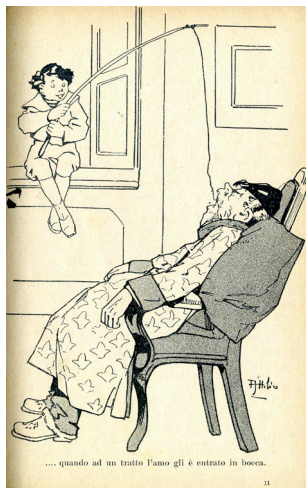
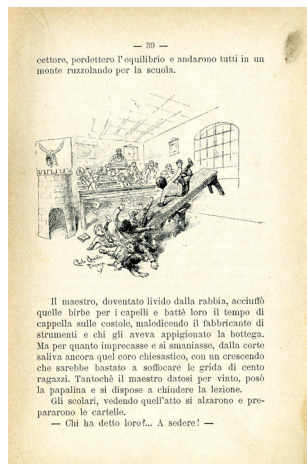
from the principles which had founded the previous educational tradition, whose essential validity is not explicitly called into question, but changes focus on a new perception of childhood in the collective imaginary and on how to transmit the models themselves. Observing the production immediately after *Pinocchio*, it is in fact evident that, on the one hand, the affirmation of the «brat type» in literature actually carries a more authentic, realistic and spontaneous idea of the infantile nature, while on the other hand, the varied sample of mischiefs – which brings new liveliness to the genre – is nearly always set in a range of experiences leading towards understanding and final redemption. In this sense, among the dozens of titles published by Bemporad at the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th to ride the Collodi's successful wave, those collected in the trilogy of Alberto Cioci – *Lucignolo, l'amico di Pinocchio* (1896), *Moccolo, l'amico di Lucignolo* (1897) and *Fioretto, l'amico di Lucignolo e di Moccolo* (1898), all illustrated by Carlo Chiostrri – are emblematic. As the author writes: «Here is the third brat of the group, you already know the other two. If their actions have enjoyed you and your education has been improved reading *Lucignolo* and *Moccolo*, concede a chance to *Fioretto*, who will tell you a thing or two and give you some useful lessons for your life»²⁵, the intent of the three stories is predominantly educational, even if transposed into funny situations.

²⁵ A. Cioci, *Fioretto, l'amico di Lucignolo e di Moccolo: libro per i ragazzi con molte incisioni di C. Chiostrri*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1898, note for the readers.

The narrative scheme is always the same and sees the little brats tending to jokes and mischiefs, passing through various vicissitudes and finally growing up and becoming good. One of the favoured set where the boys misbehave is the school, and the victims are often the teachers, grotesquely blinded by anger, but in the same way they exasperate all the adults they run into, through every kind of damage and disaster at home as well as in the workplaces where they are systematically fired [Pic. 25]. Among the three, Lucignolo is the only character taken from *Le avventure di Pinocchio*; transformed into a donkey in Collodi's tale, at the beginning of Cioci's volume he comes back to be a child thanks to the «Pinocchio's Fairy», which he promises to behave well. Once at home, however, he soon returns to the bad habits: because of his inclination to lie, he is subjected to continued punishments at school – including the fearsome Tower of Babel, where the teacher Daniele locks up the worst pupils to beat them with a rush – but nothing seems to be effective [Pic. 26]. And yet, once sent by the family in Sardinia to work as an errand boy, finally «free from bad companions», he begins to wonder about his condition and his future, and is bitterly resented for the suffering caused to his parents, missing them a lot. The edifying epilogue shows an unrecognizable Lucignolo: a serious, honest worker, devoted to his family and now fully redeemed: «Today, finally, I can be useful to my family [...] I want to work and aspire to nothing more than to see my parents prosperous and peaceful»²⁶.

To witness a further evolution of the «brat type» we have to wait for the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century, when on the scene of Italian children's literature, the new model of the *bad boy* comes out. In 1911 Bemporad published *Memorie di un ragazzaccio*, Ester Modigliani's translation and reduction of *A Bad Boy's Diary*, by the American writer Metta Victoria Fuller Victor. Appeared for the first time in 1880, the text is faithfully transposed in the Italian version, which maintains the narrative structure of a diary to which the little Giorgio Speroni tells his daring adventures and mischiefs. The illustrations, composed with the synthetic and expressively trenchant style of Attilio Mussino, are perfectly adapted to the ironic tale's taste, enriching and further animating the story, depicting lively both the boy's funny villainies, and the preposterous characters, mostly adults, who surround him. Giorgio is the youngest son of a bourgeois family and lives with his parents and three older sisters. For his eighth birthday, he receives from his mother the beloved «giornalino» where he will faithfully post almost a year of an infinite series of jokes: he will torment his sisters' suitors, he will ruin reputations, dance parties, lunches and weddings, he will cause collapses, explosions and floods, he will torture teachers, elderly uncles [Pic. 27], schoolmates, little girls [Pic. 28] and even circus animals, ending in college and being promptly sent away, risking life

²⁶ A. Cioci, *Lucignolo, l'amico di Pinocchio: libro per i ragazzi con 63 incisioni di C. Chiostrri*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1896, pp. 212-213.



Pic. 26. A. Cioci, *Lucignolo, l'amico di Pinocchio*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1896, p. 39, illustration by C. Chiostri (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).

Pic. 27. *Memorie di un ragazzaccio: riduzione dall'inglese di E. Modigliani*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1911, p. 165, illustration by A. Mussino (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).

Pic. 28. *Memorie di un ragazzaccio: riduzione dall'inglese di E. Modigliani*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1911, p. 81, illustration by A. Mussino (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).

many times. Around him moves a grotesque adult universe of funny characters with unexpected meanness, while the family seems to have completely lost its educational function, being absolutely unable to contain the child's exuberance, despite the continuous punishments. This is certainly one of the most innovative features of the work, along the disarming irresponsibility of Giorgio who, even if sometimes pretends to be sorry, more often feels like a «miserable» victim: «if by chance I will be lucky to become a man and have children, on my word I will never daze them for the bad acts they will unwittingly do. This is an injustice which can lead kids to the point of taking their nightshirt, their toothbrush and run away from home to start an evil life»²⁷. Only at the end of the story Giorgio sincerely repents, but this is not the result of an authentic regret, as for Lucignolo, but of the great fear of having almost died drowning in the sea. The new «brat type» imported from the United States, finds immediate correspondence with Italian children's literature in the famous Luigi Bertelli's *Il Giornalino di Gian Burrasca*, published by Bemporad soon after²⁸. On January

²⁷ *Memorie di un ragazzaccio: riduzione dall'inglese di E. Modigliani. Illustrazioni di Ettore [but Attilio] Mussino*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1911, p. 55.

²⁸ The first edition of *Il Giornalino di Gian Burrasca* is undated. A Prefettura's document registers the book as «edited on December 15th, 1911 by the Stabilimento Tipo Litografico Spinelli-Firenze». However, it is not clear whether the volume was distributed at the end of 1911 or at the beginning of 1912. Archivio Storico Giunti, Fondo Bemporad, *Corrispondenza con autori*, fasc.

10th, 1907, the London publishing house George Routledge & Sons²⁹ assigns the translation rights of *A Bad Boy's Diary* to Ester Modigliani, who a few days later writes to Bemporad, giving him consent to use her work: «my translation will be modified by Mr Bertelli for the *Giornalino* and published without my signature. The translation for the book, as agreed, must have my name»³⁰. *Il Giornalino di Gian Burrasca* appears in 55 episodes on the weekly newspaper for kids «Il Giornalino della Domenica», directed by Bertelli himself, between February 17th, 1907 and May 17th, 1908, and only later is reprinted as a book. Far from being a literal transposition of the *Ragazzaccio*, the *Giornalino* faithfully follows only the first pages, resuming stories and characters, and then distancing it much by the narrative, content and linguistic point of view. The protagonist is the young Giannino Stoppani, alias Gian Burrasca: «They call you so because you're worse than hail». Like Giorgio, he lives with his parents and three sisters, posting on a diary the events of his life. The author himself illustrates the novel by line-drawing and four-colour boards which, realized in a childish style, supposed to be sketched by Giannino. Compared to the model to which it is inspired, the *Giornalino*'s specificity is tied to the amused but sharp criticism against the Italian bourgeois society before the First World War, which after having «permeated with its values a large part of the literature for children and younger of the 19th century, it is now unquestionably up to account for itself, to be judged in its actual attitudes and behaviours, coherently or not with the ideals and values that abstractly invokes»³¹. In the author's primary intention, there is not as much the description of the cheeky jokes on which the *Ragazzaccio* is so focused, but their ability to reveal the malignity, the cowardice, the hypocrisy of the adult world. Such specificity is manifested in particular in the initiatives that Giannino takes to unmask those cunning, deceptions and lies which surround him and that he observes with easy going but clear curiosity. Sent in college like Giorgio, he is welcomed into the secret society «One for all and all for one», founded by four older mates, who discover and reveal the fraud perpetrated by the directors Geltrude and Stanislao against the pupils, to whom is dished up a disgusting dirty washing-up water instead of the meat broth. Not even the family members are in safe from the destructive good faith of Giannino who, always driven by the best intentions, unknowingly ruins the political career of his brother-in-law, revealing the irreconcilable duplicity between his expertly built public image and the real intentions he has in private.

16.8.1, Bertelli Luigi, registration of rights at the Prefettura di Firenze dating December 20th, 1911.

²⁹ Archivio Storico Giunti, Fondo Bemporad, *Corrispondenza con autori*, fasc. 89.11, Modigliani Ester, assignment of translation rights by the publishing house George Routledge & Sons dating January 10th, 1907.

³⁰ Archivio Storico Giunti, Fondo Bemporad, *Corrispondenza con autori*, fasc. 89.11, Modigliani Ester, letter of Ester Modigliani to Bemporad dating January 25th, 1907.

³¹ A. Ascenzi, M. Di Felice, R. Tumino (edd.), «Santa giovinezza!»: *lettere di Luigi Bertelli e dei suoi corrispondenti (1883-1920)*, Macerata, Alfabetica Edizioni, 2008, p. 36.



Pic. 29. A. Rubino, *Viperetta*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1923, cover, illustration by A. Rubino (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 30. A. Rubino, *Viperetta*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1923, p. 56, illustration by A. Rubino (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 31. G. Fanciulli, *Per i più piccini*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1909, p. 29, illustration by U. Finozzi (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).

And because «certainly our Giannino could not understand the mysteries of politics, for which sometimes the defence made by a simple and naive soul can cause more damages than an offense launched by the more perverse soul»³², in the end the family will be very angry with him rather than with the adult.

Accompanying us until the early '20s, the book *Viperetta*, written and illustrated by Antonio Rubino, and reprinted by Bemporad in 1923 from the first Vitagliano's 1919 edition, gives the opportunity to put beside the already known *bad boys* a memorable *bad girl* model. *Viperetta* moves away from the bourgeois environment and from the usual pranks to lead the reader into the fantastic tale's field, through an amazing variety of characters and situations that the author outlines with alienating and visionary singularity, with a lithe and compelling narrative rhythm, enlivened by oxymoronic combinations and paradoxical associations. Masterfully corresponding to this narrative peculiarity, the full-page illustrations show an expression and a stylistic synthesis which make every form almost a decorative model, building an evocative and symbolic, never didactic, relationship with the text [Pic. 29]. *Viperetta* is the only daughter of Rino and Rina Rini, her resentful parents daily occupied in mutual insults. Just born, she is exposed to the «chiar di luna» which gives her the «moon fever» and a round milky mark on the forehead. The effects of her destructive lunacy emerge even before she starts to talk, screaming squeals strong enough to keep awake the whole neighbourhood and force her parents to look for a deaf nanny, and evolving in a progressive discovery of everything

³² L. Bertelli, *Il Giornalino di Gian Burrasca rivisto, corretto e completato da Vamba*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, undated, p. 199.

that can annoy those around her, whose irritation is a real sadistic fun. For this unusual, subversive spirit, and for her deliberate, almost programmatic, provocative intention, the irresponsibility and the innocence of Giorgio and Giannino are definitively overcome, outlining a surprisingly innovative impact model:

This shouting for hours and hours without plausible reason has become a real fun for Viperetta: it has become a real pastime for her dear parents. In fact, the little girl noticed that when she is resting or sleeping (things that hardly ever happen to her), no one cares more about her: she becomes a secondary character. And she also noticed that when she cries, everyone cares about her, everyone gets caught around her, they all bicker for her. It is therefore logical that she prefers to cry, as this gives her a big celebrity and satisfies her vanity³³.

Her excesses are so prominent to end by becoming real characters, the «Whims sons of the Moon» who, one day, grab Viperetta by the hair and lead her to the satellite, inaugurating the extravagant «lunatic adventures» [Pic. 30]. On the new world she visits strange cities and meets bizarre characters – the laconic Maga Luna who «Since she always talks in poetry, and since it is necessary to count the syllables for making poetry, once she has spoken she preferred then to be quiet»³⁴; Prince Lunello, who asks her in marriage just because she is dressed in red, a colour never seen on the pale surrounding landscape; King Plenilunio, who orders to cut her tongue but then saves her, confessing it was a joke – whose grotesque implausibility is completely mirrored in the adults' one on the Earth indeed: the quarrelsome parents, the contrived ladies Ghingheri and Gangheri, the nanny Caterinella, the «excellent pachyderms» Aunt Concalma and Uncle Posapiano. An explicit and debunking criticism against the traditional educational stereotypes is visible in many situations both on Earth and on the Moon, emphasizing the similarity of the two worlds. When she is five, in the desperate attempt to correct her impossible character and her terrifying eloquence, her mother decides to let her meet the Ghingheri's house children «who are so educated», obtaining just the immediate subversion of the «Ghingheretti» and the semi-destruction of the dining room, in an unlikely anthropophagous dance; on the Moon she meets the pedagogues Copernicus, Archimedes and Plinio – three «professorial cervixes» trying in vain to explain to her the meaning of the word “presumption” and to teach her «lunography» and «astrosofia» – and princess Paolotta, her alter ego: a quiet little girl who studies to become a queen and always says yes with illogical obstinacy. Even when, at the end of the story, also Viperetta becomes good and virtuous, the reader cannot avoid the suspicion that this could be the last, masterful mockery of the

³³ A. Rubino, *Viperetta: racconto per i piccoli*. 2^a edizione, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1923, p. 21.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

same commonplaces, that the author comically represents by showing a scene of ridiculous bureaucracy, where a functionary changes her name in Violetta – erasing “Viperetta” from the «librone dello Stato Incivile», the register of bad and rude people – and inscribes it in the «Stato Civile», the book of good ones. And the description of the new Viperetta is even more improbable, so fiercely disseminated by those same stereotypes about female virtue that dominate the traditional educational literature: «Viperetta returned from that vacation completely transformed. She had become a beautiful, thoughtful, quiet girl. She spoke so well, with so much grace and kindness, that her parents were stunned to recognize her»³⁵.

6. *Enchantment and tenderness of childhood*

Together with the diffusion and evolution of the «brat type», another tendency contributes decisively to the renewal of the educational models in the children’s literature between the 19th and 20th centuries. Especially from the last decade of the 19th century to the first ’20s of the 20th, we find a new vision which leaves behind the old pedantic and moralistic precepts to enhance, above all, the dreamlike and tenderly enchanted infant world. Alongside editions dedicated to the early childhood, which mainly include songs, rhymes and short poetic compositions, there is an increase of stories describing intimate and daily life scenes through the eyes of children who experience their world with astonishment and wonder, surrounded by loving families who admire, indulgent and amused, these innocent discoveries. From a linguistic point of view, we see a large use of baby talk varieties, and a new interest for lallation and children’s mispronunciations mimesis, whose tender comedy is shown as an authentic expression of spontaneity. From an illustrative point of view, there is a clear predominance of Liberty stylistic features, with figurative choices – which come partly from English models³⁶ –, whose formal and decorative synthesis marks the definitive overcoming of the descriptive naturalism of the 19th century. In Bemporad’s catalogue, the new trend is early accepted with remarkable high quality editions, where the illustration gains a full aesthetic autonomy. One of the first volumes to mark this change is *Piccolina*, a Fanny Zampini Salazar’s novel, published in 1900 with illustrations by Giuseppe Anichini. From a narrative point of view, many typical themes of traditional educational literature can here be found in a new vision. At birth, sick and orphan, *Piccolina* is received by a bourgeois family in Posillipo with four children, «where everything was

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

³⁶ Especially, children’s books illustrated by Randolph Caldecott, Walter Crane and Kate Greenway in the second half of the 19th century.

organized with military discipline, although they were obedient for love, not for fear of punishment»³⁷. The baby girl, whose real name is Maria Laura, is called “Piccolina” (Tiny) because of the tenderness she arouses in adults and brothers and because she «looks like a doll». Family Herbert’s kids welcome her arrival with enthusiasm, captured by a happiness described in all its freshness: «They went up in four jumps, and the old courtyard resounded with cheerful screams: from the balcony the mom saw that her “little troop”, as she called for joke, had joined a group of other children with their nannies, and all together they rushed to the entrance of the garden. Ugo had Rita in her arms, and she laughed loudly for being moved in the race and made small shouts of joy, keeping her hands tight on her brother’s neck»³⁸. For Piccolina’s healing, children pray «with their lively and naive faith», which produces the hoped-for effect and soon the newcomer becomes the «Reginella» (Little queen) of the house.

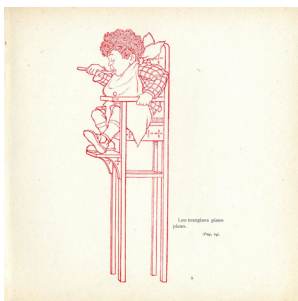
Per i più piccini, a collection of tales by Giuseppe Fanciulli published in 1909 with illustrations by Ugo Finozzi, belongs to a much modern view and is included in Bemporad’s «Collezione per i più piccini», inaugurated in 1907 and specifically intended for early childhood. The stories feature a gallery of characters captured in the most typical activities and most authentic feelings which characterize children: play, disagreement with mates, friendship, innocent fears, involuntary disasters. Finozzi’s boards efficiently capture the vivacious scenes, enhancing the relaxed atmosphere, with a formal synthesis which has already assumed the modernist instances, and translates them into that caricatural trait which is the artist’s signature. Giovannino, «a bit awful boy, never still, sometimes overbearing, but good-hearted» accidentally kills a sparrow in the attempt to retrieve it for a drawing contest [Pic. 31]; Pippo cries desperately after learning about Hannibal’s death from the book of history; Pierino is terrified by a night watchman, believing he is a thief; Maria is desperate for the birth of two toadstools in her beloved garden; Luisa and Angelica meet for the first time and «after five minutes [...] they are already old friends and talk holding each other hands» [Pic. 32]. Children become the unique and true protagonists, and the adult normative and prescriptive role is completely secondary. The same collection includes Laura Orvieto’s *Leo e Lia*, a volume of remarkable literary and aesthetic quality, published in 1909 and once again illustrated by Ugo Finozzi. The story completely drops any affectedness to focus on the growth of the writer’s sons in their everyday life with their parents, the housekeeper Miss Pear, the world and the complex themes of life and death. Leo is a «good boy: not always, but almost» who watches with enthusiasm and curiosity around him and already has a precise personality: he experiences, asks, understands, jokes, sometimes has some mild intemperance and is always

³⁷ F. Zampini Salazar, *Piccolina. Con 15 vignette di G. Anichini*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1900, p. 15.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.



Pic. 32. G. Fanciulli, *Per i più piccini*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1909, p. 265, illustration by U. Finozzi (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 33. L. Orvieto, *Leo e Lia: storia di due bimbi italiani con una governante inglese*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1909, p. 57, illustration by U. Finozzi (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 34. L. Orvieto, *Leo e Lia: storia di due bimbi italiani con una governante inglese*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1909, p. 24, illustration by U. Finozzi (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).

described with authenticity, so being not a model to imitate either to avoid [Pic. 33]. His reactions, questions, fears and doubts are typical of his age: «He got up in the morning, washed his chest, shoulders and face with cold water, and sometimes he did not cry. Sometimes yes, when the water seemed too cold. But usually he wanted to “be adult” and then he closed his mouth and sighed but did not cry»³⁹. Every night he falls asleep with a noble purpose – «Tomorrow I will be good, more than today, and if I will want to be bad, I will try to be good anyway»⁴⁰ – but sometimes he is stubborn, «has more often a grudge that a happy face»; he has fits of rage and does not hesitate to beat up his sister, who wounded him by mistake [Pic. 34], Miss Pear, guilty of wanting to wash his face, and his mother, determined to make him eat despite his whims. Very realistic is also the description of the bizarre and fanciful mental associations and of the doubts he has during the daily discoveries and conversations with adults: he observes admired a snowman in the garden and says hallo to it like to a friend, hoping for a reply; after some questions about heaven and hell, his mother draws him a little devil, and he finds it «almost pretty, and certainly too good because you might think, looking at it, to all the bad things that there are in this world»⁴¹; and when she teaches him that after death we simply become a part of nature, he feels happy because «thereafter when he knew that someone had died imagined him immediately changed into the wing of a bird or a horse’s mane»⁴².

³⁹ L. Orvieto, *Leo e Lia: storia di due bimbi italiani con una governante inglese*. Di Mrs. El. *Illustrazioni di Ugo Finozzi*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1909, p. 7.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 54.



Pic. 35. A. Cuman Pertile, *Il trionfo dei piccoli*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1918, p. 53, illustration by A. Ramorino Ceas (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 36. T. Ubertis Gray (Térésah), *Canzoncine*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1918, p. 9, illustration by D. Cambellotti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).



Pic. 37. T. Ubertis Gray (Térésah), *Canzoncine*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1918, p. 95, illustration by D. Cambellotti (Firenze, Archivio storico Giunti).

We can find a similar narrative setting, though through a more eclectic approach, in 1918, when Arpalice Cuman Pertile publishes *Il trionfo dei piccoli*, a successful volume illustrated by Antonio Ramorino Ceas. The protagonists are the twins Luisa and Franco, who «live their world with their own pure and quiet vision about things and people, and as children, not like an adult's mind who looks back to the past and, believing to leave it again, distorts it»⁴³. Conceived as it was written by the aunt for the two nephews, the book is made of rhymes, poems, riddles and fantastic stories which pleasantly deliver simple messages: the importance of generosity, goodness, obedience to parents, education, study. In the descriptions of the twins, followed from birth until the school years, as through their tender brothers Mario and Nerina, we witness the true childhood triumph: «I come to the world on a spring morning along with Franco, my twin brother. That same morning, five birds and more than a thousand flowers were born in the garden, and when our father opened the windows, the ramblers and the sun came to say hallo. Everybody celebrated us! Mario, in his haste to run to see us, poured his coffee and milk and remained without breakfast. Nerina did not want to go to school for fear that others would let us cry»⁴⁴ [Pic. 35]. This

⁴³ E. Formiggini Santamaria, *Il trionfo dei piccoli*, «L'Italia che scrive. Rassegna per coloro che leggono. Supplemento mensile a tutti i periodici», n. 9, 1918, p. 140.

⁴⁴ A. Cuman Pertile, *Il trionfo dei piccoli di Arpalice Cuman Pertile. Con illustrazioni di A. Ramorino Ceas*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1918, p. 10.

short passage also shows the tendency to metaphorically associate children to the most enchanting manifestations of nature, by identifying in the lively spring the purity of the very early age. Among the many coeval examples which adopt the same expressive solution, a particularly significant book is *Canzoncine*, published in 1918 by Teresa Ubertis Gray, alias Térésah, and masterfully interpreted by Duilio Cambellotti's highly eloquent illustrations. *Canzoncine* is composed by different sections collecting texts in verse in which we find a world of intimacy and gentleness, made of small things, fantasies, adventures lived at home or in the splendour of the gardens, where the purity of children's feelings and visions insistently recur: in *Ricompensa* a drop of dew settles on Mimmo's eyes, «two pure windows open to the morning», mistaking them for linen flowers [Pic. 36], Sorriso and Sempresole talk to robins and butterflies [Pic. 37], while in *Il fratellino* the child has a skin clear as the moonlight, blonde hair, like grain, and cornflower blue eyes. Beyond a certain rhetoric, which sometimes tends to idealisation and moralism, what the Térésah's volume shares with the coeval works – where the new children's model is evolved and imposed itself – is, above all, an attempt to convey authenticity, describing the protagonists as they really are. The *Canzoncine*'s characters, who find studying «as boring as time» and think that «getting dirty is a necessity», show us a childhood which is not only enchantment and tenderness, but also «has some flaws [...], whims, makes mischiefs, is moody, greedy, lazy, sleepy, screams like a witch, cries like a fountain»⁴⁵. And maybe right here, finally, we find the most innovative range that this literary model shares with the «brat type»: the definitive affirmation of self-determination in which the child, terrible or tender, stops to be an inert matter to be moulded through some precepts and becomes an individual with his own characteristics, desires, faults. This evolution, far away from the stereotyped little heroes of the 19th century and close to a more realistic view, finally confirms the persistence of a reciprocal dialogue between literature and culture, where the first welcomes and sometimes foreshadows the evolution of imaginary, educational assumptions, pedagogical ideas.

⁴⁵ C.T. Ubertis Gray, *Canzoncine. Illustrazioni di D. Cambellotti*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1918, p. 23.

The painting child: childhood as painted by children themselves (15th-20th Centuries)

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ABSTRACT: Recent valuation of children's drawings as a historical source has generated fruitful debates as to their inclusion in the cultural history of images. The self-portrait painted by Dürer at the age of 13, and which G. Kerschensteiner reproduced on the frontispiece of an eminent work, is an encouragement to compile a succinct repertory of children's self-portraits. With this aim in mind, the article presents a dialogue between children's self-portraits and scenes of children drawing painted by artists over five centuries: an iconography that, from a particular angle, throws light on the history of art education in modern and contemporary Europe. The article ends with the first decade of the 20th century, a period in which self-portraits of anonymous children illustrated the books of the first studies of children's art. Though interpreted at that time as the testimony of childish innocence, they reveal the impact of a visual culture in infancy – nurtured by illustrated albums and toys – which was just beginning to appear.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children's drawings; Children's portrait painting; Childhood; Representation; Visual culture; Art education history; Europe; XV-XXth Centuries.

Introduction

The recent vindication of children's drawings as a historical source has generated studies that explore appropriate methodologies for their interpretation¹. The acceptance of the value of images as historical documents

¹ See the studies of M. Pignot, *Le dessin d'enfant, quelle source pour l'historien?*, in R. Douroux, C. Milkovitch-Rioux (edd.), *Enfances en guerre: témoignages d'enfants sur la guerre*, Ginebra,

has led to agreement as to the viability of this vindication. In a text that has become a classic, P. Burke points out that the pioneering studies of Ph. Ariès on the history of infancy was of considerable influence at the beginning of this process of revaluation². Ariès insisted that the vindication of the child as a historical subject involved the consideration of testimonies that had previously been ignored, such as for example, images³. In fact, the history of education has become, over the years, a discipline that has generated a large number of the most fruitful debates on the interpretation of images as a historical source⁴.

During the 1980s, the valuation of iconographic sources in the historiography of education meant, in addition, the rediscovery of artists whom the official artistic canons had condemned to oblivion⁵. Reflections on the power of the image had an important influence on the historiography of art at the end of last century, and contributed to forging the New Art History or the so-called «visual studies». In this new situation, the relationship between art and childhood has generated numerous studies that can be systematized in three main areas: firstly, the research based on the representation of the child in art⁶, secondly, the new interest in the visual culture of the child, especially in the history of illustration and of toys⁷, and thirdly, the studies in the history of education that deal with the subject of art⁸. Basically, contemporary historiography of the image considers the child from two perspectives, as an iconographic subject and as a consumer of images both in leisure and educational activities. On the other hand, except for a very few cases, the study of the child as a producer of images goes beyond the limits of visual studies⁹.

Georg Éditeur, 2013, pp. 87-96; B. Wittmann, C. Barber, *A Neolithic childhood. Children's drawings as prehistoric sources*, «RES Anthropology and aesthetics», n. 63-64, 2013, pp. 123-142; J. Meda, *Los dibujos infantiles como fuentes históricas: heurísticas y cuestiones metodológicas*, «Revista Brasileira de História da Educação», vol. 14, n. 3 (36), 2014, pp. 151-177.

² P. Burke, *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, London, Reaktion Books, 2001, p. 12.

³ Ph. Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris, Plon, 1960.

⁴ F. Comas Rubí, *Fotografia i història de l'educació*, «Educació i Història. Revista d'Història de l'Educació», n. 16, 2010, pp. 11-17.

⁵ P. Chassagne, *Éducation et peinture au XIX siècle: un champ iconique en friches*, «Histoire de l'éducation», n. 30, 1986, pp. 53-59.

⁶ Outstanding amongst the most recent is S. Allard, N. Laneyrie-Dagen, E. Pernoud, *L'enfant dans la peinture*, Paris, Citadelles & Mazenot, 2001.

⁷ Apart from the studies relating to the history of children's books, which have led to the appearance of specialized journals such as this, the history of toys has been subject to a process of disciplinary reconstruction, which will be dealt with in P. Capellà, *La història de la joguina: estat de la qüestió d'una reconstrucció disciplinària*, «Educació i Història. Revista d'Història de l'Educació», n. 24, 2014, pp. 219-248.

⁸ See one of the pioneering studies: A.D. Efland, *A History of Art Education*, New York, Teachers College Press, 1990.

⁹ Historians' reticence as regards attributions to children has caused numerous debates, especially with regard to two exceptionally interesting archaeological findings: the drawings of Onfim, a child of the 13th century, from the excavations of the ancient Russian city of Novgorod, and those of 12th century children from the Calcel mine. R. Baldy, D. Fabre, *Des enfants dessinateurs*

The use of children's drawings in relation to the transmission of memory continues a tradition that originated at the beginning of last century¹⁰. They were used as an ideological instrument as far back as the First World War and continued to be used throughout the many conflicts of the century, either to encourage the troops at the front or to make the world aware of the effects of the atrocities. For this reason, the use of children's drawings as a historical source is related even today to studies of the history of these conflicts and, most especially, to the Holocaust¹¹.

The historical character of children's drawings is not exempt from controversy. At present, studies concerned with children's drawings – still associated with the field of psycho-pedagogy – show two broad viewpoints: the universalist and the culturalist¹². The first, of romantic inspiration, has its roots in the first works on the subject that appeared at the end of the 19th century and understands the artistic development of the child as an endogenous process, disconnected from cultural contexts, that is to say, it is an expression of an essentialism that remains apart from history¹³. The other, on the other hand, demonstrates, by means of comparative studies, that culture conditions children's drawings, both from an iconographic and a morphological point of view¹⁴.

The task of compiling a history of children's drawings involves combatting the scepticism originating from two fronts, that of the adult-centrism dominating the history of art and the above-mentioned universalist interpretation. The inclusion of children's drawing in the history of images also requires going beyond the strictly morphological or stylistic aspects. E. Pernoud throws new light on the subject in his important contributions, according to which children's drawing, with the series of formal characteristics attributed to it, is in large part

au Moyen Âge. Note documentaire, «*Gradhiva. Revue d'Anthropologie et d'Histoire des Arts*», n. 9, 2009, pp. 152-163.

¹⁰ Meda, *Los dibujos infantiles como fuentes históricas*, cit., p. 155.

¹¹ The works of F. & A. Brauner were a decisive contribution to the process of valuation of children's plastic art. R. Douroux, C. Milkovitch-Rioux (edd.), *J'ai dessiné la guerre. Le regard de François et Alfred Brauner*, Clermond Ferrand, Presses de l'Université Blaise Pascal, 2011.

¹² R. Baldy, "Dessine-moi un bonhomme". *Universaux et variantes culturelles*, «*Gradhiva. Revue d'Anthropologie et d'Histoire des Arts*», n. 9, 2009, pp. 133-151.

¹³ In fact, the recent attribution to children of certain graffiti from the Roman period is based on the identification of formal characteristics that universalist studies – Luquet, Lowenfeld, Kellog, etc. – consider to be exclusive to children's creations. See M. Langner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen: Motive, Gestaltung und Bedeutung*, Wiesbaden Ludwig Reichert, 2001; K. Huntley, *Identifying Children's Graffiti: a developmental psychological approach*, in J.A. Baird, C. Taylor (edd.), *Ancient Graffiti in Context*, New York, Routledge, 2010, pp. 69-89.

¹⁴ Brent and Marjorie Wilson were pioneers, during the decade of the 1980s, when studying cultural difference from a diachronic point of view and pointing out the stylistic changes that appeared in children's drawings between the 19th and 20th centuries. B. Wilson, M. Wilson, *The case of the Disappearing Two-eyed Profile: or How Little Children Influence the Drawing of Little Children*, «*Review of Research in Visual Arts Education*», n. 15, 1982, pp. 19-32.

a system of representation that the children have been taught¹⁵. The scarcity of children's drawings salvaged by historical studies of ancient and medieval times is not much greater, in proportion, than that of modern and even contemporary eras¹⁶. This is due, of course, to the fact that children's spontaneous drawings are by nature short-lived. However, Pernoud's observation leads to a consideration of children's drawing as expanded to include all of children's plastic art. As a consequence, before confirming the scarcity of children's drawings amongst the vestiges of the past, it is necessary to take into account the difficulty, according to the context, of identifying the signs of a child's intervention in works that historians have taken for granted as being adult creations.

Looked at in this way, the presence of the child as creator in the history of art no longer depends on a tiny amount of evidence, graphically embryonic, but reaches considerably further. Amongst other reasons, this is because even though the final eradication of child labour has not yet been written on the map of history, its origins fade into the beginnings of time. The sources of economic and social history provide important data on the subject: from the presence of children in the medieval bakeries to the over-exploitation they suffered in the workshops of the art industries of the 19th century.

This suggests, therefore, that the question of age is something to be considered in the field of visual studies. And, in this new undertaking, images are, once again, a testimony that cannot be ignored. Artists have always enjoyed representing children drawing. It is, in fact, an iconographic tradition that begins in the 16th century and continues beyond the avant-garde artists, with a particular flowering towards the end of the 19th century. So, with the help of archaeological findings, the testimony of painters confirms the uninterrupted presence of children's drawing in the history of art. Not only this, the artists' images demonstrate a consciousness of the child creator long before the «discovery» of children's art, which, as is well-known, took place at the beginning of the 20th century.

¹⁵ E. Pernoud, *L'invention du dessin d'enfant à l'aube des avant-gardes*, Paris, Hazan, 2015.

¹⁶ An outstanding pioneering study of children's drawings of the modern era is that of L. Rubin, *First Draft Artistry: Children's Drawings in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, in M.J. Muller (ed.) *Children of Mercury: the Education of Artists in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Providence, Department of Art, Brown University, 1984, pp. 20-27. With regard to the contemporary era, we recommend the J. Meda's guide to collections, *Sgorbi e scarabocchi: guida ragionata alle collezioni storiche di disegni infantile*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 7, n. 1, 2012, pp. 261-294.



Pic. 1. Dürer's Self-Portrait at 13. Frontispiece of the work *Die Entwicklung der Zeichnerischen Begabung*, 1905. (Digital Reproduction from the Digital Collections of the University Library of the Bauhaus University Weimar).



Pic. 2. Giovanni Francesco Caroto, *Portrait of a Child with a Drawing*, ca. 1523. Oil on panel, 37x29 cm, inv. 15519-1B0130. (Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio).

1. *The mirror and the dummy*

1906 saw the publication of the first edition of the work by G. Kerschensteiner, *Die Entwicklung der Zeichnerischen Begabung*¹⁷. It was one of the most ambitious works published up till then and was based on the compilation of half a million drawings by school-children in Munich. The frontispiece, however, carried a very special image: the self-portrait painted by Albrecht Dürer at the age of 13 [Pic. 1]¹⁸. This is a drawing done by the artist when he was already training as a goldsmith in the workshop his father had set up in Nuremberg around 1444. Even though Dürer was not the first painter of the Western world to produce a self-portrait, no-one had investigated so repeatedly

¹⁷ G. Kerschensteiner, *Die Entwicklung der Zeichnerischen Begabung*, Munich, Carl Gerber, 1905.

¹⁸ See the original drawing: A. Dürer, *Self-portrait at the age of thirteen*, 1484. Drawing on paper (silver point), 27,5x19,6 cm. Albertina Museum, Vienna, <<http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/default.aspx?lng=english2#8b8ee49a-9db4-4c0d-bcd4-1e68384d0752>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

the representation of his own image¹⁹. The self-portrait of 1484 is the oldest one known of all those he produced. It is safe to say, therefore, that one of the first self-portraits of the modern era was the work of a goldsmith's apprentice of only 13 years of age.

Dürer's first self-portrait, even though more of a sketch, can be linked to that produced by Raphael around 1499 when aged about 15²⁰. This is a three-quarter face portrait of the adolescent artist in the last stage of his training, since in 1501, aged 17, he became a fully-fledged master painter. According to Vasari, Raphael, who had begun his training in the workshop of his father, the painter Giovanni Santi, began in Perugino's workshop at the age of 8²¹.

This is more or less the age of the red-headed child painted by Giovanni Francesco Caroto around 1523 [Pic. 2]. This is, without doubt, a very special work, to the extent that it has come to be considered one of the first reproductions in a painting of what is supposed to be a child's way of seeing the world. With a smile, the boy shows the spectator the drawing he has done and in which historians have identified all the characteristics that, nowadays, are considered to be typical of children's drawings²². Despite this, we can see that the graphic elements applied in this figure differ considerably from known repertoires. In addition, the arch of the eyebrows and the nose are drawn with one line, and, particularly, the feet are foreshortened, a detail that points to the boy's aptitudes. At the same time, defects are evident, though according to the principles of the period, such as the disproportion and clumsiness of the drawing, which, in contrast to the laughing face of the child, are a good example of Renaissance humour.

All in all, this portrait by Caroto continues to be an enigma, and as such has generated numerous interpretations. According to Vasari, Caroto had a son. So some hypotheses suggest that the child portrayed could have been the painter's son²³. However that may be, the Museo de Castelvechio houses, apart from this portrait, one of Caroto's best works, *La Pietá della lacrima*²⁴. The face of the man who served Caroto as a model for Saint John the Evangelist is very like

¹⁹ J. Pope-Hennessy, *El retrato en el renacimiento*, Madrid, Akal, 1985, p. 143.

²⁰ Raphael, *Portrait of a youth (self-portrait?)*, ca. 1499. Black chalk on paper, 38,1x26,1 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, <<http://legacy.ashmolean.org/collections/makedetail.php?pmu=770&mu=772>y=asea&sec=&dtm=50&sfn=Artist%20Sort&cpa=1&rpos=7&mat=&pro=&anum=&col=&art=Raphael&ttl=&sou=>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

²¹ G. Vasari, *Le Vite De' Più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architettori, Primo Volume de la Terza Parte*, Fiorenza, appresso i Giunti, 1568, p. 65.

²² See the catalogue entry on the work, by Mina Moore Ede, in M. Falomir Faus (ed.), *El retrato del Renacimiento*, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2008, p. 236.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

²⁴ See the catalogue entry by F. Rossi, *Cristo morto con la Madonna e san Giovanni, detto Pietá della lagrima*, in P. Marini, G. Peretti, F. Rossi (edd.), *Museo de Castelvechio, Catalogo generale dei dipinti e delle miniature delle collezioni civiche veronese. I. Dalla fine del X all'inixio del XVI secolo*, Milano, Silvana editoriale, 2010, p. 396.

that of the child with the drawing. So we may guess that there was a person who, whether or not he was the son of Caroto, frequented the workshop from childhood and may have trained there.

Other signs point in the same direction. Even though some authors have interpreted the drawing as the child's self-portrait²⁵, it is surprising that on the same sheet of paper there is a naturalist sketch of an eye in profile, copied from the models that were common in the Renaissance workshops. On the other hand, particularly interesting aspects of the child's drawing are the circular knee joints and especially the absence of clothing. These and other details might indicate that the figure drawn by Caroto's boy was that of a painter's dummy.

It should be pointed out that the dolls made for children were no different in their morphology from other miniature dummies until the era of the bourgeois revolutions. So if the figure drawn by Caroto's boy was in fact a dummy, it would have served both as a toy and as didactic material²⁶. Be that as it may, in situating children's drawing at the crossroads between instruction and leisure, Caroto inaugurated a complex symbolic universe, which was to be developed in the iconography of later centuries.

2. Academies in miniature

Almost a century had gone by since the execution of Caroto's most famous work when Anthon Van Dyck produced his first self-portrait, aged 14²⁷, soon after finishing his training in the workshop of H. van Balen in Antwerp where he began at the age of 10²⁸. Van Dyck adopts the same pose as Caroto's boy. However, the smile of the Renaissance child contrasts with the serious expression of the young Van Dyck. Between the execution of the two works, the religious wars that marked the end of the Renaissance had devastated Europe.

Even so, the vindication of painting as a liberal art and of the painter as a free man announced by Leonardo da Vinci had prospered. The new status achieved by painters was recognised by a reform of teaching methods in which, from

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 393-396.

²⁶ This ambivalence reinforces the debt of the work to an oil-painting by Bernardino Luini (ca. 1480-1532), part of the Elton Hall Collection, in which a child in an identical pose and with a wide smile holds a game. For the first references to this iconographic precedent, see Falomir Faus (ed.), *El retrato del Renacimiento*, cit., p. 236.

²⁷ A. Van Dyck, *Self-portrait*, 1613-14. Oil on panel, 25,8x19,4 cm. Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien, <http://www.akademiegalerie.at/de/Sammlung/Bildinformation/?image_name=23&active_image=&GALLERY_ORDER=&opener=http://www.akademiegalerie.at/de/Sammlung/Virtuelle%20Galerie/Bildinfo/&mode=9&ART_Name=&ARTIST_Name=14&GENRE_Name=&final=> (last access: 29.12. 2017).

²⁸ S. Alsteens, A. Eaker, *Van Dyck. The Anatomy of Portraiture*, New York, The Frick Collection, 2016, p. 58.

then on, they insisted on the importance of drawing as an autonomous practice and as an essential base for any artistic training. This led to the appearance of the first Academies of Art, which, coming from Italy, spread all over Europe after the founding in 1648 in Paris of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. These institutions established the standard model of training of the young pupils, which consisted of a gradual study of the language of drawing, beginning with the copying of other drawings, followed by the drawing of statues and culminating in drawing from life²⁹.

In the spreading of the new educational model, the printing press played a decisive part. Alongside the traditional treatises on painting, a highly popular publication appeared: the primers for the teaching of drawing. In fact, the beginning of Italian influence in workshops all over Europe is considered to be the publication in 1608 in Venice of the work of the engraver Odoardo Fialetti *Il vero modo et ordine per disegnare tutte le parti et membra del corpo humano*³⁰. This little manual introduces a systematization of the study of fragments of the human body. For example, the first plate describes the drawing of the human eye from the first line defining the eyelid to an exercise in shading, while the last two reproduce the composition of figures. Nevertheless, the most interesting engraving for the purposes of our investigation is the one on the frontispiece, which reproduces an academy of painting full of children.

Fialetti does not limit himself to representing children copying their primers, but also includes others drawing statues and helping in the general tasks of the workshop. In the Italian baroque, under the influence of Caravaggio and the impact of the new teaching methods, the boy in the workshop is no longer the smiling mischief-maker that captivated Caroto but an ethereal child crowned with laurel leaves. This, at least, was the way in which the painter Pietro Paolini decided to represent a very young artist practising *chiaroscuro* by lamplight³¹. The images of the Flemish school are less allegorical. For example, Michiel Sweerts shows a child sitting on a bench in front of a bust of a Roman emperor³². The work shows important naturalist details such as the crumpled papers or the charcoal shavings on the floor. Jacob van Oost, on the other hand, recreates a real miniature academy in his painting *The artist's studio* [Pic. 3].

²⁹ N. Pevsner, *Academies of Art: Past and Present*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1940.

³⁰ O. Fialetti, *Il vero modo et ordine per disegnare tutte le parti et membra del corpo humano*, Venice, Justus Sadeler, 1608. The British Museum, London, <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1548436&partId=1&searchText=Fialetti&page=2> (last access: 29.12.2017).

³¹ P. Paolini, *Young Artist Working by Lamplight*, s.d. Oil on canvas, 68,4x121,2 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, <<http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/young-artist-working-by-lamplight-32998>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

³² M. Sweerts, *Boy Drawing before the Bust of a Roman Emperor*, ca. 1661. Oil on canvas, 49,53x40,64 cm. Minneapolis Institute of Art, <<https://collections.artsmia.org/art/1933/boy-drawing-before-the-bust-of-a-roman-emperor-michael-sweerts>> (last access: 29.12.2017).



Pic. 3. Jacob van Oost el Vell. *The Artist's Studio*, ca. 1666. Oil on canvas, 111,5x150,5 cm. (Bruges, Groeningemuseum).

Three children are surrounded by a disorderly collection of curtains, drawing-boards, books, papers and, particularly, ancient statues. The child in the front, wearing Roman sandals, is turning towards the spectator and, with the same gesture as Caroto's boy, is showing a drawing – in this case, impeccable – of a head of Apollo.

Apart from the above-mentioned examples, the iconography of children drawing in the workshops also spread quite widely in Protestant countries, especially in Holland. In this context, the painter often became an external observer discovering the children in the course of a private act such as an exercise of copying, with all the concentration and effort this required. A painting attributed to Pieter Codde focuses from a high angle on a young child concentrating on a sheet of paper fixed to a board while facing the highly complex subject of a sculpture of the struggle between Hercules and Cacus³³. In Holland, the allegory of Paolini and the anecdotic character of van Oost give way

³³ P. Codde [attributed to], *The Young Draughtsman*, ca. 1630. Oil on panel, 28x36,5 cm. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, <<https://www.fine-arts-museum.be/fr/la-collection/pieter-codde-attribue-a-le-jeune-dessinateur?string=codde>> (last access: 29.12.2017).



Pic. 4. Anna Waser, *Self-portrait at the Age of 12*, 1691. Oil on canvas, 83x68 cm. (Kunsthaus Zürich, Kellersche Sammlung, 1854).

for its special angle, and represents a youth copying a painting³⁷. He has his back to us, inviting us to be indiscreet observers of the efforts of a boy who will become a painter. A dummy can be seen next to him: a silent testimony to his apprenticeship, like the one that may have fascinated Caroto's boy a century before. In addition, Vaillant's student differs from his contemporaries in that rather than copy an ancient artistic work he is copying a landscape, a genre that appeared in the 17th century and whose reputation was greatly enhanced by the Dutch painters, in particular.

Wallerant Vaillant also painted a portrait of a boy who is apparently his brother Andries, aged about 14³⁸. It is a half-length portrait, in which Andries

to a naturalistic representation, already seen in Sweerts' picture. This latter painter visited Amsterdam, just before embarking on a thrilling adventure that took him as far as India³⁴. His picture was reproduced in an engraving³⁵ by the Dutch painter who most often repeated the iconography we are dealing with here: Wallerant Vaillant.

Vaillant was not only a reputed engraver but also a well-known portrait painter. He came from a Huguenot family who had sought refuge in Amsterdam, and his sensitive attitude towards the teaching of drawing may well have to do with the fact that he made himself responsible for the education of his four brothers, who also became painters³⁶. Amongst various works in which Vaillant portrayed artist apprentices, one is of particular interest

³⁴ See L. Yeager-Crasselt, *Michael Sweerts (1618-1664): Shaping the Artist and the Academy in Rome and Brussels*, Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2015.

³⁵ W. Vaillant (after M. Sweerts), *Boy Drawing a Bust of the Roman Emperor Vitellius*. ca. 1665-75. Mezzotint printed in brown ink, 33,4 x 27,2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/360122?sortBy=Relevance&ft=wallerant+vaillant&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=4>>, (last access: 29.12.2017).

³⁶ N. Rogeaux, *Wallerant Vaillant (1623-1677), portraitiste hollandais*, «Revue du Nord», n. 344, 2002, pp. 25-49.

³⁷ W. Vaillant [attributed to], *A Young Boy Copying a Painting*, 1660. Oil on panel, 31,1x39,5 cm. Mansion House, The Harold Samuel Collection, London. See the reproduction of this work in M. Hall, C. Gifford, *The Harold Samuel Collection: A Guide to the Dutch and Flemish Pictures at the Mansion House*, London, Paul Holberton Publishing, 2012, cover image.

³⁸ W. Vaillant, *Portrait of a Boy, Possibly André Vaillant*, ca. 1670. Oil on canvas, 70x60,5

poses with a stretching frame under his arm and gazes out at the horizon. It is the image of the *enfant sage*, the child on a firm path to his future, which recalls the famous portrait that, 15 years before, Rembrandt had painted of his son Titus when he was learning to write³⁹. Like Rembrandt, Vaillant revealed many of the motifs of his work by means of engravings. And the iconography of the painter's apprentice with a picture under his arm would be frequently repeated, as we shall see, during the Age of Enlightenment.

In the Swiss Confederation, independent since 1648, a 12-year-old girl, Anna Waser, painted her self-portrait in oils [Pic. 4]. She is standing in front of the easel, holding the palette and brushes. The painting she has begun is nothing less than a portrait of her teacher, the painter Johannes Sulzer. Anna Waser signed and dated this self-portrait in 1691. That century had begun, amidst great convulsions, with a fervent defence on the part of distinguished European intellectuals of the importance of the art of painting. This defence, however, could well have been a two-edged sword. At the same time as the training model dictated by the academies was becoming established, a new consciousness was slowly emerging, according to which painting was not a skill that flowered in certain individuals destined to exercise it as a profession, such as Van Dyck, Andreis Vaillant or even Anna Waser, but was, rather, an inherent expression of the human soul. From Madrid, one of the most outstanding poets of the Spanish Golden Age, Félix Lope de Vega, expressed the following opinion:

Y que para mayor excelencia de este Arte nobilísimo ningún hombre ha nacido en el mundo, que no haya pintado en su niñez con pluma, o carbón en el papel, o en la pared, hombres, caballos, animales, con solo el impulso de la naturaleza, primera pintura y maestra de pintar⁴⁰.

J. Héroard, Louis XIII's paediatrician, was of the same opinion and even included in his journal drawings by the Dauphin, among which was a surprising self-portrait of the child aged seven⁴¹. Like other monarchs and aristocrats, Louis XIII cultivated the art of drawing throughout his life and came to be reasonably skilful in portraiture. At the beginning of the Age of Enlightenment, the figure of the amateur painter had appeared on the scene. The language of

cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, <http://www.szepmuveszeti.hu/adatlap_eng/portrait_of_boy_possibly_8711> (last access: 29.12.2017).

³⁹ Rembrandt van Rijn, *Titus at his desk*, 1655. Oil on canvas, 77x63 cm. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, <<http://collectie.boijmans.nl/en/object/101465>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁴⁰ F. Lope de Vega, *Dicho y disposición de frai Lope Félix de Vega Carpio, del Abito de San Juan, celebrado en el mundo por su ingenio, que está en los autos de esta causa*, in V. Carducho, *Diálogo de la pintura. Su defensa, origen, esencia, definición, modos y diferencias*, Madrid, Francisco Martínez, 1633, p. 166.

⁴¹ See page 495 of the manuscript «*Journal de la vie active du roy Louis [XIII], exactement décrit*» depuis le premier janvier 1605 jusqu'au «XXX janvier 1629 par messier Jehan Herouard, Sgr de Vaugrigneuse, son premier medecin». Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

the noble arts was now considered to be a natural expression, which, it was understood, only artists' apprentices and courtesans had the opportunity of developing. During the 1700s, however, this situation was reverted.

3. *The young artists*

In the century of Rousseau, the works of Jean-Siméon Chardin became a pictorial manifest of what Ariès called the «discovery of childhood»⁴². Amongst the most paradigmatic, there is an outstanding portrait of a child fascinated by the spinning of a top⁴³. He has pushed his books and inkpot to one side of the desk to leave room to play. But in the foreground, in a half-open drawer, Chardin has placed a metal pencil-holder with a red pencil fixed to it: a drawing tool.

This scene reflects, to a great extent, a modern point of view in its condescendence towards the child, who has abandoned his studies in order to play with a toy. In addition, Chardin does not place the pencil-holder in the realm of study, along with the books and the inkpot on the desk, but in the half-open drawer. And this untidy secret corner represents the realm of play. In this respect, we can see how half a century later the painter Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson takes up the same symbol of the open drawer in the portrait of the boy Benoît-Agnès Trioson⁴⁴. In this case, the child, with a cup-and-ball game in his pocket, has interrupted his reading of an illustrated bible, while a collection of cards can be seen in the drawer.

In general, in the 18th century, children's drawing is considered to be in a sphere half-way between study and leisure. Charles-François-Adrien Macret represented a very young child drawing with a pencil-holder similar to that in Chardin's picture. This is a full-face, half-length portrait in which the child has interrupted the drawing he is doing in order to gaze at some point on the horizon⁴⁵. We find the same position, with the same neutral background and the table in the forefront, in the portrait that Jean-Baptiste Greuze painted of a little girl with a doll in her arms⁴⁶. Both of these portraits recall the one that, a

⁴² Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, cit., pp. 53-74.

⁴³ J.-S. Chardin, *Boy with a top. Portrait of August-Gabriel Godefroy*, 1738. Oil on canvas, 67x76 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, <http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=10854&langue=fr> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁴⁴ A.-L. Girodet-Trioson, *Benoît Agnès Trioson reading a book*, 1797. Oil on canvas, 73,2x59,2 cm. Musée Girodet, Montargis, <<http://www.musee-girodet.fr/benoit-agnes-trioson-regardant-des>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁴⁵ C.-F.-A. Macret, *Child Drawing*, 18th Century. Red chalk on paper, 23,5x27 cm. Musée Boucher, Perthes, <<https://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/10-533453-2C6NU0YBGCQD.html>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁴⁶ J.-B. Greuze, *The Capuchin Doll*, 1765. Oil on canvas, 43x37 cm. National Gallery

century before, Rembrandt had painted of his son learning his first letters. The use of the same pictorial code to describe drawing, play and writing in infancy points to a desire to establish links amongst the three areas, which, a century later, would become the bases of pedagogy in the romantic period.

In *Émile ou de l'éducation*, J.-J. Rousseau gives enormous importance to children's drawings, even to the extreme of encouraging families to frame them in gold⁴⁷. In accordance with testimonies of the previous century, Rousseau defends the idea that the practice of drawing has a universal value since all children express themselves spontaneously in this way. He also goes further in insisting that perfecting this practice should not be exclusive to artists' apprentices or the cultured classes. Rousseau understands drawing as an essential element in the education of any citizen⁴⁸.

In the 18th century, the figure of the private tutor became widely accepted. At this time the iconography of the «academies in miniature» moved to a new setting: the home. Philippe Mercier, a French painter established in England, represents three children in an opulent 17th century interior with views over the countryside and decorated with works of art⁴⁹. One of the children is drawing a classical bust, another is carrying a folder of drawings under his arm and the third is sharpening a pencil. On one of the chairs is a viola da gamba, an instrument that according to Rousseau's precepts would complete the education of the children's good taste.

Mercier's children are drawing a sculptured bust. On the other hand, Rousseau had pointed out that it would be better to give up the academic practice of teaching children through representations and had defended, as never before, drawing from life. Always with reference to his imaginary child, Émile, he states:

Je veux qu'il n'ait d'autre maître que la Nature, ni d'autre modèle que les objets⁵⁰.

In another order of things, alongside the educational value that Rousseau conceded to the study of drawing, J.-J. Bachelier gave it an economic importance⁵¹. In 1767, this painter of floral subjects founded the École Gratuite de Dessin in Paris. Thanks to a royal decree that abolished the Academy's monopoly of the

of Ireland, Dublin, <<http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/objects/11250/the-capuchin-doll?ctx=06523b9b-b12d-4edc-8292-bc8f8dea2227&idx=0>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁴⁷ J.-J. Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, Paris, Nicolas-Bonaventure Duchesne, 1862, vol. 1, p. 394.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

⁴⁹ Ph. Mercier, *The Young Artists*, ca. 1745. Oil on canvas, 77,5x65 cm. Government Art Collection, London, <<http://www.gac.culture.gov.uk/work.aspx?obj=32101>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁵⁰ Rousseau, *Emile ou de l'éducation*, cit., vol. 1, pp. 392-393.

⁵¹ J. Bordes, *La infancia de las vanguardias. Sus profesores desde Rousseau a la Bauhaus*, Madrid, Cátedra, 2007, pp. 40-41.

teaching of drawing, the new centre was aimed at young people who wished to learn mechanical arts and other professions. Bachelier himself stated:

Le Dessin ne doit pas être considéré comme un Art de simple agrément, les avantages que l'on peut en retirer par une étude suivie pour les Arts mécaniques, sont infiniment précieux à l'État⁵².

The scholars of the Enlightenment were conscious of the fact that the drawing of any object determined its quality, as it combined its aesthetic and functional characteristics, and therefore the training of industrial workers in this form of expression guaranteed the economic development of the country. The teaching of drawing became a priority political objective. However, in accordance with the spirit of the age of reason, Bachelier promoted the teaching of a system of drawing based on geometry from which other known registers were then developed. He differed from Rousseau as regards his methodology and continued to use pictures for copying, a system he justified by the high number of students attending his centre⁵³.

The free schools of drawing proliferated in France and Europe, based on the model founded in Paris. And amongst the large number of students that attended them, some were as young as 8 years of age⁵⁴. These children soon became part of the collective imagination. In the field of painting, a portrait of a boy with a folder under his arm and a pencil in his hand became a regular subject amongst the most famous French painters of the time. An example of this is the portrait by Élisabeth-Louise Vigée Le Brun of her brother, the future writer Étienne Vigée, when he was 14 years old⁵⁵. Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié was one of the painters who most often used this iconography⁵⁶. In one of these pictures, on the cover of the child's folder are the words «écoles gratuites de dessin»⁵⁷.

In a pastel portrait attributed to Lépicié's circle, a smiling fair-haired boy poses with his head leaning to the left and his right hand hidden inside his coat⁵⁸. As in the case of his contemporaries, the folder he is holding would

⁵² J.-J. Bachelier, *Memoire concernant l'école royale gratuite de dessin*, Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1774, p. 3.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵⁴ A. Lahalle, *Les Écoles de dessin au XVIII^e siècle. Entre arts libéraux et arts mécaniques*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006, p. 248.

⁵⁵ E.-L. Vigée Le Brun, *Etienne Vigée*, 1773. Oil on canvas, 61,6x50,5 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, <<http://emuseum.slam.org:8080/emuseum/view/objects/asitem/search@/2/title-asc?t:state:flow=930ae777-1350-4829-89b0-0128794efbb1>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁵⁶ F. Ingersoll-Smouse, *Trois portraits des enfants de Joseph Vernet par N.-V. Lépicié*, «La Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne», n. XL, 1921, p. 328.

⁵⁷ N.-B. Lépicié, *The Young Draughtsman*, 18th Century. Oil on canvas, 55x46,5 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, <http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&cidNotice=23555&langue=fr> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁵⁸ N.-B. Lépicié, *Portrait of a Boy Holding a Portfolio*, ca. 1775-1780. Pastel on paper,

probably be full of school drawings of a geometrical style, but the child has decorated the cover with a drawing of his own: a soldier, a childish drawing that brings back that of Caroto's boy, and, consequently, its enigma.

In the contrast between this drawing and what the folder supposedly contained lies the difference that in the 19th century was made between two artistic languages, that of the child and that of the adult, the former becoming a new object of study. However, in the Enlightenment, drawing done from memory, an indispensable trait of children's drawing, was treated with distrust. On this subject, Rousseau declared:

Je le détournerai même de rien tracer de mémoire en l'absence des objets, jusqu'à ce que, par des observations fréquentes, leurs figures exactes s'impriment bien dans son imagination; de peur que, substituant à la vérité des choses, des figures bizarres & fantastiques, il ne perde la connaissance des proportions, et le goût des beautés de la Nature⁵⁹.

The myth of Rousseau's child is, therefore, the antithesis of the child who enjoys scribbling and caricature. Émile is the child who retrieves the uncorrupted vision that nature has given him by observing and reproducing an exact copy of nature. Rousseau prepared the way for an understanding of what John Ruskin, in the mid-19th century, would define as «the innocence of the eye»⁶⁰. But in the 18th century no separation was established between naturalism and geometry and consequently the divergence we have seen between Rousseau and Bachelier only affected the teaching methodology. Bachelier himself insisted on the importance of «la noble symétrie, puisée dans la Nature»⁶¹.

In the 18th century, therefore, children's spontaneous drawings were not considered to be a natural expression but rather a corruption of the child's vision. On the other hand, the «discovery of childhood» that characterized the Enlightenment favoured the development of an industry of illustrations aimed at children's leisure and which, paradoxically, divulged non-normative systems of representation. Going back to the young artist of Lépicié's circle, the soldier that he has insolently drawn on his school folder is shown in profile, like the musketeers in the prints of the engraver Jean-Baptiste Delafosse⁶², to whom this work has been attributed⁶³. In addition, the size of this figure's nose and chin are

47,6x35,6 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, <<http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/portrait-of-a-boy-holding-a-portfolio-le-jeune-%C3%A9colier-33952>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁵⁹ Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation*, cit., vol. 1, p. 393.

⁶⁰ J. Ruskin, *The Elements of Drawing*, London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1857, p. 6.

⁶¹ Bachelier, *Memoire concernant l'école royale gratuite de dessin*, cit., p. 7.

⁶² See a print of J.-B. Delafosse *Mousquetaire de la premier compagnie*, Paris, V.ve de F. Chereau, 1756. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8409313h.r=Delafosse%20Mousquetaire%20de%20la%20premier%20compagnie?rk=42918;4>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁶³ See N. Jeffares, *Dictionary of pastellists before 1800*, London, 2006; on-line edition, <<http://www.pastellists.com/>> (last access: 29.12.2017). A pioneer study of the artist defends that the model was a child of the Delafosse family, a pupil of Lépicié: Ph. Gaston-Dreyfus, *Catalogue raisonné de*

particularly noticeable and are traits of the Pulcinella dolls that children played with in the 18th century. In the boy's drawing it is difficult to see if the soldier's arm is a sword, a pike or a rifle, which suggests that we should not discard a *clin d'œil* towards the imagery of the Revolution. The boy's pose, which later would be associated with Napoleon Bonaparte, increases the enigma of the work, or, at least, seems to stamp it as the result of the end of an era.

4. *The path to the essence*

In the 19th century, the teaching of drawing received new encouragement. The debate around the need to combine beauty and utility demanded not only an excellent training in drawing of industrial workers but also of the clientele. One of the most important changes was the introduction of drawing as a compulsory subject in elementary schools. As is well-known, J.-H. Pestalozzi was the first to design a method for teaching drawing specifically addressed to children. With the collaboration of his followers – J.-C. Buss, J. Schmidt, J. Ramsauer etc. – he codified a visual alphabet based on straight lines, curves and angles that led to the first known method that did not include figurative images in the first levels of learning. His model was responsible for the use of miniature blackboards amongst school children all over Europe. As a result, the 18th century iconography of the *petit dessinateur* gave way to scenes of children, generally of humble origin, represented with a little blackboard under their arms. The Swiss painter, Albert Anker, portrayed a boy from Berne with torn clothes, posing in front of a snowy landscape with the blackboard and a book⁶⁴.

In France, the large numbers of school children with the Pestalozzian blackboard were frequently portrayed by Jean Geoffroy. Thanks to this painter we can see the move of an «academy in miniature» to a primary school of the III Republic⁶⁵. The teaching of drawing had, in fact, become compulsory in the primary schools in 1882, when a «geometric» method, developed by the sculptor E. Guillaume, became established⁶⁶. Geoffroy's picture shows it being applied : in the background the smaller children are at the desks reproducing

l'oeuvre de Nicolas-Bernard Lépicicé, Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, Paris, Armand Colin, 1922, p. 240.

⁶⁴ A. Anker, *Berner Boy*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 82,4x54 cm. Zurich, Kunsthau Zürich.

⁶⁵ J. Geoffroy, *Drawing Class at Primary School*, 1895. Oil on canvas, 150x200 cm. Institut Universitaire de Formation de Maîtres, Paris, <<http://www.cnap.fr/collection-en-ligne/?#/artwork/140000000058708?layout=grid&page=0&filters=query:geoffroy>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁶⁶ See also: E. Guillaume, *Essais sur la théorie du dessin et de quelques parties des arts*, Paris, Perrin et Cie, 1896.

simple geometric forms from primers, while in the forefront the teacher helps the more advanced students with the drawing of bas-reliefs and plaster mouldings. Guillaume's method was one of a series of state programs – the result of the 18th century concerns we have mentioned previously – and these ensured the establishment of the model of generic drawing which was thought to be the basis of the different known branches or registers. Despite the rational character of the drawing they defended, these programmes took into account the indications of Pestalozzi and his followers to grade the learning of the designs according to the age of the child.

The reaction against the «geometric method» did not come together in Europe until the first decade of the 20th century. The alternative proposal was drawing from life: experimental psychology had advised against the learning of drawing by means of abstract geometrical forms in favour of the direct observation of the people and things surrounding the child⁶⁷. In addition, according to the Catalan pedagogue V. Masriera, the general acceptance of what from then on would be known as the «natural method» was also due to the success of the Art Nouveau aesthetic and the international repercussion of impressionism⁶⁸.

The belief that a child should draw from life and not from representations had existed for more than a century, from Rousseau to Viollet-le-Duc⁶⁹. In fact, painters were especially careful to point out the insurmountable barrier that existed between school drawing and that which the children did at home. Almost contemporary with the above-mentioned work by Geoffroy is a painting by the Danish artist Viggo Johansen, which represents an interior where four children are attempting to draw some vases of wild flowers⁷⁰. The Belgian, Jan Verhas, also represented five children concentrating on painting and drawing a carnation plant in a pot⁷¹. The youngest is working with a paintbrush, the girl next to him with a pencil. The table is covered with papers and we can also see a box of watercolours and a building toy.

Yet again, the painter points to the relationship between children's drawing and play. Here the 18th century top has been replaced by a building toy. These playthings were the commercial extension of the reforming educational programmes of the romantic era, headed by the *Kindergarten* of F. Fröbel. As J. Bordes explains⁷², the commercialization of this didactic material in the

⁶⁷ G. Moreau, *La Nature, maître de dessin*, «Revue Universelle», n. 119, 1904, pp. 530-532.

⁶⁸ V. Masriera, *Manual de pedagogía del dibujo*, Madrid, Ángel Alcoy, 1917, pp. 9-10.

⁶⁹ Viollet-le-Duc shares Ruskin's view that the child has an uncorrupted vision that, if well directed, can produce drawing free from mannerisms. E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire d'un dessinateur. Comment on apprend à dessiner*, Paris, Hetzel & Cie, 1879.

⁷⁰ V. Johansen, *Children Painting Spring Flowers*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 47x56,2 cm. Skagens Museum.

⁷¹ J. Verhas, *The Master Painter*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 115,5x190 cm. Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Gent, <<https://www.mskgent.be/en/featured-item/master-painter>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁷² Bordes, *La infancia de las vanguardias*, cit., p. 49.

form of a building toy meant that the aims of these programmes achieved much more than was expected. The same can be said of the box of watercolours that appears in Verhas' painting. During the 19th century, the development of the chemical industries meant that paints could be produced in series. The new paint boxes made painting *à plein air* much easier, both for professional artists and amateurs. On the other hand, impressionism helped to create an interest in drawing directly with colour, thus contradicting the traditional concept, firmly established in schools, of paint as an ornamental complement to a previously completed drawing⁷³.

The impressionist painters obviously paid attention to children's drawing. It is to Edgar Degas that we owe what is probably the most explicit pictorial tribute to children's art of the period. This is a full-length portrait of the boy Jacques de Nittis, son of the Italian painter Giuseppe de Nittis⁷⁴. Degas shows us the boy from a high angle which emphasises how small he is, and this is stressed even more by the chair Jacques is leaning on to draw. The chair is covered with papers and one has fallen on the floor. The child's posture as he bends over the sheet of paper expresses the confidence with which he draws. Degas has taken pity on the curiosity of the spectator and has reproduced one of Jacques' drawings on the wall of the room: a horseman in a landscape. The most important detail, however, is that Jacques' drawing is in the part of the picture where Degas decided to sign his work.

Degas does not represent the child drawing from life but working from memory. During the second half of the 19th century, in fact, visual memory came to be given great importance as an artistic gift, following the ideas of H. Lecoq de Boisbaudran in the field of pedagogy⁷⁵. Drawing from memory even acquired an aura of originality when it was thought to be the method children applied when drawing spontaneously. This Pandora's box flew open in 1884 during the International Conference on Education held as part of the International Health Exhibition in London. E. Cooke, a follower of Ruskin, stated that the foundations of drawing, those that should be taught in schools, were not to be found in geometry but in children's early scribbles⁷⁶.

Cooke's intervention was part of the discussion following the lecture by Th.-R. Ablett, a fervent defender of drawing from memory, *The teaching of drawing and of colouring as a preparation for designing and decorative works*⁷⁷.

⁷³ Masriera, *Manual de pedagogía del dibujo*, cit., p. 10.

⁷⁴ E. Degas, *Jacques de Nittis as a Child*, ca. 1878-1880. Pastel on paper, 60x48 cm. Private collection. See the reproduction of this work in P.-A. Lemoisne, Ph. Brame, Th. Reff, *Degas et son oeuvre*, Paris, Garland, 1984, vol. 2, p. 282.

⁷⁵ H. Lecoq de Boisbaudran, *Education de la memoire pittoresque*, Paris, Bance, 1862.

⁷⁶ See the contribution of Ebenezer Cooke in R. Cowper (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Conference on Education*, London, Executive Council of the International Health Exhibition, and for the Council of the Society of Arts, 1884, vol. 2, p. 246.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 226-234.

Ablett was later behind the creation of the Royal Drawing Society, and entity that, from 1890 onwards, organized annual exhibitions of children's art that emphasized children's powers of retention⁷⁸. Exhibitions of children's art were to be found frequently all over Europe, as were associations for the aesthetic education of children. In 1898, for example, la Kunsthalle in Hamburg organized the exhibition *Das Kind als Künstler*, an initiative of the pedagogue Carl Götze. In 1901, coinciding with the Congress of Artistic Education in Dresden, the Sezession of Berlin organized the very successful exhibition entitled *Die Kunst im Leben des Kindes*, which included portraits of children, illustrated books and a section of children's art. Similarly, that same year, the *Exposition de l'Enfance* was organized at the Petit Palais in Paris⁷⁹. This is where Degas' portrait of *Jacques de Nittis, enfant* was exhibited for the first time⁸⁰. That same year, Pierre-Auguste Renoir painted one of the most famous portraits of his son Jean⁸¹.

Renoir liked to paint his children concentrating on activities such as drawing, playing or reading, recalling the links between these three areas that the painters of the Enlightenment had introduced. One day, when Jean had not gone to school because he had influenza, Renoir encouraged him to draw so that he would be still while he was posing⁸². The picture surprises for the nearness of the artist to his model. The boy is drawing from memory something we cannot see. The painter comes near enough for us to see some primitive scribbles. Jean's drawing is not only done from memory: it is a schematic form of art that does not attempt to reflect a human vision but, as if it were a form of writing, becomes the threshold to another world. This aspect had already been dealt with by the archaeologist C. Ricci, the author of what is considered to be the first monographic work on children's drawing and plastic art, *L'arte dei bambini*, which appeared in Bologna in 1887:

I bambini descrivono l'uomo e le cose invece di renderle artisticamente; cercano di riprodurle nella loro complessione assoluta e non nella risultanza ottica⁸³.

In fact, the so-called «discovery» of children's drawing insisted not only on the use of visual memory on the part of children, but also on the congenital characteristics of a system of representation that, depending on the viewpoint

⁷⁸ S. Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*, Cambridge, The Lutterworth Press, 2004, p. 327.

⁷⁹ F. Beuquier, *Le dessin d'enfant exposé, 1890-1915. Art de l'enfance et essence de l'art*, «Gradhiva. Revue d'Anthropologie et d'Histoire des Arts», n. 9, 2009, pp. 103-125.

⁸⁰ Lemoisne, Brame, Reff, *Degas et son oeuvre*, cit., p. 282.

⁸¹ P.-A. Renoir, *The Artist's Son, Jean, Drawing*, 1901. Oil on canvas, 45,09x54,61 cm. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, <<https://www.vmfamuseum/piction/6027262-8123321/>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁸² See the catalogue entry in *Renoir au XX^e*, Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 2009, p. 218.

⁸³ C. Ricci, *L'arte dei bambini*, Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli, 1887, p. 11.

of the era, came close to primitive art. The archaeological discoveries and ethnological expeditions – along with the commercial circulation of artistic objects from the European colonies – were an incentive both for artists and historians to look for an artistic expression that originated in new lands. This was how, right in the middle of evolutionist thinking, a new «childhood of art» was discovered in the heart of Europe, in the creations of small children. This view was, in fact, that of the public whose curiosity took them to the exhibitions of children's art, and was also the reason for the success of the numerous works that educationalists, psychologists and ethnologists were beginning to publish at that time⁸⁴.

The understanding of children's art as an echo of an essence that the old Europe had discarded came parallel with the symbolist movement. The International Conference on Education, where Cooke and Ablett expressed their ideas, took place in the same year as the last impressionist exhibition, held in Paris, and in the year that J. Moréas published the symbolist manifesto in the literary supplement of *Le Figaro*. Two years later, Gauguin, after his journey to Martinique, took refuge again in Brittany where he became the centre of a group of painters known as the Pont Aven School. In 1889, in a public exhibition at the Café Volponi, Gauguin and his group presented a new artistic current: synthetism. First practised by Émile Bernard, synthetism removed from the image everything that could not be remembered after visualization: it exemplified the repercussion of symbolism in pictorial expression⁸⁵.

During a stay at Saint-Briac, Bernard portrayed the son of a fisherman⁸⁶. Wearing a straw hat, the child is looking down, absent from the reality around him. The perception of childhood as a hermetic universe is a constant in symbolism. Bernard also represents the boy standing in front of an interior wall with a drawing of a boat, showing the transmission from fathers to sons of an ancestral occupation. In addition, the way in which the boat has been drawn shows a different aesthetic, that of the child, which, as this picture testifies, the synthetist painters took well into account. Van Gogh, at least, recognises this in one of his letters to his brother:

Gauguin et Bernard parlent maintenant de faire «de la peinture d'enfant»⁸⁷.

⁸⁴ The similarities between children's art and that of primitive peoples were addressed in one of the most important texts of that time, *Studies of Childhood* (1896) by J. Sully. See the French edition: J. Sully, *Études sur l'enfance*, Paris, Félix Alcan, 1898, pp. 412-414. In the field of ethnology, an outstanding early monographic study of the question is H. Breuil, *L'art à ses débuts: l'enfant, les primitifs*, Montligeon, Imprimerie-Librairie de Montligeon, 1906.

⁸⁵ G. Cogeval, D. Hansen, R. Rapetti, V. Sueur-Hernel, M.-P. Vial, *Émile Bernard*, 1868-1941, Paris, Les Éditions du Musée d'Orsay, 2014.

⁸⁶ É. Bernard, *Le Fils du marin*, 1888-1891. Oil on canvas, 54x46 cm. La Piscine. Musée d'Art et d'Industrie, Roubaix, <<http://www.roubaix-lapiscine.com/collections/peintures/emile-bernard-lille-1868-paris-1941-2/>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁸⁷ Van Gogh, handwritten letter to Théo Van Gogh, n. 668, dated in Arles in August, 1888.

Modern painting delved into the past to find the future. Artists searched hard for a primitive language, which from time to time seemed to reveal itself in the ancient civilizations, in far-away lands, or in the creations of small children. In his picture, Bernard posed a question that in the Vienna of 1900, F. Cizek conveyed to the field of teaching⁸⁸. Around 1900, a new scenario was established in which drawing was no longer thought of as a professional necessity but became a language that contributed to the integral development of the individual. Painters' testimonies reveal that the contemporary «little draughtsmen» were no longer artists' apprentices but school children. The change from interest in the artists' childhood to interest in the plastic art of all children is illustrated in the above-mentioned work by Kerschesteiner. More than a hundred plates of children's illustrations are collected in a volume, watched over on the frontispiece by the self-portrait of the fourteen-year-old Dürer. Kerschesteiner's work was published in 1905. In June of that year, the group of painters known as Die Brücke was founded in Dresden and, months later in Paris, Matisse and his circle took part in the Autumn Salon. Expressionism was making its appearance far and wide in Europe.

5. Children's sources

The expressionists were those who most vociferously recognised art's debt to children⁸⁹. Expressionism was not, however, a majority current despite its later transcendence⁹⁰. During the years previous to the Great War, various programmes that were exponents of the «natural method» became official in many parts of Europe. The case of France, where the programme came into force in 1909, was the most outstanding. Designed by G. Quénioux, a teacher at the École Nationale des Arts Decoratifs, this programme tried to combine contributions from experimental psychology and drawing both from life and from memory⁹¹. In addition, his followers strongly denied the existence of any analogy between children's art and primitive art. This idea was behind

Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

⁸⁸ In 1904, Cizek began to give classes to children in the Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna, with which he collaborated until 1938. Convinced as he was of the vulnerability of children's art with relation to adult creations, he defended the non-intervention of the teacher. M. Hernandez Belver, *Introducción: El arte y la mirada del niño. Dos siglos de arte infantil*, «Arte, Individuo y Sociedad», n. 1, 2002, pp. 13-14.

⁸⁹ For further information, see J. Fineberg, *The Innocent Eye: Children's Art and the Modern Artist*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1997.

⁹⁰ J. Boissel, *Quand les enfants se mirent à dessiner, 1880-1914: un fragment de l'histoire des idées*, «Les Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne», n. 31, 1990, p. 19.

⁹¹ Pernoud, *L'invention du dessin d'enfant*, cit., pp. 46-53.



Pic. 5. Escola Horaciana of Barcelona. 1909. Photographer: A. Antonietti. RF. 46178. (Barcelona, Institut Cartogràfic i Geològic de Catalunya).

the doctoral thesis of the Belgian pedagogue, G. Rouma⁹². Apart from the debunking of this theory, it is interesting to see that drawing from life and children's spontaneous drawing came to be considered two perfectly compatible registers. For the educator, the latter even came to be the thermometer that indicated the development of the child's level of perception stimulated by the practice of drawing from life.

The drawings reproduced in the *Manuel de Dessin à l'usage de l'Enseignement primaire*⁹³ de Quénioux are an anticipation of the programme between 1907 and 1909. Based on a particular subject, for example something related to a

⁹² G. Rouma, *Le langage graphique de l'enfant*, Brussels, Misch & Thron, 1913, pp. 243-264. This work is dedicated to the pedagogue Alexis Sluys, of whom Rouma had been a pupil at the Escola Normal in Brussels. Sluys was considered to be responsible for introducing drawing from life into Belgian schools. Rouma, in his defence of this system, refers to the work of the painter Martin Malharro, who popularized the "natural method" in Argentina: «Malharro, l'habile peintre argentin qui fut aussi inspecteur général de l'enseignement du dessin à Buenos Aires, a publié une méthode pour l'enseignement du dessin qui est tout à fait conforme à notre manière de voir». *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁹³ G. Quénioux, *Manuel de Dessin à l'usage de l'Enseignement primaire*, Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1910.

month in the year, we see how the children evoke July with a modern threshing machine and August with the bustle of a train station at the beginning of the holidays. We also find the children's imagination applied to popular songs and stories, with scenes of Marlborough marching to war, «mère Michel» looking for her cat, Tom Thumb or Little Red Riding-Hood. Country life alternates with pictures of airships with the name of the aviator Santos-Dumont painted on the side. And there are children crying in school, wearing paper hats with «donkey» written on them. For the practice of drawing from life, Quénioux recommends using both natural objects and those from the child's immediate surroundings. He also considers including the drawing of the human figure in an exercise consisting of portraying «le ou la camarade de prédilection»⁹⁴.

A photograph taken in 1909 shows a girl standing on a dais while her classmates try to draw her [Pic. 5]. But the photograph was taken in a classroom of the Escola Horaciana of Barcelona. In accordance with the reforming educational currents in Spain and Europe, this coeducational school adopted from the beginning the practice of drawing from life. In 1912, the founder of the centre, the pedagogue and geographer Paul Vila, commented that:

El dibuix és un medi d'expressió de la nostra ànima manifestant les impressions que reb del món dels homes i de les coses.

And he added:

Així, de la mateixa manera que les paraules, tot essent iguals, són distintes a l'eixir de la boca de cada home, perquè vénen avaluades per les emocions de la seva ànima, així també, deixant el dibuix com a medi d'expressió, seran distintes les manifestacions en tots els nois i en tots els homes⁹⁵.

Both psychology and modern art were establishing an understanding of drawing as a register of the personality, and for this reason children should not imitate the productions of others but represent nature directly. When carrying out his study, Kerschensteiner had two basic questions in mind for the reforming of the teaching of drawing: the characteristics of the graphic expression of uninfluenced children and the quality of expression that could be achieved between 6 and 14 years of age. One part of his survey consisted in asking the children in Munich to produce a self-portrait. Beneath each drawing he noted down the sex of the child, the age, the profession of the parents and the existence, or otherwise, of illustrated books in the home. Kerschensteiner actually asked to be present while the drawings were being done, so that the teachers would not show the children pictures to imitate⁹⁶. However, a glance at those drawings confirms the impact of picture books even in the work of

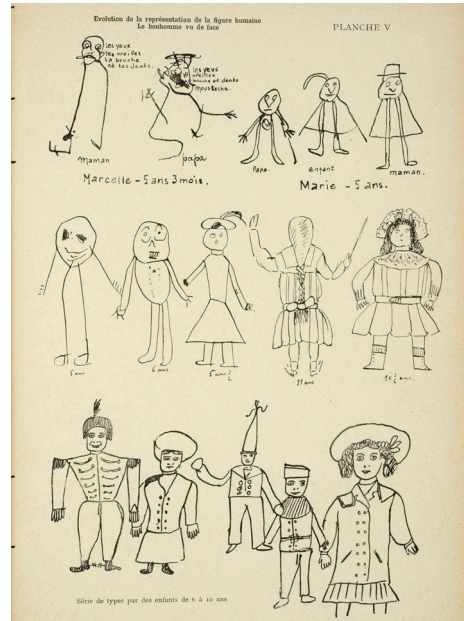
⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁹⁵ P. Vila, *Què'ls duran, els Reys, a nostres fills*, Barcelona, L'Avenç, 1912, p. 23.

⁹⁶ Kerschensteiner, *Die Entwicklung der Zeichnerischen Begabung*, cit., pp. 96-97.



Pic. 6. G. Kerscheneister, *Die Entwicklung der Zeichnerischen Begabung*, Munich, Carl Gerber, 1905, p. 77. (Digital Reproduction from the Digital Collections of the University library of the Bauhaus University Weimar).



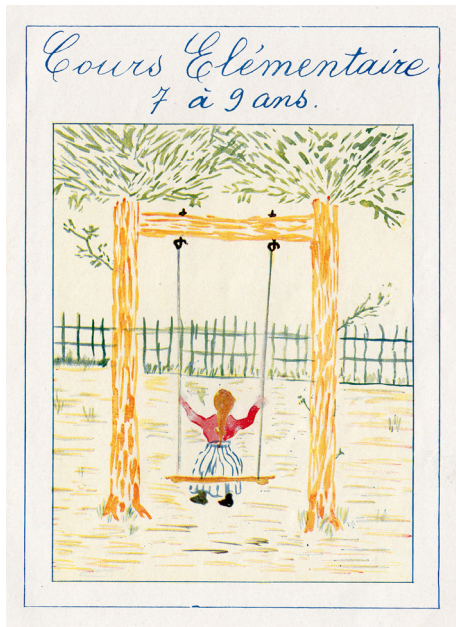
Pic. 7. Georges Rouma, *Le langage graphique de l'enfant*, Brussels, Misch & Thron, 1913, p. 37. (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya).

those children who did not possess any. This interpretation makes sense when we consider the many channels through which a new children's visual culture was becoming universal: press, publicity, exhibitions, fairs, shop-windows, etc.

To give an example, Kerscheneister shows the self-portrait of a girl aged 13, the daughter of the owner of a department store [Pic. 6]. The girl draws a view of her back, as does an eleven-year-old Belgian girl in a drawing that Rouma includes in his work [Pic. 7]. This view also reappears in the drawings of three different children that Quénioux reproduces in his *Manuel* [Pic. 8]. In spite of the fact that these three scholars interpreted these drawings as “not influenced”, the graphic notation used by the children relates to that being divulged everywhere both in publicity and children's books. For example, in the poster that Fernand Fernel designed for the French stores *La Belle Jardinière* we can see two little girls in the same position⁹⁷. Louis-Maurice Boutet de Monvel did something similar for the cover of the songbook *Vielles chansons pour les petits enfants*⁹⁸.

⁹⁷ Fernand Fernel, *La Belle Jardinière*, 1890. Lithography, 98x126 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9013438b>> (last access: 29.12.2017).

⁹⁸ See the frontispiece of Ch.M. Vidor, *Vielles Chansons et rondes pour les petits enfants*,



Pic. 8. Gaston Quénioux, *Manuel de Dessin à l'usage de l'Enseignement primaire*, Paris, Hachette et Cie, 1910. (Private Collection).



Pic. 9. G. Kerscheneister, *Die Entwicklung der Zeichnerischen Begabung*, Munich, Carl Gerber, 1905, p. 65. (Digital Reproduction from the Digital Collections of the University Library of the Bauhaus University Weimar).

In all cases, the rapid development of graphic arts led to a popularizing of images without precedent, which inevitably influenced ways of seeing and of drawing. Returning to Kerscheneister, another of his illustrations is the self-portrait of the son of an engineer. The boy, aged 10, has picture books, with the result that his drawing shows a higher level of iconicity than that of the son of a factory worker. The latter, however, adopts the position of a *Hampelmann* made of chromolithographed paper, that is, with the legs stretched out making the shape of an X [Pic. 9].

During the second half of the 19th century, chromolithographs for children were produced in printing presses specialized in school materials, either in the form of picture-books, plates or cut-outs. The latter were sold cheaply and represented silhouettes of flat figures that could be made three dimensional, but that, even so, could only be seen from one angle. This resulted in their often presenting the body from the front and the feet sideways, as well as other

characteristics that were then beginning to appear in children's drawings and which were the basis of what, in the 20th century, Georges-Henri Luquet would define as «intellectual realism»⁹⁹.

One of the most characteristic images of this period was what Luquet called «têtards à tête mixte»¹⁰⁰, that is to say, human faces represented in profile and with both eyes seen frontally. It must be pointed out that B. and M. Wilson¹⁰¹ documented that this graphic form disappeared from children's drawings around the middle of the 20th century. At that time channels of visual communication had multiplied and divulged new forms. The Wilsons also pointed out that 70% of the «têtards à tête mixte» reproduced in Kerschesteiner's work were the work of children who did not have picture books. In spite of everything, the popular classes in Europe, especially in rural areas, lived in surroundings lacking images that would have allowed the children's drawings to evolve by reciprocal influence or contagion. In relation to this, one of the most incisive voices to deal with the subject of children's drawing at the end of the 19th century, that of the philosopher Jacques Passy, is particularly important:

On ne trouverait guère, en effet – au moins dans les classes aisées – d'enfants complètement neufs au point de vue du dessin; presque toujours on leur a dessiné des *bonshommes*, des *dadas*, des *petits cochons*; ces dessins fort maladroitement exécutés la plupart du temps, et qu'ils résumant encore les imitant, se gravent dans leur mémoire et y deviennent en peu de temps les types du visage humain, du cheval ou du cochon [...]. Dès lors, quand on demande à l'enfant de copier un objet, il ne se donne pas la peine d'observer, mais se contente de reproduire machinalement l'image qu'il est habitué à y associer¹⁰².

The truth is, Passy confirmed the inexistence of children free from the influence of the adult imagination, because, even in the most isolated cases, there would always be an adult who would transmit a way of behaving. On the other hand, drawing from life, as Quénioux insisted, tended to develop in the individual «l'indépendance de la pensée et l'habitude du raisonnement et, par la latitude qu'elle laisse à chacun de choisir ses moyens d'expression, elle favorise l'affirmation de la personnalité»¹⁰³. Nevertheless, freedom of thought could only be effective in those cases where the means of expression to be chosen, that is to say, the graphic idioms, would not be limited to those of a member of the family or those the picture-books helped to generalize. In this transfer of idioms, the role of the best-intentioned teacher cannot be forgotten. A glance at the portraits from life done by the pupils of the Escola Horaciana in Barcelona,

⁹⁹ G.-H. Luquet, *Le dessin enfantin*, Paris, Alcan, 1927.

¹⁰⁰ G.-H. Luquet, *Les bonshommes têtards dans le dessin enfantin*, «Journal de psychologie normale et pathologique», n. 17, 1920, p. 709.

¹⁰¹ Wilson, *The Case of the Disappearing Two-eyed Profile*, cit., pp. 19-32.

¹⁰² J. Passy, *Notes sur les dessins d'enfants*, «Revue Philosophique de la France et l'Étranger», n. XXXII, 1891, p. 614.

¹⁰³ Quénioux, *Manuel de dessin*, cit., p. 4.

in fact, carry the ineffable print – in the form, in the use of the charcoal, etc. – of the painter and reputed pedagogue Manuel Ainaud, who was the teacher of drawing at the school [Pic. 10]¹⁰⁴.

The latest artistic education did not reject entirely the possibility of a dialogue with the new visual culture of the children. When suggesting a list of models that would be apt for primary school classes of drawing from life, Quénioux mentions numerous objects, both natural and artificial. He divides them into a series of categories (daily objects, plants, fruit, dissected animals, etc.) amongst which there are toys, the children's favourite subject:

Ce genre de modèle présente une grande variété et c'est celui qui a le plus d'attrait pour les enfants. On peut acquérir une collection de jouets suffisante avec une somme minime et aussi faire appel aux enfants qui prêteront volontiers leurs jouets pour être utilisés comme modèles à la classe de dessin¹⁰⁵.

In fact, Quénioux's *Manuel* contains an attractive catalogue of toys painted by the children themselves: a ring, a kitchen, a doll, a tin car, a roundabout, a drum, a horse on wheels, etc. Quénioux is conscious of the fact that these models could present a serious problem:

Bien que l'enfant soit surtout intéressé par le sujet plus que par la qualité esthétique de sa représentation, il importe de ne pas proposer comme modèles des jouets qui, par leur laideur, risqueraient de fausser le goût de l'élève. C'est ainsi qu'il faut répudier les affreuses représentations d'animaux en carton ou en caoutchouc¹⁰⁶.

Quénioux also recognises that the systems of representation adopted by the toy manufacturers are not always detrimental. In relation to a simple toy horse, he comments:

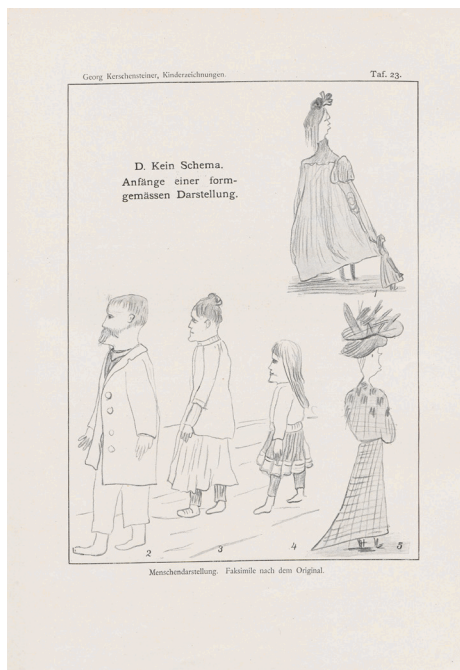


Pic. 10. Figure Drawing, Escola Horaciana of Barcelona. 1909. Photographer: A. Antoniotti. RF. 47868. (Barcelona, Institut Cartogràfic i Geològic de Catalunya).

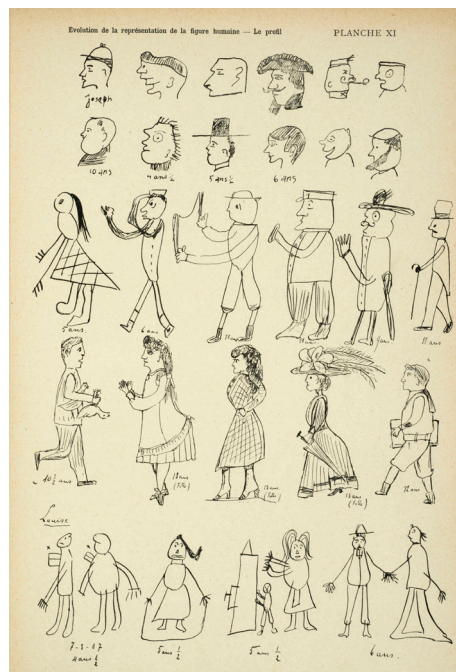
¹⁰⁴ Characteristic traits of these drawings such as the faces without features or the thin angular outlines appear, amongst others, in Ainaud's drawing *The waiting room at the doctor's surgery* published in the magazine «*Il·lustració Catalana*», n. 198, 1907, p. 171.

¹⁰⁵ Quénioux, *Manuel de dessin*, cit., p. 45.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.



Pic. 11. G. Kerschensteiner, *Die Entwicklung der Zeichnerischen Begabung*, Munich, Carl Gerber, 1905, p. 83. (Digital Reproduction from the Digital Collections of the University Library of the Bauhaus University Weimar).



Pic. 12. Georges Rouma, *Le langage graphique de l'enfant*, Brussels, Misch & Thron, 1913, p. 55. (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya).

Ce modèle est excellent au point de vue pédagogique. Il amuse les enfants. D'autre part, la simplification des formes et leur caractère accusé en rendent la traduction plus facile¹⁰⁷.

To all intents and purposes, both because of the affection involved and the formal simplification, in the eyes of the children toys are an attractive model to copy, and also provide them with a particular accessible graphic register for representing the world. In the drawings that illustrate Quénioux's *Manuel*, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the representation of a human being and that of a doll, or between that of a real horse and that of a toy, etc.

Going back to the self-portraits collected by Kerschensteiner, it is surprising how a little girl has used the same form to represent her doll as to represent herself [Pic. 11]. Amongst those collected by George Rouma, the self-portrait of a boy with a diabolo is easily associated with many tin mechanical toys offered by travelling salesmen [Pic. 12]. An outline figure that is playing the

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

cymbals is similar to the toy cymbals player that puts its arms together when its stomach is pressed. Even more alike are the arms and legs in the self-portrait of a 10-year-old girl and those of a china doll [Pic. 7]. All in all, this makes even more interesting Picasso's comment, rightly reproduced by Emmanuel Pernoud. Picasso said:

On nous explique qu'il faut laisser la liberté aux enfants. En réalité on leur impose de faire des dessins d'enfants. On leur apprend à en faire¹⁰⁸.

Inevitably, the way in which children in 1900 portrayed themselves demands a study of the systems of representation to which they had access, not only at school but also in their leisure time. As regards the iconography, it must not be forgotten that alongside the fantasy universe of books, toys became miniature representations of icons of modernity and comfort in which the Western world saw itself reflected. As we have seen, the children Quénioux observed practised drawing from life by copying the toys of that time, whose iconography alternated between icons of modernity and an evocation of idyllic nature. Toys were invented to awaken the child's interest in what they represented. So, when the children decide to portray themselves in the middle of a landscape, this is sometimes in the form of a train station or a city with airships flying over it.

Everything points, finally, to the fact that the existence of a genuinely infantile vision is lost in the flux of shifting viewpoints that define any culture. Despite this circumstance, the value of children's drawings as a historical source should not be doubted. Their interest lies not only in the child's vision but also in the sources that nourish it. The key to some of the historiographical reflections expressed here lies in an attractive volume of the history of toys, written in 1894 by the French journalist Léo Claretie:

Pour faire revivre les temps morts, il faut en retrouver à la fois et les grandes lignes et les menus fatras, et les combiner congrûment¹⁰⁹.

Claretie warns that toys «deviennent vite des monuments historiques», because «l'invention d'un camelot traduit l'état d'âme d'un peuple»¹¹⁰. Whatever the place a period of history may reserve for children, what is certain is that understanding infancy as the spark of the future has a universal dimension. And this is why the study of children's visual culture can become the weaving of a story of dreams. Perhaps the children's drawings may be the first interpretation of these dreams.

¹⁰⁸ M-L. Bernadec, A. Michael, *Pablo Picasso. Propos sur l'Art*, Paris, Gallimard, 1998, p. 149. Cited in Pernoud, *L'invention du dessin d'enfant*, cit., p. 109.

¹⁰⁹ L. Claretie, *Les jouets. Histoire. Fabrication*, Paris, Librairies-Imprimeries Réunies, 1894, p. 285.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

The healthy child: photography and the promotion of health awareness in schools in Barcelona (1909-1933)*

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ABSTRACT: During the first few decades of the 20th century, the Barcelona City Council implemented a widespread educational and childcare reform program. One of the basic premises for these initiatives was interest in improving children's health and hygiene. With this goal in mind schools were created in forests and near the sea, summer camps were organized, the physical conditions of schools were improved, and science was used to try to find a better way to reach children and young people with disabilities. The Barcelona City Council popularized the actions taken under this program by publishing various books that had highly interesting photographic content. In this article, we research the characteristics of this reform program as they pertain to childhood healthcare by analysing the discourse presented in these books via their combination of text and photographs.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; School health services; Educational reform; Childhood; Health; Hygiene; Photography; Spain; XXth Century.

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Introduction

During the transition from the 19th to the 20th century, beliefs that would become the foundation for the contemporary concept of childhood gained momentum. Infant mortality started to be seen as something that was avoidable, and reducing the high death rate during the first years of life became a focus of public policy. In Spain, toward the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, hygienism (a publically-sponsored movement promoting hygiene) turned into one of the main social regeneration programmes of the period, and its influence awakened an interest in issues directly related to demography¹. Among these issues were reducing infant mortality and improving children's health, and thus they became the objectives of a programme that aimed to modernize society using rational science-based principles². Medical advances and the progressive socialization of healthcare, and especially paediatrics, also helped to promote measures that would improve children's health³.

The discourse on hygiene under the wider framework of a modernization programme based on the consolidation of a new conception of childhood, fit well with the intention to put children through mass schooling. Families, and especially mothers and schools, became tools for making the population more hygienic and certainly for improving the health of the youngest members of society. With this idea in mind, the education that mothers received was to be improved and school buildings and programmes that would improve sanitary conditions were to be designed and implemented⁴. Making it known that there were concerns about health and preoccupations over biomedical factors affecting students with a science-based education was one of the main teaching

¹ J. Bernabeu Mestre, *El pensament demogràfic dels higienistes espanyols en els anys de la transició, 1898-1947*, in M. Gutiérrez (ed.), *La industrialització i el desenvolupament econòmic d'Espanya*, Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, 1999, vol. 1, pp. 361-371.

² R. Ballester Añón, E. Balaguer Perigüell, *La infancia como valor y como problema en las luchas sanitarias de principios de siglo en España*, «Dynamis: Acta Hispanica ad Medicinae Scientiarumque. Historiam Illustrandam», vol. 15, 1995, pp. 177-192.

³ Textual examples include the following: V. Miró Laporta, *Higiene y educación del niño*, Madrid, Alcoy, Librería de Victoriano Suarez/Imprenta El Serpis, 1899; R. Ulecia y Cardona, *Arte de criar a los niños. Nociones de higiene infantil*, «Admón. Revista de Medicina y Cirugía Práctica», 1904; A. Martínez Vargas, *Nuestras madres y el engrandecimiento patrio*, «La Medicina de los Niños», n. 7, 1906, pp. 291-362. About this topic see also: E. Rodríguez Ocaña, *Una medicina para niños*, in J.M. Borrás Llop (ed.), *Historia de la infancia en España contemporánea (1834-1936)*, Madrid, Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1998, pp. 149-170; E. Rodríguez-Ocaña, *La construcción de la salud infantil. Ciencia, medicina y educación en la transición sanitaria en España*, «Historia contemporánea», n. 18, 1999, pp. 19-52; E. Rodríguez-Ocaña, E. Perdiguero, *Ciencia y persuasión social en la medicalización de la infancia en España, siglos XIX-XX*, «História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos», vol. 13, n. 2, 2006, pp. 303-324.

⁴ X. Motilla, B. Sureda, *La gota de Llet. Protecció a la Infancia i Educació social a la Menorca contemporània*, Menorca, Institut Menorquí d'Estudis, 2008.

lines that was developed starting at the beginning of the 20th century. It is not a coincidence that some of its most notable representatives were doctors, including Maria Montessori, Ovide Decroly, and Januz Korczak. Furthermore, as established by Jordi Planella, the combination of education and healthcare policies became an important system for social control, emanating from a control over citizens' bodies⁵.

The push towards an educational regeneration programme based on naturalist- and hygiene-related principles and on new active teaching methods was especially intense in Barcelona at the turn of the 20th century. Under the framework of a regeneration project, which in those days in Catalonia was fuelled by various ideological positions with common objectives regarding social and educational modernization, the City Council of the Catalan capital undertook a far-reaching education action plan focused on introducing new educational ideas and improving the health of young boys and girls.

For all of these initiatives the City Council of Barcelona provided detailed accounts via the publishing of a number of books that are of the utmost interest from an educational history perspective. This article is centred around the study and analysis of some 70 books and pamphlets that the aforementioned city council published on the efforts it made in education between 1909 and 1933. In these publications, photography plays a critical role, and not just because of the numbers – a total of 618 photographs have been catalogued and are discussed based on subject area below (see Table 1) – but because in a large number of cases, images take up more space than text. In this way they synergize with the text to serve as the main element for transmitting information, and thus, the photographs themselves become a significant part of the narrative.

Consequently, our main goal is to explore the characteristics of this reform programme in the field of childhood hygiene, analysing the discourse that is transmitted in the aforementioned works via the combination of textual content and iconography in order to publicize the set of actions taken regarding children's health.

The present article is structured around three parts: the first section provides brief details on the reform work that was carried out by the City Council of Barcelona in the area of education, especially after the creation of the Culture Commission in 1916; the second section describes the documents that were dealt with (the main publications and general characteristics of the photography present); and the third section delves into the hygiene-based, pro-health discourse promoted by the City Council that is reflected in this set of publications using both textual content and iconography (photographs, plans, graphics, children's drawings, prints, etc.). This last section is structured around what are considered to be the main lines of action carried out by the City

⁵ J. Planella Ribera, *Cos i discursivitat pedagògica: bases per a la ideació corporal*, Doctoral thesis, Universitat de Barcelona, 2004, <<http://hdl.handle.net/2445/43037>> (last access: 12.08.2017).

Council in this area: 1) improving sanitary conditions at schools, 2) creating a network of complementary hygienic, naturalist initiatives in public schools, and 3) instilling healthy educational practices.

1. The educational work done by Barcelona's City Council during the first third of the 20th century

During the first decade of the 19th century Barcelona saw significant population growth due to the influx of Spanish immigrants who were drawn to Catalonia's industry. The City Council was then forced to deal with the social and educational demands of a large group of children who, in many cases, lived in unsanitary conditions and were in a poor state of health. In order to meet these demands, the City Council of Barcelona, which at that time had little jurisdiction over educational matters, employed theories of active schooling that were spreading across Europe and the United States to push an ambitious educational action plan that would see the construction of new schools that provided improved sanitary conditions and which were innovative in terms of their architecture and the methods employed therein. The focus on hygiene was an important part of the Council's reformist programme as in theory, they could not change the curriculum itself, which for all public schools was dependent on the federal government of Spain. Thus, the municipality had to focus on other areas, and they created some special open-air schools.

Student health was further promoted with the organization of school camps; the creation of school canteens; and the construction of green, protected, open areas for children to play within the city. The attention given to disabled persons and the search for new scientific principles for attending to their educational needs is also worth noting. Special education was restructured, mainly through the creation of the *Escola de Cecs, Sordmuts i Anormals* (School for Blind, Deaf, Mute, and Handicapped) located on the forested Vilajoana property at the foot of Tibidabo mountain.

Information regarding the specific work carried out by the City Council of Barcelona from the end of the 19th century up to the Spanish Civil War can be found in the ground-breaking work carried out in the thesis written by Jaume Matas⁶, in the books on the Barcelona City Council's educational policies between 1916 and 1936 by Cañellas and Toran⁷, and the book by

⁶ J. Matas i Tort, *El Presupuesto Extraordinario de Cultura de 1908 del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona en el marco de la renovación escolar de Catalunya*, Doctoral thesis (director: Emilio Giralt Raventós), Facultad de Geografía e Historia, Universidad de Barcelona, 3 vols., 1977.

⁷ C. Cañellas, R. Toran, *Política escolar de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona 1916-1936*, Barcelona, Barcanova, 1982.

Salvador Domènech⁸ on the schools created by the *Patronato Escolar* (School Board) during the Second Spanish Republic. Some monographs consider more specific aspects, such as those written by Alfred Pérez-Bastardas⁹ and Raquel de la Arada¹⁰ which focus on the 1908 special budget for culture. The work by Domènech¹¹ covers Manuel Ainaud. And, for an overview of the actions carried out by the City Council of Barcelona under the framework of the educational reform in Catalonia, there is the book by Gonzalez-Agàpito, Marquès, Mayordomo, and Sureda¹².

These actions carried out by the City Council, to which we have made much reference, were pushed forward with even more vigour after 1916 with the creation of the *Comisión de Cultura* (Culture Commission), which performed its duties until the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. Two other groups, although they had some disagreements and differing opinions, agreed on the impetus to improve schooling and pay better attention to children according to the principles of progressive education: the Catalanist right – representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie – and the centre-left groups supporting republicanism. The reformist actions taken by the nationalist right with regards to pedagogy, as with other areas, stemmed mainly from the provincial Catalan governments grouped into the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* (Commonwealth of Catalonia), from 1914. At the same time, the City Council of Barcelona managed to lead fruitful collaborative efforts in the field of education between republicans and regionalists, albeit not without tension and confrontations. This collaboration eventually led to a far-reaching plan for modernizing childhood care, which is the focus of this article.

The City Council had already expressed interest in modernizing schools in the proposed 1908 Budget for Culture. This project was based on the reformist principles of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (ILE; Free Educational Institution) and was, at least in the beginning, supported by representatives with varying ideological perspectives in the City Council: from radical republicans and Catalanists to the regionalist right. One of the things that moved the project forward was the radical republican councilman Hermenegildo Giner de los Ríos (Cádiz, 1847 - Granada, 1923), brother of the founder of the ILE and fervent supporter of the principles of Krausism. For 20 years he was a Full

⁸ S. Domènech, *Els alumnes de la República: els grups escolars del Patronat Escolar de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona*, Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2008.

⁹ A. Pérez-Bastardas, *El Pressupost extraordinari de Cultura de 1908: entre solidaritat municipal i Solidaritat Catalana*, «Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics», n. XIX, 2008, pp. 71-84.

¹⁰ R. de la Arada, *El pressupost de cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona de 1908: un referent pedagògic*, «Temps d'Educació», n. 34, 2008, pp. 241-250.

¹¹ S. Domènech, *Manuel Ainaud i la tasca pedagògica a l'Ajuntament de Barcelona*, Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Biblioteca Abat Oliba, 1995.

¹² J. Gonzalez-Agàpito, S. Marquès, A. Mayordomo, B. Sureda, *Tradició i renovació pedagògica. 1898-1939*, Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2002.

Professor of Psychology, Logic, and Moral Philosophy at Barcelona's *Instituto de Segunda Enseñanza* (Institute for Secondary Teaching; 1909-1918). In the end, the project received so much criticism that it failed: from the public teaching system, for not attending to all schools; from the church officials, for its secularist focus and defence of mixed-sex education; and even from some republicans, for promoting teaching in Catalan. Along with being secularist, utilizing Catalan for teaching, supporting mixed-sex education, and reforming education, the 1908 project aimed to combat the dismal sanitary conditions in existing schools. It is worth noting that in 1912, when Rousseau turned 20 years old, in Barcelona, the First Congress for School Hygiene was held. In this congress, healthcare and education associations demanded more hygienic schools¹³.

As previously mentioned, with the City Council's founding of the Culture Commission in 1916, a fresh boost was given to the creation of schools and actions that focused on childhood care. Despite political changes, the ideas coming from the ILE, complemented by those from the progressive education movement and defended by both conservatives and republicans, continued to influence the city government's educational policy. To support the actions carried out by the Culture Commission, a Technical Commission (*Comisión Técnica*) was created in which various professionals contributed. The pedagogue Manuel Ainaud i Sánchez was named the leader of this body. He was well versed in the principles of progressive education thanks to his many trips abroad. Aside from the pedagogical section that would be led by Ainaud, there were two others, that of school architecture, to be led by architect Josep Goday, and that of school hygiene, led by paediatrician Enrique Mias. The professional prestige of the members of the commission contributed to its ability to work autonomously and through political changes. This, in turn, allowed for continuous educational action to be taken on behalf of the municipality. Furthermore, Ainaud surrounded himself with renowned collaborators, such as, poet Ventura Gassol with whom he worked until the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, and Artur Martorell, who helped him during the republican era and took charge of protecting the evidence of the educational work that the City Council had achieved once the Francisco Franco dictatorship began.

The Culture Commission, in support of the proposals made by the Technical Commission, managed *l'Escola del Bosc de Montjuïc* (the School in Montjuïc Forrest), which was founded in 1914 with the same focus on hygiene that it had when it opened the *Escola del Mar* (Sea School) in 1922 in the sailor's neighbourhood of Barceloneta. In the following year, the *Escola del Parc del*

¹³ A. Terrón Bañuelos, *La higiene escolar: un campo de conocimiento disputado*, «Áreas. Revista Internacional de Ciencias Sociales», n. 20, 2012, pp. 73-94; A. Esteruelas Teixidó, J. Garcia Farrero, I. Vilafranca Manguán, *L'Escola del Bosc cent anys després. Allà on Rosa Sensat va sistematitzar la seva pedagogia*, «Temps d'Educació», n. 49, 2015, pp. 111-133; *Primer Congreso de Higiene Escolar*, Barcelona, Imp. de la viuda de Francisco Badía Catenys, 1913.

Guinardó (School in Guinardó Park) was inaugurated. All of these were open-air schools that were inspired by similar institutions from around Europe¹⁴. They were originally conceived in order to improve children's health. In fact, we can identify the care they gave to the health and education of weak and sick children from working class families as the main line that guided their actions. This, however, went progressively changing, and more focus was put on developing a markedly reformist education system. In these schools, various progressive educational methods were utilized, especially those discussed by O. Decroly.

The Culture Commission also encouraged building in the city's neighbourhoods by collaborating financially with citizens to construct buildings with great aesthetic value and quality that would house their model educational centres. Architect Josep Goday, influenced by the intellectual, aesthetic, and educational ideas of the Catalan bourgeoisie, designed a number of these schools. The first one was the Baixeras school building, inaugurated in 1922. After this, he worked on the small La Farigola school in the same year. Soon afterwards, other school buildings were being designed and built: Milà i Fontanals, Lluïsa Cura, Ramón Llull, Lluís Vives and Pere Vila. Other school buildings remodelled by Goday include the following: Dolors Monserdà, Baldiri Reixach, Jacint Verdaguer, Carles Aribau, Francesc Pi Margall, and San Raimon de Penyaforç, which were opened in 1931, just before the declaration of the Second Spanish Republic.

As previously indicated, the City Council only had the ability to create these special schools (i.e. the school in Montjuïc Forrest, the Sea School in Barceloneta, and the Vilajoana school for persons with disabilities) but not to interfere with the management of regular schools. To increase their ability to affect these other centres, and to be able to have a greater impact on reforming teaching methods, Manuel Ainaud worked with the central government in Madrid to create a School Board on which both the federal government and the City Council of Barcelona would participate. The actual creation of this board took place in 1922, and it saw over the Baixeras and La Farigola schools. With the permission of the board, these two schools served as a training ground for student teachers from the *Normal de Maestros* (Teachers' College). Additionally, teachers at these schools were paid by the federal government but could be chosen by the School Board. It was a small step towards Catalan institutions being able to control their education system. With the establishment of the Second Spanish Republic, the School Board gained control over the new schools that were opened in 1931.

¹⁴ In general, Germany is recognized as the first country to teach in open-air schools in 1905. Shortly thereafter open-air schools could be found in London and the United States. The expansion of this kind of school progressively spread to other countries, including Spain (see: J.M. Bernal Martínez, *De las escuelas al aire libre a las aulas de la naturaleza*, «Áreas: Revista internacional de ciencias sociales», n. 20, 2000, pp. 171-182).

While building these new schools, the Culture Commission also worked to defend the use of the M. Montessori method, which at that time received the complete support of regionalist groups and the community-level institutions that they controlled¹⁵. This led to some reservations among Republicans, who nevertheless did not prevent the City Council from giving a scholarship to four teachers in 1914 so that they could attend a course on the Montessori method in Rome. The Council also provided resources for organizing another course in Barcelona in 1916. In 1914 the method developed by the Italian pedagogue began to be used in one official school with the support of the City Council under the direction of Celestina Vigneaux. In 1916, two more municipal Montessori kindergartens were opened.

School camps had an especially important role in the hygiene-related, educational actions taken by the Council. With the clear objective of improving sanitary conditions and children's health across the city, these camps were set up from 1906 until the establishment of the Second Republic. They were first suggested by councilman E. Giner de los Ríos, and this suggestion provides evidence of the inspiration that the camps drew from the pioneering experiences of the ILE. As previously mentioned, these camps involved the organization of semi-camps during the day and taking field trips to swim in the sea.

2. *The City Council of Barcelona's publications on their educational efforts*

Between 1912 and 1931, the City Council of Barcelona produced a total of 68 publications, combining text and a multitude of photographs in which they disclose the activities they carried out related to children's health. The majority of these publications can be found in the Artur Martorell Library (Barcelona, Spain), which also offers digitalized materials on their web page¹⁶. Some other works – books and pamphlets – can be found in various libraries (the National Library of Spain, as well as the libraries of Catalonia, Rosa Sensat, of Montserrat, etc.)¹⁷.

A large part of these works were published in Catalan (50 publications), 13 were published in Spanish (this was more common in the early years, until the creation of the Culture Commission in 1916 which took on the task of

¹⁵ F. Comas, B. Sureda, *The photography and propaganda of the Maria Montessori method in Spain (1911-1931)*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 48, n. 4, 2012, pp. 571-587.

¹⁶ See *Tasca pedagògica – Ajuntament Barcelona (1900-1933)*. Biblioteca Artur Martorell: <<http://mdc.cbuc.cat/cdm/search/collection/tasca>> (last access: 12.08.2017).

¹⁷ A detailed list of titles, years of publication, language, and locations has been previously published in: S. González, B. Sureda, F. Comas, *La renovación escolar del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona y su difusión fotográfica (1908-1936)*, «Revista Española de Pedagogía», vol. 75, n. 268, pp. 519-539.

publishing the works), 1 was published in both Spanish and Catalan (*Escola de Labors i Oficis de la Dona*), 3 in French, and 1 in Italian. The use of various non-Spanish, non-Catalan languages shows their willingness to disseminate the work that they carried out to educational reform groups beyond the borders of Catalonia and Spain. For example, in 1922, *Rapports de l'Institut d'anormaux de Vilajoana: présenté au Congrès d'Hygiène mentale de Paris*, was published with text, photographs, plans, and drawings that showed the care that handicapped persons received at the institute in Vilajoana. In 1931, *Institutions scolaires en plein air* was published; it provides accounts of the application of new methods in open-air schools. Similarly, in 1932, another book was published in French, titled *L'oeuvre d'enseignement de la Municipalité de Barcelone*, which was presented to those attending that year's progressive education congress in Nice: the *Sixième congrès mondial de la Ligue internationale pour l'éducation nouvelle*. The 1922 work that was published in Italian is little more than a catalogue of the publications that the Culture Commission had available that year.

There were two periods in which the City Council turned out a large number of publications. The first was between 1920 and 1922, when the Council published a total of 20 documents, representing nearly 30% of such output. Among these were documents that focused on new schools, such as *Escola Pere Vila i Codina*, *Escola Ramon Llull*, and *Escoles Milà i Fontanals* and *Lluïsa Cura*. They focused on the details surrounding the creation of these schools, and especially those related to the budget; municipal land use agreements; and plans and photographs of the construction of the buildings. Other publications from this period include the following: *Banyes de mar per als alumnes de les escoles de Barcelona* (Swims in the sea for Barcelona's school children), a compendium of textual and visual content focusing on the utility, benefits, and results of physical education, the seaside climate, and exposure to the sun, sea, and outdoors; *Escola Graduada Lluís Vives (Collocació de la primera pedra)* (Lluís Vives Grade School [Placing the first stone]), a succinct 20-page document that discusses the initiative, petition, organization, municipal agreements, and characteristics of the new building so that the grade school could be built; *El jardins dels infants* (Kindergartens), an interesting study consisting of essays and memoirs on the best schoolyards and play areas from around the world that aimed to serve as a reference for the future creation of kindergarten schoolyards in Barcelona; *Escola de Cecs* (School for the Blind), a publication rich in graphical information on the organization and inner workings of the centre on the Vilajoana property; and *Escola de Labors i Oficis de la Dona* (Women's Trade and Occupational School) and *Escoles a l'aire lliure del parc de Montjuïc* (The open-air schools in Montjuïc Park), which carry out an exhaustive review of the models, premises, installations, buildings, regulatory provisions, and daily life behind these schools. Another publication, from 1922, is the book titled, *Construccions escolars de Barcelona* (School buildings of

Barcelona), an extensive volume of more than 400 pages that gathers studies, projects, floor plans, and drawings related to the far-reaching educational work that was being carried out by the City Council.

The second period of intense publication was from 1930 to 1932, when 30 works were published, representing 44% of such literary output. Upon inaugurating various schools and camps, the City Council published a number of works that included a plethora of photographs. Among these publications are the following: *Inauguració de les obres de les «Escoles Casas»* (Inauguration of the «School Houses» project; 1930); *Inauguració de les obres de la colònia escolar permanent de Berga* (Inauguration of the permanent school camp in Berga; 1932); *Inauguració de les obres del grup escolar «Collaso i Gil»* (Inauguration of the «Collaso i Gil» school; 1932); and *Inauguració del Parvulari Forestier* (Inauguration of the Forestier Early Childhood Centre; 1932).

Another significant set of publications is related to the dissemination of information on the activities that were carried out such as open-air schools, swimming in the sea, both permanent and medical school camps, and kindergartens. Thus, in 1930, *L'Obra de les colònies escolars i banys de mar* (The work of school camps and sea swims), was published. In 1932, other similar publications appeared:

- *L'Obra de colònies escolars, banys de mar i semicolònies per als alumnes de les escoles de Barcelona 1906-1931* (The work of school camps, sea swims, and semi-camps on Barcelona's school students 1906-1931), an extensive book that begins with the history of the camps in Barcelona and covers statistical aspects of their 26-year process of development and includes a detailed explanation of how the camps were run on a day-to-day basis along with multiple photographs that reflect what life was like in the camps at Vilamar, Berga, Turissa, Tibidabo, Martorelles, and Bagur, among others;
- *Resum de l'organització de les Colònies Escolars de Vacances, de les Semi-colònies i dels Banys de l'any 1932* (Summary of the organization of Summer Camps, Semi-camps, and Swims in 1932), which has similar contents and structure to the previously mentioned book but does not include photographs; and
- *Visita a les noves colònies escolars* (A visit to the new school camps), a journey through the new school camps located in the mountainous areas surrounding Barcelona, including those at Martorelles, Les Franqueses, and Flor de Maig.

Regarding what specific institutions did, there are publications from 1932 on the camps at Turissa and Vilamar that are rich in both textual and graphical information.

The set of photographs that appear in these works creates an iconic discourse corresponding to the beginnings of the progressive education movement that was totally embraced at that time by those seeking to inspire the educational

policies of City Council of Barcelona¹⁸. The visual elements that are combined with the text in these works show children doing gymnastic exercises, playing sports, performing physical activities at the beach and in the mountains, swimming, doing breathing exercises, exercising with both Swedish and rhythmic gymnastics, and in the case of children with disabilities, doing sensory education exercises, etc.

Table 1 presents a well detailed count of the number of photographs that were published and into which main categories they fall:

<i>Subject area of the photographs</i>	<i>Number</i>
<i>School or camp activities in nature and outdoor areas</i>	127
<i>Buildings and installations</i>	110
<i>Open-air gymnastic or rhythmic (Jaques-Dalcroze) exercises</i>	23
<i>Groups of children posing</i>	64
<i>Leaving the city and going to the camps/Reception or farewell parties at the camps</i>	18
<i>Medical examinations</i>	7
<i>Exercising on the beach/Swimming (in lakes, rivers, or the sea)</i>	29
<i>Indoor school activities</i>	44
<i>Field trips and outings</i>	16
<i>Children swimming at the beach/playing/resting/sunbathing</i>	50
<i>Sanitary activities (showers)</i>	3
<i>Dormitories</i>	10
<i>Canteens/children eating</i>	17
<i>Classrooms without children</i>	7
<i>Libraries/children reading</i>	1
<i>Attending concerts, puppet shows, theatre performances, local festivities</i>	6
<i>Camping</i>	7
<i>Portraits</i>	12
<i>Children playing in schoolyards/playgrounds/play areas</i>	24
<i>Construction</i>	37
<i>Furniture, objects, bookshelves</i>	6
TOTAL	618

Table 1. Number of photographs, classified by subject area, published by the City Council of Barcelona (1909-1933). Own creation.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

The largest percentage of photographs in this collection are related to ordinary camps and open-air schools, swimming, and kindergarten activities that take place outdoors and in nature. As with other cases where photographs regarding educational activities have been analysed, these reflect the aspects that were considered to be the most innovative, the most worthy of being shared, and the most representative of the programme that was trying to be implemented¹⁹.

One aspect that received special graphical attention, because it was one that the City Council could influence, was the reference to the improved school spaces. Along with textual information on the processes of acquiring and preparing land, the design of spaces, and construction itself, a great number of floor plans and photographs were published that clearly aim to highlight the sanitary aspects and improved conditions of the buildings: large majestic buildings; wide open, ventilated areas that are well lit by large windows; clean, tidy, and well equipped canteens and dormitories; good libraries; etc.

3. *The discourse on hygiene and the image of the healthy child in the City Council's publications*

The widespread conviction of the era regarding the dire consequences that a decreasing population of children would entail, led to concerns about safeguarding children's health – both physically- and morally-speaking – and to great efforts being made by the City Council and society in general. The benefits stemming from action programmes, especially preventative ones, focused on the physical conditions surrounding childhood were soon seen to be more effective and economical than fighting against disease and death²⁰.

In order to delve further into the educational work carried out by Barcelona's City Council – especially its discourse on hygiene, naturalism, and focus on improving children's health – we have analysed the content from all of the publications that they put out between 1909 and 1933. Given the nature of this task, and obvious spatial limits, we have opted to highlight three aspects that we believe clearly reflect this discourse:

1. The work on improving sanitary conditions in schools;

¹⁹ F. Comas, X. Motilla, B. Sureda, *Escuela y fotografía, entre el testimonio y la construcción del discurso narrativo*, in III Foro Ibérico de Museismo Pedagógico-V Jornadas Científicas SEPHE, Murcia, 2012.

²⁰ M. Tolosa Latour, *Concepto y fines de la higiene popular*, Madrid, Viuda e Hijos de Tello, 1900. In Spain, the fight against infant mortality was principally based on three arguments, apart from those philanthropic ones: economic, nationalist, and rational (E. Rodríguez Ocaña, *La salud infantil, asunto ejemplar en la historiografía contemporánea*, «Dynamis», vol. 23, 2003, pp. 27-36).

2. The implementation of a real network of hygienic, naturalist initiatives; and
3. The healthy educational activities and practices associated with these initiatives.

3.1. *Improved sanitary conditions at schools*

Since the beginning of the 20th century, and especially since the creation of the Culture Commission in 1916 and the School Board of Barcelona in 1922, the City Council, clearly aware of the sanitary conditions affecting children's education, had promoted the creation of school camps and semi-camp, founded open-air schools, established so-called *banys de mar* or sea swims, and begun to create kindergartens in a number of the city's neighbourhoods. They slowly began to set up a network of parallel complementary institutions to public schools that were designed to combat a «state of regrettable hygiene in schools; so regrettable that they would not endure a medical inspection»²¹. And this was at a time when the majority of Barcelona's school children came from working class families, «and we already know about working class housing and the unfortunate state that it [was] in»²². This work was done because «in Barcelona, aside from the dangers that had to be confronted due to overcrowding – a misfortune common to all large cities – citizens also had to confront the lack of gardens, outdoor spaces, and other school-related institutions»²³.

It is no surprise to see such a statement in this publication: at that time, a large portion of the populations of both Barcelona and Madrid had to deal with overcrowded spaces with a serious lack of hygienic conditions compounded by the difficulty that was had in finding habitable spaces. Those in real danger in such a situation were children, especially poor ones. It was for this reason that the municipal government decided to build schools in healthy, sound places: it would contribute to improving the quality of life of the working class and strengthen the health of younger generations. In addition to their education, it was important that poor children spent the maximum number of hours that they could at these new institutions so that they could be fed, dressed, and bathed; spend time in the sun; do exercise; and get stronger and healthier. In the end, all of this would restore the race which would serve as a starting point for restoring Spain²⁴.

²¹ Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Banys de mar per als alumnes de les escoles de Barcelona*, 1920, p. 4 (Original text in Catalan).

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ M^a del Mar del Pozo Andrés, *La utilización de parques y jardines como espacios educativos alternativos en Madrid (1900-1931)*, «Historia de la Educación», vol. 12-13, 1993/1994, pp. 149-184.

For this reason, the City Council, with occasional help from individual donors, promoted the construction of high quality buildings with aesthetic value to house the pedagogically ideal schools that had proper sanitary and health conditions, among them were the Baixeras, Vallcarca (La Farigola), Ramon Llull, Milà i Fontanals, Lluïsa Cura, Pere Vila, and Collaso i Gil centres. All of these buildings share some common denominators:

- a. The project planner was Josep Goday (Mataró, 1882 - Barcelona, 1936), the architect behind monumental Noucentisme²⁵ school buildings, and who was in charge of the study on schools' needs and subsequently designed much of their amenities²⁶.
- b. They became benchmarks for school architecture.
- c. They represent a clear example of the enormous effort put forth by City Council of Barcelona in the interest of protecting children and improving public schools.

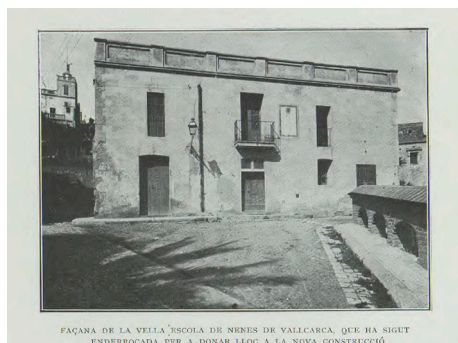
The Noucentisme planning of public life that was undertaken in as many spheres as possible in Catalonia, included the field of public health. It is worth mentioning that in 1907 the Jaussely Plan was approved which included a plan for a new urban image that would include among its main lines of action, a policy of creating green spaces – with regard to urban decentralization and the hygienic purpose that they serve – and a new level of municipal services that would affect education, social services, transport, and sanitation²⁷.

After this, a process of reforming school areas that were described in some books as being overcrowded, unhealthy, and lacking of adequate spaces began – and some new ones were built – in order to improve sanitary, safety, and teaching conditions [see Pic. 1, which shows an old school that was demolished to make way for a new building]. Some City Council publications focus on Barcelona's most important school projects and buildings, and they include a number of floor plans, drawings, and photographs of the construction or renovations that were carried out: a clear bid to make their significant efforts known [See Pic. 3]. Projects are explained, architectural decisions are detailed, and reasons are even given for how space is distributed. All of this is accompanied by the publication of a multitude of photographs that allow for the magnitude of the new buildings (paradoxically, one of Goday's preconditions was avoiding gigantism or anything monumental), the openness of the spaces, the brightness and illumination of the classrooms, the modernity of the new amenities etc.,

²⁵ Noucentisme was a movement that took place principally in Catalonia during the first third of the 20th century. It was a far-reaching movement that affected politics, social life, culture, and national identity. It was framed around a project of renovation and modernity that aimed to build a new reality (F. Sabaté i Casellas, *Noucentisme: ciutat i salubritat (Barcelona, 1900-1929)*, «Gimbernat», n. 48, 2007, pp. 39-47).

²⁶ J. dos Santos Sá, *Josep Goday e o mobiliário escolar espanhol na primeira metade do século 20*, «Historia da educação», vol. 19, n. 46, 2015, pp. 187-199.

²⁷ Sabaté i Casellas, *Noucentisme: ciutat i salubritat (Barcelona, 1900-1929)*, cit., p. 41.



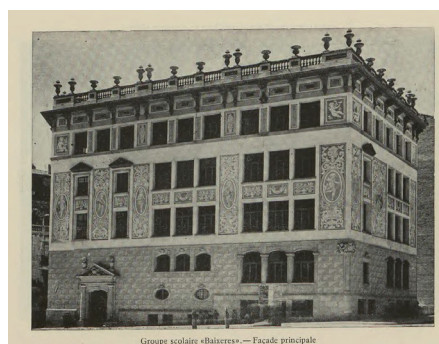
Pic. 1. Old façade of the school for children from Vallcarca. Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Escola graduada de nenes de Vallcarca* (Collocació de la primera pedra), 1918. (Fondo: Artur Martorell).



Pic. 2. Lluís Vives school building. Large space for manual tasks. Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *L'Oeuvre d'enseignement de la Municipalité de Barcelone*, 1932, p. 24. (Fondo: Artur Martorell).



Pic. 3. The schools Milà i Fontanals and Lluïsa Cura. Perspective of the schools. Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Escoles Milà i Fontanals i Lluïsa Cura*, 1922. (Fondo: Artur Martorell).



Pic. 4. Baixeres school building. Main façade. Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *L'Oeuvre d'enseignement de la Municipalité de Barcelone*, 1932, p. 13. (Fondo: Artur Martorell).

to be appreciated [see, for example, Pic. 2]. In fact, the Culture Commission requested that the architect design buildings with the following characteristics: «to be big, healthy, and happy; enabled by [their] distribution, light, and dimensions to produce the greatest results from [their] use; but free from all that would give [them] the character of being monumental or a pretentious look»²⁸.

²⁸ Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Les construccions escolars de Barcelona*, 2^a edició, 1922.

The architectural wealth in Barcelona's schools²⁹ from that era [Pic. 4] and the commitment of the City Council to improve sanitary and safety conditions in schools is impossible to deny when one looks at the photographs of the buildings that were erected, in most part by Josep Goday. The outbreak of grade schools represented a change in the design of spaces, and this fact is also reflected in these images. The stage became articulated in inter-related yet independent micro-spaces for children meeting certain criteria: chronological, mental, or educational³⁰. The legitimization of this trend was supported by a range of pervasive movements from the beginning of the 20th century, including architectural functionalism, Taylorism, ergonomics, hygienism, and panopticism³¹.

3.2. *A network of hygienic, naturalist initiatives that complemented public schools*

As we have seen, the City Council of Barcelona launched a series of initiatives in the first third of the 20th century that were focused on compensating for public schools and were aimed at improving the physical, sanitary, nutritive, and health-related conditions for a significant part of the children in the city at that time. Prevention became a fundamental part of all of this along with recovering or re-establishing children's physical conditions so as to allow them to live in a dignified, healthy way. Thus, health was the focal point for the Culture Commission from the moment that it was created. Even the songs that have been written down in the publications about the school camps in Barcelona mention this focus: «The city of Barcelona sends us off to be healthy. We want to live, we want to live»³² and «Glory, glory to the city. Glory, glory to Barcelona, which makes us strong and teaches us in love and kindness! Small heart, thankful»³³.

The Escola de Bosc, the Escola del Mar, and the Guinardó school were open-air schools that prioritized physical exercise and activities in nature in order to improve the health of students, although they also quickly incorporated a distinctly

²⁹ A. Cubeles, M. Cuixart, *Josep Goday Casals. Arquitectura Escolar a Barcelona de la Mancomunitat a la República*, Barcelona, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2008.

³⁰ A. Viñao, *Innovación pedagógica y racionalidad científica. La escuela graduada pública en España (1898-1936)*, Madrid, Akal, 1990.

³¹ A. Escolano Benito, *El espacio escolar como escenario y como representación*, «Revista Teias», vol. 1, n. 2, 2000, p. 4.

³² In original Catalan: «La ciutat de Barcelona ens envia a fer salut. Volem viure, volem viure». Ayuntamiento constitucional de Barcelona-Comisión de colonias escolares y escuelas de bosque, *Las Colonias escolares del año 1915*, 1915, p. 10.

³³ In original Catalan: «¡Glòria, glòria a la ciutat! Glòria, glòria a Barcelona que ens fa forts i ens alligona en l'amor i la bondat! Cor petit, agrait», Ajuntament de Barcelona-Comissió de colònies escolars i escoles de bosc, *Les Colònies escolars dels anys 1916 i 1917*, 1917, p. 14 (Original text in Catalan).

revolutionary educational focus. The City Council understood that many of Barcelona's children were weak, and they began giving yearly medical examinations to choose which children would be sent to the school camps. For this reason, it was «absolutely necessary to create a health centre where extended periods outdoors, comforting rations, and an environment of serenity and happiness could return to the weakest and those who need[ed] it the most the strength necessary to continue fighting for life, and thus in 1910, the creation of the 'Forrest Schools' in Montjuich Park was suggested»³⁴.

This very preoccupation over the «poor conditions of childhood health» came out before the creation of the Sea School, about which the City Council considered that «the large majority of boys in Barcelona find themselves in a state of such organic poverty that they are predisposed to the most serious illnesses, many of which are today in a dormant state and which await favourable factors and determinants that will help them and bring them forth»³⁵. Some years before, the city had begun the so-called sea swims, a «trial of semi-camps by the Culture Commission» to attend to «students in schools in Barcelona that could not take advantage of the Forrest Camps»³⁶.

Historians can corroborate, using the publications analysed in this study, the inspiration behind these initiatives. For example, in the publication of 1921 *Escoles a l'aire lliure del parc de Montjuic* (The open-air schools in Montjuic Park), the Waldschule in Charlottenburg and the Open Air Schools in England are recognized as benchmarks, as they had impressed Culture Commission representatives who attended the Franco-British Exposition of 1908 in London. In this same work, the City Council also recognizes the influence of the *Ecoles Nouvelles* (New Schools) of the progressive education movement that similar associates from various institutions had visited in France, Belgium, and Switzerland. The publication notes that they carry out daily school activities in the middle of the countryside and that they meet all of the demands for providing not only physical education, but a strong, meticulous moral and intellectual education³⁷.

To build these new spaces, the City Council utilized buildings that, because of their characteristics and location, could «offer a type of school very similar to that of the New Schools in Switzerland», as they were located in vast flat areas with trees and bushes which would allow for separate pavilions to be built for classes, canteens, the kitchen, showers, a covered patio, and other school spaces.

³⁴ Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Escoles a l'aire lliure del parc de Montjuic*, 1921, p. 5 (Original text in Catalan).

³⁵ Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Escola del mar*, 1921. (Original text in Catalan).

³⁶ Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Banyes de mar per als alumnes de les escoles de Barcelona*, 1920, p. 5 (Original text in Catalan).

³⁷ Comissió de Cultura, *Escoles a l'aire lliure del parc de Montjuic*, cit., pp. 7-8.

An exemplary case of this was the Forrest School located up in the mountains. This and other open-air schools served as an example of other initiatives in Spain³⁸.

The educational experiment undertaken by the Culture Commission was also reflected in the scientific reasoning that was given for the special schools for persons with disabilities and their reorganization and integration into just one institute that was called the *Escola de Cecs, Sordmuts i Anormals* (School for Blind, Deaf, Mute, and Handicapped), and was located on the Vilajoana property on Tibidabo mountain³⁹.

This willingness to improve childhood care was carried over into the creation of school canteens in many of Barcelona's neighbourhoods and could be seen in the creation of school camps, semi-camps, and sea swims. For the City Council of Barcelona, these institutions complemented schools, especially in matters related to hygiene, and would always be necessary even if some centres met appropriate standards. They were totally justified because the living and sanitary conditions that a large part of the population was facing at that time were substandard. The Council affirms that the objective was for «children in the schools in Barcelona, especially children of working class families who required it, to be able to enjoy every summer with enough time to feel the effects of a proper natural healing, which they tend to lack»⁴⁰.

With a comprehensive vision of childhood needs, and in order to make the city a more pleasant place for the younger members of society, the Culture Commission also contributed to designing parks for children and play areas.

3.3. *Healthy educational practices*

Care, protection, and involvement was the triad that underlay the pro-health fight for improved sanitary conditions and children's wellbeing in Spain at the beginning of the 20th century. High rates of infant mortality, which had already been recognized as a social and political issue, began to be included in a much broader discussion in which promoting the health and wellbeing of children was related to concerns over national deterioration, depopulation, and the race⁴¹. That

³⁸ P.L. Moreno, *Renovación pedagógica y compromiso social en la edad de plata de la Pedagogía española: Félix Martí Alpera (1898-1920)*, «Revista Española de Pedagogía», n. 231, 2005, pp. 203-222, in partic. p. 214.

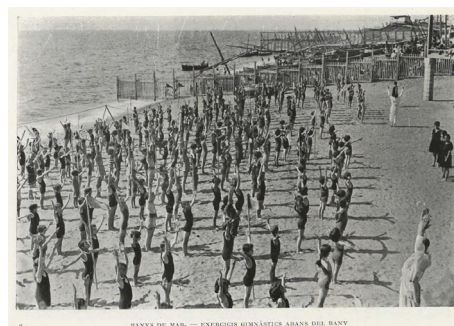
³⁹ I. Puigdemívol, *Escola de Cecs, Sordmuts i Anormals de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona (1911-1939): Una experiència truncada*, «Historia de la Educación. Revista Interuniversitaria», n. 26, 2015, pp. 161-183.

⁴⁰ Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Banyes de mar per als alumnes de les escoles de Barcelona*, 1920, pp. 5-6 (Original text in Catalan).

⁴¹ E. Rodríguez Ocaña, *La constitución de la Medicina social como disciplina en España, 1884-1923*, Madrid, Ministerio de Sanidad y Consumo, 1983.



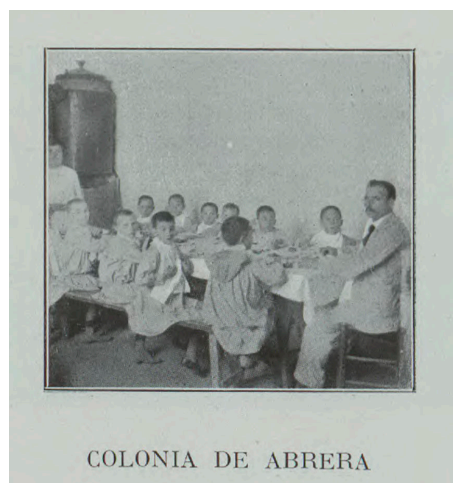
Pic. 5. *Some children swimming.* Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Banyes de mar per als alumnes de les escoles de Barcelona*, 1920, p. 16. (Fondo: Artur Martorell).



Pic. 6. *Banyes de Mar (Sea Swims). Gymnastics exercises before swimming.* Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *L'Obra de colònies escolars i banyes de mar*, 1930. (Fondo: Artur Martorell).



Pic. 7. *Banyes de Mar (Sea Swims). Escola del mar (Sea school). Showers after swimming.* Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *L'Obra de colònies escolars, banyes de mar i semicolònies per als alumnes de les escoles de Barcelona 1906-1931*, 1932, p. 130. (Fondo: Artur Martorell).



Pic. 8. *Abrera school camp.* Ayuntamiento constitucional de Barcelona, *Actuación de la comisión de colonias escolares y escuelas de bosque*, 1914, p. 49. (Fondo: Artur Martorell).

is to say, it was intimately related to social medicine and eugenics movements as well as independent political and social contexts and regenerationist concepts⁴².

⁴² R. Ballaster, L. Balaguer, *La infancia como valor y como problema en las luchas sanitarias de principios de siglo en España*, «Dynamis», vol. 15, 1995, pp. 177-192.



Pic. 9. *Break/Rest*. Ajuntament de Barcelona-Conselleria-Regidoria de Cultura, *Escola del mar*, 1938. (Fondo: Artur Martorell).

medium for having experiences became the preferred symbolic stage for progressive education⁴⁴. We have already mentioned that the largest percentage of photographs in the collection are related to daily activities being carried out outdoors in natural areas. The seaside climate, fresh clean mountain air, and exercise in this environment was understood to produce prompt, positive benefits that the Council explained in the following way:

Children quickly feel the influence of the environment that they are breathing, and this influence is translated into increased activities in all facets of physical, physiological, intellectual, and moral life; appetites increase, intelligence awakens, and love of playing and doing exercise increases proportionately; in a word, the whole being feels the stimulating effects of the sea breeze⁴⁵.

In the photographs that are published in these volumes, we see children smiling, moving, making natural gestures, playing, swimming, and enjoying activities, elements that as a whole project an image of healthy childhood [Pic. 5]. As for physical exercise, an image of solid organization is presented, with measured exercises, movements being made in unison, and all children wearing the same outfit. We also always see the face of the professor guiding their movements [Pic. 6]. After physical activity came the showers, lunch, and rest. These elements are also present in the photos, but they are not as prevalent [Pics. 7, 8, and 9].

Images depicting medical care are scarce in these publications – one is even used in various instances – however, written content on this issue takes up pages and pages. There are also numerous graphics that show the benefits that were achieved

⁴³ Gonzalez-Agàpito *et al.*, *Tradicció i renovació pedagògica. 1898-1939*, cit., pp. 326-327.

⁴⁴ F. Comas, X. Motilla, B. Sureda, *Iconografía y representación gráfica de las colonias escolares de la Diputación de Baleares. Una aproximación a través del análisis de las fotografías de las memorias*, «Revista Española de Pedagogía», n. 250, 2011, p. 449.

⁴⁵ Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Banyes de mar*, cit., p. 18 (Original text in Catalan).

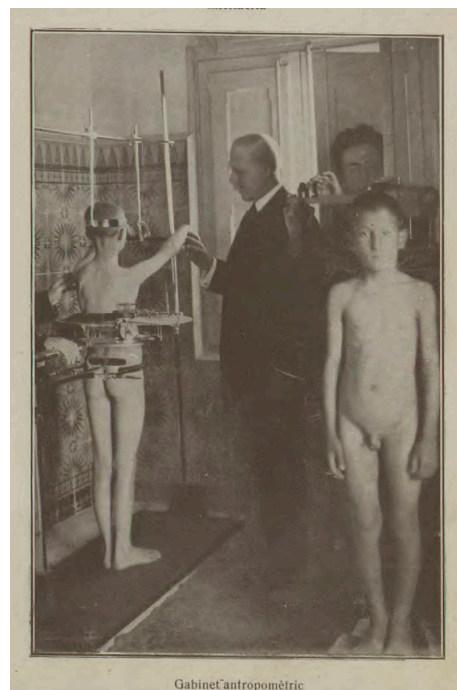
School camps, open-air schools, sea swims, etc. had a markedly hygiene-related objective, and similarly, aimed to develop healthy habits. They employed a set of activities especially focused on doing physical exercise, swimming in the sea, playing, and resting, while on the other hand provided nutritious meals and introduced personal grooming habits without forgetting socialization and intellectual growth⁴³.

Within all of the publications that we analysed, one factor stands out above all others: contact with nature as the main healthy habit. Fresh open air as a

in terms of size, weight, chest girth, etc. We cannot help but think that for those in charge, a fundamental part of the results of the camps were measured in grams and centimetres. That is to say, when entering the camps, height, weight, chest girth, etc. measurements were taken, and these same measurements were taken when children completed their time at the camp or semi-camp in order to see the progress that was made [Pic. 10]. So, the doctor in the Culture Commission's hygiene department played an important role when it came to choosing which children would participate in the various initiatives set up by the City Council. In the publications considered herein, it is common to find varying classifications and data on the children that participated. Such variations are often related to children's medical conditions, especially those affecting the lungs or respiratory system.

Trends that began at the end of the 19th century continued through the turn of the century, including the application in Spain of initiatives that aimed to apply the new study and classification techniques suggested by anthropometry to children and in schools. As part of the pedagogical and educational reforms, which in Spain had the ILE at the highest level, many pedagogy museums and anthropometric laboratories were created specifically to gather data on children's physical conditions and the affect that they could have on their learning. This was done in order to provide the best possible all-around ambience that would contribute to improving the social, physical, and mental potential of future generations⁴⁶. Nevertheless, the City Council of Barcelona used the following definition:

Not all gains can be measured in weights and sizes; there is something more to them, and this something is energy, vigour, vitality, however you will, it is not easy to describe nor is it totally ponderable. It is something, I repeat, it was proclaimed, as the advantage of the Camp will always be proclaimed over the Semi-camp, as the fresh air and plentiful sun in the countryside will always be with their abundance and splendour, more persistent than the effects of the city⁴⁷.



Pic. 10. *Anthropometry office*. Comissió de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Escoles a l'aire lliure del parc de Montjuic*, 1921. (Fondo: Artur Martorell).

⁴⁶ C. Ortiz, *La antropología pedagógica en España durante el primer tercio del siglo XX*, «Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares», vol. 58, n. 2, 2003, p. 76.

⁴⁷ Ayuntamiento constitucional de Barcelona-Comisión de colonias escolares y escuelas de bosque,

Conclusions

With the publication of the set of works analysed in this study, the City Council of Barcelona publicized their work in the field of education during the first third of the 20th century. In reading these works as a whole, we were able to discover, on the one hand, a clear discourse that denounced the living and school conditions children faced in Barcelona at that time, and on the other hand, the theories and principles that formed the base for the set of educational reform actions that were taken to confront this situation. Their hygienic, naturalist focus and the influence of the progressive education movement is present throughout the publications. New pedagogical ideas based on scientific principles that were developed towards the end of the 19th century fit well with the need of industrialized societies to impose elements of social discipline. In the case studied, hygiene and looking after one's health were habits that had to be ingrained in order to increase productivity indices as well as social balance and cohesion.

The publications that we analysed show that there was a clear belief in the power that photography offered to spread the new pedagogical discourse. Photographs included, as a whole, present us with an image of childhood that is much less rigid than in photos of traditional schools. There are children seated on the floor, laying on the beach, going into and coming out of the water, smiling, having fun, and spontaneously playing, always without any apparent order. This contrasts with the photographs of schools that we typically find, which are much more organized, ordered, and static. This sought after image of spontaneity serves to reinforce the discourse that challenges traditional educational practices, and it creates a framework from which to build the iconography of the new conception of childhood and of the health and educational care that children should receive. Natural settings provide the backdrop for assessing these spontaneous activities that serve to enhance children's abilities and improve their health. Teachers, monitors, and adults in general become secondary; they become guides and counsellors, not authorities. Nature, forests, and beaches become spaces for stimulating learning that is motivated by curiosity and childhood needs. The images successfully reinforce the sought after relationship between hygienism and progressive education. The importance of doing activities outside, in contact with nature, and especially in areas far from cities; sleeping and resting enough; eating properly; and undergoing medical examinations and following related recommendations are ideas that are clearly intended to be transmitted via textual and iconographic elements.

The progressive child: images of new education in the New Era (1920-1939)*

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ABSTRACT: In this article we address the question of whether the international new or progressive pedagogical trends that influenced the educational landscape in Europe during the first decades of the twentieth century produced a new image of the child. If so, what did this progressive child look like? The principles of the New Education Fellowship, the guidelines for new schools, and earlier image-based research provided us with some preliminary answers. We have examined the validity of these answers by analysing a much larger set of images than had previously been used in research. This dataset consisted of all images (N=944) published in *The New Era* in the period 1920-1939. We conclude that there are clear differences between the progressive child and the disciplined/passive child that appeared in the traditional classroom photographs, but there are also some similarities and variations within the progressive imagery.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Visual analysis; New Education Fellowship; New education; Progressive education; Europe; XXth Century.

Introduction

Nothing good enters the world except in and through the free activities of individual men and women and educational practice must be shaped to that end¹.

New generations must be given the chance to grow in freedom. The bestowal of freedom is the bestowal of love and only love can save the world².

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¹ P. Nunn, *Education: its data and first principles*, London, Edward Arnold, 1934, p. 12.

² A.S. Neill, *Summerhill*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books Ltd., 1968, p. 92.

New ideas were in the air. Ideas about education based on the freedom of the child. Ideas that were born on the dividing line between two centuries and that were crystallizing into new pedagogical trends in the first decades of the twentieth century³. In Europe these trends were known as «New education», while in the USA «Progressive education» was the preferred term⁴. These trends are dealt with in the works of the “great” educators that were active in these decades: John Dewey from the USA (1859-1952), Rudolf Steiner from Germany (1861-1925), Angel Llorca from Spain (1866-1942), Maria Montessori from Italy (1870-1952), Ovide Decroly from Belgium (1871-1932), Adolphe Ferrière from Switzerland (1879-1960), Peter Petersen from Germany (1884-1951), Kees Boeke from the Netherlands (1884-1966), Helen Parkhurst from the USA (1886-1973), Carleton Washburne from the USA (1889-1968), and Celestin Freinet from France (1896-1966). These educators were responsible for introducing new educational concepts and methods that are still known to present day pedagogues and educationalists: learning by doing, the project method, the active school, and the community school, to name just a few. Parents nowadays can still choose schools based on ideas developed at the beginning of the twentieth century: Waldorf schools, Montessori schools, Jenaplan schools, Dalton schools and Freinet schools, with roots that go back a century. Such schools can be found all over Europe, evidence of the international and lasting impact of a century of «New education».

1. *Research questions*

Besides reading the books of these pedagogical pioneers and delving into their educational thoughts, we can also study the way in which these new educational ideas were actually put into practice. There are several ways to carry out such a task⁵. Analysing photographs of classrooms is one way of opening the black box of schooling, and considering the theme of this issue, *The image of the European child*, that is precisely the source that we intend

³ F.W. Roman, *The New Education in Europe: An account of recent fundamental changes in the educational philosophy of Great Britain, France, and Germany*, New York, E.P. Dutton, 1923; C. Washburne, *New schools in the old world*, New York, John Day Co., 1926; W.A.C. Steward, W.P. McCann, *The educational innovators. Volume 2: Progressive schools 1881-1967*, London, Macmillan, 1968; R.J.W. Selleck, *English primary education and the progressives, 1914-1939*, New York, Routledge, 1972.

⁴ P.A. Graham, *Progressive education from Arcady to Academe: A history of the Progressive Education Association 1919-1955*, New York, Teachers College Press, 1967; D.F. Labaree, *Progressivism, schools and schools of education: An American romance*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 41, n. 1-2, 2005, pp. 275-288

⁵ S. Braster, I. Grosvenor, M.M. del Pozo Andrés (edd.), *The black box of schooling: a cultural history of the classroom*, Bruxelles, Peter Lang, 2011.



Pic. 1. *Old style* (Source: «The New Era», October 1930, p. 21).

to use in this article. Our main objective is to sketch an empirical picture of the children educated in the new or progressive schools in the first decades of the twentieth century. How were children actually depicted in the preeminent illustrated media of the New Education movement? Did the twentieth century, which in 1900 was defined by the Swedish pedagogue Ellen Key as *the Century of the child*, also produce a new *image* of this child?⁶ Was the passive, obedient, and disciplined child transformed into to an active, free, and happy one? Can we, in other words, find a *counter image*⁷, to juxtapose with the ideal-typical image of children sitting in parallel rows of wooden school desks in a classroom, facing a wall with a blackboard [Pic. 1]?⁸

⁶ E. Key, *The century of the child*, New York, Putnam, The Knickerbocker Press, 1909.

⁷ P. Danzer, J. Lorz, *Bild gegen Bild, Image counter image*, München, Haus der Kunst; Köln, König, 2012.

⁸ See for example: L. Cuban, *How teachers taught. Constancy and change in American classrooms, 1880-1990*, New York, Teachers College Press, 1993 (2nd edition); E. Margolis, *Class pictures: Representations of race, gender, and ability in a century of school photography*, «Visual sociology», vol. 14, n. 1, 1999, pp. 7-38; B. Eggermont, *The choreography of schooling as site of struggle: Belgian primary schools, 1880-1940*, «History of education», vol. 30, n. 2, 2001, pp. 129-140; S. Braster, *How (un-)useful are images for understanding histories of education? About teacher centeredness and new education in Dutch primary schools 1920-1985*, «Educació i

2. *New images of education in a new century*

Classroom photographs have recently been discovered by scholars to be useful items for studying schools in the past⁹. In addition to their scientific relevance, most people can recall their educational past by looking at images taken by professional photographers from when they were pupils in primary and secondary schools. In general, the ideal-typical image of a classroom shows educational features that are appreciated by most parents, and they tend to portray order, discipline, cleanliness, and a teacher who is in control¹⁰. This is what most parents expect to see, and it is exactly what school photographers show. In this sense, classroom photographs are like choreographies of an educational model that was dominant during a certain moment in time¹¹. This model came about at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the development of nation-states. It was based on the simultaneous teaching of large groups of children that were divided into age groups, and the teaching followed a common national curriculum. They were taught to read (for instance to understand the bible), spell (following national rules of spelling), write, and calculate (with national weights and measures). This model reached a state of perfection at the end of the nineteenth century, when going to school had become compulsory for all children¹². As a rule, educators would teach classrooms full of six-year olds, who could then pass on to a second grade if they reached the minimum requirements of the curriculum. If not, they had to repeat a full year. During the twentieth century the curriculum of the primary school was expanded with subjects like history and geography, but the core subjects remained reading, writing, and arithmetic. Creative and expressive subjects, like art and music, as well as physical education, were placed in the periphery of the curriculum. Furthermore, education was an organised and professionalised activity that took place indoors. Playing was an outdoor activity, allowed only during break time and in a schoolyard with fences around it. It is no surprise that schools were often compared to prisons¹³.

But starting at the beginning of the twentieth century, we can notice a growing discontent with the mechanistic classroom system mentioned above, that – inspired as it was by the Industrial Revolution – failed to value the individuality of children or their unhindered development in a natural environment. The

historia, *Revista d'història de l'educació*», n. 15, 2010, pp. 11-17.

⁹ I. Grosvenor, M. Lawn, K. Rousmaniere (edd.), *Silences & images: The social history of the classroom*, New York, Peter Lang, 1999.

¹⁰ S. Braster, *Educational change and Dutch classroom photographs: A qualitative and quantitative analysis*, in Braster, Grosvenor, del Pozo Andrés (edd.), *The black box of schooling*, cit.

¹¹ Eggermont, *The choreography of schooling as site of struggle: Belgian primary schools, 1880-1940*, cit.

¹² J.A. Mangan (ed.), *A significant social revolution: Cross-cultural aspects of the evolution of compulsory education*, London, Woburn Press, 1994.

¹³ M. Foucault, *Discipline and punish. The birth of the prison*, New York, Vintage books, 1995.

new or progressive education was supposed to change all of this. This change was noticeable in the depictions of new education practices in journals, newspapers, and other visual sources. Within the context of the popularisation of photography in the media at the beginning of the twentieth century, the proponents of the New Education movement used images very consciously to convey their break with traditional education¹⁴. Xisca Comas and Bernat Sureda demonstrated this point after analysing the photographic record of the Montessori method in several issues of Spanish illustrated magazines in the period 1911-1931. According to these authors, this new teaching approach had its own iconography as well as a new graphic grammar¹⁵. They stated the following:

In the case of the Montessori method, the importance attached to students' individual work is especially evident. If order and immobility were symbolic elements of traditional schools, activity and movement become elements that could be photographed without calling into question a school's reputation or teacher's professionalism with the dissemination of new educational ideas. While traditional school spaces clearly marked the difference between inside and outside, in photographs of innovative schools, especially Montessori's, the space outside the school, as well as open spaces, become as important as traditional indoor spaces and were at least equally worthy of hosting educational activities. Furthermore, outdoor spaces courtyards, gardens, nature itself – were educational spaces par excellence on many occasions. The outdoors as a space for experiences – academic and extracurricular – became new education's privileged symbolic setting¹⁶.

But it is not only the difference between the inside and outside of the school that characterizes the distinction between traditional and new education imagery. It also has to do with showing the idea of «children's autonomy, children's capacity for learning and assimilating values without the need for external pressures, freedom as a fundamental educational tool, the importance of exercise, play and free spaces and the teacher's discreet intervention»¹⁷.

Catherine Burke and Ian Grosvenor mentioned comparable characteristics of new or progressive education images after carrying out an analysis of photographs found in two school archives in England. Their dataset consisted of 57 images of the Steward Street School in Ladywood, Birmingham, and 19 photographs of the Prestolee School, near Bolton in Lancashire. Both sets of photographs were taken in the 1940s. Whereas the Steward Street School became «a celebrated and widely publicized example of positive achievement in education»¹⁸, the Prestolee School was only known in its time as an innovative

¹⁴ J. Coquoz, *Un modèle suisse 'd'Ecole active' durant l'entre-deux-guerres: images et mirages*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 36, n. 1, 2000, pp. 369-388.

¹⁵ X. Comas, B. Sureda, *The photography and propaganda of the Maria Montessori method in Spain (1911-1931)*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 48, n. 4, 2012, pp. 571-587.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 585-586.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 585.

¹⁸ C. Burke, I. Grosvenor, *The progressive image in the history of education: stories of two*

experiment. Yet the two institutions show a remarkable resemblance if we look at their imagery. These authors mention five characteristics of what they called «the progressive image» in the history of education¹⁹:

1. «Absence or tangential position of the teacher»: the teacher is a key silence or absence in the progressive image, contrary to the traditional images, where the teacher is the central actor in the choreography of the classroom.
2. «The single child in concentration»: depicting a single child eased the tension between individualism and collectivism. The latter could easily be associated with the «Utopian iconography of socialist states», and this could create some anxiety among the general public about the image of progressive schools.
3. «The extended body in movement and in full expression»: in progressive schools we see children in action, in free play, expressing themselves fully, while images of traditional schools show passive children, many times with their arms crossed, as if they were wearing straightjackets. In the progressive image we see a celebration of the body; in the traditional image we see disciplined bodies.
4. «The child as builder and maker of art»: another constant in the progressive image is that of children «constructing, shaping, working with raw materials, thoroughly engaged in art making». Learning became a physical act: in the progressive image materials were clearly connected with the body and mind of the children, while in the traditional images of education we mainly see children engaged in collective tasks like reading textbooks or writing in school exercise books.
5. «Group making – workshop activity»: in the progressive image we see that children are pursuing individual projects in the setting of a group. These projects are done using «real tools and materials, modelling and constructing for art and usefulness».

Another study in which representations of progressive schools were discussed was written by Richard Aldrich. He studied the 46 images appearing in *The Plowden report*, published by the Central Advisory Council in 1967, and that could be characterised as a twentieth-century culmination of a child-centred approach in English schooling²⁰. He discerned three themes²¹:

1. the location of the schools, especially in the context of «debates about rural romanticism and urban realities»;

schools, «Visual Studies», vol. 22, n. 2, 2007, pp. 155-168, in partic. p. 164.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-163.

²⁰ Also see: P. Cunningham, *Curriculum change in the primary school since 1945: Dissemination of the progressive ideal*, Lewes, Falmer, 1988.

²¹ R. Aldrich, *The Plowden report, 1967: A visual study in primary school location, space and learning*, unpublished conference paper, Twentieth International Standing Conference for the History of Education, University of Leuven, Belgium, August, 15-18, 1998.

2. the use of space, especially the emphasis on multi-purpose areas and open-plan classrooms;
3. methods of learning and teaching, especially the activity methods, and individual and group work.

In summary, reading the scholarly literature in which images of new or progressive education were analysed leads us to the conclusion that children in new and progressive schools are depicted in a clearly different way than children in traditional mainstream schools. The movement's proponents wanted new education to be different from the mainstream education. And at least it *looked* different. This does not come as a surprise of course, because the pioneers of the New Education movement were united in the idea that new schools in the new age needed to choose the road less travelled. One of the organisations in the movement responsible for designing the new roadmap, the New Education Fellowship (NEF), co-founded by the English pedagogue Beatrice Ensor, stressed the essentially spiritual nature of the progressive ethic in the group's first principle²²:

The essential object of all education should be to train the child to desire the supremacy of spirit over matter [...] the new education should therefore always [...] aim at preserving and increasing the spiritual power in the child.

This first principle seemed to be inspired by theosophy, the mystical belief that there was some divinity in every man and woman. It was not entirely coincidental that Ensor was a member of the Theosophical Society and founder of the Theosophical Fraternity in Education. More generally, the principles of the NEF underlined the need «to give free play to the child's innate interest, to respect a child's individuality, to abolish competition in favour of co-operation, to encourage forms of self-government, to support co-education»²³. These principles were elaborated and illustrated in the journals of the NEF with texts and images, and were embodied in a list of 30 guidelines that new schools were meant to follow. Co-education was one of them, but also mentioned were the importance of education in the countryside, manual work, natural gymnastics, individual and collective work, music-making, etc.²⁴

These journals became a primary source for transmitting the ideas of new education to a wider public in Europe²⁵. In the first years of the NEF there were three journals: the English-language version *The New Era* (edited by Beatrice Ensor), the French-language version *Pour l'ère nouvelle* (edited by

²² Quoted by: M. Punch, *Progressive retreat. A sociological study of Darlington Hall School 1926-1957 and some of its former pupils*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 13.

²³ J. Croall, *Neill of Summerhill: The permanent rebel*, New York, Routledge, 2013, p. 101.

²⁴ A. Ferrière, *L'école nouvelle et le Bureau international des Ecoles nouvelles*, «Pour l'ère nouvelle», vol. 4, n. 15, 1925, pp. 2-8.

²⁵ S. Koslowski, *Die New Era der New Education Fellowship. Ihr Beitrag zur Internationalität der Reformpädagogik im 20. Jahrhundert*, Bad Heilbrunn, Verlag Julius Kinkhardt, 2013.

Adolphe Ferrière), and the German-language version *Das Werdende Zeitalter* (edited by Elisabeth Rotten). Subscription to any of these journals included membership in the NEF. Ensor became the organising director of the NEF, Ferrière became vice-chair, and Rotten served as the vice-chair for German-speaking countries. The editors also organized international conferences every two years, where the icons of the New Education movement, like Montessori, Decroly, Petersen, Parkhurst, and Wasburne, would share their thoughts and present their methods²⁶.

3. *Methods: the analysis of images in The New Era*

3.1. *The New Era as a source*

The conferences and journals of the NEF became the stages upon which the supporters of new education could perform and where the growing interest in progressive education could be demonstrated in the form of model practices. To get a look at what the “progressive child” looked like in the first decades of the twentieth century, we turn to one of these journals, «The New Era», or, to quote the full title of the first issue of January 1920: «Education for the new era. An international quarterly magazine for the promotion and reconstruction in education». We will look at all issues from January 1920 through December 1939. While we will focus mainly on the printed images, we will also take into consideration the captions and the accompanying texts, in order to get more information about the context. The number of images in 20 volumes of «The New Era» comes to a total of 944, not including the (relatively few and often repeated) illustrations that accompanied the advertisements.

The French-language version of the journal, «Pour l'ère nouvelle», was discarded as a source: although it has been available online from its first issue in 1922 until 1947, it hardly includes images²⁷. The German-language version, «Das Werdende Zeitalter», did contain photographs and drawings, but it was only available for the period 1923-1933. That made «The New Era» the best source for analysing visual content in order to tackle our research question. We ended up with a dataset that covered a time span of twenty years, allowing us to make a comparison between *times*, for example the differences between the 1920s and the 1930s. A comparison between *places* was also an option because

²⁶ K.J. Brehony, *A new education for a new era: the contribution of the conferences of the New Education Fellowship to the disciplinary field of education 1921-1938*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 40, n. 5-6, 2004, pp. 733-755.

²⁷ Site of the journal: <<http://www.unicaen.fr/recherche/mrsh/pen?year=1922>> (last access: 31.12.2017).

the photographs of «The New Era» were taken not only in England, but also in the USA, France, Germany, and many other places around the globe.

3.2. *Procedures and image variables*

As a research method we choose a combination of content analysis²⁸ and a grounded theory approach²⁹. Content analysis is not an uncommon technique for analysing visual content³⁰, and it is well suited for the analysis of large amounts of images. The collection and analysis of our visual data was done in several steps:

1. Gaining access to all issues of «The New Era» in the period 1920-1939. The first volumes of the journal were available in the archive of the Institute of Education in London, the more recent volumes in the library of the same institution. For all volumes, except the first one, we also accessed the collection of the Royal Library in The Hague, the Netherlands.
2. Making photographs of all images, including captions and other relevant text fragments. The number of images was 944, the number of photographed pages (image + text) was 1.064.
3. Describing all images with keywords inspired by the previously mentioned literature regarding the characteristics of new or progressive education (open coding).
4. Entering all open codes as three string or text variables, labelled as content, caption, and context, in a SPSS data file.
5. Constantly comparing open codes for arriving at a limited set of axial codes.
6. Adding all axial codes as nominal variables in our SPSS data file.
7. Analysing the bivariate relationships between the nominal variables with cross tabulations, including the calculation of the statistical significance level of these relationships with Chi-square tests.
8. Analysing the multivariate relationships between the nominal variables with multiple correspondence analysis³¹. For performing such an analy-

²⁸ K. Krippendorff, *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*, London, Sage, 2004.

²⁹ A. Strauss, J. Corbin, *Grounded theory methodology: An overview*, in N.K. Denzin, Y.S. Lincoln (edd.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks, Sage, 1994, pp. 273-285.

³⁰ P. Bell, *Content analysis of visual images*, in T. Van Leeuwen, C. Jewitt (edd.), *Handbook of visual analysis*, London, Sage, 2001, pp. 10-34; A. Bock, H. Iserman, T. Knieper, *Quantitative content analysis of the visual*, in E. Margolis, L. Pauwels (edd.), *The Sage handbook of visual research methods*, London, Sage, 2011, pp. 265-282. Also see: G. Rose, *Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials*, London, Sage, 2016 (4th edition).

³¹ This technique for discovering patterns between codes attached to images, was used in the following articles: Braster, *Educational change and Dutch classroom photographs*, cit.; S. Braster, M.M. del Pozo Andrés, *Education and the children's colonies in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)*:

sis, we have used the statistical programme HOMALS as developed by the Department of Data Theory of the University of Leiden, the Netherlands³².

The procedure of adding open and axial codes to images – for enhancing reliability – was discussed with a fellow researcher on several occasions and resulted in the following list of nominal variables:

1. *gender* with the categories: (a) a single boy, (b) a single girl, (c) several boys, (d) several girls, (e) a mix of genders;
2. *nakedness*, with the categories: (a) at least one fully naked child, (b) at least one child with bare feet, chest, and/or limbs, (c) all children are fully dressed, including some kind of footwear;
3. *happiness*, with the categories: (a) at least one child is laughing (=teeth are visible), (b) at least one child is smiling (=teeth are not visible), (c) all children have serious expressions;
4. *teacher*, with the categories: (a) dominant position (=active, in control) (b) tangential position (=passive, hardly noticeable), (c) absence;
5. *individuality*, with the categories: (a) individual (=children work, play or act alone, but also material objects as a result of individual work), (b) social (=at least two children interact with each other, or children/adults interact with each other, or children/adults are cooperating in a collective project, or material objects as a result of group work);
6. *activity*, with the categories: (a) the three R's, i.e. reading, writing, and arithmetic, (b) crafts, (c) dance, music, and theatre, (d) free play, (e) gardening, animals, (f) science, (g) gymnastics, sport, and other body-related activities;
7. *space*, with the categories: (a) inside (=inside a classroom, within the walls of a building), (b) outside (=outside a school, in the open air).
8. *time*, with the categories: (a) 1920-1924, (b) 1925-1929, (c) 1930-1934, (d) 1935-1939;
9. *place*, with the categories: (a) United Kingdom, (b) USA, (c) France, (d) Germany, (e) all other countries. Most of the images in «The New Era», 652 out of 944 to be precise, could be traced back to a specific country.

In total 34 countries were detected, but only for the locations mentioned above did we have a substantial number of images available for making comparisons between countries.

the images of the community ideal, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 51, n. 4, 2015, pp. 455-477.

³² G. Di Franco, *Multiple correspondence analysis: one only or several techniques?* «Quality & Quantity, International Journal of Methodology», vol. 50, n. 3, 2016, pp. 1299-1315.

3.3. *Objective characteristics of images in «The New Era»*

Before presenting the results of our analyses with the variables listed above, we will first give a more detailed description of the type of images found in «The New Era» in the period from January 1920 through December 1939. The total number of 944 images can be divided into four categories: photographs (N=720), drawings (N=150), paintings (N=56), and charts/tables/maps (N=18).

Few images were published in the period 1920-1924 (N=46): about four out of ten of these were reproductions of paintings, mainly produced by pupils, while another four out of ten were photographs of schools, classrooms, educators, etc. In the following periods the number of photographs increased noticeably: between seven and eight out of ten images in the journal were photographs. The number of drawings, again mainly produced by pupils, was relatively high in the period 1935-1939 (Table 1).

A great majority of the images (95,9%) were printed in black and white. Colour images were basically used in the period 1920-1924 (23,9%) and still to some extent in the period 1925-1929 (12,8%). In the next ten years coloured images disappeared from the journal.

Over the years the number of images that were printed on a single page decreased, while small images, i.e. those taking up less than half of the width of a page, increased. Especially in the period 1930-1934 a large number of images were printed (N=518) and more than half of them (52,2%) were large, i.e. they took up the full width of a page, while in some cases they even covered a complete page. In the period 1935-1939 the number of images decreased (N=185) with their size decreasing as well: most of them were of a medium (59,5%) or small dimension (12,4%) in the last five-year period (Table 2).

Upon an initial review of the data we noticed that there were three clearly distinguishable subjects in «The New Era»: images of buildings, landscapes, and portraits of the leading figures in the New Education movement (Table 3). They spring to our attention because in these images children are totally absent. In general, these three subjects are not especially prominent in «The New Era», with the exception of the portraits of the heroes of new education in the first decade of the journal. Clearly the main subject of the images in the journal is the child, an obvious choice for the new education, with its child-centred approach. In one out of two images we see children actively engaged in educational or everyday activities, accompanied by teachers or adults, in groups or alone. About one out of three images also deals in one way or another with children: within this category we mainly find photographs of paintings and drawings that were made by children themselves. In the first five years of the journal in particular, children's art is an important topic.

A multivariate analysis of the connections between the type, size, colour, and subject of the images in «The New Era» is shown in Picture 2. We see a cluster of categories on the left side of the plot indicating that «The New

Table 1. *Type of image in The New Era (1920-1939) by period of time*

Image type	1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1939	Total
Drawing	8 17,4%	26 13,8%	70 13,3%	46 24,9%	150 15,9%
Painting	19 41,3%	23 12,2%	8 1,5%	6 3,2%	56 5,9%
Photograph	19 41,3%	137 72,9%	432 82,3%	132 71,4%	720 76,3%
Graph/table/map	0 0,0%	2 1,1%	15 2,9%	1 0,5%	18 1,9%
Total	46 100,0%	188 100,0%	525 100,0%	185 100,0%	944 100,0%

Chi-square = 157,8; df = 9; p < .001

Era» in the period 1920-1924 was characterised by colourful paintings, that in most cases were painted by (clearly) talented pupils. The period 1925-1929 seemed to be characterised by the occurrence of large or extra-large portraits, buildings, and landscapes. In the period 1930-1934 the focus was on large and medium black and white photographs of active children, while in 1935-1939 the attention shifted to small and medium- sized images, in particular drawings, graphs, tables, and maps.

These patterns in time illustrate that in the first years of «The New Era» the editors had no problem using their budget for showing off the colourful art made by the children that were educated in the new schools embraced by the movement. Nor did they skimp in subsequent years when it came to distributing full-page portraits of their leaders and photographs of these new schools. With the economic crisis of the 1930s, however, their editorial choices became more modest, and as a result the dimensions of the images were reduced.

3.4. *People and places in «The New Era»*

The first full-page portrait that appeared in the journal on glossy paper in 1923, was of H. Baillie Weaver, the president of the NEF, who also was the general secretary of the English branch of the Theosophical Society. The second person to receive the honour of seeing his picture appear in «The New Era» was the famous psychologist Carl Jung in 1924, followed by George S. Arundale in 1925, who, together with Beatrice Ensor, had been involved in setting up the Theosophical Fraternity in Education in 1915. In 1925 Beatrice Ensor also appeared full-size in «The New Era», of which she had been editor

Table 2. *Size of the images in The New Era (1920-1939) by period of time*

Image size	1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1939	Total
Small	0 0,0%	21 11,2%	29 5,5%	23 12,4%	73 7,7%
Medium	21 45,7%	53 28,2%	205 39,0%	110 59,5%	389 41,2%
Large	21 45,7%	84 44,7%	274 52,2%	46 24,9%	425 45,0%
Full page	4 8,7%	30 16,0%	17 3,2%	6 3,2%	57 6,0%
Total	46 100,0%	188 100,0%	525 100,0%	185 100,0%	944 100,0%

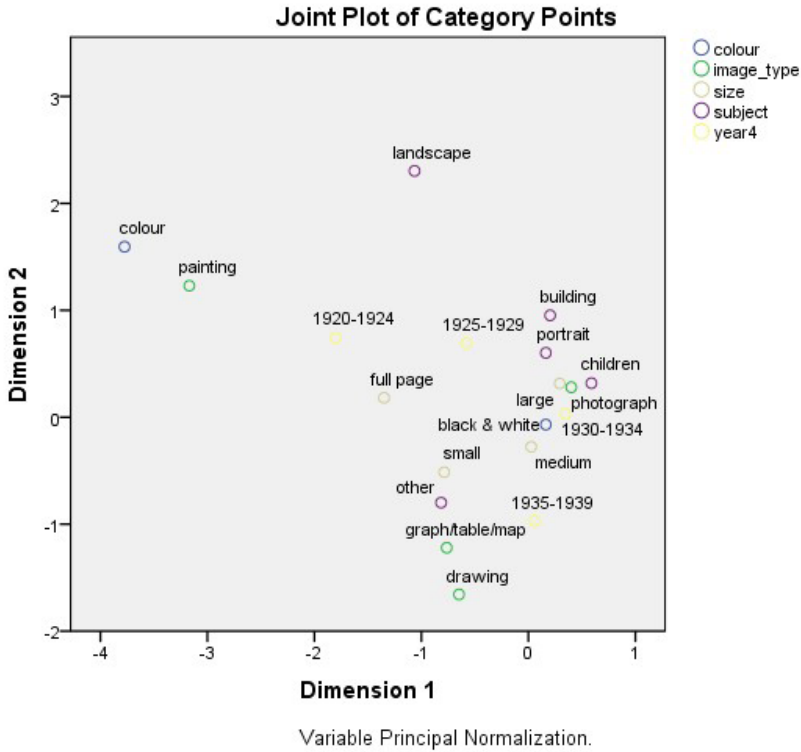
Chi-square = 101,6; df = 9; p < .001

Table 3. *Subjects of the images in The New Era (1920-1939) by period of time*

Image subject	1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1939	Total
Buildings	4 8,7%	19 10,1%	23 4,4%	5 2,7%	51 5,4%
Landscapes	1 2,2%	6 3,2%	6 1,1%	0 0,0%	13 1,4%
Portraits of adults	2 4,3%	32 17,0%	44 8,4%	3 1,6%	81 8,6%
Active children	10 21,7%	64 34,0%	288 54,9%	95 51,4%	457 48,4%
Subjects related with children	29 63,0%	67 35,6%	164 31,2%	82 44,3%	342 36,2%
Total	46 100,0%	188 100,0%	525 100,0%	185 100,0%	944 100,0%

Chi-square = 82,3; df = 12; p < .001

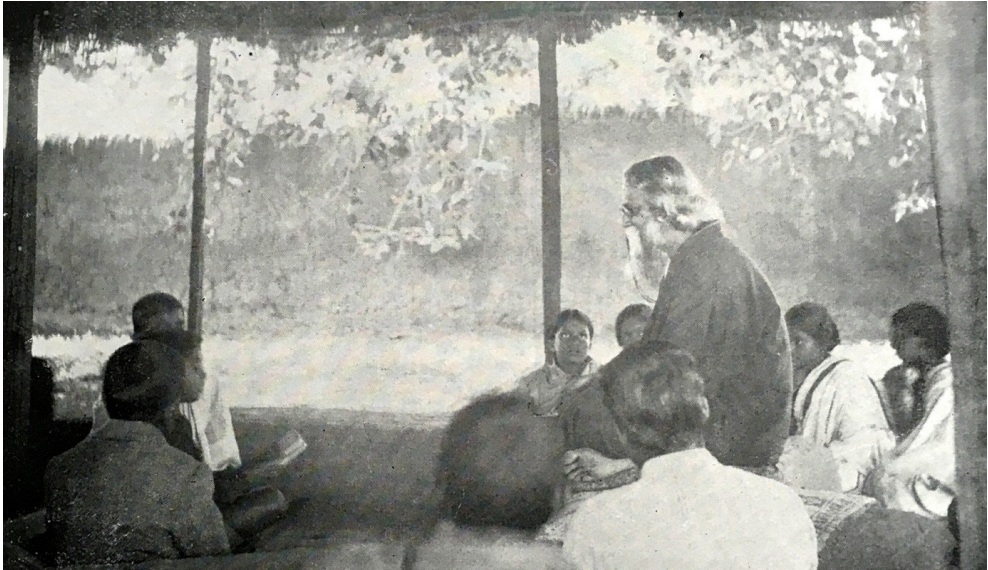
since 1920. In the full period of 20 years, she appears four times, generally in the centre of the picture, surrounded by other, in general male, icons of the New Education movement. Interestingly enough, the person most frequently portrayed – five times to be precise – is Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the first chancellor of the National University of India, an institution promoted by a group of Theosophists (including George S. Arundale). It was also the school of Rabindranath Tagore, the winner of the Nobel prize for literature, that received the honour of being the first school pictured in «The New Era» in 1924 [Pic. 3]. Many photographs of new schools would follow in later years, but in most



Pic. 2. Multiple correspondence analysis of colour, type, size, and subject of images in «The New Era» (N=944).

cases a school was shown in only one photograph. Some schools, however, got more exposure than others (Table 4). The most photographed schools were the public schools in Winnetka, USA (N= 16), the Odenwald School in Germany (N=14), the Maison des Petits in Switzerland (N=11), and the Francis Parker School in Chicago, USA (N=9). It is remarkable that in an England-based journal like «The New Era», English schools are shown in fewer photographs than are foreign schools. Frensham Heights in Farnham appears in the greatest number of photographs for an English school (N=8). This school, not entirely coincidentally, happened to be directed by Beatrice Ensor.

The selection made by the editors of the journal of the NEF for photographs of people and places reflected the fact that the NEF, at least in the first years, was inspired by theosophical ideas. The selection also showed new education to be an international phenomenon with an audience that extended far beyond England or Europe alone. The journal of the NEF was quite eager to show its international, or better, its Anglo-Saxon orientation: most of the pictures with children, or with children and adults/teachers (N=457), were taken in the



Pic. 3. *Rabindranath Tagore in his school Santiniketan in Bolpur, India: «The Poet as School-master».* (Source: «The New Era», vol. 4, July 1924, p. 84).

United Kingdom (N=147) and the USA (N=88). All other images were from Europe, especially France (N=27) and Germany (N=21), while only a limited number of images were made in countries outside the Western world: Asia, India in particular (N=15), the USSR (N=11), and Africa (N=4).

4. *Results: the empirical image of the child in The New Era*

We now turn to the description of the images where children, with or without their teachers, are the centre of attention. The frequency distributions of all previously described variables will be presented in this section. We will also make comparisons between the places where the pictures were taken (UK, USA, France, Germany and other countries), and between the times in which they were shown in the journal of the NEF (principally the 1920s and the 1930s).

4.1. *Boys and girls*

New education followed the principle that boys and girls should ideally attend school together. Co-education is the road to follow, and if we look at the images in «The New Era», it seems that this road was indeed taken. In more

Table 4. *Most photographed schools in The New Era (1920-1939) by country/region*

UK	USA	Europe/Africa
	Public Schools Winnetka: 16	Odenwald School (Germany): 14 Maison des Petits (Switzerland): 11
Frensham Heights, Farnham: 8 Holt School, Liverpool: 8	Francis Parker School, Chicago: 9	
	Lincoln School, New York: 6 Grant School, Pasadena: 6	Decroly School (Belgium): 6
Montessori classroom: 5 Bedales, Petersfield: 5 St George School, Harpenden: 5 King Arthur Sch., Musselburgh: 5	Merril-Palmer School, Detroit: 5 Beaver County School, Mass.: 5	St. Peter School, Jo'burg (SA): 5
Northumberland Heath School: 4		Hamburg School (Germany): 4 Lauterwater (SA): 4
Bierton Road Sch., Birmingham: 3		Ecole des Roches: 3

than half of the photographs (54,9%) boys and girls appear together, indicating a preference for co-education. This is especially evident in the images from the USA and France (resp. 67,0% and 66,7%) (Table 5). Of course it must be noted that in many images boys and girls are still separated from each other (37,6%), and for the most part boys are engaged in activities traditionally done by boys, like manual work, while the girls tend to be involved in expressive activities like dance.

We should also note that relatively few images show a single boy or girl in a gesture of concentration (7,4%). Burke and Grosvenor pointed out that this type of image was an indicator of «the progressive image» in the history of education³³. They, however, were referring to images in the post-war period. In general, images of single children appeared rarely in *The New Era*, although their relative number saw an increase – to 9,5% – in the period 1935-1939 (Table 6). A comparison in time also shows that in the period 1925-1939 there is a decrease in the number of images in which boys and girls are together indicating that co-education, in spite of the preferences of the NEF, is not yet a frequent characteristic of new schools in the first decades of the twentieth century.

4.2. *The naked child?*

The cover of the first issue of the journal of the NEF in 1920 pictures a blindfolded boy with wings in front of a globe of the world. He is naked

³³ Burke, Grosvenor, *The progressive image in the history of education: stories of two schools*, cit.

Table 5. *Boys and girls in the images in The New Era (1920-1939) by place*

	UK	USA	France	Germany	Rest	Total
Boys and girls	87 59,2%	59 67,0%	18 66,7%	9 42,9%	78 44,8%	251 54,9%
Boy or girl	4 2,7%	4 4,5%	0 0,0%	4 19,0%	22 12,6%	34 7,4%
Boys or girls	56 38,1%	25 28,4%	9 33,3%	8 38,1%	74 42,5%	172 37,6%
Total	147 100,0%	88 100,0%	27 100,0%	21 100,0%	174 100,0%	457 100,0%

Chi-square = 28,1; df = 8; p < .001

Table 6. *Boys and girls in the images in The New Era (1920-1939) by period of time*

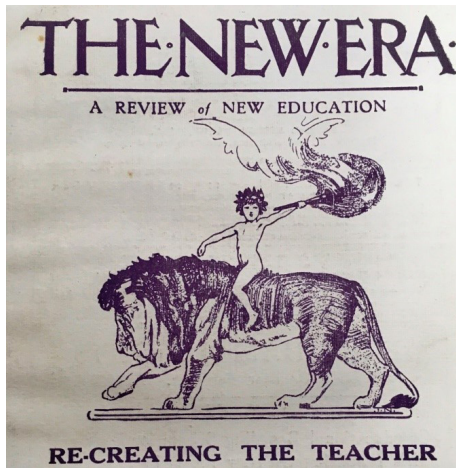
Gender	1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1939	Total
Boys and girls	2 20,0%	42 65,6%	167 58,0%	40 42,1%	251 54,9%
Boy or girl	0 0,0%	2 3,1%	23 8,0%	9 9,5%	34 7,4%
Boys or girls	8 80,0%	20 31,3%	98 34,0%	46 48,4%	172 37,6%
Total	10 100,0%	64 100,0%	288 100,0%	95 100,0%	457 100,0%

Chi-square = 19,3; df = 6; p = .004

except for a white loincloth. In 1926 another boy is portrayed sitting on the back of a lion, this time without any clothes at all [Pic. 4]. Both drawings are representations of children that seem to be in line with the ideas of new education regarding children and the importance of their growing up in freedom, without any constraints or inhibitions. Catherine Burke had the following to say³⁴:

From the point of view of the progressive educator however, the freeing up of limbs, particularly the feet, in movement, play, perambulation, running, dancing, kicking, jumping, or even reading were essential components of efforts towards achieving a more humane education in the twentieth century.

³⁴ C. Burke, *Feet, footwork, footwear, and "being alive" in the modern school*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 54, n. 1-2, 2017, pp. 32-47, DOI: 10.1080/00309230.2017.1358287.



Pic. 4. *The cover of «The New Era» in January 1926.* (Source: «The New Era», vol. 7, n. 1, 1926, p. 1).

But do we also see children with bare feet, chests and/or limbs, or even fully naked, in the photographs that are published in «*The New Era*»? The answer is not really. In the great majority of images the children are simply wearing clothes to cover their bodies (82,3%). Relatively few children are portrayed with bare feet (15,1%), and even fewer children appear without any clothes at all (2,6%). In this respect there are no clear differences between locations, although we must note that the number of images showing children with bare feet decreased over time, while the number of pictures with fully dressed children grew (Table 7).

Obviously bare feet, chests, and limbs go together with physical activities that children take part in outside the school building. It can also coincide with creative performances in a theatre, while occasionally children even kick off their shoes when they are engaged in cognitive tasks inside a schoolroom [Pic. 5]. In general, however, full nakedness is a rare phenomenon in the journal of the NEF, which seems understandable because even in the century of the child most parents would probably not feel very comfortable reading a journal full of photographs of nude children. Nonetheless, nudity or bared bodies do comprise at least a small part of the image of the progressive child. These characteristics are in keeping with the importance of the freedom of the child, bodily expression, and a «culture of movement» [Pic. 6], and they stand in clear contrast to the traditional image of pupils in a classroom.

4.3. *The happy child?*

In line with the idea that new education should contribute to the unhindered development of the faculties of a child and the full expression of the body, we may expect to see children with happy faces on the pages of «*The New Era*». But in fact, we don't see happy faces at all (Table 8). Even the decision to code an image with the category «smiling» or «laughing» if only one child in a photograph was smiling or laughing did not contribute to a substantial number of images for further analysis: a smiling child only appeared in 30 out of 457 images (6,6%) and a laughing child in 8 images (1,8%). This holds true

Table 7. *Nakedness in images in The New Era (1920-1939) by period of time*

Nakedness	1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1939	Total
Fully naked	0 0,0%	2 3,1%	6 2,1%	4 4,2%	12 2,6%
Bare feet/chest/limbs	5 50,0%	13 20,3%	42 14,6%	9 9,5%	69 15,1%
Dressed	5 50,0%	49 76,6%	240 83,3%	82 86,3%	376 82,3%
Total	10 100,0%	64 100,0%	288 100,0%	95 100,0%	457 100,0%

Chi-square = 14,6; df = 6; p = .024

Table 8. *Happiness in the images of The New Era (1920-1939) by period of time*

Happiness	1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1939	Total
Laughing	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	7 2,4%	1 1,1%	8 1,8%
Smiling	1 10,0%	3 4,7%	14 4,9%	12 12,6%	30 6,6%
Serious	9 90,0%	61 95,3%	267 92,7%	82 86,3%	419 91,7%
Total	10 100,0%	64 100,0%	288 100,0%	95 100,0%	457 100,0%

Chi-square = 9.9; df = 6; p = .130

regardless of the origin of the image, and the slight increase in smiles in 1935-1939 does not result in a statistically significant change over time either. This of course leads to the question: why don't we see happy children in new or progressive schools?

First of all, we should note that do not find happy children in the photographs of the traditional classrooms in the first decades of the twentieth century either. This would seem to make sense, if we associate traditional education with obedience and discipline. But it is puzzling if progressive education, associated with freedom and expression, does not produce visible happiness. Does education in general, be it progressive or traditional, really not have a bearing on a child's happiness? Do children have no reasons for smiling or laughing in either type of school?



Pic. 5. *Bare feet in the library of the Garden school in London.* (Source: «The New Era», vol. 9, n. 10, 1928, p. 183).

Table 8. *Happiness in the images of The New Era (1920-1939) by period of time*

Happiness	1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1939	Total
Laughing	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	7 2,4%	1 1,1%	8 1,8%
Smiling	1 10,0%	3 4,7%	14 4,9%	12 12,6%	30 6,6%
Serious	9 90,0%	61 95,3%	267 92,7%	82 86,3%	419 91,7%
Total	10 100,0%	64 100,0%	288 100,0%	95 100,0%	457 100,0%
Chi-square = 9.9; df = 6; p = .130					

Kate Rousmaniere presents three photographs from a village in Norway in 1895 that offer an explanation³⁵. In the first photograph we see a group of girls together with an older woman in front of a wooden building. (This happened

³⁵ K. Rousmaniere, *Questioning the visual in the history of education*, «History of education», vol. 30, n. 2, 2001, pp. 109-116.

to be a teacher with her pupils in front of their school, according to the context information). All of the children have a serious expression on their faces. The photograph is sharp, clear, and in focus. In the second photograph we see the same group, but now they are all smiling, and immediately the faces have lost their sharpness. In the third photograph we see the same girls, this time in motion, waving their hands, and laughing. Now the faces have become even more blurred. These photographs were taken outside of a classroom, in full daylight, at the end of the nineteenth century. Although the quality of the cameras has improved considerably in the first decades of the twentieth century, some of the photographs in «The New Era» were still blurred, especially when the pictures were taken inside the classrooms and when the pupils were in motion.

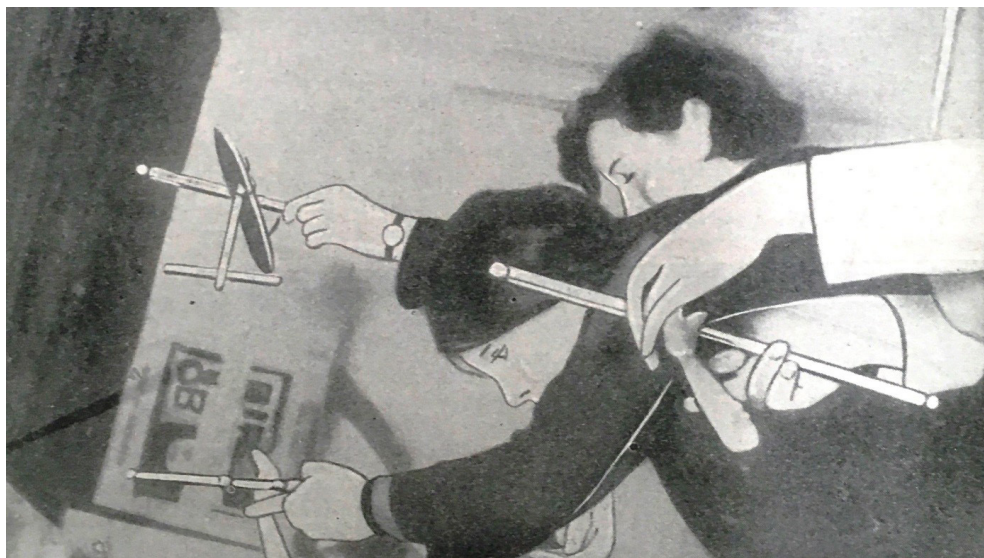
And when faces appeared blurred, it was not unusual to sharpen the contours of the faces with a pencil. Picture 7 provides an example where this technique was applied.

Drawing over photographs in order to sharpen them was an exception, however. Most of the photographs in «The New Era» were sharp, and looked like they were made by professional photographers, which is unsurprising given that new or progressive schools were interested in documenting their innovative identity in comparison with mainstream schools. In most cases it seemed that the photographers carrying out this job followed professional guidelines regarding image sharpness, correct exposure, optimal contrast, high resolution, composition, etc³⁶. If photographs were made with these professional standards in mind, then it is also plausible that children and teachers were asked to pose when their picture was being taken. Action shots were simply not an option yet. Children in motion would have appear blurred, so the only way for a photographer to get sharp photographs was to ask if the subjects



Pic. 6. *Full nakedness in «The New Era»: «Exercises for stretching spine and chest».* (Source: «The New Era», vol. 17, n. 2, 1936, p. 49).

³⁶ Bock, Iserman, Knieper, *Quantitative content analysis of the visual*, cit., p. 279.



Pic. 7. *Drawing on a photograph* «A part of the puppet control. Pupils at Dartington hall, Totnes, Devonshire». (Source: «The New Era», vol. 12, n. 3, 1931, p. 90).

would stand still for a moment. At that moment the photographer could also have asked the children to “say cheese”, a popular trick to get people to smile in photographs. Although it is not really known when the culture of “saying cheese” began, it certainly was strongly influenced by the commercial activities and advertising campaigns of Eastman Kodak that created a mass market for snapshot photography with the production of the \$1 Brownie camera in 1900³⁷. We can imagine that professional photographers in Europe were not overly enthusiastic about this American culture of “smiling at the camera”, at least not in the 1920s and 1930s, and certainly not when they had to deal with “serious” topics like new ways of organising education or schooling. Besides that, a comparison of portraits in American yearbooks shows that smiles began appearing in the post-war period, and not yet in the 1920s and 1930s³⁸. So the absence of children smiling or laughing in the photographs of *The New Era* should not be interpreted as an indication of a general unhappiness of children that were attending school. Of course, it must be noted that there are children laughing in the images of *The New Era*. And in these rare occasions, it is also obvious that they are not busy with school-related tasks. Picture 8 gives us an

³⁷ C. Kotchemidova, *Why we say ‘cheese’: Producing the smile in snapshot photography*, «Critical studies in media communication», vol. 22, n. 1, 2005, pp. 2-25.

³⁸ S. Ginosar, K. Rakelly, S. Sachs, B. Yin, A.A. Efras, *A century of portraits: A visual historical record of American high school yearbooks*, Last updated: November 9, 2015, <<https://arxiv.org/pdf/1511.02575.pdf>> (last access: 31.12.2017).



Pic. 8. *Laughing children are an exception in «The New Era».* (Source: «The New Era», vol. 13, n. 12, 1932, p. 380).

example of such an image. The caption is quite clear about the importance of happiness for educational achievement: «The day that makes us happy makes us wise». But again, this picture is an exception: education is a serious business, and new education too.

4.4. *The absent teacher?*

In traditional classroom photographs it is not uncommon for a teacher to appear in the centre of the picture, or in that part of the image determined by the so-called divine proportion, or golden mean. In general the teacher is also positioned above the other pupils. All of these cases, compositional features, possibly combined with a teacher that looks the viewer straight in the eye, contribute to an educational image in which the teacher is in control. In traditional education this is what we expect to see, but in progressive education we would expect the individual child to be in the centre. Teacher-centeredness ought to be replaced by child-centeredness. In other words, teachers should be absent or visible only in the margins, not clearly noticeable, and preferably looking at their pupils. In new education, or what we nowadays call



Pic. 9. Example of an image of a teacher in a tangential position: «The school of natural development». (Source: «The New Era», vol. 4, n. 4, 1923, p. 125).

constructivist learning, the role of the teacher in education had changed from «sage on the stage to guide on the side»³⁹. This change should be visible in the representations of new educational practices in «The New Era». And in fact, it clearly is; in 78,8% of the images in «The New Era» where children appear, teachers are absent (Table 9), and if they appear on the educational stage, then in most cases they are in a tangential position (15,1%) [Pic. 9]. In only 6,1% of the images can the teacher's position be described as dominant.

A comparison of the teacher's position over the course of time, does not yield a significant difference. From the first period (1920-1925) until the last (1935-1939), the teacher's absence is conspicuous in the images of «The New Era». There are, however, some small differences between countries. While dominating teachers have almost entirely disappeared from the British educational scene, in France one out of five teachers is still portrayed as being

³⁹ A. King, *From sage on the stage to guide on the side*, «College teaching», vol. 41, n. 1, 1993, pp. 30-35.

Table 9. *Position of the teacher in images of The New Era (1920-1939) by place*

Teacher	UK	USA	France	Germany	Rest	Total
Dominant	4 2,7%	5 5,7%	5 18,5%	2 9,5%	12 6,9%	28 6,1%
Tangential	29 19,7%	8 9,1%	3 11,1%	2 9,5%	27 15,5%	69 15,1%
Absence	114 77,6%	75 85,2%	19 70,4%	17 81,0%	135 77,6%	360 78,8%
Total	147 100,0%	88 100,0%	27 100,0%	21 100,0%	174 100,0%	457 100,0%

Chi-square = 15,8; df = 8; p = .045

in control. This difference could be a reflection of the distinction between the decentralised English educational system and the more centralised French one⁴⁰. Whatever the explanation, the editors of the English-language journal of the NEF showed a clear preference for publishing educational images from the UK with children but without their teachers.

4.5. *The individual child?*

Two important features of the new educational approaches in the first decades of the twentieth century were child-centeredness and a focus on the individuality of the child. But the child was also part of a community, so collaboration and cooperation were highly valued as well. We have classified the images that were published in «The New Era» in two groups: individual and social. An image was coded as “individual” if a child was working, playing, or acting alone, and not interacting with another child or with a teacher (if present). Images were coded as “social” if at least two children were interacting with each other or with a teacher, or if children/adults were cooperating on a collective project. Subsequently, an image with pupils sitting in a classroom, all of them doing assignments by themselves, without speaking with fellow pupils, would be coded as “individual” [Pic. 10]. This kind of image was typical of the Dalton Plan, a new educational method initiated by the American educator Helen Parkhurst that became quite popular in England. An image with children working together on a project (for instance making musical instruments), or children playing music together, would

⁴⁰ M.S. Archer, *Social origins of educational systems*, London-New York, Routledge, 2013.



Pic. 10. Example of an image of individuality: «Individual work at Vanlose school, Copenhagen». (Source: «The New Era», vol. 10, n. 4, 1929, n.p.).



Pic. 11. Example of the 'social' in an image: «A project at the Winnetka schools in Illinois». (Source: «The New Era», vol. 10, n. 2, 1929, n.p.).

Table 10. *Individuality in the images of The New Era (1920-1939) by period of time*

Individuality	1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1939	Total
Individual	3 30,0%	17 26,6%	77 26,7%	17 17,9%	114 24,9%
Social	7 70,0%	47 73,4%	211 73,3%	78 82,1%	343 75,1%
Total	10 100,0%	64 100,0%	288 100,0%	95 100,0%	457 100,0%

Chi-square = 3,2; df = 3; p = .356

Table 11. *Individuality in the images of The New Era (1920-1939) by period of time (including images of drawings, paintings, and other objects made by children)*

Individuality	1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1939	Total
Individual	27 71,1%	59 51,3%	121 33,8%	50 37,3%	257 39,8%
Social	11 28,9%	56 48,7%	237 66,2%	84 62,7%	388 60,2%
Total	38 100,0%	115 100,0%	358 100,0%	134 100,0%	645 100,0%

Chi-square = 27,6; df = 3; p < .001

be coded as “social”. This kind of image was typical of the educational projects connected with the Winnetka plan, a new educational approach developed by superintendent Carleton Wasburne and put into practice in the public schools of the Winnetka district in Illinois (USA) in which he worked [Pic. 11].

This leads us to the question: which image of new education, the individual or the social, was dominant in «The New Era»? If we look at the 457 photographs where children appear, then we must conclude that the sociability of the child is more often portrayed than his/her individuality. Three out of four images were coded as ‘social’ and one out of four as “individual” (Table 10). A rather clear difference, to be sure. The suggestion that progressive education images originating in the USA would frequently be coded as “social” (for example, owing to John Dewey’s ideas about the school as a community), while new education images from the UK would be classified as “individual”, is not confirmed by the data. We do not find differences between images from the USA, the UK, France, Germany, or other countries in terms of the “social” versus the “individual”.

Neither do we detect differences between the “social” and the “individual” in the photographs with children in the period 1920-1939: the majority of the images show children doing things together. Individuality is not the main quality of a child portrayed in «The New Era». Such an affirmation is conditioned, however, if we take into account the photographs made of paintings, drawings, or objects (Table 11). In this case we analysed 645 images, instead of 457, and on the basis of this data can still conclude that the majority of the images may be classified as “social” (60,2%). But we should also point out that the images of the 1920s tell a different story from those of the 1930s. In the 1920s most of the images in «The New Era» portray individuality, emphasizing in particular young children who have made paintings or drawings that were selected for publication in the journal of the NEF. So, if our analysis of images focuses not only on children working, playing, or acting alone, but also on the products of their individual work, then we must conclude that most of the images published in the first decade of «The New Era» dealt with individual children expressing themselves. This conclusion matches rather well the theme chosen for the conference organised by Beatrice Ensor in Calais in 1921, the NEF being founded after this conference. The theme was the «creative self-expression of the child». Subsequent conferences of the NEF also focused on the importance of creativity, with themes such as «Education for creative service» (the Montreux Conference in 1923) and «The development of creative powers in the child» (the Heidelberg Conference in 1925)⁴¹. In the 1930s, however, the images in «The New Era» are not strongly focused any more on individual children and their creative work: “social” aspects are pictured more frequently in the 1930s. Again, this change does not come as a surprise. At the Nice Conference in 1932, the initial set of principles adopted by the NEF in 1921, were rewritten «with a shift of emphasis from individual to social responsibility due to the prevailing political climate»⁴². The growing importance of collaboration and cooperation in a polarizing world was reflected in the imagery of the English-language journal of the NEF. Political changes would also have their effect on the German-language journal: it was closed down in 1933, a clear illustration of the fact that the ideas of the new education did not really fit with the rise of an authoritarian political culture in Germany.

⁴¹ E. Fuchs, *Educational sciences, morality and politics: international educational congresses in the early twentieth century*, «Paedagogica historica», vol. 40, n. 5-6, 2004, pp. 757-784.

⁴² C.M. Jenkins, *The professional middle class and the social origins of progressivism: a case study of the New Education Fellowship, 1920-1950*, Doctoral thesis, Institute of Education, University of London, 1989, p. 59.

4.6. *The child in nature?*

The ideal-typical picture of traditional education is taken from inside classrooms of schools that tend to be located in cities. In the new and progressive schools, however, education should be taken outside of urban classrooms and into nature. So new education does not only follow the idea that children should grow up in a natural and spontaneous way, but that educational activities should preferably take place in a natural setting as well. What story do the images in «The New Era» tell us about this idea in the period 1920-1939? Table 12 shows that the number of pictures of children taken inside and outside classrooms is perfectly balanced: about half of the photographs are taken inside schools or other buildings, and about half are taken outside in streets, school yards, gardens, the countryside, or forests. It must be noted that the use of space differs by location: most of the American photographs of children are taken inside (69,3%), while most of the French pictures of children are taken outside (63,0%). Most of the children pictured in German photographs can also be found in the vicinity of trees and animals (57,1%). This difference between continental Europe and the USA reflects the interest of the English-language journal of the NEF for new schools in the countryside [Pic. 12], such as the *Odenwald school* in Germany and *Ecole des Roches* in France. However, a comparison of the photographs taken inside and outside of schools between several periods in time fails to reveal any clear pattern.

4.7. *The active child?*

Finally, we turn to another important aspect of the images published in «The New Era», the activities that are engaged in by the children. Do we see a shift from traditional subjects like reading, writing, and arithmetic towards creative and expressive subjects in the curriculum like art and crafts? Indeed, we see that only one of every five images in «The New Era» deal with cognitive school subjects like the three R's and science (19,6%) (Table 13). Other activities have to do with expressing oneself through dance, theatre, or music (17,5%), free play (17,3%), and most importantly, by doing crafts (32,4%). One out of three children in the images of «The New Era» are building or making something [Pic. 13]. A typical example is the manufacturing of musical instruments which, in a second phase of a project, are actually used to play music. Working on crafts is an activity that is especially prevalent in the American images of «The New Era». Free play, on the other hand, is not seen as much in the USA as in other parts of the world. The same is true for the attention given in the American photographs to cognitive school subjects. This would seem to reflect the preference in the USA for working on projects, inspired by the ideas of John Dewey about “learning by doing”.

Table 12. *The use of space in the images of The New Era (1920-1939) by place*

Space	UK	USA	France	Germany	Rest	Total
Inside	69 46,9%	61 69,3%	10 37,0%	9 42,9%	85 48,9%	234 51,2%
Outside	78 53,1%	27 30,7%	17 63,0%	12 57,1%	89 51,1%	223 48,8%
Total	147 100,0%	88 100,0%	27 100,0%	21 100,0%	174 100,0%	457 100,0%

Chi-square = 15,8; df = 4; p = .003



Pic. 12. *Example of education in nature: «Nature study: A practical surveying lesson».* (Source: «The New Era», vol. 11, n. 1, 1930, n.p.).

In addition to certain differences between countries with respect to the activities shown in the images of «The New Era», we should also point out some shifts over time (Table 14). For instance, we see a decreasing number of images dedicated to dance, theatre, and music in the 1930s in comparison to the 1920s. On the other hand, we see an increase in the emphasis given to gymnastics, sport, and other physical activities. Free play is also a more popular subject in the 1930s than in the 1920s. Over the years physical activities seem to have

Table 13. *Activities in the images of The New Era (1920-1939) by place*

Activity	UK	USA	France	Germany	Rest	Total
3Rs	23 15,6%	6 6,8%	3 11,1%	2 9,5%	27 15,5%	61 13,3%
Crafts	32 21,8%	42 47,7%	10 37,0%	5 23,8%	59 33,9%	148 32,4%
Dance/theater/music	33 22,4%	26 29,5%	5 18,5%	3 14,3%	13 7,5%	80 17,5%
Free play	31 21,1%	5 5,7%	4 14,8%	6 28,6%	33 19,0%	79 17,3%
Gardening/animals	5 3,4%	4 4,5%	2 7,4%	2 9,5%	15 8,6%	28 6,1%
Science	12 8,2%	4 4,5%	1 3,7%	2 9,5%	10 5,7%	29 6,3%
Gym/sport/body	11 7,5%	1 1,1%	2 7,4%	1 4,8%	17 9,8%	32 7,0%
Total	147 100,0%	88 100,0%	27 100,0%	21 100,0%	174 100,0%	457 100,0%

Chi-square = 58,9; df = 24; p < .001



Pic. 13. Example of an image with crafts as an activity, *Ecole de l'île de France*, «Manual work in the open air». (Source: «The New Era», vol. 5, n. 7, 1924, p. 94).

Table 14. *Activities in the images of The New Era (1920-1939) by period of time*

Activity	1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1939	Total
3Rs	4 40,0%	12 18,8%	32 11,1%	13 13,7%	61 13,3%
Crafts	1 10,0%	17 26,6%	97 33,7%	33 34,7%	148 32,4%
Dance/theatre/music	4 40,0%	18 28,1%	49 17,0%	9 9,5%	80 17,5%
Free play	0 0,0%	7 10,9%	54 18,8%	18 18,9%	79 17,3%
Gardening/animals	1 10,0%	4 6,3%	14 4,9%	9 9,5%	28 6,1%
Science	0 0,0%	5 7,8%	22 7,6%	2 2,1%	29 6,3%
Gymnastics/sport/body	0 0,0%	1 1,6%	20 6,9%	11 11,6%	32 7,0%
Total	10 100,0%	64 100,0%	288 100,0%	95 100,0%	457 100,0%

Chi-square = 37,9; df = 18; p = .004

become slightly more important than creative and expressive occupations. This trend coincides with a shift from the “individual” to the “social” mentioned earlier. The self-expression of the individual child in the 1920s has lost its relevance in a world threatened by the rise of authoritarian regimes. The child of the 1930s must be physically prepared to face the challenges of the future by focusing on cooperation and collaboration with others.

4.8. *The visualisation of all images in one plot*

In the tables presented above, we have analysed several characteristics of the images in «The New Era» by comparing each of these characteristics in time and place. For an overall image of the relationships between all characteristics expressed simultaneously, we now turn to a multiple correspondence analysis. The result is presented in Picture 14.

An overall analysis of the relationship between the characteristics of all images with children presented before (N=457), shows us the existence of several

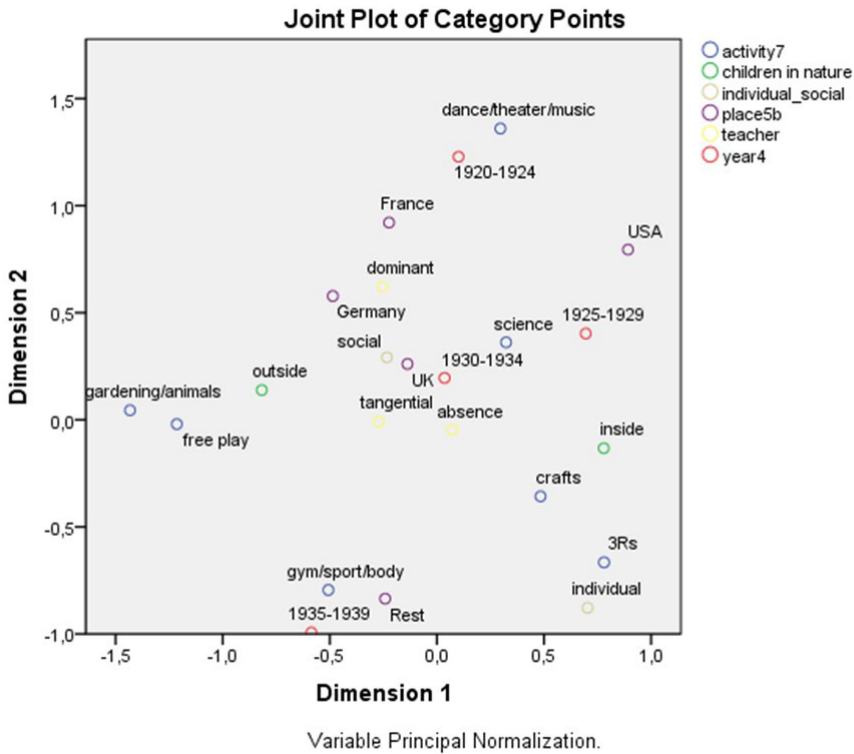


Fig. 14. Multiple correspondence analysis of four image characteristics with time and place as active variables.

clusters of images in «The New Era»⁴³. We describe these clusters clockwise starting at the top of the two-dimensional plot, and conclude the following:

1. Images picturing dance, theatre and music are typical for the period 1920-1924, and are mostly found in France.
2. Images that show science as an activity are typical for the period 1925-1929 and are mainly found in the USA.
3. Images picturing reading, writing, arithmetic or crafts are activities that are mainly done by individual children, and mostly inside schools or other buildings.
4. Images picturing gymnastic, sports, and bodily activities are typical for the period 1935-1939, and are mostly found in other countries (instead of the UK, the USA, France, and Germany).
5. Images taken outside mainly show children playing freely, gardening and interacting with animals, and are mostly found in Germany.

⁴³ The variables related with nakedness and happiness were excluded from the analysis because too few images were coded with the categories “laughing” and “fully naked”.

6. Images with social interactions between children are mostly found in the UK in the period 1930-1934.

We note that the clustering of some categories or axial codes sometimes may seem rather obvious. It is evident that reading, writing, and arithmetic are done individually and inside school classrooms, while gardening and working with animals are activities that take place outdoors. But we also note that the clustering of other categories shows us patterns that would not be evident if we limited ourselves to the analysis of only two variables at the same time. Crafts, for instance, is an activity that, like the 3R's, is also mainly engaged in individually and inside the school. This is less obvious. The connection between clusters of categories and specific countries also provides more insights into the way new education is portrayed internationally. We see connections between dance, theatre, music and France, between outdoor activities and Germany, between social interactions and the UK, between science and the USA, and between gymnastics, sports, bodily activities and all other countries.

Conclusions

In this article we have posed the question of whether the international new or progressive pedagogical trends that influenced the educational landscape in Europe during the first decades of the twentieth century produced a new image of the child, a child that would grow up in a new era, in a new century called the «Century of the child». What did this progressive child look like? The principles of the New Education Fellowship, the guidelines for new schools formulated by Adolphe Ferrière, and previous image-based research by Burke and Grosvenor, Comas and Sureda, and Aldrich, provided us with a preliminary answer. We have checked the validity of this answer by analysing a much larger set of images than had been used before. This dataset consisted of all images (N=944) published in all issues of «The New Era» in the period 1920-1939. We have chosen this journal, published by the New Education Fellowship, as a source because we consider it to be the most important international platform, where the advocates of the New Education movement were presenting their ideas in text and image.

The generalised image of the progressive child that can be construed on the basis of the images in «The New Era» has the following characteristics:

1. The progressive child works seriously (91,7%). Although the idea of the spontaneity of the child in the new schools would imply freedom and happiness, we do not detect many smiling or laughing children in the images. In this respect there is not a great difference between the new and the old education.
2. The progressive child does not often appear naked, or with bare feet, chest or limbs, but is most of the time fully clothed (82,3%). Again, the

idea of the child's spontaneity or the principle of an unhindered development in an environment free of constraints would imply less formal dress codes. We do not see this happening, but of course there is at least somewhat of a difference with the traditional classroom photographs, where pupils never appear showing bare parts of their body.

3. The progressive child is mainly involved with creative, expressive, and physical activities (80,4%). Here we see a clear difference with the classroom photographs of traditional education where reading, writing, and arithmetic are the key subjects.
4. The progressive child does not appear alongside a teacher (78,8%). As Burke and Grosvenor concluded on the basis of two sets of photographs found in archives, in the «progressive image» of the history of education the teacher is absent or in a tangential position. On the basis of all of the images from «The New Era» we agree with this conclusion.
5. The progressive child works together with his or her peers (75,1%). The individuality of the child may be an important guideline for new education, but in most of the images we see children cooperating or collaborating with their peers. Of course, in new education the idea of the school as a community is also highly valued, so this finding does not necessarily contradict the ideas of new or progressive education. It just shows that individual methods are portrayed less in «The New Era» than the social methods.
6. The progressive child is educated together with other boys and girls (54,9%). Co-education may be a preferred strategy in new education, but it clearly is not a common practice yet in the period 1920-1939.
7. The progressive child works inside the school (51,2%). Although we do not see a relatively high percentage of children being educated in the open air or outside a classroom (48, 8%), in comparison with the ideal-typical image of traditional schooling the child educated under the principles of new education can clearly be found in a different environment.

In the period 1920-1939 «The New Era» presented new images of children in a new century. They were counter images in comparison to the well-known archetypical pictures of disciplined pupils sitting in parallel rows of school desks in dark classrooms. New or progressive education produced new images of children. Children that could also be found outside classrooms, that were interacting with peers, building things, and creating art, apparently without the presence of teachers. Education, however, was still a serious business. «The New Era» never enhance the idea that freedom in education would result in chaos or anarchy. Pictures looking like the artistic drawings of naked children on the covers of «The New Era» remained exceptional, and the few images with happy naked children were justified by the word “heat wave” in the caption.

More importantly, next to the social construction of a new ideal-typical image of the progressive child, the analysis of the imagery in «The New Era»

also showed that, on the one hand, the depiction of the progressive child, is rooted and imbedded in a local or national context and, on the other hand, is influenced by changing transnational mentalities and ideas on New Education. In other words, there seems to be some meaningful variation in time and space that questions the idea of “one” image of progressive childhood. Future research, so to speak, could elaborate the concept of “progressive childhoods” in the history of education, for instance by comparing images in the several journals about new education in Europe and the USA at the beginning of the twentieth century.

It must be noted that in this article our unit of analysis has been the journal «The New Era» as a whole, while the collection of 944 images were the units of observation. We did not study these images in their context of, for instance, separate issues. In that case we would also have touched upon how the images were organised, ordered, and interacted with each other, or in other words, how visual-material story lines were shaped.

Finally, this article studied the images in «The New Era» in the context of the New Education movement at the beginning of the twentieth century. It must be noted that on the dividing line of two centuries there were more transnational movements that can be considered to be spheres of influence. We mention the Arts and Crafts movement, the Social Hygiene movement, and the *Lebensreform* movement. The goals of these movements fit rather well the topics of the images that were selected for publication in «The New Era», especially the focus on crafts, and nature.

The totalitarian child: the image of childhood in the Fascist school notebooks (1922-1943)

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ABSTRACT: The *school notebooks* have been the focus of the specific attention of the educational history of the last two decades, as being particularly significant sources for the reconstruction of school customs and the teaching practices characterising the European and non-European educational systems in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Their richly illustrated covers and different types have left an impression on the imagination of generations of students, becoming in fact much more than a modest support for the teaching activity or a minor element of educational equipment. So they came to play “another” and very different role from the one they originally had in the school equipment. We could even affirm that their different but parallel functions of transmission of contents and educational messages and – especially during the fascist period – of a real ideological and political means of propaganda can be dated back even before, and independently of, their real material use, in classrooms or elsewhere. This article attempts to focus the attention on the image of childhood and youth conveyed by the school notebooks during the Fascist period (1922-1943), highlighting how, precisely through the illustrations that appeared on the covers of school notebooks, Mussolini's regime tried to convey the ideal of the totally fascist child and youth. The research at the basis of this article makes use of the large collection of Fascist school notebooks, about two thousand, kept at the *Centro di documentazione e ricerca sulla storia del libro scolastico e della letteratura per l'infanzia* of the University of Macerata and at the *Istituto Nazionale di Documentazione, Innovazione e Ricerca Educativa* (INDIRE) of Florence.

EET/TEEKEYWORDS: History of education; School notebooks; Childhood; Representation; Visual imagery; Fascist period (1922-1943); Italy; XXth Century.

Introduction

Although it is certainly true that, with reference to the 19th and 20th centuries, ever-greater attention was placed by the governments of the various western countries to the younger generations, to the problems relating to their growth and education and to their gradual integration into the social community they belonged to¹, it is equally true that, in the case of totalitarian regimes that emerged in Europe between the two world wars, the question of the ideological and political education of young people, of their placement in suitable mass organisations designed to «toughen them up in body and spirit» in the light of the inspiring principles of totalitarian ideology, and of their mobilisation to support the regime itself was destined to take on special relevance².

One case that is in many ways exemplary, in this respect, is shown by the fascist regime that was established in Italy in the aftermath of the march on Rome of 28th October 1922 and was destined to remain in power for around twenty years, until 25th July 1943³. Specifically with regard to the Mussolini regime, in fact, some scholars have talked about a sort of «identity relationship that fascism maintained with the notion of youth», and youth, far from comprising just a mere official registry category, was considered as an «expression of the positive absolute» and as the synthesis of «a vast range of values, both civic, moral and aesthetic at the same time»: this led to the fascist regime's political choice to make young people «the focus of its own action and the central momentum of its own organisational system»⁴.

It is no surprise, then, referring to fascism, that one talked about a sort of «youth ideology»⁵, underlying which was the conviction that Italian youth itself, survivors of the trenches of the first world war, were the authors and

¹ See G. Levi, J.C. Schmitt (edd.), *Storia dei giovani*, vol. 2: *L'età contemporanea*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1994; and the more recent P. Dogliani, *Storia dei giovani*, Milano, Bruno Mondadori, 2003.

² See A. Klönne, *Jugend im Dritten Reich. Die Hitlerjugend und ihre Gegner*, Düsseldorf-Köln, Diederichs, 1982; D. Caroli, *Ideali, ideologie e modelli formativi. Il movimento dei pionieri in URSS*, Milan, Unicopli, 2015². With specific reference to Italian fascism see R. De Felice, *Mussolini il duce. Gli anni del consenso, 1929-1936*, Torino, Einaudi, 1974, p. 235 and f.

³ There is now a considerable body of studies and research on the origins and developments of the fascist regime in Italy. We restrict ourselves here to referring to the following: R. De Felice, *Mussolini il fascista*, vol. 1: *La conquista del potere, 1921-1925*, Turin, Einaudi, 1966; Id., *Mussolini il fascista*, vol. 2: *L'organizzazione dello Stato fascista, 1925-1929*, Turin, Einaudi, 1968; Id., *Mussolini il duce*, vol. 1: *Gli anni del consenso, 1929-1936*, Torino, Einaudi, 1974; Id., *Mussolini il duce*, vol. 2: *Lo Stato totalitario, 1936-1940*, Torino, Einaudi, 1981; P.G. Zunino, *L'ideologia del fascismo. Miti, credenze e valori nella stabilizzazione del regime*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1985; E. Gentile, *Storia del Partito Fascista*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1989; Id., *Le origini dell'ideologia fascista (1918-1925)*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1996; Id., *La via italiana al totalitarismo. Il partito e lo Stato nel regime fascista*, Roma, Carocci, 2001.

⁴ L. Malvano, *Il mito della giovinezza attraverso l'immagine: il fascismo italiano*, in G. Levi, J.C. Schmitt (edd.), *Storia dei giovani*, vol. 2: *L'età contemporanea*, cit., pp. 311-314.

⁵ See M.A. Ledeen, *Italian fascism and youth*, «The Journal of Contemporary History», vol. 4, n. 3, 1969, pp. 137-154.

the authentic protagonists of the birth of the *Fasci italiani di Combattimento* [Italian fascist combat bands] – the political movement founded in Milan by Benito *Mussolini* on 23rd March 1919 – and of the real *national revolution* culminating with the march on Rome of 28th October 1922 and leading to the dissolution of the liberal, bourgeois «old Italy» and to the creation of the totalitarian fascist state.

The fascist idea of youth – as Luca La Rovere stresses in this respect – by identifying in the holocaust for the homeland of a handful of ‘heroes’ the start of the rebirth of the Italian spirit, was best suited to functioning as a myth for the foundation of the new regime and to feeding the revolutionary inspiration. [...] Youth comprised in this sense the synthesis of the bold activist lifestyle which fascism offered the Italians: passion for action, a mystic sense of duty, dedication to the cause right down to the supreme sacrifice, the cult of power that was accompanied by an unlimited faith in the possibility of human beings to print an indelible mark on history. So youth represented an attitude of the spirit and the moral quality, even before personal status, of the real ‘revolutionary’: the synthesis of manly virtues of the fascist human being. And, not surprisingly, *Giovinetza* [Youth] was the anthem of the Black Shirts⁶.

In the light of these considerations the emphasis with which fascism, right from the beginning, took charge on the one hand of operating a sort of *totalitarian socialization* of the younger generations through mobilisation and placement in the regime’s mass youth organizations, and on the other to promote the emergence of a new political élite, based on an systematic program of political and ideological training designed to imbue the new Italian youth with the *fascist spirit*.

In regard to this, starting in January 1920 the first youth organization of the Mussolini movement was already being formed: this was the *Avanguardia studentesca dei Fasci italiani di Combattimento* [Student avant-garde of Italian fascist combat bands] which, in the following year when its membership opened not only to students but also to «young people in factories and in the fields», would assume the new, more comprehensive title of *Avanguardia Giovanile Fascista* [Fascist Youth Avant-garde]⁷. Besides this, in the same year, 1920, the *G.U.F.-Gruppi Universitari Fascisti* [University Fascist Groups] were also set up, bringing together university students who, since 1919, had been members first of all of the *Fasci italiani di Combattimento* and then of the *P.N.F.-Partito Nazionale Fascista* [National Fascist Party]⁸.

In the period immediately after fascism obtained power and, in particular after it transformed into a totalitarian regime (1925), the question of placement

⁶ L. La Rovere, «Rifare gli italiani»: l’esperimento di creazione dell’«uomo nuovo» nel regime fascista, «Annali di storia dell’educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», vol. 9, 2002, p. 53.

⁷ See P. Nello, *L’avanguardismo studentesco alle origini del fascismo*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1978.

⁸ See B. Garzarelli, *Un aspetto della politica totalitaria del Pnf: i Gruppi universitari fascisti*, «Studi storici», vol. 38, n. 4, 1997, pp. 1121-1161; and L. La Rovere, *Storia dei Guf. Organizzazione, politica e miti della gioventù universitaria fascista, 1919-1943*, Turin, Bollati-Boringhieri, 2003.

and ideological and political training of young people took on a special urgency and was made the subject of a series of systematic interventions⁹. With Law No. 2247 of 3rd April 1926, first of all, the *O.N.B.-Opera Nazionale Balilla* [Balilla National Organization] was set up for the aid and physical and moral education of young people, bringing together young people of both sexes between 8 and 17 years old¹⁰. Subsequently, for the purposes of completing the process of placing Italian youth in the regime's organizations, on 8th October 1930 the *Fasci giovanili di Combattimento* [Youth Fascist Combat bands], designed to welcome boys and girls between the ages of 18 and 21, were established¹¹.

A further and still more effective intervention on this front occurred in the second half of the 1930s, following the conclusion of the war in Ethiopia and the proclamation of the Empire, when, with Royal Decree of 27th October 1937 Benito Mussolini established the *G.I.L.-Gioventù Italiana del Littorio* [Italian Fascist Youth Organization], the «unitary and totalitarian organization of the youth forces of the fascist regime» which «responded directly to the Secretary of the National Fascist Party», into which both the *Opera Nazionale Balilla* and the *Fasci giovanili di Combattimento*¹² merged. Among the designated aims of the *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio* were in particular «the spiritual, sporting and pre-military preparation» of Italian youth and the «teaching of physical education in elementary and junior high schools»¹³.

Physical education and sporting activities thus comprised, along with pre-military schooling and training in the use of weapons, one of the strong points in the training proposal conveyed by the regime's mass youth organizations¹⁴.

⁹ On this subject, see the lively debate on young people and on the problem of training of a new authentically fascist ruling class which took place from 1927 onwards in the columns of «Critica Fascista», the review directed by Giuseppe Bottai, and the intervention of Benito Mussolini with the title *Punti fermi sui giovani*, published also in «Critica Fascista» on 1st February 1930. Cf. P. Nello, *Mussolini e Bottai: due modi diversi di concepire l'educazione fascista dei giovani* (*Mussolini and Bottai: two different ways of conceiving the fascist education of young people*), «Storia Contemporanea», vol. 8, n. 2, 1977), pp. 335-366; and L. Passerini, *La giovinezza metafora del cambiamento sociale. Due dibattiti sui giovani nell'Italia fascista e negli Stati Uniti degli anni Cinquanta*, in Levi, Schmitt, *Storia dei giovani*, cit., pp. 386-421.

¹⁰ See N. Zapponi, *Il partito della gioventù. Le organizzazioni giovanili del fascismo 1926-1943*, «Storia Contemporanea», vol. 13, n. 4-5, 1982, pp. 569-633; C. Betti, *L'Opera nazionale balilla e l'educazione fascista*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1984.

¹¹ See R. De Felice, *Mussolini il duce*. vol. 2: *Lo Stato totalitario, 1936-1940*, Turin, Einaudi, 1981, pp. 126-135. The following is also of great interest for the documentation collected: A. Starace, *Fasci giovanili di combattimento*, Milan, Mondadori, 1933.

¹² See Zapponi, *Il partito della gioventù. Le organizzazioni giovanili del fascismo, 1926-1943*, cit., pp. 569-633. But see also the full documentation reproduced in: A. Starace, *Gioventù italiana del Littorio*, Milan, Mondadori, 1939.

¹³ R.D.-L. 27th October 1937, no. 1839 – *Istituzione della Gioventù italiana del Littorio*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», 12th November 1937 – XVI, no. 267, part 1, pp. 4057-4059.

¹⁴ See E. Gentile, *Il culto del littorio. La sacralizzazione della politica nell'Italia fascista*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1993, p. 159.

Sport, in particular, was considered to all intents and purposes «the essential tool for instilling in young people the qualities of the fascist man: tenacity of character, a thirst for challenge, disdain for the ‘comfortable life’, enthusiasm for striving to be first, the fascist cult of the body, obsession with physical vigour»¹⁵.

In order to suitably prepare the *Opera Nazionale Balilla* sports instructors, in 1928 the Fascist Male Academy of Physical Education¹⁶ was set up in Rome and, in 1931, the Fascist Female Academy of Physical Education in Orvieto¹⁷.

From 1932 onwards the *Littoriali dello sport* were organized, and to these were added, two years later in 1934, the *Ludi juveniles*, sporting events designed respectively for members of the G.U.F. and for the regime’s other youth organizations¹⁸. From 1938 onwards, finally, G.I.L. pre-military courses were set up, designed to reserve a large space for physical education and sports activities and to involve several hundred thousand young people each year¹⁹.

1. *School notebooks and the iconographic representation of Italian youth during the fascist period*

Starting especially from the second half of the 1920s, parallel with the development of the work of placing the younger generations in fascism’s mass organizations, the Mussolini regime undertook the promotion and circulation of a new image of Italian youth; this would, on the one hand, embody and give substance to the myth of «eternal youth» of fascism itself, and on the other, more concretely, it would comprise a privileged vehicle for conveying ideological principles and educational models and based on these promote, through young people, the «physical and moral regeneration of the race» and the real building of the fascist «new man».

The iconographic representation of Italian youth as seen by the regime, in this respect, developed in parallel with the growth and strengthening of the youth organizations and of the educational and welfare work of fascism, and

¹⁵ La Rovere, «Rifare gli italiani»: l’esperienza di creazione dell’«uomo nuovo» nel regime fascista, cit., p. 66.

¹⁶ See A. Ponzio, *L’Accademia della Farnesina: un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell’Italia fascista (1927-1943)*, «Mondo contemporaneo», vol. 6, n. 1, 2008, pp. 35-66; and Id., *La Palestra del Littorio. L’Accademia della Farnesina: un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell’Italia fascista*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2009.

¹⁷ See L. Motti, M. Rossi (edd.), *Accademiste ad Orvieto. Donne ed educazione fisica nell’Italia fascista 1932-1943*, Perugia, Quattroemme, 1996.

¹⁸ See M. Canella, S. Giuntini (edd.), *Sport e fascismo*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2009; and E. Landoni, *Gli atleti del duce. La politica sportiva del fascismo (1919-1939)*, Sesto S. Giovanni, Mimesis, 2016.

¹⁹ See *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio*, Milan, Mondadori, 1942.

performed a highly efficient role in the teaching context, to the point where it became an independent and privileged channel for the regime's ideological propaganda with regard to the younger generations and a sort of sophisticated, effective tool for totalitarian education:

A strong symbol of the whole nation – as Laura Malvano has written – the representation of youth also took on another meaning: to emphasise and affirm the role of youth as a social protagonist and a privileged reference for the regime, whose image offered a carefully encoded and ritualized model. This model was offered directly to young people through an intense work of visual pedagogy based especially on the countless magazines and newspapers appealing to the Italian youth. [...] A very wide-ranging set of stereotypes, which was expressed especially in the elliptical, concentrated language of the image, had as its purpose to define and to impose that vast handbook of typological models that, placed in order of age and sex, formed the legions and foot-soldiers of the ONB (Opera Nazionale Balilla) and, after 1937, of the GIL (Gioventù Italiana del Littorio)²⁰.

There were many places and tools with which attempts were made to promote a new iconographic representation of Italian youth. On this front, a role of primary importance was undoubtedly played by the regime's press organizations, first of all the bulletins and periodicals linked to the mass youth organizations – from the newsheets published by the O.N.B. in the second half of the 1920s, such as «Il Balilla» (1923-), «La Piccola Italiana» (1927-), «La Giovane Italiana» (1927-), «Libro e Moschetto» (1927-) and «Gioventù Fascista» (1931-), to those published a decade later by the G.I.L., including «Passo Romano» (1937-) and «Gioventù in Armi» (1941-), and right down to the publications for the regime's youth educators and instructors, such as in the case of «Gioventù del Littorio» (1937-) and «Problemi della Gioventù. Mensile della Gioventù italiana del Littorio» (1941-), on whose pages the numerous and strictly-selected illustrations in black-and-white and in colour (photographs, drawings etc.) played quite a significant role in promoting a decisive image of fascist youth²¹.

Even more effective and destined to have a wide, lasting impact on national public opinion were the images conveyed by propaganda newsreels and documentaries made by the L.U.C.E. Institute (Educational Cinematographic Union), the cinema organisation set up by the Mussolini government with Royal Decree No. 1985 of 5th November 1925 which, closely linked to the ministry of Popular Culture and the Education ministry (later, from 1929 onwards, the ministry of National Education) devoted ever-greater attention to initiatives in the area of schooling and the work of the regime's mass youth organizations

²⁰ Malvano, *Il mito della giovinezza attraverso l'immagine: il fascismo italiano*, cit., p. 338.

²¹ See A. Folini, M. Quaranta (edd.), *Le riviste giovanili del periodo fascista*, Treviso, Canova, 1977. Useful references also in L. Malvano, *Fascismo e politica dell'immagine*, Turin, Bollati-Boringhieri, 1988.

(assemblies, school camps, gymnastic and sporting practice drills, forms of pre-military training etc.)²².

Schools, especially elementary and state schools – the only authentically mass schools in the period between the two world wars – nevertheless comprised the space in which the iconographic representation of Italian youth emerged as a cornerstone for the regime's ideological propaganda and as a tool for totalitarian education of the new generations²³.

On this front, a role of primary importance was fulfilled by the many and varied images of childhood and fascist youth reproduced in *textbooks* (reading books, primary school books etc.)²⁴, and in particular in the *Testi Unici di Stato* [State Single Textbooks] for the various classes in the elementary curriculum introduced by the fascist regime from 1929²⁵.

Alongside textbooks, however, an equally important role was played, in this respect, by a component in the pupils' school equipment, the *school notebooks* – a role which has only recently aroused the interest of historians of childhood and of education.

A specific focus for the education historiography of the last two decades, being a particularly significant source for the reconstruction of school customs and teaching practices that characterized the European and extra-European education systems in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries²⁶, the *school notebooks*, with their different types and richly illustrated covers, left an impression on the imaginations of generations and generations of pupils, becoming, in fact, much more than a modest support for teaching activities or a minor element in the school equipment: they ended up by being an object that was almost fixed and omnipresent – while having a variety of formats and shapes – in the image and memories that each of us carries with us of our own

²² See E.G. Laura, *Le stagioni dell'aquila. Storia dell'Istituto Luce*, Roma, Istituto Luce, 2004; F. Anania, P. Melograni (edd.), *L'Istituto Luce nel regime fascista*, Roma, Istituto Luce, 2006.

²³ See J. Charnitzky, *Fascismo e scuola. La politica scolastica del regime (1922-1943)*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1994.

²⁴ See A. Ascenzi, R. Sani (edd.), *Il libro per la scuola tra idealismo fascismo. L'opera della Commissione centrale per l'esame dei libri di testo da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice ad Alessandro Melchiori (1923-1928)*, Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 2005.

²⁵ See Law No. 5 of 7th January 1929 – *Regulations for the compilation and the adoption of the State single text for individual elementary classes*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», 12th January 1929, no. 10; reproduced in «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», 22nd January 1929, part 1, 4, pp. 226-227. See also in this regard 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 Edizioni, 2009.

²⁶ See 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*, 2 vols., Firenze, Polistampa, 2010. See also: A. Viñao Frago, *Los cuadernos escolares como fuente histórica: aspectos metodológicos e historiográficos*, «Annali di Storia dell'Educazione e delle Istituzioni Scolastiche», vol. 13, 2006, pp. 17-35; and R. Sani, *Appraisal of research on school notebooks in Italy*, in J. Meda, A.M. Badanelli (edd.), *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en España: balance y perspectivas*, Macerata, eum, 2013, pp. 83-103.

school experience, as well as in the collective representation of the daily life of Italian schoolchildren.

As is well-known, starting in the last two decades of the 19th century the production of *school notebooks* and other paper supports for writing recorded a significant increase in Italy²⁷. The underlying reason for this considerable development must be attributed to the growth in internal demand, caused in particular by the constant decrease in levels of illiteracy and the progressive raising of levels of school attendance, as well as the increase in publishing and the ever-greater circulation of daily and periodical printed materials. In this respect, we can probably say that the success, firstly at a local and regional level and then later nationally, of a series of businesses specializing in the production of *school notebooks*, was based on the process of mass literacy and schooling of the Italians, especially at the time when, starting from the second half of the 1870s with the school provisions issued by the historic Left (Coppino law etc.) this process became more intense and systematic²⁸.

As studies in the history of education and schools have recently documented, businesses such as Cartiere Paolo Pigna of Alzano Lombardo (Bergamo) and Cartiere Ambrogio Binda of Vaprio d'Adda (Milan) understood fully, even before other companies operating in the sector, the importance of linking their production for schools to the national education project for the Italians promoted by the liberal executive classes, albeit intermittently and according to different methods and forms, which had already started in the last decades of the nineteenth century²⁹: these companies made great efforts to adapt the characteristics of their products to the mass schooling and nationalization of the Italians, increasingly complying with the process aimed at implanting in the population the sentiment of the importance of school for the socio-cultural growth of the country and for establishing a specific community identity³⁰.

This was a process that, carried out with ever-greater conviction in the first two decades of the twentieth century, brought about significant new developments after the First World War, and then reached its highest point during the twenty years of fascism³¹.

²⁷ J. Meda, *The Exercise Book as a Material Object*, in Meda, Montino, Sani (edd.), *School Exercise Books*, cit., vol. I, pp. XXV-XXVIII.

²⁸ See 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.

²⁹ See U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani. Memoria e celebrazione del Risorgimento*, Torino, Committee of the Institute for the history of the Italian Risorgimento, 1992.

³⁰ See in this regard A. Ascenzi, *The Pigna Paper Mill and the Exercise Book of the «New Italy» (1870-1960)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 3, n. 1, 2008, pp. 217-255.

³¹ See J. Meda, «*Contro il tanto deprecato mercantilismo scolastico...*». *I controversi rapporti tra editori, insegnanti e cartolai e l'intervento del regime*, in Meda, Montino, Sani (edd.), *School Exercise Books*, cit., vol. I, pp. 507-551.

An in-depth study of the characteristics of the *school notebooks* and, in particular, an analysis of the illustrations on the covers and the introductory texts for these illustrations is essential, in this regard, to understand the evolution and the peculiar tones of this particular source, as well as to assess the frontline role it played for conveying/constructing a certain image of childhood and youth.

It must be said that without ever dismissing their original material functionality, and on the contrary, retaining their modest character as secondary tools of minor importance in the context of a pupil's teaching equipment, *school notebooks* ended up, after the first world war and then especially during the twenty years of fascist rule, by carrying out "another" role, very different from the one it was originally assigned in the category of school instruments. It may be said, in fact, that this different and parallel function of transmitting educational contents and messages and of real ideological and political propaganda³² was exercised even earlier, and independently, with regard to the real material use of the notebook in school classrooms or elsewhere.

Especially during Mussolini's regime *school notebooks* conveyed a captivating iconic-verbal message hallmarked with characteristics of immediacy, simplicity and good comprehension at all levels; this message was designed to exert a role of undisputed relevance – albeit of an auxiliary and complementary kind – in the school and after-school education of the younger generations and, indirectly, of Italian families themselves, especially those of the popular classes and those in rural areas. Rather more than being just textbooks, in fact, *school notebooks* were designed to circulate in domestic areas, or among pupils' families, and to arouse the attention and interest of the adults themselves, who would have no difficulty in coming to grips with the illustrations on the covers and with the short explanatory texts for these which generally embodied the «editorial message» of the notebook itself.

Conveniently adjusted to the needs and comprehension skills of a mass public, only partly composed of young school students as already mentioned, the illustrations and explanatory texts accompanying the school notebooks would be able to contribute to supplementing and enriching the reader's heritage of knowledge, which could not be attributed only to the pupils who owned them. In this respect it is no accident that the conviction very quickly took hold among the manufacturing companies that the illustrations on the covers – or the containers for the iconic message conveyed by the *school notebooks* – needed particular care and attention: these illustrations should be adapted to a childish, popular audience³³; they should, therefore, be attractive and captivating, even

³² Ascenzi, *The Pigna Paper Mill and the Exercise Book of the «New Italy» (1870-1960)*, cit., pp. 217-255.

³³ See in this regard A. Gibelli, *Il popolo bambino. Infanzia e nazione dalla Grande Guerra a Salò*, Turin, Einaudi, 2005.

compelling, and fully reflect changes in taste and habits so as to appear always up to date and in tune with the times.

It may be added that, in this same period, in the majority of companies manufacturing *school notebooks* the conviction gained ground that it was appropriate to introduce systems and devices to “bind” the pupils to their own production, or to obtain a sort of loyalty relationship with the users of the notebooks; it was thus a question of building a link of continuity with the purchaser. This gave rise to the start of real “series” (kind of single-themed collections) of notebooks, designed to comprise a number of special themed trails to be completed with the acquisition of a certain number of copies, whose iconic-verbal message was independent for each individual notebook and, at the same time, inserted into a more cumulative path of information/training that developed and was completed in the context of the whole “series”.

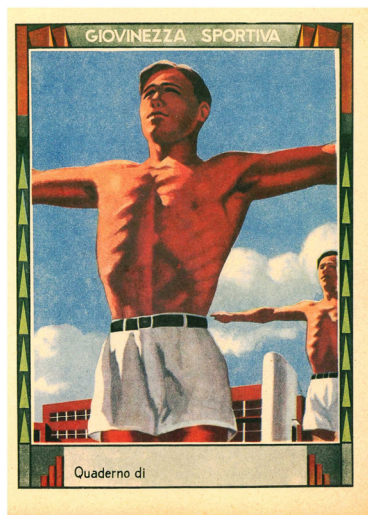
Having been started up in fairly anonymous forms in the years immediately after the first world war, this strategy of promoting loyalty among school pupils reached its height and its most sophisticated phase during the fascist period when, as we see from company advertising, the custom developed in the mass of young buyers of acquiring the notebooks necessary for their school needs no longer on a casual basis, but aiming to acquire the complete collection of items relating to one or more “series” and likewise striving to find any missing copies³⁴.

With regard to the circulation and promotion of a new image of childhood and youth through the cover illustrations of the *school notebooks*, it was especially during the fascist period, as we have already noted, that this was carried out in a systematic and really decisive way; we also see this in the development and considerable enhancement of techniques and graphic languages used in the 1920s and 1930s compared with the previous phases³⁵.

An analysis of the “series” of covers put into circulation by the various companies operating in the sector in this period reveals the systematic and pervasive nature of the commitment to transform *school notebooks* into a formidable tool for the diffusion of a strictly functional image of childhood and youth for upholding fascist ideology and propaganda.

³⁴ Ascenzi, *The Pigna Paper Mill and the Exercise Book of the «New Italy» (1870-1960)*, cit., pp. 240-241.

³⁵ See Meda, *Quaderni di scuola. Nuove fonti per la storia dell'editoria scolastica minore*, cit., pp. 90-91. On the evolution of illustration for childhood in Italy in the 18th and 19th centuries see A. Faeti, *Guardare le figure. Gli illustratori italiani dei libri per l'infanzia*, Turin, Einaudi, 2001.



Pic. 1



Pic. 2

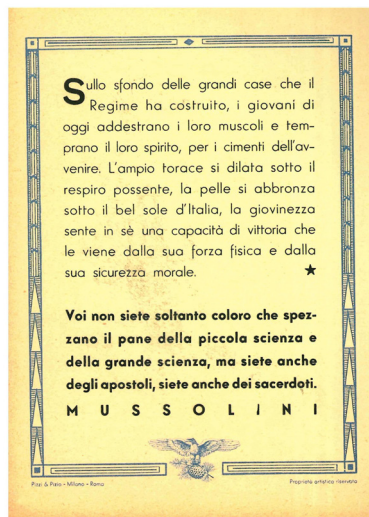
2. Italian youth and the building of the fascist «new man»: the illustrated covers of the school notebooks in the first phase of Mussolini's fascist regime

If we focus on the various series of *school notebook* covers that appeared from the second half of the 1920s devoted to the iconographic representation of Italian youth as seen by Mussolini's regime, we are struck by the prevalence of motifs and characters destined to remain constant over time and to give expression to fascism's ambitious program of promoting, through young people, the «physical and moral regeneration of the race» and the real building of the fascist «new man».

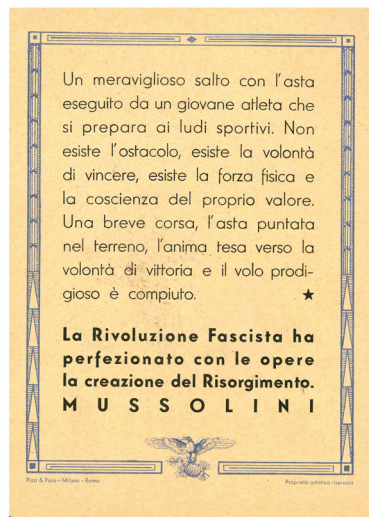
This is the case, for example, with «Giovinezza Sportiva» [Sporting Youth] and «Giovinezza in Marcia» [Youth on the March], the series produced and distributed from 1926 onwards by Arti Grafiche Pizzi & Pizio of Milan and by Cartiere Pigna of Alzano Lombardo (Bergamo) respectively.

The illustrated covers of the *school notebooks* series entitled «Giovinezza Sportiva» aim at confirming the principle according to which sport comprises an essential and inescapable component of the fascist lifestyle and focus on glorifying sporting practice, considered to all intents and purposes the most efficient tool for promoting physical strength and for forming the character of the Italian of tomorrow, as well as the privileged tool for the military preparation of the future soldier-citizen³⁶.

³⁶ Among the series of *school notebooks* of the Fascist period devoted to youth sport and sporting activity we should mention the following: «Mens sana in corpore sano» and «Speranze



Pic. 3



Pic. 4

And to confirm and reinforce the iconic message conveyed by the colour illustrations on the covers, on the inside of these was a short but effective written text repeating the meaning of the message itself and authoritatively validating it through the quotation of a sentence from Benito Mussolini. So, referring to the two illustrations shown above, the inside cover was as follows:

A layout that was similar in many ways featured on the *school notebooks* series entitled «Giovinezza in Marcia», where the illustrations shown on the cover focused especially on aspects and moments of the activity of the regime's youth organizations (Balilla, Marinaretti, Avanguardisti, Piccole Italiane, Giovani Italiane etc.) and, through the celebration of the uniform and the glorification of training, both sporting and paramilitary, they aimed to promote in young people the moral and physical qualities belonging to fascist man and to favour a total identification with the ideals and values advocated by Mussolini's regime.

No wonder if the short explanatory texts reproduced on the backs of these covers, often enriched – as also in this case – by a sentence taken from Mussolini's speeches, constantly strove to remind the reader of the qualities that characterized the fascist «new man», as well as strongly emphasizing the «enthusiastic atmosphere», the «open cheerfulness» and the «lively interest»

d'Italia» [Hopes of Italy], both produced in the second half of the 1920s by F. Apollonio & C. of Verona and by the publishing printing works C.I.P.S. & C. of Turin respectively; «Atleti d'Italia» [Athletes of Italy], from Cartiere Giacomo Bosso of Turin, published from the end of the 1920s onwards and illustrated by the painter Adelina Zandrino; «Sport» and «Giovinezza Sportiva» [Sporting Youth] printed in the early 1930s by Cartiere Ambrogio Binda of Milan and Cartiere Pigna of Alzano Lombardo (Bergamo) respectively.



Pic. 5



Pic. 6



Pic. 7



Pic. 8



Pic. 9



Pic. 10

with which Italian youth participated in the activities of the regime's youth organizations:

You must start to live – we read in one of these explanatory texts reproducing an extract from one the messages addressed by Mussolini to members of the Opera Nazionale Balilla – according to the style of the new or brand-new Italian. What is this style? First of all, work, and secondly discipline, then disinterest, then a life of rectitude, then loyalty, sincerity and courage. [Signed:] *Mussolini*³⁷.

³⁷ Among the various series of *school notebooks* devoted, again in the later 1920s and very early



Pic. 12



Pic. 11



Pic. 13



Pic. 14



Pic. 15



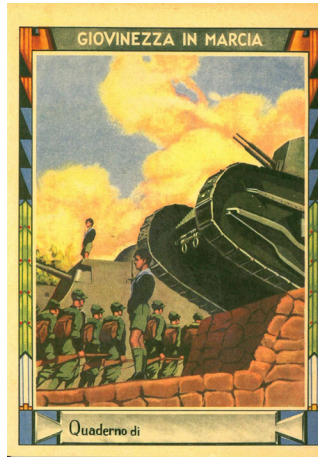
Pic. 16

An analysis of the rich and long-running series of «Giovinezza in Marcia» notebooks, produced and distributed from 1926 onwards and right until the

1930s, to sports and paramilitary youth training activities for both sexes, placed in the context of the regime's youth organizations, the following should be mentioned: «L'Opera Balilla» [The Work of the Balilla], published from 1926 or 1927 by Cartiere Pigna of Alzano Lombardo (Bergamo) and «Gioventù Fascista» [Fascist Youth] circulated in the same period by Industrie Grafiche C.A.B. of Rome. During the first half of the 1930s the series «Opera Balilla – Scuole Rurali» [The work of the Balilla – Rural Schools] from Cartiere Ambrogio Binda of Milan, «Era Fascista» [Fascist Era], from S.I.T.C.A. of Florence, with illustrations by the painter Ferdinando Vichi, and «Gioventù Fascista» [Fascist Youth], from Consorzio UVQ of Milan, were also published.



Pic. 17



Pic. 18



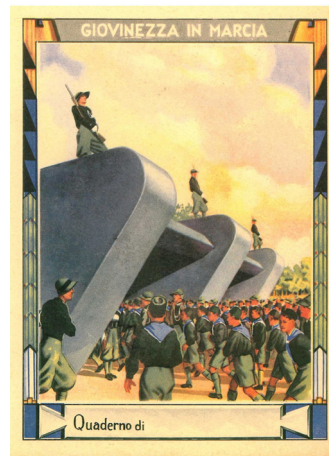
Pic. 19

end of the 1930s by Cartiere Pigna of Alzano Lombardo (Bergamo), enables us to shed some light on the appreciable changes that were to occur in the representation of Italian youth offered by the *school notebooks* covers during the fascist period.

On this front, it is worth noting that, between the end of the 1920s-beginning of the 1930s, the countless children and youths of both sexes portrayed on the covers in uniform or sports kit, either individually or in groups, offer a happy, serene image of themselves; in spite of the spirit of competition intrinsic to the exercise of sports activities and the soldierly poses that were a feature of paramilitary training, they reflect a concept of childhood and youth that is the other side of the adult world, giving rise to an educational approach that seems to favour the dimension of play, youthful enthusiasm and committed participation.

We find this above-mentioned joyous, serene dimension repeated in the short explanatory texts reproduced on the inside of these covers, especially where they celebrate the «healthy enthusiasm» and the «open cheerfulness» of the «Balilla groups» and the «beautiful youth of Italy that grows vigorously under the symbols of Fascism».

Very different is the tenor of the illustrations reproduced on the *school notebooks* covers in the «Giovinezza in Marcia» series in the second half of the 1930s, that is, in the dramatic period from the war in Ethiopia and the



Pic. 20



Pic. 21



Pic. 22



Pic. 23

foundation of the Empire to Italy's entry into the second world war. The images that are now prevalent are those of a sombre, serious youth, with martial poses and no longer holding the Balilla fake wooden rifles of former times, but real weapons (the army service musket to which a bayonet was fixed, the campaign machine-gun mounted on a tripod etc.), or with modern armoured vehicles: these are images in which very young children and youths, deprived of their smiles and serene, happy gazes, appear to all intents and purposes as miniature soldiers or, to be more precise, the worthy representatives of the «armed nation» strongly conditioned by the fascist propaganda in this period.

And it is significant that the central position given to the «preparation for military life and the use of weapons» is repeated over and over again in the explanatory texts reproduced on the back of these covers for the «new generations», so that being «militarily educated», they might be ready, «in case of need, to offer their lives for the defence and the greatness of the Homeland».

However, we must necessarily return to this subject in the concluding part of this work. Now we must pause on a further, interesting aspect to be found on the covers of the series of notebooks that we have already mentioned several times, the «Giovinezza in Marcia», produced by Cartiere Pigna of Alzano Lombardo (Bergamo). We refer to the celebration, starting from 1927, of the so-called *Leva Fascista* [Fascist conscription], the ceremony fixed on 24th May each year, the anniversary of the day when Italy entered the First World War.

With the *Leva Fascista* the rite of passage into the Avant-garde of the Balilla who had reached their 14th birthday was solemnized, while the Avant-gardists who reached the age of 18 moved into the Fasci Giovanili [Fascist Youth], from which they would then, at the age of 21, go into the *Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale* [Voluntary Militia for National Security] (M.V.S.N.) and

into the *Partito Nazionale Fascista* (P.N.F.). In the same way, on the female front, the *Leva Fascista* marked the passing of the *Piccole Italiane* [Little Italian Girls] into the ranks of the *Giovani Italiane* [Young Italian Girls] and from there to the *Giovani Fasciste* [Young Female Fascists] group.

This ceremony, during which the elements that gained access to the organization immediately above them were welcomed by the older members of this with the «symbolic rite of embrace», was fully illustrated on the covers of the *school notebooks*, in which both the images and the short explanatory texts reproduced on the inside covers aimed to convey to the new generations the memory and the cult of their origins and to establish the continuity of the generations of fascists:

As a confirmation of the importance of this ceremony, it is worth also mentioning the eloquent cover of the «Gioventù del Partito» [Party Youth] series (Industrie della Carta P.F.C., Milan-Rome), which, on the eve of the second world war (1939), repeated strongly the centrality of the initiation and the rite of passage of the «new conscriptions of fascism»:

3. «*Transfusing into fascist youth the ancient virtues of the Latin race*»: the covers of the «*Giovinezze eroiche*» [Heroic youth] series of school notebooks from the late 1920s to early 1930s

In 1932 The Central Presidential Office of the Opera Nazionale Balilla (O.N.B.) printed a small book with the title *Giovinezza eroica*, in which the «history of deeds of valour performed by the Balilla and by the Avant-gardists in the brief period from May 1927 to today» was narrated through a set of short profiles «to remove it from the ephemeral life of newspapers and preserve it as a highly noble example of virile education»³⁸.

The purpose of the work, destined to be republished several times until the fall of the fascist regime³⁹, was clear: on the one hand it was a case of holding up «for the admiration of and as an example to all the very young Black Shirts» the «heroic value of deeds» performed by young people awarded «a medal, a distinction or a commendation» and «enrolled in the Roll of Honour of the Opera Nazionale Balilla». On the other hand, its purpose was to emphasize how these «deeds of valour» were authentically rooted in the new concept of life advocated by fascism («Mussolini's Commandment "to live dangerously"» found its most courageous followers in his favourite children, the Avant-gardists

³⁸ Opera Nazionale Balilla, *Giovinezza eroica*, Roma, Presidenza Nazionale, 1932.

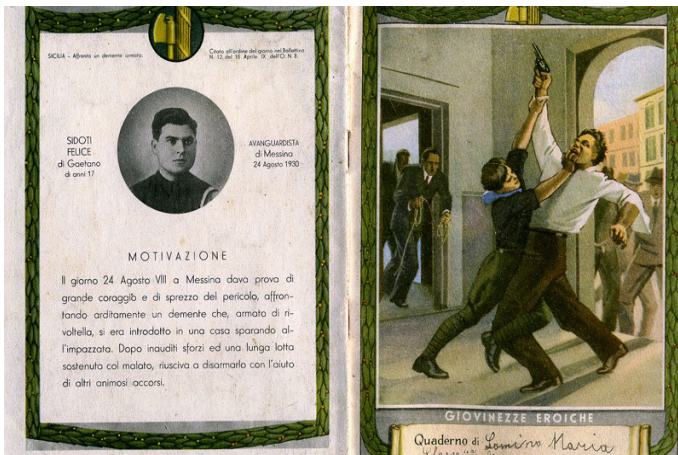
³⁹ Again edited by the Presidenza Nazionale of the Opera Nazionale Balilla (O.N.B.) two other editions of the work were published, updated and enhanced with further examples, in 1934 and 1937 respectively. Later on, the Comando Generale della Gioventù Italiana del Littorio (G.I.L.) took responsibility for the new editions which appeared in 1940 and 1942.



Pic. 24



Pic. 25



Pic. 26



Pic. 27



Pic. 28



Pic. 29

and the Balilla») and comprised the most mature outcome of the education of Italian youth conducted through the regime's youth organizations:

The youngest generations of Fascism – it was stressed, in this respect – did not take only the name of the young Genovese hero [Giovanni Battista Perasso, known as *Balilla*, the little hero who in the 18th century incited the people of Genoa to rebel and drive out the Austro-Piedmontese army who occupied the city], and nor did it take only the outward appearance of a daring fascist action squad right from the start. With the name *Balilla* and with the Black Shirt, raised to being a symbol of an institution that takes daring and disregard for danger as its educational norm, those virtues of the Latin race which have been put aside for some time have been transfused into our young people and have found new bloom and new life in the pure, reviving atmosphere of Fascism⁴⁰.

In the wake of the success recorded by the book *Giovinazza eroica*, the Opera Nazionale Balilla (O.N.B.) Central Presidential Office urged the already-mentioned Arti Grafiche Pizzi & Pizio of Milan to produce and distribute a series of *school notebooks* covers with the evocative title «Giovinazze eroiche» [Heroic youth], which was to contribute to make a very wide audience of female and male pupils of Italian schools and of their families aware of the «heroic deeds» and the «actions of valour» performed by the *Balilla* and the Avant-gardists.

To this end, each notebook in the series would be characterized on the front cover by a drawing by famous painter and illustrator Gino Boccasile designed to immortalize the act of heroism and on the back by the personal details and the photograph of the protagonist shown in *Balilla* or Avant-gardist uniform, as well as by a «Motivation» text by virtue of which the «medal for civilian valour»⁴¹ had been granted to that protagonist of the heroic deed.

On leafing through dozens and dozens of covers dedicated to the «Giovinazze eroiche», to which Boccasile's pen gives an intense dramatic quality and a particular pathos, one is struck by the ordinary, fairly anonymous features of the authors of the «heroic deeds»; their photographs, beyond the serious tone given to them by the uniform, show children with a stunned gaze and profile that is anything but martial, often of mediocre stature and slim physique and certainly far from the stereotype of the «manly, strapping Italic youth» raised healthy and strong «under the banner of Fascism» and constantly excited by the regime's propaganda.

⁴⁰ Opera Nazionale Balilla, *Giovinazza eroica*, cit., pp. 3-4.

⁴¹ From the 1930s onwards, the *school notebooks* series with the title «Giovinazze eroiche» was produced and marketed by both Arti Grafiche Pizzi & Pizio of Milan and by Cartiere Pigna of Alzano Lombardo (Bergamo). With a more modest profile, but being also an expression of the considerable significance attributed to the subject, was the «Balilla Eroici» series produced and distributed by Industria Grafica Paolo Landi & C. of Varese in 1927 or 1928, of which we are aware of about twelve covers reproducing episodes of civilian heroism performed by young members of the Opera Nazionale Balilla (O.N.B.).



Pic. 30

Nevertheless, the extraordinary ability to fascinate that these *school notebooks* covers were designed to exert on the youth of Italy cannot be underestimated; this is especially the case where, by reproducing the personal data and the photograph of the author of the «heroic deed» in Balilla or Avant-gardist uniform and splendidly represented by Boccasile’s illustration, with his deed fully narrated in the «Motivation» for the award of the valour medal, the aim was to repeat that the «indomitable courage», the «astonishing daring» and the «disregard for danger» of the protagonists of the «heroic deeds» were no more than the result of the physical and moral education and the paramilitary training these young people had received in the fascist youth organizations.

But it should be emphasised that, starting from the outbreak of the war in Ethiopia (1935-1936), the representation on *school notebooks* covers of the «heroic deeds» and «deeds of valour» performed by the Balilla and the Avant-gardists of Italy registered a real quality-leap, no longer being limited to episodes designed to bring out the civilian value of the protagonists but being extended also – and to an ever-greater extent – to real events of war and to enterprises aimed at showing «the military worth of Italic youth».

In this regard mention should be made of the «Gioventù eroica» series produced and marketed by the Tipo-Litografia Excelsior of Naples and then by Cartiere Giacomo Bosso of Turin, essentially with the purpose of illustrating



Pic. 31

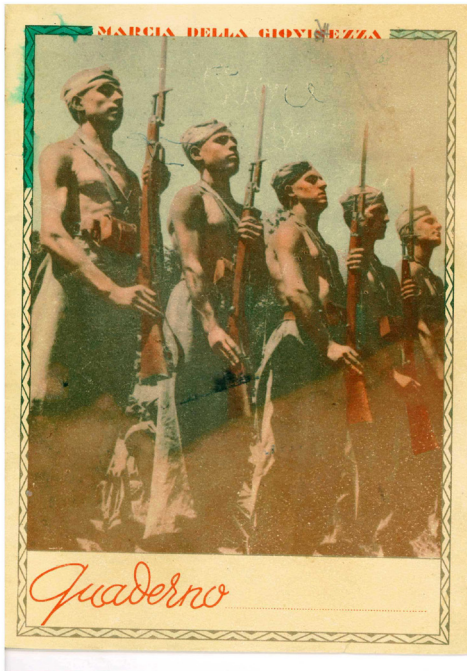


Pic. 32

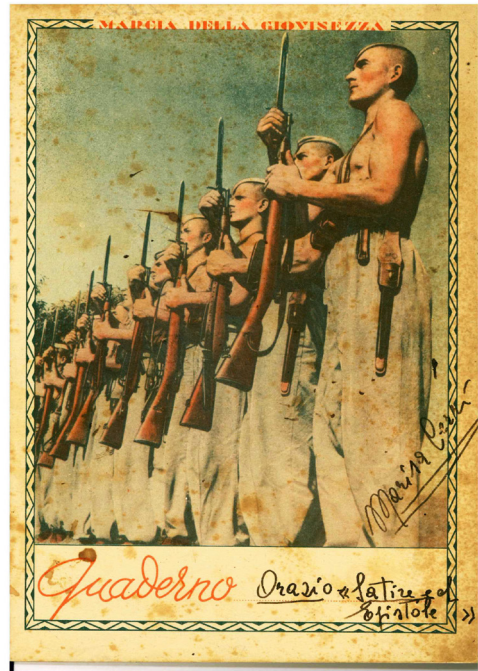
not so much the «deeds of civilian valour» as rather the «large enterprises» and the «heroic actions» performed at the front, «in the very front line», by «young volunteers» enrolled in the «Black Shirts».

4. *Avant-garde groups of the «Nazione armata» [Armed Nation]: the second half of the 1930s and the diffusion, through the covers of the school notebooks, of a «virile and martial» image of Italian youth*

With the appearance in the mid-1930s of the series of *school notebooks* covers devoted to «Heroic youth» deployed on the war fronts, the iconographic representation of Italian youth as seen by the fascist regime underwent a profound and generalized change compared with the previous phase, and the distinguishing signs of this may be identified in the real *militarization* and in the growing glorification of the basic role which the young generations, «placed in an orderly way» in the regular army or in the ranks of the *Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale* (M.V.S.N.), were called to play in the building of the «Armed nation»



Pic. 33



Pic. 34

and in the creation of the «imperial destinies of Rome» through a «policy of power in the Mediterranean and in the world»⁴².

As the references to play activities and cheerful, festive atmospheres that had characterized the previous period finally disappeared, children of all ages are now represented on the notebook covers with the features, martial expressions and resolution of adults and, more particularly, of armed soldiers ready to fight.

In confirmation of the impressive work of militarization and glorification of the warlike virtues of Italian youth carried out on this front, it is worth noting certain series of *school notebooks* covers produced and marketing in the latter half of the 1930s and the early 1940s by both large and small businesses in the sector: «Gioventù dell'Impero» [The Empire's Youth] from Cartiere Giacomo Bosso of Turin, «Gioventù Italiana del Littorio» [Italian Youth of Fascism] and «Marcia della Giovinezza» [March of Youth], both from Consorzio U.V.Q. of Milan, «Gioventù Fascista» [Fascist Youth] from Litografia Folletto of Naples, «Gioventù Italiana del Littorio P.N.F.» [Italian Youth of the National Fascist Party] from Bottega dello Scolaro of Rome and «Nuova Gioventù Guerriera» [New Warlike Youth] from Industrie Grafiche Gros Monti & Co. of Turin.

⁴² Ascenzi, *The Pigna Paper Mill and the Exercise Book of the «New Italy» (1870-1960)*, cit., pp. 248-252.



Pic. 35

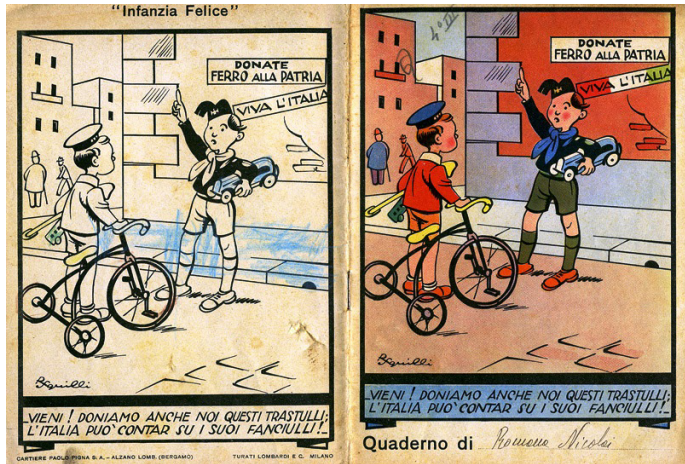


Pic. 36

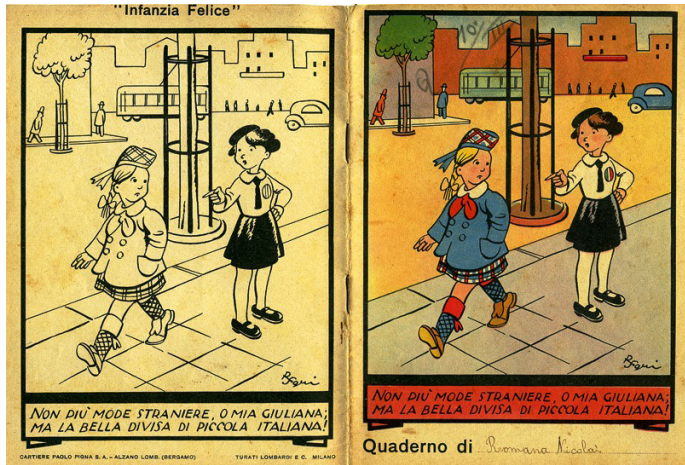
And equally interesting is the fact that even in the *school notebooks* series devised for the youngest pupils, as in the case of «*Infanzia Felice*» [Happy Childhood], produced and distributed by Cartiere Pigna of Alzano Lombardo (Bergamo) and characterized by a dozen cartoons for colouring in, created by the illustrator Roberto Sgrilli, the message conveyed by the terse and peremptory verbal exhortation placed at the base of each cartoon reflects states of mind and attitudes that have little to do with the spirit of childhood and with the mind-set of young people, but they indicate a marked desire to extend the adversarial motifs and rallying cries of the regime's ideological propaganda also to very young children.

Conclusions

The representation of Italian youth offered by the covers of the *school notebooks* during the twenty years of fascism comprise, in many ways, the equivalent, on the iconographic level, of the orientations and models of totalitarian education of the new generations pursued clearly and methodically by fascism and implemented especially through the work of the regime's mass youth organizations.



Pic. 37



Pic. 38



Pic. 39

This education was based, as we know, on the cancellation of the individual and on the prime role of the community and of the fascist state, and was characterized by the glorification of discipline, of sense of duty, of spirit of sacrifice, of blind obedience and respect for hierarchies; we might add that it was an education designed inevitably to generate conformism and a gregarious spirit in young people and to have as its main feature, especially from the mid-1930s onwards, an increasing reference to the virile, warlike virtues (the myth of «heroic youth») and to exaggerated nationalism, racial superiority and, finally, to the real glorification of war⁴³.

It is clear that such a concept of youth and its education would decline only with the fall of the fascist regime and in particular with the introduction into Italy, in the aftermath of the Second World War, of a system of government that was authentically democratic and pluralist⁴⁴. In this respect, if we look at the series of *school notebooks* covers produced and marketed after 1945, we see not only a decrease in all forms of ideological propaganda, but also the parallel emergence of an image of youth that was completely free from nationalist exaggerations and from the oppressive forms of political instrumentation which had reached their peak in the fascist period.

A particularly significant feature, for example, is the ironic gaze, full of childish light-heartedness and cheerfulness, with which «warlike events» and the «colonial experiences» of some children were represented on the covers of the «I Guerrieri» [The Warriors] and «Gli Esploratori» [The Explorers] series, both produced and distributed towards the end of the 1940s by Consorzio U.V.Q. of Milan; that deep «otherness» compared with the world of adults, which the fascist regime had previously tried hard for a long time to deny and conceal, is fully reflected in the poses and attitudes of these children.

We are equally struck by the profound difference in the images of childhood offered by two series of *school notebooks* covers destined to meet with some success in the 1950s, compared with those on offer during the fascist period: these were entitled «Le buone azioni» [Good actions] and «Vita laboriosa» [Life of hard work], both produced and marketed by Cartiere Ambrogio Binda of Milan.

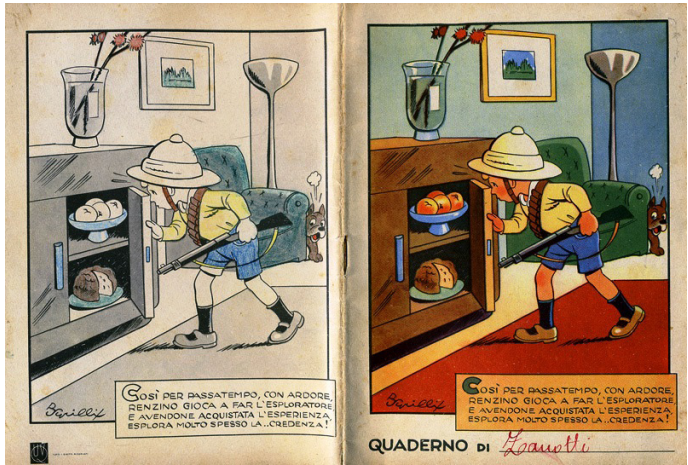
When all aspirations to contribute to the building of the totalitarian state and the conversion to fascism of the younger generations had waned, the series of *school notebooks* covers in the years following the second world war restored the image of a childhood and youth that were no longer categorized and made the subject of a mass ideological and political design emanating from on high, but gathered into an individual, private dimension that has undergone many significant developments since the immediate post-war period.

⁴³ See T.M. Mazzatosta, *Il regime fascista tra educazione e propaganda (1935-1943)*, Bologna, Cappelli, 1978.

⁴⁴ See F. Barbagallo (ed.), *Storia dell'Italia repubblicana*. vol. 1: *La costruzione della democrazia dalla caduta del fascismo agli anni Cinquanta*, Turin, Einaudi, 2000, 2 vols.



Pic. 40



Pic. 41



Pic. 42



Pic. 43

The war child: childhood as it appears in photographs in publications for Republican combatants during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)*

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ABSTRACT: Throughout the Spanish Civil War, visual media in the press played a special role on the side of the Republicans. Photographs of children in various situations were used to report on what was happening and also to influence the public opinion both locally and abroad. In this article, we analyse a specific subset of the enormous quantity of visual media that was published during the war: that which was created specifically for combatants in what is generally referred to as military press. More than two hundred such publications were found. Our aim is to determine what use was made of images that include children, and after compiling an inventory and choosing from among the articles and/or reports that incorporate the use of such images, we analysed the iconography that was constructed, presenting concrete examples. We found that, via iconographic resources and elements, photographs of childhood were used more for propaganda than to show any specific reality.

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EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Spanish Civil War; Childhood; Representation; Illustrated paper; Photography; Political propaganda; Spain; XXth Century.

Introduction

The social perception of war that we are familiar with today was created in large part during the Spanish Civil War. The fact that this was the first war that was relayed live, thanks to technological advances in photographic equipment, the boom in visual media in the press, and the growth of propaganda, placed the conflict at the right moment to establish photographic genres and create visual icons that would be repeated in the future. This would influence the portrayal of later armed conflicts and help to create a specific iconography of war that would include images of victims and show the pain caused by the effects of war. Thus, the Spanish Civil War «is considered to be the origin of modern war photography»¹.

In a war of propaganda such as this one, images of children are utilized because of their iconographic and propagandistic power. Showing minors in need and facing injustice is a resource that has been widely used in photojournalism to shake the conscience of observers². Photos of children are emotionally intense and thus are especially useful for spreading certain ideas and mantras. Furthermore, the conceptualization of children as beings that are less individualized than adults allows for them to be assigned a significance that has little or nothing to do with childhood. Their intrinsic vulnerability helps to promote the idea that as victims, their suffering is completely unjustified. This also magnifies the horrors of war. Presenting oneself as a defender of children facing threats from an enemy is a highly effective propaganda tool.

Childhood, as photographed during the Spanish Civil War, is a topic that has been covered in previous studies³. However, our aim is to analyse this image of childhood via a specific kind of visual media that has not been widely studied until now: publications specifically for Republican combatants. The study of

¹ H. García, *La guerra más fotogénica: fotografía y propaganda exterior*, in B. de las Heras (ed.), *Imagen y Guerra Civil Española. Carteles, fotografía y cine*, 2017, Madrid, Editorial Síntesis S.A, pp. 131-144.

² A.M. Martín López, *Fotografía de niños: evolución y algunas propuestas a lo largo de su historia*, «Sphera Pública», n. 8, 2008, pp. 133-143.

³ Without being exhaustive, we can cite the following recent work: S. Braster, M.M. del Pozo, *Education and the children's colonies in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939): the images of the community ideal*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 51, n. 4, 2015, pp. 455-477; M. Alonso Riveiro, *La intimidación invisible. Fotografía e infancia en la Guerra Civil española*, «Fotocinema. Revista científica de cine y fotografía», n. 13, 2016, pp. 31-55; J.L. Rubio Mayoral, *La imagen de la infancia en la Guerra Civil. Un apunte sobre la educación de las generaciones futuras*, «Andalucía en la historia», n. 52, 2016, pp. 66-69.

these kinds of publications from a historical-educational perspective, as well as their use of photographs, is the main focus of a larger research project that we are carrying out. The present article makes up a part of this project, and in it we specifically address the use of images of children in this kind of media. How and with what frequency childhood is shown in these publications, with what intention the photos were published, and how an iconographic discourse was built, are some of the topics that we will address.

1. *Military press on the Republican side*

In the first few days following the uprising, many politically minded citizens, the majority belonging to left-leaning parties, unions, or organizations, mobilized to defend the Republic from rebel attack. With this, militias were born, and with them bulletins directed specifically at combatants, giving rise to what some authors have called «military press», «soldiers' newspapers», or «trench magazines». These kinds of publications are made up of those produced by and for soldiers and militiamen in fighting units as well as those produced by governmental bodies, such as the *Generalitat de Catalunya* (Government of Catalonia) and the *Milicias de Cultura* (Culture Militias), and directed at soldiers. We will use the term «military press», as it is more common in academic publications and in the classification systems used by specialized newspaper and periodical archives and libraries⁴.

On 18th July 1936, the day on which the military uprising against the legitimate government began, ex-soldier Julio Mangada Rosenörn led a group of volunteer citizens of Madrid in support of the Republic. Afterwards, this militia group, known as the *Columna Mangada*, published «Avance», a publication considered to be the original piece of military literature. Their first edition came out on 23rd July 1936. In those early days of the war there were both militia and military publications. On 28th September 1936, Manuel Azaña, president of the Republic, signed a decree to militarize the militias. The *Ejército Centro* militia would be incorporated into the general army by 10th October and other groups would be integrated by 20th October⁵. This led to the gradual disappearance of press created by militias. From January 1937, it was hard to find any such

⁴ The most exhaustive study carried out on this kind of press was done by M. Núñez Díaz-Balart, *La prensa de guerra en la zona republicana durante la guerra civil española (1936-1939)*, Madrid, Ediciones de la Torre, 1992; Núñez uses the term «military press» to refer to publications created by militias and militaries during the Spanish Civil War. Others also use this term, including J. Timoteo Álvarez (ed.), *Historia de los medios de comunicación en España: periodismo, imagen y publicidad, 1900-1990*, Barcelona, Ariel, 1989.

⁵ Decree of 28th September 1936, published on 30th September in «La Gaceta de Madrid» n. 274, p. 2068.

publications, but the difficulty the Republican government had in controlling all of its territory allowed some to survive. Those controlled by the anarchists remained independent until May 1937, when in Catalonia there was a clash between the forces of the Generalitat and the CNT and FAI militias along with other revolutionary groups⁶.

Press directed at combatants later fell under the responsibility of the *Comisariado General de Guerra* (General War Commission) when it was created on 15 October 1936⁷. This body was in charge of, among other things, controlling the socio-political state of fighters so that «at no moment would they lose touch with the morale that should animate all combatants to the cause in favour of liberty»⁸. The Republic, with an army made up in large part of civilians that were not members of the armed forces, loyal to its pedagogical ethos, had as their main objective to ensure that all combatants understood the reasons underlying the war. They were convinced that such an understanding would help fighters give the best of themselves on the field of battle. The control that the Commission had led to the standardization of the content of military press and thus the loss of the previous diversity in favour of the ideological unification around the principles of the *Frente Popular* (Popular Front; left-leaning coalition led by Manuel Azaña).

Newspapers and periodicals were used to carry out various propaganda campaigns. This was especially useful when it came time for militias to assimilate into the army and was key to convincing the anarchists to abandon their anti-military ideology. The campaign went on to be used as an instrument to unite the different leftist parties under a common anti-fascist banner and the tenets of the *Frente Popular*, as well as to unite the people of the peninsula. After May 1937 the propaganda campaign focused mostly on promoting brotherhood between the different historic nationalities of Spain. As the rebels went gaining territory, the press of the Central Army («Ejército Centro»), which up until then was predominant, went losing power to the Eastern Army («Ejército Este»), which began to publish articles in Catalan⁹. These publications were an effective tool when it came to creating a more structurally and politically sound and cohesive Republican army, and they served as mouthpiece for commanders' slogans and government communications.

Other recurring themes in the military press include the need to train officers from the civilian population, the fight against illiteracy, instilling good hygiene, the idea of fighting against foreign invaders – referencing Italians and

⁶ Núñez Díaz-Balart, *La prensa de guerra en la zona republicana durante la guerra civil española (1936-1939)*, cit.

⁷ Decree of 15th October 1936, published on 16th October in «La Gaceta de Madrid» n. 290, p. 355.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Núñez Díaz-Balart, *La prensa de guerra en la zona republicana durante la guerra civil española (1936-1939)*, cit.

Germans –, detecting members of the fifth column¹⁰, fraternisation with the enemy, the struggle against the idea of surrendering or an armistice, and the praise of the International Brigades. There were frequent calls to reflect on the past oppressor and the future egalitarian that citizens would benefit from when they won the war. In an attempt to keep soldiers motivated and give them the role of protagonists in the fight, the military press often included articles about life in the trenches.

Changes on the fronts, restructuring in the heart of military units, the scarcity of materials, and changes in titles, among other factors, led to the erratic appearance of these publications. It was common that these works were unable to adhere to their planned periodicity of publishing, and others were forced to temporarily elongate their publishing periods.

Because of this, the total number of publications included in what can be considered military press is uncertain. If we focus on the military press in general during the Civil War, we can define nearly 500 periodical publications, including daily newspapers, magazines, and periodic bulletins¹¹. Nuñez Díaz-Balart claims to have located 454 such publications and to have heard of another 23 that he could not locate¹². Nearly half of these periodicals are illustrated magazines and/or bulletins with photographs on a variety of topics, including various perspectives of childhood.

2. *Childhood as photographed for publications for combatants*

From the previously cited works on the Republican press in general or specifically military press, by Salaün, Palacio, and Núñez-Balard, we have created an extensive list of the periodicals for Republican combatants that were published during the Civil War. We also have information about how they were located in newspaper and periodical archives and libraries from various Spanish provinces. Additionally, the work by Nuñez Díaz-Balart provides a sheet that indexes each publication and provides information on how often it was

¹⁰ The term fifth column was coined during the Spanish Civil War in a 1936 radio-broadcast speech by General Mola, who explained that four military columns were advancing towards Madrid from different sides to take it. But, these four columns had the support of a fifth column, made up of citizens of Madrid who supported the uprising and were trapped in the Spanish capital.

¹¹ S. Salaün, *Prensa republicana en la guerra civil: reseña bibliográfica*, «Estudios de historia social», n. 24-25, 1983, pp. 475-544; S. Salaün, *La expresión poética durante la guerra civil*, in Marc Hanrez (ed.), *Los escritores y la guerra de España*, Monte Avila Editores Latinoamericana, 1977, p. 144; G. Soria, *Guerra y Revolución en España (1936-1939)*, Barcelona, Ediciones Grijalbo, 1978, vol. 5, p. 224; V. Palacio Atard (ed.), *Cuadernos bibliográficos de la guerra de España 1936-1939. Serie 2*, Madrid, Universidad de Madrid, 1967.

¹² Nuñez Díaz-Balart, *La prensa de guerra en la zona republicana durante la guerra civil española (1936-1939)*, cit.

published and frequently, what percentage of the publication contains visual information. This allowed us to create an inventory of the visual magazines and bulletins. We chose to discard daily publications as well as magazines and bulletins that did not have at least 15% visual content, as we feel that publications with less space dedicated to imagery were not significant. We have also included some magazines and bulletins that are not included in Núñez Díaz-Balart's work but which do appear in Salaün's¹³ catalogue or which we found in the libraries and archives that we consulted. These archives and libraries have the most complete and extensive resources for the publications we are considering in this article, and they include the *Archivo General Militar* (General Military Archive) in Avila, the *Hemeroteca Municipal* (Municipal Newspaper and Periodical Library) in Madrid, and the *Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica* (Historical Memory Document Centre) in Salamanca which, in addition to offering physical copies, has an extensive digital archive.

As a result, our set of magazines, bulletins, and newspapers for soldiers includes a total of 228 titles published between 1936 and 1939. The following table lists these titles but does not include the various subtitles that were used throughout the conflict as some changed names during their brief existence.

<i>¡A sus puestos! Revista Político Militar. Artillería. Ejército centro</i>	¡Venceremos!: portavoz de la 20ª Brigada Mixta del Ejército Popular	1º Enero: Órgano del 4º Batallón de la 81ª Brigada Mixta
<i>14ª División: semanario del frente</i>	<i>17ª División</i>	24ª División: Revista Mensual
25ª División	<i>3ª Brigada: 10ª División</i>	31ª División: Órgano del Comisariado de la Unidad
50 Brigada: Portavoz de la 50 Brigada	<i>¡A Vencer! 39ª Brigada Mixta</i>	<i>Acero: Órgano de la Agrupación Modesto</i>
Aeronáutica: revista profesional de la aviación (Valencia-Barcelona)	Águilas de Robledo: Boletín de la 34ª Brigada, 3ª División	<i>Aire: revista de aviación</i>
<i>Al Ataque: Órgano de la Brigada de 'El Campesino'</i>	<i>¡Alerta!: Órgano de la 190 Brigada</i>	¡Aquí la 97! 97 Brigada Mixta
Amanecer: diario de la Marina	Amic: publicació quinzenal per a esplai del soldat català de l'Exèrcit de la República / editada pels Serveis de Cultura al Front del Departament de Cultura de la Generalitat	Artillería Popular. Semanario de artillería a caballo
Armas Unidas: periódico de los combatientes de la 64 división	Armas y Letras. Órgano de las Milicias de la Cultura	Audacia. Órgano de la brigada 35 bis-12 división

¹³ Salaün, *Prensa republicana en la guerra civil: reseña bibliográfica*, «Estudios de historia social», cit.

Atalaya. Periódico editado por la 47ª División	<i>Ataque. Editado por la delegación de Milicias Populares Antifascistas</i>	Avanzadilla: Órgano de la 36 Brigada Mixta
Avante. Órgano editado por el Hogar del Marino en Madrid	Avanzadilla: Boletín del 3º Batallón de la 30 Brigada	<i>Balas Rojas: Portavoz de la 75 Brigada Mixta</i>
Avanzando: Órgano de la 41 Brigada Mixta	Avanzar: XVIII Cuerpo de Ejército	Bayonetas: Órgano de la 42 División
Bandera Roja: Órgano de la 17ª Brigada Mixta	<i>Bayonetas. Periódico editado por la 15ª División</i>	Boletín de Información y Propaganda: 213ª Brigada Mixta. XVIII Cuerpo de Ejército. 72ª División
Blindajes: Portavoz de las Fuerzas Blindadas del Norte del Ebro	Boletín de información al joven combatiente	Caballería Popular: Órgano de la Caballería. División 45
Boletín de orientación política y militar: XXII Cuerpo de Ejército	Boletín semanal. Parque de automóvil del ejército. Madrid	Campamento: Órgano de la 35 Brigada
Camarada Portavoz de la 137ª Brigada Mixta	¡¡Camarada!!: Portavoz de la Brigada de Tanques	Centro. Inspección de Milicias de la Cultura del Ejército Del Centro. M.C
Catalunya: Órgan de la Llar del Combatient Català en Valencia	Cefa: Quincenario Anarquista: Órgano de la Columna Cefa	Combate: Boletín del Batallón Tomás Meabe
<i>Chispa: Órgano de la 23 Brigada Mixta. Sector del Jarama-División 16</i>	<i>Combate: 30 División</i>	Confianza: 3º batallón, regimiento de Infantería 34
Combatiente: Órgano de la Brigada Mixta 42	Comisariado General de Ingenieros	Democracia Artillera. Semanario de la Brigada Artillera, 2ª División
Comisarios. Boletín de orientación e información para los comisarios del ejército Levante	Condés. Boletín semanal del 2º Batallón de la 33ª Brigada Mixta	<i>Ejército del Ebro: Periódico de la Agrupación Autónoma del Ebro</i>
Consignas: Semanario de Campaña. Ediciones E.M. Y la Comisaría de Guerra de Santander	<i>Defensa Nacional: revista española de técnica militar</i>	Ejército Popular: Órgano de las Fuerzas Armadas Leales a La República
Después	E. P. G.: Editado Por el Comisariado de la Escuela Popular De Guerra	El Combatiente: Portavoz del Frente de Carabanchel
Eco de Almería: Comisariado de Guerra, Comandancia Militar	Ejército Popular: Periódico del Combatiente	<i>El Ejército Popular: Portavoz de la Escuela Popular de Instructores de Guerra</i>
<i>Ejército del pueblo: revista quincenal del Comité pro Ejército Popular Regular</i>	<i>El Combatiente: Órgano de la Juventud en Armas de España</i>	El Miliciano Rojo
<i>Ejército Regular: Octava División</i>	<i>El ejército Popular. Órgano oficial del ejército Este. Publicación técnica ilustrada</i>	¡¡En guardia!!: boletín de la 34 Brigada, 3ª División

El Empecinado: Portavoz de los Guerrilleros	El Miliciano Gallego: Órgano de las Milicias Populares Gallegas. 4º Batallón de la 1ª Brigada Lister	Enlace: Órgano del Grupo de Transmisiones del Ejército Del Sur
El Soldado Rojo: Semanario del Regimiento Infante-Vitoria Nº 8	Emulación Boletín semanal orientador del plan de trabajo emulativo de la 7ª Región aérea	<i>España. Portavoz del III Cuerpo del Ejército</i>
En la Lucha Final: Boletín del 2º Batallón de la 30 Brigada	En Marcha: Órgano del Comisariado del C.R.I.M. Nº11	Estímulo. Periódico editado por la 3ª División
Espacio: Revista de Aviación	España. Órgano del CRIM nº 10 y del batallón de retaguardia nº 6	¡Firmes!: Órgano de la 27 Brigada Mixta
España: Órgano de la 50 División	<i>Espartacus: Órgano de la 77 Brigada Mixta</i>	Fortaleza. Portavoz de la 120 Brigada Mixta
Estímulo. Portavoz de la artillería del VI cuerpo de Ejército (Centro)	Fernando de Rosa	<i>Frente Sur: Periódico de Altavoz del Frente Sur: Órgano del Comité Provincial de Jaén del Partido Comunista de España (S.E. de la I.C.)</i>
Firma: Órgano de la 17 División	Frente Antifascista: Órgano de la 133 Brigada Mixta	Fuerzas aéreas: boletín de Información de la 2ª Sección del Estado Mayor
<i>Fortaleza: Portavoz de Ingenieros del Ejército del Ebro</i>	Frente Extremeño Periódico del portavoz del frente de Extremadura	Guardia Nacional Republicana. Periódico editado por el Comité Central en Madrid
Frente Estudiantil: órgano de la UFEH en el Frente (zona catalana)	Fuego: Órgano de la 132 Brigada	<i>Hierro. Órgano del Batallón de Hierro: Brigada Motorizada de Ametralladoras.</i>
<i>Fuego. Órgano del III Cuerpo de Ejército</i>	<i>Galope: Portavoz del Regimiento de Caballería del Ejército del Centro</i>	Ideas y Armas: Semanario del Tercer Batallón de la 41 Brigada Mixta`
Fusil y Libro Órgano de las Milicias de la Cultura de la 31ª División	Guerrilleros: Órgano de la 49 División de Guerrilleros	<i>Independencia: órgano de la 18 División</i>
¡Guerra!: Portavoz de la Brigada 146	Hoy: Órgano de la 47 Brigada	Intendencia: Ejército del Ebro: Revista Técnica Quincenal
<i>Hospitales: Editada Por la Jefatura y el Comisariado de la 2ª Agrupación de Hospitales Militares</i>	Independencia Periódico editado por la Compañía de Transportes de la Inspección General de Ingenieros en Barcelona	La 44: portavoz de la 44ª División
Independencia Órgano del Cuartel de Lepanto en Barcelona	<i>Inten: Revista Oficial de Intendencia</i>	La Bruja

Independencia: XV Cuerpo de Ejército	La 110: Órgano de la 110ª Brigada Mixta	La Sexta Brigada: Semanario: Órgano del Comisariado
<i>Kriss: Semanario de la 5ª División</i>	<i>La Armada Órgano oficial de los Marineros de la República</i>	La Victoria: Órgano del 2º Batallón de la 1ª Brigada Mixta
<i>La 70: órgano semanal de la Brigada</i>	La Intendencia: Periódico Mensual. Editado Por el Tercer Grupo Divisionario de Intendencia	<i>La Voz de la Trinchera: Órgano de la 108 Brigada Mixta</i>
La Trinchera. Boletín editado por la 40ª Brigada Mixta del Ejército Popular	<i>La Trinchera: Psu-Ugt-Internacional Comunista: Portavoz de la 27 División (División Carlos Marx)</i>	Labor: Portavoz de la 111 Brigada Mixta
<i>La Voz de la Sanidad Órgano del Servicio de Sanidad del Ejército de Levante</i>	La voz del soldado: órgano de la 24 División	Liberación: Semanario de la 5ª División
<i>La Voz del Hogar. Periódico editado por el Cuerpo de Seguridad de Madrid</i>	Liberación: Órgano de la Sexta Brigada Mixta	<i>Madrid: Órgano del Grupo de Transmisiones de Campaña</i>
Lealtad: órgano de la Brigada Mixta nº 5. Carabineros	<i>Lucha: Órgano de la 99 Brigada</i>	Marina: Revista Técnica y de Divulgación
Libertad: Semanario del Frente: División D Cuenca	Mañana: Boletín Quincenal, Editado Por el Cuerpo Político y Militar. 19 Brigada Mixta, 76 Batallón	Metralla. Órgano de las Fuerzas Militares, Fábricas y Departamentos de guerra de la Base Naval Principal de Cartagena
Maniobras: Órgano del XXII Cuerpo de Ejército	Memorial de Recuperación Editado por el CRIM nº 17	Mutilado Órgano de la Liga Nacional de Mutilados e Inválidos de Guerra
Más: Portavoz de la 8ª División	Movilización: Revista del Comisariado de la Inspección General De Reclutamiento, Inspección, Movilización y Batallones de Retaguardia	<i>Nosotros: Órgano de la 53 Brigada Mixta</i>
<i>Moral del Combatiente: Periódico Quincenal del Centro de Recuperación E Instrucción Nº 1</i>	Norte: Órgano de la 2ª División	<i>Nuestra Cosecha Hoja campesina de los soldados-segadores del 1º Batallón Mixto de Enlace del Ejército del Centro</i>
¡Nervio!: Revista de la Nueva Generación	Noviembre: Órgano del XI Cuerpo del Ejército	Nuestra sanidad. Editado por los servicios de frente
Nova Catalunya: Órgano del Hogar del Combatiente Catalán en Madrid	<i>Nuestra Obra: Revista Técnica de Intendencia Editada Por el Comisariado del Ejército del Centro</i>	Nuestra Voz: Órgano de la 86 Brigada

Nuestra División: Órgano de la 16 División	Nuestra Victoria. Periódico de la 44ª Brigada Mixta	<i>Nuestro Ejército: revista militar</i>
Nuestra unidad: Órgano divisionario	Nuestras Armas: Órgano del Arma de Ingenieros del Ejército del Centro	Nueva España Periódico de la 49ª División
Nuestras Armas: Órgano de las Milicias Ferroviarias	Nuestro Ideal: Portavoz de la 36 División	Nueva Vida: órgano oficial de la 43ª Brigada Mixta
<i>Nuestro Ejército: Órgano de la Tercera División</i>	<i>Nueva Ruta: Portavoz del Servicio de Defensa Contra Gases</i>	Nuevo ejército: portavoz de la 16 Brigada Mixta
Nueva Guerra: portavoz del Batallón del Servicio de Guerra Química	Nuevo Ejército: Órgano de la 69 Brigada Mixta de la 35 División	Nuevo Orden. Revista quincenal al servicio del Cuerpo de Seguridad
<i>Nuevo Ejército: Órgano de la 39ª División</i>	Nuevo Orden. Revista al servicio de las Fuerzas Armadas	Orientación Portavoz del artillero del III Cuerpo del Ejército
<i>Nuevo Horizonte: Portavoz de la 11ª Brigada Mixta</i>	Ofensiva: Órgano de la Brigada Mixta Móvil Nº 24	Pico y Pala: Órgano del Batallón Zapadores Minadores Nº 3
<i>Octubre: Boletín de la 30 Brigada</i>	Parapeto Órgano de la 67ª Brigada Mixta	Primero de mayo. Periódico del 4º batallón de la 33 brigada
<i>Orientación: Revista Política Militar</i>	Presente. Periódico editado por la 31ª Brigada Mixta	República: Órgano de las Bases de Carabineros
<i>Por Qué Luchamos: Boletín Interior de la Brigada</i>	<i>Reconquista: 35 División</i>	Sagunto: Boletín del XXI Cuerpo de Ejército
Ráfagas: Semanario de las Fuerzas del Aire de la 7ª Región	Ruta: Órgano de la 105 Brigada Mixta	<i>Sanidad Popular: Órgano Editado Por los Grupos de la 2ª División</i>
<i>Resistir!: Órgano del XXII Cuerpo de Ejército</i>	Sanidad de Guerra: revista técnica política	<i>Síntesis. Revista político-militar del VI cuerpo del ejército</i>
¡Salud!: Órgano del Regimiento 1º de Mayo de los Carabancheles	Soldado Popular: Órgano de la 44 División	<i>Somosierra: Órgano de la 26 Brigada</i>
Servicio de Prensa y Propaganda Prensa Militar.-Comisariado del Grupo de Ejércitos de la Región Central.	Superación: Órgano del XX Cuerpo de Ejército	Tchapaief. Órgano del XIV Cuerpo del Ejército
<i>Sobre la marcha: semanario de la Columna Romero</i>	Tierra Española: Revista de la 37 División	Tierra, Mar y Aire: Revista Militar
Superación. Portavoz de los Obreros de la Brigada de Tanques	<i>Transporte en guerra: órgano del Servicio de Tren del Ejército (del Centro)</i>	Trazos Periódico editado por la 119ª Brigada Mixta
Tchapaieff: Boletín del Primer Batallón de la 30 Brigada	Trinchera de la cultura. Portavoz de los estudiantes combatientes	Trinchera: Órgano de la 108 Brigada Mixta

Transmisiones: Portavoz del Grupo de Transmisiones de Campaña Del Ejército Del Centro	<i>Trincheras: semanario del soldado</i>	Triunfaremos: Portavoz de la 48 División
Tren: Órgano del 4º Batallón Local de T. A. (transporte Automóvil)	Triunfo. Boletín del 264 Batallón, 66 Brigada	<i>Unidad. Portavoz del XX Cuerpo del Ejército</i>
Trincheras: Portavoz del Primer Batallón de la 31º Brigada Mixtas	Unificación. Boletín extraordinario de la Juventud del parque Móvil	<i>Unión: Órgano de la 37ª Brigada Mixta</i>
Triunfaremos: Semanario de la 38 División. Portavoz de la Columna F	¡Vencer!: Órgano de la 67 División	<i>Vencer: 2º Batallón. 31ª Brigada Mixta</i>
Unidad: Órgano de la 60 División	<i>Venceremos!: Órgano de la 90 Brigada, 12 División</i>	Venceremos. Boletín de guerra de la Juventud. Editado por el consejo provincial de las JIR y el regimiento Balas Rojas
Valor: órgano de la 4ª División	¡Victoria!: Portavoz de la Brigada 24	Vida nueva: Órgano de la 43 División
Vencer: órgano de la 123 Brigada Mixta. 27 División	Vida Nueva: Órgano de las Milicias Aragonesas	Victoria: Órgano de la 65ª Brigada Mixta
Venceremos: órgano de la 16 División	Victoria. II Cuerpo de Ejército	Zapa: Portavoz de Ingenieros Ejército del Este

By using the previous work of other authors and our complementary search through the main newspaper and periodical archives and libraries that house these kinds of publications, we have created a very complete inventory upon which to base our research. However, these archives and libraries do not keep all issues of volumes that were published, so the collection is not fully intact. The fact that when they were published they were not widely distributed and that they were published by the losing side, were major obstacles to their preservation.

Despite this issue, all of the available issues of these 228 publications were reviewed. We checked to make sure that there were various articles and reports in which photographs of children were used, regardless of whether or not this was their central focus. The large similarity of topics that were covered include life in the trenches, the capture of officers, basic instructions for soldiers, physical culture, military techniques, sports competitions, soldiers' bulletin boards and news from the frontline, the fight against fascism, the virtues of the Republic, brotherhood with Russia, battles and military victories, etc. While most reports do not include photos of children, such images certainly do have a constant presence in publications from all periods of the conflict.

To understand how images of children were used in these publications, we first selected graphic articles or reports that included photographs of children.

There were a total of 159 such articles in 66 different publications¹⁴. Then we analysed these articles and reports, observing the photographs in order to find out what discourse they were being used to create. It is worth noting that these publications had a focus that was more related to propaganda than providing information. In some cases we found informative reports on events that had taken place, but the majority of the articles and reports served to repeat familiar talking points without providing any concrete journalistic information. So, aside from simply analysing the image itself, we also paid attention to the idea of framing. That is, we considered the way in which these images were put on the page and their relationship with the text they accompanied, if there was any.

We created a preliminary classification of these illustrated articles and reports considering their underlying themes and the intent behind them: those that aim to compare and contrast both sides, those that aim to discredit the fascists, those that serve to justify taking up arms, those that aim to create a link between the army and children, those that promote the idea of hope and the future via images of children, and those that make the point that providing a modern education to children is a value inherent to the Republican cause.

The photos in these articles and reports make repeated use of a series of iconographic resources and elements so that the reader identifies childhood with a variety of ideas: happiness and wellbeing, sadness and helplessness, or modernity via schooling. Images of happiness and wellbeing are painted through photos of children smiling and being active: playing or doing sports and activities outdoors. The presence of elements such as nature and even food are significant at an iconographic level, as in the context of war, the wellbeing of children is easily associated with their happiness. The idea of happiness is in line with a positive vision of childhood, and it is used, as we will see, in many of the articles considered to juxtapose various factions, justify the fight, or simply keep hope.

Negative images of childhood and sadness are shown via children with sad or frightened expressions along with a body language – shoulders down, shrinking back, etc. – that expresses a lack of energy. These children often appear taking shelter behind an adult, and they are shown to be fleeing from or afraid of the advance of the enemy and bombings. Sometimes they are shown as militarised, and they are often shown alongside ruins or desolate rural landscapes. This negative vision is projected in the extreme with photos of children who are injured or even dead.

The image of children being schooled is created with the use of photos of school areas; materials such as books, maps, paintbrushes, paint, sheets of paper, etc.; teachers; groups; children doing activities like painting, playing in schools, or being supervised by a teacher; and theatre performances. Almost none of these

¹⁴ These 66 publications are those that appear in bold in the previous table.

photographs show the image of traditional schooling. The majority show more active educational models associated with the idea of a happy and well-cared-for childhood, protected from both the war and the passiveness of traditional methods. The image of schooling children is associated with the process of educational modernization that was undertaken by the Second Republic and which was publicized to the rest of Europe.

Hereafter, we will take a look at some examples of the photographic articles and/or reports that we analysed.

3. *The creation of iconographic discourse via photographs of childhood*

One of the recurring themes in the propaganda campaigns of the Republican military press is the need to defeat fascism. This was one of the main slogans chosen to unify varied political ideologies under the Republican banner. In the material considered, fascism is represented as a classist ideology that aims to maintain differences between the privileged few and the common masses. To do this, the fascists would not hesitate to rob citizens of their right to education and culture or to use force whenever necessary, and their weapons were support from foreign fascist powers, capital, and ensuring that a large part of society remained illiterate and docile.

Contrarily, the Republicans represent themselves as defenders of the common man, those who would provide access to culture and education with universal rights to empower citizens. They present themselves as certain that their goals are so just that no enlightened person could refute them. Their weapons were culture, social justice, democracy, and legality, and they would not hesitate to defend these values against the fascist attacks that would take away citizens' rights to choose their own destiny. These two conceptions of opposing ideologies are reflected in numerous articles and reports, and many of them utilize photos of children to reinforce their message.

Articles comparing both sides and making use of images of children in various situations are common in many of the publications. Both these images and the text contained in the articles compare the fascist and Republican "realities" with such explicit titles as *Ellos. Nosotros* (Them. Us)¹⁵, *Fascismo. Antifascismo* (Fascism. Antifascism)¹⁶, *Lo que queremos. Lo que no queremos* (What we

¹⁵ This title was used multiple times; see, for example: «La Trinchera, boletín de la 40 Brigada Mixta», n. 29; «Trincheras, semanario del soldado, editado por la JSU», n. 12, July 1938; «Nuevo ejército, órgano de la 69 Brigada mixta de la 35 división», n. 11, October 1937 and n. 14, November 1937; «Veinticinco División. Comisariado de la 25 División», n. 2.

¹⁶ *Fascismo. Antifascismo*, «Nuestro Ejército. Órgano de la Tercera División», n. 13, December 1937, without number.



Pic. 1. *Nuevo Ejército. Órgano de la 39 Brigada*, n. 11, October 1937. (España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica. REV00013/4).

internationally, and it became iconic of the Spanish Civil War. One year later, when the photo was already widely known, it was used in the present photomontage. The background of the original photo was substituted for a sky full of planes in order to increase its criminal symbolism: fascists not only kill children, they do so in a cowardly way, from the air, without giving the victims a chance to defend themselves or fight back. Furthermore, bombing raids against civilian populations were often attributed to the German and Italian air forces, so the photo also symbolizes the foreign invasion from which the Republicans claimed to be suffering.

want. What we do not want)¹⁷, and *Lo que no queremos. Por lo que luchamos* (What we do not want. What we are fighting for)¹⁸, which clearly illustrate a good-bad dichotomy.

In this comparison (Picture 1), the rebels are represented by a photomontage that includes a photograph of victim number 35 from Getafe with airplanes in the background. This image, described as unbearable by Lefebvre-Peña¹⁹, was taken in October 1936, after a bombing. It is part of a larger collection of photographs of dead children. It was widely disseminated by the Government of Catalonia's *Comissariat de Propaganda*, which created 10,000 copies to be sent to newspapers, governments, and prominent figures such as Hitler, Mussolini, and the Pope. Their intent was to provide evidence of fascist barbarism and gain foreign support from democratic powers²⁰. This image was replicated countless times both within the country and

¹⁷ *Lo que queremos. Lo que no queremos*, «Nosotros. Órgano de la 53 Brigada Mixta», n. 16, May 1938, without number.

¹⁸ *Lo que no queremos. Por lo que luchamos*, «Combate. 30 División», n. 6, July 1938, without number.

¹⁹ M. Lefebvre-Peña, *Guerra gráfica. Fotógrafos, artistas y escritores en guerra*, Madrid, Lunewerg, 2013.

²⁰ J. Solé, J. Villaroya, *Guerra i propaganda: fotografies del Comissariat de Propaganda de la Generalitat de Catalunya (1936-1939)*, Barcelona, ANC-Viena Edicions, 2006.



Pic. 2. *Catorce División*, n. 8. (España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica. REV00171/1-2).

This exact same image reappears enlarged in number 8 of «Lucha: Órgano de la 99 Brigada», among other publications. The reuse of photographs was a common practice throughout the conflict in both the military press and the press in general.

Alongside this barbaric conception of the enemy, we can see the vision the Republicans had of themselves with the use of an image of children at school. It is a school far removed from the dark decrypt traditional classrooms. There is no teacher present, and the area is well lit. The furnishings and children suggest the use of modern educational methods and respect for the children, their pace of learning, and their condition. This clash between barbarism and education is recurrent in publications for soldiers. In other articles that show this dichotomy we can find more images of dead or injured children being used to represent fascism, as well as images of children who are scared, poor, or cowering behind a protective figure such as a mother. The iconography created by victims, and especially dead and injured children, alongside children who are happy, playing, studying, or being given shelter was widely used as an element in propaganda.

Other articles focus on justifying an armed fight. They seem to want to transmit the idea that war is worth it when citizens' future liberty and equality are at risk. We can find an exemplary case in *Por lo que luchamos* (What we

are fighting for)²¹, which argues for fighting in order «to banish forever from Spanish soil the sad symphony of squalor and pain, of barefoot children, and of mothers weakened by hunger and slavery»²². Republicans viewed themselves as defenders of the people, the poor, the working class, and of all those oppressed by previous governments and who the fascist threat would continue to oppress.

Picture 2 presents a negative image of the reality of the war, and this reality was attributed to those who would allow for social inequality and the existence of «social wounds, vile scabs in times lacking rights, void of all solidarity»²³. Such a reality served to exemplify all that which the Republicans wished to abolish. The barefoot girl standing alone on the barren land has an immense visual impact. Images of solitary children convey what Alonso calls the public use of private iconography, in this case with the clearly propagandistic objective of enabling the viewer to identify with the image²⁴. In the photo, the girl seems to be smiling, happy to be holding an object that we cannot see, but which could be a toy or something that she likes. Thus, it could be a family photo that was taken on a day that she got something that she had wanted. The framing, in the context of the article and with the other images and text that tell us that it is not a positive image; rather it is of an undesired situation. The other photo showing children enhances the feelings of poverty from the previous one. The girl with her back to the camera is sitting on a broken wicker chair, and the boy is seated on the floor with meagre footwear, covering himself with a blanket or table cloth, as if the household did not have the means to provide him with a proper jacket. He is holding a cup in a way that suggests that food is so scarce that they do not even set the table to eat as a family. The rest of the photos show poor rural Spain: under-developed and baking in the sun. Images of rural towns with living conditions markedly different than those in large cities, inhabited by barefoot, poorly dressed children without a future in inhospitable scorched landscapes are repeated in the other publications that we analysed either to exemplify that which the Republicans wished to do away with or that which the fascists wished to maintain. To show this same idea in cities, children tend to appear just as poor but alongside ruins of buildings. Other articles justify armed combat from a positive perspective: showing images of happy children, almost always in school environments.

Another useful propaganda tool is that which aims to make the enemy into a criminal, equating them with barbarism and destruction. In these examples, we do not find comparisons. Images simply serve to highlight evilness. One example of this narrative can be found in the article *¡Odio al fascismo!* (Hate Fascism; Picture 3)²⁵.

²¹ *Por lo que luchamos*, «Catorce División», n. 8, without number.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Alonso Riveiro, *La intimidad invisible. Fotografía e infancia en la Guerra Civil española*, cit.

²⁵ J.S.P., *¡Odio al fascismo!*, «Independencia. Órgano de la 18 División», n. 7, 15th October

In this case, fascist brutality is shown through the feminization of victims. Women, children, and the elderly have characteristics that are considered feminine: the need to be protected, the inability to defend themselves, resignation to wrongs that have been endured, and self-sacrifice when confronting the horrors created by others. The article tells the supposed story of a mother whose husband was killed on the frontlines and who herself died in a bombing raid, but not before protecting her child under a mattress. We have no way of knowing whether or not this story is true, but this photograph does appear in other publications without a similar story. For example, the same image of the child appears in number 20 of «Sobre la Marcha» in June 1937 and again in number 18 of «Balas Rojas» in October 1937. It also appears in a pamphlet published in Amsterdam titled *Fascisten verwoesten Spanje* (The Fascists Destroy Spain) and in a pamphlet published in French in Madrid by the press and propaganda branch of the junta charged with the defence of the city²⁶. In the present report, however, we find recurring iconographic elements: the defenceless victim, his/her suffering due to fascist brutality, and his/her inability to escape a cruel destiny. In this case, these elements are represented by an injured, or possibly dead, baby. At such a young age, not only are people unable to defend themselves, but they cannot do anything, much less have an ideology that would justify such a barbaric attack against them: an extremely powerful propaganda message. Other articles that focus on discrediting fascism include photos of children who are sad, frightened, or cowering behind an adult. Although they are not frequent, some images show militarised children. Others show them in ruined and impoverished areas, and there are even some with wounded or dead children. Occasionally, there are photos of children with superimposed drawings of planes or falling bombs.



Pic. 3. *Independencia*. Órgano de la 18 División, n. 6, octubre de 1937. (España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica. REV00012/02).

1937, without number.

²⁶ Both pamphlets were republished in Lefebvre-Peña, *Guerra gráfica. Fotógrafos, artistas y escritores en guerra*, cit.



Pic. 4. *La Voz del soldado*. (The Voice of the Soldier). Órgano de la 24 División, September 1938, n. 16, pp. 6-7. (España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica. (PER00144/06).

Another type of recurring report is that which aims to identify Republican soldiers as protectors of children, and for that matter, of all that is worth protecting. Childhood represents innocence, purity, and powerlessness. There is no nobler cause for which to fight. The soldier who defends minors in some way honourably acquires their qualities. Soldiers were meant to feel proud of themselves. Desertion or switching sides was one of the main worries of the military leaders, and it became an outright obsession. The identification of soldiers as protectors of children and thus being worthy of praise was one more way to foment adherence to the *Ejército Popular* (Popular Army). For this reason, we can find articles which show a military unit supporting a nursery²⁷,

²⁷ Some examples include the following: *La 42 División apadrina una guardería infantil en Mataró*, «Bayonetas», November 1938, n. 4, pp. 14; *El 5º Regimiento apadrina una Guardería Infantil*, «Acero», n. 11, n.d.

a school²⁸, a school camp²⁹, a children's canteen³⁰, and attending a children's event³¹.

In these reports (Pictures 4 and 5) the iconography consists of positive elements: playing, being outdoors, childhood happiness, schooling, art, singing, etc. Republican soldiers not only fought for children's safety, but also for their happiness and to ensure they received a well-rounded, all-inclusive, culturally significant education. This is the idea that the General War Commission tried to instil in troops in order to reinforce their belief in Republican values and keep them loyal to the cause. This concept is reiterated even more explicitly in other articles with titles such as *Luchamos por una infancia libre y feliz* (We fight for a free and happy childhood)³², *La razón de nuestra lucha* (The reason for our fight),³³ and *Nuestro Ejército Popular lucha por la libertad y por la alegría y el porvenir de nuestros niños* (Our Popular Army fights for the freedom and the happiness and the future of our children)³⁴.

Within the context of the soldier as a protector, we can also find photographs of children utilizing classrooms in soldiers' residences. In general, such images are positive and include children studying, exercising, playing, eating, or with a happy-looking appearance. Occasionally there are photos of children alongside adults; in these, they never look scared, rather they seem relaxed or are smiling.



Pic. 5. *Espartacus*. Órgano de la 77 Brigada Mixta, January 1938, n. 12. (España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica. REV0027/3).

²⁸ *Algo más sobre el funcionamiento de nuestra escuelita*, «¡Alerta! Órgano de la 190 Brigada», February 1939.

²⁹ L. Castro, *Visita a la colonia infantil que atiende la Base de Instrucción de esta División y que patrocina el Ministerio de Instrucción Pública*, «La voz del soldado», n. 16, September 1938, pp. 6-7.

³⁰ *Comedores Infantiles*, «Independencia. Ejército Ebro», November 1938; *Labor de retaguardia, Cantinas escolares*, «Espartacus», n. 12, January 1938, without number.

³¹ M. Bajatierra, *Homenaje de la 39 Brigada a los niños artistas de la F.R.I.E.P.*, «A vencer. Editado por el Comisariado de la 39 Brigada», n. 22, February 1938, without number.

³² *Luchamos por una infancia libre y feliz*, «Octubre. Boletín de la 30 Brigada», 1938, pp. 8.

³³ Guelmi, *La razón de nuestra lucha*, «Frente de Extremadura», n. 26, without number.

³⁴ *Nuestro Ejército Popular lucha por la libertad y por la alegría y el porvenir de nuestros niños*, «Armas y letras. Órgano de las milicias de cultura», n. 6, without number.



Pic. 6. Octubre. Boletín de la 30 Brigada, 15 December 1937, n. 38, pp. 8. (Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid).

narrative. Russia was considered a brother nation, and images showed how well Spanish children were cared for there. Again though, images of the trip and the trauma of separation never appear in photographs³⁸. Realizing that children had to be sent away implies recognition of the government's own inability to protect them, and thus we assume that it was necessary to avoid the use of such images and limit their emotional and political impact.

De las Heras defines four propaganda strategies related to photography: to show, to hide, to contain, and to redirect³⁵. Images of displaced children at camps set up by the Republican government are shown in these publications, but only once the children are settled in, happy, and well looked after: a kind of close-ended narrative³⁶. Their separation from their parents, goodbyes, transportation, or the dangers they faced in transit are not shown in the military press. What was useful was for the Republican government to promote the idea that they took care of their citizens, especially those who were less fortunate. Soldiers in the Popular Army, as part of the armed forces of the government, were a part of this "rescue operation". We also found no images of children being sent to other countries, leaving from Basque ports, or fleeing to France on foot³⁷. However, there are images of Spanish children in Russia, but always with this close-ended

³⁵ B. De las Heras, *Estrategias de comunicación visual. (Re)presentar la guerra desde la fotografía*, in B. de las Heras (ed.), *Imagen y Guerra Civil Española. Carteles, fotografía y cine*, Madrid, Editorial Síntesis S.A., 2017, pp. 145-158.

³⁶ C. Brothers, *War and Photography*, London & New York, Routledge, 1997.

³⁷ There is an extensive bibliography on the children displaced during the Spanish civil war; for more information see: J.M. Fernández Soria, *La asistencia a la infancia en la Guerra Civil. Las colonias escolares*, «Historia de la Educación», n. 6, 1987, pp. 83-128; A. Alted Vigil, *Los niños de la Guerra Civil*, «Anales de la historia contemporánea», n. 19, 2003, pp. 43-58 or A. Alted Vigil, *El «instante congelado» del exilio de los niños de la guerra civil española*, «Deportate, esuli, profughe», vol. 3, 2005, pp. 263-281.

³⁸ Like, for example, in: A.B.A., *La libertad de España y la guerra*, «La trinchera, Boletín editado por la 40ª Brigada Mixta del Ejército Popular», n. 29, without number.

One of the most classic and symbolic uses of children is to present them as a metaphor of the future. In the present context, children represented the future of all Spanish people. Some examples of this include: «It is the health and happiness of tomorrow that we recover in the fields of battle» appearing with a photo of a baby³⁹; «Point 10. The cultural, physical, and moral improvement of the race will be the primary and quintessential concern of the state» along with a photo of children studying while sitting on the floor⁴⁰; and «We fight for an unshakable victory over time, for the victory whose fruit will be enjoyed wholly only by the children that survive the shrapnel of fascism» accompanied by a photo of a girl holding an orange as if it were the whole world⁴¹. We find more positive iconography in the representation of children as the symbol of the future – a better future – with the war over and the people finally able to enjoy all that they had been denied. These photos show well fed, well clothed children smiling, playing, and studying. The majority of the articles using imagery to equate children with the future present a positive perspective of childhood. Here, in these photographs of children studying, playing, and with big smiles, are the most fun and easy-going childhood photos in the entire photographic repertoire of the military press analysed (Picture 7).

³⁹ *Es la salud y la felicidad del mañana lo que reconquistamos en los campos de batalla*, «El Ejército del pueblo. Revista del Comité Pro Ejército Popular Regular», n. 7, August 1937, without number.

⁴⁰ This refers to point 10 of the so-called 13 Points of Negrín, which was a declaration of principles and a base upon which a negotiated peace agreement could be reached with the mediation of foreign powers. *El Gobierno de España Promete... Dos puntos de su declaración de principios*, «Nuestra cosecha. Hoja campesina de soldados-segadores del Primer Batallón», n. 1, without number.

⁴¹ *Por lo que luchamos*, «Hiero. Órgano del batallón Hierro. Brigada Motorizada de Ametralladoras», n. 36, 29 May 1937, without number.



Fig. 7. Hierro. Órgano del batallón Hierro. Brigada Motorizada de Ametralladoras, 29 May 1937, n. 36. (España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica. REV00071/1).

The Second Spanish Republic dedicated substantial financial and logistical efforts to educational reforms⁴². The Spanish Civil War meant both a continuation and a breakdown of this project. Pervious ideas and initiatives were once again undertaken after the so-called *bienio negro* (dark two years)⁴³ while the loss of control created by the conflict allowed for actors with varying ideologies to start up a number of educational ventures. In other instances, education became militant, and it lost its impartial, neutral spirit⁴⁴. The fight against ignorance and illiteracy became yet another weapon of war. Aside from understanding education as a basic right, the Republicans were convinced that a well-educated, politically aware population, that knew that it was fighting for its own right to be treated with dignity, that understood that the fight went beyond defending the ideas and undertakings of one political party or another, a king, or a military leader, would enable its army to fight with more heart and soul and would be more courageous on the field of battle. For this reason, it should not seem odd that the military press from this period has numerous images of soldiers being educated by the Culture Militias and that they repeated slogans equating books to weapons. But soldiers were also fathers and brothers, and for this reason photos making reference to children's education were included in these publications. We must not forget the meanings that we have attributed to childhood, the relationship it had with motivating the Popular Army and its use as an anti-fascist weapon. Photos of children studying – in the image presented hereafter (Picture 8), for example, and in other similar articles – provide a graphic representation of the educational innovations that were taking place at that time and that the government hoped to spread and make universal. Images tend to be of children working in groups, with teachers being secondary, and placing the student and teaching method at the centre of the pedagogy. Children were photographed painting, singing, and playing in nature. “Disorder”, smiling, light, playing, art, and self-governance are the iconographic elements that can be found, and they are representative of the education for which the Republicans were fighting.

Picture 8 shows a report that compares and contrasts fascist and Republican education. On the left we can see a depiction of traditional schooling with three photographs of students sitting in an orderly fashion, paying attention to a lecture: clear iconography of a traditional school. Note that all we see are the backs of the children; this reaffirms the text in the article, which describes the

⁴² For more information, we recommend reading J.M. Fernández Soria, *Educación y cultura en la guerra civil. (España 1936-1939)*, Valencia, Nau llibres, 1984.

⁴³ Also known as the *bienio rectificador* (rectifying two years), *bienio conservador* (conservative two years), and *bienio contrarreformista* (two years of counter-reform), this was the period during the Second Spanish Republic in which the right-leaning parties won elections in November 1933 and lost them in February 1936.

⁴⁴ J.M. Fernández Soria, *La educación en la España Republicana durante la guerra civil (1936-1939)*, «Bordón. Revista de pedagogía», n. 252, 1984, pp. 24-27.



Pic. 8. Hospitales. Editado por la jefatura y el Comisariado de la Segunda Agrupación de Hospitales Militares, August 1938. (España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica. REV00031/2).

disregard for children's personalities, talents, and creativity: «Children cannot have original ideas regarding certain concepts», «They cannot draw their own conclusions about any problems», and «In order to triumph they only need to memorize, and in order to fail, have talent»⁴⁵.

On the right we find images showing the ideal of reformed schooling, as defined by the Republic. In the first photo we see children in a music class where a teacher is playing the piano and the children are listening; an idea different from traditional music teaching methods. The children seem to be mesmerized by the music. In the second photograph, there are two children studying together; it is a close-up photo that focuses exclusively on them, rather than including the rest of the class, which could be an allusion to self-governance. One of them is very focused on the work, and the other smiles, unafraid of being reprimanded by the teacher. The third image is a photomontage made up

⁴⁵ *La escuela. La educación de la infancia, base de todo progreso*, «Hospitales. Editado por la jefatura y el Comisariado de la Segunda Agrupación de Hospitales Militares», August 1938, without number.

of two photos turned upside down. In the main photo we see children studying in what could be any classroom, but the familiar attitude of one of the teachers, who is supporting himself on a student's desk, and his clothes – though not totally discernible – which appear to be a working man's overalls, lead us to believe that it is a trade school, reflective of the modern revolutionary teaching methods implemented during the Spanish Civil War in Republican controlled areas. The smaller, overlaid photo shows a garden with palm trees, supposedly related to and possibly showing the exterior of the classroom. The text that goes along with these three images reaffirms these interpretations: «Large gardens for recess in which agile, young bucks' legs frolic happily», «Light in classrooms, in books, and in minds», «Respect for all initiatives that could lead to a more personal education», and «Education, not punishment»⁴⁶.

Conclusions

The Spanish Civil War has had and continues to have a significant impact on the formation of the collective war imaginary. Features of the era and the socio-historical context in which this civil war took place contributed to the creation of a large quantity of images that were disseminated around the globe. Advances in technology and propaganda helped to create innovative images thanks to new technical and artistic possibilities. Many of these images are of children. Minors' lack of definition and the feelings of innocence and helplessness inherent in children are elements that work wonderfully for manipulating the conscience of viewers, and it is easy to attribute meaning to them.

In a review of images of children in the various reports published in military press from the era, we found iconographic elements that went on to be repeated in other wars: injured or dead children; squalid rural villages; and children among ruins in cities, along walls marked with bullet holes, with fearful expressions looking towards the sky, or treasuring a piece of bread. Although all of these negative elements are most certainly present, we also found another, more positive depiction of childhood in which children study, are cultured, play, smile, are confident about the future, or enjoy the protection of the Popular Army.

Both perceptions of childhood, the happy and the unhappy, are used masterfully to produce moving propaganda that encourages soldiers to fight for the good that the Republic represented and against the fascism that aimed to destroy all of their work.

We have seen how images of victims and of childhood poverty were associated with fascism. Protecting children was painted as the duty of soldiers.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

And images that could have been associated with losing the war or fleeing to other countries were hidden. We have seen the method with which childhood was used to draw a picture of the better future that lay ahead and how this future would involve a commitment to educating children with modern teaching methods that would prepare free, aware, and equal citizens.

We can affirm, through this analysis, that photographs taken of children and related to childhood during the Spanish Civil War that were used in publications designed to transmit messages of propaganda to frontline combatants, rather than presenting an accurate report on the war, were used to build visual discourses that would carry on to future contexts of war via their use of recurring iconographic language, which we could call the image of childhood during war.

The school child: two images of a pedagogical model in Madrid, 1960s*

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ABSTRACT: In this article we attempt to recreate the educational model developed under Franco by the Institución Teresiana, an institution that enjoyed considerable prestige for its role in the education of women. We will analyse the educational project based on the *personalised teaching* system – inspired by the French Jesuit Pierre Faure – by focusing on two educational experiments in Madrid schools where these concepts were put into practice. The Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda was a public centre, located in a working class neighbourhood, whereas the privately run institution Instituto Veritas was situated in an upper class residential suburb of Madrid (Somosaguas). Our main source of documentation was the photographic archive from the collection of teacher-trainee diaries found in the Museum of the History Education «Manuel Bartolomé Cossío» of the Universidad Complutense.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Religious education; Teresian Institution; Personalised teaching; Franco dictatorship; Women's education; Photographs; Spain; XXth Century.

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Introduction

The narrative nature of photography, in addition to serving as a mirror of the past, is exceptionally useful for keeping former experience alive, and its evocative power makes it an especially eloquent means for piecing together historical memory¹. The constant increase since the 1980s in the use of photography for research on educational historiography² is evidence of the growing interest in this resource, conditioned by the *visual or pictorial/iconic turn* described by Boehm and Mitchell³, Burke⁴, etc. Its consolidation in Spain in research is also attested to by the numerous academic institutions that have designated specific areas to this documentary source.

In this article we attempt to piece together the school culture developed under Franco's regime by the Institución Teresiana (henceforth IT), an institution that enjoyed considerable prestige for the role it played in women's education. In addition to analysing the educational discourse based on the *personalised teaching* inspired by the French Jesuit and educator Pierre Faure, we will also examine the educational innovations that grew out of the pedagogical practices and discourse developed by the pedagogy of Father Poveda and which were implemented by the IT. For this study we focused on two educational experiments carried out in Madrid where the IT put into practice its pedagogical concepts: the Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda⁵ was one of the two public institutions run by the IT in Madrid and was situated in a working class neighbourhood, while the private school Instituto Veritas was located in an upper class, residential area of Madrid (Somosaguas). Of particular interest are the educational innovations – precursors of personalised teaching – that the IT designed for female pre-schoolers of different social classes.

We consulted documentary sources of the institutional archives of the IT in Madrid as well as information from the two centres themselves. We also

¹ J. López Fernández, *La fotografía como fuente de memoria*, Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 2008, p. 12.

² Notable in an international context are the journal «Histoire de l'Education», 1986, particularly its section on Image and Education; the journals «Paedagogica Historica», 2000, and «History of Education», 2001, and more recently, the journal «Encounters on Education», 2016, which addresses *Photography and School Cultures*. In Spain, the journals «Historia de la Educación», 2006, «Educació i Història», 2010, and the special issue coordinated by María del Mar del Pozo in the journal «Historia y memoria de la Educación», 2018, address photography as an educational history source.

³ G. Boehm, W.J.T. Mitchell, *Pictorial versus Iconic Turn: two letters*, «Culture, Theory & Critique», vol. 50 n. 2-3, 2000, pp. 103-121. Cfr. in P.L. Moreno Martínez, *Imágenes e historia de la educación popular: representaciones fotográficas de las Misiones Pedagógicas en la Región de Murcia*, «Historia y Memoria de la Educación», vol. 5, 2017, pp. 73-155.

⁴ P. Burke, *Visto y no visto. El uso de la imagen como documento histórico*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2001.

⁵ IT also administered, as «Patronato», the Grupo Escolar San Cristobal de los Ángeles, also situated in a working class neighbourhood of Madrid.

carried out a bibliographical review of studies and research regarding Teresian pedagogy in order to identify the scientific culture of these centres' educational approach. We complemented these theoretical analyses with an analysis of the content and iconography contained in the records of their training kept by a number of apprentice university students of pedagogy from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, and which are currently housed in the Museo de Historia de la Educación (Museum of the History of Education) «Manuel Bartolomé Cossío» (henceforth MBC). It is our hope that these records, which we will analyse both textually and iconographically⁶, will help bring us closer to the school culture of these centres. In addition to these sources we have also gathered oral testimony from former principals, teachers and students of the schools.

The photographs included in these training projects were taken by professional photographers in the case of the Father Poveda⁷, school, whereas in the Instituto Véritas⁸ it was the teachers themselves who took them (*amateur*). We find more photos of the training projects at the Véritas School (62) than at Father Poveda (20) and we can also observe certain differences in the aim behind the photographs, i.e., in what the photographers wanted us to see. In the private school, Véritas, created by the IT in 1960, the teachers seem intent on showing us the impressive installations and furnishing of the new building they had built in Somosaguas (and which we will talk about below): the building itself, the classrooms, play areas, swings, gardens, sports installations, etc. In the images from the Father Poveda public school, on the other hand, we see a much greater emphasis on the activities that the children are engaged in. We completed this iconographic collection with photos from the local archive that the IT has in Madrid (39) together with photographs published by Irene Gutiérrez⁹ (31), making for a total of 152 images, the majority from the Instituto Véritas. Out

⁶ The diaries or records of pedagogical training were kept by students in the 1950s and 1960s for the subject *Pedagogy Training*, given by Anselmo Romero Marín, professor of *General and Rational Pedagogy* beginning in 1949. The course consisted of the «systematic observation and critical analysis of a given schooling situation», be it a specific pedagogical theme or problem or a certain educational institution in a rural or urban area. These studies, conceived under the Pedagogy study plan of 1944, were carried out between 1950 y 1974. The photographs contained in them are of great value in that they provide us with a glimpse of educational practices with a clear, informative purpose. Most of them were taken by *amateur* photographers. Some were published in school yearbooks or in commemorative books or journals put out by the schools themselves.

⁷ For this study we relied on the records and diaries of the centres corresponding to the Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda – for which we have three accounts of the educational panorama in the school as told by three students from three different school years (1959, 1960 y 1963). All of the authors were former students of this or other Teresian schools, this being the reason that they did their pedagogy training in this centre.

⁸ With regard to the Instituto Véritas, two teacher-training records from teachers at this centre have been found (1964 and 1966). The photographs recreate a social construction that the teachers believed embodied the essential elements of their educational practice.

⁹ I. Gutiérrez Ruiz, *Experiencia Somosaguas*, Madrid, Iter Ediciones, 1970.

of this selection, 47 of the photographs show the grounds and installations of the Véritas building and 4 depict the Father Poveda school building, while the rest of the pictures (101) show the children involved in activities both in the classrooms and outdoors.

In carrying out our iconographic analysis and interpretation we were mindful of the work of Erwin Panofsky, Enrique Moradiellos, and in particular the technique of category analysis advocated by Laurence Bardin¹⁰. This methodological approach allowed us to identify two principal categories of analysis, which we chose based on their degree of representation and specificity in the centres being studied. On the one hand, we have the category of the school grounds, comprised of the institutions' buildings and installations, while on the other hand we consider the observable educational innovations that reflect the pedagogical model of personalized teaching that inspired the IT.

We consider worthy of mention the external critique of the iconographic sources that the photographic archive of these records contains. As Ian Grosvenor has pointed out, the origin of the «visual archive» is conditioned by the context of how such a file is configured, by the photographer's ultimate intentions and by the information we can actually obtain¹¹. Notwithstanding the subjective nature of these studies, we believe that the description of this perspective can be of considerable value, given that it shows an educational reality in the same context of creation in which the photographs were taken.

1. *The educational model of the Institución Teresiana in the 1960s: the personalised and community teaching of Pierre Faure*

The IT is an ecclesiastical association of lay persons whose principal aim is to foster, by means of education and culture, greater dialogue between science and faith. Father Pedro Poveda created the institution in 1911, and as Francisca Rosique has pointed out, its origins are somewhat different from those of religious congregations in other countries. In her words, «The institution was born in order to do precisely that which religious congregations could not do»¹².

Its concern is women's education and the training of teachers, but from a distinct perspective. Early on, Pedro Poveda had become interested in creating

¹⁰ E. Panofsky, *El significado de las artes visuales*, Madrid, Alianza, 1991, pp. 45-75; E. Moradiellos, *El oficio de historiador. Estudiar, enseñar, investigar*, Madrid, Akal, 2013, pp. 277; L. Bardin, *Análisis de contenido*, Madrid, Akal, 2002.

¹¹ I. Grosvenor, *From the Eye of History to a Second Gaze: The Visual Archive and the Marginalized in the History of Education*, «History of Education», vol. 36, n. 4-5, 2007, pp. 607-622, in partic. p. 613.

¹² F. Rosique Navarro, *Historia de la Institución Teresiana (1911-1936)*, Madrid, Silex ediciones, 2014, p. 34.

academies to prepare women for teaching jobs in public education. He also proposed a reform of public education through the establishment of innovative centres that would improve the teaching in the Escuelas Normales. These first academies were specialized in training and in preparing candidates for civil servant exams for teaching posts. The year 1924 saw the inauguration of the first Instituto Católico Femenino (Feminine Catholic Institute), a centre incorporated in the Instituto de Segunda Enseñanza San Isidro de Madrid¹³, a centre for baccalaureate-level education.

The beliefs and works of Father Poveda were oriented towards a pedagogy based on the principles of *communication* – emphasizing the coexistence of teachers and students –, *creativity* – tied to individual initiative, spontaneity and pupils' freedom –, and *differentiation* – stressing the individualisation of teaching –. He incorporated a gender perspective to his discourse as well, one involving a woman's mission in society¹⁴.

At the end of the Spanish Civil War the Teresians sought a kind of pedagogy in line with Poveda's principles. The personalist trend being developed at this time in France with Mounier and Maritain, implemented in an educational project by the Jesuit priest Pierre Faure, would become the basis for the IT educational model. It is paradoxical that such a movement, which had emerged in democratic contexts in France and Italy, should be introduced into Spain during Franco's dictatorship, although it is also true that this introduction took place during a period of technocratic development.

In general terms, the origins of *personalised education* can be found in the identity crisis of the educational subject that was a consequence of the European totalitarianisms of the 1930s and the post-war period that followed the devastation of World War II. It originated in France with Emmanuel Mounier and the philosopher Maritain, and soon spread to countries close by such as Spain and Italy¹⁵. It was in essence a philosophical tendency and was defended by many pedagogues, whose educational attention focused on values that elevated the human being from a Catholic perspective. Such was the case of the French Jesuit Pierre Faure¹⁶. Faure was a post-war educator who advocated a type of

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

¹⁴ Diaries/records of the school year 1966-1967 at the Véritas school. Institutional Archive of the Instituto Véritas.

¹⁵ S.S. Macchietti (ed.), *Pedagogia del personalismo italiano*, Roma, Città Nuova, 1982, p. 16

¹⁶ Pierre Faure, Jesuit and teacher (1904-1988), dedicated his entire life to teaching and education at the Pedagogy Department of the Institut Catholique de Paris, of which he was also director. He collaborated with a disciple of Maria Montessori, Helene Lubienska de Lenval, and he participated in the creation of several centres for teacher training: the Centro de Estudios Pedagógicos (C.E.P.-1937); the Centro de Formación Pedagógica (C.F.P.-1959), where he gave scores of pedagogical sessions and summer courses of more than two weeks; three Escuelas Normales in France and an "application" school in Paris (1947-1952). He collaborated with different journals and in 1945 he founded the journal «Pedagogie. Éducation et Culture», which he directed from its creation until 1972 and which served as a loudspeaker for his educational ideas

schooling that could educate and form individuals in democratic states with an education that was humanist, spiritual, personalist and communitarian¹⁷. In 1944, French national education proclaimed the value of the individual, favouring the formative dimension and moral education of a person over the exclusivism of the sciences. We see an assertion of the need for a child's holistic, integral formation, one that will help him or her be incorporated into social life, along with a rationalization of educational programs and a movement towards active methods of learning.

Faure recognizes the usefulness of the methods advanced by the New School movement¹⁸ because they connect school with life, and he believes that primary education should be a preparatory stage for secondary education, and that it should not be a privilege of the ruling class. A practical pedagogue, according to Klein, Faure's educational project stands on three basic pillars: 1) The anthropological-religious basis of his belief includes the Catholic tradition, ecclesiastical-educational documents, Jesuit spirituality, the Mounier personalist tendency and Lubienka; 2) his bio-psychological perspective is modelled on Montessori, Piaget, Bourneville and Seguin, who worked with handicapped and unstable children¹⁹; 3) Pedagogically, his project is based on several classical authors (Plato, Montaigne and Pestalozzi), the personal work of the *Ratio Studiorum*, the New School movement, the Dalton Plan, Freinet and the French educational reform movements of the post-war²⁰.

In the context of Spain, this movement was spread through García Hoz²¹, at least in the realm of theory, but, as Klein points out, it was the IT that disseminated Faure's pedagogical project throughout the country and even gave it an international scope²². At the end of the 1950s and the first years of the 1960s, a group of Teresian teachers travelled to France on the initiative

and activities. He was also involved in the founding of the A.I.R.A.P. (Asociación Internacional para la Animación Pedagógica) (National Association for Pedagogical Animation) which facilitated the continuation of his work and was integrated by 50 educators from around the world and by different public and private teaching networks (Spain, Italy, Brazil, Mexico, Beirut, Canada, Colombia, Chile, Argentina, Santo Domingo and Venezuela) that helped spread his methods. Most of the schools were private and were run by Catholic and Jesuit educators. Klein, *Educación personalizada. Desafíos y perspectivas*, cit., p. 110.

¹⁷ Galino, *El personalismo y la educación personalizada en Francia*, cit. p. 131.

¹⁸ Para Faure «la pedagogía de 1945 es una pedagogía de los métodos activos» (P. Faure, *Méthodes Actives*, «*Pedagogie*», vol. 2, 1946, p. 9).

¹⁹ Galino, *El personalismo y la educación personalizada en Francia*, cit., p. 136.

²⁰ P. Faure, *Estudios generales. La enseñanza personalizada, orígenes y evolución*, «*Revista de Educación*», vol. 247, 1976, pp. 5-10.

²¹ Víctor García Hoz, professor at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, became involved with pedagogical personalism in 1954, when he attended the first congress of the Centre for Pedagogical Studies «Schöle», held in Italy, a gathering of European University professors of Christian orientation that included Agazzi, Braidó, Buyse, Corallo, Kriekemans, Muñoz Alonso, Planchar, Schneider, Catalfamo, Flores d'Arcais, Stefanini. Macchietti. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²² L.F. Klein, *Educación personalizada. Desafíos y perspectivas*, São Paulo, S.P. (Brasil), Edições Loyola, 2002, p. 115.

of Carmela Álvarez – Regional Director in Madrid of the IT (1958-1966) – in order to attend formative courses on personalised teaching organized by Faure in Paris, in the Centro de Formación Pedagógica (CFP) (Centre for Pedagogical Formation)²³. Upon returning to Spain these educators²⁴ introduced these new pedagogical approaches in the schools they ran in Madrid, first in the Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda and later in the Instituto Véritas²⁵.

The diffusion of this model through the classes in which it was put into practice made the IT centres a novel, experimental project to which educators from around the country and even from abroad came to observe the classes and pedagogical sessions, as can be seen in photograph 1.

These years saw new openings as well as a demand for pedagogical reform from different sectors and groups of teachers. Summer schools were established to provide up-to-date formation and training to teachers of all educational grade levels²⁶. The IT took part in this reform, and one member of its teaching staff, Ángeles Galino, describes some of the reasons for this renovation thus: «It was a change that was necessary for a number of reasons, among them the



Pic. 1. Image of teachers participating in teacher-improvement courses in the Instituto Véritas. (Irene Gutiérrez, *Experiencia Somosaguas*, Madrid, Iter Ediciones, 1970, p. 17).

²³ Also accompanying this group was father Emiliano Mencía, who belonged to the Congregación de los Hermanos de la Salle. In the Local Archive of Madrid kept by the IT one can find some of the pedagogical guidelines for these courses, adapted for the schools that are the object of this study: the Colegio Padre Poveda and the Instituto Véritas. F IIC.b.3/54. *Charlas y Coloquios del Padre Faure*. 16 de abril de 1962. Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda. Caja 1.63. F III/C.b.6/58. *Aplicación método Faure. Modificaciones introducidas*. 1965. Instituto Véritas. Caja 1.67.

²⁴

²⁵ In 1966, Ángeles Galino, Carmela Álvarez, Irene Gutiérrez of the IT and the brother Emiliano Mencía, of la Salle, gave the first course on Didactic Orientation in Spain at the Instituto Véritas. E. Mencía, *Un movimiento de renovación escolar en la línea de la educación personalizada*, Madrid, Mimeo, (s/f), p. 11. In addition to theoretical expositions, these formative courses also offered novel practical classes. Real-life scenes from schooling activity were chosen and observed by participants who thus received an eminently practical orientation. Cfr. in «Memoria de curso 1965-1966». Instituto Véritas. Institutional Archive of the Instituto Véritas.

²⁶ C. Milito, T. Groves, *¿Modernización o democratización? La construcción de un nuevo sistema educativo entre el tardofranquismo y la democracia*, «Bordón», vol. 65, n. 4, 2013, pp. 135-148.

economic growth of the 1960s, Spanish participation in international organisms such as the OIT, the UNESCO, the European Council, etc.»²⁷.

The auspicious beginning to Faure's project in the Instituto Véritas (situated in Somosaguas) gave way to its transformation into a pedagogical reform movement known as «The Somosaguas Experience»²⁸. Due to an array of political factors, the Education Ministry embraced the movement and promoted the personalised education approach on a national scale by means of the Ley General de Educación (General Education Law) of 1970, thanks in good part to the leadership of the same Ángeles Galino quoted above²⁹.

2. *The iconographic representation of Teresian personalised education: The Instituto Véritas and the Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda.*

The photographs that we have analysed provide us with some representations of school realities that the authors of these records considered most relevant to the educational model adopted by the IT. The first, immediate analysis serves to discern differences in the *grounds and installations* of the institutions, which are determined by a range of factors such as public vs. private ownership, location, the social class for which the school was designed and the architectural model of the buildings themselves (II Republic and the Franco Regime). This first category therefore is made up of photographs of the buildings and installations.

At a second, more extended level, we are afforded a view of the *IT's educational model*, including aspects of personalised teaching as it was practiced in the classroom. From the images of these records, which show the day-to-day classroom activities, we shall attempt to reveal some of the principles underlying this educational ideology.

2.1. *Grounds and installations*

Our first level of analysis of these images leads us to consider the significance of the site of the buildings. As Antonio Viñao has pointed out³⁰, the location

²⁷ J. Ruiz, C. Flecha, *Conversación con Ángeles Galino Carrillo. Historiadora de la Educación*, «Historia de la Educación», vol. 26, 2007, pp. 519-538, in partic. p. 533.

²⁸ Prólogo: C. Sánchez, *El movimiento renovador de la Experiencia Somosaguas*, Madrid, Narcea, 1996, p. 1; I. Gutiérrez, *El maestro de la Experiencia Somosaguas*, «Tendencias pedagógicas», vol. 14, 2009, pp. 181-182.

²⁹ M^a Ángeles Galino Carrillo was the first Professor of History of Pedagogy at the Complutense University of Madrid (1953), and played a great role in the Ministry of Education, holding positions as General Director of Secondary Education and of Academic Organization. She also participated in the reform of the General Education Law of 1970 in Spain.

³⁰ A. Viñao Frago, *Los espacios escolares ¿cómo abordar un objeto polifacético y multiforme?*,

of such buildings is not something that is chosen randomly, but rather is conditioned by multiple factors associated with the social surroundings and with the families for whom they are designed. There is a correspondence, in other words, between an educational institution and the social group that it is meant to serve. In our case, the two schools being studied represent two very different models of academic architecture, owing to the contrasting historical contexts in which they were designed – public/private – and the social class that the designers had in mind when planning them.

2.2. *Rational and hygienist architecture (public school, with classes grouped by ages): G.E. Padre Poveda*

The Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda school was built in 1933³¹ and followed a functional, rational, hygienist architectural style developed in the first third of the 20th century, coinciding with the implantation of schooling in which children were grouped by age. A public school created under the Second Republic, it underwent various changes of name and circumstances due to the convulsive political changes that took place in a short period of time. At the conclusion of the Civil War, the National Education Ministry determined that the school would be run by the IT, but under a special arrangement known as «Patronato»³². This meant that although the teachers were from the IT, they were required to belong to the National Teacher Certification structure. The school was considered to be a kind of experiment, subject to the «Patronato» administration, and it was here that a chosen group of teachers began introducing an innovative educational project based on Pierre Faure's system of personalised education³³.

in P. Dávila, L.Mª Naya (edd.), *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo*, San Sebastián, Erein, 2016, pp. 25-36, in partic. p. 31.

³¹ The centre was created in 1933 and named Grupo Escolar «Alfredo Calderón». In 1937 it was renamed «Carl Marx» and after the Civil War its name was again changed, to «Luis Vives» (O. 20-4-1939). The following year the government conceded control of the school to the Institución Teresiana, who named it after their founder, «Padre Poveda» in 1940 (R.O. 10 January 1940).

³² The Patronato school centres were organized directly by the state or, having been founded originally by private religious or lay entities such as foundations, congregations or professional associations, then went on to be funded, partially or totally, by the government. The legal framework in which they were articulated attests to a broad conception of the Patronato educational centres. Law 17 from July, 1945 regarding primary education, in its chapter II, article 26, determines the four groups of schools considered to be of Patronato regiment, and describes the features of each one: schools for testing and experimentation; those coordinated by municipalities or delegations; those created by businesses; those bequeathed as charitable foundations. Ley de 17 de Julio de 1945 sobre Educación Primaria en M.E.C., *Historia de la Educación en España. Textos y documentos. Nacional-catolicismo y educación en la España de posguerra*, vol. 2, Madrid, Secretaría General Técnica del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1990, pp. 684-686.

³³ In a way this was an attempt to revisit the experiment carried out by the republican government which had founded this school in 1933 and named its first director Justa Freire, a disciple of Ángel Llorca. One of the main demands of these school directors, whose centres



Pic. 2 and Pic. 3. *School building of the Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda. Ciudad Jardín, Madrid.* FRM 495 (Museum of the History of Education MBC, Madrid).

The school architecture was inspired by the rationalist pedagogical-hygienist program that featured a functional, national-regional design that was meant to take into account regional differences. These constructions are characterized by their use of bare materials, in keeping with theories of modern architecture; by a criteria of solidity and durability, as dictated by tenets of classical architecture; and by a sobriety and simplicity of lines, in accordance with the aesthetic criteria with which the planners wished to endow the school³⁴.

The school was erected in what was then a suburb of Madrid, an outlying industrial area known as Ciudad Jardín (Prosperidad). The girls attending the school were the daughters of qualified workers from the factories and industries in the neighbourhood.

2.3. *Modern architecture: El Instituto Véritas*

The Instituto Véritas, created in 1960 by the IT, is an example of an architectural model that was modern and even vanguardistic for its time³⁵. The

introduced the New School Movement in Madrid, was that they be allowed to select the teachers, in order to be able to implement their pedagogical innovations. M.M. Del Pozo Andrés, *Justa Freire o la pasión de educar. Biografía de una maestra atrapada en la historia de España (1896-1965)*, Madrid, Octaedro, 2013.

³⁴ P. Lahoz Abad, *Los modelos escolares de la Oficina Técnica para la construcción de escuelas*, «Historia de la Educación», voll. 12-13, 1993-94, pp. 121-148.

³⁵ During the first third of 20th century different centres were built in Madrid: the Academia, 1914; the Instituto Católico Femenino, 1924; the Colegio Véritas, 1932. After the Civil War these schools were consolidated into the Colegio Véritas, situated on the street Españolito, which was open until 1970. Too small to meet increasing demand, at the end of the 1950s the Colegio Véritas planned its move to a suburb of Madrid, with grounds and installations that certain sectors of Spain's prospering society were demanding. Á. del Valle López, *Una pedagogía para la educación*



Pic. 4. *Façade of the Instituto Véritas*, Madrid, 1964. FRM 13 (Museum of the History of Education MBC, Madrid).



Pic. 5. *Instituto Véritas* (Local Archive of the Institucion Teresiana de Madrid. FIII, Cb6-64).

school building is a clear example of the impact of political influences and of the modest modernization that Spaniards experienced during the later years of the Franco regime. Pedagogical influences, psychology and the social aspect of school spaces all came together in the conception of this type of centre, which was designed to attract Madrid's social bourgeoisie³⁶. The Instituto Véritas³⁷ was erected in an upper class residential area in the outskirts of Madrid called Somosaguas, a part of the municipality of Pozuelo de Alarcón³⁸.

The configuration of the space is novel, modern and quite advanced for its time. In the (*amateur*) photographs taken by the teachers-in-training, we can see the materials used in these buildings, among others, cement, brick, wood and glass. The architectural style, as the authors of these texts note, reflect the Povedian pedagogy of «light and truth»; the importance of light as it filters through the glass is complemented by the symbol of the bricks, which «rest one upon the other, safely; without losing their individual uniqueness, they hold together as a united society»³⁹. These affirmations are corroborated by

integral en la obra de Pedro Poveda: Desarrollo de las capacidades y actitudes físicas, «Historia de la Educación», voll. 14-15, 1995-1996, pp. 173-196.

³⁶ I. Durá Gúrpide, *La escuela activa en las revistas de Arquitectura*, in *4ª Jornadas Internacionales sobre investigación en arquitectura y urbanismo*, Valencia, Universidad de Valencia, 2011, pp. 4-17.

³⁷ It was designed by the architects Manuel Barbero Rebolledo and Rafael de la Joya Castro, members of the Modern Movement. They also designed the Teresian school in Málaga, which was awarded an architectural prize. Cfr. in M^aJ. López Martín, *La Academia de Santa Teresa de Málaga (1963)*, *Una propuesta común de arquitectos y pedagogos*, in Dávila, Naya (edd.), *Espacios y patrimonio-histórico-educativo*, cit., pp. 117-133.

³⁸ Á. García Carballo, *Urbanizaciones de lujo y segregación residencial de las clases altas en Somosaguas, Pozuelo de Alarcón (Madrid)*, «Ería: Revista cuatrimestral de Geografía», vol. 94, 2014, pp. 125-144. This centre includes 35.000 m² of grounds with five separate, completely independent buildings featuring a modern, simple and rationalist architectural style.

³⁹ E. Domínguez Rodríguez, *Estudio general del Instituto Véritas y especial sobre la enseñanza primaria del referido centro*, FRM 13, Museum of History of Education MBC, 1964. Cfr. p. 10.



Pic. 6 and Pic. 7. *Classroom terraces of the Instituto Véritas*, Madrid, 1964. FRM 13 y FRM 852 (Museum of the History of Education MBC, Madrid).

oral sources⁴⁰. The concept of truth (*Véritas*) is also associated with freedom. According to testimony furnished by some of the teachers, one of the provincial directors of the IT, Carmela Álvarez, «the brain of the centre, had the unprecedented idea of working together with the architects, even providing them with some of Father Poveda's texts so that they would understand his pedagogy». Klein⁴¹, on his part, considers this building to be the finest example of Faure's personalized education put into practice. This divergence of oral and documentary sources lead us to the conclusion that both authors shared a similar educational ideology, one into which a building's architectural conception was incorporated.

In the images that appear in the teacher-trainee records, we see simple, modern buildings with open spaces, announcing a change of architectural model and an implicit, new approach to teaching. As shown in the pictures below (6 and 7), the classrooms have large windows that open out onto terraces, "back yards" as it were, that include rock gardens with a variety of plants and flowers. As is attested to in oral accounts⁴², these outdoor spaces were used to give class, thus encouraging the communitarian aspect of Faure's pedagogical program of personalised education.

⁴⁰ We obtained testimonial collaboration from a former director, Antonia García, two teachers – Carmen Sánchez, Rosalía Aranda – and the author of one of the diaries, Emilia Domínguez, a former teacher at Véritas. We wish to thank them for their interviews, material and information.

⁴¹ Klein, *Educación personalizada. Desafíos y perspectivas*, cit., p. 126.

⁴² Of particular interest is the interview with Emilia Domínguez Rodríguez, author of the diary and third grade teacher at the Instituto Véritas. She was also a brilliant ex-student when the school was located on the street Españoleto. She studied Pedagogy at the same time she taught, eventually moving to Cáceres, where she obtained her Doctorate in the Theory of Education from the University of Extremadura.

2.4. Personalised teaching

Teaching activity in the school centres run by the IT was centred on four basic elements: education in faith; human and social formation; intellectual development; artistic expression and physical education. As Catholic teaching centres, *education in faith* included the formation taught in religion class, catechism, liturgical activities, the celebration of religious holy days, leading an apostolic life (teams of social work and coexistence) and personal prayer. We find it summed up as follows in the *log of the school year 1966-1967* of the *Véritas* school, in which Father Poveda's words were remembered: «Our first concern shall be to put God in the hearts of our students. You will have achieved your goal when God manifests himself in all of the thoughts, wishes, words and acts of our disciples»⁴³.

Image 8 gives us a view of the intimate nature of religious practice at the IT. The girl praying in front of a statue of the *Virgen of the Fiat* in an exposed space implies that devotion to the Virgin was a part of the institution's religious and educational ideology. It makes visible the personal and individual dimension of the student's religious formation. The concept of a holistic education is intimately linked to religiosity, and human and Christian formation are two basic and closely linked aspects of education here. Unlike most private religious centres in Madrid, the chapel was not a principal feature of the school's architectural design at *Véritas*.

With regard to *human and social formation*, students took part in situations involving work and coexistence in which personal initiative, free choice, mutual relations and responsible participation all came into play. As far as *intellectual development*, intellectual culture was seen as a synthesis of instruction and mental discipline. Finally, as regards *artistic expression and physical education*, these were tied closely to one of the essential pedagogical principles of the educational model of the Teresian centres: creativity, both at work and in one's free time. The idea was to arouse pupils' artistic and creative sensitivity through exposure to works of art and through the teacher's stimulus. This could be



Pic. 8. Girl praying in the *Instituto Véritas*, Madrid, 1964. FRM 13 (Museum of the History of Education MBC, Madrid).

⁴³ Memoria del Curso, 1966-1967. Institutional Archive of the Instituto Véritas.



Pic. 9 and Pic. 10. *Developing creativity at the Instituto Véritas.* (Irene Gutiérrez, *Experiencia Somosaguas*, Madrid, ITER, 1970 p. 28).

achieved through music, movement⁴⁴, dramatic arts, film and decoration⁴⁵.

Each and every one of these elements was essential for establishing and developing *personalised teaching*, which we can see represented in some of the photographs included in the records kept at the Father Poveda and Véritas schools. The classroom organization itself reflects a break with the traditional uses of time and space and stands in contrast to other public and private school practices of the time. This change responds to Faure's ideas regarding the need to adapt to different levels. In his own words, «thinking in terms of equal levels is an abstract vision of the teacher's and not a real vision of the students. This is why we must, as educators, think about the variety of means we have and the work tools we can adapt for each child»⁴⁶.

School choreography is organized around individual desks and groups, where we can observe the simultaneous application of individual teaching systems and group methodologies. The photos show different activities going on at the same time; some girls are reading while others draw, sew, write, etc. This kind of organization was part of a monthly, weekly or individual work plan, and is reminiscent of Freinetian techniques.

Taking as a starting point a study program conceived and designed by the teacher, the student would choose the elements that she wished to learn and then do it at her own rhythm, respecting the principle of autonomy. Individual work plans relied on opportune, appropriate programming. Along with an incentive to motivate students to learn, we also can detect here a concession to the element of freedom as espoused by Bouchet⁴⁷.

⁴⁴ Gutiérrez, *Experiencia Somosaguas*, cit., p. 28.

⁴⁵ *Principios educativos del centro*, curso 1969-1970. Institutional Archive of the Instituto Véritas.

⁴⁶ P. Faure, *Jornadas de educación personalizada. Cursos de formación del profesorado*, Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá, 15 de diciembre de 1973. Cfr. in M^a.N. Pereira de Gómez, *Educación personalizada: Un proyecto pedagógico en Pierre Faure*, Madrid, Narcean, 1976, p. 107.

⁴⁷ H. Bouchet, *La individualidad del niño en la educación*, Buenos Aires, Kapelusz, 1951, p. 201. Cfr. in Gutiérrez, *La experiencia Somosaguas*, cit., p. 22.



Pic. 11. Classroom of the Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda, 1960. FRM 70 (Museum of the History of Education MBC, Madrid).



Pic. 12. Classroom of the Instituto Veritas, 1964. FRM 13 (Museum of the History of Education MBC, Madrid).



Pic. 13. Group session in one of the terraces of the Instituto Veritas, Madrid, 1964. FRM 13 (Museum of the History of Education MBC, Madrid).



Pic. 14: Group session or assembly in class. (Irene Gutiérrez. *La Experiencia Somosaguas*, Madrid, ITER, 1970, p. 41).

As can be seen in the photographs 11 and 12, the French pedagogical model is applied in the two schools, allowing the subjects to «be in charge of their own personalisation, configuring the theory and the practice of a particular style of education known as personalised»⁴⁸. The principle of activity was essential, and it was crucial that the girls play an active part in the learning situations. This implied a break with the traditional methods of accumulating encyclopaedic knowledge and memorizing content, and attempted to do away with the disconnection between their lives and what they learned in school. This global concept of education focused on meaningful aspects of their reality and adopted an approach based on goals – with coherent learning situations and formative units that favoured the students' use of interdisciplinary solutions

⁴⁸ Á. Galino, *La pregunta por el hombre*, in Á. Galino, J.M. Prellezo, Á. del Valle, *Personalización educativa. Génesis y estado actual*, Madrid, Rialp, 1991, p. 51.



Pic. 15. Classroom of the Instituto Veritas (Local Archive of the Institucion Teresiana de Madrid, 1967-1968).

– and on core ideas, which consisted of integrating similar disciplines and structuring them in learning units⁴⁹.

Individual work was always followed up by group sessions, which Father Faure called «the group party»: «each student, or some of them, tell the others what they did and how they did it, responsibility is called for, and they are applauded and encouraged to improve [...] this is the moment of truth»⁵⁰. The following images (13 and 14) show these group sessions inside and outside of the classroom, where the girls gather

in a circle to share with the others their day's discoveries and learnings. In the process, they also learn about expressing themselves in public⁵¹. In Faure's pedagogical model – influenced by the innovative techniques of Freinet – these group sessions or assemblies help develop the communitarian or complementary dimension of individualised education.

This kind of pedagogical framework implies a change in the role of the teacher, whose work is oriented more towards demonstrating the tasks, methods and tools that will be used. She becomes an adviser of sorts, arranging spaces in which students can collaborate and help one another and facilitating the cooperative, communitarian aspect of their education.

Photograph 15 shows a scene in which the Faure method is being applied in Somosaguas and where the girls are working on individual projects with a fair degree of independence while the teacher, in *her collaborative, accompanying role*, is shown seated at the same level as the girls⁵². This image is linked to, and

⁴⁹ The global approach implied choosing aspects of reality that had a significance for the children. One of the integrating elements of the Teresian schools was the mural/poster with a weekly or bi-weekly theme (see photograph 12).

⁵⁰ *Aplicaciones del método Faure en Somosaguas*. Local Archive of the Institución Teresiana, FilII/C66-58.

⁵¹ Galino, *El personalismo y la educación personalizada en Francia*, cit., p. 149.

⁵² We discovered a handwritten document describing how the class and the material should be organized, much the way the classroom is shown in photograph 15: «The class is divided in areas, 3 zones separated by a stepladder and a railing. The activities are different in each area; the first, close-up area is the home zone (containing an iron, a clothesline, dining room, cleaning area and all the corresponding equipment); the second, intermediate area is the work zone. Materials are spread around the class on tables and benches. In the centre is the Montessori line for group lessons and intuitive exercises. The third zone has several corners: the religious area, the library, manual crafts (cutting out, gluing, painting, model making)». *Aplicaciones del método Faure a Somosaguas*. 1965. Local Archive of Madrid of the IT. F III/C.b.6/58. Caja 1.67, p. 1. Although its authorship is uncertain, we believe it was likely written by one of the teachers who attended the formative courses given by Father Faure in France. It is a brief record describing the application of

is in keeping with, the programmatic line of personalised pedagogy described by Monique Le Gall⁵³. Testimony from one of the directors of the Instituto Véritas illustrates the pedagogical ideology applied in this centre:

It responded to the wish and the need to create a centre using the best pedagogical methods in order to contribute to an education and a culture from perspectives and with objectives that were in accordance with Christian humanism. The centre addressed one of the fundamental elements of pedagogy: a personalized education that would help develop independent, free and responsible individuals. Among the principles embodied we should mention respect for the individual and for each person's rhythm, the exercise of freedom, the principle of activity, concern for the students' balanced and harmonious development, socialization, the role played by the teacher [...]⁵⁴.



Picture 16. Pre-school classroom of the G.E. Padre Poveda, 1963. FRM 495 (Museum of the History of Education MBC, Madrid).

For the stage of pre-school education, the two schools relied on the *Montessori pedagogy* for its embrace of a methodology that would stimulate the senses, with equipment adapted to the infants' physiognomy and a system of working in thematic corners with different materials⁵⁵. As we can see in the photo, at one end of the classroom there are two children at work in the art corner, drawing at easels, while the rest of the class is engaged in other group activities. We can also observe the educational resource of the mural, which in this case depicts a natural science lesson.

We believe that these photographs show that the personalized teaching system was applied in these two Madrid schools run by the IT, one public and the other privately owned. Yet there are certain differences in the pedagogical model, differences that correspond to the social level of the students and are conditioned by the socio-economic context of the schools' locations.

the method in the Instituto Véritas.

⁵³ M. Le Gall, *¿Por qué y cómo una pedagogía personalizada? De los objetivos a las técnicas*, «Revista de Educación», vol. 247, 1976, p. 15.

⁵⁴ A. de la Peña, *50 años del Instituto Véritas*, «Boletín informativo de la Federación Pedro Poveda de Asociaciones de Madres y Padres de Alumnos de Centros Educativos Institución Teresiana», vol. 16, 2011, pp. 16-17.

⁵⁵ One of the authors of the diaries who did her training in this school described the corners in which the classroom was divided: «In one corner is a shelf with a play stove and dishes: saucers, plates, silverware, a wash-basin with a cleaning board, etc. Another corner has a table with drawings and crafts made by the students: an ironing board with a little basket full of doll clothes and an iron; there is a turntable and some records on a chair and in the corner is an easel». M^ªL. Molina Serrantes, *Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda*, 1963 (FRM, ref. 495), p. 21.



Pic. 17 and Pic 18. Local Archive of the Institucion Teresiana de Madrid. 1966-1967 (F IV/C.b. 6/36. Caja 2.17).

In these pictures we can see how in the private school (Véritas), the academic activities shown evidence a more creative, intellectual aspiration, which is none other than that of preparing young women of the middle and upper classes for higher education. The photographs from the teacher-training logs at the public school, on the other hand, highlight students' engagement in professional activities, those suited for preparing the future worker.

The Instituto Véritas applied an integrated intellectual and academic formation guaranteed by the IT educational program. Among the different elements of this integrated formation we can observe in the images an emphasis on the importance of artistic expression, as shown in photographs 17 and 18.

The Father Poveda school also offered drawing classes, and although we don't have images to corroborate it, we do have the testimony of former students⁵⁶. The goal of artistic expression was to help the students develop techniques "that would facilitate personal expression, refine their creative abilities and create critical and communicative habits"⁵⁷.

Also noteworthy are the numerous images that depict activities that contribute to the integrated education of the student body, such as the photographs of sports and physical education classes, field trips, camps, visits to cities and cultural visits. All of these undertakings served to bring the school experience closer to real life experiences and they formed part of the preparation for further education of middle and upper class women.

The photographs from the public school, on the other hand, tend to focus on the *technical and professional training* of the working class women. Professional orientation in public schools, advanced by the Regime's educational policy, took a different approach to men's and women's formation. Girls were instructed and

⁵⁶ Folleto conmemorativo del 75 aniversario del Colegio Padre Poveda, *La Institución Teresiana y el Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda*, Madrid, 2015, p. 23.

⁵⁷ *Memoria Escolar, 1969-1970 Instituto Véritas*, p. 4. Institutional Archive of the Instituto Véritas.



Pic. 19. Classroom of the *Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda*, 1963. FRM 495 (Museum of the History of Education MBC, Madrid).

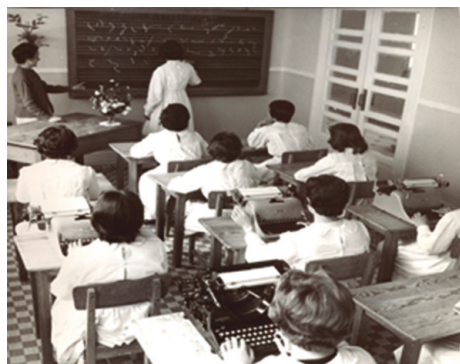


Pic. 20. Classroom of the *Grupo Escolar* 1959. FRM 263 (Museum of the History of Education MBC, Madrid).

prepared for home life, crafts and domestic work, while boys were trained for a professional life in industry, commerce and agricultural activities. The nascent technocratic development of the late 1950s was accompanied by educational policies that crystallized in reforms – which placed greater importance on the technical formation and qualified workmanship of the working class – embodied in the *Ley de Enseñanzas Técnicas* (Law of Technical Instruction) of 1957. At the end of the 1960s the Father Poveda school effected a change of style; while it continued with its pedagogical mission⁵⁸, it also began to undertake the preparation of future workers. One of the authors of the teacher-training logs relates how the school took charge of the professional formation of many girls who would go on to work in pharmaceutical laboratories, textile factories, cardboard factories, automobile plants, precision machinery, watch-making, etc., thus carrying out «the ideal of forming a (female) worker who was efficient, skilful, responsible, dignified and collaborative, as well as a good workmate». The school's organizational project made a point of defining quite clearly the concept of a «good worker», much the way it might appear in a manual on proper conduct:

the clear consciousness of an individual, a member of society, a citizen of the earth and chosen for heaven. / The clear consciousness that she does not work merely for material gain but so as to employ her physical, intellectual and moral gifts, for the good of her community.

⁵⁸ The formation program of the *Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda* went well beyond the merely curricular, as described by one of its students: «We were taught drawing and painting, dance, modeling, sewing, leatherwork, needlepoint, choir, piano, weaving, typing, shorthand, accounting [...] everything that could be useful for a place in the job market». Testimony of Virginia Fernández Aguinaco gathered at the 75th anniversary of the *Colegio Padre Poveda*, *La Institución Teresiana y el Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda*, cit., p. 13.



Pic. 21. Classroom of the *Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda*, 1960. FRM 70 (Museum of the History of Education MBC, Madrid).

/ [...] An upstanding critical sense in her actions within the social realm and regarding her right to vote and to be on guard against skilful agitators or unscrupulous politicians. / A clear awareness of her dignity as a woman. / An unshakeable fortitude to help her maintain her honour and the heroic strength necessary to comport herself at all times as a Christian woman⁵⁹.

As a result of the economic development in Spain in the 1960s, women were needed in the work force more than ever, and this explains the IT's interest in properly forming girls in a professional capacity within the working class context. Yet as we can

observe in the previous text, underlying this orientation are clear allusions to the woman's essential religious and "natural" identity. Virtues such as sense of duty, perseverance, patience, docility, good judgement, adaptability and a sense of justice were all very much in keeping with the traditional model of the woman that predominated during Franco's Regime. And although occasionally a woman could work her way into professions such as law, architecture, etc., these continued to be seen as masculine occupations; women were meant for work which, «by affinity, women are specifically suited for, having to do with maternity and care of the house, [...] teaching, nursing, business administration, chemical and pharmaceutical laboratory assistants, crafts, needlework, decoration, publicity design, fashion design [...]»⁶⁰. Of these activities especially oriented towards women, the ones we see the most images of are those involving textile and sewing work, an occupation taken up by many women who worked as seamstresses in textile factories and large department stores. We see the practice of numerous activities that revolve around work with fabric and clothing: preparation of looms, rug weaving, sewing class, ironing, and practice with sewing machines. It is evident that the school dedicated considerable resources to the development of these professional skills and to the modernization of the equipment and machinery used for them: looms, sewing machines, irons, etc.

Another professional activity featured prominently at the Father Poveda school was the formation of secretaries, for which the more intellectually gifted girls were taught shorthand and typing, as we can see in photo XXI. The school had typewriters as well as teachers specialized in shorthand instruction. In one

⁵⁹ *Proyecto de Organización del Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda*, febrero de 1959. Local Archive of Madrid, the Teresianas, pp. 1 y 2. (Caja III, Da3).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

of the diaries, the author comments on the many businesses and factories that requested the services of these women in their establishments⁶¹.

These concerns led the IT to confer a practical dimension to the formation that its students received and went as far as its providing work placement assistance and finding jobs for its students in factories, workshops, laboratories and businesses. There were two objectives here: to prepare women for integration into working class society and to provide them with a solid religious and patriotic formation. As a result, girls schooled at Father Poveda were assured of an adequate occupational formation as well as a positive professional horizon⁶².

However, although this primary school became specialized in students' professional initiation – as attested to by iconographic and documentary sources –, our oral sources inform us that it also prepared students for higher education, and that the brightest girls were prepared for the baccalaureate exam⁶³. This contrast in documentary sources leads us to assume that this type of preparation was carried out «extra-officially», given that it implies a function – preparing working class women for higher education – that was not really within the realm of a public primary school.

Conclusions

During the 1960s the pedagogical model of the IT in Madrid underwent a transformation, or pedagogical reform, as did other teaching sectors in Spain. As has been shown, the IT introduced the personalised and communitarian pedagogical model of the French Jesuit educator Pierre Faure, adapting this model to their institution's own educational philosophy. This model, based on Christian personalism, incorporated certain innovative methodologies that had previously been introduced by the New School movement, such as the techniques of Freinet (personal work plans, corrective files, assemblies, etc.), the Dalton Plan and Montessori pedagogy as applied to pre-school. These novel contributions encouraged principles of freedom, independence, activity, reflexive personal work, a critical spirit, cooperative work, open-air learning, etc., all of which clashed to some degree with the educational policies of the

⁶¹ M.L. García Alonso, *Iniciación profesional femenina en el Grupo Escolar Padre Poveda*, Madrid, UCM, 1959, Memoria de Prácticas de Pedagogía inédita, FRM, ref. 263, p. 85.

⁶² Local Archive of Madrid, the Teresianas, FIII/C65-45.

⁶³ This is confirmed by testimony from former students of the Padre Poveda school (Sagrario Puebla Abad, Pilar Pérez, Teresa Torralba y Rosalía Elena Aranda Redruello). Rosalía Elena Aranda, who was also a teacher at the Veritas school, tells us that «there were two classes that prepared students for the baccalaureate exam and one for trade school. Some of these girls came from nearby villages to study at the school and they were given boarding in the Ciudad Jardin chalet». For this former pupil there was a special merit in the Teresians preparing working class girls for higher education.

Franco Regime and the traditional educational methods that predominated in Spanish schools at the end of the 1950s and the 1960s. Further educational reform movements began to emerge, and the last decade of the dictatorship even saw a resumption of innovative pedagogy from the first third of the 20th century.

The photographs chosen give testimony to the way in which the personalised teaching system was applied in the two Madrid centres run by the IT, the one public and the other private. However, the pedagogical model evidences differences which correspond to the social class of the students as well as the socio-economic context of the schools' locations. The Father Poveda school promoted professional activities that would prepare future workers, while the private centre engaged its students in more intellectual and creative activities and prepared them for higher education. Subsequently, we believe that the technocratic discourse of the regime permeated the institutions in Madrid and served to encourage professional initiation and incorporation into the work force of working class women. Despite the iconographic evidence, certain aspects of the school program do not seem to have been represented; oral sources reveal that this school prepared women, albeit extra-officially, for the baccalaureate exam, thus promoting the access of working class women to the university. The IT's role in forming women during this era was significant and proved crucial for overcoming some of the barriers that the Regime placed in the way of women's education.

Starting at the end of the 1950s certain participative and non-directive educational models began working their way into the ideas and practices of the Catholic sector devoted to education. In this context, the importance of the personalized educational model introduced by the IT should not be underestimated, as it was this movement that the Education Ministry chose as a model for national education with its General Education Law of 1970. This era also saw the emergence of pedagogical reform movements (PRMs) comprised of educators from all different levels of education, both public and private.

The black child: «racist» depictions in Dutch secondary school history textbooks (1968-2017)

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ABSTRACT: The current article questions contemporary and historic depictions of Black people identified in Dutch secondary school history textbooks (1968-2017) and interprets to what extent these depictions shift in time. Based on multiple correspondence analysis four clusters were found and named «anti-racist», «innocuous», «Eurocentric», and «racist». The findings show that the number of «racist» depictions in text and image has increased in the last 50 years. «Eurocentric» depictions, however, have decreased. Furthermore, most images of Black people may be categorized as «racist» which is far from the ideal of racist depictions being excluded from Dutch textbooks in favor of more anti-racist depictions.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Racism; Textbooks; The Netherlands; XXth Century.

Introduction

History education has long been considered the main subject to help children develop their identity and understand their national heritage¹. Textbooks in particular play an important role in how children see themselves represented². Teachers are likely to use textbooks to teach or create the content of their

¹ M. Grever, T. Van der Vlies, *Why National Narratives are Perpetuated: A Literature Review on New Insights from History Textbook research*, «London Review of Education», vol. 15, n. 2, 2017, pp. 286-301.

² M.W. Apple, L.K. Christian-Smith, *The politics of the textbook*, New York, Routledge, 1991.

classes since textbooks remain the leading instructional tools for teaching³. Textbooks may impose notions of Eurocentrism and structures of knowledge that predominate in Western society, which frequently results in biased representations of the “Other”. When history education displays (visual) micro-aggressions, does not represent diversity, or fails to teach essential parts of history, all children may be impacted. It may, for example, affect children’s attentiveness in class, create feelings of inferiority, and affect their racial identity in a negative way⁴. The current article takes a first step to address this issue by zooming in on the depictions that “the Black child” sees of “himself or herself” in Dutch secondary school history textbooks. First, it should be mentioned that clearly “*the* Black child” does not exist. Black people are not a homogeneous group and “Black” experiences cannot be essentialized. Furthermore, “Blackness” is a complex concept: who is Black and who is not may be described by ancestry or appearance, but is foremost an issue of self-identification⁵. In this study however, “Black” will be identified by physical appearance, assuming that this corresponds with the views of the intended audiences of textbooks. This includes people who are recognized as being “from African descent” or those who are part of the African diaspora (e.g. African American, Afro-European, African-Caribbean, etc.). It also includes people of mixed (Black with non-Black) origins. For this article, people of Latino or Hispanic heritage, native Americans, Pacific Islanders, Asians (including people from the far East, Southeast Asia or the Indian subcontinent), and people whose origins lie in the Middle East or Northern Africa are considered “persons of color” and thus not regarded as “white” or “Black”.

In an effort to address how textbooks portray Black people in the Netherlands, this article will discuss in-depth to what extent depictions of Black people shift over time. The central question is: *What type of depictions of Black people can be identified in Dutch secondary school history textbooks in the period 1968-2017?*

³ However, more and more curriculum is offered through websites and television. See: M. Kleppe, *Canonieke iconofoto's*, Delft, Eburon Uitgeverij BV, 2013.

⁴ A. Allen, L.M. Scott, C.W. Lewis, *Racial Microaggressions and African American and Hispanic Students in Urban Schools: A Call for Culturally Affirming Education*, «Interdisciplinary Journal of Teaching and Learning», vol. 3, n. 2, 2013, pp. 117-129.

⁵ J.H. Stanfield II, *Epistemological Reconsiderations and New Considerations: Or What Have I Been Learning since 1993*, in J.H. Stanfield II (ed.), *Rethinking Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods*, New York, Routledge, 2011, pp. 17-18.

1. *Racism defined*

In a time when overt racism increases by the day, the discourse of tolerance is becoming less and less conventional in the Netherlands. Yet, the Dutch majority will most likely still argue that the Netherlands is a country free of racism except for a few malicious individuals perhaps⁶. Generally, references to “race” and racism are regarded to be exaggerated allegations and racism is often considered to be an American problem⁷. While discussions of racism are explicitly avoided⁸, comprehensive research on race, racism and understandings of racial inequalities is frequently hindered. Racism in the Netherlands is therefore an undocumented field⁹. However, a (growing) number of critical scholars¹⁰ have illustrated that, although subtle and often denied, racism is still very much present in Dutch society.

According to critical scholars, racism is generally defined as blatant, extreme, and intentional, and seen as visible practices of discrimination and *individual* prejudices¹¹. This definition is extremely limited as it erases institutional and structural forms of racism. Therefore, inspired by critical race theorists, who point out these structural features¹², we define racism as a social problem of unequal power relations with both an individual and a systemic aspect, a problem that changes over time:

1. Racism is individual behavior which intentionally or unintentionally subordinates, harms or humiliates racial/cultural groups or individuals on the basis of difference or perceived inferiority.
2. Racism is a complex system of hierarchies, institutional, structural and systemic marginalization, in which the dominant group benefits from privileges which are deeply rooted in society, while inherently allowing ongoing exclusion and suppression of minority racial/cultural groups or individuals.

A principal form of structural racism is «color-blind racism»¹³ which may be regarded as the dominant racial ideology in Europe and the United States

⁶ See G. Wekker, *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2016.

⁷ Z. Özdil, “Racism is an American Problem”: *Dutch Exceptionalism and its Politics of Denial*, «Frame Journal of Literary Studies», vol. 27, n. 2, 2014, pp. 29-47.

⁸ Ph. Essed, I. Hoving, *Innocence, Smug Ignorance, Resentment: An Introduction to Dutch Racism*, in Ph. Essed, I. Hoving (edd.), *Dutch Racism*, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2014, pp. 9-30.

⁹ Wekker, *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*, cit.

¹⁰ Among others: Teun van Dijk, Gloria Wekker, Philomena Essed, Melissa Weiner.

¹¹ E. Bonilla Silva, *More than Prejudice: Restatement, Reflections, and New Directions in Critical Race Theory*, «Sociology of Race and Ethnicity», vol. 1, n. 1, 2015, pp. 75-89.

¹² See Bonilla Silva, *More than Prejudice: Restatement, Reflections, and New Directions in Critical Race Theory*, cit.; M. Omi, H. Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s*, New York, Routledge, 1986.

¹³ E. Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial*

since the 1960s. Before this time “scientific” racism, the belief that science provides evidence to support racism, prevailed¹⁴. Color-blind racism does not argue biological inferiority, but instead subtle discourses of exclusion or subordination are utilized through cultural reasoning. These discourses may easily be overlooked especially now that extreme racist ideologies are more frequently expressed in both Europe and the U.S. Racism and racist ideologies, are mainly shared by what Van Dijk calls «text and talk»¹⁵ reproduced through discourses in media, politics, education, etc. Discourses thus are «the socio-cognitive basis of the social system of racism»¹⁶. Van Dijk argues that those who control mainstream discourse, namely the «symbolic elites» and «corporate elites» (e.g. textbook publishing) play a pivotal role in the reproduction of stereotypes and racism.

2. Textbook research

Race and racism in curricula have long been of great concern to scholars in the U.S.¹⁷ Particularly, history/social studies textbooks and their pedagogical implications are often studied in this context. A vast number of studies have demonstrated that race and racism are not treated as a fundamental topic in U.S. history or social sciences¹⁸. Moreover, textbooks teach students that racism can be seen as incidental acts of violence by malicious individuals, detached from institutions¹⁹. These depictions distort students’ views on structural and institutional racism. Also, Black representation in textbooks is often lacking and portray one-dimensional, biased perspectives²⁰. European studies show similar results. In Germany for example, a study by Marmer *et al.*²¹ finds that images

inequality in the United States, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006.

¹⁴ R. Miles, S. Small, *Racism and Ethnicity*, in S.D. Taylor (ed.), *Sociology: Issues and Debates*, London, Macmillan, 2000, pp. 136-153.

¹⁵ T.A. Van Dijk, *Discourse Analysis of Racism*, in Stanfield II (ed.), *Rethinking Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods*, cit., p. 43.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ See K.D. Brown, A.L. Brown, *Silenced memories: An examination of the sociocultural knowledge on race and racial violence in official school curriculum*, «Equity & Excellence in Education», vol. 43, n. 2, 2010, pp. 139-154.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* See also K.D. Brown, A.L. Brown, *Strange fruit indeed: Interrogating contemporary textbook representations of racial violence toward African Americans*, «Teachers College Record», vol. 112, n. 1, 2010, pp. 31-67.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ M.H. Romanowski, *Problems of bias in history textbooks*, «Social Education», vol. 60, n. 3, 1996, pp. 170-173.

²¹ E. Marmer *et al.*, *Racism and the image of Africa in German schools and textbooks*, «International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities and Nations», vol. 10, n. 5, 2010, p. 1.

of poverty, violence, and underdevelopment prevail when discussing “Africa” in German textbooks. The narrative is found to be Eurocentric and stereotypes about African people are visibly present (and not criticized by teachers). In Portugal, Araújo and Maeso come to comparable conclusions by focusing on Eurocentrism and racism in the *production* of historical knowledge. The authors define Eurocentrism as more than a one-sided historical discussion, namely:

Eurocentrism is a model of interpreting (past, present and future) reality that uncritically establishes the idea of Europe’s historical progress and political and ethical superiority, based on scientific rationality and the construction of the rule of law. In this sense, it is essential to debate Eurocentrism as crucial to the formation of western knowledge and a certain historical mapping of the world that unambiguously establishes which events and processes are relevant and how they are interpreted, by simultaneously *discovering* and *covering* them²².

By analyzing Portuguese history textbooks, Araújo and Maeso found that Eurocentrism was imparted through three types of narratives: 1) a narrative that places the “Other” in another timeframe than present day Europe (naturalizing the idea of hierarchy in relation to “civilization”); 2) a narrative that promotes the nation State and democracy as the ultimate form of political organization to justify colonialism; 3) a narrative that connects race and racism to certain locations and historical moments in time, focusing on extreme forms of racism.

In the Netherlands, textbook studies results are quite similar. The most comprehensive textbook research has been done by Weiner, whose main focus is the analysis of primary school history textbooks (1980-2011) in relation to, among others: trade in enslaved Africans, slavery, immigrants in the Netherlands, and racialized discourses of Africa. In short, the author concludes that Eurocentric master-narratives are used to perpetuate Dutch social amnesia of slavery and colonialism, that Afro-Dutch people and immigrants in the Netherlands are essentialized, that immigrants are seen as outsiders who cause problems for the tolerant Dutch²³, that the Dutch role of enslavement is minimized²⁴, and that Dutch “superiority” is illuminated²⁵. As shown in Weiner’s results, Dutch primary school history textbooks often contain a Eurocentric master-narrative, which influences the intended audience in terms of how to interpret history and which terminology to use²⁶.

²² M. Araújo, S. Rodríguez Maeso, *Discussion Guide: “After all, it was Europe that made the modern world”: Eurocentrism in history and its textbooks*, Coimbra, CES, 2013, p. 4.

²³ M.F. Weiner, *Curricular Alienation: Multiculturalism, Tolerance, and Immigrants in Dutch Primary School History Textbooks*, «Humanity and Society», July 3, 2017, p. 1 (<<http://journals.sagepub.com/eprint/BPIYHBKtpSUpxpsAj3YW/full>>, last access: 29.12.2017).

²⁴ M.F. Weiner, *(E)Racing Slavery: Racial Neoliberalism, Social Forgetting, and Scientific Colonialism in Dutch Primary School History Textbooks*, «Du Bois Review», vol. 11, n. 2, 2014, p. 2.

²⁵ M.F. Weiner, *The Dutchman’s Burden: Enslavement, Africa and Immigrants in Dutch Primary School History Textbooks*, «Sociologias», vol. 17, n. 40, 2015, p. 212.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

3. *Methods*

The current article will reflect on the representation of Black people in Dutch secondary school history textbooks (1968-2017). In total, 1,064 images (including caption) and 1,518 text fragments, from a textbook sample containing 200 textbooks for students' basic training²⁷, have been analyzed. The analysis of the images and texts were realized in a number of steps.

1. The aim of the study is not the analysis of all secondary school history textbooks that have been published in the years 1968-2017²⁸. It was attempted, however, to select an accurate sample of the most common and popular secondary school history textbooks. Because no comprehensive list of best-selling textbooks exists in the Netherlands the electronic retrieval sources of *Picarta* have been used. *Picarta* provides sufficient information concerning the number of editions per series. A deliberate decision was made regarding the type of textbooks, specifications of textbooks, specifications of the publishers, and the quantity of textbooks selected. Most textbooks are study books, but also activity books and teachers' guides have been chosen. An equal number of textbooks were selected for every ten years studied (N=40). The textbooks were published by fairly diverse and well-known textbook publishers and were often reprinted.
2. The textbooks were found in the Dutch Royal Library in The Hague and in the Center for Historical Culture in Rotterdam. All relevant pages were critically examined by closely looking for mentions or images of Black people, Black history, or (sub-Saharan) Africa. All relevant fragments, images or subparagraphs, were photographed and numbered.
3. Prior to the process of analysis, it was found that critical race theory (CRT) was the most useful theoretical tool²⁹ as it challenges conventional hypotheses by placing racism at the core of the study³⁰ and clarifies how "race" operates in society³¹. Assumptions made by critical race theorists are used as a starting point for analysis, for instance, the firm belief that race is a *social* construct and that racism is prevalent in Western culture, the deeply rooted

²⁷ Basic training is education for students aged around 12-15 years old: year 1-2 for vmbo and 1-3 for havo/vwo. Vmbo combines vocational training with theoretical education. Havo (which provides access to HBO) and Vwo (which provides access to universities) are the more theoretical routes of secondary education.

²⁸ In 1968, a major revision in secondary education was enforced with the *Mammoetwet*. As this moment is of enormous importance for the next 50 years of education.

²⁹ For a more comprehensive overview of how CRT is used in this study, see: M.L. Sijpenhof, *Image, Text, Discourse, and Action: A Critical Race Examination of History Textbooks*, «Historia y Memoria de la Educación», 2018 (forthcoming).

³⁰ M.C. Ledesma, D. Calderón, *Critical race theory in education: A review of past literature and a look to the future*, «Qualitative Inquiry», vol. 21, n. 3, 2015, pp. 206-222.

³¹ G. Ladson-Billings, W.F. Tate, *Toward a critical race theory of education*, «Teachers college record», vol. 97, n. 1, 1995, pp. 47-68.

structure of *white supremacy*, the normalization of racism in institutions³², and the rejection of dominant ideas concerning objectivity, color-blindness, and claims of meritocracy. Furthermore, to understand racism the intersections³³ of race and other key markers of identity such as gender, ethnicity, class, etc. are often taken into account as well³⁴. For the systematic analysis of textbooks, both CRT and discursive tactics were useful for multiple reasons: to deconstruct the content in respect to power relations, to analyze omission of knowledge, the examination of changing imagery, changing terminology, linguistic analysis, and more. Discourse analysis evaluates «more subtle mainstream forms of text and talk that are not even seen as racist by the dominant consensus»³⁵. Not only does discourse analysis facilitate the analysis of «text and talk», it also assists in the interrogation of power represented in imagery³⁶. Both in images and texts the absence of topics, arguments, critique, etc. may speak a thousand words. Discourse analysis examines structures of underlying ideologies and stereotypes, and possible interpretations of the intended audience. Also, discourse analysis evaluates who is given the opportunity to speak. At this point, CRT is very useful to further question the claims of “truth” portrayed in textbooks. Assumed claims of objectivity are challenged. CRT helps to unfold master-narratives and illuminates the importance of counter-narratives, the “voice of color” in particular. The “voice of color” is based on the idea that people of color may have experiential knowledge of racism, obtained through daily experiences³⁷. Furthermore, CRT is inherently reflexive, thus the analysis of textbooks requires an open reflection of the researcher, constantly questioning the own assumptions and blind spots.

4. To study the selected fragments, Grounded Theory data analysis is used as leading approach³⁸. A number of fragments was selected to start the process of exploration, identification and formulation of categories (open coding). First, the following context information was noted: e.g. name of the textbook, type of textbook, name of publisher, type of education, year of publishing. Followed by “objective” information, like the depiction of Black adults and children, their gender, if they are described as role models, etc. Furthermore, we described the way Black people are depicted in general, and more specifi-

³² R. Delgado, J. Stefancic, *Critical race theory: An introduction*, New York, NYU Press, 2012.

³³ Critical race theorist and legal scholar K. Crenshaw, is known for introducing «intersectionality» in 1989, a concept which was first adopted by feminist scholars and now utilized across many disciplines.

³⁴ P.H. Collins, S. Bilge, *Intersectionality*, Hoboken, John Wiley & Sons, 2016.

³⁵ Van Dijk, *Discourse Analysis of Racism*, cit., p. 48.

³⁶ G. Rose, *Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials*, London, Sage, 2016.

³⁷ Delgado, Stefancic, *Critical race theory: An introduction*, cit.

³⁸ A. Strauss, J. Corbin, *Grounded theory methodology: An overview*, in N.K. Denzin, Y.S. Lincoln (edd.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks, Sage, 1994, pp. 273-285.

cally how Black people are depicted in relation to others, most notably white people, because this is the dominant “racial group” in the Netherlands. Also, detailed descriptions of images were written, using qualitative data analysis software, Atlas.ti.

5. This was followed by axial coding of *all* fragments (N=2582), which resulted in 26 codes. Thus, a smaller (although still quite comprehensive) number of central concepts and related categories was found, moving from inductive to deductive coding. Comparisons were made between fragments, looking for similarities and differences, to find relationships between categories³⁹. The final set of axial codes could be classified as (a) «information on textbooks/fragments» (N=9)⁴⁰; (b) «objective information» (N=14)⁴¹; and (c) «information on depictions» (N=3)⁴². In relation to the construction of these variables it is important to note the following: fragments do not always reflect the beliefs of the textbook authors. Images and some texts are created by a third party. When these fragments show signs of racial hierarchy or stereotype, we first observe whether the textbook author denounces these signs or gives critical judgement.
6. All concerns and uncertainties were discussed with a fellow researcher. In addition, the second researcher randomly selected 10% of the fragments, and used the code scheme to analyze these fragments. Any disagreement was resolved between researchers with minimal discussion. In a few cases modifications were made.
7. Seven axial codes (namely: Black body: (half) naked; Black role model; Black voice; racism explicitly mentioned, opinion author, racial hierarchy, stereotype), were analyzed with multiple correspondence analysis (a program of IBM SPSS). Multiple correspondence analysis is a “new” way of analyzing images and texts to discover patterns in depictions⁴³. This quantitative procedure generated a graph with two dimensions (X- and Y-axis), in which four clusters became visible. These clusters were compared and named. With this, a typology was found to explain the empirical reality of the depiction of Black people in Dutch secondary school history textbooks.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ «Textbook title», «type of textbook», «publisher», «type of education», «level of education», «year of class», «year of publishing», «type of fragment», «edition».

⁴¹ «Black body: (half) naked», «Black voice», «racism explicitly mentioned», «Black role model», «theme», «location», «Black man/men in image», «Black woman/women in image», «Black child(ren) in image», «white man/men in image», «white woman/women in image», «white child(ren) in image», «person(s) of color in image», «terms used to describe Black people».

⁴² «Racial hierarchy», «stereotype», «author’s conveyed values», which are elaborately described Table 1.

⁴³ S. Braster, M.D.M. del Pozo Andrés, *Education and the children’s colonies in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939): the images of the community ideal*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 51, n. 4, 2015, pp. 455-477.

Table 1. Operationalization of axial codes 'author's conveyed values', 'racial hierarchy', and 'stereotypes'.

<i>'Author's conveyed values'</i>
'Justifications': When horrific situations are justified by the author, for example when imperialism is discussed as a mainly positive situation.
'Minimizing the white role / minimizing the importance of the historical issue': When the historical situation is minimized. When the white role (specifically Dutch role) is down-played. For example, when the trade in enslaved Africans is mainly blamed on African traders. When information is incorrect. When it is clear that certain relevant information is omitted.
'Neutral discussion of atrocities': When atrocities are discussed in 'neutral' fashion. For example, when slavery is discussed as (only) an economic/trade issue.
'Neutral stance': When the author tried to be as neutral as possible, only stating facts. This, however, is never truly neutral, as there is always a choice to mention something or to leave something out, also to formulate something negatively or positively. Thus, while the tone is neutral, and this will be coded as such, it should be noted that the choice of themes remains subjective.
'Critical Stance': When the author criticizes racial hierarchies or stereotypes and/or encourage students to think critically about these topics (e.g. when racism is explicitly mentioned).
'N/A': When an image or fragment is created by another author or historical figure.
<i>'Racial hierarchy'</i>
'Yes': When racial hierarchy (white(s) depicted as superior to Black(s)) is clearly visible. When it is explicitly stated that Blacks are inferior to whites (by the author or by another source without any critical comments presented as counter-argument) and/or the 'author's conveyed values' are coded as 'minimizing the white role (...)' or 'justifications (...)'. 'Probably': When racial hierarchy is present, however less explicitly, and/or the 'author's conveyed values' are coded as 'neutral discussion of atrocities'. When Black people are clearly overlooked. 'Maybe': When some racial hierarchy is present. When Eurocentrism is showcased, when slavery is discussed as an economic issue solely or when enslaved Africans are depicted as products and/or the author's conveyed values are coded as 'neutral'. 'No': When there is no racial hierarchy present. When a Black person is depicted as superior to a white person. When the author is explicitly critical. When only Black or only white people are depicted in an image. 'Undetermined': When it is unclear whether racial hierarchy is present: for example, when an image is unclear.
<i>'Stereotypes'</i>
'Yes': When stereotypes are clearly present. These stereotypes of Black people were based on literature and chosen beforehand, namely: sexualization, focus on achievements in sports, dance, and music, laziness, in need of help (or monitoring) from whites, lacking intellect, fear-inducing, physically strong, exploitable, criminal, happy-go-lucky (content to serve whites), or in imagery: when Black people's physical appearance is depicted in a stereotypical way; looking alike. When nakedness is shown to focus on explicit sexuality or physical power (undermining intellectual capacities). 'Probably': When stereotypes are present. For example, dehumanizing / animalistic representations, which may be debatable based on contextual information. 'Maybe': When stereotypes are present in a covert way. When the text displays stereotypes, but it is unclear whether the text is written by the textbook author(s) or by another source. When nakedness is shown to focus on poverty. 'No': When stereotypes are not present. Prior to coding, the choice was made not to define terms (and the equivalent imagery) like 'victimization' or 'submission' as stereotypical, even though this would be considered stereotypical in other contexts (like media). When the author is explicitly critical. When there is no mention of Black people. 'Undetermined': When it is unclear whether stereotype is present.

4. Findings

In 24% of the 200 textbooks, no mention is made of Black people, Black history, etc. In the other 76% of the textbooks, students generally encounter curriculum addressing Black history during the second (35,9%) and third year (57,1%) of basic training.

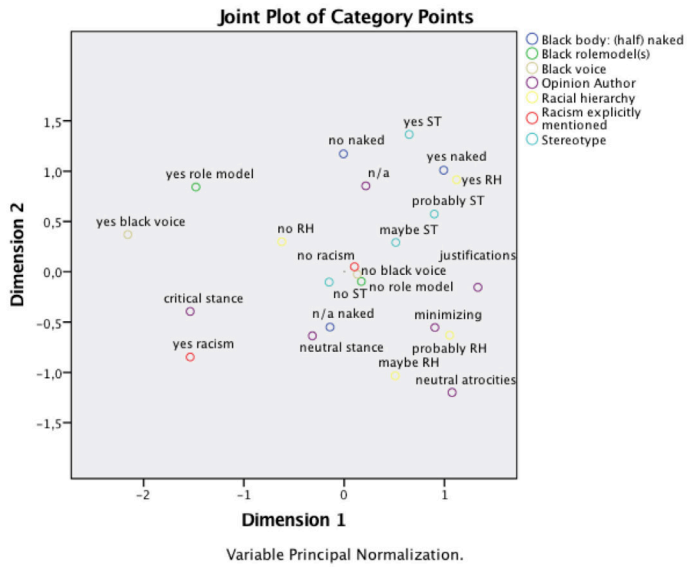
4.1. *Multiple correspondence analysis: an empirical typology of (anti-) racism*

Based on the analytical procedure multiple correspondence analysis, we have interpreted to what extent depictions of Black people shift in time and what typology can be distinguished when analyzing the sample of all fragments, both images and texts. Multiple correspondence analysis assists in determining comparable clusters. Figure 1 illustrates how all fragments are classified within a 2-dimensional plot. Figure 2 then illustrates how specific categories of variables are clustered. Based on this figure, we argue that four types of depictions can be distinguished, which we have termed «anti-racist», «innocuous», «Eurocentric», and «racist». The categories are not mutually exclusive.

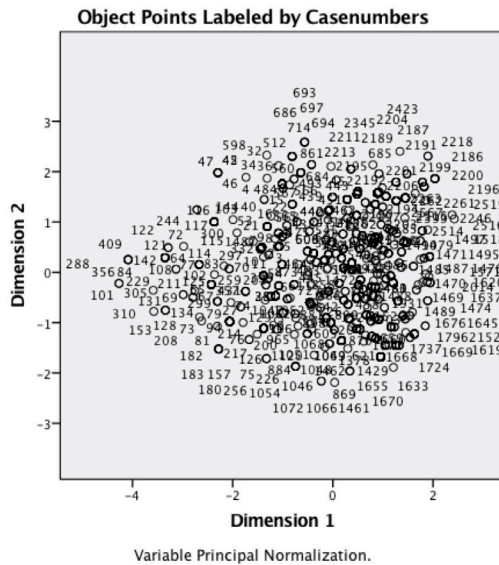
In table 2, a description of the clusters by years in categories is presented. «Innocuous» depictions are most often used, although these have slightly decreased over the years. «Eurocentric» depictions are also relatively common, and have similarly decreased over the years (with a slight increase in 2008-2017). Next, the «anti-racist» fragments, which are highest in 1988-1997, drop back in 2008-2017, indicating that textbook fragments in 1966-1977 show more signs of anti-racism than textbook fragments in 2008-2017. This corresponds with the percentages of «racist» fragments. Although these depictions are least used, they have clearly increased over the years. As we have mentioned, «Eurocentric» and «racist» depictions may overlap. Therefore, it is useful to analyze to what extent these «Eurocentric/racist» depictions (combined in one group), change over time. Here, we see that the number of these depictions remain more or less the same, because while «racist» depictions increase, «Eurocentric» depictions decrease over the years.

Next, we analyze whether additional independent variables change the perspective of the classification of fragments. In table 3 a selection of these variables is mentioned. First, in relation to the type of textbooks, activity books are 10% more «anti-racist» than study books, which fits the idea that activity books contain critical questions. In turn, 'racist' depictions are more prominent in study books. Second, the religious background of the publisher does not seem to be relevant, as only slight differences are indicated. The same can be said for the level of education. The type of fragment, however, is very relevant as we see that, text fragments are much more «anti-racist» (25% of all texts) than images (5% of all images including the captions). Text fragments, however, are more often «Eurocentric» than images (33% as opposed to 20%). The largest difference is observed in «racist» depictions: 33% of all images are categorized as «racist», while only 3% of all texts fall under this category. Again, we add that «Eurocentric» and «racist» depictions, may overlap. However, we now see that the main difference between the two categories is strongly related to the type of fragment.

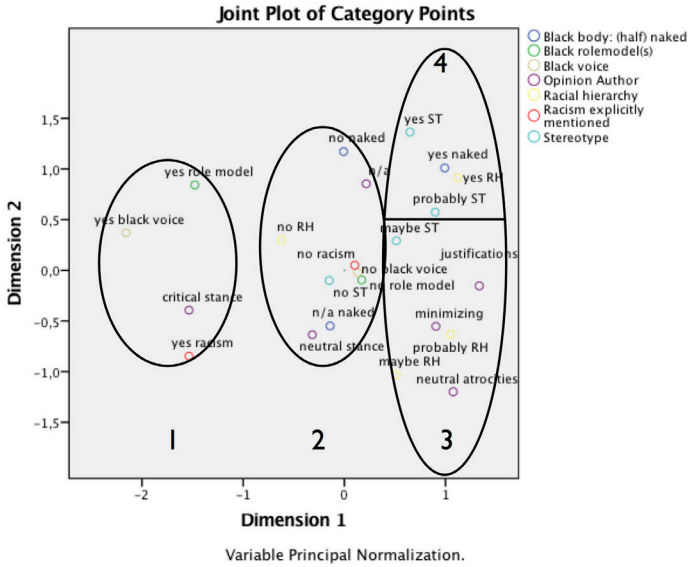
As we have observed, images and additional captions are far more «racist» and far less «anti-racist» than text fragments. Therefore, we will now focus on



Pic. 1. 2-dimensional plot labeled by fragment.



Pic. 2. 2-dimensional plot labeled by axial codes.



Pic. 3. Typology of depictions: (1) anti-racist, (2) innocuous, (3) Eurocentric, (4) racist.

the analysis of Black people in *images*. In table 4 we see how (often) Black men, Black women, and Black children are depicted (alone or in combination with other individuals). When only one Black child is depicted, the typology «Eurocentrism» more than doubles in comparison to images depicting Black children. Notably, anti-racist images depicting one Black child or Black children are barely there (only 1% of the images is «anti-racist»). Images depicting one Black woman, Black women, and Black men, paint a similar picture: the amount of «racist» depictions is much higher than the overall numbers. The most prominent difference is the depiction of one Black man. Images of one Black man are less «Eurocentric», more «innocuous», and more «anti-racist». This may be explained by the fact that a single Black male is occasionally represented as a role model. Overall the amount of «racist» depictions is relatively high, while «Eurocentric», «innocuous» and «anti-racist» depictions are relatively low compared to the overall outcomes (table 2, table 3).

Table 2. Classification of fragments (by years in categories) on the basis of anti-racist, innocuous, Eurocentric, and racist depictions

Type of depiction	Anti-racist	Innocuous	Eurocentric	Racist	Total (N=100%)
1966 - 1977 (%)	16	41	33	9	356
1978 - 1987 (%)	15	41	31	14	484
1988 - 1997 (%)	20	37	25	17	536
1998 - 2007 (%)	18	42	24	16	657
2008 - 2017 (%)	15	29	29	19	537
Number of fragments	(434)	(1024)	(714)	(398)	

Reading example: 16% of the 434 fragments, that are classified as anti-racist, are published in the period between 1966 and 1977.

N.B. Chi-square=33.097; df=12; $p=.001$; Cramer's $V=.066$; $N=2570$.

Table 3. Classification of independent variables on the basis of anti-racist, innocuous, Eurocentric, and racist depictions.

Type of depiction	Anti-racist	Innocuous	Eurocentric	Racist	Total (N=100%)
<i>Type of textbook*</i>					
Study book (%)	15	40	29	17	1970
Activity book (%)	25	42	22	11	449
Teacher/answer book (%)	20	39	34	8	163
<i>Publisher**</i>					
Catholic (%)	19	38	27	16	503
Protestant (%)	17	38	34	11	466
Public (%)	13	40	32	15	92
Public/Protestant (%)	17	41	25	17	1413
Unkown (%)	13	43	31	13	108
<i>Type of fragment***</i>					
Image (%)	5	41	20	33	1064
Text (%)	25	39	33	3	1518
<i>Publisher****</i>					
Mavo-vambo (%)	15	38	29	18	136
Mavo-vambo/havo (%)	30	50	8	12	66
Havo (%)	18	61	18	3	33
Mavo-vambo/havo/vwo (%)	17	40	27	16	623
Havo/vwo (%)	16	39	29	15	1312
Vwo (%)	19	39	26	15	412
Number of fragments	(437)	(1031)	(716)	(398)	

Reading example: 15% of all study books (N=1970) are classified as anti-racist.

N.B. *Chi-square=52.231; df=9; $p=.000$; Cramer's $V=.082$; $N=2582$. **Chi-square=24.836; df=12; $p=.016$; Cramer's $V=.057$; $N=2582$. ***Chi-square=1162.667; df=15; $p=.000$; Cramer's $V=.387$; $N=2582$. ****Chi-square=32.728; df=15; $p=.005$; Cramer's $V=.065$; $N=2582$.

4.2. Examples of the clusters

Anti-racist depictions

«Anti-racist» depictions often portray role models, explicitly mention racism, give Black people voice, and/or encourage students to think critically.

Table 4. Classification of images (depicting Black people) on the basis of anti-racist, innocuous, Eurocentric, and racist depictions.

Type of depiction	Anti-racist	Innocuous	Eurocentric	Racist	Total (N=100%)
<i>Black man/men depicted*</i>					
No Black man (%)	3	35	41	22	275
Black man (%)	11	56	5	29	262
Black men (%)	3	38	13	47	453
<i>Black woman/women depicted**</i>					
No Black woman (%)	7	42	23	28	622
Black woman (%)	2	45	9	45	141
Black women (%)	2	38	14	46	215
<i>Black child/children depicted***</i>					
No Black child (%)	7	43	21	30	741
Black child (%)	1	30	20	48	79
Black children (%)	1	44	9	47	178
Number of fragments	(51)	(565)	(143)	(569)	

Reading example: 11% of the images depicting one Black man, are classified as anti-racist.

N.B. *Chi-square=185.034; df=6; $p=.000$; Cramer's $V=.306$; N=990. **Chi-square=45.455; df=6; $p=.000$; Cramer's $V=.152$; N=978. ***Chi-square=44.549; df=6; $p=.000$; Cramer's $V=.149$; N=998.

An example of an «anti-racist» text is the inclusion of Martin Luther King's *I have a dream* speech in a number of textbooks⁴⁴. Not only is his voice heard, Dr. King is portrayed as a role model, and racism is explicitly mentioned.

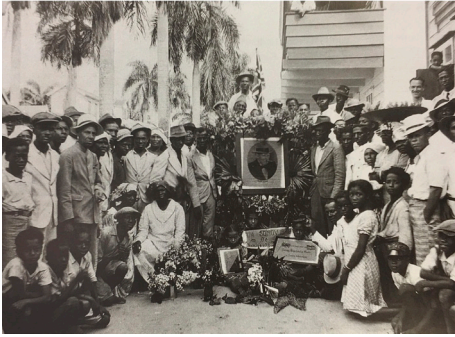
Additionally, the following images and captions, show examples of «anti-racist» depictions.

Innocuous depictions

«Innocuous» depictions are not stereotypical, do not portray racial hierarchy (instead may reflect racial harmony), and/or the author explains the information as «objective» as possible (when it is appropriate to do so). It should be noted, however, that knowledge presented in textbooks is never truly objective. Although knowledge may seem to be a classification of facts, the mere choice to include certain information and at the same time omit other information reveals that knowledge is never unbiased⁴⁵. We see this reflected in the fact that the depictions we refer to as «innocuous» do not explicitly mention racism, do not give Black people voice, and/or are not critical. However, these depictions are *structured as if* they are unbiased. Thus, «innocuous» depictions are considered to be an *apparently* inoffensive way to bring across information. An example of a «innocuous» text is:

⁴⁴ L.G. Dalhuisen *et al.*, *Sprekend Verleden 3 boek 2*, Rijswijk, Nijgh & Van Ditmar Educatief, 1987, p. 132.

⁴⁵ Romanowski, *Problems of Bias in History Textbooks*, cit.



Pic. 1. (left) «The photo, 1940, illustrates the support of the Surinamese people for the allied cause. The birthday of Churchill (portret), Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, is demonstratively celebrated in Paramaribo. Surinam (bauxite) and the Antilles (oil) were important for the Allied cause. Also in the Netherlands, the Surinamese (p. 171) [Anton de Kom] and Antilleans (George Maduro – Madurodam is named after him) took part in the resistance». (Caption by: C. Bastiaans et al., *Sprekend Verleden leerboek havo/vwo 3*, Zutphen, Walburg Pers Educatief, 2012, p. 49).

Pic. 2. (right) No caption (C. Bastiaans *et al.*, *Sprekend Verleden leerboek havo/vwo 2*, Zutphen, Walburg Pers Educatief, 2012, p. 124).

In the 1970s, Surinam became independent and approx. 200 000 Surinamese Dutch settled in the Netherlands. Also, many Antilleans came to the Netherlands⁴⁶.

Additionally, the following images and captions, illustrate which depictions we consider to be «innocuous».

Eurocentric depictions

«Eurocentric» depictions display racial hierarchy, are slightly stereotypical, and/or the author portrays horrific atrocities in a neutral fashion, or even minimizes or justifies these issues. For example, text fragments show that the treatment of Black enslaved women is depicted in a Eurocentric and sexist way, namely as the «mistresses» or «girlfriends» of enslavers, instead of using the terms “sex slaves” or “rape victims” (e.g. «white men took female slaves as their mistresses»⁴⁷; «Few white women were living in Surinam. Therefore, many white men took slaves as their housekeepers and girlfriends»⁴⁸. Authors often refer to the connection between these white enslavers (only referred to as «whites») and Black enslaved women

⁴⁶ T. Van der Geugten *et al.*, *Geschiedeniswerkplaats 2*, Groningen, Noordhoff Uitgevers, 2013, p. 117.

⁴⁷ J. Van den Berg *et al.*, *Bronnen 2 vwo*, Houten, EPN, 2003.

⁴⁸ C. Bastiaans *et al.*, *Sprekend Verleden havo/vwo 3*, Amersfoort, Thieme Meulenhoff, 2010.



Pic. 3. «Wounded soldiers in Vietnam». (Caption by: S. De Boer et al., *Indigo 3 havo/vwo*, Groningen, Wolters-Noordhoff, 2005, p. 77). Although this specific image portrays a positive depiction of race relations, Black soldiers were overrepresented in draft calls to fight in Viet Nam, disproportionately assigned to combat units and killed. As opposed to many whites, most Blacks were unable to avoid the draft. The selection of Black draftees can therefore be regarded as institutional racism. (J.E. Westheider, *Fighting on two fronts: African Americans and the Vietnam war*, New York, NYU Press, 1997).

(referred to as «slaves») as «relationships». In only one out of more than 2500 fragments, the author shortly referred to the sexual abuse enslaved Black females have undergone by white oppressors⁴⁹.

Another example is related to the fact that many text fragments minimize the issue by misrepresenting or omitting historical facts. For instance, authors argue that universal suffrage in the United States meant that «In 1870 all men were entitled to vote»⁵⁰. No comment is made about the fact that most Black men and women were not allowed to vote until 1965 after the Voting Rights Act was introduced.

Furthermore, in a large number of fragments «enslaved Africans» are presented as products, a technique used throughout all textbooks over the years, for example: «In West-Africa, gold and ivory was collected. Also, the negro slaves, who were intended to work on the plantations in America and the Caribbean»⁵¹.

Another «Eurocentric» issue is when an opinion is stated as a fact and thus is almost certainly a fact in the eyes of the intended audience. One example is the answer to the question: what is the KKK? The textbook's official answer is: «A secret American society that fought against un-American persons (negroes, Jews, Catholics) and activities»⁵². Not only is the use of past tense inappropriate, as the KKK never ceased to exist, also the fragment depicts the activities of the KKK as somewhat justified. Furthermore, the formulation used indicates that, in fact, «negroes, Jews, and Catholics» are supposedly «un-American». In another textbook, we find a similar comment: «The real American is in fact a WASP»⁵³.

Moreover, inappropriate sarcasm, which is a fine line between criticism and minimizing the issue, is also used quite often. See, for instance, the image and caption below.

The following image and caption, illustrates what a «Eurocentric» depiction may look like.

⁴⁹ H. Bulthuis et al., *Memo answers 2 vwo*, Den Bosch, Malmberg, 2015, p. 109.

⁵⁰ H. Bartelds et al., *Indigo havo/vwo 3*, Groningen, Wolters-Noordhoff, 2008, p. 135.

⁵¹ E.W. Heidt et al., *Kijk op de tijd 2*, Den Bosch, Malmberg, 1984, p. 56.

⁵² E.L.C. Kalle et al., *Podium van het verleden 2 docentenboek*, Groningen, Wolters-Noordhoff, 1978, p. 100.

⁵³ H. Ulrich et al., *Andere tijden 3hv*, Den Bosch, Malmberg, 1991, p. 111.

Racist depictions

«Racist» depictions are stereotypical, portray explicit racial hierarchy, and/or often portray Black people without clothing. Racist texts, for example, repeatedly refer to the stereotype and racist notion that Black people are physically strong (e.g. «Slaves are only suitable for simple work on plantations»⁵⁴; «A philanthropic cleric, Las Casas, suggested to bring the strong negroes from Africa to work and prevent the fall of the Indians»⁵⁵).

Many other stereotypical depictions are present in the fragments. In one of the textbooks, we find a paragraph titled «Black racism»⁵⁶, in which many of these stereotypical views become clear. The fragment is as follows:

In February 1965 Malcolm X was assassinated by black gunmen. At that moment, he had achieved almost nothing. His death, however, made him a martyr. His appeal showed the animosity of many blacks, even during the collaboration between white and black in the early sixties. [...] Many Northern white girls were shocked by the sexual aggression of their black fellow activists. Others were unpleasantly surprised by, what they call, ignorance and laziness of the blacks in the South⁵⁷.

The following images (in combination with the captions), illustrate «racist» depictions.



Pic. 4. «A Chinese with his Creole wife in Suriname, approx. 1900». (Caption by: R. Boonstra, C. Van der Heijden, R. De Kreek, I. Van Manen, *Feniks leesboek 3 vwo*, Amersfoort, ThiemeMeulenhoff, 2017, p. 158).

⁵⁴ D.J. Van Hennik *et al.*, *Merlijn 2 handleiding*, Leiden, Spruyt, Van Mantgem & De Does, 1985, p. 145.

⁵⁵ M.B. Van der Hoeven, R. Reinsma, *Fundamenten en Mijlpalen 1*, Amsterdam, Meulenhoff, 1967, p. 116.

⁵⁶ It is unclear whether this paragraph is written by the textbook authors or another writer. But, even if the fragment is written by a third party, no critical note is provided by the authors.

⁵⁷ L. Mulder, A. Doedens, *Beeld van de twintigste eeuw*, Apeldoorn, Van Walraven bv, 1986, p. 250.



Pic. 5. «A cozy night out for the KKK. When they burned wooden crosses, the gentlemen were less pleasant». (Caption by: C. Offringa, *Speurtocht door de eeuwen*, Groningen, Wolters Noordhoff, 1973, p. 83).

Individuals

Do we see specific categories of persons that seem to be depicted often? Based on a cluster analysis in SPSS, 12 groups were combined, using all images depicting individuals or groups. The images were first coded numerically. The hierarchical cluster analysis then illustrates which categories or units significantly coincide.

The most common cluster contains images of Black men. We also see that Black children are often portrayed without adult presence. Black women are not often depicted by themselves. Missing from the cluster analysis are one Black man and one white woman or one white man with one Black woman. Also missing are white children (white women *are* portrayed with a single Black man, but always in combination with white men). This indicates that very few (interracial) relationships or connections between white women,

white children and Black people are portrayed.

In total 254 white individuals (of which 21 women) and 144 Black individuals (of which 18 women) are mentioned by name. Only 18 persons of color (0 women) are mentioned. This is interesting as it indicates that when discussing “Black history”, textbook authors put more focus on white individuals than Black individuals (e.g. the discussed abolitionists are almost exclusively white). Furthermore, people of color have a very small role in the master-narratives of these histories, illustrating that students are taught to think in a “Black-white binary”. The discussed individuals show differences in roles and “historical importance”, illustrated in Table 6.

This figure illustrates that the history textbook fragments are profoundly white male oriented. This is nothing new. It is interesting, however, to question: who are the depicted (Black and white) women? And how are they different from (Black and white) men? Black males are mostly politicians (184 mentions), Civil rights activists (43 mentions), and writers/painters (41 mentions). White males are also mostly politicians (246 mentions), writers/painters (94 mentions), and “explorers” (58 mentions). On first sight, no striking differences between Black and white men are observed. However, the portrayals of these men are clearly different (e.g. Black



Pic. 6. «Queen Victoria (1819-1901) gives a bible to an African king (painting made by Thomas Jones Barker approx. 1861)». (Caption by: L.G. Dalhuisen *et al.*, *Sprekend Verleden 3*, Rijswijk, Nijgh & Van Ditmar Educatief, 1991, p. 126).

politicians are often depicted as corrupt). Among women, the difference is more prominent. Although the total number of mentions is very limited, Black women are most often enslaved Africans (9 mentions), followed by one abolitionist (5 mentions), and wife/daughters of famous Black men (4 mentions). White women, on the other hand are mostly mentioned as writers (29 mentions), royalty (14 mentions), and actresses (4 mentions).

Black role models

In 10% of all fragments, Black individuals are depicted as role models⁵⁸. When we divide these fragments in years, we could argue that some progress is made: while in 1966-1977, 7.9% of all fragments contained a Black role model, this was 12,3% in 2008-2017. The location of these role models has

⁵⁸ Role models are persons whose behaviors, characters, skills, or successes are demonstrated as examples to emulate or look up to. Some individuals, who we (or others) may consider to be role models, are not mentioned as positive figures by the textbook authors. In these cases, the fragments are coded as «no role model depicted».

Table 5. Hierarchical cluster analysis of individuals in images.

Cluster	Individuals	N
1	Black men	178
2	No individuals	152
3	Black children	85
4	Black men + white men	85
5	Black men + Black women + Black children + white men	64
6	Black man + white men + white women	63
7	Black men + Black women + Black children	58
8	Black man + white men	56
9	Black man + white man + persons of color	52
10	Black men + Black women + white men	50
11	Black men + Black women	45
12	Black women + white man	40

Table 6. Top mentions of male and female individuals.

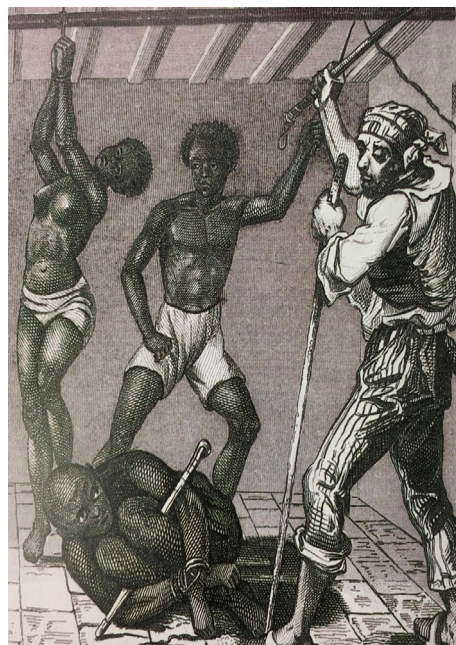
Top 3	Individuals	Number of times mentioned
	<i>Black men</i>	
1	Martin Luther King	25
2	Patrice Lumumba	21
3	Desi Bouterse / Nelson Mandela	14
	<i>Black women</i>	
1	Joanna	6
2	Harriet Tubman	5
3	Millie Evans	3
	<i>White men</i>	
1	Henry Stanley	28
2	Leopold II	26
3	Abraham Lincoln	25
	<i>White women</i>	
1	Harriet Beecher Stowe	23
2	Queen Victoria	6
3	Margaret Mitchell/ Queen Wilhelmina	3
	<i>Individuals of color</i>	
1	Jagernath Lachmon/ Mahatma Gandhi	7
2	Cyrill Daal	5
3	Tupax Amaru	3

changed over the years (especially in relation to South-Africa: in 1966-1977 one Black South-African role model is mentioned, while 11 mentions were made in 2008-2017). Most Black role models are American (with 11 mentions in 1966-1977 up to 28 mentions in 2008-2017). For Dutch textbooks, focusing largely on Dutch/European history, it is interesting to note that very few Dutch or European Black role models are mentioned (e.g. zero mentions of Dutch Black role models in 1966-1997).

Explicit discussions of racism

In the selection of fragments, racism is not discussed as a crucial historical theme. The fragments show essentialized depictions of Black people, viewing race as a biological rather than a social construct. Racism has been defined in very few textbooks. None of these definitions resembles the definition we hold in this article (or the definition used by critical race scholars in general).

The definitions are narrow, simplistic and/or focus on individual racist “acts” (e.g. «Racism is the attribution of personality traits to racial features»⁵⁹). However, generally, the term «racism» is barely utilized. Authors tend to prefer euphemisms, for instance, «discrimination», «racial discrimination», «negro problem»⁶⁰ (linguistically framing Black people as the problem), «race problem»⁶¹, «racial inequality», or do not mention any related term to refer to the problem of racism: «There was no work and certainly not for Surinamese»⁶². With this the undesirable situation arises, that students are persuaded into viewing the “Other” as the problem. In the cases where «racism» is explicitly



Pic. 7. «Disobedient slaves were strictly punished, often on the ‘Spaanse bok’. The hands were tied, then the knees were distorted. Next, a stick was stuck behind the knees and the brute began to hit the curved back». (Caption by: B. Beenackers-Heeren *et al.*, *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 1*, Groningen, Wolters-Noordhoff, 1994, p. 217).

⁵⁹ B. Van Wakeren, H. Van Galen Last, *Kroniek 3*, Groningen, Wolters-Noordhoff, 1974, p. 109.

⁶⁰ Mulder, Doedens, *Beeld van de twintigste eeuw*, cit., p. 279.

⁶¹ A.B. Ceulaert, O. Feitsma, *Kleio voor vwo en havo 2*, Zeist, NIB, 1972a, p. 65; Mulder, Doedens, *Beeld van de twintigste eeuw*, cit., p. 279.

⁶² J. De Jong *et al.*, *Merlijn 3*, Leiden, Spruyt, Van Mantgem & De Does, 1985, p. 204.



Pic. 8. «Black Pete is said to be proof of racism. However, Saint Nicholas and Pete both come from the Germanic-Christian Middel Ages. The Saint is Christian and Black Pete, the son of the Germanic God Wodan, looked through the chimneys to check whether people offered sacrifices to Wodan. In addition, he became Black from the soot». (Caption by: C. Bastiaans et al., *Sprekend Verleden leerboek havo/vwo 2*, Zutphen, Walburg Pers Educatief, 2012, p. 114).

mentioned, the underlying discomfort or denial is clearly present. One text fragment illustrates that the authors believe that the discussion of racism is a “dangerous topic”, controversial, as it will take up much time. In the teacher’s guide, they argue:

If the subject “history” should contribute to breaking down prejudices and help to create a more humane and tolerant society, then this is the opportunity to do so. Moreover, this is probably a dangerous subject as well, which may lead to lengthy discussions⁶³.

In other texts, denial is present in the fact that authors explicitly mention racism in relation to so-called «reverse racism», which illustrates that the master-narrative is a one-dimensional discourse and racism is not “Our” problem. Several examples show that while the term «racism» is not mentioned when discussing topics clearly related to racism, like Apartheid or legal segregation, it is discussed in relation to the assumed «racism» of Malcolm X⁶⁴,

⁶³ J. De Jong *et al.*, *Merlijn handleiding 3*, Leiden, Spruyt, Van Mantgem & De Does, 1986, p. 41.

⁶⁴ Mulder, Doedens, *Beeld van de twintigste eeuw*, cit., p. 250.

the Black Panthers⁶⁵, etc. Thus, authors deploy semantic reversals of blame. Another indication, is the fact that racism is most particularly mentioned by Black people themselves⁶⁶, which is illustrated in figure 3, showing that within the first cluster «anti-racism», «black voice» and «racism, explicitly mentioned» are significantly compatible. In the same light, we see that when less emphasis is put on the negatives of white people, the term «racism» is used with more ease (e.g. in referral to human rights organizations fighting against racism)⁶⁷. However, a (small) number of authors do take up a paragraph on stereotypes in their textbooks, often illustrated by using stereotypical imagery of “scientific racism” and asking students to critically examine the content. Out of all fragments related to «racism/discrimination», 27% was related to Dutch contexts, while 73% of the fragments mentioned racism/discrimination in other countries, mostly in the U.S.

Terminology

The uneasiness to talk “race and racism” in the Netherlands becomes clear by the reserves textbook authors show in their discussion of racism, but is also clear when observing the appointment of someone’s racial background and skin color through specific terms. The word *blank*, which can be translated to white (but also: clean, fair, colorless, etc.) is a normative, positive term that is almost exclusively used in the fragments to refer to white people. To refer to Black people, the term *neger* is often used, which contains obvious normative connotations, namely negative overtones of inferiority. The terms *wit* (white) and *zwart*, (Black) are political concepts⁶⁸. *Wit* is not used in any fragment of the textbook sample. *Black*, on the other hand, is utilized quite often. Black, however, is not often used as a political term, but as a direct reference to the darkness of someone’s skin color.

Black people are referred to in the following ways: «Black» (13.6%), «negro/negress» (10.9%), By nation/continent (e.g. «African») (9.6%), and other, like «Creole», «Maroons», «bush negro’s», etc. (5%). In a few cases, the N-word is used (0.2%). Also, in 11,6% of the fragments, authors use the term «slaves» to refer to enslaved Africans (no additional term to clarify “race” is thought to be needed). In all other cases (N=52.5%), Black people are not mentioned at all. Terminology significantly changes over the years, the biggest change has been the

⁶⁵ H. Bartman, A. Schulp, *Levende geschiedenis docentenhandleiding 3*, Amsterdam, Meulenhoff Educatief, 1995, p. 102.

⁶⁶ Mulder, Doedens, *Beeld van de twintigste eeuw*, cit., p. 324.

⁶⁷ A. Van Hooff et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 2*, Groningen, Wolters-Noordhoff, 1995, p. 97.

⁶⁸ Wekker, *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*, cit.

use of the term «negro/negress», which in 1966-1978 was used in 27,8% of the cases, while in 2008-2017 it was used in 2.6% of the cases. Instead, Black people are now referred to by nation and/or the term ‘slaves’ and ‘black’ are used more often. Moreover, «slaves» (instead of «enslaved Africans») remains the preferred term in the selected textbooks. Over the last couple of years, this term has been criticized, as it gives the impression that the individual in question was naturally a “slave”.

4.3. *Final observations*

Finally, three additional observations can be made. First, Black people are clearly discussed in a thematically compartmentalized manner. This means that in many histories no mention is made of Black people or Black history, even when it is clearly relevant. In relation to the current Dutch context, the compartmentalization is especially striking as Black people are exclusively mentioned in the paragraphs about “integration”⁶⁹. For instance, «In AS 4 a major problem will be discussed, namely the Netherlands and its many foreigners»⁷⁰. Second, the use of “the passive voice” is extremely common when discussing atrocities performed by whites. Apparently, it is not important to mention who is performing the action. For example, «During actions dozens of people died; thousands were put in prison»⁷¹ (when discussing Black protests in South Africa and the violent actions by white police officers). Another example, which is representative for many other fragments, is the sentence «Millions of Africans arrived in the plantation areas»⁷². The third comment refers to the general omission of information in the selection of textbooks. Black people are not (or barely) mentioned in relation to a large number of relevant topics⁷³, histories are minimized (or normalized)⁷⁴, Black people are given a lot less opportunity to “speak” than white people, and are sometimes literally whitewashed (for instance, the three Kings depicted as white men)⁷⁵.

⁶⁹ The same conclusion has been made by Weiner, *Curricular Alienation: Multiculturalism, Tolerance, and Immigrants in Dutch Primary School History Textbooks*, cit. The term «compartmentalization» in relation to textbooks is borrowed from this article.

⁷⁰ J. De Jong *et al.*, *Merlijn handleiding 3*, Leiden, Spruyt, Van Mantgem & De Does, 1986, p. 37.

⁷¹ Mulder, Doedens, *Beeld van de twintigste eeuw*, cit., p. 202.

⁷² Bastiaans *et al.*, *Sprekend Verleden havo/vwo 3*, cit., p. 5.

⁷³ E.g. World War I and II; the Great Trek; African nationalistic efforts, e.g. Cape Verde, the looting of Africans in areas other than West-Africa, enslaved Africans in New Amsterdam, forced labor during imperialism, the slaughter of the Herero people, etc.

⁷⁴ E.g. the normalization of slavery by putting focus on the role of African enslavers.

⁷⁵ Van der Hoeven, Reinsma, *Fundamenten en Mijlpalen 1*, cit., p. 96.

Overall, these observations indicate a strong focus on “Us” and “Them”. Thus, the observations can be seen as polarized racist representations in the discourse, based on the «ideological square» of Van Dijk: «1. Emphasize Our good things; 2. Emphasize Their bad things; 3. Deemphasize Our Bad things; 4. Deemphasize Their good things»⁷⁶.

Conclusions

In conclusion, we find that «innocuous» depictions are most often used, followed by «Eurocentric» depictions, «anti-racist» fragments, and «racist» fragments. Over the years, «anti-racist» depictions have increased, only to decrease in recent years. «Innocuous» and «Eurocentric» fragments have decreased. However, racist depictions have increased over the past 50 years. Furthermore, images are far more «racist» and far less «anti-racist» than text fragments because the images of the sample are predominantly images of Black people that can largely be categorized as «racist». At the same time, «anti-racist» depictions of Black people are fairly rare. Also, relatively few Black role models are present in the textbooks and those who are mentioned, are commonly American. Also, Black female role models are lacking. Black women are most often portrayed as enslaved Africans. Moreover, much like other textbook research, we found that authors tend to make use of linguistics to minimize, justify, distort, whitewash, and neutralize (Black) history. Thus, derogating the “Others”, while at the same time presenting the “Us” in a positive manner. This manipulative polarizing strategy is utilized quite often: not all textbooks do this *all* the time, however, *all* textbooks do this a good amount of the time. Other techniques, like metaphors, exaggerations, euphemism, sarcasm, passive voice, and compartmentalization are used as well. Furthermore, racism is not treated as an essential or holistic subject of history and a simplistic definition of racism is present (if present at all). Textbooks, thus, cease to teach students how to understand “contemporary” (and local) racial inequalities. Also, the consequences of enslavement on present day inequalities and ideologies are negated. In addition, the master-narrative is one-dimensional and counter-narratives are barely there. Overall, we see that while historians should maintain *critical* distance⁷⁷, the empirical reality illustrates that even though (most) fragments are factually correct, selective values are perpetuated. Textbooks follow color-blind rhetoric, without critically analyzing race, and thus reinforcing racism. In conclusion, the ideal situation, in which «Eurocentric» or «racist» depictions are excluded from textbooks, while «anti-racist» and

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁷⁷ E.g. Grever, T. Van der Vlies, *Why National Narratives are Perpetuated: A Literature Review on New Insights from History Textbook research*, cit. p. 287.

«innocuous» depictions are included, has not been realized over the years. In a time, when more attention is paid to the histories we teach students and a louder call is heard for more inclusive history teaching, clearly more attention needs to be paid to how we address these histories. Finally, the importance of representation (either through role models or Black voice) cannot be disregarded in the matter.

Identities are complex. Individuals can be perceived members of multiple groups and have diverse socially constructed identities at the same time. The relationship between inequality, power, and social context are complex as well⁷⁸. Thus, to understand how one particular racial group experiences racism in textbooks is perhaps not feasible, because the perceived members of these groups, “belong” to other groups as well⁷⁹. However, generally, we may acknowledge that students’ identities can be formed or changed when constantly confronted with similar influential (racist, Eurocentric, sexist, etc.) discourses and implicit messages that are normalized in educational contexts⁸⁰. We recognize that perceptions are not a linear process, as other agents of socialization (like family, peers, media, etc.) play a significant role in the way students develop their identities. Therefore, it remains important to identify which master-narratives are told in varying social contexts and to actively retrieve additional counter-narratives, keeping in mind the interactions between overlapping identities.

Finally, we cannot assume that the content of textbooks is actually taught by teachers⁸¹. Simultaneously, the intended audience may misinterpret or reject the content. For that reason, further research will not only focus on *how* teachers have used the textbooks but also concentrate on the reception by (former) students, through (oral history) interviews and analyze the impact of textbooks’ master-narratives on their self-perceived identities. In forthcoming research, experiences with textbooks and the self-perceived racial identities within the complexity of multiple identities will be analyzed.

⁷⁸ Collins, Bilge, *Intersectionality*, cit.

⁷⁹ D. Gillborn, *Intersectionality, critical race theory, and the primacy of racism: Race, class, gender, and disability in education*, «Qualitative Inquiry», vol. 21, n. 3, 2015, p. 278.

⁸⁰ A. Allen et al., *School as Conduits of Racism: How Mind-sets, Policies, and Practices Impact Historically Marginalized Students*, in L.D. Drakeford (ed.), *The Race Controversy in American Education*, Santa Barbara, Paeger, 2015, pp. 69-91.

⁸¹ Crawford, *The Role and Purpose of Textbooks*, cit.

*Essays and
Researches*



Saggi e
Ricerche

Johann Funger's pedagogy in the context of northern humanism

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ABSTRACT: Johannes Fungerius or Johann Funger (1546-1612) was a humanist from Frisia, a region in the north of the Netherlands. He studied at the Collegium Trilingue, Leuven and in Cologne. He was a doctor of both (civil and canon) laws, but especially, a teacher at the Latin Grammar Schools in his native Frisia. He was an admirer of Cicero, Seneca and Quintilian, disciple of Agricola and Erasmus, Melanchthon and Calvin. He is the author of 16 works, most of which were on philology and were published in the Netherlands, France, Germany and Italy. This paper analyzes a pedagogical treatise: *De puerorum disciplina et recta educatione liber* [Book on the Discipline and Right Education of Young Boys, 1584] published by Plantin Press, Antwerp.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Humanism; Educational literature; History of education; Netherlands, XVIth Century.

1. *Humanism and Humanisms*

Every cultural movement in some way asks, who is man, what is his origin, his goal, and the means to achieve it. Changes in civilizations can be more or less profound depending essentially on the anthropological model that supports them.

Historical, social and economic contexts influence these changes, but they do not fully explain the causes, the whys, the correlations. This premise can be applied to the new *ethos*, which, from *Trecento* in Italy itself, spread across

the European continent and bore different fruits in the north and south of the continent, linking humanism with the Protestant and Catholic Reformations¹.

Initially, the Renaissance humanist was not so interested in the grand logical, metaphysical and theological worldviews of the medieval scholars, who were not ignored, as in the focus on a more specific, experimental, inner and personal culture. In contrast to the medieval scholars, the humanists moved towards a literary, rhetorical, philosophical and ethical culture. An interpretation of the world with man placed at the centre and converts him, through a solid philological and moral education, into a new demiurge, protagonist and creator of history².

Italy was the cultural motor, an added value to its commercial and geostrategic power. Its humanists saw themselves as custodians of classical knowledge: from the patrons, the academies, universities and printing presses a new way of thinking, speaking and writing was disseminated. Moreover, books and bibliophilia were vehicles of education for improving the human being. Many classical works were revived, criticism of biblical and secular texts, moral philosophy, pedagogical and political policies were developed³. Intellectuals from half of Europe were educated or worked in this environment⁴.

What are the general characteristics that define the humanist? The humanist wrote with precision and elegance in Latin, the common language of the literary and Christian republic. He knew some Greek and Hebrew, languages in which the most sublime truths had been written, possessed rhetorical and oratorical skills, endeavoured to extend his knowledge in other areas and foster relations with kings, ministers, nobles and the bourgeoisie, was interested in history and was an opinion maker, famous for his work⁵.

During the European Renaissance, great interest in matters concerning oral and written texts guided by ancient Greco-Roman models was aroused. However, the humanistic paradigm also found roots in the Christian tradition; the Muses that taught moral principles, and this was perceived as a complement to Christian piety even though the relevance of anthropocentrism, as opposed to medieval theocentrism, was emphasized.

It was established that elements of the Judeo-Christian culture were aligned with *studia humanitatis*, for two fundamental reasons: not only did it seek

¹ M.A. Galino, *Humanidades, humanismos y humanismo pedagógico*, «Educación XXI. Revista de la Facultad de Educación», vol. 1, 1998, pp. 15-21.

² F. Rico, *El sueño del Humanismo: de Petrarca a Erasmo*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2014, pp. 25-33 and J. Vergara Ciordia, *Las obras pedagógicas del humanismo erasmista*, in *Fuentes Documentales: Revolución en el Humanismo cristiano: La edición de Erasmo del Nuevo Testamento (1516)*, Salamanca, Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2016, p. 254.

³ Th. Haye, *Humanismus im Norden: frühneuzeitliche Rezeption Antiker Kultur und Literatur an Nord-und Ostsee (1465-1650)*, Amsterdam, Chloë, 2000, p. 367.

⁴ Rico, *El sueño del Humanismo: de Petrarca a Erasmo*, cit., pp. 25-33 and 72-85.

⁵ A. Alvar Ezquerro, *Juan López de Hoyos y la enseñanza humanista. Un maestro en tiempos de Felipe II*, Madrid, La Esfera de los libros, 2014, pp. 29-32.

linguistic precision to emulate the major classical models, freeing Latin from medieval corruption, but it also meant that Greco-Roman ethics coincided with the Christian message on several fronts⁶.

Nevertheless, humanism is geographically heterogeneous: in Italy, the affirmation of man is linked to the dominance of the spoken word and ethics in search of a civic revival. At the same time in Spain, there were two fundamental differences: the Kingdom of Castille linked Greco-Roman elements with the strong heritage of the Semitic cultures for biblical studies and the Kingdom of Aragon was Italianate in nature.

Northern European or transalpine humanism placed special emphasis on themes related to religion and personal piety; it has its own characteristics; an anthropological model based on the *inner man* who seeks a direct relation with God without intermediaries; the assimilation of Greco-Roman culture through Latin influence from a linguistic and ethical viewpoint; scholars' notable interest in Hebrew and Greek for biblical studies; the development of educational policies and reform proposals for *studia humanitatis* and university education; abundance of literature on civic education and pacifism; finally, criticism and the subsequent intellectual and theological controversies.

2. *Johann Funger: biographical data and historical-pedagogical context*

Johann Funger is a relatively unknown writer in the Netherlands and is almost completely ignored in the rest of Europe, perhaps because he belongs to one of the most thriving generations of northern humanism, which brings together the philological, historical, ethical and hermeneutical dimensions of the culture with a new way of understanding life⁷.

Northern humanism is a late phenomenon; it did not reach the university and other intellectual environments until the sixteenth century. Erasmus himself complained that in his native land there were few men of letters: *mediocriter eruditorum nusquam gentium numerus*⁸. However, since the XV century, pupils and teachers north of the Alps, after studying and working in Italy, returned home to teach. In Italy, they preferred to explore the ethics of the classics while in the north of Europe, they felt that studying the classics was not enough, but rather Christian truths rooted in the Bible and the Church

⁶ E. Garin, *La educación en Europa 1400-1600. Programas y problemas*, Barcelona, Crítica, 1987.

⁷ For an overview of humanism in the Netherlands, see, A.J. Akkerman, A.J. Vanderjagt, A.H. Van der Laan, *Northern Humanism in European Context, 1469-1625*, Leiden, Brill, 1999.

⁸ E. Roterodami, *Adagia Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi, Recognita et Adnotatione Critica Instructa Notisque Illustrata*, 2 vols., Basel, Froben, 1538-1540, Col. 3535 and P.G. Bientenholz, (ed.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, Toronto, Toronto University Press, 1986.

Fathers were necessary⁹. On the other hand, northern pedagogical humanism placed particular emphasis on an anthropological and theological model based on the individual, who sought direct access to God, without ecclesiastical or sacramental mediation: man is totally corrupt through original sin and his freedom is the slavery of sin¹⁰. The alternative is a fiducial faith (Lutheranism) or the confidence of being among God's chosen (Calvinism) and, in educational practice, this means teaching effort and duty from strong stoic and epicurean roots¹¹.

Very little is known about Johann Funger. He was born in 1546, the same year as the death of Luther in Leeuwarden, the capital of Frisia (the Netherlands) and he died in 1612 in Franeker, a town nearby. His parents were Calvinists of moderate disposition. He got his Christian name from his father, who was the director of the Grammar School in his hometown¹².

His education at home certainly made a mark on his love for the classics. On completion of preparatory school, in 1562 he married Lucrecia, daughter of Wybrand van Hallum, a Latin philologist and director of the Leeuwarden Grammar School¹³.

After preparatory school, possibly at his father's school, Johann Funger studied philology, philosophy, medicine; civil and cannon law, obtaining the title of doctor. It is known that he was a student at two Catholic universities, Leuven (Collegium Trilingue) and Cologne¹⁴. However, the oldest and most reliable information on the life of Johann Funger is found in a work by Walter Driessens, his contemporary and rector at the Catholic University of Leuven¹⁵. In his work, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, he states:

⁹ G.E. Gutek, *A history of Western Educational Experience*, Illinois, Waveland Press, 1994, p. 126.

¹⁰ L.F. Mateo Seco, *Martín Lutero: sobre la libertad esclava*, Madrid, EMESA, 1978, pp. 15-17.

¹¹ Vergara Ciordia, *Las obras pedagógicas del humanismo erasmista*, cit., pp. 5-16.

¹² For grammar schools during humanism, see J.L. Paradinas Fuentes, *Humanismo y educación en el Dictatum Christianum de Benito Arias Montano*, Facultad de Educación, Madrid, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2001, pp. 154-156.

¹³ P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, 4 vols., Leiden, A.W. Sijthoff, 1918, vol. 4, p. 625.

¹⁴ According to information from *Digital Wetenschaphistorisch Centrum* (Digital Web Centre for the History of Science in the Low Countries). Another more complete and reliable source currently is *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Neerderlanse Letteren* (The Digital Library of Dutch Literature) that gathers his published biographical data by A.J. van der Aa *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, Haarlem, van Harderwijk-Schotel, 1852-1878 vol. 6, p. 272 and Molhuysen, Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandschbiografisch woordenboek*, cit., vol. 4, p. 624, respectively.

¹⁵ Valerius Andreas Desselius (Walter Driessens), a humanist, was born in Desschel (Brabant, now Belgium) in 1588 and died in Leuven. He studied in Antwerp under the Jesuit Andreas Schottus (André Schott) (1552-1629). In 1611, he began to teach Hebrew at the Collegium Trilingue, Leuven University where Funger had studied. In 1636, Driessens was appointed director of the library, and rector of the university between 1644 and 1649. F. Pijper, *Het Humanisme. Drietaligecollege te Leuven, datdooreenlefaat van Bussleidenvoor de Romeinscherijknogstond. De schrguershebben schoolgegaan op de beste*, *Dutch Review of Church History*, 1920, vol. 13, pp. 113-137.

¹⁶ Funger also travelled to other cities such as Antwerp and Leiden (Low Countries), Frankfurt (Germany) and Lyon (France), where his major works were published. However, taking into account the information provided, his extensive Latin work and its theme, he is recorded in history as a humanist, although he occasionally practised law because we know that he registered in the corporation of lawyers in Frisia on 11 March 1579¹⁷.

In 1584, he returned to Frisia and was appointed director of the Bolsward Grammar School. Four years later, Funger became director of Leeuwarden Grammar School in his hometown, and between 1607 and 1612, director of Franeker Grammar School, where a university had existed since 1574. He was an avid bibliophile and throughout his life accumulated a personal library of 1200 books¹⁸. He died at his last professional destination at the age of 66.

Johann Funger lived in a period of burgeoning northern European humanism. He spent practically all of his life studying, teaching and writing. He is the author of 16 books, most of which are on philological inquiry, but he also wrote a trilingual etymological compendium, books on ethics, patriotic odes and poems¹⁹.

On the whole, they are humanistic in nature in the sense that they bridge classical culture and that of the times he was living in, using especially Latin as an instrument. The work that is of interest in this paper is a pedagogical treatise on his first book: *De puerorum disciplina et recta educatione liber* [Book on the Discipline and Right Education of Young Boys, 1584]. It was published by Plantin Press in Antwerp and was re-edited in Leiden by his son-in-law Francisco van Ravelingen in 1586, to form part of his humanistic work and pedagogical professional activity. Like the rest of his writings, *De puerorum* is part of a whole, whose author is a man of letters, dedicated to teaching, a book lover and a teacher of Latin studies.

Johann Funger lived and worked as consummate intellectual in the second half of the XVI century, but other Frisians before him had sown his homeland with humanistic seeds. As is customary, valuable works grow in fertile soil,

¹⁶ V.A. Desselius, *Fasti Academici Studii Generalis Lovainensis*, Lovainii, Ioannem Oliverium & Cornelius Coenesteyn, 1635, p. 503. The original Latin text is: «Iohannes Funguerius. Leovardensis Frisius, puer Lovanii ingenii fructum cepit: post obitas deinde Germaniae Galliaeque Academias, sumptamque supremam Juris lauream, in patriam redux, Leovardensis Schola Rector fuit». Unless stated otherwise, the translation of the Latin texts belongs to the author.

¹⁷ *Advocaten bij het provinciaal gerechts. Hof van Friesland: chronologische en alfabetische naamlijst 1577-1849*, Leeuwarden, Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland, 1995.

¹⁸ *Veilingcatalogus bibliotheek Johannes Fungeri*, 1613 (Library auction catalogue on Johann Funger) The year after Johann Funger's death, his extensive library was auctioned in Leiden. The National Library of Denmark has a copy of the original catalogue. The scholar M.H. Engels has published a database based on this catalogue. It can be accessed online at <<http://mpaginae.atwebpages.com/>> (last access: 27.02.2017).

¹⁹ It was no easy task to obtain a complete list of Funger's works given that there are discrepancies among the sources consulted. By cross-referencing data from the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (The Royal Library, The Hague), Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL) (Digital Library for Dutch Literature), and WorldCat and Googlebooks browsers, 16 works were found.

including the remote Frisia, unfairly considered a place with few educated people²⁰.

Funger was a witness to the birth of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands (1579-1581), which meant political and religious division of Flanders between the catholic south, origin of current Belgium under Spanish influence, and the north, embryo of the current Netherlands, which was officially Calvinist, with Lutheran, Anabaptist and Catholic minorities. Political and economic interests were linked to religious divisions, alternating stages of war, open repression on both sides and tolerance²¹.

3. *Johann Funger's pedagogical models*

Four key important humanists greatly influenced the work of Johann Funger: Rudolph Agricola, Erasmus, Melancthon and Calvin. Nevertheless, none of these were absolute innovators since they all drank from the same source: the Holy Scriptures and the classics such as Cicero, Seneca and Quintilian.

Rudolph Agricola (1444-1485) is considered the father of northern humanism, precursor of Erasmus. Around 1460 he travelled to Italy, where he met scholars and statesmen²². In his work *De formando studio* (1484) he highlights two pedagogical perspectives: first, philological teaching based on the classical models and intellectual epicureanism (aesthetic experience accompanied by inner peace) and second, morality, as expressed in stoicism (self-control). In this sense, he wrote:

The so-called moral philosophy refers to actions and customs, which must follow right reason. It is necessary to read to Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca and other historians, poets and orators, because in praising good and condemning evil, they teach us²³.

These tenets are reflected in *De puerorum*. Moreover, Funger emulated Agricola in his admiration for Cicero and Quintilian and his interest in the biblical languages. Agricola's legacy was recognised by Erasmus himself, which

²⁰ German Johannes Schilling (1497-1574) wrote: *Frisia non habet libros*. In fact, the region did not have a university until the *Academia Franekeræ* was founded in 1585 and the University of Groningen in 1615. However, in Frisia there were notable humanists, for instance Johan Wessel Gansfort, Rudolph Agricola, Peter Tiara and Peter Suffridus. In the following generation, Cornelius Gemma, Franciscus Haemus, Foppius Aezema and Alma Eilardus also stood out.

²¹ G. Parker, *España y la rebelión de Flandes*, Madrid, Nerea, 1989 and M. Ebben, *El final de la Guerra de Flandes*, Madrid, Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 1998, pp. 42-44.

²² P. Mack, *Renaissance Argument: Valla and Agricola in the Traditions of Rhetoric and Dialectic*, Leiden, Brill, 1993, pp. 117-120.

²³ R. Agricola, *De formando studio*, Basileae, Henricus Petrus, 1533, p. 5.

he cites in his *Adagia* as «the first to bring a breeze of better literature from Italy»²⁴.

Erasmus (1466-1536) is the contemporary author that Funger cites most in his *De puerorum disciplina et recta educatione liber*. Scholars should, in his opinion, not only educate the mind and will, but also attend to the education of emotions and virtue through mythology, fables and the study of rhetoric. For Erasmus, the goal of education was *virtus et bonae literae*, moral development was the root of pedagogy together with piety, to prevent scholarship from serving evil. Scholarship and morality were inseparable: through practical wisdom, reason controls emotions and achieves virtue²⁵.

With respect to teaching methods, parents should favour early learning from the cradle; the pedagogue should bear in mind the personal characteristics of each pupil, creating an affective bond with his pupils. He praised physical and civic development, the use of memory as a pillar of ingeniousness, judgment and study and was against corporal punishment since emulation could be more effective²⁶. Erasmus referred to the teaching of Grammar with these words:

I do not have patience with teachers of grammar who waste precious years hammering with rules the heads of the children. Because it is not by the rules by which we acquire to be able to speak a language and learning, but by the habitual conversations of every day with which they are accustomed to express you with precision and refinement²⁷.

Johann Funger followed enthusiastically Erasmus' pedagogical and didactic ideas and especially education of the mind, memory, will and emotions, teaching from infancy, knowledge of the character of pupils and rejection of corporal punishment.

Melanchthon (1497-1560) became professor of Greek at the University of Wittemberg at a very young age. There he met Luther, with whom he shared a lifelong friendship. He is considered the father of German education: he taught with passion and dedicated 50 works to pedagogical ideas. Due to his humanistic training, he defended certain anthropological optimism rooted in the belief that man, if educated and trained properly is capable of improving by himself. However, the new creed of the Protestant Reformation conflicted with this humanistic confidence because of its religious and theological base²⁸. Melancthon was capable of establishing a balance between the Lutheran

²⁴ F. Akkerman (ed.), *Rudolph Agricola: Six Lives and Erasmus's Testimonies*, Assen, van Gorcum, 2012.

²⁵ G. Soriano Sancha, *Erasmus y Quintiliano: algunas continuidades de la cultura romana en la Edad Moderna*, «Erasmus. Revista de historia Bajomedieval y Moderna», vol. 2, 2015, pp. 133-141.

²⁶ J. Varela, *Aproximación genealógica a la moderna percepción social de los niños*, «Revista de Educación», Madrid, Ministerio de Educación, vol. 281, 1986, pp. 155-156.

²⁷ E. Roterodami, *De ratione studii*, Lyon, Sebastian Gryhe, 1541, p. 57.

²⁸ D. Töhler, *Los lenguajes de la educación. Los legados protestantes en la pedagogización del mundo, las identidades nacionales y las aspiraciones globales*, Barcelona, Octaedro, 2013.

pedagogical trends and those of Erasmus of Rotterdam, who was more concerned with elegance and literary harmony.

Luther was supported by Melancthon in pedagogical matters, since they both understood the crucial role of education in the reformation²⁹. Both thought that the purpose of education was *pietas literata*, religious worship and that it should be taught from an early age; that children should find in its study the same as or greater pleasure than in games. They also opposed violent methods; that is, corporal punishment³⁰.

Funger identified with most of his pedagogical tenets: education from an early age, oppose the use of violence in the classroom, games as a didactic tool, *pietas literata* as an educational aim, through emulate the greatest models of classicism:

Suddenly, theologians, lawyers and doctors are brought forth, without dialectics, without knowledge of speaking, without the cradle-bands of natural and moral philosophy. The perception of these was once taught to all alike, before they were admitted to the higher disciplines, not only because this makes for a very good education, but also because it sharpens the judgement and prepares one for the adquisition of greater thinks³¹.

Calvinist pedagogy had also a notable impact on the life and works of Johann Funger. It is well known that his family belonged to this christian confession. In addition, at that time, in order to hold the post of rector or director of the Grammar School in the recent Republic of the Northern Provinces of the Netherlands, one had to be a member of the Calvinist congregation.

Calvin (1509-1564) studied the humanities and law in Paris, Orleans and Bruges. In 1532, he put his sound knowledge of Latin and history to work with his publication of Seneca's treatise *De clementia*, which surely influenced the stoic root within Calvinism³². Shortly after publishing this work, the group of humanists and theologians of the reformation, to which he belonged, were declared illegal in France and he went to Basilea where his fundamental work, *Christianae religionis institutio* [Institution of the Christian Religion] appeared the following year. Calvin made the education of young boys one of his main

²⁹ P. Peña Búa, *La reforma educativa como tarea pastoral en Felipe Melancthon*, in *Homenaje a J.A. Ramos Guerreira*, Salamanca, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2006, pp. 829-844 and P.F. Grendler, *Renaissance: Education between Religion and Politics*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006 and H. Van Til, *The Calvinistic Concept of Culture*, Lansing, Baker Publishing Group, 2001.

³⁰ H.F. Rupp, *Philipp Melancthon (1457-1560)*, «Perspectivas: revista trimestral de educación comparada», vol. 26, n. 3, 1996, pp. 659-669. He outlines a curriculum in his work *Regulations for schools*, dividing previous university curriculum into three levels: the first corresponds to reading-writing, calculus and elements of Latin, the second, Latin grammar and readings on Aesop, Plautus and Terence; the last level was the more skilful and better prepared. At this level, pupils read Virgil, Ovid, Cicero and studied rhetoric, arts and dialectic. The copy in Ghent's Library has been scanned and can be consulted online.

³¹ Ph. Melancthon, *Orations on Philosophy and Education*, edited by S. Kusukawa and translated by C. F. Salazar, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 6.

³² He cites many works of Cicero, Homer, Horace, Virgil, Terence, Plutarch, Plato and Aristotle.

concerns when he settled in Geneva from 1536 and he expressed the need to create an educational institution in keeping with the principles of the *Institution of the Christian Religion*³³.

He believed that the goal of education was the reformation of the church and the rebirth of culture, to obtain knowledge of God in order to serve Him³⁴.

Knowledge, according to Calvin, could be obtained through study of the classics, history and nature. However, due to original sin, man could not obtain true knowledge of God or the world without regeneration, which made it possible to capture the significance of the revelation of God through the Scriptures and place man in the appropriate perspective. The study of philosophy, science and eloquence, therefore, aimed at providing man with the deep-seated understanding of God's message through the Scriptures and in relation with the own conscience³⁵. In Calvin's writings one can read:

Even the pagans say that true glory consists in an upright conscience. Now, this is true, but it is not the whole truth. Since all men are blinded by too much self-love, we are not to be satisfied with our own judgment of our deeds. We must keep in mind what Paul says elsewhere: that even though he is not aware of anything wrong in him, he is not therefore justified. What then? Let us remember that judgment is reserved to God, who alone declares it concerning us; therefore, we are in no position to plead our own cause. This is confirmed by what follows. For, it is not the man who commends himself that is approved. It is easy for men to be deceived by a false conviction; and it happens every day. Therefore, putting all else aside, let us aspire to be approved by God: let us be satisfied by his approval alone, which should mean more to us than the plaudits of the whole world³⁶.

Formal education was organised according to age and divided education into two parts: obligatory and continuous lessons for young children in the *schola privata* or schools, and free public lessons for adults or *schola publica* based on the model that Johann Sturm had developed in Strasburg and Melancthon in Wittenberg³⁷. The curriculum that Johann Funger proposed bore a certain

³³ J. Calvinus, *Christianae religionis institutio*, Basileae, Th. Platter&B. Lasius, 1536. It is a peculiar summary of Protestant doctrine, where, among other things, he postulates the predestination of the chosen, rejects the sacraments as understood in Catholicism, and outlines a civil organization for the new form of Christianity.

³⁴ P.F. Grendler, *Renaissance: Education between Religion and Politics*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006.

³⁵ H. Van Til, *The Calvinistic Concept of Culture*, Lansing, Baker Publishing Group, 2001.

³⁶ J. Calvin, *Commentaries. Ethics and Common Life*, Christian Classics Library, vol. 13 edited and translated by J. Haroutunian, Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1958, p. 321.

³⁷ The first school was the *schola privata*, comprising seven classes of ten pupils under the supervision of a regent. It was established on the model of teaching inspired by the criteria of the reformed humanistic pedagogy. The seventh and sixth graders studied reading and writing in Latin and French, and the following year, Grammar in the fifth grade. The fourth and third graders, learned Latin syntax and the rudiments of dialectic simultaneously with initiation to Greek. In the second grade they studied philosophy and History following Titus Livius and Xenophon, and rhetoric in the first.

likeness to the Calvinist *schola privata*. It was also similar in its somewhat negative anthropology and its stoic pedagogy of effort.

4. *De puerorum disciplina et recta educatione liber: publications and historiographic imprint*

This work of Johann Funger, on which this study is based as previously mentioned, was the first that the humanist sent to the Plantin press in 1584. The author was 38 years old and had just been appointed director of the Bolsward Grammar School in his native Frisia. In that same year, the famous printer, who was about 65 years old, published a list of works that had been sent to his press since he had set up his Kammerstraat house-cum-press in Antwerp in 1567, one of the most important publishers in Europe.

According to the data consulted, Funger's book was published on two occasions. The main edition, dated 1584, came off the Plantin press in Antwerp. Written on the cover is: *De puerorum disciplina et recta educatione liber*. Per Ioannem Fvngeri Leovardiensem, MDLXXXIV, Antverpiae, Christophe Plantin.

The second edition was published in Leiden two years later. Written on the first page is: *De puerorum disciplina et recta educatione liber*. Per Ioannem Fvngeri Leovardiensem, MDLXXXVI, Lvgdvni Batavorvm, F. Raphelengium.

Both editions have 136 pages. According to the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL) the following libraries have copies of *De puerorum disciplina et recta educatione liber* (1584): the Netherlands National, German National, the Vatican, Mazarine (France) and the Catholic Universities of the Old Leuven and Ghent (Belgium)³⁸.

Copies of the 1586 edition have been conserved at: the Interprovincial Library of Leuven and the University Library of Leiden (the Netherlands), University of Greifswald (Germany), The British Library (UK) and the National and Provincial Libraries of Verdun (France).

From the historiographic point of view, there was great interest in this and other works of Funger from the end of the XVI century, the reprinting of *De puerorum* in the XIX century to the present³⁹. A reprint gathers the pedagogical work of Johann Funger and other humanists, a volume printed in 1854 by the priest H.J. Feron, with the *nihil obstat* of the vicar general of his diocese (Tournai, Belgium). It consists of three sections and can be consulted at the Central Library of the Catholic University of Old Leuven⁴⁰. Funger's work

³⁸ The copy in German National's Library has been scanned and can be accessed online.

³⁹ Humanists from the Dutch golden age such as Franciscus Sweertius (1567-1629), or Thomas Crenius 1648-1728) mention Funger. Later, the Church historian Jean François Foppens (1689-1761), philologists such as Petrus Hofman Peerlkamp (1786-1865) or Christopher Saxius (1714-1806), historians such as Abraham van der Aa (1792-1857), Philipp Christiaan Molhuysen (1870-1944) and Petrus Johannes Blok (1855-1929) cite Funger.

⁴⁰ The first part of the volume was written by Maffeo Vegio, an Italian humanist, canon of

is still alive. A testimony to this are the three reprints of the Latin texts with current typography, between 2009 and 2012, by two companies dedicated to the recuperation and sale, online, of antique or rare works. This is the case of the publishers Kessinger in the United States and Blackwell's Rarebooks in Britain. Group of Medieval and Renaissance Studies (GEMYR) of the Faculty of Education (University Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid) is also preparing a bilingual edition in Latin and Spanish with an introductory study on *De puerorum*⁴¹.

5. Sources cited in *De puerorum*

Funger used many references not only to support his pedagogical ideas but also to demonstrate the extent of his humanistic educational background. The sources in *De puerorum* are taken from the Bible, ancient Greek and Latin authors, Church Fathers, medieval scholars, humanists and others: a total of 238 different authors. It should be noted that Funger did not literally quote the authors that appeared in his work nor are some verses from the Holy Scriptures accurate. Given that he cites the same author with relative frequency, there are a total of 711 direct or indirect citations percentually distributed as follows:

Old Testament citations: 34	4.78%
New Testament citations: 120	1.68%
Ancient Greek citations: 296	41.63%
Ancient Latin authors: 273	38.39%
Citations of the Church Fathers: 30	4.21%
Citations from medieval scholars: 17	2.39%
Citations from humanists: 48	6.75%
Citations from other scholars: 2	0.28%

Some conclusions can be drawn in the light of the data obtained. First of all, evidence of very few biblical citations (46) throughout the book: 34 are taken

the San Juan de Letrán basilica, Rome and one of the secretaries to Pope Eugene IV, Nicholas V and Calixto III. Vegio died in 1458 and his work on education, *De educatione liberorum et eorum clarismoribus libri sex*, which is 306 pages long, was published posthumously. The second part, pages 307-344, the reprinted work, *De puerorum disciplina et correcta educatione liber* (1584) is written by Johann Funger. The third part, pages 445-496 and titled *Methodus de liberalibus pueritiae et adolescentiae studiis* (1583), is by Johann Engerd, professor of Latin and poetry at the University of Ingolstadt (Baviera), a bastion of a Catholic university in the XVI.

⁴¹ Some partial studies were published previously by the author of this article in: *De puerorum disciplina et correcta educatione liber*, «Historia de la Educación. Revista Interuniversitaria», vol. 31, 2012, pp. 301-307 and *Education of the young according to the humanist, Johann Funger, World Congress Education Sciences. Istanbul 2-6 february 2011*, «Elsevier-Procedia. Social and Behavioral Sciences», vol. 67 pp. 304-314.

from the Old Testament and 12 from the New Testament (most from the *corpus paulinum*, which is to be expected from a reformed Christian). Fungler does not give any reason for this interpretation. However, it is clear that the contents of *De puerorum* refer especially to intellectual and moral teachings that are supported more by the classical models rather than the Bible. Nevertheless, the author also reveals his humanistic and pedagogical position: terms from the Judeo-Christian culture, of which 94 refer directly to God, are mentioned 206 times.

It is evident, however, that almost 80% of the authors mentioned belong to the Greco-Roman culture. From the data we can extrapolate concordance between *De puerorum* and the rest of Fungler's works. It is characteristic of an ex-student of the Leuven Collegium Trilingue to publish in Latin and to a lesser extent in Greek and Hebrew, to be very knowledgeable in classical literature and to own a well-stocked library.

As stated earlier, northern pedagogical humanism has a very marked preference for three scholars of Latin culture who were not forgotten in the Middle Ages: Cicero, as a linguistic model for his clarity and elegance; Seneca, as a moral paradigm of stoicism and ethics of effort and Quintilian, both for his rhetoric and his theory of education, the basis of humanists⁴². The author that Fungler has cited most in absolute terms (72 times) is his much admired Cicero, one of the greatest models to emulate as a writer, as an orator and as a rhetorician⁴³. He is followed by Seneca (28), Quintilian and Ovid (17 citations each), Horace (12) and Terence (9).

To the Patristic are related in two respects: first, almost everyone studied in secular schools and knew the classics thoroughly, and second, their mastery of the biblical languages, accuracy and clarity in writing, free from the later medieval distortions.

The humanists thought of the Middle Ages, perhaps a little unfairly, as a period of cultural chaos and barbarism. It is true that there was a partial loss of ancient heritage, including outstanding works, and linguistic evolution brought with it the corruption of the classical languages and the birth of the vernacular. Additionally, the humanists despised Scholastic instruction for two reasons: one, perhaps because they studied it in its late and decadent stage, replete with logicism and two, because the essential philosophy of the Renaissance had changed the Middle Ages mentality because of the growing interest in temporal and mundane issues such as civic life, trade and discoveries.

⁴² F. Calero, *Filosofía en latín*, Madrid, Publicaciones de la Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2015, pp. 15-20.

⁴³ Like Erasmus, Fungler is an advocate of eclectic imitation, that is, imitation with a personal imprint, of the best authors of those works that are outstanding, in the quest for linguistic excellence. J. Fungler, *De puerorum disciplina et recta educatione liber*. Per Ioannem Fvngleri Leovardiensem, MDLXXXIV, Antverpiae, Christophe Plantin, chapter 10.

Funger makes reference to the authors of the XV and XVI centuries, including some of his contemporaries, something that was unthinkable for a medieval author. The reason was the evolution of the sense of *auctoritas* (authority). Even with Humanism, a period of at least one century was necessary to consider that someone's contribution was valid intellectually. Funger allowed himself to express his opinion on what other humanists said and to state whether or not he agreed with them.

6. *Curriculum, style and pedagogical content of De puerorum*

The original Latin text of *De puerorum* is 136 pages long; it consists of two parts: a brief introduction and the body of the book (30 chapters). In the introduction, there is a dedication with the names of the author and his patrons, a group of noble humanistic Frisians. This is followed by Funger's address to his mentors and some words to the reader, requesting their benevolence.

The style of *De puerorum* combines erudition and clarity. Its outline is clear: he dedicates a third of the book to each of the three parts in which it is divided. He writes in neo-Latin, is a staunch defender of teaching the classical languages and also has deep knowledge of Hebrew. Funger drinks from many fountains and collates these with frequent citations and allusions to historical or mythological personalities and events so that it is somewhat tedious, especially in the first few chapters. At first glance, it seems that the author is a simple compiler who follows the classical and humanist models to the letter. However, this lack of originality is only superficial since the author has his own ideas; implying that he has assimilated the secular culture of antiquity without betraying the Christian tradition, something that was frequent with the authors in his time even though the former had more weight than the latter.

The index of the book is organized into the following chapters, which can be grouped into sections that take into account the contents:

Chapters 1-6, 14-15 and 27: concepts, agents, means and purpose of discipline and education.

Chapter 1: Education

Chapter 2: Teachers

Chapter 3: Pupils

Chapter 4: Punishment

Chapter 5: School

Chapter 6: Effort

Chapter 14: Health and distractions

Chapter 15: The Bedroom and dream

Chapter 27: Respect for the elderly

Chapter 28: Conversation and social events

Chapter 29: Meals

Chapters 7-13: The curriculum and teaching methods

Chapter 7: Order of lessons

Chapter 8: Repetition of lessons

Chapter 9: Study

Chapter 10: Emulation

Chapter 11: Style and language

Chapter 12: Debates

Chapter 13: Memory

Chapter 16-26 and 30: Moral education

Chapter 16: Emotions

Chapter 17: Envy

Chapter 18: Slander

Chapter 19: Wine and drinking

Chapter 20: Gluttony, pleasure and sex

Chapter 21: Avarice and generosity

Chapter 22: Ambition and vanity

Chapter 23: Pride

Chapter 24: Truth and lying

Chapter 25: Swearing

Chapter 26: Flattery

Chapter 30: A general and brief exhortation to virtue

Funger addresses, therefore, three main pedagogical issues: first, definitions, agents, goals and teaching methods; second, intellectual training and third, moral education. However, it should be noted that Funger's work is not completely systematic because he deals with some issues in various chapters. Therefore, it was decided to give an approximation to his work taking into account the noetic structure of education.

The author dedicates, as mentioned above, chapters 1-6, 14-15 and 29-28 to the concept of agents and discipline and teaching methods. However, in humanism, *discipline* refers to both the subjects or the curriculum, the demands of the study and physical or corporal strength. *Recta educatione* has to do with training the mind, the will and emotions.

Through *discipline*, from a very early age the student acquires study habits and physical strength, which could be achieved gradually through games, competitions and puzzles. Another aspect of this *discipline* is what could be termed *knowing how to behave*, associated with health standards, moderation, hygiene and politeness at mealtimes, time devoted to sleeping, conversations and social events. The necessary discipline or demand is also acquired through the *pedagogy of effort*, an indispensable requirement for the proper development of the student.

The goal of Funger's right education is twofold: the practice of virtue drawing from the classical Greek and Roman models at the human level, and at a higher level, piety or religion that has two objectives; love of God and

charity to others. The key to Funger's pedagogical goals could be summarized as «school is a workshop of piety and virtues»⁴⁴.

Parents are agents of discipline and education from the time their children are born and are responsible for stimulating from the cradle their initial knowledge and habits, repeating phrases and songs to the baby every day in order to reinforce his senses and memory. They must also choose the tutor for their offsprings, children of 6 or 7 years old, who will be well mannered and sufficiently knowledgeable in science, capable of recognising character and exacting punishment in moderation, if necessary⁴⁵. It is striking that the author does not refer to Jesus Christ as a teacher par excellence. He however refers to the Messiah at the same level as other teachers and their corresponding disciples: Jesus Christ and Nicodemus; the prophet Daniel and Darius, David and Solomon, Gamaliel and Paul, Paul and Timothy⁴⁶.

The school is another educational environment that is understood as a place for socializing, learning and emulation for young children. The civil society is another, and adults especially have the responsibility towards the education of their young children, who will learn from their parent's experience and treat them with deference.

The author considers that attention to their physical health and appropriate social behaviour is a means of education. Funger's doctrine on health is moderation linked to certain determinism or the influence of the environment on character. He indicates healthy places to build homes and schools; places that are suitably ventilated and close to a river, avoiding swamps or enclosed valleys; recommends that evening meals should be more frugal, avoiding wine and late nights entirely. He considers that seven hours' sleep is sufficient, even a bit longer in winter.

Defining manners was given great importance during the Renaissance. Politeness and courtesy was extended to new layers of society⁴⁷. Although there were written norms and customary rules on behaviour in public and private, at the beginning of the Modern Age the middle class, made up of merchants, ship owners, bankers, artists, civil servants, grew. They needed to learn or improve codes of conduct. For many of the inhabitants of the new Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, this type of learning was opportune. Funger, like other humanists, dedicated part of his pedagogical treatise to the norms of civility

⁴⁴ Funger, *De puerorum disciplina*, cit., chapter 5.

⁴⁵ Funger does not mention formal education for girls and this is surprising because the reformers thought both boys and girls should know how to read and write so that they could read the Bible.

⁴⁶ In the secular field, he also mentions Alexander with Aristotles, Parmenion, Callisthenes, Agammenon with Nestor, Scipio with Panaetius, Antonius Pius with Marcus Aurelius and Zabolino, the emperor Alexander Severo with Ulpian, Trajan with Plutarch, Agustus with Artimidorus, Critias and Alcibiades with Socrates, Achilles with Pheonix and Quiron.

⁴⁷ Some of the outstanding manuals for adults of that time were *Il Cortegiano* (1528) by Baltasar Castiglione, translated to Spanish in 1534 as *El Cortesano* by Boscán, and *Il Galateo* (1558) by Giovanni della Casa.

for pupils, spread over two chapters: one on conversation and social events and the other on meals, following in the footsteps of Erasmus for the latter.

7. *Curriculum and teaching materials*

The author devotes chapters 7 to 13 to present his intellectual training curriculum and teaching methods. For Funger, as well as other humanists, philological education and classicism are not mere instruments, but rather they possess a hermeneutic and ethical dimension. The study of the classical languages began with Latin grammar, followed by rhetoric and dialectic. The science of words was the means to develop ideas, structure them and communicate them appropriately. Study not only developed the mind, but also the will and emotions: it should improve the individual, in this case, young boys. Consequently, the author discriminates clearly between teaching the classics that are suitable for his pupils and those that are harmful.

He outlines the order of the lessons in the curriculum that he would implement in a grammar school. The contents and timetable for classes that Funger presents is for a Latin school with only one teacher, who has to accommodate pupils of different ages. His curriculum is given in chapter 7 of *De puerorum* and is as follows:

Young pupils (from age 7) or without any prior knowledge of Latin:

Early in the morning: recite declinations and verbs

From 9 am: write declinations and conjugations; listen to Letters from Cicero and work on Erasmus' Dialogues.

From 12 noon: written syntactic rules and practical letter-writing exercises.

From 3 pm: present the works of Terence or repeat the morning lessons at a less intense pace⁴⁸

Pupils who have passed the first stage or have previous knowledge of the classical languages:

From 6 am: Rhetoric and Dialectic classes.

From 9 am: Recitation of Virgil, Horace and Ovid.

From 12 noon: the teacher will present Xenophon's *Ciropedia* or Isocrates' Discourse to *Demonicus*, without forgetting to revise the morphology. Reading of the poets, Homer and Hesiod and the historians, Livy and Sallust.

From 3pm: reading of Aristotles on *Morality*; Galen on *The Art of Healing* and Theophilus' *The study of Civil Law*.

As can be seen, this timetable was fixed taking into account the natural daylight hours in a region in Europe where it was reduced during the first half

⁴⁸ Publius Terentius Afer (Terence) (ca.194-159 a.C.) wrote six comedies with burlesque and crude passages, which have all survived today. It is understood that they are versions of Terence, adapted for young children. However, it as a model of Latin dialogue and relatively easy to understand.

of the year: school began at dawn; there may have been a break for a light lunch before the class at three, and finished before the family mid-afternoon meal. This allowed the same teacher to work with the two levels of pupils: those who were gifted and, in general, older, had to go to school three hours before the younger ones and the teacher taught that group rhetoric and dialectic. When the younger pupils arrived at 9 am, he taught them to recite declensions and verbs, while the older ones went on to recite works in Latin and the younger ones, after personal studies for a while, listened to the *Letters* from Cicero and worked, under the teacher's supervision, on the *Dialogues* of Erasmus. Likewise, after 12 noon, the less experienced pupils did practical exercises while the teacher taught the works of the Greek authors to the older ones. In the afternoon, the teacher focused on the younger pupils, explaining abridged texts from Terence, while those from the second level read selected texts.

Homework is detailed in the chapter on repeating lessons. The author then mentions the disciplines for the older pupils (law, metrics, rhetoric and dialectic, history, ethics, natural science, metaphysics and mathematics), reminding them that the objective of all science is truth.

The teaching resources that Funger recommends are: learning the letters, syllables and words, progressive reading aloud, use of Latin at school by teacher and pupils, correct pronunciation of words, especially the endings, memorizing grammar, recitation, written prose and verse, selected readings, emulation of the classical models, debates and didactic games. Other intangible resources that he highly recommended for the teacher was to make pupils improve through healthy emulation and praise rather than punishment.

8. *Moral Education*

Chapters 16-26 and 30 deal with moral education in detail. As can be appreciated in the title of the chapters, it seems that Funger had a somewhat negative view of the teaching of ethics. He increased the workload on how to avoid vices and only towards the end makes a general exhortation to a virtuous life (with reference to prudence, justice, strength and temperance, but at the merely human level. There is very little reference to divine assistance, which stands out with a humanist and Calvinist teacher like Funger.

Nevertheless, the classical and Christian roots can be perceived in the Code of Conduct model that he proposes in *De puerorum*. He follows specifically the stoicism of Cicero and Seneca, taken up by Erasmus and radicalized by Calvin. Funger states that «Knowledge is not the only thing that is necessary for virtue, nor is nature itself if deprived of effort: in fact, virtue, nature and effort complete and round off knowledge in certain respects since they are interwoven

and related to each other»⁴⁹. He illustrates this assertion with a metaphor of Platonic and Augustinian flavour: God has planted the seeds of all the sciences in every man, but he needs to make a big effort to get to the fruit.

In *De puerorum* a greater number of references to vices (196) over virtues (124), understood as human ascesis, was counted. References to theological virtues were very few: a total of only five⁵⁰.

The moral doctrine of Johann Funger is constrained by the fact that this is a treatise to educate boys between 7 and 14 years old; that is, minors who needed appropriate role models. As on other occasions, the author reminds us of the link between secular ethics and Christian morality:

The stoics differ very little or not at all from the Scriptures. And we should aspire to perfection as much as our nature permits us due to its weakness, although it is impossible to eliminate our innate tendency to evil. God, however, takes pleasure in our desire to avoid evil and our Christian obedience that pursues, if not perfection, then at least moderation⁵¹.

He warns his pupils about the weakness of the flesh and evil emotions that «without its charioteer, have to be endured the same as a chariot when it travels cross country at high speeds», and he recommends them to live with «sobriety, moderation and frugality, rather than debauchery, which will sharpen the wit and inject vigour into the body», in addition to the observance of God's law⁵².

The author refers to the pupils as horses that can be tamed through education or are unbridled animals without it. The comparison can allude to the Plato's myth of the chariot-driver based on the Socratic maxim «know thyself»⁵³.

He affirms that the goal of a righteous life is virtue, achieved through constant effort to establish consonance between reason and lifestyle. This should be presided over through moderation of the emotions and material pleasures that would result in *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, adorned by the moral virtues and eloquence, a clear reference to Ciceronian *humanitas*.

In *De puerorum*, educational value is placed on both relaxation and physical activity, always in moderation. Rest is necessary for the student just as the earth is left to lie fallow for some time so that the pupil does not become fed up and returns to his studies with greater zeal. The teaching of the classics that Funger endorses is unanimous in this respect: Ovid affirms that he who does not relax, is unable to endure and Horace wrote: «the Muses enjoy variety»⁵⁴.

⁴⁹ Funger, *De puerorum disciplina et recta educatione liber*, cit., chapter 8.

⁵⁰ It is surprising that the author does not refer to Jesus Christ as a teacher par excellence. However, he does place the Messiah at the same level as other masters and biblical scholars: Jesus Christ and Nichodemus, the prophet Daniel and Darius, Solomon, Gamaliel and Paul, Paul and Timothy.

⁵¹ Funger, *De puerorum disciplina et recta educatione liber*, cit., chapter 16.

⁵² *Ibid.*, chapter 19.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Regarding psychobiology, Plato recommends that the body should not be trained while the mind is neglected and viceversa. Funger points out that «Just as everyone prefers to engage in doing something of their own free will rather than doing so by force, one has to allow some rest from studies from time to time so that it is not hated rather than understood and loved»⁵⁵.

In the European educational tradition prior to Humanism, *diversio* (diversion) is distinguished from *recreatio* (recreation). *Diversio* is the result of triumph of the emotions over will. It lacks dignity and temperance in action and the spirit is evaded. *Recreatio* is the game or change in activity moderated by temperance. Funger uses the term *game*, understanding it as *recreatio* with two meanings: entertainment or distraction with certain physical activity outside school and a pedagogical tool in class (riddles, competitions, fables, etc.)

He recommends exercising before eating, especially in the case of the boys, whose age requires growing and strengthening vigour. Among the noble games, following the criteria of the experts, are walks and field trips, jumping, races, fights, fencing, gymnasium, hoops, ball games, swimming and music, chess and draughts. Funger praises moderate physical exercises because he thinks that sedentary life is not good for the student: «So then, exercise should be moderate to whet the appetite, which in most cases lies at the bottom of the pupils' stomach because of the sedentary life they lead»⁵⁶.

On the other hand, he feels that young children should be strictly forbidden from any game of chance or gambling, dancing and bad theatre:

Who can feel comforted knowing that the young children are given to such vice when the laws have prohibited it so long ago? Who can tolerate such waste of money, loss of piety and virtue, cesspool of vices and even bait for the devil among those aspiring to the liberal arts?⁵⁷

Conclusions

Humanism was a complex phenomenon and a wide cultural project with variables and nuances. In order to understand the scope of humanistic pedagogy, it is necessary to think about the anthropological and theological bases and respond to questions on what was considered the human being, his origin, his goal and means to achieve it. In Western Europe during the XVI century, the answers could be grouped into two categories: the Protestants in the north and the Catholics in the south.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, chapter 14.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Johann Funger was a humanist prototype: an intellectual who mastered Latin, Greek and Hebrew, a pacifist who put aside the professional opportunities that his doctorate degree in both laws offered him and did not intervene in the convulsive political situation of the nascent Republic of the Netherlands to dedicate himself to managing Latin schools in his native Frisia. There, he relied on the support of generous patrons, which allowed him to publish his first work at the prestigious Plantin press. He was a writer of elegant prose and verse, an avid reader, a book lover, a passion for which he accumulated a large personal library.

Funger's work falls within northern humanism, rooted in Cicero, Seneca and Quintilian; paying tribute to Agricola and Erasmus, Melanchthon and Calvin. His pedagogical proposal is based on philology and rhetoric as a basis for his curriculum for young boys, emulating the greatest Greco-Roman models. His stoic, ethical, strict and voluntarist imprint is manifested in a pedagogy of effort, in which greater emphasis is placed on avoiding vice instead of pursuing virtue.

The work possesses a clear pedagogical philosophy: its anthropological and theological parameters are reformist: a prominent role is given to the individual, who believes in his salvation through faith in Christ because he is totally corrupted by sin and feels lonely, worthless; he lacks confidence in the help of grace and in the sacraments or in prayer, means which Funger consequently does not take into account⁵⁸.

The work draws on many sources, on the Greco-Roman classics to a greater extent and is a paradigmatic example of northern humanism because all the features that define it can be applied. However, what is noteworthy is the little weight that is specifically given to the Bible in his pedagogy, something that was essential for a member of the Calvinist congregation. Furthermore, although Funger felt that school was like a workshop of piety and virtue and the goal of education was religious worship, the moral perspective that he presents is merely natural, of stoic origin.

⁵⁸ J. Vergara Ciordia, *El humanismo pedagógico en los colegios jesuíticos del siglo XVI*, «Studia philologica valentina», vol. 10, 2007, pp. 171-200.

Baltasar Gracián (1601-1658), predecessor of lifelong education and arbiter of good taste

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ABSTRACT: Nearly all studies conducted to date on the work of the Spanish moralist Baltasar Gracián (1601-1658) are either literary or philosophical, so that they have hardly analyzed its educational dimension. In order to present Gracián's pedagogical contributions in a clear way, this paper takes as a reference five key principles of the educational trend known as «lifelong education», i.e. the pursuit of ongoing education, self-fulfilment, vitalisation of education, harmonious coexistence, and learning to learn. After describing Gracián's contributions to these issues, he appears as a predecessor of lifelong education. It is then shown that his conception of good taste is not only aesthetic, but also and above all pedagogical due to the decisive role it plays in the instruction of the incomplete subject who ends up becoming a person that has achieved the full development of his individuality.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Baltasar Gracián; Lifelong education; Good taste; Self-fulfilment; XVIIth Century.

Introduction

Although the Spanish Crown had already declared bankruptcy in 1557, 1560, 1576 and 1596, during the 17th century it went on involving the country in exhausting wars. As a result, Spain abandoned the European orbit of power, lost nearly all its mainland territories, and, even though it still kept the American colonies, it also lost control of maritime trade routes. In the rest of Europe population grew, but in Spain it decreased greatly because of wars, hunger, epidemics, droughts, celibacy, emigration to America and expulsion of the Moors. While the bourgeoisie was growing in northern Europe, in

Spain growth concerned only the nobility and clergy. The nobility, which was exempt from taxes, recovered its political influence, to the extent that all social classes were deeply influenced by noble ideals such as honour and pretended greatness. Since social status was associated with leisure, work was considered demeaning for nobles. Such disregard for trade and manual labour prevented the development of the middle class, resulting in a huge gap between the aristocracy and the lower classes. The main victim of this situation was the peasantry, overwhelmed by fiscal pressure, hunger and bad harvests to such an extent that it often needed to resort to begging and even delinquency. This overall decline was also reflected in the educational realm. Illiteracy affected 80% of the population, teacher training was very poor, and the Crown tried to limit lower classes' access to education in order to prevent social instability. By way of example, Philip III ordered in 1619 that Latin studies were suppressed in villages because the peasants' children neglected those labours for which they were allegedly born and bred¹. The state of the university system was not much better. While Spain's cultural splendour attracted students from across Europe at the beginning of the 16th century, throughout the 17th century universities were closed to the outside world and banned protestant books as well as student exchange. The universities of Zaragoza and Valencia maintained an acceptable level, but the rest fell into a serious decline owing to such factors as a stubborn resistance to scientific and philosophical novelties, disputes between the church and the academic community, the increasingly limited university autonomy, and the maladministration of their patrimonial funds. At that time, Jesuits started their teaching activity in Spain taking as a reference the *Ratio Studiorum* promulgated in 1599. As Jesuits remained in absolute and unreserved obedience to the Church of Rome, they became the main supporters and advocates of the new Catholicism.

Given all the above factors, it is easy to understand why rationalist thinkers like Descartes, Leibniz or Spinoza had hardly any influence on Spanish culture. Instead, a strong skepticism towards human nature prevailed, which led to a pessimistic view of the world far removed from Renaissance optimism. An example of this skeptical and pessimistic attitude can be found in Baltasar Gracián, a Jesuit who became one of the most important literary figures of the Spanish Golden Age together with figures such as Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, Quevedo or Góngora. Worthy of special mention is Cervantes, who was presented by Alonso as a prose writer at the same level as Gracián². Indeed, the impact of Gracián's work was significant. For instance, his notion of *gusto* (taste) played a major role in the emergence of modern aesthetic thinking³.

¹ See C. Cárceles, *Gracián: la pedagogía del triunfo*, «Historia de la educación», vol. 6, 1987, pp. 171-182.

² S. Alonso, *Introducción*, in B. Gracián, *El Criticón*, Madrid, Cátedra, 1993, pp. 11-58.

³ See K. Borinski, *Baltasar Gracian und die Hofliteratur in Deutschland*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1894; B. Croce, *Estetica come scienza dell'espressione e linguistica generale. Teoria e storia*, Bari, Laterza, 1908.

In Germany he was admired by Nietzsche, quoted by Benjamin, lauded by Gadamer, and praised by Schopenhauer, who not only translated Gracián's *Oráculo manual* into German, but also began to translate Gracián's *El Criticón*. In fact, Kent and Wolber suggested there are very deep affinities between Schopenhauer's pessimistic masterpiece *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* [The World as Will and Representation] and Gracián's philosophical novel *El Criticón*⁴. Furthermore, his *Oráculo manual*, considered the first manual of courtly psychology and which had already been republished twenty times in France between the 17th and 18th centuries, became a best seller several years ago in Japan and the United States, where it was presented as a bedside book for entrepreneurial managers and executives. Its success was such that in 1992 it remained two weeks in first place on the *Washington Post*'s list of Nonfiction General Best Sellers.

The success and importance of Gracián's work lie above all in its pedagogical nature, as it teaches how to lead a dignified life characterised by good taste in a world so fleeting that its meaning can be lost «if it is not continuously reified by the work of art»⁵. Yet it is also a hostile world, where individuals must stay afloat by distrusting each other: that is why Gracián's teachings can be extrapolated to very different epochs and contexts. In order to get more fully acquainted with the pedagogical nature of Gracián's work, it is helpful to know the key strands of those four books which, according to Cárceles, are the most relevant from an educational standpoint⁶. As will be seen, these works clearly show how Gracián progressively evolves from initial optimism to pessimism.

To begin with, *El Héroe* [The Hero] reflects the enthusiasm of a young author who adopts the role of a good counselor and recommends a disciple to use adequately his great innate qualities, without getting carried away by conformism or mediocrity. For this purpose, the disciple should start by knowing himself, whereupon he must identify the task in which he can achieve excellence and fame grounded in virtue. At first sight, this appears to be a training manual for princes, but as Asun (1996) pointed out, Gracián aimed to develop an abstract and universal model of the hero understood as a compendium of perfections to be pursued by whoever possesses a sublime spirit. It would therefore not be a manual for the king but for becoming king, or not for politics but for becoming a politician⁷. *El Héroe* seems to follow the same indoctrinating line as other

⁴ See C. Kent, T. K. Wolber, *Introduction*, in C. Kent, T.K. Wolber and C.M.K. Hewitt (edd.), *The Lion and the Eagle. Interdisciplinary Essays on German-Spanish Relations over the Centuries*, New York and Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2000, pp. 1-44.

⁵ F.R. de la Flor, *On the Notion of a Melancholic Baroque*, in N. Spadaccini, L. Martín-Estudillo (edd.), *Hispanic Baroques: Reading Cultures in Context*, Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 2005, p. 7.

⁶ Cárceles, *Gracián: la pedagogía del triunfo*, cit.

⁷ R. Asun, *Introducción*, in B. Gracián, *El héroe. El discreto. Oráculo Manual y arte de prudencia*, Barcelona, Planeta, 1996, p. XIX.

previous works such as Castiglione's *Cortegiano*; yet this work is anchored in an idealised view of the Italian Renaissance society and concentrates on the individual who moves within the court, while Gracián's *Héroe* aims to develop a universal model of behaviour in a hostile context but without focusing on any specific social stratum.

In *El Discreto* [The Discreet Man] we can see a more cautious Gracián, whose teachings no longer aim to forge a hero of perfections, but a discreet, erudite and elegant gentleman. While in the *Héroe* Gracián had in mind a man of action with great innate qualities, in the *Discreto* he addresses an intellectual whose achievements are the result of effort and perseverance, so that anybody can become discreet by trying hard enough. This manual already raises the necessity of growing into a *persona* (person) in a world where most people behave like beasts. The discreet individual who becomes a person is able to find his own centre to maintain from there, as if he were a microcosm, a relationship as fluent as possible with his environment, but without ever losing that central position or perspective from which Gracián teaches readers to manage disappointments, illusions and feelings of all types. To this end, the *Discreto*'s condensed and exquisite prose requires a very acute understanding to identify the relationship between different things from multiple perspectives without being misled by appearances.

Gracián's *Oráculo Manual y Arte de Prudencia* [The Art of Worldly Wisdom] is intended to help the average man be as prudent as possible. Probably no other work from Gracián has reached more fame and dissemination, which may be due, to a great extent, to the fact that it consists of three hundred aphorisms that make up not a clearly recognisable system, but a compendium of rules and pieces of advice that can be understood in diverse ways if they are taken and interpreted separately. According to Ayala, Gracián used the aphoristic style for avoiding the creation of a closed system and reproducing instead the unpredictable course of existence. Gracián does not expect that someone becomes prudent, and ultimately a person, by being able to apply a number of rules in a mechanical and systematic manner, but by assimilating his teachings to such an extent that they are transformed into an art, i.e. the art of good living in the world however much its circumstances vary⁸.

Without any doubt, *El Criticón* [The Critick] is Gracián's crowning work, the mature work in which he will no longer focus on a particular model of man – the hero, the discreet or prudent individual, among others – but will analyse them all in order to reveal his conception of the complete man's journey through the world. This masterpiece clearly shows Gracián's evolution towards increasing pessimism: the *Héroe* started by addressing an exceptional human being, the *Discreto* was conceived for the elegant gentleman, the *Oráculo Manual* for the average man, and the *Criticón* regards every ideal human being as

⁸ J.M. Ayala, *Gracián: vida, estilo y reflexión*, Madrid, Cincel, 1987.

unreachable, to the extent that it is enough for individuals to survive virtuously within a society that is headed towards destruction. *Criticón's* educative model is thus eminently defensive because it encourages a fierce individualism. This allegorical novel narrates Andrenio's and his *alter ego* Critilo's journey through life. Andrenio is the disciple who arrives upon the world with nothing but his own instincts, without having experienced any influence from society, whereas Critilo is the wise and disenchanted master whose rational attitude guides Andrenio. Although Rousseau would later hold that society corrupts man⁹, Gracián thinks that it is man who corrupts society because he does not want to submit his passions to reason. But instead of isolating Andrenio from his evil fellows as if he were an Emile, Critilo will teach him how to use wisdom to find his own way despite them, so that the individualism of modern world can already be clearly appreciated here¹⁰.

As might be expected from the greatest conceptist writer, Gracián tried to condense multiple meanings and perspectives in few words; therefore, his thought is neither linear nor systematic but dense and convoluted. Since his pedagogical remarks are also complex and scattered throughout his whole work, this paper will present Gracián's contribution to history of education by taking as a reference a set of educational principles to organize the presentation. Specifically, five basic principles of lifelong education will be taken as a basis for describing the close affinity shown by Gracián with each of them, i.e. the pursuit of ongoing education, self-fulfilment, vitalisation of education, harmonious coexistence, and learning to learn. In so doing, Gracián will appear as one of the predecessors of lifelong education – for Wain already showed that Dewey's philosophy is in tune with the basic elements of the lifelong education movement¹¹. Besides paying special attention to Gracián's conception of good taste, this paper will emphasise its role within his pedagogy, thereby concluding that the relevance of the notion of good taste is not only aesthetic, but also and above all pedagogical.

1. *Gracián's consonance with the basic principles of lifelong education*

The concept of «lifelong education» was proposed by the UNESCO for ensuring that each citizen finds throughout his life educational opportunities to fulfil himself by accomplishing personal, social and professional development¹². The objection has been raised that lifelong education was conflated with lifelong

⁹ J.J. Rousseau, *Emile, or On Education*, New York, Basic Books, 1979.

¹⁰ See Cárceles, *Gracián: la pedagogía del triunfo*, cit.

¹¹ K. Wain, *Philosophy of Lifelong Education*, London, Croom Helm, 1987.

¹² UNESCO, *Learning to Be (The Faure Report)*, Paris, UNESCO, 1972.

learning because of using the terms «education» and «learning» as synonyms¹³. This paper will not delve into such debate; however, it will regard lifelong education not in the narrow sense of Billett – who associates lifelong education with institutional support in the form of courses¹⁴ – but in the wider sense of Long, Apps and Hiemstra, that is, as «those activities, events and conditions that encourage learning» throughout life¹⁵. As Hager remarked, if it is assumed that lifelong learning will necessarily take place, there will be no question of implementing it, while lifelong education puts the emphasis on «the possibilities of making lifelong learning more effective»¹⁶. That is why this paper will focus on lifelong education rather than on lifelong learning. Having said this, it is shown hereafter how Gracián's work is consistent with five basic principles of lifelong education.

The main principle of lifelong education, as its very name indicates, is the need to keep education going throughout life, so that education is to be adapted to the needs of individuals at different stages in their development. In the same vein, Gracián proposes that the journey of life is divided into three stages characterised by the education plan to follow at each phase of life. Thus, he advises devoting oneself to speak with the dead, with the living, and with oneself: in other words, he suggests devoting the first third of life to reading, the second to travelling and talking, and the last one to meditating on what one has read, seen and heard¹⁷. This means that Gracián and lifelong education assume that education must not only be extended to the whole lifecycle, but it must also include planned as well as incidental learning, i.e. formal as well as non-formal patterns of education¹⁸. The following is a short overview of Gracián's training plan for each of the three stages: as can be seen, the first one is based on planned learning, while the second and the third are related to incidental learning.

The first stage should be devoted to devour books because the more one knows, so Gracián, the more human one is. To start with, he suggests learning seven languages: Latin and Spanish – which he regarded as universal keys – in addition to Greek, Italian, French, English and German – in order to read the great works eternalized in such languages. On this basis, Gracián recommends

¹³ See K. Lawson, *Lifelong Education: Concept or Policy?*, «International Journal of Lifelong Education», vol. 1, n. 2, 1982, pp. 97-108; R.G. Bagnall, *Lifelong Education: The Institutionalisation of an Illiberal and Regressive Ideology?*, «Educational Philosophy and Theory», vol. 22, n. 1, 1990, pp. 1-7.

¹⁴ S. Billett, *The perils of confusing lifelong learning with lifelong education*, «International Journal of Lifelong Education», vol. 29, n. 4, 2010, pp. 401-413.

¹⁵ H.B. Long, J.W. Apps, R. Hiemstra, *Philosophical and Other Views on Lifelong Learning*, Athens, University of Georgia, 1985, p. 4.

¹⁶ P. Hager, *Lifelong Education: From Conflict to Consensus?*, «Studies in Philosophy and Education», vol. 17, 1998, p. 326.

¹⁷ B. Gracián, *El discreto*, in Id., *El héroe. El discreto. Oráculo manual y arte de prudencia*, Barcelona, Planeta, 1996, pp. 132-135.

¹⁸ R.H. Dave, *Foundations of Lifelong Education*, Oxford, Pergamon, 1976.

deepening knowledge of eight disciplines: History, Poetry, Rhetoric, Humanity itself, Moral and Natural Philosophy, Cosmography, and Holy Scriptures¹⁹. According to Cárceles, this humanistic plan constituted an adaptation of the Jesuit programme he followed first as a student and later as a teacher: indeed, it was a less demanding version of the study plan designed to prepare students' access to university²⁰. Each of those eight disciplines should contribute in a different manner to the student's instruction: History would make him alert, Poetry ingenious, Rhetoric eloquent, Humanity discreet, Moral Philosophy prudent, Natural Philosophy wise, Cosmography erudite, and Holy Scriptures pious²¹. Nevertheless, scholars have noticed that Gracián recommends a superficial religious training focused more on the student's erudition than on his becoming a true Christian. The reason for this is that Gracián clearly distinguishes between the earthly and the divine realm, as he confined himself only to the former in order to teach the individual with a will to excellence how to sustain a good and clever behaviour in society. The problem, according to Ordóñez, is that Gracián found impossible to apply a general moral code, like the one proposed by the Church, to every situation and circumstance. Instead, he sketched «an autonomous ethics, developed in the dialectic of daily life and a moral theory that depends on circumstances and on other individuals»²². From this standpoint, truth is not guaranteed by God,²³ as it depends from life itself, which became thanks to Gracián the radical and inexorable reality on which everything depended²⁴.

After this first stage of life devoted to intensive reading, the second one must be used for travelling around the world in order to know the most relevant of each location: by the way, Gracián recommends visiting each place only once, for the individual will not still have accustomed to that place, which will provide him with greater enjoyment. Of course, the traveller should take advantage of his visit to different courts and empires to converse with the most prominent people, but developing a judicious attitude that allows him to assess each statement in a reasonable manner. Once this second stage of life has ended, the most important one begins, as it consists in meditating on what one has read, seen and heard in previous phases. The third stage of life appears to

¹⁹ Gracián, *El discreto*, cit., p. 132.

²⁰ See Cárceles, *Gracián: la pedagogía del triunfo*, cit.

²¹ Gracián, *El discreto*, cit., pp. 133-134.

²² F. Ordóñez, *Models of Subjectivity in the Spanish Baroque: Quevedo and Gracián*, in Spadaccini, Martín-Estudillo (edd.), *Hispanic Baroques: Reading Cultures in Context*, cit., p. 82.

²³ W. Egginton, *Gracián and the Emergence of the Modern Subject*, in N. Spadaccini, J. Talens (edd.), *Rhetoric and Politics: Baltasar Gracián and the New World Order*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1997, pp. 151-169.

²⁴ J.A. Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

be the most appropriate for this task because the mature age is specially suitable for prudent reflexion²⁵.

Another basic principle of lifelong education is that the individual should develop progressively until reaching self-fulfilment. The idea of pursuing one's own life project generates an intrinsic motivation that will drive the subject to play an active role in his training process and when intervening in his environment. For its part, Gracián's work, and very particularly the *Criticón*, regards life as constant action, as a pilgrimage without any other goal than self-fulfilment. The first step towards this is self-knowledge because Gracián believes that «every man is variously disposed and tempered», to the extent that the full nature of a lion or a lamb can be discovered when seeing one of them, «but in seeing a man, we see but one, and his humour and condition too, almost unknown»²⁶. It is therefore not enough to know one man or several ones to conclude that all of them are already known; instead, it is necessary to deepen knowledge of each individual's and above all one's own nature. Man must embark on the singular task of knowing himself in order to be able to project his unique and non-transferable individuality in every act. Self-knowledge must focus above all on the faculties of judgment – understood as practical reason – and taste. Once man widely knows himself, he can embark upon the journey towards self-fulfilment drawing on his practical wisdom, which will help him to make the right choice in each case. But it is «a small conquest to gain the understanding, if the will be not won»²⁷, for decisions are futile if they are not implemented. However, if will cannot overcome passions and affections, the individual must avoid at least that they influence his will, for other people might take advantage of it to manipulate him cunningly: «Let an able man then take good heed to suppress his passions, or at least to dissemble them, with so much dexterity, that no countermine find a way to uncipher his will»²⁸.

Taking into account the relevance of self-knowledge for reaching self-fulfilment, it is easier to understand why Gracián greets the reader at the very beginning of the *Héroe's* prologue exclaiming: «I desire to see thee singular»²⁹. In this way, Gracián expresses his wish for the disciple not to fade in the crowd, but to develop his individuality until becoming a '*persona*' (person), that is, until transforming into 'a man at his highest point', who is known by the purity of his taste, the clearness of his thought, the maturity of his judgment, and the

²⁵ Gracián, *El discreto*, cit., p. 135.

²⁶ Id., *The Critick*, London, Printed by T. N. for Henry Brome at the Gun in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1681, p. 196.

²⁷ Id., *The Hero*, London, Printed for T. Cox at the Lamb under the Royal Exchange, 1726, p. 95.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. VIII.

firmness of his will.³⁰ Gracián takes always as a reference the highest point that can be reached by each of us:

We are not born perfect: every day we develop in our personality and in our calling till we reach the highest point of our completed being, to the full round of our accomplishments, of our excellences³¹.

Just because the individual is always in a process of realization, he can act on the self, whilst others can also act formatively on him³². Every man is originally incomplete, so that he develops himself day to day and from his early youth with every decision he takes. One consequence of this freedom is that it lies in the individual's hand to become what he wants to. Nevertheless, Gracián takes it as a moral imperative that the subject uses such freedom for becoming a person. In this sense, Kassier claimed that a wrong choice or judgment «entraps the individual in vice and immorality, causing a momentary halt in the passage through life or, if uncorrected, total moral annihilation»³³. From this arises a tension that runs through Gracián's work, although it often goes unnoticed to those readers who read it searching how to adapt to each situation in order to benefit from it; yet his work is intended for each one to reach self-fulfilment. If men do not aim at self-realisation whenever they act, their lives will not be moralised because they will not experience them as their own self-fulfilment: those who do not end up becoming persons are thus clear examples of depersonalisation³⁴, as they are neither «seeing nor hearing with their own eyes, and ears, but with those borrowed from others; whose very taste was regulated by another's palate»³⁵. In other words, this lack of authenticity is immoral. It should not be forgotten that the term *persona* comes from the Greek word for mask, which allows Gracián to generate a certain margin for ambiguity within which authenticity becomes meaningful. Indeed, we all appear socially as characters or masks, yet the question is whether that character corresponds to a real person: in Egginton's words, the point is whether a given individual is able to «stay within character», so that «his character is his character *all the way down* – that there is no other self, or actor, behind it»³⁶. Yet even though Gracián presents the person as «a miracle in perfection»³⁷, he seems to admit different degrees when stating that, the more backgrounds (*fondos*) a man has,

³⁰ Id., *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1945, p. 3.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, cit.

³³ T.L. Kassier, *The Truth Disguised. Allegorical Structure and Technique in Gracián's 'Criticón'*, London, Tamesis Books Limited, 1976, p. 134.

³⁴ Ayala, *Gracián: vida, estilo y reflexión*, cit.

³⁵ Gracián, *The Critick*, cit., p. 244.

³⁶ W. Egginton, *Of Baroque Holes and Baroque Folds*, in Spadaccini, Martín-Estudillo (edd.), *Hispanic Baroques: Reading Cultures in Context*, cit., p. 61.

³⁷ Gracián, *The Hero*, cit., p. IX.

the more he is a person³⁸. According to Romera-Navarro, Gracián would be using here the language of goldsmiths to call ‘fondos’ the inner and deep brights of precious metalwork. Hence, the wider and richer the individual’s interiority is, which is noted above all on the richness and variety of his conversation, the more of a person will he be³⁹. The fact that Gracián introduces degrees in a concept that he had previously presented in absolute terms does not undermine but enriches it. As this reinforces the need to go on trying to become more and more of a person – or to generate more brights in one’s interiority – throughout life, which is fully consonant with lifelong education’s philosophy.

The vitalisation of education is another principle of lifelong education, as education should not be exclusively theoretical, but should also have a clearly practical application to vital problems. As stated above, the pedagogical nature of Gracián’s work lies in the fact that it teaches how to live by developing the individual’s full potential in a hostile and crumbling world. With this in mind, it is not surprising that Gracián is not satisfied with mere erudition and, therefore, attaches great importance to apply learning to everyday life; rather, what is surprising is the extent to which his words turn out to be modern even today:

Life should not be all thought: there should be action as well. Very wise folk are generally easily deceived, for while they know out-of-the-way things they do not know the ordinary things of life, which are much more needful. The observation of higher things leaves them no time for things close at hand. [...] Of what use is knowledge if it is not practical? To know how to live is nowadays the true knowledge⁴⁰.

It should be noted that Gracián does not ignore theoretical knowledge, but advocates the importance of being able to apply it, and moreover, that such knowledge ends up being implemented. After all, Gracián states – as opposed to Aristotle – that this practical knowledge should be acknowledged as the most relevant type of knowledge. Gracián insists on this point when he warns that «a fine intellect wedded to a wicked will was always an unnatural monster», as «a wicked will envenoms all excellences: helped by knowledge it only ruins with greater subtlety»⁴¹. This said, we should also ponder to what extent Gracián’s teachings on the way of living in the court could be applied to our current life. In this respect, Asun points out that Gracián addresses a reader belonging to the courtly, cultural and social context of his time; had this not been the case, Asun adds, Gracián either would not have written his manuals or would have done it in a different way⁴². Ruan, however, cautions that Gracián’s handbooks of

³⁸ Id., *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, cit., p. 48.

³⁹ M. Romera-Navarro (ed.), *Oráculo Manual y arte de prudencia*, by B. Gracián, Madrid, CSIC, 1954.

⁴⁰ Gracián, *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, cit., p. 138.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

⁴² See Asun, *Introducción*, cit.

deportment were aimed at a wider audience than the courtier⁴³. Such audience was above all, in Close's words, the «urban gentry» that regarded «the Court as role-model»⁴⁴. In fact, Krauss remarked that Gracián regards the palace as a stage-like environment in which it is reflected on a large scale everything that happens in life, so the court appears as an interesting field of experimentation where wisdom comes noisily into contact with practice⁴⁵. Therefore, say Cantarino and Blanco, this is a timeless practical wisdom whose application to the present time does not seem to be a problem⁴⁶. Proof of this can be found in how avidly Gracián's work has been recently read, albeit from a business perspective, in the United States.

A topic which deserves special consideration because of its importance is the extent to which it can be ascribed to Gracián, as Hafter did, such a «thoroughly misogynous view» that excluded the possibility that women might become persons⁴⁷. However, as Jiménez pointed out, Gracián regards the conversion into a person not as the ultimate expression of virility, but as an issue related exclusively to each individual's self-knowledge, understanding, good taste, and will⁴⁸. Hence, women are by no means excluded from becoming persons. In fact, Gracián could not be regarded as a genuine predecessor of lifelong education if he had denied women access to it.

A further principle of lifelong education is that it is aimed at developing a harmonious and fruitful coexistence with fellow human beings to maintain an acceptable quality of life. At first glance, this objective seems very hard to reach to Gracián, for he develops his work along such a hostile context that it takes on martial overtones. Indeed, Gracián presents man as a being obliged to deal with a world consisting of a violent interplay of forces and contradictions. Following Seneca, Gracián states that «the world is compounded of contraries», so everything has «an enemy with whom to combat»⁴⁹. Given these circumstances, the individual must clash daily with the world and learn from each experience. He cannot let his guard down at any time because deception lurks everywhere, to the extent that life appears as a battlefield where one must know how to survive: «Man's life is a warfare against the malice of men», says Gracián⁵⁰. according

⁴³ F.E. Ruan, *A Taste for Symbolic Wealth: Gusto and Cultural Capital in Baltasar Gracián*, «Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos», vol. 32, n. 2, 2008, pp. 315-331.

⁴⁴ A. Close, *Cervantes and the Comic Mind of his Age*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 216.

⁴⁵ W. Krauss, *La doctrina de la vida según Baltasar Gracián*, Madrid, Rialp, 1962.

⁴⁶ E. Cantarino, E. Blanco, *Baltasar Gracián: Vida y literatura*, in E. Cantarino, E. Blanco (edd.), *Diccionario de conceptos de Baltasar Gracián*, Madrid, Cátedra, 2005, pp. 11-42.

⁴⁷ M.Z. Hafter, *Gracián and Perfection. Spanish Moralists of the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge (Ma.), Harvard University Press, 1966, p. 26.

⁴⁸ L. Jiménez, *Gracián: persona y arte de vivir*, in J. San Martín, J.M. Ayala (edd.), *Baltasar Gracián: Tradición y modernidad*, Calatayud, UNED, 2002, pp. 65-88.

⁴⁹ Gracián, *The Critick*, cit., p. 34.

⁵⁰ Id., *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, cit., p. 7.

to whom «if men be not beasts, it is because their inhumanity exceeds theirs, whose irrational soul is not capable to invent such extravagant iniquities»⁵¹. Keeping this in mind, it would be expected that Gracián would recommend his readers to move away from society to live in solitude, but quite the contrary is true. Aristotle held at the beginning of his *Politics* that man cannot live isolated but has to join his fellows in a community, as a self-sufficient individual would be divine, while he should be a beast if he were not able to live with others⁵². Gracián, for his part, makes specific reference to this idea when stating:

Better mad with the rest on the world than wise alone», so say politicians. [...] One has to live with others, and others are mostly ignorant. «To live entirely alone one must be very like a god or quite like a wild beast», but I would turn the aphorism by saying: Better be wise with the many than a fool all alone⁵³.

In this way, as Hafter pointed out, Gracián modifies Aristotle's saying to stress that it is sane to live in reasonable harmony with the community, whereas it is insane to persist in remaining out of step⁵⁴. Yet coexistence at the court was far from being simple, as it involved a constant struggle for influence and power. From Gracián's standpoint, according to Spadaccini and Martín Estudillo, people who take part in these power relations «bring a kind of capital (*caudal*) to every transaction»⁵⁵. As this capital is desired by other people, the intentions of one's antagonists must be anticipated through the prudent use of practical knowledge – for instance, Gracián writes «Yet not all truths can be spoken: some for our own sake, others for the sake of others»⁵⁶. In these power relations it is as important to know other people's resources as it is to control what they know about oneself. A key aspect for managing this capital is that potential predators do not know the depth of one's resources, for they will not only respect but also desire what they do not know about such hidden resources, so that one will be more powerful⁵⁷. That is why Gracián writes:

The wise man does not allow his knowledge and abilities to be sounded to the bottom, if he desires to be honoured by all. He allows you to know them but not to comprehend them. No one must know the extent of his abilities, lest he be disappointed. No one ever has an opportunity of fathoming him entirely. For guesses and doubts about the extent of his talents arouse more veneration than accurate knowledge of them, be they ever so great⁵⁸.

⁵¹ Id., *The Critick*, cit., p. 46.

⁵² Aristotle, *Aristotle's Politics*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2013.

⁵³ Gracián, *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, cit., pp. 76-77.

⁵⁴ See Hafter, *Gracián and Perfection*, cit.

⁵⁵ N. Spadaccini, L. Martín-Estudillo, *Introduction: The Baroque and the Cultures of Crises*, in Id. (edd.), *Hispanic Baroques: Reading Cultures in Context*, cit., p. XX.

⁵⁶ Gracián, *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, cit., p. 107.

⁵⁷ See Egginton, *Of Baroque Holes and Baroque Folds*, cit.

⁵⁸ Gracián, *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, cit., p. 54.

Yet the lengthy and complex process that drives each individual to become a person should not be confused with a narrow path which only leads him to withdraw into himself. On the contrary, and even though «one is not obliged to belong so much to all as not to belong at all to oneself»⁵⁹, becoming a person is reflected above all in the way in which one relates to others⁶⁰. This relational character of the person produces a «kinship of hearts and minds»⁶¹, which allows him to create and maintain environments where the taste for good conversation prevails and, by extension, the most sublime human virtues shine.

Learning to learn constitutes another basic aspect of lifelong education. After all, a learning to learn approach requires the development of a number of skills, attitudes and dispositions to go on learning throughout life in an increasingly effective and autonomous manner in accordance with one's own needs and goals. One of the skills that should be developed for learning to learn is good taste. Within Gracián's work, taste was an aesthetic concept, but as will be shown, it became an educative one. Gracián bore the major responsibility for the emergence of taste as an aesthetic concept in the 17th century. According to Cascardi, Gracián's notion of taste arose in the context of a crisis of values due to the weakening of the Spanish hereditary aristocracy, which in turn would have caused a crisis in the authority of every kind of judgments⁶². Specifically, Gracián's aim was to develop in his readers «a critical *gusto* (taste), and a palate hard to please»⁶³. That is why he praises the wise man in these terms: «O great and wise, to be ill at ease when your deeds please the mob!»⁶⁴ Gracián regards taste as a skill that emerges from wit, which in turn constitutes the ability of understanding that consists in the acute perception and expression of the relationships among things. Since «never sublime wit yet bred a flat or abject *gusto*»⁶⁵, it is expected that those who have a great wit will be best placed to later develop a good taste. Yet Gracián warns that good taste is not learnt in books or schools, but in the theatres of good taste (*teatros del buen gusto*)⁶⁶. Hence, taste is a skill that may and should be developed throughout life, above all, by means of good conversations, for «thence is immediately derived the important affair of knowing»⁶⁷. To this should be added that «by communication *gustos* are linkt together, and it is a rare thing when two

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁶⁰ See Ayala, *Gracián: vida, estilo y reflexión*, cit.; Krauss, *La doctrina de la vida según Baltasar Gracián*, cit.

⁶¹ Gracián, *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, cit., p. 26.

⁶² A.J. Cascardi, *Gracián and the Authority of Taste*, in Spadaccini, Talens (edd.), *Rhetoric and Politics: Baltasar Gracián and the New World Order*, cit., pp. 255-283.

⁶³ Gracián, *The Hero*, cit., p. 38.

⁶⁴ *Id.*, *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, cit., p. 16.

⁶⁵ *Id.*, *The Hero*, cit., p. 36.

⁶⁶ *Id.*, *El discreto*, cit., p. 63.

⁶⁷ *Id.*, *The Critick*, cit., p. 6.

are met that are superlative»⁶⁸. Of course, the development of taste through conversation is usually incidental, but it can also be planned if a person intends to foster the taste of someone who by then has scarcely developed it.

That said, it remains to be clarified how taste is related to the ability of learning to learn. To answer this question, it should be recalled that Gracián's work is projected onto a hostile and changing context that requires constant adaptation. To live successfully in such a context, it is fundamental to have an acute choice capacity that in turn «needs good taste and correct judgment, for which neither intellect nor study suffices»⁶⁹. Thus, the contribution of good taste to wit consists above all in choosing the best correspondences for verifying a given truth, and at the same time, good taste contributes with prudence or judgment to choose the best means of attaining virtue⁷⁰. Since wisdom goes together with good taste, «wise men appreciate all men, for they see the good in each», whereas fools or people with a bad taste «depreciate all men, not recognising the good and selecting the bad»⁷¹. In short, good taste allows individuals to find out paths to learning because it helps them to recognise the most appropriate persons from whom to learn, and moreover, it contributes to identify the best from those persons as well as from their teachings; yet good taste also allows them to «find the good in a thing at once», as «there is nothing that has no good in it»⁷².

According to Andreu, good taste provides the true code of conduct, as there seems to be within men a kind of *élan vital* towards the good and beautiful⁷³. Consequently, good taste is not confined to the sphere of aesthetics but «seasons the whole of life»⁷⁴, that is, it extends to all facets of human life including the realm of morals: this is how the moral ideal of the discreet man and the aesthetic ideal of the tasteful individual are joined together in the person. As a result of this convergence, moral criteria cannot be independent from aesthetic criteria⁷⁵. Gadamer, however, thinks that taste was for Gracián «more a moral than an aesthetic idea»⁷⁶; in his opinion, the Jesuit regards as the mark of good taste «being able to stand back from ourselves and our private preferences», thereby it being possible that «one can like something that one's own taste rejects»⁷⁷. But if attention is paid to Gracián's manuals, it can be seen that Gadamer's argument is unconvincing. To give only a few examples, the Jesuit emphasises

⁶⁸ Id., *The Hero*, cit., p. 37.

⁶⁹ Id., *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, cit., p. 29.

⁷⁰ Ayala, *Gracián: vida, estilo y reflexión*, cit., p. 163.

⁷¹ Gracián, *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, cit., p. 115.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

⁷³ J.M. Andreu, *Gracián maestro del buen gusto*, «Ínsula», nn. 655-656, 2001, p. 5.

⁷⁴ Gracián, *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, cit., p. 176.

⁷⁵ P. Arnau, J.V. Arregui, *Bases antropológicas de la estética de Gracián: naturaleza, cultura y gusto*, «Thémata», vol. 16, 1996, pp. 45-64.

⁷⁶ H.-G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, London and New York, Continuum, 2004, p. 31.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

that «it is an especial privilege of good taste to enjoy everything at its ripest»⁷⁸: it is therefore important to have a good taste for everything, that is, to be able to know how to enjoy each thing and reach the good⁷⁹. In fact, Gracián considers as extravagant those people who drink bleach and celebrate it as nectar; for, in their eagerness to attract attention, they capriciously do not praise what they like but what they find repulsive in order to distinguish themselves from others⁸⁰. It is no accident that the Spanish terms *saber* (to know) and *sabor* (flavour) have as a common etymology the Latin *sapere*. In Szécsényi's words:

To eat – to taste and relish – something is a kind of internalization, a fusion of subject and object. Taste is the only sensual sense which can offer a model of direct synthesis with the thing grasped, and its immediate distinction and enjoyment⁸¹.

To this should be added that, inasmuch as intellectual reflection involves pondering reasons and arguments, it is susceptible to doubt and rectification. On the contrary, good taste does not consist in *opining* that something is good or beautiful, but in *feeling* it as immediately and undoubtedly as we feel that honey tastes sweet, salt salty, and lemon acid. From this standpoint, being guided by one's own taste does not entail to stand back from oneself and one's private preferences, quite the opposite: whoever takes his own taste as the reference for orienting himself in life adopts as a guide what really delights him.

On the other hand, Gadamer holds that taste is of a negative nature because it is not oriented to appreciate the tasteful but «by the fact that it is offended by what is tasteless and thus avoids it», so that «the contrary of 'good taste' actually is not 'bad taste'», but rather «to have 'no taste'»⁸². Nevertheless, Gracián referred to bad taste in multiple remarks that are at odds with Gadamer's argument. As stated earlier, Gracián said that good taste «seasons the whole of life»⁸³, while bad taste is just the opposite because, in Gracián's words, there are people with such a bad taste that they always seem to carefully search for the worst⁸⁴. Thus, when Gracián talks about the opposite of good taste, he does not refer to the lack of it but to bad taste illustrated by wrong choices. By way of example, Gracián commends the bee's good taste and despises the fly's bad taste, for in a same garden the bee searches for fragrances, while the fly looks for the stench⁸⁵. When Gracián presents taste as the capacity of perceiving – or

⁷⁸ Gracián, *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, cit., p. 23.

⁷⁹ Id., *El discreto*, cit., p. 70.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁸¹ E. Szécsényi, *Gustus Spiritualis: Remarks on the Emergence of Modern Aesthetics*, «Estetika: The Central European Journal of Aesthetics», vol. 1, 2014, pp. 68-69.

⁸² Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, cit., p. 33.

⁸³ Gracián, *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, cit., p. 176.

⁸⁴ Id., *El discreto*, cit., p. 81.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

choosing to concentrate on – the good in others, he also contrasts good taste with bad taste:

Find the good in a thing at once. 'Tis the advantage of good taste. The bee goes to the honey for her comb, the serpent to the gall for its venom. So with taste: some seek the good, others the ill. [...] But many have such a scent that amid a thousand excellences they fix upon a single defect, and single it out for blame as if they were scavengers on men's minds and hearts. So they draw up a balance sheet of defects which does more credit to their bad taste than to their intelligence. They lead a sad life, nourishing themselves on bitters and battenning on garbage. They have the luckier taste who midst a thousand defects seize upon a single beauty they may have hit upon by chance⁸⁶.

Gracián refers either to very adequate choices or to quite unsuitable elections as if they were the two ends of a continuum whose middle point – what might be regarded as indifferent – is not even considered. While good taste delights, bad taste drives to the repulsive. Hence, Gracián emphasises the repulsive nature of the consequences of bad taste or choice; but at no time does he relate the repulsive to good taste, not even with the aim of avoiding what is repulsive: when he talks about good taste, he associates it only with pleasure and enjoyment – and, by extension, with self-fulfilment. If good taste were understood as avoiding what is tasteless, good taste would then be associated with the mere lack of discomfort generated by the tasteless. In such a case, the notion of good taste would not only be strange – as it would not be associated with any kind of enjoyment – but also useless to make pleasurable choices. And as seen above, if the convergence between aesthetic criteria and moral criteria is infringed, Gracián's work is then being misunderstood.

Conclusion

When Gracián states that there is «no real life without knowledge»⁸⁷ because «to know how to live is nowadays the true knowledge»⁸⁸, he is opposing Aristotle's intellectualism. This does not mean, however, that Gracián brings to the forefront the mere ability to defend oneself or to succeed in hostile situations: instead, he gives priority to the maximum development of each one's individuality. The educational character of Gracián's work lies in the fact that it is focused on showing the way for an individual, initially incomplete and immature, to end up reaching his completeness by becoming a person. A basic aspect of the person is his ability to relate to others; but it is essential to be able to

⁸⁶ Gracián, *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, cit., pp. 80-81.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

choose friends properly, as «few can do us good, almost any can do us harm»⁸⁹. Gracián sees the world as a complex framework of forces and interests that give rise to multiple mirror games where danger threatens everywhere, so that it may have serious consequences for us to make mistakes when choosing friends. It is obvious that disappointment prevails in Gracián's work, but its pessimistic – and, at times, even martial – tone should not prevent us from appreciating the hope Gracián places in friendship as well as the great value that he attaches to doing good to others. In this respect, Gracián recognises that «a great man takes more pleasure in doing a favour than in receiving one»⁹⁰ and does not hesitate to present the friend as «a second existence. Every friend is good and wise for his friend: among them all everything turns to good»⁹¹. As the account of the affinities between Gracián's work and the basic principles of lifelong education has shown, the individual must learn throughout life from each of his experiences until reaching self-fulfilment by means of a theoretical and practical education that helps him deal effectively with his problems. Moreover, lifelong education promotes fruitful coexistence with others as well as the development of the individual's learning to learn competence, so that he becomes capable of giving due weight to each thing and distinguishing between sincerity and hypocrisy, the real and the apparent, or true and false. For Gracián, according to Hall, everything except such virtues is mutable in the world⁹². Yet Gracián goes one step further by proclaiming that the individual should like all those virtues: in other words, they should become delicacies that can be differentiated as immediately as an exquisite flavor and a repugnant one, which will not only facilitate making a good choice, but will also allow him to enjoy it and, by extension, to enjoy life itself. In this way, Gracián overcomes the fatalism of the time – and his own – by showing how the individual can proceed indefinitely with his learning process no matter how hostile the environment may be, to the extent that his increasing good taste will allow him to attain his full development by taking as reference not mere erudition or an easy conscience, but the enjoyment of having made a wise choice.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁹² J.B. Hall, *The Wheel of Time: Gracián's Changing View of History*, «Bulletin of Hispanic Studies», vol. 52, n. 4, 1975, pp. 371-378.

History of radio broadcasting for schools in the Czechoslovak Republic

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ABSTRACT: The beginnings of radio broadcasting for schools in the Czechoslovak Republic originate in 1928, shortly after regular radio broadcasting had started in 1923. The paper traces the early history of school radio – as radio broadcasting for schools was known – its organizational structure, types of programmes, technical service and other details. School radio became a radio broadcaster within a radio broadcaster. It evolved into a major modern educational tool which helped teachers as well as learners acquire essential information in an interesting and accessible way. This was especially important in remote areas which new methods of teaching and recent scientific findings often found difficult to reach.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Radio broadcasting for schools; Tools of mass education; Czechoslovak Republic; XXth Century.

1. *Beginnings of radio broadcasting and school radio*

Regular radio broadcasting began in the Czechoslovak Republic in May 1923. The broadcasting company Rádiojournal, eskoslovenské spravodajství radiotechnické, spol. s.r.o. [Rádiojournal, Czechoslovak Radio-Technical News Service, Ltd.] was founded on 7 June 1923 as a monopoly enterprise within the

state¹. The private company came under state control after the Czechoslovak State Post Office acquired 51 per cent of the company's shares in 1925². A Slovak broadcasting station in Bratislava was opened in August 1926³. Its basic programming structure included lectures, recitations, concerts, news and, naturally, music⁴.

First plans for an independent, so-called school radio appeared in 1926⁵. The idea came from educational practice, since the programming contained short programmes for children. These, however, were not consulted upon with

¹ The broadcasting company was run by a commission board and supervisory board. In 1925 an advisory board, whose chairman acted as a representative of the minister of education, was added. See A.J. Patzaková, *Prvních deset let Československého rozhlasu* [First Ten Years of Czechoslovak Radio], Praha, Rádiojournal, 1935, pp. 703-704.

² See M. Gladiš, *K postavení a úlohám košických masových médií v predmníchovskom a povojnovom Československu* [On the Status and Roles of the Košice Mass Media in Czechoslovakia before the Munich Agreement and after the War], in *Historické medzníky vo vývoji Košíc v 20. storočí* [Historical Turning Points in the History of Košice in the 20th century], Košice, Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika, Filozofická fakulta, 2013, p. 59.

³ National Archive in Prague (hereinafter NAP), collection of the Ministry of Education 1918-1949 (hereinafter collection ME), box 3768. Soon after its opening, the station had technical problems with the signal transmission. Its inefficiency was mentioned specifically in the report of Ministerstvo s plnou mocou pre správu Slovenska [Ministry with the Supreme Authority for the Administration of Slovakia] from October 10, 1927 using slightly flowery language: «domestic [Slovak] transmitters come from the Stone Age of radio». Ministerstvo pôšt a telegrafov [The Ministry of Post Offices and Telegraphs] therefore initiated immediate building of a new and more efficient transmitter. See NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3768.

⁴ See Gladiš, *K postavení a úlohám košických masových médií v predmníchovskom a povojnovom Československu* [On the Status and Roles of the Košice Mass Media in Czechoslovakia before the Munich Agreement and after the War], cit., p. 60. The structure contained also a programme for children called *Besedy strýčka Václava* [In Conversation with Uncle Václav] with the popular comic actor Vlasta Burian (1891-1962). A more audience-focused programme structure was introduced only in the mid and late 1920s. See J. Maršík, *Stabilizace vysílání 1926-1929* [Stabilization of Broadcasting 1926-1929], in E. Ješutová (ed.), *Od mikrofonu k posluchačům. Z osmi desetiletí českého rozhlasu* [From the Microphone to the Audience. Eight Decades of Czech Radio], Praha, Český rozhlas 2003, p. 74 and p. 81.

⁵ On 11 September 1926 the magazine *Rádiojournal* published the article *Výchova mládeže rádiem* [Youth Educated by the Radio]. The author, the pedagogue Eduard Svoboda, placed an emphasis on the benefits and educational possibilities of the medium: «Radio can provide children with the opportunity to listen to the most important authorities in any field. [...] A key issue is to select the topic and the way by which it is presented. Efficiency of the receiving device is important. [...] It is true that even the best programme for children can be ruined by a defective receiver. [...] As far as the quality of transmission is concerned, we are still in the stage of development and there are aspects which can be improved. [...] In relation to the school milieu, foreign language teaching and learning can be easier and bettered. [...] The most important matter is, however, the ability of the radio broadcasting to spread correct pronunciation of our language. The universal impact of radio on children can be compared to the effect of a great folk library free for all; the results will be seen only in the future». See Patzaková, *Prvních deset let Československého rozhlasu* [First Ten Years of the Czechoslovak Radio], cit., p. 133; Maršík, *Stabilizace vysílání 1926-1929* [Stabilization of Broadcasting 1926-1929], cit., p. 74.

the state school-administration body, neither with teachers. It is also important to mention that the programmes were not broadcast during lessons⁶.

The idea of school radio was introduced at two conferences in Brno and Brandýs nad Orlicí. Both events focused on the major regulations which were to be used for the preparation of school radio. The participants agreed on the need to divide school radio programming into two categories: the first category was for children from 6 to 9; the second category for children from 9 to 14. Lectures included technical questions, such as preparation of materials and their distribution to schools (printed syllabi and specialized publications for teachers)⁷.

The first “real” attempt to broadcast for schools, in cooperation with school administrators, took place on the eleventh anniversary of the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic, on 28 October 1929⁸. The broadcast can be considered a final rehearsal the purpose of which was to validate the positive reaction of educational practice. The establishment of school radio as a separate unit connected with pedagogical practice was announced by the minister of education Ivan Dérer in 1930. He announced regular broadcasting of school radio, albeit for national schools only. He also mentioned that a special committee would be constituted to direct and run the radio broadcaster. On the basis of Decree 594.87/30 from 8 June 1930 of the Ministry of Education, a working committee for school radio was appointed. Its task was to create a

⁶ From 29 November 1926 to 5 December 1926, during a so-called promotional week of *Rádíofónia*, the radio broadcaster tried to broadcast for Czech schools from 10am to 11 am and for German schools from 11am to 11.20am. The establishment of the radio broadcaster attempted to find out the reactions of schools. An unstructured programme for schools (lectures, music and recitation) was broadcast without any previous contacts or consultations with schools or the school curricula for individual types of schools and grades. The week can be considered the first real experience of *Rádíojournál* with school radio. See Patzaková, *Prvních deset let Československého rozhlasu* [First Ten Years of the Czechoslovak Radio], cit., pp. 134-135 and p. 635.

⁷ See NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

⁸ The bulletin «*Rádíojournál*» published a short notice about the event and its programme on 26 October: «The Prague *Rádíojournál* introduces a novelty – radio for schools, which will broadcast in the morning. The programme will be prepared as a supplement to lessons. It will be entertaining and informative and will be aimed at mass listening in schools. The programme is intended to be preparation for the regular broadcasting of radio for schools which is being planned by the Ministry of Education in agreement with *Rádíojournál*. *Rádíojournál* initiates radio for schools on Saturday 26 October from 9 to 9.30 am and the programme will be dedicated to the celebration of 28 October. The introductory lecture *On the Day of Independence* will be given by Professor Václav Patzak. The lecture will be followed by samples of Czech, Moravian, Silesian and Slovak folk songs performed by the singer Alfons Waisar. Professor Jaroslav Hurt will recite a few laudatory poems and the programme will finish with the Czechoslovak state anthem». See Patzaková, *Prvních deset let Československého rozhlasu* [First Ten Years of Czechoslovak Radio], cit., pp. 465-66; «*Rádíojournál*», vol. 7, n. 46, 26 October 1929.

school-radio programme for national schools⁹. The committee was assisted by the group of seven experts¹⁰.

School radio was finally established by Decree n. 107.560-V on school radio of the Ministry of Education on 1 August 1930. It instituted school radio for national schools for children from 6 to 14. The same decree established the institution of the Committee for School Radio at the Ministry of Education. The institution would cooperate with the Czechoslovak Radiophonic Company “Rádiojournál” and help to manage school radio. The aim of school radio was to supplement the educational process via properly selected material corresponding with the school curricula on which the broadcast programming was to be based¹¹.

In terms of its content, programming was divided into two sections. The first one covered the first up to third grade (programmes broadcast from 11–12 am); the second was for the fourth up to eighth grade (programmes broadcast from 12.30–1.15 am). The time of broadcasting thus followed regular school lessons. The ministry highly recommended educational institutions support the spread of the medium. Simultaneously, the educational institutions would pursue gradual equipping of schools with radio devices¹².

⁹ As far as other European countries are concerned (based on the situation in 1930), the oldest radio broadcaster was established in England. The institution was run by the so called Hadow Committee. Radio was broadcast in three time periods: 23 September – 16 December, 16 January – 30 March and 30 April – 20 July. The programmes were aimed at national as well as secondary schools. Its content focused on history, short stories for younger children, music, languages, natural science and geology. Specialized lectures and games were broadcasted for town schools. In Germany, school radio broadcast for an hour per day; two hours were dedicated to foreign languages and six hours per week were for teachers. The programmes were information based and their purpose was to keep teachers in touch with current pedagogical affairs. Sweden accepted the English model in a modified form, with a focus on geography, natural science and languages. In Switzerland, radio was used for education aimed at vocational schools. It included courses for shoemakers, commercial law, and courses for bakers, etc. See NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

¹⁰ The members of the committee were: Petr Dejmka (the headmaster of a school in Prague), Dominik Filip (professor at the Ministry of Education), Ladislav Hollý (a school inspector in Prague), Antonín Jenne (a school inspector in Prague), Antónie Maxová (a specialized teacher in Prague), Ladislav Schlucksbier (a prominent school advisor from Prague) and V. B. Aim (a music inspector in Prague). See NA Praha, fond MS 1918–1949, box 745.

¹¹ School radio actually functioned as a radio broadcaster within a radio broadcaster as it focused on a specific group of listeners. Agricultural radio, workers' radio, radio for business and commerce and radio for women appeared later. See J. Hraše, *Profesionalizace vysílání 1930-38* [Professionalization of Broadcasting 1926–1929], in E. Ješutová (ed.), *Od mikrofonu k posluchačům. Z osmi desetiletí českého rozhlasu* [From the Microphone to the Audience. Eight Decades of Czech Radio], Praha, Český rozhlas 2003, p. 128.

¹² *V stník ministerstva školství a národní osvěty* [Newsletter of the Ministry of Education and National Public Education], vol. 12, n. 76, 1930, pp. 379-380. The bulletin «Rádiojournál» in the article *Školský rozhlas v Československu* [School Radio in Czechoslovakia] informed readers about the progress in the expansion of school radio and also suggested the programming principles for the future activity of school radio. Václav Patzak, the author of the article, writes: «School radio pays attention to children in two age groups and therefore addresses the youth for the whole

2. *The Committee for School Radio*

The Committee for School Radio was established on the basis of Decree 146.731/30-V. of the Ministry of Education of 3 November 1930. The inaugural meeting of the committee took place on 18 November 1930 and it was agreed that it would have 10 honorary members appointed by the minister. The committee was comprised of the following members: three officials of the Ministry of Education (the chairman of the study department of the ministry; the chairman of the pedagogical department of the first section and the radio secretary); three members appointed by the recommendation of the school board in Prague; the chairman of the state publishing house; the chairman of *Rádiojournál*; a technical expert of *Rádiojournál* and an expert on music. The committee met at least four times per year. Depending on need, the membership of the committee could be extended or changed by the minister of education. A sub-committee could be formed within the committee to work on special tasks¹³.

The major tasks of the committee were to observe the content of the programming on an ideological basis and to distribute materials to schools. It also selected assistants who monitored whether the programme content corresponded with the school curricula. The committee managed communication with schools; it collected reports on the educational results of school radio and checked the acquisition of radio devices by schools¹⁴.

As far as personal matters were concerned, the members of the committee were appointed by Decree 148.731/30 V/3 of 30 November 1930. Dr. Zde ek Wirth became the chairman of the committee. Fully fledged members were: Dr Karel Velemínský, the master of the study department of the Ministry of Education and ministerial advisor; Kamil Buzek, the master of the pedagogical department of the first section and ministerial advisor; Jozef Kepl, the master of the state publishing house and government advisor; Václav Patzak, a chief ministry commissar; Dr Jozef Štěpánek, a chief school advisor; František Pátek, a district school inspector; Jan Šedivý, a specialized teacher; V. B. Aim, a music school inspector; and JUDr. Ladislav Šourek, the chairman of *Rádiojournál* and its technical director¹⁵. The

duration of national schooling. It is important that school radio be closely related to the school curricula, create new ideas and enrich and supplement the teaching process in an appropriate way. At the beginning, our school radio will concentrate on two groups of school subjects; namely, on geography studies in a wider sense of the word, which includes history, geography proper and natural sciences and education in art (music). Seemingly boring material may be enlivened if it is well adapted literarily and when it supplements live events». (V. Patzak, *Školský rozhlas v Československu* [School Radio in Czechoslovakia], «*Rádiojournál*», vol. 8, n. 46, 1930, in Patzaková, *Prvních deset let Československého rozhlasu* [First Ten Years of Czechoslovak Radio], cit., p. 469.

¹³ If needed, the mentioned regulations could be adjusted after a year. See NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 745.

¹⁴ See NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 745.

¹⁵ The committee was re-organized in 1933 and the committee members appointed in

inaugural meeting also elected a sub-committee consisting of J. Šedivý, F. Pátek and V. B. Aim. Its task was to work out the content of the first school programmes¹⁶.

School radio for Czech- and Slovak-speaking schools opened on 19 December 1930 with an opening speech by the minister of education¹⁷. Regular broadcasting for children from 6 to 14 started from February 1931¹⁸. The content of the programmes was determined by the requirement to alternate music with the spoken word. As a result, each programme consisted of two parts: musical and literary. The literary part presented current themes as well as information about anniversaries or significant events. In the musical part, children were introduced to musical instruments, samples of musical composition, and information about composers and musical genres. Original programmes were created from the very beginning for Bratislava and for Brno, so that children could acquire Czech as well as Slovak languages¹⁹.

Special guidelines to regulate broadcasting and the legal relations between the Committee for School Radio and the company Rádiojournal were accepted by Rádiojournal on 5 November 1931²⁰.

The most important ones were the following:

1. School radio was broadcast from stations in Prague, Brno, Bratislava and Moravská Ostrava.
2. In relation to Rádiojournal the Committee for School Radio has the function of an advisory board. It submitted programme proposals to Rádiojournal and suggested lists of performers. The proposals were valid only after being accepted by Rádiojournal.
3. One or two local trustees for school radio were appointed for each branch of Rádiojournal. Their task was to consider programme proposals, their preparation and supervision of teachers at specific transmitters.
4. Every half year, the Committee for School Radio prepared a detailed

November 1930 were dismissed. New members were appointed for a three-year period; from the beginning of the school year 1933/34 to the end of the school year 1935/36 for national schools with Czech or Slovak language. For the specific list of names, see the Appendix. See NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 745.

¹⁶ See NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

¹⁷ The broadcasts followed this programme: introductory words addressed to children by Dr Ivan Dérer, the Minister of Education; the state anthem sung by the children's choir "Domovina" [Homeland]; greeting words by Dr L. Šourek; the melodrama *Christmas Eve*; Christmas carols performed by the choir "Domovina", recitation from the popular novel *Babička* [Grandmother] by Božena Němcová; and a musical piece by B. Smetana performed by the Rádiojournal orchestra. Patzaková, *Prvních deset let Československého rozhlasu* [First Ten Years of Czechoslovak Radio], cit., p. 470. See NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 745.

¹⁸ Programmes were broadcast on Fridays, for the first section from 11am to 11.30am and for the second section from 12.30 to 1.15pm. From April 1931, the programmes were broadcast on Fridays from 10.30 to 11.00 and from 11.00 to 11.55. Patzaková, *Prvních deset let Československého rozhlasu* [First Ten Years of the Czechoslovak Radio], cit., p. 471.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 471-472.

²⁰ See NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 745.

programming schedule. The schedule was firstly discussed with ten representatives of *Rádiojournal* and coordination of the schedule was then divided between the centre and its branches. Detailed programming was ready three months before it was actually broadcast. *Rádiojournal* had to have the proposed programme six weeks before the broadcast and performers had to be known 20 days before.

5. A local trustee of the committee was in charge of the preparation of the programme prepared by the branch after his agreement with *Rádiojournal*.
6. School radio officials (depending on the branch) for Prague were: inspector V. B. Aim for the musical part, assistant secretary and teacher B. Pěkný for the literary part. They were obliged to participate and supervise all rehearsals.²¹ The officials for Brno were specialized teachers A. Ryšavý and V. Pleva; for Moravská Ostrava J.A. epka and L. Prasek; for Bratislava district school inspector V. Ilek and an official of the state service for edification J. A. Vrátny; district school inspector P. Marendiak and school administrator V. Mládek for Košice²².
7. Performers' fees as well as fees for authorial rights were paid by *Rádiojournal*²³.

From the school year 1931/1932, the programmes of school radio covered the whole school year, taking into consideration the curricula and interests in the distribution of the content of learning.

The programmes for the youngest children included simple scenes, dialogues and fairy tales, and the popular character Gašpárko [Jester]. Music focused on compositions for children and plain melodies. A separate course called *První kroky k hudební výchově zpěvem* [First Steps to Music Education via Singing] taught children how to sing under the tutorial of Professor Leopold Ambrož. For older children, a series of historical plays was created. The plays presented significant events of Czechoslovak history in chronological order, for instance the foundation of Charles University in Prague. From April 1933, Bratislava radio added dramatic events of Slovak history, such as the 1848/1849 uprising, radio dramas *M.R. Štefánik*, *Tatry naše* [Our Tatras], etc²⁴. The programme *Zprávy z mladého sveta* [The News from the World of Youth] responded to children's letters which contained questions and suggestions of various kinds. The programme thus informed listeners for example of natural

²¹ The Committee for School Radio was in charge of programme preparation; officials were in charge of the actual realization of programmes and *Rádiojournal* managed financial payment. Patzaková, *Prvních deset let Československého rozhlasu* [First Ten Years of Czechoslovak Radio], cit., p. 592.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 607. NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 745.

²³ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 745.

²⁴ Patzaková, *Prvních deset let Československého rozhlasu* [First Ten Years of Czechoslovak Radio], cit., pp. 593-595.

disasters and peculiar events at home and abroad. All programmes were in the form of a dialogue or a radio sketch, i.e. in the forms which were likely to get listeners' attention and keep them motivated and concentrated on the programme²⁵. In the selection of the presented topics, school radio attempted to deal with contemporary issues; it promoted Red Cross activities at schools and commemorated state representatives (e.g. T. G. Masaryk). The programming schedule was composed before the beginning of the school year and it was distributed by the press. It can be argued that school radio became an efficient means by which contemporary trends in education and teaching also reached remote and distant parts of the country²⁶.

Besides programmes in Czech and Slovak languages, school radio in German was also established²⁷. German school radio started broadcasting on 19 March 1932, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the death of J. W. Goethe. Programmes were broadcast every Tuesday from 10.15 to 10.35 for younger children and from 11.05 to 11.45 for older learners. The programmes supplemented mainly geography lessons and art. Sometimes, a special programme appeared such as a speech by the president T. G. Masaryk on 22 November 1932 addressed to the German youth²⁸. Radio in Hungarian language started to be broadcast from Bratislava on 12 March 1934²⁹. Its programme was also divided into two parts aimed at younger and older children³⁰.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 602-603.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 599-601. From 1934, the representatives of school radio turned to teachers and pupils via its journal *Školský rozhlas* [School Radio] and asked for feedback and suggestions about the strengths and weaknesses of the programme content, the reasons why some programmes were more popular than others, etc. At the same time, teachers and pupils were encouraged to come up with their own ideas and themes. This appeal clearly was aimed at better realization of the significance of national identity in education and emphasized that listening to the radio was important for the future of children and thus for the nation, too. *Školský rozhlas* became a printed medium which functioned as an intermediary between the radio and listeners. It consisted of reports, a literary section as well as an educational-scientific one. It also published bio-sketches of music composers and a printed programme schedule. See «Školský rozhlas. Měsíčník pro posluchače a přátele školského rozhlasu» [School Radio. A Monthly for the Listeners and Friends of School Radio], vol. 1, n. 1, 1934, p. 6.

²⁷ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 745.

²⁸ Patzaková, *Prvních deset let Československého rozhlasu* [First Ten Years of Czechoslovak Radio], cit., pp. 611-615. NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 745.

²⁹ In the article *Maďarské deti o školskom rozhlase* [Hungarian Children on School Radio], *Školský rozhlas* [School Radio journal] published a letter from the children of the primary Calvin folk school in Zádor (Feledince) sent in March 1934. The enthusiastic letter signed by 15 out of 17 pupils (two were ill at the time) described the programme in the Hungarian language broadcast by the Košice branch: «We all are much affected that you broadcast our president [...] We cannot thank you enough for caring about us Hungarian kids [...] wish only for our Czechoslovak homeland to spread understanding, love and peace among its citizens of different nationalities» («Školský rozhlas», vol. 1, n. 3, 1934, p. 22).

³⁰ Until the end of the school year 1936/1937, a programme for younger children was broadcast every Tuesday from 8.05 to 8.35 am, for older children from 8.35 to 9.05am. From 1 September 1937, programmes were broadcast on two days: the programme for younger learners on Tuesday

Soon after school radio was established, the first critical reactions of teachers urging its reform were heard. Criticisms and complaints were connected with the content of the programmes, personal preoccupations and problems with technical matters. The minister of education, therefore, called a meeting on 5 October 1932 the purpose of which was to work out specific suggestions on how school radio could be improved³¹. Corporate associations of teachers also reacted to the situation, for instance, the Association of Teachers – Professors of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party³². In the article *Reforma školského rozhlasu* [The reform of school radio] they explained that «after a beautiful beginning comes disenchantment». The Committee for School Radio called the article «a Chinese wall resistant to the calls of ordinary mortals». The calls for reform were compared to voices crying in the wilderness³³. A concluding discussion recommended creating a separate section for national schools teaching in Czech and Slovak to which sub-sections with German and Hungarian languages should be added³⁴.

The Committee for School Radio was reorganized by the Minister's Decree 31.515/33-I/1 of 10 February 1935. The decree relieved its current members of duty, yet the committee per se remained as an advisory board for the minister. The members of the committee met four times per year at regular meetings; extraordinary meetings were also possible. The chairman and members were appointed by the minister for three years.

Special departments for vocational radio were established at the committee. The departments were primarily created to be in direct contact with the type of school for which they were established. They managed all issues within the departments including its general improvement, the content of the programmes

from 10.15 to 10.45 and for the older children on Wednesday from 11.05 to 11.35. Responsible editors regularly consulted with Hungarian teaching staff through the advisory board led by the school advisor Dr Štefan Hatala. The content of the programming was divided into similar sections as the programming for the Czech, Slovak and German schools: i.e. literature, music and news/reporting. Czechoslovak Hungarian radio also found listeners beyond Slovak borders, in Hungary, although it was officially forbidden there. J. Potůček, *Ročenka Československého rozhlasu 1938* [A Yearbook of Czechoslovak Radio 1938], Ostrava, 1939, pp. 93-94.

³¹ Teachers expressed various concerns and worries at the meeting. Karel Komárek, the headmaster of the school in Poděbrady, asked for less theory and more music; Emília Hanzlová, a specialized teacher at Rakovník suggested that her girl students did not like scholarly lectures and would prefer more choir-singing. Hanzlová also criticized the overall quality of the broadcast programmes. Václav Lang, the headmaster of the school in the Hořovice district complained about insufficient financial support to buy radios. He also observed that the programmes for children should be more entertaining. Provincial inspector, Dr Štěpánek, appealed that the ministry recommend a suitable device; it, however, did not suggest a company to distribute devices to schools. NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

³² «Věstník Združenie učiteľov profesorov čl. strany národne socialistickej» [Newsletter of the Association of the Teachers – Professors of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party], vol. 7, n. 8, 1933, p. 7.

³³ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

³⁴ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 745.

and selection of collaborators. They ensured that the programme would correspond with the roles of national schools and school curricula. The members of the departments were appointed directly by the minister.

A direct change concerned German school radio which had been administered directly by *Rádiojournál* until the reorganization. According to the new regulations, however, German school radio came under the administration of the Committee for School Radio³⁵. In places outside Prague, the ministry appointed trustees (professional advisors) for a year. They worked on regional programmes in close cooperation with the department for school radio. Selected members of the departments formed an editorial board which supervised and managed the content of individual programmes. The department for pedagogical radio prepared specialized scientific, methodological and instructional lectures for the teachers of secondary, vocational and national schools and popular lectures aimed at a wider audience, particularly at parents. The committee reported on its activity to the Ministry of Education; the departments gave their reports to the committee; and the committee informed the ministry³⁶.

3. *The content of the programmes*

Programme creation was changed by Decree 41.058/34-I of the Minister of Education from 2 June 1934. It stated that school radio would be divided into three departments. The first department focused on the first and second year of folk schools [*obecné/ ľudové školy*]; the second on the third to fifth year of folk schools; and the third department on the sixth to eighth year of folk schools and town schools [*meštianske školy*]³⁷.

When the overall running of school radio broadcasting is assessed, we can see that in 1936, which is after more than five years of its existence, the content of programmes covered all school grades. The programme for the first level (six- to eight-year-old children; 1st – 3rd year) contained primarily radio plays or units with simple music samples. The task of recreation programmes was to educate in an entertaining way. Literary programmes introduced national folk tales as well as the tales of Hans Christian Andersen, and Russian and modern tales.

³⁵ *Rádiojournál* expressed an unquestionably positive statement on the planned affiliation of German school radio during a meeting on 27 October 1934. A written statement was sent on 13 November 1934. German school radio was run by the Committee for School Radio from 1 September 1935. NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

³⁶ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

³⁷ «*Věstník ministerstva školství a národní osvěty*» [Newsletter of the Ministry of Education and National Public Education], vol. 6, n. 6, 1934, p. 150. The Newsletter was amended by the Decree 144.314/I of the Ministry of Education of 7 December 1932.

Programmes were divided into a regular cycle of nine weeks. These were based on three recreational programmes, three programmes of natural science for children, a classic folk tale, a fable and a modern fairy tale. On alternate Mondays, the programme *Zacvičme si* [Let's Do Some Exercise] and on the other Mondays the programme *Zaspievajme si* [Let's Sing] were broadcast. Other popular programmes included *Zabrajte si s nami* [Let's Play with Each Other], *Prednášajte s nami* [Let's Recite with Each Other] and *Hádanky* [Riddles]³⁸.

Programming for the second level (eight- to eleven-year-old children; 4th – 5th year) was divided into 15 weeks. Seven programmes were focused on music; besides that there was a programme called *Deti deťom* [Children for Children], a recreational programme, four programmes of a geography-focused series (two legends or two historical sketches and two scenes from everyday life), two programmes on literature and short programmes (*Zacvičme si* [Let's Do Some Exercise], *Zaspievajme si* [Let's Sing], short reports, news).

Programme for the third level (11–15 years old; 6th – 9th class) was based more on news coverage. Well-known representatives of public life and culture were involved in the preparation of programmes, especially in the form of speeches. The programmes were created for eight weeks and broadcast twice a week. There was a regional programme, eight music programmes, two programmes on civic education and civil defence education, a programme about state history, a programme about contemporary life in the republic, two programmes focused on classic and modern literature and short programmes such as speeches, news, music and literary quizzes)³⁹.

Programmes on civic education and civil defence education achieved a special significance. They provided reports on military life, anti-aircraft warfare, the structure of the army, etc. Besides regular programmes, there were also some special programmes, such as special reports on the occasion of the birthday of T. G. Masaryk, the celebration of President E. Beneš's birthday, the celebration of the 28 October, and the ceremonial opening or closing of the school year⁴⁰.

Slovak national schools had programmes exclusively in the Slovak language for the first level. In the second and third levels, Slovak and Czech programmes were combined, although the themes and series were similar. They differed only in the form of adaptation.

For the first level, children's games and fairy tales such as *Sol' nad zlato* [Salt over Gold], *Dvanásť mesiačikov* [Twelve Months], *Zajkovia a žaby* [Rabbits and Frogs] were prepared. The programming for the second level covered the topics of geography (reports from different regions of Slovakia), legends (e.g. about castles in Stre no, Devín, Bratislava) and programmes on literature.

³⁸ Potůček, *Ročenka Československého rozhlasu 1938* [A Yearbook of Czechoslovak Radio 1938], cit., p. 86.

³⁹ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

⁴⁰ Potůček, *Ročenka Československého rozhlasu 1938* [A Yearbook of Czechoslovak Radio 1938], cit., p. 87.

The most complex series were prepared for the third level. An emphasis was placed – as mentioned previously – on programmes on civic education and civil defence education, as well as on reports on technological advances and progress. Literature series focused on examples of older Czechoslovak literature. Since 9 February 1937, broadcasting of the so-called «morning announcements to schools» was established. It began five minutes before the actual radio programme for schools. Learners were in this way reminded of significant events, anniversaries and news. It started at 8am, on Tuesday and Saturday, for all schools with Czech and Slovak as the language of instruction. It broadcast either jointly from Prague and Bratislava, or separately: Prague broadcast for Czech schools, while Bratislava did so for the Slovak ones⁴¹. From 1 February 1938, a morning announcement was broadcast on Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday for schools with Czech or Slovak as the language of instruction and on Mondays and Fridays for schools with German language⁴².

4. Regulations concerning the use of radio

In 1937, school and educational guidelines n. 105.513-I for national schools from 30 July 1937 were revised and became operative from 1 February 1938. The 40.664-I Decree of 12 April 1933 was included in paragraph 137. The decree stated the ways in which radio devices at schools could be used. The revision and precision of the rules were needed since some miscommunication between the central post office administration and school administration occurred as well as some misuse of school radio devices for private purposes⁴³.

It was agreed that:

1. State schools of all degrees would be responsible for ensuring that radio devices would not be used for unauthorized and private listening.
2. Non-state schools would have to pay a fee for radio devices. Public and private schools with special public rights [súkromné školy s právom verejnosti] would be exempt.
3. The radio devices at schools could be used only for educational purposes during lessons. Exceptions were allowed in case of significant cultural or state events.
4. The use of radio devices for political purposes or listening to foreign radio programmes was not permitted.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁴² NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769. The morning announcement in German was called *Morgenruf*. It took five minutes and included news, short reflections and bio-sketches of famous people. Potůček, *Ročenka Československého rozhlasu 1938* [A Yearbook of Czechoslovak Radio 1938], cit., pp. 92-93.

⁴³ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

5. The Committee for School Radio would supervise broadcasting of such programmes which might be listened to on a mass scale.
6. During the holidays, radio devices should not be used, only in the case of exceptional educational, state-propagandistic and edification purposes.
7. Pedagogical radio for parents was also included in public educational and edification care.
8. During lesson time it was also permitted to listen to – besides the programmes of school radio – programmes of national radio, if these supplemented the teaching and learning process and if they were appropriate for the education and edification of children and young adults.
9. School inspectors checked the condition and quality of the radio devices at schools during their visits.
10. School inspectors also monitored effective use of the school radio devices⁴⁴.

The abovementioned guidelines also changed the breaks between lessons after 1 February 1938. Naturally, broadcasting of school radio had to be adapted accordingly. On 19 January 1938 it was decided that broadcasting would be changed in the following way:

National schools with Czech or Slovak language:

Monday: 10 – 10.40am (first level); 11.10 – 11.40am (third level)

Friday: 10.30 – 11.00am (second level); 11.10 – 11.40 (third level).

National schools with German language:

Tuesday: 11.10 – 11.50 (second and third level)

Wednesday: 10.15 – 10.35 (first level)⁴⁵.

5. Technical support

From the very beginning, special attention was paid to the technical support of broadcasting, and regular meetings were held for this purpose. One of the first meetings concerning the issue took place on Saturday 29 November 1930 at the Ministry of Education. Representatives of *Rádíojournal* and the ministry discussed technical and commercial-organizational questions. Five major issues were debated. First, classification of devices appropriate as school radios was discussed. It was agreed that a public tender would be announced which any firm could participate in. Second, it was decided that information about the proper positioning of devices would be distributed to schools. Third, two possibilities were considered concerning the technical management of the devices: either free technical service or training of selected teachers who would

⁴⁴ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

⁴⁵ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

manage the technical servicing of radios.⁴⁶ Fourth, fees for using the radio were only 10 crowns per month which meant that any school could afford it. Finally, purchase of radio devices was discussed at the meeting as well as possible discounts⁴⁷.

Technical parameters of the positioning of the devices were checked by the committee through a questionnaire distributed in February 1931. Its purpose was to find out which schools owned devices and of what type, which schools bought them from their own funds and which asked for some financial support of the state. It was found that there were schools which had already purchased the devices in 1926, some received them in the form of sponsorship and some bought them with the help of parents' associations. The situation was also monitored in the form of personal visits of committee members to selected schools⁴⁸.

It was concluded that the radio equipment of schools was sufficient. The major problem, however, was the quality of transmission. Therefore, better technical service during the preparation of the programmes as well as higher standards in the quality of transmission were required especially if the programmes differed and each had its own special technical and sound particularities and requirements. Since this was indeed a major problem, a special technical department was created and dealt with:

- Cooperation of technicians and production at the studio;
- Service related to administration and technical support (advisory service for teachers, technical publications, etc.);
- Experimental testing and rehearsals in the studio (practice of pronunciation, space adaptation, quality of reproduction, failures at transmission, etc.);
- Technical service for schools in the district of individual transmitting stations⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ Both possibilities were used in practice. The Ministry of Education organized summer courses for teachers in Prague, Brno and Bratislava. Selected teachers (a teacher per school district) were thus instructed how to take care of the technological aspect of radio devices and broadcasting. Successful participants then functioned as technical personnel for the management of school radios. Two-day courses focused on practical questions, such as the content of radiophony, repairs and defects of the devices, practical samples and training with the devices. *Obežník Referátu školstva v Bratislave* [A Circular Letter of the School Office in Bratislava], 8 June 1931, 106; *Obežník Referátu školstva v Bratislave* [A Circular Letter of the School Office in Bratislava], 22 July 1931, 134.

⁴⁷ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

⁴⁸ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 745.

⁴⁹ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 745. Interestingly, the creative process of the preparation of radio programmes as well as the function of radio was promoted during promotional trips/excursions to schools with movies such as *Technika rozhlasu* [Radio Technology], *Činnost' československého rozhlasu* [Activity of Czechoslovak Radio] and *Rozhlas ve filmu* [Radio in Film]. *Rozhlas ve filmu* [Radio in Film] was a silent movie, later with subtitles, which mapped the history of radio until 1933. «Školský rozhlas. Měsíčník pro posluchače a přátele školského rozhlasu» [School Radio. A Monthly for the Listeners and Friends of School Radio], vol. 1, n.

In March 1934, a technical committee was established which replaced the service of the department. It ran a testing workshop for radio devices in Prague and its tasks included:

- consultations on purchase of new devices;
- consultations on reconstruction of old radio devices;
- testing the devices;
- preparation of samples for school radio devices;
- planning and management of visits of technical experts to schools;
- examination of new technologies and their practical use in schools⁵⁰.

The monthly *Školský rozhlas* [School Radio] regularly published articles on how to improve or maintain the quality of sound, often with detailed technical instructions, which can be also interpreted as strong evidence that problems with the sound transmission were significant⁵¹. The articles also pointed to insufficient quality of the acoustics in classrooms. As comparisons with foreign countries were frequently made, it became evident that the acoustics of the rooms was much better abroad and new buildings were designed to meet the requirements of successful radio transmission. A source of criticism was that in Czechoslovakia the question of sound quality was marginalized and frequently ignored⁵². Since the problem endured, a separate section called *Technický radca* [Technical Advisor] in the journal was created which addressed information about basic regulations concerning technical support and broadcasting. Another source of criticism in the section was that schools were often convinced that any device (for regular radio listening at home) could be used at schools. Such a device could not, however, offer an experience of high quality⁵³.

Conclusion

From its very beginning, radio as a modern medium helped to spread information among all ranks of society. Besides the general dissemination of information, the role of education gradually emerged as one of the key tasks of the medium. The humble early history of educational broadcasting changed

1, 1934, p. 32; «Věstník ministerstva školství a národní osvěty» [Newsletter of the Ministry of Education and National Public Education], vol. 15, n. 7, 1933, p. 212.

⁵⁰ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

⁵¹ «Školský rozhlas. Měsíčník pro posluchače a přátele školského rozhlasu» [School Radio. A Monthly for the Listeners and Friends of School Radio], vol. 1, n. 1, 1934, pp. 22-23.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

⁵³ «Školský rozhlas. Měsíčník pro posluchače a přátele školského rozhlasu» [School Radio. A Monthly for the Listeners and Friends of School Radio], vol. 2, n. 4, 1935, pp. 17-18. The magazine often used a humorous tone to educate its readers. For instance, there was an article entitled *Povídejme si o přijímači* [Let's Talk about the Radio Device] which discussed how one should treat a radio device.

significantly over the years and led to the concept of radio as a powerful means with a great didactic potential. It soon became evident that radio helped reach those parts of the country where other forms of access were difficult either due to the distance or other geographical complexities.

The introduction of radio broadcasting with an educational purpose was not accidental. The paper has traced the early history of the school radio, a specific educational phenomenon, in Czechoslovakia. At the beginning, the programming structure of school radio focused on national schools, and programmes took up very limited time per week. Relatively quickly, however, the programmes covered the whole working week. Separate radio sections for German and Hungarian minorities in the republic's territory also proved significant as an educational and state-awareness raising means.

Major difficulties which the school radio faced were of a technical nature. First and foremost, it was a lower quality of reproduction which led to the foundation of a separate technical department the aim of which was to advise schools on the various issues concerning broadcasting and radio equipment.

It can be concluded that an improvement in the quality of reproduction as well as in the quality of the programmes per se was an important precondition which resulted in the status of radio as a crucial tool of education and edification.

Appendix

The list of the members of the Committee for School Radio and its departments (1934-1936) according to the 31.515/33-I/1 Decree of the Ministry of Education of 10 February 1934. The members' mandate lasted until 31 December 1936.⁵⁴

- Chairman: Dr Václav Muller (Head of the Section at the Ministry of Education)
- Deputy chairman: Dr Jozef Kepřta (advisor at the Ministry of Education)
- Subagent: František Chmelař, (department advisor)
- Members: Václav Patzak (department advisor), Jozef Kopl (government advisor), Bohumil Pluhař (chief school advisor and provincial school inspector in Prague) and his deputy Dr Rudolf Šimek (school advisor and provincial school inspector in Prague), Bedřich Goldmann (the headmaster of a grammar school, provincial school inspector in Prague), Dr Artur Mayer (chief school advisor and provincial school inspector in Brno), František Heřmanský (chief school advisor and provincial school inspector in Bratislava), Dr Jaroslav Ryšavý (vocational teacher, provincial school board in Brno), Dr Ladislav Šourek (chairman of *Rádiojournal*), dr. Bohumil Bydžovský (Professor at the Charles University, Prague),

⁵⁴ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

Dr Oldřich Pacák (district school inspector in Prague), František Pátek, (district school inspector), Jozef Schmidt (inspector of German minority schools in Prague), Otakar Brož (headmaster of the town school), Jaroslav Kratochvíl (teacher), Ludmila Guthová – Gardovská (teacher at Praha-Dejvice), Emil Berndt (vocational teacher), Gertrúda Paterová (teacher at the German school).

- Trustees: Brno: Dr Jaroslav Ryšavý, Karel Konvalinka, Jozef Pleva; Moravská Ostrava: Karel Dvořák, dr. Jozef Kolář, František Hradil; Bratislava: František Heřmanský, Alois Illek; Košice: Petr Marendiak, Vojtech Mládek⁵⁵.

Department for school radio for national schools with Czech, Slovak and German languages

- Chairman: Dr. Václav Muller
- Deputy chairman: Jozef Keprta
- Subagent: František Chmelař
- Members: Bohumil Plurař, Dr Rudolf Šimek, Bedřich Goldmann, Dr Arthur Mayer, Július Balla, dr. Štefan Hattala, Dr Jozef Kepl, Václav Patzak, Dr Ladislav Šourek, Oldřich Pacák, František Pátek, Jozef Schmidt, Otakar Brož, Kratochvíl, Ludmila Guthová-Gardovská, Emil Berndt, Gertrúda Paterová, Adolf Cmíral⁵⁶.

Department for pedagogical radio

- Chairman: Dr Václav Muller
- Deputy chairman: Dr Jozef Keprta
- Subagent: František Chmelař
- Members: Dr Rudolf Šimek, František Bous, Bohumil Pluhař, Jozef Kepl, Dr Ladislav Šourek, Dr Bohumil Bydžovský, Dr Jozef Čapek, Dr Ota Oliva, Václav Šprysl, Antónie Maxová, Emanuel Vlasák, Dr Otakar Matoušek.
- Trustees: Ing. Karel Lorsch, Antonín Benář, Čenek Nevečeřel, Dr. Jan Hořejší, Stanislav Stuna⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ They were appointed on the basis of the 159.200/34-I/1 Decree of Ministry of 16 January 1935. Regulations for trustees were approved of by the Committee for the School Radio at the meeting on 3 December 1934. NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

⁵⁶ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

⁵⁷ NAP, collection ME 1918-1949, box 3769.

A history of the periodical press for children in Italy during the 19th Century. Part One*

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ABSTRACT: Through a vast amount of documents, previously almost unused if not completely ignored by scholars, this paper reconstructs the complex and multiform reality of published periodicals for children in Italy during the 19th century, from the first collections of stories, directed by Pietro Thouar and Raffaello Lambruschini in Florence during the pre-unification period, up to the lively, eye-catching illustrated journals from the end of the century. This work focuses on the foundation during the 19th century in Italy, of different publishing houses specialising in the publication of journals and reviews for children and young people (Florence, Milan, Rome, etc.) and on the role exercised in this sphere, by the editors and/or writers/collaborators of these periodicals, some of whom were among major childhood writers of the period (Pietro Thouar, Luigi Sailer, Carlo Collodi, Emma Perodi, Ida Baccini, *Cordelia*, Ester Bezzola Boni, and Luigi Capuana etc.), and a series of editors destined to fill major roles in the national scenario during the 19th and 20th centuries (Gian Pietro Viesseux, Giacomo Agnelli, Emilio Treves, Edoardo Perino, Licinio Cappelli etc.).

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; History of children's literature; Journals for children; Italy; 19th Century.

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Introduction

Unlike the periodicals for children published in Italy during the 20th century, which have been studied and researched with a wide perspective and definite critical depth¹, the children's periodicals that were published over the course of the 19th century, have not so far been the focus of any specific attention in the historiography of this field². This is true to the extent that for the majority, we still do not have any research or articles of any real value, while in the case of very few others – like the famous «Il giornale per i bambini» (1881-1889), founded in Rome and originally edited by Ferdinando Martini, or the less well known but equally important «Il paradiso dei Bambini. Giornale illustrato per i ragazzi» (1888-1894), published in Rome by Edoardo Perino and edited first by Onorato Roux then afterwards, by Epaminonda Provaglio – any scientific research dedicated to them seems to be seriously lacking and in many cases, largely disappointing³.

¹ Purely for the sake of example, we can cite: P. Pallottino, «*Il Giornalino della Domenica*», in G. Tortorelli (ed.), *L'editoria italiana tra Otto e Novecento*, Bologna, Edizioni Analisi, 1986, pp. 67-94; M. Galfré, *La fortuna del Giornalino di Gian Burrasca*, in L. Finocchi, A. Gigli Marchetti (edd.), *Editori e piccoli lettori tra Otto e Novecento*, FrancoAngeli, Milano, 2004, pp. 61-71; S. Fava, *Percorsi critici di letteratura per l'infanzia tra le due guerre*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2004; 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; A. Ascenzi, «*Per educare la gioventù della nuova Italia*». Luigi Bertelli giornalista e scrittore per l'infanzia tra eredità risorgimentale e costruzione di una nuova coscienza etico-civile (1860-1920), in A. Ascenzi, M. Di Felice, R. Tumino (edd.), «*Santa giovinezza!*». Lettere di Luigi Bertelli e dei suoi corrispondenti (1883-1920), Macerata, Alfabetica Edizioni, 2008, pp. 13-59; R. Lollo (ed.), *Il Corriere dei piccoli in un secolo di riviste per ragazzi. Atti del Convegno dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano (28 marzo 2008)*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2009; S. Fava, *Dal Corriere dei piccoli Giana Anguissola scrittrice per ragazzi*, Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 2009; I. Mattioni, *Da grande farò la santa. Modelli etici e valori religiosi nella stampa cattolica femminile per l'infanzia e la gioventù (1950-1979)*, Firenze, Nerbini, 2011; Ead., *Inchiostro e incenso. Il Giornalino: storia e valori educativi di un periodico cattolico per ragazzi (1924-1979)*, Firenze, Nerbini, 2012; J. Meda, *La stampa periodica socialista e comunista per l'infanzia tra età giolittiana e fascismo (1902-1930)*, Firenze, Nerbini, 2013; Id. (ed.), *Falce e fumetto. Storia della stampa periodica socialista e comunista per l'infanzia in Italia (1893-1965)*, Firenze, Nerbini, 2013; S. Fava, *Piccoli lettori del Novecento. I bambini di Paola Carrara Lombroso sui giornali per ragazzi*, Turin, Sei, 2015.

² Of the very few exceptions of which we are aware, we should point out the excellent research of K. Bloom, *Cordelia, 1881–1942. Profilo storico di una rivista per ragazze*, Malmö, Holmbergs (Stockholms Universitet), 2015; to which we will make a good deal of reference in the part of this paper dedicated to the long-lasting Florentine periodical (1881-1935), founded and originally edited by Angelo De Gubernatis.

³ See, for example: E. Marescotti, *Educazione, istruzione e diletto: il «Giornale per i bambini» di Ferdinando Martini*, in G. Genovesi (ed.), *Formazione nell'Italia unita: strumenti, propaganda e miti*, 3 vols., Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2002, vol. 3, pp. 53-70; R. Carrarini, *Il paradiso dei bambini: libri e periodici per l'infanzia dell'editore romano Edoardo Perino*, in L. Finocchi, A. Gigli Marchetti (edd.), *Editori e piccoli lettori tra Otto e Novecento*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2004, pp. 109-120.

There are various reasons for this lack of research or study and, worse still, the genuine shortage to date of a precise and well-documented map of the periodicals exclusively aimed at children and adolescents published in Italy during the 19th century⁴. Not least among them are the reasons behind the notable dispersion of these publications, often considered worthless and not at all important by public libraries, and therefore – on a par with what happened to the school and teachers' periodicals⁵ and the text books for elementary and secondary schools⁶ – which were not conserved, but instead systematically removed from library stocks through regular disposal procedures.

We should also mention the miserable conditions in many public libraries in Italy, of the rare collections of children's periodicals from the 19th century that somehow made their way to us – many of which cannot be consulted because they have been undergoing restoration for many years and for which no information is available about completion.

In the light of the above problems, there seems to be no doubt of the fact that a more thorough investigation of the characteristics and aims of the many periodicals published for children and adolescents in Italy during the 19th century will allow us to discover the actual role of these publications within a more general picture of children's literature from the period. At the same time, it will make it possible to definitively overcome a series of hackneyed clichés that for too long would have it that 19th century children's periodicals were dismissed as having no importance in terms of pedagogy and literature. This was because their contents were irretrievably 'sketchy' and 'moralising' as well as, in the majority of cases, written in an 'erudite', 'antiquated' language with an unbearably 'regressed and artificial' style, so much so that they were 'repetitive and boring' to young readers or, to use Giovanni Bitelli's words, affected by a «didactic pedantry» that was so stifling and «oppressive, that today's children would not swallow them, even if wrapped in liquorice and sugar»⁷.

⁴ Currently being prepared by Juri Meda, is a first *Censimento dei periodici per l'infanzia pubblicati in Italia (1830-1960)*, drawn up on the basis of a summary examination of the periodicals in the Opac di Sistema Bibliotecario Nazionale (SBN – On line Public Access Catalog of National Library Service) and the 'Youth' section of the digital archive of periodicals in Piedmont and Valle d'Aosta, as well as analysis of the *Elenco delle pubblicazioni periodiche italiane ricevute dalla biblioteca nazionale di Firenze nel 1891* (Firenze, Le Monnier, 1891); and the 'Gnecchi' collection of periodicals at the Museum of the Risorgimento in Milano – Municipal Historical Archives. We are grateful to the scholar for making the provisory version – still undergoing completion – of his *Census* available to us.

⁵ See G. Chiosso (ed.), *I periodici scolastici nell'Italia del secondo Ottocento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1992, pp. 80-81; and Id. (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997.

⁶ See Id. (ed.), *Il libro per la scuola tra Sette e Ottocento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2000; Id. (ed.), *TESEO. Testi e Editori Scolastico-Educativi dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2003; and Id. (ed.), *TESEO '900. Editori scolastico-educativi del primo Novecento*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2008.

⁷ G. Bitelli, *Piccola guida alla conoscenza della letteratura infantile*, Torino, Paravia, 1947, pp.

In actual fact, 19th century children's periodicals are to all intents and purposes an extremely rich and variegated experience, both in terms of the educational ideas conveyed in the different types of texts (novellas, stories, dialogues, rhymes, plays, etc.), divided into the different articles and sections used for almost each periodical, and from a viewpoint of linguistic and literary innovation, together with a broader and more expert use of illustration (figures, drawings, etc.). Now it is time to 'give a voice' to the children's reviews and periodicals of 19th century Italy.

1. *The origins of periodicals for children in Florence during the early 19th century: «Il giornale dei fanciulli» (1834) by Pietro Thouar and «Letture dei fanciulli» (1836-1842), then «Letture per la gioventù» (1844-1845), published as a supplement to the «Guida dell'educatore» (1836-1845) by Raffaello Lambruschini*

The first and most important Italian example of a periodical published for educational purposes and dedicated solely to children and adolescents is the «Il giornale dei fanciulli», a monthly publication founded in Florence in October 1834, by writer Pietro Thouar (1809-1861)⁸, who was also the editor and main contributor, together with Giuseppe Bayer, for the whole of the periodical's short lifetime. In fact, this publication soon encountered the suspicion and censure of the political police on account of its liberal ideas and of its references – albeit veiled – to the cause of the Risorgimento. In fact, it was closed by the authorities in 1835, after just one year of publication.

107-108. Similar opinions are found in other manuals on the subject of the history of children's literature and in the rare stories of children's periodicals published in the period after World War II. Cfr. M. Tibaldi Chiesa, *Letteratura infantile*, Milano, Garzanti, 1945; L. Sacchetti, *La letteratura per l'infanzia nello sviluppo degli ideali educativi e delle correnti letterarie*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1954; A. Lugli, *Storia della letteratura per la gioventù*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1966; S. Spini, *Dalla fiaba al fumetto. Problemi, generi, autori e pagine della letteratura per ragazzi*, Casale Monferrato, Marietti, 1969; E. Petrini, *Lineamenti di letteratura per l'infanzia*, Firenze, Giunti Bemporad, 1972; G. Genovesi, *La stampa periodica per ragazzi: da «Cuore» a Charlie Brown*, Parma, Guanda, 1972; M. Valeri, *Letteratura giovanile ed educazione*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1981.

⁸ For more about the person and the work of Pietro Thouar, see in particular: G. Mori, *Pietro Thouar e la letteratura educativa in Italia – ma specialmente in Toscana – nella prima metà del secolo XIX*, Caserta, Tip. della Libreria moderna, 1908; A. Carrannante, *Pietro Thouar (1809-1861) tra politica e pedagogia*, «I problemi della pedagogia», vol. 39, nn. 4-5, 1990, pp. 417-427; A. Gaudio, *Educazione e scuola nella Toscana dell'Ottocento. Dalla Restaurazione alla caduta della Destra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001, pp. 222-225 e *passim*; C.I. Salviati (ed.), *Paggi e Bemporad editori per la scuola. Libri per leggere, scrivere e far di conto*, Firenze, Giunti, 2007, *passim*. On Thouar as a children's writer, see the intense reflections in P. Boero, C. De Luca, *La letteratura per l'infanzia*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1995, pp. 8-10.

At the origins of «Il giornale dei fanciulli» was a series of hopes and requests that the Florentine writer had included in some of his previous writings. First and foremost, the idea was to promote in Tuscany and in the rest of the peninsula, on a par with that which had been present in the major European nations for some time, a modern type of literature for strictly educational aims and destined solely to children and young people⁹.

More specifically, in line with the direction that liberal Catholic pedagogists and teachers were taking in Tuscany, and who would soon join Raffaello Lambruschini and his «Guida dell'educatore» (1836-1845)¹⁰, Pietro Thouar aimed, through his periodical, to achieve urgently needed conscience-forming actions to make the moral and civil regeneration of Italy's youth possible. It was substantially a matter of:

training young people in healthy morals, as well as good customs, and to order them in the practice of their own duties. [...] So if young people commence to set their hearts more on things than on words in time, and if they are first trained to think well than to speak or rather, to chat, if they learn what they owe God, their country and themselves, it is possible that the country in which they live will acquire men who are truly worthy of that name, and free itself from an idle, conceited people and in short, of useless or harmful citizens¹¹.

Each issue of «Il giornale dei fanciulli» consisted of around 40-42 pages in two columns, with rare black & white illustrations, containing fairy tales, novellas, short moral stories, poetry, dialogues and plays for children, alongside a series of regular columns.

Edited for the most part – as we have already mentioned – by Pietro Thouar, who published his first children's stories anonymously, and which would later be collected together in a single volume¹², the Florentine periodical numbered

⁹ See, for example, *Racconti pei fanciulli scritti da Pietro Thouar*, Firenze, G.P. Viessesux, 1845, pp. II-III. As we know, the volume collected a series of stories written by Thouar in previous decades.

¹⁰ There is now a vast bibliography on the person and works of Raffaello Lambruschini. We have limited ourselves to pointing to: M. Casotti, *Raffaello Lambruschini e la pedagogia italiana dell'800*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1943; R. Gentili, *Lambruschini: un liberale cattolico dell'800*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1967; G. Giraldi, *Raffaello Lambruschini: un uomo una pedagogia*, Roma, Armando, 1969; R. Lambruschini, *Scritti pedagogici*, a cura di G. Verucci, Torino, Utet, 1974; and the entry by J. Meda, *Lambruschini Raffaello*, in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (dir.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione (1800-2000)*, 2 vols., Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013, vol. 2, pp. 10-11.

¹¹ G. Maccolini, *Considerazioni intorno alla morale di alcune Favole di Fedro*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 1 (1 October), 1834, pp. 25-26.

¹² As well as the already mentioned *Racconti pei fanciulli scritti da Pietro Thouar*, published in Florence in 1845, see: *Saggio di racconti offerto ai giovinetti italiani da Pietro Thouar*, Firenze, G. Ricordi and S. Jouhaud, 1840; *Nuovi racconti offerti alla gioventù italiana da Pietro Thouar*, 2 vols., Firenze, G.P. Viessesux, 1842; *Racconti in dialogo, ossia Commedie per la gioventù di Pietro Thouar*, 3 vols., Milano, A. Ubicini, 1845; *Lecture graduali composte e ordinate da Pietro Thouar con nuovi racconti per fanciulli e una scelta di esemplari di buono stile cavati dai migliori scrittori italiani*, Firenze, G.P. Viessesux, 1850; *Componimenti drammatici offerti ai fanciulli ed*

among its first collaborators Giuseppe Bayer, Giuseppe Montanelli, Michele Colombo, Domenico Cimatti and the abbot, Giuseppe Maccolini.

As well as the original contributions of these authors, «Il giornale dei fanciulli» also contained lyrical essays, novellas and stories by John Dryden, John Locke, Juan Andrés, Washington Irving, and translations of other foreign writers, as well as articles taken from *Novellette*¹³ by Gasparo Gozzi, from *Lezioni morali*¹⁴ by Giuseppe Taverna, from *Dei doveri degli uomini*¹⁵ by Silvio Pellico, from *Il libro di famiglia, o sia Trattenimenti familiari*¹⁶ by Arnaud Berquin, from the *Manuale di educazione*¹⁷ by Ferrante Aporti and also, from *I fanciulli o i loro caratteri*¹⁸ by English educator, Mary Edgeworth.

Among the regular articles in the Florentine periodical, we should first of all look at those dedicated to «Education» and «Elementary schooling», which contained contributions and interventions mainly destined to parents and teachers. These texts aimed to illustrate and discuss modern teaching for young people. It is no coincidence that of the many subjects in these two columns, we find: *Consigli alle famiglie, Ufficio del Padre di famiglia, Alle Madri di famiglia intorno la prima educazione dell'infanzia, Dell'educazione delle donne, Alcune idee generali sopra l'educazione, Lettere d'istituzione morale e civile*¹⁹ [Advice for Families; The Role of Head of the Household; To Mothers on Early

ai giovinetti da Pietro Thouar, Milan, A. Ubicini, 1850; *Racconti per giovinetti scritti da Pietro Thouar*, Firenze, G.P. Viessesux, 1852; *Racconti storici di Pietro Thouar, per la prima volta raccolti ad uso della gioventù italiana da Pietro Dazzi*, Firenze, F. Paggi, 1867.

¹³ *Novellette, e discorsi piacevoli, ed utili di varie sorti tratti dalla gazzetta del sig.r Gasparo Gozzi con una scelta di novelle orientali tradotte da diversi manoscritti arabi non più stampate*, In Venice, from the printworks of Pietro q.m. Gio. Batt. Pasquali, 1791, 2 vols.

¹⁴ *Lezioni morali a' giovinetti tratte dalla storia da Giuseppe Taverna*, Piacenza, from the printworks of Ignazio Orcesi, 1806.

¹⁵ *Dei doveri degli uomini: discorso ad un giovane di Silvio Pellico da Saluzzo*, Turin, for types of Giuseppe Bocca, at the author's expense, 1834.

¹⁶ *Il Libro di famiglia, o sia Trattenimenti familiari sulle cose più necessarie a sapersi dalla gioventù, di Arnaldo Berquin, recato in italiano*, Milan, from A.F. Stella, 1814, 2 vols. As is already known, this is the Italian version of *Le livre de Famille, ou Journal des enfantes, contenant des historiettes morales et amusantes... par Berquin*, Paris, chez André, imprimeur-libraire, 1802, 2 vols.

¹⁷ [F. Aporti], *Manuale di educazione ed ammaestramento per le scuole infantili*, Cremona, for the Manini brothers, 1833.

¹⁸ *I fanciulli o i loro caratteri di miss Edgeworth. Prima traduzione italiana a cura di Pietro Bigazzi*, Firenze, published by Magheri, 1828.

¹⁹ See M. Masson-Jour, *Consigli alle famiglie*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 12 (September), 1835, pp. 348-349; A. Pandolfini, *Ufficio del Padre di famiglia*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 10 (July), 1835, pp. 277-278; E. Boutmy, *Alle Madri di famiglia intorno la prima educazione dell'infanzia*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 10 (July), 1835, pp. 278-282; A. Padovani, *Dell'educazione delle donne*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 6 (March), 1835, pp. 102-106; G. Carbone, *Alcune idee generali sopra l'educazione*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 7 (April), 1835, pp. 134-139; G.M.E., *Lettere d'istituzione morale e civile*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 10 (July), 1835, pp. 266-270.

Education for Children; Women's Education; General Ideas on Education] and others²⁰.

On the other hand, the exhortations and maxims in the column entitled «Religione, morale, vita civile» [Religion, morals and Civilic Life], were aimed at younger readers and included a series of moral judgements taken from various writers: from the classics, such as Xenophon, Plutarch and Cicero, through to the French moralists of the *grand siècle*, Jean de La Bruyère and François de La Rochefoucauld.

Also of notable interest were the columns «Vite degli uomini celebri» [The Lives of Famous Men], «Calendario Storico-biografico» [Historical and Biographical Calendar] and «Biografia nazionale» [National Biography], through which the Florentine periodical edited by Pietro Thouar, in particular, aimed to promote a deeper knowledge of the nation's history and a greater awareness of the role in past centuries «of the sublime Italian talents» in the arts, sciences and civil and cultural life in Europe²¹.

It is no coincidence that in the first of these columns, i.e., «Vite degli uomini celebri», we find the lives of a series of 'great Italians' from different periods, including Dante Alighieri and Christopher Columbus²²; the second column, entitled «Calendario Storico-biografico», has a series of gripping stories about the main episodes in the nation's history, from the Middle Ages to the modern age²³.

On the same level, albeit with a different approach, we have the column known as «Biografia nazionale» which, through a series of short biographical profiles (Antonio Genovesi, Benvenuto Cellini, Niccolò Forteguerri, Alessandro Verri, Francesco Bracciolini, Veronica Gambarà, Andrea Palladio, Luigi Pulci, Luigi Galvani, Francesco Algarotti, Pietro Verri, Gaspero Gozzi, Girolamo Tiraboschi, Angiolo Poliziano, Marsilio Ficino, Galileo Galilei and Ludovico Ariosto etc.), describes famous authors, scientists and artists who «made Italy great over the past centuries»²⁴.

²⁰ See *Indice ragionato delle materie contenute nel primo volume del GIORNALE DEI FANCIULLI – Anno Primo 1834*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 12 (September), 1835, pp. 479-484.

²¹ *Cenni sulla vita di Cristoforo Colombo*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. I, n. 1 (October), 1834, pp. 32-33.

²² See *Dante Alighieri*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, nn. 2-3 (November-December), 1834, pp. 72-75; W. Irving, *Cristoforo Colombo*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. I, n. 4 (January), 1835, pp. 115-117.

²³ See *Calendario Storico-Biografico*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 4 (January), 1835, pp. 126-127; *Calendario Storico-Biografico*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 5 (February), 1835, pp. 152-153; *Calendario Storico-Biografico*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 6 (March), 1835, pp. 188-190.

²⁴ In one of the profiles that appeared in «Biografia nazionale», it was said that: «The stories and deeds of our ancestors are and always will please us, since as well as the joy in listening to them, they also serve to inflame our hearts and lead us to enjoy their glory. The virtue and the valour of our forefathers encourage us if not to equal or exceed them, at least to travel the same

The columns of «Il giornale dei fanciulli», also had a series of articles in support of the founding in Florence and the rest of Tuscany, of the mutual instruction schools and nurseries of Ferrante Aporti, and their importance in improving the living conditions of children and young people, with specific reference to «the poorer classes», to which the periodical liked to draw attention²⁵.

After the suppression, towards the end of 1835, of «Il giornale dei fanciulli», as already mentioned, Pietro Thouar became the main creator behind «Letture per i fanciulli» (1836-1842) – later known as «Letture per la gioventù» (1844-1845) – the monthly publication for children, issued as a supplement to the «Guida dell'educatore» (1836-1845), educational periodical in Florence, founded and edited by Raffaello Lambruschini²⁶.

At the origins of «Letture per i fanciulli», as we are reminded by Angiolo Gambaro, were the wishes, above all, of Lambruschini to «fill the serious shortfall», still present in Italy with regard to publications in «children's literature»²⁷. It is therefore no surprise that the teacher from San Cerbone contacted Thouar, whose writings on children and young people he had greatly appreciated²⁸, to implement this project:

I was lucky – wrote Raffaello Lambruschini in the «Guida dell'educatore» in 1836 – to find a young tutor with the particular feature of being able to write the most beautiful Tuscan language correctly, elegantly, and at the same time suitable for children and the people, bringing together the wisest and I would say, almost rigid moral and pedagogical maxims and the experience of infants²⁹.

route that they took» (*Marzia degli Ubaldini*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 11 (August), 1835, pp. 413-416).

²⁵ See, for example *Delle Sale d'Asilo per i Bambini*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, nn. 2-3 (November-December), 1834, pp. 65-70; *Reciproco insegnamento*, vol. 1, nn. 2-3 (November-December), 1834, pp. 70-72; M.M., *Cenni storici intorno al mutuo insegnamento*, «Il giornale dei fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 10 (July), 1835, pp. 274-277.

²⁶ For the Florentine «Guida dell'educatore» (1836-1845) by Raffaello Lambruschini, see: L. Tonini, *Saggio di una storia della «Guida dell'educatore» (1836-1845)*, Firenze, Bemporad, 1913; and A. Gaudio, *La «Guida dell'Educatore» di Raffaello Lambruschini*, in G. Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nel Risorgimento. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione prima dell'Unità*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 1989, pp. 119-145.

²⁷ A. Gambaro, *La pedagogia italiana nell'età del Risorgimento*, in *Nuove questioni di storia della pedagogia. Vol. 2: Da Comenio al Risorgimento italiano*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1977, pp. 700-701.

²⁸ In a letter from Raffaello Lambruschini to Giovan Pietro Viesseux, dated 9 December 1835, the educator from San Cerbone said: «Today I began to leaf through the writings of Thouar and I can assure you, dear friend, that I was very surprised to find that this young man writes with such elegance, such naturalness, and I could see for myself in the dialogue, the most candid, but not blatant graces of the Florentine language» (*Carteggio Lambruschini-Viesseux. Vol. 2: 1835-1837*, with introduction and edited by A. Paoletti Langé, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1998, pp. 32-33).

²⁹ The intervention is mentioned in G. Fanciulli, *Scrittori e libri per l'infanzia*, Torino, Sei, 1934, p. 44.

Published monthly in the period between 1836 and 1842, «Letture per i fanciulli» consisted of 16-page booklets with black and white illustrations containing moral stories, novellas, plays and dialogues for children, written mainly by Pietro Thouar and another close collaborator of Lambruschini, Tuscan educator and man of letters, Stanislao Bianciardi³⁰, or articles by foreign authors, as is the case of English educator, Mary Edgeworth, whose supplement to the «Guida dell'educatore» published various texts translated and adapted for Italian readers by Bianca Milesi Mojon and by Bianciardi³¹.

Between 1844 and 1845, as already mentioned, the publication edited by Pietro Thouar underwent a partial name change to «Letture per la gioventù», aiming essentially to extend the number of potential readers through the publication of writings (stories, historical articles, literary chronicals, art and scientific articles, etc.) not only for young children but also for adolescents and young people. In these terms, it is necessary to point out that, as well as the stories and dialogues by Thouar and Bianciardi, there were important historical contributions by publication *Sulla storia fiorentina*, about political and civil events in the city during the communal period (12th-13th centuries), printed by Atto Vannucci, and then collated in volumes³².

As has been rightly remarked, «Letture per i fanciulli» first and then «Letture per la gioventù» later, essentially aimed to promote the «vulgarization of pedagogical methods and the moral content underlying them», promoted by Raffaello Lambruschini and the group of scholars that formed around the «Guida dell'educatore», constituting an «initial immediate testing ground for their solid possibility to be translated into a language suited to the age and culture of learners»³³.

On this subject it is impossible not to share the opinion of Pino Boero, according to whom, «it is therefore, Liberal Catholic Pietro Thouar, born into a poor family, who ended, as an adolescent in a house of detention, and able therefore, to take 'popular speech' into account at a level of expression, who –

³⁰ For the biography and work of Stanislao Bianciardi, see: E. Bianciardi, *Stanislao Bianciardi educatore e propugnatore della riforma cattolica*, Firenze, Claudiana, 1912; A. Gambaro, *La riforma religiosa nel carteggio inedito di R. Lambruschini*, 2 vols., Turin, Paravia, 1926, 2 vol. 2, pp. 224-228; L. Cianchi, *Il contributo di Stanislao Bianciardi al risveglio dello spirito evangelico durante il Risorgimento*, «Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi», vol. 77, n. 103, 1958, pp. 65-84.

³¹ It is the case, for example, in the *Storiette per lettura di bambini, di Maria Edgeworth. Traduzione di Bianca Milesi*, «Letture per i fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 7 (July), 1836, pp. 105-115; or *La buona zia. Traduzione di Stanislao Bianciardi dell'opera inglese di Miss Edgeworth, intitolata: Moral Tales*, «Letture per i fanciulli», vol. 5, nn. 51-52 (March-April), 1840, pp. 45-70.

³² See *Sulla storia fiorentina discorsi di Atto Vannucci estratti dalle Letture per la gioventù*, Florence, with Galileiana press, 1844.

³³ Gaudio, *La «Guida dell'Educatore» di Raffaello Lambruschini*, cit., p. 137.

in terms of children's literature – best represents the planning capabilities of the Tuscan moderates»³⁴.

2. *Children's periodicals after the unification of Italy: from Luigi Sailer's «Le prime letture» (1870-1878) to Giuseppe Garzolini's «Il galantuomo. Giornale per i fanciulli» (1874)*

The first issue of «Le prime letture», children's review produced by Giacomo Agnelli³⁵ was published in Milan on 15 May 1870. The promoter and director was writer and teacher of Italian literature in the grammar schools of Milan, Luigi Sailer (1825-1885), author, a few years beforehand, of a lyrical anthology for children, also published by Giacomo Agnelli with the title *L'arpa della fanciullezza. Poesie pei bambini dai 5 ai 10 anni* (1865). In the light of its being widely used on the school circuit, this book was so successful as to be reprinted several times in the decades to follow³⁶.

The foreword of the first issue, which appeared without a name but is doubtless the work of Sailer, states, first and foremost, the purpose of this new periodical:

These new reads offer their first greeting to you, dear boys and girls, in the midst of the first flowers of May and in the hope that this already gay spring of your life will become dearer to you. If our efforts and public favour meet with good intentions, there will be a day, perhaps (still far away) that you will happily return to these pages, as one happily returns under the trees and along the banks to the country abode where one tried one's first food and took the first wavering steps across the lawn. Perhaps then you will feel moved, remembering the sense that a story now makes to you, a thought, an idea that comes to you from these words. And it is with grateful wonder that you will realise that many of our thoughts and feelings have become yours, without you realising, when your eyes ran impatiently over these lines, seeking nothing more than innocent fun. If then you are encouraged by the ideas,

³⁴ Boero, De Luca, *La letteratura per l'infanzia*, cit., pp. 9-10.

³⁵ We do not have any specific studies of Milanese review «Le prime letture» (1870-1878), founded and directed by Luigi Sailer. See the brief references in R. Lollo, *Sulla letteratura per l'infanzia*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2003, pp. 22-25, 32-36 e *passim*. The publication changed title several times: from the original «Le prime letture. Opuscolo periodico educativo edito e diretto dal professore Luigi Sailer», to «Le prime letture. Periodico educativo edito e diretto dal professore Luigi Sailer» in 1875 (year VI); then, in 1878 (year IX), to «Le prime letture. Rivista per le famiglie diretta dal prof. cav. Luigi Sailer».

³⁶ *L'Arpa della Fanciullezza. Poesie pei bambini dai 5 ai 10 anni raccolte e ordinate in tre gradi da Luigi Sailer*, Milan, Publisher Giacomo Agnelli, 1865. In 1886 the sixth edition was published: *L'Arpa della Fanciullezza. Componimenti poetici raccolti e ordinati da Luigi Sailer, sesta edizione curata dal prof. Antonio Sailer*, Milan, Giacomo Agnelli, 1873.

the feelings, and strong or kind actions then you will realise that you are in part in our debt, then we have done our duty, since we want no more than to bring education into your home in line with the teaching you receive at school and to do this so that you grow not to be good and ignorant, nor learned and bad, but equally virtuous and cultured.

After referencing the aim of «joining» education received from the family with that received in schools and of promoting harmonious growth and maturation, from both intellectual and moral standpoints, Luigi Sailer went on to set out the structure and editorial characteristics of the periodical, without failing to show how it would feature the ability to offer pleasant and instructive reads, suited to both «smaller» and «older» children, i.e. children and adolescents:

To encourage you to bind these *Prime Letture* in a book and keep them in your little libraries, I have kept everything with the characteristic of the periodical that did not go well with a fully published book on the cover. So, one issue comes after another without interruptions, without the usual boring – *to be continued* – without filling from bibliographical notices or other. [...] You will see that the first pages, offered to the younger ones among you, are printed in larger letters to make reading easier; while for those who are ahead in age and studies, there are readings that become gradually more difficult, in smaller letters³⁷.

Reference to an essentially moderate, liberal pedagogical and educational concept by the founder and editor of the Milanese periodical would occur on more than one occasion over the following years. Thus, for example, in January 1872, while illustrating the aims for the new year *Ai benevoli lettori*, Luigi Sailer stated:

If, for example, I talk about the *Prime Letture*, as if it were an institution that now has quite an esteemed position among the educational institutions of our country, then I need to use the plural, since the main collaborators committed to the work when they agreed with me that these writings, by entering schools and families, should bring you a vein of real sentiment without affectation, of precise, new knowledge but without prosopopeia. Learning, instead of being separate from the education of the heart, due to that fatal split that sometimes leads the most cultured people to follow the customs of savages, was perhaps considered as a means and an inseparable part of moral education. The title, *Prime Letture*, embraces the *earliest reading age*, that is to say children of more or less seven to fourteen years of age, There should not be even a shadow of a political or religious question; language and spelling should be curated with the scrupulous diligence required by the ages of the readers, unable to judge and correct the mistakes of others. Each issue should be educational [...]. In short, this publication should be such – inside and out – as to encourage the cooperation of all gracious intellects who feel the worthiness of translating that which we have been taught through study and experiences of life, be they happy or sad, into delightful pages for children³⁸.

³⁷ *A voi, cortesi fanciulli e fanciulle gentili*, «Le prime lettere», vol. 1, n. 1 (15 May), 1870, pp. I-II.

³⁸ L. Sailer, *Ai benevoli. Il Direttore-Editore*, «Le prime lettere», vol. 3, n. 1 (15 January), 1872, p. 1.

Published every two weeks, in 16-page issues with black and white illustrations, Luigi Sailer's periodical, *Le prime letture* included four separate columns or sections – «Storia e Morale» [History and Morals], «Scienze ed Arte» [Science and Art], «Poesie» [Poetry] and «Varietà» [Variety] – and originally, the «ordinary» and «extraordinary» collaborators included a rich group of authors, scientists, teachers and educators: Marina Astori, Jacopo Bernardi, Domenico Carbone, Niccolò Claus, Pompeo Corbella, Giovanni De Castro, Rinaldo Ferrini, Bartolomeo Malfatti, Carlo Mansueta, Leopoldo Marengo, Pompeo Mattioli, Felicita Morandi, Giovanni Pennacchi, Ulisse Poggi, Sante Polli, Giovanni Rizzi, Isabella Scopoli Biasi, Oreste Smeraldi, Antonio Stoppani, Giulio Tarra, and Luigi Zaira.

These were later joined by Giuseppe Sebastiano Barnett, Raffaele Bianciardi, Camillo Boito, Edoardo Bolchesi, Angiolina Bulgarini, Vincenzo Burzaghi, Angelo Ugo Canello, Giannetto Casavola, Enrico Comboni, Francesco D'Ovidio, Iginio Gentile, Temistocle Gradi, Giovanni Jung, Camillo Marinoni, Giovanni Battista Mirandoli, Stefano Palma, Carolina Pellizzoni, Benedetto Prina, Policarpo Petrocchi, Giuseppe Riccardi, Giovanni Schiapparelli, Louis Standaert, Enrichetta Usuelli Ruzza, Maria Viani Visconti and Antonio Zardo³⁹.

The promoter and director also focused on the «shrewd» decision of editors and collaborators called upon to provide their own «precious contribution» to the fortnightly publication, in his already mentioned proem at the start of the initial booklet, where he said:

From the first issue, you will wonder where I got the inspiration to embark on an enterprise that may seem puerile only to those who guess that it is easier to write for children than for adults. What does a gentleman have to fear when alongside and supporting him, are so many regular and extraordinary collaborators, so much intellect and so much heart? [...] If you could be in their shoes, you would see how great and strong is the love they bring you, so much that for your good, they make themselves and their ideas smaller than yours as yet

³⁹ A list of the «ordinary collaborators» and «extraordinary collaborators» of the fortnightly Milanese publication is to be found in «*Le prime letture*», vol. 1, n. 1 (15 May), 1870, pp. 1-2. Several of Milan's liberal patrician families had an important role among the supporters of «*Le prime letture*», taking out numerous subscriptions for the publication, founded and edited by Luigi Sailer to give them to elementary school teachers and nursery school educators in rural areas. To this regard, in a short article, unsigned but attributable to Sailer himself, appeared in January 1871, it was stated that: «The Annoni family, which is among the most illustrious of the patriciate of Milan, were happy to subscribe to many copies to donate to teachers in elementary and nursery schools. [...] It considers this periodical, widespread among the children of the city and country teachers, as a great way to form the spirit and add to culture. [...] In the universally confessed need to *restore* the minds and the moral senses of the masses, our periodical seemed to the noble Annoni family, to be a means that could slowly but surely achieve this purpose. We thank them for their favourable opinion and spontaneous participation» (*Continuation of the list of subscribers (for 1871)*, «*Le prime letture*», vol. 2, n. 1 (15 January), 1871, p. IV).

unformed minds can understand them; and they make such efforts to form their sentiments so that they can easily enter your hearts. To bring their efforts together for this purpose, they settle for gathering around me, who would consider it an honour to be directed by any one of them⁴⁰.

As an expression of a wide-ranging pedagogical and cultural project, strongly advocated by Milanese publishing house, Giacomo Agnelli⁴¹, «Le prime lettere» by Luigi Sailer was favourably received from the outset by a large part of the periodical press in Italy, and could – at least in the beginning – count on the guaranteed financial support of a large number of «underwriters» and a network of over 1,100 subscribers⁴², including, as well as the young scions of the most prominent noble and middle class families in Milan, such personages as the Archbishop of Milan, Mons. Luigi Nazari di Calabiana and the mayors of various municipalities in Lombardy, as well as a large number of public and private educational institutes throughout Italy⁴³.

To this regard, in the final part of the already mentioned preface presenting the new periodical, Luigi Sailer stressed:

I will conclude with thanks, and it is important to me to do so in public. First to all of the periodicals that did not wait for me to ask before granting me the fraternal courtesy of announcing the next issue of *Prime Lettere* in their columns, with words of encouragement and recommendation. [...] I could not ask for greater comfort for myself and my collaborators, than to see journals so different in their political intentions, agree in proclaiming the need for an educational periodical of this type and to encourage me to publish it. Other thanks are to those who, having themselves the courage to be associated with these readings before even the first issue, have shown a trust in the names of the editors that is extremely flattering⁴⁴.

Aimed at small children attending elementary schools as well as adolescents and «older» children, «Le prime lettere» not only contained stories, novellas

⁴⁰ *A voi, cortesi fanciulli e fanciulle gentili*, cit., pp. II-III.

⁴¹ See R. Sani, *Agnelli Giacomo, ditta*, in G. Chiosso (dir.), *TESEO. Tipografi e Editori Scolastico-Educativi dell'Ottocento*, Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2003, pp. 10-14.

⁴² The figure for the number of subscribers concerning the first two years of the periodical (1870 and 1871), is listed in L. Sailer, *Ai benevoli. Il Direttore-Editore*, «Le prime lettere», vol. 3, n. 1 (15 January), 1872, pp. 2-3.

⁴³ See *Elenco dei primi Associati*, «Le prime lettere», vol. 1, n. 1 (15 May), 1870, p. VI; and those subsequently published at the start of each issue. Starting in 1872 (year III), each issue of «Le prime lettere» by Luigi Sailer opened with a full page containing a list of the *Founding Subscribers* to the periodical, i.e., the most important subscribers, those who undertook, every year, to purchase stakes equal to or above one hundred liras. They included, as well as the Prince and Princess of Piedmont, major names among the patrician families of Milan and Lombardy (Annoni, Arconati, Castelbarco, Corio del Carretto, D'Adda, Dal Verme, Isimbardi, Melzi d'Eril, Mondolfo, Paravicini, Revel, Rocca Saporiti, Sormani-Andreani, Stampa Soncino, Visconti di Modrone, etc.) and some personages of undisputed prestige, such as Count Paolo Taverna, Sen. Francesco Brioschi, Comm. Guglielmo Fortis and the mayor of Milan, Comm. Giulio Belinzaghi. See *Soci Fondatori*, «Le prime lettere», vol. 3, n. 1 (1 January), 1872, p. III.

⁴⁴ *A voi, cortesi fanciulli e fanciulle gentili*, cit., pp. V-VI.

with moral content, dialogues and comedies, and poetry, expressly dedicated to children, plus other original writings by collaborators, as well as literary and scientific texts translated from articles that had already appeared in publications for children and young people in English and German.

It was in Luigi Sailer's fortnightly publication that the abbot Antonio Stoppani⁴⁵, among others, printed for the first time – with the title *Frammenti di un libro inedito di letture di famiglia* – the different chapters of his *Il Bel Paese. Conversazioni sulle bellezze naturali, la geologia e la geografia fisica d'Italia*, which only a few years later, in 1876, was published in a single volume⁴⁶. In the same way, author and educator, Felicità Morandi⁴⁷ published her successful operetta *I proverbi della zia Felicità*⁴⁸.

«Le prime letture» also published a series of stories with a moral background by Abbot Giulio Tarra, director of the Pio Istituto for deaf mutes in Milan and respected writer for children and schools⁴⁹. These would later become a series of successful slender volumes for pupils in different years of elementary school⁵⁰.

From 1875, every issue of the fortnightly publication founded and directed by Luigi Sailer was enriched by a large supplement of some 300 pages a year containing stories, novellas, dialogues and poetry in English, French, and

⁴⁵ For the biography and in the literary and scientific production of Abbot Antonio Stoppani (Lecco 1824 - Milano 1891) refer to: A.M. Cornelio, *Vita di Antonio Stoppani*, Turin, Unione Tipografica Editrice, 1898; R. Tomaselli, *Antonio Stoppani*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1948; A. Bellio, *Letteratura e scienza in Antonio Stoppani*, in L. Caramel (ed.), *Arte, letteratura, società*, Milan, Mazzotta, 1988; G. Pinna, *Antonio Stoppani e l'evoluzione*, in G.L. Daccò (ed.), *Antonio Stoppani tra scienza e letteratura. Atti del Convegno nazionale di Studi (Lecco, 29-30 novembre 1991)*, Oggiono-Lecco, Paolo Cattaneo Grafiche, 1993; E. Zanoni, *Scienza, patria e religione. Antonio Stoppani e la cultura italiana dell'Ottocento*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2014.

⁴⁶ A. Stoppani, *Il bel Paese. Conversazioni sulle bellezze naturali, la geologia e la geografia fisica d'Italia*, Milan, Tipografia e Libreria Editrice Giacomo Agnelli, 1876.

⁴⁷ For the biography and literary works of Felicità Morandi (Varese 1827 - Milano 1906) see: L. Borri, *Felicità Morandi: scrittrice, educatrice, filantropa*, Varese, Biblioteca Civica, 1996; R. Lollo, *Morandi Felicità*, in Chiosso, Sani (dir.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione (1800-2000)*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 201-202; *Felicità Morandi e l'avventura di fare scuola. Biografia di un'educatrice lombarda*, Varese, Tip. Macchione, 2008.

⁴⁸ F. Morandi, *I proverbi della zia Felicità*, Milan, G. Agnelli, 1872 (4th edition: Milan, P. Carrara, 1885).

⁴⁹ For the biography and literary production of Abbot Giulio Tarra (Milano 1832 – Milano 1889), see: C. Perini, *Vita di Giulio Tarra*, Milan, G. Messaggi, 1896; P. Boero, C. De Luca, *La letteratura per l'infanzia*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1995, pp. 14-22; R. Sani (ed.), *L'educazione dei sordomuti nell'Italia dell'800. Istituzioni, metodi, proposte formative*, Turin, Sei, 2008, pp. 251-292 e *passim*; R. Sani, *Tarra Giulio*, in Chiosso, Sani (dir.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione (1800-2000)*, cit., vol. II, pp. 565-566; A. Debè, «Fatti per arte parlanti». *Don Giulio Tarra e l'educazione dei sordomuti nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento*, Milan, EduCatt, 2014.

⁵⁰ See G. Tarra, *Dono ai fanciulli. Racconti, descrizioni e lettere morali*, Milan, P. Carrara, 1874; Id., *Buoni esempi narrati ai fanciulli*, Milan, G. Messaggi, 1873; Id., *In campagna*, Milan, G. Agnelli, 1877.

German, edited by collaborators Louis Standaert, Nicolò Claus and Giuseppe Sebastiano Barnett⁵¹.

It was, without a doubt, an extraordinary new feature in the as yet lifeless and slightly provincial panorama of periodicals for children in Italy, the aims of which – first and foremost to offer young people studying major foreign languages the opportunity to perfect and enhance their language skills in a fun way – were widely illustrated in the preface that, in January 1875, opened the three distinct sections of the first *Supplemento mensile in lingue straniere al periodico educativo Le Prime Letture*:

Nous ne nous dissimulons pas les difficultés de notre entreprise – said Louis Standaert, in charge of the French section of the *Supplemento* –. Ecrire pour l'enfance et l'adolescence, c'est-à-dire être agréable, instructif, naïf quelque fois, simple toujours et jamais vulgaire; et tout cela en français, pour de jeunes Italiens qui étudient cette langue! Certes, si la tâche est douce au coeur, elle n'est pas des plus aisées. Il s'agit de purifier son esprit, de rajeunir son style, de se dédoubler, de parler à l'enfant que nous étions il y a environ vingt-cinq ans, enfin il faut savoir se souvenir! Nous prions les pères grands et austères de bien se persuader que nous n'écrivons pas pour eux, mais pour *les familles* où la langue française est cultivée. Ceci n'est pas un sujet d'étude, de travail; c'est un *délassement* que nous tâchons de rendre aussi utile que possible. Les pères nous trouveront puéril, fivole, c'est tout naturel; nous comptons, pour nous défendre, sur les enfants et les jeunes mères⁵².

In the mid 1870s, «Le prime lecture» by Luigi Sailer began to suffer serious financial problems, due mainly to a growing drop in subscribers and to the gradual fall in the large number of «supporters» who had brought about the publication's success, from the beginning and then for over five years.

To deal with this difficult situation, during 1877 Luigi Sailer was forced to sell the periodical to Tipografia Editrice Lombarda di F. Menozzi e C., which, although on one hand shared in the programme and the original aims of the periodical, on the other, it brought in series of corrective measures to the organisational and financial management of «Le prime lecture» and, at the same time, introduced new and more advantageous subscription conditions for old and new readers:

Every periodical has a purpose and therefore, its own character – said the announcement made by the publisher of the new subscription rules –, and we feel that it is in line with the aims of *Società Tipografia Editrice Lombarda* to continue with the programme that has directed the publication of *Prime Letture* from its beginnings: to provide families and schools with sixteen pages filled with healthy, instructive, fun, and correct reading every two weeks, to form the heart and character of our young readers, as well as their minds.

⁵¹ See *Supplemento mensile in lingue straniere al periodico educativo Le Prime Letture*, «Le prime lecture», vol. 6, n. 2 (31 January), 1875. The supplement included «Eight illustrated pages every month» for each of the three languages (English, French and German).

⁵² L. Standaert, *Aux parents de nos jeunes abonnés*, in *Supplemento mensile in lingue straniere al periodico educativo Le Prime Letture. Lectures Françaises*, «Le prime lecture», vol. 6, n. 2 (31 January), 1875, p. 1.

[...] Persevering in this programme, we of course do not aspire to the multitude of readers to which a fashionable journal or a journal on fashion might. However, in recompense, we trust that the fathers and the mothers seeking education for their children will continue, as they have in the past, to promote the diffusion of these conscientiously devised pages among their friends.

And also:

The new year is here under happy auspices. Having overcome the difficulties that the publication has encountered over the last few years, the Publishers have been able to see, from the very fact of the misfortunes successfully overcome, how much favour it enjoys with the wiser, more cultured public, and with writers who lovingly promote the education of young people. This collaboration became more prestigious, more willing; the subscribers who were leaving were replaced by a higher number of new subscribers, even towards the end of this year. Comforted by these demonstrations of loyalty and approval, for the new year, the Publishers are finally able to introduce, for subscription to this periodical, the now general usage of stating appreciation of our esteemed Members, with a choice of prizes⁵³.

In actual fact, in spite of the efforts made to increase the number of subscriptions and relaunch the periodical, in August of 1878, the Milanese publisher was forced to stop publication and declare the definitive closure of «Le prime letture» by Luigi Sailer. This news was broken by the founder and editor in an article in which, after talking about the main stages in this extraordinary experience, and stating a series of thoughts about the slump and resulting failure, took his leave of the readers:

Serious reasons – wrote Luigi Siler – have forced the Administration of *Tipografia Editrice Lombarda*, owner of this periodical, to cease publication with this edition. [...] As for the *Direzione delle Prime Letture*, there is no need for many or even few words to say how sorry they are for the reasons why *Tipografia Editrice Proprietaria* has had to take such an unpleasant decision for themselves and for everyone. Whatever the reasons, they doubtless come together in this one: that *Prime Letture* in Italy was a plant in the wrong spot or out of season. Whichever, on the subject of publishing, it is not possible to continue for long if one wants what the country does not. It lasted almost nine years, which is not a short time. Of this life, as honourable as it is painful, in the time of its passing, there is no benefit to thinking on anything but pleasant memories: the approval and the constant cooperation of the best⁵⁴.

⁵³ The editors, *Manifesto d'associazione a premi per l'anno IX – 1878 delle Prime Letture. Rivista per le Famiglie*, «Le prime letture», vol. 8, n. 24 (15 December), 1877, pp. 18-20. Among the prizes decided for the new subscribers, there was a series of books from a rich catalogue of works for children and young people, published by Tipografia Editrice Lombarda in its series: «Biblioteca di educazione e di ricreazione», including: G. Macè, *La grammatica della signorina Mimi* (1876); E. Müller, *La giovinezza degli uomini celebri* (1876); P. Chazel, *Avventure d'una famiglia nei Vosgi* (1875); P.J. Stahl, *I pattini d'argento* (1875); J. Sandeau, *La rupe dei gabbiani* (1874), and H. Malot, *Le avventure di Romain Kalbris* (1875).

⁵⁴ L. Sailer, *La fine delle Prime Letture*, «Le prime letture», vol. 9, n. 16 (31 August), 1878, p. 252.

The reasons identified by Luigi Sailer to explain the premature closing of «Le prime Letture» may also be successfully applied to other periodicals for young people and children that had emerged in Italy during the same period, only to turn out – in spite of the at times extraordinary and high profile commitment of their promoters and facilitators – «plants either out of season, or in the wrong climate», and destined to embody expectations and projects that were decidedly against the trends in such a problematic context as Italy in the period, where there were high levels of illiteracy and a vastly lacking primary education and therefore, a public of potential young readers that was too small to support the growth and establishment of specialist periodicals. It was no coincidence that Sailer himself had complained many times before that: «A serious periodical (which is like saying, of great expenditure) cannot put down firm, vital roots in a country with so few readers»⁵⁵.

For example, all this explains the lack of success met by a periodical that, at least on paper, seemed to have so much potential, as the «Piccole Letture», published in Turin by Giulio Speirani in 1870, the same year in which Luigi Sailer founded his «Le prime Letture», and unexpectedly closed just a few years later, in 1873, due to a lack of subscriptions⁵⁶. It would also explain the even shorter career of «Il galantuomo. Giornale per i fanciulli», a fortnightly publication from Turin, founded in January 1874 by didactic editor and main contributor Giuseppe Garzolini (1850-1938), destined to come out for just a few months, until July of the same year⁵⁷.

Mainly aimed at small children and young people from the middle classes and inspired, on a par with Luigi Sailer's «Le prime Letture», by a moderate, liberal pedagogical and educational mould, the Turinese «Piccole Letture» published by Speirani and Trieste's «Il galantuomo. Giornale per i fanciulli» by Giuseppe Garzolini offered their readers a wide variety of stories, novellas, dialogues and plays, tales with a moral base and also a column of stories about Italy («La nostra storia», «Cenni sulla vita di alcuni uomini grandi» etc.) and scientific information («Conversazioni di storia naturale», «Invenzioni e scoperte» etc.),

⁵⁵ Id., *Ai benevoli. Il Direttore-Editore*, cit., p. 2. To be clearer on this matter, Luigi Sailer recalled the experience of a far different situation, to be found in the United States «A periodical for children published in America – he wrote – has three hundred thousand subscribers every year. In these conditions, a publisher can of course perform miracles» (*Ibid.*).

⁵⁶ For this periodical, see the brief references in Boero, De Luca, *La letteratura per l'infanzia*, cit., pp. 18-19.

⁵⁷ In the issue of 30 July 1874 Garzolini announced the temporary suspension of the publications to his readers: «*Il Galantuomo* also needs a little repose and for this reason, is suspending publication, which will resume on 15 October, when it will come to visit you in the company of three of its brothers, that is, the issues for 30 August, and 15 and 30 September» (Editor, *Avvisi*, «*Il galantuomo. Giornale per i fanciulli*», vol. 1, n. 14 (30 July), 1874, p. 113). In fact and probably due to economic problems, the fortnightly publication would not see another issue.

seeking, through «honest and educational reading», to feed the sentiment «of patriotism, family, and work» in the new generations⁵⁸.

3. *The 1880s and the return of periodicals for children and young people: the «Giornale per i bambini» (1881-1889) by Ferdinando Martini and «Cordelia. Giornale delle giovinette italiane» (1881-1942) by Angelo De Gubernatis*

In the early 1880s, what we may, for various reasons, consider two of the most important periodicals for children and young people in 19th-century unified Italy were founded: the «Giornale per i bambini» (1881-1889), created in Rome at the initiative of journalist and politician Ferdinando Martini (1841-1928)⁵⁹, and «Cordelia. Giornale delle giovinette italiane» (1881-1942), promoted in Florence by linguist and orientalist, Angelo De Gubernatis (1840-1913)⁶⁰.

A weekly publication («Published every Thursday») consisting of 16 pages in two columns with numerous illustrations in black and white, the «Giornale per i bambini», which was first printed on 7 July 1881, was a supplement to the Roman political and literary review, «Il fanfulla della domenica» (1879-1919), founded and edited by Ferdinando Martini⁶¹.

And one fine day – as we are reminded by author Guido Biagi – alongside the *Fanfulla della domenica*, and under the editorship of Ferdinando Martini, the *Giornale per i bambini* came out and was an amazing success, achieving twenty-five thousand copies. The journal set itself a precise, clear goal: to offer young people a pleasant, instructive read and compel more illustrious writers to deign to come down to their readers. It was a new thing, and I would dare to say – if I had not had too much of a stake – that it had to succeed. All political journals, together with the summary of the *Fanfulla della domenica*, cited the *Giornale per i bambini*, and in both summaries, almost the same names: from Paolo Lioy and Enrico Nencioni, to Ferdinando Martini and Michele Lessona. The publisher, Oblioght, would send

⁵⁸ G. Garzolini, *Una biblioteca per fanciulli*, «Il galantuomo. Giornale per i fanciulli», vol. 1, n. 11 (15 June), 1874, p. 81.

⁵⁹ For the biography and works of Ferdinando Martini, see R. Romanelli, *Martini, Ferdinando*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2008, vol. 71, pp. 216-223. Of great importance to our analysis are: F. Martini, *Confessioni e ricordi*, 2 vols., Milan, Treves, 1928-1929; and F. Martini, *Lettere, 1860-1928*, Milan, Mondadori, 1934.

⁶⁰ For the biography and works of Angelo De Gubernatis, see L. Strappini, *De Gubernatis, Angelo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1988, vol. 36, pp. 227-235. Of doubtless importance for our analysis are the autobiographical pages: A. De Gubernatis, *Fibra. Pagine di ricordi*, Roma, Forzani e C., 1900.

⁶¹ See F. Martini, *Di palo in frasca. Dal «Fanfulla della Domenica» e da «La Domenica letteraria»*, Milan, Treves, 1931.

for Martini every so often and say, in his Hungarian Italian, «Want many names, because the journal takes *root*», and to have good names and that *root*, the good fellow did not skimp, to the extent that in the history of journalism *Fanfulla domenicale* and *Giornale per i bambini* offered their writers the highest payments of the like not seen since⁶².

The Editor-in-chief of the new periodical was Guido Biagi, who, at least in the period under the direction of Martini, had a central role in the definition and implementation of a literary and pedagogical project that was to characterise the periodical, and also to coordinate the publishing⁶³.

The group of editors and collaborators at the «*Giornale per i bambini*» was both wide ranging and experienced, including authors, journalists, school men, and children's writers: Augusto Alfani, Carlo Anfosso, Ida Baccini, Amos Biscontini, Sofia Bisi Albini, Luigi Capuana, Achille Cecovi, Eugenio Checchi, Carlo Collodi, Eduardo Conti, Siro Corti, Gabriele D'Annunzio, Pietro Dazzi, Luigi De Marchi, Rosa Errera, Giulia Fava-Parvis, Ugo Fleres, Alberto Giacomelli, Giuseppe Giacosa, Samuele Ghiron, Marianna Giarre Billi, Ulisse Grifoni, *Jack La Bolina* (pen name of Augusto Vittorio Vecchi), Ida Lauri, Amilcare Lauria, Michele Lessona, Paolo Lloy, *La Marchesa Colombi* (pen name of Maria Antonietta Torriani), Teresa Mannucci, Pasquale Martire, Guido Mazzoni, Antonio Messeri, Pompeo G. Molmenti, Guido Nelli, Enrico Nencioni, Carlo Paladini, Enrico Panzacchi, *Yorick* (pen name of Pietro Cocoluto Ferrigni), Emma Perodi, Giuseppe Petrai, *Contessa Lara* (pen name of Evelina Cattermole), Gian Leopoldo Piccardi, Caterina Pignorini-Beri, Ulisse Poggi, Giuseppe Rigutini, Onorato Roux, Giuseppe Sacchetti, Luigi Sailer, Attilio Sarfatti, Matilde Serao, Alfredo Testoni, Francesco Torraca, and Anna Vertua Gentile.

All of the clearest writers in Italy – wrote Piero Bargellini – collaborated on the *Giornale per i bambini*, and they did so for two reasons. First of all because the *Giornale per i bambini*, edited by such a genius as Martini, was affiliated with the *Fanfulla della domenica* and the two publications had shared collaborators, meaning the writers were not divided into two categories: adult writers and children's writers. The same writers wrote for the *Fanfulla della domenica* for adults and in the *Giornale per i bambini* for children. [...] The second reason – alas – was that the work paid well and the writers were all too willing to be well paid!⁶⁴

As well as the regular column known as «La Posta dei Bambini», which contained the letters of young readers to the editor, the «*Giornale per i bambini*» also included a range of sections destined to literary texts and writing of other genres, hosted by the periodical: «Stories», «Novellas», «Fairy Tales

⁶² G. Biagi, *Passatisti*, Firenze, «La Voce», 1923, p. 113.

⁶³ See F. Loparco, *Ferdinando Martini e la direzione del «Giornale per i Bambini» in alcuni documenti inediti (1881-1889)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 9, n. 1, 2014, pp. 763-765.

⁶⁴ P. Bargellini, *Tre toscani. Collodi, Fucini, Vamba*, Firenze, Vallecchi, pp. 43-44.

and Legends», «Plays», «Modern Fairy Tales», «Poetry», «Popular Science», «Dialogues», «Biographies», «Proverbs», «Mythology», «Travels and Excursions» «Games and Variety».

As well as the original contributions from numerous collaborators published in the «Giornale per i bambini», there were texts by Pietro Thouar and other Italian children's writers from the first half of the 19th century, as well as a series of stories, novellas and tales, translated into Italian by foreign authors of the calibre of Charles Dickens, Hans Christian Andersen, Miguel de Cervantes and the Brothers Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm.

Originally in the hands of Ferdinando Martini, as already mentioned, the direction of the «Giornale per i bambini» was then taken on by Carlo Collodi, from the issue of 12 April 1883 (vol. 3/n. 15)⁶⁵ and then, from 15 December 1887 (vol. 7/n. 50) and until it ceased publication on 27 giugno 1889 (vol. 9/n. 26), by Emma Perodi.

Referring to the first stage of the «Giornale per i bambini», the stage in which it was edited by Ferdinando Martini, Fabiana Loparco has rightly pointed out that the new periodical focused a good deal on the world of middle-class children, who:

could not have actively contributed to the Risorgimento, and who therefore needed to be educated in the principles and values that inspired it in order to consolidate the resulting nation. The education that the «Giornale» advocated from its pages was secular, with a positivist stamp, based on the value of industry and work, on the central nature of the family, and on the net distinction between classes which, however, needed to learn to live in harmony with one another. The «Giornale per i Bambini» became a means within a pedagogical plan described by Ferdinando Martini on more than one occasion during his interventions in parliament and which made school the linchpin around which the new generations of Italians were to be built. [...] Thus, in the eyes of Martini, the «Giornale

⁶⁵ On the first page of the «Giornale per i bambini», dated 12 April 1883, there was a curious exchange of letters, in which young readers were informed that Carlo Collodi, had accepted Martini's request to replace him as editor of the periodical: «Dear Collodi – wrote Ferdinando Martini on 10 April 1883 –, I have never known any men who were entrusted to do many things at once, and to do them well, and I think history has few examples of such. So you can imagine that it is not possible for me to do the same. It is already something if I can just do very few things in a mediocre fashion. In spite of cordial insistence, I am thus obliged to withdraw as editor of the *Giornale per i Bambini*, because I cannot allow the paper to suffer from my involuntary negligence; nor can I take credit for the work of others by allowing someone to act in my stead. Would you take my place? I can think of no one better to ask; your name, well know for so much educational writing, is to me a guarantee of that the *Giornale per i Bambini* will be able to achieve the lengthy prosperity I wish it». This was followed by Collodi's answer: «Dear Martini, Thank you for your kind words and the courteous invitation you extend in asking me to take your place at the head of *Il Giornale per i Bambini*. Do you truly wish this? Then so be it! To avoid all melancholy, I can reassure myself with the thought that the journal you have imagined and created is strong and in good health. And I believe in its healthy origins and as a result, in the *derivata patris* of good old Porretti. Heaven forbid that by my fault, that kind chap old Porretti should break his word to the *Giornale per i Bambini*. He would be in trouble. I would be a fine sort if I took legal action for abuse of good faith» («Giornale per i bambini», vol. 3, n. 15 (12 April), 1883, p. 146).

per i Bambini» was to complement the national school system. At the same time, it also aimed to meet the new needs of the first generations of Italians, giving them new tales and novellas that would entertain and educate them with interesting and original stories. [...] The various articles – often accompanied by detailed illustrations – served to convey to the child practical notions related to multiple themes (from literary to scientific). [...] The whole thing was well combined in the same publication, with a strong propensity towards education but without failing to entertain its readers⁶⁶.

Of the many works published in the «Giornale per i bambini» during its first two years, one of particular importance was the *Adventures of Pinocchio* by Carlo Collodi, the first episode of which appeared in the periodical, edited at the time by Ferdinando Martini, on 7 July 1881. Piero Bargellini, describing the early collaboration between Collodi and the «Giornale per i bambini» and the background to the author's masterpiece wrote:

The cursed money that with its sinister sound was also blessed in that it shook Collodi out of his sloth, as after writing a few pages, he took his pen and wrote a separate sheet to Biagi. «I am sending you this childish thing to do as you wish with it. But if you print it, then pay me well that I may wish to continue it». He put it all inside an envelope, sent it and before continuing the story, waited for the money to arrive. It was thus that Guido Biagi saw the first pages on which were written, under the title *Pinocchio*: «Once upon a time there was... 'A king!' my young readers will instantly exclaim. No, children, that's where you're wrong. Once upon a time there was a piece of wood!»⁶⁷.

The serialisation of the whole book in twenty-six episodes, in the «Giornale per i bambini» lasted from July 1881 to January 1883: more than a year and a half with many suspensions, pauses and uncertain returns. In fact, after the issue of the first two episodes,

Collodi – as mentioned by Bruno Traversetti – returned to work and wrote what he initially considered to be the end of the story, which is through to the end of chapter XV of the book, where, in the epilogue the killers hang Pinocchio from a branch of the «Big Oak Tree». All of this first part of the work was published with a certain irregularity in the «Giornale per i Bambini», divided into eight parts, from 7 July to 27 October. At the end of the last part, the words «The End» leave us in no doubt that the writer had decided a tragic fate for his puppet, a different one from the edifying transformation into a real boy that we all know and which we owe to a later, cunning adaptation suggested to Collodi by publishing and pedagogical opportunities. [...] Ended in this way, with Pinocchio hung from a tree to die, the puppet's tale is a sinister one, all about the extremes of pain and poverty; but the playful sparks that are felt in Collodi's prose, the inquisitive complicity with which he mischievously calls to his young readers, prevail over the chilling philosophy of the work and generate disappointment in the fact that the fun is all too short. The young readers wanted new stories about the puppet and Collodi, encouraged by the «Giornale», was forced to bring him back to life.

⁶⁶ Loparco, *Ferdinando Martini e la direzione del «Giornale per i Bambini» in alcuni documenti inediti (1881-1889)*, cit., pp. 761-762.

⁶⁷ Bargellini, *Tre toscani. Collodi Fucini Vamba*, cit., pp. 44-45.

Thus, after a forced suspension of almost four months, publication of the story was resumed on 16 February 1882, with the new title *The Adventures of Pinocchio*⁶⁸, and it continued for another eleven weekly instalments, with the usual irregular issue times, until the beginning of June:

After changing the title and starting the chapter numbering anew – wrote Traversetti –, the new series, announced a few weeks before by Ferdinando Martini in the «Post» page for young readers, was preceded by an unsigned warning. [...] ‘This second narrative block, which includes the chapters XVI to XXIX of the book, will have a definite variation in the moral teleology of the story: while Collodi’s obviously educational tone in the first part was only in the form of episodic warnings (by the Talking Cricket, for example) to Pinocchio, and attempts to direct his behaviour, in this second section, there is progress with the plans to transform him from puppet to real boy, to reward his acquisition of a firm virtue. [...] Collodi suspended his writing of the *Adventures* for a further five months and then, after informing the readers again, together with a rapid summary of previous events, the «Giornale per i bambini» was finally able to publish the last part of the work, in seven episodes, from 23 November 1882 to 25 January 1883⁶⁹.

Along side Collodi’s masterpiece, we should also mention the novels in instalments, *Flick o tre mesi in un circo* by James Otis Kaler, later published in book form⁷⁰, *Il romanzo dei miei bambini* by Ida Baccini and the anonymous *Pippo, Beppe o le avventure di un ragazzo e di un cane*; as well as a series of short stories by Ida Baccini, Emma Perodi, Sofia Bisi Albini, Guido Mazzoni, Augusto Alfani, Caterina Pigorini Beri, Giuseppe Rigutini, Marianna Giarrè Billi, Anna Vertua Gentile, Ulisse Poggi and *Jack La Bolina*, to name just a few of the most important writers. We should also add the lively tales translated into Italian, by Hans Christian Andersen, *The Tin Soldier* and *The Little Match Girl*, and by Charles Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend*.

The periodical also contained a wide variety of other works in its different sections and columns. As part of its «Fables and Legends», for example, there were two pieces by Luigi Capuana, *La vecchina* and *Il cavallo di bronzo*, and one by the Brothers Grimm, *The Three Sluggards*; while in the «Popular Science» section, mention should go to *My small cabinet of physics* by Carlo Anfosso, *Lessons in physics* by Luigi De Marchi and various other works on zoology (*The Mountain Partridge*, *The Deer* and *The Weasel and the Barn Owl*) by Michele Lessona. There were also various profiles of interest set out in the instalments of *Le passeggiate al Pincio* di Emma Perodi in the «Biographies», the lyric poem, *I sogni di Jola* by Gabriele D’Annunzio, published in «Poetry»,

⁶⁸ While the story was still being published in the «Giornale per i bambini», Carlo Collodi signed a contract with Florentine publisher, Felice Paggi for a single-volume edition of *Le avventure di Pinocchio*, which came out in February 1883, just one month after the final episode appeared in Ferdinando Martini’s «Giornale».

⁶⁹ B. Traversetti, *Introduzione a Collodi*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1993, pp. 104-111.

⁷⁰ J. Otis Kaler, *Flick o tre mesi in un circo*, translated by Emma Perodi, Firenze, G. Barbèra, 1882. The story was then re-published in Turin by Paravia in 1901.

and two texts, *Il filo* by Giuseppe Giacosa and *La commedia dei Burattini* by Gian Leopoldo Piccardi for the «Plays» section, as well as – for the «Variety» column – effervescent, fun reports by *La Marchesa Colombi* entitled *I bambini alla Mostra industriale di Milano*.

During the following years, under the editorship first of Carlo Collodi and then of Emma Perodi, the «Giornale per i bambini» was much appreciated for the wide variety of its content and for the attention it paid to the different age ranges in the choice of letters it published. In its «Stories» and «Novellas» sections, it published works by famous writers, including Ida Baccini, Carlo Collodi, *Jack La Bolina*, Emma Perodi, *Yorick*, Augusto Alfani, and *La Marchesa Colombi*, together with pieces by other young writers, such as Anna Errera, Marianna Giarrè Billi and Enrico Fiorentino, who saw their first works published in the «Giornale per i bambini».

As well as offering its young readers the numerous moral tales by Pietro Thouar, edited by Guido Biagi, the «Giornale» continued to give space to many varied columns on «Natural History and Sciences», with different pieces by Michele Lessona and others, a range of «Fables, Legends, and Fairy Tales» that dedicated a good deal of space to translations of Hans Christian Andersen and above all, from 1887, a series of pieces from *Il racconto dei racconti, ovvero il Pentamerone*, a collection of fifty fairy tales written in Neapolitan (*Lo cunto de li cunti overo lo trattenemiento de peccerille*), published in Naples between 1634 and 1636 by Giambattista Basile.

Other translated works included – as well as fairy tales and stories for younger children by Andersen – *Don Quixote* by Miguel de Cervantes, and *Little Lord Fauntleroy* by Frances Elisa Hodgson Burnett, both serialised during 1887.

In the issue of 20 December 1888, reminding readers to renew their subscriptions and presenting a rich programme of reading and initiatives for the following year, the editor of the «Giornale per i bambini» could not fail to refer to the primary importance of the periodical and which it intended to exert in the near future, in terms of entertainment, cultural entertainment and the education of younger generations:

On the first of January 1889, the *Giornale per i Bambini*, the most richly illustrated in Italy – stated Emma Perodi – will enter its ninth year and for journals, like for children, the fact that they have left their infancy behind is obvious proof that they are full of life and have good hopes of becoming adults. This year there will be few promises from the *Giornale per i Bambini* but they will all be good. The first is that of a stupendous prize for yearly subscribers. [...] Many new names have joined the list of old collaborators, but to keep it short and sweet, we can guarantee our subscribers and readers that we have taken the best. Like last year, the *Giornale per i Bambini* will have monthly composition and translation competitions. [...] With great satisfactions, the Publishers of the *Giornale per i Bambini* can look at the past

because we know that the powerful boost to culture that young Italians have enjoyed over the last few years comes from us⁷¹.

In actual fact, the growing competition faced by the «Giornale per i bambini» from numerous and increasingly aggressive periodicals of the same type, published in previous years in Milan and Rome⁷², together with a resulting drastic fall in subscriptions during 1889, pushed the publisher to abandon a loss-making venture and to seek an agreement with powerful Milanese publisher Emilio Treves⁷³, merging the «Giornale per i bambini» and what seemed to be the peak periodicals of the sector, doubtless similar in terms of setup and basic characteristics, to the Roman publication, the «Giornale dei fanciulli», founded in Milan in 1881 and edited by *Cordelia* (pen name of Virginia Treves Tedeschi) and Achille Tedeschi⁷⁴.

On 27 June 1889, to this regard, a little by surprise and without any warning in the previous issues, the «Giornale per i bambini» took its leave of readers with a sober notice, stating:

With today's issue, the *Giornale per i Bambini* will be ceasing publication to merge with the *Giornale dei Fanciulli*, excellent children's paper published by Fratelli Treves, and edited by *Cordelia* and *Achille Tedeschi*, which has been published in Milan for nine years now, with increasing success. Our readers will have a periodical that for its genre is the best available in Italy and abroad. Its collaborators are among the most respected Italian writers and famous illustrators. It is a luxury journal, due to the beauty and number of illustrations as well as the elegance of each issue. It is a great success with its young readers, who impatiently wait for it and receive it with enthusiasm; its goodness is undisputedly proven in its wide circulation. Ours is not a complete leave taking of you, because your favourite collaborators at the *Giornale per i Bambini* will be publishing their work in the *Giornale dei Fanciulli*, which will therefore see the already large ranks of its worthy authors increase. It is with the idea that we are doing something of use that we take our leave of you, thanking you for the affection and appreciation that you have always shown us⁷⁵.

In Florence, in 1881, the same year in which the «Giornale per i bambini» was founded in Rome, Angelo De Gubernatis commenced publication of

⁷¹ The Editors, *Giornale per i Bambini. Year IX*, «Giornale per i bambini», vol. 8, n. 51 (20 December), 1888, p. 848.

⁷² We limit ourselves here to referencing, as well as the two Milanese periodicals, the «Giornale dei fanciulli» (1884-1901), edited by *Cordelia* and A. Tedeschi, and «Frugolino. Giornale dei fanciulli» (1886-1902), edited by G.A. Mercati, the Roman publications by Edoardo Perino: the «Giornale illustrato per ragazzi» (1886-1887), edited by O. Roux, and «Il paradiso dei Bambini. Giornale illustrato per i ragazzi» (1888-1894), edited by O. Roux and then by E. Provaglio. Of these periodicals, we will provide more details in the continuation of this paper.

⁷³ See M. Grillandi, *Emilio Treves*, Turin, Utet, 1977.

⁷⁴ Please see: A. Maisano, *Il «Giornale dei fanciulli». La società di fine '800 in una rivista per ragazzi*, «La fabbrica del libro», vol. 15, n. 1, 2009, 1, pp. 9-15; and E. Bianchi, «Mondo piccino» e le collane per l'infanzia della Treves, «La fabbrica del libro», vol. 16, n. 2, 2010, pp. 6-11.

⁷⁵ Il *Giornale per i Bambini*, *Avviso importante ai nostri associati*, «Giornale per i bambini», vol. 9, nn. 26 (27 June), 1889, p. 233.

«Cordelia. Foglio settimanale per le giovinette italiane», the longest-running periodical for children to be published in Italy during the 19th century, with an uninterrupted career lasting over 60 years, until 1942⁷⁶.

Between 1881 and 1884, the editor was De Gubernatis before the journal was entrusted to the care of one of its most regular and brilliant collaborators, Ida Baccini. Baccini was editor between 1884 and 1911⁷⁷, the year in which, following her death, the editorship passed to another successful collaborator of «Cordelia», writer Maria Maiocchi Plattis, better known under the pen name of *Jolanda*⁷⁸, and then, on her death, in August 1917, to her sister, Clementina Laura Maiocchi, known to young readers of the Florentine periodical by the pen name *Bruna*. In 1922 the editor's position was taken by Rina Maria Pierazzi, followed, around 15 years later, in 1936, by the Countess Elena Muzzati Morozzo della Rocca. Between 1937 and 1942, the year in which the journal was sold by publisher Licinio Cappelli di Rocca San Casciano to Roman publisher Rino Carassiti⁷⁹, who also took on the editorship⁸⁰.

Here, of course, with the specific time period of our research and the long and extraordinarily complex publishing vicissitudes of the periodical, we will only look at the 19th century period (1881-1900), the one in which the editor was Angelo De Gubernatis followed by Ida Baccini.

In the first issue, dated 6 November 1881, presenting the *Programme* of «Cordelia», Angelo De Gubernatis addressed the «fathers, mothers, and educators of Italy», stressing how the desire to deal with the serious lack of reading matter for young and adolescent girls in Italy was at the origin of this new publication, that there were no educational books or papers that they could have «read without too much damage and without too much boredom»:

⁷⁶ For this periodical, see: M. Stival, *Frammenti d'epoca. I dilemmi di Cordelia. Tra tradizione e innovazione*, Padua, Cleup, 2000; and above all, K. Bloom, *Cordelia, 1881-1942. Profilo storico di una rivista per ragazze*, Malmö, Holmbergs, Stockolms Universitet, 2015.

⁷⁷ See T. Cini, *Ida Baccini, la «Cordelia» e il giornalismo pedagogico per le giovinette*, in *Ida Baccini. Cento anni dopo*, Roma, Anicia, 2013, pp. 129-150. Also see the interesting account in I. Baccini, *La mia vita. Ricordi autobiografici, introduzione e cura di Lorenzo Cantatore*, Milan, Unicopli, 2004, pp. 183-198.

⁷⁸ See M.G. Tavoni, *Sulle ali di Ariele: Jolanda (1864-1917)*, Cento, Comune di Cento, 1997; and A. Folli, *Gli anni di «Cordelia»*, in C. Mazzotta, C. (ed.), *Jolanda: le idee e l'opera. Atti del convegno di studi (Cento, 28-29 novembre 1997)*, Bologna, Editografica, 1999, pp. 25-47.

⁷⁹ First published in 1883 by Florentine publishing house Carlo Ademollo e C., «Cordelia. Giornale delle giovinette italiane» was sold in 1892 to publisher Licinio Cappelli di Rocca San Casciano, who, in 1937, sold it to publisher Rino Carassiti in Rome. On this subject, see the references to Ademollo's editorship and the first stage of that of Cappelli, in Baccini, *La mia vita. Ricordi autobiografici*, cit., pp. 183-198.

⁸⁰ See Bloom, *Cordelia, 1881-1942. Profilo storico di una rivista per ragazze*, cit., pp. 43-45, 93-94 and *passim*.

While we complain – he wrote – about having so often to rely upon foreign books and papers, if we wish to provide our girls with something they can read, we do almost nothing in Italy to prepare educational reading suited to the delicate age in which a girl is about to grown into womanhood

The serious nature of the intentions and aims of this new publication were corroborated by the editor who did not fail to point out his personal involvement – as a parent – in the initiative, reminding how the name of the publication itself came from his fourteen-year-old daughter:

The name I have given to the publication – said De Gubernatis – which I dare to recommend to Italian families, is the sweetest name I have every heard, which fourteen years ago, keeping in mind the good daughter of King Lear, I chose to accompany my daughter into the world. It is therefore not an Arcadian title that I have given to my paper for young Italian girls, it is the name of a young Italian girl herself, who is now at the age in which the love for reading arises and flourishes, and often places me in an embarrassing position by asking me, a writer and a reader of many books, which book or which Italian journal she could read⁸¹.

Essentially aimed at middle class girls between the ages of 12 and 18⁸², «Cordelia» was originally a weekly publication with booklets in 8th format with 8 pages in two columns⁸³.

From the outset, there was a wide ranging, highly qualified team of collaborators, chosen by the editor from among authors, writers and school men of Italy, who were most sensitive to the themes of moral and civil education for young generations and to different extents, already involved in literature for children and adolescents⁸⁴.

⁸¹ A. De Gubernatis, *Programma*, «Cordelia. Foglio settimanale per le giovinette italiane», vol. 1, n. 1 (6 November), 1881, pp. 1-2.

⁸² See Stival, *Frammenti d'epoca. I dilemmi di Cordelia. Tra tradizione e innovazione*, cit., pp. 24-25.

⁸³ The price of an annual subscription was originally 5 liras for Italy and 7 abroad. A single separate issue cost 20 cents.

⁸⁴ In the letter asking for the collaboration of Collodi on «Cordelia», for example, Angelo De Gubernatis summed up the educational aim of the new «weekly sheet for young Italian girls»: «Esteemed and dear Lorenzini, You always extend such courtesy to me that I dare to count on you for a great favour. I need your work and I count on it. My daughter Cordelia is fourteen years old; she wants to read and she relies on me. I have thought about making a special weekly publication for her, which I will call *Cordelia*. Possibly for each issue but at least once a month, I will need one of your dialogues in the spoken language, suited to young ladies aged from 12 to 18 years. Please let me hope that on the first Sunday of November, the day on which the new journal will be published, I will be able to insert a page by *Collodi*. [...] In any case, I have decided to make this gift to my daughter for one year. Please help me, dear Lorenzini to do this well. Imagine having a dear daughter, aged 14, who is intelligent, lively, kind and curious, and write like a good father». The letter, the original of which is stored in the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze [Central National Library in Florence] (N.A. 754. III. 22.), is reproduced in Bargellini, *Tre toscani. Collodi Fucini Vamba*, cit., pp. 41-43.

This is the case – with specific reference to the first three years of «Cordelia» with De Gubernatis as editor – for already famous authors and young writers destined to gain their experience in the columns of the Florentine paper: Augusto Alfani, Carlo Anfosso, Ida Baccini, Sofia Bisi Albini, Carlo Collodi, Augusto Conti, Pietro Dazzi, Giovanni De Castro, Dora D'Istria, Guido Falorsi, Salvatore Farina, *Jolanda*, Antonio Manno, Teresa Mannucci, Emilia Mariani, Ferdinando Nunziante, Italo Pizzi and Giuseppe Rigutini, to name just the most frequent and representative.

As well as publishing serialised stories, «novellas, sketches, and dialogues in the spoken language, by worthy writers who were welcomed by Italian families: some good poetry, if necessary», a «choice of various news stories» and informative texts («popular science, contemporary history and Italian geography»)⁸⁵, «Cordelia» included different regular pieces or columns, such as the one entitled «Conversations with my Daughter», edited by De Gubernatis, and containing thoughts and moral encouragement, as well as proposals to read works that were «authentically educational and edifying for young girls». There was also a series of charming and pleasant tales, suited to the level of instruction and the tastes of young girl readers on subjects and questions of archaeology, civil, political, and religious history, Oriental languages and cultural traditions of people from all over the world.

Of particular interest was the «Piccolo carteggio», a regular page in which the letters sent in from young subscribers were published, together with the editor's replies, and there were also two columns, the «Palestra delle giovinette» and «Palestra delle maestre», for the purpose of providing «school essays», short stories and other original writings by readers. However, on account of their lack of success, both columns – along with others – were cancelled in the second year of publication⁸⁶.

Narrative works printed in the early editions of «Cordelia» focused without doubt on the lively, successful story by Sofia Bisi Albini, *Una nidiata*. This was serialised in the period 1881-1883 and then published in volume form, by Emilio Treves in Milan (1890), before going on to be reprinted several times during the 20th century by Bemporad, and Marzocco, and reaching its 14th edition in the period after World War II⁸⁷.

Set up with great expectations by De Gubernatis in 1881, «Cordelia» had quite a difficult start and during the first three years of its publication, it recorded a slow yet unstoppable decline in subscriptions, passing from over 4,000 in the beginning to around 1,600 (therefore, far below the minimum

⁸⁵ De Gubernatis, *Programma*, cit., p. 2.

⁸⁶ See *Piccolo carteggio*, «Cordelia. Foglio settimanale per le giovinette italiane», vol. 3, n. 4 (20 February), 1883, p. 39.

⁸⁷ S. Bisi Albini, *Una nidiata. Scene di famiglia*, Milano, Treviso, 1890 (14^a edition: Firenze, Marzocco, 1948).

number needed «to cover costs», which was «three thousand subscribers»⁸⁸), recorded in February 1883⁸⁹.

It was no coincidence that in the publication of 8 October 1882, the editor stressed with deep regret how, during the first year of its life, the periodical had made «not a profit but a definite loss», and how instead of being a reason for satisfaction, it was «a serious sacrifice»⁹⁰.

To face the serious difficulties encountered, De Gubernatis introduced a series of changes at editorial level: «In November 1882 – wrote Karin Bloom – the paper changed its issue frequency, number of pages and format. From a weekly, 8-page sheet, it became a 64-page monthly, changing the subheading from *Foglio settimanale per le giovinette italiane* to *Rivista mensile per le giovinette italiane*, passing from the old quarto format to the 8th one, giving the review the appearance of a book»⁹¹. From there it was a short time before the editor and promoter decided not to renew the contract with Successori Le Monnier to print «Cordelia», embarking on an agreement that was far more beneficial, with another Florentine printer, Carlo Ademollo and C. in March 1883⁹².

In fact, in spite of efforts and of the new features introduced in the management and editorial setup of the periodical, the economic situation showed no signs of improvement, to the extent that, a few months later, in May 1883, Angelo De Gubernatis decided to sell «Cordelia» to its publishers and printers, Carlo Ademollo e C.⁹³. And a little over a year later, in September 1884, disappointed at his growing financial problems and inability to ensure stability and prospects for growth to his publication, he officially announced his resignation as editor *To the readers of Cordelia*, together with his decision to appoint a worthy collaborator of «Cordelia» in his stead, one of the best known and successful children's writers in Italy at the time, Ida Baccini:

But since it would be impossible to talk to my daughter, now in her eighteenth year – wrote De Gubernatis – in the same language I used with the fourteen-year-old girl, I recognise the need for me to withdraw as editor of Cordelia and to make way for someone who,

⁸⁸ See Bargellini, *Tre toscani. Collodi Fucini Vamba*, cit., p. 42.

⁸⁹ Bloom, *Cordelia, 1881-1942. Profilo storico di una rivista per ragazze*, cit., pp. 66-67.

⁹⁰ A. De Gubernatis, *Alle lettrici della Cordelia*, «Cordelia. Foglio settimanale per le giovinette italiane», vol. 2, n. 49, 8 October, 1882, p. 316.

⁹¹ Bloom, *Cordelia, 1881-1942. Profilo storico di una rivista per ragazze*, cit., p. 59.

⁹² From issue III, n. 5 (20 March), 1883, «Cordelia. Rivista mensile per le giovinette italiane» was printed by Ademollo e C. at via de' Servi, n. 2 bis.

⁹³ See Carlo Ademollo to Angelo De Gubernatis, Florence 4 May 1883, in Central National Library, Florence, De Gubernatis Collection, 1, 34. In his memoirs, printed twenty or so years later, De Gubernatis summed up his reasons for this decision: «After three years, having *completed my role as nanny to my daughter*, and having helped some young girls in their first steps into literature, who then went on to become famous (*Yolanda*, among others), I left the journal, passing the editorship to worthy author Ida Baccini» (A. De Gubernatis, *Fibra. Pagine di ricordi*, Roma, Forzani e C., 1900, p. 315).

on account of their continued office, would be better placed to edit a publication for girls aged between twelve and seventeen, the age at which there is a lack of likeable, convenient reading, which could be safely recommended. I told myself that the education of young women was better placed with a woman than a man. [...] I am the first to admit that we men have no gentleness when looking after children. I looked everywhere among writers and educators in Italy, to find one who, for someone born in Florence, writes better than the others and who, in her writing instructs with more enjoyment and less pedantry, and I thought of Ida Baccini, already so popular with the readers of *Cordelia*, and whose works all have an excellent educational purpose⁹⁴.

Baccini herself, in her autobiography, *La mia vita*, describes the events that took her to the editorship of «*Cordelia*» and the resulting cultural and pedagogical choices she made to relaunch the periodical:

My good and illustrious friend, Count Angelo De Gubernatis decided to found a journal for young girls some time in 1881. In fact, he founded it and named it after his beloved daughter, *Cordelia*. The first issue of this journal was published on 6 November 1881 and was met with courteous goodwill. [...] De Gubernatis had had a good idea and the writers for this new periodical were such as to inspire the greatest faith on the part of fathers, mothers, and educators in Italy. [...] After three years, until the end of '84, De Gubernatis, perhaps tired of the many efforts required of him to edit and compile his journal, suggested that he hand the editorship to me. *Cordelia* was a healthy organism and needed no more to flourish than continued loving care. [...] I was greatly honoured by the proposal and accepted the editorship of *Cordelia*, which has been sold to new owners, the publishers Ademollo and Bossi.

And again:

In the beginning, the paper gave me much to do. De Gubernatis had based his noble work of three years on an ideal of seriousness, of a doctrine that did little to flatter (and certainly not then) the ideal of our girls as quite fatuous, light and talkative. At the time I was not in the forefront of actual feminism as I am today, but I thought that the development of female education, excessive doctrinaire thinking, should remove all character of gentle beauty. Thus it was a matter of giving *Cordelia* a radical transformation, of making it a review that would not be too clever or serious, nor too free, too rigid, too fatuous or too serious. This search for an apparent mediocrity was needed to diffuse the periodical. To make a publication of this type *vital*, it needed not to be directed at a group, but at a collectivity and therefore, it needed to have something for everyone⁹⁵.

In fact, as rightly pointed out by Miriam Stival, far from dealing with the nascent ideas of feminism or just brushing on a limited idea of renewing feminine cultural and educational models, with Baccini as editor, the young readers of «*Cordelia*» went back to «contemplating their placid, reassuring domestic horizons, carefully redimensioned and planned, without cultural accentuation,

⁹⁴ A. De Gubernatis, *Alle lettrici della Cordelia*, «*Cordelia. Rivista mensile per le giovinette italiane*», vol. 4, n. 11 (20 settembre), 1884, p. 227.

⁹⁵ Baccini, *La mia vita. Ricordi autobiografici*, cit., pp. 185-188.

or tiresome mental exercise, and without any unsuitable expansion of interests», since it was necessary to arrive at an essential gilded «mediocrity», referred to in her memoirs, as anything else would merely have been a relaunch in grand style of the moderate concept of the woman and her role in modern Italian society.

It is no coincidence that in presenting herself as the new editor of the publication, Ida Baccini set down the programme of aims that would characterise her editorship:

Therefore, I will not be using big words or making bombastic promises. *Did our mothers, our dear mothers who love us and who take care of all our needs, plan it all on the day we were born? Let me be a mother to you. Will you be content with that? [...]* When I meet a girl, I don't think about her literary or scientific culture; it is of little importance to me that she knows some silly verse by Iacopone da Todi off by heart, or can chatter eruditely about the phalanx of a monkey's finger. What I ask is that she be kind, good and filled with grace; that her taste is finely trained in the contemplation of beauty. What I ask, what I beg of her, is to be, to remain a woman. Nor do I mean by *woman* that usual tired, anxious, frivolous being that for some time has triumphed on the stages of Italian theatre, and frolicked through the romantic pages of the cheap songbooks, invading sketches, novels, paintings. Heaven help me: *I want good, kind, nice and polite women, educated in beautiful things; this, but I also want them brave and strong, and useful.*

And again:

Today we have lovely women who write with elegance, paint artistically, talk about criticism, philology, and even heraldry. All this is wonderful, but is it useful? [...] Now what idea, what concept do our girls have of practical living, of everyday life? *How and when do we teach them to be good daughters, respectable wives, loving mothers? Do they know how to run a house, take into account the time, educate their children with a love of work, sobriety and courage?* Have they ever been made to understand that the black days happen more often than the white ones; that illness is an inevitable part of life, as are disappointment and hardship, and cruel abandonment? And that women, real *women*, as I understand them, as we should all understand them, have much more to do than think about the War in the Vendée, the odes of Anacreon, and of objective and subjective methods? And since no one is taking care of all this, nor wants to do so, then we will help a little with our publication, which, even if it cannot change the face of the moon or reform the world, will at least have had wise mothers and serious children on its side, which is already something⁹⁶.

Faithful to her intention to provide young readers with material that is as «thrilling and fun» as it was «suitable and convenient for young Italian girls», because it was «moral and educational», from the first year of her editorship, Ida Baccini undertook to redesign the profile of the periodical, introducing a series of columns – the majority of which she edited herself, either anonymously

⁹⁶ I. Baccini, *Alle lettrici della Cordelia*, «Cordelia. Rivista mensile per le giovinette italiane», vol. 4, n. 12 (20 October), 1884, p. 235.

or under the pen name *Marinella del Rosso*⁹⁷ – dedicated to the presentation and discussion of books and papers suited to young girls: from «Books and papers» to «On the editing table» and «New books»⁹⁸.

Alongside these were similar types of column, dedicated to presentations and reviews of international narratives, such as «Foreign Anthology» and Italian novels and stories, originally aimed at an adult readership but which could also serve the young readers of «Cordelia», as is the case of the section entitled «From Father's Library».

Also under the impetus of Baccini, the periodical added more new columns, including those aiming to celebrate – alongside the «Italian Writers» – the «Profiles of Heroic Women» and the «Profiles of Good Women», even the ideal petit-bourgeoise woman with a family and home, eager to meet the tastes and the expectations of her husband, looking after the care and education of her children and running the home. This is the case, for example, of the «The girl housewife», the «Young girl in the kitchen» and «Domestic economy» where interventions on the main topics of family life were published, including tips for future brides, recipes and rules for etiquette.

As well as the numerous assorted columns mentioned above, «Cordelia» directed by Ida Baccini stood out for the increasing amount of space it gave to novels and stories with an exclusively feminine flavour, serialised and written by Ida Baccini herself, who published a large number of pieces in the periodical, making recourse to various pen names and other collaborators, including Alfredo Baccelli, Manfredo Baccini, Berta Barbensi, Eugenia Franciosi Bonelli, Ester Bezzola Boni, Camilla Buffoni Zappa, *Contessa Lara*, Elisa Cappelli, Rosa Errera, Marianna Giarrè Billi, Onorata Grossi Mercanti, *Jolanda*, Giuseppe Rigutini, Augusto Alfani and Edvige Salvi.

Ida Baccini's editorial 'revolution' aimed to relaunch «Cordelia» and increase the number of readers, although it would only be a partial success. After an oscillating start along the 'new path', already at the start of the 1890s, the periodical's situation had become critical:

Towards 1891 – Baccini notes in *La mia vita* – Cordelia went through a slump and the number of subscriptions dropped rapidly. The publishers, although intelligent and industrious, did not know how to support the administration of a review of this kind and I was asked to find a buyer. I did not have the necessary funds to buy it myself and nor, if I had, would I have made an investment to purchase the paper, as it does not go without saying that a good author can be a good administrator at the same time. Going back through my memories, I recalled the name of a brave publisher in Romagna, Cappelli in Rocca San Casciano, who I knew to be young, bold, full of hope and enthusiasm, and also...sufficient funds. I wrote

⁹⁷ See Baccini, *La mia vita. Ricordi autobiografici*, cit., pp. 189-190.

⁹⁸ «In Cordelia – wrote Ida Baccini – I wrote a literary review every week, in which I looked at all or almost all of the prose and poetry books published in Italy, which publishers sent to the journal, as well as at all of the newspapers» (*ibid.*, p. 189).

to him by telegraph, suggesting the purchase of *Cordelia*. Cappelli [...] came, saw,... and bought. Thanks to his energy and excellent aptitude for investment, in a short time, not only was he able to raise the fortunes of the failing *Cordelia*, but he also managed to make it prosper and give it a breath of new life⁹⁹.

In fact, with the purchase of «Cordelia» by the dynamic, expert publisher, Licinio Cappelli¹⁰⁰, in the middle of 1892¹⁰¹, the critical situation was destined to change significantly. After reaching the bottom and barely achieving a share of «eight hundred», when the periodical was sold by Ademollo to the publishers in Rocca San Casciano, the subscriptions to «Cordelia» met with a rapid, growing recovery, passing from about 2000 in 1894 to over 5000 in 1900 and around 9000 in 1904¹⁰².

This was in spite of the fact that starting in 1895, for the publisher Licinio Cappelli, a new and ambitious periodical for children and adolescents, developed and edited by Ida Baccini was founded, and was destined to exert a growing attraction over the younger readers of «Cordelia». This is perhaps explained in the light of a new situation with Baccini's choice, a few years later in 1907, to edit the subheading of the Florentine periodical, removing the slightly vague reference to «young Italian girls», and replacing it with a precise reference to an age range that could in no way be confused with generic, indeterminate youth: «Cordelia. Publication for young ladies».

My «Cordelia» – we read in Baccini's memoirs – was a meeting point for fine minds and it remained strong, healthy and full of vigour for twenty-two long years, fearless before the suffering and death of many of its brothers and sisters who, more elegantly dressed up, with more conceited names, more refined content, more aristocratic ideals, that looked it up and down, turning up their noses at the modest title of «Giornale per le giovinette». But after twenty-two years, this journal for young women prospers; it is still there, alive and thriving, while its conceited sisters are vague memories in the minds of just a few¹⁰³.

In fact, the periodical, which in February 1911, the day after Ida Baccini's death, was passed by the publisher to the care of writer Maria Maiocchi Plattis, better known to the readers of «Cordelia» under the pen name *Jolanda*, was a solid publication that had achieved a certain level of fame. The author of

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹⁰⁰ On the publishers, Cappelli di Rocca San Casciano and their role in periodicals for young children and adolescents in the period between the 19th and 20th centuries, please see G. Bonuzzi (ed.), *Licinio Cappelli. Cavaliere del lavoro. Rocca San Casciano 21-12-1864 Bologna 10-2-1952*, Rocca San Casciano, Cappelli, 1953, pp. 46-47.

¹⁰¹ The sale of the periodical to Cappelli di Rocca San Casciano was laconically announced by Carlo Ademollo in the «Cordelia» issue of 3 July 1892: «We are informing the young lady subscribers that from 1st November 1892, *Cordelia* became the property of Mr *Licinio Cappelli*, publisher from *Rocca S. Casciano*» (*Alle gentili abbonate*, «Cordelia. Rivista mensile per le giovinette italiane», vol. 12, n. 36 (3 July), 1892, p. 188).

¹⁰² See Bloom, *Cordelia, 1881-1942. Profilo storico di una rivista per ragazze*, cit., p. 101.

¹⁰³ Baccini, *La mia vita. Ricordi autobiografici*, cit., p. 184.

Memorie d'un pulcino and of many other brilliant novels for young people and stories for children, was able to add balance as well as moderation, «spirit of grace and serene vivacity», making it, as her predecessor would have rightly stressed, «a pure and honest publication that even the most innocent young women could read them without being perturbed; a family friend, a modest advisor for adolescents in schools and institutes»¹⁰⁴.

End of the first part

¹⁰⁴ Jolanda, *Per metterci d'accordo*, «Cordelia. Giornale per le signorine», vol. 31, n. 13 (26 March), 1911, p. 288.

Appropriating Robinson Crusoe to be a good boy: literary adaptation in *The New Robinson Crusoe* at the end of the 18th Century*

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ABSTRACT: Though originally not intended for children, Robinson Crusoe became a children's classic almost as early as its publication. However, children's editions are not mere retelling of Defoe's story. They are inescapably informed, guided and shaped by class ideology, educational ideals and literary taste, often resulting in quite different Crusoes. The present paper analyses the adaptation in *The New Robinson Crusoe* edition, one of the most popular children's editions published by Stockdale in 1789, and argues that Defoe's original hero of economic individualism was replaced by an exemplary figure of a good boy so as to trim the original novel of its potential danger of imitation. Following the overall thematic change, *The New Robinson Crusoe* adopted a heterodiegetic narrator who tells the story of Crusoe. The new narrative structure effectively distanced the young reader from Crusoe, avoided undesirable identification with him, provided criticizing comments that evaluated Crusoe's acts from the perspective of parents, and effectively neutralized the problems of economic individualism.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Robinson Crusoe; Children's literature; Economic individualism; Heterodiegetic narrator; XVIIIth Century.

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Introduction

Defoe's 1719 novel *Robinson Crusoe* was a huge success in the eighteenth-century English book market and one of the most popular works for children, at a time when there was still an insufficient amount of books especially written for them. Its popularity among diverse readers led to a considerable number of children's editions during the eighteenth century and continued to do so in the next two hundred years. Yet, children's editions are not mere simplification of original works. They are often results of thoughtful adjustments of social issues which are implicated in the original work, and bear particular sets of opinions and values. These children's editions have complex intertextual references to original works, reflecting the adaptor/publisher/educator's responses to contemporary notions of childhood, education and so on. It is inadequate to interpret textual transformations only in terms of simplification and superficial pedagogical manifestations. They call for an examination of the changes in terms of both content and form, taking into consideration obvious changes in characterization and plot as well as more profound structural changes, such as narrative structure and narrative voices. They also demand inquiries into the specific historic and cultural atmosphere in which such textual transformations take place. This article analyses thematic adaptations made in the 1789 Stockdale edition of *Robinson Crusoe*, which are supplemented by thorough narrative and structural readjustments, and argues that Defoe's hero of economic individualism, as termed by Ian Watt¹, has been transformed into an image of a good boy in order to trim possible dangers of imitation that come with the original novel, therefore domesticating Crusoe as an exemplary role model for children.

Thematic adaptations

The Stockdale edition was published in 1788 and was said to have been translated from the French which was again a translation of Joachim Henrich Campe's *Robinson der Jungere* (published in Germany in 1779-1780). It is surprising that this most famous children's edition of a great English novel did not come out of an English hand, but had an eventful history of translation all the way back to its homeland. Campe was strongly influenced by Rousseau, especially his comments made in *Emile*. So he adapted Defoe's novel according to Rousseau's ideals and blended his own opinions on the redundant and lengthy style of the novel and Crusoe's overly rich supply on the island which could to a

¹ I. Watt, *The Rise of the Novel, Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1957, p. 58.

certain extent hinder the development of his initiative and independence. Campe also added considerable amount of educational materials in his adaptation. The result of Campe work was a rewriting of Defoe's novel especially tailored for educational purpose. Since there was no other strong rivalling children's edition, the Stockdale edition was one of the most popular in Britain.

The Stockdale edition tells a frame narrative in which Mr. Billingsley tells the story of Robinson Crusoe to his children every day before dinner. It is in the form of conversations and resembles a dramatic play. The main part is Mr. Billingsley's telling of the Crusoe story, interposed with the family members' daily conversations and their discussions of the Crusoe story.

In Ian Watt's view, economic individualism constitutes the primary theme and charm in Defoe's original novel, which portrays Crusoe as a self-made man who promotes his social rank through hard work². Crusoe is undoubtedly a hero, but he is not without problems. As George Starr points out, Crusoe disrupts the established patterns of family, social and divine order when he refuses to follow the 'calling' chosen for him by his father³. In this light, Crusoe's leaving home in disobedience to his father's orders is a vital flaw and violates at the same time one of the fundamental ideas of children's literature – family. In children's literature, family is a haven, the source of peace, warmth, and security, and the final destination for most young protagonists. Crusoe has left his home in spite of his parents' persuasion, but he has not been punished for this act of disobedience. Although he later attributes his shipwreck and many ensuing misfortunes to God's punishment for disobeying his father's order, his remorse is temporary and quickly overcome. What really matters is his final returning to his home as a self-made man. It is noteworthy that his great fortune and fame rest exactly on his leaving home. Ironically, Crusoe's father has predicted that if he goes abroad he «will be the miserablest Wretch that was ever born»⁴. Here, Defoe has created a dilemma in which Crusoe's obeying his father's order and staying at home is incompatible with his making a fortune abroad. It is not difficult to see from the ending of the story that Defoe endorses the latter option. Not surprisingly, when Crusoe returns home as a gentleman with great fortune and fame, his family, which is symbolically in opposition to his worldly success, is almost extinct. The only remaining members are his two sisters and two nephews. The ending of the novel approves the practical foresight of Crusoe's decision and declares the failure of his father's prediction for his leaving home. Moreover, it is Crusoe's experience of surviving on the island and improving his living conditions, which would have been impossible if Crusoe follows his father's order, that have huge appeal for young readers.

² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

³ G.A. Starr, *Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography*, Princeton (NJ), Princeton University Press, 1965, p. 77.

⁴ J.H. Campe, *The New Robinson Crusoe*, London, Stockdale, 1789, p. 8.

The implication of these tensions is that Defoe's original novel may contain a potential danger for young readers, alluring them to disrespect parental authority and leaving home for the outside dangerous world which often, if not always, turns out to be far more hostile than Defoe's imaginary one. No wonder Ms. Sarah Trimmer, an influential educator at the time, sadly mentioned in *The Guardian of Education* the example of two boys who left home and died outside when trying to imitate the success of Robinson Crusoe⁵. In light of this consideration, the first priority for the adaptor was to remove any potential hazard off Crusoe's economic individualism, which, as pointed out by John Richetti, is «apparently no longer acceptable» by the early nineteenth century⁶, so as to render the story suitable for children to read. To this end, the Stockdale edition made three important changes in plot in order to turn Crusoe from a disobedient son to a figure of a good boy.

Firstly, paragraphs involving middle class obsession with money were trimmed to the greatest extent. In Defoe's original, the obsession with or even fetishisation of money permeates the whole story, displaying a strong influence and control over the protagonist thinking and his daily life. The narrative before Crusoe comes to the island is often weighed and viewed by him in terms of profit and loss. Crusoe almost invariably thinks in a calculated way that resembles his father's persuasion, which is based on the rational calculation of how much he could gain. He sells Xury for sixty Spanish silver dollars in spite of his constant affected feeling towards the boy, and excuses his monetary act as hoping to find a better future for the boy. He decides to join in the slave trade together with other plantation owners out of an insatiable desire for more money, though his own plantation is already making steady profits for him. In the Stockdale edition, the adaptor made abridgements to these parts which happen before Crusoe's coming to the island. It deleted accounts of Crusoe's monetary motivation of his going out to the sea, his joining the trade and other similar acts. The narrative became concise and even had a few gaps. But at least the young reader was prevented from knowing Crusoe's monetary obsessions.

But abridging was not enough to render Crusoe as a different hero. More positive character traits needed to be filled into the gap to make up for the abridgement. The most noticeable trait that the Stockdale edition tried to instil in Crusoe was a different view of money, and nowhere suited this role better than the episode when Crusoe is unloading goods from the wrecked ship. When busy unloading life supplies from the ship, he finds some gold and silver, and disdainfully calls them 'drug'⁷, declaring that they are of no value to him. However, upon second thought, he takes them away without any

⁵ A. O'Malley, *The Making of the Modern Child, Children's Literature and Childhood in the Late Eighteenth Century*, London and New York, Routledge, 2003, p. 337.

⁶ J. Richetti. *The Life of Daniel Defoe: A Critical Biography*, Malden (MA), Blackwell, 2005, p. 64.

⁷ Campe, *The New Robinson Crusoe*, cit., p. 50.

explanation. Crusoe's way of regarding money as the sole goal of human life was discarded by the Stockdale edition. Mr. Billingsley temporarily suspends his Crusoe story at the moment when Crusoe finds money on the ship to begin a family discussion on the moral issue lying ahead of Crusoe – whether he could take the money that has no proprietor⁸. The discussion provides a good opportunity for Mr. Billingsley to instil the concept of private property and sense of morality to his children and the real readers of the book. The way they discuss what Crusoe should do at that moment resembles that the atmosphere in a classroom, in which the teacher, instead of directly giving answers, poses a question for students to discuss and makes comments on each participant's arguments and only reveals the answer at the end. It encourages immersion in class and exerts authority and control over students. While the family are having their discussion, Crusoe is laid aside, frozen at the moment, and waits for his next move. After the discussion, Mr. Billingsley continues to tell that Crusoe does take the money away, but declaring that his purpose is to keep it for the owner instead of taking it as his possession. If one day in the future he meets the owner, he could return the money to him, which promise is miraculously fulfilled later on in the Stockdale edition⁹. The edition renders Crusoe's act of taking the money totally different in nature from the original. It no longer maintains the acquisitive nature of Crusoe's way of thinking, which is described by John Richetti as «openly manipulating for practical advantage the moral and social structures that had been theoretical impediments to action»¹⁰, but displays an admirable sense of moral obligations of a changed Crusoe. Moreover, the word 'pound' as a measurement of money (among others, such as Eight, the Spanish silver dollar) has been completely excluded from the book in the Stockdale edition, whereas it appears eleven times in Defoe's original novel. The absence of the word signifies the 'purifying' nature of the children's edition when dealing with economics and profits.

Secondly, following the change in the view of money, Crusoe's view of labour was exalted to a much higher level to make him a 'perfect' hero. In fact, labour was marginalised in the original novel. Although Defoe's Crusoe is not a lazy man, his labour is purely need-driven. He never labours beyond practical necessity. The act of building warehouses, making earthenware, making raisins, all satisfy specific and practical needs. But the Stockdale edition blended aesthetic function in Crusoe's labour, therefore transcending the practical labour of Defoe's Crusoe and promoting him to the level of an exemplary hero. Apart from planting wheat on the island, the Stockdale Crusoe also plants a garden and designs a path for walking in the garden and appreciating the beautiful

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

¹⁰ J. Richetti, *The English Novel in History, 1700-1780*, 2nd ed, London and New York, Routledge, 2005, p. 68.

view. Friday is puzzled by the motivation of this big and seemingly vain project, but the narrator Mr. Billingsley approves this act, saying «as soon as they [men] have provided for their sustenance and safety, they begin to unite beauty with utility and pleasure with the necessary»¹¹. The added garden episode reiterates the role of gardens in the eighteenth century «as much as a metaphorical as a physical space» which could be used to account for Crusoe's acts of self-fashioning, and reinforcement of cultural norms of gender and class¹². Besides, the setting of the situation easily reminds us of the common situation in a classroom where the teacher makes comments on students' different response or performance, and the educational flavour of the change in the view of labour unequivocally conveys a condemning of economic individualism in the original novel. The disinterestedness of labour in the Stockdale edition can never be found in the original novel, and it belongs to the proper domain of education that takes personality formation as one of its important missions. Andrew O'Malley also argues that children's literature during this period had a tendency to idealize labours of the poor works out of a pedagogical purpose to make class distinctions¹³.

Thirdly, the change in the ending of the Stockdale edition manifested a fundamental difference of the purpose of the narrative in the two editions. After many years of wandering on the sea and living on the island, Crusoe at last returns home at the end of the story. In Defoe's novel, Crusoe's returning home is rendered as a trivial episode in the ending. It is a by-product of Crusoe's returning to the civilised society, while what really matters at this point is the identity and social status with which he returns home, instead of the act of returning home. The adaptor very wisely reversed the ending in the Stockdale edition. The most significant change comes when the Crusoe comes back home penniless, which altogether obliterates his economic appeals as a self-made man. His ship has sunk before reaching the shore, and this time he has no Brazilian plantation to provide him with a large sum of money later on. Every kind of device in the original novel that can leave him a large amount of money has been wiped out in the Stockdale edition.

Besides, Crusoe's family's professional background is also changed to fit the new ending. In the Stockdale edition, Crusoe's father is a broker, which is set in total contrast to that in Defoe's novel. In the latter, Crusoe's father has bought a piece of land in his later years and has settled down to live a gentleman's life. He hopes his son to live his life, which

¹¹ Campe, *The New Robinson Crusoe*, cit., p. 129.

¹² S. Bending, *Green Retreats, Women, Gardens and Eighteenth-Century Culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 4-5.

¹³ O'Malley, *The Making of the Modern Child, Children's Literature and Childhood in the Late Eighteenth Century*, cit., p. 127.

was the middle State, or what might be called the upper Station of Low Life [...] the most suited to human Happiness, not exposed to the Miseries and Hardships, the Labour and Sufferings of the mechanic Part of Mankind, and not embarass'd with the Pride, Luxury, Ambition and Envy of the upper Part of Mankind¹⁴.

However, the father in the Stockdale's edition, as if serving as a touchstone to display Crusoe's character, hopes his son to continue his business as a broker. This hope works as an allurement which is only to be refused by Crusoe, who has already «been used to the pleasure of working with his hands, begged his father, to suffer him to be a joiner»¹⁵. This episode twists Defoe's plot, reversing the temperaments of both the father and the son, while at the same time maintaining the contrasting effect of showing their different inclinations. In this way Crusoe has been thoroughly transformed from a mercantile adventurer, always eager for new expeditions and new opportunities of earning profits, to a hero who is as adventurous but removed of monetary motivation.

To ensure that the young reader does not miss the implications of these changes, the figure-narrator Mr. Billingsley adds that «Perhaps Providence made him lose everything again, that some giddy young man or other might not be tempted by the sight of his richness, to follow his example, and wander thro' the wide world»¹⁶. Mr. Billingsley is in a subtle narrative situation, being the narrator of the Crusoe story and the father figure in the Stockdale book. Both identities empower him as a source of authority and the most suitable figure to make comments on Crusoe. He controls the tempo of the narration; he decides when to lay the story aside and start a family discussion; he can even suspend the narration for a particular reason. The three children's inability to control when and how much they can hear the Crusoe story signifies they don't have the authority (or permission) to interpret the story as they want to. Therefore, Mr. Billingsley's powerful, authoritative comment here endorses the intention of the adaptation. He serves as the mouthpiece for the adaptor here, who wants to make clear that Crusoe is not to be misunderstood and equated with Defoe's self-made hero.

The endings in Defoe's original and in the Stockdale edition have drastically different directions. Defoe's original ending revolves around Crusoe's business success. The only words unconnected with Crusoe's economic agenda are two paragraphs of description of his family, standing lonely in the whole ending which covers more than twenty pages. When Crusoe returns home, his father, who has predicted a miserable life for Crusoe if he chooses to disobey parental orders, is conveniently dismissed by Defoe as having been dead long ago, to avoid the embarrassment when the father's prediction proves a failure. Nor is Crusoe's mother still living. The absence of primary family members when

¹⁴ D. Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* [1716], ed. Thomas Keymer, Oxford, Oxford UP, 2007, p. 6.

¹⁵ Campe, *The New Robinson Crusoe*, cit., p. 360.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

Crusoe returns home to a certain extent symbolises the decline of traditional values of the family, to give way to economic individualism.

On the contrary, the Stockdale ending revolves around the family, telling readers how excited Crusoe is on his way home, whose parents are still waiting for him to come home, with the culmination that the father and son affectionately meet each other in tears finally. It is noteworthy that the Stockdale edition keeps Crusoe's father alive, to create the touching scene when he is finally reunited with his son. Different from Defoe's treatment of Crusoe's wealth, the Stockdale edition intentionally renders Crusoe penniless when he returns home, followed by his refusal of his father's much more lucrative proposal to continue his business as a broker. He chooses to be a carpenter instead, saying he has already got used to the pleasure of labouring on the island. It is important that Crusoe does not return home as a self-made man as he does in Defoe's original. Both Crusoe himself and the narrator (when making narrative comments) do not care to give economic gains the slightest consideration, which reflects the Stockdale edition's reconsideration and transformation of economic individualism in Defoe's original.

Thematic compensations

The removal of economic individualism from Defoe's original novel catered to the educational needs of children's edition, but at the same time caused a problem in overall coherence and organization. After removing the prevailing theme of economic individualism, the Stockdale edition needed to find a substitute to organise the story as an organic whole. The solution was family. The concept of family was marginalised in the original novel, as argued by Christopher Flint that «they provide an initial reference point, but do not have a sustained structural purpose»¹⁷. But family would make a perfect theme for the Stockdale edition which was published in 1789. The end of the eighteenth century witnessed the rise of sentimentalism, which advocated affection and emotion to replace the cold calculation of gains and profits, which accompanied the rise of the middle class merchants and the Age of Reason. Sentimentalism was a compensation and readjustment of rationalism and the abuse of reason that had been popular during the eighteenth century. Among the morality that sentimentalism boosted, the concept of family occupied a central position. It coincided with the essential mission of children's literature to promote family ties. Therefore, it was no wonder that the Stockdale Crusoe was transformed

¹⁷ C. Flint, *The Appearance of Print in Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 383.

into the image of a returning son who sincerely feels deeply remorseful for having left home against his father's will.

This new direction of the story is manifested in two major aspects. First, the reader is often told that Crusoe misses his parents. In the beginning of Defoe's original novel, Crusoe's ship encounters storms shortly after setting sail, and at that moment he misses his father and mother. Although this emotional burst comes out so early in the novel, it is ironic that this is the only time that readers are told of Crusoe's missing of his parents. Crusoe's parents appear at moments when Crusoe regrets disregarding their advice, as well as moments when he misses them. The former act of regretting involves decision making and pure reasoning, while the latter act of missing is out of emotional ties and filial affections. Such cold concept of the family, as shown in Crusoe's regretting, was unacceptable for the children's edition, and led to a thorough adjustment to the frequency of the act of missing. The adaptor arranged Crusoe to miss his parents as often as possible, which happens in pages 19, 22, 24, 31, 46, 52, 80, 96-98, 115, 122, 144, 158, 174, 256, and 345, with a total occurrence of fifteen times, not including those subtler moments when he misses them more obscurely, while it does not occur in the original novel in this sense. This change in frequency is a case in point to reveal the adaptor's firm intention to give the book a more emotional and familial touch.

Second, the Stockdale edition strains to portray exemplary parental figures and affectionate family atmosphere without spoiling the coherence and the structure of the Crusoe story. This is where embedded narrative framework comes in. By keeping Crusoe within his level of narration and adding a hyper narrative level of the Billingsley family above it, the adaptor can keep the Crusoe story intact while at the same time using the Billingsley family members as role models of parents and children to display whatever trait is lacking in the character of Crusoe. Mr. Billingsley is not only a story teller, but also a good father who constantly shows his concerns, cares and affections for his children, as well as his high regard of his children's education. He often stops in the middle of the story to explain geological and biological knowledge related to the story, telling them where America is on the map, or how the breadfruit tree looks like. He even bothers to display real objects mentioned in the story, such as how to make an umbrella. He plays games with his children and uses affectionate language to talk with them. Ms. Billingsley is also a good mother. She is tenderer than her husband, care her children as much as her husband does, and is of valuable help when Mr. Billingsley is educating their children. In contrast, in Defoe's original novel, the conversations between Crusoe and his father are more formal and often cantered on duty, responsibility and pragmatism. The rendition of such perfect parental figures helps to promote positive attitude towards family ties and make a contrast between the affectionate familial atmosphere and Crusoe's lonely life on the island, which

are situated on different narrative levels, reminding readers again the miserable life if they disregard parental guidance and rashly leave home.

Deep level narrative structural adaptations

The above changes made in the Stockdale edition operate on the level of plot details. However, it has limitations. The adaptor might well feel free to modify certain parts of the story, but the children's edition was based on and restrained by the original story. It could not tell a new story. In spite of all the changes analysed above, the Crusoe story in the Stockdale edition remains fundamentally faithful. The real challenge of adapting a novel for children comes when the adaptor has to keep the basic plot intact while twisting the theme towards a more desirable direction (or creating a new theme). In the case of the Stockdale edition, the adaptor has to replace economic individualism with the theme of family, which is featured by filial obedience and strong familial ties. The Stockdale edition makes substantial changes in the details of story, but adjustments in narrative strategy, which often affects readers in a deeper and undetected level through the way that a narrative is delivered instead of the contents of the narrative, might make useful supplement to content changes.

The most significant changes are in the adoption of another and different type of narrator and a more complex narrative framework. Narratologists borrow the word 'diegesis' from Greek to refer to discourse, and distinguish a homodiegetic narrator, who is a figure in the story that he tells, and a heterodiegetic narrator, who tells a story of other people¹⁸. The Stockdale edition chooses to retell Crusoe's homodiegetic story through a heterodiegetic narrator. The top level is the story of the Billingsley family, told by an unknown heterodiegetic narrator. The family gather together every night before supper to listen to Mr. Billingsley's story of Robinson Crusoe. So Mr. Billingsley is both a figure of father narrated by the unknown heterodiegetic narrator and at the same time the heterodiegetic narrator of the Crusoe story. A narrative like this, in which a figure in the story is also the narrator of yet another story, is called embedded narration¹⁹. The Stockdale edition adopts the embedded heterodiegetic narration so as to distance the reader from Crusoe, to avoid undesirable identification with him, and to introduce criticizing voices from the Billingsley family, therefore providing a flexible means to point out the problems of economic individualism.

¹⁸ T.G. Pavel, *Literary Narratives*, in *Narrative Theory, Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, ed. by Mieke Bal, London and New York, Routledge, 2004, vol. 1, p. 38.

¹⁹ S. Keen, *Narrative Form*, Hampshire and New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p. 111.

Defoe's original novel adopts the experiencing perspective of Crusoe most of the time, though he sometimes shifts to a more mature retrospective perspective. The privilege of the experiencing perspective is that the reader can share all the exciting adventures together with the protagonist on a first hand basis. It can effectively shorten the distance between the homodiegetic narrator and the reader, and rouse readers' sympathy for the protagonist. The frequent moments when Crusoe enumerates his possessions expose his expectation to be confirmed and applauded. These moments establish psychological interactions with the reader. They are touched with an air of a self-made man that appeals to all readers who are as eager for worldly success as Crusoe himself. Crusoe's experience manifests a social climber's expectation of his success and new identity in the tradition of social mobility in British society. By sharing his experience and inner world which are the specialty of a homodiegetic narration, Crusoe the narrator shows to the reader that to be a self-made man is not a miracle but can be achieved through hard work and self-discipline. In this way, Crusoe's homodiegetic narration seems reliable, appealing and imitable. It magnifies the appeal of Crusoe's economic individualism.

The Stockdale edition discards Defoe's homodiegetic narration and adopts heterodiegetic narration with a purpose contrary to the original author. Defoe chooses a homodiegetic narrator, who is the protagonist and the narrator at the same time, out of a need to shorten the distance between the protagonist and the reader. His novel ranks personal benefits above family ties and therefore has the implication to encourage personal economic adventure and disparage family values. This potential danger with Crusoe as an improper role model for children prompts the Stockdale edition to reverse this effect and to choose retelling the story through a heterodiegetic narrator, so as to keep a sufficiently safe distance between the reader and the protagonist, and to maintain a more objective evaluation of Crusoe's acts. Heterodiegetic narration, intermingled with criticizing comments from the Billingsley family, avoids blind worship of Crusoe and can effectively prevent such tragedies as quoted by Sarah Trimmer. This formal change in the narrative structure supplements changes made to the details of the story. When Rimmon-Kenan discusses the various functions that hypodiegetic narratives have in relation to the narratives within which they are embedded, she concludes three effects: actional function, explicative function and thematic function²⁰. But the narrative in the Stockdale edition shows a function that Rimmon-Kenan misses in her discussion: the narrative at a higher level can also have certain effects on the narrative at the subordinate level, to manoeuvre and control how the reader interprets the story. It should be particularly noted here, that according to J. Paul Hunter, much of what Defoe

²⁰ S. Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction, Contemporary Poetics*, 2nd ed, London and New York, Routledge, 2002, p. 95.

wrote «has a palpable design on the reader, and he speaks to us for our own good»²¹, that is, to influence readers' interpretation.

Another noteworthy change in narrative structure is that Robinson Crusoe has been 'downgraded' from a narrator to a figure being narrated and hence lost his discourse power. In Defoe's original, Crusoe is in a centred and privileged position as the protagonist and the narrator. All experiences are filtered through his perspective. Although there are emotional and cognitive differences in his shifting experiencing and retrospective perspective, the story as a whole justifies his ideas, acts and morals. Crusoe's subjectivity is gradually unfolded during his narration, and the very act of narration in turn strengthens and confirms his acts and ideology. His discourse reveals a sense of pride which is based on economic success and positively confirms his values and world views. It effectively intensifies narrative pressure and drives readers to identify with him.

In contrast, the Crusoe in the Stockdale edition is only a figure narrated by Mr. Billingsley. He has to contend with the Billingsley family (the father and the children) for the somewhat uncertain role of the protagonist. Since the book has two narrative levels and that the level with the Billingsley family is substantially packed with their own episodes, it is somehow difficult to determine the protagonist between Mr. Billingsley the narrator and Crusoe the narrated 'hero', who is silenced by his narrator. Mr. Billingsley may not be as economically successful as Crusoe is, but he by far surpasses the latter in terms of personality, displaying tender affection, sense of paternal duties, wisdom and vast store of knowledge. Even the children are lovely, lively, dutiful and inquisitive. They all contend with Crusoe for the dominance of the narrative. Due to the vivid and positive portrayal of Mr. Billingsley, he may probably leave a deeper impression to the reader, while Crusoe has lost the right to narrate his own story. His experience has been ruthlessly appropriated, exposed and narrated by the authoritative narrator Mr. Billingsley, and his inner world faces constant intrusion or even revision from his narrator. Although readers can still see Crusoe's acts and hear his thoughts, he has lost his control over them. Crusoe's spirit of optimism and confidence, of holding one's fate in one's own hands and trying to make the best of it, is totally lost in the Stockdale edition. He has been driven from the altar of a mythic hero of economic individualism to the image of an ordinary good boy. Usually, the protagonist in a fiction by a heterodiegetic narrator enjoys a certain degree of subjectivity, but the peculiarity of the Stockdale edition lies in the fact that Crusoe is narrated in an embedded narrative. He cannot freely communicate with readers as he does in Defoe's original, but resides one level away from them, with the Billingsley level standing in between as the source of narration and substantial intermingled

²¹ J.P. Hunter, *Before Novels, The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction*, New York, W.W. Norton, 1990, p. 55.

comments. This 'downgradation' of Crusoe, from the narrator to the narratee, is a subtle and ironic treatment of the original theme and the original hero.

Changes in the cultural production atmosphere

The Stockdale edition was published in 1789, seventy-three years after the publication of Defoe's original novel. The changes made in the adaptation reflect reconsiderations of cultural atmosphere, literary taste and educational ideals in a quite different social context.

Defoe's novel came out at a time when the middle class's interests in their cultural capital grew. The novel was not only a cultural product for the newly-arising class but also a powerful tool of ideological propaganda. While trying to comply with the taste of its readers, it also took as its mission to instil morals and values. *Robinson Crusoe*, as well as its contemporaries, such as *Pamela*, advocated a set of social conducts and values for the middle class. Defoe's writings exhibited his vast concerns of society, especially of merchants, commerce and economy. Although he was not professionally an economist, in *A General History of Discoveries and Improvements* (1727), he argued that commerce had important influence on national power and people's welfare. Therefore, merchants should be regarded as heroes and pillar of society, instead of being traditionally disparaged. In *The Complete English Tradesman* (1726) he declared that merchants and even peddlers should have rights to culture, which would give them access to higher social status. This argument revealed Defoe's motivation of writing: to defend for the middle class in the sphere of culture. It harboured hope to help the burgeoning middle class to form their own culture, and made a cultural declaration of independence for the middle class.

However, the process of establishing a new class culture was never meant to be smooth. Traits that were ardently advocated by the middle class, such as industry, frugality and restraint, would easily slide into coldness, harshness and indifference, especially when rational calculation served as their rationale. Defoe's novels included a set of middle class values such as respect for personal will, acclaim of labour, promotion of business and trade, retrospection, and a pragmatic way with God. He argued that national power rested on wealth, which was acquired through business and trade. Commerce enabled efficient distribution of goods and employment, and commercial needs were therefore justified even to disregard moral considerations. Defoe was stoutly opposed to legislating against luxury at that time. He argued that, since luxury could promote consumption and in turn commerce and production²², it should be

²² H.H. Andersen, *The paradox of trade and morality in Defoe*, «Modern Philology», vol. 39, 1941, p. 37.

encouraged, instead of being banned on moral grounds. This met the vehement opposition from Jonathan Swift, who considered matters more from a moral perspective. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* embodied many of his opinions and views, such as the new genre of the novel, commerce and individualism, and, five years later, Swift parodied all these in his *Gulliver's Travels*. The tension between two novels in the early eighteenth century can be regarded as conflicts between Defoe's advocate of the newly emerging middle class values, which was rooted in his common sense and his meagre education received in a Puritan school, and Swift's doubts and resistance that were articulated from a culturally elite author, who was more informed and shaped by his years at Trinity College and Oxford. Swift was not simply being reactionary. He considered more the negative influences of commerce on society and morality. Though Defoe was not unaware of the problems between commerce and morality, he resolutely chose the former²³.

The tension between Defoe and Swift was not personal but arose from the problematics of middle class morals. If it was more implicit at the early eighteenth century that only some insightful elitists, such as Swift, could detect the implicated danger, it became more obvious and serious at the end of the century, leading to widespread social concerns and heated debates. To a certain extent, it led to sentimentalism and Romanticism, both movements trying to solve the social problems rooted in middle class fetishisation of money.

Adventure novels depicting overseas explorations were popular at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but were later replaced by domestic fictions that sold tender affection and virtue during the thirties and forties, such as Richardson's *Pamela*, and the trend went on well into the end of the century. The popularity of the adventure story was based on Britain's continual overseas expansion and governmental encouragements. Martin Green argues that the novel of adventure cuts too near the bone of the harsh actualities of English imperial expansion and colonial rapacity for comfortable novelistic representation²⁴. Britain's overseas expansion significantly promoted the development of domestic manufacture and business, making possible the moneyed and leisured class. Their new life style and cultural pursuit called for a new taste in literature, a shift from the public sphere of adventure, exploration and exploitation to the private sphere of family, sentiments and taste. The novel of the middle class created a host of heroes and heroines with sentiments and high sense of moral integrity, limited the horizon of their lives within the boundaries of their houses so as to effectively avoid all the underlying material foundation of exploration, exploitation and speculation that supported their leisured lives. In light of this change of taste, the Stockdale edition reasonably transformed *Crusoe* from a profit-oriented adventurous hero into an image of a good boy,

²³ Andersen, *The paradox of trade and morality in Defoe*, cit., pp. 34.

²⁴ Richetti, *The English Novel in History*, cit., p. 216.

whose only significant flaw is his obsession with pure adventure, but who is still kept within the psychological perimeter of the family. Moreover, Defoe's novel was not written with children readers in mind; Crusoe's explorations full of imaginative events on the lonely island catered to readers' taste for new experience when there was not need to consider the significance of the lack of family. Whereas in children's editions, where «order and discipline... came to be viewed as the foundations upon which any practical instruction must lie»²⁵, such lack would constitute a negative influence upon children readers, therefore making the summoning of another family (which overrides Crusoe's actions, discourse and morals) both necessary and appropriate.

Conclusion

The 1789 Stockdale edition of *Robinson Crusoe* reflected reconsiderations of Defoe's 1716 original novel after more than seventy years. What seems to be a mere retelling of the story for children embodied a different response to the original novel in a different social context, when the coarse pioneering spirit of the adventuring merchants mellowed into more refined sentiments of the middle class that had turned their eyes from the excitement of adventures and profits to domestic ideals of family and obedience. These changes prompted the adaptor to abandon economic individualism and replace it with family ties. The result was a retelling of a domesticated Crusoe's story through a perfect father figure, the heterodiegetic narrator Mr. Billingsley, who places Defoe's eloquent and apologetic Crusoe in the silencing embedded narrative level, depriving him of his authority of interpretation of his own story and neutralizing its potential danger. Thus Crusoe is domesticated and shaped into an image of a good boy, a role model for the Billingsley family's daily story time that is both entertaining and educational.

²⁵ O'Malley, *The Making of the Modern Child*, cit., p. 127.

Teaching reality based tasks in Hungarian schools based on some national traditions

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ABSTRACT: This paper deals with the appearance of reality based mathematics tasks in two important reform of mathematics education in Hungary with decisive influence on the current Hungarian mathematics teaching. The first had started before the first world war and was led by Emanuel Beke following the Klein's reform in Germany; the second – in 60's and 70's of the last century – was the «Complex Mathematics Education» experiment of Tamás Varga as a reaction of the «New Math». By historical facts and concrete examples from relevant textbooks, we show some historical roots (background) of the use of modelling tasks as well.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of maths education; Modeling; Mathematical literacy; Klein's reform; Complex Mathematics Education; Hungarian; XIX-XXth Centuries.

Introduction

Real life and close to real life examples and problems play an important role in mathematics education. On the one hand they can help directly understanding different concepts (for example debt – cash model at the operations with integers), on the other hand problems based on real and close to real situations provide opportunity for the recognition of mathematical contents and for their direct application.

Recently it became more and more obvious that *open, modeling problems* based on real situations are also more and more important for teaching¹.

In Hungary, the basic formal and substantial elements of education are determined by the National Curriculum (NAT). Its most recent, 2012 version refers to the importance and necessity of practical applications in mathematics education at several places. It considers mathematical competency as one of the key competencies and defines it this way in Chapter II.1:

Mathematical competency means that we recognize the basic mathematical principles and laws in everyday situations helping to solve the problems in everyday life, at home and at the workplace².

In the curriculum frames (intermediate documents between the national and local curricula) corresponding to NAT there are specific examples at several places to show the areas especially important as applications in today's socio-economic situation. The mathematics curriculum frames contain not only the knowledge to be taught and the corresponding development requirements, but in most cases also the connection points to other subjects and everyday life. It includes, for example, the necessity of improving the financial and economic competency and introducing financial concepts, and the importance of optimization problems.

Since 2005 the rules of the two-level mathematics high school graduation exam require that problems include applications of mathematics: 30-50% of the problems have to be word problems related to everyday situations, some may require (simple) modeling. But this is not a totally new change, there were application problems, – sometimes only such problems – on the high school graduation exam already 100 years ago³.

¹ G. Kaiser, B. Schwarz, *Mathematical modelling as bridge between school and university*, «ZDM», vol. 3, n. 2, 2006, pp. 196-208.

² Government Regulation on the issuing, the introduction and the application of the Hungarian National Core Curriculum, <http://www.budapestedu.hu/data/cms149320/MK_12_66_NAT.pdf> (last access: 06.12.2016).

³ Ö. Vancsó, *Maturareform in Ungarn, Fach Mathematik*, Habilitationsschrift, Alpen-Adria Universität, Klagenfurt, 2014.

1. *About reality based tasks in the history of mathematics teaching in Hungary*

From the end of the 18th century practical calculations, everyday applications (for example change of currency, units, calculation of debt and equity) played an important role in the primary education. In secondary schools mathematics teaching concentrated on the preparation for higher education, but this did not mean high standards. Hungarian secondary mathematics education practically started with Entwurf (1847) – secondary school curricula based on the Austrian educational system, following the Prussian and French model –, since the Ratio Educationis (1777), provided a small number of hours for mathematics teaching in secondary education, and mathematics was almost limited to arithmetics and agricultural and technical applications⁴.

The economic and social prosperity of the second half of the 19th century, imposed new demands on education, too. The consecutive Hungarian secondary school curricula included some changes, however, in the teaching of practical content essentially only the last, the Wlassics Curriculum (1899) brought a major change, because this curriculum includes the goal of «understanding the simple numerical relations of practical life». For the arithmetic instruction of each class it determines the topics from which the computing tasks for practice are to be chosen (time, statistics of the school, the capital, as well as Hungary, the family household, the merchant, savings banks and stock companies, taxation, customs) however, omits the teaching of such computations of earlier curricula that became unnecessary. The curriculum emphasizes the importance of computing throughout mathematics and includes, among others, interest and loan calculations that are part of daily life and the use of trigonometry in surveying tasks⁵.

The turn of the 19th-20th century is an important milestone in the area of practical applications because of the curricular change, too, and the work done in this area by Manó Beke deserves special attention.

In the twentieth century, mathematics teaching between the two world wars was marked by the scientist teachers in high schools, talent management and the development of the Hungarian problem-solving tradition. While in the elementary school arithmetics and geometry material naturally everyday aspects were still present, in high school mostly applications in mathematics were included. So it is not surprising that when in the years after the Second World War important changes started in the teaching of mathematics with the participation and collaboration of teachers and mathematicians (eg. Tibor

⁴ M. Beke, S. Mikola, *A középiskolai matematikai tanítás reformja*, Budapest, Franklin Társulat, 1909; German transl. *Abhandlungen über die Reform des mathematischen Unterrichts in Ungarn*, Teubner, 1911.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Gallai, Rózsa Péter), the principles of teaching mathematics as a science got in the center. Although the results of these efforts were included in school practice only to a limited extent, they had a great impact on the history of Hungarian mathematics teaching for the next decades⁶.

The experiments started by Tamás Varga in the early 1960s put children's learning by experience, individual experimentation in the foreground, the practical application of knowledge became significant again.

The mathematics teaching reforms of the turn of the 20th century and the experiments started in the sixties of the last century are not only important milestones in linking practical life and mathematics teaching, but, as the following shows, they have similarities in some respects (comprehensive reforms from Grade 1 to the completion of high school, wording of specific principles, including for example, – next to stressing the importance of mathematics as a science –, a greater involvement of practical life in mathematics education, as well as enhancing students activity).

2. Manó Beke

Leader of the Hungarian mathematics teaching reform, Manó Beke (1862-1946) started his career as a grammar school teacher and in 1900 he became a university professor. He was engaged in mathematics teaching in all possible levels. He wrote textbooks and reference books, too. He spent a relatively longer period in Göttingen in 1892-1893 where he met Felix Klein (1849-1925) who had already been working on reforming university mathematics teaching. Not only had Klein had a great influence on Beke's work, but they kept in touch even after Beke's return to Hungary. In 1908 Klein was invited to Budapest to give a lecture about his ideas for a teacher association working on the Hungarian reform. The Hungarian mathematics teaching reforms' main objectives correspond to conceptions of Felix Klein's 1905 program.

Beke summarized the objectives of the grammar school mathematics teaching reform as follows, highlighting that the education should reflect more on the relationship between mathematics and everyday life:

Mathematics teaching should be such that students gradually develop the awareness how important cultural factor mathematics is. We wish that students graduating from grammar schools take a certain extent of mathematical knowledge with them; and we hope that this way 'mathematical thinking' would somehow find its way into public life. Students

⁶ E. Deák, *Die besondere Verflechtung der mathematischen Forschung, des Mathematik-Unterrichts und der Mathematikdidaktik Ungarns im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, «Mitteilungen der GDM», n. 74, 2002.

must realize *how many links there are between mathematics and everyday life* (italics by the authors of this paper), sciences and our entire perception of the universe. Only such knowledge can influence people's way of thinking that is not isolated, but stands in a close relationship with our general ideas and usual activities⁷.

Beke dealt with teacher training in several aspects, including analysis of its flaws and also ways to correct it. In the memorial book published in honor of Mór Kármán⁸ (1817) he briefly explains the importance of involvement of real content in teacher training:

all rational teachings should have their roots in life, in reality, and should return there after the theoretical reasonings. In my opinion one of the tasks of mathematics teacher training should be to get the candidate know the context of his or her teaching so that this teaching will not become useless intellectual gymnastics. The mathematics candidate should become familiar primarily with the elements of statistics and economy, the arithmetics of trade and politics, astronomy, geodesy and technical science, so that he or she can choose from a great variety of examples when teaching either the theory or the context⁹.

László Rátz (1863-1930) and Sándor Mikola (1871-1945), math and physics teachers played an important role in the realization of school reform ideas. They developed student activities and learning materials based on direct experiences, measurements, estimates, mental arithmetic and the importance of a clear concept development. Mathematics has officially been taught according to this method in Budapest's famous „Fasori” Highschool since 1912¹⁰.

a) The practical application in teaching elementary school arithmetic

Manó Beke found the teaching of arithmetic important, to get the foundation of mathematical thinking and numeracy skills needed in everyday life¹¹, and because of this, he wrote a handbook for primary teachers, its first edition appeared in 1896¹². In the first half he looked at the 400 years of history of elementary arithmetic teaching. The historic part was important in his opinion to consider how the development has taken place in the field of arithmetic education until the 19th century level was reached, since the curriculum was already given in the 16th century, only not accessible for everyone.

⁷ Beke, Mikola, *A középiskolai matematikai tanítás reformja*, cit., p. 200.

⁸ Mór Kármán (1843-1915), teacher, outstanding education scholar, university professor, public education policy specialist.

⁹ Beke in Emlékkönyv 1897, quoted by I. Hajnal, *Beke Manó tanári munkássága*, Budapest, Bolyai János Matematikai Társulat, 1986, p. 6.

¹⁰ P.K. Némethné, *Rátz László tanár úr*, in *Studia Physica, Savariensia XIII*, Szombathely, Berzsenyi Dániel Főiskola, 2006.

¹¹ Beke, Mikola, *A középiskolai matematikai tanítás reformja*, cit.

¹² M. Beke, *Vezérkönyv a népiskolai számtani oktatáshoz*, Budapest, Magyar Királyi Tudományegyetemi nyomda, 1909.

At the end of the historical section he states:

Every reasonable teaching's main characteristic is that the knowledge should be clear and lively. The knowledge becomes clear, if the intuition develops to a concept, and it becomes lively, if we can put it to use, if it becomes a skill¹³.

Beke further emphasizes that arithmetic education needs to be in contact with other subjects and «should make the student understand the numerical relations of his or her intellectual world»¹⁴. He believes that the way of teaching, which has no regard for real content is incorrect, meaning it either doesn't deal with such things, or «applies the computation techniques for non-real material», or «mixes different topics, one of the tasks is about the weaver, the other is about walking around the Moon, followed by the purchase of flour, etc.» In his reasoning he points out that this way a student can only get formal knowledge, and he can't experience the numerical relations of the real world, the student will have one-sided, unusable skills. What is more, this kind of teaching is boring for the students, discipline will be harder to keep. In his opinion «it is unconscionable if the student practices computations on data that do not conform to reality, and often they exactly oppose the facts»¹⁵.

According to Beke, learning arithmetic must be done on real material, on «homogeneous real material», which is appropriate for the objective of teaching, the topics and examples are suitable for the children. On this basis, in the first two years of school family and school, in the third year data of household and place of residence, crafts can be added, and in the fourth year, in addition to the above, data from across the country can appear, supplemented with historical and geographical aspects. In the fifth and sixth years, the previous ones can be expanded by getting to know the data, relations of the «life of the nation and the state», and applying these data.

At the end of the first section of the *Vezérkönyv* Manó Beke sums up the most important ideas of his method in 12 points¹⁶. He finds it important to start with intuition, with a specific example even in higher years, and that the abstract operations after the introductory examples will be followed by applications again, so that the examples and tasks taken from real life can serve as tools helping to understand the curriculum and also as applications.

Let us quote an excerpt from his textbook for teachers.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 34, highlight by M.B.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

Example 1

Objective: To calculate how much profit a joiner makes on one cupboard? (Formal objective: subtracting decimal fractions)

Preparation: What previous knowledge is necessary for us to be able to define the joiner's profit? How much the cupboard costs and how much he could sell it for?

[...] What expenditures did the joiner have for the material and for the work itself? Shall the teacher discuss with his students what kinds of materials were needed for the preparation of the cupboard? (Planks, lock, etc.) The listed materials cost him 2×5 Forints. His journeymen were paid 5×75 Forints for the job done¹⁷.

This task on the basis of its objective, can also be interpreted as a simple (open) modeling task. In this case, it does not provide data beforehand, so it could have been the students' task, to look up real prices. Beke, however, does not mention this as a possibility. At the work-out phase he does not mention that there might be other ways of calculating, either. The task's working-out suggests frontal teaching, under tight control of the teacher.

Beke as an author of several textbooks conducted significant work in the field of teaching arithmetic in primary schools too; he wrote textbooks for Grades 2-6 on behalf of the ministry¹⁸. His lower primary arithmetic textbook set had several editions both in German and in Hungarian. Most of the tasks were based on real-life data or events, because he found it highly important to broaden students' knowledge about the world, and to help them in the facts' practical utilization.

The following example is taken from an arithmetic textbook for 5th and 6th graders¹⁹, from the above mentioned Beke textbook series. He gave the data necessary for the calculations of the tasks before and during the examples. Here we can see that he uses a lot of real data, and that several tasks are attached to each topic. Tasks 1-6 are about calculating with former railway ticket price-lists, then in the 7th task he comes up with the topic of the new zone-price lists – introduced by Gábor Baross, minister of transportation – which is being discussed up until the 14th task.

Example 2

Some tasks from the page 50-51:

7) Minister of transport at the time Gábor Baross introduced “zone tariff” on 1 August 1889 for the Hungarian state railway, whereby the train tickets became much cheaper. How much time has passed since that?

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 212-214.

¹⁸ Hajnal, *Beke Manó tanári munkássága*, cit.

¹⁹ M. Beke, *Rechenbuch für die V. und VI. Klasse der Volksschule, Eigentum der königlichen ungarischen Universitäts-Buchdruckerei*, Budapest, Egyetemi Nyomda, 1907.

8) Gábor Baross was born on 6 July 1848, and he was appointed to Minister of Trade on 29 December 1886, finally he died on 8 May 1892. How old was he when his Majesty Franz Joseph I. appointed him to Minister? How old was he when the 'zone tariff' was introduced and how long did he live?

[...]

13) For how much can the journey be made on third class from Budapest to Cegléd (73 km), from Budapest to Hatvan (69 km) and from Győr to Pápa (47 km)?

14) How much did somebody pay for a journey from Budapest to Fiume at that time?

In this example which uses real data, as it is usually the case in Beke's textbooks, these are closed tasks. Using the information, these can be made into open tasks as well. This is an example:

Possible open-task using Example 2 – giving the data necessary, students can be given the following task. Compare the former and the new railway price-list using the given data.

At the task giving the rules of the comparison and calculations are needed for the solution.

Beke created tasks that have concrete questions for concrete data with unique answer. So his tasks are closed. However, as he wrote in the 12 important points for primary teachers²⁰, he thought it was important that «No teacher should force the solving method on the students, but children should recommend different ways to solve the problems and then they can select the best method together. If there are more correct methods, the teacher can show all as review and practice». A task can be considered open in a more general sense – as its begin and end state are closed, but the solving process can vary²¹, it appears as «Begründungsaufgabe» (proof-task) in the classification of Leuders²². By looking for several ways of solution, Beke emphasis not only on solving problems in different ways and this way not only the problem solving approach and searching for individual solutions, but at the same time he made the traditionally closed tasks opened.

b) Teaching of practical aspects in high school

Beke thought that the students who finish high school have to know computations well enough, therefore in his school books he gave many such problems for this, including data about real life, about the world around us. In the preface of his book for middle school students (10-14 years) he wrote:

²⁰ Beke, *Vezérkönyv a népiskolai számtani oktatáshoz*, cit.

²¹ B. Wiegand, W. Blum, *Offene Probleme für den Mathematikunterricht – Kann man Schulbücher dafür nutzen?*, in *Beiträge zum Mathematikunterricht*, Franzbecker Verlag, 1999, pp. 590-593.

²² T. Leuders, *Mathematik Didaktik. Praxishandbuch für die Sekundarstufe I und II*, Berlin, Cornelsen Scriptor, 2003, p. 126.

In my book I summed up my long time experiences: I chose the subject areas of arithmetic education so as to expand the scope of the student's knowledge and arouse his or her interest. The phenomenon of life and its relationships, the school, the city and the country, the geographical conditions, the review of the economic, commercial elements of life, etc. are the topics of these subjects, gradually improving statistical sense and elements of national economy thinking²³.

In his arithmetic textbooks - which's first edition was in 1892, and they were very successful for 30 years in high schools²⁴ – in addition to practicing base operations percentage computations, problems related to ratio play an important role. Beke also thought that in high school classes, especially when students are already susceptible to issues like government bonds and interest rates, these kinds of computations should definitely be included. In his selfrevised arithmetic textbooks there are more and more possibilities for this²⁵.

Manó Beke always had an interest in implementing real life problems in different tasks. It is not a coincidence that his first textbook, Algebra (1890) was made for trading academies and secondary trading schools, which was followed by Geometry (1891), for the same audience. For this book his practical experience was already advanced, since he taught on the Academy of Commerce as a second job since 1888²⁶. With alteration of the material and structure, he considered the specific purpose of the school as well, and he was able to achieve that the curricula for these schools were only a little less than that of a high schools.

In the 1890's Beke started revising Gyula König's grammar school mathematics textbooks, on the request of the author; the first revised textbook came out in 1892²⁷. Beke respected the mathematician Gyula König's books, because in these – as opposed to previous books – mathematical thinking appeared as well²⁸. These books however helped mainly the teacher only, on how to teach better, in practice they were less useful, so adaptation was necessary. They had several editions, and since 1911, only Beke's name appeared on the book as author, on König's request. On the upcoming editions, some changes are traceable through the books, mostly the amount of data taken from real life, the number of tasks built on these, and the use of these problems in more topics.

The following passage is an excerpt from the 1908 edition's chapter on linear functions, where the functions' practical application is emphasized.

²³ M. Beke, *Számтан a középiskolák alsó osztályai számára*, Budapest, Egyetemi Nyomda, 1892.

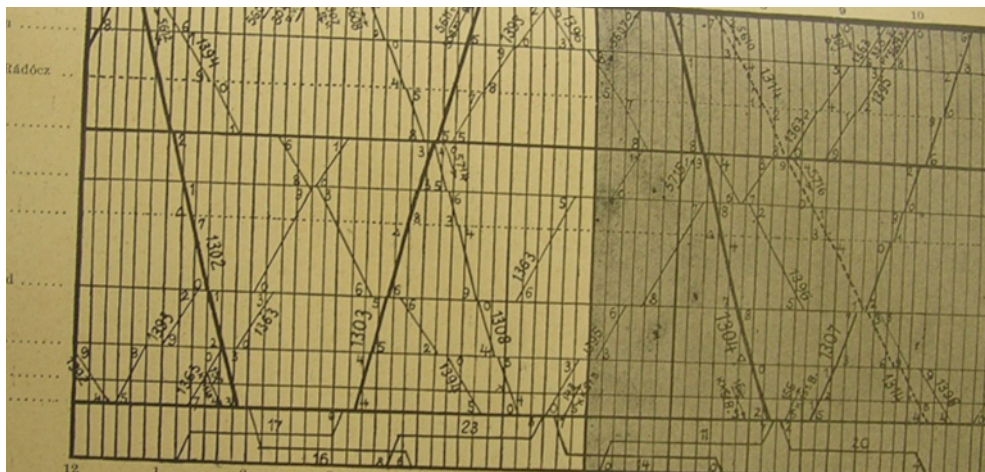
²⁴ Hajnal, *Beke Manó tanári munkássága*, cit.

²⁵ M. Beke, *Számтан a középiskolák számára*, Budapest, Singer és Wolfner, 1895; Id., *Számтан a középiskolák számára*, Budapest, Singer és Wolfner, 1903; M. Beke, *Számтан a középiskolák alsó osztályai számára*, Budapest, Singer és Wolfner, 1917.

²⁶ Hajnal, *Beke Manó tanári munkássága*, cit.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Beke, *Számтан a középiskolák alsó osztályai számára*, cit.



Pic. 1. Fig. 22. from M. Beke, Gy. König, *Algebra középiskolák számára*, Budapest, Atheneum, 1908.

Example 3

First, with the help of examples, he explains how to find one's way on a map, and then sets the following task:

Figure 1 shows the graphical time table of the trains from Szombathely (a Hungarian town in the West) to Fehring (today in Austria, at that time belonged to Hungary). The thick line means express, the thinner passenger train and the very thin means goods train, finally the pointed line means mixed train (passengers and goods). The time axis presents times from midday 12 o'clock to midnight 12 o'clock all interval takes 10 minutes. Try to read out from the Figure when the afternoon express from Szombathely departs? When does the express from Fehring arrive in Szombathely? When does the evening express arrive in Fehring? Where does express number 1303 meet the passenger train number 1308? How long does the goods train number 1394 stand in Körmeny?

The above examples obviously can only illustrate the usage of reality-based tasks and applications from Beke's rich life-work.

3. Tamás Varga

Now we turn to Tamás Varga (1919-1987) mathematics-physics teacher, well-known and acknowledged character of the Hungarian and international mathematics teaching. He, after spending a short period as a schoolteacher, worked in the National Institute of Education, then gave lectures at Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) between 1951 and 1967. He joined the reform-efforts

initiated by the so-called Sputnik-Shock. The trend represented by him and his colleagues – which was set off in 1964 and summarized in their «Complex Mathematics Teaching» experiment – can be taken as a kind of response to the weaknesses of the New Math method.

In 1978 the new mathematics curriculum for primary schools was introduced on the grounds of Varga's above mentioned experiment, which resulted in a complete change. Varga, however, disapproved of the reform's generally compulsory introduction, and emphasized that a decade of systematic work is necessary for its realization.

He emphasized the importance of teaching mathematical applications several times (as did Freudenthal, see for example: Mathematics as educational task), but in the focus of his methods there was the systematic teaching of the cleanest possible mathematical knowledge and skills.

He found joining mathematics, real life and the mathematical way of looking at the world important from more than one aspect²⁹.

Varga means, that for the education of a conscious citizen, the appropriate mathematical knowledge is inevitable. With it one is able to analyze data and read between the lines:

In the Introduction we mentioned efficient mass education in mathematics as our main goal. Speaking of mathematical literacy and a program of terminating it is not out of place, either. In our days a citizen cannot be in the full possession of his rights unless he acquires some literacy, and one which extends beyond mere technical skills. This statement increasingly applies to mathematical literacy as well. Reading formulae, graphs, statistical tables, understanding what is behind them is as important as reading between the lines, not just the lines: and this is just one small section of mathematical literacy (Cf. the examples in section 6.1 to 6.5)³⁰.

The «Complex Mathematics Teaching» experiment led by Tamás Varga resulted in the fragmented teaching of arithmetic and geometry transformed into an integrated mathematics teaching, supplemented by a number of other chapters of mathematics. Varga wanted to build on the student's individual thinking, and he expected from the teacher only to act as the student's colleague. Although his ideas were only partially implemented in Hungary, his influence was seen across the Hungarian mathematics teachings.

According to Tamás Varga, the person who needs to use mathematics usually faces not “ready” mathematical problems, but situations that he or she needs to mathematize, and to find a mathematical model for it. He thought that it's good to keep factual knowledge in your head but it's not necessary. «In the future's

²⁹ T. Varga, *On Primary School Teacher's Mathematics*, «Educational Studies in Mathematics», vol. 7, nn. 1-2, 1976, pp. 171-177.

³⁰ M. Halmos, T. Varga, *Change in Mathematics Education since the late 1950's- Ideas and Realisation Hungary*, «Educational Studies in Mathematics», vol. 9, n. 1, 1978, p. 227.

computerized, readily accessible library the access time may not be more than in the human memory, and reliability will be much greater»³¹.

At the same time books and computers are less able to help in finding the right mathematical model for many possible situations, therefore he pointed out that in public education, in modern mathematics teaching problems starting real situations should get a greater role than before.

The goal of teaching mathematics is not the training of mathematicians [...] The purpose of mass education is [...] to educate people who are able to find the mathematics involved in different situations and to find the right mathematical model for them³².

He found the following example typical from the point of view of his methods and of his teaching approach. This is a story around a problem from the math workbook – written after the conception of Tamás Varga – for third graders. Here is the problem:

Somebody tells a joke on Monday to five persons. Next day, Tuesday each of the five tells the joke to six other persons. Each of the latter tells it to seven persons on Wednesday. How many will have heard it on Wednesday?

In an interview published in one of our national newspapers a mathematician complained of this problem, mentioning the dilemma of his nephew. The boy had it as homework, and found three different solutions, depending on the interpretation of the text:

- a. Five persons heard the joke on Monday, five times six or 30 on Tuesday, five times six times seven or 210 on Wednesday. The answer is 210.
- b. In another interpretation the answer is $5+30+210$ or 245. Those who heard the joke on Monday or on Tuesday will have heard it on Wednesday together with the 210 who heard it precisely that day.
- c. He who told the joke to the first five persons must have heard it previously – unless he invented it – so the answer is 246.

The nephew was desperate. «If I come up with any of these solutions» – he said to his uncle – «the teacher may have in mind another solution, and she will make a fool of me before the class because I could not find the *real* solution. The whole class will laugh at me!»³³.

Different solutions appear to this simple task already in the early stages of mathematics education, satisfying different conditions – considering real life possibilities, too.

Tamás Varga found important not only that students find as many connections as possible between chapters and problems of mathematics and

³¹ T. Varga, *Tananyag és módszerek egysége matematikus szemmel*, in L. Zrinszky (ed.), *Korszerű műveltség, tananyag-korszerűsítés*, Budapest, OPI, 1973, p. 174.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Id.*, *Mathematics Education in Hungary today*, «Educational Studies in Mathematics», vol. 19, n. 3, 1988, p. 295.

between mathematics and other scientific subjects, but that they look for connections between mathematics and real life, too. He thought that instead of isolated fragments of knowledge teachers should get continuous knowledge that is abstracted from real life and can be used in real life. He found it important that these thoughts play an important role in the training of future teachers. For example, in a mathematical didactics textbook for future teachers he wrote:

it shouldn't be hidden from students what connections there are between practical facts, like the following: points of a circle close to the point of tangency are very close to the tangent line, they even seem to coincide on the drawing, in the table of functions in the cosine of small angles there are many '9' digits, if the door cannot be opened fully, it is enough to push the cabinet a little bit, and the door can be opened, in the first quarter the shape of the moon is changing quickly, during full moon much slower: it seems round for many days³⁴.

To avoid mistakes, he considered it important, that if the task is from real life and not only to practice number operations, then the student should compare his or her answer with real life.

It has to be clear for them, that it is unreal for someone to walk at 620 km/h, or for the speed of a plane 5 km/h, so they have to know the magnitude of the most important quantities. We do not have to make them to memorize specific figures, we have to improve their sense of reality. For this to happen, we have to solve a lot of tasks with real and (for the children) interesting data³⁵.

According to Tamás Varga, great emphasis should be placed on solving word problems. It is important that students should be good at doing and understanding operations, but even more important that they know what operation should be used in specific areas. The quality of arithmetics teaching can be measured by how much it goes beyond operations, how much it continues towards problem solving. Tamás Varga considered problems related to applications inside and outside mathematics also important in mathematics education³⁶.

Tamás Varga suggested to teachers that in order to give students problems interesting for them they should use not only textbooks, but also newspapers and books. After collecting and sorting some interesting data teacher can create tasks, sometimes together with students. Just like Manó Beke and Felix Klein, he considered it important to use real data, to learn about specific data and to use them in mathematics classes. He also created a collection of such examples for future teachers. Let us bring up two topics as examples with his data:

Physics

- a. Mechanics and phonetics (The hammer thrower feels the hammer 15 times heavier than it actually is due to the spinning motion he is in.)

³⁴ T. Varga, *A matematika tanítása*, Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1969, p. 5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

- b. Thermodynamics (Mercury's freezing point is -39°C , and the air is freezing at about -218°C .)
- c. Optics (We can tell apart 2 points which are 1 mm apart from about 3 meters.)
- d. Electricity (The average energy of a lightning is 5000 kilowatthour; using the 1 forint 80 fillér/kWh rate this would cost 9000 forints.)
- e. Nuclear physics (With one breath we take in about half a liter of air, which is around 25 thousand trillion atoms).

Transport

- a. Train, tram (The Budapest cogwheel railway has 37 000 teeth. The length of the line is 3700 m.)
- b. Car (On the wheels of a racing car rushing at 570 km/h a force of 6,300 times of its own weigh is trying to tear off the tire.)
- c. Boat (The world's longest ship is the "France", its length is 316 meters. The speed of it is 31 knots, 1 knot means 1852 m/h).
- d. Plane (In 1909 Blériot flew over the 33 km long La Manche channel in 35 minutes).

Tables and charts can be especially interesting elements of this kind of data collection. Tamás Varga has shown an example for this too.

In the weekly *Élet és Tudomány* (Life and Science) this announcement appeared on July 12, 1959: Winner plane, defeated ship.

This was the first time last year that more passengers traveled over the Atlantic between Europe and USA by plane, than by ship. Also this was the first time since WW2 that the number of passengers on ships decreased a bit.

The Lloyd's company's database contains the following:

Year	Number of ship passengers	Number of air passengers
1948	637876	240472
1949	671334	266535
1950	695881	311545
1951	729977	329656
1952	837719	432272
1953	899461	506601
1954	942885	550000
1955	964232	652254
1956	1027878	785259
1957	1036923	1018784
1958	958960	1200000

[...] It would be interesting to know how these data developed later.

The *Esti Hírlap* (Hungarian Evening Paper at that time) gives us some information (June 15, 1963): 'Some data on air traffic: Since 1958 the number of passengers increased by 113%. 80% of the passengers that travel farer than 2400 km nowadays go by plane'.

How can we use these new data to supplement the older ones? How would we estimate the number of those who crossed the Atlantic between Europe and the United States in 1962 or 1963 based on these and the above data?

We do not need to give exact instructions for these calculations, since the point is how students solve the problem³⁷.

Varga recommended for this type of task, that the teacher and the students discuss the way of solving it (or at least a part of it) together. Tasks with the additional data of the “Evening Paper” can be given to upper elementary students only -the concept of percentage is introduced here-, while elementary students can already solve tasks with the original data.

Like Manó Beke, Varga also considered it important that students shouldn't always solve tasks received “ready”, but also analyze texts containing data, draw conclusions from them. For example:

«The Evening Paper» (November 10, 1962 issue) gave the following data: «The size of farmland on Earth can be increased from 1.37 billion to 9.39 billion hectare. This farmland can provide food for 65 billion people».

We can ask this indeterminate question: ‘What do these data mean?’ Even better, if we can accustom students to us not asking any questions, instead we wait for their initiative. These data are simply not enough for them to draw too many conclusions; but we can conclude: ‘The farmland can be increased to approximately sevenfold; between six- and sevenfold, closer to seven.’

However, there are certain data that students should know, even as a rough estimate, or at least they should be able to quickly find it in a database at hand. Such data are: the population of the world (3 billion people), a surface of Earth (half-billion square kilometers), the sum of land (150M square kilometers). Knowing these data should help us a little. 1.37B or 1370M hectare means 13.7M square kilometers. From these we can increase that farmland to 93.9M square kilometers. Let us see a fast estimation: from 9% of Earth's surface to more than 60%. Today's production area feeds 3 billion people. (It is true that millions go hungry, but there is a lot of extra which goes to waste in a lot of countries.) If an area seven times larger feeds 22 times more people, it means that there will be an about threefold increase in crop yield³⁸.

In this example, further information was needed to draw further conclusions. Similarly, there may be texts which have useless data in them. Varga felt that in life we do not come across “ready” mathematical problems, we have to decide, if the data provided are too few or too many to draw conclusions, and what else we need to answer the questions. The creation of such «open-problem situations» can help mathematics education to be more realistic.

The search for solutions based on practical experience was present at Tamás Varga both at the acquisition of new knowledge and at the application of them. He did not shy away from unusual situations to stimulate students to think and

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

use knowledge creatively. Many of them are happy to remember this decades later:

One time (in mid-January), everyone had to bring in their Christmas tree's fallen needles. He-announced that 'we will estimate the number of leaves of an average tree!' Good laugh at us, we bring them in, and then he counts the 10-20 boxes of needles.

[...] First, he asked what we think, how many. I remember quite a variety of tips were made between a thousand and a hundred million. [...] Then he turned the first box upside down and carefully spread out the needles, then halved them. He then asked us to halve one of the heaps again, and so for eight times. Just a couple of leaves were left. He asked, this is what portion of all the needles. We found out easily that we have the 1024th. 'So, about a thousandth part of it?' Yes, we said. 'Well, then you can count one of the remaining small pile!' There was a stunned silence: we understood the essence of the trick³⁹.

Conclusions

We have investigated two important periods from the history of Hungarian mathematics teaching. We can claim that problems based on real data, real situations and even modeling tasks indeed have some forerunners in the history of Hungarian mathematics teaching. It turned out, that the real-life situation, the openness, problem-centered approach and the possibility of multiple solutions appear with major focus in Beke's works and in Tamás Varga's works, whose roles were decisive in the Hungarian mathematics teaching.

Manó Beke was a pioneer in mathematics teaching around the turn of the 19th and 20th century, at all levels. In his reform proposals – which primarily focused on secondary education – showing the relationship between mathematics, reality and everyday life and the learning of mathematics based on real experiences played a major role. In his textbooks -unlike the earlier practice- the background of the word problems was not an imagined unreal world, but often real data. He suggested that people should find and develop multiple ways to find the solution, emphasizing its importance. Although his problems of real content can be considered closed with today's standards, but the broad, interdisciplinary knowledge belonging to the problems, their organization and sometimes their reflection opened new directions and possibilities of the learning and teaching of mathematics.

³⁹ T. Török, *Török Turul emlékei Varga Tamással kapcsolatban*, in J. Szendrei, T. Mohácsi, E. Gaul (edd.), *Legyen a matematika mindenkié!*, Budapest, ELTE TÓFK Matematika Tanszék, 2007, p. 34.

In the second half of the last century, in Varga's ideas about teaching – whose main idea was a problem-centered education, which was based on genetic ways of teaching – in the textbooks made under his leadership, and in his university notes written for future teachers, problems related to everyday life, which are often open-ended and include modeling play a major role.

Tamás Varga's «Complex Mathematics Teaching» experiment has a great influence on mathematics teaching in Hungary, even today. It is due to his work, too, that tasks which are close to reality are included more and more in teaching, in textbooks, exercise books, and even in the high school graduation exams.

One of the projects supported by a research grant from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 2015 and from 2016 to 2020 as a mathematics education proposal (the three authors work in these) has set the objective to build on the mathematics teaching and methodological traditions of Tamás Varga and to develop a concept, which takes into account the development of scientific and technological changes of recent decades.

The research mentioned in this paper can be enlarged including more personalities of the history of Hungarian mathematics teaching in connection with these two mathematicians with the hope to find further connections with reality based tasks in the Hungarian educational traditions.

Konstantin Dmitrievich Ushinsky: the founder of scientific pedagogy in the 19th Century Russia

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ABSTRACT: Konstantin Dmitrievich Ushinsky (Ushinskii) (February 19, 1823 – December 22, 1870) is a Russian democratic educator and the founder of scientific pedagogy in Russia. K.D. Ushinsky is regarded as «the teacher of Russian teachers» because his achievements in education and pedagogy defined the structure of public education in Russia for the next century. He transformed Smolny Institute into the first teachers training institute. Ushinsky wrote the first primer of Russian language *Native word*, the first reading book *Children's world* and the first chrestomathy for children. By doing the first-hand, comprehensive analysis of educational systems in several European countries, he created the field of comparative education. In the three volumes monograph *The human as a subject of education. Pedagogical anthropology*, K.D. Ushinsky summarized his educational ideas and teaching methods that were developed using all available at that time physiological and psychological knowledge about child's nature. His pedagogical works are still valuable and studied by future teachers at pedagogical institutes in Russia. Here we overview the biography and pedagogy of K.D. Ushinsky.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Public schools; Konstantin Ushinsky; Scientific pedagogy; Literacy, Educational policy; XIXth Century.

1. *Life of K.D. Ushinsky*

1.1. *Youth, education and early career*

Life of the renowned Russian educator and pedagogue Konstantin Dmitrievich Ushinsky (*Константин Дмитриевич Ушинский*) was so remarkable, that a novel was written about him. From the school age to his last days, Konstantin Ushinsky has seen great successes and deep mishaps. However, publications about K.D. Ushinsky in English are apparently exhausted by two brief papers in honour of his 160th birthday¹, and his works were never translated into major European languages. The first biography of K. Ushinsky², published soon already after his death, was a colorful tribute to the great teacher and scientist, but here we adhere to the more reliable source of biographical information by Struminsky³, which is based on the thorough and comprehensive study of archive documents. Let us overview the biography and scientific work of K.D. Ushinsky.

Konstantin Dmitrievich was born on February 19 (March 2 of Gregorian calendar), 1823 in the city of Tula in Central Russia. This date is confirmed by the exhaustive archive search, but due to the statement, based on incomplete historical data, made in the otherwise excellent book by Struminsky the year of his birth was often listed as 1824. K.D. Ushinsky died on December 22, 1870 (January 3, 1871) in Odessa during the last journey to Black sea. His father was a retired officer of landed gentry, Dmitrii Grigorievich Ushinsky⁴. The Ushinsky family moved to Novgorod-Seversky, Ukraine, where Dmitrii G. Ushinsky was appointed a local judge. It is there, in the quiet pastoral nature of North Ukraine, warmed by the love of his family, the inquiring and resilient character of Konstantin was formed. The great influence on the education of future pedagogue was made by his mother, Liubov' Stepanovna Ushinskaya, even though she passed away when Konstantin was only 11 years old.

Under home schooling of his mother Konstantin received sufficient knowledge to be accepted directly into the third grade of a gymnasium (roughly grade 6 at modern school). K. Ushinsky was a very capable student in a gymnasium, he read a lot, and unguided self-study was a main method of his intellectual development. History was Konstantin's favorite subject. The other teacher

¹ Yu. Salnikov, *Ubezhdenie* [Conviction], Moscow, Molodaya gvardiya, 1977 (in Russian).

² M. Cipro, *Konstantin Dmitrievich Ushinsky*, «PROSPÉCTS. The quarterly review of comparative education», vol. 14, n. 1, 1984; A.A. Nikolskaya, *K.D. Ushinsky: A theoretician of educational psychology*, «Revista de Historia de la Psicología», vol. 5, nn. 1-2, 1984, pp. 253-258.

³ M. Peskovsky, *Konstantin Dmitrievich Ushinsky: Ego zhizn i pedagogicheskaya deyatelnost* [Konstantin Dmitrievich Ushinsky: His life and pedagogical work], St.-Petersburg, 1892. Reprinted: Moscow, Direct-Media, 2014 (in Russian).

⁴ V.Ya. Struminsky, *Ocherki zhizni i pedagogicheskoi deyatelnosti K.D. Ushinskogo* [The essays of the life and pedagogical work of K.D. Ushinsky], Moscow, Uchpedgiz, 1960 (in Russian).

was the nature itself, as every day K.D. Ushinsky walked about 10 km to the gymnasium and back, surrounded by and enjoying at pristine nature.

At the age of 16 Konstantin finished the gymnasium and became a student of Moscow State University. His great talents for both studying and teaching became apparent and appreciated. After his graduation from the Faculty of Law of Moscow State University in 1844 with outstanding success, as the second best student, the university council recommended K.D. Ushinsky for being taken directly into the ministerial service on the highest level by skipping low positions. At this time Konstantin declared the life's motto in his diary: «Prepare minds and disseminate ideas – this is our destiny! Throw away selfishness and work for posterity. Like fathers, we'll devote ourselves to work and suffering that are fruitless for us, but fruitful for our children»⁵. Even though Ushinsky could secure a quiet well-paid job of a state clerk, his destiny was education, and he longed to teach. He spent the year 1844/1845 in Moscow on the intensive study while preparing for the magister's entrance exam that he eventually would not take.

In August 1846 K.D. Ushinsky became 'a professor of jurisprudence, governmental law, state management and finance' at Demidov Lyceum in Yaroslavl, north of Moscow. There he demonstrated his encyclopedic knowledge and lecturer's talents. In his lectures, K. Ushinsky spoke about the freedom as an inalienable right of man, about social freedom as a necessary condition for the harmonized development of an individual. This was the time when peasants, poor and illiterate, were serfs ('krepostnye') under the feudal system, almost in the state of slavery⁶. They would be liberated by a state decree only in 1861. Therefore, social processes in Russian Empire were quite reactionary, and the state authorities decided to strictly control what and how professors were teaching. Ushinsky argued that this control would completely kill the living activity of teaching. He openly expressed his views on the state, education and society in the 1848 public lecture *On the cameral education in Russia*⁷. This lecture brought up a confrontation with the lyceum authorities, and in order to keep his integrity as a teacher and a scientist, K.D. Ushinsky had to leave the faculty.

He went from Yaroslavl to St. Petersburg to seek a teaching position at any institution to only desperately find that the doors of educational institutions shut

⁵ N.I. Polosin, *Konstantin Dmitrievich Ushinsky. Ego detstvo, otrochestvo i iunost* [Konstantin Dmitrievich Ushinsky. His childhood, boyhood, and youth], in E.N. Medynsky (ed.), *Pamiati K.D. Ushinskogo* [In the memory of K.D. Ushinsky], Moscow, Moscow State Pedagogical Institute Press, 1946, pp. 39-44 (in Russian).

⁶ K.D. Ushinsky, *Dnevnik: 1844-1845* [The diary: 1844-1845], in Id., *The collection of works*, 11 vols., Moscow-Leningrad, APN RSFSR, 1948-1952, vol. 11, pp. 11-41 (in Russian).

⁷ E.N. Vodovozova, *Na zare zbizni* [At the dawn of life], 2 parts, Moscow, Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1964, part 1 (in Russian), <http://az.lib.ru/w/wodovozowa_e_n/text_0020.shtml> (last access: 06.01.2017).

for him. In February 1850, Konstantin finally secured an office job as an assistant to the head of the department of spiritual affairs dealing with not official (not Orthodox Christian) religions. In his free time, K.D. Ushinsky continued studies in philosophy, economics, history, geography, and statistics. He studied foreign languages and wrote contributions to several journals including the influential magazine «*Sovremennik* – «*Современник*» («Contemporary»). Konstantin Ushinsky developed a reputation of a skillful writer in various genres, including articles, reviews, abstracts, and essays. His attention was mainly focused on the problems of instruction and education and on the formation of human character.

In 1855 K.D. Ushinsky finally received an offer of employment in the field he desired. He was appointed an instructor of literature and law at Gatchinsky Orphanage near St. Petersburg, later he became an inspector of this school. This instructional institution was a single system school. Students ranged from elementary classes, where they learned reading, writing, and calculating, to higher grades, in which they participated in special courses such as legal studies. After the arrival of Konstantin Ushinsky, the reputation of Gatchinsky Orphanage greatly improved.

1.2. *Work and achievements*

At this time K.D. Ushinsky actively participated in the initiate of the epoch of great educational reforms. His many talents and extensive pedagogical experience appeared exactly at the time when they were most needed. In 1857 Ushinsky's career was at its zenith. «Journal of education» had been created in the social atmosphere of liberalism and openness, and Konstantin Dmitrievich published there a series of articles that included would-be classic works. In the paper *Concerning the benefits of pedagogical literature* (n. 1, 1857)⁸ K. Ushinsky advocated for the first time the dire need for pedagogical research and publication of its results. In *Three elements of the school* (n. 5, 1857)⁹, he analyzed foreign systems of public education and outlined his ideas about the future of education in Russia. These and other papers made the unknown inspector of Gatchinsky Orphanage one of the most influential educators in Russia. From this beginning K.D. Ushinsky emerged as a researcher equal to another great pedagogue, the reformer of educational and medical systems, medical doctor Nikolai Pirogov¹⁰, and then he surpassed Pirogov's influence.

⁸ Ushinsky, *The collection of works*, cit., vol. 1, pp. 121-249 (in Russian).

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 15-41 (in Russian).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 42-68 (in Russian).

Eventually Russian Empress recognized K.D. Ushinsky as a leading educator of Russian Empire. This had an immediate effect on the fate of Konstantin Dmitrievich. The trust of Tsar's family in K. Ushinsky provided him with an opportunity to reveal his thoughts concerning education without censorship. In 1859 K.D. Ushinsky began the term as an inspector of classes in St. Petersburg at the famous «Smolny Institute for Noble Maidens» (or «Aristocratic Girls») which was an educational institution for mainly (but not only) daughters from privileged social classes. This institution in effect trained female teachers and provided them with teaching certificates. In 1859-1862 K.D. Ushinsky has radically improved the educational process there, as witnessed by his student and disciple Elena Vodovozova¹¹. He supported open-minded and hard-working students who struggled to receive good education and become independent members of the society, where female students were still banned from attending universities. Konstantin Ushinsky produced big changes in the organization of Smolny Institute by reducing the study term from 9 to 7 years, letting girls spend vacations and holidays with families, increasing the class hours for science and Russian language, and introducing two years of pedagogical practice.

On the wave of recognition, in 1860 K.D. Ushinsky was appointed Editor-in-Chief of the official educational periodical «Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo obrazovaniia» – «Журнал министерства народного образования» («Journal of the Ministry of National Education»), where he published a new series of his famous works, from *The psychological and pedagogical significance of work* (n. 7, 1860), *The project of the teaching seminary* (nn. 2-3, 1861)¹² to the ode to a native language *Rodnoe slovo - Родное слово* [The native word] (n. 5, 1861)¹³. Konstantin Ushinsky also wrote children's textbooks: the collection of essays about nature and society *Detskiy mir – Детский мир* [Children's World] and the collection of short stories for children *Khrestomatiia – Хрестоматия* [Chrestomathy], published as a single book in 1861. Later he prepared the textbook for learning to read and to write, the primer *Native word* first published in 1864. Both of these books had been reprinted ten times already by 1870. More than 10 million of Ushinsky's books, including 187 reprints of *Native word*, were printed before the 1917 October Revolution in: bestsellers even by modern standards.

K.D. Ushinsky obviously realized his own important role in the newly created Russian pedagogy. His articles provided readers with the ability for appreciating his pedagogical explorations, as well as the harmony of his system of ideas and views. Unfortunately the period of K. Ushinsky's public, creative and pedagogical activity in 1857-1861 proved to be short. By the fall

¹¹ N.I. Pirogov, *Izbrannyye pedagogicheskie trudy* [The selected pedagogical works], Moscow, Pedagogica, 1985 (in Russian).

¹² Vodovozova, *Na zare zhizni* [At the dawn of life], cit., part. 2.

¹³ Ushinsky, *The collection of works*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 513-553 (in Russian).

of 1861, he left his post as Editor-in-Chief of «Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo obrazovaniya». The forced resignation from Smolny Institute followed in April of 1862. The apparent reason was a conflict of K.D. Ushinsky with an administrator of Smolny Institute. After this conflict the Ministry of Education sent Konstantin Ushinsky abroad to study in 1862-1864 women's instructional institutions in Europe. The visit to Italy especially impressed Ushinsky, and he loved the nature and the people of this country. By contrasting Swiss bourgeoisie society to Italy of the Garibaldi epoch, he wrote about Italy: «here people now are truly happy, they fight, they hope and they hate»¹⁴. The second travel of K.D. Ushinsky to Europe in 1864-1869 was for the preparation of his major pedagogy book *Pedagogical anthropology*. This posting however was essentially the banishment, and it lasted almost until his death. During these years abroad, interrupted by home visits to St.-Petersburg and Crimea, Ushinsky worked very hard on his books, with the last volume of *Pedagogical anthropology* still left unfinished.

The textbooks publications gave Konstantin Ushinsky much needed freedom to say and write liberal ideas at the time his country was going through dramatic economic, political and educational reforms. At the end of his life K.D. Ushinsky mostly acted as a writer and a publicist. The last year of Ushinsky's life was marred by the accidental death of his oldest son Pavel. In 1870 Konstantin Dmitrievich Ushinsky attended educational institutions in Crimea. He got sick in November during another trip with his sons to Black sea and unexpectedly died in Odessa. Ushinsky was buried in Kiev, where his family moved prior to this tragedy. Beside students, that K.D. Ushinsky taught, his own children became his best followers. Daughter Nadezhda established an elementary school in the family's village of Bogdanka, where she later taught. His other daughter Vera opened a city college in Kiev. The theoretical legacy and teaching methods of K.D. Ushinsky have lived to the 21st century.

2. *Pedagogy of K.D. Ushinsky*

2.1. *The spirit of Ushinsky's pedagogy*

The roots of K. Ushinsky's views and ideas about education lie certainly in his own childhood spent in the village of Bogdanka near the small town of Novgorod-Seversky, Chernigov region, Ukraine. Konstantin Ushinsky recalled: «I have learned from my life experience the deep conviction that a beautiful landscape has such a huge impact on the educational development of young souls, that a teacher find it difficult to compete with in the influence, [...] that a

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 554-574 (in Russian).

day, spent by a child in the middle of woods and fields, [...] worth many weeks spent on a training bench»¹⁵. This feeling underlies one of the main themes of the pedagogy of K.D. Ushinsky, *Nature-conformity education*. Education must be organized according to the nature of a child. This idea was quite contrary to the established organization of schools at that time, with their strict control, senseless repetitions and drills, and punishments. Following this core idea, K. Ushinsky was the first to recognize importance of using games in education¹⁶, a truly revolutionary thought for the rigid and oppressive educational system of the 19th century. The key idea of Ushinsky was that «the game for a child is not a game, but the reality»¹⁷. He wrote further, «In the game the child lives, and traces of this life are deeper in it than a trace of real life, in which he could not even get on the complexity of its phenomena and interests». Ushinsky also clearly formulated the leading concept of the child's activity: «the main law of a child's nature can be expressed as follows: a child needs constant activity and he may be tired not of activity, but of its monotony and its one-sidedness»¹⁸. Starting from these simple and natural presumptions, K.D. Ushinsky was able to develop the theory of education and then implement it through many articles and textbooks. The concepts and meanings of a game and an activity formulated by Ushinsky were developed into comprehensive psychological theories by the followers of the school of Lev Vygotsky in the 20th century.

2.2. *Creating the public education in Russia*

K.D. Ushinsky considered the establishment of public schools as one of the most important public affairs. The public schools should be the foundation for the whole national education. Ushinsky wrote in the programmatic article *The questions about public schools* («Son of Fatherland», n. 18, 1861)¹⁹ that the basis of the civilization progress of rural population is public school. The main principles of national education included: public education should be in the hands of people, who know how to scientifically organize, lead and manage schools; the nation should determine the content and the structure of

¹⁵ Id., *Vospominanie ob uchebe v Novgorod-Severskoi gimnazii* [Memories about learning at Novgorod-Seversky gymnasium], in Id., *The collection of works*, vol. 11, cit., pp. 45-58 (in Russian).

¹⁶ Id., *The program of pedagogy for special classes of women's educational institutions*, in *To the memory of Konstantin Dmitrievich Ushinsky*, St.-Petersburg, 1896, pp. 135-150 (in Russian).

¹⁷ Id., *The human as a subject of education: Pedagogical anthropology*, in Id., *The collection of works*, cit., vol. 1, pp. 432-433 (in Russian).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁹ Id., *The collection of works*, cit., vol. 1, pp. 250-262 (in Russian).

its education; the entire population should have access to public education; women should be provided with equal education as men.

In his short life Konstantin Ushinsky played the leading role for the overall development of public education in Russia: elementary and secondary school, education for women and professional pedagogical education, pedagogy and methods of education, child and educational psychology. His pedagogical legacy consists of three contributions: theoretical works, methodological works and teaching books. Together with N. Pirogov, K. Ushinsky can be considered a co-author of liberal reforms of the Russian society in 1860's. Emancipated peasants needed schools, and the schools needed teachers and textbooks. K.D. Ushinsky devoted great efforts to organize the teachers training institutions and to prepare textbooks for them. For public schools, which were being created in Russia for the first time in history, K. Ushinsky wrote ingeniously simple and interesting textbooks as well as teaching manuals for teachers.

Among K.D. Ushinsky's breakthroughs was the «analytic-synthetic phonetic method» for learning the reading and writing, which is still the main method used in Russian schools²⁰. The handwritten alphabet in his *Native word* remains the standard for the first-graders. Many generations of Russian children and hundreds of thousands of teachers were taught with his books. This is Ushinsky's great contribution to the whole culture of Russian nation.

2.3. *The major pedagogical work of Ushinsky*

K.D. Ushinsky's magnum opus was his large theoretical work *Chelovek kak predmet vospitaniia. Opyt pedagogicheskoi antropologii – «Человек как предмет воспитания. Опыт педагогической антропологии»* [The human as a subject of education. Pedagogical anthropology]²¹, which we refer elsewhere as Pedagogical anthropology. He worked on it while distanced from the Russian society and school, in his last years abroad and at his home village. Some of its chapters were first published in the journal «Pedagogichesky sbornik» («Pedagogical collection») in 1864-1869. This book consists of three volumes, the first volume was published in 1867 and the second volume appeared in 1869. Konstantin Ushinsky was not able to complete this book, and his death prevented the publication of the third volume. The unfinished materials for this last volume were published in 1908 by his close aid.

²⁰ E.D. Dneprov, *Ushinsky i sovremennost* [Ushinsky and modern time], Moscow, Higher School of Economics Press, 2008 (in Russian).

²¹ K.D. Ushinsky, *The human as a subject of education: Pedagogical anthropology*, abr. 12th ed., St.-Petersburg, Tipografia M. Markusheva, 1907 (in Russian).

According to K.D. Ushinsky, because the subject of education is a human, it is impossible to achieve results in education without using the results of ‘anthropological sciences’: philosophy, political economy, history, literature, psychology, anatomy, physiology. The first volume of *Pedagogical anthropology* of K. Ushinsky, *Physiological part*²², is devoted to the analysis of the psychological foundations of cognitive activities, the results of which he considered necessary to apply to didactics. Pedagogical anthropology, according to K.D. Ushinsky, ought to begin with physiology and hygiene, using scientific facts that characterize the healthy, normal development of a human body. The second volume *About sensations* concerns with psychology of emotional and volitional spheres that hold such great importance for education. There Ushinsky looked at the processes of the mental emotions like amazement, curiosity, sadness, joy, and other feelings. K.D. Ushinsky planned to complete his «anthropology of an individual» with an account of spiritual peculiarities of a human being. In the third volume, he also wanted to explain the pedagogical methods and rules that flow from the analysis of the psychological activity.

Konstantin Dmitrievich set up four elements as the foundation for education: nationality, community, religion, and science. These fundamentals not only mutually permeate one another but they can also be understood only in their interconnections. K.D. Ushinsky analyzed education in all forms of theoretical pedagogical consciousness by using the theological, social and anthropological principles. The basis of the Ushinsky’s pedagogical system is the concepts of public democratic education and the national character of education. Konstantin Ushinsky can rightly be called the founder of Russian secondary school, built on the idea of nationality.

2.4. *Ushinsky on the national and international education*

K.D. Ushinsky gave the description of the features of different nations in his article *On the nationality in public education* («Journal of education», nn. 7-8, 1857) by analyzing European education. K.D. Ushinsky provided the study of French, British, German and American education systems. He criticized the adoption of German pedagogy by Russia, because any reforms of public school should be based on the spirit of that nation’s people. In this article Ushinsky advocated a simple idea: every nation has its own system of education, which is based on own national idea of education and its human ideal, corresponding to the character of the nation’s people. Each nation has its own foundations of education and its purpose, and, therefore, its main direction. They are

²² Id., *The human as a subject of education: Pedagogical anthropology*, in Id., *The collection of works*, cit., vols. 8-10 (in Russian).

different, as determined by the national character, while some elements of pedagogical science can still move from one nation to another. «The experience of other nations in education is a precious heritage for everyone», mentioned K.D. Ushinsky, and «every nation should try its own strength in this regard. That is, each nation has its own system of education and a foreign pedagogical system cannot be used»²³. Nevertheless Ushinsky believed that there was much to learn from the European school of pedagogy. He thought that the essence of the school is the connection of secular and spiritual principles, Christian principles and scientific knowledge should be implemented not only in educational plans and curriculum, but especially be brought by highly educated public school teachers. The Ushinsky's idea of the nationality in education is associated first of all with education and schooling. Konstantin Ushinsky further wrote: «There is only one common inborn tendency to everyone, which can always be reliable for education: this is what we call nationality [...]. education, created by the people themselves and based on national principles, has the educational effect, that cannot be found in the best systems, that are based on abstract ideas or borrowed from other nationalities». Nationality in schooling, according to K.D. Ushinsky, means understanding and assimilating the identity of people, history, culture, spirituality and language. Education should give children real knowledge and at the same time develop their intellectual abilities in order to connect this knowledge with life and to direct it for the benefit of the nation. The native language should take a central place in the formation of an individual.

According to K.D. Ushinsky, national culture and global civilization must be connected in the educational process. That is why Ushinsky considered that theology, literature, history, natural sciences, drawing, singing, as well as Latin and Greek required for entering the university, should be compulsory at school. Prior to that there was no such general content in public education. In order to get the scientific knowledge of the world's civilization the study of foreign languages should also be compulsory.

The humanistic pedagogy needs education that provides tolerance and respect for other people and cultures and excludes any forms of ethnocentrism and ethnic intolerance. The cultural identity (ethnicity) is closely connected to the culture of interethnic relations. The idea of nationality is developed further by ethnopedagogy. The basic idea of ethnopedagogy is to achieve the harmony of social and spiritual principles in the life of multiethnic society. The culture of interethnic interactions is manifest in the modern society life. Its multinational structure, ethnic and confessional differences determine the relationships within the society. K.D. Ushinsky conceived the idea of nationality, which is permeated with humanism, aiming at both an individual and the nation. The idea of nationality of Ushinsky is opposed to nationalism, which asserts the

²³ Id., *On the nationality in public education*, in Id., *The collection of works*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 69-166 (in Russian).

superiority of one nation over the others. K.D. Ushinsky's national idea was to treat carefully other cultures. He called for preservation and assimilation of national cultures and traditions.

When K.D. Ushinsky wrote about the moral and psychological, not economical, place of work for people, some of his statements appear rather modern. In *The psychological and pedagogical significance of work* (1860) he said that wealth is not equal to happiness, and warned that «the society in its intellectual and moral development is not prepared yet to stand against the surge of the increasing well-being»²⁴. A country that suddenly receives the great fortune from the slavery (which was the case of Southern States) or from the discovered mineral resources (gold in the 19th century, oil in the 20th) may be on the self-destruction path, if the moral and intellectual state of its society does not match the level of this new economic state. Therefore, scientifically organized education should precede the economic development.

During his many years abroad, K.D. Ushinsky performed the comprehensive study and analysis of educational systems of several countries. He visited Switzerland, Germany, France, Belgium, and Italy and he wrote second-hand about education in England, Scotland, and Austria. By doing this research he actually acted as the very first researcher in the field of comparative education²⁵. As a matter of fact, Ushinsky worked in this field during his whole career beginning from the early work *The school reforms in North America* («Journal of Education», n. 11, 1858)²⁶. While abroad, K. Ushinsky published *The pedagogical journey through Switzerland* («Journal of the Ministry of Public Education», n. 12, 1862; nn. 1, 3, 4, 6, 1863)²⁷ that was formed as a series of letters built upon his conversations with the foreign and native teachers in Switzerland. In this series Konstantin Dmitrievich showed himself an excellent writer with a fine sense of humor. When describing schools in Switzerland with its many languages, where schools could use local dialects, he continued to assert that a child should begin his/her studies first in a native language. K.D. Ushinsky thought that early education and upbringing of children in the family, kindergarten and school should be in a native language. He showed that the school that teaches in foreign language restrains the natural development of capabilities of children. However learning foreign languages as a school subject is highly beneficial for children's development and for their harmonic education. At present time when foreign languages are taught in Russia at elementary school, some of the Ushinsky's ideas are quite contemporary.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 333-361 (in Russian).

²⁵ N. Hans, *Ushinsky: Russian pioneer of comparative education*, «Comparative Education Review», vol. 5, n. 3, 1962, pp. 162-166.

²⁶ Ushinsky, *The collection of works*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 167-203 (in Russian).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 87-252 (in Russian).

Conclusion

The pedagogical legacy of K.D. Ushinsky produces a very powerful impression with sharp expressions, frankly written and appearing as if they were written now. His thoughtful patriotism and restrained spirituality helped him to produce the ever-lasting works that are still studied by every student in the teachers training programs²⁸. The life and activity of Ushinsky are described and analyzed in many books. His name was given to streets and institutes. Several sculptures have been placed at pedagogical institutions. The Ministry of Education and Science of Russian Federation awards the Ushinsky Medal as its highest honour to excellent pedagogues and educators. However, the true monument to his short and bright life, all devoted to pedagogy and education, is the modern Russian school system.

Konstantin Dmitrievich Ushinsky laid the scientific foundation of the Russian school of pedagogy. For public elementary school he wrote the first primer, the first reading book, the first chrestomathy about society and science. In his three volumes monograph Pedagogical anthropology Ushinsky summarized scientific knowledge about physiology and psychology of a child and developed scientifically tested methods of teaching. He created the first teachers training institute by transforming Smolny Institute programs. The core of textbooks and teaching methods at Soviet and Russian schools in the 20th century contain Ushinsky's ideas and methods.

The works of K. Ushinsky were studied by the Institute of Theory and History of Pedagogy of the Academy of Pedagogical Science of Russian Federation (APN RSFSR) and published as 11 volumes in 1948-1952. This publication was followed by four volumes of documents from the archive of Konstantin Ushinsky in 1959-1962²⁹. This listing does not include several publications of selected works of Konstantin Dmitrievich Ushinsky.

The magnitude of the pioneering work of K.D. Ushinsky became fully appreciated only many years after his death. The early 20th century brought up another wave of the progress in psychology and pedagogy that corresponded to the dramatic changes in social and economic life of the society. This progress was due to a host of remarkable pedagogues and teachers, and its culmination was the large scale pedagogical experiment conducted in 1960s by Leonid Zankov at public schools in the USSR³⁰. The revolutionary result of this research was

²⁸ N.K. Goncharov, *Pedagogicheskaja sistema K.D. Ushinskogo* [The pedagogical system of K.D. Ushinsky], Moscow, Pedagogica, 1974 (in Russian).

²⁹ K.D. Ushinsky (auth.), V.Ya. Struminsky (ed.), *The archive of K.D. Ushinsky*, 4 vols., Moscow, APN RSFSR, 1959-1962, <<http://elib.gnpbu.ru/sections/0100/ushinskij/>> (last access: 08.01.2017).

³⁰ L.V. Zankov, *Teaching and development*, White Plains, M.E. Sharpe, 1977.

the L. Zankov system of developmental education³¹, whose spirit truly reflects the great works of K. Ushinsky.

We should emphasize that even though K.D. Ushinsky was writing about and for Russian education, his genius created pedagogy that can be universally used by other nations or people. In order to globally analyze K.D. Ushinsky's legacy and perhaps use it in other countries, according to his principle of the intercultural enrichment of education systems, it might be desirable to translate some of his works into other languages.

³¹ L.G. Guseva, A.N. Sosnowski, *Russian education in transition: Trends at the primary level*, «Canadian and International Education», vol. 26, n. 3, 1997, pp. 14-31, <<http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cie-eci/vol26/iss1/3/>> (last access: 08.01.2017).

The figure of the nurse in classical theatre from an educational perspective

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ABSTRACT: This paper analyses the figure of the nurse in Ancient Greece: the sources considered are the Homer's poems and the classical tragedies. In the epics, the nurse is characterized as displaying a series of traits: old age, not so much in terms of physical decline, but rather as wisdom and restraint in actions and behaviour; unconditional loyalty and faithfulness. The analysis of the tragic texts, instead, and particularly of two cases (*Aeschylus' Oresteia* and *Euripides' Medea*) suggests that the nurse in Greek drama is different to her counterpart in the epics: the nurse in fact become a figure with greater independence and depth. The tragedies often put her in dialectical interaction with parents as well as offspring, thereby representing her as playing a role in the education of both children and adults. Thus, classical drama brings a more reflective perspective to bear on the role of the nurse, problematizing it and attributing it with greater complexity, during a historical period that saw the beginnings of widespread reflection on education both in and outside the home.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Family education; History of education; Care and Childhood; Nurse; Ancient Greece.

1. *The antecedents: the nurse in Homer's epic poems*

The current paper analyses and reflects on the figure of the wet nurse in classical theatre from a historical-educational perspective, given – as we shall see – the significant and complex role attributed to this personage in Greek drama. However, to prepare the ground for our analysis, let us begin with a brief review of how the nurse was represented in the epics: here, she was treated as a paradigm and archetype, an approach that the theatrical works of the Classical Era both emulate and depart from in interesting and meaningful ways.

In the *Iliad*, the nurse is an anonymous figure that only makes a small number of fleeting appearances: in *Iliad*, VI, 372, the infant Astyanax appears in the arms of his nurse who is referred to as *amphipolos* (literally «she who surrounds»); while later in the same episode (VI, 389), the child's nurse is called *tithenes* (she who suckles, nourishes).

In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, we find the well-known figure of the nurse par excellence: Eurycleia, a slave bought by Laertes to nurse and care for the infant Odysseus. This character, who is only briefly mentioned in the early sections of the poem, comes vividly and unforgettably to life for readers in the XIX book of the *Odyssey*, during the famous episode in which she discovers the true identity of Odysseus who is posing as a beggar. She is defined by Penelope herself as «an old woman rich of sense in the heart» (XIX, 353) and it is to her, a trusted woman servant, that the queen assigns the duty of washing the guest and offering him clean clothes. Eurycleia is therefore charged with carrying out the ritual gestures stipulated by the ancient laws of hospitality for receiving a stranger in one's home and making him welcome; she also symbolically embodies membership of the household. As the elderly nurse prepares his bath, Odysseus begins to worry that she will recognize him by his scar, but he cannot refuse the hospitality ritual. This leads into the famous scene in which Eurycleia suddenly recognizes him on touching his scar and drops his foot in shock, causing the bronze basin to ring out and the water to spill; the poet hastens to describe the nurse's feelings: «Joy and anguish at the same time/together took her heart, and her eyes filled with tears» (XIX, 471-472). Frightened that his disguise may be uncovered, Odysseus grabs Eurycleia by the throat to order her silence: however, he calls her «maia» (XIX, 500), which means nurse, but is also a polite form of address for an older woman; the hero is immediately assured of the nurse's complicity, who has spent the years of his absence hopefully awaiting his return: «I will be like a hard rock, I will be like a piece of iron» (XIX, 494). From this moment onwards, Eurycleia will faithfully keep his secret, joining the ranks of those who have remained loyal to the king and, now that he has returned, will help him take his revenge: most of Odysseus' supporters – with the exception of Telemachus – are among the older members of the royal household. Indeed, old age is one of the key themes of Odysseus' return: the hero himself has asked the goddess Athena to impress the mark of time upon his body, making him undergo a premature and artificial aging process¹, and so he is only helped by those who belong to his past and have conserved his memory². This characteristic might be viewed as inevitable (the hero has been absent for many years and it is thus obvious that those who

¹ L. Faranda, *Le lacrime degli eroi. Pianto e identità nella Grecia antica*, Milano, Jaca Book, 1992.

² On the relationship between the old and the young in the poem in general and in the context of Odysseus' return in particular, see: G. Seveso, *Arrivati alla piena misura: le rappresentazioni dei vecchi e della vecchiaia nella Grecia antica*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2013.

knew and loved him will have aged in the meantime), but it also bears rich educational meaning. All Odysseus' accomplices, including Eurycleia, are older people experiencing a condition of isolation, submission, and pain, but also of faithfulness to memory and the capacity to reconstruct history. Ultimately, their support and wisdom play a vitally important role in the unfolding of the epic. The descriptions of these figures do not include references to the physical signs of old age, which may only be inferred from the titles used to address the older characters and from their talk of the past. In the case of Eurycleia, Hartwin Brandt has claimed that the lack of a clear and consistent portrayal of physical aging in the poem is also reflected in iconographic representations of the nurse, which depict her as a model of devotion and care rather than as a hunched or wrinkled old woman³. For example, in a famous Attic red-figure *skyphos* dated to 440 BC and currently preserved at the National Etruscan Museum in Chiusi, Italy, Eurycleia is not portrayed as wrinkled but is shown gazing adoringly at Odysseus' while bending over his feet.

These representations, both literary and pictorial, predominantly emphasize the characteristics of wisdom, faithfulness, and affection displayed by older people, as well as the importance of their relationships with their juniors (whether the mature Odysseus or the youth Telemachus), who stand to greatly benefit from their perspicacity and experience⁴.

It is worthy of note that, apart from the dog Argos, the aged nurse is the only one who spontaneously recognizes Odysseus: the hero discloses his secret to the other characters in his circle of trust, such as Eumaeus, Philoetius, and even Telemachus, but to do so is forced to explicitly reveal his identity. Only Eurycleia and Argos are capable of discerning without being told who the beggar really is, immediately offering him their loyalty and silence. L. Castagna has suggested that they are the only two characters endowed with simplicity of heart⁵; it might also be argued that the privilege of recognizing Odysseus is linked to the existence, both present and past, of a physical, emotional and preverbal bond between these two personages and their master. A bond that is so deep and primordial that it enables them to recognize him instantly. The nurse physically cared for Odysseus as an infant, breastfeeding him and in general enjoying a close physical relationship with him. Similarly, the dog's earlier relationship with his master was highly physical in nature. The nurse is therefore shown to have made an indispensable contribution to the hero's formative life story: she embodies the milk tie, which proves to be as deep, resistant and fundamental

³ H. Brandt, *Wird auch silbern mein Haar. Eine Geschichte des Alters in der Antike*, Monaco, Beck oHG, 2002.

⁴ T.M. Falkner, J. De Luce (edd.), *Old Age in Greek and Latin Literature*, New York, State University of New York Press, 1989.

⁵ L. Castagna, *La figura della nutrice dall'Odisea alle tragedie di Seneca*, in N. Blancato, G. Nuzzo (edd.), *La tragedia romana. Modelli, forme, ideologia, fortuna*, Palermo, INDA-CUA, 2007, pp. 51-69.

as the blood tie. She is the only female figure that acts as an accomplice in her master's return and vengeance: not even Penelope is aware of Odysseus' plan, nor does she recognize him, almost as though to emphasize the primal importance of the bond between the hero and his wet nurse.

The figure of the nurse presents one further significant characteristic: Eurycleia comes across, in her brief but intense dialogue with Odysseus, in her gestures, and in her very silence, as a character whose life is totally devoted to her master, and who in some sense identifies with his fate. She hates those who are squandering Odysseus' property, despises the maidens who had affairs with the suitors (and in Book XXII she will be asked to point them out one by one so that they may be put to death), and cannot bear for her master's memory to be offended. Eurycleia's world is the world of Odysseus: her identification with him is so strong that they immediately and intuitively understand one another. Furthermore, the nurse does not advise, reprimand or give explanations, she simply awaits the hero's instructions, implementing them swiftly and without argument. Thus, the wet nurse is clearly characterized in the *Odyssey* as displaying a series of traits that are also reflected in the iconography: old age, not so much in terms of physical decline, but rather as wisdom and restraint in actions and behaviour; unconditional loyalty and faithfulness; the capacity to reconstruct and preserve memory; total devotion.

2. *The wet nurse in classical theatre: a complex figure*

Classical theatre offers many examples of nurses and pedagogues/tutors, who, as mentioned above, in part appear to have inherited the traits of their counterparts in Homer's epic poems, and in part differ from these earlier models, generally displaying a more complex and nuanced profile.

It is likely no coincidence that these figures frequently featured in tragic theatre during a period of profound transformation in the sphere of education. The progressive diffusion of alphabetic writing and ongoing social and political change led to a shift from an aristocratic education system, reserved for a privileged few and based on the teacher-student relationship, to a more widely available form of education. Naturally, this transition took place gradually and was not fully consistent nor without its ambiguities. Nonetheless, the 5th century undoubtedly saw the birth of what is nowadays referred to as «school», albeit semi-public rather than public. This institutionalized education system continued to spread, although it had not yet become the main vehicle for the transmission of knowledge and culture, given the co-presence of other more pervasive and impactful educational opportunities (festivals, informal education, rituals, theatre etc.). The development of schools went hand in hand with the decline of the paradigmatic aristocratic model of education, based on example

and on the relationship between a tutor (relative or acquaintance) chosen by the family and the pupil. Nonetheless, the *oikos* still included many figures with responsibility for looking after the children and youths: grandparents, aunts and uncles, nurses, pedagogues and so on.

The first observation to be made about how the nurse is represented in works of classical theatre, is that she becomes a far more complex and significant figure than her counterpart in Homer.

In most of the classical works, the nurse is not given a proper name (with the exception of Cilissa in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*). The word used to describe her is *trophos*, from the verb *trephe*. According to Chantraine, this verb means «to favour the development of», particularly in relation to natural processes (the crystallization of sea salt, the forming of cheese, the growth of a plant or hair)⁶. Only once in Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* and twice in Euripides' *Hippolytus* do we find the title *maia* (a polite form of address for older women).

In terms of representation, in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* the nurse appears at the very outset of the play, in the prologue, alongside the main character, Deianeira, who is in state of anguish and anxiety. The nurse urges Deianeira not to weep but to send her son Hyllus to seek news of her husband Heracles, who has been away from home for a long time. In this first appearance, the nurse – who is not given a proper name at any point during the tragedy – comes across to the audience as a lively and active figure with a key role to play. She echoes the suffering expressed by her protégée (the protagonist), and tries to empathise with her, but also suggests a way out of the emotional impasse (dispatching Hyllus on his mission). The nurse thus fulfils a quasi-therapeutic and strongly practical function. Deianeira, in contrast, portrays severe mental distress: she is unable to make decisions or accept responsibility, a trait that she displays throughout the entire plot, appears to be unaware of the consequences of her actions, and contemplates actions of unclear purpose (as borne out by the core episode in which she involuntarily kills Heracles himself). If we compare the nurse in the *Trachiniae* with Homer's Euricleia, we find that Sophocles' character enters into a dialectical relationship with her charge, expresses her own opinions, searches for solutions, perhaps does not fully share in the protagonist's emotional experience, though offering her comfort. She is therefore very different to Homer's nurse, with whom she only shares the characteristic of old age. After the prologue, the nurse disappears from the scene, only reappearing when Heracles is on the point of death and Hyllus in a furious rage with his mother. At this point, her role is to narrate the death of the main character (vv. 870 and following), who commits suicide when she realizes the terrible, albeit unintended, consequences of what she has done. As is well known, in the classical tragedies, the death of a female character (mother or

⁶ See P. Chantraine *et al.*, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1968-1990.

wife) follows a highly codified schema: the heroine retires in a state of anguish, convinced that disaster is now inevitable, and silently takes her own life⁷. In the *Trachiniae*, the nurse provides a moving and detailed account of her charge's slow and painful farewell to life, bid in despairing silence («she moaned dully, she felt around her the desert» vv. 905-906), Deianeira's symbolically rich gestures of baring her breast and throwing herself upon the sword, the nurse's own vain attempt to prevent her from carrying out her suicidal design. The nurse's narrative is addressed to the female chorus, who, alarmed by the sound of wailing, burst into a series of disjointed exclamations, overcome by panic and bewildered. The nurse gives them a clear account of what has happened, expressing compassion, deep sorrow and her attachment to the dead protagonist, but also concluding her tale with existential reflections drawn from popular wisdom.

A similar role of companionship and affection that also extends to dialectic relations between a nurse and her charge clearly features in Euripides' *Andromache*. Once again referred to by her title rather than by name, the nurse in this tragedy attends to Hermione as she succumbs to a physical state of crisis brought on by fear of her husband's imminent wrath. The older woman deplores the reaction of the younger one, addressing the chorus with words that make her own position quite clear:

She is afraid that as payment for her actions her husband may send her from the house in dishonour (or kill her since she tried to kill those she had no right to). She wants to hang herself by the neck and her attendant guards have difficulty in stopping her, difficulty too in snatching weapons away from her right hand. She feels such remorse and she recognizes that her previous actions were far from good. I am worn out with preventing my mistress hanging herself, my friends. You go inside the palace and stop her committing suicide. For when new friends arrive they have more influence than the same old ones (vv. 809-819)⁸.

In this significant passage, the nurse expresses on the one hand her concern for the fate of the princess, her efforts to restrain the young woman from suicide, and therefore her role in guarding and protecting her charge; however, on the other hand, she clearly condemns the behaviour displayed by her former charge, who did wrong by plotting to kill «those whom she should not». The relationship between nurse and mistress is therefore extremely dialectic in nature and only syntonic at the affective level: this state of affairs is made even more explicit later in the scene, when the nurse unequivocally reprimands Hermione for her misconduct, while trying at the same time to comfort her and give her hope:

⁷ The *topos* of the tragic heroine who commits suicide in silence is analysed in the well-known work: N. Loraux, *Façons tragiques de tuer une femme*, Paris. Hachette, 1985.

⁸ Euripides, *Andromache*, in Id., *The Trojan Women and Other Plays*, translated and edited by J. Morwood, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000.

O my child, I did not praise your excessives reactions before when you blundered in your treatment of the Trojan woman, and now again I have no good to say of your extreme transport of terror. Your husband will not break up his marriage with you as you fear. He will not be won over by the worthless words of barbarian woman. In you he possesses no captive from Troy, but the daughter of a king, whom he took with many bridal gifts – and from a city of no mean prosperity. And your father will not betray you as you fear, my child, and allow you to be thrown out of this palace. No, go inside and don't make yourself conspicuous in front of the house – otherwise it will bring disgrace on you [to be seen outside these halls, my girl] (vv. 866-878)⁹.

Clearly, the nurse's role here is to explicitly draw out the lessons to be learnt from the events of the play and identify their moral: she provides a rational outline of the relationships of affection and power that are interwoven in the story and invites her charge to adopt more appropriate attitudes and behaviours.

Turning now to another Euripidean tragedy, *Hippolytus*, we find that the nurse has become a character of even greater importance and interest. In this play, she first makes her entrance while physically supporting Phaedra, who is torn apart by her incestuous love, proceeding to respond – in the course of an intense exchange of dialogue – to the woman's wild and irrational requests: the queen wishes to run away to the mountains and drink pure water directly from the mountain springs so as to immerse herself in the wild natural environment of the stepson with whom she has fallen in love. The nurse replies on the one hand by firmly counselling her to conduct herself in a way that is fitting to her womanly roles of wife, lady of the house, and mother, while on the other hand offering more general reflections on life:

I have lived long and this has taught me much. If only mortals would mix the bowl of friendship for each other only to a moderate strength and not touch the deepest marrow of their soul. The loves of our hearts should be easy to untie, easy to push away, easy to tighten fast (vv. 251-258)¹⁰.

Thus, the relationship between the two women is strongly dialectical: the nurse is concerned about the queen's state of physical breakdown and mental confusion, but at the same time distances herself from it, appealing to the equilibrium offered by social norms and conventional moral standards, from the wise perspective of one who, though inferior in social class, is well acquainted with human affairs. The next part of their conversation is even more significant, with the nurse emerging as she who recalls her mistress to reality, clearheadedly pointing out and warning her against the consequences of the actions she is contemplating (vv. 305-309). In so doing, the nurse also brings to light a deep psychic split: «You see? You are sane but, despite your sanity,

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Euripides, *Hippolytus*, in Id., *Medea and Other Plays*, translated and edited by J. Morwood, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997.

you are unwilling to help your children and to save your life» (vv. 314-325)¹¹. In this dense exchange, the nurse appears to frame Phaedra's predicament as trivial and of little account (love happens to everybody), speaking dismissively of violent passion and thereby precluding true understanding between the two women (vv. 435 ff.). When Phaedra at last clearly acknowledges the reason for her despair and suicidal thoughts, the nurse suggests that she have recourse to love potions:

But, my dear girl, lay aside this wrong-headedness, lay aside this wilfulness – for it is nothing other than wilfulness to wish to be superior to the gods. Love on – go through with it. This is what a god wished to happen. And if it makes you sick, find a good way to control your sickness. There are charms and words which cast a spell. Some cure for this sickness will be found. Men would take overlong to discover the means unless we woman find them (vv. 473-481)¹².

In the face of a malady that she views as “normal”, the nurse contrasts the medicine offered by men (which relies on *pharmokoi*) with the magical, ritual, redemptive remedies used by women (*mechanoi*) (vv. 478-481): she thus distinguishes between the world of emotions, seen as predominantly female, and that of reason, seen as predominantly male. The nurse goes on to severely rebuke her charge, accusing her of *ybris*, or of wanting to be superior to the gods; finally, she disassociates herself from Phaedra's illness and undertakes the task of supplying a practical solution (a love potion, the preparation of which however requires an object belonging to the loved one). In the course of a lively exchange, the queen accuses the nurse: «Your words are shocking. Stop your lips, woman, and utter no more of these most shameful arguments» (vv. 298-299), initially rejecting her proposal. Hence, complicity between the two is far from a foregone conclusion, but is only reached after strong argument, with the queen remaining somewhat troubled and unconvinced to the end. As events rapidly evolve, the nurse involuntarily reveals Phaedra's feelings to Hippolytus, inescapably causing his wrath and shaming the queen. The tragic outcome hinges on the betrayal of a promise: Phaedra asks the nurse to help her but with discretion, yet the woman discloses her secret instead of guarding it, showing that complicity among women cannot be founded on prohibition and silence. In her desperation, Phaedra does not refrain from cursing the nurse:

¹¹ *Ibid.* On madness in classical theatre, see: A. Guardasole, *Tragedia e medicina nell'Atene del V secolo*, Napoli, D'Auria Editore, 2000; J. Pigeaud, *La Maladie de l'ame, Etude sur la relation de l'ame et du corp dans la tradition medico-philosophique antique*, Paris, Les Belles Lettes, 1981; Id., *Folie et cure de la folie chez les medecins de l'Antiquite Greco-Romaine*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2010. For in-depth analysis of how Phaedra's madness represents and educates for gender roles, see: G. Seveso, *La rappresentazione delle femmine folli sulla scena del teatro antico come una forma di educazione al ruolo di genere*, in M. Martin Clavijo, M. Gonzales de Sande, D. Cerrato, E.M. Moreno Lago (edd.), *Locas. Escritoras y personajes femeninos cuestionando las normas*, Sevilla, ArCiBel Editores, 2015, pp. 1539-1557.

¹² Euripides, *Hippolytus*, cit.

Vilest of women, you who destroy your friends, what have you done to me! May Zeus, my ancestor, give you a deadly wound with his fire and rub you out root and branch. Did I not tell you – did I not anticipate what you planned? – tell you to be silent about the things which now fill me with such same? But you could not restrain yourself. And so I shall die with my good name dishonoured (vv. 682-688)¹³.

These words reflect the fact that the bond of affection between the two women is now broken: the nurse has become a traitor, one who was unable to provide understanding and protection, who is unreliable. The final dialogue between the two, signals the definitive rupture of their relationship:

Nurse: ‘Mistress, you can find fault with the ill you claim that I have done, since the bitterness gnawing at you is stronger than your judgement. But I have something to say in answer if you will listen to me. I brought you up and I am your friend. I sought a cure for your sickness but I found what I did not wish to find. However, if I had succeeded, I should certainly have been numbered among the wise. Our wisdom is measured by our success or failure’.

Phaedra: ‘What! Is this just – is this good enough for me – that you should wound me and then use words to come to terms with me?’.

Nurse: ‘We are wasting time with our talk. I showed bad judgement. But there is a way you can be saved even from this plight, my child’.

Phaedra: ‘Stop – no more words. Your advice to me was bad before and you put your hand to a vicious scheme. Away with you! Go, and take thought yourself. I shall set my own affairs to rights’ (vv. 695- 709).

The nurse no longer addresses Phaedra as «daughter child» but calls her «Mistress», appealing to their longstanding relationship, the affection that has bound them together, and her own history of caring for her charge, as well as her desire to ask for the queen’s pardon. The queen however remains irremovably resentful and scornful towards the nurse and firm in her resolve to execute her suicidal plan. As the plot winds to its conclusion, the only part left to the nurse is that of finding the lifeless body of Phaedra who has hung herself, and lovingly laying out her corpse as a final farewell.

Clearly therefore the nurses that appear in the classical tragedies conserve some of the characteristics to be observed in Homer’s Eurycleia, such as old age and affection for their charges. In the classical works just analysed, however, the nurse’s role is no longer merely to display unconditional devotion and sympathy to her mistress, as was the case in Homer, but has become far more complex and nuanced: the nurse is now she who exhorts her mistress, sometimes expressing different opinions to her lady, and offering solutions with which her mistress may not be fully in agreement; she tries to understand the feelings of the one that she has long loved and still loves, but sometimes disassociates herself from them and does not necessarily approve of them; she may even do harm to or betray her former charge, albeit unintentionally.

¹³ *Ibid.*

3. *The nurse in Aeschylus' Oresteia*

As is well known, the complex saga of the House of Atreus represents one of the most popular stories in classical theatre and a frequently recurring theme in the iconography of the period: it thus features in the repertoire of all three great tragedians, each of whom however staged it somewhat differently, introducing minor variations and peculiar details in keeping with his own poetic sensibility and aims. Concerning how the tragic playwrights portrayed their nurses and pedagogues/tutors – who are minor, yet relatively developed, characters in their respective works – we find that each adopted a significantly different approach to the others.

Aeschylus introduces a highly-charged nurse figure in *The Libation Bearers* (the second tragedy in his *Oresteia* trilogy), drawing on a version of a mythical narrative that also appears in Pindar's *Pythian Ode 11*: in the poet's account of Orestes' story, the nurse Arsinoe took the young Orestes from the hands of his sister while Clytemnestra, whose deceit at this point also extended to her child, was in the act of killing her husband (vv. 25-27). Pindar's reference to the myth of Orestes is not random but obeys poetic conventions by echoing key themes that recur throughout the entire work (hospitality, devotion to one's father, and so on). His mention of the nurse, who laudably saved the child, is of great interest: the narrative portrays all the main characters in the story as gravely at fault and given to excess (Agamemnon on account of his conceited pride and his killing of his daughter, Clytemnestra due to her scandalous behaviour and ultimate murder of her husband, Aegisthus as an adulterer and a traitor); the minor character of the nurse in contrast is represented as loving and as playing a key role by virtue of her act of courage and devotion. Furthermore, in Pindar's reconstruction of the myth, Clytemnestra appears to be driven by hatred of both her husband and her son, who only escapes death thanks to the timely intervention of the nurse. In this plot, the mother neither expresses maternal attachment nor acts to protect her child, while the nurse appears as a sort of antagonist to the mother who embodies the dimension of care and protection and is free of any form of incoherence or ambivalence¹⁴.

Likely following in the tradition of Pindar, Aeschylus also weaves the figure of the nurse into the plot of *The Libation Bearers*, naming her Kilissa (the only nurse in classical theatre to be attributed a proper name): this character enters the scene unexpectedly immediately after Orestes, in disguise, has gained

¹⁴ However Pindar leaves Clytemnestra's motives for her murderous act as an open question: was she seeking revenge for the death of her daughter who was killed by Agamemnon, or did she wish to favour her adulterous relationship with Aegisthus? In the first scenario, the queen would come across as a wounded mother driven by love for her children. In the second, she would become a violent mother lacking in attachment to her children. Later traditions espoused one or the other of these possible versions, interpreting Clytemnestra's behaviour and the unfolding of events accordingly.

entrance to the palace and speaks to Clytemnestra, who fails to recognise him. The youth has come to avenge his father, feigning to be a traveller bearing the news that he himself is death. The rich dialogue between mother and son portrays Clytemnestra to the audience as torn by grief: she declares «You strip me bare of I love, destroy me, now» (v. 695) and she alludes to the misfortune that continues to afflict the House of Atreus and speaks of Orestes as representing the hope that the pattern of bloodshed and loss might finally come to an end (vv. 696-699). Undoubtedly however the key meaning of the episode lies in the mother's failure to recognise her son, an event that in the following period came to form the basis for an established *topos* or rhetorical formula: at the descriptive and metaphorical levels, its function is to flag to the audience that this mother is so distant from her son and has abandoned him to such a degree that she is no longer capable of recognizing his characteristic physical features, appearance or voice, although these may have somewhat altered with time. The mother-son relationship thus appears unnatural and almost unreal. At this point, the chorus of Trojan women erupt on to the scene with the nurse Kilissa, of whom they are enquiring: «Look, Orestes' nurse in tears. Where now, old-timer, padding along the gates? With pain a volunteer to go your way» (vv. 731-733)¹⁵. The nurse immediately distances herself from her mistress, towards who she openly displays hostility and contempt, insinuating that Clytemnestra's grief is feigned: «And she looks at the maids and pulls that long face and down deep her eyes are laughing over the work that's done. Well and good for her. For the house it's the curse all over- the strangers make that plain» (vv. 737-741)¹⁶.

She then goes on addressing the chorus, in what almost amounts to a lengthy monologue, expressing a heartfelt sorrow that bears witness to her affectionate attachment to Orestes:

I suffered, the heart within me always breaking, oh, but I never shouldered misery like this. So many blows, good slave, I took my blows. Now dear Orestes – the sweetest, dearest plague of all our lives! Red from your mother's womb I took you, reared you [...] nights, the endless nights I paced, you r wailing kept me moving – led me a life of labour, all for what? And such care I gave it [...] baby can't think for itself, poor creature. You have to nurse it, don't you? Read its mind, little devil's got no words, it's still swaddled. Maybe it wants a bite or a sip of something, or its bladder pinches – a baby's soft insides have a will or their own. I had to be a prophet. Oh, I tried, and missed, believe you me, I missed, and I'd scrub its pretty things until they sparkled. Washerwoman and wet-nurse shared the shop. A jack of two trades, that's me, and an old hand both [...] and so I nursed Orestes, yes, from his father's arms I took him once, and now they say he's dead. I've suffered it all» (vv. 746-764)¹⁷.

¹⁵ Aeschylus, *The Libation Bearers*, in Id., *The Oresteia*, translated by R. Fagles, New York, Penguin, 1984.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

This passage may be read as a fascinating account of perceptions of childhood and childrearing practices in the ancient world; it also offers highly significant insights into the figure of the nurse and her relations with the mother. Indeed, the entire tragedy revolves around the theme of maternity, presenting a set of symbols and images whose powerfulness has made them famous: Clytemnestra, at the opening of the play, is troubled by a dream in which she suckles a serpent that draws blood from her breast; in the final scene, the queen, now in flight from Orestes who means to kill her, bares her breast to him in an attempt to dissuade him from his murderous intent; furthermore, the play closes with a fleeting appearance on the part of the Erinyes, female deities of vengeance for family wrongs. It is therefore of great significance that the playwright chooses to introduce the nurse, who is not strictly necessary to the resolution of the plot, but serves to further emphasize the theme of care, the suckling of children and the bond between a mother and her offspring. The nurse is presented as a sort of antagonist towards the mother and as a symbolically meaningful figure in her own right: through blood, the mother has transmitted the guilt that persecutes the House of Atreus; in contrast the nurse by suckling the child and providing *trophé* or care has passed on no guilt, although she has not proved able to avert the fate and to efface the guilt transmitted by the mother¹⁸. The nurse, what is more, questions the affection and sorrow expressed by the mother – although there is nothing in appearance to suggest that Clytemnestra's grief is not genuine: she seems to be genuinely upset – and appears to serve the function of bringing to light the queen's dark, sinister and violent side. Neither woman, however, recognizes the guest/stranger as Orestes, whom they remember as a child so that they fail to imagine he might now be grown-up, given the passage of time. The nurse plays a further interesting role in the plot: although her sudden appearance gives rise to a brief interlude in which Clytemnestra's conduct comes under scrutiny, Kilissa is also on her way to call Aegisthus on the queen's behalf. Her intention is to fully obey her mistress' instructions despite her contempt for the queen. However, after giving vent to her sorrow, she distractedly follows the suggestion of the choir of Trojan prisoners to bid the man to come without an armed escort. In this passage, the chorus, who are aware of Orestes' murderous plot, deliberately conspire to help him succeed but without explicitly involving the nurse. Kilissa, who appears to be absorbed in her affectionate memories of Orestes, and not clearheadedly focused on the present, does not notice the women's spiteful hints and allusions, but acts instinctively on the basis of her emotions. However, her decision to tell Aegisthus to come alone is to prove decisive, as it the means of exposing him to Orestes' murderous blows.

Hence this play features a nurse who is far from devoted to, or in harmony with, her mistress, but only expresses affection and devotion towards the child

¹⁸ On the highly complex theme of the transmission of guilt through blood and milk, see L. Bindi, *La tragedia in corpo. Luoghi dell'identità greca*, Reggio Calabria, Falzea Editore, 1999.

she formerly cared for (Orestes) although he is now an adult and unrecognisable to her; in many ways, she is portrayed as antagonistic to the mother figure, appearing to serve the narrative function of bringing to light the darker and more troubling aspects of the maternal, in the context of a plot whose main focus is on affirming the paternal bond.

One final consideration: Sophocles' and Euripides' versions of the tragedy omit the figure of the nurse entirely, instead introducing the figure of the tutor. This discrepancy is certainly not random, but proves that these minor characters were chosen with great care by the classical playwrights as a function of their particular poetic aims, and used to reinforce their work's primary messages and meanings. In Aeschylus' interpretation of the tragedy, the plot is designed above all to make clear gender roles within the family and to stress the importance of the paternal relationship: hence the nurse appears to have been deliberately assigned the role of demeaning the bond between mother and child¹⁹.

4. *A peculiar case: the nurse in Euripides' Medea*

Among the surviving classical tragedies, Euripides' *Medea* uniquely features both a nurse and a tutor, differently to the other works of the period in which we generally only encounter one or the other of these figures. The importance of these two characters may be seen in their presence from the opening of the play and the extent of their ongoing involvement in the events of the story. The nurse was Medea's own childhood carer, who raised her and subsequently accompanied her on her extravagant flight with Jason; the tutor, from the first lines of the tragedy, is portrayed as having joined the household at a far later date, with the role of educating Medea's sons. Both figures however, appear to be involved in looking after the children and display concern for their welfare, in a sort of dual custodianship that brings them into complex relations with one another.

The nurse opens the play with a long monologue in which she summarizes the background to the story (Jason's mission on the Argo, his falling in love with Medea, the couple's flight and Medea's betrayal of her family, their arrival in Corinth and Jason's love for the local princess). This account takes the form of a sorrowful lament over the misfortunes of the luckless Medea, and therefore represents a reconstruction of the facts that is biased in the heroine's favour (Jason is defined as a traitor in vv. 13 and 14); at the same time, it is interspersed

¹⁹ G. Seveso, *Maternità e vita familiare nella Grecia antica*, Roma, Edizioni Studium, 2012; F. Gherchanoc, J.B. Bonnard, *Mères et maternité en Grèce ancienne. Quelques éléments historiographiques et pistes de réflexion*, «Metis», n. 11, 2013 pp. 7-27.

with more profound and general reflections on marriage (vv. 11-12) and family ties (vv. 34-35).

The nurse, therefore, displays both empathy with and concern for her mistress on the one hand, and her own independent perspective on events on the other; she also expresses her own clear views of Medea's character, which are neither idealized nor the fruit of devotion or admiration:

But she hates her children and feels no joy in seeing them. I am afraid that she may be planning something we do not expect. Her temperament is dangerous, and will not tolerate bad treatment. I know her, and I fear that she may go silently into the house where her bed is laid and drive a sharpened sword into their heart, or that she may kill the princess and the bridegroom and then meet some greater disaster. For she is fearsome. No one who joins in conflict with her will celebrate and easy victory (vv. 36-44)²⁰.

In this passage, the nurse uses the term *deiné*, meaning that which inspires shock and terror both because it is dangerous and because it is non-human, superhuman or inhuman, thereby falling outside of the bounds of what is "normal".

At this point the tutor comes on stage, lovingly accompanying the children, and the nurse addresses him as «old man» and «attendant» (v. 53), as though to draw attention to his great age, a guarantee of wisdom, and to emphasize that his role is one of support and protection. The dialogue that follows is of interest because it clearly reflects the complicity between the two, who share the status of servants but also a position in the household that offers them first-hand knowledge of family happenings and relationships: the tutor informs the nurse of new developments that he has heard rumours of, and together they discuss and comment on the recent series of events. The nurse expresses great torment about Medea's frame of mind and the children's pending doom; she also vigorously condemns Jason for what he has done («O children, do you hear how your father is behaving towards you? Curse him – but no, he is my master. Yet he stands plainly convicted of being a traitor to his friends», vv. 82-84)²¹. The exchanges closes with the nurse's urging the tutor to hide the children and keep them safe, given that they now appear to have been abandoned by their parents and totally left to the care of these two minor characters: they are even to be kept away from their mother.

Of equal interest is the subsequent dialogue between the nurse and Medea, with the interjections of the chorus of Corinthian women who are greatly disturbed to hear the heroine's heartrending lament. During this exchange (vv. 115 ff.), Medea recalls the chain of wrongs that has marked her relationship with Jason, already appearing to have reached a state of frenzy: she thus

²⁰ Euripides, *Medea*, in Id., *Medea and Other Plays*, translated by J. Morwood, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.

²¹ *Ibid.*

seems to represent the most disturbing and perverse aspects of the mother-child relationship. The nurse comes across as a rational and lucid *alter ego*, who – albeit taking her mistress’ side against Jason – invites and encourages Medea to take a more positive approach to the situation; the chorus, on its part, attempts to placate the heroine’s anger by invoking divine justice. It is of significance that this reconstruction of the background events and reflection on their moral status takes place before the nurse, who intervenes by offering more general advice (the need for moderation: vv. 123 ff.), as well as by directly reprimanding Medea and expressing concern: «Alas, I say. O, the cruel woman! What share do you think your boys have in their father’s wrong-doing? Why hate them? Las, children: how I grieve for you in my fear that some suffering may await you» (vv. 115-118)²². As the scene closes, the nurse undertakes to try to restrain her mistress and persuade her to change her mind, amongst other strategies by having recourse to the therapeutic and calming power of music (v. 184 ff.): she thus not only takes on the role of protecting the children but also that of caring for the mother.

In the central scenes of the tragedy, after Medea’s famous dialogues with Creon, Jason and Aegeus, the heroine clearly states her murderous design, significantly choosing to explain it to the women of the chorus and the nurse: she appears to be seeking female solidarity, based on a shared awareness of women’s inferior and disadvantaged status within the family. Although the chorus is on her side, it expresses disapproval of her plan. Medea insists however that the nurse be loyal to her: «But now, go and bring Jason here. I employ you in all matter of trust. But say nothing of what I have determined on if you care about your mistress and are a true woman» (vv. 820-823)²³. The plot now moves swiftly towards its tragic end, as the figures of the nurse and tutor disappear, allowing Medea’s fury and Jason’s selfishness to climax, leaving no room for a rational solution.

It is interesting that this complex play features both a nurse and a tutor. These figures are also of interest in their own right: the nurse is portrayed as the heroine’s rational *alter ego*, who is ready to show understanding and support for her mistress, but also to rebuke her and disagree with some of her views. In contrast with Homer’s Eurycleia, the nurse in Euripides’ *Medea* is not unconditionally admiring or devoted towards her mistress, although she feels pity and concern for her.

It is clear that the nurse figure is of great importance in Euripides’ work. This is borne out by a series of paintings representing the play²⁴. One famous representation is that to be found on a red-figure Lucanian vase in the style of

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Comparing plays with their representations in the medium of painting raises highly complex methodological and hermeneutic issues. For a detailed review and in-depth analysis, see O. Taplin, *Pots and plays. Interactions between Tragedy and Greek Vase-painting of the Fourth Century*

the Policoro painter (circa 400 BC), which is currently held at the Cleveland Museum of Art: Medea is shown riding her chariot, while the nurse and tutor are beside the bodies of her murdered offspring, mourning them. The painted scene differs from that in the play in some respects (the position of the bodies, the dragons drawing the chariot, the two Furies looking on); however, most salient to our theme here is the presence of the tutor and nurse and the clarity of expression that they display. They are key figures in the painting and this likely reflects their importance in the tragedy itself.

Conclusions

Representations of the nurse figure in classical theatre display continuity and similarity with the nurses described in Homer in a limited number of areas (old age, low social status, practical approach). However, they differ from their predecessors in many other regards: they are no longer in total agreement with their charges, they take initiatives, and they express their own subjective opinions about events. Hence, the nurse, while remaining a minor character, emerges from the background and begins to behave more independently than in the past.

At this point, we seem justified in concluding that classical drama highlighted the key importance and richness of the tie between nurse and parents and between nurse and children; perhaps with a viewing to offering a reflection on this figure and her role in the home.

Interestingly, in the period immediately after the classical era, Plato seriously reflected on the role of nurses in more than one of his works. In *The Republic* (I, II, 377c) he refers to them in conjunction with mothers, stressing the key importance of education during the early months and years of life and the need to discipline and supervise the fairytales and stories told by mothers and nurses to their children/charges. Thus, while the context of the *trophé* is different to and separate from formal teaching and learning, Plato nevertheless views it as playing a critical role in the educational process, given that the nurse has charge of early acculturation and initiating boys and girls into the values, traditions and customs that crucially contribute to the identity of a society. It is Plato's awareness of this vital role that leads him to devote significant attention to nurses. In *Laws* (VII, 789e-790b) he again insists on the need for nurses to be closely supervised, especially given their tendency to disregard instructions, but also acknowledges their highly developed key capacity to understand children and empathise with their needs (*Laws*, VII, 791e). In another passage of the same

work, he provides – for the first time in Western history – an explicit description of the nurse's role: she is therefore a sort of early «kindergarten teacher»; her functions, according to Plato should be clearly defined and monitored by the State (*Laws*, VII, 794 a-c; 795d). Hence, Plato's works clearly confirm the importance of the nurse figure in a way that recalls the complex representations of classical theatre, which – in the previous century, had introduced audiences to well-rounded nurse characters who played a vital role in family affairs.

Scientific publication for children and young people during the 19th Century in Italy: from Antonio Stoppani to Luigi Bertelli/Vamba

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ABSTRACT: This article proposes to examine the evolution of a long neglected literary genre for children and young people during the nineteenth century in Italy, which was not completely ignored by historiography: the one related to scientific works intended for children and young people. In this regard, after introducing some of the main writers who devoted themselves to this kind of texts (Antonio Stoppani, Pasquale Fornari, Maria Viani-Visconti Cavanna and Luigi Bertelli/Vamba) and illustrating the characteristics and the editorial circulation of the main works attributable to this genre, the authors deal with the complex question of the misfortune and the gradual decline recorded since the early decades of the twentieth century in Italy for scientific works intended for children and young people, documenting the harsh criticisms for this significant literary genre, through the philosopher Benedetto Croce and scholars of aesthetics and neo-idealist literary critics who depended on him.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Children's literature; Popular science; Science for kids; Italy; XIXth Century.

Introduction

In the effort to establish a different identification perimeter in comparison with school handbooks and textbooks, children's literature has progressively lost – at least in Italy – that plurality and internal articulation of genres which we can still find today elsewhere¹ and which did not have any significant

¹ For further information about the Anglo-Saxon world and the French reality, please see: B. Béguet (éd.), *La science pour tous. Sur la vulgarisation scientifique en France de 1850 à 1914*,

development in Italy. In particular, we are referring to the almost exclusively *narrative* characterization of literature for children and young people – focused on the well-known genres of the *short story*, the *tale* and the *novel* –, and the abandonment of other genres, such as those ones relating to scientific, historical, artistic or technological works².

In 1925, Giuseppe Lombardo Radice quite rightly denounced it in an article entitled *Che cosa non leggono i maestri*, published in the Florentine masterly magazine «La nuova scuola italiana», where he noted that, if in Italy children and young people wanted «to read some classical scientific works», as well as artistic or historical ones or publications about technological innovations, etc., it was necessary to refer to the brilliant works of foreign authors such as Macé, Tissandier, Lioy, Buffon, Carré, Fabre, Flammarion, Réclus, considering the serious gaps which were found on this side in a non-educational production for children and young people in Italy³.

It is no coincidence that the originality and the extraordinarily innovative nature of certain scientific texts printed in the nineteenth century in Italy have been adequately highlighted only recently. Among them, we can only mention here: *Il Bel Paese. Conversazioni sulle bellezze naturali, la geologia e la geografia fisica d'Italia*⁴ by Antonio Stoppani⁵, various manuals about natural sciences,

Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire National des Art et Métiers, 1990; R. Fox, A. Guagnini (edd.), *Education, technology and industrial performance in Europe 1850-1939*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993.

² With specific reference to the literary genre for children and teenagers, please see A. Ascenzi, *La letteratura per l'infanzia come 'fonte' per la storia dei processi culturali e formativi*, in F. Bacchetti (ed.), *Percorsi della letteratura per l'infanzia. Tra leggere e interpretare*, Bologna, Clueb, 2013, pp. 29-47. On a more general level, please see the rich and documented contribution by P. Govoni, *Un pubblico per la scienza. La divulgazione scientifica nell'Italia in formazione*, Roma, Carocci, 2002. But you could also read E. Marazzi, *Miei piccoli lettori... Letteratura e scienza nel libro per ragazzi tra XIX^e XX secolo*, Milano, Guerini e Associati, 2016. With reference to the French case, please see also P. Cabanel, *Le tour de la Nation par des enfants. Romans scolaires et espaces nationaux (XIX^e-XX^e siècles)*, Paris, Belin, 2007.

³ G. Lombardo Radice, *Che cosa non leggono i maestri*, now edited by 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, pp. 725-740 (the quotations in the text are on pp. 728-729).

⁴ A. Stoppani, *Il bel Paese. Conversazioni sulle bellezze naturali, la geologia e la geografia fisica d'Italia*, Milano, Tipografia e Libreria Editrice Giacomo Agnelli, 1876.

⁵ For further information about the biography and the literary and scientific production of Abbot Antonio Stoppani (Lecco 1824 - Milano 1891), please see: A.M. Cornelio, *Vita di Antonio Stoppani*, Torino, Unione Tipografica Editrice, 1898; R. Tomaselli, *Antonio Stoppani*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1948; A. Bellio, *Letteratura e scienza in Antonio Stoppani*, in L. Caramel (ed.), *Arte, letteratura, società*, Milano, Mazzotta, 1988; G. Pinna, *Antonio Stoppani e l'evoluzione*, in G.L. Daccò (ed.), *Antonio Stoppani tra scienza e letteratura. Atti del Convegno nazionale di Studi (Lecco, 29-30 novembre 1991)*, Oggiono-Lecco, Paolo Cattaneo Grafiche, 1993; E. Zanoni, *Scienza, patria e religione. Antonio Stoppani e la cultura italiana dell'Ottocento*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2014.

zoology, physics and chemistry⁶, published by a prolific and brilliant writer for young people and school, such as Pasquale Fornari⁷, after the Unit; *Il nuovo Buffon. Vita, costumi, curiose avventure degli animali mostrate ai giovinetti*⁸, by the writer and educator for children, Maria Viani-Visconti Cavanna⁹; and last but not least, *Ciondolino*¹⁰, the work published by Luigi Bertelli/Vamba¹¹ for the Florentine publisher Bemporad in 1893, another extraordinary scientific example in literature for children and young people in Italy, inspired to the foreign classics by Jean-Henri Fabre, Maurice Maeterlinck and Ernest Candèze.

1. *In order «to contribute to the civil progress» and «to promote the cognition which a people must have»: Il Bel Paese (1876) by Abbot Antonio Stoppani between the exaltation of Italian natural beauties and the promotion of a national identity*

Intended to have an extraordinary success in Italy after the Unit, which was attested by many re-editions and re-prints during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries (in 1915, for example, it reached the 96th edition¹²), *Il Bel*

⁶ Cfr. *Catalogo dei libri ad uso premio educativi-scolastici-ascetici-religiosi con assortimento di attestati per le scuole della Tipografia e Libreria Editrice ditta Giacomo Agnelli*, Milano, s.i.t., 1881; *Catalogo dei libri scolastici in uso nelle scuole del Regno della Premiata Tipografia e Libreria Editrice ditta Giacomo Agnelli*, Milano, s.i.t., 1882; *Catalogo dei libri ed articoli scolastici approvati per le scuole del Regno della Casa Editrice Tipografica Libreria ditta Giacomo Agnelli*, Milano, s.i.t., 1890.

⁷ For further information about the biography and the works by Pasquale Fornari (Borgomanero 1837 - Varese 1923), please see: R. Sani (ed.), *L'educazione dei sordomuti nell'Italia dell'800. Istituzioni, metodi, proposte formative*, Torino, SEI, 2007, pp. 17-30; and Id., *Fornari Pasquale*, in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (dir.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione (1800-2000)*, 2 vols., Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013, vol. 1, pp. 568-569.

⁸ M. Viani-Visconti Cavanna, *Il nuovo Buffon. Vita, costumi e curiose avventure degli animali narrate ai giovinetti*, Torino, G. B. Paravia e C., 1884.

⁹ For further information about the biography and the writings by Maria Viani Visconti Cavanna (Milano 1840 - Pallanza 1847), please see: M. Bandini Buti (ed.), *Poetesse e scrittrici*, 2 vols., Milano, Tosi, 1941-1942, vol. 2, pp. 348-349; L. Pisano (ed.), *Donne del giornalismo italiano. Da Eleonora Fonseca Pimentel a Ilaria Alpi: dizionario storico bio-bibliografico*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2004, pp. 373-374; A. Ascenzi, I. Mattioni, *Viani-Visconti Cavanna Maria*, in Chiosso, Sani (dir.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione (1800-2000)*, cit., vol. 2, p. 644.

¹⁰ Vamba [L. Bertelli], *Ciondolino. Libro per i ragazzi*, Firenze, R. Bemporad e Figlio Cessionari della Libr. Edit. Felice Paggi, 1893.

¹¹ For further information about the biography and the literary production by Luigi Bertelli/Vamba (Florence 1858 - Florence 1920), please see now A. Ascenzi, «Per educare la gioventù della nuova Italia». *Luigi Bertelli giornalista e scrittore per l'infanzia tra eredità risorgimentale e costruzione di una nuova coscienza etico-civile (1860-1920)*, in A. Ascenzi, M. Di Felice, R. Tumino (edd.), «Santa giovinezza!». *Lettere di Luigi Bertelli e dei suoi corrispondenti (1883-1920)*, Macerata, Alfabetica Edizioni, 2008, pp. 13-59.

¹² Cfr. P. Traniello, *Il Bel Paese: un cammino editoriale nell'Italia in cammino*, in P. Redondi

Paese by Abbot Antonio Stoppani, Professor of Geology first at the University of Pavia and the Higher Studies Institute of Florence and then at the Politecnico di Milano, where he was also the Director of the Civic Museum of Natural Sciences¹³, was one of the first and the most significant editorial success in the united Italy and «the book which revealed Italy to Italians», according to the suggestive definition proposed by Pio Bettoni almost a century ago¹⁴.

The work has had a complex editorial history, recently reconstructed with great efficiency by Pietro Redondi¹⁵, and it deserves to be traced back to its main stages to fully understand the genesis and the purposes of this extraordinary text. As it is well-known, at the origin of *Il Bel Paese* there is a series of naturalistic articles published by Stoppani in the early 1870s in the Milanese educational periodical «Le prime letture» (1870-1878)¹⁶, founded and edited by Luigi Sailer, and then they appeared with modifications and additions in a volume in 1876. In this regard, in the necrology printed by Angelo Cornelio after the death of the famous scientist and writer (1891), we could read:

In order to help some educational periodicals and with the aim of making science popular in Italy, in the same period [of the publication of *Corso di geologia*, 1871-1873], [Antonio Stoppani] wrote many articles in the form of conversations about Italian natural beauties, geology and physical geography, which he collected and published in a volume entitled *Il Bel Paese* in 1875 [actually in 1876]. This highly educational work, later awarded by the Lombardo Institute, Academy of Science and Letters, was successful in Italy¹⁷.

In August 1874, two years before the publication of the volume, the scientist and writer had introduced the manuscript of the work - which had the provisional title *Dalle Alpi all'Etna. Saggio di letture popolari*, later modified in the most synthetic and effective *Il Bel Paese. Conversazioni sulle bellezze naturali, la geologia e la geografia fisica d'Italia* - at the competition announced by the Lombardo Institute, Academy of Science and Letters in Milan for the awarding of the prize, founded by the Brothers Giacomo and Filippo Ciani's Literary Foundation in 1871 and destined for the best «Book for Italian people»¹⁸.

(ed.), *Un best-seller per l'Italia unita. Il Bel Paese di Antonio Stoppani*, Milano, Guerini e Associati, 2012, pp. 59-82.

¹³ Cfr. M.G. Pala, *Antonio Stoppani scienziato e scrittore*, in *Letteratura e scienza nella storia della cultura italiana*, Palermo, Manfredi, 1978, pp. 720-731.

¹⁴ P. Bettoni, *Un geologo italiano: Antonio Stoppani nel centenario della sua nascita*, «Vita e Pensiero», vol. 10, n. 3, 1924, pp. 347-357.

¹⁵ P. Redondi, *La genesi del Bel Paese nei documenti relativi al concorso dell'Istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere «Il miglior libro di lettura per il popolo italiano»*, 1871-1877, in Id. (ed.), *Un best-seller per l'Italia unita. Il Bel Paese di Antonio Stoppani*, cit., pp. 171-235.

¹⁶ This is the Milanese educational periodical «Le prime letture» (1870-1877), founded and edited by Luigi Sailer for the printing house Giacomo Agnelli, which had Abbot Antonio Stoppani among its main collaborators and there he published his masterpiece in instalments under the section «Serate dello zio» [Uncle's Evenings] since the first issue.

¹⁷ [A.M. Cornelio], *Antonio Stoppani*, «La Perseveranza», January 3rd, 1891, p. 4.

¹⁸ Please see the aforementioned Redondi, *La genesi del Bel Paese nei documenti relativi*

Even if they praised the literary style and the undoubted educational qualities of the work written by the scientist and writer coming from Lecco, the Judging Board of the first edition of the prize (1875), composed by Giuseppe Sacchi, Carlo Tenca, Carlo Cantoni and other people, judged it not fully «corresponding to the program» and too complex for the intelligence of Italian young people and the others to whom it was also addressed:

The books, which are only intended to provide notions about natural sciences - although they are particularly applied to our country – necessarily leave a part unfulfilled, that is the essential part of the program, which says that ‘the work must have the eternal laws of morality and the liberal institutions as its basis’. Natural notions can provide a good framework, a convenient substrate to the book; they are not the whole book. And who does not see with such an honest finesse of feelings which heart poems the author of this book: *Dall’Alpi all’Etna* could infiltrate into the narrative of his scientific journeys, he/she must desire that a series of excellent books for popular education could start from this one and other similar volumes. But scientific knowledge, gathered with such a goodness and wisdom in them, makes it worthy of great consideration, necessarily outdoes the intelligence of young people’s culture and does not fully correspond to the program¹⁹.

Although he was strongly grieved for the negative outcome of the competition, Stoppani decided not to yield and stood again as candidate for the new edition of the prize announced by the Lombardo Institute, Academy of Sciences and Letters in Milan, in July 1876. On this occasion, the work deposited by the scientist and writer coming from Lecco with the prize secretary was no longer the previous manuscript, but the real volume just printed for the Milanese publishing house Giacomo Agnelli with the final title *Il Bel Paese. Conversazioni sulle bellezze naturali, la geologia e la geografia fisica d’Italia* (1876).

Contrary to what had happened before, the Judging Board of the second edition of the prize – composed by Giulio Carcano, Graziadio Ascoli, Luigi Cossa, Giuseppe Piola and other people – assigned to *Il Bel Paese* by Abbot Stoppani «the first position» on the list, highlighting the extraordinary merit:

According to the report written by the Judging Board – The volume published in 1876 by Professor Antonio Stoppani, belonging to this institute [the Lombardo Institute, Academy of Sciences and Letters in Milan] and entitled *Il Bel Paese*, is at the top of the list. As it is generally known for the well-deserved spread of the book and the favourable judgment given by several experts, our colleague provides a learned and brilliant description of his geological journey through the most remarkable Italian regions. As he says: In writing a

al concorso dell’Istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere «Il miglior libro di lettura per il popolo italiano», 1871-1877, cit., pp. 172-173.

¹⁹ *Giudizi sui concorsi dell’anno 1875. Premio straordinario della Fondazione letteraria dei fratelli Giacomo e Filippo Ciani. Estratto dagli atti della Commissione, «R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere. Rendiconti», series 2, vol. 8, 1875, pp. 815-831.*

real scientific book, he could create at the same time a really amenable and attractive work thanks to a noble Italian style and, most importantly, a work inspired to that *honesty of feelings* and *those heart poems*, which was well-praised in the work still manuscripted by another board of this same institute.

However, in the course of its analysis, the Judging Board kept on reiterating the contradictions and the limitations of the work already noticed during the first edition of the prize, including the fact that *Il Bel Paese* only partially met the criteria established by the announcement of the prize:

As it was stated in the final report – If the Competition Program had asked for an eminently instructive book of fine literary execution, the Board would not have hesitated to assign the entire prize to the eminent author of *Il Bel Paese*. But since the desired work is primarily *educational*, so it is not possible to forget that a book, which illustrates Italian *physical conditions* and does not intentionally deal with its history, its civil institutions, the rights and the duties of its citizens, is not able to respond to all the requirements of the program. However, it cannot be hidden that, even if *Il Bel Paese* is attractive to readers already provided with high scientific and literary culture, it is too difficult both for young people of every class and for common people who take up its reading, without having the necessary education.

Hence the final decision of the Judging Board to assign *ex equo* the prize to Antonio Stoppani's work and the book *Attenzione! Riflessi di un popolano*, also edited for the Milanese publishing house Giacomo Agnelli in 1876 and introduced by its author Cesare Cantù to the competition:

As it was pointed out in the conclusions of the final report - The Board is unanimous in proposing to *equally* divide the prize of 1500 Italian liras between the author of the *Attenzione* and that one of *Il Bel Paese* because, even if they did not respond to all the conditions of the competition, they gave Italy two great scientific and literary works, which can therefore start a good number of reading books for our people. [...] Even if they are full of many merits, which are badly fit to an exact comparison judgment, the two mentioned works have, however, certain particular qualities and defects, so that they seem to be balanced to each other, in comparison with the requirements of the program, and the prize can be therefore divided in equal parts. And indeed, if Stoppani's volume prevails for its depth of doctrine, refinement of feelings and serenity of intonation, it has, however, in the face of the competition, the great defect to only describe Italian physical life and not to study its moral and civil conditions, and therefore the educational concept is only indirect and, sometimes, purely incidental. On the contrary, Cantù's *Attenzione* is distinguished for the variety of subjects introduced with astonishing erudition, drawn on good sources, for the attention devoted to the doctrines and the economic, moral and social precepts²⁰.

The work awarded as the «best book for Italian people» by the Lombardo Institute, Academy of Science and Letters in Milan, in 1877 firstly proposed

²⁰ *Premio triennale della Fondazione Ciani. Rapporto della Commissione*, read at the ordinary meeting on August 2nd, 1877, «R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere. Rendiconti», series 2, vol. 10, 1877, pp. 618-624.

to make known to younger generations and inhabitants from different Italian regions recently reunited in the new kingdom of Italy the true face of their nation and, more precisely, «the physical conditions, the geological phenomena, the natural beauties, the scientific treasure and the industrial resources of the country». Not surprisingly, in the introductory note *Agli Istitutori* [To the Founders], Stoppani asserted: «Can we apply to the nations that soft *nosce te ipsum* (know yourself), which the wisdom of ancient times laid as the basis of the wisdom of human beings? The author of this book believes it so much that he would think it was a waste of time to prove it». And he added:

The knowledge of its history, its constitutions, its laws, its rights, its duties, its strengths (in short its being), creates the wisdom of a nation. What an immense field open to popular literature, when it recognizes the sanctity and the height of its mission!

The so-called «moral and political sciences» had a leading role in this field, and Abbot Stoppani was fully aware of it. Like them, however, «natural sciences» should have provided their indispensable contribution to the «civil progress» of the country, by determining and promoting «the cognition which a people must have»:

The author does not challenge to moral and political sciences the first place in a noble competition. He knows very well that physical world will never arouse the interest of moral world. A book which has the knowledge of physical world as its subject will not draw out a tear and will not let you lose sleep over it. All the charms of nature are not worth affection: all science is not worth a generous act. Lucia kneeling at the Unnamed's feet or a mother who lays with her own hands her daughter's body down on the chariot of the plague victims will make an ever greater impression than all the most beautiful descriptions of the universe; Lazzaretto's paintings will strike more and more than all Humboldt's paintings together. But which consequence would be deduced? Might natural sciences, about which no one knows the importance, feed popular literature? Might they be called to complete that cognition which a people must have? In the meantime, it may well be that an order of teachings, which could be considered less necessary for the progress of a civilized people, deserves a certain degree of primacy; for example, it would be the case when the defect is greater.

Destined to answer to the «people's need for science» and to equally provide Italian young people with precise scientific knowledge and teachings based on the «rigour of science» and the «sanctity of the truth», *Il Bel Paese* by Antonio Stoppani intended to propose as a prototype of «a truly national scientific literature in Italy; that is able to cultivate the feeling of nationality, even from the side of the descriptive beauty and the scientific treasure». Hence the pressing criticism directed by the author to the fantastic novels written by Jules Verne and his local imitators, whose works «flooded Italy and after which our young people and serious men run with so childish curiosity»:

Abbot Stoppani complained – The *scientific novel* replaces the so-called *historical novel*. The same monstrous mixture of truth and falsehood; the same purpose of delighting imagination

rather than enriching mind, while we cannot say that the scientific novel has found its Manzoni so far. When one cannot distinguish between truth and mistake, it is better to ignore it. And when you want to know something, even in physical and natural sciences, - I repeat - we must begin with the *nosce te ipsum*, that is knowing the physical and natural history of our country.

But what should have been the basic features and the contents of the new «national scientific literature» for young people and adults desired by Abbot Stoppani and exemplified on the pages of *Il Bel Paese*?

The Lombard scientist and writer wrote - Without following a regular outline, as one would do in a treaty, the author travels all over... *il bel paese ch'Appennin parte, e 'l mar circonda e l'Alpe* ['Il Bel Paese which is characterized by the Apennines and is surrounded by the sea and the Alps'], describing its natural beauties until arriving at the main phenomena about which he tries to make nature and causes intelligible, as a naturalist uncle who tells his nephews and nieces. Meanwhile, he does not neglect to point out the primary sources of the national industries and to excite the feeling of beauty and good, believing that who writes a popular book must never forget that moral good and religious faith are the basis of true freedom and well-being of a people. [...] While the author studied - as easily as possible - to give his book an easy and attractive style, in this exposition of phenomena and laws he did not believe that he was allowed not to stray one jot from the truth, in order to attain the purpose. He intended to write a strictly scientific book, which was rigorously true.

In short, «to excite the feeling of beauty and good», to exalt «religious faith» and to provide the reader with a strictly scientific treatise, which was solely founded on the «truth»: these ones were the fundamental characteristics of *Il Bel Paese*, according to its author. It is true that, if «the verisimilitude» was «completely excluded» for the contents of the work, the only element of fantasy and invention was that one relating to the structure of the work, that is its peculiar narrative style:

Antonio Stoppani concluded - If there is invention, it is only in style: it consists in dividing the story in many nights, giving it the very ancient style of a dialogue; pretending that it takes place in a circle to enter into it and to carry it out in a less boring, clearer and more suitable manner (always in the author's intent) for the educational purpose of the book with some appropriate conversations. [...] As for *delight* and *education*, that is the unification of *usefulness* and *sweetness*, which we must look for in popular literature, [the author] thought he would be better good at his special studies. If he wanted that what is food for intellect possibly became nourishment of heart and incentive for moral improvement, he had to ensure that man never separated from nature, and vice versa. If he finally proposed to satisfy Italians' need to know about Italy as a special purpose, he had to keep within its boundaries, except for some opportune digressions. He tried to be *clear* in style and *correct* in language. A book, which had truth as its basis, naturalness as its merit, education and moral improvement as its purpose, satisfied the great need of the nation at the same time²¹.

²¹ *Agli Istitutori*, in Stoppani, *Il bel Paese. Conversazioni sulle bellezze naturali, la geologia e la geografia fisica d'Italia*, cit., pp. 5-10.

The observations on the characteristics and the main purposes of *Il Bel Paese* confirm how science diffusion among the youngest generations and common people should not have only met an educational need (the knowledge of «natural beauties»), but it should also have promoted national feeling and raised in the readers the vivid awareness of being part of a territory, a people, a nation, according to Abbot Stoppani²². As we will see, this topic is destined to be drawn on and launched by Luigi Bertelli by the end of the century in a short work such as *Ciondolino*, with profoundly different characteristics in comparison with *Il Bel Paese*.

2. «*To clasp science, faith and homeland in one single embrace*»: the manuals about natural sciences, zoology, physics and chemistry written by Pasquale Fornari «for young people's use»

In the same years when Abbot Stoppani published *Il Bel Paese* in Milan, the educator and writer for children Pasquale Fornari printed a series of short manuals about natural sciences, zoology, physics and chemistry «for young people's use», destined to have an extraordinary success, testified by many reprints and re-editions recorded in the late nineteenth century, as it has already been mentioned. After linguistic and literary studies in the Lombard capital, Pasquale Fornari, coming from a small village in the province of Novara, was welcomed as a pupil at «Girolamo Cardano» Normal School attached to the Royal Institute for Deaf-Mutes in Milan, revealing his remarkable intellectual skills and a vivid sensibility for methodological and didactic problems related to the special teaching for deaf-mutes. Having specialized in 1863, he was called by the new Headmaster of the Royal Institute, Mr. Eliseo Ghislandi, to teach at the schools for deaf-mutes²³. Among the first and the most appreciated pupils of Heinicke and Hill, theorists of oral teaching for deaf-mutes, Pasquale Fornari divulged their theories in Italy and was among the pioneers in Italian special schools for the abandonment of the old mimic method and the adoption

²² Cfr. E. Patrizi, *La rappresentazione del patrimonio culturale e naturale come strumento di formazione della coscienza nazionale in tre classici della scuola italiana dell'Ottocento*: Giannetto, *Il Bel Paese and Cuore*, in D. Caroli, E. Patrizi (edd.), «*Educare alla bellezza la gioventù della Nuova Italia*». *Scuola, beni culturali e costruzione dell'identità nazionale dall'Unità al secondo dopoguerra*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2017, pp. 17-48. Interesting ideas about this subject are also found in S. Baffi, *Il Bel Paese e la costruzione dell'identità nazionale*, in Redondi (ed.), *Un best-seller per l'Italia unita. Il Bel Paese di Antonio Stoppani*, cit., pp. 39-57.

²³ Cfr. F. Montorzi, *Pasquale Fornari nel primo centenario della sua nascita*, «Contributi pedagogico-didattici della R. Scuola di metodo Girolamo Cardano», vol. 13, n. 12, 1937, pp. 9-11.

of the pure oral method, widely applied with remarkable results in German and Austrian educational institutions for deaf-mutes²⁴.

Pasquale Fornari's activity as an author of books for primary schools and literature works for children and young people spread in parallel with the teaching experience at the Royal Institute for Deaf-Mutes in Milan. Close to the Liberal Catholic pedagogical and educational places in Milan, he became a member of the *Istituto di Mutuo Soccorso fra gl'Istruttori ed Educatori d'Italia* after the national unit and he was charged for a long time as the editor of the Bulletin of the association, «L'Educatore Italiano» (1861-1885), on whose pages he published pedagogical and didactic articles, as well as interventions on special education and the need to spread popular education and to improve the conditions of Italian teachers. In April 1879, he became the editor of «L'Educatore Italiano» until 1883 and, in this way, he gave a new tendency to the periodical founded by Ignazio Cantù, making it one of the most important school teaching magazines of the Lombard Liberal Catholicism²⁵.

Pasquale Fornari was a versatile writer and particularly attentive to new literary genres for children and young people. He succeeded in drawing up texts inspired to the self-help group and, in particular, he was a real pioneer of the scientific divulgation among the youngest generations in Italy, as evidenced by the many little works he published on the subject, among which it is worth remembering here: *I tre regni della natura: zoologia, botanica, mineralogia, spiegati ai fanciulli*²⁶, *Il moderno Buffon pei fanciulli, o piccola storia naturale*²⁷, *Il piccolo Ganot. Fisico-chimica applicata alle arti e ai mestieri ad uso dei giovinetti studiosi e del popolo*²⁸, *La piccola chimica nelle arti, nell'industrie, nell'igiene e nell'economia domestica spiegata al popolo e ai giovanetti*²⁹, *La*

²⁴ Please see P. Fornari, *Il R. Istituto Nazionale pei sordomuti in Milano e la R. Scuola normale «Girolamo Cardano» per allievi maestri e maestre. Cenni storico-critici sull'istruzione, dalla fondazione dell'Istituto fino ad oggi, 1805-1900*, Milano, Tip. S. Giuseppe, 1900.

²⁵ Collaborator of «L'Educatore lombardo. Giornale del Pio Istituto dei Maestri di Lombardia» (1857-1860), which became after the Unit «L'Educatore Italiano. Giornale dell'Istituto di Mutuo Soccorso fra gl'Istruttori ed Educatori d'Italia» (1861-1885), Pasquale Fornari replaced the founder and the first editor of this last periodical, Ignazio Cantù, from 1879 to 1883. Cfr. R. Sani, *L'Educatore lombardo*, in G. Chiosso (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997, pp. 255-256; and S. Chillè, *L'Educatore italiano*, in G. Chiosso (ed.), *I periodici scolastici nell'Italia del secondo Ottocento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1992, pp. 161-164.

²⁶ P. Fornari, *I tre regni della natura: zoologia, botanica, mineralogia, spiegati ai fanciulli*, Milano, G. Gnocchi, 1877 (1884²).

²⁷ Id., *Il moderno Buffon pei fanciulli, o piccola storia naturale*, Milano, G. Gnocchi, 1878 (1885², 1889³).

²⁸ Id., *Il piccolo Ganot. Fisico-chimica applicata alle arti e ai mestieri ad uso dei giovinetti studiosi e del popolo*, Milano, Tipografia e Libreria Editrice Ditta Giacomo Agnelli, 1878 (1883²).

²⁹ Id., *La piccola chimica nelle arti, nell'industrie, nell'igiene e nell'economia domestica spiegata al popolo e ai giovanetti*, Milano, Tipografia e Libreria Editrice Giacomo Agnelli, 1880 (1882², 1890³).

*piccola fisica sperimentale spiegata al popolo ed ai giovanetti*³⁰, *La piccola chimica spiegata al popolo e ai giovanetti*³¹ and, finally, *La storia naturale esposta in tavole cromolitografiche ai fanciulli*³².

Opposed to every pedantry and only worried to make «even the hardest and the most difficult scientific truth» understandable to children and young people, Pasquale Fornari attributed to his scientific little works the fundamental task of arousing «natural curiosity» and «authentic interest» in young readers for the «study of nature and sciences», mentioning the opportunity to spread not only an indispensable «civil wisdom» through such a study among Italian young people, but also a more authentic and profound religious sensibility and a stronger faith in God («Evvi un Dio! E l'Universo non esiste che per provarci la sua potenza infinita!» [There is a God! And there is the Universe to prove His infinite Power!]).

In this regard, in the conclusion of *Il moderno Buffon pei fanciulli, o piccola storia naturale* (1878), after devoting over three hundred pages to data, notions, explanatory notes and illustrations, in the introduction of *The Three Kingdoms of Nature* (Animal Kingdom or Zoology, Vegetable Kingdom or Botany and Mineral Kingdom or Mineralogy) he summarized the various purposes of the work:

Here we are, my dear children, here we are, we have come to the goal we have prescribed. I taught you many interesting things; but I know I did little or nothing; I only showed you an immense, rich and pleasant country from far away. You will find some more educated guides than me; and now you can go with them through the so vast fields of nature. I wanted to give you an idea of the greatness of creation and I tried to let you love a science which is the source of great teachings and sweet delights. Some free time let you know what cost a lot of observations, sorrows and travels; he is delighted to be able to take advantage of the fruits of such a tedious job with such ease. Let us give thanks to those labourious observers, to those very intelligent men, who spy on the secrets of nature and try to free it from the veil behind which it is hiding.

And moreover:

Exciting your curiosity, my weak labours can easier let imagine in your hearts that idea which I followed and where I liked to bring you back many times: that is, there is a higher power, an illuminated wisdom that embraces everything with one glance and whose

³⁰ Id., *La piccola fisica sperimentale spiegata al popolo ed ai giovanetti*, Milano, Tipografia e Libreria Editrice Giacomo Agnelli, 1880 (1883², 1889³).

³¹ Id., *La piccola chimica spiegata al popolo e ai giovanetti*, Milano, Tipografia e Libreria Editrice Giacomo Agnelli, 1887 (1890², 1900³).

³² Id., *La storia naturale esposta in tavole cromolitografiche ai fanciulli*, Milano, F.lli Tensi Edit., 1892 (1895²).

immense goodness reaches from the worlds thrown into the spaces to the acarus, which our eye cannot make out. There is a God! Our own feelings need Him; religion proclaims Him with authoritative voice and the study of nature confirms Him. [...] *Evvi un Dio!* [There is a God!] And there is the universe to prove His infinite power!³³

In order to fully appreciate the leading role attributed by Pasquale Fornari to the diffusion of scientific knowledge, including that one applied to technology and industry, among young generations and within popular classes for the same economic and productive development of the country, it is worth recalling what he wrote in his introduction of *La piccola chimica nelle arti, nell'industrie, nell'igiene e nell'economia domestica spiegata al popolo e ai giovanetti* (1880):

The priests of science do not have to be scandalized, the laymen do not get worried over my eagerness to drag such a science [chemistry] on the desks of popular schools and in workshops either. My purpose is just to show its useful expedients for life and for the practice and the increase of art and industry. It is an event that, becoming almost independent in politics, Italy is the servant of other countries in industry and arts. Nowadays, the possessions do not make the fortune and the flourishing of the countries, but the knowledge does it.

And confirming the «serious delay» which characterized the new united nation relating to the industrial development and the expansion and the modernization of craftwork because of the poor circulation of the main scientific and technological knowledge among young people and adults, Fornari added:

Look at an Englishman! Nature gave him only bare foggy cliffs; and he could make all the world tributary to his industry with the help of his mind and work. On the contrary, they became shamefully poor where the biblical milk and honey flowed. I repeat, it is worth knowing, not possessing. For example, a Spanish man obtained more than 30 million from his natural soda sold to France. But a more industrious French man did it under his very nose and he gives him no more money by making soda with common salt. However, an Italian man, who is immersed in the sea and the salt, was never able to do it without French soda. Not at all! We allow that our natural products are sent abroad to be worked there and then we buy them at a high price; [...] and if there are some industries in Italy, most of the owners and the workers are foreign, such as in glass, china workshops, etc. Or does our worker lack mind? For heaven's sake! Even if ours is intelligent, he is also ill-equipped with all that knowledge which is now indispensable in every art and industry in comparison with foreign people³⁴.

Fornari still noticed: And if it was true that «the task of doing skillful workers» was «primarily in schools»; it was equally true that these ones, which were not attended by the young people of popular classes, especially in the agricultural areas and in the poorest and the most depressed areas of the peninsula, and, in general, they were destined to dispense above all «parsing

³³ Id., *Il moderno Buffon pei fanciulli, o piccola storia naturale*, cit., pp. 322-323.

³⁴ Id., *La piccola chimica nelle arti, nell'industrie, nell'igiene e nell'economia domestica spiegata al popolo e ai giovanetti*, cit., pp. 5-6.

and sentence analysis and a lot of other nonsense invented to cheat the time and *to calcine* the mind», were not up to the workers' task: they were so far from being the places where «young people were taught to those things which are life nowadays, so that school became the pronaos or the vestibule of the temple of work, which is the workshop».

Hence, the urgent and inevitable need to spread the «most useful scientific knowledge» and a basic technological culture able to allow the country to make up for the serious accumulated delay, through a series of short and effective treatises expressly conceived for young people and popular classes, to come to a «real independent industry» in a short time and to regain «even the primacy somewhere».

The writer and educator coming from Borgomanero concluded: All that would not have produced positive effects only on Italian economy and industry, but also on public spirit and moral and civil consciousness of Italian young people: «It would be even advantageous for morality, since such positive studies admirably exercise the spirit of observation and reasoning, without which there cannot be firmness of character, a strong virtue, which can only take root into the heart through reason»³⁵.

3. *A child-friendly science: Il nuovo Buffon (1884) by Maria Viani-Visconti Cavanna*

The scientific publication, a genre exclusively practiced by male educators, scientists and scholars for children³⁶, had in the second half of the nineteenth century the only true protagonist, the Milanese writer Maria Viani-Visconti Cavanna, who printed in 1884 *Il nuovo Buffon. Vita, costumi e curiose avventure degli animali narrate ai giovinetti*, a little work intended to be successful, as evidenced by numerous reprints and re-editions until the mid-twenties³⁷.

Descendant from a Lombard noble family, after getting the upper-level master's degree, Maria Viani-Visconti Cavanna had created the abovementioned Milanese periodical for children, «Le prime letture» (1870-1878)³⁸ with Luigi Sailer and, at the same time, she had begun collaborating with some of the most

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

³⁶ Cfr. C. Giovannini, *Pedagogia popolare nei manuali Hoepli*, «Studi storici», vol. 22, n. 1, 1980, pp. 96-120; L. Barile, *Editoria di fine secolo: i manuali Hoepli e la divulgazione scientifica*, «Nuova Antologia», vol. 56, n. 2140, 1981, pp. 177-207; and G. Ragone, *Un secolo di libri. Storia dell'editoria in Italia dall'Unità al post-moderno*, Torino, Einaudi, 1999, pp. 3-109.

³⁷ The publishing house G.B. Paravia in Turin published four reprints of the little work written by M. Viani-Visconti Cavanna, *Il nuovo Buffon. Vita, costumi e curiose avventure degli animali narrate ai giovinetti* (1884), until 1909 and other two new editions: in 1913² and in 1920³.

³⁸ References to the experience of the Milanese periodical «Le prime letture» (1870-1878) in R. Lollo, *Sulla letteratura per l'infanzia*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2003, pp. 63-67.

prestigious magazines for Italian children and young people's education, first of all «L'Educazione dei Bambini» (Roma, 1889-1918), edited by Adolfo Pick³⁹.

In the following years, she also became the author of a successful series of science manuals for primary schools and gymnasial, technical and normal schools (*Corpi e fenomeni. Lezioncine sopra la fisica e la storia naturale per uso delle scuole elementari*⁴⁰, *Lezioni di scienze naturali per uso delle scuole ginnasiali, tecniche e normali*⁴¹, etc.) and several reading books for primary schools (*Lecture graduali*⁴², *Cento raccontini e duecento lezioncine*⁴³, etc.), as well as fairy tales and moral short stories for children and young people inspired to the principles and the values of Catholicism, which contributed to make her one of the most beloved and appreciated writers by the Lombard and Piedmont moderate bourgeoisie during the late nineteenth century. For example, this is the case of *Cari fanciulli! Apologhi, parabole e racconti originali e tradotti, Feste e ricordi. Dialoghetti istruttivi e morali d'occasione, Voci del cuore. Epistolario educativo, Favole educative, Racconti in famiglia. Libro di lettura e di premio offerto all'adolescenza, Il buon popolano. Letture morali, La buona popolana. Letture morali* and, finally, *I doveri della donna. Appunti e consigli di una vecchia amica*⁴⁴.

As for scientific publication, since the early 1980s Maria Viani-Visconti Cavanna printed a series of little works intended for children and young people, where she examined particular scientific aspects with an easy language and a wide range of illustrations and took into account the main natural phenomena. For example, this is the case of *Passeggiate. conversazioni istruttive sulle cose naturali*, to which *Il mondo bambino. Formazione della terra, Le valanghe* and *L'acqua* followed in the following years⁴⁵.

³⁹ Please see R. Sani, *Educazione (L') dei Bambini*, in Chiosso (ed.), *I periodici scolastici nell'Italia del secondo Ottocento*, cit., pp. 175-177, about «L'Educazione dei Bambini» (Roma, 1889-1918), the twice-monthly publication edited by Adolfo Pick.

⁴⁰ M. Viani-Visconti Cavanna, *Corpi e fenomeni. Lezioncine sopra la fisica e la storia naturale per uso delle scuole elementari*, Milano, P. Carrara, 1891.

⁴¹ Ead., *Lezioni di scienze naturali per uso delle scuole ginnasiali, tecniche e normali*, Milano, P. Carrara, 1898.

⁴² Ead., *Lecture graduali per le classi elementari*, Milano, P. Carrara, 1889 (the fourth edition: 1894).

⁴³ Ead., *Cento raccontini e duecento lezioncine per uso degli istituti infantili e della prima classe elementare*, Milano, P. Carrara, 1896.

⁴⁴ Ead., *Cari fanciulli! Apologhi, parabole e racconti originali e tradotti*, Milano, F. Garbini, 1876; Ead., *Feste e ricordi. Dialoghetti istruttivi e morali d'occasione*, Milano, P. Carrara, 1879; Ead., *Voci del cuore. Epistolario educativo*, Milano, P. Carrara, 1880 (the second edition: 1887); Ead., *Favole educative*, Milano, P. Carrara, 1880; Ead., *Racconti in famiglia. Libro di lettura e di premio offerto all'adolescenza*, 1882 (the fourth edition: 1903); Ead., *Il buon popolano. Letture morali*, Milano, P. Carrara, 1880 (the second edition: 1889); Ead., *La buona popolana. Letture morali*, Milano, P. Carrara, 1887 (the second edition: 1889); Ead., *I doveri della donna. Appunti e consigli di una vecchia amica*, Milano, P. Carrara, 1891.

⁴⁵ Ead., *Passeggiate. conversazioni istruttive sulle cose naturali*, Milano, P. Carrara, 1881; Ead., *Il mondo bambino. Formazione della terra*, Milano, P. Carrara, 1882 (the second edition:

Meanwhile, in 1882 the Milanese writer completed for the publishing house Paravia the Italian translation of *Manuale di Botanica*⁴⁶ by Heinrich Anton De Bary (Frankfurt-on-Main 1831 – Strasbourg 1888), the famous German scientist considered one of the founders of plant pathology and modern mycology. Some decades later, this translation would have followed by that one of the *Parables from Nature* (London, 1855-1871) for the publisher Rocco Carabba in the Abruzzi⁴⁷. The original work was written by Margaret Scott Gatty (Burnham on Crouch 1809 – Ecxclesfield 1873), a scholar and writer for English young people.

However, the abovementioned *Il nuovo Buffon. Vita, costumi e curiose avventure degli animali narrate ai giovinetti* (1884) contributed to confer a great reputation to Maria Viani-Visconti Cavanna as the popularizer of scientific little works for children and young people. The work, which was not original in structure and topics at all, was essentially a sort of reduction and adaptation of the famous and monumental *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* (Paris, 1749-1789)⁴⁸ by the French naturalist and mathematician Georg-Louis Leclerc de Buffon (Montbard 1707 – Paris 1788) for small readers' use.

However, it should be added that the version edited by the Milanese writer was not even the first one in Italy: since the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were several reductions of the work about Buffon «for young people's use». Among them, we confine ourselves to merely reporting here: *Il piccolo Buffon per la gioventù, ossia della natura degli animali, ornato di figure*⁴⁹; *Compendio di notizie di storia naturale tratte dalla grand'opera di Buffon ad uso della gioventù*⁵⁰; *Storia naturale di Buffon, compendiata da C.S.B.M. ad uso della gioventù italiana, con dodici tavole rappresentanti vari quadrupedi, rettili, pesci ed uccelli*⁵¹; and, finally, *Storia naturale esposta alla gioventù sulle tracce di Buffon*⁵².

The «child-friendly» reductions of the *Histoire naturelle* about Buffon were also a well-known phenomenon beyond the Alps, as evidenced by the version

1904); Ead., *Le valanghe*, Milano, P. Carrara, 1885; Ead., *L'acqua*, Milano, P. Carrara, 1885.

⁴⁶ A. De Bary, *Manuale di Botanica*, translated by M. Viani-Visconti, Torino, G.B. Paravia, 1882 (the second edition: 1883).

⁴⁷ M. Gatty, *La natura insegna. Parabole*, translated by M. Viani-Visconti Cavanna, Lanciano, R. Carabba, 1920.

⁴⁸ *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière. Par m. de Buffon...*, 44 vols., A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1749-1789.

⁴⁹ *Il piccolo Buffon per la gioventù, ossia della natura degli animali, ornato di figure*, Milano, P. Vallardi, 1817 (the second edition: 1823).

⁵⁰ *Compendio di notizie di storia naturale tratte dalla grand'opera di Buffon ad uso della gioventù, edizione adorna di novantasei figure incise in rame...*, Venezia, F. Graziosi, 1819.

⁵¹ *Storia naturale di Buffon, compendiata da C.S.B.M. ad uso della gioventù italiana, con dodici tavole rappresentanti vari quadrupedi, rettili, pesci ed uccelli*, Milano, G. Silvestri, 1822 (the fourth edition: 1840).

⁵² *Storia naturale esposta alla gioventù sulle tracce di Buffon*, Trieste, C. Coen, 1849 (the third edition: 1866).

edited by the author Pierre Blanchard (1772-1856) with the title *Le Buffon de la jeunesse. Cours élémentaire d'histoire naturelle*⁵³; and that one which anonymously appeared a decade later with the title *Le Petit Buffon illustré. Histoire et description des animaux*⁵⁴.

Richly illustrated and characterized by short, effective and thrilling descriptions written with an easy language and effectively adapted to the nature of its small readers, *Il nuovo Buffon. Vita, costumi e curiose avventure degli animali narrate ai giovinetti* by Maria Viani-Visconti Cavanna did not remotely look like a complete and organic scientific treatise or a real manual for school use. Its purpose, which allows us to highlight the peculiar function attributed by the Milanese writer to scientific works for children and young people, was simpler and deeper at the same time: in fact, they should not have aimed at «stuffing the small readers' head» with more or less complex and articulate scientific knowledge, rather than at inspiring «the curiosity of knowing something more» about nature and science, giving the possibility to take root «the purpose of seriously studying [them] in better books» in children and young people's heart. By introducing the work to her young readers, it is no coincidence that the Milanese writer stressed its propedeutic nature and its educational function: «Look out! This is not a science book, but a pleasant reading book», a «collection of descriptions, anecdotes, pictures of animals» aimed at «catching the attention» of those ones who read it and favouring passion for natural history and scientific studies⁵⁵.

4. *Between exploration of nature and ethical-civil education: Ciondolino's adventures (1893) written by Luigi Bertelli/Vamba*

As we have already mentioned, in 1893 the journalist and writer Luigi Bertelli, who was better known with *Vamba's* pseudonym – from the jester Cedric's name in Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* –, printed his first book for young people with the title *Ciondolino* at the publishing house Bemporad in Florence. There are many clues which reveal how Bertelli applied himself to the writing of this short story, essentially due to the disillusionment against politics and adult world; in this regard, the dedication is significant at the opening of the book, where the writer motivated his choice of addressing to new readers: «Kids, I

⁵³ P. Blanchard, *Le Buffon de la jeunesse. Cours élémentaire d'histoire naturelle*, Paris, Morizot, 1859.

⁵⁴ *Le Petit Buffon illustré. Histoire et description des animaux*, Paris, Garnier, 1869.

⁵⁵ M. Viani-Visconti Cavanna, *Ai giovinetti lettori*, in Ead., *Il nuovo Buffon. Vita, costumi e curiose avventure degli animali narrate ai giovinetti*, cit., p. II.

thought to show you many big things in small beings. Later, you will see many small things in big beings in the world»⁵⁶.

The text, which was also interesting for its didactic value, was intended to be one of the first examples of a short story – therefore, a narrative work – with a scientific purpose in Italian literature for young people⁵⁷. In fact, it was referring to a narrative genre which was successful abroad, as evidenced by the work *Ricordi di un entomologo* by Jean-Henri Fabre⁵⁸ and the works *La vita delle api* and *La vita delle Termiti* by Maurice Maeterlinck⁵⁹, whose educational significance would have caught Giuseppe Lombardo Radice's attention in the following years, supporting their translation and circulation in schools and among Italian young people, as mentioned above⁶⁰.

Animated by the intention of thrilling young people for the study of natural sciences, making it enjoyable and not tedious and boring, as it happened at school, and probably inspired by the little work *Le avventure d'un grillo*⁶¹ by the Belgian naturalist doctor Ernest Candèze, Luigi Bertelli created a story about Gigino/Ciondolino's vicissitudes, a disobedient and lazy boy, who failed the exams and was forced by his mother to study Latin grammar and, while he envied the ants that, unlike him, appeared to go where they wanted and to be able to autonomously organize their life, he was turned into an ant and was catapulted into an unknown and different world, far from the one he wished. In fact, Gigino/Ciondolino became an ant between other ants and experienced the labours and the obligations imposed to each insect by the laws governing the life of the hard-working community of ants, maturing not only a new awareness of the complex relationship between dependence and responsibility which binds each one to its/his community, both the human beings' one or the metaphorical one of the insects, but also the importance of personal commitment for common

⁵⁶ Cfr. Vamba [L. Bertelli], *Ciondolino. Libro per i ragazzi*, cit.

⁵⁷ Among the translations of this tale, we remember the one in French language: *Gigi parmi les insectes*, translated by the countess from Gencé, Paris, M. Albin, 1922; the one in English language: *The Prince and his ants*, translated by S.F. Woodruff, New York, L. Kellogg Holt and Company, 1937; and the one in Spanish language: *Pingajillo el Muchacho que se volvió hormiga*, translated by C. De Castro, Barcelona, Hyssa, 1943.

⁵⁸ It deals with J.-H. Fabre, *Ricordi entomologici. Studi sull'istinto e i costumi degli insetti*, Milano, Sonzogno, 1914 (repeatedly edited later). This work was the Italian translation of the text: Id., *Souvenirs entomologiques*, Paris, Librairie Delagrave, 1879.

⁵⁹ M. Maeterlinck, *La vita delle api*, Roma, Voghera, 1921 (the original edition: *La vie des abeilles*, Paris, Charpentier, 1901); Id., *La vita delle termiti*, Milano, Mondadori, 1927 (the original edition: *La vie des termites*, Paris, Charpentier, 1907).

⁶⁰ Cfr. G. Lombardo Radice, *Che cosa non leggono i maestri* (1925), now in Ascenzi, 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 Melchiori (1923-1928)*, cit., pp. 728-732.

⁶¹ E.-C.-A. Candèze, *Le avventure d'un grillo*, Milano, Sonzogno, 1879 (the original edition: *Aventures d'un grillon*, Paris, J. Hetzel, 1877).

good and the value of work for the self-improvement and the development and growth of its/his own species.

In short, projected in a fantastic, captivating and attractive dimension for a public of children and young people, *Ciondolino* effectively promoted a lot of moral and civil teachings, in addition to a new sensitivity for scientific knowledge about nature: in fact, the insects/characters and the protagonist become educational examples. After a series of vicissitudes and adventures, Gigino/Ciondolino will not only understand at his expense the meaning of a reality only superficially judged until now (that one of the insects, but also that one of human world, where he will come back after the short and demanding experience of the transformation into an ant), but he will mature the conscience that each one – an ant or a human being – has some obligations to its/his community and that these obligations are the essence of responsible and sympathetic actions, which are very important not only for the community, but also for the individual. There is no doubt that such a civil-ethical teaching, which was transmitted in a delightful and comic way – having no bearing on the pedantic and didactic approach of the coeval school manuals –, was intended to make *Ciondolino* a breakdown work against the canons and the communication registers to which the literature for young people was traditionally inspired⁶².

5. *Scientific works for children and young people examined by «Croce's prejudicial question», or the vicissitudes of a literary genre in Italy during the twentieth century*

In order to give birth to a real genre of scientific literary works for children and young people in Italy during the second half of the nineteenth century, the efforts carried out by various Italian writers aroused many criticisms and reservations by the neo-idealist literary and aesthetic critics. Among the main detractors of such an initiative there is Benedetto Croce, whose scarcity of consideration given to literature for children and young people is well-known: in fact, he considered it a minor and quite marginal literary genre, because it is too related to the “kindly muse” of pedagogy for its essentially educational purposes and because it is very often careless and deficient in style, essentially destined to that particular category of ‘uneducated people’ who are the children⁶³.

⁶² In this regard, please see the comments formulated by A. Faeti, *Guardare le figure. Gli illustratori italiani dei libri per l'infanzia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1973; pp. 84-87; and P. Boero, C. De Luca, *La letteratura per l'infanzia*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1995, pp. 115-116.

⁶³ B. Croce, *La letteratura della nuova Italia*, Bari, Laterza, 1913², vol. 3, pp. 352-353.

In the collection of critical essays devoted to *La letteratura della nuova Italia*, in a chapter focused on the works of the so-called *Scienziati-Letterati* [Scientists-Scholars], Benedetto Croce was inspired by the most authoritative and renowned work, that is *Il Bel Paese* by Abbot Antonio Stoppani, to launch a real attack on the whole national scientific genre, hastily liquidated as a «puerile» and «uneducable» genre, characterized by «coarse compilations», which are works lacking in authentic literary value, because they have a «mediocre prose»: the philosopher coming from Abruzzo concluded – «Art is a force which perceives an impression or an emotion and not an accumulation of knowledge and abilities»⁶⁴.

It is possible that the abovementioned *Croce's prejudicial question* also played a certain role in the lack of the development of organic scientific works in literature for children and young people in Italy. The fact is that this genre was essentially left at the post in our country and, especially during the twentieth century, it did not have that relevance and divulgation which it had in French and Anglo-Saxon countries⁶⁵. And the reasons for this lack of development were a lot:

In this regard, Paola Govoni emphasized – The scientists' commitment was an important aspect of the larger national project referred to as the 'popular education' and was characterized by a disconcerting plot of scientific ideals and rhetoric, science and politics, but it was, in any case, an important phenomenon for the quality and the variety of interventions and their continuity over time. [...] What prevented from taking root of a science-based tradition in Italy comparable to that one from countries such as France and England? From now on, it is acceptable to wonder whether it was reasonable to expect those radical changes which the scientists [...] engaged in 'popular education' projects wished, without the propelling force of a widespread basic education. It is clear that the commitment of authors and editors to promote a quality divulgation could not be enough to give the country the education it needed and that only efficient schools and universities could assure⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ Id., *La letteratura della nuova Italia*, Bari, Laterza, 1940, vol. 6, pp. 55-61.

⁶⁵ In this regard, please see the abovementioned works written by Béguet (ed.), *La science pour tous. Sur la vulgarisation scientifique en France de 1850 à 1914*, cit.; and Fox, Guagnini (edd.), *Education, technology and industrial performance in Europe 1850-1939*, cit.

⁶⁶ Govoni, *Un pubblico per la scienza. La divulgazione scientifica nell'Italia in formazione*, cit., pp. 45-46.

Krause's influence in school architecture: the case of Spanish pedagogy in the 19th Century

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ABSTRACT: This paper is based on the hypothesis of contemplating school architecture and school areas as resources to be considered in the curriculum design and in the historical research on Education. School architecture or pedagogy of spaces is an important topic of study, which is crucial and with a great capacity to continue growing in the field of history of education. The main purpose of this work is to analyze school architecture and spaces as an educational entity, reflecting on its educational importance, its hermeneutics and its influence on educational processes. In order to do so, we will base our reflections on a relevant pedagogical theory in European and Latin American pedagogy: the Krausism. In addition, we will see its influence in Spain and other countries during the nineteenth century and a substantial part of the twentieth century.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of architecture; History of education; Krause; History of pedagogy; Spain; XIXth Century.

Introduction. Architecture and Education

From an educational point of view, students engage with each other, they share what is public property, and thanks to communication, they interact with each other. In this sense, the educational space becomes an educational resource where it is necessary to understand, evaluate and interpret the spaces from the subjects, generating educational processes where space acts as an educational agent, and in which the subjects «will be indirectly identified with their space»¹. Therefore, we can say that it is possible to create spaces where the students and the community feel connected with these spaces, an educational space which provides a moral and political reference, an active and democratic participation where space and architecture belong to the teaching-learning processes.

The analysis of the school architecture and school spaces is very interesting, not only from the point of view of curriculum design, but also in the historical and educational research². The reason is simple as a hermeneutics of spaces from a pedagogical point of view shows that spaces condition significantly educational practice. The physical space can facilitate or limit students' teaching and socialization. There are many variables involved in the educational process, and it is necessary to recognize space as one of them³. However, it is not an abstract idea, but an interrelation of spatial, social and cultural structures which allow logical approaches starting from individuals' social roots. Moreover, individuals' personal development have a close relationship with the environment which surrounds them⁴. Thus, the place and its characteristics, act as educators because they convey a message. Spaces transmit values and promote certain behaviors inside and outside the educational community⁵.

The importance and analysis of educational spaces is evident because spaces are not empty and neutral containers but they socialize and educate through their meanings and content⁶. The school is a place of socialization and training by means of events taking place in accommodated rooms (workshops, common rooms, laboratories...). This makes that the people who usually go to these spaces socialize and acquire moral standards⁷. Educational spaces

¹ J.M. Muñoz-Rodríguez, *La pedagogía de los espacios como discurso de la educación ambiental*, «Bordón. Revista de pedagogía», vol. 59, n. 4, 2007 p. 654.

² A. Salgado, *Arquitectura de los espacios escolares*, <<http://fortinoalmasuaped.blogspot.com>> (last access: 15.06.2015).

³ A. Viñao, *Escolarización, edificios y espacios escolares*, «CEE Participación Educativa», n. 7, 2008, pp. 16-27.

⁴ J.M. Muñoz-Rodríguez, S. Olmos Migueláñez, *Espacios abiertos y educación: análisis e interpretación del lenguaje educativo de un espacio público*, «Revista de Educación», n. 352, 2010, pp. 331-352.

⁵ J. Oliver, *Espacios educativos y sistemas de formación (Metodología ecológica y organización educativa)*, «Revista Interuniversitaria de Formación del Profesorado», n. 4, 1989, pp. 59-67.

⁶ Viñao, *Escolarización, edificios y espacios escolares*, cit.

⁷ B. Sureda, *La investigación en historia de la educación y otros espacios de socialización y*

are important in education processes since they are learning processes whose outcomes produce educational development: «The architectural design is able to make the community involvement compatible with the enjoyment of spaces, it improves the quality of education, it becomes a symbol of the community and it affects the personal and collective identity»⁸.

The main purpose of this work is to analyze school architecture and spaces as an educational entity, reflecting on its educational importance, its hermeneutics and its influence on educational processes. In order to do so, we will base our reflections on a relevant pedagogical theory in European and Latin American pedagogy: the Krausism. In addition, we will see its influence in Spain and other countries during the nineteenth century and a substantial part of the twentieth century.

1. *Methodological Notes. History of education and Architecture*

The school space should be understood as a cultural construct which shows a «silent teaching» because there are strong significances transmitted through stimuli, and hidden curriculum content. The furniture, the separation of sexes and ages, the placement in rows, the teacher's placement, the shape of the classroom, the school entry, the outside access... everything conveys a message and allows or does not allow, some forms of education or others⁹. It is necessary to understand that the most important thing in school architecture is to develop a concept of integral education, as current educational theories recommend, an integrated space where the physical environment is part of the teaching-learning¹⁰.

We start from the premise that the types of buildings where both students, and teachers live, affect not only what students learn and what teachers teach but also how they do it¹¹. One consideration, which great historical pedagogues, such as Fröbel, took into account. The echoes of his architectural thinking are still present in many contemporary kindergartens¹². For centuries, the structural model of factory has been widely used¹³. As in an assembly line, students pass

formación de los jóvenes en el siglo XX, «Historia de la Educación», n. 22, 2003, pp. 27-32.

⁸ A. García-del Dujo, J.M. Muñoz-Rodríguez, *Pedagogía de los espacios. Esbozo de un horizonte educativo para el siglo XXI*, «Revista Española de Pedagogía», n. 228, 2004, p. 260.

⁹ Salgado, *Arquitectura de los espacios escolares*, cit.

¹⁰ M. Remess, F. Winfield, *Espacios Educativos y Desarrollo: Alternativas desde la sustentabilidad y la regionalización*, «Revista Investigación y Ciencia», n. 42, 2008, pp. 45-50.

¹¹ R. Upitis, *School Architecture and Complexity. Complicity*, «International Journal of Complexity and Education», vol. 1 n. 1, 2009, pp. 19-38.

¹² M. Dudek, *Kindergarten Architecture: Space For The Imagination*, 2nd Ed. Independence, (KY), Spon Press, 2001.

¹³ Upitis, *School Architecture and Complexity. Complicity*, cit.

from one class to another depending on the course or subject they are being taught.

The concern of the educational community about school architecture dates back to nineteenth century, when we find references in the pedagogy of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Montessori, or more modern authors such as John Dewey, Milani¹⁴, and of course the current pedagogical trends of the New School¹⁵.

Throughout history, they have been developing and implementing ways of understanding education as well as, different philosophies and educational theories. Depending on the time and place, these philosophies and theories have undoubtedly conditioned the architectural forms of buildings, places or environments where the educational process was provided, to reinforce their idea of education¹⁶. As the eminent nineteenth-century Spanish teacher Giner de los Ríos pointed out in 1884, «School is the lining of an idea». As a result, school architecture or the way of understanding the educational space has gone together with the various forms of «providing education». Hence, it is an interesting element to consider in the field of history of education. However, this has not always been so. As Agustín Escolano warns school space has consolidated as a field of study within the history of education¹⁷. It used to be a “muted” element and now it is a domineering one; especially, insofar as it helps to understand the meaning and content of school culture. Over the years, this culture has left sediment which is a defining element in architecture and school space. The study of school architecture is a way to provide functionality to the history of education, because it helps to get a more complete view of space and time where the teacher, students and other actors go on.

Therefore, school architecture or pedagogy of spaces is an important topic of study, which is crucial and with a great capacity to continue growing in the field of history of education. It is something that is within the history of education, as the learning content and as a necessary horizon of research. However, it was not until the fourteenth century when people in western societies built classrooms in buildings specifically designed to accommodate elementary schools¹⁸. In fact, school buildings will not be a concern until the late eighteenth century and during the nineteenth century when education was seen as a key factor of social improvement. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, many educators stated that the School should be a body which would

¹⁴ L. Alonso, *Principales teorías y corrientes educativas del Siglo XX*, in M.A. Martín-Sánchez (coord.), *Historia de la Educación en Occidente. Teorías, métodos y prácticas educativas*, Saarbrücken, Editorial Académica Española, 2012, pp. 275-300.

¹⁵ A.M. Jiménez, *La escuela nueva y los espacios para educar*, «Educación y Pedagogía», vol. 21, n. 54, 2009, pp. 105-124.

¹⁶ S. Al, R. Sari, K. Nimet, *A different perspective on education: Montessori and Montessori school architecture*, «Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences», n. 46, 2012, pp. 1866-1871.

¹⁷ A. Escolano, *Tiempos y espacios para la escuela*, Madrid, Editorial Biblioteca Nueva, 2000.

¹⁸ F. Ramírez, *Arquitectura y pedagogía en el desarrollo de la arquitectura moderna*, «Revista Educación y Pedagogía», vol. 21, n. 54, 2009, pp. 31-65.

integrate pedagogy and physical environment, considering the two constituent elements of first order of children's training process¹⁹. If we take into account the ability of space to influence teaching, human beings are the foundation and justification of education, being a material, physical, biological, cultural and social being, who is built in connection with the spaces which reference them²⁰. Architecture, technique, technology and education are linked in school buildings²¹. This is something that has also come into play from the educational policies in different historical stages. Aspects related to economy, industry or concepts or ideals such as the welfare state, have influenced the construction of school structures, agreeing various objectives, depending on the historic time when these decisions were taken. As a result, they built «average schools»²² where the economic resources and the needs to create school places with zero cost were pressing. Or on the other hand, implementing projects where they took into account urban elements of the environment and the context where it was decided to insert the School. A dual perspective, diachronic and political educative helps to understand the nature of changes in school spaces throughout the decades, creating a solid foundation for understanding the compound of the classroom in the twenty-first century and the most representative milestones to record the spatial elements in education²³.

It has always been a mistake to view the school building in a simple way since it just describes the distribution of the building from mere information about it, that is, where the particular educational institution is located. This information is accompanied at best by a graphic document, i.e., drawings or photographs. That mistake puts aside a more accurate and enriching criticism from the educational point of view²⁴. Today the history of education tries not to make that mistake, delving into a necessary context analysis, where the school space was inserted. We do not only point out what elements formed that space, but we reflect on its distribution, taking into account economic, political or pedagogical aspects of that concrete time. That is, we do a theoretical exam of what happened in that space from a historical perspective. It is, as Antonio Viñao claims, conducting an archaeological reconstruction which hold its importance for research, not from the basic list of objects, but for

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ García-del Dujo, Muñoz-Rodríguez, *Pedagogía de los espacios. Esbozo de un horizonte educativo para el siglo XXI*, cit.

²¹ J. Coronado, *La escuela y el edificio escolar público, un proceso de diálogo entre arquitectura, técnica y educación, como parámetros de búsqueda del hábitat escolar en el siglo XXI en Bogotá*, «Escala», n. 230, 2010, pp. 50-51.

²² O. Pons, *Evolución de las tecnologías de prefabricación aplicadas a la arquitectura escolar*, «Informes de la Construcción», vol. 62, n. 520, 2010, pp. 15-26.

²³ J.M. Visedo, *Espacio escolar y reforma de la enseñanza*, «Revista Interuniversitaria de Formación del Profesorado», n. 11, 1991, pp. 125-135.

²⁴ A. Viñao, *El espacio escolar. Introducción*, «Historia de la Educación. Revista Interuniversitaria», vol. 12, n. 13, 1994, pp. 11-16.

its inclusion in an explanatory diagram to interpret and give meaning to the reconstructed reality²⁵. Schools are like workshops where teaching guidelines are developed and evolved empirically, and therefore where the teacher's nature is limited²⁶. Thus, if the history of education intends to address the ways in which teachers' job has changed, something associated with it you should be considered, such as the architecture and ecology of the classroom, spaces where the act of teaching is linked. In this space a number of variants are shared, such as the physical environment of the child, the breadth and classroom lighting, temperature and ventilation, acoustics, order, or beauty²⁷. In all these variants, there have been changes which have led to an evolution in school buildings, changing designs and forms of distribution of tangible elements that transmit a speech with meaning if they are analyzed individually and as a whole.

History of education has been dealing with the study of open school campuses, the distribution and disposal of school buildings, the relationship between the teaching methods used throughout history and the spatial arrangement of the actors and objects as well as with the conception of school space in the history of the curriculum²⁸. However, the study of school space form the history of education can be an interesting complement to evaluate and support other research lines. For example, the distribution of space based on gender, which has had a superlative significance beyond what we can imagine²⁹. A historical-educational vision allows us to study and draw conclusions about how the school spaces have been distributed according to a greater or lesser segregation, defined in code or consideration of these elements³⁰, establishing predominant or power among those spaces occupied by one or another. This generated consequences for society as a reflection of school space in the social space. On the other hand, the connection with a critical pedagogy of space demonstrates the possibility of contributing to untangle the ways in which we use the space from the dominant or oppressive view of individual or groups³¹. An examination of the spaces where students lived at different times in the history of the School will help us to discern the limits and functions of the elements of that space.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Escolano, *Tiempos y espacios para la escuela*, cit.

²⁷ Al, Sari, Nimet, *A different perspective on education: Montessori and Montessori school architecture*, cit.

²⁸ J.M. Muñoz-Rodríguez, *Pedagogía de los espacios. La comprensión del espacio en el proceso de construcción de las identidades*, «Revista portuguesa de pedagogía», vol. 43, n. 1, 2009, pp. 5-25.

²⁹ I. Cantón, *El espacio educativo y las referencias al género*, «Revista Interuniversitaria de Formación del Profesorado», vol. 21, nn. 2-3, 2007, pp. 115-135.

³⁰ M.E. Simón, *Tiempos y espacios para la coeducación*, in, M.A. Santos Guerra, (coord.), *El harén pedagógico. La perspectiva de género en la Organización Escolar*, Barcelona, Graó, 2000, pp. 33-43.

³¹ J. Morgan, *Critical Pedagogy. The spaces that make the difference*, «Pedagogy, Culture and Society», vol. 8 n. 3, 2000, pp. 273-289.

2. Krause, Krausism and Pedagogy

Karl Christian Friedrich Krause created a philosophical system called Krausism, which has an idealistic and conciliatory basis. He was born in 1781 in Eisenberg (Saxony), his philosophical vocation would be initiated during his studies of theology at the University of Jena. In 1801 he obtained his Ph.D. in Philosophy and Mathematics and a year later, he became a teacher³². Many people consider him a minor philosopher of the German School. However, he was ahead of his time. Today, his ideas and practices are more known than ever in leading fields such as Law or Education. Thus, we highlight the influence he had first in Germany and then all over Europe and in Latin America, whose academic environments discussed his thinking. The world for Krause is the set of manifestations of divine essence in time and space. On the other hand, God is within this world but the world is also within God. Nevertheless, God is not equivalent to the set of elements which form the world, that would be a pantheistic conception, but God is both inside and outside the world. This means that the world is part of God but God is superior to the world. Therefore, the world is subordinated to God. This reasoning defends both the idea of immanence and transcendence of God as well as his relationship with the world, i.e. pantheism. Within this scheme, Krause will bring together the whole humanity, whose representation, the «I» is the union of body (Nature) and reason (Spirit)³³. It stems from Krause's system a vision for wholeness, for the union among human beings which make up the world between the world and God, between body and reason or between men and women. This consideration links with the most relevant idea in his philosophy: achieving an Alliance of Humanity. With his philosophical system, he aims to deal with the ills of society. He wants to make it perfect and achieve a full alliance among the different people of the world. This will be the vital idea reflected on his more practical philosophy, Krause distances himself from other idealist philosophers in the measures he proposed as he wishes the transformation of individuals' life and of social institutions³⁴. In his conscience lies the idea of realizing the union between the states of Europe³⁵, to go from Europeanism to universalism, aiming in this way to an alliance of humanity³⁶; all in pursuit of the harmonious development of all identities of

³² B. Göcke, *Causality, Emergence, and Panentheism. On the importance of Karl Christian Friedrich Krause's panentheism*, «Zygon», vol. 48, n. 2, 2013, pp. 364-379.

³³ J. Payo, *La concepción antropológica en el krausismo de Krause: una visión del hombre*, «Thémata. Revista de Filosofía», n. 43, 2012, pp. 193-199.

³⁴ E. Ureña, *El krausismo como fenómeno europeo*, in E. Ureña, P. Álvarez Lázaro (edd.), *La actualidad del krausismo en su contexto europeo*, Madrid, Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia de Comillas, 1999, pp. 15-35.

³⁵ F. Querol, *La filosofía del derecho de K. CH. F. Krause*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia de Comillas, 2000.

³⁶ R. Pinilla, *La propuesta de Krause de una Federación Europea de Estados (1814) a la luz de su concepción universal del derecho*, «Bajo palabra. Revista de Filosofía II Época», n. 8, 2013 pp. 323-334.

mankind. This conception is more practical and it is based on the metaphysical support we have just explained. It serves as support for the development of the other principles with social application. Thus, the pantheist worldview is reflected in the consideration that the philosopher has of history, law, politics, the relationship between man and woman or pedagogy. To a greater or lesser extent, the disciples, diffusers and translators of his works and ideas have been based on this reasoning. Everything is oriented towards the perfection of the individual in community, the ideal and the alliance of humanity.

Education in Krause can only be understood from the harmonious and organization-oriented idea of the Alliance of Humanity³⁷, along with the pantheist conception is its metaphysical basis.

Krause vehemently emphasizes the idea of harmony which identifies his educational vision with the pantheist root of his philosophy. The comprehensive education of men's facets is the path to their harmony, to his ideal of perfection. Thus it consolidates his emphasis of setting up a comprehensive training mechanism to reach his ideal. We have to point out that Krause's idealism is revitalized by his desire to fulfill his world view. The speculative nature of the German philosophical school he comes from turns into a real intention when the philosopher wants his ideal to be carried out. In this sense, we state that his ideal of humanity, which can be found thanks to men's proper education since men are part of it.

Krause will understand education as a fundamental element for the achievement and protection of human rights. From this consideration, he calls for individuals' development as a prerequisite for the establishment of a state of free citizens³⁸. Krause will also provide a clear distinction between the concepts of education and instruction, which his followers later inherited and today we have assumed as the way we view education. He will understand student's education as different from the mutual training among peers³⁹. On the other hand, the social responsibility of education is also evident in Krause since he will defend equal opportunities in all individuals' access to education, criticizing the exploitation suffered by workers who lack time for training and personal development. This is justified by Krause's concept of training, which is defined as the means by which men is freed from their limitations and exercise their personal skills. Likewise, education should be accompanied with by the development and progress of civilization itself, and thus become more systematic, universal, harmonious and deep⁴⁰. Moreover, it is extensible along

³⁷ E. Ureña, *Krause y su ideal masónico. Hacia la educación de la humanidad*, «Historia de la Educación. Revista interuniversitaria», n. 4, 1985, pp. 73-96.

³⁸ Querol, *La filosofía del derecho de K. CH. F. Krause*, cit.

³⁹ Ureña, *Krause y su ideal masónico. Hacia la educación de la humanidad*, cit.

⁴⁰ K.C.F. Krause, *Der Erdrechtsbund, an sich selbst und in seinem verhältnisse zum Ganzem und zu allen Einzelteilen des Menschheitslebens*, Leipzig, Aus dem handschriftlichen Nachlasse des Verfassers herausgegeben von Dr. Georg Mollat, 1893.

the individual's lifetime⁴¹. Finally, we note other principles and remarkable pedagogical reflections by Krause⁴², such as: self-education, education in freedom, the importance of the family in education, the role of the State in education, education on respect for nature, the quality of play, education of children, special love for children and the elderly, and the importance of hands-on activities which develop creativity in the individual⁴³.

Since the early thirties of nineteenth century, Krause's disciples made a commitment to spread his master's teachings in order to achieve that ideal and perfectly harmonized society which Krause justified with such determination. That determination was not merely a theoretical approach of postulates. His disciples took the witness to propagate and to put into practice those thoughts. Over decades, Krausists did this work, bearing the name of Krause to a number of countries in Europe: Germany, Belgium, France, Holland, Italy, Spain or Great Britain⁴⁴.

The arrival of Krause's ideas to Spain, its dissemination through the chair of Julian Sanz del Rio, the specialized press, the translations of his works, its evolution or adaptation to a country like Spain have been more than covered in deep-water research. For this reason, in this section we will not stop there, but we will focus on explaining the keys of the success of Krause's educational vision in Spain, as well as what were the pedagogical principles which were communicated and put into practice with the institutional educational reality, backed by the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza» (ILE), the «Museo Pedagógico», the «Instituto-Escuela» or «Residencia de Estudiantes», among others. The relevance generated by Krause's philosophy in Spain caused that in Germany Krause, or rather the krausism, was seen as something Spanish or Latin American world, instead of something German⁴⁵. But the key to success Krause's pedagogy in Spain, which was the institutional action of the Spanish Krausists, although inspired by their German and Belgian colleagues, was more prominent. Some of those who were seduced by the texts translated by Krause's disciples or by Sanz del Rio's teachings of, saw in education the key to reverse the backwardness of the country. The most decisive and most significant example in this regard was, as we advanced, the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza», whose more representative supporter was Francisco Giner de los Ríos. We have seen how there have been manifestations, attempts in the

⁴¹ T. Schneider, *Karl Christian Friedrich Krause als Geschichtsphilosoph*, Leipzig, 1907.

⁴² Ureña, *Krause y su ideal masónico. Hacia la educación de la humanidad*, cit.

⁴³ These pedagogical principles will not be Krause's exclusive property, but they will appear and be developed in writings and practical realities such as those of Fröbel or the New School, and in Spain with Francisco Giner de los Ríos, Manuel B. Cossío and the Free Teaching Institute among others.

⁴⁴ Ureña, *El krausismo como fenómeno europeo*, cit.

⁴⁵ Id., *Sociedad, economía y educación en K. C. F. Krause, Albert Schäffle y Francisco Giner de los Ríos*, in: J.M. Vázquez-Romero, (coord.), *Francisco Giner de los Ríos. Actualidad de un pensador krausista*, Madrid, Marcial Pons Historia, 2009, pp. 83-136.

form of projects or partnerships in which Krausists from other parts of Europe put into practice Krause's principles. However, the relevance and development of the institution raised the eminently pedagogical orientation as any other institution in Europe with krausist manifestations. While at universities like Central de Madrid, the Free University of Brussels or organizations such as the General Education Association, Krause's philosophy was transmitted, or a proposed action was inferred in a given context or place, in the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza», they did not only do that, but children were educated, individuals were taught under pedagogical principles which Krause himself held a few decades before. This aspect stems from the connection between Giner's anthropological conception and pantheist foundation of Krause's pedagogy. In the words of Gomez «men, for Giner, are finite and perfectible beings»⁴⁶, consisting of two scents: nature and spirit, harmonious synthesis of men in a krausist mode. The education for Giner will not be a mere transmission of knowledge but an integral action, which is linked with Krause's understanding of education and his harmony of the universe. As a result, education will not be the tool, but a renewed, comprehensive education which addresses all facets of individuals and puts into practice the theoretical vision of the individuals and their ideals. The aim is to reach the men proposed by Giner, «beings who must reach harmony in the realization of their nature, the path of reason»⁴⁷.

The «Institución Libre de Enseñanza» will try to offer training which goes beyond student instruction. It aims to educate, not preparing workers, but men and women⁴⁸. On the other hand both the body cult and the intimacy with nature will play a prominent role in the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza», through field trips. Moreover, it serves an aesthetic purpose, because the expression of beauty, order and harmony is given in nature. These categories also flow from the aesthetic consideration of Krause's philosophy of⁴⁹. In addition to this, we should not forget here the Krausists roots, the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza» believed in the principle of coeducation since its creation. Only by educating women in all areas, like men, and with men women's identity will be safeguarded as human beings and their inferiority will be eradicated⁵⁰. Moreover, as we have seen with Tiberghien and his understanding of secularism in education, the principle of neutral education will also govern the institution. Under the basis of complete neutrality, it does not side to any particular religion.

⁴⁶ M.N. Gómez, *Educación y pedagogía en el pensamiento de Giner de los Ríos*, Sevilla, Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1983, p. 27.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴⁸ A. Molero, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza. Un proyecto de reforma pedagógica*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2000.

⁴⁹ F. López, *Historia de la Educación Física de 1876 a 1898: La Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, Madrid, Gymnos, 1998.

⁵⁰ J. Seage, E. Guerrero, D. Quintana de Uña, *Una pedagogía de la libertad: la Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, Madrid, Cuadernos para el diálogo, 1977.

They only saw a strong moral imperative in training students⁵¹, which is related with the very natural religiosity of leaving the familiar environment krausists. They let families teach their children in the religion they chose. That is, in the ILE, they did not only transmit the educational ideal of harmonious character, but they educated, instructed and formed the individual under that ideal. The organization collects one of the central features that Krause had of education, the conception which Fröbel would also take: «the concept of purely human education, coined by Krause in his ideal of humanity as the ultimate foundation of the Alliance of humanity»⁵². In its last stage, ILE and other bodies set up under their identities by men emerged from their classrooms, it began to have a strong presence in formal education. As a result, the regeneration from within became a reality. Such reality regeneration was done in a paused and peaceful way as krausists defended. Therefore, education reformed gradually society in search of the ideal of humanity.

3. *Pedagogy, Krause and school architecture in the Nineteenth Century Spain*

The first thing we need to clarify when we relate Krause to school architecture is that we are linking a figure of a German philosophical movement which had a lot of idealism and metaphysical abstraction with a tangible aspect of pedagogy. Indeed, it seems a bit rich to relate both constructs, and more, given that the German philosopher did not develop pedagogy of relevant interest as Pestalozzi and Fröbel. However, we will test those claims in this work, trying to draw a continuous line that leads from one end to the other of the map. To do this, the first thing we have to do is to prove that Krause was not only a philosopher, but we can see pedagogy in his wittings, an educational character with strong skills reform. That pedagogy would eventually be spread thanks to outstanding European figures and it promoted agencies and educational institutions. The value of education for Krause is transmitted with these words:

children and youth people growing up around us has to mature to become a good humanity and, as far as possible, better than we are. And only with an improved education, humanity may grow and flourish⁵³.

⁵¹ Molero, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza. Un proyecto de reforma pedagógica*, cit.

⁵² Ureña, *Sociedad, economía y educación en K. C. F. Krause, Albert Schäffle y Francisco Giner de los Ríos*, cit., p. 131.

⁵³ K.C.F. Krause, R. Vetter (edd.), *Abhandlungen und Einzelsätze über Erziehung und Unterricht*, Berlín, 2 vols., 1984, vol. 1, p. 132.

Throughout his life, Krause try to implement several initiatives in the field of education. He tried to put into practice his pedagogical thoughts with the creation of an Institute. On the other hand, he was offered to be the mentor and to teach the children of the Russian aristocracy. What is more, he drew up a report for the opening of an institute in Paris⁵⁴. However, these three facts were never carried out for various reasons such as lack of funding and lack of time⁵⁵.

Despite the failure of these initiatives, he got another chance to write down his ideas in an educational work. In Dresden, by the end of 1809, he was given the task to produce a report on a school boarding the Masonic lodge «The Three Swords and True Friends», to which Krause belonged from 1805, had in Friedrichstadt (Dresden). In order to propose certain innovations for progress and improvement of the center, Krause suggested his pedagogical line. Several items described in the document refer to the importance of comprehensive education, personified and ratified by the figure of the director or rector, with qualities of teacher, educator, administrator and parent⁵⁶. He also alludes to coeducation for both genders, education of the body, or greater contact of children with public life. All these aspects have consequences when organizing school supplies, furniture and school equipment, which influence a pedagogy which takes into account the space where it is inserted. Furthermore, he added reflections on how to develop new ways of teaching which had to do with a renewed methodology. Other notes which Krause pointed out in his report, deal with unity, balance, harmony, sense of order, accommodation of children and promotion of the creative activity in children. They are all signs of a renewing and progressive thinking in the way of teaching.

After his stay in Dresden, Krause moved to Berlin, where he began another of his educational projects⁵⁷. According to his concerns in education, he funded a «Society for Education». It was humbled because of the number of members who composed it, but ambitious due to the statements cited in its statutes. Its fundamental objective was the «knowledge and judgment of the existing educational literature, the research and preparation of methods to help education in general and in particular»⁵⁸. This shows again Krause's pedagogical aspect, which, in this case, focuses on teaching methods. He tries to delve into the state of the situation of literature and teaching materials for reform or reworking of forms and speeches which offer a renewed instruction. Now, we are going to focus on Friedrich Fröebel, whose name is associated with

⁵⁴ E. Ureña, *Krause y la educación*, «Historia de la educación. Revista interuniversitaria», n. 7, 1998, pp. 149-162.

⁵⁵ M.J. Martínez, *La cultura material y la educación infantil en España: el método Fröebel (1850-1939)*, Murcia, Doctoral Thesis, Universidad de Murcia, 2012-2013.

⁵⁶ Ureña, *Krause y la educación*, cit.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Krause, Vetter (edd.), *Abhandlungen und Einzelsätze über Erziehung und Unterricht*, cit., vol. 1, p. 92.

the history of early childhood education. He was the first to treat children as individuals who have to live close to nature, developing their capabilities freely. He created Kindergartens, he was the first person who presents a concept and a specifically unified education for early childhood⁵⁹. The froebelian pedagogy, which is intuitive, harmonious, comprehensive and progressive, provides a new school space, which is open, dynamic and flexible⁶⁰. We infer this from the pedagogical analysis of his writings, projects in life, and created materials. In Fröbel, we can see all the possible forms of children's development, perceptions, expressions and relationships in an organized educational environment. Inquiry is very present in Fröbel's pedagogy, and it has a critical role to search for the truth⁶¹. In addition, students work for themselves and the teacher is the teaching guide. For this reason, he proposes that the direct and frequent contact with nature is the best way to carry out quality learning. Students should be directed to where the sources of knowledge are, which are the real objects and nature in itself.

We talked about Fröbel because, a comprehensive, harmonious and progressive education as the one Fröbel holds will correspond to an architecture of the same features with closed, open and transitional spaces⁶². The Kindergarten will constitute an architectural complex combination of the three forms of space we have mentioned above⁶³. Thus, as we see, there is a relationship between Fröbel and the spatial dimension, his pedagogy and the ways of understanding the teaching processes with the elements surrounding children. Having said that, we have to state that the two German were an intellectual synergy in life which did not consist of a partial knowledge of their existences, but it created a tendency called Krausofröbelism. In this work, we extend the hypothesis posed by Abbagnano and Visalberghi and which we affirm that Fröbel was influenced by the German philosophical romantic movement of his time⁶⁴. In addition, Krause had a significant influence on this movement, despite being considered a second row philosopher in his land, overshadowed by Kant, Schelling, or Hegel. To such an extent, that some people say, as Ureña, that we still have to study the influence of Krause's Ideal of Humanity on Fröbel's Education of Man⁶⁵.

⁵⁹ M. Berger, *Friedrich Fröbels konzeption einer pädagogik der frühen kindheit*, in W.E. Fthenakis, M.R. Textor (Hg.), *Pädagogische Ansätze im Kindergarten*, Weinheim, Basel, Beltz, 2000, pp. 10-22.

⁶⁰ P. Lahoz, *El modelo froebeliano de espacio-escuela. Su introducción en España*, «Historia de la Educación. Revista interuniversitaria», n. 10, 1991, pp. 107-133.

⁶¹ E. Otero, R. Navarro, S. Basanta, *Las colonias escolares de vacaciones y la Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, «Historia y actualidad. Revista de Investigación en Educación», vol. 11, n. 2, 2013, pp. 140-157.

⁶² Lahoz, *El modelo froebeliano de espacio-escuela. Su introducción en España*, cit.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ N. Abbagnano, A. Visalberghi, *Historia de la pedagogía*, Madrid, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1964.

⁶⁵ E. Ureña, *Orígenes del krausöfrobelismo y la masonería*, «Historia de la educación. Revista interuniversitaria», n. 9, 1990, pp. 43-62.

Furthermore, according to Leonhardi's testimony, who was one of Krause's disciple and who witnessed a meeting between the two, it may have been Krause who insinuate Fröbel to review Comenio's ideas based on educating children from the cradle and the inspiration of the Kindergarten⁶⁶. To this end, Krause and Fröbel held a series of written dialogues published in the Isis Magazine in which both made comments about Fröbel's education at the Kehilau Institute, agreeing on many of the fundamental principles he practiced.

On the other hand, we can emphasize the philosophical underpinning exerted by Krause's philosophical system developed, i.e. his pantheism in Fröbel's pedagogy. Krause sees the universe as the harmonious union between nature and reason⁶⁷. From that harmonious union emerges humanity and its individual and unique representation, the person. Therefore, from knowledge of oneself, we get the conception of the universe and ultimately the Supreme Being or God will be obtained⁶⁸. It is a being both immanent and transcendent⁶⁹. As we said before, for Fröbel, children must operate individually close to nature, to develop as an individual consistently and freely. Education in Krause can only be understood from the harmonic and organic idea of the world⁷⁰, along with the pantheist conception, which is his metaphysical basis. Krause wrote in this sense that:

We still have to consider an important activity of the Alliance: the training it provides to its members within its own grounds. The Alliance must provide that general education and training and purely human, by which man becomes truly and fully man. Thanks to it, man reaches the balanced, harmonious and truly organic excellence of man's whole being. The individual excellence, the high radically specific formation of each individual and in every part of human life can be based on man's whole being. Man is able to join closely thanks to that education to form humanity and, harmoniously distributed in its full essence, to their planning as a whole life⁷¹.

Krausists and fröbelianos postulates are convergent and divergent in their essence in certain aspects. However, these nuances are not a real lack of understanding between both perspectives⁷². The idea of harmony, which Krause vehemently emphasizes, identifies his educational vision with the pantheist root

⁶⁶ Id., *El krausismo alemán. Los congresos de filósofos y el krausofröbelismo (1833-1881)*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia de Comillas, 2002.

⁶⁷ Payo, *La concepción antropológica en el krausismo de Krause: una visión del hombre*, cit.

⁶⁸ R. Orden, *La relación de intimidad del hombre con Dios: el panenteísmo de Krause*, in E. Ureña, P. Álvarez Lázaro (edd.), *La actualidad del krausismo en su contexto europeo*, Madrid, Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia de Comillas, 1999, pp. 243-275.

⁶⁹ C. Dierksmeier, *From Karl Christian Friedrich Krause (1781-1832) to Krausismo*, «APA Newsletters», vol. 8, n. 1, 2008, pp. 14-22.

⁷⁰ Ureña, *Krause y su ideal masónico. Hacia la educación de la humanidad*, cit.

⁷¹ K.C.F. Krause, *Das Urbild der Menschheit*, 2nd ed., Dresden, 1811, p. 310.

⁷² Martínez, *La cultura material y la educación infantil en España: el método Fröbel (1850-1939)*, cit.

of his philosophy. The education of all man's facets is the path to harmony, to his ideal of perfection. A vision going with the educational ideas which Fröbel implements. From the pantheist consideration, Fröbel develops a framework of laws, principles and methods which are similar to a great architectural project where natural forces rising from the ground to the sky as a harmonious whole⁷³. Something similar to the process or analytical analysis which Krause establishes in his system. Divine or universal unity is expressed in the diversity of nature. The «I» for Krause, the child for Fröbel are the bridge between nature and God, the great architectural project.

Fröbel designs his ideal educational building in detail⁷⁴. He makes reference to factors such as light in classrooms, individual and collective working rooms as well as natural spaces for individual and group experimentation, such as enabling individual gardens for children (with one square meter per student). The furniture should be mobile so that it can be taken outside to the garden. Classrooms should be large to allow greater mobility and be on the ground floor to have access to the outside. In the courtyard, there should be enough space to do gymnastics.

As far as the building is concerned, Fröbel stressed the importance of harmony, which is Capellan's base of thought, between the building and the garden⁷⁵.

After the death of both philosophers, there was a very strong relationship between their disciples which generated a current known as Krausofröbelism. This current created important congress of philosophers in Europe which brought pedagogy to the foreground in the scientific and intellectual scene of the nineteenth century. In this sense the krausismo served as sustenance for the fröbeliana philosophical view of education and thus their perspective of space organization in an educational setting. It is entirely related to the comprehensive vision of an education which is necessary to attain human perfection and the ideal of man. Among the prominent personalities who defended the union of the two principles in the congresses held in Prague (1868) and Frankfurt (1869), we observe Bertha Marenholtz-Bülow, the great propagator of the idea of kindergarten in Europe and Wichard Lange, the editor of Fröbel's works⁷⁶.

There is an explosion of fresh ideas about to education in Spain thanks to Sanz del Rio's spread of Krausist's philosophy in Spain and the resonance of the Fröbel method throughout Europe by the congresses of philosophers and other institutions or associations created under its shelter. These ideas will explode

⁷³ Lahoz, *El modelo froebeliano de espacio-escuela. Su introducción en España*, cit.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ G. Capellán de Miguel, *La renovación de la cultura española a través del pensamiento alemán: Krause y el Krausismo*, «Brocar. Cuadernos de investigación histórica», n. 22, 1998, pp. 137-154.

⁷⁶ Ureña, *El krausismo alemán. Los congresos de filósofos y el krausofröbelismo (1833-1881)*, cit.

within the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza», which will act as a balloon probe. And, of course, it takes into account the consequences for school architecture which arise from these visions. Thus, both Krausists and fröbelian influences mixed in the ILE again, on the one hand the innovative spirit of education so necessary in Spain then and other practical concepts of Fröbel's method. In the first case, that interest in renewal is perceived as necessary by the criticism of the existing education system in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century⁷⁷. The members of the ILE address mainly the following issues: the precarious conditions of the existing schools, teachers' miserable economic and social situation as well as their inadequate training, and the contents and methods of teaching. These schools conditions, the teaching methods and the use of materials will be treated by the most important members of the ILE, Giner and Manuel B. Cossío⁷⁸. The latter wrote:

Children's small graded sections with their teachers, in the countryside, matter more for the education than the huge amount of creatures of all ages and conditions, with a single teacher, even if their classroom was the throne room of the Oriente Palace⁷⁹.

On the other hand, the ambitious krausist renovation and established in the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza», favored a school model building which suited their pedagogical principles⁸⁰. The consequence was that in 1913 architects like Antonio Florez, driven by Manuel Bartolome Cossío, impelled projects like the two pilot schools for Madrid, designed to test a graduate academic organization style.

As we have stated previously, Krause defended the education of the body in his report for the Institute of Dresden. In this sense both Giner and his disciple Cossío inherit from Krause and Fröbel the school closeness to nature. Not only

⁷⁷ M. Vázquez, *Tenemos que hacer escuelas. Arquitectura escolar pública en Aragón (1923-1936)*, «Artigrama», n. 23, 2008, pp. 609-638.

⁷⁸ Giner and Manuel B. Cossío's very important works address aspects of school organization, as those discussed in the work of F.J. Rodríguez, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y la arquitectura escolar*, «Historia de la Educación», n. 25, 2006, pp. 467-491. The construction of the school complex and the use of materials of different complexion, never leaving aside the useful sense of nature in a child's education are treated in such works as: F. Giner de los Ríos, *Local y mobiliario de la escuela*, «Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza», vol. 6, 1882 pp. 134-135; Id., *Campos Escolares*, «Revista España», vol. 96, 1884, pp. 32-62; Id., *Grupos Escolares*, «Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza», vol. 8, 1884, pp. 71-74; Id., *El edificio de la escuela*, Madrid, in Id., *Campos escolares*, Madrid, Tip. El Correo, 1884, pp. 5-7; M.B. Cossío, *El maestro la escuela y el material de enseñanza*, «Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza», vol. 30, 1906, pp. 258-265 and pp. 289-296; Id., *Notas sobre construcción escolar*, «Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza», vol. 35, 1911, pp. 257-265.

⁷⁹ Id., *El maestro, la escuela y el material de enseñanza, y otros escritos*, [edición: E. Otero Urtaza], Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2007, p. 73 (Orig. 1906).

⁸⁰ J. Asensi Díaz, *Revisión histórica de algunos contenidos y propuestas acerca del edificio escolar*, «Tendencias pedagógicas», n. 9, 2004, pp. 143-162.

as a learning environment and human development, but also understood as the place where the hygienic conditions are healthier.

If there is not a real field, it is not a healthy school. [...] When building a school, think first on the playground. If the land is expensive, carry most of those on the periphery; make it be the last home of the city and the first field and spend on driving children to it⁸¹.

Therefore, all teachings should be outdoors, even reading and writing, whose first principles can be learned drawing in the sand. In contact with nature, with large rooms where there is always pure air. In addition, the number of students should not be very large so that it is easier to move through partially covered spaces and vast fields, where the air of uncultured people that only looks to the past is renewed⁸². In this sense, the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza» would contribute to the process of hygiene awareness which come to Spain in the late nineteenth century. At the 1882 national pedagogical congress, several krausist ideologues criticized the unhealthiness of most public schools and the inefficiency of Primary Education local boards⁸³. The summer camps for children were created thanks to the ILE, and specifically the «Museo Pedagógico Nacional»⁸⁴. Their aim was to offer a physical education from the perspective of hygiene and therapeutic recreation⁸⁵.

They defend the program of the active school, avoiding the monastic seclusion as Krause had already announced.

And yet, enlightened spirits have already told us that if the school has to fulfill its mission, it has to be a picture of life [...] where does the engineer work? In the factory; where does the naturalist work? In the field; where do doctors work? In hospitals; where does the judge work? In the court; where does the priest work? Curing souls; where do archaeologists work? In their monuments; where does the historian work? In the file; where does the novelist work? In the living room or in the tavern [...] Let us bring children to the field, to the workshop, to the museum, as it has already been said; let's teach children the reality in reality⁸⁶.

In this sense Cossío does not only represent Krause's idea of taking children out of school, but it raises the responsibility of a nation to invest in teachers. It is necessary to emphasize the idea of universality and internalization of Cossío.

⁸¹ Cossío, *El maestro, la escuela y el material de enseñanza, y otros escritos*, cit., p. 70.

⁸² Lahoz, *El modelo froebeliano de espacio-escuela. Su introducción en España*, cit.

⁸³ R. Añón, *La arquitectura de las escuelas primarias municipales de Sevilla hasta 1937*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla y Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes, 2005.

⁸⁴ P. Moreno, *Los pensionados de la Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas (JAE) y la Higiene Escolar*, «Revista de Educación», número extraordinario, 2007, pp. 167-190.

⁸⁵ A. Martínez, *La educación física y las colonias escolares*, in J. Ruiz Berrio, A. Tiana, O. Negrín (edd.), *Un educador para un pueblo: Manuel Bartolomé Cossío*, Madrid, UNED, 1987, pp. 177-199.

⁸⁶ Cossío, *El maestro, la escuela y el material de enseñanza, y otros escritos*, cit., p. 74.

For years he traveled through Europe in a sort of pedagogical trips that allowed him to learn many things from other countries that later materialized in Spain⁸⁷.

Finally, we refer to coeducation, which is applied by the members of the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza» but it has its inspiration in Krause. It is based on the panentheist basis of relationship between men and women.

For Krause, women are not inferior to men. In addition, he defends the idea that while society continues to disempower women, humanity can never reach its triumph, its ideal. In his work *Ideal of Humanity*, he says that the women have the same capabilities of spirit and courage as men. And both, men and women, have the same limitations. Krause argued this principle as follows:

we should treat our girls in the same way as boys, and give girls such a good education as boys. Therefore, boys will not consider girls inferior beings who are intended purely to serve men⁸⁸.

The first consequence for the organization of the tangible elements of a classroom or school architecture is that as boys are not separated from girls, it is not necessary to build separate pavilions or classrooms for both sexes. This is a clear saving of budgetary expenditure since there is no need to build double schools or to lose free spaces for the construction of separation barriers which cause worthlessness or bad use of these spaces.

In the late nineteenth century, the teaching practice began to settle small centers which consist of a single classroom. These were the so-called unitary schools.

In the teaching model of the unitary school, children of different ages were grouped and teachers made use of simultaneous, mutual or mixed methods⁸⁹. These schools are strongly criticized by members of the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza» and by hygienists.

Graduate schools were established in Spain in 1898 although there had been some experiences for some years in specific centers⁹⁰. This school model also required a redesign of the school architecture, as this type of school was distinguished by the diversification of spaces giving priority to common spaces and complementary services⁹¹. We can see in this new distribution of space, a strong foreign influence. For example, in the common spaces of Wardolf's architecture and gardens and playgrounds, which could be seen in Fröbel's kindergarten and in Krausist ideas.

⁸⁷ E. Otero-Urtaza, *Cossío's European tours between 1879 and 1889*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 12, n. 2, 2017, pp. 323-341.

⁸⁸ Krause, Vetter (edd.), *Abhandlungen und Einzelsätze über Erziehung und Unterricht*, cit., vol. I, p. 137.

⁸⁹ Vázquez, *Tenemos que hacer escuelas. Arquitectura escolar pública en Aragón (1923-1936)*, cit.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ M.L. Espinilla, M.A. De La Fuente González, *La escuela de Becerril de Campos (Plasencia): un ejemplo de escuela graduada*, «Tabanque», n. 15, 2000, pp. 171-196.

4. *To sum up*

Krause has a pedagogical vision. In addition, he respects education and this is corroborated by his actions in life, his writings and his teaching legacy. What is more, his legacy is represented by the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza» in Spain.

The nineteenth century Spain, which looked forward to fresh air, tried to breathe renewal, new philosophies, which respond to the Spanish liberal thought. That was found in Krause and his school⁹².

Moreover, Krause influences Fröbel and supports philosophically the theory and practice he develops and it is focused on the education of children. It also takes into account space and organization in a decisive way to the development of children. If we join Krause and Fröbel's, we have krausofröbelism, which is one of the many elements of the educational reform in Europe in the nineteenth century.

Furthermore, Krause conveys a sense of reform and renewal, whose aim is to improve mankind and thus attain its ideal. That spirit is collected and synthesized in Spain thanks to the people who embody the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza» both in its personal and diffuse aspect. Giner or Manuel B. Cossío's reflections helped improve education in Spain because they criticized vital aspects which have to do with education. In addition, the organization of the school environment, the use of the environment and the influence of school architecture in the ways of doing in the classroom are not forgotten. Giner and Cossío were very critical with children's overcrowding in small spaces where there was a lack of hygiene, light and ventilation.

If we understand the ILE as the gateway of foreign knowledge, especially Krausist, it becomes a focus of interest to study school architecture in Spain in the late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century⁹³.

The institution itself, did not only inherit Krause's striving for humanity's perfection and Fröbel's method (supported philosophically by Krause), but it also gather his egalitarian vision of men and women as well as his educational development in the classroom, i.e. coeducation, which also generates changes in school buildings and in the ways of grouping students.

Krausism, from philosophically and educationally point of view has a defining feature: the search for harmony and reconciliation between extreme positions. Its liberating thought was explicit, rejecting absolutism and excessive

⁹² L. Alonso, M.A. Martín-Sánchez, *El liberalismo y el nacimiento del sistema educativo en España*, in M.A. Martín-Sánchez, (coord.), *Historia de la Educación en Occidente. Teorías, métodos y prácticas educativas*, Saarbrücken, Editorial Académica Española, 2012, pp. 251-274.

⁹³ C. Gutiérrez Tejeiro, M.A. Martín-Sánchez, *Análisis histórico-pedagógico de la arquitectura escolar en Extremadura durante la Segunda República. El caso de Cáceres*, «CLIO. History and History teaching», n. 41, 2015.

governmental control over various spheres such as religion, science or education⁹⁴.

Finally, the education of the body, which is an important fact seen in the perspective of school organization and the ways of understanding the layout of the spaces. In this sense, the members of the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza» take the school to the outside, to nature. Concrete examples are the creation of school colonies in Spain. Although these colonies were not important from an intellectual point of view, they had a lot of consequences for children's health and physical wellness.

We can see Krause's influences on the school architecture in the elements and distribution of school spaces. This fits very well with the thinking of krausists educators. He tried to create a healthy and harmonious place. The school should be a pleasant space, tempered clean, ventilated and with a lot of light⁹⁵.

Political exiles imported hygiene, which liberals, regenerationists, rationalists and more specifically, the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza», not only imposed construction guidelines but was introduced as school content.

Therefore, his influence was very decisive in the avalanche of public construction and more specifically school construction during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and the Second Republic. It introduced determinations and rules in the constructive program concerning both to the place and to the shape of the building⁹⁶.

Rodríguez explains that the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza», expressed its interest in rationalism and sincerity in building. It proposed a school which was designed «from the inside out». He prevailed inside and its usefulness against the monumentalism of the facade. The same author states that Bartolome Cossío, director of the «Museo Pedagógico Nacional», took as reference the architecture of Pericles and Christianity of the eight century, that is, sincere and economical⁹⁷.

Thus we can say that the influence of Krause in school architecture is found in small reminiscences which play a certain role. It is another way of seeing how Krause crossed borders, being present in many aspects of pedagogy.

⁹⁴ J. Cáceres, M.A. Martín-Sánchez, *El krauso-institucionismo en Extremadura: perfil pedagógico y significación histórica*, «CLIO. History and History teaching», n. 39, 2013.

⁹⁵ P. Lahoz, *Higiene y arquitectura escolar en la España contemporánea (1838-1936)*, «Revista de Educación», n. 298, 1992, pp. 89-118.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Rodríguez, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y la arquitectura escolar*, cit.

Leibniz und Peter I: ein Bildungsprojekt zu Beginn des Aufklärungszeitalters

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Leibniz and Peter I: an educational project at the beginning of the age of enlightenment

ABSTRACT: The paper deals with the program of introducing science and education in Russia proposed in the letters of G.W. Leibniz and in his talks with Czar Peter I in the early 18th century. The program met with the needs for social development of the time and found realization in the reforms of Peter I, so that to a certain extent the Russian system of education can be traced back to Leibniz's project. On the part of Leibniz, this program was aimed at establishing a contact between the civilizations of the West and the East on the basis of a further expansion of Christianity. In this plan Russia was to play the role of a mediator as part of the European cultural field, which meant a certain transition from the Western conception of Russia as a barbaric country to the one of an ally.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Russian education system; G.W. Leibniz; Peter I; Russia; XVIIIth Century.

Vor 300 Jahren, 14. November 1716 im Alter von 70 Jahren verstarb Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), ein Genie der Neuzeit, der für einen der größten Denker aller Zeiten mit Recht gehalten werden kann. Sein erstaunlicher Universalismus umfasste fast alle zu jener Zeit bekannten Wissensbereiche.

Es ist kaum möglich, auf irgendeinem Wissensgebiet seiner Zeit (Mathematik, Naturwissenschaften, Technik, Philosophie, Theologie oder Philologie) ein Problem zu nennen, zu welchem er keinen begründeten Standpunkt gehabt hätte und welches in seinen Veröffentlichungen oder mindestens in zahlreichen Handschriften nicht behandelt wäre. Leibniz ist es, der unter den Titanen der wissenschaftlichen Revolution des XVII. Jahrhunderts das Vorbild gibt, welchem man nacheifern muss¹.

Einleitung

Leibniz wurde in Leipzig als Sohn des Professors der Moral Friedrich Leibniz geboren. Nach dem Besuch der Nicolaischule in Leipzig studierte er an den Universitäten Leipzig und Jena Philosophie und Jurisprudenz und erwarb 1667 an der Universität Altdorf den juristischen Doktorgrad. Im Bestreben, nicht nur theoretisch zu arbeiten, wählte Leibniz die Stellung eines fürstlichen Beraters, die im Zeitalter des Absolutismus am ehesten die Möglichkeit politischer Einflussnahme bot. Nachdem er einige Zeit in Nürnberg, einer der entwickelten Städte Deutschlands, verbracht hatte, trat er in den Dienst des Mainzer Kurfürsten Johann Philipp von Schönborn. In dieser Zeit (1668-1672) befasste er sich mit der Regelung der Gesetzgebung des Fürstentums und führte allerlei wissenschaftliche Forschungen aus.

1672 gelangte er in diplomatischer Mission nach Paris, wo er vier prägende Jahre verbrachte; erst hier konnte er die Grenzen der zeitgenössischen deutschen Universitätsausbildung überschreiten und den neuesten Stand der Wissenschaften kennen lernen.

In den folgenden Jahren entwickelte er dort die Differential- und Integralrechnung, aus finanziellen Gründen aber verließ 1676 Paris und wurde Hofrat und Bibliothekar des Herzogs Johann Friedrich in Hannover. Den Kontakt mit der gelehrten Welt hielt er durch eine umfangreiche Korrespondenz (1100 Briefpartner) aufrecht.

1686 entwickelte Leibniz seine auf der Erhaltung der Kraft (in moderner Terminologie: Energie) gegründete Dynamik als Lehre von den physikalischen Kräften. Ebenfalls 1686 verfasste er den *Discours de Metaphysique* (Metaphysische Abhandlung), die erste systematische Zusammenfassung seiner reifen Philosophie.

Schon damals suchte Leibniz nach den Mitteln, politische Einheit des zersplitterten Deutschlands angesichts anderer europäischer Staaten zu sichern und die religiösen Fehden zwischen Katholiken und Protestanten sowie

¹ D.A. Bajuk, O.B. Fedorova, *Lejbnits w Rossii: perewody i ikh awtory*, «Woprosy istorii estestwoznaniia i tekhniki», n. 2, 2014, pp. 3-24 (Zitat pp. 3-4).

zwischen verschiedenen evangelischen Kirchen zu überwinden. Über lange Jahre hinweg führte er mit diesem Ziel Verhandlungen mit katholischen Bischöfen. Sein Interesse für fremde Kulturen veranlasste ihn zu einer umfangreichen Korrespondenz mit Jesuitenmissionaren in China².

Allmählich kam er zu einer besonderen Auffassung davon, wie Westeuropa seine Beziehungen zu dem Osten gestalten muss und dort mit Hilfe Russlands den Einfluss des Christentums stärken. Laut V. I Guerrier «waren für Leibniz die Begriffe Menschheit und Christentum oder Christenwelt immer identisch und fielen deswegen seiner Meinung nach mit der Verbreitung der christlichen Religion und der wahren Frömmigkeit zusammen»³.

Man könnte noch lange Leibniz' Tätigkeitsbereiche und seine Dienstleistungen auf verschiedenen Gebieten aufzählen; die Hauptsache aber ist, dass er

[...] ein Humanist im wahren Sinne des Wortes war. Er liebte wirklich den Menschen und seine Kultur, die dieser geschaffen. Er liebte sie nicht wie ein begeisterter Romantiker, sondern vom Standpunkt nüchterner Logik aus, ohne alle menschlichen Laster und die Schattenseiten der Kultur zu übersehen... Er sieht, dass die Menschheit... im Dunkel ohne jeglichen Leitstern wandelt und sich auf gut Glück verlässt, dass die Machthaber gleichgültig gegen die Wahrheit sind und keinesfalls daran denken, wie sie das Leben ihrer Untertanen besser machen könnten [...] Leibniz sieht, wie sich die Kräfte der Zerstörung, die Kräfte des Krieges dank dem wissenschaftlichen Fortschritt vervollkommen, und gelangt dabei zur weisen Erkenntnis, dass sie letzten Endes umgelenkt werden und die Entwicklung der Menschheit umkehren können, diese auf den Weg von der Wissenschaft zur Barbarei bringen⁴.

Leibniz' Beziehungen zu Russland

Einen besonderen Platz in der Biographie Leibniz' als Pädagogen nehmen seine Beziehungen zu Russland, Peter dem Großen und zu dessen Beamten ein. M. Keller schrieb darüber folgendes:

Gegen Ende des 17. und zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts gipfelt diese Entwicklung in den Russlandschriften von Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. Mit diesem vielseitigen Wissenschaftler und Philosophen, einem der bedeutendsten Geister nicht nur Deutschlands, sondern ganz Europas, beginnt ein neuer Abschnitt im Verlauf, der schon vom Geist der Aufklärung durchdrungen und geprägt ist⁵.

² *Leibniz – Leben und Werk*, in Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, <<http://www.nlb-hannover.de>> (last Access: 30.11.2016).

³ V.I. Guerrier, *Lejbnits i ego wek*, Sankt-Peterburg, Nauka, 2008, p. 600.

⁴ G.G. Majorov (ed.), *Lejbnits kak filosof nauki*, in G.W. Lejbnits, *Trudy po filosofii nauki*, Moskau, LIBRIKO, 2010, pp. 3-40 (Zitat p. 3 and 40).

⁵ M. Keller, *Wegbereiter der Aufklärung: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Wirken für Peter den Großen und sein Reich*, in Id. (ed.), *Russen und Rußland aus deutscher Sicht*, 2. Aufl., München, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1988, Aufl. 2, pp. 91-413 (p. 391).

Ungeachtet der hinreichenden Behandlung des Leibniz-Phänomens in der biographischen und wissenschaftlichen Literatur seit dem 18. Jahrhundert⁶ und im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts⁷, geschweige denn vom vorigen Jahrhundert, als dem deutschen Denker und seiner Tätigkeit zahlreiche Schriften, Artikel und Sammelbände in vielen Ländern des Westens gewidmet wurden, nehmen die Fragen des Interesses Leibniz' für Russland einen geringeren Platz ein in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur.

Im eigentlichen Sinne des Wortes lassen sich in der Forschung der Beziehung Leibniz' zu Russland zwei Hauptprobleme aussondern: der philologische Nachlass des Gelehrten, in erster Linie auf dem Gebiet der Slawistik⁸, und seine Kontakte mit Peter I., auch wenn sich diese Probleme in vielen Hinsichten kreuzen.

Es sei betont, dass die Behandlung des Problems der Beziehungen zwischen Leibniz und Peter I. und des Interesses Leibniz' für das Schicksal Russlands auch mit den pädagogischen Ansichten des Denkers eng verbunden ist. Das Werk E. Pfeleiderer «Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz als Patriot, Staatsmann und Bildungsträger ein Lichtpunkt aus Deutschlands trübster Zeit» (1870) enthält ein Kapitel, wo die Entwicklung der Vorstellungen Leibniz' von Russland (vom sogenannten Wahlsejm in Polen 1668 / 1669 bis zu seinem unmittelbaren Verkehr im Rang des geheimen Justizrates mit Peter dem Großen) dargestellt wird, sowie einen umfangreichen Abschnitt (Die Schule, das Erziehungs- und Bildungswesen) über Leibniz' Tätigkeit auf dem Gebiet der Bildungspolitik und der Sprachforschung⁹. Der Pädagogik Leibniz' ist auch das Buch «Essai

⁶ B. Le Bouyer de Fontenelle, *Lebens-Beschreibung Herrn Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz*, Amsterdam, 1720; L. de Jaucourt, *Geschichte des Herrn von Leibniz und Verzeichnis seiner Werke*, Leipzig, 1757 und andere.

⁷ J.G. von Herder, *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, seine Arbeiten und Entwürfe*, Leipzig, 1802; F. Exner, *Über Leibniz'ens Universal-Wissenschaft*, Prag, 1845; K.I. Gerhardt, *Über das Manuscript, in welchem Leibniz zuerst die Bezeichnungsweise der höhern Analysis gebraucht, nebst Abdruck desselben*, Berlin, 1851; R. Zimmermann, *Das Rechtsprinzip bei Leibniz: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Rechtsphilosophie*, Wien, 1852; O. Klopp, *Leibniz der Stifter gelehrter Gesellschaften*. Leipzig, 1864; L. Grote, *Leibniz und seine Zeit*, Hannover, 1869 und andere.

⁸ Z.B.H.F. Vermeulen, *Linguistik und Völkerkunde – der Beitrag der historisch-vergleichenden Linguistik von G. W. Leibniz zur Entstehung der Völkerkunde im 18. Jahrhundert*, Halle/Saale, 2011; U. Birkegord, *Woprosy Slawistiki w perepiske G. W. fon Lejbnitsa i Yu. G. Sparwenfel'da*, *Slavica litteraria, Supplementum*, 2012, sowie seine Kontakte mit Peter I. (z.B.M.C. Posselt, *Peter der Grosse und Leibniz*, Dorpat und Moskau, 1843; V.I. Guerrier, *Leibniz in seinen Beziehungen zu Russland und Peter dem Grossen*, Sankt-Peterburg, 1871; L. Richter, *Leibniz und sein Russlandbild*, Berlin, 1946; E. Benz, *Leibniz und Peter der Grosse: der Beitrag Leibnizens zur russischen Kultur-Religions- und Wirtschaftspolitik seiner Zeit*, Berlin, 1947; Keller, *Wegbereiter der Aufklärung: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz' Wirken für Peter den Großen und sein Reich*, cit.; L. Kotzsch, *Peter der Große öffnet mit Leibniz den Wissenschaften in Russland das Tor zum Westen*, Berlin, 2001; G. Rothe, *Lejbnits i wozniknowenie ewropejskikh obrazow Rossii*, Sankt-Peterburg, 2010.

⁹ E. Pfeleiderer, *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz als Patriot, Staatsmann und Bildungsträger ein Lichtpunkt aus Deutschlands trübster Zeit*, Leipzig, Fues's Verlag, 1870.

sur la Pédagogie de Leibniz» von J. Vernay gewidmet. Sein Autor meint, dass «[...] die Pädagogik ein Bestandteil der Leibniz-Welt ist» und erwähnt vier Schriften, die eine Darlegung pädagogischer Ansichten des Denkers enthalten¹⁰. Von besonderer Bedeutung ist darunter der Briefwechsel zwischen Leibniz und Peter I. zu den Problemen der Schaffung von Bildungsinstitutionen in Russland¹¹. Eine weitere Behandlung des Problems findet man auch in den Schriften W. Wiaters «Leibniz und seine Bedeutung in der Pädagogik», 1985; «Erziehungsphilosophische Aspekte im Werk von G. W. Leibniz», 1990.

Eine reiche Quelle für die Erforschung des Problems wurde die vom russischen Historiker V.I. Guerrier im Jahre 1873 veröffentlichte «Sammlung von Briefen und Memorien Leibniz' betreffs Russlands und Peters des Großen»¹², wo 424 Briefe des deutschen Denkers (von 1692 bis 1716) an den Zaren selbst, verschiedene Menschen um ihn und herrschende Personen des Hannover Hauses, welchem Leibniz diente, gesammelt waren. Alle Briefe sind in ihrer ursprünglichen Form und in der Originalsprache (Deutsch, Französisch, Latein) dargestellt, was für Historiker und Pädagogen sehr wichtig ist. Einige Briefe enthalten Leibniz' Vorschläge zur Einführung und Verbreitung der Bildung in Russland, sowie die Empfehlungen zur Gründung der Institutionen, die zu ihrer Weiterentwicklung verhelfen, und zwar über die Gründung der Bibliotheken, Laboratorien, Observatorien, zoologischer und botanischer Gärten. Von besonderem Interesse ist der «Entwurf eines Zettels über die Einführung von Bildung und Wissenschaft in Russland»¹³, der kurz vor dem Lebensende des Wissenschaftlers (1716) geschrieben wurde und seinem Wesen nach ein breites Bildungsprojekt für den russischen Staat war. Auf dieses Programm berufen sich viele Autoren (z. B. E. Pfeleiderer, J. Vernay) in ihren Arbeiten über die Leibniz'sche Pädagogik.

Von V.I. Guerrier stammen auch andere Werke über Leibniz: die umfangreiche Arbeit «Leibniz und sein Jahrhundert» (1868) und das Buch «Die Beziehungen Leibniz' zu Russland und Peter dem Großen» (1871). Auf seinen Forschungen und Veröffentlichungen fußen fast alle nachfolgenden Schriften zum Thema der Bildungsprojekte Leibniz' für Russland. Das betont unter anderem auch E.N. Medynskij in seinem umfassenden Kursus «Geschichte der russischen Pädagogik», wo er das Bildungsprojekt Leibniz' als eine ausgesprochen realisierbare Idee einschätzt und auf seine Aufstellung für enzyklopädische

¹⁰ J. Vernay, *Essai sur la Pédagogie de Leibniz*, Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1914, p. 7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹² G.W. Leibniz, *Sbornik pisem i memorialov Lejbnica odnosjascichsja k Rossii i Petru Velikomu*, Izd. V. Guerrier, Sanktpetersburg, 1873.

¹³ *Id.*, *Sbornik pisem i memorialov Lejbnica odnosjascichsja k Rossii i Petru Velikomu*, cit., pp. 348-360 (n. 240).

Ausbildung hinweist¹⁴. Auf V.I. Guerrier berufen sich auch J. Vernay, M. Keller und H. Rothe.

Nach der Erscheinung des Buches von V. I. Guerrier gerieten die Ideen Leibniz' über die Einführung von Bildung und Wissenschaft in Russland nur selten in den Mittelpunkt wissenschaftlichen Interesses russischer Autoren. So wird dieses Thema nicht einmal erwähnt in der Lieferung des Almanachs «Jahrhundert der Philosophie» (1996), welche den Beziehungen Leibniz' zu Russland gewidmet ist¹⁵. In den letzten Jahren aber beginnt sich die Situation zu ändern. Schon 2004 bemerkt W.A. Kurennoj, dass einige Ideen Leibniz' im Zusammenhang mit der jüngsten Geschichte des postsowjetischen Reformen Prozesses aktual geworden sind. Seiner Meinung nach kommt dieser eigenartige «Neuleibnizismus» zum Vorschein in den Dokumenten der Verwaltungsreform im modernen Russland. Dabei beruft er sich natürlich auf das oben erwähnte Werk von V. I. Guerrier¹⁶. Große Aufmerksamkeit wird den Leibniz'schen Bildungsprojekten auch in der umfangreichen «Geschichte der russischen Schule» von A. N. Lyubzhin geschenkt¹⁷. Zu erwähnen sind auch die Forschungen von V. Henri¹⁸, D.A. Bajuk und O.B. Fedorova¹⁹, M.B. Bim-Bad²⁰ und die Biografien des Denkers von M.M. Filippov²¹ und I.S. Narskij²².

Die meisten Autoren betonen, dass Peter I. auf Leibniz einen großen Eindruck gemacht hat mit seinem Enthusiasmus und seinem Streben, Russland zu reformieren. Eben an ihn knüpfte der deutsche Gelehrte seine philanthropischen Hoffnungen auf Aufklärung der Völker, Vereinheitlichung von Religionen und menschliche Glückseligkeit. Es ist zu sehen, dass

in vielen Briefen und Notizen Leibniz' das Leitmotiv dominiert, Russland als Neuland, *tabula rasa* u. s. w. aufzufassen, auf welchem man einen Neubau nach einem einheitlichen Plan aufrichten kann, frei von den Mängeln, die sich in die Staatseinrichtungen Europas eingeschlichen haben [...] Im Hinblick auf Wissenschaft und Bildung war Russland für Leibniz ein leeres Blatt. Darum

¹⁴ E.N. Medynskij, *Istorija russkoj pedagogiki do Velikoj Oktyabr'skoj sotsialisticheskoy rewolyutsii*, Moskau, GUPI, 1938, p. 66.

¹⁵ *Filosofskij vek: Almanach*, «G.W. Lejbnits i Rossia», Materialy Mezhdunarodnoj konferentsii, Sankt-Peterburg, 26-27 ijunya 1996 g., Sankt-Peterburg, SPB NTS, 1996.

¹⁶ V.A. Kurennoj, *Lejbnits i petrovskie reformy*, «Otechestwennye zapiski», n. 2, 2004, pp. 437-440 (Zitat p. 437).

¹⁷ A.I. Lyubzhin, *Istorija russkoj schkoly imperatorskoj epokbi*, Moskau, Nikeja, 2014.

¹⁸ V. Henri, *Rol' Lejbnitsa w sozdanii nauchnykh schkol w Rossii*, «Uspekhi fizicheskikh nauk», vol. 169, 1999, pp. 1329-1331.

¹⁹ Bajuk, Fedorowa, *Lejbnits w R ssii: perevody i ikh awtory*, cit., pp. 3-24.

²⁰ B.M. Bim-Bad, *Pedagogicheskaja antropologija: uchebnik i praktikum dlja akademicheskogo bakalawriata*, Moskau, Jurajt, 2015.

²¹ M.M. Fedorova, *Gotfrid Lejbnits. Ego zhizn' i dejatel'nost': nauchnaja, obshhestwennaja, filosofskaja*, Moskau, Izd-vo F. F. Pavlenkova, 1893.

²² I.S. Narskij, *Gotfrid Lejbnits*, Moskau, Mysl', 1972.

bedeutet es: etwas in Russland aufbauen heißt nicht etwas umbauen, sondern etwas nach einem einheitlichen vernunftmäßigen Vorhaben aufrichten²³.

Diese Einstellung Leibniz' ist eine Quintessenz der Aufklärungsideologie.

Als der junge Zar Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts über die Umgestaltung Russlands nachdachte und seine Blicke auf Westeuropa richtete, meldete sich den Worten von Guerrier nach

ein hervorragender Mensch, der mit außerordentlicher Weite und Gründlichkeit des Verstandes alle Grundfragen und Aufgaben seiner Zeit umfasste und nach seinen eigenen Worten sein ganzes Leben lang nach einem großen Landesherrn suchte, dessen Macht seine sehnlichsten Absichten im Interesse der Zivilisation zu verwirklichen vermochte. Schon seit Leibniz die ersten Nachrichten über die ‚heroischen Absichten‘, des jungen Peters vernommen hatte, suchte er bis ans Lebensende eine Gelegenheit, den Zaren zu sehen, unterließ nie, allerlei Projekte zu schreiben und schlug immer etwas vor, um die Wissenschaft mit neuem Stoff zu bereichern und sie auf den neuen jungfräulichen Erdboden zu verlagern²⁴.

1700 wurde in Berlin auf Leibniz' Betreiben die Akademie der Wissenschaften gegründet, deren erstes Oberhaupt er wurde. Leibniz gelang es vor allem, dieser Akademie einen nationalen Charakter zu verleihen, so dass sie um das Bewahren und die Reinheit der deutschen Sprache sorgte und besondere Aufmerksamkeit den historischen Forschungen auf dem Gebiet von Politik und Kirche in Deutschland schenkte. Außerdem war die akademische Wissenschaft praktisch orientiert und keinesfalls auf rein theoretische Studien beschränkt. Letzten Endes war die Akademie auch berufen, zur Ausbreitung des Christentums durch die Missionärentätigkeit beizutragen.

In anderen europäischen Städten (Dresden, Wien, St. Petersburg) entstanden solche Institutionen erst nach Leibniz' Tode (so in St. Petersburg im Jahre 1724).

Es ist ersichtlich, dass Leibniz die europäische Kultur mit dem Christentum identifizierte. Er hegte die Idee eines Ökumenischen Konzils, das alle katholischen, evangelischen und orthodoxen Christen vereinigen und dadurch einen festen Grund für den Bund aller europäischen Staaten einschließlich Russlands schaffen könnte. In Russland sah Leibniz einen großen Staat, der als Vermittler zwischen West und Ost dienen könnte und zur Verjagung der Osmanen aus Europa sowie zur Entwicklung politischer und kultureller Verbindung mit China beitragen würde. Er hoffte, dass Russland für europäische Kultur zugänglich wird und die Erfahrungen und Errungenschaften europäischer Bildung nutzt. Allerdings bot sich diese Gelegenheit erst nach der Bekanntschaft Leibniz' mit dem russischen Zaren.

Die zunehmende Macht- und Persönlichkeitsentfaltung Peters und dessen unnachsichtige Konsequenz bei der Durchsetzung der aus Westeuropa importierten, für Russland geradezu umstürzlerischen Neuerungen bestärken ihn

²³ Kurennoj, *Lejbnits i petrovskie reformy*, cit., p. 440.

²⁴ Guerrier, *Predislovie*, in Leibniz, *Sbornik pisem i memorialov Lejbnica odnosjashchichsja k Rossii i Petru Velikomu*, cit., pp. III-XXVI (Zitat pp. V-VI).

in der Hoffnung, in diesem Herrscher den Mann gefunden zu haben, der seinen aufklärerischen Ideen und Projekten zugänglich ist. Deshalb rückt Russland immer mehr in das Zentrum seiner wissenschaftlichen und organisatorischen Pläne²⁵.

Nachdem Peter I., welcher schon als Kind mit den Ausländern aus Nemezskaja sloboda (Deutsche Vorstadt) verkehrte, den Thron bestiegen hatte, begann er engere Beziehungen zwischen Russland und Westeuropa aufzunehmen. Seine Große Gesandtschaft, die er 1696 unternahm und zu welcher er getarnt als Desjatnik (Vorarbeiter) unter dem Decknamen Pjotr Michailow angehörte, hatte zwei wichtige Aufgaben: erstens, die ausländische Erfahrung (vor allem den holländischen Schiffbau) zu erlernen, um diese dann in Russland anzuwenden, und zweitens, militärische oder diplomatische Bündnispartner in Westeuropa im bevorstehenden Kampf gegen die Osmanen zu finden.

Dieses Ereignis veränderte Leibniz' Verhalten zu Russland. Anfänglich war er in dieser Hinsicht sehr vorsichtig, was für einen Westeuropäer jener Zeit typisch war. M. M. Filippov schrieb in diesem Zusammenhang (betreffs des polnischen Sejms 1668/1669):

Nach Leibniz' Worten wird Moskau auf dem polnischen Thron eine zweite Türkei und wenn Polen den Moskauer Zaren zum König wählt, so wird ein Weg der Barbarei gebahnt, welche die europäische Zivilisation unterdrückt. So hieß es im Jahre 1669. Sechzehn Jahre später werden Leibniz' Ansichten aber anders. 1695 plant er, von den Gerüchten über Peter I. beeindruckt, schon ein Bündnis zwischen Brandenburg und Moskau²⁶.

Allerdings begann sich Leibniz für Russland noch lange vor Peters I. Erfolgen zu interessieren. Schon in der zweiten Hälfte der 1680er Jahre sammelte er verschiedene Informationen über Russland, vor allem sprachlichen, philologischen und ethnographischen Charakters, sowie die Angaben über die Ostslawen, benachbarte Völker und über die Geographie Russlands. Mitte der 1690er Jahre schätzte Leibniz das Potenzial Russlands und dessen jungen Zaren sehr hoch ein. Dieses große und mit der Zeit immer tiefer werdende Interesse für das riesige Land bewahrte er für das ganze Leben.

Leibniz' Programm der Einführung von Wissenschaft und Bildung in Russland.

Als Leibniz von der Großen Gesandtschaft erfahren hatte, schrieb er einen Zettel für Peter I. und wollte ihn dem Zaren während dessen Aufenthalts in Europa einhändigen. Genau bekannt ist, dass sich Leibniz zu diesem Zweck mit

²⁵ Keller, *Wegbereiter der Aufklärung: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz' Wirken für Peter den Großen und sein Reich*, cit., p. 400.

²⁶ Filippov, *Gotfrid Lejbnits. Ego zhizn' i dejatel'nost': nauchnaja, obshestwennaja, filosofskaja*, cit., p. 85. Die Ereignisse im polnischen Sejm 1668 / 1669 und Leibniz' Meinung von Russland aus jener Zeit sind genau genug von M. Keller (p. 392) und von G. Rothe dargelegt (G. Rothe, *Lejbnits i wozniknowenie ewropejskikh obrazow Rossii*, in V.E. Bagno, M.E. Malikova (edd.), «K istorii idej na Zapade: „Russkaja ideja“», 2010, pp. 77-95).

dem Neffen des Anführers der Gesandtschaft Peter Lefort verband. Im Entwurf eines Briefes an den Numismatiker Morell vom 1. Oktober 1697 steht:

Vous ne sauriez croire, combien je suis fâché de voir qu'on ne profite pas assez de la présence du Czar de Moscovie et des bonnes intentions qu'il fait paroître, car gagner l'esprit d'un seul homme tel que le Czar ou tel que le monarque de la Chine et le tourner aux véritables biens en luy inspirant un zèle pour la gloire de Dieu et pour la perfection des hommes, c'est plus fair que si on gagnait cent batailles; car de la volonté de tels hommes dépendent plusieurs millions des autres²⁷.

Dieser Zettel ist nach V. I. Guerrier

von großem Interesse, weil er davon zeugt, dass sich Leibniz die Sache der Umgestaltung Russlands von Anfang an zu Herzen genommen hatte und ihr dienen wollte. Der Zettel enthält ein interessantes Programm zur Einbeziehung Russlands in die europäische Bildungstradition und unterscheidet sich von den späteren Schriften durch die Frische des Eindrucks Leibniz' von der Persönlichkeit des Jungen Zaren, dessen Ziel es war, sein Volk zu zivilisieren²⁸.

Leibniz sah «das Hauptziel»: «des großen Herrschers in der Wohlgestaltung des Landes und wies auf die Notwendigkeit hin, [...] im Vaterland das Land selbst, die Menschen und alles, was damit verbunden ist, zu vervollkommen». Er schlug in diesem Zusammenhang folgendes vor:

1) Former un établissement général pour les sciences et arts. 2) Attirer des étrangers capables. 3) Faire venir des choses étrangères qui le méritent. 4) Faire voyager des Sujets avec les précautions convenables. 5) Instruire les peuples chez eux. 6) Dresser des relations exactes du pays pour connoître ses besoins. 7) Suppléer à ce qui lui manque²⁹.

Den fünften Punkt seines Programms konkretisierte er folgenderweise:

L'istruzione des peuples chez soi consiste dans la fondation des écoles et Académies tant de sciences et arts que des exercices. A quoy il faut faire un choix de bons informateurs, qui ayent soin de mener les enfans et la jeunesse à la vertu aussi bien qu'à la science. Il faudroit pour cela leur donner des instructions, faire faire des livres exprès pour leur usage et pour celui des écoliers, procurer des livres, instruments et occasions de les exercer. Il sera bon aussi que ceux qui doivent devenir sçavans apprennent l'histoire, les mathématiques et langrués, particulièrement l'hébreux, le latin, le Grec et le Teutonic, mais surtout le latin, qui contient maintenant³⁰.

²⁷ Leibniz, *Sbornik pisem i memorialov Lejbnica odnosjascichsja k Rossii i Petru Velikommu*, cit., p. 27 (n. 20).

²⁸ Guerrier, *Lejbnits i ego vek*, cit., p. 590.

²⁹ Leibniz, *Sbornik pisem i memorialov Lejbnica odnosjascichsja k Rossii i Petru Velikommu*, cit., pp. 14-19 (n. 13).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-19 (Zitat p. 18).

1699 stellt Leibniz fest, dass «Le Tzar est sans doute un grand prince» (Der Zar ist ohne Zweifel ein großer Fürst), und betont dabei die außerordentliche Bedeutung der Zareninitiative, «civilizer la nation»³¹. Er weist auch darauf hin, dass es nötig ist, evangelische Missionare in die Gründung von Bildungsinstitutionen in Russland einzubeziehen, weil sie seiner Meinung nach Folgendes schaffen könnten:

*incipiens a scholis Germanis, favore Principis mox latius diffundendis. Nam Tzarem constat nihil magis in votis habere, quam ut populi, quos regit, cultum reliquae Europae asciscant [...] Vereor, ne si pereat redeant Mosci ad pristinum odium exterorum (quos ille favet) et consilia optima intercidant. [...] Vellem saltem filium Tzaris ad majorem mansuetudinem educari*³².

Im November 1708 kam Leibniz in einem diplomatischen Auftrag nach Wien. Dort hatte er Umgang mit dem russischen Botschafter Freiherrn Johann Cristoph Urbich, den er schon über zwanzig Jahre kannte. Infolge dieser Unterhaltungen entstand der Zettel über die Einführung der Wissenschaften in Russland, welchen er dem Zaren schickte. Einige Auszüge aus diesem vom Dezember 1708 datierten Zettel sind weiter angeführt.

1. Auff Begehren des herrn Czarischen Plenipotentiarii Excellenz habe einige gedanken von Aufnabme der wahren Studien in dem grossen Reich Seiner Czarischen Majestät Hiebey zu Papier bringen wollen, nachdem mir auch nichts angenehmer ist, als zu gemeinem Besten und Verbesserung der Menschen mit zur Ehre gottes etwas beytragen zu können, zumal da das Reich dieses Monarchen einen grossen Theil des Erd-Creises, nemlich den Nord unsers Hemisphaerij fast begreiffet. Ich stehe auch in dem gedanken, nachdem es meist alda noch tabula Rasa ist und als ein neuer Topf, so noch nicht frembden Geschmack in den Studien angenommen, es werden viele bey uns eingeschlichene fehler verhütet und verbessert werden können, sonderlich weil alles durch das Haupt eines weisen Herrn gehet, also seine gebührende Stimmung und Hsrmoni erlangen kan, gleich einer auff einmahl und nach einem Eigen Riss neu erbauten Statt, dahingegen die alten Städte, so allmählich anwachsen insgemein unordentlich gebauet werden.
2. Der wahre Zweck der Studien ist die menschliche Glückseligkeit.
3. Das Mittel die Menschen auff diesen Tugend- und glücksweg zu bringen ist eine guthe Erziehung der jugend.
4. Nun die Einführung der Künste und Wissenschaftten bestehet in Zweyerley, Erstlich in deren Baybringung, vors andere in deren fortpflanzung in den Czarischen Landen.
5. Die Baybringung der Kunst und Wissenschaftten geschieht durch beru- fung der Leute die sie wohl verstehen und durch anschaffung der dazu

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43 (n. 36).

³² *Ibid.*, p. 46 (n. 40).

dienlichen Nothwendigkeiten, so da fürnehmlich bestehen in Büchern, Naturalien und Kunstwerken. Wozu dann nöthig Bibliothec, theatrum naturae et artis, (darunter Kunst und raritäten Cammern begriffen), Thier- und Pflanz-gärten, Observatoria, Laboratoria.

6. Die Berufung dienlicher und tüchtiger Leute betreffend, zweifle ich nicht, dass man bereits mit vielen wackern Personen versehen, doch aber auch nicht wenig annoch abgehen möchte; auff allen fall würde eine gewisse ordnung, verständniss, correspondenz (in- und auswärtig), auch connexion und direction unter ihnen nöthig seyn, damit die Künste und Wissenschaften wohl gefasset, wohl beschrieben, auch wohl gelehret, richtige communication und ein gewisser Methodus gehalten mithin die Harmonie unter verschiedenen Wissenschaften und deren Lehrern beobachtet werde, damit die lehren wohl an einander hengen, ein ander nicht wiederstreiten, sondern vielmehr erleutern mögen.

Eine Bibliothec kan zwar nicht all zu gross noch allzu wohl versehen seyn, den oft auch in geringen Büchern etwas guthes anzutreffen, so in bessern nicht befindlich; weilen aber in allen dingen stufenweise zu gehen, so wäre von den nöthigsten anzufangen. Und hielte ich ohmasgäblich dafür, dass zwar von allen Materien etwas Auserlesens, aber vornehmlich Bücher von Realien in menge anzuschaffen, wobei ich verstehe: 1) Mathesin mit der Mechanica (worunter auch Ausronomico-Geographica, Nautica, Bellica und Architectur begriffen). 2) Physicam nach den drey Regnis der Natur, nemlich Minerali Vegetabili und Animali (wozu dann gehören agricultur, auch Bergwerkssachen, chymica, Botanica, Anatomica, Medica, sammt allerhand Naturkünsten) und endlich. 3) Historiam, worinn die Erklärung der Zeiten und Örther, also rerum singularium expositio euthalten (wozu die Beschreibungen und Begebnissen der Königreiche, Staaten und Länder, auch Staats memoiren und dann sonderlich die itineraria oder reisebücher billig zu rechnen).

Die Lateinische Bücher würden zwar das gröstetheil machen, doch wären auch ausserlesene Teutsche, Engländische und Holländische, Französische und Italiänische nicht zu vergessen, als in denen wichtige Dinge zumal zur practik anzutreffen, so in den Lateinischen vergebens gesucht werden. Die griechischen, so gedruet, füge ich zu den Lateinischen, weil sie meistentheils ihre Lateinischen Übersetzungen bey sich haben. Man müste aber auch nebenst den Slavonischen, die Arabische, persische, Türckische und Chinesische Bücher nicht ganz ausser acht lassen und insgemein auch dabey auff gewisse allerhand guthe alten und Neuen Manuscripten bedacht seyn. Sonderlich aber wären Kupferstich und andere Figuren zusammen zu bringen, darinn die Beschaffenheiten der Natürlichen und Künstlichen Dinge auch Einfälle der Menschen vorgebildet und die ideen sichtbar und gleichsam figiert werden.

Ein Laboratorium würde auch erfordert, darinn guthe Chymici und Feuerkünstler mit allem so das Feuer zu wege zu bringen wohl umbzugehen wissen sollen. Es würde solches Laboratorium eine gewisse Connexion mit

Apotheken und Medicin, Bergwerksachen und den Münz auch Proberwesen und verarbeitung der Metallen sammt Schmelz- und Glashütten auch der Artillerie selbst billig haben, und odschohn auff das gold-machen im geringsten nicht zu reflectiren, so wären doch allerhand schöne Experimenta anzustellen dadurch die Natürliche Körper nicht nur erkennt und untersucht, sondern auch geschieden, erhöht und verbessert würden, massen das Feuer vor den kräftigsten Schlüssel der Körper zu halten.

Ein Observatorium betreffend, so ist zu wissen, das die Geographi und Schiffart ihr gröstes liecht von den observationibus Astronomicis erlanget haben, auch von denselben eine mehrere vollkommenheit noch täglich erhalten und erwarten. Und weilen wie oberwehnet, des grosse Russische Reich, ein ansehnlich Theil des Erdreichs begreiffet, so bey den observatoribus gleichsam annoch als *Terra vergine*³³ zu achten, weil wenig zuverlässige observationes noch zur Zeit alda angestellet worden; so würden Seine Czarische Majestät durch bessrige Anstalten zu Astronomischen observationen der Schiffart und Geographi ein neues Liecht anzünden und sich das Menschliche geschlecht nicht wenig verbinden, auch ihrem Reich selbst einen grossen Nutzen schaffen, wozu dann kommt, dass durch solches Reich und dessen Commerce, Asien und China selbst mit unaussprechlichen Vortheil an Europa zu verknüpfen ist.

Bisher ist von Beybringung dessen so zu Einführung der Kunst und Wissenschaften dienlich geredet worden. Nun würde auch von deren fortpflanzung zu handeln seyn, damit Sie in dem grossen Czarischen Reiche rechte wurzeln bekommen, und mit der Zeit zu einer ansehnlichen Blüthe erwachsen mögen; es gehöret aber dazu eine mehre erkänntniss der umstände, auch Lande und Leute; doch kann man zum voraus wohl sagen, dass «eine fundation eines eigen ansehnlichen wohl autorisirten Collegii dazu erfordert werde, von welche die hohe und niedrige Schuhen», Amt der gelehrten, auch das Buchwesen, die Druckereyen und übersetzungen mit der Censur der Bücher, dann ferner die Künstler und Handwercker mit den Kunstwerken selbst, auf gewisse maasse zu dependiren hätten³⁴.

Das von Leibnitz entwickelte Projekt ist nach B. M. Bim-Bad eine Art Erziehungs- und Unterrichtsfeld, zu welchem nicht nur Lehranstalten gehören, sondern auch Bibliotheken, Museen unterschiedlicher Art, Laboratorien, Observatorien. B. M. Bim-Bad hält das derartige Feld für eine besonders effektive Art, auf die Kinder zielgemäß einzuwirken durch eine pädagogisch zweckmäßige Gestaltung und Regelung der Umgebung derer, die in dieser Umgebung Bildung und Erziehung genießen. Die Ausbildung unter solchen Bedingungen besteht nicht darin, dass der Lehrer auf die von den Lehrlingen nicht gestellten Fragen schon vorbereitete Antworten gibt. Die Entwicklung

³³ *Terra vergine* (lat.) – wörtlich: jungfräulicher Erdboden.

³⁴ Leibniz, *Sbornik pisem i memorialov Lejbnica odnosjascichsja k Rossii i Petru Velikomu*, cit., pp. 95-99 (n. 73).

erfolgt in der Seele des Kindes unter dem Einfluss seines natürlichen Interesses für die Welträtsel, die in seiner unmittelbaren Umgebung vorhanden sind³⁵. In Leibniz' Projekt «haben wir eine Idee des Unterrichtsfeldes», das es ermöglicht, die Kinder auf dem Wege der «vorausgehenden, ihren Kräften angemessen und ihre Fähigkeiten fördernden Aufgaben auszubilden»³⁶. Ähnlicher Meinung war auch J. Vernay, als er Leibniz gehalten hatte für den Schöpfer einer besonderen Unterrichts- und Erziehungsmethode, deren Grundlage straff organisierte Unterrichtsfeld und Zeitraum waren³⁷. Seiner Auffassung nach konnte Leibniz in diesem Fall dem Vorbild von Ratio Studiorum (1599) und Jesuitenkollegien gefolgt sein³⁸.

Im Sommer 1709 erlitten die Schweden eine vernichtende Niederlage bei Poltawa. Das geschah vor dem Hintergrund der von Peter dem Großen durchgeführten Umgestaltung Russlands. In diesem Zusammenhang schrieb Leibniz einen Brief an den Freiherrn Urbich, wo er sowohl die Persönlichkeit des Zaren als auch die Aussichten für die Verbreitung von Bildung in Russland sehr hoch würdigte.

On dit communément que le Czar sera formidable à toute l'Europe, que ce sera comme un Turc septentrional. Mais peut on l'empêcher de cultiver ses sujets et de les rendre civils et aguerris, qui jure suo utitur, nemini facit injuriam. Pour moy qui suis pour le bien du genre humain, je suis bien aise qu'un si grand Empire se mette dans les voyes de la raison et de l'ordre, et je considère le Czar en cela comme une personne que Dieu a Destinée à de grand ouvrage. Il a réussi à avoir des bonnes troupes. Je ne doute point que par vôtre moyen il ne réussisse d'avoir aussi des bonnes liaisons étrangères, et je serai ravi si je pouvois contribuer à son dessein de faire fleurir les sciences chez luy. Je tiens même qu'il pouvoit faire en cela des plus belles choses que tout ce que d'autres princes ont jamais fait dans ce genre; et cela pour bien des raisons que j'ay exprimé autres fois en partie³⁹.

Nachdem sich Leibniz im Oktober 1711 zum ersten Male mit dem Zaren im Laufe der Heiratszeremonie dessen Sohnes Zarewitsch Alexej mit Charlotte Christine, Prinzessin von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in Torgau getroffen hatte, wurden ihre Beziehungen merklich enger.

Im Januar 1712 schickt er einen Brief an Peter I. Im Entwurf dazu steht unter anderem folgendes:

³⁵ Bim-Bad, *Pedagogičeskaja antropologija: učebnik i praktikum dlja akademičeskogo bakalawriata*, cit., p. 127.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 129.

³⁷ Vernay, *Essai sur la Pédagogie de Leibniz*, cit., pp. 38-57.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³⁹ Leibniz, *Sbornik pisem i memorialov Lejbnica odnosjascichsja k Rossii i Petru Velikommu*, cit., pp. 119-120 (n. 88).

Ob ich nun wohl oft in publiquen affairen auch justizwesen gebraucht worden und bissweilen von grossen Fürsten darinn consultiret werde, so halte ich doch die Künste und Wissenschaften für höher, weil dadurch die Ehre Gottes und das Beste des ganzen menschlichen Geschlechts beständig befördert wird, denn in den Wissenschaften und Erkenntnissen der Natur und Kunst erzeigen sich vornehmlich die Wunder Gottes, seine Macht, Weisheit und Güthe; und die Künste und Wissenschaften sind auch der rechte Schatz des menschlichen Geschlechts, dadurch die Kunst mächtig wird über die Natur und dadurch die wohlgefasete Völker von den Barbarischen unterschieden werden. Derowegen habe ich von Jugend auff die Wissenschaft geliebet und getrieben, habe auch das Glück gehabt, ohngeacht vieler abhaltenden Geschäfte verschiedene ohngemeine Entdeckungen herfür zu bringen, so in öffentlichen Büchern von ohnpartheyischen und berühmten Leuten hochgelobet worden. Es hat mir auch nichts anderes gefehlet, als ein grosser Herr, der sich eben der Sach genugsam annehmen wollen. Und diesen verhoffe ich nun bei E. Cz. M. gefunden zu haben, als die in Dero grossen Reich gar leicht fast ohne Mühe und Kosten die vortrefflichsteu Anstalten dazu machen können und wollen. E. Gr. Cz. M. wird durch solche Heroische Vorhaben unzehlicher nicht nur jetziger, sondern auch künftiger Menschen Nuzen und Wohlfahrt befördern und dem ganzen menschlichen Geschlecht, insonderheit aber den Russen und allen andern slavonischen Nationen zu Nuz und zu Statten kommen... Es scheint es sey die Schickung Gottes, dass die Wissenschaft den Kreis der Erden umbwandern und nunmehr auch zu Scythien kommen solle und dass E. M. diessfalls zum Werkzeug versehen, da sie auf der einen Seite aus Europa, auff der andern aus China das Beste nehmen und was beyde gethan durch gute Anstalt verbessern können. Denn weil in dero Reich grossen Theils noch alles die Studien betreffend neu und gleichsam in weiss papier, so können unzehlich viel Fehler vermieden werden die in Europa allmählig und unbemerkt eingerissen, und weiss man, dass ein Palast, der ganz von Neuem aufgeföhret wird besser heraus kommt, als wenn daran viele secula über gebauert, gebessert, auch viel geändert worden.

Es gehören zwar zu diesem neuen und grossen Kunstbau Bibliotheken, Musea oder Raritätenkammern, Werkhäuser zu Modellen und Kunstsachen, Laboratoria chymica und observatoria astronomica, allein man hat nicht alles auf einmal nötig, sondern gehet stufenweise und wären Vorschläge zu thun, wie zu dem nützlichsten gar bald ohne sondere Kosten zu gelangen.

Das Vornehmste aber so anzuschaffen seyn Menschen, so zu dem grossen Zweck bequem und von verschiedenen Orthen zu beschreiben, die sich in E. M. Reich niederliessen, und junge Leute darin treulich unterwiesen, den weil die victualia in Russland wohlfeil braucht man eben nicht so gar viel geld für die so sich im Lande niederlassen.

Ich werde es mir vor die gröste Ehre, Vergnügung und Verdienst schätzen E. Gr. Cz. M. in einem so löblichen und gottgefälligen Werke dienen zu können; denn ich nicht von den bin so auff ihr Vaterland, oder sonst auff eine gewisse Nation, erpicht seyn; sondern ich gehe auf den Nutzen des gantzen menschlichen Geschlechts; denn ich halte den Himmel für das Vaterland und alle wohlgesinnte Menschen für dessen Mitbürger und ist mir lieber bey den Russen viel Guthes auszurichten, als bey den Teutschen oder anderen Europäern wenig, wenn ich gleich bey diesen in noch so grosser Ehre, Reichthum und Ruhe sitze, aber dabey andern nicht viel nutzen sollte, denn meine Neigung und Lust geht aufs gemeine Beste. Zu diesem Zweck führe vorlängs grosse Correspondenz

in Europa ja bis in China und bin nicht allein von vielen Jahren hehr in den König. französisch und engländischen Societäten ein Mitglied, sondern dirigire auch als praeses die König. Preuss. Societät der Wissenschaften, welche zu E.M. hohen Absehen auf alle Weise zu concurriren suchen wird, auch sich bereits an des H. Herzogs Ludwig Rudolfs zu Braunschweig Lüneburg Drchl. schriftlich dazu erbothen. Solche Societät zu Berlin hat der König auf meine Vorschläge fundirt, und habe ich solche Anstalt dabey an Hand gegeben, dass sie dem König fast nichts zu unterhalten kostet, viel besser aber könnte nicht nur dergl., sondern ein weit mehreres in E. Gr. Cz. M. grossem Land geschehen und – fama bald zur Sachethat werden⁴⁰.

Im Sommer 1712 nutzte Leibniz die Gelegenheit des Zarenbesuches in Pommern und schickte diesem einen Zettel, wo er nachdringlich riet, die Beendigung des Nordischen Krieges nicht abzuwarten und möglichst bald mit der Einführung der Wissenschaft zu beginnen. In diesem Zettel wies er auch auf die unverzügliche Gründung der Universitäten in Moskau, Astrachan, Kiew und St. Petersburg hin und betonte die äußerste Notwendigkeit treffender Maßnahmen zur guten Erziehung der Jugend⁴¹.

Der Zar war der Absicht, Leibniz' Ratschläge zu akzeptieren und ihn für die Verbreitung von Wissenschaften und Bildung in Russland zu gewinnen. Leibniz wurde in Russland im Rang des geheimen Justizrates mit Jahresgehalt von 1000 Talern eingestellt. Den entsprechenden Erlass unterschrieb der Zar am 1. November in Karlsbad. Die Zuneigung des Zaren, welche dadurch bekundet wurde, nutzte Leibniz dazu, neue Materialien aus Russland zu bekommen, welche er für seine weiteren Forschungen auf dem Gebiet von Geschichte, Sprachen, Literatur und Bräuchen slawischer Völker brauchte. Auf die Verabredung mit Peter I. beabsichtigte sich Leibniz nach Russland zu ziehen und dort seine Ideen in die Tat umzusetzen. Aber wegen der Weigerung des Stadtrates fand dieser Umzug nicht statt.

Leibniz' letztes Treffen mit Peter I. fand im Mai – Juni 1716 in Pymont und Herrenhausen statt. Dabei wurden die Fragen weiterer Entwicklung und Verbreitung wissenschaftlicher Kenntnisse und die Aussichten geografischer Expeditionen in Russisch-Asien besprochen.

Im Zettel, welcher nach diesem Gespräch geschrieben und dem Vizekanzler P.P. Schaffirow überreicht wurde⁴², wies Leibniz auf die Notwendigkeit hin, die Bildung in Russland zu verbreiten. Dabei sah er drei Wege, auf welchen die Lösung des Problems erzielt werden könnte. Vor allem nannte er die «Anschaffung der dazu dienlichen Bereitschaften». Zweitens war es die «Unterrichtung der Leute in den Wissenschaften, so bereits ausgefunden». Und für die dritte Aufgabe hielt er die «Aussfindung neuer Nachrichten».

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 206-208 (n. 143).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 217-218 (n. 148).

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 348-360 (n. 240).

Die im Zettel dargelegten Gedanken über die Organisation von Bildung und wissenschaftlichen Forschungen in Russland summieren Leibniz Ansichten auf diese Frage. Deswegen kann dieses Dokument als eine Art Ergebnis seiner pädagogischen Erwägungen und seines Nachdenkens über die Verbreitung der Bildung in Russland aufgefasst werden. Das lässt sich aus folgenden Auszügen erschließen.

Bissher die Bereitschaften zu den Wissenschaften und Künsten. Nun folgt zum ändern die Art und Weise, wie solche den Menschen beizubringen. Dazu gehören Schulen vor die Kinder, Universitäten und Academien vor die Jugend und endlich Societäten der Wissenschaften und dergleichen vor die schon weit kommen und auff die Verbesserung bedacht seyn.

Die Schulen belangend vor die Kinder sollten dieselbige seyn zugleich Tugend-Sprach- und Kunstschuhlen. Tugendschuhlen, dass die Kinder zur Gottesfurcht, Gühte, Gehorsam, Erbarkeit bei Zeiten gewöhnet würden. – Sprachschuhlen, dass die so Handwerksleute und dergl. bleiben sollen im slavonischen die zur Kaufmannschaft gewidmet auch in latein und teutsch; die gelehrt werden sollen dabey in Etwas griechisch, auch wohl französisch und welsch, die geistlichen daneben insonderheit im Hebräischen endlich die Hauptgelehrt seyn und zu hohen geistlichen und weltlichen Ämtern gelangen sollen in vollkommener Kundschaft der griechischen Sprach und einigermassen im arabischen geübet werden sollen, der Tolmetscher oder interpretum zu geschweigen.

Kunstschuhlen sollen solche Schuhlen zugleich seyn, damit die Kinder darin lernen einen catechismum, als auszug aus der heiligen Schrift, dann ferner etwas von der logica oder Schlusskunst, Musik, Rechnen, Zeichen, theils auch Schnitzen, Drechselt, Feldmessen und Haushalters-sachen benebenst den Anfang vom Gebrauch der Waffen und der Reitkunst, alles nach eines jeden Natur und Neigung.

Die Kinder, so zu Handwerken und Kaufmannschaft gewidmet, könnten nach Gelegenheit im 12. Oder 14. Jahre ihres Alters aus den schuhlen gelassen werden.

Nach Verfliessung solcher Zeit kann man die so zum Kriege gebraucht werden sollen, wie etwa vor weniger Zeit die Cadets in Frankreich in die Garnisonen oder in die Seehäfen schicken die Miliz und was dazu gehörig zu Wasser und zu Land und Seeofficiere zu nehmen seyn.

Andere, so zu Civil Ämtern gewiedmet, könnten auff Universitäten auch wohl Ritterakademieen ziehen, müssen aber allda nicht sofort in eine unbeschränkte Freyheit treten, wie dieser schädliche Missbrauch bei den Teutschen Universitäten und Akademieen eingerissen, sondern wie vor ein baar hundert Jahre gebräuchlich gewesen und noch an etlichen Orthen ausser Deutschland üblich, in gewissen Colegiis oder Bursis wohnen und allda unter der principalium oder Bursariorum Aufsicht stehen biss sie es so weit gebracht, dass sie einem Amt tüchtig vorstehen, sich verheurathen, ihre Familie regieren und ihre Haushaltung wohl führen können.

Es sollen daher die hohen Schulen (nämlich Universitäten und Ritterakademien) billig in den Hauptstädten angeleget werden als sonderlich zu Moscou, Kiof, Astrachan etc. denn in grossen Städten die Theologi mit Predigen und gewissenfällen die Juristen mit der praxi derer Rechte die Medici in den grossen Siechhäusern oder Hospitälern am Besten sich vollkommen machen können. Die andern Schuhen wären nach gelegenheit der Städte und Lande sonderlich vermittelst der Klöster zu vertheilen.

Zu solcher Verbesserung und Vermehrung der Wissenschaften würde gehören sowohl die ordentliche Zusammenbringung dessen, das die Menschen schon wissen, als die Erkündigung dessen, was sie noch nicht wissen. Was die Menschen schon wissen ist theils bereits in Schriften enthalten, theils soll es noch aufgezeichnet und in Schriften bracht werden.

Doch weil man erwarten muss, was andre länder thun oder nicht thun wollen, kann man bey sich anfangen und was bereits in Russland eingeführt in genaue Beschreibungen bringen.

Man könnte auch tüchtige junge Leute von allerhand Nahrung und professions in andere Lande reisen lassen umb allda, was ihnen und Russland mangelt zu erlernen. Und sie hernach, wenn sie das Ihrige gethan wohlhalten.

Letzlichen sind anstalten zu neuen entdeckungen, dadurch die Wissenschaften vermehret werden zu machen, wozu die weiten Lande des russischen Reichs samt denen so vielen in Europa und Asia angrenzenden Landen vortreffliche Gelegenheit geben, den weil Russland gleichsam *terra vergine*, so noch nicht genugsam untersucht werden sich darinn sehr viele gewächse, thiere, mineralien und andre naturalia ergeben, so noch nicht beschrieben.

Es kann auch durch ordre S. Cz. Mt. ausgefunden werden ob Asien gegen Norden zu umschiffen, oder ob das äusserste Eisscap an Amerika hange, welches die Engländer und Holländer durch gefährliche Schifffahrt vergebens gesucht.

Lezlichen können S. Cz. Mt. ein grosses zur Schifffahrt beytragen wenn Sie in dero weiten Reich und angrenzenden Landen die variationem magnetis fleissig observiren lassen, wodurch diesem Geheimniss näher zu kommen. Dadurch die Ausführung der Longitudinum oder wie weit man von Ost gegen Westen und mit einem Wort die stelle, auff welcher man sich in der See befindet, wo nicht völlig auszumachen, doch umb ein grosses zu verbessern⁴³.

Fast gleichzeitig mit dem Zettel von der Einführung der Bildung in Russland schickt Leibniz Peter I. auch einen ausführlichen Brief über die *Collegii* (Kollegien)⁴⁴. Darin schreibt er von der Notwendigkeit, das ganze System der Staatsverwaltung im Lande durch die Schaffung der Kollegien zu verbessern. Einen besonderen Platz nimmt darin das «Gelehrtenkollegium» ein, was davon zeugt, dass Leibniz sich dessen völlig bewusst war, die Gründung von Schulen,

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 348-360.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 364-368 (n. 344).

Bibliotheken, Museen allein würde für die Vervollkommnung der Bildung kaum genügen. Diesen Schatz muss man auch gut verwalten.

Das war wohl Leibniz' letzter Brief an den Zaren. Am 14. November starb der große deutsche Wissenschaftler und Aufklärer.

M. Keller schreibt in diesem Zusammenhang folgendes: «Die Realisierung dieses Vorschlags hat Leibniz nicht mehr erlebt. Vollstrecker seines geistigen Erbes und Gründer der Petersburger Akademie wird der Leibarzt des Zaren, Laurentius Blumentrost, dessen Vater schon um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Russland eingewandert war»⁴⁵.

Es sei aber darauf hingewiesen, dass das Leibniz'sche pädagogische Projekt trotz seiner Größe «[...] fast nichts Neues enthielt, was Peter I. schon nicht gewusst und nicht zu verwirklichen versucht hatte»⁴⁶. Die Reformen in Russland waren durch seine historische Entwicklung hervorgerufen und im Ganzen völlig objektiv begründet.

Im ersten Viertel des 18. Jahrhunderts begann Peter I. weltliche Schulen zu schaffen. Es waren die Schulen für Schifffahrt und Mathematik (1701), das Gymnasium von Pastor Glück (1703), die medizinische Schule (1707), die Ingenieurschule (1712). Es ist ersichtlich, dass er die Ausbildung im Vergleich zu dem 17. Jahrhundert völlig umorientiert hatte und die sogenannten «russischen» Elementarschulen gründete, wo man in erster Linie den Zirkel zu beherrschen, zu zeichnen und zu rechnen lernte. Diese auf Staatskosten funktionierenden Schulen begannen die Kinder im Alter von 5 bis 15 Jahren zu besuchen. Die Schulen hatten zwei Stufen, auf der ersten Stufe lernte man (auf Grund von Horologion und Psalmen) lesen und schreiben, auf der zweiten Stufe wurden die Grundlagen der Mathematik unterrichtet⁴⁷.

Schluss

Dennoch steht es außer allem Zweifel, dass Leibniz' Empfehlungen in vielem die Grundrichtungen für die weitere Entwicklung von Kultur und Bildung in Russland bestimmt und den Anstoß zur Verbreitung aufklärerischer Ideen gegeben haben. Das sind vor allem Leibniz' Gedanken von der Beteiligung des Staates an der Förderung von Wissenschaft, Kultur und Bildung, vom Platz der Bildung im gesellschaftlichen Leben, vom muttersprachlichen Unterricht, von der erstrangigen Gründung der Elementarschulen und von ihrer Ausrüstung

⁴⁵ Keller, *Wegbereiter der Aufklärung: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz' Wirken für Peter den Großen und sein Reich*, cit., p. 409.

⁴⁶ B.V. Markov, *Swoewremennaja filosofija*, in Guerrier, *Lejbnits i ego wek*, cit., p. 800.

⁴⁷ E.K. Sysoeva, *Schkola w Rossii. XVIII-nachalo XX ww.: wlast' i obshestwo*, Moskau, Nowyj khronograf, 2015, pp. 32-37.

mit Lehrstoff und Unterrichtsmethoden sowie seine Vorschläge, im Lande ein entsprechendes Kulturumfeld zu schaffen. Das alles fand seinen Niederschlag in vielen pädagogischen Projekten für Russland. Und über den Vorschlag, ein Sonderkollegium für Volksbildung als eine Aufsichtsinstitution zu bilden, wurde sehr heftig auch in den 60er Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts diskutiert. Erst 70 Jahre später wurde man sich der Notwendigkeit dieses Kollegiums bewusst⁴⁸.

Ein weiteres Ergebnis der Beziehung von Leibniz zu Peter I. war die Entwicklung in Westeuropa einer neuen Vorstellung von Russland. Wenn Russland früher als ein Land der «Barbarei» aufgefasst worden war, von welchem man sich möglichst fern halten müsse, kam man nun zur Schlussfolgerung, dass man «[...] gegen dieses Land kein Misstrauen hegen, sondern damit zusammenarbeiten muss»⁴⁹. Und obwohl Leibniz in Russland und in Peter I. nur ein Mittel zur «Beförderung gründlicher Wissenschaften»⁵⁰ und zur Verwirklichung seiner großen Aufklärungsmission sah⁵¹, wurde dieser Wandel westlicher Mentalität in erster Linie durch seine Tätigkeit bewirkt.

Demnach verhilft die Behandlung der Leibniz'schen Projekte zur Einführung von Wissenschaften und Bildung in Russland und seiner Beziehungen zu Peter I. sowohl die Traditionen einer erfolgreichen Zusammenarbeit von Russland und dem Westen als auch die produktive Wechselwirkung ihrer großen Kulturen besser zu verstehen.

⁴⁸ G.I. Smagina, *Nemetskie obrazowatel'nye idei i rossijskaja schkola XVIII w.*, in A.V. Doronin (ed.), *Wwodja nrawy i obychai Ewropejskie w Ewropejskom narode': k probleme adaptatsii zapadnykh idej i praktik w Rossijskoj imperii*, Moskau, ROSSPEN, 2008, pp. 205-220.

⁴⁹ Rothe, *Lejbnits i wozniknowenie ewropejskikh obrazow Rossii*, cit., p. 94.

⁵⁰ Leibniz, *Sbornik pisem i memorialow Lejbnica odnosjascichsja k Rossii i Petru Velikomu*, cit., p. 199 (n. 139).

⁵¹ Rothe, *Lejbnits i wozniknowenie ewropejskikh obrazow Rossii*, cit., p. 93; M. Keller *Wegbereiter der Aufklärung: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz' Wirken für Peter den Großen und sein Reich*, cit., pp. 412-413.

Critical Reviews



Rassegne critiche,
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Critical Reviews / Rassegne critiche

Edmondo De Amicis fra letteratura e società. A proposito di una recente e importante pubblicazione francese

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The work and the thought of Edmondo De Amicis in France today. About a recent publication

ABSTRACT: This article focuses on the diffusion of the work and thought of the writer Edmondo De Amicis in contemporary France. Through the analysis of the contributions of a recent monographic issue on the theme published in the prestigious international magazine «Transalpina», the author reconstructs the fundamental stages of the writer's biographical itinerary and the dissemination of his main works in the French territory, giving particular attention not only for De Amicis' best known masterpieces but also for all those works, which although considered minor, have contributed to define the poetics of one of the most famous Italian writers of the nineteenth century.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children's literature; History of education; Literature; Italy; XIX-XXth Centuries.

Lo studio dell'influenza di Edmondo De Amicis sulle opere letterarie della Francia contemporanea e della ricezione della sua opera e del suo pensiero nei territori di lingua francese rappresenta senza dubbio un tema di particolare interesse meritevole di specifici e puntuali approfondimenti. Le ricerche più autorevoli condotte in tempi più o meno recenti su uno degli scrittori maggiormente noti dell'Italia ottocentesca, si sono infatti in prevalenza soffermati sull'analisi del profilo biografico, dell'opera e della poetica di De

Amicis soprattutto con ampio riferimento al contesto italiano di provenienza¹. Proprio per questo motivo il corposo ed interessante numero monografico della prestigiosa rivista internazionale «Transalpina», dedicato al tema *Littérature e société*², costituisce senza dubbio uno studio di fondamentale importanza per chiunque intenda d'ora in avanti studiare l'opera di De Amicis e la ricezione francese della stessa. I nove contributi che costituiscono il fascicolo, curato da Mariella Colin, studiosa tra le più note e apprezzate nel panorama internazionale per i suoi studi su Edmondo De Amicis con particolare riferimento proprio alla sua diffusione in Francia³, cercano di proporre una lettura globale della figura e dell'opera dello scrittore di Oneglia, spesso erroneamente studiato all'estero prevalentemente per il suo capolavoro *Cuore*, soffermandosi nello specifico anche sulla sua indubbia capacità di far brillare in ogni lavoro i valori tipici del suo tempo nonché di mettere in luce l'evoluzione di scuola e società nell'Italia di fine Ottocento. Grazie ai contributi di autorevoli studiosi italiani e francesi, sono dunque ripercorse in maniera trasversale le tappe fondamentali dell'itinerario dello scrittore, dalla partecipazione attiva al Risorgimento all'adesione al socialismo, prendendo in attenta considerazione la maggior parte delle sue opere, da *Cuore* alla *Maestrina degli operai*, da *Sull'Oceano* alla *Carrozza di tutti*.

Dopo l'*Introduction* della Colin⁴, nella quale la curatrice del fascicolo rievoca in maniera accurata le tappe più significative della vita e della produzione letteraria di De Amicis, e nella quale fornisce anche alcune sintetiche indicazioni metodologiche sui criteri che hanno guidato la selezione dei contributi presenti nel monografico, è Michela Dota ad aprire la rassegna degli interventi su De Amicis con il suo lavoro *Per un canone educativo dell'ufficiale e gentiluomo: la "Vita militare" di Edmondo De Amicis*⁵. Nell'Italia post-unitaria l'esercito, tramite la

¹ G. Gerini, *Edmondo De Amicis scrittore educatore*, Firenze, Marzocco-Bemporad, 1952; L. Scaraffia, B. Tobia, «*Cuore* di E. De Amicis (1886) e la costruzione dell'identità nazionale», «Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica», vol. 1, n. 2, 1988, pp. 103-130; A. Carannante, *De Amicis nella storia della scuola italiana*, «Rivista di studi italiani», vol. 25, n. 1, 2007, pp. 49-68; E. De Amicis, *Il romanzo d'un maestro*, a cura di A. Ascenzi, P. Boero, R. Sani, Genova, De Ferrari, 2007; P. Boero, G. Genovesi, *Cuore: De Amicis tra critica e utopia*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2009; E. Patrizi, *La rappresentazione del patrimonio culturale e naturale come strumento di formazione della coscienza nazionale in tre classici della scuola italiana dell'Ottocento*: Giannetto, *Il Bel Paese* e *Cuore*, in D. Caroli, E. Patrizi (edd.), «*Educare alla bellezza la gioventù della Nuova Italia*». *Scuola, beni culturali e costruzione dell'identità nazionale dall'Unità al secondo dopoguerra*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2017, pp. 17-48.

² M. Colin (ed.), *Littérature e société*, «Transalpina», vol. 20, 2017, pp. 9-205.

³ M. Colin, *L'âge d'or de la littérature d'enfance et de jeunesse italienne. Des origines au fascisme*, Caen, Presse Universitaires de Caen, 2005, pp. 131-170; Ead., *Cent ans de Cuore en France: réception, traduction, lecture*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 1, n. 1, 2006, pp. 30-49; Ead., *Fortune e sfortune di Cuore in Francia*, in C. Allasia (ed.), *De Amicis nel «Cuore» di Torino*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2011, pp. 111-131.

⁴ Colin, *Introduction*, in Colin (ed.), *Littérature e société*, cit., pp. 9-16.

⁵ M. Dota, *Per un canone educativo dell'ufficiale e gentiluomo: la "Vita militare" di Edmondo De Amicis*, in *ibid.*, pp. 17-32.

leva militare, ricopre a lungo «una funzione sociogenetica» fondamentale per la popolazione maschile: «forgiare un cittadino modello e un perfetto gentiluomo, secondo i valori della cultura borghese arricchita dall'operosità self-helpista». In tal senso particolarmente utile, a giudizio dell'autrice, può risultare la pubblicistica specializzata per le scuole reggimentali che permette di individuare «la grammatica dell'educazione militare, trasmessa da una precisa costellazione di lessemi ricorsivi». In questo contesto possono essere oggetto di particolare interesse i bozzetti della *Vita militare*, prima prova narrativa di un poco più che ventenne Edmondo De Amicis, nei quali è offerta una rappresentazione peculiare dell'esercito e degli esiti modellizzanti sulla popolazione maschile. Proprio attraverso l'analisi delle correzioni apportate da De Amicis lungo le tre edizioni dell'opera (1868, 1869, 1880) e, ancor prima, nelle precedenti pubblicazioni in rivista, il contributo della Dota rileva l'innovatività della proposta deamicisiana, mettendone in luce anche i paradossi interni e le evidenti incongruenze rispetto al canone ufficiale.

Maggiormente concentrato sulle vicende biografiche di De Amicis risulta essere invece l'interessante lavoro di Alberto Brambilla dal titolo «*Diserzioni*». *Note sul pacifismo e sull'antimilitarismo di Edmondo De Amicis*⁶, nel quale l'autore ricostruisce la partecipazione concreta di De Amicis alle diverse fasi del Risorgimento (tra i pochi scrittori italiani a farlo) e il suo tentativo di riportare su carta i problemi e le difficoltà della nuova nazione. L'ufficiale De Amicis visse infatti la sconfitta di Custoza e la gioia di entrare a Roma con le truppe italiane. La riflessione sui problemi reali della nazione e l'incontro con le idee socialiste ha negli anni mutato l'atteggiamento dell'uomo e dello scrittore nei confronti della guerra: dall'iniziale iniziale condivisione di alcune istanze del pacifismo egli infatti passò a posizioni decisamente antimilitariste: affratellati dagli stessi ideali, i proletari avrebbero dovuto ingaggiare una guerra diversa, quella contro lo sfruttamento e l'ingiustizia.

L'attenzione di De Amicis per la società coeva, nelle sue diverse e interessanti sfumature territoriali, ideologiche e culturale, fu tema privilegiato dei libri di viaggio pubblicati da De Amicis stesso tra il 1873 e il 1878. Presi in esame da una prospettiva di storia culturale nel lavoro di Laura Fournier-Finocchiaro (*Les caractères nationaux des peuples dans les récits de voyage d'Edmondo De Amicis: latinité, orientalisme et européisme*)⁷, essi offrono una rappresentazione dei caratteri nazionali dei popoli delle città e dei paesi visitati dal giornalista in Europa (Parigi, Londra, la Spagna, l'Olanda), in Africa (il Marocco) e in Oriente (Costantinopoli). Particolare rilievo fu riservato dallo scrittore agli elementi di somiglianza tra i popoli di razza latina, rilevando i legami fraterni tra italiani,

⁶ A. Brambilla, «*Diserzioni*». *Note sul pacifismo e sull'antimilitarismo di Edmondo De Amicis*, in *ibid.*, pp. 33-46.

⁷ L. Fournier-Finocchiaro, *Les caractères nationaux des peuples dans les récits de voyage d'Edmondo De Amicis: latinité, orientalisme et européisme*, in *ibid.*, pp. 47-64.

spagnoli e francesi. Grazie ai suoi spostamenti in Oriente e al confronto con la diversa cultura espressione di quei luoghi visitati, De Amicis riuscì a ridefinire l'Europa come continente culturalmente unificato dalla civiltà occidentale e a valorizzare il concetto di «collettività europea di cui l'Oriente è la figura dell'alterità».

Strettamente legato all'attività giornalistica di De Amicis è anche il contributo di Aurelie Gendrat-Claudiel, *Surimpressions de Paris: pratiques de la citation dans les Ricordi di Parigi*⁸, nel quale si analizza con estrema dovizia di particolari l'affascinante gioco delle citazioni che caratterizza l'opera deamicisiana *Ricordi di Parigi* (1879). L'intento che anima lo studio della giovane autrice non è solo quello di identificare le fonti (francesi, italiane o straniere, fornite dal giornalista in modo ora preciso, ora approssimativo, quando non sono nascoste), ma anche di proporre una tipologia delle pratiche intertestuali utilizzate, allo scopo di comprendere meglio il valore strategico conferito da De Amicis alla cosiddetta "seconda mano" per evocare una città già abbondantemente descritta, nota attraverso i libri, intimamente legata alla letteratura e cosparsa di segni grafici (insegne, manifesti, réclame onnipresente...), eppure originalmente rivissuta da De Amicis senza ricorrere alla riproposizione dei tradizionali "luoghi comuni".

Un'analisi puntuale e competentemente tecnica è invece quella proposta da Matteo Grassano nel contributo *La lingua di Cuore*⁹, nel quale lo studio sulla lingua utilizzata nella più celebre opera di De Amicis, si propone sia di avviare una riflessione prettamente linguistica, sia di riconoscere l'intento pedagogico del libro proprio in virtù di determinate scelte legate alla lingua compiute dall'autore. Innanzitutto, l'analisi di aspetti fonico-morfologici, lessicali e sintattici rivela la ricerca di un italiano unitario ed equilibrato, ispirato senza eccessi idiomatici alla lingua parlata dalla borghesia colta fiorentina di fine Ottocento. Al contempo, tale modello linguistico appare attento alla costruzione di un testo coeso, le cui scelte retoriche (soprattutto nei racconti mensili e nelle lettere familiari) concorrono a trasmettere un sistema di valori definiti e una visione sociale conservatrice.

Ben due contributi del numero monografico della rivista sono quindi dedicati al racconto *La maestrina degli operai*, pubblicato nel 1891. Tuttavia, se a Mariella Colin ed Emmanuelle Genevois va ascritto il merito di aver compiuto l'encomiabile operazione editoriale di aver tradotto in lingua francese il testo (*L'institutrice des ouvriers, traduzione della Maestrina degli operai*)¹⁰, è soprattutto alla stessa Colin, nel suo contributo *La maestrina degli operai, une nouvelle dérangement d'Edmondo De Amicis*¹¹, che spetta il non facile

⁸ A. Gendrat-Claudiel, *Surimpressions de Paris: pratiques de la citation dans les Ricordi di Parigi*, in *ibid.*, pp. 65-80.

⁹ M. Grassano, *La lingua di Cuore*, in *ibid.*, pp. 81-98.

¹⁰ M. Colin, E. Genevois, *L'institutrice des ouvriers, traduzione della Maestrina degli operai*, in *ibid.*, pp. 113-176.

¹¹ Ead., *La maestrina degli operai, une nouvelle dérangement d'Edmondo De Amicis*, in *ibid.*,

compito di tentare di classificare la novella all'interno della vasta produzione deamicisiana. Tale testo, infatti, che «sembra voler prendere a rovescio le pagine edificanti dedicate alle scuole serali nel libro *Cuore*», è vicino al realismo crudo con cui *Il romanzo d'un maestro* descrive gli attori principali (allievi e insegnanti) dell'universo scolastico. L'intera storia della maestrina, che si svolge in un'atmosfera opprimente fino al dramma finale, emana secondo la Colin una visione sociale pessimista, agli antipodi della bontà naturale del popolo e di quel tipo di educazione proposta da *Cuore*, considerate non a caso come i tratti distintivi dell'autore, che qui, al contrario, non lascia intravedere nessuna speranza di emancipazione per la classe operaia. Il che non può non sorprendere, poiché al momento della pubblicazione De Amicis aveva già resa nota la sua adesione al socialismo.

Molto interessanti dal punto di vista contenutistico e assai apprezzabili anche per l'innovativo taglio metodologico utilizzato risultano infine gli ultimi due contributi che completano il monografico dedicato da «Transalpina» ad Edmondo De Amicis. Nel primo, *La «pelle delle cose»: Edmondo De Amicis e la tentazione «d'architettare un romanzo»*¹², l'analisi dell'autrice Laura Nay prende le mosse dalla definizione di «mondo a parte» deamicisiano per dimostrare come in questa categoria si possano includere lo studio dell'autore, descritto nel celebre racconto *La mia officina*, e la sua stessa pratica scrittoria. Meritevoli di *focus* specifico sono i cosiddetti «mondi a parte», in particolare quelli «in movimento», ovvero il piroscifo di *Sull'Oceano* e il tram a cavalli della *Carrozza di tutti*, lavori in cui lo scrittore ligure riesce a mettere a punto la sua modalità narrativa e, «pur non dimenticando la ben sperimentata tecnica descrittiva basata sull'osservazione, mostra di saperla articolare per farne prassi narrativa di ampio respiro».

Nel secondo saggio, invece, Clara Allasia, nel suo *Riflessioni semiserie di Edmondo De Amicis intorno al mestiere della scrittura – Progetti di riforma sociale a un poeta idillico, un romanzo a un latinista*¹³, raccoglie ed esamina alcune delle numerose riflessioni sulla scrittura o, meglio, sugli scrittori e sul loro mestiere che De Amicis dissemina nelle sue opere. Da Zola a Dumas figlio, da Daudet a Flaubert, da Manzoni a d'Annunzio, emerge con chiarezza «un'analisi che si snoda attraverso gli anni sempre arguta, talvolta ironica e talvolta amara», a conferma di quanto l'autore ben conoscesse il mondo a cui apparteneva e le infinite possibilità di piegare la scrittura ad appaganti e svariate modulazioni.

In conclusione, siamo davvero molto riconoscenti a Mariella Colin per questo ulteriore e assai pregevole contributo alla conoscenza di Edmondo De Amicis e,

pp. 99-112.

¹² L. Nay, *La «pelle delle cose»: Edmondo De Amicis e la tentazione «d'architettare un romanzo»*, in *ibid.*, pp. 177-192.

¹³ C. Allasia, *Riflessioni semiserie di Edmondo De Amicis intorno al mestiere della scrittura – Progetti di riforma sociale a un poeta idillico, un romanzo a un latinista*, in *ibid.*, pp. 193-205.

più in generale, per il rigore scientifico e la passione culturale con le quali, ormai da decenni, porta avanti in molteplici forme – e con esiti d'indubbio valore – le ricerche sugli autori e sulle opere di letteratura per l'infanzia che hanno caratterizzato l'Italia dell'Otto e del Novecento.

A reflection on current research on picture books and visual/verbal texts for young*

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ABSTRACT: The collection under review comprises papers selected from the symposium celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of Perry Nodelman's monumental book *Words about Pictures* in 1988. It showcases the current academic achievements in the field of picture book studies, and, in this sense, joins the critical tradition in the field since 1988 through Maria Nikolajeva and Carole Scott's *How Picturebooks Work* in 2006 to the current flourishing of the field. The essays included in the collection cover three strands of themes: structural and semiotic reading of picture books, media studies of the relationship between the visual and the texts, and the materiality and performativity of picture books. By adopting methodologies widely from adjacent disciplines, they broaden the definition of the genre, challenge existing notions and assumption, and offer insightful reflections of diverse topics, phenomena and features of picture book studies.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Picture book studies; Children's literature; Visual; New media; Bibliographic review.

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The collection under review, as stated in the preface and the introduction, is to exhibit the current state of research in the field following Perry Nodelman's pioneering work *Words about Pictures* published in 1988.

Nodelman is undoubtedly the most suitable scholar to write the introduction, in which he intimates the origin of his 1988 book, followed by a summarization of the changes that have taken place during the past twenty-five years since its first publication. Compared to the situations in the 1980s, the study of comics has become an established field, making up for its absence in Nodelman's book. Moreover, the status and societal recognition of the genre have significantly changed. At Nodelman's time, the picture book was reserved only for the rich middle class family: it was too expensive for the ordinary family; nor was publishers interested in making the genre more widely available, not to mention the lack of common acknowledgement of its utility in literacy education. The field itself, from being narrowly focused on the textual, structural and semiotic meaning of the picture book, has now come fully to embrace a wide range of methodologies that challenges the definition of the genre and its assumptions of race, class and ideology. With all these circumstantial changes, the research of the picture book gradually matures and thus calls for an update of the results of current research.

Lian Beveridge's *Chewing on Baby Books as a Form of Infant Literacy: Books Are for Biting* rightfully serves as the opening chapter as it broadens the common adult definition of «reading» to include biting. The central question Beveridge explores is whether biting can count as a kind of reading for babies, and she argues that, among all the non-textual activities during the reading process of babies, biting can count as long it «involve some sort of engagement with the concept of the book» (21). Beveridge then adopts Freud's theory to explain why biting is often involved when babies are «reading» books and argues that the adult discomfort at the fact that babies derive sexual pleasures in the act of eating and pooping is the cause that adults often paradoxically do not allow such activity, which is in fact widely observed and acknowledged (such as in Vancouver Public Library).

William Moebius's *Six Degrees of Closeness in the Picture Book Experience: Getting Closer* compares the two different art forms of pictures: one of a work of art hung up in a museum and the other illustrated for children and printed on a picture book. Moebius starts by pointing out the fundamental differences in viewing them: a painting is almost always viewed vertically and demands feelings of respect and awe, whereas a picture book is often viewed in more varied circumstances that encourage new and more intimate ways of exploring. Then Moebius proceeds to illustrate his six degrees of proximity and concludes that «the picture book is located within a zone of proximity much smaller than that we normally accord a painting» (42). However, some of Moebius's argumentative power in his discussion of examples is weakened by repeated use of French terms running throughout undefined.

Erica Hateley's *Art, Adaptation, and the Antipodean in Shaun Tan's 'The Lost Thing'* interrogates Shaun Tan's invocation of Edward Hopper, Jeffrey Smart and John Brack's paintings in his *The Lost Thing* for a better understanding of the rich allusion to works of fine art, which substantially supplements the more traditional political interpretations of the picture book as an allegorical critique of Australia's dehumanizing treatment of asylum seekers. As Hateley argues, the intertextual and palimpsests reading of paintings enriches readerly experiences and encourages rereading of the picture book, just as the work itself encourages close reading of one's own environment.

Naomi Hamer's *The Design and Development of the Picture Book for Mobile and Interactive Platforms* demonstrates the need to develop and expand the current picture book theory and analytical tools to address the changing conceptualization of the genre and to accommodate picture books that are offered on the new media. After reviewing previous studies on picture book apps for mobile devices, Hamer analyzes three different types of apps of picture books: Loud Crow apps, which emphasize the reading experiences and are therefore closest to that of the print books; Night & Day Studios apps, which prioritize game elements in the apps and subordinate the original picture book in its multimedia contents; and the Nosy Crow Studios apps, which combine the printed work and the interactivity offered by the new technology and try to offer users opportunities to create narratives based on the original works with significant freedom.

Helene Høystrup's *Towards a Connective Ethnography of Children's Literature and Digital Media: The New Media Encounter* endeavors to illustrate, discuss and evaluate three models for analyzing children's literature after the new media encounter and the linguistic turn. The first model he explores is multimodality and the relations between modes as imagined in disciplines, which pays attention to the more visual characteristics of the new media and calls for attention to the material and semiotic aspects of the new media ecologies. The other two models are more radical. Gaming theory universalizes the presence and the importance of the social and cognitive function of gaming in textual activities, and connects reading, culture and aesthetics to the mode of play. The last model considers a strand of children's digital literature---social literature. It argues that the traditional dividing line between the author and the reader is vanishing and becomes ambiguous for fan fiction, manga cultures and other types of amateur-professional text and image production on the Internet, which requires understanding of the social aspect of literacy skill as well as its more personal origin.

Kari-Lynn Winters et al. based their chapter *Performing Picture Books as Co-Authorship: Audiences Critically and Semiotically Interact with Professional Authors during Author Visits* on their investigation of seven award-winning authors' school visits from 2012 through 2015 in and across Southern Ontario and Southern British Columbia. They found that students were more engaged

and participated with picture books during and even after author visits, and that, more importantly, they had a preference to take subject position during the visits by participating in performing, illustrating and creating picture books. The motivational and inspirational impact thus confirms their argument that performance is an important element of picture books.

Nathalie op de Beeck's *Environmental Picture Books: Cultivating Conservationists* aims to raise our awareness of the dire need and mission of children's literature, and picture books in particular, to cultivate environmental sensibility. Drawing on Lawrence Buell's question of the importance of ecological standpoint in literature, op de Beeck reviews previous researches on the quantity and practice of representation of natural and environmental problems in children's literature and points out that, picture books «may be less likely to represent animals and habitats in sensitive or meaningful ways» (123). The problem lies in the lack of environmental awareness of authors and social context to specifically create works that would lead child readers to pay attention to this issue, resulting in a change of setting in children's literature towards built environment. He proposes that it is time to question whether and how picture books could fulfill this important mission.

Torsten Janson's *Visual Staging of Virtue in Islamic Children's Literature* convincingly discusses the power mechanism of Islamic children's literature produced by religious organizations in Britain, and argues that, although superficially these texts have been accommodated to adjust to the new cultural setting, they build on particular ideas about the reproduction of Muslim identity as a minority culture. In Janson's view, these texts define the child as incomplete and ignorant, thus exercising a disciplinary power on them to build their Muslim identities. These texts carry particular aesthetic and moral codes less expressively and relate to «traditional Islamic norms of figurative representation and to the needs and opportunities of the British minority situation» (128).

Nina Christensen's *Between Picture Book and Graphic Novel: Mixed Signals in Kim Fupz Aakeson and Rasmus Breghei's 'I love you Denmark'* urges the incorporation of knowledge from adjacent fields, especially comics studies and media studies, to analyze the picture book, a genre that is undergoing changes in form and style and has blended features from comics and graphic novels. This chapter may be regarded as an echo to, and further development of, the scholarship displayed in the 2012 special issue of «Children's Literature Association Quarterly» on the relationship between comics and picture books. Christensen starts from discussions of new definitions of genre and media to accommodate the changes to the genre, and then applies the new definition to discuss the graphic novel *I love you Denmark*. She argues that there are complex and multiple perspectives in the work: the verbal textual perspective of the protagonist, the visual autodiegetic perspective on the narrator, and the heterodiegetic perspective on the narrator. She then explores the rich connections

and relationships among the multiple perspectives, which, she argues, require different interpretative strategies from the readers, increase their awareness of different visual and verbal strategies and engage them in the experiences and thoughts of the main character.

Andrea Schwenke Wyle's *Narrative Space in Sheree Fitch's 'Merry-Go-Day' and 'Night Sky Wheel Ride': Picture-Book Poesis* deals with an under-discussed sub-genre of the picture book-picture books of poetry. Drawing concepts from picture book theory, poetics and narrative theory, she expands the formulation of narrative space proposed by Mieke Bal and applies it to picture book of poetry, which, due to the unique relationship between poetry and picture, requires more refined terms to denote the rich subtleties. Although many terms such as «segmentivity», «visual performativity», «picture», and «ecosystem» swarm into the introductory part of her chapter and might cause some puzzle to the reader, her analysis of the two works are elucidating and convincing to unfold the rich possibilities of narrative space created in the interplay and inter-animation of the various elements in the two works. The two picture books, in Wyle's view, offers readers different experiences metaphored by different wheels of circular or vertical axes and take readers out of themselves into the sky.

Joseph T. Thomas, Jr.'s *Be Kind or Stupid* serves, as if echoing the beginning chapter which tries to broaden our conceptualization of children reading books, rightfully as the end of the book to make a self-reference to the picture book studies in its address to the chilling issue of scholars trying to obtain permissions from copyright holders for the publication of their research, though not without some pessimism. Instead of adopting the more rigorous and impersonal academic discourse, it is in line with Nodelman's style that has been described by Naomi Hamer and Mavis Reimer as «eschew[ing] the conventions of formal scholarly rhetoric in favour of conversational immediacy» (xiv). Instead of giving a more scholarly and sociological analysis of the current state of the issue, Thomas Jr. imbues his personal feeling of frustration, fury and deep concerns in relating his experience of requesting copyright permission for using Shel Silverstein's images in his essay submitted to «Children's Literature Association Quarterly», which he may probably has to give up at last. His case may be unique, but it is representative enough to illustrate the common difficulty of the issue for scholars in the field, which is also evidenced in the books of Susan M. Bielstein and Lewis Hyde that he has quoted from. The constrained anger is also attested by the chapter's unusually long notes running half the length of the main body of the chapter.

The collection showcases the current research on picture books and visual/verbal texts for young people, a field that is developing in a surprisingly rapid way. Just as Nodelman nostalgically recalls the social and academic context of his 1988 book, picture book research was still in its emerging state at the time; now, sub-braches such as comics studies and graphic novel studies have

already become established along this line of research. It would be comforting to enumerate the milestone achievements in the field: Nodelman's *Words about Stories* in 1988, Maria Nikolajeva and Carole Scott's *How Picturebooks Work* in 2006, Teresa Colomer et al.'s *New Directions in Picture Book Research* in 2010. The burgeoning of the field attests to its maturation and firm establishment in the more general studies of children's literature. Moreover, as the object of studies is broadening, the methodologies have also been significantly expanded to incorporate concepts and methods from media studies, gaming, performativity and material culture. The innovative achievements are displayed in the various chapters.

There are also limitations, naturally, and they mainly come from the origin of the collection as the anthology of a symposium which was attended by twenty four scholars in the field. The room for the selection of papers is relatively limited. If the collection could consider posting CfPs to the global community of scholars in addition to selecting existing papers presented at the symposium, it might have more choices to consider, and it might also have the possibility of accommodating the works of more recognized key scholars. Those readers familiar with the field would find that some key figures in the field are missing in the book, which is a pity much to be deplored and which would make the book less competitive compared to the preceding milestone works in the field. Nodelman may be right when he expresses his worries that he «had closed off the possibility of further insights into picture books rather than opening up a productive debate about them... What most pleases me, then, is that this collection not only honours *Words about Pictures* but significantly moves beyond it» (16), and his concerns might still be relevant at the end of the book. There are 60 mentions of *Words about Pictures* and 104 mentions of Nodelman's name in the eleven chapters, and many authors begin and end their chapter by quoting from Nodelman. It might seem all right at a symposium celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the book, but it would seem less so if the collection intends to «move beyond.» Despite these minor drawbacks, the collection as a whole, especially considered in the history of picture book criticism, deserves warm recommendation for any scholar in the field of picture book studies who wants to fully understand the latest developments and for those in the children's literature criticism in general.

Tra produzione industriale e alfabetizzazione diffusa: nuovi approdi per la storia della cultura materiale della scuola

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Between industrial production and mass education: new approaches to the history of school material culture

ABSTRACT: The present essay aims to offer reflection ideas about a recent and very interesting line of the historical-educational research: the history of school material culture. The need to find new sources, the open questions, the interpretative keys, the need for a greater connection between industrial development and mass education: these are just a few issues covered by this essay, which starts from the publication of a recent volume, written by Juri Meda.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: School material culture; Teaching aids; Industrial production; XIXth Centuries.

Dopo i mezzi di comunicazione di massa e i mezzi di distruzione di massa, una nuova categoria è destinata a imporsi nel discorso pubblico intorno al fenomeno sociale della massificazione: quella relativa ai mezzi di educazione. Della loro natura e del loro utilizzo come fonte storica ne dà ampio ragguaglio Juri Meda nel suo ultimo e documentato lavoro, uscito nel 2016 per FrancoAngeli proprio con questo titolo emblematico: *Mezzi di educazione di massa*¹. L'autore, con questa definizione, gioca con le parole, ma al contempo intende fin dal titolo proiettare il lettore verso terreni storiografici ancora incolti, che tuttavia promettono messi copiose.

¹ J. Meda, *Mezzi di educazione di massa. Saggi di storia della cultura materiale della scuola tra XIX e XX secolo*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2016.

Con questa raccolta di saggi Meda recupera una dimensione che negli ultimi decenni appariva notevolmente ridotta all'interno degli studi storici: quella economica, in questo caso legata al progressivo allargamento della scolarizzazione a una popolazione via via crescente. Si tratta di una scelta in controtendenza rispetto alle indagini storiche avviate negli ultimi vent'anni in ambito scolastico-educativo, prevalentemente declinate sui risvolti ideologici e politici del fare educazione; una linea storiografica capace di avviare paradigmi interpretativi significativi, ma che ha finito per inibirne degli altri, alternativi (o complementari) a questo modello.

La tesi di fondo sostenuta dall'autore risulta chiara fin dalle prime pagine: la progressiva scolarizzazione registrata a partire dall'ultimo trentennio dell'Ottocento avrebbe modificato il mercato dello scolastico, attirando, con la promessa di un giro d'affari in rapida espansione, ditte produttrici di testi scolastici, sussidi didattici, arredi, cancelleria, etc. e imponendo un'evoluzione del mercato in senso più imprenditoriale. Questo processo comportò infatti la graduale affermazione di imprese moderne, le quali sostituirono piccoli artigiani, cartolerie di paese, tipografie e legatorie ancorate a modelli di gestione pre-industriali il cui perimetro d'azione era delimitato dai confini cittadini o, più raramente, da quelli provinciali. Si tratta di un momento fondamentale che segna, in concomitanza appunto con l'inizio della scolarizzazione coatta (quantomeno nel grado primario, anche se con sacche più o meno ampie di inadempienza all'obbligo), l'origine della riorganizzazione dell'intero settore produttivo legato al mercato scolastico, che passò da un assetto di tipo familiare a un sistema societario più complesso, prodromico di quello imprenditoriale e industriale. Queste manovre, dettate dall'esigenza di modernizzare un settore ancora piuttosto arretrato dell'economia nazionale, implicarono, a causa delle notevoli disponibilità di denaro necessarie per affrontare questo passaggio, l'allacciarsi di un più stretto rapporto con gli interessi bancari, finanziari e politici.

Un esempio lampante è costituito dalle principali case editrici scolastiche, i cui interessi spaziavano dalla pubblicazione e distribuzione dei libri di testo alla produzione di sussidi didattici quali quadri murali, alfabetieri, pallottolieri, cassette per l'insegnamento oggettivo, busti anatomici, provette per esercitazioni di chimica, strumenti per l'insegnamento della fisica e delle scienze naturali, arredi, etc. Nei primi due decenni del Novecento, l'accentuato dinamismo societario di queste ditte portò inevitabilmente a un più stretto raccordo con l'ambiente finanziario e industriale nonché, in seguito alla stipula di accordi commerciali ed economici tra le varie imprese, alla formazione di veri e propri *trust* editoriali. Questi ultimi furono originati anche dalla presenza di alcuni finanziatori o degli stessi editori in seno a diversi consigli d'amministrazione, creando un intreccio di interessi e di coinvolgimenti assai articolato².

² Sullo sviluppo di questi intrecci mi permetto di rimandare a F. Targhetta, *Tra riorganizzazione industriale e sviluppo editoriale. La casa editrice Paravia tra le due guerre*, «History of Education

Appare dunque palese come il tema dello sviluppo in senso industriale delle maggiori ditte attive nel mondo della scuola costituisca un passaggio cruciale, non solo per indagare la storia economica del nostro Paese, ma anche per verificarne le influenze in ambito pedagogico, didattico, culturale. L'evoluzione nella direzione di un'industria dello scolastico marcò infatti il passaggio dei sussidi, dei libri e di tutti gli oggetti di consumo in precedenza citati, da semplici strumenti di istruzione a mezzi di educazione di massa, sottoposti a un processo di standardizzazione formale e alla produzione in serie. La distribuzione su larga scala da parte di imprese artigiane e, poi, industriali determinò infatti una loro codificazione formale con fini omologanti, sia in riferimento ai metodi di insegnamento come ai processi di apprendimento. Un'uniformità dei contenuti educativi favorita, è bene sottolinearlo, dagli stessi organi centrali della pubblica istruzione, la cui azione era in quel torno di tempo informata a esigenze di normalizzazione didattica: l'estrema eterogeneità delle condizioni ambientali e la generalizzata impreparazione degli insegnanti imponevano interventi mirati a orientare le pratiche dei docenti e le abitudini dei discenti, con propositi di guida, ma anche di controllo.

Si prenda il caso dei banchi scolastici, richiamati dall'immagine di copertina del testo. Essi finirono per agire come «dispositivi educativi impliciti» volti al controllo delle menti attraverso il disciplinamento dei corpi. Le idee di ordine e di disciplina furono trasmesse non solo in modo esplicito attraverso i libri di testo, i sussidi didattici e altri dispositivi di formazione culturale, ma anche in modo implicito da quegli arredi che, imponendo una particolare postura ai corpi e organizzando lo spazio scolastico attraverso la loro disposizione in aula, risultarono funzionali all'ideologia borghese di normalizzazione e regolamentazione della vita sociale. Un'esigenza, quella del disciplinamento degli spazi, impostasi con urgenza nel momento in cui si cominciò a registrare un aumento costante del numero degli scolari seguito alle norme sull'obbligo. La soluzione più immediata per mantenere l'ordine in classe fu rinvenuta nella limitazione della mobilità degli scolari e nella rigida organizzazione degli spazi attraverso la diffusione di precisi modelli di banchi scolastici.

Nel corso degli ultimi due decenni del XIX secolo a queste funzioni se ne aggiunsero altre, ispirate a criteri più squisitamente pedagogici e igienici, facendone un oggetto di studio da parte di esperti, di attenzione da parte del ministero e – quel che qui importa – di interesse da parte dei primi stabilimenti industriali, che ne intuirono le enormi potenzialità economiche in un mercato in forte e costante espansione.

A motivare un maggiore investimento nella produzione industriale di sussidi didattici agirono anche considerazioni legate a una sorta di irredentismo culturale.

Si prenda il caso dei sussidi per l'insegnamento della geografia: quadri murali, atlanti e altri strumenti cartografici furono a lungo importati da Paesi con una maggiore tradizione e dotati di stabilimenti moderni, a partire dalla Germania e dalla Francia. Le ricadute sul piano della trasmissione di precisi messaggi politici e ideologici, data la funzione centrale della cartografia³, appaiono evidenti. Se «ogni carta, prima ancora di descrivere il territorio, descriv[e] la cultura geografica che l'ha generata», ne deriva che «l'Atlante, in quanto compendio di una specifica visione del mondo, costituisce il prodotto materiale di un ampio progetto politico quale può essere, ad esempio, la costruzione del sentimento nazionale o l'espansionismo coloniale o l'egemonia regionale»⁴. Una produzione nazionale di carte geografiche permette un maggiore controllo sui contenuti, con particolare riguardo al tema dei confini: perimetrare i confini nazionali, magari facendo coincidere quelli politici con quelli cosiddetti naturali, consente di costruire e consolidare il senso di appartenenza a un determinato Paese⁵. La carta – sia essa riprodotta su un quadro murale, un atlante o un testo scolastico – è capace, con un semplice tratto, di rendere visibile, e quindi concreto, il confine; in una parola, di reificarlo. Rappresentando graficamente lo spazio nazionale, inquadrandolo entro confini segnati da linee o marcati da tratti colorati più o meno sottili e più o meno “generosi”, le mappe hanno infatti storicamente giocato un ruolo significativo nel processo di *nation building* poiché si associano all'idea stessa di nazione, divenendone una trasposizione simbolica⁶.

Queste considerazioni erano note già negli anni a ridosso dell'Unità. Lo stesso Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, consapevole del ruolo ricoperto dalla cartografia e appurata la totale dipendenza da quella straniera, aveva bandito nel 1883 un concorso per la stesura di un atlante a uso delle scuole classiche, finalizzato «a cessare il disdoro del dover ricorrere ai frutti, non sempre adatti a noi, della industria forastica, e il danno didattico di dover usare atlanti di autori diversi e disformi di metodo, come d'intenti scolastici»⁷.

³ M.L. Sturani, “I giusti confini dell'Italia”. *La rappresentazione cartografica della nazione*, «Contemporanea», vol. 1, n. 3, 1998, pp. 427-446.

⁴ E. Boria, *Cartografia e potere. Segni e rappresentazioni negli atlanti italiani del Novecento*, Torino, Utet, 2007, p. 5.

⁵ F. Targhetta, *L'uso ideologico del concetto di confine nella scuola elementare tra Otto e Novecento*, «Ricerche Pedagogiche», vol. 52, n. 203, 2017, pp. 43-50.

⁶ E. Boria, B.M. Mennini, *La carta geografica come veicolo dell'“idea d'Italia” nel periodo risorgimentale*, «Studi e Ricerche socio-territoriali», vol. 1, 2011, pp. 149-196 (citazione è a p. 151). Sul ruolo delle mappe nella costruzione, o nel rafforzamento, dell'identità nazionale cfr. D. Wood, *The power of maps*, London, Routledge, 1992; F. Farinelli, *I segni del mondo. Immagine cartografica e discorso geografico in età moderna*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1992; J.B. Harley, *The new nature of maps. Essays in the history of cartography*, Baltimore-London, J. Hopkins University Press, 2001; G. Pecout, *La carta d'Italia nella pedagogia politica del Risorgimento*, in A.M. Banti, R. Bizzocchi (edd.), *Immagini della nazione nell'Italia del Risorgimento*, Roma, Carocci, 2002.

⁷ Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione – Commissione sopra i libri di testo per le scuole

Arcangelo Ghisleri, protagonista assoluto nella fase di fondazione della cartografia italiana, a distanza di molti anni ricordò con queste parole il suo impegno nella battaglia ingaggiata contro il «*tributo annuo* di parecchie centinaia di migliaia di lire, che le scuole d'Italia pagavano in *vassallaggio* al fortunato Istituto Perthes di Gotha»:

Nella pratica dell'insegnamento io avvertivo ogni giorno le *deficienze* di quegli Atlanti, onde si veniva cumulando nell'animo mio un doloroso senso di *mortificazione patriottica*, nell'accertare come, dopo più di un quarto di secolo di unità nazionale, nelle scuole d'Italia la storia si dovesse studiare col sussidio di un atlante *forestiero, insufficientissimo* per lo sviluppo della nostra storia contemporanea, e nel quale l'*Italia* era sempre raffigurata come un'*appendice geografica dell'Impero germanico*!⁸

Si può dunque affermare che all'origine dello sviluppo industriale del mercato scolastico, di cui la produzione di sussidi per l'insegnamento della geografia ricoprì una parte significativa, vi fu una serie di concause, non ultima – e anche questa meriterebbe la dovuta attenzione da parte degli storici – quella legata ai progressi tecnologici, che consentirono la riproduzione di carte e illustrazioni a colori con maggiore definizione rispetto al recente passato e a prezzi più contenuti.

Un altro esempio di progresso tecnico legato allo sviluppo di nuovi (o rinnovati) materiali per la scuola è quello legato ai quaderni e ai diari, ricostruito nel dettaglio da Juri Meda⁹. Anche in questo caso, l'intenso processo di scolarizzazione della società si accompagnò al progresso dell'industria cartaria e alla conseguente produzione in serie di più moderni e funzionali – rispetto a quelli che Meda definisce “proto-quaderni” – supporti alla scrittura, condizione fondamentale per il consumo di massa. L'evoluzione di questo processo portò nei primi due decenni del Novecento alla sostituzione di imprese artigianali locali con ditte a carattere industriale, attratte dalle prospettive di ingenti guadagni. Secondo quel legame a doppio filo già richiamato, per finalizzare il definitivo

elementari e popolari, per le scuole tecniche e normali, per gli istituti tecnici e per le scuole ginnasiali e liceali, *Relazione generale a S.E. il Ministro, Presidente del Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione*, Roma, Tip. Ippolito Sciolla, 1883, p. 75, cit. in 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, p. 189.

⁸ A. Ghisleri, *Testo-Atlante di geografia storica generale e d'Italia in particolare*, Bergamo, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1927, parte I, p. 3. Su questo tema cfr. F. Targhetta, *Tra sussidi didattici e libri di testo: gli atlanti storici dall'Unità al fascismo*, in P. Bianchini (ed.), *Le origini delle materie. Discipline, programmi e manuali scolastici in Italia*, Torino, Sei, pp. 95-110.

⁹ Non va dimenticato come Meda sia stato tra i pionieri negli studi che utilizzano i quaderni di scuola come fonte storica e tra i promotori del grande convegno internazionale organizzato a Macerata nel 2007 (*Quaderni di scuola. Una fonte complessa per la storia delle culture scolastiche e dei costumi educativi tra Ottocento e Novecento*), poi confluito nell'opera in due volumi, tuttora insuperata: 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*, 2 vols., Firenze, Polistampa, 2010.

passaggio dei quaderni nella categoria dei mezzi di educazione di massa era però necessario un ultimo *step*: la loro codificazione, realizzata in quello stesso torno di tempo attraverso la razionalizzazione dei formati, la tipizzazione delle rigature e la definizione delle diverse tipologie.

A fare da cornice, lo scontro tra il regime fascista (e i vari enti fondati per regolamentare le forniture scolastiche) e le associazioni di categoria dei cartolai, altri soggetti coinvolti in questa storia del mercato scolastico: a loro fu imposto un contributo fiscale indiretto sul commercio dei quaderni, i famosi bolli che vediamo impressi in numerosi documenti dell'epoca.

Come si può intuire da questi scarni cenni, la storia della cultura materiale della scuola richiede un approccio critico e nuovo a fonti che solo recentemente hanno cominciato a essere utilizzate dagli studiosi ovvero risultano essere ancora del tutto inesplorate come riviste del settore (produttivo), brevetti, cataloghi delle mostre, pubblicità, bollettini delle organizzazioni di categoria, relazioni delle assemblee dei consigli di amministrazione delle ditte produttrici, fascicoli conservati presso gli archivi delle camere di commercio, etc. I quesiti che un tale approccio è in grado di aprire sono molti e lunghi dal trovare una risposta immediata: in che termini possiamo legare la storia dei processi economici allo sviluppo della scolarizzazione di massa? Quali ricadute ebbe la nascita di un moderno settore produttivo sul piano didattico? Quale ruolo ricoprì, nella diffusione della produzione industriale a scapito di quella artigianale, la classe docente? Come si coniugarono obiettivi prettamente economici e finalità più squisitamente pedagogiche? Quanto a lungo, nelle zone meno sviluppate del Paese, i materiali di produzione artigianale hanno continuato a essere utilizzati in classe? E con quali effetti? Vi furono resistenze (genitori, insegnanti, presidi, amministrazioni comunali, pedagogisti, etc.) a questo processo omologante? Si tratta solo di alcuni interrogativi che rivelano i molteplici intrecci legati alla storia della cultura materiale della scuola.

Juri Meda, cui va dato il merito con questo documentatissimo volume di aver sistematizzato una linea storiografica ancora poco diffusa nel nostro Paese¹⁰, offre in definitiva nuove e preziose prospettive euristiche con le quali gli studiosi di storia dell'educazione sono necessariamente chiamati a confrontarsi nei prossimi anni.

¹⁰ Il crescente interesse intorno a queste tematiche è testimoniato dall'organizzazione in Italia del III Convegno Internazionale sulla cultura materiale della scuola: *Production, Use and Circulation of School Furnishings and Teaching Aids between Europe and Latin America in XIX e XX Centuries* (Macerata, 12-13 settembre 2017). Su tale incontro di studi si veda L. Pomante, M. Brunelli, *Un recente colloquio internazionale di studi sulla cultura materiale della scuola e sulle nuove sfide che attendono la ricerca storico-educativa*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 12, n. 2, pp. 643-652.

L'altra educazione. A proposito di un recente volume di Massimo Baldacci

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The other education. About a recent book by Massimo Baldacci

ABSTRACT: Starting from the analysis of a recent work by Massimo Baldacci, the present essay intends to underline the contribution offered by Antonio Gramsci in the pedagogical field, focusing attention on the main works of one of the most important Italian authors in the world.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of pedagogy; Historiography; Antonio Gramsci; Italy; XXth Century.

Antonio Gramsci è uno degli autori italiani più letti e conosciuti nel mondo. Come ha notato Guido Liguori, presidente della sezione italiana della International Gramsci Society, un *network* che collega gli studiosi del pensiero gramsciano di tutto il mondo, si deve allo storico Eric Hobsbawm l'aver, per primo, richiamato con forza l'attenzione sulla «fortuna di Gramsci» fuori d'Italia e che è merito di John M. Cammet aver raccolto una bibliografia degli scritti su Gramsci che solo tra il 1922 e il 1993 contava già oltre diecimila titoli. La bibliografia gramsciana prosegue ora a cura Francesco Giasi e Maria Luisa Righi della Fondazione Istituto Gramsci ed è reperibile *on line*.

La rimozione culturale, operata specialmente in Italia, a partire dagli anni Ottanta, del pensiero gramsciano e, più in generale, della tradizione marxista, è certamente legata a ragioni complesse di carattere storico e politico. Se, da una parte, essa allude positivamente al tramonto di una lettura dottrinarina, a volte dogmatica, di questa tradizione di pensiero, dall'altra rappresenta però anche una indubbia testimonianza del permanere, nella nostra storia intellettuale,

di forme di subalternità conformismi imposti e a nuovi ideologismi spesso di ispirazione neo-liberista.

Se ne trova un preciso riscontro nell'ambito degli studi pedagogici, al cui interno, salvo rare eccezioni, le opere più significative risalgono agli anni Settanta e Ottanta del secolo scorso (da Giovanni Urbani a Mario Alighiero Manacorda, da Angelo Broccoli ad Attilio Monasta, da Dario Ragazzini a Franco Cambi e pochi altri).

Non si può, dunque, non accogliere molto positivamente la pubblicazione del recente volume di Massimo Baldacci¹ che mette fine a un lungo silenzio, in Italia, nel campo della riflessione educativa e non solo.

Sulla base di una corposa indagine assai accurata dal punto di vista della lettura delle fonti, con riferimento in particolare ai *Quaderni del carcere*, e sulla base di una stimolante riflessione veramente inedita dal punto di vista interpretativo ed ermeneutico, Baldacci propone per usare proprio le parole dell'Autore, «una nuova lettura pedagogica» del pensiero gramsciano, finalizzata non tanto ad individuare gli aspetti specifici e isolabili come tasselli di un possibile pensiero educativo, bensì una «*prospettiva* interna alla sua intera opera»², alla dimensione politica e culturale del percorso intellettuale di Antonio Gramsci.

Massimo Baldacci ha dunque il merito di andare ben oltre la rimozione del pensiero gramsciano dal punto di vista educativo che gli appare «come segno di provincialismo (di cui la subalternità esterofila è sempre spia) e perfino di scarso vigore critico-culturale»³.

Quale, dunque, lo scopo del volume?

Da una parte, si vuole ricostruire la riflessione gramsciana sulla questione educativa come tema che percorre l'intera sua opera, dall'altra, fuori da un piano esclusivamente filologico o interpretativo, riflettere, non solo su quanto Gramsci abbia detto ma soprattutto su quanto egli possa ancora dirci.

La sfida che ci propone Massimo Baldacci – «leggere Gramsci da pedagogisti» - è a mio parere del tutto nuova ed è basata, come egli opportunamente sottolinea, sull'esame preliminare dei seguenti punti:

a) le coordinate ermeneutiche all'interno delle quali va compreso il pensiero di Gramsci; *b)* la questione del rapporto fra le diverse parti degli scritti di Gramsci (quelli pre-carcerari, i *Quaderni del carcere* e *Le lettere dal carcere*) e, in particolare il problema ermeneutico posto dai *Quaderni*; *c)* il problema della relazione tra interpretazione ed uso del pensiero di Gramsci; *d)* le linee di una impostazione analitica dell'esame del suo pensiero; *e)* le questioni filologiche fondamentali inerenti ai *Quaderni*⁴.

¹ M. Baldacci, *Oltre la subalternità. Praxis ed educazione in Gramsci*, Roma, Carocci Editore, 2017.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Convinzione profonda, che permea l'intera ricerca, è che la "pedagogia" gramsciana non sia isolabile dalla elaborazione complessiva dei *Quaderni* e che sarebbe, dunque, fuorviante – una prospettiva, infatti, che viene senz'altro esclusa – pensare di potersi limitare allo studio delle note esplicitamente dedicate alla questione educativa e scolastica.

Al fine di elaborare un'indagine che intende pervenire all'individuazione di linee interpretative che consentano un uso pedagogico del pensiero gramsciano nella scena educativa e sociale contemporanea, l'Autore avvia, in prima istanza, una ricostruzione delle principali letture pedagogiche del pensiero gramsciano, sviluppatasi in Italia a partire dagli anni Sessanta.

Il volume prende le mosse dall'esame dell'antologia curata da Giovanni Urbani nel 1967, *La formazione dell'uomo*, pubblicata dagli Editori Riuniti. Si tratta di una selezione degli scritti gramsciani (da quelli giovanili, alle *Lettere ai Quaderni*) nei quali l'autore individua tematiche ad alta densità pedagogica, mettendo in rilievo, per primo, in ambito educativo, la rilevanza del concetto di egemonia.

La concezione del concetto di egemonia viene opportunamente collocata nel contesto del dibattito teorico-politico di quegli anni e presa in esame in modo attento e analitico e, allo stesso tempo, per alcuni aspetti problematici.

È certo, tuttavia, che l'indagine di Urbani anticipa la riflessione di Angelo Broccoli sulla centralità del tema dell'egemonia nel pensiero gramsciano, come è evidente nell'impegnativo volume *Antonio Gramsci e l'educazione come egemonia* (Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1972), «pubblicato nello stesso anno in cui esce anche il libro di Luciano Gruppi, *Il concetto di egemonia in Gramsci* (Editori Riuniti), mentre è già uscito da due anni il volume di Mario Alighiero Manacorda *Il principio educativo in Gramsci*»⁵.

Angelo Broccoli, pur facendo riferimento all'edizione tematica dei *Quaderni* (Editori Riuniti) – un limite che ha riguardato anche gli studi di Urbani – non avendo avuto a differenza di Manacorda la possibilità di consultare i lavori preparatori dell'edizione critica curata da Valentino Gerratana, che uscirà poi nel 1975, approda, secondo Baldacci, ad una visione dinamica del concetto di egemonia, sviluppando ma soprattutto potenziando le intuizioni di Urbani.

Particolarmente pregevoli sono le pagine che Baldacci dedica all'approfondimento epistemologico ed ermeneutico del concetto di egemonia in Gramsci⁶ che approdano ad alcune valutazioni sia della trattazione di Broccoli sia di quella di Urbani, sulla base della consapevolezza, sviluppata da entrambi gli studiosi, che «il rapporto egemonico-pedagogico volto all'emancipazione dei soggetti è un rapporto dialettico e dinamico, che vede la connessione fra il momento della coercizione, nonché di quello della persuasione, nonché la progressiva transi-

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 43 ss.

zione dall'uno all'altro in relazione ai progressi intellettuali e morali dei soggetti formati»⁷.

Per quanto sia indubbia la centralità della categoria dell'egemonia nella concezione gramsciana, è decisivo l'apporto dato da Baldacci ad una analisi del ruolo *della filosofia della praxis*, come motore del cambiamento.

A suo avviso, infatti, non è sufficiente prendere in esame l'educazione come rapporto egemonico, ma è necessario, al contrario, valutare prioritariamente di quale filosofia è espressione il processo egemonico e prendere atto che «solo *la filosofia della praxis* è diretta all'emancipazione dei subalterni. Perciò la pedagogia gramsciana si può intendere solo in connessione con la *filosofia della praxis*»⁸.

Ritengo che sia questo lo snodo concettuale strategico elaborato da Baldacci nell'interpretazione del pensiero gramsciano sull'educazione rispetto ad ogni altra lettura del problema.

Nel ricostruire, le letture pedagogiche del pensiero gramsciano, Baldacci – che conduce il suo studio sulla base di uno scavo analitico e di un approfondimento tematico prima d'ora mai realizzato in ambito pedagogico – dedica ampio spazio al pensiero di Mario Alighiero Manacorda⁹ e al suo *Il principio educativo in Gramsci. Americanismo e conformismo* (1970). All'opera si riconosce un ruolo a lungo centrale sul piano filologico ed interpretativo (grazie anche alla possibilità dell'autore- come si è detto- di confrontarsi con l'edizione critica dei *Quaderni*). Di essa si valorizza il carattere non settoriale della ricostruzione della tematica educativa gramsciana, come evidenzia anche il sottotitolo dell'opera manacordiana, ma se ne rileva, allo stesso tempo, criticamente, la tendenza, a volte, ad isolare comunque riduttivamente i temi squisitamente pedagogici, sebbene elaborati in vista di una prospettiva complessiva della costruzione di *un uomo nuovo*, dell'uomo *della futura società socialista*.

L'insistenza sul tema dell'americanismo, se da una parte favorisce, secondo Baldacci, una lettura materialista del pensiero di Gramsci contro le forzature idealistiche in voga in quegli anni, presenterebbe tuttavia un rischio di discutibile unilateralità e permarrebbe, inoltre, troppo a lungo anche quando quel clima era ormai superato. Ma si potrebbe anche affermare che la presa in carico della "materialità", nel pensiero di Manacorda, è in realtà finalizzata al superamento del conformismo imposto per fare spazio al conformismo proposto o dinamico, vale a dire ad un modello di socialità consapevolmente scelto e democraticamente elaborato (argomentazioni ulteriormente sviluppate poi in senso innovativo da Dario Ragazzini).

Un'assai attenta analisi viene, inoltre, dedicata al pensiero di Angelo Broccoli (*Antonio Gramsci e l'educazione come egemonia*, come si è detto pubblicato nel 1972, e *Ideologia e educazione* del 1974), del quale, rispetto al lavoro di Mario

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-126.

Alighiero Manacorda, viene sottolineata una maggiore originalità e un nuovo spessore ermeneutico relativo sia all'approfondimento della categoria di blocco storico sia alla valorizzazione della dimensione 'creativa' di una prospettiva in grado di modificare «il modo di sentire del maggior numero e quindi la realtà stessa»¹⁰.

La lettura di Broccoli ci pare sostanzialmente corretta. Come si è detto lo studioso romano intende assumere come coordinate ermeneutiche le categorie dell'egemonia e del blocco storico, legandole assieme. Pertanto la sua tesi secondo la quale il rapporto educativo è un rapporto attivo e reciproco tra due blocchi storici (il maestro e il discente) va letta congiuntamente con quella dell'educazione come intervento egemonico. E' quindi il blocco storico del maestro (in quanto egemone) a esercitare una funzione formativa sul blocco storico del discente, sebbene quest'ultimo reagisca attivamente sul maestro. Così il processo formativo non può essere definito unilateralmente dall'azione del maestro, ma risulta dall'interazione fra tale azione e la reazione soggettiva del discente¹¹. Le pagine di Broccoli immettono, senza dubbio, nel dibattito di quegli anni, fuori da ogni appartenenza aprioristica politica o partitica, prospettive dinamiche ed innovative.

Nel fare una sintesi dell'apporto di Manacorda e di Broccoli, Baldacci sostiene, in definitiva, che i due autori hanno posto letture non solo divergenti, ma anche contrastanti su punti importanti. Gli aspetti di novità proposti da Broccoli rispetto alle tesi di Manacorda sarebbero riconducibili all'accentuazione del carattere dinamico del rapporto egemonico e alla critica dell'americanismo come criterio educativo, che, a mio avviso, nelle intenzioni di Manacorda, esprimeva la necessità, come si è detto, del superamento dell'americanismo stesso a favore del conformismo dinamico e dell'istanza di «un americanismo non di marca americana», fuori da ogni possibile economicismo o atteggiamento passivizzante.

Così come per le posizioni di Urbani e per quelle di Broccoli, anche le osservazioni relative al pensiero di Manacorda sono estremamente dettagliate e puntualmente ricostruite sulla base di un attento esame delle tesi via via sviluppate tenendo conto anche del ruolo svolto da Manacorda stesso nel PCI e dei contenuti ideologici del dibattito politico-culturale negli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta.

Pur apprezzando l'enorme lavoro svolto da Manacorda, in definitiva Baldacci non ne condivide il fatto che egli legga «le note sulla scuola in connessione col tema dell'americanismo (e del conformismo) che diviene così il criterio educativo fondamentale della 'pedagogia gramsciana', non solo sul versante della formazione diffusa, ma anche di quella scolastica»¹².

Molto pregevole è nell'analisi di Baldacci la ricostruzione, attenta alle molteplici interpretazioni non solo pedagogiche, del percorso concettuale presente nei

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-175.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Quaderni, e finalizzata ad un approfondimento della *filosofia della praxis* come motore del superamento di ogni forma di subalternità e sottomissione culturale (folklore, senso comune) in una prospettiva emancipativa dell'intero genere umano, come recita il titolo stesso dell'opera qui recensita, *Oltre la subalternità*¹³

La vastissima e straordinaria ricerca – molto attenta ad ogni aspetto del contesto filosofico, politico e teorico del dibattito complessivo al cui interno si inserisce lo sviluppo di una attenzione alla dimensione “pedagogica” del pensiero gramsciano – non vuole essere finalizzato, nell'intento esplicitato dall'Autore, solo a rileggere Gramsci o a ripensarne le diverse interpretazioni pedagogiche, ma a mettere a fuoco una nuova sfida conoscitiva: “usare” Gramsci oggi, contro le nuove subalternità educative e non solo.

Innumerevoli sono gli spunti, individuati da Baldacci nella riflessione gramsciana – nel contesto di una elaborazione che certamente non abbiamo inteso qui riassumere ma la cui lettura si rivela imprescindibile al fine di restituire alla riflessione pedagogica un'ampiezza politica e progettuale oggi a volte tradita – utili ad arginare le derive neoliberiste oramai dilaganti e decisamente minacciose rispetto ad una crescita autenticamente democratica della società e degli individui.

«Comprendere fra i bersagli polemici non solo le filosofie dei filosofi, ma anche il «senso comune» ossia una cultura socialmente diffusa che s'intende modificare, vuol dire dare una dimensione pedagogica alla filosofia della praxis (vederla come una «pedagogia sociale» secondo l'espressione di Labriola)¹⁴.

Si tratta di una prospettiva che chiama in causa la questione strategica, ora come allora, del ruolo degli intellettuali e della prospettiva gramsciana di un intellettuale che sia «specialista più politico».

La sfida che ci troviamo oggi di fronte è quella di superare, attraverso la scuola e l'istruzione, il pericolo implicito in ogni modo di pensare subito surrettiziamente come espressione dell'ideologia dell'apparato egemonico dominante.

In questo senso – conclude Baldacci – la lezione pedagogica di Gramsci è che la lotta contro il senso comune imposto dai gruppi egemoni, e quindi l'esercizio dello spirito critico, trasformando il soggetto nel senso dell'autonomia, va sempre nella direzione della sua emancipazione. Solo l'educazione può consentire di andare oltre la subalternità¹⁵.

In queste parole conclusive, sta il senso profondamente innovativo di un'opera che non si limita ad una pure attentissima, filologicamente fondata, storicamente e teoreticamente avvertita, analisi delle letture pedagogiche del pensiero gramsciano, ma ne intende cogliere l'attualità insita in una visione della *filosofia della praxis* come “realtà” trasformatrice ed emancipativa, contro ogni visione aziendalistica o diseguale, dunque antidemocratica, della formazione.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 155 ss.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

I necrologi dei maestri elementari italiani: da *Spoon River* a fonti inedite per la storia della scuola e dell'educazione

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About the death notices of the Italian primary teachers: from Spoon River to original sources for the History of school and education

ABSTRACT: The paper deals with some issues opened by a recent research conducted by Anna Ascenzi and Roberto Sani, full professors of History of Education at the University of Macerata (Italy), in order to highlight how the death notices published by some Italian primary teachers' reviews could be considered as new sources for studying the changes of the primary teacher's profession between XIX and XX centuries. Their proposal could be interpreted as the attempt of spreading a new historiographical paradigm in Italy, according to the current development of the «School Memories» trend, introduced in Spain at the beginning of the XXI century by the historians Agustín Escolano Benito and Antonio Viñao Frago and recently celebrated in an International Symposium in Seville (22-23 September, 2015).

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Death notices; Primary teachers; History of education; School Memories; Italy; XIX-XXth Centuries.

«*Oscuri martiri, eroi del dovere*». *Memoria e celebrazione del maestro elementare attraverso i necrologi pubblicati sulle riviste didattiche e magistrali nel primo secolo dell'Italia unita (1861-1961)* è il titolo del volume di Anna Ascenzi e Roberto Sani uscito per FrancoAngeli nel 2016¹, in cui viene data “nuova vita” al necrologio come testo per ricordare o celebrare figure

¹ A. Ascenzi, R. Sani, «*Oscuri martiri, eroi del dovere*». *Memoria e celebrazione del maestro elementare attraverso i necrologi pubblicati sulle riviste didattiche e magistrali nel primo secolo dell'Italia unita (1861-1961)*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2016.

significative nel panorama educativo e scolastico. Nello specifico, gli autori hanno analizzato oltre 2000 necrologi, tratti da alcuni dei più prestigiosi periodici scolastici, magistrali e didattici italiani, come «L'Istituto. Foglio ebdomadario d'istruzione» (1852-1894), «L'Osservatore Scolastico. Giornale d'Istruzione e di Educazione» (1865-1899), «L'Unione dei maestri elementari d'Italia» (1870-1920), «La Scuola Nazionale. Rassegna di Educazione e di Istruzione» (1889-1901), «I Diritti della Scuola» (1899-1994) e «Scuola Italiana Moderna» (1893-ancora in pubblicazione).

Ascenzi e Sani hanno ispirato il loro studio alla recente prospettiva storiografica delle «School Memories» (memorie scolastiche), introdotta in particolare dai lavori pionieristici di Agustín Escolano Benito e Antonio Viñao Frago nei primi anni Duemila, al fine di considerare i necrologi come fonte inedita e innovativa per indagare i processi di costruzione identitaria dei gruppi e delle istituzioni che li hanno prodotti². Il necrologio rappresenterebbe, in tal senso, una *School Memory* riconducibile – per estensione – ad una pratica collettiva e/o pubblica di rievocazione di un passato scolastico, nei suoi protagonisti e nelle sue pratiche, attraverso il canale comunicativo della stampa, in cui la dimensione di memoria individuale risulterebbe inscindibile da quella collettiva. Dietro la celebrazione pubblica del profilo biografico e culturale del soggetto, di cui il necrologio reca memoria, si delinerebbe infatti il profilo di un «idealtipo» di maestro o funzionario scolastico, che ha subito un'evoluzione lungo il corso del tempo, in relazione agli scopi assegnati alla scuola, ai mutamenti avvenuti nel panorama pedagogico e culturale italiano e alle variazioni occorse nella cultura scolastica e nella personale «cultura del maestro»³.

A questi primi elementi di attenzione occorre aggiungere almeno altri tre: in primo luogo, ogni necrologio rappresenta un saggio di «microstoria» riferito ad una precisa vicenda biografica, che in diversi casi ha assunto i caratteri di *exemplum* all'interno della più ampia «macro-storia» italiana dell'istruzione elementare come istruzione del popolo e strumento di lotta all'analfabetismo. In secondo luogo, ogni necrologio costituisce un “frammento” da valorizzare in quanto, in ottica ologrammatica, sintetizza in sé – pur nelle sue circoscritte dimensioni spazio-temporali e biografiche – l'“intero” di una processualità educativa e formativa che ha trovato espressione nella singolarità irripetibile della personalità presentata. Infine, ogni necrologio è un esempio di «scrittura

² Per una prima definizione del nuovo paradigma storiografico delle «School Memories» si rimanda agli atti del Simposio internazionale *School Memories. New Trends in Historical Research into Education: Heuristic Perspectives and Methodological Issues* (Siviglia, 22-23 settembre 2015), in particolare al saggio di: J. Meda, A. Viñao, *School Memory: Historiographical Balance and Heuristics Perspectives*, in C. Yanes-Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, Cham (CH), Springer, 2017, pp. 1-9.

³ Cfr. E. De Fort, *La cultura dei maestri*, in Comune di Milano-Settore Cultura e Spettacolo, *Raccolte Storiche*, Istituto lombardo per la storia del movimento di liberazione in Italia, *Cultura e società negli anni del fascismo*, Milano, Cordani, 1987, pp. 221-260.

formalizzata» secondo particolari caratteri stilistico-narrativi, spesso stereotipati, che al di là degli «orpelli» metaforici e dei toni retorici – a metà fra finzione letteraria e fedeltà cronachistica – offre la ricostruzione di una «memoria di vita» unica ed originale.

Nella prospettiva aperta dalla *nouvelle historiographie* delle *Annales*, una pista di ricerca così connotata potrebbe costituire un percorso fecondo quanto a ricchezza di riferimenti e di processi illustrati, poiché risponderebbe a quelle istanze di ampliamento del ventaglio di fonti storiche e di inaugurazione di nuove modalità euristiche fondate su un orizzonte interdisciplinare, alla base del successo stesso delle *Annales*⁴. Inoltre, darebbe ulteriore valore al terreno di studio costituito dai periodici scolastici, educativi e didattici, che fin dagli anni Novanta del secolo scorso sono stati oggetto di indagine in Italia da parte di un gruppo di ricercatori coordinato da Giorgio Chiosso, per la stesura di un primo repertorio della stampa pedagogica e scolastica italiana fra il 1820 e il 1943⁵. Si potrebbe, a tal proposito, affermare che il contributo offerto da Ascenzi e Sani con il loro volumetto sui necrologi rappresenta un primo passo per introdurre nella Penisola un nuovo paradigma storiografico, pronto a recepire in maniera originale ed innovativa quanto maturato nei decenni passati sul piano di una storia della scuola in grado di fare i conti con la fattualità educativa e scolastica, così come di una storia dell'educazione come storia culturale in senso integrale, comprensiva dell'analisi delle culture educative e di una maggiore contestualizzazione della funzione educativa negli ambiti storico-sociali della cultura⁶.

Sulla scorta di tali accortezze critiche, vale la pena di entrare nel vivo del lavoro di ricerca prodotto dai due studiosi dell'Università di Macerata, confrontandosi con la crescente importanza acquisita dai necrologi nelle riviste magistrali dall'Unità d'Italia in avanti, «come testimoniano la costante presenza di una o più rubriche fisse ad essi dedicate su ogni testata di questo tipo e, in particolare, la continuità e la sistematicità con le quali i principali fogli scolastici della penisola

⁴ Si rinvia all'esemplificazione riportata in: S. Polenghi, *Immagini per la memoria: il cinema come fonte storico-educativa*, in P. Malavasi, S. Polenghi, P.C. Rivoltella (edd.), *Cinema, pratiche educative, formazione*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2005, pp. 19-20.

⁵ Cfr. G. Chiosso, *I periodici scolastici nell'Italia del secondo Ottocento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1992; Id. (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale: giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1993; Id. (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia, 1820-1943*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997.

⁶ Se ad una storia della scuola in grado di fare i conti con la fattualità educativa e scolastica va accostato il nome di Dina Bertoni Jovine, alla storia dell'educazione come storia culturale vanno accostati quelli di Dominique Julia, Luciano Pazzaglia e Fulvio De Giorgi. Per una rassegna di tali prospettive riferita all'ultimo sessantennio di storia italiana, si veda il recente: C. Betti, *Maestre e maestri. Percorsi storiografici dal secondo dopoguerra al nuovo millennio*, «Annali online della Didattica e della Formazione Docente», vol. 8, n. 12 (numero speciale, suppl.), (2016), pp. 79-96. Sulla storia dell'educazione come storia culturale si rimanda alla discussione a quattro voci di Dominique Julia, Luciano Pazzaglia, Carmen Betti e Giuseppe Tognon, riportata nella rivista «Contemporanea», vol. 7, n. 2, 2004, pp. 263-285, con particolare attenzione all'*Introduzione* curata da Fulvio De Giorgi alle pp. 263-265.

hanno contribuito a tenere vivi, all'interno della classe docente, la memoria e l'esempio dei 'Collegli caduti' e degli 'Educatori scomparsi'»⁷. Osservazione che trova riscontro anche nel fatto che, a partire dal primo Novecento, si è verificata una moltiplicazione delle rubriche riservate ai necrologi, accompagnata da una maggiore differenziazione delle loro titolazioni.

L'indagine di Ascenzi e Sani si è concentrata, nello specifico, sui necrologi dedicati a semplici insegnanti, funzionari scolastici o direttori didattici, impegnati soprattutto in ambito locale, lontani dalle luci della "ribalta" nazionale e dai toni altisonanti delle rievocazioni di personalità eminenti. I loro necrologi, spesso brevi e contenenti solo i dati essenziali, sono in grado di svelare più di altri il ritratto di maestri che, nelle vesti di «apostoli ed operai», hanno contribuito a fare larga parte della storia della scuola e dell'educazione italiana, come evocato in più opere da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice. Queste figure di «maestri e laboriosi educatori», «umili e silenziosi operai della scuola e dell'alfabeto», sono dipinte nelle poche righe dei loro necrologi come modello esemplare per l'intera comunità nazionale dei docenti, a riconoscimento dell'impegno profuso «nell'educare e istruire con affetto di padre» o di «madre» i giovanetti affidati alle loro cure, per farne veri e propri «figli della patria»⁸.

I riferimenti alla paternità, alla maternità, alla figliolanza e alla fratellanza, sottolineano Ascenzi e Sani, hanno sì una matrice patriottica, ma sono anche espressione del rilievo tributato alla personalità di questi individui, che hanno saputo incarnare nel loro agire quotidiano il valore più profondo e intimo dell'educazione, al di sopra e al di là di ogni richiamo al ruolo svolto come insegnanti nella formazione culturale e dell'identità nazionale. Si tratta di un esempio emblematico della duplice valenza dei necrologi come fonte storica sul piano politico-culturale e su quello pedagogico-personale, capace di cogliere per quanto concerne l'età liberale il ruolo complesso svolto dall'insegnante di scuola elementare, quale «anello di congiunzione tra i nuovi valori liberali e le masse analfabete e ignoranti attraverso un modello incarnato dal maestro stesso come 'cittadino ideale', operoso, leale, disciplinato, promotore di una nuova morale civile fatta di fede nella Patria e di vivo senso del dovere»⁹. Tale trasposizione "idealtipica" della figura del maestro è avvenuta in corrispondenza di una profonda trasformazione dell'attività magistrale, che da mestiere è divenuta vera e propria professione, anzi – come sottolineato da Chiosso – una «professione

⁷ Ascenzi, Sani, «*Oscuri martiri, eroi del dovere*». *Memoria e celebrazione del maestro elementare attraverso i necrologi pubblicati sulle riviste didattiche e magistrali nel primo secolo dell'Italia unita (1861-1961)*, cit., p. 9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁹ G. Chiosso, «*Valenti, mediocri e meno che mediocri*». *I maestri alla conquista della loro professione*, in E. Becchi, M. Ferrari (edd.), *Formare alle professioni. Sacerdoti, principi, educatori*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2009, p. 421. Dello stesso autore si veda anche il saggio: *Dal mestiere alla professione magistrale. Note sul lavoro dei maestri elementari nel secondo Ottocento*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 2, n. 1, 2007, pp. 85-115.

di complemento», a metà strada fra l'impiegatizio e il vocazionale. A questo processo hanno concorso diversi fattori, riconducibili all'avvio di un percorso di formazione, tutela e provvidenza per i maestri, unitamente ad un maggiore riconoscimento sul piano sociale della loro figura, allo sviluppo di un senso di appartenenza professionale legato alla diffusione di esperienze mutualistiche ed associative, fino all'acquisizione di una maggiore strumentazione culturale grazie alle occasioni di approfondimento offerte dalle riviste magistrali e dai convegni associativi.

Fatte proprie queste precisazioni, il lettore del volume di Ascenzi e Sani non può fare a meno di imbattersi in un «paradosso» tipico della storia della scolarizzazione italiana nei primi decenni postunitari:

a fronte della condizione di sostanziale e inalterata marginalità sociale vissuta dalla categoria magistrale, si è registrata una costante esaltazione in chiave retorica della figura del maestro elementare, volta per volta additato quale 'mentore ed educatore della nazione', artefice del 'dirozzamento' e della 'civilizzazione delle plebi' (specie di quelle rurali), fautore della loro 'elevazione morale e spirituale', protagonista del 'riscatto della Patria' e della creazione dell'"uomo nuovo" fascista, formatore della coscienza civile e democratica della popolazione italiana nel secondo dopoguerra¹⁰.

Si tratta di un *busillis* che emerge, con una certa facilità, nel momento in cui si riflette sul valore dei necrologi sul piano storico-politico-istituzionale, poiché fra le righe della ricostruzione di una vicenda biografico-personale lasciano intravedere i nodi problematici che hanno via via investito il mondo magistrale italiano e condizionato le sue scelte, dalle battaglie per il miglioramento dello stato giuridico ed economico, allo sviluppo di un florido e plurale associazionismo professionale, all'impegno per la riforma della formazione iniziale ed *in itinere*, senza dimenticare la progressiva femminilizzazione della professione¹¹. Inoltre, i necrologi presi in considerazione sono in grado di offrire una testimonianza di primo livello dello stretto legame esistente, fin dalla nascita del sistema scolastico nazionale, fra l'identità magistrale e il ruolo giocato dal maestro nel processo di nazionalizzazione delle masse popolari, poiché «fatta l'Italia» sul piano politico, occorre «fare gli italiani» sul piano dell'unità morale e culturale della nazione. Questo ruolo non può essere scisso da un ulteriore elemento di interesse, rappresentato dalla maturazione di una «coscienziosa professionalità»¹², la quale

¹⁰ Ascenzi, Sani, «*Oscuri martiri, eroi del dovere*». *Memoria e celebrazione del maestro elementare attraverso i necrologi pubblicati sulle riviste didattiche e magistrali nel primo secolo dell'Italia unita (1861-1961)*, cit., pp. 87-88.

¹¹ Si vedano, in particolare, le ricostruzioni illustrate in: G. Chiosso, *Alfabeti d'Italia. La lotta contro l'ignoranza nell'Italia unita*, Torino, Sei, 2011; R. Sani, *Sub specie educationis: studi e ricerche su istruzione, istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formativi nell'Italia contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2011, pp. 299-495.

¹² G. Chiosso, «*Valenti, mediocri e meno che mediocri*». *I maestri alla conquista della loro professione*, in Becchi, Ferrari (edd.), *Formare alle professioni. Sacerdoti, principi, educatori*, cit., pp. 422-426.

se inizialmente si è espressa come buona volontà nell'intraprendere il "mestiere" di maestro in maniera imprevista e in molti casi inframmezzata ad altre attività, è stata poi celebrata *post mortem* nei necrologi come forma di «eroismo del dovere». Un eroismo che nel caso delle donne è risultato più accentuato, se si pensa che per la maggior parte di loro – provenienti dalla piccola o media borghesia – l'accesso alla carriera magistrale abbia costituito una delle poche occasioni per poter svolgere una professione extra-domestica, pur a fronte delle numerose difficoltà che si sarebbero appalesate sul piano economico, sociale e culturale¹³.

I casi alla «Italia Donati», emblema della maestra di scuola rurale costretta a subire vessazioni da parte delle autorità locali, della popolazione e dei propri allievi, non sono stati rari nella storia della scuola italiana dei primi decenni postunitari. La figura di questa «maestra sventurata», rievocata in una poesia del socialista Pompeo Bettini, autore riscoperto da Benedetto Croce, è diventata in anni più recenti – grazie al contributo di Enzo Catarsi e di Marino Raicich l'emblema dell'intreccio inscindibile fra biografia personale e impegno nella guerra intrapresa dallo Stato liberale contro l'analfabetismo e l'ignoranza, a costo della propria vita¹⁴. L'aura di «santità laica», che avvolge questa «oscura martire» della scuola italiana, risulta essere nelle indagini di Ascenzi e Sani una presenza costante in numerosi necrologi dei primi decenni postunitari, a testimonianza della volontà di «dar corpo ad una sorta di narrazione agiografica volta ad accreditare un'immagine del maestro elementare quale moderno *santo laico*, le cui 'cristiane e cittadine virtù', esercitate in sommo grado, ne facevano il principale e più autentico 'artefice della rinascita morale e civile della nazione'»¹⁵.

Questo tipo di orientamento sembra prevalere fin verso l'inizio degli anni Trenta del Novecento, quando sorprendentemente risultano ancora rare le tracce di «fascistizzazione» presenti nei necrologi dei maestri e, in generale, dei funzionari scolastici. Ascenzi e Sani hanno avanzato – di fronte a questo risultato, per certi versi "sconcertante", rispetto alla massiccia campagna di

¹³ Sul tema, si rimanda a: S. Soldani, *La nascita della maestra elementare*, in *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea*, vol. 1: *La nascita dello Stato nazionale*, a cura di S. Soldani, G. Turi, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1993, pp. 67-130; C. Ghizzoni, S. Polenghi (edd.), *L'altra metà della scuola: educazione e lavoro delle donne tra Otto e Novecento*, Torino, Sei, 2008; A. Ascenzi, *Drammi privati e pubbliche virtù. La maestra italiana dell'Ottocento tra narrazione letteraria e cronaca giornalistica*, Macerata, eum, 2012; C. Covato, *Maestre d'Italia. Uno sguardo sull'età liberale*, «Storia delle donne», vol. 8, 2012, pp. 165-184.

¹⁴ Cfr. E. Catarsi, *Il suicidio della maestra Italia Donati*, in Id., *L'educazione del popolo. Momenti e figure dell'istruzione popolare nell'Italia liberale*, Bergamo, Juvenilia, 1985, pp. 103-112; M. Raicich, *Storie di scuola da un'Italia lontana*, a cura di S. Soldani, Roma, Archivio»Guido IZZI», 2005, pp. 67-68.

¹⁵ Ascenzi, Sani, «*Oscuri martiri, eroi del dovere*». *Memoria e celebrazione del maestro elementare attraverso i necrologi pubblicati sulle riviste didattiche e magistrali nel primo secolo dell'Italia unita (1861-1961)*, cit., p. 38.

fascistizzazione della scuola e dell'educazione intrapresa dal governo fascista – l'ipotesi che i necrologi abbiano rappresentato, in quel frangente storico, «un ultimo baluardo a sostegno di valori e ideali magistrali estranei, quando non addirittura ostili a quelli proposti dal fascismo e, più in particolare, [...] una zona franca, ovvero uno spazio di libertà e di resistenza all'ideologia totalitaria»¹⁶. Una sorta di campo “libero” di speculazione pedagogica, una voce “non politicamente” condizionata, a fronte del venir meno sotto i colpi della dittatura di quell'associazionismo magistrale (dall'Unione Magistrale Nazionale alla cattolica Associazione «Niccolò Tommaseo»), che per lungo tempo ha costituito un luogo di riflessione e di trasmissione di sapere pedagogico e didattico, come mostrato dagli studi – rispettivamente – di Alberto Barausse sulla nascita dell'UNM e di Carla Ghizzoni su Maria Magnocavallo, protagonista delle battaglie della «Niccolò Tommaseo»¹⁷.

Solo a metà degli anni Trenta, nel pieno del consenso ad un regime che sta sempre più assumendo carattere totalitario, compaiono nei necrologi chiari riferimenti all'ideologia mussoliniana e al regime fascista, con la conseguente compresenza «sincretica» di un ideale di maestro ispirato ai valori di «santità laica» di cui sopra e di un nuovo ideale di insegnante impegnato nell'opera di costruzione della nazione fascista, «tutto azione, ardimento e disciplina». Si riporta, a titolo di esempio, uno stralcio del necrologio della maestra piacentina Luisa Marina, comparso nel dicembre 1938 sulle pagine della rivista magistrale cattolica «Scuola Italiana Moderna»:

Nata con la vocazione della scuola e pronta per essa ad ogni sacrificio e ad ogni slancio, intese veramente l'ufficio educativo come un apostolato e ad esso dedicò le energie del fervido cuore e della mente aperta a tutte le belle e nobili cose. Né la missione di sposa e di madre diminuì nella maestra lo zelo e la passione della scuola. [...] Occhio mite e pur fiero, piglio deciso e parola parca, propri di chi vive di azione, erano i suoi tratti caratteristici esterni: bontà, amore, spirito di sacrificio formavano l'aureo filone da cui traeva ogni sua ricchezza spirituale. [...] Cogli umili amava mescolarsi fraternamente, per esser partecipe delle loro gioie e dei loro dolori e per insegnar loro ad amare Dio, la Patria e il lavoro. [...] Lascia nelle organizzazioni fasciste nelle quali ricoprì sempre alte cariche, un vuoto profondo¹⁸.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹⁷ Un associazionismo che ha visto i suoi attori diventare veicolo di matrici culturali e spirituali delle battaglie a favore del miglioramento della scuola e delle condizioni degli insegnanti e, nel contempo, “cartina al tornasole” delle trasformazioni strutturali e ideologiche della scuola elementare, oltre che dei modelli formativi per la preparazione culturale e professionale dei maestri. Sul tema, si rimanda in particolare ai lavori di: 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 (1869-1936)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2005.

¹⁸ Si tratta di uno stralcio del necrologio di *Marina Luisa vedova Volpati*, «Scuola Italiana Moderna», vol. 48, n. 9 (10 dicembre), 1938, p. 30, riportato in Ascenzi, Sani, «*Oscuri martiri, eroi del dovere*». *Memoria e celebrazione del maestro elementare attraverso i necrologi pubblicati sulle riviste didattiche e magistrali nel primo secolo dell'Italia unita (1861-1961)*, cit., p. 69.

Occorrerà attendere gli avvenimenti successivi l'8 settembre 1943 e i primi anni della Ricostruzione per vedere nei necrologi pubblicati da alcune delle più importanti riviste magistrali italiane, accanto alla celebrazione della Resistenza e della guerra di liberazione con i suoi «martiri» – significativo l'esempio del «ribelle per amore» Emiliano Rinaldini – il ritorno di un ideale di maestro «educatore di coscienze sul piano morale e religioso» e «promotore del sentimento nazionale» fra le giovani generazioni. Quest'ultimo viene celebrato, almeno inizialmente in sordina, alla luce delle nuove e per certi versi ancora «incerte traiettorie» di una futura società democratica e di un incisivo impegno sul piano del rinnovamento educativo e didattico. Costatazioni di questo tipo hanno consentito ad Anna Ascenzi e Roberto Sani di trovare ulteriori argomentazioni a sostegno della loro ipotesi di fondo, ovvero che

le austere e onnipresenti rubriche di *necrologi* ospitate sui periodici didattici e magistrali della penisola hanno assolto ad una funzione che è andata ben al di là del semplice promuovere e ravvivare, tra le file della classe docente, la memoria e l'esempio dei «colleghi scomparsi». Di fatto, esse hanno contribuito – assai più di altre rubriche e di altre tipologie di articoli ed interventi – a fissare volta per volta le caratteristiche e i tratti salienti dell'*identità magistrale*, registrando in tal modo l'evoluzione del modello di insegnante elementare nelle diverse fasi storiche e alla luce dei differenti contesti ideologici, politici e culturali; nonché i molteplici significati attribuiti alla scuola elementare e popolare quale strumento per la costruzione dell'identità nazionale e per la promozione dei valori della cittadinanza nelle diverse stagioni della ormai plurisecolare vicenda unitaria italiana¹⁹.

A conferma di quanto anche i necrologi, spesso considerati a torto una forma testuale “minore”, possano costituire una fonte inedita per tracciare nuove piste nel campo della storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche.

¹⁹ Ascenzi, Sani, «*Oscuri martiri, eroi del dovere*». *Memoria e celebrazione del maestro elementare attraverso i necrologi pubblicati sulle riviste didattiche e magistrali nel primo secolo dell'Italia unita (1861-1961)*, cit., p. 88.

Associazionismo giovanile cattolico nell'Italia degli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta. A proposito di *Gioventù Studentesca. Storia di un movimento cattolico dalla ricostruzione alla contestazione* di Marta Busani

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Catholic youth associations of the 1950s and 1960s in Italy. On Gioventù Studentesca. Storia di un movimento cattolico dalla ricostruzione alla contestazione by Marta Busani

ABSTRACT: In the light of the latest historiographical findings, the essay analyses Marta Busani's text on the Italian Catholic youth movement Gioventù Studentesca, contextualising it against the backdrop of the transformations characterising the Catholic associations between the 1950s and 1960s. The history of GS is indeed one of the most important educational experiences of Postwar Italy: initially emerging within Catholic Action, Gioventù Studentesca then underwent a process of development that culminated in its establishment as a fully-fledged ecclesial movement.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Catholic associations; Catholic youth movement; Italy; XXth Century.

Da qualche tempo la storiografia ha cominciato ad indagare l'evoluzione dell'associazionismo giovanile degli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta, con l'obiettivo di comprendere le trasformazioni che hanno portato alla crisi del Sessantotto e ai difficili anni Settanta. È un lavoro, tuttavia, per molti versi ancora da sviluppare, pur avendo al suo attivo numerosi contributi dedicati alla storia dei giovani e alla loro partecipazione ai mutamenti dei consumi e del costume

sociale¹. Ci sono, certo, le testimonianze di alcuni protagonisti della temperie che è sfociata nella contestazione giovanile² e che ha comportato uno dei più radicali cambiamenti della società occidentale, specie dal punto di vista delle relazioni umane e di quella vera e propria mutazione antropologica di cui già parlava Pasolini a metà degli anni Settanta, che ha ampiamente determinato il sentire comune. Mancano, però, opere specifiche su diversi ambiti aggregativi che hanno popolato questo mondo e che l'hanno reso un insieme composito, attraversato da tensioni e antinomie anche rilevanti, eppure rivelatosi una sorta di microcosmo ispirandosi al quale si è poi modellata la società consumistica del secondo Novecento. Soprattutto mancano lavori fondati sulle fonti documentarie, non sempre disponibili per questi decenni se si eccettuano le pubblicazioni, come le molte riviste e rivistine di non semplice reperimento e di varia foggia che hanno dato voce all'associazionismo laico e cattolico, oppure le raccolte di materiale propagandistico prodotto negli anni caldi della lunga contestazione italiana.

Le articolazioni associative che hanno strutturato questo mondo variegato sono state, nondimeno, l'alveo di formazione di una nuova *leadership*, spesso ad intensa vocazione pubblica, che è venuta alla ribalta nel magmatico universo aggregatosi attorno all'imperativo categorico dell'*essere contro* e di un soggettivismo slegato da qualsivoglia vincolo morale e sociale, che ha velocizzato la secolarizzazione di massa innescata in Italia dal *boom economico* della fine degli anni Cinquanta³. Siamo alle origini della cultura radicale, che si incomincia a percepire nelle scuole superiori già negli anni Sessanta e che poi ha segnato la società italiana a partire dal decennio successivo. E siamo anche alle origini di una nuova generazione che non si riconosceva più nei valori di chi aveva ricostruito l'Italia democratica dopo il crollo del fascismo e che metteva in discussione la democrazia partitica postbellica.

Non del tutto paradossalmente, vista la tendenza di lungo periodo a collocarsi in posizione dialettica nei confronti della civiltà borghese di stampo occidentale, tra anni Cinquanta e Sessanta i luoghi dell'educazione cattolica,

¹ A titolo di esempio, basti qui ricordare P. Dogliani, *Storia dei giovani*, Milano, Mondadori, 2003, P. Sorcinelli, A. Varni (edd.), *Il secolo dei giovani. Le nuove generazioni e la storia del Novecento*, Roma, Donzelli, 2004, e M. De Nicolò (ed.), *Dalla trincea alla piazza. L'irruzione dei giovani nel Novecento*, Roma, Viella, 2011.

² Si pensi a M. Capanna, *Formidabili quegli anni*, Milano, Rizzoli, 1988, o a G.C. Marino, *Biografia del Sessantotto. Utopie, conquiste, sbandamenti*, Milano, Bompiani, 2004. Si vedano anche le testimonianze raccolte in G. Orsina, G. Quagliariello (edd.), *La crisi del sistema politico italiano e il Sessantotto*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2005.

³ Come ha notato Roberto Pertici, con i referendum sul divorzio e sull'aborto si imporrà un nuovo soggettivismo che non ha nulla in comune né con il personalismo cristiano, né con l'individualismo di tradizione liberale, e che è figlio del Sessantotto e del mito di una liberazione che – al di là delle apparenze – si è trasformata ben presto in esplosione di una soggettività slegata da vincoli sociali o morali e di una sensibilità permissiva del tutto inedita: R. Pertici, *L'altro Sessantotto italiano. Percorsi nella cultura anti-progressista degli anni Sessanta*, in B. Coccia (ed.), *40 anni dopo: il Sessantotto in Italia fra storia, società e cultura*, Roma, Apes, 2008, pp. 183-251.

dalle associazioni giovanili di AC all'ateneo del Sacro Cuore, sono stati ambiti specifici di molte di queste tensioni, dove hanno iniziato a configurarsi biografie e processi poi sfociati nella crisi di fine decennio. La formazione cattolica emerge anzi come una nota caratteristica, sia pure non del tutto omogenea ma certo non occasionale, nel percorso umano e culturale che ha prodotto una parte consistente della contestazione⁴. Si tratta, come si può ben capire, di un contesto peculiare che deve essere analizzato per comprendere dinamiche importanti per la storia dell'Italia contemporanea, un contesto con cui la storiografia sta facendo i conti senza aver esaurito, però, le molte verifiche che sarebbero necessarie e senza aver trattato in maniera esaustiva le tante problematiche che lo compongono. Marta Busani contribuisce a questa impresa con un volume che non è solo corposo, ma considerevole, anche grazie alla solida base documentaria, ampiamente inedita, su cui si fonda. L'autrice ricostruisce con accuratezza e con stile scorrevole la storia di una delle esperienze educative più significative del secondo dopoguerra italiano, che si colloca a pieno titolo nelle trasformazioni di quei cruciali decenni e che ha concorso a delinearne il grande cambiamento: è la storia di un movimento d'ambiente sorto all'interno dell'Azione Cattolica italiana, Gioventù Studentesca, di cui Busani segue le vicende sin dalle sue origini, subito dopo la seconda guerra mondiale, con la guida a Milano di Giancarlo Brasca, passando attraverso la rifondazione che si deve a don Luigi Giussani, tra il '53 e il '54, per arrivare alla crisi del Sessantotto e alla nascita di Comunione e Liberazione, in cui GS confluirà nel 1973⁵. È una storia che riflette la fase di transizione che ha segnato la società italiana del secondo Novecento, quando la modernizzazione ha messo in discussione la vecchia Italia contadina come mai era successo prima, una storia che si collega ai mutamenti del sentire dentro e fuori il mondo cattolico, pur coniugando, in maniera originale, il senso della tradizione e la capacità di assimilare il cambiamento. Un'ambivalenza, questa, che ha contribuito a farne una sorta di «segno di contraddizione»⁶, sia per la coscienza che ne avevano coloro che a questa storia partecipavano, sia per le letture che ne sono state date in contemporanea e *a posteriori*.

È utile allora notare che il lavoro di Marta Busani si svincola dalle polemiche che spesso hanno appesantito il dibattito su questa porzione di mondo cattolico, segnalandosi per equilibrio nei toni e nelle considerazioni offerte al lettore.

⁴ Al riguardo, mi permetto di rinviare a M. Bocci, *Un problema di identità? Alle origini della contestazione studentesca all'Università Cattolica*, in M. Invernizzi, P. Martinucci (edd.), *Dal «centrismo» al Sessantotto*, Milano, Ares, 2007, pp. 143-228. Si veda comunque G. Panvini, *Cattolici e violenza politica*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2014.

⁵ M. Busani, *Gioventù Studentesca. Storia di un movimento cattolico dalla ricostruzione alla contestazione*, con prefazione di E. Bressan, Roma, Studium, 2016.

⁶ La notazione è di Roberto Pertici, in occasione della presentazione del volume che si è tenuta a Milano, in Università Cattolica, il 9 gennaio 2017. La relazione di Pertici, anticipata in parte dall'«Osservatore Romano», è in corso di stampa nella rivista «Studium» insieme agli interventi tenuti nella stessa occasione da Agostino Giovagnoli e da Edoardo Bressan.

L'autrice, infatti, evita gli accenti celebrativi o gli intenti polemici che, non di rado, hanno condizionato i contributi sin qui dedicati all'argomento, per affrontare con gli strumenti della storia – le tante fonti edite ed inedite di cui si avvale – vicende che si situano in passaggi decisivi dell'evoluzione sia del cattolicesimo italiano, sia di quel *milieu* culturale milanese degli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta, anche nelle sue declinazioni dentro le scuole superiori, che ha generato filoni ideologici tipici del secondo Novecento. Opportunamente Marta Busani, distanziandosi da molti lavori su questi anni che sono ancora fermi alla fase della raccolta di testimonianze, evita di puntare sulle fonti orali. Queste ultime non mancano nei suoi riferimenti, basti qui ricordare quelle utilizzate per l'opera in tre volumi di Massimo Camisasca il quale, con gli occhi di chi ha partecipato a molte delle vicende narrate, ha offerto un primo e indispensabile punto di partenza per chi voglia ricostruire la storia di GS/CL⁷. Marta Busani ne ha tenuto conto; e tuttavia ha preferito non privilegiare le fonti orali come strumento interpretativo, sapendo che si prestano a diversi rischi, dalla non sempre verificabile attendibilità della memoria nella sua capacità di restituire globalmente il passato, alla tendenza a rileggerlo a seconda del vissuto personale e delle urgenze del presente, un rischio inevitabile al di là delle intenzioni sia di chi ricorda, sia di chi si serve del ricordo altrui per ricostruirne la storia. Del resto negli ultimi tempi, specie dopo la scomparsa nel 2005 di don Giussani, si sono moltiplicate le pubblicazioni di chi vuol ripensare al padre fondatore di GS/CL a partire dal percorso personale originato dall'incontro con il suo carisma. Si tratta di un vero e proprio giacimento di memorie, racconti e rivisitazioni, di diversa rilevanza, che dice dell'incisività del metodo pedagogico sviluppato dal sacerdote e della sua attitudine a trasmettere la fede alle giovani generazioni⁸.

⁷ M. Camisasca, *Comunione e Liberazione*, Cinisello Balsamo, San Paolo: I, *Le origini (1954-1968)*, 2001; II, *La ripresa (1969-1976)*, 2003; III, *Il riconoscimento (1976-1984)*, 2006. Marta Busani osserva che il lavoro di Camisasca permette di conoscere aspetti importanti della vita di GS, come la rilevanza attribuita alla liturgia e alla dimensione comunitaria del cristianesimo, la centralità del tema della missione, l'interesse per le Chiese d'oltrecortina, le iniziative ecumeniche e l'attenzione per il Terzo mondo. Camisasca, inoltre, ha iniziato a ricostruire la diffusione di Gioventù Studentesca nella diocesi ambrosiana e in alcune città italiane (M. Busani, *Da Gioventù Studentesca a Comunione e Liberazione. Cinquant'anni di dibattito*, in corso di stampa nella rivista «Studium»).

⁸ Si pensi ai ritratti preparati da Renato Farina con stile giornalistico (ad esempio *Don Gius. Cosa c'entra l'amore con le stelle?*, Milano, Piemme, 2015) o alle rivisitazioni di Francesco Ventorino, che affronta il tema dell'amicizia e delle virtù teologali in don Giussani (*Luigi Giussani. La virtù dell'amicizia*, Genova-Milano, Marietti, 2011; *Luigi Giussani. La virtù della fede*, Genova-Milano, Marietti, 2012; *Luigi Giussani. Il dono della carità*, Genova-Milano, Marietti, 2013; *Luigi Giussani. Il coraggio della speranza*, Genova-Milano, Marietti, 2013). Ancor più recente G. Cesana, *Ed io che sono? Tra psicologia ed educazione*, a cura di P. Navotti, Torino, La Fontana di Siloe, 2016. Si deve però soprattutto ricordare l'ampia e documentata biografia che Alberto Savorana ha dedicato al sacerdote, dove emergono innumerevoli episodi relativi alla sua vita e al movimento ecclesiale che con essa si è intrecciato. Per volontà dell'autore, tuttavia, si tratta di una sorta di «cronaca dei giorni» di Giussani, con il fine di restituire da «spettatore», sia pure con lo «sguardo amichevole» di chi desidera «rivivere l'esperienza della persona che

Il lavoro di Marta Busani vuole dare al fenomeno una vera e propria dimensione storica, preoccupandosi di inserire l'analisi delle fonti nel clima complesso e in trasformazione che ha caratterizzato la vita del mondo cattolico del secondo dopoguerra. Il volume offre, infatti, uno spaccato interessante sull'associazionismo cattolico a livello diocesano e nazionale, e lo descrive nel suo svilupparsi all'interno di un «comune terreno»⁹ che nel laboratorio ambrosiano, peculiare soprattutto a livello della GIAC, era fatto di prospettive diverse, di tentativi, compromessi e opposizioni, ma nel quale non mancava la ricerca di nuovi strumenti di evangelizzazione adatti alla gioventù italiana. È appunto il terreno in cui matura il tentativo di GS e si definisce la posizione di don Giussani, un processo che non ha significato né isolamento storico, né impermeabilità alle problematiche di un'epoca segnata da una singolare «pluralità di opinioni e prospettive sia all'interno dell'Azione Cattolica centrale, sia tra i rami dell'AC ambrosiana e di quella nazionale»¹⁰. L'autrice sa muoversi lungo questo percorso, anche grazie alla capacità di mettere in sinergia l'ingente mole di documentazione interna ed esterna cui ha avuto accesso¹¹, che illumina i tratti tipici dell'esperienza educativa di Giussani inserendola in un mondo cattolico articolato e multiforme, le cui dinamiche sono state fondamentali per la stessa definizione dell'identità giessina. In questo orizzonte, in effetti, si colloca la nascita di GS, così come in esso si sviluppa la proposta educativa di Giussani la cui precisazione, per molti versi, dipende dalle relazioni che la legavano al contesto cattolico degli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta, che non sono da sottovalutare e che hanno provocato aggiustamenti di tiro e, a volte, irrigidimenti.

Non per niente, l'attenzione all'esperimento giessino – come ricorda Marta Busani – è cresciuta, molto prima che in sede storiografica, nei luoghi di governo dell'associazionismo cattolico a livello diocesano e nazionale, dove sono emerse sia adesioni, sia forti critiche parallelamente alla crescita di GS, al coinvolgimento di migliaia di giovani in varie città italiane e alla loro presenza nelle tensioni che si sono registrate nelle scuole superiori e nelle università durante gli anni Sessanta. Alcune voci della stampa cattolica del post-Concilio hanno riverberato e amplificato l'approccio critico percepibile a diversi livelli dell'associazionismo, producendo le prime valutazioni su questo nuovo soggetto ecclesiale in formazione, che si sono poi consolidate in tanta parte

ti ha provocato», i «tratti inconfondibili della personalità di don Giussani» e la sua «passione educativa» (A. Savorana, *Vita di don Giussani*, Milano, Rizzoli, 2013, pp. VI-VII).

⁹ Busani, *Gioventù Studentesca. Storia di un movimento cattolico*, cit., p. 71.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

¹¹ Tra le fonti interne si segnalano i fondi archivistici prodotti da GS, che conservano moltissimi documenti elaborati da tanti altri gruppi e organismi cattolici, nonché da diversi circoli laici presenti nelle scuole superiori milanesi. Busani ha poi consultato gli archivi delle Segreterie degli arcivescovi di Milano Montini e Colombo e i fondi conservati negli archivi dell'Azione Cattolica nazionale e dell'AC ambrosiana.

dell'opinione pubblica¹², quando GS si è trasformata in un movimento ecclesiale, Comunione e Liberazione, sorto a partire dal 1969 e passato attraverso un graduale percorso di chiarificazione identitaria che ha incrociato, in maniera non secondaria, snodi rilevanti della storia repubblicana. Si può anzi notare che GS si è trovata al centro di un dibattito durato un cinquantennio, che però ha faticato ad indentificarne la natura e le caratteristiche, rispondendo spesso ai conflitti politico-ecclesiali del momento più che alla necessità di una rigorosa ricostruzione storica. Busani osserva che, anche da parte interna, GS è stata rievocata soprattutto come antecedente di CL. Per di più, la compresenza in GS/CL di elementi che sono parsi vicini all'intransigentismo di fine Ottocento¹³ e, al contempo, di stilemi contigui al progressismo cattolico ha complicato il tentativo di chi ha provato ad analizzare questa esperienza ecclesiale, al punto che ne sono derivate interpretazioni contrastanti che non hanno contribuito a rasserenare un dibattito già di per sé alterato da giudizi aprioristici e dalla tendenza a contaminare l'analisi storica con i contrasti infra-ecclesiali. Fanno parte di questa stagione le accuse di estremismo cattolico rivolte a GS/CL negli anni Settanta e Ottanta¹⁴, come pure il sospetto circa il ruolo che il movimento di don Giussani avrebbe avuto nella storia della prima Repubblica. A questa stessa fase appartengono le repliche e le contromosse di alcune voci interne al movimento, che hanno dato impulso a polemiche giornalistiche dai risvolti considerevoli per il mondo cattolico italiano¹⁵. Anche i contributi della sociologia religiosa degli anni Novanta presentano una sorta di ondeggiamento che si muove tra l'addebito di fondamentalismo religioso, da una parte, e la sottolineatura, dall'altra, di una sensibilità che collega GS/CL alle dimensioni esistenziali e culturali della contemporaneità: si tratterebbe, insomma, di un impasto inedito composto dalla volontà di affermare una «presenza» cristiana anche in termini sociali e dalla scelta per la libera espressione in un orizzonte plurale, conseguenza necessaria della sottolineatura dell'«esperienza» personale nella verifica della vita di fede e dunque della libertà del soggetto davanti al messaggio cristiano¹⁶.

¹² Si fa riferimento soprattutto agli articoli pubblicati dalla rivista fiorentina «Testimonianze» nel 1966. Una rassegna più completa sui dibattiti e sui contributi storiografici relativi a GS e CL è in M. Bocci, «La Chiesa in quanto tale». *Il Concilio indiviso, da Gioventù Studentesca a Comunione e Liberazione*, «Bollettino dell'Archivio per la storia del movimento sociale cattolico in Italia», nn. 2-3, 2010, pp. 187 ss., e in Busani, *Da Gioventù Studentesca a Comunione e Liberazione. Cinquant'anni di dibattito*, cit.

¹³ Tra gli altri, cfr. D. Menozzi, *Il sinodo sui laici e i «nuovi movimenti»: il «caso Lazzati»*, «Cristianesimo nella storia», 10, 1989, pp. 107-127.

¹⁴ La valutazione è in S. Bianchi, A. Turchini, *Gli estremisti di centro. Il neo-integralismo cattolico degli anni '70: Comunione e Liberazione*, Firenze, Guaraldi, 1975, le cui tesi sono state spesso riprodotte in sede giornalistica e storiografica.

¹⁵ Si pensi all'inchiesta giornalistica di A. Socci, R. Fontolan, 1974-1987. *Tredici anni della nostra storia*, supplemento al «Il Sabato» del 26 marzo 1988.

¹⁶ Busani, *Da Gioventù Studentesca a Comunione e Liberazione. Cinquant'anni di dibattito*, cit. I contributi sociologici più significativi sono stati pubblicati da Salvatore Abbruzzese a partire

In effetti, il dibattito alimentato in sede storiografica e, non di rado, sui giornali e nell'opinione pubblica, ruota attorno a una questione centrale per l'interpretazione della storia di questo movimento: il rapporto con la modernità¹⁷, e non tanto dal punto di vista della lettura critica della storia degli ultimi secoli fornita internamente, che in certi passaggi si è avvicinata ai canoni interpretativi del cattolicesimo di primo Novecento. Sembrano ancor più rilevanti, invece, la «sensibilità moderna» facilmente riscontrabile in don Giussani¹⁸ nonché l'approccio di GS/CL alle conseguenze della modernizzazione, non esclusi i cambiamenti sociali del secondo Novecento di cui gli ambienti cattolici faticavano a comprendere le conseguenze sul piano religioso¹⁹. Al di là delle molte considerazioni che si potrebbero fare su questo tema, si deve almeno notare la predisposizione di GS/CL a mostrare che l'esperienza della fede cristiana è ancora 'possibile' nella contemporaneità, attraverso una metodologia

dagli anni Novanta (S. Abbruzzese, *Comunione e Liberazione. Identità religiosa e disincanto laico*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1991; Id., *Comunione e Liberazione*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2001). Che cosa intendesse Giussani per «esperienza cristiana» è ricostruito in Busani, *Gioventù Studentesca. Storia di un movimento cattolico dalla ricostruzione alla contestazione*, cit., pp. 244-248. Cfr. anche Savorana, *Vita di don Giussani*, cit., pp. 300-302, e Bocci, «*La Chiesa in quanto tale*», cit., pp. 213-216.

¹⁷ Un'analisi dell'«itinerario» intellettuale percorso da Giussani, «che è stato in grado di sottrarsi all'alternativa che ha segnato il pensiero cattolico dopo il Concilio Vaticano II: quella tra modernismo e ragione conservatrice», riconciliando soggettività e tradizione ecclesiale, è in M. Borghesi, *Luigi Giussani. Conoscenza amorosa ed esperienza del vero. Un itinerario moderno*, Bari, Edizioni di pagina, 2015 (la citazione è a p. 20). Di «sensibilità moderna» parla appunto Borghesi, per il quale «Giussani è moderno a partire dal fatto che la ragionevolezza della fede non può prescindere dal 'soggetto'» (p. 80). Per altri recenti contributi sul pensiero teologico del sacerdote rimando a Busani, *Da Gioventù Studentesca a Comunione e Liberazione. Cinquant'anni di dibattito*, cit., e a M. Scholz Zappa, *Giussani e Guardini. Una lettura originale*, Milano, Jaca Book, 2016.

¹⁸ A. Scola, *Un pensiero sorgivo. Luigi Giussani*, Genova-Milano, Marietti, 2004, pp. 29-33. Pur sottolineando il legame con la *traditio catholica*, Scola osserva che non si può leggere il pensiero di Giussani come un puro ritorno al realismo classico, né tanto meno ricondurlo alla «categoria di 'anti-moderno'». Non si capirebbe, infatti, «al di fuori di concetti chiave pensati secondo la sensibilità moderna», come quelli di esperienza, di libertà o di verità come evento. L'«antropologia drammatica» che lo caratterizza «sarebbe incomprensibile senza riconoscere il peso che vi giocano le più centrali categorie del dibattito filosofico-teologico attuale». Per questi motivi, sarebbe errato presentare Giussani «all'interno dello schema vetusto della dialettica tra conservatori e progressisti». Anche Borghesi nota che la compresenza, nella prospettiva teologica di Giussani, della formazione tomista ricevuta a Venegono e della sottolineatura della dimensione esistenziale del cristianesimo ha prodotto un peculiare «tomismo esistenziale», che si distanzia dalla tradizione neoscolastica (Borghesi, *Luigi Giussani*, cit., pp. 65 ss.).

¹⁹ Per Abbruzzese l'originalità di GS/CL starebbe nell'aver saputo comporre identità religiosa e modernità, declinando la proposta ecclesiale del movimento in «attitudini profondamente 'moderne', dai gruppi misti degli aderenti», allora guardati con grande sospetto nel mondo cattolico, «all'apertura alla cultura di massa e alla rivalutazione dell'individuo e delle sue esigenze, dall'inserimento professionale all'impegno sul terreno politico» (*Comunione e Liberazione. Identità religiosa*, cit., p. 222).

educativa che raccoglie le sfide avanzate dalle profonde trasformazioni iniziate negli anni Cinquanta.

Ad incrementare il dibattito su questo movimento vi è poi il rapporto, più che tematizzato si potrebbe dire vissuto, con l'evoluzione che il Concilio Vaticano II ha favorito nell'associazionismo cattolico e che ne ha modificato i criteri di approccio al 'mondo' contemporaneo. Andando oltre letture più o meno simpatetiche od ostili e la stessa autocoscienza percepibile in CL, occorre notare che, nei fatti, la GS di don Giussani, pur partendo dalla volontà di rivitalizzare la tradizione, è collegabile al rinnovamento del cattolicesimo italiano velocizzato dal Concilio. Non a caso è collocata nella Chiesa ambrosiana dell'arcivescovo Montini, e dunque in quel laboratorio della modernizzazione italiana che, anche da questo punto di vista, è stato il capoluogo lombardo. Quella di GS è un'anticipazione in cui si possono cogliere, ancor prima del Concilio, una sensibilità teologica, un'inclinazione pedagogica e una tendenza a generare liberi spazi aggregativi che hanno trovato un avvaloramento, sia pure indiretto, grazie al Vaticano II e che si sono ulteriormente sviluppate negli anni successivi, non senza provocare tensioni e dissensi, se non contrasti a volte laceranti. Nondimeno, si tratta di una recezione peculiare del Concilio, che in sede storica deve essere ancora ben compresa, sebbene ricostruzioni recenti rilevinano la presenza di elementi vicini al progressismo cattolico di cui la tensione antiborghese, in realtà tipica del cattolicesimo ambrosiano molto prima degli anni Sessanta, sarebbe spia significativa²⁰. In ogni caso, quella di GS/CL è una recezione per così dire «creativa», che ripensa al «rapporto fra 'tradizione cristiana' e 'forme nuove' necessarie ad esprimerla» alla luce di una concezione che non contrappone tradizione e rinnovamento, ritenendoli «coesenziali alla vita della Chiesa»²¹. A differenza «di altre recezioni, che rileggevano il Vaticano II in base a parametri soprattutto politico-sociali», la recezione di GS si concentrava sull'ecclesiologia conciliare, connettendo la *Lumen gentium* e la *Gaudium et spes* per non atomizzare in segmenti parziali l'eredità del Concilio. Ed è proprio al livello di un'ermeneutica complessiva dei documenti conciliari che si «può parlare sia di un'anticipazione, sia di un progressivo riconoscersi di GS/CL nella lezione conciliare»²². Una recezione, dunque, che si distingue da altre perché non vuol «perdere di vista i nuclei portanti dell'evento conciliare», prendendo le distanze da letture attente ad evidenziare solo alcuni aspetti del

²⁰ Sull'argomento si veda Bocci, «*La Chiesa in quanto tale*», cit., pp. 187-281. Si veda inoltre A. Scola, *Il Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano II nella vita di Comunione e Liberazione*, in *Realizzare il Concilio. Il contributo di Comunione e Liberazione*. Atti del Convegno di studio nel ventennale dell'apertura del Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano II (Roma, 2-3 ottobre 1982), supplemento al fascicolo del novembre 1982 di «*Litterae Communio*», pp. 73-93. Di progressismo cattolico parla Panvini (*Cattolici e violenza politica*, cit.), che si riferisce agli anni del post-Concilio e della contestazione. Per la critica alla società consumistica sviluppata in GS si veda Busani, *Gioventù Studentesca. Storia di un movimento cattolico*, cit., pp. 173 ss.

²¹ Bocci, «*La Chiesa in quanto tale*», cit., pp. 208-209.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219.

Vaticano II, con il risultato di deformarne gli insegnamenti²³. Vi sono inoltre l'intensità della vita liturgica, la sensibilità ecumenica, il ruolo dei responsabili laici nella struttura giessina²⁴, l'importanza del fatto comunitario, l'insistenza sulla «storicità» della rivelazione e il nodo della dimensione carismatica incarnata nelle «comunità della Chiesa» a connettere GS/CL alla temperie conciliare²⁵. Il volume di Marta Busani ne tiene conto, sottolineando l'insistenza sul tema del dialogo con il mondo, che è riscontrabile in GS fin dagli anni Cinquanta²⁶.

In ogni caso, la GS di Giussani ha un legame genetico con il processo di secolarizzazione che ha investito la società italiana in corrispondenza del *boom* economico, perché il metodo pedagogico che veicola è stato pensato ed approfondito per comunicare in maniera credibile il messaggio cristiano a giovani che stavano perdendo i contenuti dottrinali e i riferimenti normativi dell'antica *societas christiana*; un fenomeno, per Giussani, tutto da capire, tenendo conto di una sorta di indebolimento non solo delle premesse razionali della fede, ma delle attitudini per così dire 'umane' senza le quali è difficile cogliere la portata del Vangelo. Il sacerdote aveva percepito le crepe che si stavano aprendo nella cristianità italiana degli anni Cinquanta, compagno – in questo – di chi biasimava la riduzione del cristianesimo a un «perbenismo esteriore e formale»²⁷, in un panorama cattolico, però, apparentemente ancora solido, in cui i valori della tradizione cattolica sembravano un punto di riferimento per molti italiani. Sta proprio a questo livello, per Marta Busani, uno dei tratti specifici del metodo educativo di GS: la constatazione dell'inefficacia pastorale dell'attivismo geddiano e di un'impostazione educativa attestata sull'obbedienza a norme soprattutto morali induceva Giussani a ispirare il proprio metodo alla riscoperta del «senso religioso», la «proprietà originaria» presente in ogni uomo di cui Montini aveva parlato nella lettera quaresimale del '57, e a farne il terreno di incontro con i giovani, laici o cattolici che fossero²⁸, per sottoporre la «pretesa cristiana» alla «verifica» delle istanze originarie in cui il senso religioso si sostanzia²⁹; un passaggio, questo, creduto indispensabile per superare,

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

²⁴ Il riferimento è agli «incaricati», spesso ex-giessini iscritti alle università, che erano stati creati nel 1958 con il compito di trasmettere il «metodo» di GS nelle scuole, non di rado in alternativa agli assistenti ecclesiastici che operavano nei raggi (Busani, *Gioventù Studentesca. Storia di un movimento cattolico*, cit., pp. 143 ss.). Nei fatti, si superava l'ottica della collaborazione dei laici subordinata alla gerarchia tipica dei decenni precedenti.

²⁵ Bocci, «*La Chiesa in quanto tale*», cit., pp. 211-250.

²⁶ Busani, *Da Gioventù Studentesca a Comunione e Liberazione. Cinquant'anni di dibattito*, cit. Più ampiamente si veda Ead., *Gioventù Studentesca. Storia di un movimento cattolico*, cit., p. 104 ss. e pp. 436-438.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁸ M. Borghesi, *Introduzione* a G.B. Montini, L. Giussani, *Sul senso religioso*, Milano, BUR, 2009, p. 9 e ss. Come ricorda Borghesi, sono molte le consonanze tra la lettera pastorale quaresimale *Sul senso religioso*, redatta da Montini nel 1957, e il testo di Giussani *Il senso religioso*, pubblicato nel 1958 a cura della Presidenza diocesana della GIAC.

²⁹ Il riferimento è ai volumi che compongono il «percorso» della fede individuato da Giussani,

appunto, il formalismo religioso. Come dimostra questo volume, si trattava di un'ispirazione educativa che, nel secolo del soggettivismo, puntava non a relativizzare il messaggio cristiano ma a radicarlo in termini, prima che sociali, di «personalizzazione» della fede³⁰, superando la contrapposizione tra il dato oggettivo della rivelazione e il cuore dell'uomo. In un mondo cattolico abituato a combattere dalla parte dell'affermazione dei 'diritti' Dio e contro l'autonomia individuale, la dimensione esistenziale tipica di don Giussani suscitava sconcerto e doveva passare al vaglio di una serie di verifiche, suggerite autorevolmente, oltre che di un'effettiva comprensione persino da parte di chi ne era affascinato. Diverse le voci che accusavano GS di soggettivismo alternativo all'«esposizione delle verità rivelate» e alla catechesi tradizionale³¹. Quella proposta da Giussani era, tuttavia, una via all'evangelizzazione che voleva essere adatta all'uomo contemporaneo e che, pur senza mettere in discussione l'ancoraggio alla Chiesa/istituzione e alle sue autorità, identificava fonti di autorevolezza esistenzialmente pregnanti al di là del livello gerarchico in cui erano collocate, andando ben oltre i vecchi modi della pedagogia e dell'organizzazione cattolica. Nel metodo di Giussani, d'altra parte, pesava l'urgenza di un apostolato fondato su legami di comunione che prendeva le distanze dall'«individualismo religioso» di tanti ambienti cattolici³², al punto che l'istanza comunitaria appariva luogo di maturazione della stessa «personalità cristiana» e dimensione necessaria per l'ermeneutica del fatto cristiano³³.

Tale impostazione non era frutto di una sorta di *a priori* teorico, ma si delineava attraverso il paragone tra le radici teologiche ed ecclesiologiche della formazione respirata da Giussani a Venegono³⁴, le peculiarità umane e spirituali tipiche della sua sensibilità e le sollecitazioni maturate nell'attualità ecclesiale ed evidenziate dalle tendenze culturali prevalenti nell'orizzonte giovanile. Per Marta Busani siamo di fronte, cioè, a un progressivo processo di decantazione, cui il volume dedica largo spazio cogliendone i momenti di evoluzione, sino ad individuare nella GS di metà degli anni Sessanta, impegnata in un difficile

pubblicati dalla casa editrice Jaca Book: *Il senso religioso* (1986), la cui prima edizione era apparsa nel 1966 e che veniva completamente riscritto, *All'origine della pretesa cristiana* (1988), *Perché la Chiesa* (in due tomi, l'uno del 1990 e l'altro del 1992).

³⁰ Busani, *Da Gioventù Studentesca a Comunione e Liberazione. Cinquant'anni di dibattito*, cit., p. 76. Il tema è però presente in gran parte del volume oggetto di questo contributo ed emerge come caratteristica fondamentale del metodo di Giussani.

³¹ La valutazione, che risale alla metà degli anni Sessanta, era di Lazzati, che rispecchiava l'opinione di altri dirigenti dell'Azione Cattolica, a cominciare da Franco Costa, assistente centrale dell'AC (Busani, *Gioventù Studentesca. Storia di un movimento cattolico*, cit., pp. 368-369).

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 79 e 153-154.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 482-483. A questo proposito, Marta Busani fa riferimento al personalismo comunitario di Mounier, che a suo giudizio risuona in Giussani, convinto che la dimensione comunitaria sia costitutiva della persona (*ibid.*, p. 79).

³⁴ Il tema, presente non tanto nel volume oggetto di questa nota ma in diversi lavori dedicati a Giussani (dalla storia di Camisasca, alla biografia di Savorana, al contributo di M. Borghesi, *Luigi Giussani*, cit.) andrebbe ulteriormente indagato.

confronto con i vertici romani e diocesani dell'AC, una nuova autocoscienza, che «identificava nel metodo educativo» di don Giussani un «carisma particolare» e dunque ricercava, in anni davvero travagliati per le organizzazioni giovanili cattoliche, un «posto» specifico nella Chiesa, e non più solo a livello cittadino e studentesco, ma per gli adulti rimasti collegati alla «tipicità» giessina e in una prospettiva ormai nazionale³⁵. Fanno parte di questa evoluzione una serie di passaggi significativi, dalla svolta del '57 sollecitata dall'invito di Montini a ricercare i «lontani»³⁶, allo «sviluppo di un metodo» degli anni 1958-'61 e alla progressiva strutturazione del movimento³⁷, nonché al travaso dell'ispirazione educativa giessina nella Gioventù Cattolica ambrosiana e nazionale, con tanti gruppi di GS diffusi in Italia per iniziativa degli Uffici studenti della GIAC, come pure nella nascente Gioventù Lavoratrice³⁸. Vi sono, poi, gli approfondimenti metodologici del periodo 1961-1963, sollecitati dallo stesso Montini e dalle perplessità maturate in diversi settori del cattolicesimo ambrosiano³⁹.

Occorre rilevare che il lavoro di Marta Busani riscopre la storia di Gioventù Studentesca non come evento isolato dal contesto in cui è nato e si è sviluppato, ma come esperimento inserito nella trama di relazioni e problematiche che connotavano il mondo cattolico italiano, un approccio inevitabile anche per coglierne uno dei tratti distintivi, appunto la predisposizione a riconsiderare, se non a mettere in discussione, sia le abitudini organizzative del cattolicesimo italiano, sia le strategie educative ereditate dal passato. In effetti GS, pur essendo «nata e cresciuta a partire dalle intuizioni pedagogico-educative di don Giussani e dalla sua opera tra i giovani»⁴⁰, è sorta dentro l'Azione Cattolica ed è stata legata segnatamente alla GIAC ambrosiana, di cui era considerata una forma di «apostolato d'ambiente» e nella quale rifluiva l'impostazione educativa giessina. Nel volume, dunque, si trova una conferma dei cenni che sono stati fatti in saggi dedicati all'associazionismo cattolico⁴¹; e tuttavia al

³⁵ Busani, *Gioventù Studentesca. Storia di un movimento cattolico*, cit., pp. 445-459 e p. 493.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 86 ss.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 135 ss.

³⁸ Per GL, che prese avvio nel 1961 per impulso della Presidenza della GIAC ambrosiana, cfr. *ibid.*, pp. 225-228 e pp. 237-243. Su Gioventù Lavoratrice, a sua volta protagonista di un percorso di crescita notevole che vide l'adesione di molti giovani impiegati in diversi uffici cittadini e che si trovò al centro di polemiche originate dai difficili rapporti con le ACLI, sarebbero tuttavia necessari ulteriori approfondimenti.

³⁹ Busani, *Gioventù Studentesca. Storia di un movimento cattolico*, cit., pp. 244-250.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 358. Sul «carattere originario» e «non scomponibile» del pensiero di Giussani, che non è semplicemente «risultante da contributi di autori, che pure egli ha studiato ed incontrato, con sorprese anticipate sui suoi tempi», si veda Scola, *Un pensiero sorgivo*, cit., p. 53, il quale, peraltro, rimanda alla formazione ricevuta presso il Seminario Maggiore di Venegono. Al proposito si veda anche *Annuario Teologico 1984*, Istra - Istituto per gli Studi sulla Transizione, Milano, Edit, 1985, dedicato alla formazione culturale e scientifica di Giussani.

⁴¹ Cfr. G. Formigoni, G. Vecchio, *L'Azione Cattolica nella Milano del Novecento*, Milano, Rusconi, 1989. Per la crisi della GIAC dopo l'allontanamento di Mario Rossi, che Busani opportunamente sottolinea come l'orizzonte in cui GS è decollata, si veda F. Piva, *La Gioventù*

legame di GS con l'AC e alla dialettica che la sua crescita ha provocato a livello cittadino e nazionale Marta Busani conferisce ben altro spessore, mettendo in luce continuità e discontinuità, spaccature ma anche legami sinora poco conosciuti e aprendo spiragli interessanti sui rapporti con la Chiesa milanese, a cominciare dall'arcivescovo Montini⁴². Nel lavoro emergono ad esempio le connessioni con alcune figure del rinnovamento cattolico italiano, da don Lorenzo Milani a Giuseppe Lazzati e a Giorgio La Pira, perlomeno dal punto di vista di una certa comune sensibilità. Al tempo stesso affiorano le diversità, che con il tempo distanzieranno l'esperimento di Giussani dall'associazionismo di AC, favorendone, peraltro, la precisazione della metodologia educativa. Marta Busani sottolinea le differenze rispetto a quella che sembrava la prospettiva 'elitaria' fucina, cui GS opponeva un afflato missionario globale, ritenendolo un vettore di formazione indispensabile anche a livello individuale. Inoltre dà conto delle critiche che, dall'inizio degli anni Sessanta, si sono concentrate su GS, provenienti da sacerdoti impegnati nelle parrocchie e soprattutto dalla FUCI e dalla Gioventù femminile, che provocheranno una presa di posizione di Montini durante il sinodo minore diocesano del 1962, quando GS venne riconosciuta come un «generoso esperimento di apostolato d'ambiente»⁴³. Se la disponibilità delle fonti documentarie permette al volume di ricostruire complessivamente il rapporto tra GS e Montini⁴⁴, non mancano puntualizzazioni circa il ruolo di altre importanti figure, dal vescovo ausiliare Sergio Pignedoli, all'assistente dell'Azione Cattolica ambrosiana Enrico Manfredini e allo stesso futuro arcivescovo di Milano Giovanni Colombo, del cui apporto si avvale Montini nel suo approccio a Gioventù Studentesca; come non mancano tanti altri interpreti delle vicende narrate, più o meno rilevanti e più o meno noti, ma senza i quali non si capirebbe la storia di GS. È interessante, inoltre, la ricostruzione della dialettica sempre più intensa che ha impegnato i gruppi cattolici nelle scuole e nelle università milanesi, una dialettica che ha interferito con la questione della rappresentanza studentesca e con le contrapposizioni ideologiche presenti nelle scuole superiori milanesi già all'inizio del decennio, palesatesi soprattutto con il dibattito sul pluralismo associativo e sulle associazioni di istituto, per essere poi sopravanzate dalla nascita del Movimento studentesco⁴⁵.

Cattolica in cammino. Memoria e storia del gruppo dirigente (1946-1954), Milano, Angeli, 2003, pp. 308-427.

⁴² Montini risulta appunto uno dei protagonisti del volume di Busani. Sull'argomento si può vedere anche M. Bocci, *Il nostro tempo «non ammette un'ordinaria amministrazione»*. *L'arcivescovo Montini e i fermenti della Chiesa milanese*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 11, n. 1, 2016, pp. 265-323, che fa emergere alcuni motivi di convergenza tra Montini e la pastorale giovanile svolta da Giussani tra gli studenti milanesi.

⁴³ Busani, *Gioventù Studentesca. Storia di un movimento cattolico*, cit., pp. 228-237. Cfr. anche Bocci, *Il nostro tempo «non ammette un'ordinaria amministrazione»*, cit., pp. 307-313.

⁴⁴ Busani, *Gioventù Studentesca. Storia di un movimento cattolico*, cit., pp. 86-104 e 207-262.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 272 ss.

Uno dei meriti più importanti del volume, dunque, sta nel fatto che l'autrice ha evitato di fare di GS una sorta di *unicum* isolato dal contesto storico ed ecclesiale, restituendo un intreccio complicato e dalle molte sfaccettature, e proprio per questo non predeterminato *a priori*. La tipicità giessina emersa con il tempo non è comparsa in una sorta di vuoto pneumatico che in storia non esiste, affiorando semmai grazie agli stimoli che arrivavano da un tessuto storico fatto di mille incontri, occasioni, consonanze e contrapposizioni, un tessuto nel quale GS si è segnalata per le sue peculiarità ma del quale, al tempo stesso, ha mutuato tendenze e tensioni, al punto da venire parzialmente investita, come gli altri gruppi cattolici, dal Sessantotto e dal fascino per vie di fuga rivoluzionarie e terzomondiste. Gli spunti offerti da questo ampio racconto sono quindi tanti, e in questa sede è possibile solo segnalarne alcuni. Rimane da approfondire il passaggio di metà degli anni Sessanta, quando l'Azione Cattolica nazionale decise di dar vita a un nuovo movimento studenti⁴⁶, un momento che per Marta Busani costituisce un vero e proprio spartiacque nella storia di GS e che negli anni Settanta porterà alla separazione dall'Azione Cattolica. L'augurio, a questo proposito, è che l'apertura di nuove fonti documentarie consenta di proseguire l'indagine su questo periodo, permettendo di completare l'analisi della seconda metà degli anni Sessanta che videro l'allontanamento di Giussani, il diversificarsi di posizioni dentro Gioventù Studentesca, la fondazione del Centro culturale Charles Péguy, la crisi di fine decennio e l'adesione al Movimento studentesco di molti giessini, nonché la nascita non solo di CL, ma di iniziative culturali di notevole impatto, come la fondazione dalla casa editrice Jaca Book ad opera di persone legate a don Giussani⁴⁷. Vi è poi un altro filone che sarebbe utile riscoprire, per ora solo prefigurato da questa *Storia*: ed è l'insieme di rapporti internazionali che si percepisce nelle vicende di GS e che probabilmente si è esteso non solo in Brasile⁴⁸, ma attraverso relazioni con organizzazioni giovanili cattoliche di diversi paesi europei, che in qualche caso sono penetrate oltrecortina. Si tratta di una storia ancora da scrivere, probabilmente anticipata dall'attenzione ai movimenti d'ambiente francesi e belgi della GS sia di Brasca, sia di Giussani. La presenza di una rete di contatti che legava i movimenti giovanili in Europa, negli Stati Uniti e nei paesi del Terzo mondo, alla cui edificazione contribuì Gioventù Studentesca ben prima del '68⁴⁹, rimane tuttavia da indagare nella sua consistenza, nei suoi sviluppi e nelle sue ramificazioni.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 333-357.

⁴⁷ Gli ultimi due capitoli del volume affrontano questi temi, nel contesto delle decisioni del nuovo arcivescovo Giovanni Colombo e del suo tentativo di «far convivere dentro l'Azione Cattolica ambrosiana differenti anime, evitando la dispersione delle energie giovanili che provenivano da GS» (*ibid.*, p. 391). Interessanti approfondimenti verranno dalla ricerca di Pietro Bongiolatti, in corso di elaborazione.

⁴⁸ Busani, *Gioventù Studentesca. Storia di un movimento cattolico*, cit., pp. 188-206.

⁴⁹ Vi si fa cenno *ibid.*, pp. 429-440.

L'istruzione tecnica e professionale nell'Italia dell'Ottocento

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Technical and professional education in Italy in the XIXth century

ABSTRACT: This paper shows the main problems of technical and professional education in Italy in the XIXth century. In particular, it analyzes the results of a recent research by Valeria Viola on this topic. This is a theme of great interest in the Italian history as other issues are linked to it such as the democratization of knowledge, the opening of the school to the children of the lower middle class that means an opening to society, too. The way to reach this aim is not linear and it is characterized by a certain ambiguity: if technical education should help the economic development of the country and the integration of a part of the society in the State structures, it is also considered as a form of lower secondary level education compared to high school that continues to be seen as the classical school for excellence able to form the future ruling class.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Technical education; Professional education; Secondary school; Italy; XIXth Century.

Nata per formare i giovani alle professioni e per prepararli agli studi superiori, l'istruzione tecnica vive in Italia fin dai primi anni dopo l'unificazione nazionale una storia che rispecchia bene l'ambiguità di fondo che anima la classe dirigente alla guida del Paese, tra aristocratiche chiusure da parte di élite preoccupate di non assecondare pericolosi mutamenti nel corpo sociale e, di contro, spinte verso l'apertura della scuola ai ceti piccolo e medio borghesi sotto l'incalzare di processi di modernizzazione e di industrializzazione della società italiana che sembrano non arrestabili. Emblematica appare la nota supremazia accordata sul piano del prestigio culturale al ginnasio-liceo dalla Legge Casati in poi,

rispetto ai percorsi di istruzione tecnica, relegati in secondo piano e destinati a formare i giovani dei ceti meno abbienti ai piccoli impieghi e ai lavori manuali.

La storiografia ha più volte messo in rilievo questo aspetto sia in studi di carattere genere, sia in contributi specifici sull'argomento. Tuttavia una vera storia dell'istruzione tecnica, che analizzasse in modo organico e complesso la questione dal punto di vista legislativo e del dibattito politico e culturale in un arco cronologico alquanto esteso, mancava nel panorama degli studi storico-educativi. La bibliografia su questo versante, infatti, non è molto ricca: possiamo citare i lavori di Carlo G. Lacaïta¹, che hanno indagato le strette relazioni tra processi di industrializzazione del Paese e politiche scolastiche in supporto allo sviluppo economico, il saggio di Simonetta Soldani sull'istruzione tecnica nell'Italia liberale² e lo studio di Fabio Pruneri sulle scuole professionali³. A colmare un vuoto giunge ora il libro intitolato «*Il segreto della ricchezza degli altri paesi è la scienza, è l'istruzione tecnica*». *Percorsi di formazione tecnica e professionale nell'Italia dell'Ottocento* di Valeria Viola⁴, la quale fornisce un quadro chiaro e approfondito delle dinamiche che portarono alla nascita dei primi percorsi di istruzione tecnica e professionale dall'Unità fino allo scadere dell'Ottocento, attingendo ad un ampio *corpus* documentario composto da fonti normative, archivistiche e a stampa.

Quattro sono i nodi principali che emergono da questa ricerca. Il primo è l'incertezza con cui si muove la classe dirigente nei confronti dell'istruzione secondaria rivolta ai ceti piccolo borghesi. Le titubanze e i tentennamenti cominciano ben presto e si manifestano sotto forma di proposte di singoli parlamentari e di insediamenti di commissioni che ipotizzano delle riforme dell'istruzione tecnica così come era stata concepita e creata dalla Legge Casati del 1859 e dal relativo regolamento attuativo emanato dal ministro Terenzio Mamiani nel 1860, vale a dire la scuola tecnica e l'istituto tecnico, articolato in quattro sezioni (commerciale-amministrativa, chimica, agronomica, fisico-matematica). Una prima questione che divide la classe politica ruota intorno alla domanda a quale ministero assegnare la gestione delle scuole e degli istituti tecnici: al Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione o a quello dell'Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio? A ciò si collega il problema dell'*imprinting* che si vuole

¹ C.G. Lacaïta, *Istruzione e sviluppo industriale in Italia 1859-1914*, Firenze, Giunti-G. Barbera, 1973; Id., *L'istruzione tecnico-professionale e la modernizzazione italiana*, «Nuova Secondaria», n. 7, 2010.

² S. Soldani, *L'istruzione tecnica nell'Italia liberale*, «Studi Storici», vol. 22, n. 1, 1981, pp. 79-117.

³ 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. Atti del Convegno di studi*, Brescia, Congregazione dei Figli di Maria Immacolata Pavoniani, 2007.

⁴ V. Viola, «*Il segreto della ricchezza degli altri paesi è la scienza, è l'istruzione tecnica*». *Percorsi di formazione tecnica e professionale nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Lecce-Brescia, Pensa Multimedia, 2016.

conferire all'istruzione tecnica: essa deve essere una scuola professionalizzante oppure a cultura generale? Come è noto, la questione anima il dibattito. Le scuole tecniche, con il loro piano di studio, appaiono subito troppo simili al ginnasio. Addirittura Quintino Sella dirà, senza mezzi termini, che le scuole tecniche della Legge Casati non sono altro che «ginnasi, meno il latino e l'archeologia»⁵. Le polemiche continueranno a lungo ma di certo la scuola tecnica diventerà un formidabile canale attraverso il quale la piccola borghesia riuscirà a sfondare il limite imposto dalla stessa Legge Casati per quanto riguarda l'accesso all'istruzione universitaria. Come è noto, la frequenza dell'istituto tecnico non consentiva infatti l'iscrizione all'università. L'unica eccezione era la frequenza di una delle sezioni dell'istituto tecnico: quella denominata «fisico-matematica». Sarà attraverso questo canale che numerosi figli della piccola borghesia riusciranno ad assalire l'edificio scolastico casatiano, gettando le basi per una integrazione maggiore della popolazione italiana nelle strutture dello Stato e creando, al contempo, quel fenomeno di democraticizzazione del sapere che verrà aspramente criticato da Giovanni Gentile e dai gentiliani nei primi due decenni del secolo. Si deve, inoltre aggiungere, che l'incertezza che accompagna lo sviluppo dell'istruzione tecnica, divisa tra Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione e Ministero dell'Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, è dovuta non solo da visioni pedagogiche e culturali, ma anche da ragioni politiche. Da questo punto di vista il libro ricostruisce con puntualità le dinamiche conflittuali tra i due dicasteri e lo scontro che si registrò negli anni Ottanta del secolo, come testimoniato dalla documentazione conservata presso l'Archivio Centrale dello Stato. Valeria Viola pubblica, in particolare, dei documenti da cui emerge questa conflittualità: si tratta di un carteggio tra il titolare della Minerva, Michele Coppino, e quello del Ministero addetto alle attività produttive, Bernardino Grimaldi, nell'ambito del sesto governo Depretis.

Un secondo aspetto che emerge dal libro e che inevitabilmente si collega alla questione sopra illustrata è la proposta, fortemente innovativa per il contesto politico e culturale del tempo, di fondere la scuola tecnica con il ginnasio, creando una sorta di scuola media unica. L'auspicio viene formulato in vari momenti: da Carlo Matteucci nel progetto di legge presentato in Senato nel 1863 che ipotizza una scuola secondaria divisa in due gradi, da Gian Maria Bertini nel 1865 nella relazione *Sulle condizioni della pubblica istruzione nel Regno d'Italia*, da Michele Coppino nel 1867 in un progetto di legge che prevede un corso secondario unico (la scuola tecnica, senza latino e greco, a differenza del ginnasio) e uno superiore (il liceo), dal ministro Cesare Correnti nel 1870 che ipotizza una scuola media unica di primo grado denominata «liceo nazionale» di otto anni articolata in tre gradi (preparatorio, letterario e completo). Anche numerosi docenti e presidi, compilando il questionario promosso dall'Inchiesta Scialoja, si dicono favorevoli all'ipotesi in questione,

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

dimostrando una lungimiranza considerevole che, neanche a dirlo, non trova ascolto negli ambienti politici e ministeriali. Le motivazioni addotte dai fautori della proposta sono molteplici: in primo luogo, i risparmi economici, poiché si eviterebbe di impartire insegnamenti identici presso due scuole tra loro assai simili; in secondo luogo, si rinvierebbe di qualche anno la difficile scelta della scuola più adatta alle proprie attitudini, permettendo ai ragazzi di assumere una decisione più consapevole. Certo, non mancano i docenti e i presidi che rispondendo ai quesiti dell'Inchiesta Scialoja si dicono contrari a questa evenienza, in considerazione della presunta superiorità del primato umanistico della scuola classica che a lungo vigerà. Del resto questa idea è largamente dominante nella classe dirigente italiana del tempo, grande estimatrice delle *humanae litterae*, che giudica la scuola classica la fucina delle future élite e simbolo di distinzione sociale e culturale.

Un terzo aspetto che viene messo in evidenza nel libro di Valeria Viola attiene allo scarso livello qualitativo raggiunto dagli alunni che frequentano le scuole e gli istituti tecnici nei primi decenni dopo l'Unità, problema particolarmente evidente allorché i giovani licenziati dalla scuola tecnica trovano grandi difficoltà nel proseguimento degli studi successivi all'istituto tecnico. Le lacune più significative messe in rilievo nei documenti del tempo riguardano la padronanza della lingua italiana, ma anche delle competenze minime in matematica. Nel 1880, sotto il ministero di De Sanctis, si cerca di fornire una soluzione mediante l'introduzione di un quarto anno complementare per quegli studenti che decidano di interrompere gli studi dopo i tre anni di scuola tecnica, prevedendo insegnamenti quali "Compusteria", "Nozioni di scienze naturali e di igiene", oltre a italiano e matematica. Ma la novità non viene accolta bene e già l'anno dopo il ministro Baccelli abolisce l'anno complementare. Sarà Coppino, tornato alla Minerva nel 1884, a riprendere l'idea di distinguere i percorsi di coloro che sono intenzionati a interrompere gli studi al termine della scuola tecnica da quelli che invece frequenteranno l'istituto tecnico. La soluzione escogitata nel 1885 è un compromesso che evita di riproporre l'introduzione del quarto anno complementare, ma che salva l'idea di una «biforcazione» degli studi: nasce una scuola tecnica con un biennio comune ed un terzo anno con due piani di studi differenti, uno per chi aspirasse alla licenza e uno per chi desiderasse l'ammissione all'istituto tecnico. L'impronta "umanistica" di Coppino, che tra l'altro tornerà a ipotizzare una sorta di scuola media unica (per l'esattezza un «liceo misto» nei Comuni che avessero superato i 120 iscritti nell'ultimo triennio, nato dalla fusione tra il ginnasio e la scuola tecnica), sarà combattuta sullo scorcio degli anni Ottanta dal nuovo ministro Boselli. Questi rimprovererà, infatti, l'inutilità e la eccessiva estensione dei programmi in uso: in particolare il titolare della Pubblica Istruzione attaccherà la scelta di impartire nozioni di storia greca e di aritmetica razionale in questo tipo di scuole. Di contro, Boselli lamenterà lo scarso peso assegnato alle nozioni di fisica e di compusteria. Tali critiche preludono ad un cambio di passo che giungerà di lì a poco: sul finire del 1888,

infatti, il ministro procede con l'abolizione della cosiddetta «biforcazione» del terzo anno della scuola tecnica e pubblica nuovi programmi e piani di studio. Si tratta di scelte di politica scolastica che risentono dall'influenza del positivismo diffuso in quegli anni negli ambienti pedagogici italiani e che, in nome di una maggiore aderenza alle cose reali, sollecita innovazioni in campo educativo. A influenzare queste prese di posizioni sono anche le richieste del mondo produttivo volte a creare dei percorsi scolastici che siano più in linea con le esigenze economiche del Paese. In questa cornice, in cui si realizza una contaminazione tra gli studi classici e quelli scientifici, vedono la luce anche altre importanti decisioni in materia scolastica: l'opzione di scelta tra il latino e la matematica all'esame di maturità, l'insegnamento della storia naturale al ginnasio, la considerazione del disegno e del francese come materie facoltative.

Un'altra questione che viene affrontata nel libro è quella attinente ai percorsi di istruzione propriamente "professionale" gestiti dal Ministero dell'Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, dopo la sua ricostituzione avvenuta nel 1878. La stagione apertasi dopo questo evento è segnata da una volontà riorganizzatrice di una materia complessa, che annovera svariate tipologie di scuole di arti e mestieri e corsi professionali diffusi nel Paese, a volte gestiti dai Comuni, a volta da enti di vario genere. Una circolare ministeriale del 7 ottobre 1879 fornisce una prima classificazione: scuole di arti e mestieri diurne, scuole di arti e mestieri serali, scuole d'arte applicata all'industria. L'interventismo del governo è quanto mai positivo, in specie per la volontà di collegare questa realtà formativa al processo di industrializzazione che, sia pure in modo non omogeneo, si sta sviluppando in quel momento.

Accanto a questi quattro aspetti appena descritti che trovano ampia trattazione, il libro di Valeria Viola dedica una sezione molto corposa alle vicende storiche legate all'istruzione professionale e tecnica del Molise nel corso dell'Ottocento. Momento cruciale in cui vengono prese le prime iniziative in favore dell'educazione professionale sono le riforme che nel regno borbonico vedono la luce prima dei moti del 1820-21 e della rivoluzione del 1848 grazie ad una classe dirigente di orientamento liberale che eredita dai francesi gli stimoli che permettono di scalzare istituzioni e prassi tipiche dell'Antico Regime. Nel caso del Molise ciò è maggiormente facilitato quando al governo finiscono dei molisani, come Giuseppe e Biase Zurlo e Vincenzo Cuoco. In questo contesto avvengono due fatti di primaria importanza: l'abolizione del feudalesimo e l'elezione di Campobasso a capoluogo di provincia. In quegli anni le prime forme di istruzione professionale molisane che vedono la luce sono le scuole agrarie che nascono nei centri maggiori della provincia grazie all'opera della Società Economica. La repressione borbonica, conseguente ai moti del 1820-21, blocca la politica riformistica dei primi anni del regno di Ferdinando I. Solo dagli anni Trenta le cose cambiano: viene aperta una scuola di arti a Campobasso, appaiono vari progetti per potenziare l'istruzione professionale e nel 1842 viene istituita la Scuola di disegno lineare. Quest'ultima istituzione

scolastica rappresenta una delle iniziative più rilevanti in Molise e si ispira a quelle scuole di analogo indirizzo aperte a Napoli dalla fine del Settecento. A questa istituzione se ne affianca nel 1848 un'altra: la Casa pia di lavoro di Campobasso, istituto di carità rivolto all'infanzia povera e derelitta. Con l'Unità d'Italia le sorti dell'istruzione tecnica in Molise tendono a migliorare, ma con ritmi e tempi lenti: basti pensare che la prima scuola tecnica-ginnasiale pareggiata viene aperta a Campobasso nel 1869, contemporaneamente alla scuola tecnica municipale, annessa al ginnasio, di Agnone. Questo ritardo viene bene evidenziato dal provveditore Marinelli che nel settembre 1872 scrive:

Intanto mentre in altre province 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 maestro⁶.

Come se non bastasse, si aggiunga che qualche anno dopo la scuola tecnica di Campobasso verrà chiusa e riaperta a carico nel Comune solo nel 1885 e statalizzata poco dopo solo dietro i buoni uffici di Francesco Crispi, allora ministro dell'Interno e potente uomo politico nell'Italia meridionale. I risultati ottenuti, senz'altro non esaltanti nel suo complesso, dimostrano ancora una volta le difficoltà del Molise a intraprendere la via della modernizzazione mediante la costruzione di un solido sistema scolastico regionale. Situazione che è confermata da un'ultima vicenda: il tentativo sperito alla fine del secolo dagli uomini politici locali di istituire nel capoluogo molisano un istituto tecnico, al fine di completare il percorso di studi tecnici ed evitare la diaspora di studenti fuori provincia. Nonostante i tentativi, scrive l'autrice, l'istituto non fu aperto.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

Il Novecento: il secolo del bambino? Riflessioni storiografiche

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The twentieth century: the century of the child? Historiographic reflections

ABSTRACT: Starting from the analysis of a recent publication *Il Novecento: il secolo del bambino?*, edited by Mario Gecchele, Simonetta Polenghi and Paolo Dal Toso, the authors of this essay intend to offer a fruitful reflection on the rich and varied season of studies on childhood developed since the Seventies and Eighties of the 20th century. Great merit of the book under review was to have developed a multidisciplinary approach to early learning and giving an European dimension to the discussion.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; History of childhood; Historiography; Europe; Italy; XXth Century.

Giorgio Chiosso

I libri non nascono a caso e anche il volume curato da Simonetta Polenghi, Mario Gecchele e da Paola Dal Toso non sarebbe stato possibile se non si fosse consolidata nei decenni precedenti una ricca e variegata stagione di studi sull'infanzia. Le ricerche e gli studi condotti a partire dagli anni '70-'80 del secolo scorso costituiscono infatti il necessario sgabello per l'ulteriore passaggio storiografico di cui questo volume è testimonianza e che, come dirò meglio

* Entrambi i contributi del presente saggio avviano la propria riflessione a partire dall'analisi del recente volume M. Gecchele, S. Polenghi, P. Dal Toso (edd.), *Il Novecento: il secolo del bambino?*, Milano, Edizioni Junior, 2017.

più avanti, presenta due principali caratteristiche innovative: l'approccio multidisciplinare alla pedagogia dell'infanzia e il respiro europeo della trattazione.

I contenuti del volume

Il corposo volume è articolato in quattro parti. La prima – di cui sono autrici Egle Becchi e Simonetta Polenghi – è dedicata alla rassegna storiografica sugli studi riguardanti l'infanzia a partire dall'ormai fondamentale volume di Philippe Ariès del 1960. I due saggi offrono un'ampia ricognizione delle ricerche che negli ultimi decenni si sono moltiplicate (e hanno molto arricchito le nostre conoscenze) per iniziativa, oltre che degli studiosi dell'educazione e della pedagogia, anche di storici, antropologi, psicologi, psicoanalisti.

Becchi e Polenghi sottolineano, con sfumature diverse, gli aspetti innovativi che si sono delineati nel tempo e, contestualmente, ripercorrono e discutono alcuni snodi metodologici. Le due autrici richiamano, in particolare, la problematicità e la varietà che connota la documentazione disponibile sull'infanzia. Nel corso del secolo appena concluso essa si dilata, nella fattispecie, con fonti nuove (ad esempio la fotografia, la memoria consegnata alla registrazione fonica, la disponibilità di dati sociologici più ampia ed esauriente rispetto ad altri periodi ecc.) e con la valorizzazione delle "scritture bambine".

La seconda parte del libro introdotta e conclusa da due contributi di Mario Gecchele è dedicata alla presentazione della condizione infantile tra le due guerre. Numerosi saggi illustrano la vita educativa in varie contrade europee, sia in nazioni a tenuta democratica (come Inghilterra e Francia) e sia là ove si afferma un regime totalitario (Germania, Italia, Russia, Spagna). Da questi studi emerge che la speranza di Ellen Key di assicurare all'infanzia dignità e libertà si scontra con prassi spesso contrarie. La vita infantile è minuziosamente sorvegliata non solo ove l'infanzia è precocemente irreggimentata e ideologizzata, ma anche là dove la vita sociale è improntata a valori liberali.

Se migliorano in generale le condizioni alimentari e igieniche e si verifica un sostanziale incremento di cure verso i bambini e l'universo femminile (come dimostra, ad esempio, la diffusione della scuola), le vicende connesse con la guerra, le persecuzioni e le discriminazioni (basta pensare a quelle riguardanti gli ebrei e le difficoltà vissute dai credenti sotto il dominio comunista) rappresentano una dolorosa e talvolta terribile esperienza destinata a segnare le vite di intere generazioni.

Il tema svolto nella terza sezione del volume introdotta da Simonetta Polenghi riguarda il variegato e complesso mondo degli strumenti ricreativi destinati al mondo infantile come riviste, giornali e fumetti, giochi e giocattoli, film e più in generale il rapporto tra mondo dei media e giovani fruitori. Si tratta di un

aspetto che sicuramente distingue il Novecento dai secoli precedenti. L'accesso ai media è progressivo nel corso del secolo e accelerato negli ultimi decenni, coinvolgendo maschi e femmine di tutte le classi sociali: un fenomeno che ha contribuito alla costruzione di un immaginario condiviso.

Ma non è questa la sola novità. La svolta più radicale – propria della seconda metà del secolo e anche, sotto diversi aspetti – insidiosa riguarda l'impiego del tempo libero e soprattutto del denaro. Pur non producendo reddito, bambini e ragazzi diventano progressivamente piccoli consumatori e, in quanto tali, protagonisti di un meccanismo economico che ruota intorno ai loro desideri spesso abilmente indotti dalle logiche di mercato con prodotti cartacei, filmici e oggi soprattutto digitali.

Paola Dal Toso introduce alla lettura della quarta parte del volume intitolata *Luci e ombre*. Questo titolo indica chiaramente l'ambivalenza del Novecento verso l'infanzia – vero e proprio motivo portante dell'intero volume – in continuità con quanto già ampiamente richiamato nei testi a più specifica impostazione storica. Nei saggi di questa sezione il tema viene affrontato con un'angolatura che, senza smarrire l'approccio temporale, si svolge attraverso riflessioni utili alla comprensione di questioni anche attuali.

Nel complesso si potrebbe affermare che il *fil rouge* che tiene insieme la sezione è il passaggio culturale e pedagogico da un approccio di stampo soprattutto assistenziale e adultistico a un rapporto più complesso con l'età minorile nutrita di una molteplicità di apporti, frutto del graduale sviluppo di una nuova cultura sull'infanzia. Gli scritti spaziano toccano varie tematiche, dal riconoscimento dei diritti dell'infanzia al lavoro minorile, dai processi migratori ai servizi per l'infanzia, dal rapporto tra infanzia e vita religiosa alle istituzioni per l'infanzia abbandonata con il superamento della istituzionalizzazione e ai problemi legati all'educazione in famiglia.

Dalle annotazioni svolte emergono anche le numerose contraddizioni emergenti dal confronto tra le dichiarazioni di principio e la realtà effettuale, tra Paesi poveri e Paesi ricchi, tra le risorse necessarie per la tutela di bambini e ragazzi e quelle effettivamente disponibili, tra percezione del disagio e interventi rieducativi.

L'impianto storiografico

Fin qui la rapida e forzatamente sintetica presentazione del volume. Svolgerò ora qualche breve riflessione sugli aspetti che meritano una particolare sottolineatura e sollevano questioni intorno a cui riflettere.

Il primo riguarda l'impianto storiografico del volume. Con questo libro siamo oltre la partita che nei decenni trascorsi si è giocata – non senza robusti contrasti – anche sul piano dell'educazione infantile, tra la centralità assegnata,

secondo i casi, alla ricognizione delle idee pedagogiche oppure alla preferenza per le letture psicoanalitiche e/o sociali dell'infanzia con il rischio di esiti talvolta esageratamente ideologici.

Nei saggi proposti dai curatori non c'è nessuna preferenza per qualche tesi da sostenere o difendere a priori. Lo sforzo è concentrato invece sulla necessità di tenere conto di una documentazione variegata e di ampia durata (oltre un secolo) in grado di restituire nella molteplicità e complessità delle situazioni la realtà dell'infanzia. Il Novecento offre una quantità di stimoli e dati superiori per tipologia, varietà e dimensioni anche quantitative rispetto ai secoli precedenti. La multidisciplinarietà si configura perciò come un'esigenza e, al tempo stesso, come una risorsa importante. Il merito degli autori è stato quello di sapersi muovere con una sensibilità storica attenta a non farsi prendere la mano dai numerosi potenziali sentieri che si aprivano loro di fronte.

L'abbondanza documentaria estetica, ad esempio, che spesso accompagna le vicende e le rappresentazioni dell'infanzia (dal fascino delle illustrazioni librarie alla nostalgia indotta dai giocattoli, all'eleganza dell'abbigliamento infantile, ecc.) talvolta rischia di confondere la sostanza con l'apparenza. Questa eventualità resta distante nei saggi ospitati nel volume perché i curatori ne hanno orientato il timone sul nucleo portante che non è genericamente la condizione dell'infanzia – tema che peraltro trova ampi riferimenti – ma l'analisi delle molteplici piste, formali e informali, attraverso le quali si sono svolti i processi educativi. Questo è stato possibile in quanto i curatori hanno posto alla base della loro ricognizione gli sfondi pedagogici nei quali questi ultimi hanno preso fisionomia.

Lasciata da parte la pretesa di essere in grado di spiegare unilateralmente la complessità degli eventi educativi (ciò che spesso in passato rendeva i pedagogisti non di rado autoreferenziali e perciò sospetti agli occhi degli altri studiosi), la competenza pedagogica rientra con un'altra funzione e cioè quella di rappresentare una sorta di bussola necessaria per cogliere nel loro significato proprio i comportamenti, le strategie e le finalità di una società rispetto all'infanzia.

È proprio questa sensibilità tipica del lavoro pedagogico che consente, come annotano nelle pagine conclusive, Polenghi e Gecchele, «una chiara distinzione fra bambini in carne e ossa e infanzia come complesso mutevole di idee, cioè l'immagine che gli adulti hanno di quel periodo della vita». L'immagine dell'infanzia cambia infatti nel tempo a seconda dell'interpretazione che è stata data alla propria visione del mondo e al conseguente concetto di «natura infantile». Inutile rimarcare che l'intervento educativo si presenta diverso in funzione di questa premessa.

Una lettura europea dell'infanzia

L'altro aspetto storiografico portante del volume è rappresentato dall'approccio a livello europeo alle vicende dell'infanzia. Non mancano tentativi in tal senso, ma – almeno negli studi nostrani – il *focus* è stato in prevalenza quello nazionale anche in virtù di una presenza pedagogica e scolastica quanto mai significativa in questo ambito. Da Montessori e le sorelle Agazzi fino a Reggio Children la tentazione di rivendicare un certo primato nel campo dell'educazione infantile ci ha indotti a ragionare spesso in un'ottica nazionale.

Questo libro propone un accostamento meno “patriottico” che oltrepassa i confini tradizionali, una traccia di lavoro che in un prossimo futuro sarà bene tenere sempre più presente. Così come occorrerà considerare alcuni nuovi scenari nei quali si è sviluppata la cultura minorile degli ultimi decenni. Infatti essa è stata sempre più intensamente accompagnata e sostenuta dall'azione di organismi non governativi (ad esempio l'Unicef e il movimento delle Ong) attenti a denunciare eventuali condizioni negative della vita di milioni di bambini e bambine, a promuoverne i diritti, a meglio scolarizzarli e ad affermare l'urgenza di interventi volti al miglioramento ambientale e personale.

Il respiro europeo del libro suggerisce – indirettamente – anche una riflessione sui processi di unificazione continentale che, a fatica e in modo talora controverso, cercano di superare i nazionalismi e di promuovere una comune sensibilità educativa. In particolare è importante che essi non restino prigionieri degli aspetti funzionalistici nei quali sono oggi quasi incapsulati i sistemi scolastici pressati dalle Raccomandazioni europee perché la sfida della formazione sia in sintonia con i programmi economici dell'Unione.

Detto in altro modo: se si vuole veramente uno spazio europeo dell'educazione non bastano gli economisti, i sociologi e gli esperti di valutazione e di managerialità scolastica, occorrono anche altre figure intellettuali come filosofi, antropologi e soprattutto uomini di scuola e pedagogisti capaci di cogliere ciò che unisce e quanto è comunque opportuno che ciascuna realtà conservi in coerenza con le proprie specificità.

I processi educativi sono infatti sempre il risultato di tradizione e innovazione, di persistenza e cambiamento, di un'eredità che si svolge nel tempo e in questo svolgersi si rinnova e risponde a esigenze connesse con le trasformazioni in corso nelle società. Il “bambino-in-sé”, a sua volta, separato dal mondo degli adulti, in realtà non esiste, egli riflette l'immagine e somiglianza della società adulta, che ne determina la socializzazione, nei contenuti, modalità e durata, in base alle proprie esigenze soggettive e oggettive, consapevoli e inconsapevoli. Le teorie sull'infanzia sono in parte proiezioni e interpretazioni di tali esigenze.

L'istanza storica e sociale emerge con maggiore evidenza attraverso i processi di comparazione tra epoche storiche, tradizioni e culture diverse. Il discorso, come si può facilmente, immaginare può portare molto lontano in un'epoca

in cui i confini non sono più rigidi e difficili da scavalcare come un tempo e lo scambio tra culture e modelli educativi costituisce nella nostra vita ormai un'esperienza, talvolta faticosa ma quasi quotidiana.

Per tornare al nostro discorso e alla nostra Europa basta pensare alle diverse visioni dell'infanzia che si sono susseguite nel corso del secolo e si sono addirittura sovrapposte negli anni dei totalitarismi tra concezioni libertarie e impostazioni autoritarie, processi da cui non solo scaturisce l'ambivalenza e la complessità di identificare le diverse infanzie, ma che inducono a una ulteriore e in apparenza sorprendente osservazione. E cioè questa: che l'attenzione e le relative cure sulla prima stagione della vita e sulla necessità di formarne il carattere e le qualità necessarie per vivere nelle comunità umane fanno registrare un poderoso incremento quantitativo e qualitativo per il convergente apporto di ideologie non solo differenti, ma addirittura radicalmente contrapposte.

Basta pensare, ad esempio per quanto riguarda l'Italia, al potenziamento delle politiche sociali che si concretizzarono durante il fascismo nell'istituzione di nuove strutture di previdenza e sostegno di bambini e ragazzi, ma anche di disabili sensoriali, malati mentali ecc. nonché l'organizzazione dell'Opera Nazionale per la Protezione della Maternità e dell'Infanzia (1925), dell'Opera Nazionale Balilla nel 1926 e l'istituzione del Tribunale per i minorenni (1934).

Le molteplici e controverse attenzioni verso l'età infantile sono la spia dell'importanza crescente dell'infanzia nella realtà occidentale accompagnata peraltro dalla continua tentazione di disciplinarla e addirittura di manipolarla sul piano della formazione ideale e, in tempi più vicini, in funzione delle logiche del mercato e della riduzione dei bambini nell'orizzonte dei consumatori.

Alcune questioni aperte

A mano a mano che scorrono le pagine del libro si coglie una curvatura dei saggi verso tematiche di grande attualità. Questo accostamento tra storia e quotidianità invita a svolgere qualche altra riflessione. Provo a individuare gli spunti che mi sembrano più significativi.

1°) La ricognizione sulla graduale maturazione e conquista dei diritti dell'infanzia non può prescindere dalla constatazione che tuttora una parte delle solenni enunciazioni presenti nei testi internazionali resta inattuata o addirittura ignorata. Basta pensare non solo alle tragedie migratorie e in particolare ai tormentati e drammatici viaggi di tanti minori accompagnati e soprattutto non accompagnati, ma anche alle periferie delle nostre grandi città, alla persistente bassa scolarizzazione di molti ragazzi e all'inadeguatezza dei servizi per l'infanzia in vaste aree del nostro Paese. Non è sufficiente enunciare principi di vita, ma occorre che i diritti siano effettivamente alla portata dei veri destinatari.

2°) La loro conquista effettiva è strettamente legata alla sconfitta della povertà infantile. Oggi in Italia un bambino su 10 ricade nella categoria dei “poveri” e cioè di quanti vivono con risorse al di sotto del livello di sopravvivenza. Nonostante l'apparenza di una società opulenta molte famiglie non dispongono dei mezzi necessari al sostentamento oppure (un altro 10%) è fragilmente dislocato sul confine tra povertà e mediocre qualità della vita. Vivere in una famiglia povera e in contesti privi di opportunità di sviluppo significa portare fin dai primi anni il peso di una grave discriminazione rispetto ai coetanei. Povertà educativa e povertà economica spesso sono le diverse espressioni di un circolo vizioso.

3°) Come più volte si è già ricordato il rapporto adulto/minore durante il secolo scorso (in specie nella seconda parte) è evoluto verso modelli di comportamento più rispettosi della libertà e spontaneità dei minori anche se, ad uno sguardo complessivo, è improprio definire il XX secolo in termini libertari. Il ruolo dell'adulto ha infatti continuato a costituire un punto di riferimento coerente nonostante la sfida delle pedagogie anti autoritarie.

Oggi siamo oltre questo confine. Il confine tra le generazioni è molto più sfumato e tutte le generazioni sembrano “schiacciate” e “appiattite” in un'ininterrotta lotta contro il tempo che passa. Bambini e preadolescenti hanno comportamenti e stili di vita precocemente adultizzati e gli adulti – che cercano di restare permanentemente giovani – appaiono altrettanto smarriti quanto i minori, fortemente in disagio sia verso se stessi e i propri compiti evolutivi sia verso la capacità di donazione e di cura nei confronti delle generazioni che crescono.

Non so se l'immagine delle passioni tristi indicata come la più aderente al nostro tempo sia davvero tale, ma è comunque non difficile associare la crisi diffusa, generata dalla difficoltà sociali e una generale perdita della fiducia nel futuro, con la fragilità dei percorsi di costruzione dell'adultità.

Concludo. Come ho cercato di documentare il volume curato da Mario Gecchele, Paola Dal Toso e Simonetta Polenghi è ricco di stimoli che si prestano a una molteplicità di letture che spaziano da questioni più strettamente pertinenti gli interessi storiografici ad altre che intercettano tematiche di vasto respiro educativo. A fronte di una produzione pedagogica che spesso appare disarticolata entro tanti rivoli talvolta eccessivamente specialistici, è giusto salutare con soddisfazione un libro che invece offre una sintesi storico-pedagogica di un fondamentale passaggio storico e propone riflessioni critiche ad ampio raggio su alcune questioni attuali.

Serge Tomamichel

Le vingtième siècle a-t-il été, comme l'avait prédit la pédagogue suédoise Ellen Key au début des années 1900 «le siècle des enfants»? Telle est la question qui ouvre et guide l'ouvrage collectif dirigé par Mario Gecchele, Simonetta Polenghi et Paola Dal Toso et auquel ont contribué vingt-et-un spécialistes de l'enfance, universitaires, chercheurs ou praticiens italiens et, plus largement, européens. Au-delà de cette interrogation et du titre qui la reflète, mais sans jamais, toutefois, la perdre de vue et s'en écarter, c'est, dans une vision plus étendue, une histoire de l'enfance qui nous est proposée, histoire des images, des représentations, des «sentiments» que les époques et les sociétés du siècle dernier ont construits et, en miroir et souvent par contraste, histoire de la vie des garçons et des filles de moins de quatorze ans, dans une diversité de pays, de contextes, à l'exception du monde scolaire.

Sur le soubassement historiographique et épistémologique d'une première partie, faisant une large place à la thèse de Philippe Ariès développée dans *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, s'appuient trois groupes de contributions. A travers les exemples du Royaume-Uni, de la France, de l'Italie fasciste, de l'Allemagne nazie, de l'Espagne franquiste, de l'Union Soviétique, de la Hongrie, de la Roumanie, et des situations de conflits au XX^e siècle, la première partie – *Une société, un enfant* – montre comment chaque société façonne son propre concept de l'enfance et sa propre réalité éducative. Elle révèle, l'emportant sur certains traits communs et surtout pendant la première moitié du siècle, la coexistence en Europe de nombreuses configurations liées aux diversités politiques, socioéconomiques et culturelles.

La troisième partie, centrée sur la seule Italie, s'attache aux rapports entre «enfants et mass media». La bande dessinée, suspectée au départ de «détourner les enfants de saines lectures»; l'enfant-lecteur face à la littérature enfantine; l'évolution des poupées au cours du siècle; l'enfance mis en scène dans le cinéma du XX^e siècle; l'irruption de la télévision dans toutes les maisons, puis dans plusieurs pièces de la maison; la diffusion massive des jeux vidéo sont cinq facettes, finement analysées, révélant les évolutions différenciées selon la classe sociale et le genre, des rapports de l'enfant consommateur avec un nouveau marché, dont il est tout à la fois acteur et esclave.

Le siècle à peine achevé est présenté dans son contraste entre *Lumières et ombres*, comme l'indique le titre de la quatrième partie. Les sept contributions qui la constituent révèlent en effet les évolutions positives incontestables: les droits de l'enfant ont été solennellement affirmés, les services éducatifs et culturels largement diffusés, le travail des mineurs a quasiment disparu, la prise en charge des enfants «déviants» repensée. Mais, dans le même temps, elles interrogent la prédiction optimiste d'Ellen Key et invitent à nuancer l'image d'un XX^e siècle uniformément placé sous le signe de l'enfance.

La longue conclusion de l'ouvrage restitue la « diversité des visages de l'enfance au XX^e siècle »; elle met en lien les aspects de l'enfance présentés dans les différentes contributions, où cohabitent les rares échos provenant des voix des enfants et les images de l'enfance socialement construites et transmises par un monde d'adultes. C'est avant tout ce déséquilibre que l'ouvrage met en exergue et sur lequel il fonde à la fois une épistémologie et, de manière liée, une philosophie de l'histoire de l'enfance.

La posture revendiquée est clairement herméneutique, en ce qu'elle repose sur « l'interprétation » de « traces, de petits indices, de voix fluettes ». Mais ce travail d'interprétation s'opère « toujours au regard de l'image de l'enfance présente dans la société » ou de filtres d'analyse culturellement privilégiés. Ceux-ci « conditionnent *a priori* l'étude, filtrent les données, prédisposent les modèles interprétatifs, engluent le cercle herméneutique du travail historique ». S'il demeure illusoire d'accéder à une enfance *en soi*, il importe néanmoins de se garder du danger de « substituer à l'enfant réel que nous avons devant nous une certaine idée de l'enfance que nous avons en tête ». Ignorant zones obscures, problèmes, différences, la théorie oublie souvent l'enfant en tant que tel, déforme trop souvent son image et franchit ainsi la frontière de l'idéologie. « Une distinction claire doit donc être opérée entre les enfants en chair et en os et l'enfance comme un ensemble changeant d'idées, c'est-à-dire d'images que les adultes se font de telle ou telle période de sa vie ». En somme, l'histoire de l'enfance serait ainsi, au plan épistémologique, une herméneutique de traces culturellement construites visant à dissocier une image de « l'enfant réel » de celle que « les cultures élaborent ».

Car « l'enfance est une entité sans voix ». La formule apparaît comme le trait d'union entre les fondements épistémologiques énoncés – entendus comme les rapports, orientant la recherche, entre le chercheur et son objet – et une philosophie de l'histoire de l'enfance, au sens d'une représentation paradigmatique de l'objet, qui en détermine la structure et se présenterait ainsi: quelles que soient les époques, les cultures, les sociétés et les classes sociales, l'enfance ne se définit que dans ses rapports au monde des adultes. « L'enfant en soi' [...] séparé du monde des adultes, n'existe pas en réalité; il est 'inventé' à l'image, en miroir et en fonction de la société des adultes qui en détermine la 'socialisation, dans ses contenus, modalités et durée, sur la base de ses propres exigences, subjectives et objectives, consciemment ou inconsciemment. Les théories sur l'enfance sont en partie des théories justificatives de ces exigences'. Historiquement, chaque société tend, par conséquent, à élaborer une propre image de l'enfance qui est, dans le même temps, sa description réelle et son modèle idéal; elle tend également à la faire agir comme un principe normatif des buts de la vie de la communauté; il y a donc autant d'enfances qu'il y a de cultures ».

L'évolution séquencée des images et de la réalité de l'enfance, doit ainsi être comprise dans un rapport de vassalité complexe au monde des adultes. La

conclusion de l'ouvrage vise, dans une perspective diachronique embrassant un millénaire, à dégager un mouvement d'ensemble, au terme duquel, du point de vue de ses rapports au monde des adultes, le monde des enfants serait comparable à celui du Moyen-Âge. D'une manière générale – les auteurs font ici référence à N. Elias –, dans une première phase ascendante, du Moyen Âge milieu du XX^e siècle, «la distance entre le comportement et toute la structure psychologique de l'enfant, d'une part, et de l'adulte, d'autre part, augmente au cours du processus de civilisation». L'image de l'enfant socialement construite par le monde des adultes, se dissocierait de celle de l'adulte en miniature et la spécificité accordée à l'enfance irait de pair avec un intérêt éducatif accru. Ce processus non linéaire et différencié serait marqué par la naissance d'un «sentiment de l'enfance». Pour N. Postman, «l'imprimerie a créé l'enfance» dans le sens où antérieurement, «l'incapacité de lire et d'écrire, l'absence d'une idée d'éducation, le manque d'un sens de la pudeur, ajoutés à la dureté de l'existence et à un fort taux de mortalité infantile furent les raisons qui empêchèrent le Moyen-Âge de construire un concept de l'enfance différent de celui de l'état adulte». La diffusion du livre et de la scolarisation a lentement façonné une «nouvelle définition de l'état adulte, basée sur la capacité de lire» et, par contraste, «une nouvelle conception de l'enfance, définie par l'incapacité de lire». La lente reconnaissance de l'enfance, sera effective «tout d'abord dans la bourgeoisie du XIX^e siècle, ensuite aussi dans les classes inférieures». Si P. Ariès, souvent convoqué, place, pour sans part et non sans un certain embarras qu'il avoue lui-même dans la seconde édition de son ouvrage (1973), le «point origine» à la charnière des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, l'idée que partagent les auteurs est celle de la naissance tardive d'une image de l'enfant spécifique et distincte d'une réduction de l'état adulte.

La reconnaissance de l'enfance en tant que telle correspond en outre à une modification du regard que l'adulte lui portait, et, par voie de conséquence, à une transformation des relations éducatives prescrites ou effectives. Jusqu'à la fin du XVII^e siècle au moins l'enfant est principalement vu comme un petit être enclin au mal, corrompu par le péché originel, qui ne pouvait être éduqué que par la violence, physique ou symbolique: «Laissés à eux-mêmes, les enfants se seraient gâtés; sont alors justifiées les interventions de l'adulte qui, comme un agriculteur ou un potier cultive et modèle, piège la volonté des enfants et leur apprend à dominer les instincts et les passions à travers la vertu de l'obéissance et par l'usage des coups».

Cette vision négative, héritage combiné des philosophes antiques, de la tradition vétérotestamentaire et des conceptions augustiniennes fait lentement place, sans disparaître totalement, à une image «s'inspirant de l'inversion des rôles présente dans la Béatitude», «attribuant aux enfants l'assurance d'une montée aux cieux et invitant à se faire petits comme eux»; et, avec elle, de nouvelles conceptions éducatives: «Qu'il s'agisse de la pratique éducative des nouvelles congrégations fondées dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, presque toutes féminines, ou bien de la pédagogie des Arporti, Rosmini, Lambruschini

et Don Bosco, toutes se fondent sur une matrice commune, connotée d'une douce charité, aimante, chaude, qui avait son centre sur la figure du Christ souffrant». Sans avoir été suivies d'une éradication universelle et immédiate des punitions physiques – les auteurs rappellent de manière opportune que celles-ci n'ont été interdites dans les écoles du Royaume-Uni qu'en 1982 – ces pédagogies ont efficacement contribué à infléchir les relations éducatives, dans la famille, l'École, la société, dans le sens d'un surcroît de douceur, de compréhension et de respect à l'égard de l'enfant. « Un long chemin a été parcouru depuis la sentence d'Old Bailey (Cour criminelle centrale de Londres), condamnant en 1833 un garçon de neuf ans à être 'pendu jusqu'à ce que mort s'en suive', pour avoir été jugé responsable d'avoir cassé une vitrine avec un bâton »; un chemin jalonné de la reconnaissance des droits de l'enfant, de l'éradication du travail des enfants, de la régression notable de la mortalité infantile, de l'universalisation de la scolarisation.

Ainsi, sous l'influence d'une pluralité de facteurs – économiques, politiques, scientifiques, culturels... –, opérant à des différents degrés d'échelles – la famille, la strate sociale, la société dans son ensemble – se sont transformés conjointement l'image de l'enfant dans la société – vers une reconnaissance d'un état propre distinct de celui de l'adulte –, sa consécration juridique sous la forme de droits légalement reconnus, et le fondement même des rapports éducatifs où la violence physique est proscrite. L'optimisme d'Ellen Key voyant dans le XX^e siècle qui s'ouvrait celui «des enfants» n'avait donc rien d'utopique au regard des changements apparus dans les décennies précédentes.

Mais ce siècle sera finalement celui des espérances déçues. Alors même que dans sa première moitié s'amplifiait le mouvement amorcé, avec la naissance de grandes structures de recherche, l'effervescence de théories et de pédagogies nouvelles opérationnalisant la relation éducative sur base d'une connaissance plus fine de l'enfant, dans le même temps, deux conflits mondiaux, les génocides et les totalitarismes altéraient tragiquement et profondément ses conditions d'existence. Le second XX^e siècle, pendant lequel les sociétés occidentales recouvrèrent une stabilité et un niveau de développement inégalé, sonna paradoxalement le glas des illusions. Outre les problèmes spécifiques causés par les mouvements migratoires, par la maltraitance physique et psychologique loin d'être éradiquée et par le phénomène des «adultes incomplets» ou «inassouvis», «adultisant» précocement leur enfant ou les formant à la mesure de leurs espoirs déçus et de leurs frustrations, c'est, plus généralement, dans la coloration même de l'époque que s'est perdue «une certaine image de l'enfance». Essor de la consommation comme nerf de l'activité économique faisant de l'enfant un «petit roi du consumérisme», accroissement du temps libre des enfants et des jeunes libérés des contraintes du travail productif, refus de la contrainte ou difficulté à l'exercer dans la sphère familiale, explosion des nouveaux modes de communication: ces facteurs ont abouti à la collusion des mondes des adultes et des enfants. «Le XX^e siècle s'est clos de manière imprévue: s'ouvrant sur une

enfance à protéger grâce à une autorité paternelle sévère mais protectrice qui se prolongeait, dans le temps, par l'action de l'école, il s'est achevé à l'inverse avec une autorité parentale en forte déclin et des enfants précocement insérés dans le monde des adultes. Dans un certain sens, note Cunningham, on est retourné au modèle de l'enfance de l'époque moderne, qui se terminait vers quatorze ans, à ceci près que maintenant, le jeune garçon entre dans une adolescence prolongée et économiquement improductive, alors qu'à cette même période de vie, à l'époque moderne, le garçon avait déjà acquis des compétences économiques et s'approchait de l'âge adulte».

Observée à l'échelle de la longue durée, la «planète enfance» semble de ce point de vue achever une révolution au XX^e siècle. C'est un des mérites de ce dense et riche ouvrage que de rendre compte, dans une mise en perspective à grande échelle, de l'extrême diversité des situations présentées et de la complexité de la réalité. On aimerait sans doute que les réserves concernant les thèses de Philippe Ariès ne se limitent pas à la question de l'amour maternel et qu'il soit davantage fait état des critiques que *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* a suscitées dès sa parution de la part d'historiens – pour ne citer que quelques français, et non des moindres – comme P. Riché, E. Leroy-Ladurie, D. Alexandre-Bidon. Non pour prendre part dans un débat aujourd'hui largement émoussé, mais pour donner davantage de fermeté aux notions d' «image» ou de «sentiment», dissociées du reste avec beaucoup de pertinence de la réalité vécue par les enfants. Quid par ailleurs des aspects législatifs présentés? Ne relèvent-ils pas d'une troisième dimension, distincte de celles des représentations et de la réalité de l'enfance? Ces questions ne sauraient ternir la qualité de ce bel ouvrage, remarquablement mis en valeur par la photographie de couverture. Sans clore le sujet, il constitue un document de référence pour l'étude inépuisable de l'enfance au XX^e siècle, à laquelle il contribue remarquablement.

Il patrimonio storico-educativo tra ricerca e didattica della storia. A proposito di un importante seminario di studi

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The historical-educational heritage between research and history education. About an important seminar

ABSTRACT: Report of the seminar «Practices and considerations on the schools' historical-educational heritage as source for the teaching of history» organised by the Associazione delle Scuole Storiche Napoletane in collaboration with the Society for the study of Historical-Educational Heritage (SIPSE). The seminar gave the opportunity to discuss the historical-educational heritage in Italy and Europe and to exchange ideas and perspectives on good practices to recover, preserve and protect this heritage.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; School Material Culture; Educational Heritage; Teaching Aids; Europe; XIX-XXth Centuries.

È ormai da molti anni che in Italia si è affermato e sviluppato il dibattito sullo studio, la conservazione e la valorizzazione del patrimonio storico-culturale conservato nelle scuole e negli istituti educativi. Proprio per questo motivo il 6 aprile si è svolto a Napoli presso la Sala del Concistoro ex Convento S. Domenico Maggiore – sede dell'Istituto Superiore «Alfonso Casanova» – il seminario di studio «Esperienze e riflessioni sul patrimonio storico-educativo delle scuole come fonte per l'insegnamento della storia», organizzato dall'Associazione delle Scuole Storiche Napoletane con la collaborazione della SIPSE–Società Italiana per lo Studio del Patrimonio Storico-Educativo.

Il seminario, che ha visto la partecipazione di istituzioni e soggetti quali studiosi, ricercatori, insegnanti, bibliotecari, archivisti, dirigenti scolastici e funzionari della pubblica amministrazione impegnati nel recupero, nella conservazione e nella valorizzazione del patrimonio storico-scolastico ed educativo, ha inteso offrire un'occasione di riflessione, confronto e approfondimento sullo stato dell'arte dello studio del patrimonio storico-educativo in Italia e in Europa e, in particolare, sulle esperienze e sulle buone pratiche dirette al recupero, alla conservazione e alla salvaguardia di questo inestimabile patrimonio, soffermandosi sull'esperienza dell'Associazione delle Scuole Storiche Napoletane.

Il seminario è stato, in particolare, l'occasione di incontro tra l'Associazione delle Scuole Storiche Napoletane e la SIPSE-Società Italiana per lo Studio del Patrimonio Storico-Educativo, un incontro nato dal desiderio e dall'esigenza di legare l'esperienza di ricerca e di didattica dell'Associazione al progetto di più largo raggio che vede coinvolto il mondo accademico.

L'Associazione delle Scuole Storiche Napoletane è costituita da una rete di circa trenta scuole statali di ogni ordine e grado, che, nel settembre 2011, si sono associate con lo scopo di recuperare e valorizzare il patrimonio storico-culturale di ciascuna scuola (storia della scuola, dell'edificio che la ospita e del contesto urbano, la biblioteca, l'archivio, i gabinetti scientifici, i cimeli, ecc.). Gli obiettivi perseguiti dall'Associazione sono quelli di diffondere la consapevolezza del valore del patrimonio storico-educativo, di educare al recupero e alla conservazione dei beni culturali scolastici e del territorio, di promuovere una orizzontalità degli scambi tra insegnanti delle scuole e studiosi accademici, di individuare le scuole come soggetti produttori di cultura e di creare musei scolastici.

L'Associazione, in questi anni, ha realizzato numerose attività e interventi di recupero e valorizzazione del patrimonio storico-educativo delle scuole, oltre ad aver creato un sito web dedicato (www.forumscuolestorichenapoletane.it). Tutte queste iniziative sono state realizzate sempre con la preziosa collaborazione degli studenti che, in questo modo, hanno alimentato la propria coscienza civica e si sono riappropriati di un bene collettivo.

Pioniere di questa lodevole iniziativa è stato il Prof. Francesco Di Vaio, che è stato preside del Liceo Vittorio Emanuele II dal 2001 al 2011, del cui patrimonio ha promosso il recupero e la valorizzazione, costituendo - in collaborazione con altri professori - i musei di fisica e storia naturale, facendone restaurare e inventariare gli oggetti, promuovendo il riordino dell'archivio storico e della biblioteca. Collocato a riposo nel settembre del 2011, insieme ai dirigenti di altre scuole storiche centenarie ha fondato l'Associazione, di cui ricopre il ruolo di coordinatore scientifico.

La Società Italiana per lo Studio del Patrimonio Storico-Educativo - costituita il 13 settembre 2017 nell'ambito della III International Conference on School Material Culture presso l'Università degli Studi di Macerata da rappresentanti

di gruppi di ricerca operanti in seno a dodici atenei italiani - si prefigge, principalmente, di promuovere e favorire ricerche di elevata qualità scientifica e iniziative di alto profilo culturale sul patrimonio storico- educativo.

In particolare, la SIPSE e l'Associazione delle Scuole Storiche Napoletane si ritrovano accomunate dalle finalità di tutelare il patrimonio storico-educativo nazionale – sia esso di natura biblioteconomica, archivistica, architettonica o museale – promuovendo iniziative atte a evitarne la dispersione e il deterioramento e sviluppare l'interesse del mondo scolastico e più in generale della società civile nei confronti dei beni culturali della scuola, evidenziandone le funzioni didattiche e divulgative.

Il seminario è stato, quindi, il luogo di contaminazione tra una rete di scuole impegnate nella ricerca storica e nel recupero di memorie ignorate o abbandonate da decenni e legate al patrimonio storico-educativo, il mondo accademico rivolto a implementare gli studi sulla cultura materiale della scuola e soggetti e istituzioni che, a diverso titolo, ma sempre con grande rigore e consapevolezza, hanno posto al centro il loro impegno di recupero e di valorizzare del patrimonio storico-educativo.

Hanno aperto i lavori della mattinata i saluti istituzionali di Valentina Bia (Presidente dell'Associazione Scuole Storiche Napoletane), Rosaria Anna Stellato (Dirigente I.S.I.S. Alfonso Casanova), Luisa Franzese (Direttore Generale Ufficio Scolastico Regionale per la Campania) e Gaetano Daniele (Assessore alla Cultura del Comune di Napoli).

A introdurre e moderare la prima parte della mattinata è stato Roberto Sani che, nella sua relazione, ha sottolineato come la rivoluzione storiografica che ha caratterizzato, negli ultimi trent'anni, gli studi sulla storia della scuola e dell'educazione abbia dato avvio a «una nuova storiografia che ha il suo riferimento privilegiato ed essenziale non più nelle teorie pedagogiche e nelle filosofie dell'educazione, ma nello scavo archivistico e nell'utilizzo di una pluralità di fonti, materiali e immateriali, in grado di restituirci la complessità e varietà dei processi formativi scolastici e delle dinamiche di alfabetizzazione e di acculturazione nei diversi ordini e gradi di scuola».

Partendo da questo presupposto appare chiaro come anche il più umile strumento e il più semplice e banale supporto didattico diventino fondamentali per ricostruire il passato e per recuperare e mettere a disposizione di tutti e di ciascuno la memoria individuale e collettiva di un'istituzione scolastica.

Sani ha terminato il suo intervento mettendo in risalto l'esperienza dell'Associazione delle Scuole Storiche Napoletane, che costituisce un unicum a livello internazionale e un'autentica eccellenza nel panorama culturale e scolastico nazionale. Sani ha poi ceduto la parola ad Anna Ascenzi che ha presentato una relazione dal titolo «Lo studio del patrimonio storico-educativo in Italia e in Europa: bilancio e prospettive». Ascenzi si è prima soffermata sulle motivazioni e finalità che sono alla base della costituzione della Società Italiana per lo Studio del Patrimonio Storico-Educativo e sull'importanza di

realtà come l'Associazione delle Scuole Storiche Napoletane, considerata una punta avanzata in Italia e un vero e proprio caso di eccellenza a livello europeo, oltre che un patrimonio di saperi e di buone pratiche che va potenziato e possibilmente replicato sul territorio italiano. In tal senso le esperienze e le attività dell'Associazione costituiscono un modello esemplare e allo stesso tempo la dimostrazione di come la realizzazione di una rete tra scuole, dirigenti, insegnanti e specialisti che mettono in condivisione saperi, esperienze e risorse, possa portare al raggiungimento di risultati straordinari.

Il focus dell'intervento ha riguardato lo stato dell'arte dello studio del patrimonio storico-educativo in Italia e in Europa. Ascenzi ha richiamato opportunamente quanto già affermato da Sani: la svolta storiografica ha fatto sì che la comunità internazionale degli storici dell'educazione guardasse ai prima richiamati materiali storici della scuola da una nuova prospettiva. Tra gli anni Ottanta e Novanta si è imposto così il concetto di cultura della scuola, che ha portato all'analisi di culture scolastiche materiali e immateriali.

Il concetto di patrimonio storico-educativo ha iniziato nel tempo ad ampliarsi sensibilmente ed è stato progressivamente esteso a categorie di beni non precedentemente contemplate al suo interno. Oggi il patrimonio storico-educativo è composto da beni immateriali e beni materiali¹.

Ascenzi ha quindi messo in risalto il ruolo delle società del patrimonio storico-educativo. Le prime a costituirsi sono state, negli anni Ottanta, quelle dei paesi dell'Europa centrale, quindi Francia, Svizzera e Germania, seguite, nel 2000, da nuove società scientifiche, stavolta nate prevalentemente per impulso delle comunità accademiche di ricercatori e studiosi di storia dell'educazione. È il caso del Portogallo e della Spagna. Nel 2008 è emersa una nuova realtà associativa in Brasile. Infine, nel 2017, si colloca la fondazione della SIPSE, animata da studiosi italiani che, negli ultimi quindici anni, si sono maggiormente fatti carico di censire, catalogare e studiare le collezioni e i materiali del patrimonio storico-educativo.

In conclusione del suo intervento, Ascenzi ha presentato il progetto di censimento che l'Università di Macerata porta avanti ormai da diversi anni con l'attività dell'Osservatorio Permanente dei Musei dell'Educazione e dei centri di ricerca sul patrimonio storico-educativo (OpeN.MuSE) nato con l'obiettivo di censire i musei della scuola e le scuole- museo presenti nel nostro paese.

Il successivo intervento, dal titolo «Buone pratiche di valorizzazione didattica del patrimonio culturale delle scuole: il caso degli archivi e dei musei», è stato affidato a Juri Meda e Marta Brunelli.

¹ A tal riguardo si veda J. Meda, *La conservazione del patrimonio storico educativo: il caso italiano*, in J. Meda, A. Badanelli (a cura di), *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en España: presupuestos y perspectivas. Actas del I workshop Italo-Espanol de Historia de la Cultura Escolar (Berlanga de Duero, 14-16 de noviembre de 2011)*, Macerata, eum, 2013, pp. 167-198.

Meda ha ricostruito potenzialità e problematiche legate agli archivi scolastici, beni dall'elevato valore storico e culturale ma al cui interno sono stati condotti ancora pochi studi sistematici.

Nonostante il numero crescente di progetti di censimento degli archivi scolastici a livello provinciale, e qualche raro caso di progetti di censimento a livello regionale, ad oggi è mancata una sistematizzazione delle iniziative di censimento, recupero e riordino degli archivi scolastici promosse a livello locale da parte dell'amministrazione archivistica nazionale. Meda ha sottolineato come l'analisi di questi giacimenti documentari fornirebbe, per esempio, un contributo determinante allo studio delle metodologie didattiche effettivamente utilizzate in aula dagli insegnanti e della loro conformità a quanto stabilito dalle prescrizioni ministeriali, così come dei costumi educativi, delle pratiche disciplinari e delle consuetudini in voga tra gli alunni nella loro quotidianità scolastica.

Meda ha spiegato come gli archivi scolastici non siano fonti unicamente per gli storici dell'educazione, ma anche per gli insegnanti e per i loro studenti. Il confronto diretto con le fonti storiche ha, infatti, un valore euristico formidabile nell'insegnamento della storia a scuola, perché è in grado di sviluppare negli studenti e nelle studentesse quel senso critico che costituisce senza dubbio una risorsa irrinunciabile per una cittadinanza attiva e consapevole. Meda ha quindi messo in risalto le condizioni affinché un archivio possa essere un vero e proprio giacimento di fonti documentarie: l'accessibilità, la corretta conservazione dell'archivio stesso, il suo corretto riordinamento e l'importanza di attenersi a un iter metodologico scrupoloso, rifuggendo da un approccio emotivo.

Brunelli è intervenuta illustrando come, ad oggi, le più significative esperienze di valorizzazione del patrimonio storico-educativo consistano nel coinvolgimento degli studenti nella realizzazione di percorsi di recupero e valorizzazione dei materiali scolastici presenti nelle scuole stesse. Sempre più numerose sono le scuole che fanno, del proprio patrimonio storico, una risorsa didattica, come confermato dalla stessa esperienza napoletana.

Brunelli ha illustrato, quindi, alcuni progetti e casi di studio italiani e ha, infine, presentato l'esperienza del Museo della Scuola «Paolo e Ornella Ricca» dell'Università di Macerata, il quale, da qualche anno, ha elaborato un'offerta didattica rivolta agli studenti delle scuole dall'infanzia fino alla scuola secondaria di II grado.

Da qui la necessità di coniugare la particolare natura delle collezioni storico-educative del museo con i tanti e differenziati bisogni formativi del pubblico. Punto di partenza per ogni progettazione è il bene-oggetto scolastico in quanto dotato di una sua funzione intrinseca che lo connette al contesto culturale, sociale ed economico che lo ha prodotto; inoltre, l'oggetto musealizzato ha una sua peculiare "biografia" che lo rende un esemplare unico e possiede un potere altamente evocativo di ricordi e di memorie, individuali e collettive. Partendo

da questo approccio è possibile così costruire percorsi multidisciplinari basati su temi storico-educativi.

A concludere l'intenso incontro della mattinata, illustrando le esperienze di collaborazione tra scuola e istituzioni, sono stati i rappresentanti delle istituzioni preposte alla conservazione e alla valorizzazione del patrimonio storico-culturale, moderati da Giovanni Aricò, segretario dell'Associazione delle Scuole Storiche Napoletane. Sono intervenuti Paolo Franzese (Soprintendente archivistico della Campania e Direttore dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli), Francesco Mercurio (Direttore Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli), Raffaele De Magistris (Direttore Biblioteca Universitaria di Napoli), Giulio Raimondi (Presidente di Amici degli Archivi Onlus) e Giovanna De Pascale (già Presidente AIB-Campania).

Gli interventi del pomeriggio hanno visto protagoniste le scuole aderenti all'Associazione delle Scuole Storiche Napoletane, le quali hanno illustrato le proprie attività di recupero e valorizzazione del patrimonio educativo con particolare riguardo agli aspetti educativi e didattici. Sono intervenute Raffaella Aprea per la scuola primaria, Laura Cimmino per la scuola secondaria di I grado, Stefania Paoli per i licei e Mariarosaria Ruggiero per gli istituti tecnici e ISIS.

I referenti di ciascun ordine e grado hanno illustrato i progetti delle scuole che rappresentavano, dimostrando gli ottimi risultati e obiettivi raggiunti, attraverso attività come la ricostruzione della memoria storica dei singoli istituti, la creazione di musei, la pubblicazione di saggi, il recupero di prestigiose edizioni antiche, la catalogazione, il recupero di materiale e il suo successivo ripristino, le mostre e altro ancora.

Dai vari interventi è emersa una sostanziale differenza tra il lavoro condotto dalle scuole primarie e quello delle scuole secondarie: mentre le prime hanno ricostruito la storia delle singole scuole al termine di un percorso teso a contestualizzarle partendo dalla storia del territorio, della città e del quartiere, le seconde, invece, che vantano importanti archivi storici e, dunque, un patrimonio documentario di notevole interesse, hanno preferito concentrare il lavoro didattico sull'analisi delle singole istituzioni. Questo approccio è comprensibile dal momento che la scuola primaria segue le indicazioni nazionali ministeriali che privilegiano nella formazione del pensiero storico proprio l'approccio al territorio e alla ricostruzione delle cosiddette "tracce" o "biografie culturali". Al contrario, la grande specializzazione disciplinare che caratterizza le scuole superiori trova più coerente un approccio incentrato sulla storia istituzionale e sulle fonti archivistico-documentarie che ne permettono la ricostruzione.

L'incontro è stato, quindi, caratterizzato da un duplice valore aggiunto: da una parte le scuole di diverso ordine e grado hanno reciprocamente tratto da questo confronto differenti e nuovi spunti di lavoro, dando vita, quindi, a una vera e propria officina di idee; dall'altra, il dialogo tra scuole dello stesso ordine ma appartenenti a diversi istituti comprensivi ha dimostrato le grandi potenzialità del fare rete tra realtà che difficilmente hanno l'opportunità di

collaborare. Ne è emersa una grande coesione e una piena condivisione di strategie e obiettivi tra docenti che ha aperto a una nuova fase di confronto e progettualità.

A seguire ha preso la parola Gioia Molisso che ha illustrato ai presenti i contenuti, i risultati e le prospettive future del progetto “NEMO - Network Educational Museums Online”, nato dalla sinergia tra ambienti scolastici e scientifici aventi le stesse finalità e il medesimo impegno nel salvaguardare il patrimonio museale di strumenti scientifici storici. La collaborazione di base è costituita dalla Rete di Scuole NEMO e dall’Associazione Scienza e Scuola. Lo scopo è di censire, catalogare e informatizzare questo patrimonio delle scuole napoletane e renderlo fruibile e disponibile al pubblico creando un catalogo digitalizzato disponibile anche sul web.

Con questo progetto si intende promuovere una piena consapevolezza della grande tradizione della cultura scientifica napoletana. Molisso ha illustrato le due linee guida del progetto: la prima diretta a migliorare e ampliare la classica linea espositiva, realizzando, quindi, una rete di ambienti laboratori/museali dislocati presso le scuole nei quali esporre gli strumenti scientifici storici; l’altra, volta a utilizzare mezzi multimediali e spazi web per la creazione di un sito dei “Musei Storici nelle Scuole Napoletane” in cui pubblicare le schede dei diversi strumenti catalogati.

È stato già realizzato un sito web (www.progettonemo.it) che offre uno spazio museale virtuale che ospita attualmente la descrizione di circa 700 strumenti storici, corredata di foto e scheda tecnica; uno spazio che si intende ampliare nei contenuti informativi ed estendere anche ad altri istituti scolastici storici. Proprio in questa opera di studio e di recupero del materiale scientifico-scolastico, i docenti e gli studenti si sono riscoperti gli unici depositari di tutte le competenze necessarie alla corretta conservazione e valorizzazione di questi materiali in quanto hanno la possibilità di attingere non solo al sapere degli insegnanti ma anche ad antichi libri scientifici in possesso degli istituti scolastici stessi.

A concludere il seminario di studio è stato Francesco Di Vaio, coordinatore dell’Associazione delle Scuole Storiche Napoletane, che ha espresso la propria gratitudine per la partecipazione del mondo accademico e ha confidato nel fatto che essa possa rappresentare solo l’inizio di una collaborazione più ampia per perseguire lo scopo del recupero e della valorizzazione del patrimonio storico-educativo. Di Vaio ha illustrato gli obiettivi del progetto dell’Associazione delle Scuole Storiche Napoletane, da lui fortemente voluto, e ha sottolineato l’importanza della scuola come bene comune intergenerazionale, dove si incontrano le generazioni di oggi e quelle del passato e dove, quindi, si forma la coscienza storica e la trasmissione del patrimonio culturale alle generazioni future.

Il seminario di studio, ricco di relazioni di alto profilo, ha costituito l’occasione per conoscere l’esperienza dell’associazione napoletana. È stato il

contesto ideale per saldare la ricerca universitaria con quella portata avanti quotidianamente da insegnanti e dirigenti scolastici, ma soprattutto per acquisire la consapevolezza di come il progetto napoletano si collochi pienamente all'interno di una tendenza di studi che si va affermando in Italia e in altri paesi europei.

Il seminario si è concluso con l'auspicio di promuovere quanto prima nuovi incontri e confronti su temi e progetti di comune interesse per condividere esperienze, sviluppare protocolli comuni, supportare iniziative nascenti e orientare la ricerca verso obiettivi condivisi e di grande rilievo, non più solo a livello locale ma anche nazionale. Ciò che è emerso dall'incontro napoletano è sicuramente la consapevolezza che il patrimonio culturale delle scuole necessita sempre più di essere salvaguardato e valorizzato come risorsa per la ricerca e per la didattica sia scolastica che universitaria.

Forum / Discussioni

Le emozioni hanno una storia? Ipotesi e nuovi percorsi degli studi storico-educativi

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Do Emotions Have a History? Hypotheses and new paths for historical-educational studies

ABSTRACT: The essay aims at exploring – starting from the identification of a new line of historiographical studies on the history of emotions and feelings – the implications of that “new frontier” on historical-educational research. In particular, its impact on the re-definition of issues and concepts of the history of education, as well as on putting into question traditional areas and disciplinary boundaries, will be taken into consideration.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Education; Historical educational research; Emotional community; Affective individualism.

Una nuova frontiera della ricerca storica

Negli ultimi anni, nell'ambito della ricerca storica, si è assistito per certi versi ad una vera rivoluzione epistemologica che ha permesso di guardare le fonti del passato, interrogandole a partire da un nuovo angolo visuale, quello della dimensione affettiva propria degli esseri umani nella storia, considerata nella sua evoluzione e mutamento. Tentano di fare il punto su questa nuova “frontiera” Damien Boquet e Piroska Nagy a partire da un lavoro pubblicato in lingua francese nel 2009, *Pour une histoire des émotions. L'Historien face aux questions contemporaines*. In quel testo i due autori si ponevano l'obiettivo di superare un pregiudizio, a lungo presente nella storia occidentale, nel pensiero filosofico e antropologico, fondato su una rigida distinzione tra emozione e ragione. Tutte le scienze sociali contemporanee, sottolineano i due autori, si fondano su questa rigida contrapposizione

Ce modèle a pour caractéristique d'associer les émotions à l'état de nature et de les dissocier de toute dimension cognitive; les émotions, surgissant quelque part dans le corps, ne permettent pas à l'esprit de les gouverner. Par conséquent, elles apparaissent comme menaçantes pour l'homme civilisé, qui doit s'en méfier. Dès lors, la société, la civilisation auraient pour but de les canaliser, de les juguler, pour enfin avoir raison d'elles¹.

In un saggio recente, pubblicato in un volume monografico della «Rivista Storica Italiana», curato da Giuseppe Ricuperati, Tiziana Plebani e Alessandro Arcangeli, dedicato proprio al tema: *Emozioni, passioni, sentimenti: per una possibile storia*, Boquet e Nagy tornano a ragionare su queste questioni, considerando, al fine di una chiarificazione di questo nuovo modo di guardare al passato, punti di riferimento fondamentali, pur all'interno di una galassia di pubblicazioni che da molti anni vanta ricerche e studi, i lavori portati avanti da due storici significativi: Barbara H. Rosenwein che nel 2002 scrive il «manifesto» programmatico sul tema, *Worrying about Emotions in History*, contribuendo così a stabilire la dicitura e la definizione, all'interno della ricerca storica, della «storia delle emozioni», e la monografia di William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling* del 2001 che propone un quadro teorico di riferimento per la storia delle emozioni².

Nella ricostruzione di questa complessa genealogia di un ambito di studi ancora così giovane, questi due studiosi retrodatano a dire il vero il punto di svolta, nella ricerca storica, molto più indietro a quella rivoluzione epistemologica che, avviatasi già con la prima e la seconda stagione annalista (dai fondatori della rivista delle «Les Annales», Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre, Fernand Braudel e Ernest Labrousse, solo per citarne alcuni)³, vede tra la fine degli anni Ottanta e i primi Novanta del Novecento un vero decollo. Accanto alla storia della mentalità, protesa verso l'antropologia storica e la storia culturale, troviamo infatti, da parte della terza generazione (come ad esempio in Philippe Ariès

¹ D. Booquet, P. Nagy, *Pour une histoire des émotions. L'Historien face aux questions contemporaines*, in Id. (edd.), *Le Sujet des émotions au Moyen Age*, Paris, Beauchesne, 2009, p. 19.

² Cfr. D. Booquet, P. Nagy, *Una Storia diversa delle emozioni*, «Rivista Storica Italiana», vol. 128, n. 2, 2016, pp. 472-520. Sul tema fondamentale: B.H. Rosenwein, *Worrying about Emotions in History*, «The American Historical Review», n. 107, 2002, pp. 821-845; Ead, *Generation of feeling. A History of Emotions, 600-1700*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2016 [it. Transl. *Generazioni di Sentimenti. Una storia delle emozioni, 600-1700*, Roma, Viella, 2016]; W.M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling. A Framework for the History of Emotions*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001. Sono da vedere anche P.N. Stearns, C.Z. Stearns, *Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards*, «The American Historical Review», n. 90, 1985, pp. 813-836.

³ Lo spartiacque fu l'appello lanciato da Lucien Febvre pronunciato il 9 giugno del 1938 in occasione della decima settimana del *centre de Synthèse* promossa da Henri Berr in cui il celebre storico, ironicamente, invitava a «tornare alla vera storia», a quella che si studia e insegna in modo codificato nelle scuole e nelle università, lasciando fuori dal recinto della presunta vera storia ambiti considerati non «scientifici», come la storia dell'odio, della paura, dell'amore e altri ancora (il celebre articolo poi tratto dalla conferenza avrà l'emblematico titolo *La sensibilità e la storia*).

e George Duby), un'attenzione per la ricostruzione degli affetti e dei modi di sentire che rinviano anche a credenze e sentimenti comuni. Cominciano ad entrare nel campo visivo degli storici tematiche nuove (la morte, la famiglia, la vita privata); Duby ad esempio parla di mentalità come ricostruzione dei «sentimenti comuni» di un'epoca⁴.

È dalla confluenza di queste diverse correnti che negli anni Novanta emerge una nuova storia della sensibilità che si sgancia definitivamente dalla “teleologia” del processo di civilizzazione e da una trasposizione della psicologia nella storia.

Da questo punto di vista, stabilendo una connessione fondamentale tra emozione e cognizione, affettività e ragione, la teoria cognitivista in psicologia e poi in filosofia ha svolto un ruolo di acceleratore della storiografia, nella misura in cui ha facilitato l'emergere di nuove problematizzazioni, ma di questo aspetto torneremo ad occuparci.

Ora occorre sottolineare come si tratta di una questione estremamente delicata. Come ha scritto lo storico William Reddy, le discipline umanistiche corrono un grande rischio: le neuroscienze, la cui influenza continua ad espandersi, hanno sequestrato il termine emozione per descrivere le operazioni del cervello che a loro dire possono essere riferite alla vita emotiva, con il rischio di naturalizzare l'umano⁵.

Per questa ragione, tornando alle questioni storiografiche, un approccio culturale alla storia dei sentimenti e delle emozioni può essere inteso come atto di resistenza rispetto al paradigma riduzionista e scienziato imperante.

È questo il discorso sotteso ai lavori della storica medievista Barbara H. Rosenwein, la quale sostiene che una storia delle emozioni rappresenta una vera e propria sfida per la ricerca storica. Oltre al fatto che questo nuovo ambito di studi non può più essere considerato una specializzazione della storia culturale e sociale, ma anche e soprattutto un nuovo modo di pensare l'affettività e il suo posto nella storia, a partire dalla sua più nota pubblicazione del 2002 *Worryng about Emotions in History*, Rosenwein ha colto la sfida di affrontare in un'ottica storica e “genealogica” la questione relativa al fondamento e allo statuto delle emozioni e dei sentimenti.

La studiosa americana propone così un nuovo «paradigma narrativo»⁶ che passa attraverso una rifondazione del dialogo con le conoscenze sulle emozioni. Ella sostiene che le emozioni sono «disposizioni culturali» legate

⁴ Sul tema è da vedere R. Mandrou, *Histoire des mentalités*, in *Encyclopedia Universalis*, Paris, 1968, vol. 8, pp. 436-38. Di Ariès è da vedere, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime*, Paris, 1960 [It. Transl. *Padri e figli nell'Europa medievale e moderna*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1976].

⁵ Cfr. W. Reddy, *Courts and Pleasures: the Neuroscience of Pleasure and the Pursuit of Favour in 12 century Courts*, in N. Cohen-Hanegbi, P. Nagy (edd.), *The Medieval Book of Pleasure*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2017, pp. 48-56.

⁶ Su questo vedi J. Plamper, *The History of Emotions: an Interview with William Reddy, Barbara H. Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns*, «History and Theory», vol. 49, 2010, pp. 237-65.

al corpo, ma il corpo stesso è modellato dalla cultura. Per questa ragione giudica incompatibili con il principio di storicità le posizioni universalistiche sulle emozioni. A suo dire gli storici devono lavorare sulle parole, ovvero sulla ricostruzione storica dei loro significati, sulla semantica in generale e quindi sulle diverse attribuzioni di senso ad un gesto, ad un'espressione corporale o facciale e come questi si associano ad un'emozione. Utilizzando un approccio «microstorico» e ricostruendo passo dopo passo singole comunità della storia alto medievale, ad esempio, la Rosenwein mette definitivamente in discussione un paradigma che ha condizionato a lungo la lettura dell'epoca medievale interpretata come un periodo di forti e violenti sentimenti da contrapporre all'età moderna caratterizzata invece dalla codificazione di norme di controllo che disciplinarono il furore emotivo medievale. Questa tesi che risale sia ad una lettura propria della impostazione della prima generazione di studiosi delle «Les Annales» (Bloch e Febvre) ma soprattutto che impostò la celebre tesi di Norbert Elias sul processo di civilizzazione del moderno inteso come processo di razionalizzazione, è quanto la Rosenwein si pone di «decostruire»⁷.

A partire dall'impostazione della Rosenwein in ambito italiano già a partire dalla fine degli anni Settanta e poi Ottanta del Novecento troviamo un'attenzione rivolta alla cosiddetta microstoria⁸.

Il punto di svolta avviene però negli anni Duemila. In particolare si deve a Tiziana Plebani e al suo volume *Un secolo di sentimenti*, l'aver aperto questa nuova frontiera della ricerca storica all'interno della storiografia italiana.

Come sostiene Ricuperati a quel volume ed a un successivo incontro tra loro si deve la progettazione del volume monografico della «Rivista storica italiana» nel 2016 dedicata proprio a questo nuovo ambito di ricerca⁹. Nel volume in questione i due storici affrontano da diverse angolature l'interrogativo storiografico relativo al «se» e «come» l'emozione possa essere definita un fenomeno culturale. Ricuperati utilizzando l'angolo visuale dell'autobiografia, intesa come primario deposito di sentimenti, emozioni, registrazione di

⁷ Scrivendo durante il suo esilio dalla Germania di Hitler, negli anni Trenta, Norbert Elias aveva concluso che nel periodo medievale la società favorì l'emotività, mentre gli uomini dell'età moderna impararono a dominare e trattenere le emozioni attraverso il processo di civilizzazione. (Cfr. N. Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*, 2 Vols., Basel 1939; It. Transl. *La civiltà delle buone maniere*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1969).

⁸ Il primo a parlare in Italia di sentimenti come nuovo terreno da affrontare in ambito storiografico fu Edoardo Grendi su «Quaderni storici», raccogliendo le suggestioni dello «sperimentalismo» delle «Les Annales» nel 1979. Il saggio aprì un dibattito sullo studio della storia come elemento passionale da infondere soprattutto in ambito scolastico (E. Grendi, *Contro il comune senso storiografico*, «Quaderni storici», vol. 41, 1979, pp. 698-707; G. Ricuperati, *Per una critica della critica al comune senso storiografico*, in *ibid.*, pp. 47-53).

⁹ Cfr. T. Plebani, *Un secolo di sentimenti. Amori e conflitti generazionali nella Venezia del Settecento*, Venezia, Istituto veneto di Scienze, Lettere e arti, 2012. Di Ricuperati vedi il saggio nel volume monografico ricordato, *Note sulle scritture autobiografiche e biografiche: specchi di sentimenti e di passioni nel settecento e oltre*, «Rivista Storica Italiana», vol. 128, n. 2, 2016, pp. 581-622.

passioni, interroga i sentimenti e le emozioni secondo una «tradizione di storia intellettuale e delle idee» la quale consente «un dialogo interdisciplinare fra Clio e la letteratura, la storia della filosofia e la filologia, anche attraverso la varietà dei generi letterari»¹⁰.

Sulla ricostruzione della dimensione affettiva, dei modi di sentire di un'epoca, il saggio di Plebani mette in luce l'aspetto evolutivo delle passioni, nell'intento di sfatare la falsa convinzione che esistano passioni universali-eterne. Neppure la percezione del proprio stato emozionale e sensibile da parte degli individui risulta invariato. Questa nuova consapevolezza «ha sottratto le emozioni e i sentimenti a una dimensione priva di storia, a una presunta natura biologica e come tale universale», così facendo si sono finalmente poste «le emozioni nel cuore stesso della storia»¹¹.

Sentimenti, passioni, emozioni nella storia: educazione, comunità emotive, individualismo affettivo

Si tratta ora di enucleare, a partire dalla ricostruzione degli aspetti storici connessi a questa nuova frontiera della ricerca storica, fin qui delineata seppur in modo sintetico, quelli che possono rappresentare intrecci tematici significativi capaci di aprire nuovi campi di indagine nella ricerca storico- pedagogica.

Cominciamo dal prendere in considerazione ciò che Rosenwein, delle cui posizioni rispetto alla dimensione affettiva nella storia abbiamo parlato nel precedente paragrafo, intende per «comunità emotiva», ovvero «solitamente gruppi sociali, ma non sempre, che hanno i loro valori particolari, i loro modi di sentire e di esprimere i sentimenti»¹², per capire quali implicazioni questo lemma concettuale può avere per la ricerca storico-educativa. Occupandosi in particolare della società dell'alto Medio Evo, alla Rosenwein non interessa, ad esempio, comprendere la sincerità o insincerità dei sentimenti espressi da una particolare comunità¹³ che sono necessariamente plasmati e compresi socialmente, quanto piuttosto capire se le aspettative e le convenzioni ad essi associate corrispondono o meno a quelle di un gruppo più ampio, una comunità emotiva per l'appunto. Per questa ragione il vocabolario emotivo, come per le

¹⁰ Ricuperati, *Note sulle scritture autobiografiche e biografiche*, cit., p. 582. Scrive a tal proposito Ricuperati: «lo spazio dedicato non solo ai generi, ma anche agli esseri umani che li utilizzano, coinvolge l'avventura di chi scrive, un intreccio di passioni, ragioni ed empatie che mi hanno costretto a ripensare le polarità stesse dei miei interessi».

¹¹ Plebani, *L'energia della vita affettiva: una questione per la storia*, «Rivista storica italiana», cit., pp. 623-641.

¹² Rosenwein, *Generazione di sentimenti*, cit., p. 17.

¹³ Utilizzando una metodologia «microstorica», Rosenwein si concentra su Francia e Inghilterra, isolando diverse comunità, quelle del monastero inglese di Rievaulx del XII secolo, e quelle della corte ducale di Borgogna del più tardo XV secolo.

«comunità linguistiche», assume un'importanza decisiva per studiare i criteri con cui le persone comprendono, esprimono e provano di fatto le loro emozioni. Come lei stessa dichiara infatti:

For the historian it is best to define emotions as a mental construction, recognizing that the chief way we in Western cultures think about and express them – and have done so in the past – is through words¹⁴.

In sostanza le comunità emotive possono somigliare a quello che nella biologia viene definito il «mosaico genetico». Esse possono durare nei secoli, ma possono anche mutare

In una società alimentano le possibilità di adattamento ai nuovi ambienti, un po' perché ne sono condizionate e un po' perché i cambiamenti stessi all'interno delle comunità si adeguano alle nuove circostanze; oppure non alimentano quelle possibilità, provocando la marginalizzazione e, in alcuni casi, addirittura la scomparsa di quella comunità¹⁵.

Un discorso per certi versi analogo compie la storica Plebani, nella sua indagine relativa al Settecento, definendolo per l'appunto il secolo dei sentimenti. Richiamandosi anch'ella al lavoro della Rosenwein, sostiene che proprio l'analisi della «polimorfica storicità» degli stati emotivi indagati in particolare guardando alla Venezia del XVIII secolo – Plebani si serve di tutta una fitta rete di carteggi e corrispondenze private per ricostruire i codici comunicati dell'epoca – fa comprendere come la percezione del proprio stato emozionale e sensibile da parte degli individui non è invariato nel tempo. Esiste in altre parole «un alfabeto del sentire che ogni società compone e ricompona in maniera differente e con il quale gli individui si confrontano per comprendere e interpretare ciò che vivono»¹⁶.

A partire da questo retroterra di indagini storiche che muovono nella direzione di una visione stratificata nel tempo del lessico dei sentimenti, tale per cui uno stato emotivo e/o sentimentale corrisponde sempre ad un codice condiviso all'interno di una comunità di riferimento, sarebbe interessante, ai fini di una analisi delle implicazioni storico educative connesse a questa questione, porci la domanda se in questo orizzonte sia più possibile parlare di un linguaggio del sentimento «assolutamente privato».

¹⁴ Rosenwein, *Worrying about Emotions in History*, cit., p. 93.

¹⁵ Ead., *Generazione di sentimenti*, cit., p. 298.

¹⁶ Plebani, *Amori e conflitti generazionali nella Venezia del Settecento*, cit. Attraverso lo studio di una miriade di casi rilevati dai documenti, Plebani ricostruisce la penetrazione delle idee illuministiche nella società veneziana e nell'ambito specifico della famiglia, non solo patrizia, mettendo in luce, attraverso il conflitto generazionale, una crisi dell'autorità paterna e della virtù dell'obbedienza e l'anelito a nuove forme di relazioni libere dalle strategie economico-politiche della famiglia e del casato. In sostanza l'esplosione di una nuova erotica del sentimento amoroso diviene il grimaldello per mettere in discussione e sovvertire l'ordine gerarchico della società.

Se è vero, come scrive un altro storico che come abbiamo visto ha fatto, assieme alla Rosenwein, da apripista nella storiografia in merito alla storia dei sentimenti, William Reddy, che le espressioni emotive sono «mediazioni sociali», ovvero «abitudini cognitive» attraverso le quali tentiamo di esprimere e comunicare i nostri sentimenti a partire da modi abituali condivisi all'interno di una comunità¹⁷, allora dovremmo interpretare perfino «i nostri stessi sentimenti secondo regole e vocabolari delle nostre comunità emotive»¹⁸.

Si sfiora qui un discorso su cui l'antropologia contemporanea si è a lungo interrogata dal celebre lavoro, risalente agli anni Venti del Novecento, di Marcel Granet e Marcel Mauss, raccolto nel volume *Il linguaggio dei sentimenti*¹⁹ a quello portato avanti da Rom Harré a proposito de *La costruzione sociale delle emozioni*²⁰.

Proprio il rapporto tra «aspetto interno del sentire» connesso ad esempio all'emozione del dolore e la «rispondenza» di esso a espressioni codificate condivise all'interno di una comunità, rappresenta una pratica sociale che attraversa trasversalmente moltissime culture. Dal rituale orale dei culti funerari australiani, fino a quelli della Cina classica, presi in considerazione in particolare da Mauss, solo per citare alcuni casi significativi, emerge nettamente come le manifestazioni di dolore non corrispondono ad un impulso individuale privato, isolato, piuttosto si iscrivono all'interno di un «alfabeto» di regole emotive socialmente condivise²¹.

Come sostiene Carmela Covato questo nesso, ovvero il rapporto tra sentimenti ed espressione codificata di essi,

solleva questioni di grande rilievo conoscitivo in relazione al tema, ad alta densità pedagogica, del rapporto fra spontaneità e coercizione, rispetto al quale l'educazione ha svolto e svolge un ruolo decisivo, sebbene ancora poco indagato, nel mediare fra il carattere generalmente impositivo delle norme di comportamento e il sentire degli individui nell'età bambina e in quella adulta²².

¹⁷ Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, cit., pp. 31-32.

¹⁸ Rosenwein, *Generazione di sentimenti*, cit., p. 19.

¹⁹ M. Granet, M. Mauss, *Il linguaggio dei sentimenti*, a cura di Bianca Candian, Milano, Adelphi, 1975.

²⁰ R. Harré (ed.), *The social construction of emotions*, Oxford-New York, Basil Blackwell 1986 [It. Transl. *La costruzione sociale delle emozioni*, Milano, Giuffrè 1992]. Le emozioni vengono concepite da quest'ultimo come «risposte acquisite», determinate da prescrizioni e apprendimenti socioculturali. Egli sostiene infatti che «spostando la nostra attenzione dagli stati psicologici degli individui all'esame delle consuetudini sociali, si schiude la possibilità che molte emozioni possano esistere solamente negli scambi reciproci di un incontro sociale» (R. Harré, *Profilo del punto di vista del costruzionismo sociale*, in *ibid.*, p. 7).

²¹ Cfr. C. Covato, *L'educazione sentimentale. Teorie, norme, esperienze*, in F. Borruso, L. Cantatore, C. Covato (edd.), *L'educazione sentimentale. Vita e norme nelle pedagogie narrate*, Milano, Guerini e Associati, 2014, pp. 18-19.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Da un punto di vista storico l'Ottocento rappresenta un angolo visuale privilegiato da cui poter scorgere questo aspetto connesso alla costruzione sociale delle emozioni.

All'interno del progetto di edificazione del nuovo Stato-Nazione²³, l'educazione sentimentale, in particolare, diviene uno strumento formidabile di coesione del popolo-nazione. Un progressivo addestramento di bambini e bambine, borghesi, operai e aristocratici, nello sforzo di costruire una nuova identità nazionale. Tramite una vasta diffusione di retoriche, dalla trattatistica educativa ai galatei²⁴, legati al trionfo dei buoni sentimenti (patriottismo e lealtà per i fanciulli, pudore e obbedienza per le fanciulle), essa in sostanza si fa «pedagogia civile».

All'interno di questo progetto pedagogico complessivo poi la nuova famiglia nucleare²⁵ diventa attiva protagonista. D'altronde nel secolo che vede il decollo dell'industrializzazione, alla casa sono affidati compiti strategici fondamentali. Essa serve a contenere le tensioni prodotte dal processo di industrializzazione e a ricostituire la forza lavoro (maschile)²⁶.

A tal proposito osserva acutamente Lorenzo Cantatore

Nell'ambito della storia dell'educazione, la connessione fra universo domestico (in tutte le sue implicazioni, morali e materiali) e crescita-formazione dell'individuo raggiunge una

²³ Sul tema imprescindibile G.L. Mosse, *The nationalization of the masses: political symbolism and mass movements in Germany from the Napoleonic wars through the Third Reich*, New York, Howard Fertig, 1975 [It. Transl. *La nazionalizzazione delle masse. Simbolismo politico e movimenti di massa in Germania (1815-1933)*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2009].

²⁴ Sul tema vedi E. Becchi, *Maschi e bambine. Tre storie con figure*, Pisa, Ets, 2011. Sulla diffusione dei galatei nell'Ottocento vedi L. Tasca, *Galatei. Buone maniere e cultura borghese nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2004.

²⁵ Nel corso del lungo Ottocento e per certi aspetti ancora prima nel tardo Settecento, il vertice della struttura sociale, aristocrazia e alta borghesia, è attraversata da mutamenti di grande rilievo. Si assiste ad un passaggio da un sistema di matrimonio combinato dai genitori, mosso esclusivamente da interessi di tipo economico e sociale ad uno basato sulla libera scelta dei coniugi, sull'attrazione fisica, sull'amore. Muta il rapporto tra coniugi. La tradizionale asimmetria di potere fra marito e moglie si è attenuata, la freddezza e il distacco hanno lasciato il posto al calore affettivo e all'intimità. Sui mutamenti relativi alla struttura familiare vedi fra i tanti M. Barbagli, D.I. Kertzer (edd.), *Storia della famiglia in Europa. Il lungo Ottocento*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2002; M. Barbagli, *Sotto lo stesso tetto. Mutamenti della famiglia in Italia dal XV al XX secolo*, Bologna, Il Mulino 1984; L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*, Oxford, 1977 [It. Transl. *Famiglia, sesso e matrimonio in Inghilterra tra Cinque e Ottocento*, Torino, Einaudi, 1983]. In merito al conflitto tra convezioni sociali e «impulsi del cuore» vedi anche C. Covato, *Primo amore e vita adulta. Fra immaginario letterario e ruoli di autorità*, in F. Borruso, L. Cantatore (edd.), *Il primo amore. L'educazione sentimentale nelle pedagogie narrate*, Milano, Guerini e Associati, 2012, pp. 13-35.

²⁶ Cfr. E.J. Hobsbawm, *The age of capital, 1848-1875*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975 [It. Transl. *Il Trionfo della borghesia*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1976, pp. 81-82]. In merito a questa correlazione tra ruolo della casa, attenzione alle funzioni riproduttive svolte dalle donne cfr. M. D'Amelia, *La Mamma*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2005. Sul tema vedi pure G. Baglioni, *L'ideologia della borghesia industriale nell'Italia liberale*, Torino, Einaudi, 1974; S. Lanaro, *Nazione e lavoro. Saggio sulla cultura borghese in Italia (1870-1925)*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1979.

piena consapevolezza nell'arco del XIX secolo [...] per il microcosmo della casa valgono le stesse regole adottate nella costruzione o nella ristrutturazione di vie e quartieri delle grandi città, così come degli edifici pubblici, tanto a livello simbolico quanto a livello pratico. Si agisce sulla base di un'equazione matematica fra umanità e abitazione, ispirata ad un'idea di igiene tanto dei corpi, quanto degli spazi che li contengono, quanto dei comportamenti sociali che si ritiene debbano necessariamente scaturire dal vivere in un determinato contesto materiale²⁷.

Inoltre in questa strategicità connessa alla funzione produttiva, innanzitutto del corpo e della sua efficienza, la declinazione del "genere" non è affatto indifferente. Attraverso di essa si palesano destini educativi differenti. Ancora nel pieno Ottocento gli itinerari letterari e pedagogici, mentre segnano un aumento significativo della scolarità maschile, seppur ancora segnata da una separazione di classe, grazie al decollo negli anni Ottanta su scala europea di programmi di istruzione pubblica, continuano invece a «plasmare» la bambina come futura madre e silenziosa custode della moralità collettiva²⁸. Da questo punto di vista occorre parlare di vera e propria «segregazione formativa»²⁹. Un modello dedicato di istruzione femminile che avrà una lunga durata nella storia dell'Occidente e non solo.

Si tratta di un passaggio fondamentale. Come già Michelle Foucault seppe intuire bene il secolo borghese «interiorizza» le forme del controllo sociale, sostituendo ai dispositivi di potere palesi, come ad esempio le punizioni corporali, forme di dominio più sottili e sofisticate. La punizione diviene un deterrente e anche il dispositivo pedagogico si appropria di questo mezzo: alle pene corporali, ormai ripudiate, si sostituiscono progetti educativi in grado di disciplinare i «caratteri», tramite la veicolazione di dispositivi valoriali e comportamentali. Si tratta di un potere occulto e non meno coercitivo che

²⁷ L. Cantatore, *Parva sed apta mihi. Studi sul paesaggio domestico nella letteratura per l'infanzia del XIX secolo*, Pisa, Edizioni Ets, 2015, p. 14. Sul significato simbolico affidato allo spazio «privato» della casa inteso come «labirinto pedagogico» vedi C. Covato, *Casa, dolce casa: il privato nella storia dell'educazione*, in Ead., *Memorie discordanti. Identità e differenze nella storia dell'educazione*, Milano, Unicopli, 2007, pp. 21-24. Più in generale sul ruolo della nuova casa borghese concepita come straordinaria macchina pedagogica, fabbrica di comportamenti e sentimenti positivi, distinta da altre istituzioni educative intenzionali ed esplicite come scuole e collegi, vedi E. Becchi, *L'Ottocento*, in E. Becchi, D. Julia (edd.), *Storia dell'infanzia. II. Dal Settecento a oggi*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1996, pp. 138-156.

²⁸ Cfr. C. Covato, *Educare bambine nell'Ottocento*, in S. Ulivieri (ed.), *Le bambine nella storia dell'educazione*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1999, pp. 218-219. Sulla complessità dei codici simbolici veicolati attraverso l'educazione domestica delle donne vedi anche Ead., *Educata a non istruirsi: un'introduzione al problema*, in C. Covato, M. Leuzzi (edd.), *E l'uomo educò la donna*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1989 pp. 25-45.

²⁹ In merito a questo aspetto dell'educazione femminile nel Settecento vedi M. Sonnet, *L'educazione di una giovane*, in G. Duby, M. Perrot (edd.), *Histoire des femmes en Occident*, 5 vols., Paris, Plon, 1990-91; N. Zemon Davis, A. Farge (edd.), *16-18 Siecles* (1991) [It. Transl. *Storia delle donne in occidente. Dal Rinascimento all'età moderna*, 5 vols., Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1991, vol. 3, pp. 119-155],

investe la società tutta, a partire dal disciplinamento dell'uso del corpo e della sua sessualità, l'uso spregiudicato della quale diviene il peggior nemico dell'ordine della produzione borghese³⁰.

Sembrerebbe dunque dal discorso compiuto fin qui, per tornare a ragionare sul nesso tra «comunità emotive», così come vengono definite dagli storici delle emozioni di cui ci siamo occupati, e implicazioni pedagogiche legate agli aspetti «sociali» delle espressioni dei sentimenti, che esista una sorta di «conformismo» educativo ineliminabile, sotteso ai processi di apprendimento linguistici e culturali nel loro complesso.

Pensiamo a tal proposito a quanto detto dalla Rosenwein in merito alle «eredità emotive» (lessici, modi di dire e pensare) che vengono a comporre il «mosaico genetico» di «generazioni» di comunità linguistiche e culturali³¹. In questo senso possiamo affermare che sebbene i processi che determinano la personalità, l'emotività e i sentimenti, siano sempre agganciati ad un sostrato fatto di materialità dei processi culturali ed educativi che li strutturano, questo non significa sostenere una posizione «ambientalista» e riduzionista, per dirla con il John Dewey di *Natura e condotta dell'uomo*, tipica, ad esempio, come vedremo, di larga parte dei teorici cognitivisti contemporanei.

Da questo punto di vista però occorre ricordare come sul piano storico e filosofico la questione dell'«autonomia» del soggetto rispetto all'oggetto/mondo, ha una genesi storica ben determinata; essa si pone a partire dall'età moderna. Come ha acutamente evidenziato Elena Pulcini

L'età moderna sembra essere percorsa da una passione dominante, sintomo della emergente sovranità individuale: è l'amor di sé, espressione emotiva di un Io che si libera da involucri cosmici e da imperativi trascendenti e tesse autonomamente il proprio destino, diventando protagonista della propria vita e della propria storia³².

Per certi versi l'orgogliosa rivendicazione della propria «individualità», nucleo di una nuova identità del soggetto moderno sottratta alla secolare condanna teologica, rappresenta l'altra faccia di un processo ambivalente di perdita di un ordine, in seguito alla disgregazione del cosmo medievale, «che lascia l'individuo in uno stato di disorientamento e instabilità [...] reso inquieto dalla caduta di ogni precedente certezza»³³. Si tratta dell'immagine di un «Io

³⁰ M. Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*, 3 vols., Paris, Éditions Gallimard, 1976-1984, vol. 1: *La volonté de savoir* (1976) [It. Transl., *Storia della sessualità*, vol. 1, *La volontà di sapere*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1978]. Sul tema vedi anche F. Borruso, *I modelli educativi del discorso amoroso borghese tra immaginario letterario e storie di vita*, in C. Covato (ed.), *Vizi privati e pubbliche virtù. Le verità nascoste nelle pedagogie narrate*, Milano, Guerini e Associati, 2010, pp. 139-163.

³¹ Cfr., Rosenwein, *Generazione di sentimenti*, cit., pp. 38-42.

³² E. Pulcini, *La Passione del moderno: l'amor di sé*, in S. Vegetti Finzi (ed.), *Storia delle passioni*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1995, pp. 133-177.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 134. È la mondanizzazione del pensiero e della cultura iniziata a partire dalla Riforma protestante nel Cinquecento a produrre quella valorizzazione dell'individuo e delle sue energie «produttive» che come ricorda Max Weber è all'origine della società capitalistico-

debole e carente», già presente in Montaigne, consapevole delle proprie inedite «possibilità ma anche della propria vulnerabilità e imperfezione»³⁴.

In questo orizzonte nel quale emerge un'«antropologia carenziale», che resta a fondamento dei sistemi di Hobbes, Locke, Mandeville e Smith, possiamo evidenziare come la «categoria del sentimento» si autonomizza dagli aspetti connessi al sacro, per un verso «politicizzandosi», per un altro «interiorizzandosi».

Per quanto riguarda il primo aspetto dobbiamo dire che la Rivoluzione Francese porta alle estreme conseguenze questa centralità antropologica dell'uomo liberato da condizionamenti trascendenti, e secolarizza le due passioni fino ad allora «teologico-politiche», ovvero la coppia «paura/speranza». Rovesciando l'uso che nel Seicento ne aveva fatto Spinoza, già in un'ottica immanentistica, esse ora vengono guardate in un'ottica rivoluzionaria di emancipazione

Non più come nemiche, ma come ausiliarie della ragione; non già come strumenti di asservimento delle moltitudini, bensì come pungoli dell'autonomia di individui e popoli. Il paradossale «dispotismo della libertà» giacobino – in quanto veicolo di progresso politico e morale – istituzionalizza queste due passioni (corazzando la speranza di paura) e ridistribuisce i ruoli delle altre, nel tentativo di razionalizzarle secondo principi universali, per farle poi diventare, col tempo, molle di comportamenti spontanei e riflessi insieme³⁵.

In questo orizzonte non c'è più una comunità che precede l'individuo «come ancora sosteneva il contrattualismo medievale [...] società e potere politico sono l'ultimo atto di un processo di cui l'individuo è il punto di partenza. È questo il presupposto rivoluzionario del contrattualismo moderno, di cui Hobbes è il vero iniziatore»³⁶.

Da questo momento in poi lo sguardo dell'uomo comincia a proiettarsi nel futuro, come orizzonte costitutivo delle sue speranze e possibilità. Ma tale trasformazione molto probabilmente non sarebbe potuta accadere senza considerare il secondo aspetto connesso alla «secolarizzazione» moderna, e che per il nostro ragionamento ha un'importanza decisiva, ovvero l'interiorizzazione del sentimento come componente di una vita intima distinta dalla collettività di riferimento.

Come ha evidenziato Umberto Curi, il Settecento scopre il sentimento come categoria autonoma rispetto a quella di passione. Si tratta di una divaricazione

moderna [Cfr. M. Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*, in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, vols. 20-21 (1904-1905), ristampato in forma riveduta in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (1920) [It. Transl. *L'Etica protestante e lo spirito del capitalismo*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1977].

³⁴ E. Pulcini, *L'Individuo senza passioni. Individualismo moderno e perdita del legame sociale*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 2008, p. 11.

³⁵ R. Bodei, *Geometria delle passioni. Paura, speranza, felicità: filosofia e uso politico*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1994, p. 28.

³⁶ Pulcini, *La passione del moderno*, cit., p. 148.

importante. A partire dal fatto che la stessa passione nella modernità subisce una metamorfosi, da elemento perturbativo dell'anima che la passivizza e la rende schiava diviene «forza attiva»³⁷, venendo a costituire il carattere prometeico e costruttivo del soggetto moderno, il sentimento si colloca in questo scenario di progressiva «autonomizzazione». A partire da Spinoza per il quale l'energia espressiva dell'essere umano risiede nel rapporto unitario stabilito tra mente e corpo, e da Pascal che assegna al sentimento una «connotazione cognitiva» capace di accedere autonomamente al divino; arriviamo al Settecento in cui con il naturalismo di Rousseau e l'empirismo di Hume, l'affettività guadagna uno spazio significativo nell'ordine concettuale dell'essere umano. Quel sentimento morale naturale che conduce al bene – di cui, per Rousseau, l'essere umano è dotato istintivamente e che la società corrotta depotenzia e soffoca – diventa nell'Ottocento e nella corrente romantica la capacità intuitiva dell'intero che solo l'emotività può comporre, si pensi alla filosofia della natura di Schelling, rispetto ad una razionalità che analizza e separa³⁸. Si tratta della scoperta di una dimensione emotiva come vita interna del soggetto che nel «secolo borghese», come abbiamo visto, viene a saldarsi con il progetto educativo funzionale alla coesione sociale dello Stato-nazione.

Intersezioni: la pedagogia e la storia della pedagogia a confronto con la storia delle emozioni

Dopo aver prospettato alcuni ambiti di indagine che la storia della pedagogia può condividere con la nuova frontiera della ricerca storica sulle emozioni, occorre ora misurarci con le «ricadute» che finora si sono prodotte, in ambito storico-educativo, a partire proprio da questo nuovo settore di studi, per provare a prospettare in futuro un ulteriore sviluppo della ricerca in tal senso.

Senza dubbio già da tempo la storia della pedagogia e dell'educazione è stata fortemente influenzata dalle novità tematiche, metodologiche e documentarie provenienti dal movimento annalista³⁹.

³⁷ Sul tema U. Curi, *Passione*, Milano, Raffaello Cortina Editore, 2013. Anche se ricorda Curi permane ancora nella modernità un aspetto 'ambivalente' della passione ineliminabile, «nella tensione irrisolta fra la passività, di cui dice l'etimo, e l'attività a cui essa dà impulso» (*ibid.*, p. 12).

³⁸ Cfr. Á. Heller, *Theorie der Gefühle*, 1978 [It. Transl. *Teoria dei sentimenti*, traduzione di V. Franco, Roma, Castelvecchi, 2017].

³⁹ Una nuova consapevolezza del rapporto tra teoria e prassi nella storia dei processi formativi ha permesso di esplorare nuovi ambiti di indagine, come ad esempio la storia sociale, la storia dell'infanzia e della letteratura per l'infanzia, della famiglia, della maternità e della paternità, ed altri ancora. Su questo tema vedi Covato, *Memorie discordanti*, cit. Da vedere inoltre S. Polenghi, G. Bandini (edd.), *Enlarging one's vision. Strumenti per la ricerca educativa in ambito internazionale*, Milano, EduCatt, 2015.

Se è vero infatti che una simile prospettiva mostra come l'emozione intesa come oggetto storico e come dispositivo contingente fatto di sentimenti e norme che, come abbiamo visto, hanno una storia, variano nel tempo e nello spazio culturale, ecco che allora la ricerca storico-educativa può trarne alcune implicazioni significative⁴⁰.

Proprio dal disvelamento di soggettività portatrici di differenze di classe, nonché di genere, sono sorte nuove domande e nuovi interrogativi volti ad indagare le relazioni educative dispiegate nella materialità dei rapporti sociali e storici che si esplicano in special modo nella vita privata intesa come «labirinto di relazioni educative e come luogo privilegiato di trasmissione di egemonie pedagogiche e di coercitive regole identitarie»⁴¹, anche attraverso l'utilizzo di fonti documentarie di tipo nuovo, come ad esempio, le autobiografie, le narrazioni letterarie, i diari ed altre.

Negli ultimi anni in merito a questo aspetto è nato un filone di ricerca che ha avuto il merito di mettere in luce come, accanto alle rappresentazioni filosofiche, etiche, pedagogiche del discorso educativo, siano presenti una molteplicità di «racconti educanti», di pedagogie narrate intrise di norme pedagogiche che descrivono la compresenza spesso conflittuale tra norme imposte e aspirazioni soggettive nella costruzione dei destini individuali⁴².

Tornando al nostro discorso generale relativo ad una possibile genealogia dei concetti connessi a questo nuovo ambito di studi, interessante è tentare di comprendere cosa produce, dal punto di vista teorico-educativo, il riconoscimento del valore conoscitivo delle emozioni?

A livello epistemologico e filosofico questa nuova consapevolezza ha contribuito a disarticolare il paradigma di ascendenza razionalista fondato su una rigida contrapposizione tra mente e corpo, ragione e passione.

In particolar modo in ambito filosofico occorre tener conto e collegare questo interesse storiografico per l'emotività alla strappa filosofico compiuto già nella seconda metà del XIX secolo da coloro che ormai vengono definiti, secondo

⁴⁰ Su questo aspetto vedi C. Covato, *Oggetti, metodologie e tendenze attuali nella storia dell'educazione. Emozioni, passioni e sentimenti*, in G. Bertagna, S. Ulivieri (edd.), *La ricerca pedagogica nell'Italia contemporanea. Problemi e prospettive*, Roma, Studium, 2017, pp. 112-127.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Carmela Covato da molti anni, assieme al suo gruppo di ricerca costituito da Francesca Borruso e Lorenzo Cantatore porta avanti un programma di ricerca incentrato sulla storia dell'educazione sentimentale alla luce di questo filone delle cosiddette «pedagogie narrate». Sono così stati pubblicati per la collana di Guerini, *Genere, Differenza, Educazione*, diversi volumi che a partire dal 2006 raccolgono contributi di diversi studiosi e studiose, pedagogisti e pedagogiste, i quali da diverse angolature, tentano di far luce su un ambito, quello della vita privata e delle storie di vita di difficile collocazione sul piano della ricerca storico-educativa, ma nondimeno carico di aspetti ad alta densità pedagogica. Cfr. C. Covato (ed.), *Metamorfosi delle identità. Per una storia delle pedagogie narrate*, Milano, Guerini e Associati, 2008. Ead. (ed.), *Vizi privati e pubbliche virtù*, cit.; Borruso, Cantatore (edd.), *Il primo amore*, cit.; Borruso, Cantatore, Covato (edd.), *L'educazione sentimentale*, cit.

la felice espressione di Paul Ricoeur, i «maestri del sospetto»: Karl Marx, Friedrich Nietzsche e Sigmund Freud. I tre pensatori, ciascuno per vie diverse, hanno partecipato alla rivalutazione filosofica della vita emotiva mettendone in evidenza sia la sua storicità sia il suo ruolo nella vita sociale.

Occorre però attendere la «svolta cognitiva» in psicologia, databile alla fine degli anni Settanta e primi anni Ottanta del Novecento, e fondata su una nuova visione del ruolo delle emozioni nell'organizzazione e comunicazione sociale, sulla base del principio unitario emozione-cognizione, tale per cui le emozioni sono considerate come «risposte complesse», intrecciate ai processi cognitivi, per archiviare il paradigma di ascendenza cartesiano fondato su una visione dicotomica passione/ragione⁴³.

D'altra parte una simile rivoluzione in filosofia va «relativizzata», in quanto esiste una storia, rintracciabile all'interno della tradizione filosofica occidentale, di lunghissima durata relativa alla teoria delle emozioni. Nel suo *Teoria dei sentimenti* la filosofa ungherese Ágnes Heller ricostruisce questa sorta di «corrente sotterranea» che accanto alle filosofie ufficiali non è mai scomparsa ed ha continuato ad alimentare la riflessione filosofica da Aristotele fino a Jean-Paul Sartre⁴⁴.

Come ha evidenziato Remo Bodei nella sua *Geometria delle Passioni* si deve al filosofo olandese Spinoza l'aver - in opposizione ad una tradizione secolare fondata sull'assunto per cui le passioni sarebbero «alterazioni di uno stato altrimenti neutro e non perturbato dell'animo»⁴⁵ - suggerito una visione «unitaria» mente-corpo dell'essere umano.

D'altronde come ha sottolineato Silvia Vegetti Finzi nonostante la contemporaneità sembri caratterizzarsi dall'essere un'epoca «spassionata», per

⁴³ Dagli anni Sessanta del Novecento nell'ambito degli studi psicologici si è andata affermando la teoria cognitivista delle emozioni che ha, fra i principali e iniziali esponenti, Magda B. Arnold, cui si deve il primo contributo significativo al tema (cfr. M.B. Arnold, *Emotion and personality*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1960). Inoltre, nella sterminata mole di pubblicazioni sul tema, occorre tener presente anche un altro lavoro che fa da apripista, S. Schachter, J. E. Singer, *Cognitive, Social and Physiological Determinants of Emotional States*, «Psychological Review», vol. 69, 1962, pp. 379-99. Si situano poi agli inizi degli anni Ottanta gli importanti lavori dello psicologo olandese N.H. Frijda che considera le elaborazioni cognitive sia come «costituenti» sia come «determinanti» nella «risposta» emotiva (cfr. Id., *The Emotions*, Cambridge, University Press, 1986). In questo panorama merita di essere ricordato il celebre professore di neurologia statunitense Antonio Damasio che ha scritto diversi libri che cercano di identificare le aree neuronali coinvolte nei processi emotivi. Su tutti vedi A. Damasio, *Descartes' error: Emotion, Reason and the Human Brain*, New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1994 [It. Transl. *L'errore di Cartesio. Emozione, ragione e cervello umano*, Milano, Adelphi, 1995].

⁴⁴ Cfr. Heller, *Teoria dei sentimenti*, cit., pp. 25-26. Vedi pure Aristotele, *Retorica*, Milano, Bompiani, 2014. Di J.-P. Sartre, *Esquisse d'une théorie des émotions*, Paris, Editions Scientifiques Hermann, 1939 [It. Transl. *L'immaginazione. Idee per una storia delle emozioni*, Milano, Bompiani, 2004]. Su questa ricostruzione e in ottica più psicoanalitica è da vedere anche S.V. Finzi (ed.), *Storia delle passioni*, cit. Sul nesso passioni e teorie filosofiche da vedere anche R. Bodei, *Geometria delle passioni*, cit.

⁴⁵ Bodei, *La geometria delle passioni*, cit., p. 8.

cui le passioni che per secoli «hanno costituito il fulcro dell'affermazione di sé e un nesso potente tra l'individuo, i rapporti privati e la vita pubblica, sembrano aver esaurito la loro funzione», nonostante questo tratto non è possibile pensarci fuori dal loro orizzonte, in quanto «noi stessi e il mondo in cui viviamo siamo un prodotto delle passioni, le portiamo iscritte nel codice genetico della nostra cultura»⁴⁶. Nella forma dell'assenza come diniego o della presenza come affermazione, esse orientano ancora il nostro agire.

Tale constatazione ha sul piano educativo molte ricadute. Per tale ragione andrebbero ora messe in luce le modalità attraverso le quali la teoria pedagogica si è confrontata con questa questione. Se come abbiamo detto già il pensiero filosofico si è posto il problema di evitare il rischio di essere "riassunto" dal paradigma scienziata sulla scorta della diffusione delle neuroscienze e dello studio anatomico del cervello. Dobbiamo ora vedere come alcuni pedagogisti hanno risposto alle sfide/sollecitazioni provenienti da questa sempre più forte tendenza ad una, per dirla con Martha Nussbaum, «medicalizzazione dell'emotività»⁴⁷.

Si potrebbe partire, in ambito italiano, da un volume del 1992 di Mariagrazia Contini dal titolo emblematico, *Per una pedagogia delle emozioni*⁴⁸ che già si poneva il compito ambizioso di un confronto con il campo delle neuroscienze, nell'intento di evidenziare la specificità della comunicazione umana, consistente nella capacità relazionale propria della «attribuzione dei significati» che nessun discorso scientifico in senso tecnico sarà mai in grado di riassumere⁴⁹. In sostanza sarebbe il carattere sempre intenzionale, per dirla con il filosofo tedesco Edmund Husserl, della coscienza umana, il suo essere irriducibilmente relazionale a strutturare i contesti sociali.

Sfatare l'antico pregiudizio che vede l'emotività contrapposta alla razionalità e soprattutto considerare l'emozionalità come elemento essenziale della relazione educativa è quanto Contini si propone di mettere in luce in questo testo. Dopo un confronto con i lavori di studiosi di biologia, di neuropsicobiologia nonché di esperti di teorie cognitive, per riuscire a dar conto di come oggi si debba parlare di struttura emotiva e sensoria (a partire dalle reazioni biochimiche e neurofisiologiche che si producono nel cervello) delle emozioni, l'autrice giunge ad individuare, proprio sulla base della complessità della natura emotiva dell'essere umano, la necessità di affiancare ad una ormai consolidata

⁴⁶ S. Vegetti Finzi, *Introduzione* a Ead. (ed.), *Storia delle passioni*, cit.

⁴⁷ M. Nussbaum, *Upheavals of thought: the intelligence of emotions*, Cambridge-New York, Cambridge University Press 1996 [It. Transl. *L'Intelligenza delle emozioni*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2004].

⁴⁸ M. Contini, *Per una pedagogia delle emozioni*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1992, p. X.

⁴⁹ In realtà già diversi anni prima Mariagrazia Contini aveva intrapreso ricerche nel solco di quella «pragmatica della comunicazione» intesa come attenzione a tutti gli aspetti comunicativi-relazionali-emotivi che connotano la relazione educativa (In particolare vedi: Ead., *Comunicazione e educazione*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1980; Ead., *Comunicare fra opacità e trasparenza*, Milano, Bruno Mondadori, 1984).

e per certi versi «invecchiata» pedagogia della ragione, una «pedagogia delle emozioni».

In un lavoro del 2006 dal titolo *Non di solo cervello* la pedagogista torna a riflettere sull'interdipendenza esistente tra emozioni e processi cognitivi, affermando che se è vero che è grazie alla mente che attribuiamo significato agli eventi, ciò è possibile unicamente perché essa aggrega «una pluralità di riferimenti simbolici e culturali che definiscono il soggetto come 'essere nel mondo', con una storia e inserito in una rete di relazioni con l'ambiente, con gli altri»⁵⁰. È questo il senso da cogliere per proporre «un modello educativo teso, razionalmente, all'integrazione di tutti i piani dell'esperienza esistenziale dei soggetti e per connettere, secondo il paradigma della complessità, ciò che, per motivi diversi, è stato separato contrapposto gerarchizzato»⁵¹.

Da questo punto di vista affiorano affinità con il lavoro portato avanti anche da un'altra pedagogista ed esperta di «clinica della formazione», come Maria Grazia Riva, la quale da molto tempo integra il discorso pedagogico sulla formazione con il linguaggio della psicologia nonché della psichiatria. Come ella dichiara infatti

La pedagogia si deve riappropriare, a pieno e totale diritto, anche del discorso della patologia psicologica e di quella psichiatrica, come del disagio psichico in generale, perché essi vanno considerati l'esito di storie di formazione. Anzi, si può dire che la patologia psichica 'è' una storia di formazione. Viene proposto un modo di intendere il 'lavoro pedagogico' come ricerca di significati e ascolto delle emozioni presenti – anche se spesso nascoste e da scoprire, decifrare e interpretare –, nelle diverse esperienze educative e formative⁵².

Si tratta in sostanza di guardare allo sviluppo della personalità nella sua globalità, in cui non prevalga il cognitivo sul razionale, quanto piuttosto il canale relazionale divenga il fulcro dell'organizzazione e della selezione del materiale 'informativo' acquisito⁵³.

⁵⁰ M. Contini, *Il nostro "essere nel mondo". Storie di neuroni e di contesti*, in M. Contini, M. Fabbri, P. Manuzzi (edd.), *Non di solo cervello. Educare alle connessioni mente-corpo-significati-contesti*, Milano, Raffaello Cortina, 2006, p. 16.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵² M. Grazia Riva, *Il lavoro pedagogico come ricerca dei significati e ascolto delle emozioni*, Milano, Guerini, 2004, p. 11. Della stessa autrice è da vedere anche *Studio clinico sulla formazione*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2000. Su questo aspetto Riva si riaggancia al lavoro portato avanti già negli anni Ottanta e Novanta del Novecento da Riccardo Massa, sulla base della concezione del sapere pedagogico inteso come ricerca, analisi della «materialità concreta» dei processi educativi, anche e soprattutto nei suoi aspetti più nascosti, da Massa definiti «latenze pedagogiche» [cfr. R. Massa, *Le tecniche e i corpi*, Milano, Unicopli, 1986 e Id. (edd.), *La clinica della formazione*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1992].

⁵³ Per una disamina degli aspetti storici della questione nella teoria pedagogica vedi: F. Cambi, *Mente e affetti nell'educazione contemporanea*, Roma, Armando, 1996; Id. (ed.), *Nel conflitto delle emozioni. Prospettive pedagogiche*, Roma, Armando, 1998. Vedi anche F. Cambi, E. Colicchi, M. Muzi, G. Spadafora (edd.), *Pedagogia generale. Identità, modelli, problemi*, Milano, La Nuova Italia, 2001; e B. Rossi, *Pedagogia degli affetti*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2002.

Da questa prospettiva emerge come gli affetti e le emozioni non solo svolgono un ruolo imprescindibile nella formazione della personalità, «ma hanno un peso determinante nello sviluppo degli stessi processi cognitivi, influenzando la capacità di prendere decisioni»⁵⁴. Per questa ragione una simile prospettiva comporta il passaggio da una visione del pensiero inteso unicamente come attività ‘analitica’, puramente razionale, ad una invece basata su un approccio ‘integrato’ alla vita della mente che contempi anche la dimensione della creatività, concepita come capacità adattiva dell’organismo all’ambiente.

Alla luce di questa nuova consapevolezza, su un piano teoretico-epistemologico negli ultimi anni la ricerca pedagogica ha intensificato le riflessioni sulla ridefinizione del rapporto teoria-prassi, proprio a partire anche da una rivalutazione del ruolo dell’emotività. Su questo aspetto va segnalato l’importante volume a cura di Massimo Baldacci e Enza Colicchi del 2016. Come sottolineano i due curatori del volume

la tematizzazione del rapporto tra teoria pedagogica e prassi educativa séguita, allo stato attuale delle cose, a soffrire di un radicato pregiudizio: la concezione della teoria e della prassi come una coppia di diversi se non addirittura di opposti e antagonisti[...]questo perché la dicotomia(o antinomia) stabilita tra la teoria e la prassi inevitabilmente condiziona la formulazione stessa del problema del loro rapporto, restringendo l’area delle soluzioni possibili⁵⁵.

Per questo motivo, che affonda le sue ragioni in una tradizione “secolare”, «l’interpretazione della sola teoria in termini di razionalità, scientificità, generalità, necessità e la complementare interpretazione della prassi in termini di non razionalità, particolarità, arbitrio, determina l’attribuzione alla teoria il compito di fornire modelli di disciplinamento pieno delle pratiche educative; cioè a dire di diffondere la razionalità in una prassi che ne è priva»⁵⁶. Massimo Baldacci spiega questa tendenza propria della «pedagogia teorica» in termini di «teoreticismo» in cui «la teoria viene posta su un piano al tempo stesso irrelato rispetto alla pratica e superiore ad essa»⁵⁷.

⁵⁴ F. Marone, *Emozioni e affetti nel processo formativo*, Pisa, Ets, 2006, p. 87.

⁵⁵ M. Baldacci, E. Colicchi (edd.), *Teoria e prassi pedagogia*, Roma, Carocci, 2016, p. 14. Il lavoro a partire da approcci e contributi differenti vuole mettere in discussione questa dicotomia in cui si è avvolto non solo il pensiero filosofico ma anche pedagogico. Le strade per “mettere in discussione tale paradigma” possono essere molteplici, di qui una parte del volume (la seconda) dedicata ai punti di vista teorici illustrando l’interrelazione teoria-prassi nei diversi contesti teorici attuali della ricerca pedagogica: ecologismo, fenomenologia, personalismo, post-strutturalismo, pragmatismo, problematicismo, mentre la prima parte del volume «compie una ricognizione teorica d’insieme del rapporto teoria/prassi a partire dai suoi elementi- la teoria e la prassi- colti e indagati nella loro relativa autonomia, prima di essere ricompresi nel loro nesso» (*ibid.*).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18. L’autore spiega bene questo procedere proprio della tradizione filosofica del pensiero occidentale nel saggio contenuto nel volume (cfr. Id, *La prassi educativa, ibid.*, pp. 45-58). In sostanza «La teoria si nutre di se stessa, procedendo per automovimento: le idee derivano dall’elaborazione di idee precedenti, i problemi si autogenerano. I significati e gli scopi

Fin qui dunque abbiamo tentato di ricostruire come, prendendo in considerazione soprattutto il panorama italiano, la ricerca storico-educativa si è confrontata finora con la nuova frontiera della ricerca storica sulle emozioni.

Si tratterà in futuro di dischiudere percorsi che possano, come in parte abbiamo iniziato ad ipotizzare in questo lavoro, aprire itinerari di ricerca, sollevare nuove ipotesi interpretative, esplorare ambiti tematici capaci di rileggere le fonti della storia della pedagogia e dell'educazione alla luce di una visione unitaria dell'essere umano concepito nella sua globalità, nella sua integralità affettiva, emotiva e intellettuale; in sostanza nella materialità dei processi, fisici, sociali e culturali che strutturano la sua personalità nella storia.

dell'educazione non scaturiscono dall'analisi storico-sociale o dalla ricognizione empirica, ma si definiscono unicamente su un piano universale e astratto» (*ibid.*, p. 20).

Notices / Recensioni

Notices

Recensioni

Antonia Criscenti Grassi (a cura di), *A proposito dell'History Manifesto. Nuove tendenze per la ricerca storico-educativa*, Palermo, Edizioni della Fondazione Nazionale Vito Fazio-Allmayer, 2016, 219 pp.

Merito del volume è l'avvio di una riflessione sistematica italiana sui temi storiografici posti dall'*History Manifesto* considerato dagli stessi autori una «call to arms to historians and everyone interested in the role of history in contemporary society». Il pamphlet di Jo Guldi e David Armitage si propone di riportare la storia al centro del sistema delle scienze umane, sottraendola alla condizione di minorità nella quale sarebbe precipitata a causa dell'iperspecializzazione e dello *spectre of the short term* che ha monopolizzato la ricerca storica. Pur non condividendo totalmente lo stile esageratamente performativo, e il carattere apodittico del testo, è indubbio che rappresenta una intelligente sollecitazione che induce gli studiosi ad

interrogarsi sulla attualità ed utilità della storia e sulla sua funzione sociale.

Consapevoli dell'importanza del modello storiografico Annalista, che ha contribuito ad ampliare gli ambiti della ricerca storico-educativa italiana favorendo una più articolata e complessa ermeneutica dei fatti pedagogici, gli autori del volume *A proposito dell'History Manifesto. Nuove tendenze per la ricerca storico-educativa*, incentrano le loro riflessioni sul modello post-annalistico per spiegare e motivare l'importanza della storia dal punto di vista della ricerca pedagogica ed educativa. «Sebbene l'espansione dell'universo dello storico e il sempre crescente dialogo con altre discipline [...] siano certamente novità ben accettate, esse impongono un prezzo da pagare. La disciplina storica è oggi più frantumata di quanto lo sia mai stata. Gli storici economici parlano la stessa lingua degli economisti, gli storici della cultura quella dei filosofi, e gli storici sociali quella dei sociologi e degli antropo-

logi sociali, ma fanno sempre più fatica a comunicare tra di loro». [P. Burke (a cura di), *La storiografia contemporanea*, Laterza, Roma-Bari 2000, p. 24]. In linea con quanto sostenuto dallo storico britannico Peter Burke, il modello di ricerca proposto intende mettere in rilievo la necessaria e ineludibile interrelazione tra epistemologia pedagogica e ricerca storica attraverso *l'apertura*, della stessa ricerca, verso i multiformi problemi sociali, politici, culturali ed economici; un'apertura che però non si fonda sulla micro-analisi e sulla destrutturazione del fatto storico ma osserva l'evento nella sua complessità per ricavarne unità e senso.

La conoscenza storica è qui intesa, infatti, come scienza umana critica, come sistema per dar forma a futuri alternativi. Proprio nell'attenta e costante analisi dell'intreccio tra «la pedagogia come ricerca storica e la storia come ricerca del progetto pedagogico» risiede, forse, il carattere di maggior originalità del testo.

Dopo un ampio saggio introduttivo, nel quale Antonia Criscenti Grassi affronta in modo puntuale le caratteristiche e le responsabilità della ricerca storica in educazione, la stessa autrice analizza, in un capitolo dal tema provocatorio *La responsabilità della storiografia italiana all'approccio "tossico"*, che risponde, peraltro, alle accuse mosse da Jo Guldi e David Armitage, i modelli storiografici assunti, nel tempo, come paradigmi di riferimento e la loro deriva in una sorta di assolutizzazione del presente e di parossismo individualista, che azzera «ogni dinamicità, ogni relazionalità, ogni progettualità» (pp. 32-35). Scopo dell'autrice è restituire alla Storia il suo significato di costruito identitario e sociale, di interpretazione e conferimento di senso agli accadimenti passati, non per definire codici di condotta e prescrizioni, ma per favorire «lo scambio di idee, di domande, di risultati sempre nuovi» (p. 53).

Dario De Salvo nel capitolo *Papà, spiegami a che serve la storia. Tracce di ermeneutica storiografica da Humboldt a Guldi ed Armitage*, traccia i caratteri generali del dibattito sul metodo e sul compito dello storico nella sua evoluzione storica, ermeneutica e metodologica. Seguendo il percorso tracciato da Jo Guldi e David Armitage, lo studioso propone di accogliere una prospettiva microstorica non evenemenziale nella quale l'attenzione al particolare posta dallo storico viene intesa come un «temporaneo distacco dal quadro generale», utile per «illuminare quegli ambiti d'indagine non ancora visitati, quelle realtà culturali non frequentate perché ritenute troppo piccole e, quindi, troppo poco significative» (pp. 73-74).

Stefano Lentini, nel capitolo dedicato al *Rapporto sui temi della ricerca storico-educativa in Italia. Le pubblicazioni scientifiche del CIRSE (1980-2015)*, ripercorre idealmente le ricerche condotte dagli autori dell'*History Manifesto* sull'estensione temporale delle indagini storiche nella realtà anglo-americana, dell'ultimo trentennio del Novecento. Lentini offre un quadro generale dei prodotti della ricerca storico-educativa italiana, pubblicati nella Rivista del Centro italiano per la Ricerca Storico-Educativa nata in Italia con l'obiettivo di valorizzare e sviluppare la ricerca storico-educativa (nel 1981 venne pubblicato il primo numero del «Bollettino CIRSE»; nel 2006 il bollettino assume una nuova veste editoriale resa visibile dal cambio di denominazione in «Nuovo Bollettino CIRSE» che durerà fino al 2013 quando assunse l'attuale denominazione di «Rivista Storica dell'Educazione»). A tal fine, analizza la produzione scientifica della rivista, studiano i fascicoli pubblicati dal 1981 al 2015, per mettere in evidenza che la ricerca storico-educativa in Italia stenta ad accogliere, nel proprio ambito di indagine e di studio, l'approccio annalistico riservando la quasi

totale attenzione ai temi dell'istruzione e delle problematiche scolastiche, tralasciando la varietà e la ricchezza delle problematiche educative emergenti (pp. 119-120).

Livia Romano, infine, riprendendo le suggestioni offerte da Jo Guldi e David Armitage sulla crisi del sapere storico e sull'auspicio di un ritorno delle grandi narrazioni, indaga sull'utilità del sapere storico e sul suo valore formativo nella società contemporanea. Il percorso di ricerca affrontato nel saggio *Tra memoria e utopia. Riflessioni sul valore formativo del sapere storico* permette di riscoprire e valorizzare la vocazione utopica del sapere storico e la sua importanza nel promuovere il *ripensamento e cambiamento* della realtà. La storia diviene, così, un dispositivo pedagogico «di natura utopica», di scienza che studia le cose del passato e ricostruisce la memoria collettiva in vista della «liberazione degli uomini», una storia intesa dunque come «strumento di emancipazione e di formazione democratica» (p. 131).

Silvia Annamaria Scandurra

Cristiano Casalini, Claude Pavur S.J., *Jesuit Pedagogy, 1540-1616. A Reader*, Chestnut Hill (MA), The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2016, 346 pp.

La singular y prolongada dedicación de la Compañía de Jesús a la enseñanza es uno de los aspectos más relevantes de la enseñanza y la cultura occidentales. No faltan quienes tienden a ignorarla o prestarle poca atención, bien porque suponen que entró en crisis tras la expulsión y la supresión, bien porque creen que sólo interesa con vistas al estudio de la educación cristiana. Proceder así nos condenaría a tener una visión simple y parcial de los hechos históricos.

Es cierto que, a partir del siglo XIX, las cosas cambiaron sustancialmente. Los

jesuitas tuvieron que reconstruir su red de colegios, partiendo casi de cero en muchos países, entrando además en competencia con nuevos centros escolares, tanto públicos como confesionales. A pesar de ello, lograron conservar casi intacto su prestigio, tras renovar hasta cierto punto las materias que constituían el plan de estudios. Los objetivos y la metodología siguieron siendo en buena medida los mismos y revelaron una vez más su eficacia.

Otro cambio sustancial tuvo que ver con el reclutamiento de los alumnos. A diferencia de lo que sucedió durante la Edad Moderna, fueron los hijos de las familias distinguidas los que abarrotaron las aulas de la Compañía, no porque así lo pretendiese ésta, sino por algunas circunstancias que aquí no podemos explicar. En cualquier caso, tanto por su preparación y competencia pedagógica, como por la procedencia de sus estudiantes, los jesuitas continuaron ejerciendo una decisiva influencia en la formación de la juventud, y sus instituciones siguieron siendo una pieza clave del sistema escolar.

El libro que reseñamos es una herramienta de extraordinaria utilidad para familiarizarse con el modo jesuítico de concebir la enseñanza. Puede decirse que, aun adaptándose a un mundo cada vez más cambiante, la Compañía ha intentado siempre ser fiel a su carisma fundacional. La *Ratio Studiorum* estuvo vigente en su integridad durante varios siglos, y hasta hace sólo unas décadas con modificaciones notables, pero no esenciales. Ahora bien, lo que en este caso se nos muestra son las raíces de ese capital instrumento de reforma pedagógica, en el que cristalizó una fructífera experiencia acumulada durante décadas. Ello permite comprobar cómo fue madurando el apostolado docente de la Compañía, concebido desde su mismo inicio como un ministerio al servicio de Cristo y la salvación de los hombres.

Como explican y reconocen los autores, su punto de partida es el ingente y espléndido trabajo del Padre Lázló Lukács, editor de los *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Jesu*. En estos siete gruesos tomos, se contienen magníficos e innumerables testimonios que reflejan cómo se fue definiendo, en contacto con la vida escolar, el *modus operandi* propio de los colegios de la Compañía. Sin embargo, el lector no azezado corre serio riesgo de ahogarse en medio de tal océano de documentos, redactados en diversos idiomas que no siempre dominará. Por ello, esta antología es muy útil, ya que contiene textos especialmente significativos, acompañados de una breve presentación y traducidos a la que hoy se tiene por la *lingua franca*. Como están recogidos en sólo volumen y van acompañados de cuidados índices, el interés es aún mayor.

La estructura de la obra resulta también muy adecuada. Las fuentes quedan agrupadas en cuatro secciones. En la primera – *Inspirations* –, algunos de los primeros jesuitas, como San Ignacio de Loyola, Pierre Favre, Juan Alfonso de Polanco o Pedro de Ribadeneyra, exponen los motivos que condujeron a la Compañía hacia la enseñanza. La segunda – *Administration* – está integrada por famosas instrucciones o reglamentos, que sin duda sirvieron de inspiración para otros posteriores. Surgieron en el Colegio de Mesina, el Colegio Romano, el Colegio Germánico y el Seminario Romano, auténticos buques insignia de la Orden. En tercer lugar, bajo el epígrafe *Formation*, hallamos textos relativos a los fines de la educación jesuítica, que permiten apreciar lo que la distinguiría de otras concreciones del humanismo cristiano más o menos semejantes. Los avalan destacados maestros – Benito Perera, Diego de Ledesma, Giuseppe Cortesono, Pedro Juan Perpiñá o Fulvio Cardulo – y el Padre Claudio

Acquaviva, bajo cuya égida se promulgó la *Ratio Studiorum*. *Teaching practices* es el título escogido para identificar y resumir el contenido de la última sección. Nada menos que el propio San Ignacio de Loyola, Pedro Juan Perpiñá, Jacobus Pontanus, Christopher Clavius, Michael Leder, Diego Laínez, Benet Perera y Juan Maldonado, es decir, lo más granado de la Compañía, no informa sobre cómo enseñar las diversas materias que integraban el plan de estudios habitual: el latín, el griego, el hebreo, la Retórica, las Matemáticas, la Filosofía y la Teología.

Creemos que la simple descripción del contenido de este libro basta para recomendarlo, pero no menos valioso es el estudio introductorio que contiene. Quien lo lea, podrá hacerse una idea muy clara de cómo nació y en qué consistió el proyecto formativo que la Compañía aplicó en sus colegios durante siglos. Si desea profundizar en la cuestión, encontrará además a pie de página una bibliografía excelente y muy actualizada. Por tal motivo, esta obra es de consulta obligada para cualquier investigador dispuesto a conocer un capítulo esencial de la historia de la enseñanza, que desborda con mucho el ámbito de la educación católica.

Javier Laspalas

Gabriele Ventura, Mirella D'Ascenzo (a cura di), *Dalla parte delle maestre. La stagione pedagogica di Virginia Predieri (1931-2009)*, Lecce-Brescia, Pensa Multi-Media, 2016, 248 pp.

Ce livre est beaucoup plus que la biographie de son titre. Il retrace l'histoire de l'école primaire et maternelle à Bologne pendant le second après-guerre (1950-1980), s'inscrivant dans le prolongement des précédents ouvrages de Mirella D'As-

cenzo «*Tutti a scuola? L'istruzione elementare nella pianura bolognese tra Otto e Novecento*» (Bologne, 2013), «*Col libro in mano. Maestri, editoria e vita scolastica tra Otto e Novecento*» (Turin, 2013), «*Tra centro e periferia. La scuola elementare a Bologna dalla Daneo-Credaro all'avocazione statale (1911-1933)*» et «*Alberto Calderara. Microstoria di una professione docente tra Otto e Novecento*» (Bologne, 2011).

La contribution de Mirella D'Ascenzo à ce nouveau livre collectif se divise en trois parties qui correspondent au mandat d'adjoint à l'école de la commune de Bologne d'Ettore Tarozzi (1960-1975) et à la direction didactique de Bruno Ciari (1966-1970). La troisième partie est consacrée à l'institutrice Virginia Predieri. L'histoire locale ne peut ignorer un contexte national et les écoles communales doivent respecter les directives ministérielles. A la fin des années 1950, l'enseignement primaire italien était régi par la loi de 1955 qui l'avait doté d'un 3^e cycle destiné aux élèves ne poursuivant pas leurs études dans les établissements secondaires. Les programmes et les *Orientamenti per la scuola materna* de 1958 innovaient en tenant un langage activiste prenant en compte les apports de la psychopédagogie; mais les courants communistes, progressistes et radicaux déploraient que l'école maternelle fût abandonnée aux établissements privés et ils craignaient une confessionnalisation de l'«école de base». Lamberto Borghi cherchait dans la revue d'Ernesto Codignola «*Scuola e città*» à élargir le discours pédagogique en enrichissant les thématiques socialistes d'éléments empruntés aux démocraties anglo-saxonnes. A Bologne, Ettore Tarozzi créait un Centre pédagogique, lieu de rencontre et d'échanges entre les enseignants, fréquenté par des pédagogues de renom comme Giovanni Maria Bertin, Lamberto Borghi, Raffae-

le Laporta ou Dina Bertoni Jovine, mais aussi par le pédagogue personnaliste Giuseppe Flores d'Arcais. Tarozzi introduisit dans les écoles communales de Bologne des méthodes didactiques empruntées au sœurs Agazzi et à Maria Montessori. Il fit appel comme consultant à Roberto Mazzetti, ancien collaborateur de Giuseppe Bottai dans la rédaction de la «Charte de l'Ecole» (1939) qui s'intéressait à la pédagogie de Giuseppe Lombardo Radice tout en restant fidèle à la valeur «travail» dans le système éducatif. Pour Mazzetti, l'humanisme ne pouvait subsister dans une société industrielle sans tenir compte de ce facteur fondamental et cet «anti-intellectualisme» l'incitait à puiser dans le socialisme utopique de Fourier et de Proudhon les éléments d'une réflexion sur le «temps libre» et le «travail attractif». En 1962, Tarozzi créa les «Febbrai Pedagogici», des rencontres pédagogiques qui vont acquérir une réputation nationale et même internationale. Les thèmes débattus concernaient les techniques d'éducation, les bâtiments scolaires, l'école maternelle, les rapports de l'école avec la famille et avec la société. Les intervenants figuraient parmi les pédagogues les plus connus de l'époque, allant de Lamberto Borghi au catholique Aldo Agazzi qui dirigeait à Brescia depuis 1955 la revue «*Scuola e Didattica*».

Les gouvernements de Centre-gauche ouvrirent dans les années 1960 une période d'initiatives qui s'acheva dans la subversion de 1968. Les réformes entreprises considéraient le système scolaire comme un service social destiné à la formation d'une personnalité démocratique. L'instruction civique fut introduite à l'école; mais la principale innovation fut «l'école unique», englobant dans une «Ecole secondaire de premier degré» l'enseignement primaire et les premières classes du gymnase. Le projet de loi sur

la création d'écoles maternelles d'Etat fut rejeté par la Chambre des députés (janvier 1966). La même année, le conseil municipal nomma Bruno Ciari directeur didactique des institutions éducatives de la commune de Bologne. Un tournant s'amorçait. La confiance de Ciari dans les méthodes montessoriennes était relative et sa fréquentation du «Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa» (M.C.E.) l'incitait à chercher de nouvelles orientations capables d'adapter les techniques de Célestin Freinet à l'école maternelle. Mazzetti insistait par contre sur la concentration mentale et la créativité de l'enfant, des principes dont aucune avant-garde pédagogique ne pouvait faire abstraction. Il est vrai que Ciari avait surmonté le préjugé répandu dans les milieux éducatifs communistes qui considérait la pédagogie de John Dewey comme l'émanation d'une culture capitaliste et il critiquait le conservatisme de l'école italienne, lui reprochant l'usage d'une didactique traditionnelle impliquant la passivité silencieuse de l'élève. L'époque était à la dénonciation des examens. Don Milani s'en prenait à leur injustice (*Lettera a una professoressa*) (1967) et Bruno Ciari doutait de leur efficacité (*La grande disadattata*). Il lui opposait une école active, participative, fondée sur une autre approche de la didactique. Ce renouveau de l'«école de base» permettait de revoir la formation initiale du citoyen, de réduire les inégalités sociales et culturelles, d'offrir un apprentissage de la vie. Bruno Ciari voyait la construction du savoir dans une continuité didactique ignorant les différents degrés d'enseignement. Il considérait le maître comme un intellectuel ouvert à la recherche et à la culture, mais engagé politiquement. Le colloque du «Febbraio pedagogico» de 1967 permit à Bruno Ciari de préciser sa conception d'une gestion démocratique et sociale de l'école, sollicitant la pleine col-

laboration des parents et l'utilisation de nouveaux matériels didactiques.

La loi du 18 mars 1968 «Ordinamento della scuola materna statale» créait une école maternelle non obligatoire pour enfants âgés de 3 à 6 ans. Le texte initial prévoyait que cet enseignement s'inscrivait dans la poursuite de l'éducation familiale; mais la commission compétente de la Chambre des députés insista pour que l'école maternelle se vit reconnaître des finalités propres sur le plan du développement de la personnalité de l'enfant et de la préparation de l'école obligatoire. La loi fixait les conditions du recrutement du personnel enseignant avec une licence de pédagogie pour les directrices et les inspectrices, un diplôme, des Ecoles normales pour les institutrices. Le ministre Luigi Gui avait insisté pendant les débats parlementaires sur les risques d'une disparition des écoles maternelles privées qui scolarisaient l'immense majorité de ces enfants. La nouvelle école maternelle fut accueillie favorablement à Bologne par Mazzetti et Aldo Agazzi; mais leur satisfaction venait des expérimentations prévues au niveau de la gestion et de la didactique plus que des dispositions organiques de la loi.

Le reste de l'ouvrage est consacré à l'institutrice Virginia Predieri et à ses activités pédagogiques. Il permet de mesurer l'influence de Bruno Ciari sur toute une génération de maîtres, d'apprécier la culture scolaire d'une époque à travers une étude archéologique d'instruments didactiques promus au rang de «boîte noire» de l'enseignement. La contribution de Gabriele Ventura porte sur les services éducatifs et les écoles maternelles de Bologne. Elle situe la période du militantisme et de l'autosuffisance dans les années 1960-1985 qui coïncidaient avec la renaissance démocratique et la reconstruction de la société dans l'Italie du second après-guerre. La phase suivante fut

celle d'une crise caractérisée par un déclin entrecoupé d'actes témoignant d'une volonté de résistance (1985-1995). Elle fut empreinte de pédagogisme sur le plan national, l'intérêt se déplaçant de l'acquisition des connaissances vers les méthodes d'enseignement. Le nouveau concordat (février 1984) impliquait de nouvelles dispositions pour l'enseignement de la religion et les programmes de 1985 réagirent en créant une nouvelle discipline d'Études sociales destinée à la formation civique et démocratique des élèves; mais elle resta inefficace faute de fondements épistémologiques et d'enseignants compétents. L'étape suivante dessina un tournant dans les autonomies locales (1995-2010) qui donna une impulsion nouvelle aux écoles de Bologne et d'Emilie. L'enseignement primaire abandonnait ses certitudes pour s'ouvrir davantage aux phénomènes sociaux. Il devenait un centre d'expérimentation exigeant des enseignants de haut niveau; mais le maître unique ne tarda pas à faire sa réapparition dans les classes au début des années 2000 et la famille retrouva toute sa place dans l'éducation des enfants. La dernière phase apparaît lumineuse, les auteurs appréciant une gestion scolaire bolognaise décentralisée par quartier (septembre 2014) et la loi du 13 juillet 2015.

L'ouvrage de Mirella D'Ascenzo et Gabriele Ventura épouse une évolution historiographique italienne privilégiant les études «périphériques». Il évite le piège tendu par les contingences locales à toute œuvre de micro-histoire en tenant compte de la dimension politique et sociale des grands courants pédagogiques qui l'enveloppent, sans oublier le caractère national de l'institution scolaire. Lorsque la géographie de la péninsule sera couverte d'une mosaïque de monographies respectueuses de ces exigences programmatiques nul doute que l'école italienne présentera

toutes les diversités régionales qui correspondent à son histoire.

Michel Ostenc

Francesco Sacchini, *Exhortación y Preceptiva para los maestros de las escuelas inferiores de la Compañía de Jesús*, Traducción, introducción, edición y notas de Alejandro Martínez Sobrino y Javier Laspalas Pérez, Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2017, LXX, 537 pp.

La prestigiosa *Collectio scriptorum mediaevalium et renascentium* edita dalla Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos (BAC), diretta dai professori Javier Vergara e Francisco Calero, quali coordinatori dei professori e ricercatori del Grupo de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas (GEMYR), si è arricchita recentemente di una nuova importante pubblicazione. La collana, com'è noto, ha il merito di promuovere «la recuperación, traducción y estudio de fuentes no traducidas a lengua castellana o deficientemente conocidas que, de una manera directa o indirecta, han ayudado a conformar el pensamiento occidental en el plano de la educación y de la cultura en general». Il volume curato da Alejandro Martínez Sobrino e da Javier Laspalas Pérez ed intitolato *Exhortación y Preceptiva para los maestros de las escuelas inferiores de la Compañía de Jesús* rientra perfettamente negli obiettivi della collana. Il testo, infatti, propone un'ampia presentazione e un'accurata edizione commentata di due opere di grande interesse per la storia dell'educazione di età moderna e non solo, la cui conoscenza però è rimasta per lunga pezza circoscritta agli specialisti di storia della Compagnia di Gesù. Si tratta del *Protrepticon ad magistros scholarum inferiorum Societatis Jesu* e della *Paraenesis ad magi-*

stros scholarum inferiorum Societatis Jesu, scritti dal gesuita Francesco Sacchini.

Come si spiega nell'introduzione del volume, di questo colto gesuita, nato in un paesino vicino ad Orvieto (Paciano) nel 1570, si conosce ben poco. Sappiamo che entrò presto nella Compagnia di Gesù, all'età di 18 anni, e che esercitò per lungo tempo l'attività di insegnante all'interno dei collegi dell'Ordine. Noto ai posteri soprattutto come storico della Compagnia – curò la pubblicazione del primo volume dell'*Historia Societatis Jesu* scritto dal suo predecessore, padre Nicolò Orlandini, e ne continuò l'opera con altri tre volumi –, ricoprì anche il prestigioso e gravoso incarico di segretario dell'Ordine, che mantenne dal 1619 al 1625, anno della sua morte.

Francesco Sacchini fu anche autore di diversi scritti didattici, dai quali si evince la grande dedizione con la quale visse il ruolo di insegnante e l'importanza esiziale da egli assegnata alla missione educativa. A questa tipologia di testi appartengono il *Protrepticon* e la *Paraenesis*, le due opere più importanti di Sacchini, dopo l'*Historia*, ma che a differenza di quest'ultima non furono scritte per adempimento di un incarico ufficiale, quanto viceversa per un'esigenza personale dettata dalla profonda sensibilità pedagogica dell'autore. Nei due testi pubblicati per la prima volta a Roma nel 1625, pochi giorni dopo la morte di Sacchini, infatti, sono raccolte 'esortazioni' e 'precetti' scaturiti dall'esperienza educativa dell'autore e concepiti per essere riletti e annotati continuamente dai giovani insegnati della Compagnia. Quest'ultimi, per l'appunto, sono i destinati del *Protrepticon* e della *Paraenesis*, come si evince chiaramente dai titoli delle due opere, le quali si rivelano sin dalla una prima lettura l'una il completamento dell'altra. Il Sacchini intese elaborare dei prontuari, capaci di condensare la tradizione educativa del tempo e di guidare gli insegnanti dei corsi

inferiori delle scuole della Compagnia (di norma destinati ai fanciulli di età compresa tra i 7 e i 14 anni) in un processo di interiorizzazione dei principi cardine del modello educativo gesuitico.

I due testi circolarono quasi esclusivamente in seno alla Compagnia e nel corso del XVII secolo ebbero una diffusione importante, se si pensa che conobbero ben cinque edizioni, tutte in luoghi strategicamente importanti per l'Ordine (Roma, 1625; Dillingen, 1626; Lione, 1632; Lovanio, 1674; Praga, 1677). Nel corso del Settecento, tuttavia, da quanto ci è dato sapere, non si ebbero nuove impressioni delle due opere, forse a causa del difficile momento vissuto dalla Compagnia, che culminò con la soppressione del 1773. I testi tornarono a circolare nell'Ottocento, dopo la ricostituzione dell'Ordine, all'interno di edizioni collettanee comprendenti altri scritti significativi per la storia spirituale e pedagogica della Compagnia, come nel caso dell'edizione veronese del 1856, in cui il *Protrepticon* e la *Paraenesis* figurano insieme alla *Ratio studiorum* curata da Jouvency.

Il volume di Laspalas e Martínez propone la seconda traduzione, apparsa ad oggi, dei due manuali del Sacchini (la prima fu quella tedesca pubblica a Friburgo nel 1888 ad opera di padre Joseph Stier). Nell'edizione spagnola i testi del Sacchini sono presentati in una versione finemente annotata e con traduzione in spagnolo a fronte, adeguata nella forma e nella punteggiatura per facilitare l'approccio diretto ai due scritti. L'introduzione si sofferma sulle molteplici valenze pedagogiche delle opere, adottando un approccio squisitamente storico-educativo, mentre le note che corredano il testo latino e la traduzione disvelano al lettore, passo dopo passo, la ricchezza di contenuti e di riferimenti citazionali espliciti ed impliciti di cui si sostanziano le due opere. Il *Protrepticon* e la

Paraenesis, difatti, come la maggior parte dei trattati pedagogici del tempo, non sono connotati da specifici tratti di originalità, ma poggiano su una fitta trama di rimandi testuali, presi principalmente dai classici greci e latini, dalla Bibbia e dagli scritti dei Padri della Chiesa, oltre che da fonti squisitamente gesuitiche come la *Ratio studiorum* e le *Constitutiones*. Siamo certamente nel solco della grande tradizione umanistica, che seppe coniugare la sapienza degli antichi alle virtù cristiane, la quale tuttavia viene reinterpretata attraverso quel sentimento di *reformatio Ecclesiae* di cui il padre Sacchini seppe essere fedele e lucido interprete.

Il *Protrepticon* e la *Paraenesis* mostrano come il mondo cattolico post-tridentino investì grandi energie nel versante educativo, in quanto ritenuto esiziale per realizzare quel percorso di perfezionamento terreno ritenuto viatico indispensabile della felicità celeste. Ecco, dunque, che emerge tutta l'importanza del compito assegnato al maestro, descritto come padre e pastore, guida dell'intelletto degli alunni e nel contempo custode dei loro cuori e delle loro virtù, esempio da emulare e confidente autorevole da interpellare. Ne consegue una visione complessa dell'intervento educativo, che interessa contestualmente il versante intellettuale, morale e religioso e che, agendo sui comportamenti esterni dell'educando, si propone di modellarne l'interiorità, attraverso un processo di disciplinamento graduale e rispettoso dell'indole e delle attitudini personali del singolo. Sacchini si mostra, pertanto, quale testimone insigne di quell'antropologia tridentina – basata sull'idea di un uomo sì salvato dal peccato originale attraverso il battesimo ma costantemente minacciato dalla concupiscenza, ovvero dalla tendenza al peccato insita nella natura umana – che assegnò all'azione educativa tempestiva e costante un ruolo di primo piano nel programma di

riforma del mondo cattolico messo in atto in quegli anni in seno alla Chiesa. Così al maestro è assegnato il delicato compito di disegnare l'*habitus* cristiano dell'alunno, di plasmare la sua natura giorno dopo giorno attraverso il fine scalpello dell'esercizio, di forgiare la tempra del discente attraverso il sacro fuoco della sapienza e della pietà cristiana.

L'edizione del *Protrepticon* e della *Paraenesis* di Lasplas e Martínez ci consente, pertanto, di penetrare lo spirito più autentico del processo di rinnovamento cattolico che animò lo scenario europeo tra Cinque e Seicento, attraverso la 'lettura guidata' di due fonti che non solo permettono di «comprender las raíces del modelo educativo jesuítico» (p. XXI), ma anche di assimilare gli elementi caratterizzanti di quella spinta alla rigenerazione dell'umanità che fu il motivo trainante della Riforma cattolica e che vide, proprio nell'azione educativa promossa dagli ordini religiosi di nuova fondazione – Gesuiti in testa – uno dei suoi esempi più significativi.

Elisabetta Patrizi

Carlota Boto, *A liturgia escolar na idade moderna*, Campinas-São Paulo, Papirus Editora, 2017, 319 pp.

Un corposo e interessante volume sulle origini della scuola in età moderna e sulle differenti pratiche educative poste in essere in luoghi e contesti storici diversi. Si presenta così il recente lavoro della storica e pedagogista Carlota Boto, frutto di molti anni di studio e riflessione da parte dell'autrice, pubblicato per la prestigiosa casa editrice brasiliana Papirus e arricchito da un'illuminante *Prefazione* di Maria Helena Camara Bastos. L'intero volume, costituito da un'*Introdução*, da una serie di riflessioni conclusive e da sei sostanziosi

e ben strutturati capitoli, oltre che da una dettagliata e aggiornata bibliografia finale, ruota intorno al concetto di «scuola» intesa come vera e propria forma di «liturgia». La comprensione reale e profonda della scuola quale rito, secondo l'autrice, richiede l'osservazione di tutti quei momenti che costituiscono la vita quotidiana della scuola stessa, nonché la comprensione più a fondo di quelle pratiche istituzionali su cui si essa si articola. In questo senso, i bambini in fila all'orario di uscita, l'organizzazione dello spazio in classi raggruppate per gradi, la predisposizione di programmi per accogliere diverse materie curriculari e discipline, l'interazione tra insegnanti e studenti nello spazio della classe, l'evoluzione dell'arredo scolastico, dovrebbero di fatto costituire oggetto di necessario approfondimento da parte di tutti gli studiosi del settore.

L'autrice, già nota a livello internazionale per altri lavori di indubbio valore di storia dell'educazione e di filosofia dell'educazione, sottolinea nella sua *Introdução* come la scuola moderna sia da intendere come «la scuola, che più che in altre epoche, si è preoccupata di istruire e di civilizzare, al fine di insegnare saperi e formare le pratiche comportamentali» (p. 21). Di qui il conseguente assunto, ampiamente sviluppato nel libro, che i «discorsi pedagogici» avviati tra XVI e XVII abbiano costituito le basi imprescindibili per ogni discorso educativo dei secoli successivi. Autori come Erasmo da Rotterdam, Michel de Montaigne, Martin Lutero, Giovanni Calvino, Juan Luis Vives vengono dunque «rivisitati» dall'autrice attraverso un costante dialogo con i pensatori dell'età contemporanea, cercando di cogliere punti di contatto e di interferenza reciproca tra i diversi attori coinvolti nel discorso.

Ciascun capitolo – dal titolo molto creativo – che compone l'opera, attra-

verso uno stile di scrittura lineare ed un lessico selezionato, costituisce una sorta di invito al lettore a ripercorrere insieme all'autrice le diverse fasi di sviluppo della scuola in età moderna, analizzando gli aspetti e i risvolti più significativi che caratterizzano la storia specifica di autori, istituzioni educative, luoghi del sapere e discipline. Nel primo capitolo (*O livro impresso: Entre a infância e a escola*) Carlota Boto si occupa innanzitutto di descrivere alcuni fattori importanti che hanno contraddistinto l'età moderna, come la secolarizzazione o il tentativo di disciplinamento avviato dalla Chiesa cattolica alla fine del Cinquecento. Comprendere poi le singolarità dell'inizio dell'età moderna consente al lettore di capire, ad esempio, l'evoluzione dell'insegnamento della lettura, della scrittura e del conteggio, nonché il cambiamento, nelle varie fasi storiche, della formazione delle abitudini e dei costumi. Particolare attenzione nel primo capitolo è altresì rivolta al rapporto tra educazione e stampa di libri rivolti alla formazione dei bambini, avvenimento fondamentale per la diffusione dell'alfabetizzazione delle nuove generazioni. Nel secondo capitolo (*O processo civilizador de uma cultura por escolas*) il focus dell'autrice è invece rivolto ad analizzare l'impatto della Riforma protestante sulla diffusione della cultura e della scrittura in particolare, anche nei ceti meno abbienti, sulla formazione di nuovi lettori e sull'espansione dell'utilizzo della scuola come strumento per la lettura diretta della Bibbia. Il terzo e il quarto capitolo (rispettivamente intitolati *Conhecimento, conteúdo e método de ensino na Idade Moderna: Testemunhos* e *Rumos da tradição: o pensamento pedagógico do século XVII*) sono dunque finalizzati all'individuazione ed all'analisi delle più importanti matrici culturali della scuola moderna, attraverso lo studio critico del pensiero di autori di

rilievo quali il filosofo spagnolo Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), rappresentante per eccellenza dell'umanesimo iberico; il pedagogista tedesco Wolfgang Ratke (1571-1635), precursore della scuola empirista; il poliedrico intellettuale ceco Jan Amós Comenius (1592-1670), considerato a ragione dall'autrice «uno dei padri dell'educazione moderna». Di particolare interesse risultano anche i contenuti del quinto capitolo del volume (*A civilização escolar tem a forma de colégio*), in cui ad essere protagonista è la «lezione pedagogica» della Compagnia di Gesù, con particolare ed ulteriore attenzione rivolta dalla Boto per l'impressionante sviluppo qualitativo e quantitativo dei collegi registrato a partire dalla metà del Cinquecento su tutto il territorio europeo e per gli innovativi contenuti della *Ratio Studiorum* del 1599 che divenne nell'arco di pochi anni un vero e proprio modello di "regola" per tutti gli ordini e congregazioni religiosi esistenti sorti nell'alveo della Controriforma cattolica. Proprio il polivalente progetto educativo perseguito da Ignazio di Loyola e dai suoi seguaci diviene oggetto di attenta osservazione da parte della Boto che cerca di svelare al lettore le più intrinseche motivazioni che portarono la lezione gesuita a divenire il modello educativo per eccellenza tra Cinque e Seicento. Il sesto ed ultimo capitolo (*Rastros e frestas da civilização escolar*), infine, analizza la pedagogia di Jean Baptiste de La Salle (1651-1719), fondatore della congregazione dei Fratelli delle scuole cristiane, "riletto" attraverso una puntuale e attenta interpretazione della *Guia das escolas cristãs*, elaborata sul finire del XVII secolo. De La Salle, a giudizio dell'autrice, presentava una matrice comune con tutti gli altri pedagogisti e pensatori analizzati nei capitoli precedenti, ossia «la considerazione della scuola moderna come fenomeno sociale di trasmissione dei saperi e dei valori» (p. 284).

Senza dubbio, come opportunamente sottolineato nella *Introdução* da Maria Helena Camara Bastos, l'opera della Boto, «estremamente dinamica e didatticamente valida» (p. 18), ha il duplice merito, da un lato di colmare una lacuna esistente nella storiografia educativa brasiliana e, dall'altro, di costituire un testo di indubbio interesse per l'intera comunità internazionale degli storici dell'educazione per il suo assai apprezzabile e innovativo approccio storiografico e per la sua meticolosa e puntuale analisi della materia trattata.

Luigiaurelio Pomante

Luigiaurelio Pomante, Giuseppe Bottai e il rinnovamento fascista dell'Università italiana (1936-1942), Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2018, 133 pp.

La vasta e qualificata storiografia intorno al rapporto intercorso tra fascismo e istruzione, arricchitasi in anni recenti di ulteriori elementi di discussione determinati dal ricorso a fonti finora scarsamente interrogate, ha indagato solo marginalmente gli studi superiori. Il motivo principale va probabilmente ricercato nel grado di autonomia tradizionalmente concesso all'istituzione universitaria che la rese maggiormente impermeabile, rispetto ai livelli scolastici inferiori, alla propaganda fascista e al disegno di fascistizzazione. Gli stessi docenti universitari, quantomeno fino al 1931, ossia fino all'imposizione del famoso giuramento, si mantennero nel complesso piuttosto tiepidi nei confronti del fascismo, quando non velatamente ostili. Anche nei secondi anni Trenta andrebbe fatta un'attenta valutazione tra adesioni entusiastiche e consenso negoziale, funzionale cioè agli avanzamenti di carriera. Non bisogna dimenticare, inoltre, come l'università e i suoi docenti,

rappresentanti di quel ceto intellettuale così osteggiato dal fascismo sansepolcrista, non godettero di unanimi e benigne considerazioni, specie da parte di quegli esponenti maggiormente legati alle frange violente e fedeli ai principi antiborghesi e antiillettualistici delle origini.

Maggiore interesse presso gli storici ha invece destato lo studio dei processi di fascistizzazione della scuola elementare, certamente il grado maggiormente coinvolto nel disegno di formazione dell'uomo nuovo secondo canoni che si fecero progressivamente meno palesi, cogenti e invasivi con l'innalzarsi del livello culturale degli studi.

Il recentissimo lavoro di Luigiaurelio Pomante, studioso con all'attivo varie pubblicazioni nello specifico ambito della storia dell'università, intende coprire questa lacuna, focalizzando l'attenzione sul progetto di rinnovamento dell'accademia perseguito da Giuseppe Bottai, non a caso uno dei rappresentanti in camicia nera più sensibili alle istanze del mondo culturale italiano. Si tratta di un impegno, quello di Bottai nei confronti dell'università, finora sostanzialmente ignorato dagli storici, i quali si sono concentrati su altri aspetti del suo operato, sia come ministro delle corporazioni che come titolare della Mi-nerva.

Il volume di Pomante, di formato agile e dalla scrittura piana, si articola in due parti: ai primi cinque capitoli, volti a fornire le chiavi interpretative riguardo il progetto bottaiano, segue una raccolta di otto testi in lettura integrale, pubblicati tra il 1928 e il 1941, grazie ai quali è possibile accedere alla viva parola dell'ex ministro dell'educazione nazionale per meglio comprenderne le ragioni e gli indirizzi. Dalla loro analisi emerge – come rileva correttamente Pomante – un preciso disegno volto a saldare il ruolo dell'accademia alla modernizzazione (in senso to-

talitario, ma non solo) in atto nel Paese. Questo progetto si concretò in una serie di iniziative, alcune indubbiamente originali, avviate sotto l'egida di Bottai, al quale non era indifferente l'impatto che l'istruzione superiore rinnovata avrebbe dovuto avere nella vita culturale ed economica nazionale. Egli infatti assegnava all'università l'imprescindibile compito di formare la nuova classe dirigente, modellata a un alto concetto di cultura e non a quella propaganda spicciola, o meramente formale, perseguita dagli esponenti della fronda più muscolare in seno al fascismo. Sulla scia degli illustri predecessori, Gentile incluso, Bottai ricercò nell'azione selezionatrice dell'istruzione superiore la garanzia di serietà degli studi e l'unica strada per formare la spina dorsale dell'Italia futura. In questo senso, il suo operato non si discostò dalla tradizione nazionale; com'è noto, fu necessario attendere la fine degli anni Sessanta perché cominciasse a sgretolarsi la dicotomia tra un'istruzione superiore riservata a pochi e una inferiore per tutti.

Maggiormente innovative furono altre proposte per ricollocare l'università tra le istituzioni più prestigiose e determinanti del Paese, a partire da alcune iniziative di tipo editoriale. Nel 1939 sortì l'idea di pubblicare per cura del ministero una serie di monografie dedicate ai singoli atenei, da tradurre poi in varie lingue al fine di corroborare anche all'estero l'influenza della cultura nazionale.

Nel medesimo anno uscì il primo numero de «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», anch'esso per cura del Ministero dell'educazione nazionale. L'obiettivo era quello di rendere il ceto intellettuale maggiormente partecipe della vita culturale, compresi quegli studiosi di discipline tradizionalmente considerate inferiori, come quelle tecniche e scientifiche. A Bottai, infatti, non sfuggì l'esigenza di raccordare

il mondo della cultura, che corrispondeva poi a quello dell'università, alla sfera economica, e quindi produttiva, del Paese. La stessa Carta della scuola nel suo complesso testimonia del tentativo bottaiano di coniugare scuola, mondo del lavoro e regime fascista, ben riassunto in quell'«unità morale, politica ed economica della Nazione italiana» richiamata nella prima dichiarazione. Un progetto che faticò a decollare, almeno leggendo gli interventi di alcuni tra i principali esponenti del mondo culturale chiamati nel 1941 a discutere sulle pagine della rivista «Primato, lettere e arti d'Italia» in un approfondito dibattito intorno al tema *Le università e la cultura*, protrattosi per ben otto fascicoli.

In conclusione, l'interessante saggio di Pomante ha il notevole merito di appor-tare significativi elementi di novità intorno al tema della riforma degli studi - in questo caso accademici - durante gli anni del fascismo, concentrandosi in particolare sull'ambizioso progetto perseguito da Giuseppe Bottai e interrotto dagli eventi bellici e dalla caduta del regime.

Fabio Targhetta

*Scientific News
and Activities
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«Seeing Like a State?» Innovative approaches to the history of education in Russia presented at the International conference at the Indiana University Europe Gateway at CIEE Global Institute (Berlin, 14-15 October 2017)

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ABSTRACT: On October 14th and 15th, 2017, a conference organized by Ben Eklof (Indiana University), Igor Fedyukin (Higher School of Economics (Moscow), Tatiana Saburova (Higher School of Economics, Indiana University), Elena Vishlenkova (Higher School of Economics, Moscow) was held at the Indiana University Europe Gateway (Berlin) with the aim of seeking new approaches to the history of Russian education. As a starting point, participants were encouraged to consider the applicability to education studies of James C. Scott's book, *Seeing like a State. How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (1998), in particular the concept of «high modernism» and the effort stemming from this mindset to transform society in accordance with its tenets.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; History of schooling; History of childhood; Historiography; Germany; Russia; Soviet Union, XIX-XXth Centuries.

Introduction

The conference *Seeing Like a State? Innovative Approaches to the History of Education in Russia*, met in Berlin on October 14th and 15th, 2017. Organized by a committee composed of Ben Eklof (Indiana University), Igor Fedyukin (Higher School of Economics (Moscow), Tatiana Saburova (Higher School of Economics, Indiana University), Elena Vishlenkova (Higher School of Economics, Moscow) the goal of the conference was to discuss the history of Russian education through the lens of several historical, anthropological and sociological approaches (including the works of James C. Scott, Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu)¹ to integrate the study of education with larger global and transnational trends and examine new ways to interrogate sources and texts.

The title of the conference was inspired by James C. Scott's influential volume, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* is a book (1998), around which a debate has swirled over the past decade concerning the concept of «high modernism»². His thesis seems to be particularly applicable for the investigation of Russian history of education because of the concepts of «legibility» of the populace and «local knowledge» in terms of the aspirations of the state, its difficulty in comprehending local ways, and the deleterious impact of large-scale projects imposed from above. James C. Scott analyzes failed cases of central control in a variety of fields, discussing four conditions common to all planning disasters: the administrative ordering of nature and society by the state; a «high-modernist ideology» that places confidence in the ability of science to improve every aspect of human life; a willingness to use authoritarian state power to effect large-scale interventions; and a prostrate civil society that cannot effectively resist such plans³.

¹ The redaction of this report is based on the abstracts of the conference sent by the participants, whose publication will be listed below for a broader public.

² See for example H. Russell, *Books in Review: James C. Scott's Seeing Like a State*, «The Good Society», 2001, pp. 36-39; *Seeing Like a State. A Conversation with James C. Scott*, *The trouble with the View from Above*, September 8th, 2010, <<https://www.cato-unbound.org/2010/09/08/james-c-scott/trouble-view-above>> (Retrieved on November, 2, 2017).

³ J.C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, Yale, Yale University Press, 1998.

Keynote talks

In the keynote session: *Seeing Like a State?*, professors Johannes Westberg (Örebro University Sweden)⁴, and Ben Eklof (Indiana University), presented two complementary papers about the comparative dimension of mass education in Europe and the role of legislation and public initiative in building school systems, showing how important were local practices in the understanding of the history of the schooling in Russia and elsewhere in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Westberg's paper, entitled *How did education policy shape the race towards mass education? A comparative perspective based on France, Italy, Spain and Sweden, c. 1840-1940* concerned the rise of mass schooling but with a particular focus on funding and expenditure, as well as on local practices, regional and national differences. The decentralization of organization and funding was crucial to this process⁵, and this presentation concerned three main aspects of that decentralization, namely: how it was structured, what role it played, and the nature of the local economic culture⁶. Westberg has written extensively on built environments and the financial history of schooling, using case studies of individual districts in Sweden to show how the currents of industrialization, monetization, and nation-building played out in local environments. Arguing that the «illusion of politics» (to borrow Marx's term) has led historians of education to focus almost exclusively on policy makers and ideas, he argues that it is time for the «cultural turn» to be supplemented by a «materialist turn» in which close attention be paid to «the numerous mundane practicalities of schooling such as the heating and cleaning of classrooms, the salaries of teachers and the decision-making processes of school boards». Moreover, close attention to how schools are funded locally [including labor and in-kind contributions, taxes and other levies] provides insight into priorities at both the local and the national level, and allow us to distinguish between rhetoric and commitment. By citing his own local case studies but then providing country by country statistics on the pace of massification of school, Westberg emphasized

⁴ Between his publications: J. Westberg, *The distribution of government grants in Sweden, 1865–1900*, «Scandinavian Journal of History», vol. 39, n. 4, 2012, pp. 448-471; Id., *Stimulus or impediment?: The impact of matching grants on the funding of elementary schools in Sweden during the nineteenth century*, «History of Education», vol. 42, n. 1, 2013, pp. 1-22; Id., *En politisk illusion?: 1842 års folkskolestadga och den svenska folkskolan*, «Uddannelseshistorie», n. 48, 2014, pp. 52-70; Id., *The distribution of government grants in Sweden, 1865-1900*, in C. Aubry, J. Westberg (edd.), *History of Schooling: Politics and local practice*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang Publishing Group, 2012, pp. 15-37.

⁵ P.H. Lindert, *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1. *The Story*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2004.

⁶ See also <<https://www.researchgate.net/project/How-did-education-policy-shape-the-race-towards-mass-education-A-comparative-perspective-based-on-France-Italy-Spain-and-Sweden-c-1840-1940>> (last access: 08.12.2017).

the need for comparative approaches which encompass both macro- and micro-levels.

Ben Eklof (Indiana University, USA)⁷ presented *From the Top Down? Legislation and Public Initiative in Building a School System in Russia after the Great Reform* in which he challenged «some persistent myths about the powers of the autocratic state in Tsarist Russia and the relationship between state and society»⁸. Eklof approaches the history of education «within the framework of the long nineteenth century ending with World War I», and emphasizes the interplay between state and society in constructing both a school system and a «distinctive Russian culture of schooling» in the era beginning with the Great Reforms and the outbreak of World War I. Eklof examines the founding state legislation shaping Russian mass schooling – the 1864 Statute and the 1908 Duma School Bill, notes that budgetary considerations as well as inter-ministerial rivalries weighed heavily upon state initiatives in both periods and describes how state needs, public aspirations, and financial realities shaped initiatives and outcomes in each case. In short: «Until 1908 the government itself had no official regulations of codes, and virtually no means to supervise the building or maintenance of rural schools, whether church or zemstvo-run». This left government statutes largely normative documents and provided the opportunity for local self-government [the *zemstvo*], a moderately progressive community of professional educators, and peasant villagers themselves to play a key role in the development of schools – both its material culture and the classroom environment in the following half century. Eklof traces the confluence of forces after the turn of the century that – despite the failure of the 1908 School Bill to receive Duma approval (legislators were divided over issues of church and state as well as language of instruction in a multi-national empire), the state nevertheless injected a huge amount of funding into mass funding with the goal of achieving universal access to primary education by 1922, and in so doing gained access to levers of control over schooling it previously had not obtained. In his study of this half century of educational expansion, Eklof contests the long-standing perception of an «educational failure» in Imperial Russia, for by 1914 the European heartland of the empire was on the verge of achieving its goal of universal enrollment. At the same time, he shares with Larry Holmes – whose studies of early Soviet education are well-known – the

⁷ Between his publications: B. Eklof, *The Myth of the Zemstvo School: The Sources of the Expansion of Rural Education in Imperial Russia: 1864-1914*, «History of Education Quarterly», vol. 24, n. 4, 1984, pp. 561-584; Id., *Russian Peasant Schools*, Berkeley, The University of California Press, 1986; Id., *Soviet Briefing: The Gorbachev Revolution*, Boulder (CO), Westview Press, 1990; Id. (ed.), *Russia's Great Reforms*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1994; Id., *Educational Reform in Post Soviet Russia*, New York, Routledge, 2005.

⁸ L. Brockliss, N. Sheldon (edd.), *Mass Education and the Limits of State Building, c. 1870-1930*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2012.

concept of «slow history»; namely the enduring nature of classroom cultures which once established are resistant to change.

The University Thought Different Lenses

Chaired by Tatiana Saburova (HSE, Indiana University), the first panel with dealt the history of the University from different points of views: that of the sources, which were mostly “official”, in the first half of the XIXth century, that of the professors – a very distinctive professional category and finally, that of the deliberate invention of the «university tradition», a quite widespread phenomenon in university practices such as celebrations and anniversaries in the modern era. Elena Vishlenkova (Poletayev Institute for Theoretical and Historical Studies in the Humanities, Higher School of Economics, Moscow)⁹ presented a paper *On the Limits to Our Scholarly Attempts to Grasp the Past of Russian Education: A Discourse Analysis of Academic Paperwork of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*. The paper traces the history of office work organization at the Imperial Russian Ministry of Public Education in the 1830s and 1840s. Innovations such as cheap paper, templates for reports, faculty and students’ lists, and statistical tables, are interpreted as management practices and, at the same time, as filters making it possible for officials to collect specific data concerning educational institutions in order to ensure their prosperity, concerted administration and teaching efforts, enhancing quality of education and progress of research. The author shows how this management practice served to preclude information about conflicts, professors and students’ private life, discontent or disagreement with the administration’s policies from entering into official documents. As a result, historians doing archival research are left to deal with selected evidence that reflects only a certain version of the past and with traces of only one part of school life. What they hear are mostly managers’ voices. The paper shows in what ways and using what sorts of media the diverse life of educational institutions was cut to size in formal reports demonstrating the performance of a show-case (or typical) public educational institution. Based on these findings, questions are formulated: how can students of school history lessen the influence exerted on their view of the past by the version that is represented by documents kept in the archives? Where and how can they find pieces of evidence that were beyond the control of ministerial officials?

⁹ E.A. Vishlenkova, S.Ju. Malysheva, A.A. Sal’nikova (edd.), *Terra Universitatis: Dva veka Universitetskoi Kultury v Kazani*, Kazan’, KGU, 2005; E.A. Vishlenkova, K.A. Il’ina, V.S. Parsamov (edd.), *Biografii Universitetskikh arkhivov*, Moskva, Izdatel’skii dom Vyshei shkoly Ekonomiki, Moskva, 2017.

Overall the paper highlights how the ministry under Sergei Uvarov (1833-1849) established the matrix how the activities of the university were to be recorded, which aspects of university life were to be documented and which not so. Such administrative policies caused professors, instructors, and administrators themselves – all those compelled to record their activities in a designated way – to feel like bureaucrats of an office within the Ministry of Education, part of an educational “manufactory”. These practices were constitutive of a discursive filter selective materials for the archives; for this reason researches get only a partial picture of the diversity of university life – only that which the ministry itself wanted to see and know of.

Mikhail Gribovskiy’s paper (Tomsk State University)¹⁰, *The Russian Pre-Revolutionary Professoriate: Atomized Fellow Servitors or a Professional Corporation?*, was focused on the university teaching community as a particular social category of Russian society at the turn of the twentieth century. Despite being a relatively diminutive grouping, even then it played a significant role in the life of the country and often was a marker of the social and political processes occurring in Russia. The author attempts to explain what the university faculty community was like, how strong were the connections between the professors of different ranks of one university, among the university professors of the whole empire; whether it was possible to call the Russian professors «members of the same family», or they were divided due the deep disparities and discontinuities [rank, field, salary and status]? According to Gribovskiy, the representatives of the university community manifested a corporate identity in the efforts made by professors and lecturers jointly to discuss and resolve the «university question» at the time; in attempts at self-organization, and by the presence of some characteristic common elements of outlook. Political cataclysm – the first Russian Revolution of 1905 – was the catalyst for the self-organization of university lecturers. Analysis of the value orientations of university professors led the author to the conclusion that despite the obvious individual differences, representatives of the lecturer community had a certain “set” of corporate world view features concentrated around the notions of honor, duty, and professional mission. Gribovskiy’s arguments are based upon a select number of memoirs of prominent academics, and point to the need for more research in

¹⁰ M. Gribovskii, *Professura i studenchestvo v predrevoljucionnom rusском universitete: grani vzaimootnoshenii*, «Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Istoriiia», n. 4, 2010, pp. 158-166; Id., *Politicheskii nadzor nad professorami i prepodavateljami rossiiskikh universitetov v kontse XIX-nachale XX vekov*, «Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Istoriiia», n. 1, 2011, pp. 25-30; Id., *Die Rolle der deutschen wissenschaftlichen Zentren in der akademischen Mobilität von russischen Hochschullehrkräften Ende des XIX. Jh. – Anfang des XX Jh.*, «Sammlung der Werke der internationalen wissenschaftlich-historischen Academiemitglied L. Blumentrost Konferenz», n. 1, 2013, pp. 68-76.

less prestigious institutions in the regions as well as the capital cities, and for a prosopography's approach to the question¹¹.

In Tatiana Artemyeva's paper (Herzen State Pedagogical University, St. Petersburg)¹², *The Very Oldest – or Brand New? The Politics of History in How Universities Situated Themselves in Time*, the author highlights a tendency characteristic for Russian academic institutions to promote their collective identity in conformity with current ideology by underlining either their links with a previous educational tradition or their radical divergence from it. Conventions about which criteria used to fix the date of origin of a given institution often resulted in discord for many of the oldest universities of the world, such as the universities of Bologna, Paris or Oxford. Discussions, however, usually did not trespass scholarly limits or connect directly with larger ideological struggles in the polity. In Russia however, the predominantly official character of higher education determined how universities "entered" the historical contexts and fixed their status as "the oldest" or "new" depending on one's system of ideological values: was one endorsing Soviet era claims to innovation and progress, or attempting to valorize by "archaizing" a university's origins [connecting with Petrine traditions]. Turf wars about origins were not limited to prominent Russian secular universities, or between secular and religious claimants, but also brought in questions of empire. In pre-revolutionary sources the history of Dorpat/Yuriev/Tartu university [in today's Estonia] was founded in 1802, while Soviet and contemporary authorities point to the year 1632 when the Academia Gustaviana was founded in Dorpat by the Swedish king Gustav Adolphus II. Was it a governmental decree of the Russian imperial authorities, or earlier [non-Russian] traditions which should be credited for founding this venerable institution?

At the Origins

Chaired by Vyacheslav Karpov (Western Michigan U), this panel interrogated long-standing notions of the primacy of the state and top-down measures in education in the 18th century. In the paper *The State, 'Projectors' and Institutional Innovations in Education in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century*, Igor Fedyukin (Higher School of Economics, Moscow)¹³, examined

¹¹ For a similar study, see David Wartenweiler, *Civil Society and Academic Debate in Russia, 1905-1914*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1999.

¹² T. Artemyeva, *Russian History Between the State and Academia in the Enlightenment*, in T. Artemyeva, M. Mikeshin, V. Oittinen (edd.), *The Philosophical Age. Almanac 40. The Northern Lights. Enlightenment and History: A View from Northern Europe and Russia*, St. Petersburg-Helsinki, St. Petersburg Center for the History of Ideas, 2014, pp. 9-22.

¹³ I.I. Fedyukin, *The Enterprisers: The Politics of School in Early Modern Russia*, Oxford,

Peter I's reformist program related to educational initiatives, showing that «the myth of Peter the demiurge is poorly supported by the sources».

Fedyukin explored the ways the new schools – and by extension, the new institutions of the emerging «modern» state – were created in Russia in the first half of the eighteenth century. Usually these are presented as emerging in response to the practical needs of the war and created personally by Peter I. While Peter certainly promoted learning, he never wrote anything extensive on schooling; there are [extant] but a few lines on the subject scribbled in Peter's trademark illegible handwriting. Nor were the military practitioners interested in promoting schools training. The author dissected some of the most important cases of educational innovation during that era, from the Moscow Navigation School to the Noble Land Cadet Corps and Moscow University, to argue that these were driven by what he calls «administrative entrepreneurs» or «projectors» – individuals or groups that pursued their own agendas – but in so doing contributed to building the early modern state in Russia. Thus, using modern sociological literature on entrepreneurial initiative, and taking into consideration the rudimentary nature of institutionalized bureaucracies in Petrine Russian, Fedyukin argues that «administrative entrepreneurship» was crucial: «the history of schools in the Petrine and post-Petrine eras could be written not as that of state policies to enlighten Russia, but rather as that of individual projects employed by enterprises of all stripes to further their ambitions and agendas». The author posits «the outsized visibility of 'projecting' and its centrality for the invention and creation of 'regular' state».

In his paper, *Language Debates and Teaching Practices: Educating the Nobility in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*, Vladislav Rjéoutski (German Historical Institute in Moscow)¹⁴, notes that starting from the early reign of Catherine II, there were repeated attempts to change the status quo in teaching various subjects to young Russian noblemen and noblewomen, in the Cadet Corps and in the Smolny Institute of noble girls respectively. This teaching was carried out mainly in foreign languages (mostly in German and in French), irrespective of the subject. Mathematics, history, geography were in many cases taught through the medium of one or the other of these languages and not Russian. The 1766 statutes of the Cadet Corps written by Ivan Betskoy announced a whole new program whose aim was to base the teaching of non-linguistic subjects on the mother tongue of the students. In a similar way, later

Oxford University Press, 2018 (forthcoming); Id., *Nobility and Schooling in Russia, 1700s-1760s: Choices in Social Context*, «Journal of Social History», vol. 49, n. 3, 2016, pp. 558-584; I. Fedyukin, S. Gabdrakhmanov, *Cultural capital in an early modern elite school: The Noble Cadet Corps in St Petersburg, 1732-1762*, «Journal of Interdisciplinary History», vol. 46, n. 4, 2016, pp. 485-516.

¹⁴ V. Rjéoutski, A. Tchoudinov (edd.), *Le précepteur francophone en Europe XVII^e-XIX^e siècle*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2013; V. Rjéoutski (ed.), *Quand le français gouvernait la Russie. L'éducation de la noblesse russe 1750-1880*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2016.

there were considerable changes in the staff of the Smolny Institute whose main goal was to start teaching various subjects in Russian to Russian noble girls. The results of these reforms were rather mitigated, but the attempts are revealing as much as they show the preoccupation of some leading representatives of the Russian nobility with the national language. These attempts have not yet been analyzed in the broad context of the debates about language matters which started before the reign of Catherine II and which continued throughout her reign and reached their climax at the beginning of the reign of Alexander I. The author sought to put the ideas of the authors of these reforms such as Betskoy into this broad context in order to see the origins of these educational reforms and to look closely at the relation between language and social and national identity among the Russian nobility of the time.

In his contribution, *A Functional Approach to the Study of Medical Education in Russian Universities (1758-1863)*, Sergei Zatravkin (N.A. Semashko National Scientific Research Institute for the History of Medicine, Moscow)¹⁵, describes the history of medical education on the basis of reports of the Medical Faculty. Zatravkin considers also the relations between the state and the university, with a focus upon the clinical training of the doctors through supervised direct work with patients, a practice reformed according to the Austrian model of the eighteenth century. The author examined all regulations concerning medical education for doctors in the Russian empire; considered in totality they reveal a turn in the direction of clinical training. The establishment of a system of courses as well as bedside training in a clinic allowed schools to produce healers genuinely prepared to practice medicine. In the author's words: «the real transfer of European developments took place during the first third of the nineteenth century, when Russian universities began the process of practical implementation of the German and Austrian scenarios of modernization of university medical education».

A Generational Perspective

Chaired by Elena Vishlenkova (HSE, Moscow), the third panel dealt with both discursive and sociological approaches to the history of higher education in Russia.

¹⁵ A.M. Stochik, S.N. Zatravkin, *Avstriiskaia reforma universitetskogo meditsinskogo obrazovaniia vo vtoroi polovine XVIII veka. Reformirovanie G. Van-Svitenom prepodavaniia na meditsinskom fakul'tete Venskogo Universiteta*, «Klinicheskaia medicina», vol. 76, n. 5, 1998, pp. 74-77; A.M. Stochik, S.N. Zatravkin, *Medicinskii fakul'tet Moskovskogo Universiteta v XVIII veke*, Moskva, 2000; A.M. Stochik, M.A. Pal'cev, S.N. Zatravkin, *Meditsinskii fakul'tet Moskovskogo Universiteta v reformakh prosveshcheniia pervoi treti XIX veka*, Moskva, 2001.

Tatiana Saburova (Poletayev Institute for Theoretical and Historical Studies in the Humanities, Higher School of Economics (Moscow), Indiana U (Bloomington)¹⁶, presented a paper titled '*Old Geezers', Young Professors and Students of the 1880s: Generational Studies and the History of Higher Education in Russia*. Saburova explored the notion of "generation" and the various approaches used in exploring generations both in history and the present time; how «generational studies» has come into being and its linkages with «aging studies». Sociological as well as historical works were touched upon as were recent attempts to take a fresh look at approaches to generational studies. Saburova pointed to both the need to re-examine this field and its potential for use in the history of education. In particular she emphasized the value of traditional sociological categories of age cohorts and the study of demographics as a factor of change in education, in academic communities and consequently as a contributor to educational politics. Saburova demonstrated how the generation approach can be applied to the study of the professoriate, student bodies; to delineate the essential contours of the academic community; to demonstrate its influence upon the development of universities as a whole and to prognosticate change, diagnose problems and identify tendencies.

The paper posed the question of how applicable are models constructed by sociologists for the study of Russian higher education. How possible is it to combine approaches which deploy the generational approach to actually existing [demographic] age cohorts within the academic community of the nineteenth and twentieth century – including consideration of gender as well as ethnicity as well as age with understandings of generation as a constructed «symbolic community»? Generational identity was unquestionably significant within university culture in late Imperial Russia, for both students and professors interacted and situated themselves within a designated «generation» both real and imagined; described the mutual relations of professors and students in generational terms, and professors situated themselves discursively within their own community using generational markers. Generational succession as well as generational conflict were key concepts at the time when treating the history of the university itself.

Maria Mayofis's paper (Higher School of Economics, Moscow)¹⁷, *Generational Gaps in Soviet Culture of the 1950s and 1960s and Educational Projects of the Thaw Era*, focused on the analysis of multiple educational projects proposed and implemented in the so called Thaw era under Khrushchev from

¹⁶ T. Saburova, B. Eklof, *Druzhba, sem'ja, revoliutsiia: Nikolaj Charushin i pokolenie narodnikov 1870-kh gg.*, Moskva, Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2016; B. Eklof, T. Saburova, *A Generation of Revolutionaries. Nikolai Charushin and Russian Populism from the Great Reforms to Perestroika*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2017.

¹⁷ I. Kukulin, M. Majofis, P. Safronov (edd.), *Ostrova utopii. Pedagogicheskoe i social'noe proektirovanie poslevoennoj shkoly (1940-1980-e)*, Moskva, Novoe Literaturenoe Obozrenie, 2015.

the mid-1950s until the mid-1960s. The author argues that almost all these projects were based on and initiated by a feeling (or even a consciously coined concept) of a deep cultural gap between the older and the younger generations. This gap was driven by negative consequences of Soviet rapid industrialization that had almost completely ignored the demand of social adaptation of former peasants to the urban life. The author comes to the conclusion that the utopian projects of creating «a new man», «a new collective» or «a future scientist» were strongly tied with the situation of moral panic and anxiety about the ethical values and intellectual skills of contemporary schoolchildren. These sentiments united representatives of different generations, from those born in the 1880s till those born in the 1920s (among the latter were people who had just graduated from the universities in the early 1950s). Among the projects suggested and implemented in the said decade, were math schools that originated in the circles of academics specializing in math and physics, projects of mass boarding schools for the disadvantaged, promoted personally by Khrushchev, and children choirs of a nearly professional caliber organized by Soviet musicians with a nationalist worldview. Educational models elaborated for the new institutions combined special techniques directed towards raising people with high initiative who would push forward Soviet science and industry, and instruments of collectivist control over “excessive” manifestations of individualism that could restrain anyone who was not enough devoted to the «common cause». Such goals, articulated in this earlier period, found resonances in the educational endeavors of the post-Soviet era. The paper feeds into the work of Western scholars such as John Dunstan and Stephen Kerr on the persistence of the experimental school tradition in the Soviet era.

Focus on Children

Chaired by Dorena Caroli (University of Macerata)¹⁸, the fourth panel approached the very latest tendencies in the field of children studies in Russia, children’s periodicals, children’s texts, and school discipline, apparently far from the Scott’s heuristic concepts, because they dealt with the language of the children, the interiorizing of State culture and discipline.

Nataliya Rodigina (Novosibirsk State Pedagogical University)¹⁹ presented a paper *Children’s Journals as Forces Active in the Educational Space of the*

¹⁸ D. Caroli, *L'enfance abandonnée et délinquante dans la Russie soviétique (1917-1937)*, Préf. de Jutta Scherrer, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2004, pp. 366; Ead., *Ideali, ideologie e modelli formativi. Il movimento dei Pionieri in Urss (1922-1939)*, Milano, Unicopli, 2006, pp. 240; 2nd reprint in 2015; Ead., *La protection sociale en Union Soviétique (1917-1939)*, Préf. di Roberto Sani, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2010, pp. 316.

¹⁹ N.N. Rodigina, *Obraz Sibiri v uchebnoi literature po istorii vtoroj poloviny XIX v.*,

Russian Empire from the Mid-Nineteenth to the early Twentieth Century (a Case Study of «Zadushevnoe slovo» 1876-1918) dealing with a popular periodical «Zadushevnoe slovo», rich in illustrations, which circulated at the turn of the twentieth century as an agent of socialization and educational values. Indeed ZS was, like others of its kind, an institution for informal education within the Russian Empire. The author demonstrates that this children's journal expanded the horizons of its readership, shaped their knowledge of geography, history and literature, developed the knack of reading and writing [through the "Mailbox" rubric], both alone and together with parents; promoted the ability to organize one's free time usefully; provided behavioral models by telling about not only famous politicians, scholars and writers but also about other children who had traveled, had independently earned the resources to pay for their education at a gymnasium; or who had saved the lives of other children. Rodigina argues for the utility of deploying Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities" and Anthony Giddens' structuration theory for articulating the function of such journals, constructing the ideal image of a reader, and for understanding their impact upon the individual reader, as well as their formulators (the staff of the journal) in terms of their activities as educators and culture bearers.

Alla Salnikova's paper (Kazan Volga Region Federal University)²⁰, *The Child's Text as a Source in the History of Russia in the Early Soviet Era: the Results of Exploratory Research*, describes the «children's text» as important source for the history of childhood. The paper was devoted to the problem of source studies of the history of childhood as a special area in contemporary research theory and practice. Based on current research experience (both her own and the others), Alla Salnikova, on the example of texts created by children in 1917 and in the first post-revolutionary decade, demonstrated and proved the specificity of the so-called children's text as a historical source, identified its original features and main characteristics, its advantages and disadvantages, proposed interpretative tools, aimed at achieving the maximum informational return of such documents, determined their role and place in general complex of sources on the history of Russian childhood. The analysis of these texts as reflections of children's vision, children's' experience and children's language of self-description confirmed their significance not only for studying the revolutionary transformation as it was seen through the children's eyes, not only for the history of childhood and school in early Soviet Russia, but also for replenishment and enrichment of the historical sources' space of the aging and generation history in general.

«Vestnik Tjumenskogo Gos. Universiteta», n. 2, 2006, pp. 185-191; Ead., "Kakaj shkola nuzhna Sibiri?": voprosy regional'nogo obrazovaniia v osveshchenii pedagogicheskikh zhurnalov kontsa XIX – nachala XX v., «Sibirskii pedagogicheskii zhurnal», n. 5, 2006, pp. 141-150.

²⁰ A. Salnikova, *Rossiiskoe detstvo v XX veke: Istoriia, teoriia i praktika*, Kazan', Kazanskii Gosudarstvennii Universitet, 2007.

Kirill Maslinskii (Higher School of Economics, Saint Petersburg)²¹ presented a paper *Family, Commune, Collective: In Search of a Descriptive Terminology of Mechanisms of Social Control in the Soviet School*, in which the author seeks, from an anthropological perspective to redirect the conversation about school disciplinary cultures in the late Soviet school away from a globalized language of knowledge and power, contestation and everyday forms of resistance, which he sees as obscuring the close realities of daily life in this specific environment and distorts the behavior of both teacher and pupil. Seeking to move beyond the influential Cold War essays of the psychologist Iuri Bronfrenbrenner on the roots of a collectivist mindset in school practices, and even more so the heated debate over the British historian Catriona Kelly's comparisons of late Soviet daily interactions resembling her own British school experience of a "counterculture" and tacit agreements between teacher and pupil to maintain a façade of order in what was actually a dysfunctional classroom, Maslinskii instead looks to persisting family traditions and the remnants of a village culture defining the atmosphere of the school. For his textual evidence of this Maslinskii turns to a large collection of interviews of former teachers and pupils from the 1950s to the 1980s. Acknowledging the frailties of memory and the potential impact of the rapidly changing values of Soviet society at that time upon such retrospective accounts, the author insists that the language of such accounts can still provide a window into the school culture and interactions of an earlier time. In particular Maslinskii points to the strong resemblances between the shaming practices of the Soviet school and similar social control rituals of the traditional peasant commune, as well as the small group interactions of both entities, and the maternal role of the Soviet teacher [embodied in the language used by former pupils to describe classroom dynamics].

Points of Contention

The fifth panel, chaired by Ben Eklof (Indiana University), dealt with the history of spelling practices in Germany and Russia, and the history of women's education in Russia.

Kirill Levinson (Poletayev Institute for Theoretical and Historical Studies in the Humanities, Higher School of Economics, Moscow)²² spoke *On the Birth of Spelling Errors out of the Spirit of the Prussian School*. Applying a social

²¹ K.A. Maslinskii, *Istoki pionerskoj discipliny: otmena i vozvrashchenie nakazany v sovetskoj shkole*, «Istoriko-pedagogicheskii Zhurnal», vol. 4, n. 6, 2016, pp. 76-85.

²² K.A. Levinson, *Modernizatsiia i shkola v Germanii na rubezhe XIX-XX vv.*, «Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie», n. 105, 2010, pp. 29-42; Id., *Rechtschreibunterricht und Erziehung zum Gehorsam*, «Historische Anthropologie», vol. 2, n. 15, 2007, pp. 195-220; Id., *Ashypki, ili chto znachit «pisat' pravil'no»?*, «Kazus. Individual'noe i unikal'noe v istorii», n. 8, 2006, pp. 271-

constructivist approach, the paper traced the making of the modern attitude on incorrect writing that regards it as a flaw indicative of one's stupidity and/or laziness, and/or incompetence or, at least, poor education. The first part of the paper demonstrated that in Germany and Russia, the leading role in the making of norms and practices in the field of spelling control was played not by the «supervising and punishing», «rationalizing and disciplining», «educating and controlling» state but by teachers' communities acting from below based on their pragmatic interests. It was primary and secondary school teachers in Germany, especially in Prussia, and in Russia who, in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, constructed the spelling error as we in Russia have known it throughout the twentieth century, i.e. as something absolutely unacceptable for an educated person and (especially) for a student, regardless whether it occludes comprehension or not. But in the past spelling mistakes did not lead to such conclusions and weren't punished. Until the mid-nineteenth century, Russian had no rigid uniform spelling rules and, therefore, there were neither errors in this sense, nor stigmatizing practices to punish for them.

It was for the needs of educational institutions (formalized control of academic achievement, dropout, discipline) that spelling rules were developed and introduced, and this was initiated not by the state, but by teachers. They also chose conferences as mechanism for constructing norms (and errors as their back side), with rules being adopted by simple voting. The paper describes such conferences held in the 1860s and 70s and in the early 1900s in Berlin, Halle and St. Petersburg. The state only gradually took control of normative efforts. This began in the mid-nineteenth century in Germany and in Russia even later, about 1904, and it did so not directly but through the Academy of Sciences. A full-fledged government regulation of spelling began after the February revolution of 1917. But the history of mistakes shows a different pace: punishment for poor spelling was introduced to German schools even before the rules were officially imposed.

But why is Germany important when we are talking about Russia? The second part of the paper shows how processes in the two empires were linked. Here the main role was played by a transfer of German linguistic and educational models to Russian soil. This transfer represented in part a critical rethinking, in part reproduction of the familiar samples by the graduates of German educational institutions working in Russia, in part carbon-copying relevant normative acts (examples are given for all the three ways). What is most important, while reflection and discussions did take place in the process, the «hidden curriculum» was transferred to Russia as well but largely unnoticed. The Prussian school model that was eventually reproduced in the Russian empire and in the Soviet Union was wired in such a way that certain affective factors such as stress, fear,

guilt and shame were invariably, even if often unreflected upon, present in class, and played an important role in teachers' and students' lives.

In her paper titled *Higher Education Courses for Women in Russian Education: Charity or Commercial Enterprise? Post or Neo Soviet?* Iana Rudneva (Institute for Educational Development of the Republic of Tatarstan, Kazan') examined a topic that has been given considerable attention in recent years – the search for access to higher education opportunities for women in late imperial Russia, but with a new twist; namely, the institutionalization of courses on a commercial basis. The precedent of creating the first higher education courses for women in the 1860s had contributed to the institutionalizing of the single-sex system in higher education and led to the establishing of educational institutions in the commercial segment.

The courses were financed on the basis of tuition paid by the women-students themselves as well as by contributions from the public, municipal and *zemstvo* institutions and private funds to cover the expenditures not met by tuition fees. Expenditures for the courses were not always covered by the tuition, but efforts to close that gap led many to treat the institutions as a financial rather than charitable project. Unlike in the state sector, teachers' and staff salaries commonly depended upon the number of students enrolled. Even though such institutions had traditional academic management institutions such as teachers' councils and a board of trustees, there were often marked differences in management style, setting of curriculum and financial matters. The bulk of the tuition was spent on teaching staff salary, which was not fixed and could vary depending on the number of students. In addition, temporary guarantees of freedom of choice when it came to content and admissions policies gave the courses [especially the management and administration] a tone quite distinct from that of state institutions. The author argued that as important as the ideological dimensions of the expansion of women's education under such circumstances was, equally significant was the experience gained at functioning within a commercialized and marketing setting for those responsible for such courses; under new conditions administrative and financial management skills in the private educational establishments were developed.

Post or Neo-Soviet?

Chaired by Igor Fedyukin (Higher School of Economics, Moscow), the sixth panel *Post or Neo-Soviet?* opened with a paper by Mikhail Rozhanskiy (Center for Independent Social Research, Irkutsk)²³, *The School as an Institute*

²³ M. Rozhanskiy, *Ottepel' na sibirskom moroze. Ustnaia istoriia udarnykh stroek*, «Otechestvennye zapiski», vol. 50, n. 5, 2012.

of Municipal Development: the Impact of Educational Innovation on New Siberian Cities of the 1990s, in which the author focused on the causes and effects of a rapid “burst” of innovation at schools located in recently established, or “young” Siberian cities.

Following that, in their paper, *Russian Education Thirty Years Later: Back to the USSR?* Vyacheslav Karpov and Elena Lisovskaya, (Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, USA) reassessed a theoretical model of educational change they had introduced in previous work; one which proposed a comparative historical view of Russia’s post-communist educational change in the context of a revolutionary cycle of social transformations. The cycle, they argued, goes from radical, innovative reforms amidst general societal destabilization to a reactionary rehabilitation of the “old-regime” models during the restoration of social order and stability. They detected this pattern in the trajectory of the educational reforms of the French Revolution, the Russian revolution of 1917, and the revolutionary transition from communism since mid-1980s. In all these cases, radical educational innovations of the cycle’s first stage succeeded in subversion of the old system of schooling. Yet, amidst the revolutionary turmoil, these radical reforms’ positive and constructive side proved difficult to implement. In contrast, the reactionary, “restorative” reforms were more successfully implemented in the context of greater stability that followed. Observing the realities of the very beginning of this millenium, the authors had earlier concluded that a reactionary phase of the cycle was unfolding in Russia, and that a «conservative-technocratic» project that was being implemented would partly restore a Soviet-styled education system.

In this paper, the authors argue that the developments of the last decade have validated the predictive power of that theoretical approach. The pendulum of Russia’s educational change has indeed swung from the initial endeavors to decentralize, regionalize, humanize, diversify, and de-ideologize the school to the ongoing restoration of a Soviet-type, state-controlled system, which promotes curricular uniformity and ideological indoctrination. Yet, on the other hand, the model was limited by its focus on the social forces, actors and agendas that dominated the political and educational reform field at the vey turn of the century. Meanwhile, some other crucially important tendencies in the socio-political and cultural environment of educational change were not accounted for. Specifically, the earlier model did not include the following three intertwined contextual factors. First, nationalism – the fact that educational reforms took place amidst the attempts by Russian elites to define and build a post-Soviet Russian nation. Second, the growing influence of neo-imperialist, revanchist forces emanating from Russia’s «deep state» and cultural establishment. Third, the process of desecularization: in the early years following the collapse of the Soviet Union it had been difficult to foresee the role that official Orthodoxy would play in the ideological content of subsequent educational innovations. Therefore, their predictions concerning the nature of educational reforms had

not accounted for the hegemonic aspirations of the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church and its desecularizing efforts. This study pays special attention to the impact of Russia's regime of «desecularization from above» on institutional and ideological change in education and the rise of a «neo-imperial» model of the handling of ethno-religious diversity.

All in all, the conference opened up multiple avenues of exploration for a richer understanding of the economic, political, social and cultural dimensions of schooling and education broadly understood in the Russian Empire and Soviet Union. While James Scott's paradigm of "legibility" and "high modernity" was only tangentially addressed, it was made clear that if states are "constitutive" of society – with all the constructive and destructive implications of such acts, society – even in Russia – can be equally constitutive of the state, at least in the realm of education, broadly understood. At the very least, without a better, and interdisciplinary understanding of the dynamics of society – including the links between knowledge and power of course, any history of Russian education taught by the exclusive study of policy by governments and pedagogies invented by great thinkers, will be severely lacking.

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