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eum

In memory of *Massimo Montella* (1948-2019), Full Professor of Economics and Management of Cultural Heritage at the University of Macerata, one of the brightest and most significant scholars and intellectuals in a culturally and politically complex time.

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*Memories and Public Celebrations of Education in
Contemporary Times*

edited by

Juri Meda, Luigiaurelio Pomante, Marta Brunelli

Memories and public celebrations of education in contemporary times. Presentation

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ABSTRACT: The purpose of this contribution is to examine «school memory» in depth as a specific object of research and a new line of investigation for historians of education. The starting point is the new historical-cultural approach and the related key-concepts of cultural memory, collective memory and public memory, which have provided historians of education with new methodological tools to explore the school past, places and heritage. A more specific focus then follows on the methods by which the memory of schools and education has been developed and transmitted by the institutions through official commemorations and public celebrations, and on the basis of a precise «politics of memory» and «public use of memory» designed to build consensus and to strengthen feelings of belonging to a particular community. The authors also analyse the social-cultural dynamics underlying both the commemoration of innovative educationalists and educators, and the celebration of those places where the memory of schools and education has become part of community memory and identity.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Collective memory; Cultural memory; Politics of memory; Places of memory.

*Studies in Honour of Antonio Viñao
Frago and Pierre Caspard*

1. *Public memories of school: towards a shared definition*

We believe that it is important to underline, right from the start, that this monographic dossier – even though published in a specialist historical-educational journal – is not specifically designed to retrace any particular moment or aspect of the history of education, but rather to study the memory which a particular moment or aspect of the school past brings up. It proposes to continue the line of research which was opened a few years ago by the international Symposium *School Memories. New Trends in Historical Research into Education: Heuristic Perspectives and Methodological Issues (Seville, 22-23 September 2015)*¹. The fundamental objectives of this monographic issue are to throw light on memories of school and teaching in all their multiplicity of forms which were elaborated, in the context of the official representations and public commemorations promoted by local and national public institutions, on the basis of precise «politics of memory» or «public use of the past» designed to harness consensus and reinforce feelings of belonging to a specific community. At the same time this dossier proposes to explore the socio-cultural dynamics which underlie, on the one hand, the commemoration of educationalists and their theoretical revolutions as well as teachers and the teaching activities they promoted, and on the other hand, the celebration of the places in which school and education became – or failed to become – part of a community memory and identity.

«School memory» as an interpretational category is a newcomer to international historiographical thought and has been the subject of studies of significant interest in history of education, especially in Iberian countries as well as Latin American countries. Studies carried out in recent years by the international community of historians of education – starting from the invitation formulated by Dominique Julia in the mid-1990s to broaden heuristic perspectives in the history of education in the direction of a history of school culture capable of throwing fresh light on the inner lives of school and educational institutions² – have moved forward. Thus in enquiring into the more covert of the mechanisms

¹ A selection of the work presented in the context of this conference has been published in: C. Yanes Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, Cham, Springer, 2017.

² D. Julia, *La culture scolaire comme objet historique*, in A. Novoa, M. Depaepe, E.W. Johannigmeier (edd.), *The Colonial Experience in Education: Historical Issues and Perspectives*, «Paedagogica Historica», Supplementary Series, I, 1995, pp. 353-382.

which took shape within the so-called «black box of schooling»³, research has rediscovered and analysed an increasingly wider and more variegated range of sources capable of recording the various aspects of school life, and making them available to historians. In pursuing this objective, therefore, educational historians have begun – on the basis of pioneering research on cultural memory and collective memory carried out by scholars such as Maurice Halbwachs, Pierre Nora, Jan Assmann, Paul Connerton and Andreas Huyssen⁴ – to use types of sources which had not hitherto been considered and which presupposed, in order to be correctly interpreted, the use of new interpretation categories borrowed from cultural anthropology and the sociology of cultural processes. This taking into consideration of «school memory» as an object of research by educational historians developed in the first decade of the 21st century, in the wake of a profound internal renewal of this context of study on the one hand and, on the other, as a consequence of the growing attention paid by generalist historians to memory policies and the public use of history which was made during the 20th century: just think of Jürgen Habermas’s conceptualisation of the «public use of history» (translated by Jacques Revel and François Hartog as «political use of history»)⁵, or Eric Hobsbawm’s «invention of tradition»⁶, Pierre Mora’s «lieux de mémoire»⁷, Richard Terdiman considerations on memory as persistence of the past⁸ and so on.

³ The universally famous metaphor was, as known, introduced in 1995 by Marc Depaepe and Frank Simon (M. Depaepe, F. Simon, *Is There any Place for the History of “Education” in the “History of Education”? A plea for the History of Everyday Educational Reality in- and outside Schools*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 31, n. 1, 1995, pp. 9-16) and then popularized by Braster, Grosvenor and Del Pozo Andrés (S. Braster, I. Grosvenor, M.d.M. Del Pozo Andrés (edd.), *The Black Box of Schooling: A Cultural History of the Classroom*, Brussels, Peter Lang, 2011).

⁴ M. Halbwachs, *La Mémoire Collective*, Paris, PUF, 1950; P. Nora, *Entre Mémoire et Histoire*, in Id. (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, Vol. 1: *La République*, 2^a ed., Paris, Gallimard, 1984, pp. XVII-XLII; Id., *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, «Représentations», n. 26, Spring 1989, Special Issue: *Memory and Counter-Memory*, pp. 7-24; J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München, Fink, 1987 (English translation: *Cultural Memory. Writing, Remembrance and Political Imagination in Early Civilisation*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992); P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989; A. Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2003.

⁵ J. Habermas, *Concerning the Public Use of History*, «New German Critique», n. 44, Spring-Summer 1988, pp. 40-50; F. Hartog, and J. Revel (edd.), *Les Usages politiques du passé*, Paris, Editions de l’EHESS, 2001.

⁶ E.J. Hobsbawm, T.O. Ranger (edd.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

⁷ P. Nora (dir.), *Les Lieux de mémoire*, Paris, Gallimard, 1984-1992, 3 tomes (t. 1: *La République*, 1 vol., 1984; t. 2: *La Nation*, 3 vol., 1986; t. 3: *Le France*, 3 vol., 1992).

⁸ R. Terdiman, *Present Past. Modernity and the Memory Crisis*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1993.

The Spanish and French academic communities have played a crucial role in this historiographical process thanks to pioneering studies by Agustín Escolano, Antonio Viñao and Pierre Caspard⁹, who were the first to enquire into the complex relationship existing between school memory and «school culture», which Julia had himself placed centre-stage in the historical-educational debate, defining its form and structure. The theoretical framework which emerges from these studies poses certain difficulties, however, in particular the lack of a single definition of «school memory». According to Juri Meda and Antonio Viñao's 2017 definition¹⁰, the latter is to be seen in two fundamental ways: on the one hand, as an individual form of thinking about one's own school experience, as well as the reconstruction of the self; and, on the other, as an individual, collective and/or public practice conjuring up a shared school past. Whilst some historians of education, from the 1990s to the first decade of the 21st century, wrote pioneering work on the way school and teaching are represented in individual and collective memory – especially thanks to fruitful cross fertilisation with cultural memory studies¹¹, the oral history approach¹² and visual history

⁹ Here we will only mention the three, seminal studies by Agustín Escolano (*Memoria de la educación y cultura de la escuela*, in J.M. Hernández Díaz, A. Escolano Benito (edd.), *La memoria y el deseo: cultura de la escuela y educación deseada*, Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch, 2002, pp. 19-42), of Antonio Viñao (*La memoria escolar: restos y huellas, recuerdos y olvidos*, «Annali di Storia dell'Educazione e delle Istituzioni Scolastiche», vol. 12, 2005, pp. 19-33) and of Pierre Caspard (*L'historiographie de l'éducation dans un contexte mémoriel. Réflexion sur quelques évolutions problématiques*, «Histoire de l'Éducation», n. 121, 2009, pp. 67-82).

¹⁰ On the concept of school memory, in particular, see: J. Meda, A. Viñao, *School Memory: Historiographical Balance and Heuristics Perspectives*, in C. Yanes Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories*, cit., pp. 1-9.

¹¹ J.M. Hernández Díaz, A. Escolano Benito (edd.), *La memoria y el deseo: cultura de la escuela y educación deseada*, cit.; A. Viñao Frago, *Las autobiografías, memorias y diarios como fuente histórico-educativa: tipología y usos*, «Sarmiento», n. 3, 1999, pp. 223-253; A. Viñao Frago, *History of Education and Cultural History: Possibilities, Problems, Questions*, in T.S. Popkewitz, B.M. Franklin, M.A. Pereyra (edd.), *Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Schooling*, New York-London, Routledge Falmer, 2001, pp. 125-150; M. Carreño, *Memoria e Historia de la Educación*, in J. Ruiz Berrio (ed.), *El Patrimonio histórico-educativo. Su conservación y estudio*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva-Museo de Historia de la Educación Manuel B. Cossío, 2010, pp. 91-114; A. Escolano, *Más allá del espasmo del presente: la escuela como memoria*, «História da Educação», vol. 15, n. 33, 2011, pp. 10-30; Id., *La escuela en la memoria*, in C. Lomas (ed.), *Lecciones contra el olvido: memoria de la educación y educación de la memoria*, Barcelona, Ediciones Octaedro, 2011, pp. 61-76.

¹² M.-T. Frank, *Pour une histoire orale de l'éducation en France depuis 1945*, «Histoire de l'Éducation», vol. 53, n. 1, 1992, pp. 13-40; M. Dei, *Colletto bianco, grembiule nero: gli insegnanti elementari italiani tra l'inizio del secolo e il secondo dopoguerra*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1994; R.J. Altenbaugh, *Oral History. American Teachers and a Social History of Schooling: an emerging agenda*, «Cambridge Journal of Education», vol. 27, n. 3, 1997, pp. 313-330; J. Dougherty, *From Anecdote to Analysis: Oral Interviews and New Scholarship in Educational History*, «The Journal of American History», vol. 86, n. 2, 1999, pp. 712-723; P. Gardner, *Oral History in Education: teacher's memory and teachers' history*, «History of Education», vol. 32, n. 2, 2004, pp. 175-188; P. Cunningham, P. Gardner, *Becoming Teachers: Texts and Testimonies, 1907-1950*, London, Woburn Press, 2004.

tools¹³ – later others scholars began to enquire into the public memory developed in relation to these same phenomena. In 2009 French historian Pierre Caspard looked into the reasons behind the growing misalignment between the traditional schematisations based on the contraposition History/Memory, and the historiographical analyses carried out by the educational historians with the aim to retrace the genealogical relationship between modern and past school, and concluded that history – in some way – was at the service of memory¹⁴. In 2010 Antonio Viñao Frago took up Caspard's considerations on educational memory politics in an article which came out in «Educatio Siglo XXI», and he demonstrated that Spanish and French educational historiographies had been concretely conditioned by the recent public celebrations concerning the history of the public educational systems, as well as the anniversaries sponsored by the older school institutions for the purposes of documenting their tradition, e.g. by musealizing their own historical-educational heritage and, consequently, by opening their own museum: intended as a genuine «mnemonic concretion» and re-evocation agent of an illustrious past¹⁵. These were the first two books to focus on public commemoration of school.

The history of education, in particular, is interested in sounding out the heuristic potential expressed by «school memory», considered in this latter sense, which enables an aspect which has hitherto escaped the attention of sector experts to be considered: changes in perceptions of teachers' social status and those of the public education statute within the collectivity, together with the public image of school and the national school system developed to serve the former. The strength of this approach is to extend history of education's heuristic perspectives whilst safeguarding its historiographical dimensions and resisting the temptation to resort to alternative interpretational paradigms such as those available in sociology and anthropology.

¹³ M.d.M. Del Pozo Andrés, *Imágenes e historia de la educación: construcción, reconstrucción y representación de las prácticas escolares en el aula*, «Historia de la Educación», n. 25, 2006, pp. 291-315; E. Colledemont, *La memoria visual de la escuela*, «Educatio Siglo XXI», vol. 28, n. 2, 2010, pp. 133-156.

¹⁴ P. Caspard, *L'historiographie de l'éducation dans un contexte mémoriel. Réflexion sur quelques évolutions problématiques*, cit. Caspard recently returned to this theme in his contribution to the *Commémoration publique et histoire: le passé de l'éducation entre instrumentalisation et patrimonialisation* study seminar (Paris, December 1, 2018), organised by Association transdisciplinaire pour les recherches historiques sur l'éducation (ATHRE).

¹⁵ A. Viñao Frago, *Memoria, patrimonio y educación*, «Educatio siglo XXI», vol. 28, n. 2, 2010, pp. 17-42.

2. *The monographic dossier: certain general considerations*

The purpose of this dossier is thus to offer the international academic community of educational historians a first in-depth consideration on this specific new and intriguing research field, by drawing up its general theoretical co-ordinates and offering precise methodological criteria necessary to put it into a correct historiographical perspective. The call for papers began in early 2017 and enabled us to collect 47 proposals, 18 of which were Italian and 29 non-Italian (20 European and 9 non-European). A strict peer review process – required for the purposes of avoiding overly weakening the epistemological foundations of the considerations put forward here – led to only 19 contributions being accepted, 10 of which were Italian and 9 non-Italian (only 3 non-European) with an around 40% rejection rate.

The resulting monographic dossier has been structured around four themes, judged essential to enquiring into public memory of school. The first thematic area concerns the *places of memory*, and is founded on concepts of *lieu de mémoire* – understood as material or symbolic space capable of generating collective memories – and of *place memory*, understood as the memories triggered by a physical presence in a specific place: concepts, which were developed by French historian Pierre Nora and British anthropologist Paul Connerton¹⁶ respectively. This first section presents eight contributions. The first, by Juri Meda (*The «Sites of School Memory» in Italy between memory and oblivion: a first approach*), identifies five types of «school memory places», namely in order: the museums of the school; the musealized schools and the musealized schoolrooms; the historic schools; the «forgotten schools», i.e. the ruined schools; and, finally, the so-called «sancta sanctorum» of Italian schooling, i.e. those places (in general schools) which have acted as spatial incubators of innovative educational experiences to the point that they can be considered unique places, and are counted as such in the annals of the history of Italian public education.

The next contribution, written by Marta Brunelli, explores the same concept of *sites of memory* but analyses it from the opposite perspective of «non-places», an expression which – born in the context of the studies on the so-called «difficult heritage» and «difficult history» – was definitively popularised by Marc Augé's famous work¹⁷. By «non-places of school memory» the author means all those school memory places consisting of abandoned, forgotten or even materially no longer present and thus removed from the collective imagination schools which – like the historic Wooden Open Air School in Macerata case study –

¹⁶ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, cit.; and Id., *How Modernity Forgets*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009.

¹⁷ M. Augé, *Non-lieux. Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité*, Le Seuil, Verso, 1992.

conserve an ability to generate memories which survive and resurface thanks to people who preserve what Assmann has called «communicative memory» (juxtaposed with formalised and institutionalised «cultural memory»). By gathering and appropriately socialising these individual memories (a process further facilitated, today, by the use of social networks), the communicative memory can be transformed into cultural memory and a non-place can once more become a «place of collective school memory» and an identity building element for the whole community.

In *Different schools as «places of memory»: the case of Cooperativa A Torre (1970 – present days)* Joaquim Pintassilgo and Alda Namora de Andrade first map Portugal's educational experiences in the 20th century, and then focus on the 1970 Cooperativa A Torre case-study relating to the Salazar Estado Novo period experiment by Ana Vieira de Almeida, charismatic founder of what is still considered a privileged place of memory and the place *par excellence* for alternative education in an expert marriage of tradition and innovation. In *The Beckwith school-museums as a place of memory* on the other hand, Francesca Davida Pizzigoni analyses the Beckwith school museums set up in the 1970s as a transformation and evolution of the schools built at the behest of General John Charles Beckwith in the Waldensian valleys of Piedmont, telling the story of these unusual but significant «schools of the colonel». As the author shows, it was precisely these small 19th century one-room schoolhouses, with their historic furniture and educational aids, which have the power to embody and pass on the specific Waldensian concept of school. The following contribution by Neslihan Kansu-Yetkiner (*Politics of collective memory in education: Atatürk corners in Turkish schools*) concerns the educational legacy of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the general and statesman who founded the Turkish Republic: more specifically, the focus is on the creation of specific places of education known as «Atatürk's corners», which can be considered full-blown «mnemonic devices» as well as tools for surveillance of the State on the people. On the basis of Kemalist Republican ideological stances, in fact, it was precisely celebrations and the commemorations encompassed by these which modelled the collective memory of the Turkish people over the decades. The case of the School Museum of the Serb Orthodox Gymnasium in Novi Sad is, then, extensively analysed by Aleksandra Maksimovic and Jovana Milutinovic in *The School Museum as a tool for building a bridge between the national and European cultural heritage in Vojvodina: a case study of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium in Novi Sad (1810-1918)*. Studied on the basis of the historical-educational materials preserved, this school is described by the authors as a sort of «bridge» between the heritage of the Nation and that of the European continent, an ideal meeting place between Past and present, and invested with the educational mission to not only shore up the collective memory but also to prompt a reinterpretation of the very concept of cultural heritage. Claudemir de Quadros's contribution focuses on the Brazilian reality (*Forging a new homeland: the unique experience*

of brizoletas in Rio Grande do Sul/Brazil in the second half of the 20th century) as does that of Tony Honorato and Ana Clara Bortoleto Nery (*The normal school of Piracicaba as a memory place of the republican regime in Brazil*). The first is a detailed case study of the process by which the school buildings referred to as «brizoletas» – built in the state of Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil from 1959 to 1963 under the rule of Leonel Brizola – were musealized as places in which to commemorate the country's past, as well as an expression of the educational policies by Leonel Brizola, founder of the Democratic Labour Party (PDT) and a centre-stage player for around fifty years in Brazil's political life. In the second case the authors analyse the specific case of the Piracicaba Escola Normal which was opened in 1917 and has always acted as a benchmark in the development of the city's historical, cultural and educational heritage in the state of Sao Paulo in Brazil.

* * *

The second thematic area relates to the *politics of memory* and reconstructs the criteria on the basis of which schools have been seen as worthy of public commemoration by the institutions, both on the occasion of public schooling anniversaries (the anniversaries of the setting up of the school orders and the fundamental public education reform laws, university jubilees, etc.), and also on great celebrations and important national anniversaries, e.g. via the issuing of new stamps and commemorative coins or the naming of streets and squares and so on. An equally valid subject of study is the prizes, medals, honours and merit certificates granted by the public institutions for the purposes of recognising the high social and cultural value of teachers' work in the national community. This third section presents four contributions: The purpose of Alberto Barausse's research «*Ricambiare l'amore che portano all'educazione...*». *Public memory and awards of honour of the Public Education in Italy from the Unification to the Fascism (1861-1943)* is precisely to examine a somewhat unexplored field in educational history and concerning the custom of awarding honours and prizes to primary school teachers in the 19th century. The purpose of this custom was to foster the memory of school and its teachers and, as such, it played an educational role in relation to both fundamental school procedures and the teaching professionalization process. Maria Cristina Morandini's contribution entitled *Medals and diplomas of merit for teachers: the Premio Bottero award in Turin (1891-1918)* uses the same method of enquiry in order to reconstruct, with all due detail, a series of initiatives put forward by the Kingdom of Italy's educational ministry to award medals and merit diplomas both as incentives and as signs of gratitude to teachers who – in the face of a great many challenges – were called on to shape a national consciousness and identity. More specifically, this contribution examines the deliberations of the Turin city council which, in the late 19th century, set up the Bottero prize (named after the famous Turin journalist and founder of the «La Gazzetta del

Popolo» newspaper) with the aim to award it to lay teachers at state schools, who stood out for their teaching ability and expertise. Chiara Venturelli's paper (*A stone on the wall. Collective and public memory of an eclectic primary school teacher*) focuses on Cesare Malservisi, eminent elementary school teacher in the second half of the 20th century in Bologna: especially the decision is analysed of the city council to name its civic library after him, and a new light is shed on the reasons and motivations guiding the ruling class of the day in its decision to shine the spotlight on one of the era's brilliant teachers. Gianluca Gabrielli and Carla Carpigiani's *Renewing the ties of one century of history: an experiment of citizen history on the occasion of the Centenary of the Fortuzzi school* also focuses on Bologna and the story of the Fortuzzi school and its centenary celebrations in order to highlight both the role it played as a city reference point over the years, and the way it acted as the driving force from which the city's culture rayed out.

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The third thematic area relates to *funeral memories* which brings together the many forms of public commemoration of education's centre-stage players at both local and national levels, which were fostered by friends and family both as a private duty, and also with the public aim to explicitly underline the role these played in civil and cultural progress in the society. In this context, funeral plaques and epitaphs, commemorative leaflets printed by committees to honour deceased teachers, funeral orations, obituaries in newspapers and journals are the object of study. This second section presents three contributions: *The politics of immortality: the funeral of an education minister and teacher unionist* by Joakim Landahl and Annika Ullman who – via an analysis of documents relating to the funerals of the ex minister for education and teaching trade unionist Fridtjuf Berg – study how Berg's grand funeral was, on the one hand, a recognition of his contribution to the marked improvement which took place in elementary school teachers' professional status from the late 19th to the early 20th century; on the other, the ceremony embodied the development of a collective identity for teachers precisely as a result of the untiring trade union work of this same Berg. Mirella D'Ascenzo's work (*Remembering teachers and headmasters. Funeral memories as source in history of education between nation building and collective memory*) aims to analyse the forms of public communication used by school teachers and head teachers as a historic source capable of revealing many aspects of school memory, both collective and public. From the starting point of the obituaries of Italian teachers and head teachers, this work restricts its field of analysis to Bologna (Italy) in the period from Italian unification to the post World War Two period, paying attention to the various historical periods and the various ways of remembering teachers in schools for boys and girls, in a sort of «gender-oriented» commemoration. In *Funeral memories as a form of promotion of the value system and contributions of*

important protagonists in the area of development of education in Montenegro Vučina Zorić describes and analyses the forms, functions and importance of commemorating the people who have left their mark on Montenegro's education system via a careful analysis of funeral ceremonies and speeches and funeral plaques, obituaries and commemorative writings.

* * *

The final theme relates to the *invention of educational tradition*. It is based on the Eric Hobsbawm's historiographical category of the «invented tradition» and on its application to the educational institutions most affected by the profound and radical changes which have taken place in the contemporary era, and thus have faced the challenge of needing to shape a new and more solidly legitimate role, priorities and functions. It is, in fact, in this historical-cultural context that higher education institutes, colleges and universities have made artificial attempts to add historical context to their foundational myths, in order to be able to boast a long educational tradition capable of according them the status of prestigious and exclusive educational institutions in the collective imagination. The last section comprises four contributions. The first of these is *The invention of tradition in the Italian University during the Fascist period (1922-1943)* by Luigiaurelio Pomante who, availing himself of a wealth of sources, some of which as yet little used by scholars, focuses on the Fascist regime's aspiration to accord the universities a privileged role in the development of an Italian cultural and civil tradition capable of taking its place in the world and recovering the idea of national primacy. This led, in the twenty years of the Fascist regime, to a process of «invention» of the Italian university «tradition», designed to set in motion a process of ideological reconstruction of the national identity primarily and clearly founded on the rediscovery of a glorious past. In *The invention of the educational tradition in religious Madrid elite schools. Identity and distinction of the private school culture during Franco's dictatorship*, Teresa Rabazas Romero and Sara Ramos Zamora focus their attention on some of the traditions in Madrid's elite private schools run by religious congregations in the Franco era. The specific focus is on two significant entities, the Marianist Congregation and the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian schools, not for the purposes of reconstructing the history of these entities or educational institutions, but rather in order to examine the use these made of rituals, rules and practices designed to build a shared school identity. The Soviet Union is the subject of Alla Salnikova and Svetlana Malysheva («Lenin has studied here»: a case study of the invention of the Soviet University «revolutionary» myth). The Authors analyse the specific case study of one of Russia's oldest universities, Kazan University, where they retrace the slow process of the evolution of the «Lenin myth» which took shape over the decades, and made this university function as both place of collective memory and site of the university's self-representation, as well as a model for all

university students. Lastly, in *The invention of the Common School tradition. Early American educational historiography and the building of a long-standing narrative*, Luana Salvarani enquires into the way in which the first work on the history of education began to take shape in the United States in the second half of the 19th century. It was precisely these texts that «invented» a full blown «shared American educational tradition», which *de facto* deliberately concealed the true origins of American education, mainly based on individual or local communities' efforts, rather than on a wider and shared project.

* * *

We believe that all these contributions will enable the present vision of the educational past to be defined, interpreted and re-interpreted. In this sense «school memory» is of importance not simply as a way with which to access the past, but as a key to understand what we know (or we think we know) today about the schools of the past, and a key to understand the extent to which such knowledge corresponds to how things really were, rather than being the fruit of deeply rooted prejudices and stereotypes which are difficult to eradicate.

The Miur's approval of the research project *School Memories between Social Perception and Collective Representation (Italy, 1861-2001)* – one section of which focuses precisely on studying the commemoration practices of school and teaching – may offer a concrete opportunity to examine these themes in further depth, and supply the first theoretical frameworks provided in this monographic dossier with more significant statistical foundations.

Places of memory

The «Sites of School Memory» in Italy between memory and oblivion: a first approach

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ABSTRACT: This paper, starting from the categories of *lieux de mémoire* and *place memory* developed respectively by Pierre Nora and Paul Connerton, is aimed at determining what constitute «sites of school memory» and the dynamics that govern them. Five kinds of «sites of school memory» have been identified, namely, in order: school museums; schoolhouse museums and schoolroom museums; historic schools; «forgotten schools», i.e. schools which have fallen into ruin; those that we have previously defined as «sacred places of education», namely those places (usually schools) that constitute the spatial incubators of innovative educational experiences so as to be considered unique and be counted as such in the annals of the national education system. This paper presents the main characteristics of these different types, highlighting linearities and asymmetries, and tracks an interpretive framework that documents the highly localistic character of school memory, albeit with some distinctions.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; School memories; Sites of memory; Collective memory; Public memory; Italy; XXth-XXIth Centuries.

1. «Sites of Memory»: A preliminary definition

This paper¹ is at the crossroads between historical research *tout court*, educational heritage studies and cultural memory studies, according to the

¹ The first draft of this article was presented as part of the international conference «School Memories. New Trends in Historical Research into Education: Heuristic Perspectives and Methodological Issues» (Seville, 22-23 September 2015); a selection of the works presented at this conference was published in: C. Yanes Cabrera, J. Meda, Viñao A. (edd.), *School Memories. New*

definition formulated by the Assmanns in the nineties, including the heritage of beliefs, knowledge, empirical knowledge and collective values acquired and transmitted through generations of a given community which have become «common sense» (mnemonic collective heritage), with strong implications regarding to identity². Among the collective values transmitted from generation to generation within the Italian national community – as well as more broadly in Western society – in the twentieth century, we can no doubt include that which is attributed to public education. In fact, it has become part of our collective imagination following the definitive affirmation of the principle of compulsory education and to the exponential expansion of the school experience to all sections of the population, including those in neglected and underdeveloped socio-cultural contexts. In this sense, «school memory» – understood as individual, collective and/or public recollection of a common school past³ – form part of «cultural memory».

Incidentally, «school culture»⁴ is perhaps the main instrument for the transmission of «cultural memory», or – according to the definition provided by cultural anthropologists⁵ – it is one of the main channels of enculturation. According to the theories of Bourdieu, in fact, public education systems have historically taken on the social reproduction function assigned by the ruling classes, processing and transmitting cultural *habitus* to young generations, namely those patterns of thought, perception and action (*clichés* and stereotypes) that make up

Trends in the History of Education, Cham, Springer, 2017.

² See. J. Assmann, *Das Kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und Politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München, CH Beck, 1992 (trans.: *La memoria culturale: scrittura, ricordo e identità politica nelle grandi civiltà antiche*, Turin, Einaudi, 1997); A. Assmann, *Rinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, Munich, C.H. Beck, 1999 (trans.: *Ricordare: forme e mutamenti della memoria culturale*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2002). On this concept, also, see also: A. Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia*, «Public Culture», vol. 12, n. 1, 2000, pp. 21-38; R. Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*, Ithaca-London, Cornell University Press, 1993.

³ On the concept of «school memory», in particular, see: J. Meda, A. Viñao, *School Memory: Historiographical Heuristics Balance and Perspectives*, in Yanes Cabrera, Meda, Viñao (edd.), *School Memories*, cit., pp. 1-9.

⁴ With this definition, we refer to content and values conveyed through educational practices promoted within formal learning contexts; on this concept, see: D. Julia, *La culture scolaire comme objet historique*, in A. Novoa, M. Depaepe, E.W. Johanningsmeier (edd.), *The Colonial Experience in Education: Historical Issues and Perspectives*, Gent, CSHP, 1995 («Paedagogica Historica» Supplementary Series, Vol. I), pp. 353-382.

⁵ On this aspect, in particular, see: E. Trueba, C. Delgado-Gaitan (edd.), *School & Society. Learning Content through Culture*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1988; J. Sturm, J.J.H. Dekker, R. Aldrich, F. Simon (edd.), *Education and Cultural Transmission: Historical Studies of Continuity and Change in Families, Schooling and Youth Cultures*, Gent, CSHP, 1996 («Paedagogica Historica» Supplementary Series; Vol. II); I. Dussel, *La educación y la memoria. Notas sobre la política de la transmisión*, «Anclajes», vol. 6, n. 6, 2002, pp. 267-293; K. Myers, I. Grosvenor, *Cultural learning and historical memory: a research agenda*, «Encounters in Theory and History of Education», vol. 15, 2014, pp. 3-21.

the dominant culture⁶. In the course of performing this function, however, the school creates and passes on a stereotypical representation of itself to the younger generations, impressing its own archetypal idea in the «cultural memory» which distinguishes and defines as «common sense». In this sense, when we remember and commemorate schools from our past, we tend to have an archetypal idea of them which has been consolidated within the «cultural memory» fostered by our community, rather than an individually elaborated critical representation, founded on knowledge of the school experience in its multiple and often conflicting components, including through the history of education.

According to Maurice Halbwachs, memory is a reconstruction of the past driven by data provided by the present⁷. Relatively recent studies have shown that these data are often obtainable – explicitly or implicitly – from the same place where the historical event object of the commemoration occurred. In particular, the German Egyptologist Jan Assmann, the French historian Pierre Nora, and the British anthropologist Paul Connerton have focused their studies on the mnemogenetic capacity of places by developing the concepts of *mnemotopes*, material relics of the past in which memory is mentally organised and fixed in a physical space by precise limits⁸, of *lieu de mémoire*, understood as a material or symbolic space capable of generating collective memories⁹, and of *place memory*, understood as the memory aroused by physical presence in certain places¹⁰. Pierre Nora, in particular, has classified *lieux de mémoire* into three categories: «material sites» (archaeological excavations, monuments, museums, libraries, memorials, war cemeteries, etc.), «symbolic sites» (commemorations and anniversaries), and «functional sites» (exhibitions, installations, diaries, autobiographies, theatrical performances and films).

In this paper we will fundamentally refer to «material sites» inside of which collective memory is developed and takes place, leaving out the abstract

⁶ See: P. Bourdieu, J.-C. Passeron, *La reproduction. Eléments pour une théorie du système de enseignement*, Paris, Editions de Minuit, 1970 (trans.: *La riproduzione: teoria del sistema scolastico ovvero della conservazione dell'ordine culturale*, Rimini, Guaraldi, 1972).

⁷ M. Halbwachs, *La memoria collettiva*, Milan, Unicopli, 1996, p. 119 (original edition: *La mémoire collective*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1950). More generally, on Halbwachs and his theories, see: G. Truc, *Memory of places and places of memory: for a Halbwachsian socio-ethnography of collective memory*, «International Social Science Journal», vol. 62, n. 203-204, 2012, pp. 147-159.

⁸ For a more precise definition of this concept, not equivalent to that of «sites of memory», see the work written by Peter Glasner in: N. Pethes, J. Ruchatz (edd.), *Dizionario della memoria e del ricordo*, Milan, Bruno Mondadori, 2002, pp. 352-353 (original edition: *Gedächtnis und Erinnerung. Ein Interdisziplinäres Lexicon*, Reinbek, Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2011).

⁹ See: P. Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, Paris, Gallimard, 1984-1992.

¹⁰ See: P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989 (trans.: *Come le società ricordano*, Roma, Armando, 1999); Id., *How Modernity Forgets*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009 (trans.: *Come la modernità dimentica*, Turin, Einaudi, 2010).

«symbolic»¹¹ and «functional sites» which might misdirect the intended analysis by excessively expanding the perspective. The «material sites», according to Nora, are those physical spaces within which certain historical events actually take place, and which they continue to witness by their very existence, or in places where those same events are celebrated, allowing visitors to enter into a relationship with them, know them and commemorate them, thus handing down the memory. These places take on an high symbolic value and are able to offer a significant contribution to the construction of a specific cultural identity, eventually constituting genuine «structures of meaning». In this sense, the community that has conserved, reconstructed or built them, assigns to them a high pedagogical function, since – being able to evoke the past and relate it to the present – acting as bridges between different generations¹².

Nora pointed out how memory, anchoring itself to a place, can assume a plurality of shapes (monumentalisation, conservation, symbolisation, etc.), which determine somewhat complex degrees of recognition and utilisation. «Sites of memory», in this sense, are not only those that resist the passage of time, while maintaining their functions, but they are also those which are forgotten because of the disappearance of the human community that had given them significance or assimilation by a new hegemonic community and the subsequent depletion of its symbolism and evocation.

If, as we have already stated, «school memory» forms an integral part of the «cultural memory» and if «sites of memory», as they have been described by Nora, help define and pass on the «cultural memory» of a community, we must now ask ourselves whether there are specific «sites of school memory», aimed at the representation of the school past and the generation of memory of that past, and how we may define their characteristics.

2. «Sites of School Memory»: A complex category of educational heritage

We have stated that Nora considers «material sites of memory» as those places in which collective memory is processed and used (such as monuments,

¹¹ According to the French philosopher Paul Ricœur, in his reflections on «calendar time», the recurrence at fixed intervals of public commemorations of certain historical events was intended to fix them in the collective memory of a particular social group. On this concept, see: P. Ricœur, *Tempo e racconto. 3: Il tempo raccontato*, Milan, Jaca Book, 1988, pp. 160-166 (original edition: *Temps et récit. 3: Le temps raconte*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1985).

¹² In this sense, in the historical-educational field, the studies published in this book are emblematic: A. Arisi Rota, M. Ferrari, M. Morandi (edd.), *Patrioti si diventa. Luoghi e linguaggi di pedagogia patriottica nell'Italia unita*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2009; more generally, on these issues, please refer to the interesting studies of his contemporaries Bruno Tobia and Massimo Baioni on the use of memorial sites (museums, monuments, etc.) between the nineteenth and twentieth century for the creation of a patriotic mythography.

museums, war memorials, etc.). Education, however, unlike other social phenomena (such as politics, wars), does not have memorials which are more or less monumental devoted to the perpetuation of their memory, although at the local level – as some recent studies by Matteo Morandi and Mirella D’Ascenzo have begun to show with regards to the Italian context – public onomastics and commemorative writings address this defect, recalling the role played by public education in the civil progress of particular communities through the commemoration of its main actors¹³.

At the end of a careful analysis, carried out mainly on the basis of the interpretative categories developed by Assmann and Nora, five kinds of «sites of school memory» were identified: school museums; *scuole-museo* (schoolhouse museums) and *aule-museo* (schoolroom museums); historic schools; «forgotten schools», i.e. schools which have fallen into ruin; and those that we have previously defined as the *sanctum sanctorum della scuola* (sacred places of education) or those places (usually schools) that formed the spatial incubators of innovative educational experiences so as to be considered unique and counted as such in the annals of the national education system¹⁴.

2.1. School museums

In 2014, the group of historians of education at the University of Macerata proposed the *Osservatorio permanente dei musei dell’educazione e dei centri di ricerca sul patrimonio storico-educativo (OPeN.MuSE)*¹⁵, in order to initiate a national survey aimed at collecting a detailed set of information about the characteristics of the existing school and education museums in Italy and the

¹³ On these issues, see: M. Morandi, *Local e nation building nelle targhe degli istituti scolastici postunitari: un percorso di ricerca*, in M. Ferrari, M. Morandi (edd.), *Documenti della scuola tra passato e presente. Problemi ed esperienze di ricerca per un’analisi tipologica delle fonti*, Azzano San Paolo, Junior, 2007, pp. 41-53; M. Morandi, *Scuola è un nome femminile. Riflessioni intorno alle scelte denominative delle scuole normali in età liberale*, in C. Ghizzoni, S. Polenghi (edd.), *L’altra metà della scuola. Educazione e lavoro delle donne tra Otto e Novecento*, Turin, SEL, 2008, pp. 123-133; M. D’Ascenzo, *Creating Places of Public Memory through the Naming of School Buildings. A Case Study of Urban School Spaces in Bologna in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, «El Futuro del Pasado», vol. 7, 2016, pp. 441-458.

¹⁴ In fact, at the moment, we have included only educational institutions within this category, although perhaps other types of sites could also be included, which would probably be able to evoke publicly the memory of education in our country. It would therefore be interesting to study the case of the two buildings in the capital occupied by the Ministry of Education in post-unification era, *Palazzo della Minerva which was the seat of this department from 1870 to 1928, when it was moved to its new headquarters built by architect Cesare Bazzani in Viale del Re, today Viale Trastevere*.

¹⁵ Permanent Observatory on Museums of Education and Centres of Research on Educational Heritage (OPeN.MuSE).

activities which they promote. Over the years, there have been two national surveys (the first in 2014 and second in 2016), which made it possible to discover the presence of fifty local and/or national school museums. The results of these two surveys were presented for the first time at the *VI Jornadas Científicas de la Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo* (Madrid, 22-24 October 2014)¹⁶ and a second time at the *Première rencontre francophone des musées de l'école* (Rouen, 12-13 November 2016)¹⁷.

The findings demonstrate the vitality of a museological category that has experienced exponential growth in the last decade. The reasons for this boom are manifold. The growing interest of the schools with regards to their past, both for the protection of their heritage and its didactic use¹⁸, surely acted as a driving force¹⁹. At the same time, especially in remote and underprivileged areas, the phenomenon has been stimulated by a clearer understanding of that past, since education has historically created a path to modernity for those communities considered backwards and which are still threatened by population decline and urbanisation. In general, and even more so in these local realities, public education has been a great collective experience which has generated and continues to generate a strong feeling of belonging to a particular social and cultural community, which allows those who belong to identify themselves individually or in groups in the representations of a school's past shown in the museums dedicated to it. Not surprisingly, both surveys confirmed a concentration of school museums in towns with fewer than 5,000 inhabitants (40%)²⁰. They are small school museums, which act as places for the creation of collective memory and as identity generators. The representation of the «school past» that is presented is, in general, more a nostalgic rather than an

¹⁶ The study was published in: J. Meda, *La escuela del pasado y su conmemoración en los museos de la escuela italianos: tendencias y perspectivas*, in A.M. Badanelli Rubio, M. Poveda Sanz, C. Rodríguez Guerrero (edd.), *Pedagogía museística: prácticas, usos didácticos e investigación del patrimonio educativo*, Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2014, pp. 509-521.

¹⁷ The study was published in: A. Ascenzi, M. Brunelli, J. Meda, *Représentation du passé scolaire dans les musées de l'école en Italie*, in *Première rencontre francophone des Musées de l'école: actes*, Rouen, Amis du musée national de l'éducation, des musées de l'école et du patrimoine éducatif – Musée national de l'éducation de Rouen, 2018, pp. 89-103.

¹⁸ On the latter aspect, see: M. Brunelli, *La comunicación y la interpretación del patrimonio educativo en los museos: espejo y reflejo de disciplina en la transformación*, in P. Dávila Balsera, L.M. Naya Garmendia (edd.), *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo*, Donostia, Erein, 2016, pp. 79-95.

¹⁹ Based on data collected in 2016, those promoted by the schools account for nearly half of the school museums at the national level (46%). These museums often have the distinction of being dedicated to the history of the schools that have promoted them (in order to celebrate their histories and their tradition in education) or, more generally, to the history of schools in Italy.

²⁰ Notice how thirteen of these museums are located in towns with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants, which means that most of the school museums (26%) are located in small towns. Finally, it is interesting to note that – applying an orographic filter – museums that are located in residential areas in mountain areas make up 32% of the total (taking into consideration those areas at least 800 meters above sea level).

historical representation, in which the exhibited objects are considered not as *testimonial objects*²¹, capable of embodying a past and evoking its memory, but as «emotional appeals», extracted from their historical context and sublimated into timelessness considered to be prosperous and happy *a priori*, that is to say «childhood»²². In summary, this kind of representation is not an expedient for acquiring historical notions, but a device of temporal regression. The trend is to use these sites of memory «to build mono-dimensional interpretive displays, to solicit emotional identification or identity certainties, to provide an irenic and nostalgic vision of a school past detached from politics and society»²³.

Data collected during the two aforementioned surveys make it possible to advance some general reflections about the type of schools represented in these museums. Over 90% of museum exhibits, for example, focus on elementary schools. This figure can be explained by the fact that schools constitute a great collective experience, making it possible to identify large sections of the population in the representations of a school's past displayed within these museums. It follows that the most represented school level should be the one that was historically attended by most Italians, i.e. primary school. In Italy, in fact, pre-school and secondary education was never as strongly rooted in the collective imagination as was primary school which, by its very nature, was for the masses. The profound changes in Italian society during the «short 20th century» did in fact ensure that these educational levels were available to an ever increasing number of students. It was, in fact, the process of de-ruralisation

²¹ See. M. Hirsch, L. Spitzer, *Testimonial Objects: Memory, Gender and Transmission*, «Poetics Today», vol. 27, n. 2, 2006, pp. 353-383. Marta Brunelli – analysing these items from a more purely museological perspective – considers the concept of *social objects* more incisive, developed several years ago by the sociologist, Jyri Engeström, and subsequently adopted by the museologist Nina Simon (see. M. Brunelli, *Las fotografías escolares como “objetos sociales”*. *Primeras reflexiones sobre el uso educativo y social del patrimonio fotográfico en el museo de la escuela*, in Badanelli Rubio, Poveda Sanz, Guerrero Rodríguez (edd.), *Pedagogía museística*, cit., pp. 203-217).

²² Miguel Somoza Rodríguez has recently urged the historians of education not to be «tempted by references of uncritical nostalgia for school nor by the narcissistic impulse to project alluring spaces that attract and appeal to everyone» (M. Somoza Rodríguez, *Museología de la educación: ¿divulgación cultural, atractivo turístico o práctica historiográfica?*, in J. Meda, A.M. Badanelli (edd.), *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en España: balance y perspectivas: actas del I Workshop italo-español de historia de la cultura escolar (Berlango de Duero, 14-16 de noviembre de 2011)*, Macerata, eum, 2013, p. 166). On the other hand, already in 2010, Myriam Boyer noted how it was necessary to promote exhibitions that propose a critical look on the past, by converting personal memory into collective history (M. Boyer, *Los museos de la educación en Europa: entre historia y memoria*, in E. Colleldemont Pujadas, N. Padrós, I. Carrillo I Flores (edd.), *Memory, ciudadanía museos y de educación*, Vic, Universidad de Vic, 2010, pp. 6-27). On this concept, see also: A. Viñao Frago, *Memoria, ciudadanía y museos de educación*, «Con-ciencia social», n. 15, 2011, pp. 141-148. More generally, on the effects produced by nostalgia in the interpretation and representation of the past, see: C. Shaw, M. Chase (edd.), *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1989.

²³ Review of J. Meda and A.M. Badanelli (edd.), *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en España by Esther De Fort*, «Il mestiere dello storico», vol. 6, n. 2, 2014, p. 46.

and development of the service sector in the labour market which promoted the establishment of educational institutions (such as kindergarten) capable of supporting the transition from a patriarchal family model to a nuclear family as well as giving access to secondary education to an increasing number of young people. The relative novelty of this phenomenon (beginning with the Italian «economic miracle» of the fifties and sixties) explains why these two levels of education cannot be used to effectively represent the school as a great collective experience in a museum context. The upper secondary schools are, however, much older, but – at least until the sixties of the twentieth century – represented elitist education, which only a limited number of people could access. Due to this complex set of reasons, a clear majority of these museum exhibitions represent the primary school because they constitute the educational experience shared by several generations of Italians of all social classes and is therefore capable of catalysing the memory of a great number of people.

The data collected during these first surveys do not make it possible to go deeper into the type of schools represented within these museums; what the museum displays include and what they exclude; how they relate with the narrative identity of subjects and intergenerational patterns; what are the contents of the collective memory that they try to rebuild, the silences and the obsessions of memory.

The feeling is that the school represented in these museums is not the «real school», but an «idealised school», purified of its most unpleasant aspects (such as poverty, filth, cold) and sublimated into a timelessness (i.e. childhood) considered a priori prosperous and happy. It is a school where everything *is as it should be*, but not as *it really was*. In fact, many school museums seem to resemble the stylised image of the school that the ruling classes wanted to spread in order to build consensus and introduced through that channel into «long-term memory» of an entire people, rather than to that which students actually experienced in rural schools, which at that time constituted the majority of Italian schools, and which did not coincide in any way with this «collective educational hologram»²⁴.

²⁴ It is interesting to note how, in the individual memories, there are recollections of rural schools set up between the second half of the nineteenth century and the first sixty years of the twentieth century in shacks, crumbling buildings, basements and barns in disuse in order to spread education everywhere. The memory of these «non-schools» (in the sense that they do not adhere to the idea of the archetypal school commonly diffused and therefore are not recognizable as such) does not find space in the collective imagination, in which they are able to filter out only as negative archetypes through their representation presented by some well-known photo-journalistic reportage published for the purpose of condemnation after World War II. There is the emblematic case of the school in Africo (Calabria), whose photographs – taken by Tino Petrelli in 1948 for «L'Europeo» – provoked a wave of collective indignation. Indeed, there is a taboo in the representation (photographic and/or in a museum) of the school, which is that of desecration of the image of the school as a «temple of modernity», which has as much a cultural function (adhesion to a model of progress) as a political one (production of consensus). For this reason,

2.2. Schoolhouse museums

Schoolhouse museums and schoolroom museums deserve a separate analysis since they aim to preserve (not reconstruct) specific school environments as they were once in their original location, as if they were full-scale dioramas where time has stopped. In Italy there are some very interesting examples²⁵ such as the schoolroom museums of Alagna Valsesia and Martassina or the schoolhouse museums in mountain villages of the municipalities of Angrogna, Pramollo, Noasca, Oulx, Casteldelfino and Gais²⁶.

When listed like this, these small museums don't mean much, yet they hosted extremely interesting educational experiences, however unknown also among the experts. The Martassina schoolroom museum, for example, located inside the old building of the Bricco Institute and founded in 1872 thanks to the legacy of the priest and theologian Giangiacomo Bricco²⁷, became a public school in the thirties and closed in 1975. Even with classes of students from different grades, due to the depopulation of the mountains, the number of students was reduced to less than a dozen, thus justifying the transfer of the school to the nearby town of Ala di Stura. Similarly, in the mountain villages of the municipalities of Angrogna and Pramollo in Piedmont, the Waldensian community since the seventies has been restoring and opening to the public the old Beckwith schools. These schools are so named in honour of the English

the photographic representations made as part of the aforementioned photo-journalistic reportage clash with and offend our sensibilities. Few photographers have dared to break that taboo and when they did, it was with the intent to cause outrage in the public opinion by condemning the lack of adherence between reality and the vulgate of public education as a modernizing factor that the ruling classes and the media tended to promote. This bias in the visual representation of Italian schools – initially established by the elite, but ultimately shared by the entire population based on the complex dynamics of collective oblivion generated by feelings of shame – has led to the creation of a sort of «collective educational hologram» whereby in the reconstructions of schools of the past portrayed in school museums or in other contexts, they often appear largely idealized, or in other words not the school as it really was, but the school as it should have been or as we would have liked it to have been. On these schools and their representation, specifically, see: J. Meda, «*Invisible Schools*»: *the public image of rural schools in southern Italy in photographic inquiries and photo-reportages (1925-1955)*, «Historia y Memoria de la Educación», n. 8, 2018, pp. 347-396.

²⁵ The second census in 2016 promoted by the Permanent Observatory on Museums of Education and Centres of Research on Educational Heritage (OPeN.MuSE) highlighted how this particular museum category constitutes about 20% of school museums at the national level.

²⁶ They include, by order, the schoolhouse museums of Borgata Odin-Bertot in Angrogna, Borgata Pellenchi in Pramollo, Borgata Meison in Noasca, Borgata Chateau in Oulx (in the province of Turin), Borgata Torrette in Casteldelfino (in the province of Cuneo) and Borgata Lanebach in Gais (in the province of Bolzano). For more information, see: <<https://www.unimc.it/cescom/it/openmuse/>> (last access: 20-01.2019). These schoolhouse museums are all located in isolated mountain villages, above 1000 meters.

²⁷ Giangiacomo Bricco (1762-1841), former director of the *Albergo di Virtù* in Turin, an educational institution for apprentices exclusively for young men of modest means.

philanthropist Charles Beckwith²⁸, who, towards the mid-nineteenth century, with the support of Dutch and English Protestants, built over a hundred schools in the Waldensian valleys for primary education of children living in small mountain villages, which are also known by the nickname of *universités des chèvres*²⁹.

Schoolhouse museums are ultimately «material sites» within which – in the past – formal learning environments were actually set up, and which continue to attest to this by their very existence. Those environments have remained so anchored in the collective imagination of the communities where they operated that when they ceased to be functional, they were saved by the very same communities in order to perpetuate their memory. They are distinguished from school museums by the fact that those schools of the past and the educational practices used in them are described and shown in spaces that did not necessarily have an intended educational use. In schoolhouse museums, however, what Connerton defined as *place memory* or the memory aroused by the physical presence in certain places, have a profound effect on visitors. Connerton, in particular, distinguishes «sites of memory» into two basic categories: *memorials*, spatial configurations that inform *place memory* through topographic coding that is intentional, and *loci*, whose topographic coding is unintentional and built up through habit³⁰. Based on this distinction, you can say that school museums are *memorials* while schoolhouse museums have a less defined nature since, in recent times, they have also been established with explicit commemorative intent, but in a *locus* that already instinctively induces a direct relationship with the past. If school museums are «places of representation» of the past which allow visitors to enter into a relationship with it, to know it and commemorate it, schoolhouse museums are «places of remembrance» in which the visitor establishes a deep emotional connection with the past, ideally moving within the material events and the psychological and emotional states of teachers and pupils who were present in the school many years before. This distinction relates to the dynamic and productive nature of *loci* as opposed to the relatively passive and inert character of *memorials*.

The Lanebach schoolhouse museum, a mountain village of Gais, at an altitude of about 1500 meters, is a good example of this. Before construction

²⁸ John Charles Beckwith (1789-1862), British army officer, between 1848 and 1862 worked to strengthen the education system of the Waldensian valleys in Italy.

²⁹ In addition to the Beckwith schoolhouse museums in Angrogna and Pramollo, there is the Cardonatti school in Prarostino and that of Borgata Perlà in Bobbio Pellice – which are museums – and those of Borgata Gros Passet in Massello and Borgata Vrocchi in Bovile, which – although not museums – can be visited. The Beckwith schools surveyed in the Waldensian Valleys were 117 in 2007, a fraction of which has been salvaged, because – often located in isolated and difficult to reach places – are too great a burden for their small communities. In this special issue, Francesca Davida Pizzigoni presents a study dedicated to schoolhouse museums which have sprung up in recent years in the Waldensian Valleys of Piedmont.

³⁰ Connerton, *How Modernity Forgets*, cit., p. 10.



Pic. 1. Interior of the Lanebach schoolhouse museum (in the province of Bolzano).



Pic. 2. Exterior of the Lanebach schoolhouse museum (in the province of Bolzano).

of this school, a *blockbau* structure with horizontally stacked logs and beams, it was not easy for the children of the nine farms of Lanebach to attend the school of Villa Ottone. The path leading down to the village was long, steep and dangerous, so that the children were not able to attend classes regularly. In 1845, the authorities allowed the residents of Lanebach to build this wooden school, in which – in addition to classroom – there was also the schoolmaster's house, consisting of a kitchen and a bedroom. Repeatedly forced to close down due to the lack of students because of the continuous demographic fluctuations in the farms, the school was finally abandoned in 1983 when the town was connected to the valley by a paved road and public transport made it possible for the children to reach schools there. The mountain school of Lanebach is the only one of its kind still existing in South Tyrol. It was turned into a museum in 2009 and in 2012 it was listed for historical and artistic protection³¹. By its very nature, the building is deeply connected to the place in which it stands and to the community that inhabited it until a few decades ago.

Entering this old mountain school, one immediately feels an intense empathetic feeling which is not only determined by its scenic location on the hillside, on the sunny slope of the mountain above Villa Ottone, but by the absolute emotional connection that developed between that place and those who have lived there over time. They are the same stories of the brave teachers who moved to this rugged township for eight months a year, isolated from the world, and the heroic students who made the journey every day from their farms on steep and slippery paths which give significance to this place and lead the visitor to identify themselves in those lives³². The daily life of the heroic

³¹ The information was gleaned from the survey form compiled by Josef Hochgruber, curator of the Lanebach Schoolhouse Museum, as part of the survey of school museums sponsored by the the Permanent Observatory on Museums of Education and Centres of Research on Educational Heritage (OPeN.MuSE) of the University of Macerata.

³² The life stories of teachers and pupils of the schools in the mountains, albeit relative to the Piedmont Alpine area, have been collected in recent years in some interesting publications, which

pupils and teachers of Lanebach, told by the guides in the course of the tour, is not the only factor of over-identification with this «school site of memory». Hiking from the valley up to the schoolhouse museum, with a vertical drop of 700 meters, and on the same paths used by children every morning to get to school from their farms, in addition to making visitors a highly affinitive and time-traveling experience, it also confirms – in the wake of Assmann's theories – the landscape itself as a reservoir of memories, capable of guarding and encompassing the sense of belonging which binds people to the places of their daily lives³³.

2.3. *Historic schools*

In recent years, *scuole storiche* (literally, historic schools) began to appear increasingly in public discourse and scientific literature. But what exactly is meant by this term? When can a school in effect be considered «historical» and what particular requirements must it have to deserve this designation? It is certain that to date there is no agreed upon definition, especially if one considers the national realities that have stood out in recent years in the development of this particular category of schools.

In Italy and Spain this term has substantially identical meanings, albeit with some distinctions, by defining those educational institutions of any order and degree which have professionally instructed, educated and/or trained for no less than a century the various generations of a small village, a single neighbourhood of a city or an even larger territorial district, and that they have as well continued to perform this function to date³⁴. It is the opposite in the Anglo-Saxon and US context: the expression «historic schools» is used to distinguish historic school

bear witness, on the one hand, to the precarious material conditions in which public education found itself in these contexts and, on the other, the perseverance of those who were willing to make huge efforts in order to impart or receive such instruction. In this issue, in particular, see: B. Mazzi, *Sotto la neve, fuori dal mondo: c'era una volta la scuola di montagna*, Scarmagno, Priuli & Verlucca, 2006; M. Bonato Calandri, *Novecento. Autobiografia di una maestra di montagna nata con il secolo*, Scarmagno, Priuli & Verlucca, 2009.

³³ In particular, the mnemogenetic processes generated by the interaction between space and narrative, see the introductory pages of: S. Montebelli, L. Spagnoli, *Note introduttive per una riflessione sulla memoria orale del paesaggio*, «Rivista Geografica Italiana», n. 117, 2010, pp. 869-893.

³⁴ In recent years in Italy there are two important initiatives for the valorisation of the historic schools: the network of *Enti Storici di Formazione* in Milan, founded in 2008, and the *Associazione Scuole Storiche Napoletane* in Naples, founded in 2011 by Francesco Di Vaio. On these initiatives, see: A. Bovo et al. (edd.), *L'alchimia del lavoro: i generosi che primi in Milano fecondarono le arti e le scienze*, Milan, Raccolto, 2008; F. Di Vaio (ed.), *Mostra delle scuole storiche napoletane: archivi, biblioteche, gabinetti scientifici, cimeli, patrimonio storico-artistico e architettonico (Napoli, 2 aprile-30 maggio 2014): catalogo*, Naples, Giannini, 2014.

buildings that have lost their original intended use over time and must therefore be subjected to extraordinary conservation procedures, becoming true «sites of memory». As we have seen, however, in the Italian context these particular types of buildings are called schoolhouse museums, which aim to preserve those school environments as they once were and in their original location.

Despite their apparent diversity, these two meanings of «historic school» allow us to determine some basic requirements: a) the date of the founding of the school in which the educational institution is historically located and the period during which it has been continuously active³⁵; b) the intimate relationship between the educational institution and the school building, which becomes more relevant depending on the age of the building (as in the case of the many Italian convents converted into schools following the suppression of religious orders and seizures of church property that occurred between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century), or if it is of a particular architectural style or designed by a famous architect; c) the intimate emotional relationship between an educational institution and the social community – broadly considered – within which it has fulfilled its mandate such as its contribution towards the creation of a professional community, or by permeating the medium- and long-term collective imagination. Finally, in addition to the serious consideration of its own historicity, there is another fundamental requirement that a historic school must have, which is ample attention to the preservation of its cultural heritage, including the buildings, decorations and works of art which may be present, as well as the library collections and the technical and scientific collections created over time for educational purposes, both for their intrinsic value as cultural heritage as well as a direct result of their remarkable educational tradition.

The first requirement is therefore a question of vital statistics: based on a significant sample of Italian and foreign schools, it can be said that historic schools are those which usually have regularly provided their services for a period of no less than one hundred years, the average minimum time for recognition of this status. Not surprisingly, it is generally found that the celebration of the centenary of the foundation of a school very often gives rise

³⁵ Currently, there is not an exhaustive survey of the existing historic school buildings in Italy, despite having certain lists, made at the local level by initiatives such as the one promoted by the municipality of Turin which, in 2010, at the end of the survey of school buildings of cultural interest greater than fifty years old, initiated in 2004 and conducted in collaboration with the Superintendence for architectural heritage and landscapes of Piedmont, approved the Catalogue of architectural heritage of school buildings, including the listing of 67 school complexes of architectural and cultural interest (see: *Le nostre scuole: dal patrimonio storico e architettonico degli edifici scolastici torinesi un percorso nelle nostre scuole e uno sguardo sul futuro*, Azzano San Paolo, Junior, 2005). Similar initiatives have also been promoted in Bologna and Rome: *384.000 mq di scuole: un patrimonio da mantenere*, Bologna, Provincia di Bologna / Assessorato alle politiche scolastiche formative e dell'orientamento, 2003; A. Bonavita (ed.), *L'architettura delle scuole romane: qualità del patrimonio immobiliare. Ipotesi per un progetto della sua valorizzazione*, Rome, Palombi, 2004.

to a series of initiatives to reconstruct the history of the school on one hand and, on the other, to commemorate it publicly³⁶.

If this first requirement is objective and easily verifiable through simple research in the school archives, whereas the certification of the second requirement presupposes a more complex process. The historical and architectural profile of a given building, in fact, should be prepared by competent professionals based on specific readings and extensive archival research and cannot be improvised. This requirement inevitably collides with a common historiographical gap in many countries, namely the scant attention given to the history of school buildings by historians of education as well as by those of architecture. The question is not at all secondary because if the architectural element is one of the main indicators to determine the historicity of a school, you also need to have as much information as possible with respect to structure, design, construction, and use of school buildings and how they fit in the urban layout, in addition to the symbolic meanings of these architectural works.

The third requirement is certainly the least objective: to determine the emotional relationship between an educational institution and the community within which it has fulfilled its mandate. This entails probing the collective imagination and identifying the recurring cultural *habitus*, such as patterns of thought, perception and action which, according to Bourdieu, make up the dominant culture and which, once internalised, constantly govern our behaviour and our choices. The members of each social group interact with their culture of origin through these *habitus* to constitute an identity and to negotiate it in the course of their social practices. The *habitus* also preside over our cultural consumption and our educational choices. How many times have we heard that a particular school is the best of our city and how many times have we uncritically conformed to this cliché, even though it is not supported by scientific and/or statistical evidence, only because it is a common opinion? The cultural *habitus*, however, as arbitrary as they may be, are not unfounded, in that they are based on the collective experience lived by members of a community, generation after generation, and grow off the complex system of symbols, concepts and habits which have developed from it.

The school, in fact, does not consist solely in the institutions made compulsory by the national governing classes with increasing rigor from the middle of the nineteenth century with the specific aim of social reproduction and cultural standardization. It also consists in a collective experience concretely lived – independently of the achievement of the objectives assigned to it and the actual roots of the values transmitted by it – by the entire population or specific social groups within specific local contexts. The sense of identification produced by this collective experience comes not so much from the knowledge learned and

³⁶ In this special issue, Marta Brunelli presents the case of a «forgotten school», the «A. Diaz» open school in Macerata.

the shared values, but rather by episodes, moments, moods, spaces and familiar faces. These are what determine the existing emotional relationship between an educational institution and the community within which it has fulfilled its mandate.

Historic schools are not currently considered a specific cultural heritage by Italian law and therefore are not subject to specific measures of preservation and protection. However, they are fully within the category of registrable «sites of school memory» because they not only preserve in their archives, libraries and museums the memory of the teaching activities and educational practices that took place within them in a more or less extended period of time, but they are in themselves – as school buildings with their own wall decorations (including plaques and statues) – able to relate the past to the present, generating memory³⁷.

2.4. «Forgotten schools»

If the generative power of historic schools is clear, the same cannot be said to be of a particular type of historic schools, namely those for which it was not possible to undertake any protection initiative and which have fallen into disuse and been reduced to ruins in a short time. These are what we call «forgotten schools»³⁸. Referring to them in a report presented at a major international colloquium in 2011, Martin Lawn had coined the definition «abandoned modernities»³⁹. Lawn, referring to the theories of Augé and Ricœur on the positive function of oblivion⁴⁰, maintained that even abandoned schools or schools in disrepair may, paradoxically, serve to create a kind of «contrast memory», because when we are confronted with a deserted or degraded classroom, we feel unsettled because that space at that time not only represents itself to us, but the school in general, as well as the cultural significance that we give to the concept of education and its role in contemporary society.

³⁷ More generally, about historic schools, see: J. Meda, «Escuelas históricas». ¿Categoría patrimonial, excelencia educativa o estrategia comercial?, in M.M. del Pozo Andrés (ed.), *Madrid, ciudad educadora: memoria de la escuela pública. Ensayos en torno a exposición*, Madrid, Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2019, pp. 59-72.

³⁸ In this special issue, Gianluca Gabrielli and Carla Carpigiani present the initiatives promoted by the «Fortuzzi» Primary School in Bologna as part of the celebrations for its centenary.

³⁹ M. Lawn, *Abandoned Modernities: images of the materialities of schooling*, paper presented at the International Colloquium «Os Rituais Escolares, em Gestos and Objectos» (Lisbon, 18 February 2011). The text of the report was subsequently published in: M. Lawn, *Building Ruins: Abandoned Ideas of the School*, in K. Darian-Smith, J. Willis (edd.), *Designing Schools, Space, Place and Pedagogy*, London-New York, Routledge, 2017, pp. 19-24.

⁴⁰ See Augé, *Les formes de l'oubli*, cit.; Ricœur, *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*, cit.



Pic. 3. «Gaetano Tommaselli» Rural School in Fiesco (in the province of Cremona).



Pic. 4. «General Diaz» Elementary School in Coltano (in the province of Pisa).

These schools are not in themselves responsible – like the other «sites of school memory» – for the generation of memory. Despite their historicity, for a complex set of reasons, the local institutions to which they belonged and the communities that they served did not subject them to any heritage-creation or conversion process and let them go to ruin. Based on the theories developed by Connerton, «forgotten schools» are dynamic and entropic places, far more productive for exploring the processes of memory and forgetting.

As also noted by Lawn, these schools are able to generate identity only in the memories of those who taught there or attended them as pupils, while outsiders may have a deep sense of anxiety and feelings of nostalgia. The thread of memory has been irretrievably broken, even if they continue to declare their status through their design, their furnishings, and the old writings on the wall found on the facade⁴¹.

The only way to convert them into real «sites of memory», is to collectivize the individual memories by bringing them together and reordering them in a public narrative that shows the historic nature of that particular place to an even larger community than the original one, restoring the status the school had lost. The old primary school of Rotte di Deago, now in ruins, whose traces of its original purpose were almost completely lost in this small community of Savona is a case in point. The history of this small rural school was reconstructed in

⁴¹ On the generative capacity of «abandoned places», more generally, see: V. Teti, *Il senso dei luoghi: memoria e storia dei paesi abbandonati*, Rome, Donzelli, 2004 (in particular the chapter: *Africo*, pp. 209-258); A. Tarpino, *Spaesati: luoghi dell'Italia in abbandono tra memoria e futuro*, Turin, Einaudi, 2012; G. Lucas, *Ruins*, in P. Graves-Brown, R. Harrison (edd.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Contemporary World*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 192-203.

2008 by Davide Montino as part of his research on public education in Val Bormida in the first half of the twentieth century⁴² and was told in a fascinating video shot by Alessandro Marengo and posted on the video-sharing platform Vimeo, demonstrating how the ruins of an old abandoned school are still able to evoke memory⁴³.

2.5. «Sacred places of education»

Schoolhouse museums, historic schools, and «forgotten schools» demonstrate how mainstream «sites of school memory» often stand out because of their strong local dimension. If we move on to the category of those schools that we have defined as «sacred places of education» it is especially interesting to observe the asymmetrical relationship between the nationwide occurrence of educational experiences which took place in them and their locations in peripheral regional and economically depressed contexts. This fact seems evident from the examination of an initial, provisional selection of these particular «sites of school memory», carried out by taking into account the exceptionality of the educational experiences conducted there and the timeframe of those same experiences within a chronological spectrum between 1800 and 1968, which is understood as the ideal watershed between a traditional conception of school and one which is more open to educational innovations triggered by the process of democratization of formal education contexts brought about by student protests around the world. In fact, these issues are closely intertwined, as the exceptionality of those educational experiences was greatly determined by the attitude of their promoters to emerge from the rigid patterns of traditional schools in a historical context in which the school was still seen as the dominant pedagogical model. Based on these criteria, the following can be considered «sacred places of education»: the San Cerbone country estate in Figline Valdarno (in the province of Florence), which housed the school founded by Raffaello Lambruschini; the

⁴² A. Marengo, D. Montino (edd.), *Storie magistrali: maestre e maestri tra Savona e la Valle Bormida nella prima metà del Novecento*, Millesimo, Comunità Montana Alta Val Bormida, 2008.

⁴³ The video can be viewed in streaming at this web address: <<https://vimeo.com/12266908>> (last access: 20.01.2019).

educational work school of Ripatransone (Province of Fermo), founded by Emidio Consorti; the children's house in the San Lorenzo neighbourhood in Rome, founded by Maria Montessori; the Mompiano kindergarten (suburb of Brescia), founded by Rosa and Carolina Agazzi; the schools for the farmers' children at the La Montesca and Rovigliano estates near Città di Castello (in the province of Perugia), founded by Leopoldo Franchetti and Alice Hallgarten; the school for the farmers' children in the hamlet of Colle di Fuori in Rocca Priora, founded by Giovanni Cena, designed by Alessandro Marcucci and decorated with frescoes by Duilio Cambellotti; the school in Mezzaselva, a village of cabins near Colle di Fuori, a hamlet of Rocca Priora (in the province of Rome), where Felice Socciarelli taught; the nursery of Portomaggiore (in the province of Ferrara), where the sisters, Rina and Ida Nigrisoli, taught; the San Gersolè school, a hamlet of Impruneta (in the province of Florence), where Maria Maltoni taught; the Rinnovata school in the Ghisolfi district of Milan, founded by Giuseppina Pizzigoni; the Scuola-città Pestalozzi in Florence, founded by Ernesto and Annamaria Codignola; the rectory of the church Barbiana, a rural town of Vicchio (near Florence), which housed the school founded by Don Lorenzo Milani; the elementary school in Pietralata (suburb of Rome), where Albino Bernardini taught; the elementary school in Vho di Piadena (in the province of Cremona), where Mario Lodi was the teacher; the elementary school in Coldigioco, a rural town of Frontale, in the hamlet of Apiro (in the province of Macerata), where Giovanna Legatti Tamagnini taught. Surely there are other «sacred places of education» but we believe that the above examples can be considered quite sufficient.

From a quick analysis of this first list, it seems immediately apparent that, in the same way as school museums, most of the *sancta sanctorum* are circumscribed within compulsory schools and how – despite the local dimension of the places where these historic educational institutions were based (small hamlets like Vho and San Gersolè, rural villages like Mezzaselva, La Montesca, Rovigliano, and Barbiana or the city suburbs like Mompiano and Pietralata) – you find yourself faced with the places of the national school memory, well known outside the narrow confines of local communities and elevated as models.

One example is the church rectory in Barbiana, where Don Milani founded his famous school in the sixties; this educational experience has become so popular over time that today, this isolated place in the Tuscan Apennines is a pilgrimage site for many people. Barbiana, however, is a special case, because there are no other *sancta sanctorum* in Italy which affect the collective imagination in the same way, becoming, in effect, places of national school memories. Barbiana, in fact, is the only one of the «sacred places of education» in which a process of heritage preservation of old educational spaces has been undertaken, including the furnishings and original teaching aids still preserved there. It is currently in the process of being turned into a museum aimed at making the place more evocative.

If we take other «sacred places of education» into account, we can understand how they constitute the «abandoned sanctuaries» which over the course of decades have neither been preserved nor turned into museum spaces. In this sense, the La Montesca Elementary School is emblematic. The La Montesca estate is now a research and training centre supported by the municipality of Città di Castello and the province of Perugia. There is no museum exhibition inside devoted to the school promoted by Baroness Franchetti, who had been inspired by the innovative pedagogical theories of Maria Montessori. The furniture and furnishings from Villa Montesca and from the school in Rovigliano – including desks, lockers, maps and other teaching materials – are stored in a warehouse in Solomeo, near Corciano, belonging to the Umbria Region. In September 2014, a request was submitted to the Regional Council to recover these materials and set up a historical and cultural exhibition inside the villa, but the proposal has not yet been acted upon. A classroom of the La Montesca school was, however, reconstructed in the Museo della Tela Umbra in Città di Castello, another institution founded by Baron and Baroness Franchetti⁴⁴. As can be seen from the photograph reproduced here, the display at Città di Castello does not faithfully reproduce the spaces of the La Montesca elementary school which pioneered a new kind of bench with a movable seat instead of a fixed seat, in the wake of Montessori's insistence that the children be free of physical constraints imposed in schools⁴⁵. This example of relocation and distortion of school memories allows us to highlight the intimate relationship between the musealization of educational spaces and their pictorial and/or photographic representations, which cannot be ignored if the aim is to propose a philologically correct reconstruction⁴⁶. The reconstruction of certain environments should not indulge in nostalgic representations, but should be based on extensive historical investigations in order to avoid dangerous distortions.

⁴⁴ The *Laboratorio della Tela Umbra* (Umbrian Fabric Workshop) was founded in 1908 by the Baron and Baroness Franchetti to allow farmers in Città di Castello to mass-produce and commercialise the fabrics they produced by hand according to traditional techniques using hand looms.

⁴⁵ In this issue, in particular, see: J. Meda, *Mezzi di educazione di massa: nuove fonti e nuove prospettive di ricerca per una storia materiale della scuola tra XIX e XX secolo*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2016 (in particular: pp. 62-64).

⁴⁶ In this issue, and on the concept of «visual memory of school» as a category of the educational heritage, see: E. Collelledemont, *La memoria visual de la escuela*, «Educatio Siglo XXI», vol. 28, n. 2, 2010, pp. 133-156.

Just like La Montesca, even schools in Mompiano⁴⁷, Colle di Fuori⁴⁸, San Gersolè⁴⁹, Vho di Piadena⁵⁰ and the first children's house in the San Lorenzo neighbourhood in Rome⁵¹, did not become «sites of memory». What are the reasons for this phenomenon? It is likely that over the years, these places have undergone a process of dematerialization and symbolic signification by intellectual elites who, through their theoretical paradigmization, have slowly withdrawn them from the spatial context and social environment in which they had been created and have therefore relegated them to pedagogical imaginary. For this reason, the La Montesca and other symbolic places are not able to evoke collective memories outside of rather small intellectual groups and/or certain geographical areas.

This consideration leads us to make a first general reflection based on the following paradox: the need to collectively celebrate the memory of a small mountain school with the impeccable philological refurbishing of the «school of the past» is recognised, but not the interior of a school where extremely innovative educational experiences found in every teaching manual took place. In this sense, it can be said that «sacred places of education» tend to be more «imaginary pedagogical places» than real places in the national school memory, since they don't disseminate the memory of educational experiences which took

⁴⁷ On this «site of school memory» in particular, see the recent: R. Bressanelli, C. Ghizzoni, *L'Istituto «Pasquali-Agazzi» di Brescia: per una storia dell'educazione infantile in Italia fra '800 e '900*, in S. González, J. Meda, X. Mottilla, L. Pomante (edd.), *La práctica educativa. Historia, memoria y patrimonio*, Salamanca, FahrenHouse, 2018, pp. 1073-1082.

⁴⁸ A plaque on the facade of the building, on which we read: «O scuola | noi ti salutiamo | con riconoscenza | tu ci conduci dalle | tenebre alla luce | dall'errore alla verità | dall'egoismo all'amore scambievole» (Oh School | we salute you | with gratitude | you lead us from | darkness to light | from error to truth | from selfishness to mutual love).

⁴⁹ The only explanation of the old school building's intended use is on plaque in placed by the municipality of Impruneta in 1986, on which we read: «In questa casa che fu sede | della "Scuola di San Gersolè" | Maria Maltoni | maestra dal 1920 al 1955 | dando voce e dignità alla civiltà contadina | fuse scienza, arte ed | esperienza in esemplare insegnamento | L'amministrazione comunale, gli alunni, il popolo | di San Gersolè, riconoscenti, vollero qui ricordarla | dicembre 1986» (In this house that was the home | of the "St. Gersolè School" | Maria Maltoni | teacher from 1920 to 1955 | giving voice and dignity to the rural culture | fused science, art and | exemplary teaching experience | the city administration, the students, the people | of San Gersolè, grateful, wish to remember her | December 1986).

⁵⁰ Surveys conducted recently have established that the old school in the hamlet of Vho is currently being used by the municipality as a storage facility.

⁵¹ In the Roman district of San Lorenzo in Via dei Marsi n. 58, where in 1907 Maria Montessori opened the first children's house, there is a plaque, on which we read: «MCMLXX | A ricordo | del centenario della nascita | di Maria Montessori | che qui creando la prima | casa dei bambini | il 6 gennaio 1907 | iniziava la sua feconda opera di | grande educatrice al servizio dell'infanzia | per la libertà dell'uomo» (MCMLXX | In memory | of the centenary of the birth | of Maria Montessori | who by creating here the first | children's house | January 6, 1907 | began her fruitful work as | great educator at the service of children | for the freedom of man). Furniture, furnishings and original teaching aids created by Montessori for the first children's house are now preserved in the «Mauro Laeng» Museum of School and Education of Roma Tre University.



Pic. 5. The reconstruction of the classroom of the La Montesca School at the Museo della Tela Umbra in Città di Castello.



Pic. 6. The classroom of the La Montesca School (undated but 1910s).

place there. They just establish pedagogical culture, which has fostered the myth of those experiences over the years. They are therefore «non-places»⁵² rather than places. They have become so sanctified and mythologized, that they might as well be considered immutable reliquaries.

It is not by chance, in fact, that only an infinitesimal percentage of these symbolic places has undergone true musealization. The reasons for this phenomenon are still to be investigated. Some preliminary hypotheses, however, can be made.

Scrolling through the lists of these *sancta sanctorum*, we immediately realize that most educational experiences conducted within them might be considered as pedagogical activism and so-called «progressive education». Is there a link between this data and the lack of musealization of the «spatial incubators» of such experiences? We have already had occasion to highlight how the surveys undertaken by the Permanent Observatory on Museums of Education and Centres of Research on Educational Heritage (OPeN.MuSE) since 2014 have shown that the most represented school level amongst the Italian school museums is the primary school and that most museums of this type are found in towns with fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, in particular, sites in rural or mountainous areas, confirming the localist dimension of school memory.

In the aforementioned 2014 presentation at the *VI Jornadas Científicas de la Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo*, we had the opportunity to explain this trend by the fact that these museums are based on a perception of the school as a great collective experience, able to

⁵² On this concept, in particular, see: M. Augé, *Non-lieux: Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1992 (trans.: *Non-places: introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity*, London-New York, Verso, 1995).

allow those who have experienced it to identify with the representations of the schools' past there proposed. It can therefore be deduced that the school level most represented within these museums can be no other than the one attended by the greatest possible number of people, namely the elementary level, which is the only one capable of creating a shared emotional foundation between extremely diversified generations (that of the older students who stopped at the fifth grade and that of the younger ultra-schooled generation). As a result of this, if the school which is better able to generate memory is the «school for all», it follows that experiences which are exemplary from a pedagogical point of view – being extremely innovative but often linked to the charisma of a single figure of an educator (such as Mario Lodi in Vho di Piadena rather than Felice Socciarelli in Mezzaselva) – have not been able to fulfill the difficult task of incarnating a great collective experience, shared in general terms by the largest possible number of people from all social classes and multiple generations.

It is conceivable, in essence, that it was precisely their uniqueness, the fact that they were directly experienced by a small social group, which does not make it possible for them to become «sites of memory», capable of solidifying the memories of a wider community to those who remember and therefore generating feelings of collective identification.

Conclusions

Having reached the end of this first review of «sites of school memory» in Italy, it is possible to make some general considerations. The national dimension of school memory as an integral part of the cultural memory of an entire national community, capable of producing an almost complete homologation of school memories of members of certain generations, contrasts with the predominantly local dimension of the commemoration of the schools' past implemented within the «sites of school memory» which I have examined. These places, in fact, do not so much celebrate the state institution in charge of public education (School with a capital S), but single schools, the small village school or the tiny remote mountain school. This fact can be explained by the process of symbolic integration between local cultures expressed by school communities and national culture transmitted to schools through the «nationalization of the suburbs», as described by the American anthropologist, Norris Brock Johnson⁵³, which would create a strong emotional bond between

⁵³ See N. Brock Johnson, *The Material Culture of Public School Classrooms: The Symbolic Integration of Local Schools and National Culture*, «Anthropology and Education Quarterly», vol. XI, n. 3, pp. 173-190.

individuals subjected to enculturation, the place where it occurred and content which was transmitted.

National public institutions show no interest in the creation of «sites of school memory», so much so that in Italy there is no national school museum (on the model of the Musée National de l'Éducation – MUNAÉ in Rouen, France) and those that do exist – locally – are supported by private foundations, cultural associations, schools and volunteer groups; with the exception of university school museums⁵⁴, which are not intended to reconstruct the memory of a single school experience but rather to scientifically represent the historical evolution of the Italian school system as a whole in one or more time periods. Local public institutions more often tend to forget their schools and, despite their historicity, let them fall into disrepair rather than transforming them into sites of construction, reconstruction and evocation of collective school memory, as evidenced by the poor state in which a considerable number of abandoned historic schools find themselves. The reason is not found solely in the chronic shortage of funds for school construction or the inability of institutions for the care and maintenance of school buildings, but also in the lack of sensitivity shown by the institutions in respect to the educational heritage – whose status of cultural heritage is not completely recognized – as well as with regards to the School as a fundamental channel for cultural socialization and construction of identity.

⁵⁴ This refers to the Museum of Education of the University of Padua; the «Mauro Laeng» Museum of School and Education of the Roma 3 University; the «Paolo and Ornella Ricca» School Museum of the University of Macerata; the Museum of School and Popular Education of the University of Molise.

«Non-places» of school memory. First reflections on the forgotten places of education as generators of collective school memory: between Oral history, Public history and Digital history

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ABSTRACT: The article explores the concept of *places of memory* by analysing it from the opposite perspective of «non-places», an expression which – born in the context of the studies on the so-called «difficult heritage» and «difficult history» – was definitively popularised by the famous work of Marc Augé. By «non-places of school memory» the author means all those educational places consisting of abandoned, forgotten, or even materially no longer present schools and that, for this reason, have been removed from the collective imagination. Such places, however, still conserve an ability to generate memories that survive and resurface thanks to people who preserve what Assmann has called «communicative memory»: a collective memory that – on the contrary of formalised and institutionalised «cultural memory» – only «lives in everyday interaction and communication» and is preserved within the limited time span of three generations. Just by gathering and appropriately socialising these individual memories – a process which can be further facilitated, today, by the joint use of the methods and tools of Oral, Public and Digital History –, such Communicative memory can be transformed into Cultural memory and, consequently, a «non-place» can once more become a *place of collective school memory* and an identity building element for the whole community.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Non-places of memory; School memories; School photographs; Public history; Digital history; School museums.

1. Foreword. Places and «non-places» of memory: concepts and applications

In contemporary historiography the expression «non-places of memory» has long been used principally in relation to a series of places which have been removed from the collective memory as a result of having being sites of dramatic events which communities, for this very reason, were loath to remember, recognise or even conserve, given their associations with pain, shame and humiliation. The main example of this is all those places in which the holocaust took place and for which the term «non-places of memory» was coined in the 1980s and 90s¹ in antithesis to the concept of *lieux de mémoire* formulated by Pierre Nora². From the concentration camps to the «abandoned traumascapes», including the sites more marginally correlated with such events such as «dilapidated areas of towns, abandoned houses, ruined cemeteries»³, all those places have been deliberately abandoned and forgotten for a long time as a result of a full-blown collective denial of the Nazi massacres in Europe⁴.

Subsequently, also other places were encompassed in this «non-places» category, such as those which had in the past been scene of other forms of mass violence such as slavery and colonial history, but also places of wartime extermination and internment, of political genocides, and finally political and civil prisons, including places of so-called «benevolent» internment such as psychiatric hospitals (asylums)⁵. What these sites share is the presence of leftovers of what has been variously defined *negative heritage*⁶, *dissonant heritage*⁷ or *difficult heritage* – namely that material evidence of «a past that is recognised as meaningful in the present but that is also contested and awkward for public

¹ Claude Lanzmann, the director of the film *Shoah* (1985), first introduced this expression to indicate the abandoned places of the Holocaust that he himself had immortalised to ensure that they remain enduring traces (C. Lanzmann, *Le non-lieux de la mémoire*, in M. Deguy (ed.), *Au sujet de Shoah: le film de Claude Lanzmann*, Paris, Editions Belin, 1990, pp. 280-292). On the genesis and use of this expression see the essay by Roma Sendyka, *Prism. Understanding non-sites of memory*, translated by J. Croft, «Teksty Drugie», n. 2, 2015, pp. 13-28 (<<https://depot.ceon.pl/handle/123456789/11805>>, last access: 03.12.2018).

² P. Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols., Paris, Gallimard, 1984-1992.

³ Sendyka, *Prism. Understanding non-sites of memory*, cit., footnote n. 3, pp. 13-14.

⁴ It is only recently, since the post-1989 political changes in Eastern Europe, that these non-sites have acquired visibility, generating historical research, new public communication and specific holocaust education designed to conserve and pass on memories of the Nazi massacres to new generations and the wider public. See L. Bravi, *La memoria della Shoah nella scuola italiana. Una storia*, in M. Corsi (ed.), *La ricerca pedagogica in Italia tra innovazione e internazionalizzazione*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2014, pp. 423-440.

⁵ W. Logan, K. Reeves, *Places of pain and shame. Dealing with "Difficult Heritage"*, London, Routledge, 2009.

⁶ T. Rico, *Negative Heritage: The Place of Conflict in World Heritage*, «Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites», vol. 10, n. 4, 2008, pp. 344-352.

⁷ J.E. Tunbridge, G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past As a Resource in Conflict*, Chichester-New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1996.

reconciliation with a positive, self-affirming contemporary identity»⁸. These sites have also been removed from the collective memory of local and national communities as – in the words of anthropologist McDonald – the «‘Difficult heritage’ may also be troublesome because it threatens to break through into the present in disruptive ways, opening up social divisions, perhaps by playing into imagined, even nightmarish, futures»⁹.

These non-places are today, however, being increasingly frequently relived in the context of rediscovery policies and new forms of public communication of a now long forgotten history. This is the case, in Italy too, with research whose objective is to reconstruct the history of places bound up with a difficult past: from the World War Two concentration and internment camps¹⁰, to the regime’s architectural heritage¹¹, ending with the recent but no less painful and difficult past embodied by Italian psychiatric hospitals which have only recently, after decades of neglect, become subject to slow historical and architectural rediscovery¹².

As we can see, the leitmotifs of the concept of non-place revolve around the more or less conscious removal of memories linked to a given site, building, district or landscape which – via abandonment, disuse and consequent loss of its original function – have turned into something else, i.e. in a present emptied of messages which only a few remaining voices are still able to recount. On this basis, a parallel conception of «non-places of memory» has come to the fore, much wider and less bound up with the politics of forgetting/denying a conflictual and divided past. We refer to a conception that is rather focused on the revivification of the history and identity of places that, although forgotten, prove to be still the bearers of collective meanings which can be rediscovered thanks to oral sources. By gathering individual memories, especially of older

⁸ S. Macdonald, *Difficult Heritage. Negotiating the Nazi past in Nuremberg and beyond*, New York, Routledge, 2009, p. 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ In Italy, too, much research has been done into forgotten places testifying to such «difficult history». See: C. Di Sante (ed.), *I campi di concentramento in Italia. Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940-1945)*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2001; F. Galluccio, *I lager in Italia. La memoria sepolta nei duecento luoghi di deportazione fascisti*, 2a ed. aggiornata, Civezzano (TN), Nonluoghi libere edizioni, 2003; M. Soldini, *Fiori di campo. Storie di internamento femminile nell'Italia fascista (1940-1943)*, Ph.D. Thesis in Human Sciences-Cycle XXVIII (Supervisor: G. Carotenuto; Coordinator: A. Ventrone), Macerata, University of Macerata, 2017.

¹¹ On the enhancement of the Fascist architectural heritage, especially significant is the recent Dossier II/1 (entitled *Architetture tra le due guerre e patrimonio urbano del Novecento*, edited by C. De Maria) published in the journal «Clionet. Per un senso del tempo e dei luoghi», vol. 1, 2017 (<http://rivista.clionet.it/vol1/dossier/architetture_tra_le_due_guerre>, last access: 03.12.2018).

¹² Emblematic cases in Italy are the *Museo Laboratorio della Mente* set up in the year 2000 in the pavilion n. 6 of the former Santa Maria della Pietà asylum in Rome, and now a multimedia museum since 2009 (<<http://www.museodellamente.it/>>); see also the *Museo del Manicomio di San Servolo* in Venice, opened in 2006 (<<http://museomanicomio.servizimetropolitani.ve.it/visita-il-museo/>>, last access: 03.12.2018).

witnesses, attempts can be made to reaffirm the sense of such places by breathing new life into meanings, histories and customs which – whilst made imperceptible by the invisibility and even total disappearance of the last material traces of these – continue all the same to resurface in the community's collective memory.

This is the case of the various projects based on the *parish maps*, whose purpose is to reconstruct – via specific ethnographic and participatory methodologies – a collective representation (partly in graphic mode too) of the heritage, landscape and traditional knowledge which a community identifies with, and wishes to pass on to future generations¹³. In these contexts, «non-places of memory» are places that have lost an identity which needs to be restored. According to Marc Augé's thought, in fact, non-places are juxtaposed to «anthropological places» which are «relational, historical and connected with identity», i.e. capable of defining the identities of those living in them, generating organic social relationships and reminding individuals of their roots¹⁴. It is thus that, by recovering and collecting memories, traditions and stories (in the form of testimony and stories but also old photos, diaries, etc.) a community's immaterial heritage can be brought back to life and a map can be drawn up of all those everyday places which – with the progressive changing of the socio-economic and demographic fabric – had lost their original meaning and become non-places¹⁵. This is the idea underlying the intergenerational memory gap which can only be filled by joining up the broken threads of the past once again, i.e. gathering the testimony of men and women who can breathe fresh life into non-places by re-evoking the traditions, customs and stories which had made them places, i.e. focal points in community life.

¹³ As regards the model of the «parish map» which was developed in the *Parish Maps Project* carried out in the UK in the years 1980-90s, see the collective book: S. Clifford, A. King (edd.), *From place to PLACE: maps and parish maps*, London, Common Ground, 1996, and now the website of the charity Common Ground (<<https://www.commonground.org.uk/>>, last access: 03.12.2018). In relation to the use of such perceptive maps as tools, also used by Italian ecomuseums to retrace, enhance and share local knowledge, see the collections of essays: S. Clifford, M. Maggi, D. Murtas, *Genius loci. Perché, quando e come realizzare una mappa di comunità*, Turin, Ires Piemonte, 2006; L. Bonato (ed.), *Portatori di cultura e costruttori di memorie*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2009; D. Murtas, *Mappe culturali: di persone e di luoghi*, «Signum. The journal of the Ecomuseo del Biellese», vol. 2, n. 1, 2004, pp. 25-26.

¹⁴ M. Augé, *Non luoghi. Introduzione a una antropologia della surmodernità*, Milan, Elèuthera, 1993, p. 5.

¹⁵ The Italian project *Laboratori liquidi sui gap di memorie, ricordi e identità giovanili* was set up for this purpose in Tricase (Lecce) and generated a citizen workshop to «observe non-places». In 2009-10 the project set up a non-profit association *Liquilab Bottega di memorie e identità giovanili* with local and regional funding which developed projects designed to recover and promote memory for the purposes of the cultural and tourist development of the Salento area (<<https://www.liquilab.it/>>, last access: 03.12.2018).

2. «Non-places of school memory»: new contemporary historic educational research trends

The popularity of the non-place concept has recently spread to other research contexts such as educational history on the strength of two main theories.

The first of these is the concept of collective memory as it has variously been theorised in the work of Maurice Halbwachs, Jan Assmann, Pierre Nora and Paul Connerton¹⁶, on one hand. On the other hand, a fundamental role has also been played by consequent consideration of the way in which construction, representation and maintenance of collective memory dynamics are not only bound up with the social practices and rituals they institutionalise and the shared experience memories they respond to but are also quite literally anchored to the actual places in which these experiences took place as *point de repère* capable of triggering collective remembering processes. This is the basis of Nora's *lieux de mémoire*¹⁷ and Connerton's *place memory*¹⁸ concepts which have enabled the multiplicity of relationships moving in a two way direction between places and collective memory to be explored¹⁹.

These same categories have been adopted in historical-education research and to identify and analyse the characteristics of the places which can, in various ways, channel the individual and collective memories of school experiences which, in Benito Escolano's words, constitute «a component that is now almost universal in the context of culturally advanced democratic societies, in which all the generations that cohabit in the scenarios of our time, have been subjected to the normalizing devices of institutionalized education, and therefore keep memories of their culture»²⁰.

From this perspective collective school memories encompass, on the one hand, places in which the educational past is literally put on display, as happens in school museums and, on the other, real places of education in which everyday experiences actually took place, such as historic urban schools, rural schoolhouses and old schoolrooms and, finally, those places (real or symbolic)

¹⁶ M. Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1950; P. Nora, *Mémoire collective*, in J. Le Goff, R. Chartier, J. Revel (edd.), *La nouvelle histoire*, Paris, Retz, 1978, pp. 398-401; J. Assmann, *La memoria culturale. Scrittura, ricordo e identità politica nelle grandi civiltà antiche*, Turin, Einaudi 1997 (It. transl.: *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München, Beck, 1992).

¹⁷ Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, cit.

¹⁸ P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989; Id., *How Modernity Forgets*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009.

¹⁹ See G. Truc, *Memory of places and places of memory: for a Halbwachsian socio-ethnography of collective memory*, «International social science journal», vol. 62, nn. 1-2, 2011, pp. 147-159.

²⁰ See B. Escolano, *Más allá del espasmo del presente: la escuela como memoria*, «História da Educação», vol. 15, n. 33, 2011, pp. 10-30, cit. p. 12.

that have been recently defined by Juri Meda as the «sacred places of education», and which embody crucial milestones in the history of national education²¹.

These places of memory can be supplemented by a very special category: the «non-places of memory» understood as places of lost or forgotten school memory. These are abandoned educational sites such as forgotten or ruined schools²², as well as disappeared schools²³ and, finally, invisible schools²⁴. However, while partial or total abandonment and disappearance of the last traces of such buildings weakens the original place memory, these sites retain the power to conjure up vivid individual memories in the last direct witnesses to the school's life. Witnesses are, in fact, the last repositories of that form of collective memory that Assmann called «communicative memory» or rather a not yet institutionalised collective memory, that is to say:

[a memory that is] not supported by any institutions of learning, transmission, and interpretation; it is not cultivated by specialists and is not summoned or celebrated on special occasions; it is not formalized and stabilized by any forms of material symbolization; it lives in everyday interaction and communication and, for this very reason, has only a limited time depth which normally reaches no farther back than eighty years, the time span of three interacting generations. Still, there are frames, «communicative genres», traditions of communication and thematization and, above all, the affective ties that bind together families, groups, and generations. A change of frames brings about forgetting; the durability of memories depends on the durability of social bonds and frames²⁵.

It follows that only telling the story of these memories and thus appropriately sharing them within a community can (re)construct a collective identity and identity space capable of (re)assigning their status as *collective school memory places* to these forgotten places. This process of recovering and promoting the history and identities of places which are repositories of collective meanings implies the need to accompany traditional historical study with an equally meticulous recovery of oral testimony supported by new sources such as

²¹ See, in this issue, the paper by Juri Meda: *The «Sites of School Memory» in Italy between memory and oblivion: a first approach*.

²² On abandoned school spaces and their evocative potential, see M. Lawn, *Building Ruins: Abandoned Ideas of the School*, in K. Darian-Smith, J. Willis (edd.), *Designing Schools, Space, Place and Pedagogy*, London-New York, Routledge, 2017, pp. 19-24.

²³ M. Brunelli, *Snapshots from the Past: School Images on the Web and the Construction of the Collective Memory of Schools*, in C. Yanes-Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories: New Trends In The History of Education*, Cham, Springer International Publishing, 2017, pp. 47-64, in partic. pp. 43-55.

²⁴ The expression «invisible schools» describes the dilapidated schools which were a feature of many parts of rural Italy for the whole of the 20th century but whose existence has long been seen as a symbol of social and economic backwardness (J. Meda, «*Invisible Schools*»: *the public image of rural schools in Southern Italy in photographic inquiries and photo-reportages (1925-1955)*, «*Historia y Memoria de la Educación*», n. 8, 2018, pp. 347-396).

²⁵ J. Assmann, *Communicative and Cultural Memory*, in A. Erll, A. Nünning (edd.), *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, Berlin, New York, 2008, pp. 109-118, cit. from p. 111.

personal documents, letters, diaries, school photos and so on. Clearly any project centred on rediscovering and re-signifying these places must encompass participation by the community and, as such, implies adopting participatory work methodologies enabling various objectives to be pursued.

The first and most general objective is principally historic, and consists of reconstructing a fragment of community history hitherto considered of lesser importance (the history of town schools) and, for this reason, undervalued to the extent of having been almost entirely removed from collective identity.

The second objective is of a more specifically historical-methodological character and draws on historical research and communication methodologies that have been revolutionising the approach to the history of education in recent years. By this we mean the public history, which began in the United States and is now increasingly widely used internationally. It has now finally obtained the academic recognition it deserves in Italy too, having moved from «ghost discipline» – as Serge Noiret defined it in 2011²⁶ – to an official place in academic debate in which it is increasingly coming to the fore as a specific approach to historical study with its own research methods and tools²⁷. The outcome of cross-fertilisation between academic history, Oral history and Digital history, this new approach to historical research has generated a full blown Public History of Education movement in Italy, which is demonstrating its usefulness and innovative capacity in research and teaching and, at the same time, in the promotion of growing public participation in building and communicating educational history²⁸.

²⁶ S. Noiret, *La Public History: una disciplina fantasma?*, «Memoria e Ricerca», n. 37, May-August 2011, Special issue: *Public History. Pratiche nazionali e identità globale*, ed. by S. Noiret, pp. 10-35.

²⁷ The Italian historical community has shown growing interest in this approach and its methodologies, creating the *Associazione Italiana di Public History* (AIPH) in 2017 which approved its first *Manifesto della Public History Italiana* in June 2018 and is showing great academic vitality. For further information, see the association's website (<<https://aiph.hypotheses.org/>>, last access: 03.12.2018). To find out more about the state of the art in Italian public history see the essays collected in M. Ridolfi (ed.), *Verso la public history: fare e raccontare storia nel tempo presente*, Ospedaletto (Pisa), Pacini, 2017; and in P. Bertella Farnetti, L. Bertucelli, A. Botti (edd.), *Public History: discussioni e pratiche*, Milan-Udine, Mimesis, 2017. Also of interest is the online journal, set up in 2017, specifically devoted to these themes: «Clionet. Per un senso del tempo e dei luoghi, rivista di public history: storie, percorsi, saperi, arti e mestieri» (<<http://rivista.clionet.it/>>, last access: 03.12.2018).

²⁸ See G. Bandini, *Educational Memories and Public History: a necessary meeting*, in Yanes-Cabrera, Meda, Viñao (edd.), *School Memories: New Trends In The History of Education*, cit., pp. 143-156. On November 6, 2018 the *First National Meeting of Public History of Education: riflessioni, testimonianze, esperienze* was held in Florence, and a draft of a *Public History of Education Manifesto* was presented (see G. Bandini: *The Public History of Education Manifesto. Una proposta per commettere ricerca accademica e memoria sociale*). In this same meeting, the author of the present article was invited to present a speech focusing on the role of museums in the making of the Public History of Education (M. Brunelli, *Il Museo della Scuola come luogo di sperimentazione di percorsi di Public History: il caso del Museo della Scuola "Ricca"*

The third and last objective, closely bound up with the previous objective, is purely educational in nature. In a project designed to (re)build public history, in fact, everyone – from the elderly bearers of the collective memory of their generation (the aforementioned *communicative memory*, according to Assmann), to the young in city schools – is potentially involved in the collection and classification of all potentially useful sources, especially by applying the same methods which professional historians use. In this way, everyone can become a «citizen historian» and thus take an active part not only in the co-construction of historical knowledge but also play a central role in directing his/her own knowledge building and self-education processes.

3. *Making citizen history of education through social media: the case of the forgotten open air school in Macerata*

On the basis of these premises the research group working in the Museo della Scuola – as a place set aside for Public History practices²⁹ – activated a first experimental project which has been developed around three key activities:

1) firstly, analysing spontaneous history-telling practices which sparked on Facebook, and turned it into a platform for the collection and sharing of historical data, sources and documents provided by users (a real *crowdsourcing* platform)³⁰;

2) secondly, gathering oral sources and memories of school from people who have shown an interest in taking part in the experiment;

3) lastly, planning public history projects to be implemented in local schools.

dell'Università di Macerata). The proceedings of the meeting are now in the press.

²⁹ On the role of museums as places and agents of public history practices see S. Noiret (ed.), *Musei di storia e public history*, Monographic issue of «Memoria e ricerca», N.s., n. 1, January-April 2017.

³⁰ Serge Noiret has highlighted that the word *crowdsourcing* is a recent neologism coined to describe participatory projects developed thanks to the voluntary contributions of groups of Internet users. Strictly linked to the new active and participatory role played by Web 2.0 users, this methodology is increasingly frequently used in various research contexts to invite people to gather data on a large scale, which would otherwise be difficult to source. Citizen science, community archaeology and citizen history projects have been developed thanks to this participatory approach. For an overview of citizen science themes, see the collection of Italian language essays *Open science, open data: la scienza trasparente*, Milan, Egea, 2014 (Dossier of the journal «Scienza & Società», n. 17/18, May 2014). On citizen history more specifically as a result of the impact of technologies on public history practices, see S. Noiret, *Digital History 2.0*, in F. Clavert, S. Noiret (edd.), *L'histoire contemporaine à l'ère numérique. Contemporary History in the Digital Age*, Bruxelles [etc.], Peter Lang, 2013, pp. 155-190; Id., *Storia pubblica digitale*, «Zapruder. Storie in movimento», n. 36, 2015, pp. 9-23.

The idea of sounding out Public History of Education's potential as a fusion of the Oral History tradition with the Digital History approach (i.e. supported by the use of social media), emerged from observing a collective remembering and sharing of memories process which appeared spontaneously on social media. What triggered this phenomenon was the publication of some photographs regarding a historic, but no longer extant, public schoolhouse in Macerata and which – even disappeared from the public consciousness – is still vividly alive in the stories of its older residents: the Wooden Open Air School in the Armando Diaz public gardens³¹.

In April 2016, in fact, on the Facebook group entitled *Sei di Macerata se... [You are from Macerata if...]*³² two photographs were posted, presumably dating to the 1930s and 40s, which showed a little, wooden schoolhouse standing in the middle of the great Giardini Diaz public park. The post's photos, entitled *A scuola ai giardini Diaz*³³ (going to school in the Diaz gardens) showed a wooden building flanked by groups of children in school overalls sitting in a circle around their teacher or doing school work around small tables. The pictures illustrate a characteristic wooden building, very similar to other open air schools first built in the early 20th century, and then more and more frequently under the Fascist regime in many Italian towns in order to offer large, light-filled and well aired schoolrooms. Looking out onto parks and frequently equipped with wooden pavilions which were open at the sides, these buildings were designed to offer children – especially those who were «slender or weak in other ways» (a euphemism mainly used for children suffering from tuberculosis, and rickets, but also other physical and even mental illnesses) – the benefit of sun, pure air and physical exercise in the open air³⁴. In actual fact the main objective of

³¹ Created in 1897, Giardini Diaz is the most important public park in the town and was named after the hero of the World War I General Armando Diaz, like many other memorial parks set up to commemorate the Fallen of the Great War, especially under the Fascist regime when the cult of the dead was fascistised (D. Lupi, *Parchi e viali della rimembranza*, Florence, R. Bemporad e figlio, 1923; P. Genovesi, *Il culto dei caduti della Grande Guerra nel "progetto pedagogico fascista"*, «Annali online della Didattica e della Formazione Docente», vol. 8, n. 12, 2016, pp. 83-114; G.L. Mosse, *Le guerre mondiali. Dalla tragedia al mito dei caduti*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2007).

³² Facebook group page <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/1464824037062451/>> (last access: 03.12.2018).

³³ N.M., *A scuola ai Giardini Diaz*, 8 April 2016, <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/1464824037062451/permalink/1730789703799215/>> (last access: 03.12.2018).

³⁴ On the Italian open air schools, see recent research by Mirella D'ascenzo: *Per una storia delle scuole all'aperto in Italia*, Pisa, Edizioni ETS, 2018; Ead., *Le esperienze di scuole all'aperto in Italia nel primo Novecento. Avvio di un'indagine*, in: M. Tomarchio, L. Todaro (edd.), *Spazi formativi, modelli e pratiche di educazione all'aperto nel primo Novecento*, Milan, Maggioli, 2017, pp. 101-122; Ead., *I luoghi dell'educazione. Le scuole all'aperto in Emilia Romagna*, Rivista di storia dell'educazione n. 2, 2016, pp. 49-54; Ead., *Per una storia dei diritti dell'infanzia. Le scuole all'aperto nel primo Novecento in Italia*, in M. Tomarchio, S. Ulivieri (edd.), *Pedagogia militante. Diritti, culture, territori. Atti del 29° convegno nazionale SIPED (Catania 6-7-8 novembre 2014)*, Pisa, Edizioni ETS, 2015, pp. 675-681.

these institutions was improving physical health, and in 1913 Clemente Tonzig – who had taken an active part in setting up the first Italian open air schools in Padua in 1905 and Verona in 1910³⁵ – hoped that «they would increasingly gather up children of every physical constitution as a necessary complement to ordinary schools» as was demonstrated by the positive results achieved both in terms of «improvements in physical health» and «development of intellectual ability», thus generating «huge physical, intellectual and moral advantages»³⁶.

Both photos and oral testimonies prove that Macerata also had its open air school, which was built in the years 1920s-30s that is to say in the wake of school modernisation and the promotion of hygiene and health assistance which were such a feature of the Fascist regime's policies of protection of childhood³⁷. Unfortunately now a great part of citizens has no memory of this school anymore, except those who directly – or indirectly, i.e. through the accounts of parents and grandparents – experienced it. Nevertheless, the post entitled *A scuola ai Giardini Diaz*³⁸ prompted soon great interest in a lot of Macerata people who, after recognising in the old pictures the familiar areas of the park, were deeply amazed by the discovery of a history they did not know. It was precisely the contrast between the reality depicted in the photographs of the 1930s, and the total absence of any visible traces in today's park areas, which triggered this Facebook curiosity. Photographs precisely functioned as *photo-stimuli* – in accordance with the technique known to visual anthropologists and sociologists as *photo-elicitation*³⁹ – and immediately prompted discussion,

For a history of the international open air school movement in various European and non-European contexts, see A.M. Châtelet, D. Lerch, J.N. Luc, *L'école de plein air. Une expérience pédagogique et architecturale dans l'Europe du XX siècle. Open-Air Schools. An Educational and Architectural Venture in Twentieth-Century Europe*, [S.l.], Editions Recherches, 2003; A.E. Benito, *The school in the city: school architecture as discourse and as a text*, *Paedagogica Historica*, vol. 39, n. 1/2, 2003, pp. 53-64; P.L. Moreno Martinez, *The hygienist movement and the modernization of education in Spain*, «*Paedagogica Historica*», vol. 42, n. 6, December 2006, pp. 793-815; M. Gutman, *Entre moyens de fortune et constructions spécifique. Les écoles de plein air aux États-Unis à l'époque progressiste (1900-1920)*, «*Histoire de l'éducation*», n. 102, 2004, pp. 157-180; A.M. Châtelet, *Le soufflé du plein air. Histoire d'un projet pédagogique et architectural novateur (1904-1952)*, Geneva, Metisse Presses, 2011.

³⁵ Hygienist and school doctor in Verona, Clemente Tonzig also acted as educational inspector. See D'Ascenzo, *Per una storia delle scuole all'aperto in Italia*, cit., in partic. pp. 89-96 (Padua) and p. 145 (Verona).

³⁶ C. Tonzig, *La scuola all'aperto: fondamenti igienici ed organizzazione pratica di essa*, Extract from Number 41 of «*Igiene della Scuola*», Genova, 1913, in partic. pp. 2-3, 13-14.

³⁷ On open air schools as part of an overall Fascist health and education programme for Italian children, see, in particular, G. Minnucci, *Scuole: asili d'infanzia, scuole all'aperto, elementari e medie, case del balilla, palestre ed impianti sportivi. Criteri, dati, esempi per la progettazione, la costruzione e l'arredamento*, preface by M. Piacentini, Milan, Hoepli, 1936; E. Maddaloni, *Scuola all'aperto: esperienza nella scuola di vita in tempo fascista*, Città di Castello, Tip. Leonardo da Vinci, [1937]; and Ministero dell'Educazione nazionale, *Le scuole all'aperto in Italia*, compiled by C. Quercia, Milan, Alfieri and Lacroix, 1940.

³⁸ N.M., *A scuola ai Giardini Diaz*, Post of 8 April 2016, cit.

³⁹ The expression «photo-elicitation», introduced in the late 1950s by photographer and

reflection and recollection by local people. Citizens' cognitive, mnemonic and emotional responses were aroused in two main ways that, with the words of sociologist Douglas Harper, can be summed up as follows:

1) on the one hand, as school-photographs, these images «depict events that were part of collective or institutional pasts [and] that occurred earlier in the lifetimes of the subjects» and, at the same time, portray «the intimate dimensions of the social»⁴⁰, i.e. the dimension of the classroom-groups with who shared the wooden-schoolhouse experience in those years;

2) and, on the other, as historical photos, they «evoked aspects of the past that have a great deal of significance in the context of [a reality's] continuing evolution»⁴¹ like, in this case, the urban landscape.

Feelings of estrangement, amazement and also of loss and, in a few cases, discomfort are thus understandable from people facing up to the contrast between a lost, forgotten or never known past, and a present free of any reference to this past. It was precisely this contrast which triggered a new vision of this corner of the park which was, for the first time, seen as a «non-place» in the collective community memory.

3.1. *The forgotten school becomes a catalyser of the communicational school memory*

This amazement led to the post being the subject of growing interest by 247 people and generating various interactions (44) and shares (38) which in turn led to it being viewed by yet more people in other groups. Within the original Facebook group in which the post appeared the earliest comments showed that whilst younger people knew nothing of the school, certain people had direct experience of this specific wooden building («I remember it perfectly, I lived [nearby]») without knowing what its original function had been («I remember the building, too, but I don't know what it was for») or remembering only the use to which it was put after the school was closed down («If I'm not

researcher John Collier (J.J. Collier, *Photography in anthropology: a report on two experiments*, «American Anthropologist», n. 59, 1957, pp. 843-859) indicates a guided-interview technique that uses visual material to provoke (*elicit*) responses from interviewees. On the subject of history and definition of photo-elicitation see D. Harper, *Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation*, «Visual Studies», vol. 17, n. 1, 2002, pp. 13-26; and the comprehensive work by Penny Tinkler: *Using Photographs in Social and Historical Research*, Los Angeles, Sage, 2013.

⁴⁰ Harper, *Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation*, cit., p. 13.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

mistaken before it was demolished it was used as a storeroom for the council's equipment»; «it was the local council's plant nursery»)⁴². The first more detailed information gradually came in from direct and also indirect witnesses reporting the memories of their parents:

I attended in the 1950s... but I think it was closed down when my legendary teacher retired in the 1960s!! There were three classes, 3rd, 4th and 5th years in a single room and she taught us in turn an hour at a time!!! But whatever class you were in you had to be attentive and follow the lesson. A method like this is unthinkable today!!! [...]

For those who had attended the school it was the: «Open air school» and The Montessori teaching method was used. The building [was] the whole school.

I remember it... the primary school! [...]

I remember the school and the teacher, too.

Wonderful!!!!... I remember it perfectly. I went to the garden often because I lived [nearby]. How lovely to see it again... memories of the past!

Famous teacher Ms Marchesini. My father attended in the 1920s. [...]

My father went⁴³.

At this point questions regarding the dates of the school began: after the first hypotheses based on an examination of the photos and the elements in it – such as the building and the materials it was made with and the children's clothes – clearer memories and more accurate data emerged from both indirect witnesses (the children of those who had attended the school) and direct witnesses (those who had seen it when it was still there, although used for other things):

When was it?

It looks like the 1920s or 30s to judge from the girls' bobbed hair which was characteristic of the Fascist era.

— Perhaps the 1950s. I remember the wooden building when it was really falling down and if it was as old as the 1930s it wouldn't have lasted so long.

— But no, it was exactly the 1920s. It was called «Scuola Colonia A. Diaz» better known as the «open air school». My mother went (born 1921). It stayed standing until they built the underground car park so it lasted a long time. [...]

Thank you. My old school... so many memories!⁴⁴

⁴² Comments on N.M.'s post, *A scuola ai Giardini Diaz*, cit., 8 April 2016, from hrs: 18.53 to 19.04.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 8th April 2016, from hrs: 19.08 to 21.05.

⁴⁴ Comments on N.M.'s post, *A scuola ai Giardini Diaz*, cit., 8 April 2016, from hrs: 21.08 to hrs. 21.41.

Having been shared so many times the school posts and photos appeared on other users' pages where they generated further comments adding further information on the building which the photos could not show, such as its colours:

— I remember it still being standing at the end of the 1950s when I was a child and went to the Diaz gardens with my family. It was made of wood and I seem to remember it being painted blue and white⁴⁵.

Once essential information had been established such as the date (from the beginning of 1930s to late 1950s) and the name the school was known by («Scuola Colonia A. Diaz» and «Scuola all'aperto»), more specific details began to emerge on everyday life at the school and its people: pupils and teachers. The first personal accounts by direct witnesses began to emerge:

I attended the 5th year of primary school at this school with Ms Marchesini as my teacher. It was a multi-class of 3rd, 4th and 5th year students and it was way back in 1960. We took to school mouse traps, fresh flowers for the desks and we took turns to keep a weather diary! And the fence around it was a rose hedge!!! Wonderful memories. Thank you.

And Ms Marchesini prepared us 5th year pupils for the entrance exams. We went to her home, at the beginning of Via Roma and she gave us extra lessons free of charge. It was the end of her teaching career. I still remember her very fondly⁴⁶.

As we can see, the rediscovered old school expressed all its power to trigger memories. Still surviving in the collective (communicational) memory of many seniors, the wooden schoolhouse made explicit its first characteristic as a real «social object»⁴⁷: its being «personal» i.e. able to awaken, in people who observe it, the recollection of a personal memory or the recounting of a story, which easily become sources of potential conversation with others⁴⁸. Those people

⁴⁵ 9th April comment to the post shared on L.C.'s personal page.

⁴⁶ Comments on N.M.'s post., *A scuola ai Giardini Diaz*, cit., from 8 April 2016 (hrs: 21:46) to 9 April 2016.

⁴⁷ The social object concept emerged in the context of thinking on web marketing and the analysis of interactions within the social media network (J. Engeström, *Why some social network services work and others don't – Or: the case for object-centered sociality*, 13 April 2005, <<http://www.zengstrom.com/blog/2005/04/why-some-social-network-services-work-and-others-dont-or-the-case-for-object-centered-sociality.html>>, last access: 03.12.2018). Drawing on the concept of Object-Centered Sociality coined by sociologist Karin Knorr-Cetina (K. Knorr-Cetina, *Sociality with Objects: Social Relations in Postsocial Knowledge Societies*, «Theory, Culture, and Society», vol. 14, n. 4, 1997, pp. 1-30), Engeström illustrates that the most successful social networks are those which focus not on *people* but on *objects*, as centres of interest or the fulcrum of practices that people like to share. «Reified» in blog posts, photographs, URLs, shared events, experiences etc., these *social objects* embody real affinities between people and, as such, they are capable of promoting online social interactions that actually respond to the needs for involvement and participation typical of web 2.0 users (precisely defined as participatory, in contrast to web 1.0, or *static web*).

⁴⁸ Here we use the «social objects» category that Nina Simon successfully applied to the

of Macerata registered on Facebook asked themselves an inevitable question: who can remember the names of their schoolmates? And their teachers? These are questions which usually come up when old school photos are published and become objects of common interests and *stimuli* for sharing memories and documents, as well as for fostering social activities in the real world, like school reunions:

I'd like to contact some of my old 5th year primary school classmates! Unfortunately I can't remember the names. [...]

Mine was the last year before the school closed.

— What year was it? I don't know when it closed. Were you in the multi-class too?

— Yes me too, I can only remember the name of one girl: P.L.

— When I find the photo I'll post it. [...]

Here is a photo of Ms Marchesini and pupil P.F. in 1957 in the gardens.

— My beloved Ms Marchesini. Thanks for this wonderful photo!⁴⁹

Finally, in the wake of these reminiscences, other old photos appeared – dug out from the private photo-albums – such as that of the frequent cited teacher Ms. Marchesini, affectionately remembered by her pupils and indissolubly linked to the open air school. The examples shown above make clear the huge potential of school photographs, which I have already defined as «intrinsically social objects»⁵⁰ i.e. capable of catalysing the attention of those observing them, stimulating social interaction and creating bonds between people on the strength of the shared interests embodied by such objects such as the memory of a common school experience: having attended the same school («the open air school»), having been in the same group-class («we were in the same class») and having been taught by the same teacher (the «beloved teacher Marchesini»).

museum environment in her thought-provoking book *The Participatory Museum*. Simon – starting from the Engeström's analysis – affirms that museum objects can also become «social» when they have four special attributes: they are *personal* (they provoke a personal connection in the observer), *active* (they burst into the visual, physical and social space, thus attracting observers' attention), *provocative* (unexpected, or unsettling, objects, which provoke real surprise in observers) and finally *relational* (objects that «explicitly invite interpersonal use» like «pool tables, seesaws, and game boards» and educational games which require visitors to play as part of a team). See N. Simon, *The Participatory Museum*, Santa Cruz, Museum 2.0, 2010, pp. 130-132 (see also the online version: <<http://www.participatorymuseum.org/>>, last access: 03.12.2018).

⁴⁹ Comments on N.M's post., *A scuola ai Giardini Diaz*, cit., from 8 April 2016 (hrs: 21:55) to 10 April 2016 (hrs: 18:23).

⁵⁰ M. Brunelli, *Las fotografías escolares como objetos sociales: Primeras reflexiones sobre el uso educativo y social del patrimonio en el museo de la escuela*, in Badanelli Rubio, Poveda Sanz, Rodríguez Guerrero (edd.), *Pedagogía museística: prácticas, usos didácticos e investigación del patrimonio educativo*, cit., pp. 203-217.

But more and more new photos and information continued to be posted on user request, both in the original group and also in a group entitled *Ricordi di Macerata: raccolta di foto antiche e moderne* [Memories of Macerata: a collection of old and contemporary photographs]⁵¹. In the months and years which followed (December 2016⁵², October 2017⁵³, January 2018⁵⁴, November 2018⁵⁵), new photos accompanied by many comments appeared at regular intervals. These further photographs show a building which looks lighter coloured than in the most ancient photos: a witness, in fact, remembered that the school was «pale green in colour and Ms. Marchesini taught there for many years»⁵⁶, and soon another Facebook confirmed that «it was all green wood, if I remember rightly»⁵⁷. This post, too, triggered fresh interest from yet further users who continued to add further details on its history, years of functioning and teachers:

I have very fond memories of one of our good teachers, Miss Maria Foglietti, sister of my first unforgettable teacher, Miss Elsa Foglietti, thanks... lovely memories.

I remember this school because my father worked in the public gardens.

It was a fairy tale!

It was known as the country school.

It was truly wonderful!!

I did my primary schooling, until the 4th year, in this wooden school and then it was bombed and became unsafe⁵⁸.

On 9th December 2016 a new post appeared with a new photo showing the large size of the multi-class inner room, with its very high windows up to the ceiling which let in lots of sunlight⁵⁹. This photo was also shared and commented

⁵¹ Facebook group page: <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/288079154913153/>> (last access: 03.12.2018).

⁵² N.M., *La scuola "Armando Diaz" ai Giardini Diaz*, 6 December 2016, <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/288079154913153/permalink/426134434440957/>> (last access: 03.12.2018).

⁵³ N.M., *La scuola Diaz ai giardini*, 13 October 2017, <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/288079154913153/permalink/627863824268016/>> (last access: 03.12.2018).

⁵⁴ G.S., *Bella e interessante. Da leggere anche*, 15 January 2018 post, <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/288079154913153/permalink/678401495880915/>> (last access: 03.12.2018).

⁵⁵ A.F., *Interni scuola di legno Giardini Diaz*, 24 November 2018, <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/288079154913153/permalink/910708185983577/>> (last access: 03.12.2018).

⁵⁶ W.M., comment on N.M.'s post., *La scuola Diaz ai giardini*, cit., date: 14 October 2017, hrs: 8.54.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, date: 14 October 2017, hrs: 15.12.

⁵⁸ Comments on N.M.'s post. *La scuola "Armando Diaz" ai Giardini Diaz*, cit., 6 December 2016, hrs: 23.11 and 8 December, hrs: 23.15.

⁵⁹ M.C., 29 September 1927. *Scuola Colonia A. Diaz (so-called Scuola all'aperto). Classroom*, Post on <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/288079154913153/permalink/428353980885669/>> (last access: 03.12.2018).

and, on request by other users, the post's author new detailed information, for example on its original location: «Where was it exactly? I can't place it – Where the “Terrazza dei popoli”, the fun fair, is now, [...], at the garden's exit in the direction of [the bar called] *Narciso*»⁶⁰.

But the most interesting phenomenon is that the attention triggered by the old wooden school is so powerful that even those photos which do not directly show it, end up being equally associated with the now disappeared schoolhouse by witnesses. It thus happened that a user – faced with a generic photo of children playing around a fountain in the Diaz Gardens – immediately recalls the wooden school, commenting: «Great memories of when I went to school at the wooden school. 1940/44»⁶¹; and the same happens when some photos are posted of the aerial bombing which hit Macerata on 3rd April 1944, and which are instantly associated with the school again: «I remember it well. I was at school, in the 4th year. The Giardini Diaz open air school. The fighter aircraft started firing and then the bombers dropped their bombs. The school was made of wood and the air movements bent it»⁶².

As the few examples cited above make clear, the old school continues to exert its attraction through new photos posted in a chain reaction by other users who – from the Web 2.0 perspective – shifted from consumer to producer of new photos and information. The volume and tenor of the interactions triggered on the social networks showed a continuing powerful interest in this non-place by local people to the extent that the museum decided to further promote this process, precisely via social media.

3.2. *The Museo della Scuola's call for memories: from historical crowdsourcing to oral source gathering*

For the purposes of facilitating such joint voluntary source gathering on this interesting fragment of Macerata's educational history, the Paolo and Ornella Ricca Museo della Scuola in Macerata decided to take its place in the dynamics observed on Facebook for the purposes of promoting a more conscious participation by citizens in the historical crowdsourcing process which was taking shape. For this reason, on 9th April 2016 the original post *A scuola ai Giardini Diaz* was shared on the museum's Facebook page⁶³ and accompanied

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Comment on N.M.'s post, *Oggi sole... tutti ai giardini*, 21 May 2016, <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/1464824037062451/permalink/1745301285681390/>> (last access: 03.12.2018).

⁶² Comment on N.M.'s post, *3 April 1944. Le Casermette durante il bombardamento alleato*, 3 April 2016, <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/1464824037062451/permalink/1728934117318107/>> (last access: 03.12.2018).

⁶³ The Paolo and Ornella Ricca Museo della Scuola, *Riprendiamo dalla pagina Facebook*

by a full-blown “Call for memories” amongst local people. This was given a further boost by other social media such as the popular blog *Mamme marchigiane* managed by Silvia Alessandrini Calisti who took up the museum’s invitation and proposed an interesting post entitled *Quando la scuola montessoriana era all’aperto: il passato riemerge a Macerata*⁶⁴ [When the Montessori School was in the Open Air: Macerata’s Past Emerges]. The objective was to foster a more systematic collection of data, anecdotes, autobiographical memories, photos and other original documents via social media relating to the origins and history of this historic town school and its pupils, teachers and other school staff who had brought it to life. University professors also launched the Call during their classes of History of Education and Children’s Literature with the intention of getting students from Macerata and their families involved in sourcing information and primary sources, including oral sources.

The local response was rapid and lots of positive feedback from students and their families arrived through the social media in the form of posts containing news, historic photos with more circumstantial evidence and lastly indications on other historic sources (bibliographical, archival and iconographical). These fragments of information began to take shape as a more detailed description of the school, of its everyday activities and its figures, observed from the privileged vantage point of those with direct experience of it. The testimonies which reached the museum after this first Call, included an especially important letter from Mrs. Ines Leombruni (born 1929), who responded willingly and tried to «remember as much as possible in the hope of passing down memories of a school which was very dear to us to new generations». This is how she remembered her experience at the open air school:

It was in 1935 that I started to attend the first year of elementary school at the Scuola Colonia A. Diaz with Luisa Marchesini as my teacher. I attended the school for five years from 1936 to 1941. The school was small and on one floor with a single entrance, toilets and a classroom and then the garden, the large Giardini Diaz lawns on which Ms Marchesini sometimes taught us. Entirely built in wood, it was warm in winter and cool in summer. I still remember the wood under my shoes and the way the floors creaked and the strong light which came in from the classroom’s many windows.

Then a detailed description follows of the interiors of the one-room school, an architectural model frequent among the Italian rural schoolhouses of the time:

“Sei di Macerata se...” post <https://www.facebook.com/pg/museo.scuola.Paolo.e.Ornella.Ricca/posts/?ref=page_internal> (last access: 03.12.2018).

⁶⁴ Mammemarchigiane.it, *Quando la scuola montessoriana era all’aperto: il passato riemerge a Macerata*, post dating to 9 April 2016, <<https://www.mammemarchigiane.it/2016/04/quando-la-scuola-montessoriana-era-allaperto-il-passato-riemerge-a-macerata/>> (last access: 03.12.2018).

The classroom was set up for twenty or so pupils: I remember three rows of desks designed for pairs of children with boys and girls alternating at all times. The desks were made of wood and sloping with an inkwell in the middle. My classmate Flavio and I used to sit on the right side of the classroom. The blackboard and teacher's desk were to the left and right respectively, and the teacher's desk was raised on a platform. I never remember going anywhere near it, such was my fear. The blackboard was black and mobile, without a grid, and near here there was a crucifix [on the wall]. On the side wall there were photos of Italian politician and journalist Filippo Corridoni and General Armando Diaz⁶⁵. School began on 1st October and ended in June. In the morning we came in when the bell rang, which the teacher often rang at 8 am, and we left at 1 pm. We prayed every morning and then saluted the Duce. We had a snack at 10 and if it wasn't cold we ate white bread and jam outside. I remember that the teacher spread the jam on the pieces of bread and then scraped it off again immediately to leave just a sweet sugary taste.

The testimony was equally detailed in describing the various everyday school rituals, both large and small, which took place in the classroom: from the Montessori educational methods to punishments, from breaks to the fascist parades in which all local people and children, and their teachers in particular, were obliged to take part.

I don't remember punishments. Perhaps, given the Montessori methods⁶⁶ used, our teacher used neither positive nor negative reinforcements. I only remember her extreme strictness with her older son Carlo, a few years older than me. She only had a ruler and sometimes sent the disobedient children to stand outside the door. When the teacher left the classroom she organised us into a line, from tallest to shortest. Then the poorer children were taken to the poor people's canteen in Via Mozzi where they were given a dish of hot soup and a little cheese sandwich, which most children took home to their families. I was lucky and can only remember eating at the canteen once. Over the year the teacher took us to the Fascist party's meetings and parades and, as she loved theatre, she often prepared us for theatre performances at the Via Lauro Rossi cinema theatre near the Sferisterio. I still carefully conserve a photo of me dressed as Little Red Riding Hood with the teacher as my mother.

⁶⁵ The portrayed in these photos – General Armando Diaz (see above note n. 33) and Filippo Corridoni – were on the school's walls as part of the pantheon of Great War heroes whom Fascism promoted in order to give a fascist tenor to the cult of the Fallen which was instrumentalised for propaganda and fascist education purposes (Genovesi, *Il culto dei caduti della Grande Guerra nel «progetto pedagogico» fascista*, cit.). In particular Fascist rhetoric built a full blown cult around the figure of Marche-born Filippo Corridoni (Corridonia 1887 - San Martino del Carso, Sagrado 1915), revolutionary trade unionist and interventionist, Mussolini's political comrade who died on the Carso in 1915 (A. Riosa, *I miti del fascismo e le tante anime dell'apostolo Filippo Corridoni*, «Ricerche storiche», n. 1, gen.-apr. 1983, pp. 131-149).

⁶⁶ Maria Montessori was initially acclaimed as an eminent educator and her schools considered a source of pride for the regime that supported them until 1933, when the cultural and ideological differences between Fascism and Montessori's thought became irreconcilable and her figure and method were entirely ostracised. See G. Marazzi, *Montessori e Mussolini: la collaborazione e la rottura*, «Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica», n. 1, 2000, pp. 177-196; C. Tornar, *Maria Montessori durante il fascismo*, «Cadmo», n. 2, 2005, pp. 7-22; P. Trabalzini, *Montessori, Mussolini e fascismo*, in G. Cives, M.A. D'Arcangeli, F. Pesci, P. Trabalzini, *Montessoriana. Incontri italiani*, Pescara, Libreria dell'Università Editrice, 2010, pp. 81-112.

Her description continued with recollections of the school's reference figure: Ms Marchesini, frequently mentioned by the Facebook group users:

I would like to remember the teacher Luisa Marchesini, married to Mr Paolo Mancini with whom she had two children Carlo and Renato. She was very strict but an excellent teacher. She prepared us for middle school very well. She was extremely severe and especially with her son Carlo, who she never showed any sign of motherly affection to⁶⁷.

Mrs Leombruni's testimony gave life, form, colour and emotions to the photographs that were starting to reappear on the social networks. Equally important were the autobiographical accounts of Mrs Anna Zanconi who – after getting in touch with the Museum – signalled some passages of her autobiographical book *Voci dal Cortile* which were relevant to the Museum's Call for memories. In this way, another witness added further information, names and anecdotes relating to a historic period immediately after that described above.

My school, Diaz, was truly special, like a dream, and a fairy tale aura has remained around it in my thoughts, as a place which shaped my future and planted a seed in me out of which my love of beautiful things, nature and poetry grew. [The school] was located in the east side of the public gardens, very near the courtyard of my home. As the sun rose, it lit it up right from the earliest morning. To get to school I had to cross the whole of the garden's tree lined avenue, with its huge horse chestnuts which were unbroken except for the centre where a large circular fountain sang its effervescent water melodies [...] A stop here was a must. In my pockets I had prepared crumbs from breakfast and I had fun throwing these at the little fish in it [...]. I ran down the second half of the avenue. My friends had gone on ahead and were already at the gate. Before me the school was set in horse chestnut trees leaving glimpses of its wooden walls and edging and window and door frames painted in pale green. A few steps led up to the entrance where our teacher Giulia Carlini was waiting for us. [...] «Our respect, Miss Teacher!», that was how we greeted her, as she wished. And Miss Giulia caressed our heads one by one as we passed her on the steps. The classroom was paradise for me, a kaleidoscope of colours, to my eyes! I sat at the third desk, in front of the blackboard. The teacher sat at the far corner before her desk, serious and composed, surrounded with books and exercise books. In that classroom, apart from the desks and wooden floors which creaked whenever we moved, everything was green: the blinds, the beamed ceiling, the walls, the atmosphere⁶⁸.

This testimony mentions a further teacher, Giulia Carlini who – as her former pupil recounts – never missed the chance to take her pupils out into the open air to enjoy the sunlight and fresh air but also to garner significant stimuli from observing nature as the basis for lessons:

⁶⁷ Mrs Leombruni's testimony was sent to the Museum by her granddaughter, a university student of professor Juri Meda, via email on 20th June 2016, just after the publication of the first Museum's "Call for memories".

⁶⁸ A. Zanconi, *Voci dal cortile*, Villa di Serio, Edizionivilladiseriane, 2001, pp. 83-84.

Time wasting was not allowed and lessons were busy. During break there was time to go out into the garden and extend the time there. «The sun is strong today, put on your berets!», the teacher told us and we went down the steps like soldiers in a row [...]. In spring the fragrant aromas and mild air were too wonderful and encouraged play... We took the teacher her chair and she sat down in the shade of the spruce, stuck her head out to feel the beneficial warmth of its caress, and breathed in the fragrant aroma of this spruce. Every now and again we disturbed her with our discoveries: «Miss, at the foot of the chestnut, in the grass, I've found this nest», and we showed her what we'd found in our cupped hands. «It is a great tit's nest and it's in a bad way. Mother tit will be making a new one to lay her eggs in», said the teacher. We all looked in the branches to find the tit busy at work but the dense foliage stopped us from seeing her. That was the right moment for a science lesson⁶⁹.

There are also descriptions of the schoolroom and the main equipment in it such as the terracotta stove and the morning fire lighting ritual:

The little school was heated with large terracotta stove on various levels, which burnt wood. The wood the council gave us was not always enough and the teacher urged us to bring in a little wood if we wanted to keep it warm until we left school. So that we didn't have to carry too much, she had us leave our textbook and our wooden case containing our ink pens on our desks, next to the inkwells. The next day we brought the wood in our cardboard schoolbag, and the stove crackled and heated the room wonderfully⁷⁰.

Fresh life was thus breathed into places, spaces and people via the accounts of those involved. And the story did not stop there but continued in the months and years which followed.

3.3. *The Museum and the gathering of oral sources on the forgotten school*

After this first phase, interest in this forgotten fragment of the town's history grew, an interest which in no way diminished in the following months as the further requests for information on this school's history show. The museum thus decided to issue two more Calls for memories on 7th and 27th June 2017, with two posts⁷¹ which were shared on the previously cited social media and reached 3,402 and 3,081 users respectively, determining a considerable number of interactions (396 and 2,489 including views, shares and comments. Once again, the photos of the forgotten school sparked conversations and provoked the recollection of memories among the Facebook users:

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

⁷¹ Museo della Scuola, *Lo sapete che a #Macerata esisteva una scuola all'aperto?*, 7 June 2017, <<https://www.facebook.com/museo.scuola.Paolo.e.Ornella.Ricca/photos/a.390143351151983/879178878915092/?type=3&theater>>, and: Museo della Scuola, *Quando la scuola montessoriana era all'aperto*, 27 June 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/pg/museo.scuola.Paolo.e.Ornella.Ricca/posts/?ref=page_internal/> (last access: 03.12.2018).

I went past every morning on my way [...], so actually not very long ago...

Yes, I remember it very well, too. I attended the fourth and fifth there with Ms Mancini as my teacher... together with my cousin. I still have the photos although the external location was a bit different!!! [...]

I remember it, too. I attended the first and second years of elementary school there. My teacher was Ms. Caraceni who worked with Ms. Mancini Marchesini! Great memories! Wonderful school!

My lovely grandmother Maria went to school there!

I remember it well...⁷²

Methodologically speaking the Museum used this new Call to identify new direct witnesses who were subsequently contacted in the context of the oral source gathering campaign which the museum has been pursuing for two years now, via a doctoral research project specifically focusing on school's oral history⁷³. Thanks to the targeted use of social media as a public meeting place in which to share interests with an increasing number of people, the museum has contacted – and has been contacted by – potential witnesses who have offered their contribution in the form of oral memories supported by historic documents and photographs. Mrs Mirella Rinaldelli (born 1936), for example, told of the appeal of the wooden school for local people who admired it in the gardens.

I would have loved to have attended the Giardini wooden school. It was so sweet! It was so beautiful, in art deco style. When they took us to walk around the gardens, I remember looking at this sweet school and you have no idea what I would have given to attend it! I remember it being wooden and colourful with a few trees around it. One thing that was special about it for me was its colours, which I always loved⁷⁴.

The account of Mrs Matilde Fratini (born 1935) is much more circumstantial:

I attended the Giardini Diaz open air school up to the fourth year of primary school. I didn't do my fifth year there. My teacher was excellent. Her name was Marchesini. She gave us an excellent foundation. In the fourth year I had become very good at grammar, and this was a great help with Latin, too. The teacher was a convinced Fascist. When we came in, we had to say «Long live the Duce! Long live the king!», first the Duce! She was removed later. [...] The school in the gardens was very pretty. We all had little tables and alternated, boy, girl,

⁷² Comments on Museo della Scuola's post, *Lo sapete che a #Macerata esisteva una scuola all'aperto?*, cit., from 7 June, hrs.: 18.4 to 11 June, hrs.: 11.57.

⁷³ I refer to the doctoral project entitled *Testimonies on the school in the Marche Region in contemporary times. The archive of oral sources as historical heritage and tool for historical teaching in primary schools*, which is currently being carried out by Lucia Paciaroni under the supervision of Prof. Juri Meda. The project is part of the Ph.D. programme in Human Sciences-Curriculum Education (XXXII cycle-academic years 2017/2020) of the University of Macerata.

⁷⁴ Account by Mirella Rinaldelli. Interview given to Lucia Paciaroni on 15th May 2018 (Archive of the «Paolo and Ornella Ricca» School Museum, Macerata University).

boy, girl. The boys wore a black apron with a blue bow, the girls a white apron with a pink bow. The teacher kept good discipline and the school was very well maintained, pretty. [...] In the first year I did the first and second years together, the first from October to December, the second from January onwards. I think I was at the wooden school from 1942 to 1944⁷⁵.

Accounts of the bombing which stopped Matilde from going on to the 5th year at the wooden school are dramatic:

I remember that in the fourth year Ms Marchesini read us the legend of Troy from the Iliad. I loved it so much but she didn't have time to finish reading it. There was the bombing. The day of the bombing was terrible. We got up and the teacher had us go out all around her. «Sing children sing – she said – don't cry». I didn't cry but someone near me did, naturally. And she said «you're no good, you're a good boy...». [...] The day of the bombing I remember that this school – as it was made of wood – rattled all over, the windows rattled, she had us singing during the bombing, always fascist songs naturally! But she got us singing. [...] she kept us calm during bombing. Then the school was never reopened but I don't remember why. The next year it certainly wasn't open because we went to [the school in] Via del Convitto. Then I don't remember but I don't think so. [...] On 3rd April school ended for us⁷⁶.

But in addition to the dramatic stories, other more serene memories came up, relating to the everyday routines which took place in the wooden schoolhouse:

In the wooden school in winter the lessons were indoors; otherwise, when the weather was good, we took our desks outside. Then [the teacher] took us to see the gardens when spring began and pointed out the buds, and lots of other things. She really was good. [...] The wooden school had a garden around it. It was an avant-garde school. When the weather was good the teacher took the chairs out and we had lessons in the open air. At middle school I didn't have to study much, because Ms. Marchesini had taught us so exceptionally well⁷⁷.

When she was interviewed Ms. Matilde collected up a few photos of her days as a schoolgirl at the wooden school and decided to donate these to the museum for the occasion. The photos show her with her classmates and were taken with Scuola Diaz in the background with its recognisable wooden window and doorframes and the entrance to the garden in front of the school⁷⁸. Thanks to these “Calls for memories” other materials continued to come in, such as certain documents from the personal archive of one of the wooden school's teacher – the famous Ms Marchesini remembered by all as the open air school teacher *par excellence* – and these were recently donated to the museum. Of the letters, diplomas and other papers what stands out is a small photo

⁷⁵ Account by Matilde Fratini. Interview given to Lucia Paciaroni on 12th May 2018 (Archive of the «Paolo and Ornella Ricca» School Museum, Macerata University).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Photograph depicting the young Matilde and a schoolfriend standing in front of the wooden school (ca. 1942-1944). Photograph donated by M. Fratini (Archive of the «Paolo and Ornella Ricca» School Museum, Macerata).

album in which the pupils are shown taking part in plays and school recitals⁷⁹. These are just a few examples of the various historic documents and materials which were recovered thanks to the active participation of local people in this first experiment focusing on the forgotten wooden school in Macerata. But many other project indications emerged for the development of future projects focused on the Public History of Education.

4. Conclusions and future developments: «non-places» of school memory as a working hypothesis for future projects of Public History of education

The number and nature of interactions provoked on social networks by the real «social object» represented by the forgotten educational history of a community, and by the related «non-place of school memory» such as the neglected open air wooden school in Macerata, hint at an interesting potential for developing Public History of education projects. As we have seen, once again the old school photos constitute an ultra-powerful visual stimulus capable of catalysing the attention of people of various generations. Not only do such photos trigger memories and stories in those generations who shared – in this specific school – significant experiences with their schoolmates and with their teachers. In addition, school photos stimulate also people who, in some way, identify themselves both as part of the same generation (school cohort) and as part of an intergenerational community made of people who get in touch and interact in many ways inside the school: students from various age groups, educators, school managers, parents, and so on.

For educational historians and educationalists in the Academia, for educators in the museum as well as for educators in the public school, this first experiment triggered a multiplicity of operational and planning indications, which essentially move towards implementation of the methodologies specific to Public History and Digital History. The social media have confirmed once again their ability to amplify the intrinsic potential of historic school photos to catalyse processes of recollection of the individual memories as part of a not yet institutionalised collective memory of the school. Local people's participation shows that social networks can widen out campaigns of this type and, at the same time, promote a widespread awareness of the identity value of the school heritage – material and immaterial in nature – and of the history of Italian schooling.

⁷⁹ Photograph depicting Schoolgirls in folklore costumes in the wooden schoolyard, ca. 1940s. (Archival Fund «Marchesini Teacher», Archive of the «Paolo and Ornella Ricca» School Museum, Macerata University).

It was for this reason that, in 2018, the School Museum offered local schools the chance to develop joint project works, with the aim to enable students not only to achieve the specific learning objectives of the school history curriculum, but also to turn this historic knowledge into high-level competencies by adopting the most avant-garde historical research methodologies, and by taking advantage of the support of academics researchers as well. On this occasion, a secondary school chose to undertake a local history project work on everyday life in Macerata under Fascism: a topic which included also retracing the history of the wooden open-air school⁸⁰. In this way teachers have been able to abandon the rigidity and standardization of history-teaching based on an «over-reliance on textbooks»⁸¹, in favour of a history project work based on active learning and inquiry-based learning. The tools and methodologies analysed here have been shared with teachers and students who have thus been able to work directly on the primary sources of a printed, archival and visual nature.

This is just a first example of the projects, which can potentially be developed on the basis of a historiographical approach focusing on collective memory of education, and aimed at rediscovering places (and non-places) of school memory. New future collaborations between university and schools can be expected with the objective of developing Public History of Education projects, i.e. aimed at rebuilding the history of local schools through the involvement of the community: of students, families and local people in general. In future years, our objective is to foster projects of this type more and more frequently and, as a consequence, to innovate in history teaching both at school and higher education level, specifically by adopting Oral History methods as well as Digital History tools. At the same time, it is important to pursue the objective of shaping citizens who not only know their history but above all are capable of searching and rediscovering lost stories, reading the meanings of forgotten places, listening and preserving memories: because these sources, traces and testimonies are the basis on which to (re)build «a history which does not yet exist»⁸², but is itself part and foundation of our own identity.

⁸⁰ The specific case study, consisting of a public history project based on a partnership between the School Museum and a local high school, is part of the doctoral research carried out by Eleonora Rampichini (*Between memory of the school, and valorization of the heritage. The case of the School Museum «Paolo and Ornella Ricca» of the Macerata University*; research supervisor Prof. Marta Brunelli) within the Ph.D. programme in Human Sciences-Curriculum Education (XXXII cycle-academic years 2017/2020) of the University of Macerata. The implemented methodologies and the final outcomes of such joint project will be illustrated in the doctoral thesis of Mrs. Rampichini.

⁸¹ F. Sayer, *Public History. A practical guide*, London, Bloomsbury, 2015, pp. 86-110, cit. from p. 90.

⁸² A. Canovi, «C'è una storia, che però non esiste ancora». *Declinazioni epistemologiche tra Public History e Storia Orale*, in Bertella Farnetti, Bertucelli, Botti (edd.), *Public History: discussioni e pratiche*, cit., pp. 175-187.

Different schools as «places of memory»: the case of Cooperativa A Torre (1970 – present days)*

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ABSTRACT: The concept of place of memory proves useful to interpret the images and the representations constructed by a group of different schools which appeared in the international educational arena from the end of the nineteenth century. In the context of a project whose purpose is to map and characterize a set of different schools developed in Portugal, particularly in the second half of the twentieth century, we are studying the case of Cooperativa A Torre, created in 1970 and still in operation today. This article's main goal is to promote a reflection on the representations created by the actors connected to this experience, which allow us to consider it today as a place of memory of an alternative education. In this context, we deploy diverse methodological strategies to capture the memories of these actors, namely the analysis of a set of interviews.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; School memories; Sites of memory; Portugal; XXth Century.

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Introduction

The concept of place of memory, coined by Pierre Nora¹, proves useful to interpret the images and the representations constructed by a group of different schools which, particularly from the end of the nineteenth century, appeared in the international educational arena. These schooling experiences presented themselves as alternatives to the school model developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which became paradigmatic of the pedagogical organization of the modern school. The New Schools that emerged at the time – as the subsequent experiences inspired by Freinet, Steiner, Neill, among others – are some examples of that search for another way to educate. In many cases they became «sacred places of education» and «destinations of pilgrimage» by educators from all over the world who were in search of legitimacy for their renewing action. Moreover, the public presentation of these exemplary cases constituted a strategy by the innovation movement in a larger project for the generalization of the educational novelty. The reports from these visits and the memories of the actors involved often present idealized images of these schools, which are described as a kind of microcosm that would anticipate the new society sought by these educators.

Throughout the twentieth century, we find in Portugal a set of schools that elevated themselves to this status of «sacred places of education». These range from Escola Oficina n. 1 in Lisbon, created by the freemasonry and influenced by a group of anarchist educators who supported the New Education, most of all Adolfo Lima, to the current Escola da Ponte that inspired the work of Rubem Alves entitled *The school I always dreamed about without imagining that it could exist*, which made this experience known in the vast educational community of Brazil.

In the context of a project whose purpose is to map and to characterize a set of different schools developed in Portugal, particularly in the second half of the twentieth century, we are studying the case of Cooperativa A Torre, created in 1970, in the final phase of the so-called Portuguese Estado Novo (the authoritarian regime led by Salazar during most of its existence) and still in operation today. The promoter of the initiative was Ana Vieira de Almeida, better known as Tana, who clearly falls into the category of «charismatic founder». Initially inspired by the Freinet pedagogy and the Portuguese Movimento da Escola Moderna, A Torre has been integrating a set of other influences, such as Philosophy with Children, which illustrate the original and creative way in which its educators appropriated the progressive educational tradition. The hybridity of the pedagogical foundations of A Torre's project is clearly visible in the speeches of both its founder and the current director. But several of the most emblematic educational practices inspired by Freinet remain, such as the

¹ P. Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire. I – La République*, Paris, Gallimard, 1984.

wall newspaper, the free text, or the school assemblies, all somewhat of a brand image of different schools.

This article's main goal is to promote a reflection on the representations created by the actors connected to this experience, which allow us to consider it today as a place of memory of an alternative education. In this context, we deploy diverse methodological strategies to capture the memories of these actors, namely the analysis of interviews with former and current educators and teachers. We will try not only to characterize its pedagogical model but also to be attentive to the details of daily school life, to the meaning attributed by subjects to their life in this physical and symbolic space and to the affection we sense to be present in the pedagogical and human relations between the different actors, so that we may penetrate the «microhistory» of the institution. We will surely take all appropriate theoretical and methodological precautions so that we can keep a critical detachment, particularly needed in cases like this, where what is under observation exerts an unquestionable seduction upon the observer. In any case, we are aware that the material with which we work consists, to a large extent, of the representations built by the actors about the project and their experiences in the school, and thus we have no pretension to discover what «truly» happened in their «black box». Because of this choice, cultural history is, naturally, our main theoretical inspiration, and the content analysis of the sources is the most pertinent methodological option.

1. *The INOVAR project: brief characterization*

This article is part of one of the research lines of project INOVAR – *Itineraries of pedagogical innovation: reference schools and experiences in Portugal in the twentieth century* – financed by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology. It is a three-year project that started in May 2016. The lead researcher is one of the authors of this article (Joaquim Pintassilgo) and the team is composed of about two dozen researchers. In addition to the Institute of Education of the University of Lisbon (the project's headquarters), there are three additional participant institutions: Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Oporto, University of Coimbra, and University of Minho.

INOVAR aims to register and to describe a set of schools and experiences that are different or alternative in relation to the school form, the school model or the grammar of schooling. It takes a historical perspective, while seeking to place the past and the present in a dialogue by choosing concrete theoretical and methodological approaches. Beyond cultural history, INOVAR also works on the history of present time, the microhistory, the oral history, the history of educational institutions, the history of material culture of the school or the ethno-historical approaches. We aim to articulate the history of

those schools and experiences, whose narratives we try to build, with an in-depth characterization of their underlying educational projects and pedagogical models. Lastly, we aim to identify a set of educational practices amenable to be considered innovative.

We are looking at a very diverse set of institutions and educational experiences (over two dozens) comprised of both public and private schools, «elite» and popular schools, secular and confessional schools and also technical, artistic, and military schools, more or less formal, in «special education» or «home schooling». Equally diverse are the concepts that have been used to describe this type of experiences such as, for example: «innovation», «reference schools», «different schools», «alternative schools», «new schools», «other schools», etc.² We will not, at this time, join the debate over which is the most adequate terminology to describe those experiences, which will depend of their possible alternative character, of the radicalism of their pedagogical choices, of the experimentation they risk, of their desire to be at the forefront or to lead by example, among other circumstances.

Taking as a starting point the concept of school form, developed by Guy Vincent and collaborators³, a concept that relates to those of the school model or the school grammar (or grammar of schooling), we understand innovation as the whole set of practices that seek to question, totally or partially, the school form's underlying dimensions. Furthermore, in line with Pascal Paulus in his research on *A Voz do Operário da Ajuda*⁴, we consider that the school form is not unique, that the coexistence of a plurality of school forms must be considered.

The distinct character of the educational practices developed within those schools or experiences, as well as their greater or lesser degree of radicalism, leads to the recognition of the very diverse ways in which they can be «different». This is a major premise that inspires our research. As noted by Rui Canário, *Escola da Ponte* enacts a «singular experience»⁵, a case that «cannot be copied, much less exported»⁶. A similar idea is put forward by Larry Cuban when he refers to the multiple versions, past and present, «of 'good' schools»⁷. Likewise,

² M.-L. Viaud, *Des collèges et des lycées 'différents'*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2005.

³ G. Vincent, B. Lahire, D. Thin, *Sur l'histoire et la théorie de la forme scolaire*, in G. Vincent (ed.), *L'éducation prisonnière de la forme scolaire? Scolarisation et socialisation dans les sociétés industrielles*, Lyon, Presses Universitaires, 1994, pp. 11-48.

⁴ P. Paulus, *Uma outra forma de fazer escola: a Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. Doctoral Thesis, Department of Adult Education (Supervisor: R. Canário), Lisboa, Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa, 2013.

⁵ R. Canário, *Uma inovação apesar das reformas*, in R. Canário, F. Matos, R. Trindade, *Escola da Ponte: defender a escola pública*, Porto, Profedições, 2004, p. 33.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁷ L. Cuban, *Why is it so hard to get good schools?*, New York, Teachers College Press, 2003, pp. 24-25.

in the preface to Marie-Laure Viaud writings on «different» French secondary schools, Antoine Prost deems one of the main conclusions of that study the fact that the «différences entre établissements ‘différents’»⁸ became evident. Furthermore, as noted by Philippe Perrenoud, «the innovative practices are not separable from their context»⁹, which means that no innovation remains so outside of a given context or a specific temporality.

Therefore, we detach ourselves from any out of context or ahistorical observations such as those found in fashionable current discourses about proclaimed «good practices». In this regard, we fully support Canário statement: «That process [of the production of ‘good practices’] is always an on-going process, since there is no *a priori* guarantee that an experience is a ‘good practice’, let alone that it will forever remain so»¹⁰. Therefore, the adoption of a critical stance towards this type of notions is needed. To this end, concepts like «appropriation», «interpretation», «translation», etc., inspired by cultural history, among others, become entirely pertinent. Equally important is to remain attentive to the complexity that characterizes all educational phenomena, to reject dichotomous or simplistic observations, to distrust slogans and commonplace arguments and to avoid all myth-making around the analysed experiences.

INOVAR covers, essentially, the twentieth century and tries to capture, for that period and for the Portuguese case, the key moments in which experiences of pedagogical innovation were developed. Starting from the New Schools of the first decades of the twentieth century, it moves on to projects implemented during the transition from the twentieth to the twenty-first century and still operating today, amongst which those inspired by Waldorf and High Scope pedagogies. In fact, the critiques to the school form and to the modern school have followed the development of this paradigm since the beginning, namely regarding some of its main dimensions, as is the case of school grading or group teaching¹¹.

⁸ P. Prost, Préface, in Viaud, *Des collèges et des lycées ‘différents’*, cit., p. VII.

⁹ P. Perrenoud, *Aprender a negociar a mudança na educação: Novas estratégias de inovação*, Porto, Edições ASA, 2002, p. 90.

¹⁰ R. Canário, *Inovação Educativa e práticas profissionais reflexivas*, in R. Canário, I. Santos (edd.), *Educação, inovação e local*, Setúbal, Instituto das Comunidades Educativas, 2002, p. 22.

¹¹ J. Barroso, *O século da escola: do mito da reforma à reforma de um mito*, in E. Terrén, D. Hameline, J. Barroso (edd.), *O século da escola: entre a utopia e a burocracia*, Porto, Edições ASA, 2001, pp. 63-94.

2. *The memories of school: between tradition and innovation*

Over the last decades, the memories of school experiences have raised the interest of historical educational research, among other areas of study. The representations thus produced by diverse actors of school life (particularly by past and current teachers and former students) serve the purpose of assigning meaning to their lives and to their work. As Paul Connerton points out, it is through the «act of remembering» that communities and individuals «self-interpret» themselves¹². Although seen as individual at the outset, those memories are always realized collectively, as they are a result of common and shared experiences, while at the same time they are inevitably diverse.

Notwithstanding the recent legitimation of school memories as an object of inquiry, researchers need to be aware that these do not mean a mere remembrance or recollection of the educational past, but rather «une reconstruction du passé à l'aide de données empruntées au présent»¹³. In other words, it is always from the present contexts and perspectives that one reinterprets personal and group trajectories, selecting to that end the moments one considers to be the most emblematic.

According to Philippe Joutard, memories establish a permanent «passé présent»¹⁴. Subjectivity is therefore something inherent to the anchorage of memories, which can be thought of as a reality «in permanent construction»¹⁵, with several visions and versions of the past taking place as time flows. Furthermore, school memories contribute to the construction of a personal and collective identity, of a «sense of belonging» to a community¹⁶.

However, according to some authors, memories are not inevitably anchored just in the past; they are not conservative by nature. Through them we can establish a fruitful dialogue between «remembrance» and «hope»¹⁷. Agustín Escolano Benito is among the authors who have reflected on the relationship between these two ideas, by referring to the poles of «memory» and «desire». Most important for what concerns us here, the author connects that relationship to the development of critical pedagogical thought: «La recuperación de la memoria es hoy, aunque parezca paradójico, un verdadero leitmotiv de toda pedagogía crítica y emancipadora»¹⁸.

¹² P. Connerton, *Como as sociedades recordam*, Oeiras, Celta Editora, 1993, p. 15.

¹³ M. Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1967, p. 38.

¹⁴ P. Joutard, *Mémoire collective*, in C. Delacroix (ed.), *Historiographies, II: Concepts et débats*, Paris, Gallimard, 2010, p. 783.

¹⁵ F. Catroga, *Memória, história e historiografia*, Coimbra, Quarteto, 2001, p. 16.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁸ A. Escolano Benito, *Memoria de la educación y cultura de la escuela*, in A. Escolano Benito, J. M. Hernández Díaz (edd.), *La memoria y el deseo: Cultura de la escuela y educación deseada*, Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch, 2002, p. 20.

This means that no pedagogical project – however critical, radical and utopian it might seem – can forget the heritage of the past search for alternatives to the form (or grammar) of the modern school. The recollection of the innovative ideas and experiences of the past, and of the actors and the institutions that gave them life, is still today a strong motivational element to those in the pedagogical field who try to imagine a different school. We can indeed state that the repertoire of practices advanced today as pedagogical innovations mostly consists of reinterpretations of decades-old proposals (or in some cases century-old proposals) and yet still inspire forward-looking projects. The current appropriations of the theories and methods of thinkers and educators such as Montessori, Steiner, Vygotsky, or Freinet are great examples of these reinterpretations.

The above is equally true for teachers. The search for new ways to work with students and for collective pedagogical approaches demands a critical appropriation of the memory of teachers' practices and craft knowledge, which for generations teachers have tested to greater and lesser success. This notion, which also appears in early twentieth century's pedagogy textbooks as the «art of teaching», is what Agustín Escolano Benito refers to as the «empirical school culture»¹⁹: «El arte de enseñar, esto es, el saber empírico del maestro artesano, e sen gran parte una tradición inventada por los propios atores que lo crean, lo gestionan y lo representon»²⁰.

In this context, the concept of «invented tradition», by Eric Hobsbawm, is adequate to interpret the «tactics» to which education actors have historically resorted to, in the framework of a broader «strategy» to promote their professional development and didactic skills. It is also a functional concept to help understand the relationship between tradition and innovation. As pointed out by the author, «innovation is no less novel for being able to dress up easily as antiquity»²¹, making clear that «the innovators» invented «their own traditions»²².

The complexity of the relationship between tradition and innovation is equally present in Peter Burke's notion of «tradition of innovation»²³. Hoping to rehabilitate the concept of tradition, the author states that the class tradition is a living tradition and not an anachronism; he considers tradition cannot be spoken of in singular terms but should always be referred to as traditions, that is, in a plural sense; he highlights the impure character of traditions, as these are object of creative receptions and translations that result in «do-it-yourself»

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-33.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

²¹ E. Hobsbawm, *Introdução: A invenção das tradições*, in E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger (edd.), *A invenção das tradições*, São Paulo, Paz e Terra, 2008, p. 13.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²³ P. Burke, *Cultura, tradição, educação*, in D. Gatti Junior, J. Pintassilgo (edd.), *Percurso e desafios da pesquisa e do ensino de História da Educação*, Uberlândia, Edufu, 2007, pp. 13-22.

and «hybrid» practices. The author advocates, therefore, a more flexible notion of tradition. In his view, innovations are not purely so, as they hide actual continuities; the inverse may also occur, that is, there are continuities that mask real innovations.

Lastly, Peter Burke draws attention to the existence of «traditions of innovation», something that is strongly present in some pedagogical movements, such as those that still claim Freinet or Waldorf pedagogy. This concept helps us to ponder the existence of a «progressive tradition»²⁴ that inspired many of the «different» schools we have been observing, such as A Torre, a tradition that must be interpreted as plural and complex.

The concept of «places of memory» by Pierre Nora is also highly valuable for the understanding of different schools in that it aims to delimit a set of spaces capable of expressing and condensing the memories of groups and communities. The author proposes a notion of considerable complexity: «Lieux [de mémoire] donc, mais lieux mixtes, hybrides et mutants, intimement noués de vie et de mort, de temps et d'éternité; dans une spirale du collectif et de l'individuel, du prosaïque et du sacré, de l'immuable et du mobile»²⁵. «Places of memory» thus include not only material but also symbolic settings and they link individual and collective memory. They are given a certain sense of «sacredness» and «timelessness» by those who inhabited and devoted themselves to them. Seen as transcendent, these places assemble the myths of these communities and form a privileged space for the ritualising of collective memories. Schools, and namely different schools such as A Torre, can be looked at as places of memory for those who, in diverse roles, passed through and were affected by these places and who today tend to idealize and sanctify those moments, spaces and materialities.

Different schools, understood as «places of memory», may thus become the object of myth-making and sacralisation in the actors' oral testimonies. This possibility is examined with distinct sharpness by Marie-Laure Viaud:

Mais ici, ces mythes et ses fantasmagories sont particulièrement nombreux. On a décrit l'importance primordiale de l'affectif où tous tentent de 'se séduire les uns les autres', des fantasmagories liées au désir ambigu de 'changer l'autre', [...]. S'y mêlent dans l'équipe adulte les fantasmagories du groupe fusion [...] et vis-à-vis de l'extérieur des fantasmes d'autosuffisance et de toute-puissance²⁶.

The author points out some of the tendencies that may emerge in these particular contexts. One of them is the prevalence of an affectionate interpretation of the relationships amongst members of the educational community; another

²⁴ P.W. Jackson, *The practice of teaching*, New York and London, Teachers College Press, 1986.

²⁵ Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire. I – La République*, cit., pp. XXXV.

²⁶ Viaud, *Des collègues et des lycées 'différents'*, cit., p. 233.

one is the development of strong identity bonds inside these communities; yet another is the belief that the new type of education developed within these schools' microcosm may be a good starting point to change the world.

The deepening of this mythical or utopian universe leads the author to state that, just like the speeches of the New Education, we are again confronted with a dichotomous outlook that opposes new to old pedagogies. Marie-Laure Viaud questions the very meaning of the concept of innovation conveyed in those discourses, restating the need to put it in perspective, namely by taking in consideration its context. The author recognizes that many of those educational practices are not exactly utopian and accounts for the many examples, past and present, of their successful implementation. We can, on the other hand, question the innovative character of these practices, taking into account their historicity. In fact, the repertoire of practices of many of today's different schools is part of the heritage of «progressive» pedagogy, such as the school assemblies or the production of wall newspapers. In Marie-Laure Viaud's view, the greater difference does not reside in this repertoire of practices but in the ideal of humanity projected into the future.

3. *Oral testimonies and historical educational research*

For several decades, the reliance on oral sources by historiographical research has been highly controversial, namely in what relates to the possibility of admitting an «oral history». Although the matter is now more consensual, we must be aware that the use of actor's oral and written memories for a research strategy, such as the one we resort to in our analysis, is promising but also risky.

Recurrir a nuestros propios recuerdos, a los ajenos, nos sumerge en un escenario lleno de vida, de detalles, de emociones, y así penetramos en lo «micro» de la historia, la escuela y el currículum. Se trata de hacer público los silencios y de recuperar los olvidos. Sin embargo [...] ha ido creándose, cada vez con más insistencia, un espacio para el sujeto o los sujetos como tales; es decir, no para el individuo como ser aislado, sino para el subjetividad y la privacidad, para lo personal, lo cotidiano y lo íntimo²⁷.

On the one hand, it should be highlighted that oral testimonies allow access to dimensions hardly found in other types of sources, notably those that refer to everyday life and emotional aspects, as well as to what is silenced in public speeches. In this way, individuals and their subjectivities are valued, as the way

²⁷ M. Suárez Pazos, *Historias de Vida e fuente oral*, in A. Escolano Benito, J. M. Hernández Díaz (coords.), *La memoria y el deseo: Cultura de la escuela y educación deseada*, Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch, 2002, p. 107; A. Viñao Frago, *Relatos y relaciones autobiográficas de profesores y maestros*, in A. Escolano Benito, J. M. Hernández Díaz (coords.), *La memoria y el deseo: Cultura de la escuela y educación deseada*, Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch, 2002, p. 136.

they attribute meaning to those experiences is appreciated. This is of significance for anonymous people and for groups made marginal or invisible, from the perspective of a «history from below». The «micro» perspective proposed here is essential for the understanding of the life and path of educational institutions. It enables a «dense description» of those objects – rich in detail and read as «total social facts» – and possibly the use of the «evidential paradigm». It is from this perspective that Meda and Viñao propose «to study school memory as a useful resource for deciphering the ‘black box of schooling’»²⁸. The actors’ memories provide another view of the educational practices that were encouraged, as well as of the interactions and the social networks that were created.

On the other hand, we cannot forget the fact that any actor’s view is always partial and localized. From a particular standpoint, it accounts for created and recreated representations of experiences lived at a given moment of their school trajectories as students, teachers or assistants. Additionally, a certain idealization of these moments may set in as time passes or, on the contrary, an erasure or oblivion of those memories may occur. These facts demand of the researcher a critical and vigilant observation of school memories and the use of «multiple, convergent and independent sources»²⁹. Moreover, as noted by J.J. Becker, «never trusting a singular source is one of the tenets of the historian»³⁰. This stand leads to «source triangulation»³¹, which is of utmost importance for research projects that take an ethnohistorical perspective, such as the case here. Therefore, multiple sources and techniques are used: school actors’ oral and written testimonies; observation of educational activities; recording of materialities, both current and captured in photographic record; and a thorough study of the documentation present in the schools’ archives, often compiled by the researchers themselves.

This is exactly what we pursued in the case of A Torre, resorting to textual sources like books, newspapers and documentation folders, to iconographic sources such as illustrations, photographs and drawings, and to oral sources which consisted of a wide set of interviews to current and former teachers, past students, the school founder and its current director. From late 2017 to early 2018, we recorded semi-structured interviews with open questions that ranged from one to two hours. The interviews’ full transcriptions were revised and

²⁸ J. Meda, A. Viñao, *School memory: historiographical balance and heuristic perspectives*, in C. Yanes-Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School memories: New trends in the History of Education*, Cham, Switzerland, Springer, 2017, p. 4.

²⁹ G. Prins, *História oral*, in P. Burke (ed.), *A escrita da História: Novas perspectivas*, São Paulo, Editora da Universidade Estadual Paulista, 1992, p. 186.

³⁰ J.J. Becker, *O handicap do a posteriori*, in M.M. Ferreira, J. Amado (edd.), *Usos & abusos da História Oral*, Rio de Janeiro, Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2006, p. 30.

³¹ M.J. Mogarro, *Os testemunhos orais na investigação histórico-educativa*, in L. A.M. Alves, J. Pintassilgo (edd.), *História da Educação: Fundamentos teóricos e metodologias de pesquisa: balanço da investigação portuguesa (2005-2014)*, Porto, CITCEM, 2015, p. 169.

validated by the interviewees. Finally, we performed a qualitative analysis of the textual content. In the following topics we will go into our case study and examine some of the categories we found in these interviews.

4. *A Torre's educational project: an eclectic interpretation of the «progressive» pedagogical tradition*

Cooperativa A Torre was founded in 1970 by Ana Vieira de Almeida (better known as Tana) and is still operating to this day, in the Restelo neighbourhood in Lisbon. The current director is Nuno Leitão. It includes students of three education levels: pre-school and the first and second cycles of basic education.

A Torre is a good example of how much an educational project can lay on diverse foundational principles, which in turn symbolises the plural construction of the progressive pedagogical tradition. In the interviews with the school founder and its current director, the main sources of theoretical inspiration that emerged are represented by the following authors: António Sérgio, João dos Santos, John Dewey, Freinet, Vygotsky, Bruner, Henri Wallon, Matthew Lipman and Georges and Frédérique Papy³².

As in many of these experiences, A Torre was influenced by the remote spirit of the New Education movement, namely with respect to the centrality of the child in the educational act, to the importance given to contact with nature, to the adoption of active learning methods and to the concern with the shaping of citizens within the school's micro context. Dewey represents this theoretical influence well. Amongst the Portuguese authors associated to that movement, the presence of António Sérgio should be emphasised most of all because of his project of civic education through the so called «municipality school»³³ and his ideas on cooperation in which A Torre is clearly inspired.

Freinet's contribution is one of the most striking presences; this reveals the crucial importance of the French master's proposals and techniques in the resurgence of the renewing pedagogical movement in Portugal from the mid-twentieth century on. It is in fact the main theoretical reference of the Portuguese Movimento da Escola Moderna (MEM, Modern School Movement) in its initial phase (until the eighties). This is clearly acknowledged by the school's founder in the following excerpt: «Yes, [MEM's influence was] the best response to my

³² Interview with the founder of Cooperativa A Torre, Ana Maria Vieira de Almeida (26.05.2016).

³³ António Sérgio's concept of 'município escolar' (municipality school) refers to the idea of organising school in such a way that students strongly participate in school structures and decision-making. The author envisions a democratic and cooperative school where civic education takes place.

longings and needs. The Freinet pedagogy includes the most solid teachings to turn the school into a place of life, freedom and well-being»³⁴.

A cooperative notion of school organization and work then arises as a central element in the educational project of A Torre. It is also a focus point for unity and dialogue, through self-government and through the assemblies of the school cooperative, between the lines of thought of the New Education and the Freinet pedagogy where A Torre tries to fit. The initial proximity to MEM turned later to some distancing, although the school's pedagogical and didactical choices remained undeniably connected to that initial inspiration.

From the fifties onwards, between the final decades of Estado Novo and democratic Portugal, a generation of Portuguese educators contributed to the pedagogical renovation by implementing many of the new educational experiences. Amongst them is Maria Amália Borges, pioneer of the Freinet pedagogy in Portugal (apart from an ephemeral effort by Álvaro Viana de Lemos in the thirties); Rui Grácio, an exemplary developer of non-directive methods in pedagogy; João dos Santos, bearer of a new idea of the child influenced by psychoanalysis, who became pivotal for that movement through his connections to multiple initiatives. The latter's physical presence in A Torre's early years was determinant for the institution, as acknowledged by Ana Vieira de Almeida: «João dos Santos, I forgot to mention this most important theoretical reference [...]. João dos Santos was a collaborator in A Torre and also directly participated in the construction of its current pedagogy»³⁵.

Vygotsky was another of the defining authors of A Torre's educational project. From the eighties on, the rediscovery of his thought led to its appropriation by the MEM, particularly as an expression of a concern with the permanent renovation of the initial foundations of the New Education and the Freinet pedagogy. Sérgio Niza, founder and main MEM theoretician, would become the major protagonist of an effort to rethink the roots of a «progressive» tradition. A Torre's affiliation to the constructivist school of thought (namely in its socio-cultural strand) shows this constant effort to reinterpret its pedagogical foundations. There is this same sense when referring to Bruner; and Wallon emerges as one amongst the inspirations for the ideal of integral education that A Torre seeks to embody, willing to harmoniously integrate the cognitive, affective, aesthetic, and bodily dimensions.

A Torre's educators address their concrete situations and concerns by also drawing from the work of Papy and Papy and of Lipman, as general theoretical guidance and to take in a set of proposals in specific areas such as modern mathematics and philosophy with children. This is certainly one of the novelties introduced by A Torre's educational project. The way those experiences were adopted is a good example of how the appropriation of ideas takes an open,

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Interview with the director of Cooperativa A Torre, Nuno Leitão (18.06.2016).

unpredictable and plural shape, and of the role concrete actors play in those movements.

Another example of what we just stated is the creative appropriation of the so-called method of the twenty-eight words, for teaching to read and write, carried out by one of A Torre's educators (Ana Isabel Carvalho, better known as Anita). According to her, this method allows for the creation of a «narrative» that she develops throughout the year with students: «It is in this sense that they say I created this reading and writing method [...], that I was creative, if you will, to create that narrative starting from a very close relationship with the kids»³⁶. This is an excellent example of a pedagogical innovation growing from within the community and through the initiative of one of its educators. Like all innovations, this is not an absolute novelty but rather the re-elaboration of proposals in circulation within the pedagogical sphere, to be used in a concrete setting.

The pedagogy adopted and practiced at A Torre has hybridity as its brand image, an expression of its multiple roots originated at diverse times. When evaluating the legacy of the school's founder, its current director clearly admitted this fact, going even further to say that this «capacity to keep on doing things, without clinging to a single rigid model or a static formula»³⁷ is the project's most distinguishing feature, something that became part of the school's culture. In the interview, Ana Vieira de Almeida herself restates the option for a certain eclecticism at the moment when the school project distanced itself from the MEM: «I was never purist, least of all dogmatic»³⁸.

In any case, the association with a complex and plural tradition ends up as a characteristic that binds the vast set of alternative experiences developed in Portugal over the second half of the twentieth century. Discussing Escola da Ponte, possibly the most paradigmatic among these experiences, Rui Canário asserts that it is not and could not have been «entirely original», since it was underpinned by «a solid bond with a legacy of autonomous professionalism» in the New Education and Modern School movements. The author concludes: «The experience of Escola da Ponte is in line with this shared heritage but goes further»³⁹. Something similar could be said about other projects, such as A Torre, which takes us back to the above discussed notions of «tradition of innovation» and «progressive tradition».

³⁶ Interview with the former teacher of Cooperativa A Torre, Ana Isabel Carvalho (26.09.2017).

³⁷ Interview with the director of Cooperativa A Torre, Nuno Leitão (18.06.2016).

³⁸ Interview with the founder of Cooperativa A Torre, Ana Maria Vieira de Almeida (26.05.2016).

³⁹ Canário, *Uma inovação apesar das reformas*, cit., p. 38.

5. Teachers' views on the project, the profession, the students and the educational practices

Teachers' discourses recorded during the interviews display a strong «child-centred» approach – a central point of the New Education – despite the MEM's criticism, on the basis of its social and cultural constructivist stance. According to physical education university professor and A Torre's collaborator Carlos Neto, «the ideas that the child has to play a lot and that learning takes place through play and free movement remain in the backdrop; we must allow children the opportunity of being a protagonist and, above all, respect diversity»⁴⁰.

Apart from valuing play and free expression in children's learning, this professor also stresses the importance of respect for diversity, for individuality and for the rhythm of each child; the importance of the child's central role in the educational act and his/hers own responsibility in the process; and all the above with the sensible presence of the educator. It is this sensible presence that enables respect for each child's rhythm without compromising the goals of the education project as a whole.

Questioned on the central values underlying A Torre's educational project, one of the teachers stresses the following ideas:

Obviously it is freedom [...], that is something that makes sense here at A Torre. The freedom to be; to be ourselves, both students and teachers; the freedom to think; to propose ideas; to be able to speak and intervene; [...]; respect for individuality; the collective work and the importance of group work; respect for others⁴¹.

Emphasis is placed in freedom as a core value of the project and of the «progressive» legacy in general, in several senses, with respect to the student but also to the teacher. Linked with freedom is the respect for individuality of each student, both in relation to the collective and to the need of respect to one another.

How is the teaching profession understood at A Torre? What is the desired profile to the educator or professor of the institution? According to Carlos Neto, «[being a teacher], is to offer affection and closeness when the child needs it and distance and autonomy when necessary, that is basically it. I am a facilitator; I'm a tutor that sets up challenging contexts»⁴². Like in other different schools' projects, the presence of affection in the pedagogical relation deserves particular emphasis even when the objective is to build the student's autonomy. Moreover, another of the main commonplace elements of the «progressive» tradition when it comes to the role of teachers is also present:

⁴⁰ Interview with the former teacher of Cooperativa A Torre, Carlos Neto (19.06.2017).

⁴¹ Interview with the teacher of Cooperativa A Torre, Adriana Aboim (11.07.2017).

⁴² Interview with the former teacher of Cooperativa A Torre, Carlos Neto (19.06.2017).

their position as «facilitators» or as «tutors», seen here as those who confront the child with wide-ranging «challenging contexts».

The matter of the desired teaching profile also emerges in the interview with the current director, Nuno Leitão: «Because there is a certain profile that sometimes is important to ensure and that [...] has to do with a personal profile which professional training may or may not favour»⁴³. This issue arises differently in the case of private or cooperative schools like A Torre than for public schools, which generally have no possibility to choose teachers. Not questioning the professional training, something crucial to anyone working in an educational context, attention is drawn to the «personal profile», which includes the ability to «work cooperatively» and the «quality of the pedagogical relation». As we noted in regards to the presence of affection, the importance of the personal profile of educators is something made prominent in this kind of experiences, given that the pedagogical relation is above all a relationship between human beings.

Another important aspect is the integration of new teachers and educators and their daily follow-up under the form of «pedagogical peer». This is pointed out by one of the educators in A Torre: «When they start we always try not to leave them unaccompanied. New people come in to be with someone more experienced [...], we also have to find a balance here»⁴⁴. The ideals of cooperative environment and cooperation between peers are meant to guide the relationships between all educators and not just the integration of new ones. As expressed by a teacher: «there is really that collaboration between all, in a project intended to belong to all»⁴⁵.

The importance of cooperation brings us to the initial inspiration in Freinet's pedagogy, which takes it as a core reference. But the previous words also put forward the community ideal that shapes these experiences, assuming a distinct identity and appealing to the involvement of all, in the spirit of communion around the project. In the opinion of an educator, the collaborative environment does not collide with individual autonomy. Apparently, these aspects combine harmoniously: «I am autonomous in my choice but there is, afterwards, that exchange. In the end, the partnership succeeds in the exchange with the other school teachers and with the school coordinators»⁴⁶.

And how do new teachers coming from their initial training or from more conventional work environments react when arriving at a different school like A Torre? A teacher reports two possibilities: «Some arrive and can't adapt and some become so fascinated that they think they hit the jackpot and never leave»⁴⁷. These may undoubtedly be two possible reactions. On the one hand,

⁴³ Interview with the director of Cooperativa A Torre, Nuno Leitão (18.06.2016).

⁴⁴ Interview with the teacher of Cooperativa A Torre, Patrícia Bandeira (11.07.2017).

⁴⁵ Interview with the teacher of Cooperativa A Torre, Adriana Aboim (11.07.2017).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Interview with the former teacher of Cooperativa A Torre, Carlos Neto (19.06.2017).

there is the possibility of non-integration or rejection of the project. It may be difficult for those accustomed to another kind of professional or school culture to integrate a different project that entails a redefinition of what being an educator means, and also an enormous personal and professional investment. This initial image and the resulting challenges are very well captured by one educator: «It's not easy to enter A Torre, because A Torre is apparently chaotic [...], because there is a freedom that sometimes is hard to understand. Freedom also has to be organized, has to be thought through»⁴⁸. On the other hand, the other typical answer can be well defined in a word – fascination – also present in the previous excerpt. Those who embark on an experience like this one for the first time may feel that they just entered an enchanted world of happy children, in which adults are recognized for their contribution and a common spirit inspires the whole community.

A Torre strives to provide a context for continuous training for all professionals who work there. The example of training in a specific programme (philosophy with children) is recalled by a teacher: «I got training here in school in philosophy for children during this academic year. It was once a week for about a year and at the end each of us conducted a lesson»⁴⁹. This is certainly a good example of teacher training in work context and amongst peers to respond to training needs felt by the school's educators and coordinators, when facing the projects approved for implementation.

Among the educational practices most mentioned by educators in A Torre, some are part of the heritage of the above mentioned «progressive» tradition and some are specifically «Freinet techniques». One teacher enumerated the most iconic educational practices at A Torre: «Above all the Assemblies, the newspaper meetings, the philosophy sessions. Anything that engages the school community [...] in this idea of discussing things together is characteristic of A Torre»⁵⁰. At a micro level there are the weekly «newspaper meetings» for discussing each class's problems, where the teachers are present but the students moderate and keep an active role. The «wall newspaper», one of the most emblematic practices of nearly all different schools, is also present at A Torre with its usual components: «A Torre has a wall newspaper with the 'I think it is good', 'I think it is bad' and 'We want to do' sections»⁵¹. We also find references to more commonplace practices like the «free text»: «The students ask for and enjoy doing free text, even the older ones. I usually keep some time for free text in my classes»⁵². Well in line with the Freinet tradition of the school press, «A

⁴⁸ Interview with the teacher of Cooperativa A Torre, Patrícia Bandeira (11.07.2017).

⁴⁹ Interview with the teacher of Cooperativa A Torre, Adriana Aboim (11.07.2017).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

Torre newspaper» assembles students' works and «is published every term, for parents and for families, everyone will read their stories in the newspaper»⁵³.

Amongst other practices, there are also references to the «task calendar» that organizes shifts for the tidying of the classroom, cleaning the refectory, the library activities, etc., and also comprises the evaluation by students themselves of task fulfilment through a system of «green or red dots»⁵⁴. These strategies to engage learners in the completion of daily tasks in the school space aim to develop a sense of responsibility and a taste for shared work. Together with the educational strategies mentioned previously, particularly the assemblies and the wall newspaper, the intention is to prepare for social life and civic participation. Further than being inspired in Freinet, these strategies recall the ideal of self-government such as conceived by the New Education movement.

6. *Concluding Remarks*

Along this paper we have been suggesting that the set of ideas and representations developed by educators at A Torre are part of what we have been naming as «progressive» pedagogical tradition. These ideas are present in the constructed memories which are the result of their lives and their work in a singular universe such as A Torre. The discourses reveal the fascination and the enchantment that these pedagogical alternatives provoke in those who get involved. The theme of affection in personal relationships is often present and the same is true in regards to the understanding of school as a community and to the valorisation of its very unique identity. The attribution of a central role to the child in the learning process, the respect for his/her individuality, the valorisation of freedom and the understanding of the educator as a «tutor» are some of the elements of affiliation to that tradition. The discourses about the educators' profile, work and professional training show valorisation of the personal profile and not just of initial training, as well as the importance given to cooperation between all with respect for individual autonomy, and to professional training in work context and among peers. Cooperation is a central value of this project. The most emphasised educational practices lead us to recognise the importance of «Freinet pedagogy» in different schools, even if enriched with contributions from other proposals, in a project characterised by pedagogical hybridism. Naturally, we may question in what measure these practices can be considered innovative, as they are up and running across half a century in this school's life. In this context, tradition and innovation are not conflicting and irreconcilable poles but rather elements that dialectically interact

⁵³ Interview with the teacher of Cooperativa A Torre, Patrícia Bandeira (11.07.2017).

⁵⁴ Interview with the teacher of Cooperativa A Torre, Adriana Aboim (11.07.2017).

inside educational organizations. At the same time it keeps a strong inspiration in a plural educational tradition, the school refuses to become hostage to a set of crystallised practices and maintains a path of pedagogical innovation. A Torre arises, in this way, as one of the most emblematic «places of memory» of the «tradition of innovation» in the Portuguese context of the second half of the twentieth century.

The Beckwith schoolhouse-museums as places of memory

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ABSTRACT: The Beckwith schoolhouse-museums, established in the 1970s as a transformation of the Beckwith schools of the Waldensian valleys of Piedmont, represent the peculiar yet meaningful history of the «colonel schools». At the same time, however, these small nineteenth-century schoolhouses, equipped with antique furnishing and teaching aids, have the power to embody and pass down the whole meaning of the concept of school for the Waldensian people. From being a place of early schooling scattered throughout the territory, the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums have become «places of memory» where history, identity and collectivity come together to form a whole and in which material space extends far beyond its own borders to become a symbolic space too.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; School memories; Colonel schools; Public memory; XVIIth-XXth Centuries.

When 25 square metres of space can ideally expand beyond their borders to represent the history of a culture and a population, those few square meters can take on the name of «place of memory». Indeed this was the average size of the classroom that was often the only space in the Beckwith Schoolhouses, represented today by the «Beckwith schoolhouse-museum». Talking about the Beckwith schools is like telling a significant part of history, related not only to education itself but to the entire culture and identity of the Waldensian populations. Having arrived in Italy and Piedmont in the early years of the twelfth century, following the birth of the heretic movement promoted by Waldo, a merchant from Lyon, the Waldensians consolidated their presence particularly in the western valleys of the region, about fifty kilometres from Turin, in the Pellice, Chisone and Germanasca valleys to be precise. These were

the only places where, after being persecuted for having joined the Calvinist Reformation, the Royal House of Savoy granted them, in 1561 with the «Peace of Cavour», the right to live and to practice their religion, albeit with some restrictions¹. In those specific areas, in the first half of the nineteenth century – even before the Letters Patent with which King Carlo Alberto granted full rights to the Waldensians in 1848 – something unique occurred in terms of education: within the space of just over ten years, 120 schools were built, each of them with a dedicated building and its own teacher “regent”. The number increased in the years that followed. This meant that even the smallest village in these mountain valleys had its own schoolhouse and that every child, at least during the winter months, had easy access to primary education. The number of these buildings alone suggests how education was considered of fundamental importance by the Waldensian community so it is no surprise that the local community has now dedicated particular attention to the theme of schooling and the memory of the “small neighborhood schools” that has led to the transformation of some of these schoolhouses into museums. Having fallen into disuse almost a century ago, they have been identified as a symbol and transformed into a place of memory, a place where time has settled and left traces, and where educational practice has given way to the “sense” of that practice: and it is the distance between practice and its portrayal – which Eco refers to as *space C*, i.e.: the interval that enables interpretation of the phenomena² – has allowed the Waldensian populations to focus even more clearly on the meaning of their own educational experience and the way they want to portray it. These little one-room schools transformed into museums have been called «Beckwith schoolhouse-museums» in honour of the person who invented the Waldensian school system and allowed its expansion and consolidation. Of the almost 200 schools owned by the Waldensian Church, and specifically by the Consistories of the different affiliated towns, many have now been sold, some have been destroyed and others are still used for the functions that they originally served after the children had finished school for the day³: a place for local families to meet and converse, a venue for the monthly meetings of the Waldensian neighbourhood assemblies. Two of them in particular, the Beckwith schoolhouse of the «Odin-Bertot» hamlet of Angrogna and that of the Pellenchi (or Plenc in the local dialect, Patois) hamlet of Pramollo, have been transformed into a museum dedicated to the history of education in the valleys⁴: the space reconstructs the inside of the Beckwith school, exactly as it

¹ On Waldensian history: G. Tourn, *I valdesi: la singolare vicenda di un popolo-chiesa: 1170-1999*, Turin, Claudiana, 1999; M. Gilibert, A. Magaddino (edd.), *I Valdesi: cinque secoli di storia del popolo e delle valli*, Turin, Gilibert, 2009.

² See U. Eco, *I limiti dell'interpretazione*, Milan, Bompiani, 1990.

³ The 1839 Synod establishes the hours for the local schools; 4 hours of lessons in the morning and 3 hours in the afternoon.

⁴ Several other buildings that were originally Beckwith schools have been turned into museums

was, adding some information (boards, captions, showcases with additional materials) on the story of Colonel Beckwith and his schools, and offering some insights into school life in the village where the school was located.

To fully understand the meaning of «place of memory» embodied by the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums it is necessary to retrace, albeit briefly, the history of schooling in the Waldensian culture and, therefore, the history of the Beckwith schools. Only in this way can we gain a complete picture of the significance assigned to them by their Waldensian promoters, with the awareness that «every period in history has highlighted a particular feature of the Waldensian world. Of this historical density, essential elements of the *Waldensian character* still remain today»⁵.

1. *The Beckwith schools: history*

Attention to schooling has always characterized the history of the Waldensians, being related to one of the fundamental needs of the confessional principles, i.e.: free reading and free examination of the Holy Scriptures. Only by being able to read was it possible to access the biblical text with no mediation⁶ and this is why travelling preachers (known as «barba», the Waldensian word for uncle) were trained from the Middle Ages in a *Schola* located in what is now the Pellice valley⁷. As early as the sixteenth century, every church was obliged to have a sufficient number of schools in which to teach the basis of religion⁸. The plague of 1630 caused the death of many Pastors and Teachers, so it was necessary to bring in French-speaking Swiss teachers and Swiss pastors, and the French language soon replaced Italian in official teaching⁹. Despite peace agreements, the persecutions suffered by the Waldensians in Piedmont during the seventeenth century did not interrupt the efforts made in the field of education,

but devoted to different aspects of Waldensian culture (women's history, work history, etc.). Two of these museums, one in Rodoretto and the other in the hamlet of Didiero di Salza, aim to document local life. The reconstructed environments include a classroom.

⁵ B. Peyrot, *Identità valdesi: eredità, confini e scelte*, in D. Jalla (ed.), *Héritage(s): Formazione e trasmissione del patrimonio culturale valdese*, Turin, Claudiana, 2009, p. 45.

⁶ G. Ballesio, G. Ceriana Mayneri, S. Pasquet, «*Universités des chèvres*»: *l'istruzione primaria tra i Valdesi delle Valli Pellice, Chisone e Germanasca*, in M. Piseri (ed.), *L'alfabeto in montagna. Scuola e alfabetismo nell'area alpina tra età moderna e XIX secolo*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2012, p. 194.

⁷ See P. Gilles, *Histoire ecclésiastique des Eglises Reformees, recueillies en quelques vales de Piedmont & circonvoisines, autrefois appelées Eglises Vaudoises commençant de l'an 1160 de nostre Seigneur & finissant en l'an mil six cent quarante trois*, Geneva, De Tournes, 1644.

⁸ A. Armand-Hugon, G. Peyrot, *Origine e sviluppo degli Istituti Valdesi di Istruzione nelle valli del Pinerolese*, «Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi», n. 117, 1965, p. 9.

⁹ S. Pasquet, G. Ceriana Mayneri, *Il sistema scolastico valdese tra Sette e Ottocento, report of the conference held on March 1st, 2011 in Torre Pellice*, Archivio Tavola Valdese, not published.

which the 1692 Synod reiterated as a primary necessity. This is reflected in the organization of the educational system into «Grandes écoles» in the main towns and «Petites écoles», small neighborhood schoolhouses, scattered throughout the mountain villages¹⁰. Regulatory efforts in the field of education¹¹ went hand in hand with the tangible ability to significantly disseminate the presence of schools, even in impervious mountain areas. We need only to consider that in a limited area of few square kilometres, made up of 13 municipalities, in the second half of the eighteenth century there were 62 primary schools¹². They had several classes, with boys and girls being taught together, and were intended only for Waldensian students. Teachings were rudimentary and based on Bible reading, the foundations of religion, hymns, and some math¹³.

The real driving force behind education was Charles Beckwith (1789-1862), a figure in whom the Waldensians identify their educational history. British by birth, he was the son of the governor of Nova Scotia (Canada). Working as an officer at the service of the Duke of Wellington, he lost a leg during the Battle of Waterloo. After his military career, he dedicated himself to humanistic studies and he was assigned the task of bringing economic and political support to the Waldensian population of Piedmont¹⁴. When Beckwith arrived in Torre Pellice in 1828, he carried out a sort of investigation in order to learn about the various aspects of life of the local Waldensian populations and his attention was immediately attracted by the school system of the Valleys. In his *Notes taken in 1829* he noted every aspect: the state of the buildings, salaries of teachers and number of students, and began planning solutions and improvements to the local school system¹⁵. Thanks to these observations, the colonel realized that the

¹⁰ M. Battistoni, *Il sistema scolastico valdese e la rinascita della Scuola Latina nel secolo XVIII*, «Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi», n. 191, 2002, pp. 27-63.

¹¹ «Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi», n. 117, 1960, p. 12.

¹² Pasquet, Ceriana Mayneri, *Il sistema scolastico valdese tra Sette e Ottocento*, cit. It should be remembered that, in order to financially support the development of education, the Walloon Committee was founded in 1735, sending subsidies from the Netherlands to poor people and to support teachers' salaries if families weren't able to pay for them.

¹³ E. Morra, *Le scuole elementari valdesi nella prima metà dell'Ottocento*, Degree thesis, Contemporary History Department (supervisor: G. Rochat), Turin, Università degli Studi, A.A. 1998-99, p. 48.

¹⁴ In England, in 1825, the London Vaudois Committee was founded with the aim of raising funds to be allocated to the Waldenses. The project was set up following the great success of the travel notes of the Anglican Canon W.S. Gilly, in which he describes his first trip to the Waldensian valleys. See. W.S. Gilly, *Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piedmont in the year MDCCCXXIII and Researches among the Vaudois, or Waldenses, Protestant inhabitants of the Cottian Alps*, London, Rivington, 1824.

¹⁵ His notes are kept in the Archives of the Walldian Studies Society of Torre Pellice. For a recent biography of Beckwith: G. Giampiccoli, *J. Charles Beckwith, Il generale dei valdesi (1789-1862)*, Turin, Claudiana, 2012. Beckwith's commitment to education invests many aspects (women's education, «grandes écoles», high schools, teacher training, etc.) but in this essay we will cover only the aspects related to neighbourhood schoolhouses because it is these that have been turned into school-museums today.

lessons, often held in unhealthy stables or makeshift premises, needed a dedicated space of their own. A specific scholastic architecture, which characterizes the Waldensian Valleys, was created: «clean and welcoming little schoolhouses»¹⁶ equipped with «a decent, well positioned, well ventilated classroom, and often with a room above for the teacher's lodging»¹⁷. Premises with a simple structure, built from local stone and wood, in some cases with walls plastered also on the outside but more often only on the inside, with windows to make the interior brighter and airier. As early as 1840, 89 schools had been built and 13 repaired¹⁸. Six years later, the number of school buildings rose to 120 and the locals began to call these renovated neighbourhood schools *écoles du colonel*¹⁹. Numbers were destined to rise and a statistical survey of the 1848-49 academic year reports 169 schools with their own school building²⁰. The decision to build the schools near to the houses in order to solve the problem of distance from schools located in the town centres while maintaining a sort of continuity with the pre-existing schools in makeshift premises, reiterates the Waldensians' desire not to centralise schooling but to make education available everywhere it was needed, taking the schools to the pupils, and not vice versa. But the innovation brought by Beckwith also specifically involved cultural and social aspects. The colonel pursued an operation of responsibility and appropriation of the concept of education among the population. He provided money for the construction only and the land on which it was built, procurement of raw materials and labour had to be supplied by the inhabitants of the hamlet²¹. This led to the consolidation of an idea of "school for all", not only because there was a school everywhere, even in the smallest hamlet, but fostering an idea of joint participation and joint responsibility. The management of the schools was entrusted to the Consistory of each community, which had to appoint the teacher (known as the *régent*). The teacher «had to be a person of proven moral standing and be able to teach the children to read and do arithmetic, direct them in singing and oversee their religious education»²². The teacher's salary was related to the number of pupils. Half was paid by foreign Protestant communities and half by the local church, supplemented by those families who could afford to pay.

¹⁶ Hugon, Peyrot, *Origine e sviluppo degli Istituti Valdesi di Istruzione nelle valli del Pinerolese*, cit., p. 16.

¹⁷ Micol, *Le scuole dei valdesi ieri e oggi*, cit., p. 28.

¹⁸ Report of the Waldensian Committee of London (16th May 1840).

¹⁹ Cogno, *Le scuole Beckwith*, in *Heritage(s)*, cit., p. 103.

²⁰ See J. Coisson, *Monographie sur le développement intellectuel dans nos Vallées pendant les dernières 50 années. Instruction primaire*, Torre Pellice, Typographie Besson, 1898.

²¹ Giampiccoli, J. *Charles Beckwith*, cit., pp. 41-42.

²² *Waldensian museum of S. Germano Chisone and Pramollo*, Turin, National Museum of the Mountain, 1984, p. 18.

The number of school buildings continued to grow throughout the nineteenth century and, in 1898, there were 182 Beckwith schools²³. The type of teaching remained elementary, with the introduction by the 1848 Synod of the Italian language at school, in addition to French²⁴. In the small neighbourhood schools they taught religion, French, Italian, writing, singing and arithmetic²⁵.

With the Unification of Italy and the first national laws on education, the situation in the Waldensian Valleys did not seem to change substantially: the Municipal Authorities appointed by the Casati law to personally manage the schools willingly left this task to the successful existing Waldensian structure. «Compromises were reached and the Waldensian primary schools were considered as municipal schools to avoid a breach between the Municipal Authorities and the Waldensian Church, with the risk of having small schools and teachers with very few pupils [...]. On the contrary, the Catholic schools became private»²⁶. Over the years, and particularly when schools were made public by the Daneo-Credaro law, there was a mixture between ownership of the schools that continued to be managed by the Waldensian community, and teachers appointed and paid by the State. The teaching programmes were decided by the State but lessons in French and Waldensian religion were maintained as complementary teachings. Throughout the twentieth century, all of the neighbourhood schools were gradually closed due to the progressive depopulation of the valleys. Few were still operational after the Second World War²⁷. Some became schools subsidized by the Municipal Authorities to prevent their closure but, in 1971, the last Beckwith school, which was still active in San Germano, closed²⁸. The school premises, which were still owned by the local Waldensian Church, were partly sold to private individuals, and are still partly used for public meetings or religious celebrations. Part have also been preserved and transformed into a tangible trace of the past, offering evidence

²³ Coisson, *Monographie sur le developpement intellectuel dans nos Vallées pendant les dernières 50 années. Instruction primaire*, cit., p. 58.

²⁴ Historical Archive 1844 a. 26 in Pons, *Actes des Synodes*, p. 229.

²⁵ The neighbourhood schools programmes for academic year 1873-74 envisaged the following lessons; Religion – Sunday lessons for Bible Studies from Exodus I to I Samuel VIII; French – first level of reading, three pieces of prose with reading comprehension exercises and reciting, and spoken, copied and reproduced essays; Italian – the same exercises as for French; Writing – exercises on the position of the body and the pen, exercises with capital letters, normal and in English italics; Singing – musical scales, exercises of canticles and patriotic songs to be learned by heart and, lastly, Arithmetic – writing of numbers, mental calculation, numbering and addition up to 100. See Archives of Consistory of Torre Pellice, register 16, *Instruction primaire*, 1873.

²⁶ Ballesio, Ceriana Mayneri, Pasquet, «*Universités des chèvres*»: *l'istruzione primaria tra i Valdesi delle Valli Pellice, Chisone e Germanasca*, cit., p. 194.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Copy of documents (preserved in original at the Archive of the Table of Saint Germano) made available to visitors at the Pramollo school-museum.

of the great educational history of the Waldensian valleys and of the values of the community itself.

2. *The transition from schools to places of memory*

The first Beckwith schoolhouse to be transformed into a museum dedicated to education in the Waldensian Valleys was the Odin-Bertot in the village of Angrogna²⁹. The date is not accidental and helps to understand how this gesture was associated with a strong and significant operation of memory: in 1974, the Consistory of the Waldensian Church of Angrogna decided to open the school of the Odin-Bertot district to coincide with the eight hundredth anniversary of the origins of the Waldensian Movement, founded in 1174. The school was chosen as a symbol of the history of the movement to celebrate such an important anniversary. The intention was to “freeze” the appearance of the old school: «we specifically tried to leave things the way the children saw them when they walked into the little school a hundred years ago»³⁰. Just like it was then, it is a room with a low ceiling, lined with wooden planks, like those on the floor, with simple, plain furniture and a stove in the middle. These same elements are found in the other Beckwith schoolroom-museum in the Pellenchi hamlet of Pramollo. This second schoolroom-museum was opened fifteen years later, in 1989, by volunteers who wanted to preserve one of the elements considered fundamental for the identity of the local culture. In this case too, the schoolroom museum is made up of a classroom with original furnishings, with the addition of photos, clothes that belonged to the teachers and pupils of the late nineteenth century, folders, slates, original inkwells, a library, materials that were implemented over time, objects supplied by other abandoned Beckwith schools in the area and by local inhabitants themselves.

Some symbolic-elements of this place of memory clearly emerge in these two museums as well as in numerous installations dedicated to the memory of the school which – although they cannot specifically be considered as Beckwith schoolhouse-museums³¹ – are developing in the Waldensian Valleys.

²⁹ On the theme of the Italian school’s museums and their representation of the history of the school see J. Meda, *La escuela del pasado y su conmemoración en los museos de la escuela italianos: tendencias y perspectivas*, in A.M. Badanelli Rubio, M. Poveda Sanz, C.R. Guerrero (edd.), *Pedagogía museística: prácticas, usos didácticos e investigación del patrimonio educativo*, Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2014, pp. 509-521.

³⁰ *Odin-Bertot Beckwith school-museum*, Turin, «Duca degli Abruzzi» National Museum of the Mountain, 1983, p. 3.

³¹ A reconstruction of a classroom is part of the tour of the Valdese History Museum of Torre Pellice; although it cannot be considered a museum because the community sees it as a place of worship and for meeting, and uses it in this sense, the original furnishings of the Beckwith school of Malzat are being enriched with folders, books, two historical background tables; the

3. *The symbols*

The symbol par excellence of the Beckwith schools is the Bible in French, as a fundamental and sometimes unique text through which all pupils learned to read. The Bible in French also represents the symbolic text of the entire Waldensian history: when, in the Synod of Chanforan dated 12 September 1532, the Waldensian movement of Southern France and Piedmont joined the Calvinist Reformation, the decision was made to translate a Bible directly from Hebrew into French (the language spoken at the time was Italian, and this was replaced only a century later by French. The choice of French was a «political» act to encourage dissemination at European level), in order to spread the direct knowledge of the holy text as much as possible³². This circumstance of adherence to the Reform marks a fundamental step for the Waldensians, who went from being a movement to being structured as a real Church³³. Today, there is always a Bible in French in the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums, standing open on a lectern (in the same way that you will find it in every Waldensian temple), meaning that the Bible is a constant source of inspiration for the Waldensians³⁴.

The Beckwith schoolhouses and subsequently the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums use this symbol to express their identity: they do not portray the history of schools in general but specifically the history of the school for Waldensian students.

Another symbol that stands out in the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums is the blackboard. Besides being a functional element in all schools, it is a tangible representation of the improvements made by Beckwith in the school system of the Valleys. In his first notes he observes that teachers «prepare models on loose sheets of paper, written in round and minute calligraphy, and calculations using the four main arithmetical operations by memory. The children work on sheets of paper too, but this system is too expensive for their families, so children are forced to stop until their parents are able to buy more paper»³⁵. The colonel notes that there are no blackboards or slate pencils in schools so he pushes to introduce them. He points out that there are actually no pencils in Piedmont at all, and orders their import from England. A letter from Beckwith dated 4 June 1831 indicates the organized distribution of 475 «ardoises» accompanied by «crayons», with the recommendation to break the pencils into three in

ethnographic museums of Salza and Rodoretto, as mentioned, have classrooms among the various reconstructed settings.

³² G. Tourn, *I Valdesi. Identità e storia di una minoranza*, Torre Pellice, Società degli Studi Valdesi, 1993, p. 5.

³³ See G. Platone, *Valdesi e riforma nel passaggio di Chanforan (1532)*, Turin, Claudiana, 2014.

³⁴ See «Bible» in <www.chiesavaldese.org> (last access: 13.08.2018).

³⁵ ASSV, Carte Beckwith, Bundle 1, booklet 1, letters 1829-1862 in Morra, *Le scuole elementari valdesi nella prima metà dell'Ottocento*, cit., p. 119.

order to economize³⁶. In actual fact, the pencils must have been pieces of slate, known as «la touccho» in local dialect, easy to break, capable of leaving a mark on and being erased from blackboards. There are traces of these pencils in the Pramollo schoolhouse-museum. In addition to large blackboards on the walls, Beckwith also introduced slates for students, and these too can be seen in the schoolhouse-museums: he seems to refer to them in a letter to Pastor Bonjour written on 12 August 1832. The colonel confirms that he has sent four trunks containing 2,000 blackboards and 5,000 pencils³⁷. The symbol of the blackboard, both large and small, is therefore a trace of the improvement made by Beckwith in the school system. The blackboards on show in the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums are made of wood, and in two dimensions (rectangular or square), with a pentagram, a characteristic element linked to the fact that singing was one of the subjects taught.

The stove is another symbol that still today connotes both the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums and schoolhouses, even those which have not yet been transformed into museums, which still retain some original school furnishings and are used for local meetings³⁸. The stove is another of the improvements introduced by Beckwith, who realized that a warm environment was necessary: generally placed in the middle of the room, with pipes crossing the classroom to connect it to the chimney, it was fueled with wood brought to school by the pupils every day. A letter from Beckwith dated 24 October 1833 shows how he purchased stoves for the schools under construction, and had them delivered directly to the schools – against receipt – only when the construction phase was completed and they were almost ready to open: the receipts show that there were already 27 schools under construction in the Valleys in that year³⁹.

On the walls of the «little neighbourhood schools», there were other symbols that are still found today in the «Odin Bertot» Beckwith schoolhouse-museum: an image of Jesus blessing children, a portrait of King Umberto I of Savoy, an image of Beckwith. The first is «a rather naive oleograph, with no sacred significance for the Waldensians but a polemical one, as its aim was to replace the Crucifix, imposed by the Concordat in 1929, with the living image of Christ»⁴⁰. The portrait of the king was present in memory of the rights granted to the Waldensians by the Letters Patent of Carlo Alberto of Savoy. Then there's the upper-body portrait of Beckwith (the same picture now reproduced on the info panels installed by the Committee for Historical Waldensian Places outside the various Beckwith school buildings). Also

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Giampiccoli, J. *Charles Beckwith*, cit., pp. 41-42.

³⁸ We can still find furniture in the Beckwith schools of Malzat and Orgiere (Prali), Gros Passet (Massello), and some of those belonging to the Consistory of Inverso Pinasca and Prarostino, to mention just a few.

³⁹ Giampiccoli, J. *Charles Beckwith*, cit., p. 42.

⁴⁰ *Odin-Bertot Beckwith school-museum*, cit., p. 8.

in the Odin Bertot schoolhouse-museum there is an Italian flag, carried by every school, after the acknowledgements of 1848 during the Waldensian Celebratory parade held every year on the 17th of February. Another element which seems, at first glance, to be a classic in every school, takes on a specific meaning related to history and memory in the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums: the textbook. In the school system of the Valleys, Beckwith notes, in his 1829 census, that only Osterwald catechism, the New Testament and the Bible⁴¹ were used. It wasn't until 1834 that the first manual was created especially for the Waldensian schools and printed in Turin by royal appointment. Restrictions imposed upon the inhabitants of the «ghetto»⁴² – as the Valleys were called before the rights granted in 1848 – forbid them from printing their own books. Consequently, they were imported from abroad, particularly from French-speaking Switzerland or printed in England, «helpful for children but also for teaching French to adults»⁴³.

This first manual of mathematics, created by Michel Pellegrin and titled *Éléments d'Arithmétique à l'usage des écoles vaudoises du Piémont* became rich in symbolic meaning. It was a booklet of about 200 pages, with notions about units of measure, with an introduction to the decimal metric system compared with the traditional Piedmontese measurements, and the four operations. Then there were exercises and problems, complete with solutions, inspired by daily farming life⁴⁴. When printing restrictions came to an end, several other school books were made especially for the Waldensian schools of the Valleys, a feature that was to remain for many years and concerned the learning of both Italian and French, as shown by the collection of school books kept at the Beckwith schoolhouse-museum in Pramollo, where we find, for example, *the first Italian reading book for Waldensian elementary schools*, published in Genoa in 1858 by the Synod Commission, and, several years later, *Acheminement à la lecture. Syllabaire à l'usage des écoles élémentaire des Vallées de Pignerol*, printed in Torre Pellice by Tipografia Alpina in 1926.

A multi-coloured wooden abacus standing about a metre high can be found directly in the old schools, where it was used as a teaching aid. There is no trace, however, of another item mentioned by Beckwith in his notes as the only teaching aid used by the teachers in the first half of the nineteenth century, called *Le Carte* (The Cards), which were described as a sort of alphabet on loose pages.

These elements, that we have indicated as «symbols» and which help to co-construct the meaning of «place of memory» assigned to the Beckwith

⁴¹ ASSV, Carte Beckwith, Bundle 1, in Morra, *Le scuole elementari valdesi nella prima metà dell'Ottocento*, cit., p. 79.

⁴² Tourn, *I Valdesi. Identità e storia di una minoranza*, cit., pp. 20-21.

⁴³ Letter by Beckwith dated 12 August 1833, addressed to Pastor Bonjour, included in Giampiccoli, *J. Charles Beckwith*, cit., p. 44.

⁴⁴ Morra, *Le scuole elementari valdesi nella prima metà dell'Ottocento*, cit., p. 46.

schoolhouse-museums, are actually quite simple objects, common to most schools: desks, books, blackboards. The objects themselves are neither significant nor exceptional; it is the history they contain and represent that is important. The Beckwith schoolhouse-museums have no collections of particular value if we think in terms of the single educational object or of the contribution to studies concerning education as such: it is not the collection or the setting that make these places meaningful. It is the sum of the building and its content that, together, have the representative force to illustrate an entire story. They should not only be looked at but questioned and interpreted, in order to place them in their own horizon of meaning. In this way they can be transformed into symbols, elements of collective memory which contain the history of a culture, the history of education, the history of a religion, the history of a specific geographical area.

We can affirm that the collections of the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums consist of «traces» which allow these museums to express all their power as places of memory. Consequently, there is an element of attention to bear in mind. If «recognition takes place when it is understood by recipient as an expression of a given content»⁴⁵ and if the qualifying aspect of these traces «is their being signs for recognition: this means that they become signs only when they are recognized as such by someone»⁴⁶, so it is necessary to think about the visitor to whom these Beckwith schoolhouse-museums are addressed in order to see whether they are actually understood in the entirety of the meaning attributed by promoters. Do these schoolhouse-museums fully express their meaning or do they appear as characteristic reconstructions of a mountain school for a non-Waldensian visitor?

4. *Beckwith schoolhouse-museum: not only a mountain school representation*

Although the museum reconstructions of old mountain schools or their transformation into places of memory of a location, of its inhabitants and of their history, are of great interest, the identification as a mountain school cannot, in the case of the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums, meet all the meanings that their promoters intended to give them. It has been said that, in opening the Odin-Bertot schoolhouse-museum, the representatives of the Waldensian Church wanted to officially invest the former school, transformed into a museum, as the symbol of the entire Waldensian history. In a sort of synecdoche, the school was to represent the entire cultural history and therefore

⁴⁵ P. Violi, *Luoghi della memoria: dalla traccia al senso*, «Rivista italiana di filosofia del linguaggio», 2015, pp. 262-275, in partic. p. 268.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

one of the elements in which the Waldensians recognize themselves. In the same way, the aim of the promoters of the Pramollo schoolhouse-museum was to enhance an element of identity so that it would not lose its history and roots. «Opening and revealing a Beckwith school is a way to maintain our roots, our culture, our religion» adds the chairman of the Committee for Historical Waldensian Places⁴⁷. The aim with which these former schools were opened and transformed into museums allows us to understand how the Waldensians see the Beckwith schools as places of memory but also places of identity.

The message that these school-museums have been entrusted to convey is clear: not only should they represent the educational life of the recent past in a mountain area, they should also communicate and embody a fundamental value of the Waldensian identity. The job of the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums is to communicate this meaning, in the awareness that a place of memory, besides being institutionalized, should be communicated properly in order to fully convey the meaning attributed to it. This is accomplished in two ways: on one hand, through the information with which each schoolhouse-museum is enriched, by contributing, along with the symbolic objects we have identified, to «make history visible» and communicating it⁴⁸; on the other hand, through the decision to leave the management of the opening and visiting of the museums in the hands of local inhabitants, who have an in-depth knowledge of the identity-based message of the place of memory that these schoolhouse-museums intend to transmit. So panels with the map of all the little Beckwith schools in the neighbouring hamlets, or graphs showing pupils' attendance in different years, panels telling the colonel's history, extracts of documents and correspondence related to the Beckwith schools are all presented with the precise purpose of communicating the message that the place of memory intends to express. These are elements that make the difference when it comes to what the visitor sees: not «a simple book», a «simple school desk», a «simple blackboard», but symbols of something broader and deeper. These are elements of historical analysis that, more than other scholastic objects – also found among the local people or received from other abandoned Beckwith schools – help in this fundamental and difficult operation of communication meaning. This isn't made possible by a notebook or a long-lost report card, a teacher's dress, a pen nib and an inkwell used by the promoters to complete the setting. These are just elements that help to report, date and understand everyday life at school; they are not what the Beckwith schoolhouse-museum communicates as a place that represents the memory of the entire Waldensian history. On the contrary, both the historical investigations and mediation of the local Waldensian volunteers force those who approach the Beckwith schoolhouse-museum to constantly bear the

⁴⁷ Statements of the author released on 8 August 2018.

⁴⁸ See P. Nora (ed.), *Les Lieux de mémoire*, Paris, Gallimard, 1984.

history, time and culture that produced it in mind, along with the present from which it is observed⁴⁹.

These elements of mediation make possible to welcome all the visitors imagined by the Waldensian community for its Beckwith schoolhouse-museum, open to visitors of every faith, culture and nationality, to tourists passing through the Valleys in summer and to school children from all over the place. In order to represent the Waldensian identity, the Beckwith schoolhouse-museum take on the meaning of «place of memory as a pedagogical support to simplify the understanding of an event, through a direct framework [...], a presentation of knowledge destined to make it easier to remember»⁵⁰.

We can describe the Beckwith schoolhouse-museum as a trace-monument, using the term trace-monument when «it was not made for commemorative purposes but to be useful, and does not aspire to be an original or an aesthetic work [...] its value is more often metaphorical [...] it is mixed up with everyday things, the land and life, with a strong sense of evocation, emotion or restitution. The trace-monument belongs to the memory and has a cultural value: in this case the place of memory is seen as a place of identity, whose primary function is to bear witness»⁵¹.

The Beckwith schoolhouse-museum is, therefore, a place of memory and identity because the theme of “school” is assigned the task of summarizing and representing the entire Waldensian history but also because it is one of the “daily” and current values of Waldensian identity: «school represents the fundamental step for personal cultural growth, which is the only tool that allows us to relate to others», says Pierino Grill, the last pupil of the Beckwith school in Pomieri. The word «relate» opens up a new interweaving between identity-based values and history: «when the Waldenses were confined in the ghetto without full rights to travel and trade, knowing how to read and write and having been to school somehow represented a kind of survival because it made it possible to have – albeit illegal – cultural exchanges with other peoples across the Alps, particularly in countries like France, the Netherlands and England» adds Pastor Vito Gardiol.

To sum things up, for Waldensian culture and history, schoolhouses represents, on the one hand, access to the Holy Texts and therefore to the centre of the Waldensian creed, and on the other, the vital cultural exchange with foreign countries that gave them protection and aid, until the final acquisition of rights in 1848. School was also used to overcome the marginalization or exclusion that sometimes characterizes minorities: «The Waldensian identity was a continuous settlement of borders [...] not so much between the financially rich and poor as

⁴⁹ See M. Insenghi, *I luoghi della memoria*, Rome-Bari, La Terza, 2011; G. Bertacchi, L. Lajolo, *L'esperienza del tempo: memoria e insegnamento della storia*, Turin, Ega, 2003.

⁵⁰ M. Mosser, P. Nys (edd.), *Jardin, art et lieu de mémoire*, Arles, Acte Sud, 1997, p. 265.

⁵¹ R. Debray, *Trace, forme ou message?*, in M. Melot (ed.), *Cahiers de Médiologie. La confusion des monuments*, Paris, Gallimard, 1999, p. 34.

between the culturally rich and poor, in the sense that the only resource subject to dispute among the Waldensian people was always «culture», «know-how» or, better again, «knowledge» which, expressed through studying, reading and theological reasoning, became a tool of emancipation inside and outside the Waldensian milieu»⁵². These three elements offer a complete understanding of the syllogism «schoolhouse = identity» and hence «Beckwith schoolhouse-museum = place of identity».

A further element of memory represented by the Beckwith schoolhouse-museum is the indissoluble union between Waldensian history and the history of the Valleys. «Waldensian history cannot be separated from the territory where it was defended: the Waldensian Valleys of Piedmont»⁵³. In these non-neutral, «talking places»⁵⁴, the union between different disciplines theorized by Nora⁵⁵ finds exemplary application: «in the Valleys, geography immediately falls prey to History. [...] Geography was written by History [...] without the need for magnificent monuments»⁵⁶. And so the three valleys are transformed into a «wonderful laboratory for reconstructing an identity-based regional identity»⁵⁷.

If it is true that «here in the Valleys, the landscape itself reveals a heavy genealogical diary»⁵⁸ then these almost 200 little schools, which are more or less recognizable and scattered throughout the territory, are a rightful part of this genealogical diary.

5. *Collective memory*

The place of memory represented by the Beckwith schoolhouse-museum is evidently based on complex thought and the attribution of meaning, revealing awareness, the desire to remember and unanimous recognition of value⁵⁹. It is a journey that begins far away: «after 1848, the Valleys came together in a conscious project to preserve their identity. The Waldensian ruling class began what takes place in many minorities: the institutionalization of memory, with works of historical divulgation and places of memory (in the landscape and with museums)»⁶⁰.

⁵² Peyrot, *Identità valdesi: eredità, confini e scelte*, cit., p. 43.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ See B. Peyrot, *La cittadinanza interiore*, Troiana, Città Aperta, 2006.

⁵⁵ See Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, cit.

⁵⁶ Peyrot, *Identità valdesi: eredità, confini e scelte*, cit., p. 45.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, cit., pp. 38 ff.

⁶⁰ Peyrot, *Identità valdesi*, cit., p. 47.

The concept of a museum as a place of memory is not new for the Waldensians: since its opening in Torre Pellice in 1889, «the upper floor of the Waldensian House was destined for use as a Historical Museum, considered as a fundamental element of the Waldensian identity, on a par with the synodal assembly»⁶¹. Today, the Waldensian History Museum is part of the «Waldensian museum system» together with the Pramollo and Angrogna schoolhouse-museums and other museums (women's museum, museums of mountain life and its working activities, ethnographic museums), and with monuments and significant places for Waldensian history⁶². This «memory network» expresses that process of «elaboration of memory» that was transformed after the Second World War: «After the Second World War, the Waldensian memory took on a new dimension: it became rooted in the territory. Despite being part of a traditional framework, as a constitutive element of an identity, historical memory is no longer read top-down, as seen in the light of the great events of history, but bottom-up, as part of village life»⁶³. To encourage this sharing of memory, in 1977, the Waldensian Table set up a Committee of Historical Places, while in 1989, the Waldensian Study Society and the Waldensian Table decided to create a specific structure to promote cultural heritage as a whole, the Waldensian Cultural Centre Foundation. An additional step came in 1997, with the birth of a coordination among these Waldensian museum organizations and a specific office for the promotion of Waldensian itineraries and an integrated vision, called *Il Barba*, in memory of the Waldensian preachers at the origin of the movement⁶⁴. Therefore the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums are part of a collective memory system and, at the same time, they represent a scattered system being more than one schoolhouse-museum.

One might wonder whether it makes sense to create two or more school-museums in the same territory with reference to the same story. Besides the fact that, as mentioned before, each of them tries to analyse the history of its own school building, it is perhaps appropriated to reflect on the fact that the idea of school that the place of memory made up of the Beckwith schoolhouse-museum intends to represent is already, in itself, by its very nature, scattered throughout the territory, replicated, present in each village, like the Beckwith schools were originally.

Moreover, having more than one schoolhouse-museum responds perhaps to another need typical of school in Waldensian life: if it is true that it is part of the collective memory and, as such, has become the symbol of an entire community⁶⁵, it is also true that school for the Waldensian people is firmly part

⁶¹ D. Jalla, *I musei delle Valli Valdesi*, «La Beidana», vol. I, August 1985, p. 40.

⁶² G. Tourn, *Musei e luoghi della memoria delle valli valdesi*, in *Sistema museale delle Valli valdesi*, Torre Pellice, Fondazione centro culturale valdese, 2010, p. 6.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ D. Sommani, *Da museo a Sistema museale*, «La Beidana», n. 55, May 2006, pp. 36-38.

⁶⁵ See Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, cit.

of the individual memory: each inhabitant of the village considers the Beckwith schoolhouse to be part of their personal and family heritage. On one hand, because «there isn't a single inhabitant, not even the youngest, that isn't able to talk about the Beckwith schools. They are acknowledged as part of everyone's history» says Gabriella Ballesio, Head of the Waldensian Table Archive. And on the other, because «for us, heritage means something different, it belongs to me and to my family, it's something we possess»⁶⁶. Considered as a sense of belonging and of responsible safeguarding, which leads to sharing and to promotion. It is this coexistence between collective memory and individual memory that brings the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums to be replicated on the territory, becoming part of a collective memory: «what an individual remembers bears the mark of the social context to which he belongs and of the community that builds the framework of cultural and symbolic references of that individual; in the same way that it bears the mark of the religious or political faith professed and of the generation to which it belongs. We could say that, although individual memory flows into collective memory, the latter is not the mere sum of every individual memory put together. On the contrary, it can be argued that collective memory imprints and influences individual memory»⁶⁷. This continuous enrichment between collective and individual memory that the Beckwith schoolhouse-museum well represents, this being a scattered memory – scattered because it is divided over several valleys, because it is divided among several Beckwith schools and, lastly, because it is brought to life by each inhabitant –, makes this place of memory a complex source.

Does the outstanding importance attributed by the Waldensians to historical memory legitimize the question about what the Waldensians are seeking in their past?⁶⁸ They are seeking «the credentials of their present and the criteria that guide their future. The present is legitimized by the fact that it is the extension of a previous historical reality that has acquired and expressed content, meaning and validity. The future can only be the extension of the lines of behaviour that have emerged from the past; in other words, the present is only a reinvention and actualization of the past»⁶⁹. As a result, we can see the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums as a way to link past, present and future. These places of memory represented by the Beckwith schoolhouse-museums have very strong roots, but they intend to nourish lush branches and leaves too: they don't want to stop in the past, remembering nostalgically, but to be instruments that use history as a driving force for the future. Seen from this

⁶⁶ G. Tourn, *Riflessioni sull'accompagnamento nei nostri musei*, in *Corso di formazione per accompagnatori dei musei valdesi*, edited by the Waldensian Foundation, available at <<http://www.fondazionevaldese.org/documenti/fa4f28b384e4c9d5a04e3959545c2246.pdf>> (last access: 09.09.2018).

⁶⁷ M. Halbwachs, *La memoria collettiva*, Milan, Unicopli, 1987, p. 69.

⁶⁸ G. Tourn, *Identità e memoria*, «La Beidana», vol. I, August 1985, pp. 6-9.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

perspective, the Beckwith schoolhouse-museum doesn't want to freeze the past, however special and significant it may be, but to be a symbol of a founding element for today and tomorrow: school as a place of memory but also as a vital fulcrum on which to continue focusing.

Politics of collective memory in education: Atatürk corners in Turkish schools

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ABSTRACT: Drawing upon Halbwachsian approach¹ to collective memory (1992/1980) and Foucault's notion of panoptical surveillance², the present study focuses on the management of Atatürk's (the founder of Turkish republic) legacy in the educational environment through the establishment of specific areas in institutions known as Atatürk corners, which act as mnemonic devices, state surveillance instruments and the spaces of absence. The study builds on insights about how veneration for him has been shaped in the educational environment, and how routine rituals, celebrations and commemorations have molded collective memory on Kemalist republican ideology. It further discusses how these sites have become a problematic issue, leading to clashes between Islamist and secularist fronts. It is important to understand whether individual memories engage critically and constructively with inherited Kemalist ideology. Thus, apart from the collective structuring sources on Atatürk corners, other focuses were considered: individual memories, newspaper news and website forums, in order to provide a full examination of subjectivities created by official and personal practices. The analyses showed a common pattern across similar cultural scripts, based on shared ideological ground on school memories related to Atatürk.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Atatürk corners; Politics of Collective Memory; Atatürk as a Multivalent Symbol; Kemalist panopticon; Turkey; XXth Century.

¹ See M. Halbwachs, *The collective memory*, New York, Harper & Row, 1980; Id., *On collective memory*, Chicago & London, University Chicago Press, 1992.

² See M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison*, New York, Vintage Books, 1977.

Introduction

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (whose surname is translated as father of the Turks), was the visionary leader of modern Turkey, who heralded an age of enlightenment, the creation of modernity, and built a new modern Turkey out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire through his revolutions at the beginning of 20th century. His westernization process consisted of reforms ranging from the abolition of the caliphate, the secularization of Turkish Republic, to the replacement of Islamic law with Swiss Civil Code and Italian Penal Code and switching from Ottoman script to Latin script. This rapidly implemented, successive reform movement caused a deep detachment from Ottoman heritage, particularly in the case of script reform. Breaking a major link with Turkey's Islamic heritage and its ties with the Islamic world effectively eliminated the past³, and paved the way for a historical rearrangement so as to construct a new order of collective memory and history.

His statues, busts, and images adorn city squares, all government buildings, and schools of all types. Above or below these figures are marble slabs inscribed with his words underlining the importance of science, aviation, agriculture, development, education, sport, children and youth. His well-known signature is often seen tattooed on visible body parts, indicating citizens' Kemalist sentiments and Kemalist/secularist identity affiliation⁴. His iconic image is now so commercialized that it is possible to see him on raki glasses, coffee cups, t-shirts, ties, and on giant car stickers, which mediate the intentional political subjectivities of the owner of these objects.

The interest in the omni-presence of Atatürk has been the focus of political culture, but not of educational debate. In accordance with the regulation of Education and Discipline Board of Ministry of Education, each school is required to assign an Atatürk corner. They are special spaces allocated in accordance with Turkish Ministry of Education regulations, which specify their location in schools, and constituents, such as Turkish flag, Atatürk's framed picture, his address to youth, his bust/mask-in a clearly visible position and the verses of the Turkish national anthem, a very long and renowned poem dedicated to the troops of the Turkish War of Independence. These corners, as a collective memory shrine, have always been embedded in tangible linkages between state power and collective memories attached to national history and Kemalism⁵; as such they have become a source of inspiration, recalling and maintaining the

³ See A. Feroz, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, London, Routledge, 1993.

⁴ See E. Özdemir, *Kemalist Tattooing: Distinctive Ink and Reproduction of the Secular in Contemporary Turkey*, Master Thesis, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (Supervisor: V. Naumescu and Dan Rabinowitz), Budapest, Hungary, Central European University, 2013.

⁵ By Kemalism I mean the political, economic, and social doctrines advocated by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his republicanism, secularism, Westernization and modernization.



Pic. 1. An Atatürk corner at the school entrance.

Atatürk legacy in the pedagogical zone. Atatürk corners, as state-sponsored national identity sites, present «a spatial rather than a textual model» which promotes a cult, casting him as a figure beyond time and history⁶.

The Atatürk icon continues to be the optimal means for the inculcation of republican ideology, nationalism and Turkish identity within the educational context. This optimization with respect to Atatürk corners is realized in two ways: first, through an abstract accommodation of Atatürk legacy to curricula, in which teachers set up self-produced Atatürk corners for use in the classrooms through a desk-based, in-class, Atatürk-focused arts and crafts activities, and secondly, through concretization of his presence by means of state-allocated spaces with the constituent elements of his bust or mask, a framed picture, his address to youth, and the verses of the national anthem. Both of these types of corners, one in the classroom and the other at the school entrance, function as mini-public memorials, which strongly link students with Atatürk reforms and principles (see Pic. 1 and Pic. 2).

Regarding above the mentioned considerations, this study aspires to contribute to the study of collective memory engineering in Turkey, devised and executed in educational settings in the form of Atatürk corners at the

⁶ L. Glyptis, *Living up to the father: The national identity prescriptions of remembering Atatürk; his homes, his grave, his temple*, «National Identities», vol. 10, n. 4, 2008, pp. 353-372.

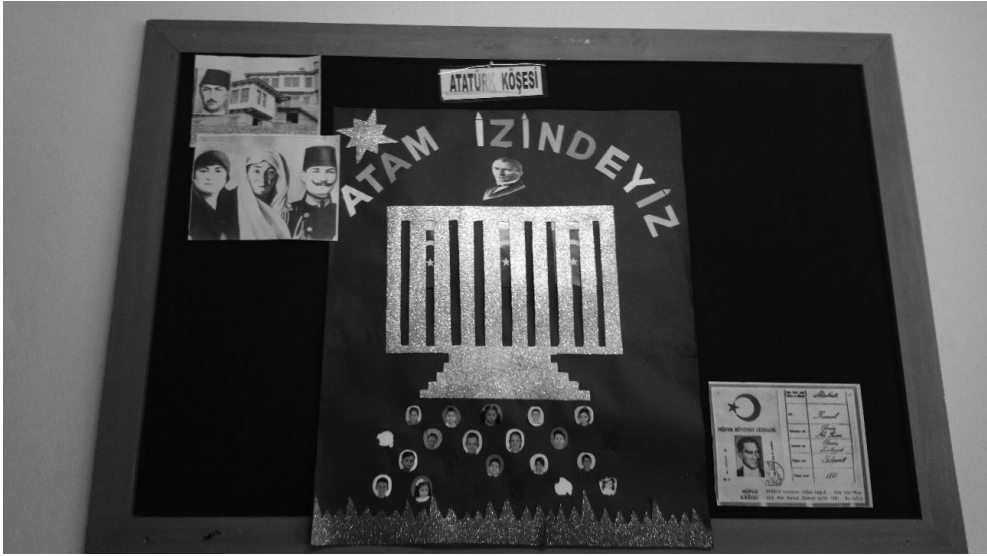


Pic. 2. A self-made Atatürk corner on the classroom board.

school entrance and in the classrooms. The core of the study addresses the issue of how this veneration has been shaped in the educational environment through routine rituals, celebrations and commemorations, which serve to mold collective memory around Kemalist republican ideology. The issues examined include the Kemalist panopticon, enhanced by the omnipresent and omnipotent Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and the problematization of this phenomenon, as the subject of political struggle in collective memory between Kemalist and pro-Islamist fronts. It is important to understand how far individual memories engage critically and constructively with inherited Kemalist ideology. Thus, as well as collective structuring sources, other focuses were individual memories, newspaper items, and website forums relating to Atatürk corners, to provide a wider range of subjectivities created by official and personal practices.

1. *Atatürk Corners as Locus of Collective Memory*

In 1923, the young Turkish republic launched a Westernization project, taking a modernist perspective, and detaching itself from the memory of its Ottoman past and legacy «with its emphasis on elites and institutional structures and change, literature within the modernization and dependency paradigms tends to favor one actor of change ‘the state’ and the view the social



Pic. 3. An Atatürk corner on the classroom board.

change primarily as a top-down process»⁷. This framework brought about a segregation between the state and society, the former standing for a monolithic apparatus, an omniscient and omnipotent source of power, and the latter, as the recipient of change. This social change involves «negotiation of nation», and problematizes Turkey's relationship with the past and the complex nature of collective memory with respect to the inculcation of the concepts of state and nation. In this vein, the construction of new republican ideology, which is reinforced by remembering and reminding, is paradoxically based on the forgetting of Ottoman representation and identity⁸. The reason is that building up a new nation entails a different level of contextualization of state, favoring a homogenous and secular structure at the expense of the Islamic ummah-based construct. Hence, the scope of collective memory studies coincides with the aim of this study, namely, tracing and problematizing the process of collective memory-building through educational practice, and showing how educators and students, as social actors, make sense and use of Atatürk corners as mnemonic tools of state ideology in educational domain.

In 1920s, drawing upon the sociology of Emile Durkheim, Halbwachs developed a theory of memory which is still influential in contemporary memory

⁷ A. Lamprou, *Nation-Building in Modern Turkey: The 'People's Houses', the State and the Citizen*, London & New York, I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2015.

⁸ See E. Özyürek, *Public Memory as Political Battleground*, in E. Özyürek (ed.), *The Politics of Public Memory*, Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 2007, pp. 114-138.

studies. By shifting the concept of memory from a biological to a cultural framework⁹, Halbwachs underlines the collective nature of human memory, introducing the idea of that «one may say that the individual remembers by placing himself in the perspective of the group, but one may also affirm that the memory of the group realizes and manifests itself in individual memories»¹⁰. He highlights, in simple terms, how human memory can function within a collective context by the merger of individual and group memories under the service of societal goals, with the aim of building up and maintaining group membership. He underscored the need of an «affective community», asserting that the most durable memories tend to be those remembered in harmony with those of others¹¹. According to Green, «Halbwachs' theory of collective memory is functionalist. Memory functions as a mechanism that unites groups and cements identity»¹².

As largely agreed by cultural historians and cultural theorists, a myriad memory of practices is conducted in modern society, ranging from the construction of memorials, statues, and museums, to popular representation of the past through film, TV and documentaries¹³. These sites and practices shape conceptions of national political culture, and public memory becomes highly territorialized and popularly-consumed within a history-site framework. These practices are functional in shaping national consciousness, disseminating and reminding national values and keeping the memorial culture alive¹⁴. Correspondingly, Johnson argued that «Space or more particularly territory is as intrinsic to memory as historical consciousness in the definition of a national identity. These new sites of memory are not simply arbitrary assignments of historical referents in space but are consciously situated to connect or compete with existing nodes of collective remembering»¹⁵. In this respect, as sites consecrated to the sacredness of Atatürk, Atatürk corners are mnemonic spaces in schools and are critical in terms of reflecting how individual memories are collectively constructed and reconstructed in educational settings. Through commemorative practices and celebrations, students and other actors find for themselves a shared mental disposition «with a certain uniform bent of thought

⁹ See J. Assmann, J. Czaplicka, *Collective Memory and cultural identity*, «New German Critique», vol. 65, 1995, pp. 125-133.

¹⁰ M. Halbwachs, *On collective memory*, Chicago & London, University Chicago Press, 1992.

¹¹ M. Halbwachs, *The collective memory*, New York, Harper & Row, 1980.

¹² A. Green, *Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and the contemporary debates*, «Oral History», vol. 32, n. 2, 2004, pp. 35-44.

¹³ See A. Green, *Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and the contemporary debates*, «Oral History», vol. 32, n. 2, 2004, pp. 35-44.

¹⁴ See L. Hamilton, *Memory Studies and Cultural History*, in T. Hsu-Ming, R. White (edd.), *Cultural History in Australia*, Sydney, UNSW Press, 2003.

¹⁵ N. Johnson, *Cast in stone: monuments, geography, and nationalism*, «Environment and Planning D: Society and Space», vol. 13, 1994, pp. 51-65.

and sensibility»¹⁶. These corners can be defined as conventionally allocated state-run sites, entailing that Atatürk still belongs to our present material milieu, and his presence is felt in public areas where students pass by, play, and talk, and in the classrooms where they spend most of their educational life. «It is the spatial image alone that, by reason of its stability, gives us an illusion of not having changed through time and of retrieving the past in the present»¹⁷.

2. *Image of Atatürk as a Multivalent Symbol: A Diachronic Overview*

Because Atatürk is both a common denominator of Turkish republican history, and a source of political conflict between republican leftist Kemalists and conservative Islamists, he cannot simply be interpreted as a universal expression of single political perspective. The production, circulation and, consumption of Atatürk have distinct stages because his legacy has been subject to various ideological interpretations in Turkish republic history¹⁸. Five specific periods have been defined: (I) 1930s, the early republican era, in which the portrayal of a national hero was initiated around a personality cult; (II) 1980s, after the 1980 military coup, in which a stern, even intimidating image of «soldier Atatürk» with penetrating gaze was resurrected; (III) 1990s, through which a westernized, smartly-dressed civilian, Atatürk reflecting European tastes was held up as a model for private lives, and to encourage warmer human relationships; (IV) 2000s, which witnessed a relative disappearance of Atatürk from the public domain as Islam gained greater visibility in public places, relegating secular state ideology into the private domain, reflecting growing tension between religious and secular elites; (V) the post-2016 period, in which a pro-Islamist regime seeks a reconciliation with republican practices, and to redefine its discourse correlating with Atatürk legacy after the 2016 coup d'état attempt. Since the failed coup, the display of Atatürk's portrait outside the pro-Islamist ruling Ak Party headquarters has come to represent a new spirit of conciliation, and the party's leading figures have repeatedly referred to him as a symbol of unity¹⁹.

¹⁶ M. Halbwachs, *The collective memory*, New York, Harper & Row, 1980, p. 152.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹⁸ See A. İnel, *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm Cilt 1*, İstanbul, İletişim, 2001 (in Turkish).

¹⁹ See E. Özyürek, *Miniaturizing Atatürk Privatization of State Imagery and Ideology in Turkey*, «American Ethnologist», vol. 31, n. 3, 2004, pp. 374-391, E.J. Zürcher, *In the name of the father, the teacher and the hero: the Ataturk personality cult in Turkey*, in V. Ibrahim, M. Wunsch (edd.), *Political Leadership, Nations and Charisma*, London, Routledge, 2012, pp. 129-142.

In early republican era, the cult of Atatürk was continually reinforced, casting him as an immortal symbol of the nation, until finally, the state-controlled production of an icon was accomplished²⁰. When the surname Atatürk, «the father of the Turks», was conferred on him, his role as procreator of a nation and his singular metonymic image of War of Independence was strengthened further. Until his death in 1938, Atatürk had an active and highly visible role in integrating his reforms into the wider society. He became not only national hero, but also headmaster and father of the young Turkish Republic. After he passed away, Kemalist doctrine continued to be enhanced by the omnipresence of Atatürk in all state institutions and schools in Turkey. From East to West, Turkey is decorated with Atatürk statues, busts, and portraits. This image provides surveillance in both public and private spheres, by preserving the store of knowledge from which Kemalist historical awareness and consciousness emerged. In this early era, Atatürk busts, and statuary depicting him variously as a soldier, a leader, and a man of the people, were found in all government institutions, and city squares, as well as in some places of business. Every single school has an Atatürk bust in the schoolyard and Atatürk corners, both at the entrance and in the classrooms. Laws and regulations were enacted to govern how to represent Atatürk and protect his legacy in government institutions and schools. In 1951, law number 5816 made insulting Atatürk an offence punishable by three years of imprisonment. After his death, his mausoleum, Anıtkabir (Memorial tomb) was constructed on a hill in Ankara, visible from all parts of the city.

In the post-1980 period, portrayals of Atatürk as a soldier, with photographs, statues and busts of him in military uniform, became an integral part of the society under the military regime. The cult of Atatürk was instrumentalized both as a means of political integration and as a form of state surveillance over the nation. In other words, the 1980 military junta claimed the role of sole guardian of Atatürk's legacy, imposing Atatürk's image as the symbol of military dominance, and a sign of the rigid subordination of civil life to military control²¹.

Public visibility of Islam reached its peak in 1990s, through protests supporting female university students' right to wear headscarves, a rise in Islamic values in the form of Islamic publications, radio stations and fashion shows, and sex-segregated hotels. The emerging success of Islamic politics in 1990s gave rise to the birth of a new Atatürk imagery, produced, disseminated and consumed by Kemalists. Regarding this issue, Özyürek underscores a volunteered privatization of state imagery, in which the Atatürk legacy was

²⁰ See N. Ökten, *An Endless Death and an Eternal Mourning: November 10 in Turkey*, in Özyürek (ed.), *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, cit., pp. 95-114.

²¹ See D. Jung, 'Secularism': A Key to Turkish Politics?, in D. Jung, C. Raudvere (edd.), *Religion, Politics and Turkey's EU Accession*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 117-137.

commodified, depicting a rather caring and benevolent fatherly character²². As a result of the political victory of Islamist Welfare Party in the 1995 general elections, and the Turkish army's severe warning in 1997, seen as representing a post-modern military coup²³ in response to this emerging Islamic trend, Kemalists attempted to suppress rising Islamic symbolism by increasing the visibility of Atatürk through increasing the number of statues, busts, portraits, posters and sayings in the public domain. Atatürk thus has gradually become a symbol of non-Islamist, secularist life style, in distinction from the pro-Islamist front. The shift of Islamic imagery from the private to public sphere was considered as a threat to the secular state structure, and this concern created a civil Kemalism, consisting largely of middle-class citizens and civil society organizations. Anıtkabir, as the effective shrine of Kemalism, became even more sacred, as a space of spirituality, solidarity, consolidation, and later, a symbol of the laicist camp's marches and expressions of opposition, actions which Islamists decried as turning Anıtkabir into a secular «wailing wall»²⁴. 1990s witnessed massive marches to Atatürk statues, primarily to Anıtkabir, Atatürk's mausoleum in Ankara, accompanied by slogans such as «we are the soldiers of Mustafa Kemal», expressing undying loyalty to Atatürk. All these reflect a clear-cut segregation among citizens in conceptualizing the state and their relationship with it.

Conceptualizing the image of Atatürk is a dynamic and on-going process. New developments in Turkish political life added new dimensions to the Atatürk cult. In the post-2016 coup attempt era, within the official state discourse, Atatürk is now conceptualized as common value, a cultural cement in the representation of the state, which embraces the whole nation. Two emerging factors, intentional actions, and an increasing sensitivity to Atatürk's presence within public life and state discourse imply a reconstruction and redesigning of Atatürk legacy²⁵.

²² See E. Özyürek, *Miniaturizing Atatürk Privatization of State Imagery and Ideology in Turkey*, «American Ethnologist», vol. 31, n. 3, 2004, pp. 374-391.

²³ In February 1997, the military was involved in the collapse of a pro-Islamist regime through concerns and advice expressed by generals about the government's alleged Islamist program.

²⁴ Gazete Vatan, *Yapmadıkları bir bu kalmıştı*, [The Last Straw], Last Updated: January, 26, 2012 <<http://www.gazetevatan.com/yapmadiklari-bir-bu-kalmisti--426884-medya/>> (last access: 12.09.2018) (in Turkish).

²⁵ See Kandemir, A and Butler, D, *Ataturk's revival a symbol of Turkey's fragile post-coup unity*, Last updated: 8, August, 2016, <<https://ca.reuters.com/article/topNews/idCAKCN10J1VC>> (last access: 09.09.2018).

3. *Atatürk and Atatürk Corners in Educational Setting*

The notion of habitus has been very critical in the analysis of the dynamics behind the politics and practices in republican Turkey. Pierre Bourdieu formulated habitus as a set of «structured» and «structuring» transposable dispositions, which procreate practices and perceptions. According to Bourdieu, «As an acquired system of generative schemas objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted, the habitus engenders all the thoughts, all the perceptions, and all the actions consistent with those conditions and no others»²⁶. In the early thirties, Atatürk's very active role during the campaign to improve literacy by adopting the Latin alphabet led to his being named as headmaster [başöğretmen] of the nation. In line with his public role as the natural teacher of the nation, formal and informal curricula at schools affiliated to Turkish Ministry of Education officially display a habitus which connotes strong ties with Kemalism and republican values. Kemalist doctrine openly links Turkish national education with Atatürk's legacy, Kemalist norms and values, and nationalism. In accordance with Basic Act of National Education of 14.6.1973, n. 1739, article number 2, the aim of education was declared as follows:

To educate all members of the nation as a citizen who is bound with Atatürk revolution and principle of Turkish nationalism, which is declared at the beginning of constitution, identify himself with national, moral, human, spiritual and cultural values of the Turkish nation, defend and improve them, love his family, country and nation, try to improve her, realize his duties and responsibility for his national, secular, social republican state of law, and practice them in his attitude.

Celebrations, commemorations centered on Atatürk corners in educational settings can be viewed as an effort to habituate students into republican norms and values within a collective historicity. These corners in schools have been instrumentalized in three main ways.

3.1. *Atatürk Corners as State Surveillance Instrument: Kemalist Panopticon*

Omnipresence of Atatürk represented the permanent surveillance specifically in educational space. His penetrating ice-blue eyes, stern expressions in photographs, portraits, posters, masks and busts have become indispensable, both in curricula and the pedagogic sphere. Atatürk corners, as mnemonic devices across the republican period, are the constituent aspects of Kemalist

²⁶ See P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge (U.K.), Cambridge University Press, 1977, pp. 95.

indoctrination, which is further enhanced by the Kemalist panopticon. Foucault identifies the panopticon as a marvelous machine which perfects the execution of social power²⁷. Atatürk, as an icon among nationalist decorations becomes symbolic and prestigious means of the powerful state. In this respect, «Atatürk's gaze in private and public spaces was both a fictitious relation of surveillance and self-imposed means of social control»²⁸.

Atatürk's gaze, with bushy eyebrows and striking blue eyes, emphasized the disciplinary power of a stern father, supervising every movement and recording all events. As Özyürek insightfully comments, «elementary school students memorize poems about the power of Atatürk's gaze as if he is personally looking at them from pictures»²⁹. Behçet Necatigil's famous poem *Resim* [The picture] is frequently memorized and recited in primary school children's celebrations and commemorations, visualizing a student's feelings on seeing Atatürk's picture above the teacher's seat. In a similar vein, one of my informants, 51-year-old university lecturer reports her memories as follows:

In the classroom, there was a picture of Atatürk right above the blackboard. Whenever I felt uninterested in the lesson or began to make fun of something, I used to look at Atatürk's photo and got back to work. I used to think that Atatürk would be angry about it.

This love and anxiety relationship seems to have an intergenerational effect when we consider a younger informant, a 21-year-old university student:

During the exams, I used to look at the photo of Atatürk on the board and think that He would have wanted me to get good grades and become successful, and I would answer the questions.

Atatürk in educational setting creates an interiorized sense of surveillance. The ubiquity of his gaze results in close contact with the population.

3.2. Atatürk Corners as Mnemonic Devices

Atatürk corners are strongly correlated with commemorations and celebrations in educational environment. According to Caramelea, «for authorities, the ceremonies were part of the state's commemorative policy subordinated to national goals, destined to form a sense of national belonging and to convey a

²⁷ See M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison*, New York, Vintage Books, 1977.

²⁸ D. Jung, «Secularism»: A Key to Turkish Politics?, in D. Jung, C. Raudvere (edd.), *Religion, Politics and Turkey's EU Accession*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 132.

²⁹ E. Özyürek, *Miniaturizing Atatürk Privatization of State Imagery and Ideology in Turkey*, «American Ethnologist», vol. 31, n. 3, 2004, pp. 386.

range of social values»³⁰. Correspondingly, the cult of Atatürk and Kemalism, coupled with a strong sense of Turkish nationalism, became internalized early in schooling, and are regularly reinforced in institutional educational settings through a yearly cycle of associated ceremonies, plays, parades and shows. April 23rd is Children's day, indicating the anniversary of the establishment of the Turkish Grand National Assembly; May 19th, Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth and Sports Day, marks the date that Mustafa Kemal started Turkey's War of Independence in 1919; August 30th, Victory day, is the date when the Turkish army triumphed over Greek invaders in 1922; October 29th is the Republic Day, marking the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923; and November 10th is the anniversary of his passing away in 1938. On all these occasions, Atatürk corners have always been embedded in tangible linkages between state power and collective memories attached to national history. In other words, «nationalism is protected by constitution and courts, and sustained through education, civic socialization, and the carefully orchestrated commemoration of the leader»³¹. Rituals, commemorations and practices in relation to these spaces frequently have profound effects on the students. All these ceremonies around Kemalist legacy stimulates regular and concerted memory processes which trigger personal micro histories, as exemplified by a 47 years-old civil servant:

On 10th of November, precisely at 9.05 am, 10-minute silence by a male and a female student used to take place on the either side of the Atatürk corner. The students used to change every 10 minutes so that each student was able to show his respect to Atatürk.

3.3. *Atatürk Corners as Space of Absence*

Atatürk corners at the entrance present a space of absence, which conveys the message that although the decedent is no longer with us, he is present through the aura of this allocated space. While Atatürk's busts and masks function as a motivating force in commemorative practices, the 41 lines of the Turkish national anthem and his address to youth remind students of the war of independence, and the nation state's expectations that they will perform their responsibilities and duties. Atatürk's pronouncements (inscribed below his mask or bust) become indispensable part of these inspirations.

³⁰ R. Caramela, *Celebrating the School Building: Educational Intentions and Collective Representations (The End of the 19th Century)*, in C. Yanes-Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.) *School Memories: New Trends in the History of Education*, Cham, Switzerland, Springer, 2017, pp. 190.

³¹ L. Glyptis, *Living up to the father: The national identity prescriptions of remembering Atatürk; his homes, his grave, his temple*, «National Identities», vol. 10, n. 4, 2008, pp. 354.

A 44-year-old male informant recalls:

In secondary school and high school, we used to act out and wrestle in the classroom. During that rough-and-tumble, if we got close to the bust of Atatürk or Atatürk corner, we used to pull ourselves together. We didn't want to give any harm to it unintentionally. I, personally, felt uncomfortable by being bedraggled in the presence of Atatürk.

Apart from formal state regulations in relation to Atatürk corners, primary school curricula are specifically instrumental in accommodating Atatürk into the classroom practices through desk-based activities, which include making Atatürk-focused scrapbooks and collages in the form of individual or group projects. Primary school students work with newspaper or magazine clippings, attaching their Atatürk pictures to a large sheet of paper for the in-class Atatürk corner. Thus, through collaboration, students chronologically order Atatürk pictures, indicating his childhood, educational life, the wars he fought in, republican implementations and reforms, and finally, his death.

A 55-year-old female painter reports that:

Every student used to create an Atatürk scrapbook. In the classroom, we used to prepare an Atatürk corner in groups. We used to put the photos showing Atatürk's life, family, education life, and the wars he waged chronologically on a piece of cardboard. On every national holiday and commemoration ceremony, our teacher used to make us draw pictures. Atatürk was in all of them. On such special occasions, our families used to buy flowers. We used to lay those flowers by our founder's bust. We used to read poems aloud. I remember crying on every November 10.

47-years-old female translator states:

I don't think that there is any Turkish kid who has not written or memorized a poem about Atatürk. In our school, we used to have poem or written composition competitions. I also remember laying yellow chrysanthemums on Atatürk's bust and decorating the Atatürk corner with them. I used to think that Atatürk had loved chrysanthemums and he was being happy when we put those flowers around his photo. However, chrysanthemum is a common flower in November, the month that he passed away. Probably, that is why we were using it for decorations. Whenever I see a chrysanthemum, I am still reminded of Atatürk.

From the perspective of a 76-year-old retired teacher, in-class Atatürk corners have both a creative and a constructive function:

Atatürk corner is the essential part of our curriculum. It is not just a visual expression. It is a living, changing, and an abidingly developing thing. Such a corner in the classrooms is formed by the students. They pin up pictures, newspaper clippings and poems about Atatürk and his life. I mean, children are working on it, they participate in its construction. If they found something better, more interesting, they would remove a piece and pin the new one. It is something which fills the void of Atatürk.

Personal accounts incorporated with collective memory-building through Atatürk corners affirm the effectiveness of these corners in the elaboration of identities and sustenance of state ideology and control.

4. Regulation on Atatürk Corners and Political Wars

«The multiplicity of Atatürk imagery and the elaboration of the genres through which he has been symbolized highlight the paradoxical relationship between the sacred and profane, between secularism and religion, and between iconization and defamation»³². Atatürk corners, which are encapsulated in memorial practice and space, have become a site of intense political struggle between the Islamist and laicist/Kemalist camps. Since the beginning of the Turkish republic, Kemalist elites have used their monopoly in the planning of annual celebrations to reflect the themes of national unity, modernism and Kemalist enthusiasm. In this battle, Atatürk became the main focus of political sphere entailing differing meanings for different masses. For the Kemalist, Atatürk means «a common point of reference that guarantees identification with the masses, while for the Islamist front, he is an intermediary medium»³³.

The «official collective memory» in contemporary Turkey has been problematic for its duality in its own remembrance. In the face of Kemalist enforcement and its unquestionable monopoly in memorial culture, Islamists sought an alternative approach towards memory-based identity, either by attempting to dilute strongly Kemalist republican-oriented celebrations and commemorations, or by launching religion-based alternatives by inserting Islamic aspects into the memorial calendar. One of these strategies is to change the rules and regulations about the presence of Atatürk in the curriculum and school buildings. This struggle can be traced both in legal and political arenas.

Following the military coup of 1980, as per the Journal of Disclosure numbered 1928 and the Ministry of Education Circular numbered 14.01.1981/282-81, all schools are obliged to erect a bust of Atatürk in the schoolyard, and to maintain and protect it. The expansion of the regulation on Atatürk busts and Atatürk corners are as follows:

In the institutions, a bust of Atatürk is to be mounted on a base which is placed on a specific height from the ground in the Atatürk corners. In the institutions, a corner dedicated to Atatürk is to be created in visible area of the buildings in which the management is located.

³² M. Türköz, *Fathering the Nation from Mustafa Kemal to Atatürk*, «Traditiones», vol. 43, n. 1, 2014 pp. 54.

³³ N. Ökten, *An Endless Death and an Eternal Mourning: November 10 in Turkey*, in Özyürek (ed.), *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, cit., pp. 112.

A photo of Atatürk, a bust mounted on a base, Turkish Flag, National Anthem, and the Address to Youth is to be appropriately placed. A medallion, an engraving, a photo, a book including Atatürk's sayings on education, a painting, and a plaque can also be placed in the Atatürk corners.

Upon the Regulation on Private Educational Institutions being enacted in 1985, the obligation for an Atatürk Corner was covered in the 78th clause of 6th section under the title of Social Facility and Equipment. Ministry of National Education issued the new regulation on Private Educational Institutions in the Official Gazette on March 8, 2008. In contrast to past practice, and in accordance with the new regulation, the obligation for an Atatürk Corner was repealed for private schools. After this, Eğitim-İş Union and the Istanbul Bar Association launched a successful lawsuit against the new regulation.

In addition to this, a lawsuit for supersedeas and cancellation was brought to the Ministry of National Education on the grounds that it invalidates the necessity of Atatürk Corners, under the 14th clause entitled «Turkish Flag and the Atatürk Corner» within the Regulation on Non-Formal Education of Ministry of National Education, effectuated in the Official Gazette numbered 27587 and dated 21.05.2010. It reads as follows:

In accordance with the aims set at the beginning of the Constitution and with the law no. 1739, the 8th Chamber of Council of State defined the main aim of the national education system as follows: to raise all individuals of the Turkish nation to be able to sustain the Turkish state and the nation forever, and make it a collaborator and a pioneer of contemporary civilization, bound with Atatürk's revolution and principles, and by understanding that the Atatürk Corners in the non-formal educational institutions should be created and themed according to this aim on the grounds that the activities in non-formal educational institutions should be conducted in coherence and in conformance with international law, democracy, and human rights, in line with Atatürk's revolution and principles in accordance with the Constitution, and with the law no. 1739, the 8th Chamber of Council of State found the claim of Eğitim-İş Union justified, and cancelled the legal regulation with prejudice³⁴.

Apart from these enforcements and legal actions, the Kemalist front, vowing unyielding support for the Atatürk legacy, was disturbed by frequent vandal attacks on Atatürk busts and statues, and negligence of some school administrations, which eliminated some Atatürk corner articles (busts, masks, posters, his address to youth, or the verses of the national anthem)³⁵. Such news reopens old wounds, but alerts Kemalists to the need to keep all areas

³⁴ Armutçu, O, Danıştay'dan Atatürk köşesi kriterleri [Atatürk Corners Criteria Identified by Council of State], Last Updated: April, 20, 2018, <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/danistaydan-ataturk-kosesi-kriterleri-40811058>> (last access: 12.09.2018) (in Turkish).

³⁵ See (Haber Ekspres, Çöpte Atatürk Resimleri, [Atatürk Pictures in the Garbage Bin], Last Updated: June, 18 2012 <<http://www.gazetevatan.com/yapmadiklari-bir-bu-kalmisti--426884-medya>> (last access: 12.09.2018) (in Turkish), Haber Türk, Atatürk Posterleri Çöpte Bulundu, [Atatürk Pictures were found in the Garbage Bin], Last Updated: August, 19, 2016 <<https://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1284671>> (last access: 12.09.2018) (in Turkish).

of Atatürk sentiment alive. Atatürk corners are such a sensitive topic that they have entries on two popular web sites: ekşi sözlük (<www.eksisozluk.com>) and in uludağ sözlük (<www.uludagsozluk.com>). These sites are built upon user contributions, and function in the form of a database, and a web forum. In one of the quoted entries on Atatürk Corner (Ekşi Sözlük), a writer says:

The corner is prepared in primary school with the photos of Atatürk and poems dedicated to him. It is generally prepared on November 10 and never removed. The minimum requirements for the corner: a couple of photos, a piece of black cardboard, and some poems dedicated to Atatürk. It would be awesome if you can put some artificial gillyflowers and a piece of cardboard with the words ‘We follow your footsteps’ on the bust of Atatürk. It is the corner that people who think they are Turkish and embrace the Turkish flag should create in their hearts.

In the first entry of the heading Atatürk köşesi [Atatürk corner] on Uludağ Sözlük, the writer deeply deplores the absence of Atatürk entry, and gives the definition of Atatürk corner as follows:

First of all, the description: The board that is present in all schools giving formal education, and involves poems and writings about Atatürk, and his photos. I condemn it. I condemn all the writers, managers and moderators of Uludağ Sözlük, I condemn all of you. We have been sharing information for years now, but we haven’t even once said ‘Atatürk’. We haven’t made a corner for him. Whatever, it is never too late to repair this situation, so I thought of starting this corner to share our poems, writings about Atatürk. We must show our Atatürk, our beloved, the blue-eyed giant, the leader of the century, the genius, that I would die for, to everyone. C’mon, the sons of this country! Don’t you have any respect for our veterans and martyrs? Can a place exist without having an Atatürk corner? Let the places without such a corner be gone.

Two other eye-catching entries are «The small temple existent in every school» and «It has always bothered the ones with an inferiority complex. It is the corner that is dedicated to an honorable leader who has duly served his country». It is not surprising to see that similar cultural scripts based on shared ideological common ground on Atatürk are widely stated.

Conclusion

Representation of Atatürk and mode of remembering practices lead to a collective set of memory around the perceived sacred aura of Turkey’s founder. As an indispensable part of school memories, Atatürk corners can be considered as a memorial space with a living power, and they are functional in the historicization of Atatürk’s legacy and life, and the presentation of him as a real person in the curricula. This study presents an initial step to map out the various collective memories around Atatürk corners, and their multi-pronged

role in memory building practices in educational setting. Located at the core of formal curricula, Atatürk corners account for two dimensions of space: one space created at the school entrance and specified by the rules and regulations of Ministry of Education, and another space formed on a noticeboard in the classroom by the creative orientation of the teachers, through which students become actors in the act of remembering. Both types of memorial provide memory cues for students to create a common memory stock in line with Kemalist doctrine. They function as mnemonics which construct students' ideas and experience in relation to the past and present. These sites inhold the notion of stability and change, absence and presence of the decedent, continuity and preservation of the past. They are influential in rhetorical and political processes correlated with Kemalist panopticon as well.

Personal accounts and internet forums incorporated with collective memory building through Atatürk corners affirm that these corners are effective in the elaboration of identities and sustenance of state ideology and control. Legal clashes between Kemalist and Islamist fronts over Atatürk corners revealed that collective memory is undergoing constant change, implying increasing polarization. Moreover, political, media and historical discourses by supporters of Kemalism display a great eagerness to continue memorialization of the past, and concomitantly, spatialization of collective memory. Atatürk corners' role in education as points of spatial and ideological orientation requires further research in terms of semiotic and textual content of fixed (monument, stage, building, flags and lights) and mobile (commemoration, ritual, march) monumental seduction³⁶.

³⁶ A. Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2003.

The School Museum as a tool for building a bridge between the national and European cultural heritage in Vojvodina: a case study of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium in Novi Sad (1810-1918)*

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to analyze the School Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium in Novi Sad as a kind of bridge between national and European cultural heritage, as a place of memory (*lieu de mémoire*) in the way the French historian Pierre Nora uses this concept. Thereby, the paper focuses on specific educational and cultural heritage that this school promotes. The analysis will be based on the historical materials available in the Museum. This study will show how the School Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium, as place of memory, functions as a meeting point of the past and the present, with an important educational mission that not only supports the collective memory but also provokes the re-interpretation of the national and international cultural heritage.

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EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of school; Heritage education; Place of memory; Habsburg empire; Serbia; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

Introduction

This paper explores the relationship between the history of a school, collective memory and the heritage education. As relevant scholars emphasized, European schools were among the main factors in creation of the European identity, promoting creative educational methods for use in local cultural institutions and, most importantly, protecting the outstanding European cultural heritage at national levels, thus contributing to a better understanding of the multicultural nature of European identity and disseminating adequate educational approaches¹. This study focuses on the period from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th, when the idea of national identity was of prevailing concern², when the teachers were the key promoters of romantic nationalism commending literacy, cultural development, and modernization³. Among others, relevant for this discussion were the recent Italian findings that point to the historical-educational heritage that led to the promotion of the museum environment as a specific kind of teaching and learning laboratory and making the school history more transparent and public, widening thus the function and importance of education in society⁴.

Contemporary authors acknowledge the importance of the museum as an institution which represents and instructs about various composite cultures in a society and influences the formation of national identity⁵. In this paper, we consider the role and importance of one school museum that promotes the values

¹ M. Brunelli, E. Patrizi, *School Museums as Tools to Develop the Social and Civic Competencies of European Citizens. First Research Notes*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. VI, n. 2, 2011, pp. 507-524.

² R. Caramela, *A School Subject Serving the Nation. Geography Textbooks in Romania (1864-1945)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. X, n. 1, 2015, pp. 155-176.

³ Brunelli, Patrizi, *School Museums as Tools to Develop the Social and Civic Competencies of European Citizens. First Research Notes*, cit., p. 518.

⁴ M. Brunelli, *The School Museum as a Catalyst for a Renewal of the Teaching of History of Education. Practices and Experiences from the University of Macerata (Italy)*, «Educació i Història: Revistad'Història de l'Educació», vol. 26, juliol-desembre, 2015, pp. 121-141.

⁵ More in: S. Hess, *Museum*, in I. Gogolin, V. Georgi, M. Krüger-Potratz, D. Lengzel, U. Sandfuchs (edd.), *Handbuch Interkulturelle Pädagogik*, Bad Heilbrunn, 2018, pp. 421-425; A. Messerschmidt, *Gedankstätten und Erinnerungsorte*, in Gogolin, Georgi, Krüger-Potratz, Lengzel, Sandfuchs (edd.), *Handbuch Interkulturelle Pädagogik*, cit., pp. 425-428; I. Ang, *What are Museums for? The Enduring Friction between Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism*, «Identities», vol. 24, n. 1, 2017, pp. 1-5; L. Gouriévidis, *The Dynamics of Heritage: History, Memory and the Highland Clearances*, United Kingdom, Taylor & Francis, 2010; K. Goodnow, H. Akman (edd.), *Scandinavian Museums and Cultural Diversity*, New York-Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2008.

of various cultures, in which the visitors are young persons who are themselves involved in the process of the development of their own identities and, at the same time, who are the future promoters of social values. We are referring here to the works of Marta Brunelli, who explored school history and gathered evidence that show how school museums could become «extraordinary *borderlands* between formal education and cultural heritage»⁶. In her interpretation, school museums introduce «historical educational knowledge as a resource to meet the educational needs of contemporary society»⁷.

This study analyzes the development and the activities of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium in Novi Sad from its foundation in 1810 to the dismantling of the Habsburg (Austro-Hungarian) Monarchy and the unification of Vojvodina with Serbia in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, in 1918. We will explore how the School Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium in Novi Sad functions as an intersection between national and European cultural heritage in Vojvodina and as a place of memory (*lieu de mémoire*) as defined by the French historian Pierre Nora. Thereby, our focus is on the specific educational and cultural heritage promoted by this school; the basis of our analysis are the historical materials available in the School Museum.

The museum was founded on November 24, 1985, and situated on the top floor of the Gymnasium, as a unique exhibition in Vojvodina. The history of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium is represented through the artefacts from the collection Education, presented by the Museum of Vojvodina and the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Novi Sad at the exhibition the basic idea of which was *A Museum at School – A School in the Museum*. The exhibition combined museum artefacts, photo documentation, audio and video materials⁸. It had eight components: the beginnings of the Gymnasium in 1810 and its further development to 1868; the period from 1868 to the end of WWI, with the focus on teachers and students; the period between WWI and WWII; the classroom and teaching materials; sport and physical education; the beginnings of the choir and orchestra section; the history of the school library; and finally, the school building⁹. The social recognition of such a conception is evidenced in *Protocol on Cooperation* (2017) between the Gymnasium and the Museum of Vojvodina. The *Protocol* scheduled the visits of the curator of the Museum of Vojvodina to the School Museum, and

⁶ Brunelli, Patrizi, *School Museums as Tools to Develop the Social and Civic Competencies of European Citizens. First Research Notes*, cit., p. 521.

⁷ Brunelli, *The School Museum as a Catalyst for a Renewal of the Teaching of History of Education. Practices and experiences from the University of Macerata (Italy)*, cit., p. 125.

⁸ C. Milinkovic, *Novosadska gimnazija u zbirnama i fondovima muzeja, arhiva i biblioteka* [The Gymnasium of Novi Sad in Collections and Funds of Museums, Archives and Libraries], Habilitacioni rad, Narodni muzej u Beogradu (Supervisor: Lj. Otic), Beograd, Narodni muzej u Beogradu, 2015 (in Serbian).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.



Pic. 1. The School Museum of the Gymnasium, Novi Sad, 2012.

(C. Milinkovic, *Novosadska gimnazija u zbirnama i fondovima muzeja, arhiva i biblioteka* [The Gymnasium of Novi Sad in Collections and Funds of Museums, Archives and Libraries], Habilitacioni rad, Narodni muzej u Beogradu (Supervisor: Lj. Otić), Beograd, Narodni muzej u Beogradu, 2015, p. 68).

the Gymnasium's students to the Museum of Vojvodina, with the aim of better informing students, themselves the agents of the cultural and educational system of the society, and various topics relevant for cultural and educational history of Serbia within Vojvodina.

Nora¹⁰ confronts memory as a current phenomenon with modern historical consciousness concretely rooted in space, gesture, image and objects, as a phenomenon that emerges from a group it connects. According to Nora, the function of memory is taken over by a «different history»¹¹, which becomes materialized in places of memory. Therefore, according to Nora, the places of memory are both concrete and abstract at the same time, and they include

¹⁰ P. Nora, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, «Representations», n. 26, 1989, pp. 7-24.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

three aspects of memory: material, symbolic and functional. Even a site that is obviously material, such as an archive, becomes a place of memory only if, through imagination, it takes on a symbolic aura. Or, a purely functional site, like a manual, holds a place of memory category only if it is also the object of a ritual¹². Within that framework, museums are the places of memory where material, functional and symbolic aspects of the past are perpetually combined from the beginning, editing thus the existence of the past and present. Thereby, the School Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium is seen as a place with various dimensions: on one hand, it is a system of the representation and interpretation of the national cultural heritage, and on the other hand, considering that Vojvodina was a part of one of the most influential and most dominant monarchies of a certain time, it symbolizes the values and expectations promoted in *the Habsburg Empire and the European educational heritage*.

Permanent changes of needs and interests – economic and political, as well as scholarly – shape the museum and its contents¹³. Considered as the guardians of some form of collective memory, museums contribute to the creation of the concepts of cultural and collective memory reflected in academic discourse and in contemporary cultural heritage debates¹⁴. Museums present the cultural heritage of a country, although with constantly created new meanings that a community or a particular group accepts as the aspects of contemporary life.

Such a methodological approach is based on the understanding that social institutions, such as museums and schools, are anchored in a given economic and political order, and that therefore they reflect the values of a wider society. Also, this methodological approach enables us to investigate the relation between the past and the present, and to understand the School Museum of the oldest Serbian Novi Sad Gymnasium as a site that does not promote a single prevailing culture, but rather a combination of varied cultures in the same geographical space¹⁵. This means that, in addition to its function of collecting, preserving, researching and exhibiting the museum artefacts, the museum has an important educational function. Today, the museum is regarded as an exceptional place for education, learning and identity development, within the overall goal of transmitting and disseminating the values of the historical and cultural heritage, in the function of its socio-cultural and educational use¹⁶.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹³ S.A. Crane, *The Conundrum of Ephemerality: Time, Memory, and Museums*, in S. Macdonald (ed.), *A companion to Museum Studies*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006, pp. 98-110.

¹⁴ E. Stainforth, *From Museum to Memory Institution: The Politics of European Culture Online*, «Museum & Society», vol. 14, n. 2, 2016, pp. 323-337.

¹⁵ C. Yanes, *The Museum as a Representation Space of Popular Culture and Educational Memory*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. VI, n. 2, 2011, pp. 19-31.

¹⁶ M. Sebastianelli, M. Amoroso, *La lettura dell'opera d'arte attraverso i sensi – l'esperienza di didattica museale al Museo Diocesano di Palermo*, in B. Kulic, G. Randazzo (edd.), *SENTIRE l'arte: un'esperienza interculturale nella didattica museale*, Novi Sad, Galleria Di Matica srpska,

We follow the development of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium along three periods that reflect the context of the social and historical circumstances in which it has been established and functioned: first, 1810-1849; second, 1852-1865, and third, 1865-1918. Special focus will be placed on the headteachers who are seen as the promoters and leaders of pedagogical activities in the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium, both in terms of their education, teaching, and relations with students and other teachers, as well as with the state's and church's authorities. The historical materials available at the School Museum will serve for the purposes of this analysis.

1. *Period 1810-1849: Young Slovak evangelist – the first headteacher of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium*

This first period covers years from 1810, when it was established, to the Rebellion in 1849, when, due to the bombing of Novi Sad, this school stopped working. Describing the conditions of its establishment, Leskovac¹⁷ explains that the year of its establishment, 1810, was not selected by chance; important social and historical circumstances contributed to the emergence of the idea for such an institution. On one hand, according to the Treaty of Schönbrunn Napoleon established the Illyrian provinces in this part of the west Balkans, introducing a more liberal administration than the Austrians had been before that. It is important that the teaching of language in elementary schools had to be «the language of the local lands» («la langue du pays»)¹⁸. Although such an approach to education did not last for long because Austria annexed the region in 1814, the people's experience of freedom during schooling in their mother tongue could not be easily suppressed. In addition, such ideas corresponded with the national consciousness among Serbs living in the Habsburg Empire, and were galvanized by national uprisings in the areas of contemporary Serbia and by the pursuits aiming at the creation of the Serbian national state and liberation from Turkish governance¹⁹. Also, the fundamental economic and social changes happening in Europe by the end of 18th and the beginning of 19th century²⁰, were significantly reflected in the social life of Serbs in the Habsburg

2008, pp. 119-265.

¹⁷ M. Leskovac, *Predgovor* [Introduction], in M. Cicmil (ed.), *Novosadska gimnazija: 1810-1985, Nastanak i razvoj* [The Gymnasium in Novi Sad: 1810-1985, Establishment and Development], Novi Sad, Gimnazija 'J. J. Zmaj', 1986, pp. 5-10 (in Serbian).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁰ I. Garai, A. Németh, *I Am Alone, "Only the Truth Stands Behind Me". An Interpretation the Life of an Elementary Teacher*, in C. Yanes-Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, Cham, Springer, 2017, pp. 129-142.

Empire. With the advancements of technology and diversification of production, the social stratum of rich Serbian citizens was formed and they became the agents of the Enlightenment idea of the dissemination of national culture and education throughout the widest national strata²¹. In all lands of the Habsburg Empire, institutional education and teachers were crucial to the development of the modern nation and the concept of the national element was taken as an important aspect of education²². Recognizing the importance of education, the Serbian populace invested a lot of effort and money to establish a wide network of schools, trivial at the beginning, but included clerical schools and institutions for the training the future priests and teachers later. These developments have been followed by the longing to establish a gymnasium (grammar school), which united the representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church and rich donors. The most important were the decisions and the work of Sava Vukovic, the nobleman from Bergs, who, after long consultations with the Bishop of Backa and the Karlovac Metropolitanate, published the provisions for the Founding Charter (Basic Letter) on January 26, 1810, by which he deposited a sum of 20,000 forints as an endowment fund for founding the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium in Novi Sad²³.

Vukovic's Founding Charter set up the three basic education tasks of this institution: (1) general education, (2) education in the national spirit through the Orthodox religion, and (3) the cultivation of national language and the study of national literature²⁴. The social and historical life conditions of the Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy influenced the conception of these aims because education was conceived as an instrument for the protection of the national language and identity and as a tool for the fight against forced assimilation. Since education was under the auspices of the Serbian Orthodox Church, there was a belief that only through upbringing in the spirit of the Orthodox religion could national integrity and moral prosperity be achieved²⁵. Consequently, the main authority over the Gymnasium was held by the Patronage, led by the Metropolitanate and the Bishop, with six more patrons elected by the municipality.

Although the preparations for the establishment of the Gymnasium began immediately after opening, it was necessary to overcome numerous political and economic difficulties, the largest being the devaluation of the money of

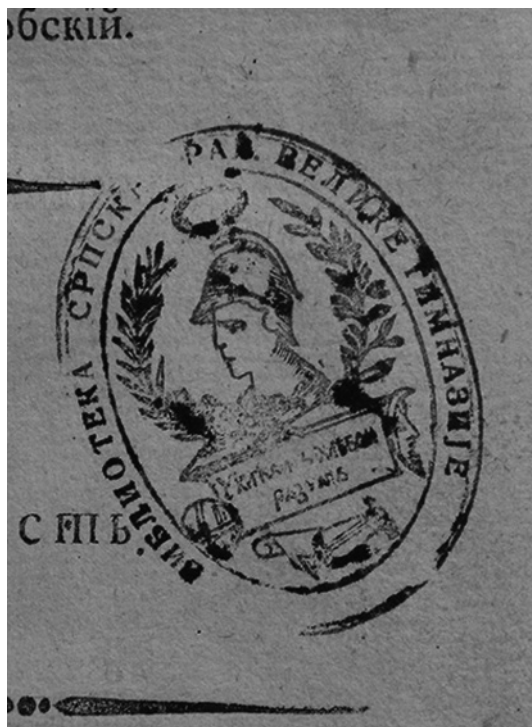
²¹ Leskovac, *Introduction*, cit., p. 7.

²² T. Kasper, D. Kasperová, *National, State and Civic Education in the Czech Lands of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and, after 1918, in Czechoslovakia*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 10, n. 1, 2015, pp. 251-258.

²³ N. Gavrilovic, *Prvi deo: 1810-1868* [First part: 1810-1868], in M. Cicmil (ed.), *Novosadska gimnazija: 1810-1985, Nastanak i razvoj* [The Gymnasium in Novi Sad: 1810-1985, Establishment and Development], Novi Sad, Gimnazija 'J. J. Zmaj', 1986, pp. 13-93 (in Serbian).

²⁴ Lj. Acigan, *Drugi deo: 1868-1918* [Second part: 1868-1918], in M. Cicmil (ed.), *Novosadska gimnazija: 1810-1985, Nastanak i razvoj* [The Gymnasium in Novi Sad: 1810-1985, Establishment and Development], Novi Sad, Gimnazija 'J. J. Zmaj', 1986, pp. 95-146 (in Serbian).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 112.



Pic. 2. The Stamp of the Library of the Gymnasium, Novi Sad, 19th century.

(C. Milinkovic, *Novosadska gimnazija u zbirka-ma i fondovima muzeja, arhiva i biblioteka* [The Gymnasium of Novi Sad in Collections and Funds of Museums, Archives and Libraries], Habilitacioni rad, Narodni muzej u Beogradu (Supervisor: Lj. Otić), Beograd, Narodni muzej u Beogradu, 2015, p. 18).

famous as a writer, historian and multi-linguist of Slovak origin²⁶. Although at the age of 24 he was the youngest member of the teaching collegium, and of evangelical confession, the Patronage chose him for the position of the headteacher in May 1819, and at the same time as a teacher of humanities for second graders. Safarik was officially introduced to his duties on October 16, 1819, when he held a festive speech in Latin²⁷. He begrudged the high schools of the time for the fact that the young were tutored in mastering Latin and German, and neglected learning their mother tongue and literature. At the time of Safarik, the Gymnasium experienced a great improvement: as a proper

1810/1811. But, in addition to all the challenges, the Governmental Decree of December 11, 1811 established the Novi Sad High School Fund, and the school itself started working in 1816, when the first three grades were opened. Two years later, in 1818, imperial privilege was implemented by which the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium acquired the same rights as other public gymnasiums; the graduates could, without additional exams and by their own choice, continue their studies at the state lyceums and universities. Meanwhile, the number of grades increased so that, from October 1819, the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium became complete, with six grades, like all other state schools at the time. As such, the Gymnasium continued to work up until June 1849, when its work was interrupted due to the bombing of Novi Sad and the blaze that damaged the gymnasium building.

During this period, from 1819 to 1826, the headteacher was Pavel Jozef Safarik (1795-1861),

²⁶ V. Stajic, *Srpska pravoslavna velika gimnazija u Novom Sadu* [Serbian Orthodox Grand Gymnasium in Novi Sad], Novi Sad, Matica srpska, 1949, p. 229 (in Serbian).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

connoisseur of European conditions, he was involved in the field of librarianship, and under his management a large number of books was collected, so that in 1822 the School Library was formally opened with a fund of 1,600 books.

However, after 1824, when the Hungarian Council banned the right of the Serbian Orthodox Church to employ evangelically educated people from Hungary in gymnasiums and in their services, Safarik took on the problem²⁸. Responding to that call, the bishop convoked a Patronage session, which took a very favorable attitude towards Safarik.

In addition, the conclusion was that Safarik should not teach the subject where the evangelical creed could come to the fore, and that he should be appointed as a teacher of the humanities because, thanks to his moral conduct, knowledge of several languages, and level of education, he was in the focus of public interest²⁹. That's why the Patronage expressed the willingness to save Safarik's position considering it similar to the position of evangelical teachers at other schools and universities. Finally, the Patronage hoped that one day there would be a candidate of Serbian descent and Orthodox religion who could successfully carry out teaching at the Gymnasium, but that, sadly, this was not the case for the time being. The efforts made by the Patronage did not bear fruit and Safarik was deprived of any influence in the exercise of his principal duties, but retained his position as a teacher.

2. Period 1852-1865: An attempt to degrade the Gymnasium and the importance of Djordje Natosevic

The second period in the development of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium started with the reopening of the school after the Rebellion in 1849. Since in the meantime the six-grade gymnasiums were abolished everywhere, the school authorities (Schulbehörde) from Timisoara sent the education advisor Petar Jovanovic, the former principal of the six-grade gymnasium, to inspect whether the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium could continue to work as a four-grade or as an eight-grade school, and whether the Gymnasium should be public, with the consequent rights or not.

Although Jovanovic suggested that the Gymnasium should be given the rights of the public one as an eight-grade school, the National Authority in Timisoara thought that this could not be accepted due to insufficient material and human resources. It was decided that the Gymnasium would start work in October 1852 as a lower four-grade private gymnasium without the rights of the public schools. In this form the school functioned until 1865.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

²⁹ Gavrilovic, *First part: 1810-1868*, cit., p. 36.

In this period, as the head of the Gymnasium in 1853, Dr. Djordje Natosevic (1821-1887) contributed to the school's reputation and quality³⁰. Natosevic was the personal physician of Bishop Atanackovic³¹, under whose influence he left medical practice and dedicated himself to education: he became a teacher at the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium where he taught naturalism and gymnastics³². Invited by the Patronage in 1853, he soon became the headteacher and laid the foundations of the «real» direction in Serbian secondary education³³. It is significant that Natosevic, as the headteacher and a doctor of medicine, decided in 1853 to introduce gymnastics training three times a week under his personal supervision³⁴. Undoubtedly, the introduction of gymnastics was the personal merit of Natosevic – the last students' evaluation of this subject was done in 1855/56. Namely, in 1857, Natosevic informed the Patronage that he had been invited to be the supervisor of Serbian schools in Austro-Hungary. He accepted that position and asked for dismissal from his office. In the position of the supervisor of all Serbian schools, first in Austro-Hungary, and then in the Karlovci Metropolitanate, he remained until his death³⁵. Natosevic was also the chief school referee for Vojvodina, a National Assembly deputy, and the president of the Matica srpska³⁶.

As for the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium, three major reversals happened in 1857/58. After the departure of Natosevic there were some irregularities, and the authorities in Timisoara in 1857 issued an order to Natosevic, then a school supervisor, to carry out a general inspection of the Gymnasium. Natosevic reported that the Gymnasium had stagnated and that the main reason was the inadequate award system for the teachers. In his opinion, the Patronage should increase teachers' salaries, and teachers should be supervised before they passed their professional examination. Natosevic's conclusion was also that the school principal should know all scientific disciplines lectured at school so that he could monitor each teacher and offer pedagogical instructions³⁷.

³⁰ Stajic, *Serbian Orthodox Grand Gymnasium in Novi Sad*, cit., p. 307.

³¹ R. Dostanic, *Natoseviceva reforma skola* [Natosevic's Reform of Schools], Novi Sad, Savez pedagoskih drustava Vojvodine, 1987, p. 90 (in Serbian).

³² Milinkovic, *The Gymnasium of Novi Sad in Collections and Funds of Museums, Archives and Libraries*, cit., p. 49.

³³ N. Vujisic Zivkovic, *Skidanje cadji. Slika osnovnih skola u knezevini Srbiji 1857-1880. godine u izvestajima skolskih nadzornika* [Supervision of the primary schools in Serbia, 1857-1880], Beograd, Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu, 2017, p. 78 (in Serbian).

³⁴ Stajic, *Serbian Orthodox Grand Gymnasium in Novi Sad*, cit., p. 375.

³⁵ Vujisic Zivkovic, *Supervision of the primary schools in Serbia, 1857-1880*, cit., p. 78.

³⁶ Milinkovic, *The Gymnasium of Novi Sad in Collections and Funds of Museums, Archives and Libraries*, cit., p. 49.

³⁷ Gavrilovic, *First part: 1810-1868*, cit., p. 68.

This extremely unfavorable report reached not only the authorities in Timisoara but was sent by them to the Ministry of Religion and Public Education in Vienna, with a proposal to close the Gymnasium. However, the ministry in Vienna noted that although the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium did not completely achieve satisfactory results, it did not lag behind in many of the set requirements. Without expressing any decision on the complete closure of the Gymnasium, the Ministry in Vienna left it up to the authorities in Timisoara to negotiate with the Patronage on the survival of the Gymnasium. However, the authorities in Timisoara remained steadfast in their earlier decision suggesting that the Gymnasium could be reopened only if the school fund increased and if the conditions for the teachers' employment were met. But at the beginning of 1859 the Patronage rejected the proposals of the Timisoara authorities, and after their resolute decision, combined with the influence of the political attitude towards the Serbs whose presence in the recent Rebellion in 1849 was very notable, the authorities in Timisoara radically changed their attitude towards the Gymnasium.

All initiatives inspired with the aim of closing the Gymnasium were forgotten, and Natosevic's report was only interpreted according to its positive aspects. In this regard, the authorities expressed a tendency to submit a request to the Ministry of Religion and Public education, requesting that this Gymnasium acquire the rights of public status. The ghosts in the Gymnasium and around it calmed down and the Gymnasium continued its work³⁸.



Pic. 3. Dr. Djordje Natosevic – Headteacher of the Gymnasium from 1853 to 1857, Novi Sad.

(C. Milinkovic, *Novosadska gimnazija u zbirkama i fondovima muzeja, arhiva i biblioteka* [The Gymnasium of Novi Sad in Collections and Funds of Museums, Archives and Libraries], Habilitacioni rad, Narodni muzej u Beogradu (Supervisor: Lj. Otić), Beograd, Narodni muzej u Beogradu, 2015, p. 49).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

3. *Period 1865-1918: Conflict among socialist and clerical ideas and Vasa Pusibrk's 40 year-long management*

The third period in the development of the Gymnasium extends from 1865 to 1918. Turbulent changes characterized the context³⁹ in which the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium worked at the time. Namely, after the creation of the Dual Monarchy in 1867, Hungary gained the right to self-regulate all areas of internal political life, and considerable attention was focused on resolving interethnic relations in education and culture as the Hungarian national policy intended to restrict the activities of the Serbian autonomous church⁴⁰. In this context, the Hungarian state authorities tried to apply a policy of assimilation through subsidies. Thus, the Hungarian Parliament in 1870/71 voted to assign the sum of 8,000 forints and let the Ministry of Education determine the curriculum, to appoint the teachers and pay them from that sum. But the Gymnasium's Patronage refused to accept the terms of the subsidy because they were in opposition to the founding document of the Gymnasium⁴¹. Nevertheless, the determination to assimilate did not weaken. The dominant language of instruction at the school in the '60s of the 19th century, German, lost primacy, and swaying between Serbian and Hungarian languages lasted for a while. The impact of the assimilation intensified even more⁴² by the determination of the educational authorities that the basic task of the Gymnasium should be to enable students to continue their education at the universities in Hungary or to become employed in the state administration.

With the same aim, the Ministry of Education insisted on increasing the number of teaching hours of Hungarian language, Hungarian history and geography, and to reduce the number of classes in mathematics and natural sciences. Considering the fact that the Gymnasium was essentially a private-national school, the demands to increase the teaching of Hungarian language meant, on one hand, to lessen the education for Serbian youth in the natural sciences, and on the other, it could be done at the expense of subjects that cultivate national spirit: mother tongue, national literature and national history⁴³. Due to the risks of neglecting the national group of subjects, some teachers found a compromise suggesting adding an extra hour for instruction

³⁹ Acigan, *Second part: 1868-1918*, cit., p. 137.

⁴⁰ E. Kelemen, *The Nationality References of the Hungarian Education Policy in the Period of Dualism of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. VI, n. 2, 2011, pp. 141-157.

⁴¹ Acigan, *Second part: 1868-1918*, cit., p. 98.

⁴² Kelemen, *The Nationality References of the Hungarian Education Policy in the Period of Dualism of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*, cit., p. 147.

⁴³ Acigan, *Second part: 1868-1918*, cit., p. 117.

in Serbian, which was accepted by the Hungarian educational authorities in 1891⁴⁴.

At the end of the 1860s, the Gymnasium also found itself in the focus of socio-political turmoil not only in Novi Sad but also in the wider social environment: between 1866 and 1873, the school was at the center of the conflict between the conservative-clerical and liberal-bourgeois forces⁴⁵. Svetozar Miletic, the leader of the Serbian National Liberal Party, the best former student in the history of the Gymnasium, supported the founding of the United Serbian Youth on the Gymnasium premises in 1866. This organization quickly became the main source of strength of the national movement of Serbs in Vojvodina. With its program, it clashed with clerical circles gathered around Patriarchy and Metropolitanate. In the same year, Miletic and his supporters, including a significant number of teachers at the Gymnasium, accused the Patronage of being incomplete for several years, which did not comply with the Founding Charter. In addition, there were tensions within the teaching collegium, among Miletic's party and the supporters and advocates of the church hierarchy, and the supreme authority of the Patronage. The Patronage reacted with the dismissal of the headteacher, the dismissal and reduction of salaries for some teachers, and the suspension of salary payments to all teachers during the inquiry. The conflict between the teachers and the Patronage was also carried over to the students. The Gymnasium was in confusion, which induced hostility among the conservative public blaming the Gymnasium for educating young people to be disloyal and intimidating for the social order. The Royal Ministry of religious affairs in Budapest too charge in resolving this dispute, and the Hungarian educational authorities became a backbone to the conservative and clerical forces in the school⁴⁶. According to some relevant authors, the representatives of the Serbian ecclesiastical authorities were extremely active in suppressing revolutionary national and socialist ideas among students and teachers, because these tendencies were contrary to the interests of the «emperor and the king of the apostles», on whom the service and position of the Serbian high church dignitaries in the dual monarchy depended⁴⁷.

At that time Vasa Pusibrk (1838-1917) took the position of the headteacher. Pusibrk had been a student, a teacher and was now the headteacher of the Gymnasium. He was elected teacher of mathematics and physics in 1865. His position as the headteacher was the longest one, from 1871 to 1910. Even after his retirement Pusibrk's influence in school remained; in 1912, he was the elected member of the Patronage and remained in office until his death in 1917⁴⁸.

⁴⁴ Stajic, *Serbian Orthodox Grand Gymnasium in Novi Sad*, cit., p. 323.

⁴⁵ Acigan, *Second part: 1868-1918*, cit., p. 137.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁴⁷ Stajic, *Serbian Orthodox Grand Gymnasium in Novi Sad*, cit., p. 293.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 317.



Pic. 4. The Teaching Collegium of the Gymnasium, Novi Sad, 1891.

(C. Milinkovic, *Novosadska gimnazija u zbirnama i fondovima muzeja, arhiva i biblioteka* [The Gymnasium of Novi Sad in Collections and Funds of Museums, Archives and Libraries], Habilitacioni rad, Narodni muzej u Beogradu (Supervisor: Lj. Otić), Beograd, Narodni muzej u Beogradu, 2015, p. 82).

During the internal turbulence at school, which started only a year after Pusibrk's employment, he was initially a burning supporter of the liberals and had a lot of reasons to oppose the Patronage: he was one of the teachers whose salary was reduced. But later Pusibrk opted for the conservatives so that some authors describe his conduct as opportune. As a person, he favored compromises, loyalty to the state authorities, and had no pretensions to contribute to the changes of the given social order⁴⁹. These authors' assessment was confirmed later in sensitive social and political circumstances. As the headteacher, Pusibrk faced the dissemination of socialist ideas among the students and the inclinations of some students to directly engage in the national liberation movements in the surroundings. Pusibrk had antagonized such inclinations. The fears of the Gymnasium administration of the expansion of the socialist movement among

⁴⁹ Acigan, *Second part: 1868-1918*, cit., p. 128.

students was reinforced in the late 1870s when Pusibrk actively cooperated with the government in Budapest, the great mayor, and the Serbian religious leaders in efforts to expel socialists from Novi Sad⁵⁰. In addition, Pusibrk prohibited the formation of any organized pupils' associations in the Gymnasium, even the literary club, aiming to prevent the launch of the newspapers and magazines that could instigate ideas contrary to the official views of the authorities. Namely, in 1879, the Hungarian Minister of Education wrote to the Serbian patriarch about the engagement of students in spreading socialist ideas. Consequently, the Gymnasium Patronage issued a strict order to the principal and the teachers to «instantly dismiss anyone who socializes with the socialists or nihilists, reads their books or spreads their lessons and ideas»⁵¹.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to study the School Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium in Novi Sad as an agent in linking national and European cultural heritage in Vojvodina. We approach the museum as a place of memory (*lieu de mémoire*) using this concept as Pierre Nora uses it. Some relevant authors⁵² comment that, although he writes about memories, Nora does not deal with the heritage *per se*, but considers these two concepts – memory and heritage – as indistinguishable, condensed into one notion. Nora perceives the museums, archives, cemeteries, sanctuaries, peace treaties, brotherhoods as *lieux de mémoire*⁵³, and as representations of heritage that are basically imbedded in that place⁵⁴.

Within such methodological framework, we explored the history of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium and collected proofs on the school's material cultural heritage. In our special focus were the headteachers, who are seen as promoters and leaders of pedagogical activities in their institution. The teachers and the headteachers of this Gymnasium strived to widen the human horizons of their students and that is the reason why we considered them as focal points of this study. Their awareness of the importance of the people's language, history and education make them meritorious for mapping the paths which we have been following to these days⁵⁵.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁵² S. Hoelscher, *Heritage*, in S. Macdonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006, pp. 198-218.

⁵³ Nora, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, cit., p. 12.

⁵⁴ Hoelscher, *Heritage*, cit., p. 204.

⁵⁵ D. Prole, *Filozofska problemska svest u Izvestajima o Srpskoj velikoj gimnaziji u Novom Sadu (1867-1918)* [Philosophical consciousness in Reports on Serbian Great Grammar School in

Precisely here one can recognize the present importance of the School Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium. For visitors and Gymnasium students, it shows how the past influences the present: as a place of memory, the School Museum's presentation of the heritage influences contemporary students and encourages the development of national and European identity. The growth of national and European cultural heritage is evident in the fact that the history and literature classes are held on the Museum's premises, where the presented artefacts directly influence and promote values which were dominant in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century in this school. At the same time, there, on the Museum premises, students acquire knowledge relevant for the history of the Serbian people in Vojvodina, for education in Vojvodina, and for the history of the Gymnasium. Within that space, they learn how the teachers of the first Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium, with their education and experience, were at the same time bearers of national and international values in the school that was founded on the need to preserve national identity under the dominance of another culture in the environment. The teachers of the Gymnasium were most frequently law, philosophy, religion, medicine or science graduates, who advanced their education at the leading Habsburg universities in Vienna, Budapest, Prague or Jena. They fluently spoke several foreign languages and were motivated to advance their education and hold prominent positions throughout the Empire. Such an attitude towards education is a challenge for contemporary students who today, a century later and in the present unfavorable social and economic circumstances in Serbia, are not able continually to realize such scholarly and labor mobility within Europe. In times of the renewal of national consciousness in these regions, the School Museum concretizes the important promotion of European values, presenting the situation as it was in the 19th century, and motivating the students to proceed in similar directions.

The Museum's educational practice is developed through the narratives, interpretations and presentations, negotiations, and through continual dialogue with visitors⁵⁶. Our conclusion is that the School Museum in Novi Sad allows and cultivates the pluralistic and democratic adoption of the heritage understandable as a social process. The ultimate goal is the promotion of the heritage, not only as a way of perceiving the past but as a power of the present that influences the cultural construction of the society, and it inevitably reflects on the future. Within that context we understand the words of the history teacher Jovan Milinkovic, which he voices to his students during the class at the Museum:

Novi Sad], «Arhe», vol. 5, n. 10, 2008, pp. 155-170 (in Serbian).

⁵⁶ Yanes, *The Museum as a Representation Space of Popular Culture and Educational Memory*, cit.

The decision to hold the history classes in this space was inspired by the idea of linking the students with the historical heritage and sparking their awareness that their school has a two-century-long tradition, to make them understand that cultivating the heritage is at the same time the cultivation of the present. During the history classes, we intend to link the past and the present through the exchange of ideas and thoughts. With such an attitude some students are becoming aware of a specific view on certain daily political events and are able to analyze them from a historical or philosophical perspective and relate them with similar events in the past⁵⁷.

Such a conception of the School Museum does not reduce its function to being a collection and a presentation of artefacts but underlines the need to instigate critical reasoning about the past and the cultural heritage presented in the museum's environment⁵⁸. Along that line of thought are the words of the school principal, Radivoje Stojkovic, who pointed to the specific identity of school's students with the following explanation:

Before coming to this school, the students become acquainted here with the reputation the Gymnasium has in Novi Sad and abroad, with the achievements of the graduates of this school, with the former teachers. Thus, the freshmen come with the awareness created in their families and then, through education, they further that spirit of the *uniqueness*. The school premises contribute to such feelings with its photos of teachers and students, bookshelves and posters, biology laboratories and other artefacts that were purchased in the year 1900⁵⁹.

Such an approach corresponds to the idea that the construction of a space as a memory site is important not only because of the memory, but because it inspires contemplation and the use of the acquired knowledge and meanings. A real site of memory exists as a question-creating practice that produces thoughtful reflection and invites the past into the present and collective memory into history⁶⁰. The School Museum is thus a place of memory «created by a play of memory and history» with an obvious *will to remember*⁶¹. It represents a site of memory and a part of the school's collective memory which connects past (remembered school) and present (how that school is remembered or not)⁶², namely, we perceive the School Museum within the context of collective memory, which is a recollection of an occurrence that «has been lived through

⁵⁷ Personal communication, May 25, 2018.

⁵⁸ Brunelli, *The School Museum as a Catalyst for a Renewal of the Teaching of History of Education. Practices and experiences from the University of Macerata (Italy)*, cit., p. 130.

⁵⁹ Personal communication, May 25, 2018.

⁶⁰ L. Rivera-Orraca, *Are Museums Sites of Memory?*, «The New School Psychology Bulletin», vol. 6, n. 2, 2009, pp. 32-37.

⁶¹ Nora, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, cit., p. 19.

⁶² S. Polenghi, *Remembering School Through Movies: The Films of the Book Cuore (1886) in Republican Italy*, in Yanes-Cabrera, Meda, Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New trends in the History of Education*, cit., pp. 203-217.

and/or mythologized by a living collective identity of which history is a part» in line with Nora's ideas⁶³.

This study shows that the School Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Gymnasium, as a place of memory, serves as a meeting site of the past and the present, with an important educational mission that not only supports the collective memory but also provokes the re-interpretation of the national and international cultural heritage. Thus, we shall conclude that the School Museum in Novi Sad, through school culture, can function as a place of promoting and constructing both the national and European identity and cultural heritage.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

Forging a new homeland: the unique experience of *brizoletas* in Rio Grande do Sul/Brazil in the second half of the 20th century

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ABSTRACT: This article presents a study related to the musealization of school buildings denominated *brizoletas*, which were built in the State of Rio Grande do Sul/Brazil, between the years of 1959 and 1963, period of the government of Leonel Brizola. In general terms, it can be seen that *brizoletas* have been constituted in public monuments dedicated to the commemoration of their own past and in this sense, mobilization actions have been developed in several municipalities of the State of Rio Grande do Sul with sights to conservation and restoration of remnants of these school buildings; dissemination of news related to them in the local media; mobilization of the figure of former governor Leonel Brizola as leadership of movements for schooling; remembrance of this unique experience as a justification for proposing laws related to full-time school, as well as different uses of experience and family relationship with the former governor as a qualifier in political-party disputes in the State of Rio Grande do Sul.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; School buildings; *Brizoletas*; Memories; Brasil; XXth Century.

Introduction

Between January 31, 1959 and January 31, 1963, the State of Rio Grande do Sul/Brazil was governed by Leonel Brizola of the Brazilian Labor Party –

PTB. During this period the project entitled No children without school in Rio Grande do Sul¹ was developed.

This project resulted in a significant expansion of the public education system of the State of Rio Grande do Sul/Brazil, which was achieved by the construction of school buildings, which became popular as the *brizoletas* or the schools of Brizola, recruitment of teachers and the enrollment of an expressive number of new pupils in primary education.

In general terms, a musealization of results can be related to the process of, or set of processes, through which the resources themselves are executed as a function of originality. It is about this singular experience, especially about its appropriation as an object of commemoration of education, the musealization² of its buildings, the production of documentaries, political-partisan disputes in the State and the uses of memories produced by different agents involved in this process that special attention is given in this text.

No children without school in Rio Grande do Sul

In 1958, as a candidate for the government of the State of Rio Grande do Sul/Brazil, Leonel Brizola highlighted as one of the crucial points of his campaign the proposals related to education. After his election, he stated that his education plan had involved concern about high illiteracy rates and the establishment of schools, one of the main reasons for his electoral victory:

It was my plan to educate, eradicate illiteracy, and set up schools throughout the state, one of the main reasons for my electoral victory. I mobilized the professorship, the parents and the women from Rio Grande do Sul, and, in general, the humble classes, to participate in this redemptive crusade³.

On January 31, 1959, when the State Government took office, the Secretariat of Education and Culture – SEC – was reorganized, with the creation of three superintendence's: primary, secondary and technical education, and the

¹ C. Quadros, *A educação pública no Rio Grande do Sul durante o governo de Leonel Brizola (1959-1963): Nenhuma criança sem escola no Rio Grande do Sul*, Passo Fundo, UPF, 1999; C. Quadros, *As brizoletas cobrindo o Rio Grande*, Santa Maria, UFSM, 2003; C. Quadros, *Marcas do tempo: imagens e memórias das brizoletas*, Santa Maria, Unifra, 2005; C. Quadros, *Reforma, ciência e profissionalização da educação: o Centro de Pesquisas e Orientação Educacionais do Rio Grande do Sul (1937-1971)*, Porto Alegre, Ufrgs, 2006.

² In general terms, the expression musealization can be related to the «process, or set of processes, by means of which some objects are deprived of their original function and, once coated with new meanings, acquire the function of document» M.L.N.M. Loureiro, J.M.M. Loureiro, *Documento e musealização: entretecendo conceitos*, «Midas», n. 1, 2013, pp. 1-13.

³ «O Nacional», 3 february 1959, p. 2.

adoption of the expression No children without school in Rio Grande do Sul as a motto of government. For Governor Brizola, the plan of schooling to be implemented meant both the confrontation of an old problem and the definition of a new position in relation to schooling:

In assuming the leadership of the executive, it became clear that the main objective of the current government would be to remove the obstacles that prevented a perfect development of primary and technical education, thus giving solution to one of the most grievous demands of the Rio Grande community. It is the new position, that would combat the old problem that for years focused its negative reflexes on all the classes of the Gaúcho community, was taken, in the form of a plan of ample proportions, having by slogan publicity a phrase of synthesizes what in fact if you want to see doing: no child without school in Rio Grande do Sul⁴.

With a view to implementing this schooling program, the government organized around five main dossiers: the Decentralized Expansion Service for Primary Education – Sedep –, the State Commission for School Buildings – Cepe – the recruitment of teachers, the purchase of private schools in exchange for the transfer of state teachers and the granting of scholarships.

1) The Decentralized Expansion of Primary Education Service – Sedep – was created and tasked with managing the Decentralized Expansion Program for Primary Education. The program, which presented the characteristics of an experience of decentralization of the school network and had the motto Expand decentralization, was based on the celebration of collaboration agreements that involved the State and municipalities. It was up to the municipalities to inform the state government of their needs in terms of school buildings and classrooms, and the State to provide them with the technical and financial means to carry out the works.

2) The State Commission for School Buildings – Cepe – was created by decree n. 10 416, dated March 25, 1959, and constituted an instance of cooperation between the Secretariat of Education and Culture and the Secretariat of Public Works. It was chaired by the Secretary of Education and Culture and had the task of overseeing, studying, planning, designing and carrying out the tasks of conservation, repair, adaptation, construction, reconstruction and rigging of school buildings. The Secretariat for Public Works, the Undersecretary of Education and the director of the Center for Research and Educational Guidance⁵ – CPOE – also participated in this collegiate and specialized instance.

3) Recruitment of teachers: according to data from the State Government, there was a significant increase in the number of teachers hired for teaching.

4) Teachers' Assignment: A common practice during the Brizola administration was for the state government to cede teachers or to pass on

⁴ «Revista do Ensino», vol. 9, n. 76, p. 11.

⁵ C. Quadros, *Reforma, ciência e profissionalização da educação: o Centro de Pesquisas e Orientação Educacionais do Rio Grande do Sul (1937-1971)*, Porto Alegre, Ufrgs, 2006.

resources for the construction or rigging of buildings for private schools, in exchange for vacancies for surplus students in public schools. In 1959, 591 teachers were assigned, in 1960 the number was 812 and in 1961 it was 668.

5) Scholarships: the fifth expedition by which the government sought to provide access to the school was the granting of scholarships for the primary course. By decree n. 10,598 of July 14, 1959, the granting of scholarships for the primary course, from the third year, was authorized. According to data from the state government⁶, in 1959 11,710 grants were awarded in 1960, 15,035 and in 1961, 12,856.

Technical education was also the subject of an emergency plan. The program, which comprised the expansion and refit of the existing school network, with the aim of an immediate increase in enrollment capacity, also served as a basis for the further development of the Expansion Plan for Technical Education in Rio Grande do Sul, which involved the construction of new workshop facilities, the expansion of classrooms and accommodation for internal students, the leasing and adaptation of buildings for the installation of isolated schools or courses, the acquisition of equipment, complementary machines and tools, the restoration and repairs of buildings, the purchase of teaching materials and the admission of teachers and auxiliary personnel.

Regarding normal and secondary education, it should be noted that there was also an increase in the number of students and in the number of teachers. Between 1958 and 1961, 4,014 new students and 312 new teachers entered normal education and 9,147 new students and 628 new teachers in secondary education.

In addition, the number of normal schools increased from 83 in 1958 to 116 in 1961.

Besides the budgetary resources, funding sources for these works and activities were the institution of the education fee, an additional 20% on all state taxes, resources from the 2nd State Works Plan, resources from the National Fund for Primary Education and resources of the social fund of Usaid.

The project *No children without school in Rio Grande do Sul* gave rise to the construction of school buildings in all the municipalities of the State, which became popular as *brizoletas* or schools of Brizola. In the four years of the Brizola administration, 1,045 school buildings were built, with 3,360 classrooms and capacity for 235,200 students, as well as construction of more than 113 buildings, with 483 rooms and capacity for 33,810 students, and planned 258 buildings with 866 classrooms and capacity for 60,620 students.

From a government perspective, such schools were not any buildings. They represented the presence of a new world that opened up:

⁶ *Mensagem à Assembléia Legislativa* – 1962, governo do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Imprensa Oficial, 1962.



Pic. 1. *Brizoleta* in the district of Tigre, São Francisco de Paula/RS/Brazil.
Author: Claudemir de Quadros, 01-03-2018.

Picada Feijão, Picada Schneider, Vila Nova and other regions and villages now have their school. The smile of new hope is seen in the faces, the school represents the world from there – from the city – that comes to them – in the villages – to bring to bucolic softness and the serene grandeur of the landscape, the message of appreciation of man in his own Earth. The awakening of man's awareness of the village of his value, his importance in the whole of the nation, the valorization of the natural resources that prodigal nature offers him and renews him every day, the awakening even to the beauty that surrounds him, is the work of the school in its civilizing mission. The citizens of tomorrow in the villages will know how to read. The newspaper will enter the valleys and it will be integrated into the great communion of thoughts of their homeland⁷.

In this context, it was intended that the school would become the symbolic expression of government action, of modernization and that it would project «its example and general influence on all society, as a strategically situated building endowed with an invisible intelligence that would inform culturally the human-social environment that surrounds it»⁸. *Brizoletas*, and their architecture, can be seen

⁷ «Revista do Ensino», vol. 10, n. 76, may 1961, p. 67.

⁸ A.V. Frago, A. Escolano, *Currículo, espaço e subjetividade*, Rio de Janeiro, DP&A, 1998, p. 33.

as an educator program, that is, as an element of the invisible or silent curriculum, although it is in itself quite explicit or manifest. The location of the school and its relations with the urban order of the population, the architectural design of the building, its own symbolic elements or incorporated, and the exterior and interior decoration respond to cultural and pedagogical standards that the child internalizes and learns⁹.

In general, it was up to the government, within the framework of a planning policy, to promote development planning. This development policy had as its goal «the purpose of combating the underdevelopment of the extreme south region»¹⁰, a prerequisite for reaching another stage of society: «we will continue untiring in the study and search for solution for our problems, solutions aimed at the restoration of our wealth, the continuity of our progress, the acceleration of our development and the remodeling of the economic and social physiognomy of the State»¹¹.

It is important to emphasize that, throughout the time, a whole discursive production was generated by which these schools were instituted like a symbol not only of the government but, mainly, of the own governor who, from then on, had its itinerary, thus like the one of his family, indissociated from the subject education.

The experience of the brizoletas reverberates in the legislation

Congressional deputy Juliana Brizola of the Partido Democrático Trabalhista – PDT – is the granddaughter of former governor Leonel Brizola and seeks to preserve, with great emphasis, her grandfather's discursive legacy and works in relation to education, a subject that is one of her most important guidelines.

In this sense, one of its relevant actions was the proposal of the regulation of the full-time school, which was embodied in law n. 14.461 of January 16, 2014¹², by which it was established that it is the responsibility of the State Government to provide the necessary means to progressively offer full-time students to elementary schools in the state public schools, as well as promoting the extension of the workload equal to or greater than seven hours per day. For Juliana Brizola, this action was a priority, since she had assumed «the popular mandate with the responsibility of a history of fighting for the implementation of full-time school»¹³.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁰ *Mensagem à Assembléia Legislativa – 1960*, governo do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Imprensa Oficial, 1961, p. 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹² See the full text on <<http://www.al.rs.gov.br/filerepository/repLegis/arquivos/LEI%2014.461.pdf>> (last access: 03.07.2018).

¹³ J. Brizola, *Escola de tempo integral: a semente do amanhã*, Porto Alegre, Assembléia

The argumentation that supported the bill is made explicit in the primer Full-time *school: the seed of tomorrow*¹⁴, presented on June 17, 2013:

The launch of the booklet was an initiative of Congressional deputy Juliana Brizola, granddaughter of Leonel Brizola, who committed to the project of the full-time school [...] presented to the party the booklet that deals with the subject. «The priority of my grandfather, Leonel Brizola, and our priority as well», summed up the Labor party that filled the auditorium of the former seat of the Legislative Assembly¹⁵.

It also states that the Deputy «received a commemorative plaque which in 1961 registered the [...] schools built up to that date. Brizola was stubborn, all he wanted was the kids in the schools»¹⁶. After the launch of the booklet, Juliana Brizola led the guests to the historical exhibition *Das Brizoletas aos Cieps*, in the framework of which models of *brizoletas* were presented.

Later this same exhibition was taken to the countryside of the State, in itinerant itinerary, initiated in the municipality of Palmeira das Missões¹⁷, in special session of the City Council. The text of the booklet is presented from a perspective that reiterates the importance of the action of Leonel Brizola in the educational field in the State, because «countless social changes sponsored by the educational project of Brizola, still surviving in the memory and citation of countless gaúchos»¹⁸. An example of this was the manifestation of a well-known journalist from RedeGlobo, one of the country's main television stations, Caco Barcellos, about the work developed by Brizola:

To Brizola, I owe the first pencil I ever had; the first notebook – my mother still keeps it today – the opportunity to practice sport and music in a dignified space and access to food with first-rate protein. Impossible to forget the day when my colleagues and I there in the Parthenon received a standard sneaker tennis, as they were called the thousands of public schools that he had built in the poor neighborhoods of Porto Alegre. [...] Therefore, his help was indirect, but fundamental, decisive. I only started studying at the age of 8 because, until 1958, there were no vacancies available, the public schools for the primary school in the outskirts of Porto Alegre were very rare. Likewise, the gymnasium where I studied was also built during his management in the city hall¹⁹.

Legislativa, 2013, p. 12.

¹⁴ See the full text on <https://issuu.com/julianabrizola/docs/cartilha_juliana_brizola_vers_o_20> (last access: 16.08.2018).

¹⁵ *Cartilha define a Escola de tempo integral e marca os nove anos da morte de Brizola*, <<https://al-rs.jusbrasil.com.br/noticias/100569546/cartilha-define-a-escola-de-tempo-integral-e-marca-os-nove-anos-da-morte-de-brizola>> (last access: 03.07.2018).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ciep de Palmeira das Missões recebe exposição sobre Brizoletas*, <<https://al-rs.jusbrasil.com.br/noticias/100597744/ciep-de-palmeira-das-missoes-recebe-exposicao-sobre-brizoletas>> (last access: 03.07.2018).

¹⁸ J. Brizola, *Escola de tempo integral: a semente do amanhã*, Porto Alegre, Assembléia Legislativa, 2013, p. 16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

The text contained in the booklet also emphasizes the legacy of Leonel Brizola in relation to education or, in other words, «a historical commitment to education [...] that never receded»²⁰, after all, «the great revolution we aspire to is the education of the people»²¹; «This is our cause and greater commitment, this is the brizolistic legacy»²².

In this context, the expression *Brizola lives* is emblematic of the continuous production of a political memory of Leonel Brizola, whom her granddaughter, Juliana, strives to continually reiterate. Thus, perhaps it is possible to emphasize that memory is constituted in the relation with values and ideas shared with other people, with groups and, therefore, assumes a character of production inseparable from the social organization of life, that is, the constitution of memory refers to a relation or association of the individual who narrates with values and ideas shared, or dissociated, with other individuals. Memory, according to Rousso²³, deals with a past that is never that of the individual only, but of an individual inserted in a family, social and national context: hence its collective character.

Narratives also reveal the narrator's dissociations with other individuals, groups, ideas, and symbols through which they externalize the less favorable parts of themselves.

Thus, even if it is the individual who recalls and narrates, there is a certain impossibility of a unique or essentially individual memory, since the memories of individuals are always produced from their relation of belonging or non-belonging to a group because

memory, this collective operation of events and interpretations of the past to be safeguarded, is integrated into more or less conscious attempts to define and reinforce feelings of belonging and social boundaries among collectivities of different sizes: parties, unions, churches, villages, regions, clans, families, nations, etc. The reference to the past serves to maintain the cohesion of the groups and institutions that make up a society, to define their respective place, their complementarity, but also the irreducible oppositions²⁴.

In this direction, another initiative was resolution project n. 40/2007 of the state deputy Gilmar Sossella – PDT – which was approved and became resolution n. 3.035, of April 8, 2009, for which the educational Trophy Governor Leonel de Moura Brizola was created. In the justification, the tenderer informed

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²¹ *Devemos fazer o desenvolvimento para o homem*, <<https://www.pensador.com/frase/Nj1ONjc1>> (last access: 16.08.2018).

²² J. Brizola, *Escola de tempo integral: a semente do amanhã*, Porto Alegre, Assembléia Legislativa, 2013, p. 48.

²³ H. Rousso, *A memória não é mais o que era*, in M.M. Ferreira, J. Amado, *Usos e abusos da história oral*, Rio de Janeiro, FGV, 2002, pp. 93-101.

²⁴ M. Pollak, *Memória, esquecimento, silêncio*, «Estudos históricos», vol. 2, n. 3, 1989, p. 9.

when presenting this Legislative House with this resolution project, we intend to honor the leader Leonel de Moura Brizola, who has always believed that education is the best way for the development of the Brazilian people. Proof of this is that, when he became governor of the state in the years 1959 to 1963, Brizola had as an absolute priority the development of public education in Rio Grande do Sul, as he had already held in his tenure as mayor of the city of Porto Alegre²⁵.

By the resolution it was established that the trophy will be offered by the Legislative Assembly to the schools of the state and municipal public network of the State of Rio Grande do Sul that obtain the best performance according to the Index of Development of Basic Education – Ideb²⁶. Prizes can be awarded to schools that achieve the first three positions for the initial grades of elementary education, the final grades of elementary and high school.

Also in the justification of the project is also suggested the need to publicize and raise awareness among young people and adults of the State about the importance of the improvements implemented in the area of education by then Governor Leonel Brizola, which would have removed «thousands of children and adolescents from the streets»²⁷ access to schools and access to «a dignified life for these citizens, far from crime and violence»²⁸.

Practices of musealization of brizoletas

In the last decade the political mobilization in the State of Rio Grande do Sul constituted a movement that reverberated in the musealization of the school buildings denominated *brizoletas*, which can be perceived in numerous initiatives.

In the municipality of Guaporé/RS there was a mobilization for the preservation of a *brizoleta* in the district of Colombo/Usina:

The struggle for the historical and cultural preservation of public buildings has won the main pages of newspapers and been featured in the media. Although the federal, state and municipal governments were not 100% committed to recovering traditions of the past, the Colombo District community (Capitel São Roque), a rural area of Guaporé, presented to State Representative Juliana Brizola (PDT) a project to that the old state schools, the so-called *brizoletas*, should be the target of a bill so that they remain not only alive in the memory, but also that they can be reason for studies of the future generations²⁹.

²⁵ Diário Oficial da Assembléia Legislativa, Porto Alegre, 31 mar. 2009.

²⁶ Similar to Pisa, it is a measure of learning and sets goals for improved teaching. This is from two components: the results of yield in school.

²⁷ Diário Oficial da Assembléia Legislativa, Porto Alegre, 31 mar. 2009.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Guaporé (RS) luta pela preservação de antiga Brizoleta: escola histórica é mantida no Distrito de Colombo*, <<http://www.tuaradio.com.br/N/C/125432>> (last access: 20.07.2017).

There were demonstrations of support and Mrs Juliana Brizola intervened to state that

is a very special moment, very exciting when we meet people who 40 years ago had the opportunity to have a *brizoleta* built in their region and the school to this day is still there, marking territory and showing how important a quality education is. I'm thrilled, because I know what the design of Brizola's schools represented for my grandfather Leonel Brizola in his political career. Preservation is of the utmost importance. My grandfather already said: people who do not know their history and do not preserve their past have much difficulty in choosing their future, Juliana pointed out³⁰.

In the municipality of Passo Fundo/RS, the Padre Antonio Vieira municipal school was restored in the rural location of Nossa Senhora da Paz. The school was listed as a historical cultural patrimony of the municipality in 1989 and «the main objective is to meet a community need for meet and carry out their activities together. The president of the community, Antonio Balla said he was very happy with the work: I was literate in the *brizoleta* and now we will have the chance to have this little school back»³¹. Currently the building is used for group activities that develop actions related to elderly people.

In the municipality of Crissiumal/RS there is an attempt to preserve the only *brizoleta* in the region, located in Esquina Uruguai. It is said that the building,

after, more than half a century [...] is the only one existing throughout the barn region. The building, in wood construction, is deactivated and its structure in precarious conditions. According to the director of the Egon Trentini School, Jorge Massmann, small renovations were carried out in the building, because a room is used as a dining room by the students, however, there are no resources for the maintenance of the *brizoleta* and for that reason it is badly damaged³².

The initial proposal is to remove the *brizoleta* from the original place and transfer it to a public square in the city, transforming it into a museum, which will take the name of the locality of Esquina Uruguai, which can guarantee its restoration and conservation, as well as resources for improvement.

In the region of Serra Gaúcha there was a mobilization for the preservation of the more intense school buildings. In Gramado/RS two *brizoletas* are protected by a process of tipping of the Historical and Artistic Institute of the State. One of them, the Escola Municipal Padre José Scholl, a *brizoleta* of 1961, is located on the banks of the ERS-115, in the district of Carahá, a community with a little more than 200 inhabitants.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Brizoleta vai ser restaurada em Passo Fundo*, <<http://www.pmpf.rs.gov.br/interna.php?t=19&c=11&i=981>> (last access: 12.11.2017).

³² *Administração Municipal de Crissiumal tenta preservar a única brizoleta da região celeiro*, <<http://guiacrissiumal.com.br/noticias/22-03-2017-Administracao-Municipal-de-Crissiumal-tenta-preservar-a-unica-brizoleta-da-regiao-celeiro>> (last access: 29.03.2018).

The recovery and preservation of this building was involved in a controversy with the priest who is responsible for the parish, since the land on which it is situated belongs to the Mitra diocese of Novo Hamburgo/RS, which had decided to withdraw the building for the extension of the parish hall of the community of Sao Gotardo³³. Having solved the problem with the Diocesan Mitra, a campaign was developed which requested donations for the realization of the revitalization works of the building:

The area, owned by the Bergamo family, will be donated to the municipality after revitalization. Restoring would be very difficult, since the property is in a bad conditions, so I seek the support of the community to collect about 15 thousand reais to revitalize and thus hand over to the City Hall that will be the maintainer of the space. The idea of making *brizoleta* a center of culture for the locality of Carahá, is offering music and computer classes for the residents of the region³⁴.

According to the mayor of Gramado/RS, Nestor Tissot, «this revitalization is a conquest of the community and only generates benefits to the municipality. This place is in our memory and will now be part of our history again through education and teaching»³⁵.

In Flores da Cunha/RS there are at least 11 *brizoletas*. Four are empty, three are used as residences and the others have become spaces for catechesis, events, meetings, or a mortuary chapel. Only one of them functions as a school: the Antônio de Souza Neto State School, in Mato Perso, which operated from 1960 to 1996 within the small space, common to *brizoletas*, but had to be rebuilt with the expansion of the classes.

In Canela/RS two *brizoletas* still function as schools. One is located in Grande Banhado, where the Ecological Center of the State School Neusa Mari Pacheco is installed, and the other one is in the ERS-466, on the road to the Caracol Park, where is the Municipal School Machado de Assis.

In the municipality of Barra Funda/RS, in 2010, a project developed by students of the 8th grade of Elementary School of the Municipal School of Barra Funda, addressed the theme of education in the municipality and had as its main agenda the history of *brizoletas*.

The work resulted in the attempt to preserve and restore the school that was removed from the original site of its construction and installed in front of the current building to receive visitors. It is reported that

³³ See more details in <<http://wp.clicrbs.com.br/gramado/2011/09/23/antiga-escola-gera-discordia-entra-igreja-e-comunidade-na-linha-caraha>> (last access: 29.03.2018).

³⁴ *Ajuda para revitalizar a brizoleta, em Gramado*, <https://jornaldegramado.com.br/_conteudo/2015/01/noticias/regiao/120107-ajuda-para-revitalizar-a-brizoleta-em-gramado.html> (last access: 29.03.2018).

³⁵ *Gramado: inauguração das reformas da Brizoleta*, <<http://www.m1noticias.com.br/m1/php/view.php?not=18236>> (last access: 13.03.2018).

few people know about the history of *brizoletas* in our county, being often called ‘that little house’ located in front of the Municipal School of Barra Funda. It is certainly not majestic or luxuriant; it is a simple and modest building, but it bears in itself marks of the history of Rio Grande education, representing nowadays the living memory of our municipality, which needs to be valued as it deserves: a heritage of the city³⁶.

In the municipality of Lagoa Vermelha/RS was inaugurated, on November 4, 2016, an education memorial in the form of a former *brizoleta*. The building, originally, was located in the Capão Bonito do Sul district and was restored and installed next to the João Protásio da Luz Municipal School, in the municipality’s headquarters, and was named the Leonel Brizola Historical Memory Center.

The building

is based on the concept of the old wooden schools, of the program No Child without School in Rio Grande do Sul. The old schools called *brizoletas*, to be idealized by former governor Leonel Brizola, were an initial landmark to eradicate illiteracy in the countryside of Rio Grande do Sul. The sum is using the new environment to recover historical aspects of education in the State. At the site, history classes will also be given and access to student research documents will be made available. The structure counts on furniture and objects typical of the time, of years 50 and 60³⁷.

The inauguration of the building was a moment of remembrance, as well as of emotion:

the vice mayor Ana Catarina Lenzi Pacheco was moved during the inauguration to remember the activities developed by her mother, who at the time the *brizoletas* were built, was municipal secretary of the Education of Lagoa Vermelha. «Here at this special moment, I remember the time when I attended the *brizoletas* next to my mother. She developed her work in the *brizoletas*, where at that time they were the municipal schools of Lagoa Vermelha. I want this school to be the continuity of learning, so our children understand the importance of education in RS and in our municipality³⁸.

Mayor Getúlio Cerioli, PDT, who is from the same party of Juliana Brizola, pointed out that the Historical Memory Center reminded him of a remarkable period in his itinerary:

³⁶ Barra Funda/RS – *Brizoletas: patrimônio Histórico e cultural do município*, <<http://historiaearquitetura.blogspot.com/2012/06/barra-fundars-brizoletas-patrimonio.html>> (last access: 15.05.2018).

³⁷ *Memorial de educação em formato de antiga brizoleta é inaugurado em Lagoa Vermelha*, <<http://www.tuaradio.com.br/Tua-Radio-Cacique/noticias/educacao/04-11-2016/memorial-de-educacao-em-formato-de-antiga-brizoleta-e-inaugurado-em-lagoa-vermelha>> (last access: 15.05.2018).

³⁸ *Secretaria Municipal da Educação inaugura Centro de Memória Histórica*, <<http://www.lagoavermelha.rs.gov.br/secretaria-municipal-da-educacao-inaugura-centro-de-memoria-historica>> (last access: 15.05.2018).

That era was a time when people embraced their State as never before. Even with so many difficulties and huge problems in the educational area, in a few years the state underwent a transformation that achieved the best levels of education in Brazil, the best development and the largest number of literate people. This gave us a hegemony in terms of parents. I studied in a *brizoleta* that changed my life and I hope that our schools and our public spaces are able to change the life of all our children³⁹.

In this sense, patrimony, as an element that contributes to the preservation of a memory, and space, as a vehicle of the same, has the possibility of being related to the perspective of places of memory⁴⁰, which understands the physical space as a support for the formation of a collective memory, in this case anchored in the figure of former governor Leonel Brizola:

Schools have been born and illiteracy is disappearing; the bridges were being built and on them began to pass more progress; the mills were emerging along the rivers, and the industry began to grow; the agrarian reform was made a reality, and the countrymen began to have land, to earn bread with the sweat of the face, without exploitation of the latifundio. Finally, Rio Grande lived, this is undeniable, whether or not the powerfules want it – four years of progress. This is due to a man, the engineer Leonel Brizola⁴¹.

This can also be seen from the situation where the places of memory are configured and constituted as spaces in which the ritualization of a memory-history can serve as an evocative of a memory. Thus, this definition allows us to explore another meaning: that of reminding the group of its founding element⁴²: «for those who travel through RS they will always find a *brizoleta* built by Leonel Brizola in the years [19]60, more than 6 thousand schools. [...] At the time it was a revolution in education»⁴³; «What are lacking revolutionary politicians like Brizola»⁴⁴; «Leonel Brizola, great gaúcho! I'm proud of being a brizolista»⁴⁵. In short, «memory has a direct, affective relationship with the past, seeing that it is, above all, individual memory, personal recollection of lived events»⁴⁶.

There is a whole discursive production that erected Leonel Brizola as one who acted, changed and promoted schooling and education in Rio Grande do Sul and Brazil, which is circulated insistently and reverberates as a representation and discourse on that moment. This serves as support and justification, both

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ P. Nora, *Entre memória e história: a problemática dos lugares*, «Revista do Programa de Estudos Pós-Graduados em História», vol. 10, 1993, pp. 7-28.

⁴¹ «Diário de Notícias», 31 jan. 1963, caderno especial, p. 20.

⁴² Nora, *Entre memória e história: a problemática dos lugares*, cit.

⁴³ <<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1319906084738549&set=pcb.1319911634737994&type=3>> (last access: 15.07.2018).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ P. Joutard, *Reconciliar história e memória*, «Escritos: revista da Casa de Rui Barbosa», vol. 1, n. 1, 2007, p. 223.

for the actions of musealization, and for the qualification of their relatives and co-religionists in the political-partisan disputes in the State.

In the municipality of Sobradinho/RS, in 2013, a request was made to study the possibility of overturning the Tupi Line as a cultural heritage of the municipality, «considering that this is a historical landmark in education. The nomination was unanimously approved. But the poor thing is still there, abandoned»⁴⁷.

In the municipality of Barão de Cotegipe/RS, in the Serbian village, *brizoleta* has

an area of 4.2 hectares [and] home to the first Arboretum of Alto Uruguai, is the third largest in the South of the country, according to Embrapa Florestal. It is a true living museum of trees, which today has more than 250 different species of native and exotic trees planted by students and teachers of the Agroforestry School, as well as Student's parents, farmers, among other members of the community⁴⁸.

State Rep. Juliana Brizola often visits the remaining school buildings. One example was the *brizoleta* of the Municipal School Rui Ramos, in the locality of Bananal, county side of the municipality of Pareci Novo/RS:

It is the best preserved *brizoleta*. I have ever met,» said Mayor Alexandre Colth, deputy mayor Alexandre Barth, secretary of education Adriane Colling Kinzel, director of the Adelita Marilo Ody school, as well as other municipal secretaries, councilors, local leaders, teachers, students and community. «I was impressed by the whim,» he said, congratulating the council⁴⁹.

The director of the school showed the inauguration of the *brizoleta*, dated September 22, 1962, and stated that «we are very proud of the presence of Congressional deputy Juliana Brizola, granddaughter of Governor Brizola [...]. I take care of school better than my home»⁵⁰. The principal has been working at the school for 35 years and emphasizes the care she has for the building, in which only the roof has been changed. The news also states that «the support of the deputy was requested in order to include *brizoleta* as a cultural heritage of the State, for the purposes of historical heritage preservation, thus ensuring its conservation and being able to receive state and federal resources for improvements»⁵¹.

The same can be noticed in the Ibiá Village, in the countryside of the municipality of Montenegro/RS, where the «preservation of the School Campo

⁴⁷ B.L. Maieron, *As nossas brizoletas*, «Gazeta da Serra», vol. 34, n. 85, 2018, p. 7.

⁴⁸ A.F. Reisdörfer, *O engenheiro das brizoletas*, «Conselho em revista», vol. 3, n. 33, 2007, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁹ *Brizoleta do Bananal é a mais bem conservada do Estado*, <https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=798666893542668&id=137000943042603> (last access: 17.06.2018).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

do Meio [...] will be guaranteed by a municipal decree for historical tipping of the building»⁵².

The Folha de S. Paulo newspaper widely circulated nationally, echoed news that in Porto Alegre/RS, «old brizoleta, where grandchildren of Brizola studied, can close in RS»⁵³. The news, illustrated by a photograph highlighting the deputy Juliana Brizola, presents a general context of the government of Leonel Brizola in Rio Grande do Sul, comments on the legal dispute over the land on which the building is located and informs that

the two grandchildren of Brizola studied at the [school] Maria Thereza. The college was still a brizoleta in 1982, when they were seven years old and enrolled. Twin brothers followed their grandfather's political vocation. Currently, Juliana is a state deputy (PDT/RS) and Leonel is a councilman in the capital of Rio de Janeiro for PSOL. [...] «My grandfather thought of putting a little wooden school in every corner. Education is investment, not spending», laments the current deputy⁵⁴.

Documentaries related to Leonel Brizola's trajectory can be found on Youtube and they value their relationship with education. Examples of this are the productions of *Brizoletas that eradicated the illiteracy of RS until the Cieps of RJ*; *Accomplishments of the Leonel Brizola government in Rio Grande do Sul – 1962*; *Documentary brizoletas no child without school and Juliana Brizola: exposure of brizoletas to Cieps*.

These documents highlight the laudatory perspectives of the governor Leonel Brizola's actions in relation to education, and especially those related to the school construction project, presented as an «educational plan that is causing Brazil to return to Rio Grande do Sul»⁵⁵:

It was to watch the children, patrimony of our future, that the government returned its best attention, carrying in mass, in educational level, the resources that come from the people. It was in Rio Grande that Brazil achieved its first victory in the fight against illiteracy. Almost a million enrollments only in free education. A remarkable schooling plan has made schools appear by the thousands [...]. This is Latin America's greatest effort in popular education. Great victory: no children without school in Rio Grande do Sul⁵⁶.

⁵² <<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=443140535697192&set=gm.319553108120297&type=3>> (last access: 17.06.2018).

⁵³ P. Sperb. *Antiga brizoleta, onde netos de Brizola estudaram, pode fechar no RS*, <<https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2017/08/1907577-antiga-brizoleta-onde-netos-de-brizola-estudaram-pode-fechar-no-rs.shtml>> (last access: 23.06.2018).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Das brizoletas que erradicaram o analfabetismo do RS até os Cieps do RJ*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pesTQNseF9o&index=3&list=FLV_ik4CNMdwViN0Ci_NUVvQ&t=0s> (last access: 03.07.2018).

⁵⁶ *Realizações do governo Leonel Brizola no Rio Grande do Sul – 1962*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5dxsx4EmIEk&index=4&list=FLV_ik4CNMdwViN0Ci_NUVvQ&t=8s> (last access: 03.07.2018).



Pic. 2. Brizoleta in the Serbian village, Barão de Cotegipe/RS.
Author: Claudemir de Quadros, 27-07-2017.

The video highlights the performance of the state government, which endeavored to demonstrate that all municipalities had benefited from works related to school buildings. At a ceremony held on March 7, 1961, at the Rectory of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, when the government instituted 1961 as the Year of Schooling, the State's territory was presented as a territory covered by schools: «It is in the presence of the school that we will find the true paths of Brazil. This is where a new homeland must be forged»⁵⁷.

In short, one can think of brizoletas as public monuments dedicated to the commemoration of both his own past and the figure of former governor Leonel Brizola.

⁵⁷ *Documentário brizoletas nenhuma criança sem escola*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vB7w9qTSEGo&index=7&list=FLV_ik4CNMdwViN0Ci_NUVvQ&t=49s> (last access: 03.07.2018).

Final considerations

In fact, the memories relate to the individual and the collective; are selective; are subject to continuous framing and management work; relate to the constitution of the identity of the person or group; are constituted by the events lived by the person, but may also be inherited and subject to fictionalization. But the memories relate to narratives and, above all, to the production of a discourse, that is, to a continuous and daily process of listening and reading stories, telling stories, mixing stories, countering or mixing some stories with others.

In making up as narratives and discourses, memories have the potential to take the dimension of meaning-producing practices, which are involved in an order of discourse already structured and pre-existing «to the self that counts itself. Each person is already immersed in narrative structures that pre-exist to him/her and in function of which he/she constructs and organizes his experience in a particular way, imposes a meaning»⁵⁸.

In this sense, brizoletas constitute a past that potentially remains alive for a particular social group, which uses it to promote and disseminate its political, partisan and ideological perspectives, as well as to make projects for the future: full-time school. If, as Nora points out, memories emerge from a unified social group, and it is this group that determines «what is memorable, and also how it will be remembered»⁵⁹, brizoletas can be understood as places of memory, since they are impregnated with symbolism and are used to promote both the fixation and the transmission of memories of a social group, even though many of its members have not participated actively or directly in such events. They are related, therefore, to the feelings and the relations of social belonging. In other words, brizoletas can also be understood as one of the places and spaces in which memory materializes, crystallizes and takes refuge⁶⁰.

⁵⁸ J. Larrosa, *Tecnologias do eu e educação*, in T.T. Silva (ed.), *O sujeito da educação: estudos foucaultianos*, Petrópolis, Vozes, 2000, p. 70.

⁵⁹ P. Nora, *Entre memória e história: a problemática dos lugares*, «Revista do Programa de Estudos Pós-Graduados em História», vol. 10, 1993, p. 7.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

The normal school of Piracicaba as a memory place of the republican regime in Brazil

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ABSTRACT: The Normal School of Piracicaba, whose premises was inaugurated in 1917, is a landmark within the historical, cultural and educational heritage of the city in the state of São Paulo, Brazil. Several events record its role in teachers' training from the Republican standpoint. Current research analyzes the institution's premises as the site of the production of history and memory, from its architectonic ideals, construction, forming elements and possible uses by agents. Narration endeavors to investigate the agents' appropriation of school space-time as constituents of memory by Pierre Nora, cultural heritage by Néstor García Canclini and educational experience as a didactic and pedagogical value of school architecture by Antonio Viñao-Frago.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Normal school; School architecture; Memory and history; The Republic of Brazil and education; Teacher formation; Brasil; XXth Century.

Introduction

Normal Schools were neither neutral physical spaces for the formation of teachers nor empty structures in memory production within the Brazilian context, between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. They rather functioned as sites for the socio-dynamics stances of

learning, values, power relationships, educational, cultural and political rites, producers of memory and histories lived within educational experience that would be relayed to future generations of citizens of the Republic.

According to Carvalho¹, through the above-mentioned stances, Republican leaders perceived the Republic and its educational project as a model and an example. Through the school premises and teachers' formation, the agents would disseminate the success of the Republican regime and its administration inaugurated in Brazil in 1889. Actually it was society's distinction which considered archaic the period of the Empire of Brazil, and a manner to project new memory sites in the name of the progressive ideals of a people and of a nation.

While taking into consideration the function of the Normal School as a pivot in the regeneration of the people within social life during the Republican Period (1889-1930), current analysis deals with the premises of the Normal School of Piracicaba (NSP) and its social and educational functions as the site of memory and power. The monumental NSP premises lie in Piracicaba, a city in the state of São Paulo, southeastern region of Brazil, which has always been considered one of the staunchest places in Brazilian Republicanism.

The restoration of the premises of the Normal School of Piracicaba in the 1980s, currently the government-run Escola Estadual Sud Mennucci [Sud Mennucci State School], revealed more than architectural details in the process. It bared a past that lives within the building's landmarks, in written memories and in the city's collective memory. After a century from the school's inauguration, there are many ways to remember the Escola Estadual Sud Mennucci as an institution of reference, particularly as a notorious place in teachers' training. Moreover, the school features a robust symbol of the Brazilian Republic: the school's centenary was linked neither to the establishment of the Normal School nor to the monumental building, but to the basis that connects it to local Republicans, or rather, the inauguration of the Escola Complementar de Piracicaba [Complementary School of Piracicaba] in 1896. During the 1996 events, the history of the Normal School was enhanced in the local newspapers. Similar activities were undertaken when the local population endeavored to place the school premises within the heritage list in the 1980s and insisted on its restoration. The school authorities have been commemorating the school's centennial inauguration through exhibitions of old photographs and meetings of former students. Strolling through the school corridors one perceives the landmarks of History and Memory of the country and the city. In other words, the history and memory of the then fledging republic and of the Republic currently experienced by Brazilians are evident.

¹ See M.M.C. Carvalho, *School and Modernity Representations as Pedagogical Models: a study on their circulation and usages in Brazil (1889-1940)*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 41, nn.1-2, 2005, pp. 259-273.

Current research narrates the history of the premises of the Normal School of Piracicaba as a place of memories and takes into account surviving collective experiences and the manner the agents used the symbols, goods and physical spaces within the context of the Brazilian Republican regime.

Theoretical and methodological foregrounding comprised the appropriation of collective agents on the school's space-time features that enhanced memories from extant material, symbolical and functional domains² of a cultural heritage³, and from the site of educational human experience as a didactic and pedagogical value of school architecture⁴.

Historical sources comprised news in the *Jornal de Piracicaba* (JP, 1912-1918) on the construction of the school premises, discourses on inauguration day (1917), structural and architectonic building plants by architects of the Public Works Department of the state of São Paulo, reports by headmaster Honorato Faustino of the NSP (1911-1921) and photographs.

1. *Constructing a memory site: the NSP palace*

Teacher's formation for the elementary school in Piracicaba started with the Escola Complementar [Complementary School], established in 1896, and later renamed Primary Normal School in 1911. The school functioned on the premises of the old Sociedade Propagadora de Instrução [Society for the Spread of Learning], purchased by the municipality, till 1917, when the new premise was inaugurated⁵. In fact, the premises of the Sociedade Propagadora de Instrução were not big enough to harbor the Normal School. The building of a Normal School was urgent since the premises used till then lacked the basic needs in teacher formation. The building of schools was an important item on the agenda of republican administrations so that the new regime and its legitimation would be more visible to the people. The construction of the NSP premises lies within the schedule for school buildings in São Paulo, the capital city of the state, and in the interior of the state of São Paulo.

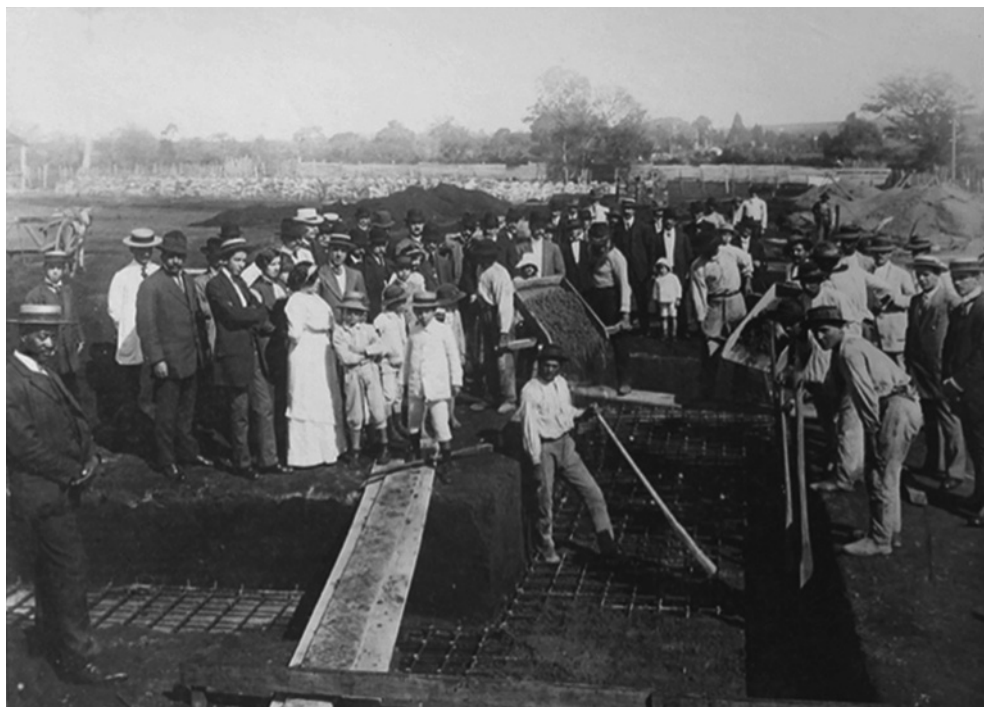
In November 1912, the Piracicaba Town Hall donated a plot of land to the government of the state of São Paulo through its representative Altino Arantes, the Business Secretary of State, for the building of the Normal School in the municipality. The plot of land lay on the Chácara Laport, between the São

² See P. Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, Paris, Quarto Gallimard, 1997.

³ See N.G. Canclini, *Los usos sociales del patrimonio cultural*, in E.A. Criada (ed.), *Patrimonio etnológico: nuevas perspectivas de estudio*, Andalucía, Junta de Andalucía/ Consejería de Cultura/ Instituto Andaluz Del Patrimonio Histórico y Editorial Comares, 1999, pp. 16-33.

⁴ See A. Viñao-Frago, *Del espacio escolar y la escuela como lugar: propuestas y cuestiones*, «Revista. Historia de la educación», vol. 12-13, 1994, pp. 17-74.

⁵ See *Jornal de Piracicaba, Escola Normal – sua inauguração*, Piracicaba, 10 august 1917.



Pic. 1. Laying of the foundation stone of the new premises of the Normal School (1913).

Source: «Jornal de Piracicaba», *Lançamento do primeiro concreto do novo edifício da Escola Normal*, 05 de julho de 1913.

João Street and the XV de Novembro Street, in the Bairro Alto district. In April 1913, the Agriculture Secretary of state, Dr. Paulo de Moraes Barros, a local politician and a representative of the Republican Administration, sent a telegraph to Fernando Febeliano da Costa, mayor of Piracicaba, informing him that the building of the future Normal School had been authorized and work could start immediately⁶. The event took place on July 5, 1913, in the presence of leaders of the Republican Party of São Paulo (PRP), school authorities and several citizens. The photograph here reproduced (Pic. 1) is the sole witness.

The first shovel of concrete was laid. Concrete is no more than a mixture of cement, pebbles, sand and water. But the social use of such a simple formula is revealing since it comprises human experiences interpreted in the untying of the concrete ingredients that, overtime, silence the weakened voices in the name of progress. According to Burke⁷, the photograph simultaneously reveals dumb

⁶ See M.T.G. Percin, *A educação pública no interior do Estado de São Paulo: a Escola Sud Mennucci de Piracicaba*, «Jornal de Piracicaba», Caderno Movimento História, 2005.

⁷ See P. Burke, *Testemunha ocular: história e imagem*, Bauru, EDUSC, 2004.

witnesses and the social place from where the world may be seen and from where it is discussed. Photographs favor a sort of autonomy and, at the same time, reify decontextualized memory. It is the exposure of memory that advances in time marked by technical reproducibility⁸. Clues exist that Dr. Honorato Faustino, the NSP headmaster, photographed the entire construction work to mark the transformation of a simple plot of land into a majestic building, the Palace of Teaching.

Several people witnessing the event may be seen in the photo: members of the Republican Party, workers, children, male and female adults, politicians, teachers, Negroes and white people, past and present, tradition and innovation. In fact, the event underscored a festive and harmonic image of society gathered for a solemnity with social and political visibility. Human physiology weaved in its own way the phantasmagoric aspect of life in the city and within Republican politics.

Through the building of the school, Republican society insisted that the more people learned, the greater would be human knowledge vying against social, political, cultural and economic backwardness. The above actually reinforced the bases of the Brazilian Republic, or rather, it mobilized new supporters and broadened its political activities among voters.

The formation of teachers and their modern teaching methods (intuitive and analytic) at the NSP would be a significant solution for the people's ignorance and lack of schooling. Sheer concurrence by typically posing as a modern person showed, particularly in Education, that every person insisted on its interests in visibility within a society marked by illiteracy and social inequality.

However, schooled people, conceived as the solution for the nation's progress and development, were themselves immune from the fact they shared different social groups and inequalities. The building of the NSP had its own ambiguities, among which the desire to train teachers to teach Republican citizens in a society where political illiteracy was required should be underscored.

Photo 1 also reveals another ambiguity. The construction occurred within the threshold between the city and the countryside. The two worlds had not been subjugated yet. The photo shows a farm with green surroundings and a poorly occupied space. The green area has long disappeared from people's memory due to the iron and concrete in multiple buildings within the urban-industrial growth throughout the 20th century. The farm does not exist anymore. However, photos and images have remained to construct the memory.

In fact, the building mediates the countryside and the city, the school and the street, the private and the public, hygiene and pure air as distant from downtown noises. During the first Brazilian Republic, school buildings were more than teaching spaces. They rather represented ways for building, living in

⁸ See W. Benjamin, *Magia e técnica, arte e política, Obras Escolhidas I*, São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1994.

and perceiving the social world which emerged through the schooling process which generated memories and history.

School premises represented different experiences of the human condition in the wake of challenges of being and of social activities in rational and dark periods based on republican modernity. The photo shows Negroes, the heirs of the slavery regime officially abolished in Brazil in 1888. In 19th century Piracicaba, hundreds of Negroes were in terrible throes due to slavery. In fact, Piracicaba ranked third in the state of São Paulo for its great number of slaves. According to Simões⁹, during the post-abolishment period between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Piracicaba was characterized as the city with great under-employment of Negroes who were always on headlines in the newspapers, tagged as thieves and vagrants, whilst European immigrants arrived constantly to work in the fields as salaried workers. In the meantime, the Piracicaba elites enriched themselves with the coffee plantations, sugarcane industry and received political dividends through their Republican leadership. The Moraes Barros family was not the exception.

The fledging modern city is also present in the photo of the NSP building. In fact, it was marked by an educational process that healed bodies and souls by defining survival within a scenario shaped by buildings made of bricks, concrete, iron and pebbles that formed schools, alleys, streets, avenues, districts, shops, industries, banks and different authorities. The human being requires a lot of high-rated instruction: allegorically speaking, getting lost in a city is similar to losing oneself in the forest. In-depth instruction is required to free oneself from the «labyrinth», as Benjamin¹⁰ insists. Besides being a basic item in Republican modernity, the reception of institutionalized instruction also represents the non-existence of the pure and naturalized child. The child is produced in what it experiments in tensions and strives between history and memory produced in society.

When the monitoring of educational experiences of children's and young people's formation in the construction of modern society is taken into account, it is highly relevant to pinpoint items from real life experienced in elaborated spaces which, after some years, are forgotten. The architecture of school building is a founding aspect. As cultural heritage (Canclini¹¹), it may be interpreted as spaces of political, economic and symbolic strife that sustain identities and differentiate groups.

⁹ See J.L. Simões, *Escolas para as elites, cadeias para os vadios: relatos da imprensa piracicabana (1889-1930)*, Piracicaba, 2005, Doctoral Thesis, Faculdade de Educação, Universidade Metodista de Piracicaba.

¹⁰ See W. Benjamin, *Rua de mão única, Obras Escolhidas II*, São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1987.

¹¹ See N.G. Canclini, *Los usos sociales del patrimonio cultural*, in Criada (ed.), *Patrimônio etnológico: nuevas perspectivas de estudio*, cit., pp. 16-33.



Pic. 2. The new premise of the Normal School of Piracicaba (1917).

Source: *Jornal de Piracicaba*, *Escola Normal de Piracicaba – Inauguração oficial do novo edifício – As grandes e imponentes festas de hoje – A chegada dos membros do governo*, Piracicaba, 11 august 1917, p. 2.

The building process of the Normal School of Piracicaba (NSP) took approximately five years¹²; finished by August 1917, its costs reached 527:416\$235. It was actually the palace of schooling and education, as underlined by the *Jornal de Piracicaba* of August 11, 1917. The newspaper published in its front page a report titled «The Normal School of Piracicaba – Official Inauguration of the new premise». A photograph of the building appeared in the same issue.

The *art nouveau*-style school premises ornamented the city's acropolis in the Bairro Alto district by its monumental architectonic imposition. According to Wolff¹³, its imposing monumental aspects are due to its predominant vertical lines which establish a controlled balance in proportions and relationships

¹² Since the school was built during WW I, the event directly affected the architectonic project. Several building materials that would have been imported from Europe, such as marble, had to be replaced by national ones. The building process emptied the municipal coffers and demanded a more simplified project.

¹³ See S.F.S. Wolff, *Escolas para a República: os primeiros passos da arquitetura das escolas públicas paulistas*, São Paulo, Edusp, 2010.

between the bays and the space between them. Verticality is underscored by the façade planes between the windows, reaching up to the cornice.

The building project was conceived by the Italian architect Giovanni Battista Bianchi (1885-1942), who graduated at the Academy of Fine Arts of Milan and at the atelier of Giuseppe Sommaruga. Bianchi had been planning public building in Brazil since 1911. The project also included finishing details and iron works by the German architect Carlos Rosencrantz (1875-1951), with a degree from the University of Hamburg, who also designed several projects for monumental public schools, such as the Normal School of Itapetininga, São Carlos and Pirassununga in the state of São Paulo (Wolff¹⁴). Dr. Eduardo Kiehl, a graduate from the São Paulo Polytechnical School, was the engineer from the Public Works Department responsible for the execution and supervision of works; workers were hired from the city (JP¹⁵). Giovanni Bianchi, Carlos Rosencrantz, Cesar Marchisio, José Van Humbeek, Arthur Castagnoli and other architects at the Architecture Bureau of Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo modified the urban landscapes of the towns and cities of the state of São Paulo between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. In fact, they elaborated architectonic solutions for Normal Schools, Elementary Schools, High Schools and Institutes of Education.

The building's monumental aspect was extant beyond the aesthetic elements of the architectonic façade. In the case of the NSP, the premises may be regarded as a heritage to enhance the strength of the memory on the primacy of the visibility of education, city, progress and Republican policies. It must be highlighted that Piracicaba was one of the main strongholds of Republicanism. In 1894, the first civil president of the Republic of Brazil, Dr. Prudente de Moraes, hailed from Piracicaba. Other highly influential politicians, such as his brother Dr. Manoel de Moraes Barros, Senator for the Republic and Provincial Parliament Member, were also born there. Through the sumptuous NSP premises, they wanted to emphasize republican feats in the name of education, especially the formation of teachers charged with the task of giving good instructions to the children of the Republic which should overcome the backwardness of the Imperial Regime and look towards the future.

Several people, especially Republican politicians, were present at the inauguration of the NSP premise in 1917, as the local newspaper heralded:

Inauguration of the Normal School

[...] The president of the state of São Paulo, government secretaries, journalists and other invited people will depart in a special train from Sorocaba to Piracicaba.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ See «Jornal de Piracicaba», *Escola Normal de Piracicaba*, p. 2.

The presidential entourage will comprise Senator Lacerda Franco and Rodolpho Miranda, members of the Directory of the P. R. P¹⁶. Dr. Mário Tavares, leader of the state lower parliament, other senators and members of parliament¹⁷.

News on the official inauguration was given by the «Jornal de Piracicaba» on August 11, 1917. The newspaper's headlines bore the title: «The Normal School of Piracicaba – Official inauguration of the new premises – Today's grand festivities – The arrival of government members». Dr. Altino Arantes, president of the state of São Paulo, Dr. Oscar Rodrigues Alves, Secretary of the Interior, Dr. Candido Motta, Secretary of Agriculture, Counselor Rodrigues Alves, former president of the state of São Paulo, head of the PRP and future president of the Republic, and Dr. Oscar Thompson, general director of Public Education were also present. The authorities were highly praised by the local and state press.

The entourage was received by the local authorities, by the people and by the local commission formed to promote the inauguration festivities of the new NSP premises. Several activities were scheduled for the day. The entourage was received at the railway station by authorities, politicians, merchants, teachers and students, with great festivities and band music. The invited authorities were hosted at the Palacete Arethuzina, owned by Rodolpho Miranda, where Dr. Jacob Diehl Neto, lawyer, politician and local academic, made a speech to welcome the in-coming authorities. Two political banquets were offered, at noon and in the evening, respectively at the Chácara Nazareth, property of Dr. João Conceição, and at the Town Hall. After lunch, the entourage made a visit to the municipal cemetery to give homage to Prudente de Moraes Barros, as a remembrance of having been the disseminator of the Brazilian Republic. The new NSP premises were inaugurated in the afternoon and then the authorities were received at the Town Hall for a meeting and dinner. A concert by the Military Band, promoted by the Republican political directory, was given in the church square. The local press also registered a *marche aux flambeaux* at 10 o'clock, with the participation of crowds of people.

During the afternoon, the entourage went to the NSP and was greeted with flowers, performances by acrobats, fireworks, school tasks and orchestra. The solemn inauguration occurred in the NSP hall, speeches were given and pictures were hung on the walls. The picture of Dr. Paulo de Moraes Barros, painted by Oscar Pereira da Silva, was hung on the wall by the mayor Dr. Fernando Febelino da Costa, after a long speech.

Political authorities and school agents (teachers and students) also gave speeches: Dr. João Silveira Mello, who represented the PRP of Piracicaba, Dr. Honorato Faustino, the headmaster of the NSP, and teacher Carlos Martins Sodero for the teacher class. The session was closed after Dr. Altino Arantes, the

¹⁶ PRP (Republican Party of São Paulo).

¹⁷ See, *Inauguration of the Normal School*, «Jornal de Piracicaba», 10 june 1917, p. 2.

president of the state of São Paulo, praised the state administration in his speech. He also registered the traditions of former Republican public administrations for their initiative in facing courageously the highly relevant issue of literacy and of the moral and civic instruction of the people. Dr. Altino Arantes's speech dealt on the NSP premises and on the local republican politicians.

The premises which today have been inaugurated are a fertile seeding ground for the heroic apostles of a new and patriotic evangelization. The building, beautiful, wide and majestic, complies with its high social mission. This enchanting and prosperous city was worthy of the school.

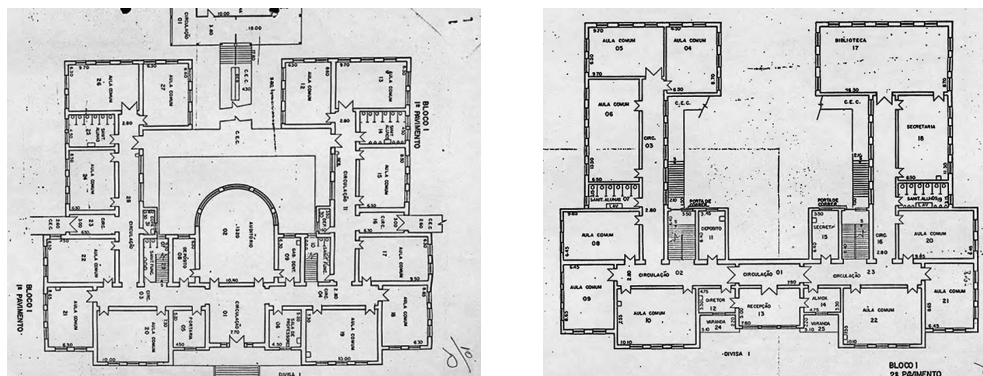
Piracicaba, with its natural attractions that all people admire, gives us respite. Piracicaba is the stronghold of democracy, the cradle and tomb of Prudente de Moraes and Moraes Barros, soul brothers by birth, character, patriotism, first fruits of loyalty and integrity of the people of São Paulo, an everlasting lesson in love of country and devotion to the Republic. Piracicaba, for all these titles, is worthy of such a grand monument. In fact, the government of the state of São Paulo entrusts it to your guardianship and protection¹⁸.

In the speeches given, Republican achievements were live memories, vectored by acknowledged groups and, consequently, were constantly evolving towards the future that had to be prepared by school agents. According to Nora¹⁹, memory as life is open to the dialectics of remembrance and forgetfulness. It interacts with successive deformations, vulnerable to uses and manipulations. Arantes's speech in the event described above transfers to the NSP monumental premises (and thus to the people who were going to use the site thenceforth) the task of sowing, cultivating and transmitting Republican memories, from generation to generation, foregrounded on concrete, space, pictures of important people, and in the imposing architecture for the formation of teachers as agents of civilization.

The monumental NSP premises were forwarded as the utmost in social-political visibility of the PRP. It was inaugurated in 1917 by local, state and national Republican leaders within the context of the coffee culture boom and World War I. The premises were built to attend to the demands of teacher formation, or rather, to people who had the noble task of eradicating people's backwardness and ignorance and of prolonging the life of memories related to Brazilian republicanism.

¹⁸ See *Escola Normal de Piracicaba – As festas de ontem – A chegada do Presidente do Estado – Inauguração oficial do novo edifício – Banquetes*, «Jornal de Piracicaba», 12 august 1917.

¹⁹ Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, cit.



Pic. 3. Plan of the Normal School of Piracicaba.
 Source: Sud Mennucci State School.

2. Spaces, use and memory traces within the NSP premises

The grandeur of the NSP premises (Pic. 2) underscored the identity of a cultural heritage of the Republican period. It was a symbol of power for all to see. Its architectonic powerful stance was wholly different from house-schools, isolated schools, shantytowns, shops and other buildings in the city. Its architecture was a stronghold foregrounding the meaning of memory produced in the relationships of subjects from the exterior to the interior and vice-versa.

The architectonic disposition of buildings, the distribution and ordination of spaces, aesthetic orientation and accessibility affect the day to day life of schooling with regard to materiality and functionality. It also affects representations and ways of being, experience, relationships, references and projection by all the members of an educational community²⁰.

School architecture is not neutral space. It carries a set of values, signs, discourses and forms for ordering, supervising and organizing relationships between people on a day to day basis. Internal space-time of a building may transform themselves in school places. It depends on uses and functions, requiring a general analysis and allows specific investigation of each (Viñao-Frago²¹).

So that teachers' formation could be enhanced, the 1917-inaugurated NSP premises would have to attend to an architectural program that would require a new type of school organization. Its internal spaces were distributed within a U-shape two-floor building (a ground floor and first floor) and a cellar.

²⁰ See J.P. Magalhães, *Tecendo nexos: história das instituições educativa*, Bragança Paulista, Ed. Universitária São Francisco, 2004.

²¹ See A. Viñao-Frago, *Del espacio escolar y la escuela como lugar: propuestas y cuestiones*, «Revista Historia de la educación», cit., pp. 17-74.



Pic. 4. Exhibition of students' creative works.
Source: Photo album of the former NSP (undated).



Pic. 5. Headpiece at the entrance of the headmaster's office – NSP.
Source: the authors (2007).

According to Viñao-Frago²², the U-shape implies open and close dialectics. In the case of the NSP, the U-shape projects the façade outwardly (Pic. 2), enhancing the architectonic aesthetics and spectacle that should be admired. Its façade gives a good impression to the person outside and hides the building's interior which is not penetrable without the authorization of the school's authorities.

Externally, in the center of the U section of the NSP premises, a marble staircase gives access to the main lobby of the building. The staircase amplifies the dimension of the building with regard to passer-byes. It gives a feeling of grandeur. The lobby is a transition site, a site of arrivals and departures of students, teachers, servants, invited people, and other interested in events experienced within the premises. The lobby gives access to other spaces: secretary offices, teachers' room, music amphitheater, right and left wings leading towards the classrooms on the ground floor, recreation ground, gymnastic hall, laboratories, staircase leading towards the first floor. The lobby was the usual space for the exhibition of creative works prepared by the students, as may be seen in Photo 4.

The headmaster's office lies upstairs, going up the staircase to the first floor from the lobby. «The headmaster's office lies on the first floor, in the middle of the building, facing the main entrance. In other words, the headmaster is above and in front of the entire institution, in the most beautiful room»²³.

The headmaster's office within the higher and central section of the U-shape structure is furnished with wooden furniture, with the acronym NSP, revealing a privileged place in power ranks. Not everyone had access to this room. However, the headmaster had the pretension of a general overview and constant supervision of events occurring on the premises. From the office's window one could supervise the main entrance and departure door and a view of downtown. Its position within the building indicated control, watchfulness, a place of maximum authority within school culture.

The space taken by the amphitheater should be underscored. Its entrance lies within the reception hall. All those who entered the building by the main door, passed through the lobby and faced the site prepared for solemn events, commemorations, school festivities and music lessons.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ See A.C.B. Nery, *Em busca do elo perdido: a ação reformadora de Oscar Thompson e a formação de professores*, Marília, 2009, PhD Thesis, Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências, Universidade Estadual Paulista, p. 47.

2.1. *The place as a curriculum: learning to be, learning to see*

According to the report by the headmaster Dr. Honorato Faustino sent to the General Director for Public Education, Dr. Oscar Thompson, music was taught, practiced and fomented in NSP.

Supplementing integral education administered in schools of our state, and fomenting the feeling of what is beautiful, on which is based the formation of character through the education of the most noble of human faculties, we have tried to enhance the teaching of Music and Creative Work, as much as possible.

Since the inauguration of the School and its new premises, we have had regular rehearsals of the Choir made up of advanced students from several classes. Music is sung in two, three and four voices. The music is chosen not merely to develop the taste of the beautiful but also to enhance the students' patriotic feelings²⁴.

The headmaster Dr. Honorato Faustino, a composer of music pieces and school operas, also held high the teaching of music in students' formation.

The music hall, an amphitheater immediately near the entrance of the premises, is a highly important place. This activity was greatly relevant for the school. Perhaps this is due to the influence of the Lozano brothers²⁵, who established the first Orchestra in Piracicaba, in 1906. In the Normal School, Fabiano Lozano installed a School Choir. The activity disseminated so much that it became a model for all the other normal schools of the state. Fabiano Lozano was the author of several musical works for the teaching of music in normal schools²⁶.

Maestro Fabiano Lozano was hired in 1914 as music teacher and stayed at the NSP for several years. He was the coordinator of the choir, musical concerts, orchestras and other musical performances. In 1921, he was a member of a reforming group in public education²⁷. The teaching of music revealed a pedagogy enhancing the formation of feelings in the training of primary school teachers.

In his 1918 report, the headmaster Dr. Honorato Faustino²⁸ registered that the school had a school museum for the teaching of the natural sciences, a laboratory of Physics, Chemistry and Natural History for experimental lessons, a room for modeling and cabinet-making for lessons in manual works, a

²⁴ See H. Faustino, *Relatório do diretor da Escola Normal de Piracicaba*, Piracicaba, 1919, p. 21.

²⁵ Lázaro Rodriguez Lozano and Fabiano Lozano. The former became a teacher of music at the Normal School of São Carlos; the latter continued his work in Piracicaba.

²⁶ See Nery, *Em busca do elo perdido: a ação reformadora de Oscar Thompson e a formação de professores*, cit.

²⁷ See T. Honorato, *The Sampaio Dória Reform: teachers, power and figurations*, «Educação e Realidade», vol. 42, n. 4, oct-dec. 2017, <http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S2175-62362017000401279&lng=pt&cnrm=iso&tlng=en> (last access: 06.07.2018).

²⁸ See Faustino, *Relatório do diretor da Escola Normal de Piracicaba*, cit.



Pic. 6. Library, Laboratory and Gymnasium at NSP.
Source: Photo Album of the former NSP (undated).

library administered by the school secretary, a large hall for solemn events, a gymnasium for physical education and military exercises, a kitchen garden for lessons in agriculture. The planned and used spaces complied with Modern Pedagogy, symbols of the primacy of visibility²⁹.

Classrooms on the ground and first floors were used for teaching, with each room allotted to a specific school year, from the first to the fourth year of the Normal School. Coupled to the course in teacher training, there were several classrooms in 1918 featuring a model Primary School and Supplementary School for propaedeutic formation. As a rule, there were classrooms for females and classrooms for males, with each section on a different wing of the premises, with separate toilettes for each. Co-education with boys and girls was not allowed. In fact, the building established the personal interrelationship between students since even in breaks there was a strict separation of genders. The recreation ground had a wall that separated boys from girls.

School architecture and the NSP premises were a social product complying with the period under analysis. People were conducted by new experiences marked by time. This fact is commonplace in the classroom, in the gymnasium, during recreation time, in the corridors, in the laboratories and at the entrance-exit of the school. The time-space relationship conditioned the daily workings of school places used by the agents.

Differences existed with regard to the manner the student's body was educated by time-space structures in the classroom, science laboratories and gymnasium. The student's body in the classroom and in the laboratories had to conform

²⁹ See Carvalho, *School and Modernity Representations as Pedagogical Models: a study on their circulation and usages in Brazil (1889-1940)*, cit., pp. 259-273.

itself to place and time for writing, reading, concentration, experimentation, learning to teach, to a standard of knowledge, to Chandler chairs and assay benches, to time administratively constructed by teaching programs and socially incorporated. The body had to conform to a physical milieu which is culturally limited by body mobility, albeit productive for intellectual education. The gymnasium represented a geometrically proper space for the movements of students and for the development of their strength. It constituted a time-space to compensate intellectual fatigue, to relax, feel well, learn hygiene, develop military marches and learn tasks to supervise the behavior of future students through physical practices. According to Honorato³⁰, differentiation represented «what was valued as theoretical and practical in the school culture of the period. It represented the distribution and the employment of space as places of learning, socialization and specific functions of the school».

Space functions and uses as places for school culture represented human relationships under the aegis of a pedagogical program which triggered memories and forgetfulness of school life. It is a challenge for historians of education when they try to understand the uses, appropriations and representations of places in school culture.

2.2. *Space-place forming memories*

As a mediator of social living, NSP became an important place for power conflicts and struggles that increasingly underscored the urban life style throughout the 20th century in Brazil. The school favored the intercrossing of thought, knowledge, experience and measuring spaces according to daily activities. It is important to deal with the mapping of concrete, noises, echoes, remnants, the smoke of felled trees and all possible clues so that historical knowledge may be produced. In other words, one has to valorize what produces human survival within the sphere of conscience and the unconscious, rationality and sensitiveness, memory and history.

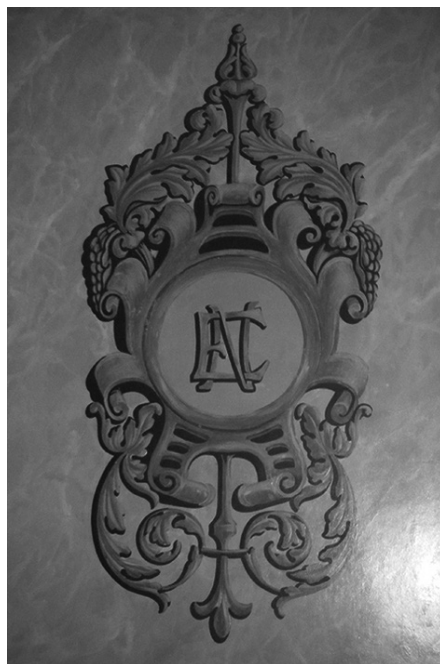
Throughout the 20th century, the NSP's school culture changed and slowly disappeared, leaving clues of memories and the building itself as a place of memory. Intercrossed trajectories in the use of the NSP premises and reforms in education in Brazil reveal that in 1933 the supplementary course annexed to the NSP was replaced by the high school one. Through a 1945 official decree³¹, Sud

³⁰ T. Honorato, *Physical education in the training of normal school student teachers (1897-1921)*, Movimento, Porto Alegre, vol. 21, n. 3., pp. 743-757, jul./set. 2015, <<http://www.seer.ufrgs.br/Movimento/article/view/51009/35148>> (last access: 09.12.2018).

³¹ São Paulo, *Decreto lei n. 14.575 de 01 de abril de 1945*, Nome de Sud Mennecci é homenageado como patrono da Escola Normal de Piracicaba. <<https://www.al.sp.gov.br/repositorio/legislacao/decreto/1945/decreto-14575-01.03.1945.html>> (last access: 09.12.2018).



Pic. 7. Bust of the school patron.
Source: IPPLAP (undated).



Pic. 8: School crest.
Source: the authors (2015).

Mennucci, a former student, now teacher, journalist and reformer in Brazilian education, was named the patron of the school. The NSP was renamed Escola Sud Mennucci [Sud Mennucci State School]. In 1953, the NSP was transformed into Instituto de Educação de Piracicaba [Sud Mennucci Institute of Education] and, due to the 1970s reforms in Brazilian education, the premises became a primary and secondary school. In 2018 the school was renamed Escola Estadual Sud Mennucci [Sud Mennucci State School], or, complying with the social imaginary of the people of Piracicaba, simply ‘Sud’, with full time high school education.

The process described above reveals the disappearance of the Normal School of Piracicaba. However, a place of memories in teachers’ training has survived, full of experiences that reveal, in a rather weak way, the bygone active forces during Republican times. There is an increasingly openness for the history of memories in what was once the place for teachers’ formation of Piracicaba.

Remnants of memory, such as statues and paintings of honorees, and other pictures on the walls of the school, may be identified on the premises through its monumental structure during Brazilian Republican times.



Pic. 9. Educational aims of the NSP. Source: the authors (2015).

During all these years, the premises have been painted many times and several physical changes were made. The restoration undertaken during the 1980s revealed many hidden items. The past was still present. The affrescos on the wall fringes of the music hall, classrooms and corridors could be seen once more. The main façade of the premises still bears the name «Escola Normal de Piracicaba» [Sud Mennucci State School] and close to the entrance staircase one may find the bust of Sud Mennucci, the school patron, honored in 1945. During the festivities on the occasion of the centenary of the Independence of Brazil (September 7, 1922), a time capsule was placed between the doors of the music classroom. Several memories will be disclosed when opened in 2022.

Walking within the building one may behold numberless pictures of students, teachers, headmasters and class patrons on the walls of the long corridors. Most were done during the period in which NSP was in full bloom. The NSP crest may still be seen on the walls of the main hall.

A wooden sculpture with the crest of the Republic of Brazil may still be seen in the center of the lobby's ceiling, and several pictures hang on the hall's lateral walls.

Depicting Greek and Roman allegories, the pictures represent high valued symbols for future teachers during the Republic period. They represent the physical, natural and experimental sciences, the arts, literature and music, all directed towards the education of the feelings. The formation of teachers should underscore human integral formation, as Modern Pedagogy insisted upon.



Pic. 10. The regent Feijó.
Source: the authors (2015).



Pic. 11. Law of Free Birth.



Pic. 12. The Republic.

According to the register of the process for the institution of the former NSP premises as a heritage, signed by Marly T. G. Percin³², the neoclassical panels were painted by the Italian artist Luigi Lacchini, from the Royal Academy of Bologna. The same artist painted three panels on the History of Brazil, for the NSP.

The three painted panels on the walls of the main hall of the premises of the former NSP represent specific political movements in Brazilian history, in the 19th century. Photo 11 depicts Diego Antonio Feijó (1784-1843), also known as Regent Feijó, a Catholic priest, who gave lectures on History, Geography and Philosophy, and defended a liberal policy. Photo 12 represents political leaders engaged in the Law of Free Birth which decreed freedom to all children born of slaves after the promulgation of the law in 1871 and signed by Princess Isabel, daughter of Pedro II. Photo 13 represents one of the most important Republican symbols, or rather, the Proclamation of the Republic by Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca, a national military leader, who, through a public and political act, forced the abdication of the Emperor Dom Pedro II in 1889.

Memory clues form a problematic and incomplete reconstruction of what does not exist anymore. They are representations of the past of the former NSP. Clues are transformed into moorings for the memory. The premises of the former NSP and its republican symbols perpetuate themselves within a history from the broken shreds of its memories throughout time, making it a place for memories.

³² M.T.G. Percin, *O tombamento histórico do prédio da Escola Estadual de Primeiro e Segundo Grau Sud Mennucci*, Piracicaba, 1985.

Final considerations

The analysis of historical sources reveals that the building of the Normal School of Piracicaba (NSP) was not merely the occupation of land by a monumental building within a wide physical space and important architectonic aesthetics. It is also a place of memory and cultural heritage of the city represented by living groups in the name of rational, scientific, political and hygiene education, complying with civilized and ideological standards within the domain of Brazilian republicanism that should be remembered daily to forget the backwardness of the Empire and project them onto the future.

The NSP, irradiating modern pedagogy for the formation of teachers who taught good habits and mores to the Homeland's children and citizens at the primary level, was a privileged place for the production of memories, to mold rituals within a rite-less society, to make sacred experiences within a laicized social life style, to warrant specific memoirs of the Brazilian republican political regime. The latter was supposed to level all particularities and abolish differences in a nation that should presumably acknowledge all persons equal and with identical rights.

Over the years, appropriations by collective subjects changed meanings (Republic, political and social agents, cultural references), reconstructed space (the use of places, the place of the institution and schooling within the social imaginary), underscored the imperceptible (the activities of the local authority), which may be seen in the fact that the school is the hallmark of a generation of local Republicans. This generation of people is present in other monuments in the city, on the walls of the Normal School, and in the memories on the school, printed every now and then on the pages of local newspapers.

Politics of memory

«Ricambiare l'amore che portano all'educazione...». Public memory and awards of honour of public education in Italy from the Unification to the end of the 19th Century (1861-1898)

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ABSTRACT: From the time of the Unification period, the ones responsible of the public politics for the development of public education through specific normative and regulamentar measures have instituted the practice of awards honouring conferred by the public authority with the title of «Benemerito della Pubblica Istruzione». This process has involved, from the beginning, municipal institutions, associations, and above all, primary school teachers. Subsequently, also professional categories of inspectors, didactical authorities were honoured by public decorations. This special honour institution, which granted certificates of merit and medals, with the time being had a significant evolution. The paper aims to demonstrate and calls the attention to the decoration as a public policy of the memory, a functional way of incentivising even the development of the primary school processes and to promote the professionalization of the teacher's body. Through these awards and celebrations, truly memory places, it is possible to verify the different models of teachers that the diverse political classes intended to spread, adequate to foment the development of the primary education in a laic and gratuity, an ethic-civil reference to the local communities, capable of taking charge in a string mission, characterized as a civil religion and ready for any sacrifices. The paper inspires for the suggestions that the research in the field of History of Education has produced during the last years, in relation with the ways of remembering how representation forms the school and the teachers' body adopted to make it public. It is based on the analyses of the unpublished documentation filed kept in the Italian State Central Archive, integrated by the printed documentation through commemorative booklets or the official bulletin from the Ministry of Public Education.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Politics of public memory and education; Awards of honour; Medals and certificates of merit; Teachers' public memory; Italy; XIXth Century.

Introduction and methodological note

The aim of this study is to examine a rather unexplored field of educational historiography, namely the practice of awarding honours to primary school teachers in the time span between the rise of the Nation and the late-19th century. The aim of this practice was to promote the memory of the school and its teachers, and as such took on an educational and pedagogic role in relation to both basic schooling procedures and the teacher professionalization process. This contribution reflects the attention given to the school memory by the historical educational research¹. By examining the practice of awarding honours and the related celebrative moments, real and true places of memory², the evolution can be outlined of the model of teacher which the political elites wished to convey along with the definition of strategies for the promotion of public memory. The study of such practices enables us in fact to identify, with the passing of time, all the elements of continuity and discontinuity of that model of teacher which the liberal political class, immediately after the unification of Italy, deemed as functional to the nationalization process and to the development of primary education. A teacher with a prevalently lay character, ready to represent an ethical-civil point of reference for local communities, able to take on a mission with all the traits of a civil religion consecrated to sacrifice. The study aims at determining the ways in which, starting from the 1880s, public memory policies promoted the representation of a teacher with a higher cultural, pedagogical and didactic profile, aimed at sustaining the professionalization of the teaching staff according to the canons of pedagogic and didactic modernization which predominated in late Positivism and the early-20th century.

This study is not intended to be exhaustive, It simply wishes to define the heuristic potential of a project, which is much broader in terms of time span, which, when systematically developed, offers the chance of extending the already detailed knowledge acquired at various levels. To start with, the profile and characteristics of Italian teachers. The possibility of drawing from rather unexplored sources, represented not only by the legislation passed by the political and administrative elites starting from the Unification of Italy up until the first decades of the Republic, but also from archive and press sources related

¹ Cf. A. Viñao, *La Historia de la Educación ante el siglo XXI: tensiones, retos y audiencias*, in M. Ferraz Lorenzo (ed.), *Repensar la historia de la educación: nuevos desafíos, nuevas propuestas*, 2005, pp. 147-166; A. Viñao, *La memoria escolar: restos y huellas, recuerdos y olvidos*, «Annali di Storia dell'Educazione e delle Istituzioni Scolastiche», n. 12, 2005, pp. 19-33; A. Viñao, *Memoria, patrimonio y educación*, «Educatio Siglo XXI», n. 2, 2010, pp. 17-42; C. Yanes-Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, Cham, Springer, 2017, especially pp. 1-9.

² On the concept of «places of memory» see P. Nora, *Les lieux de memoire*, Paris, Gallimard, 1984 containing dates, sites, buildings, commemorations. Historiographical surveys in Italy have been carried out on the basis of the research works organized and conducted by da M. Isnenghi. For reference see *I luoghi della memoria*, Bari-Rome, Laterza, 1996.

to honours awarded to teachers – and not only as we shall see – enables us to create and extend a real and true database concerning award-winning teachers in service during the 19th and 20th centuries in Italy³.

Furthermore, the documentation relating to the subject of honours awards does not only assume biographical relevance, but is also useful for analysing the practice of awarding honours as «an instrument for building national identity», as Roberto Sani and Anna Ascenzi have highlighted in analysing a similar documentary source – that of teachers' obituaries⁴. The analysis of written correspondence between the Ministry and the peripheral school administrations, and of the reports written by the commissions appointed to assign honours, permits grasping how the perception of teaching, of the teacher as educator and of the school officials evolved in different historical periods and political/ideological settings. To the mentioned archive sources, we need to add those related to the newspaper articles and to the speeches made during the course of the award ceremonies. Such events assumed a specific pedagogic function, as underlined by Minister Orlando when the honours awarding system was reformed («let us recall those fine celebrations of high educational value when honours were conferred»)⁵. During such celebrations, the mayor would publicly praise the awarded teachers; furthermore, such events were organized by the townships administrators «in the interest of working-class schools [...] so that teachers could be stimulated and incentivized in the accomplishment of their duty»⁶. Press articles and speeches were equally relevant in outlining the evolution in public memory of the ways of representing schools and teachers. Hence the decision to dedicate particular attention to a type of documentation useful for the study of less influential figures who, nonetheless, contribute to a process of identity building, especially on a local level, for schools and teachers. From the analysis of the documentation regarding honours assignments, whether medals or simply accolades, a number of different profiles appear: teachers, school directors, inspectors, educational institutions or even municipalities, all of which regarded by local communities as models for teachers in general.

³ For reference on teachers' biographies see *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione (1800-2000)*, Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013 coordinated by G. Chiosso and R. Sani.

⁴ R. Sani, A. Ascenzi, *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)*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2016.

⁵ R.D. n. 633 provides for the assignment of recognitions to people who promoted primary education and children's education in Official Journal n. 293 dated 17 December 1904, pp. 5981-5983.

⁶ Township of Cascina. *Consegna della medaglia d'oro per gli VIII lustri di lodevole insegnamento concessa con decreto reale dal ministero della Pubblica Istruzione al maestro Ferdinando Martini 21 maggio 1903*, Cascina, Tip. L. Bertini, 1903, p. 7.

The practice of awarding honours after the unification of Italy

The practice of awarding honours to primary school teachers goes hand in hand with the first development and consolidation of the national school system after the unification of Italy. Immediately after unification, the supervisors of public policies for the development of education established, through specific legislative dispositions, the practice of awarding honours to worthy education providers. This practice, in constant evolution, was addressed at first to primary school teachers, then to school directors and school inspectors, and subsequently to secondary schoolteachers (both in grammar and technical schools).

Minister Natoli was the first to establish, in 1865, a system for awarding honours to worthy teachers. Specifically, the circular issued by the man in charge of public education provided for the awarding of two prizes amounting to 100 lire each, to be granted to one male teacher and one female teacher in every town⁷. Such a practice responded to the need to boost the social and cultural values of primary school teachers whose juridical, economic and social conditions, in the first stage of the national school system, were extremely precarious. The aim was to convey value to the careers of school teachers by encouraging them with awards «those who distinguish themselves by proving good, well-educated and enthusiast teachers “while in charge of” addressing the minds and hearts of the needy»⁸ as well as of «supporting the moral elevation of the lower classes»⁹. The metaphor of teachers as «the modest soldiers of knowledge and freedom»¹⁰ appearing in the provision laid down by the Ministry, is the result of a period that still bore the signs of the *Risorgimento* and the liberation from Austrian oppression. As a matter of fact, the prizes were not reserved to teachers with particular merits in terms of teaching abilities or cultural skills. The prize awarding criteria were influenced by gender: male teachers had to prove they had taught for some years «in a rural town, with a low wage and a high number of pupils». Female teachers, instead, had to teach in a rural town in conditions defined «poor in luck but rich in virtue» and able to win over «with words and examples [...] the love of their pupils and the respect and gratefulness of their respective families»¹¹. In accordance with the provisions, two elementary school teachers were awarded the decoration of the Order of St. Maurice and Lazzaro. It is interesting to notice the profile of the prize-winning teachers and the reasons for which they received awards. The first prize-winning teacher was

⁷ Circular n. 159 of the Ministry of Public Education – Encouragement prizes to primary school teachers who stand out for diligence and culture, in *Collezione Celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari pubblicate nell'anno 1865 ed altre anteriori*, Turin, Tipografia Editrice di Enrico Dalmazzo, 1865, p. 310.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

not selected at random but belonged to the municipal school of Turin «which occupied the first place of honour of Italy». Piedmont schools were the model for the establishment of all schooling processes in unified Italy. The second prize-winning teacher was a senior teacher from Ascoli Piceno who, «with hard work, courage and dedication was able to teach many of his fellow citizens to read and write, in a land that the end of Papal government had left in the deepest illiteracy»¹². Even in this case, the liberal ruling class wanted to stress the ideological orientation of the new middle-class elite which had promoted the unification process by opposing the secularity of school system against the power of the church.

The second provision, which instead provided for the awarding of a medal of honour, was issued in 1866. Minister Berti issued a new provision establishing the awarding of a silver medal and a bronze medal together with a prize in books to be given each year to those teachers who had distinguished themselves by «spreading good teachings among the people». This accolade intended to give them credit for «their hard work and dedication and to return the love they had for education with an accolade aimed at gratifying and stimulating them»¹³. This new provision was more specific in outlining the prize awarding criteria. In particular, the commissions appointed by the ministry in every province had to take into account such aspects as:

1. number of day school pupils and degree of education acquired every year; 2. number of evening or weekend schools for adults opened by individual initiative, and relative attendance rate and performance of the attendees; 3. Ability of the teacher in providing basics of agronomy; 4. Years of permanence in the same town and other special merits recognised by the commission¹⁴.

The Minister's directions as regards the promotion of awards were aimed at giving recognition to the ability to teach in rural settings with overcrowded classrooms and to emerge as moral examples within a community of people. The model teacher was one able to «root among the people the moral and civil values upon which the nation had to be built and promote language unification»¹⁵.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 311.

¹³ Circular n. 193 dated 10 July 1866; Institution of a medal of honour for deserving primary teachers, *Collezione Celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari pubblicate nell'anno 1866 ed altre anteriori*, Florence, Enrico Dalmazzo Editore, 1866, p. 1343.

¹⁴ Circular n. 193 of the Minister of Public Education – Institution of a medal of honour for deserving primary teachers, in *Collezione Celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari pubblicate nell'anno 1866 ed altre anteriori*, Florence, Enrico Dalmazzo Editore, 1866, Part two, p. 1343.

¹⁵ C. Ghizzoni, *Il maestro nella scuola elementare italiana dall'Unità alla Grande Guerra*, in R. Sani, A. Tedde (edd.), *Maestri e istruzione popolare in Italia tra Otto e Novecento. Interpretazioni, prospettive di ricerca, esperienze in Sardegna*, Milan, Vita e pensiero, 2003, p. 24.

The practice of awarding honours was soon well established within towns and provinces to the extent that, with a new provision issued in May 1871, the Ministry of public education had to put a stop to it. In fact, the Minister, Cesare Correnti feared that too much liberality in awarding these accolades could diminish their value and prestige. Therefore, he established that the only prizes that could be awarded were a silver medal, two bronze medals and four honourable mentions¹⁶.

This research work aimed at investigating how the ministerial provisions were interpreted by the commissions and the provincial school boards, and whether, during the period under examination, it was possible to identify elements of continuity or discontinuity. Some preliminary research based on archive documents seems to reveal a more complex attitude than that indicated in the regulations. During the first two years after unification, the school provincial boards had given particular attention to profiles able to satisfy such criteria as the number of teaching years of the candidate, possession of a licence and the number and success rate of the respective pupils, as well as initiatives pointing to the hard work, dedication and perseverance of the candidate, especially in problematic contexts, and which could prove as a stimulus for other teachers. Mr. Luciano Simionati, a primary school teacher in the male school of Argiane, province of Vicenza, candidate for the bronze medal, was considered the «Nestor of public school teachers» in the province. At 64 years of age, 43 of which dedicated to school, he was still «young in spirit, voice, intelligence and heart». According to the school board he was able to infuse in his pupils «the enthusiasm and life rarely to be found even in younger teachers»¹⁷.

Luigi Betti, 57 years of age and 33 of service, thanks to his lower primary teacher licence, had permanently covered the role of 1st and 2nd grade teacher in his native town of Mondario and used to teach in adult education schools¹⁸. Even in Southern Italy the number of years of service was crucial for assigning medals. The Sicilian teacher, Antonio Zichichi, holder of a higher normal license, had 12 years of service and taught 34 4th-graders in a primary school in Trapani; Gaspare De Blasi, holder of a lower license, had, for 12 years, been teaching 43 2nd-graders¹⁹. Teacher Alessandro Pagliari, who had 25 years of

¹⁶ Circular 12 May 1871, n. 4129 was mentioned in many proposals for honours stored in the archival collection named *Onoreificenze conferite 1860-1880* of the Archivio Centrale dello Stato [Central State Archive].

¹⁷ Note from the Prefect of Vicenza dated 8 march 1875 in ACS, DGIPN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis *Onoreificenze conferite 1860-1880*, f. *Medaglie 1875*.

¹⁸ Recognitions proposals for worthy primary school teachers. Extract from the session of 29 January 1874 of the School Provincial Board of Pesaro, in ACS, MPI, DGIPN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis *Onoreificenze conferite 1860-80*, f. *Medaglie 1874*.

¹⁹ Province of Trapani. School year 1875-76. Proposals for worthy teachers and decision of the provincial school board dated 31 October 1876 annexed to the note dated 17 November 1877 in Archivio Centrale dello Stato [Central State Archive] [from now on ACS], Ministero Pubblica Istruzione (Ministry of Education) [from now on MPI], Direzione Generale Istruzione Primaria e

service, 6 of which at Città di Castello in the province of Perugia, was also a «skilled and hardworking» school director who had managed to set up a number of rural schools and «make them prosper with much effort». Felice Boggetti, 27 years of service, had been teaching in Orvieto for 9 years, where he was at the same time a school director and a teacher to 35 evening and weekend school pupils, with «excellent results». The «diligent», skilled and hardworking teacher, not only «made those schools prosper by often spending his own resources for [illegible] and supplies for the poorer», but was also able to earn the school the «affection of the town»²⁰. The primary school teacher (3rd and 4th grade) Massimino Giustini, 32 years of service, also ran the primary schools of Pergola, a little town in the province of Pesaro, where he had been teaching evening classes for 11 years. Considered a good teacher, in 1864 he had obtained the normal higher license for merit and qualifications, and had been a candidate for the bronze medal for «is excellent civil and moral behaviour and his teaching attitude»²¹. The Sardinian, Francesco Solinas, 47 years of age and 21 years of service, after having obtained the higher normal license from the Ministry in 1863 for merits and qualifications, was a 4th grade teacher and director of the primary schools of Pesaro, where he had been teaching for 13 years²².

In addition to the number of years of service and the type of teaching license, other criteria to be considered were the number of pupils and their performance, the type of school and the time dedicated to teaching activities. The provincial school board of Pisa, for example, suggested awarding a silver medal to the teacher Luigia Giraudi née Torre, holder of a higher license, who had been teaching for 10 years in Piombino to 26 pupils of daytime schools and 33 pupils belonging to evening and weekend school classes. In the borough of Biglione (Pisa), Ferdinando Fabrini had been carrying out his activity as a teacher for 20 years thanks to his lower license; at the time he was nominated for a bronze medal, he was teaching to 230 daytime school pupils and 148 evening and weekend school pupils. This teacher used to dedicate «6 or more hours» to teaching activities and never went on holiday. Likewise, the teacher Ciangherotti «did not go on holiday» and was supported by her own sister in her teaching activities in the same borough where she taught 136 daytime school pupils and 102 evening and weekend school pupils²³. Ferdinando Martini, who, for 14

Normale (General Direction Primary and Normal Education) [from now on DGIPN] 1860-1896, b. 115 bis Onoreficenze conferite 1860-1880, f. *Medaglie 1878*.

²⁰ Province of Umbria. List of worthy teachers proposed for honours based on the letter of the Minister of Public Education dated 12 May 1871 n. 4129, dated 20 August 1871, in ACS, MPI, DGIPN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis- Onoreficenze conferite 1860-1880, f. *Medaglie 1875*.

²¹ Extract from the session of 29 January 1874 of the Provincial School Board of Pesaro. Accolade proposals to worthy elementary school teachers in ACS, MPI, DGIPN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis Onoreficenze conferite 1860-80, f. 1874.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Territory of Pisa and Volterra. Notes of elementary schoolteachers worthy of recognitions

years, had been teaching 96 daytime school pupils and 92 evening and weekend pupils in Cascina, dedicated his days off on Thursdays and Sundays to teaching 75 pupils at the evening and weekend school of Latignano²⁴.

Mainly nominated for medals therefore were those teachers who had a long-time engagement in teaching and showed dedication to their daily teaching activities. Following this trend, also nominated for medals were private teachers and priests. For example, in the town of Bressanvido, in the province of Vicenza, nominated for a bronze medal was Ippolito Chemello, «one of the few priests who considered learning as the true foundation of education». For 6 years, he had been a teacher in the public schools of Bressanvido as well as in adult schools²⁵. The provincial school board of Vicenza also nominated for a bronze medal Bernardo Marchente, a private teacher of Bassano, 82 years of age and 56 of service, who was the oldest among the private teachers in Vicenza. He was still practicing his teaching activity at his private school, which nearly all families in Bassano had attended. In 1865, under Austrian-Hungarian domination, he had been awarded the Cross of Merit, which, however, he did not obtain because of the political turmoil that followed the War Of Independence²⁶.

The provincial school boards also put forward the names of teachers who had carried out their activity in rural settings: Pietro Venturi from Montescudaio, province of Pisa, teacher to 83 daytime school pupils and 65 evening school pupils, had frequently introduced «notions of Agronomy» in his classes, especially through the reading and explanation of relevant textbooks²⁷. Likewise, Luigi Stocchiere, a higher-grade teacher from Montecchio Maggiore, had been teaching for 30 years and had been constantly introducing notions of agriculture in his classes²⁸. In other cases, the possession of specific teaching skills or being able to teach specific subjects was considered relevant: in this respect, the provincial school board of Vicenza had suggested awarding a silver medal to Carolina Maccagnini, 16 years of service in public schools, whose example had been a guide and a stimulus to several teachers «and had been crucial in the education of young teachers». Carolina Maccagnini was not only well-learned in «Italian literature» but also in mathematics, where «she was especially good» and, at the same time, «extremely inclined» to

(namely a silver medal, two bronze medals and 4 honourable mentions) for morals, diligence and skills. School year 1874-75, in ACS, MPI, DGIPN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis-Onoreficenze conferite 1860-80, f. *Medaglie 1875*.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Note of the Provincial School Board of Vicenza of 8 March 1875 in ACS, MPI, DGIPN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis-Onoreficenze conferite 1860-1880, f. 1875 and f. 1876.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Area of Pisa and Volterra. Notes of elementary schoolteachers worthy of recognitions (namely a silver medal, two bronze medals and 4 honourable mentions) for morals, diligence and skills. School year 1874-75, cit.

²⁸ Note of the Provincial School Board of Vicenza of 8 March 1875, cit.

natural sciences, history and geography²⁹. In addition, Carolina Maccagnini was also teaching other subjects aimed at completing the education of young teachers, like gymnastics, a license for which she had obtained in Turin, and singing. Giustina Zonta was considered the best teacher in Bassano in terms of «dedication and intelligence». She was a 4th grade primary school teacher and also directed «a school for the education of teachers» which had qualified a remarkable number of new teachers in the area. Zonta possessed a number of qualifications. She was a licensed teacher both for kindergarten and higher grades, and she too had obtained, in Turin, a license for teaching gymnastics. Thanks to these qualifications she could teach singing and gymnastics to all primary school girls in Bassano. Although she had been teaching for 7 years only, the school board thought it was time to nominate her for a silver medal³⁰.

Less frequently, accolades went to teachers who had distinguished themselves for cultural merits, like the teacher Raffaele Puliga who was nominated for a silver medal because, in addition to his 29 years of service – 24 of which spent teaching in Cagliari – and his 73 evening-class pupils, was also the author of a booklet entitled *Il primo sapere dell'uomo*³¹. In order to support and boost examples of dedication, award nominations also involved other personalities besides teachers. For example, the town school board of Pesaro intended nominating for a silver medal countess Virginia Gherardi, inspector of the female schools and the kindergarten of Mondolfo, who had distinguished herself for «personally providing books, school objects and tools for female activities to the poor girls of Mondolfo»³².

From the documentation examined also emerges the tendency to confer awards for merit to individual institutions or townships. For example, in Teviso, bronze medals were awarded to teachers Luigi Renosto and Giuseppe Vendrame; Giovanni Togna, Antonio Dalla Pasqua, Idelfondo Coromer, Giobatta Rizzoni and Giacinta Lovadina received honourable mentions, and, likewise, an honourable mention was also conferred to the Institution of abandoned children, founded and managed by the abbot Quirino Turazza, who deserved special mention not only for his «humanitarian and moral commitment» but also because he did not neglect the intellectual education of children; primary education was provided by four teachers, «all of them former pupils of the Institution and licensed teachers» thanks to financial resources coming both

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ See notes of 3 September 1877, 25 July 1877 and the annexed list of teachers proposed for a medal referred to school years 1872-73 and 1875-76 in ACS, MPI, DGIPN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis Onoreificenze conferite 1860-80, f. 1877 and the note of 3 September and the subsequent one of June 1878 referring to the Minister's decision in *Ibid.*, f. 1878.

³² Extract from the session of 29 January 1874 of the Provincial School Board of Pesaro. Proposals of accolades to worthy elementary schoolteachers, cit.

from governmental subsidies and private funding³³. On the contrary, the school provincial board of Milan failed to approve the awarding of an accolade to the members of the Pio Istituto Tipografico who taught English and German as well as stenography. The proposal had been made by Angelo Colombo, manager of Tipografia G. Agnelli in the male orphanage. Milan counted several such associations, like the general association of workers, which included teachers who had been holding courses for years³⁴. During the first 20 post-unification years, though, honours were awarded especially to townships. The township of Girgenti, in Sicily, obtained a silver medal on 11 September 1874 for its primary schools which included 1591 pupils and whose development was carefully supported by the township with the «provision of premises and furniture». Two other Sicilian townships, Porto Empedocle and Racalmuto, were awarded a bronze medal for the «attention dedicated to the construction of schools, as well as towards the increase of education» in those places³⁵.

According to the provincial school board, the schools of Chiavenna were a model for all the schools of the Valtellina as well as of «other big cities»: they included a kindergarten, built according to «the best suggestions of modern pedagogy», a technical school and a library for the working class³⁶. Another virtuous township was that of Lonigo, in the province of Vicenza, which counted 9804 inhabitants, and which had taken great care in the development of schools and teachers «skilled and fairly remunerated» both in the city as well as in the countryside, where school furniture reflected the importance of the place. In addition to normal expenses, the township had taken on the responsibility of building the rural schools of Almisano and Monticello and restoring the town school; for these works the township had requested but not received government aid. In spite of this refusal, the township had adopted all necessary measures to ensure the advancement of works by using its own resources. For this reason, the prefect had suggested presenting the township with an accolade, to be assigned during the school opening ceremony³⁷.

The township of Battaglia, in the province of Padua, earned a bronze medal in 1877 not only for the «good results» of its schools but also because it gave

³³ List of 13 September 1875 annexed to the note of the Prefect of Treviso, 25 January 1876 in ACS, MPI, DGIPN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis Onoreficenze conferite 1860-80, f. 1876.

³⁴ See letter subscribed by Angelo Colombo and other Institution associates and the response of the President of the provincial school board of Milan, 16 February 1875 in ACS, MPI, DGIPeN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis Onoreficenze conferite 1860-80, f. 1876.

³⁵ R.D. of 11 September 1874 in ACS, MPI, DGIPN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis honours awarded 1860-80, f. 1874; List of medals and honourable mentions proposed by the Provincial School Board of Girgenti after the communication of the Royal Ministry of Public Education on 11 June 1874 n. 4408.

³⁶ See note from the Prefect of Sondrio dated 16 October 1876 in ACS, MPI, DGIPeN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis, f. 1876.

³⁷ See the request made by the President of the provincial school board of Vicenza of 16 May 1876 in ACS, MPI, DGIPeN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis, f. 1876.

its teachers a higher wage than that normally provided by the government. Moreover, the township also had a school for workmen and it was about to open a kindergarten³⁸. Honours were also awarded to the township of Castel d'Ario, province of Mantua, which, according to the prefect, was a «model» of education; this little town of 2823 inhabitants had a kindergarten with 70 children which could count on funds amounting to 3380 lire; in addition, it had 6 primary schools with 285 pupils whose maintenance was worth 4960 lire. The commitment in improving the material conditions of schools continued to the extent that the town proposed, at its own expenses, some models of school buildings which were presented during the international exposition of Paris and which were soon adopted by the royal superintendent. The town worked miracles «to the detriment of its own budget» and for this reason was also hoping for government support³⁹.

Castel D'Ario was not the only town able to count on accolades for relieving the expenses of public education; a similar one went to the town of Baronissi, in the province of Salerno, with a population of 7800. The mayor had decided to allocate nearly a third of the town's total budget to education: out of an available budget of 38 thousand lire, 11.300 were devoted to the remuneration of the 12 teachers employed in 9 lower-grade primary schools and 2 higher-grade schools. Nevertheless, the survival of the female high school could not be guaranteed because, in accordance with article 321 of the Casati law, an agglomerated population was required of at least 4 thousand inhabitants, and the town of Baronissi did not satisfy this prerequisite⁴⁰.

Another accolade went to the town of Rotzo. The township board had approved the construction of two «school houses» in Rotzo and Pedescola. The premises appeared «very suitable, spacy, clean and aerated»⁴¹. The town had already shown a certain sensitivity and carefulness when one of the most «skilled and hardworking» teachers of the province had found himself going through a very hard time because of an illness. The teacher had made a plea to the inspector who, in turn, prompted the town board which finally deemed it appropriate to adjust the Regulation to this case. According to the inspector of Bassano those were «facts that honoured the town and needed no further comments», and as such were worthy of «recognition by the government»⁴².

³⁸ School Board of Padua. Honours to distinguished teachers. List annexed to the note of 28 January 1877, in ACS, DGIPN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis Onoreificenze conferite 1860-1880, f. 1877.

³⁹ See proposal of the Congressman addressed to the Minister on 6 February 1878 and Girolamo Buonazia's response of 14 February 1878; see also the draft of Coppino's decree of 14 February 1878 in ACS, MPI, DGIPN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis Onoreificenze conferite 1860-1880, f. 1878.

⁴⁰ See letter of the mayor of Baronissi of 12 May 1878 and the decision of the Provincial School Board of Principato Citeriore of 8 July 1878 in ACS, MPI, b. 115 bis.

⁴¹ Letter from the Inspector of Bassano of 9 December 1877, in ACS, MPI, F. DGIPN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis, f. 1878.

⁴² *Ibid.*

Also worthy of recognition was the town of Melara, province of Rovigo, which could eventually «win the opposition and prejudice of the people, make education attractive and prepare an honest and sensible working class for society». The school board, amazed by «such progress in a town of 3 thousand inhabitants» suggested awarding honours⁴³. The town had provided a school building at first «richly restored» and then «enlarged» thanks among other things to government aid. Even the furniture and the school supplies seemed to fit the demands of «modern pedagogy». The buildings were designed to house a kindergarten with 10 children, placed under the high patronage of the Queen, plus one lower and one higher primary school with 130 pupils in all, a female school with 111 girls, evening schools with 143 attendees, evening drawing schools with 55 enrolled pupils, an industrial weekend school with 39 attendees, a weekend female school, attended by 54 women and a weekend school of agriculture, both of lower and higher grade, attended by 149 pupils. Furthermore, Thursdays were dedicated to teaching physical education and girls were trained to fill jobs in industry: the school was equipped with a gym with equipment for physical and military exercises, a «garden for the practical teaching of agriculture», a «rabbit hutch», an apiary, a circulating library and a savings bank⁴⁴.

The practice of awarding honours from the 1880s to the end of century

For about twenty years, the basic rules according to which honours were awarded remained the same. The only change was that prize-giving was also extended to other categories of teachers in the early 1880s. In 1884, competitions were organized for the teachers of classic, technical and professional high schools⁴⁵. Honours awarding became central again when, in the early-1890s, Minister Boselli decided to place this practice in the framework of a general revision of the criteria for the distribution of aid to primary and working-class schools. The problems linked to the poor social, juridical and economic conditions of teachers emerged again under the Crispi governments, which supported the reaffirmation of the educational function of primary schools and the role of primary school teachers in the promotion of national identity⁴⁶. A new

⁴³ Letter from the superintendent of Rovigo dated 20 July 1878, in ACS, MPI, F. DGIPN 1860-1896, b. 115 bis, f. 1878.

⁴⁴ ASCS, MPI, F. Direzione Generale Scuole Primarie, Popolari e Normali 1860-1896, b. 115 bis.

⁴⁵ R.D. n. 1962 dated 17 February 1884 Prize competition dedicated to teachers of primary, schools, classical and technical institutions, and professional schools in *Collezione celerifera delle Leggi, Decreti, istruzioni e Circolari dell'anno 1884 ed anteriori*, Rome, 1884, pp. 339-340.

⁴⁶ Cfr. C. Duggan, *Creare la nazione. Vita di Francesco Crispi*, Rome-Bari, Laterza 2000.

royal decree provided that the ministerial committee in charge of distributing aid to primary and working-class schools could assign «rewards to particularly worthy teachers of primary schools». This recognition was part of a wider framework of measures addressed to those towns engaged in the construction of school buildings and furniture, and to kindergarten, libraries, associations – including those of friendly societies for teachers – chosen in accordance with the new Regulation for the distribution of aid. The Minister assigned medals and certificates for «teachers and people who proved exceptional in promoting education and learning»⁴⁷. The Regulation provided that honours could be assigned to licensed teachers and those who had at least 8 or 4 years of service, which determined the nature of the prize (a silver medal or an honourable mention). At any rate, all of them had to possess specific prerequisites, not only in terms of morals and skills, but also:

1. The number of pupils in day schools and the grade they will reach; 2. The number of evening or weekend classes held by the teachers themselves; 3. The schools where the basics of agriculture are taught 4. The attendance and performance rate of the attendees; 5. Years of service in the same town and honours obtained thus far⁴⁸.

The provision adopted by Boselli was followed by a new measure in late 1894, right in the middle of a time of political and cultural involution⁴⁹; Minister Baccelli set up 4 retirement benefits to be assigned to meritorious primary school teachers with the resources from the Order of Saint Maurice fund⁵⁰; this provision was integrated by a new one issued in spring 1895 which extended the benefit of cheques for merit to female primary school teachers, who did not have access to the awards provided by the knightly order of St. Maurice, which was strictly reserved for men⁵¹. In accordance with a Ministerial decree issued later, those who had received a medal «could wear it in public»; the medal bore

⁴⁷ This provision set up the awarding of silver medals, bronze medals and honourable mentions. In particular, no more than one silver medal and 4 bronze medals could be assigned to the teachers of a province whose population was equal or higher than 500,000 inhabitants. Those who lived in provinces whose number was lower, could not be proposed for more than a silver medal every two years and two bronze medals per year. In cases of «exceptional generosity towards instruction and working-class education» it was possible to award a gold medal. R.D. n. 63 dated 29 January 1891 published in O.J. n. 54 dated 6 March 1891.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Cfr. Levra, *Il colpo di stato della borghesia. La crisi politica di fine secolo e l'età giolittiana*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1975; F. Gaeta, *La crisi di fine secolo e l'età giolittiana*, Turin, UTET, 1982; U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani. Memoria e celebrazione del Risorgimento*, Turin, Comitato di Torino dell'Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, 1992; C. Duggan, *Creare la nazione. Vita di Francesco Crispi*, Rome-Bari, Laterza 2000.

⁵⁰ R.D. 30 December 1894 on the awarding of 4 life-time cheques for deserving school teachers withdrawn from the Order of St. Maurice fund, in *Collezione celerifera delle Leggi, Decreti, istruzioni e Circolari dell'anno 1895 ed anteriori*, Rome, Stamperia Reale, 1895, p. 255.

⁵¹ R.D. n. 84 dated 24 March 1895 in *Collezione celerifera delle Leggi, Decreti, istruzioni e Circolari dell'anno 1895 ed anteriori*, Rome, Stamperia Reale, 1895, p. 569.

on one side the figure of the King, and on the other side an oak crown with the wording «to the meritorious of working-class education»⁵². The royal decree dated 22 January 1899 established the assignment of more life-time cheques. A number of factors such as the increase in the number of women among primary school teachers and, in general, the process of professionalization of the teaching class started to affect the honours awarding process. So it was that, together with the years in service, the Minister asked peripheral bodies to also take into account the possession of cultural qualifications, so as to reserve a particular mention to the publication of a book or articles in pedagogic reviews⁵³. In accordance with the Regulations, retirement benefits were assigned to those who possessed the following prerequisites:

a) at least 30 years of uninterrupted service in public primary schools b) irreprehensible behaviour, no criminal records; c) honours formerly awarded to teaching value and worthy civic and political behaviour

The following additional qualifications were also considered:

1. educational, scientific or literary publications; 2. having worked as a voluntary teacher in charity institutes for at least 5 years in a row; 3. having directed school periodicals, with educational and pedagogical relevance; 4. having performed deeds of courage and abnegation; 5. having served in works of public assistance; 6 having participated in national resurgence (*risorgimento*) military campaigns⁵⁴.

And:

To fully understand the expectations of the late 19th-century ruling class, it is also a good idea to take into consideration the criteria suggested by the Commission appointed to examine the merit awards.

Gioda [...] outlines several types of ideal worthy teachers, especially in view of retirement benefits. A good candidate is one who associates many years of service to an exemplary life, unchanged dedication to school, consistent teaching attitude and higher than normal level of erudition, proved by publication and special licenses, etc. Such qualities are best appreciated in rural teachers who, having served for a long time in a rural setting, have acquired such authority in the village as to be able to settle disputes and be listened to. It would be convenient to find a teacher from the South, as well, provided that this does not interfere with impartiality. It would also be appropriate to find a relatively young teacher with a good level of awareness of the difficulty of the times, but nonetheless it would also be a good idea to not only award the older type of teacher but also the younger type, provided that he/she is full of energy⁵⁵.

⁵² R.D. n. 358 dated 2 June 1895 in *Collezione celerifera delle Leggi, Decreti, istruzioni e Circolari dell'anno 1895 ed anteriori*, Rome, Stamperia Reale, 1895, p. 856.

⁵³ Circular 11 December 1895 Retirement and merit checks for primary school teachers, in *Collezione celerifera delle Leggi, Decreti, istruzioni e Circolari dell'anno 1895 ed anteriori*, Rome, Stamperia Reale, 1896, pp. 322-323.

⁵⁴ R.D. n. 6 June 1895 Regulations for the assignment of retirement cheques.

⁵⁵ Report from the Commission appointed to award retirement cheques to male teachers and merit cheques to female teachers. Session dated 11 December 1895 in ACS, MPI, F. Direzione

The new ministerial disposition, introduced in the early-20th century, provided for the assignment of honours based not only on total dedication to education but also on the ability to mediate with the local community. This was the case of Giovanbattista De Luca, teacher in Casacalenda (Molise), «respectful of laws and institutions». The township board proposed to assign a medal to Mr. De Luca who, after having served with «loyalty and love for the Country» for 3 years, and specifically from 1868 to 1871, had taught uninterruptedly for 28 years. In 1879 and 1894, De Luca had already obtained recognition of merit, and in 1896, the ministry granted him the higher license for merit. From then on, he also started to teach 4th and 5th grade classes, began working, free of charge, as head teacher and even chose to teach on Thursday, which was traditionally the day of rest. From the very beginning of his professional career, De Luca opened and ran an evening school completely free of charge. Although his economic conditions were not very good – the town board used to define him «poor and with a big family to look after» – he supplied books and copybooks to needy pupils. According to the town board, «he has been like a father for all his pupils, by watching over their moral behaviour, in and out of the classroom». Another quality which impressed the town board was that De Luca was animated by such «noble feelings» to «constantly try to help the poor» through welfare and charity measures both with the help of public charities and by involving charity institutions, to whom he used to send a «portrait» of his pupils with the aim of soliciting direct intervention. Economy was another of the several practices introduced into the school by De Luca; moreover, he had proved to be a constant element of mediation within the local community, as is testified to by the active role he had played in the local «Principe Amedeo» workingmen's association ever since 1879⁵⁶.

In many cases, the motivations supporting honours awards mirrored the way in which the model of the ideal teacher was perceived within a framework of changes in the pedagogic setting between the two centuries. The ministerial authorities were demanding respect of the criteria related to the teacher's results, in terms of number of successful pupils. In particular, awards went to those teachers, like the Sardinian Terenzio Crespellani who, within the three years under examination (1892 to 1896) had managed to reach achievements of a significant statistic value. Mr. Crespellani, who had already been mentioned as worthy of recognition, in this particular time frame had showed «excellent skills and great teaching attitude, unmistakable diligence and behaviour, and many good results»⁵⁷; he had ensured a higher than average number of

Generale Istruzione Primaria e Popolare [General Direction Primary and Working-Class Education] [from now DGIPP] 1897-1910, b. 22 Assegni di benemerenzza, f. 1897.

⁵⁶ The decision of 17 November 1900 pronounced by the town board is in ACS. MPI, F. DGIPP 1897-1910, b. 94 Assegni di benemerenzza AL-CB, f. 1901, sf. *Campobasso*.

⁵⁷ The teacher was 46 years old and was licensed for teaching in higher primary schools. Provincial school board of the province of Cagliari. Proposal of honourable mentions for deserving

successful pupils. This particular criterion, namely the number of successful pupils, entailed the exclusion of many teachers who were nonetheless in possession of indisputable skills and qualities. This was the case of the Sicilian teacher, Salvatore Catania who, in spite of his excellent curriculum and the support of the provincial school board and the inspectors, did not receive any accolade⁵⁸. The teacher attributed the low success rate of his pupils to the complex situation of the township of Catania, but his explanations were not taken into consideration:

At the beginning of the school year 1894-95 I had been assigned to the 2nd grade of Sezione Monserrato; but with another letter of 1st March 1895, the royal commissioner ordered my transfer to the 3rd grade of Sezione Edificio Modello, one of the most important in town, where I found a big classroom packed with pupils [...] The following year, because the radical ruling class was opposed to teachers who supported the monarchy, I was transferred to a suburban town; but after a while, because the provincial school board accepted the appeal I had filed, [...] I was sent back to the 3rd grade of Sezione Edificio Modello, which at that time had 90 pupils. I did not get discouraged and started working again with diligence and faith, and it was only at the end of May that the town board decided to divide the classroom with a partition wall made of wooden boards less than 1 and a half metres high. The cure was worse than the disease, and everybody kept wondering how I could teach in such conditions without my health suffering; but school was over. Is it my fault if the results weren't good enough or rather, is the fact that I directed a class with discipline and good results a great merit, albeit not as good as it would have been in happier conditions?⁵⁹

The following year, the teacher, Catania, was to face the same situation, a solution to which was only found in June, namely at the eve of the final exams.

teachers of primary and working-class schools. Decision of 22 May 1897, in ACS, MPI, F. DGIP 1897-1910, b. 52 bis Assegni di benemerenzza C, f. 1899, sf. *Cagliari*.

⁵⁸ Salvatore Catania came from technical schools and ever since the early 1880s had offered his service free of charge as substitute teacher in evening schools. Only after having obtained his license as lower and higher primary school teacher in 1883 did Salvatore Catania start teaching evening schools in 1883; during the school year 1884/85 he became sub-teacher in day schools until 1886, when he became the regular teacher of the lower-grade classes. In 1883-84 he taught 3rd and 4th grades in the Gioeni board school and also taught drawing. Career and titles of the teacher Salvatore Catania, s.d. in ACS, MPI, DGIPP 1897-1910, b. 102 bis Assegni di benemerenzza C, f. 1902, s.f. *Catania*. During 1884-85 he was authorised to teach on Thursdays to a class made up of 4th and 5th grade students. In the same year, in addition to teaching day and evening schools, he set up a Sunday school in Ognina, one of the city suburbs which were still excluded from education benefits. Three years later, in 1887, he established the school called «I figli del lavoro», an evening school dedicated to commercial trainees. The *Garibaldi* was a type of school not yet present in Catania; in the following year, Salvatore Catania took over its director and was awarded the title of worthy teacher of society. His speech to the school pupils was much appreciated and later on published [S. Catania, *Per la premiazione nelle scuole serali Garibaldi*, Catania, Tip. Di Francesco Martinez, 1891]. Later on, he obtained other honourable mentions from the inspectors and, especially, from the General Director of the town schools of Catania, Andrea Gelmini; such recognitions contributed to his being appointed, in 1894, to the role of tenured teacher. In the meantime, he started, in 1884-85, attending the pedagogy classes of professor Paolo Vecchia at the University of Catania, and, in 1893-94, those of prof. G. Catalano. *Ibid*.

⁵⁹ Letter of Salvatore Catania dated 28 September 1897, *ibid*.

Such precarious conditions earned him the sympathy of the royal inspector, «who could not help but praise my diligence, hard work and dedication in the accomplishment of my duties, as well as my sacrifice and perseverance in overcoming the difficulties that presented themselves during my service»⁶⁰.

The same fate was encountered by another brilliant teacher of Catania, namely Michele Sorrentino Albertini who, having started in 1873 as a teacher of 4th and 5th *gimnasiale* (junior high school) in the township of Mineo – certified by the inspector of that time, Luigi Capuana – was also teaching in primary school⁶¹ and was known for his teaching skills and his remarkable pedagogical and literary culture. Testifying to the teacher's engagement was not only his collaboration with the major school reviews of the time⁶², but also his pedagogic production⁶³, acknowledged by his epistolary correspondence with some of the leading educators of the period, such as Santi Giuffrida, Pietro Siciliani and Francesco De Dominicis who, in spite of some differences in thinking and methodological approach, appreciated the production of the Sicilian teacher⁶⁴.

Sorrentino's reaction to the Minister's decision to reject the accolade proposal was rather bitter. Just like his colleague Catania, he reported the inefficiency of the town board which did not seem able to ensure teaching continuity due to the introduction of a system of internal mobility, which resulted in his being transferred seven times to seven different sections in twelve years. At the same time, he reported the negligence of the ministerial officials in not including the resits of October in the total number of exams:

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Later, in 23 November 1874, he was appointed teacher of 2 *gimnasiale* in Palmi (Reggio Calabria); three years later, on 2 February 1877, he obtained a diploma in Pharmacy/Chemistry at the University of Catania. After his nomination as teacher *gimnasiale* in 1882 by the superintendent, he taught 4th and 5th *gimnasiale* from 1885 to 1991 at the Cutelli boarding school. In the meantime, though, in 1882, he was appointed head teacher of the primary schools of S. Cataldo, province of Caltanissetta, by decision of the school board dated 15 December 1882; on 27 October 1883 he received an order of merit for this particular role. In 1884, Sorrentino Albertini organized conferences in practical pedagogy addressed to the teachers of San Cataldo for the diffusion of the «new educational guidelines». Such initiative earned him a higher primary school licence, obtained by concession of the Public Education High Commission on 2 December 1884. He followed the pedagogical conferences of Caltanissetta, drafting the relevant minutes, and was the key-note speaker of one of the three topics presented at the Mussomeli conferences. He obtained an accolade for setting up the postal savings box in the schools of S. Cataldo on 12 August 1885. He was appointed as substitute teacher in the town schools of Catania in April 1886 and obtained a tenure as lower-school teacher on 6 October 1886 after having taken part in a competition promoted by the city of Catania. In that same year he was also a member of the commission for the examination of text books established by the superintendent of Catania. The documentation related to the honours awarding proposal is kept in ACS, MPI, DGIPP 1897-1910, b. 102 bis, Assegni di benemerenzza C, f. 1902, s.f. *Catania*.

⁶² Between 1884 and 1895 he contributed to several journals such as «Il Nuovo Educatore», «L'Avvenire Educativo», «Il Risveglio Educativo», «L'Avvenire di Roma».

⁶³ *La questione sociale e l'avvenire della scuola. Appunti*, Caltanissetta, Tip. Punturo, 1883; *Perchè si deve educare il bambino*, Caltanissetta, Tip. Punturo, 1884.

⁶⁴ *Per M. Sorrentino Albertini. Titoli, Documenti e Giudizi*, Catania, S. Di Mattei e C., 1896.

Until now I had not been aware that merits were only acknowledged on the basis of the degrees marked by the thermometer of percentage; if I had known, and if I had been more eager to receive honourable mentions, then maybe I would have been a different teacher. But I have always kept away, Your Excellency, from the herd of all those whose results are due more to the intellectual nature of their pupils than to their own work as teachers. Therefore, when my pupils sit for exams, I try to be a judge, a good father as well, but still a judge. So, rather than quantity, I try to pursue quality, [...] because I consider any indulgence to be harmful⁶⁵.

The accolade proposals made by the peripheral school boards and submitted to the assessment of the ministerial officials for final assignment, mirror the changes introduced into teaching practices by the end of the century. Unlike what had happened right after unification, all activities, initiatives and disciplinary practices became distinctively influenced by a new pedagogical culture and a positivist approach connected to intuitive teaching and the lessons of things. A few examples may clarify this evolution. Whereas the teacher Anna Aceti⁶⁶ became known above all for ongoing activities aimed at the collection of savings, the teacher Generoso Cialone, at 58 years of age was nominated principally for the bronze medal for his geography teaching method whereby, ever since 1875, he had started to draw a «series of finest cartographic sketches for his school», thanks to which he had been awarded a prize at a didactic show event staged in Caserta⁶⁷.

Other activities were deemed worthy of recognition by the local and central authorities. Giuseppina Ceraso, for example, was mentioned for having introduced educational work into the schools of Marigliano, for having set up a library and having launched educational walks⁶⁸; she was awarded honours for having introduced manual work into schools. Another significant contribution came from Andrea Pirodda, 27 years old and the future director of UMN, who was a teacher in the town of Fluminimaggiore, province of Cagliari; he had

⁶⁵ Letter by Michele Sorrentino Albertini to the Ministry of Public Education dated 1 October 1897 in ACS, MPI, DGIPP 1897-1910, b. 102 bis, Assegni di benemerenzza C, f. 1902, s.f. *Catania*.

⁶⁶ Anna Aceti was a 3rd-grade primary school teacher of Caserta, despite the fact that she had a license as lower school teacher obtained on 15 June 1871 and 32 years of uninterrupted service. She had started her profession on 2 October 1880 and after 6 years had obtained a life tenure. See the records of the Provincial School Board of Terra di Lavoro dated 10 March 1902 in ACS, MPI, DGIPP 1897-1910, b. 102 bis- Assegni di benemerenzza C, f. 1902, sf. *Cas[erta]*.

⁶⁷ On 15 March 1873 he obtained the license as lower-grade teacher and later on, on 3 October 1878, he obtained the license as higher-grade teacher. Nonetheless, his career as a teacher had started much earlier. Already in 1871 he had started his teaching activity in the town of Castellini, where he remained until 15 August 1883. From 15 October 1883 to the very moment he was nominated for an honour award, he was in service in the town of Isola del Liri where he obtained life tenure. *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ She was born on 26 September 1857 in Marigliano. Decision of the Provincial School Board of Terra di Lavoro [Caserta] of 10 March 1902 in ACS, MPI, DGIPP 1897-1910, b. 102 bis, Assegni di benemerenzza C, f. 1902, sf. *Terra di Lavoro*.

been nominated for recognition for being one of those «who had successfully introduced manual work and drawing into schools» and for having «published pedagogical studies which earned him a temporary teaching license»⁶⁹. Mr. Giuseppe Motzo, a 47-year-old teacher from Cagliari, stood out for spending time «at his own expenses» in one of the places most coveted by teachers of the early-20th century – Ripatransone – where he took part in a course of lower and higher manual work. Thanks to this specialization he published a report on his teaching work with the 5th grade class of the Santa Teresa school⁷⁰; Mr. Mino Sizolli was nominated for recognition in 1896 not only for having introduced manual work, but also because he taught evening and weekend classes, taught agriculture and had established «at his own expenses» a school museum. His commitment towards the renovation of teaching practices had already earned him an honourable mention in 1888 at the teaching event in L’Aquila⁷¹. The teacher Concetta Brandi from Caserta had distinguished herself for having introduced into school a «collection for making teaching as experimental as possible»; such practice went hand in hand with the organization of «savings collection» and educational walks⁷². The teacher Carolina Santilli, instead, had made herself known for her special attention for other teaching practices, strictly related to the modernization of methods; she had provided her 2nd and 3rd grade female classes with a school museum, and, after 32 years of service, she was nominated for a bronze medal⁷³. Other original initiatives, in line with the provisions of the Minister Baccelli, were carried out by the 48-year-old teacher Francesco Paolo Norvegna, who taught 5th-grade classes in Ortona a mare. Mr. Norvegna, with 28 years of service and a license as school director, was mentioned for being the author of «noble initiatives» aimed at «implementing

⁶⁹ He had started teaching in 1890 and in 1893 he was nominated by the township of Cagliari. Decision of the Provincial School Board of Cagliari. Honours award nomination for the deserving teachers of working-class primary schools. Decision of 22 May 1897, in ACS, MPI, DGIPP 1897-1910, b. 52 bis Assegni di benemerenzza C, f. 1899, sf. *Cagliari*.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* G. Motzo, *Il lavoro manuale educativo nella quinta classe elementare di S. Teresa in Cagliari. Anno scolastico 1893-94. Relazione*, Cagliari, Tipografia del commercio di F. Muscas, 1894.

⁷¹ Cf. decision of the Provincial School Board of Chieti in ACS, MPI, DGIPP 1897-1910, b. 102 bis- Assegni di benemerenzza C, f. 1902, sf. *Chieti*.

⁷² Concetta Brandi, born on 22 August 1859, was 43 when she was nominated by the Provincial School Board. She had obtained a license as lower-grade teacher on 14 September 1878, and had started teaching two weeks before, on 1 September, in the town of San Marco Evangelista where she also managed the rural female school. It is worth mentioning that the teacher had waited 13 years before obtaining life tenure, which was only conferred on 21 September 1891. See the records of the Provincial School Board of Terra di Lavoro of 10 March 1902 in ACS, MPI, DGIPP 1897-1910, b. 102 bis-Assegni di benemerenzza C, f. 1902, sf. *Cas[erta]*.

⁷³ These teachers had also obtained their license after having started to teach. The teacher Carolina was born on 6 November 1843 and had obtained a license as lower-grade teacher on 14 December 1875; nonetheless, she started teaching in February 1870 in the primary schools of Brusciiano. In 1902, at 58, while she was teaching 2nd and 3rd grade students at a primary female school, she was nominated for an honour award. *Ibid.*

the reforms with zeal and impartiality». Along with the foundation of school patronage where «he spent all his energies», he had also set up a garden for teaching agriculture, in which he had invested a «remarkable amount of money»⁷⁴.

In other circumstances, the nominations for accolades were supported by cultural merits. A particular case was that of Filippo De Titta, a teacher of Sant'Eusanio del Sangro who, during the period between 1893-94 and 1896-97, had become noteworthy not only for the «savings collection» but also for his publications. Particularly relevant were the publications *I ricordi di un Maestro* and *Mater Purissima*, admirable for their «educational purpose». Soon the teacher would edit the biographical memories of Gabriele D'Annunzio's adolescence years; he was also considered a «fine educator» and for this reason, at 44 years of age and after 21 years of service, he was nominated for an «honourable mention»⁷⁵.

The celebrative events during which honours were awarded saw massive participation. The local community was reported to have had a high level of attendance in the places where these were held⁷⁶. The speeches pronounced during the awarding of such honours are emblematic as to the way schools and teachers were represented. For example, the speeches pronounced during the last years of the century reflect a different atmosphere to that of the previous decade, when the liberal ruling class was worried about revolutionary trends among workers and the teachers themselves. The teacher's work continued to be represented as a «modest, though noble practice» or an «apostolate», and the achievement of an honour was not intended to make them arrogant but, rather, keep them even more «modest and diligent»⁷⁷. So, while the «moral question

⁷⁴ Superintendent D. Valeri in the records of the Provincial School Board of Chieti. Honours nominations for the worthy of working-class primary schools. Decision of 4 October 1901, in ACS, MPI, DGIPP 1897-1910, b. 102 bis, Assegni di benemerenza C, f. 1902, sf. *Chieti*.

⁷⁵ See profile traced by the superintendent D. Valeri in the records of the Provincial School Board of Chieti. Honours nominations for the worthy of working-class primary schools. Decision dated 13 August 1897, in ACS, MPI, DGIPP 1897-1910, b. 102 bis Assegni di benemerenza C, f. 1902, sf. *Chieti*. For a more comprehensive biography see *D'Annunzio e Filippo De Titta: carteggio (1880-1922) e altri documenti dannunziani*, edited by Enrico Di Carlo, Lanciano, Rocco Carabba, 2007. F. De Titta, *Giovanniello. Studio di un Maestro elementare*, Chieti, Stab. Tip. Cammillo Marchionne, 1892; Id., *Dai ricordi di un maestro*, Lanciano, Rocco Carabba, 1898.

⁷⁶ The celebrations for the honours award to the teacher Mrs. Bianco were held at the male school, in the presence of all the pupils but also of the school authorities – the royal school inspector, the town school inspector Marchioness Fanny Lomellini, – the administrative authorities – the mayor Lomellini, the provincial counsellor Baron Ernesto de Ghislanzoni, the deputy mayor Mignacco – some representatives of the local nobility, such as Marchioness Bellisomi and Count Del Pozzo, and the Ministry representative Giacomo Veniali. *Onoranze ad una maestra benemerita*, «L'Unione dei maestri elementari d'Italia», vol. XXV, n. 8, 30 november 1893.

⁷⁷ *Per la distribuzione delle ricompense ai benemeriti dell'istruzione elementare. Discorso letto il 5 febbraio 1893 nell'aula del Consiglio Municipale dal Prof. Ettore Chiodi delegato scolastico* [For the distribution of rewards to meritorious primary school teachers. Speech read on 5 February 1893 in the Municipal Council Room by Professor Ettore Chiodi school delegate],

was still waiting to be sorted out»⁷⁸, the teacher's work retained the «highly civic mission» of instilling into young people «principles of mutual tolerance and respect, aimed at that social pacification which alone can regenerate the working classes»⁷⁹. For this reason, the awarding of honours was associated with the duty of «instructing and educating [...], but above all educating»⁸⁰.

Correggio, Premiata Tipografia Palazzi, 1893, p. 3. The teachers Pietro Solaroli, Germano Fanti and Vitale Cattini obtained, respectively, a bronze medal and two honourable mentions. But the expression «modest and long apostolate» was also attributed to *Ad Antonio Clocchiatti da Magredis maestro elementare nel comune di Gemona nella lieta circostanza che il patrio governo gli conferisce la medaglia come benemerito dell'istruzione primaria* [To Antonio Clocchiatti da Magredis elementary teacher in the town of Gemona in the happy circumstance of the awarding by the government of a medal as meritorious primary school teacher], Gemona, Tip. Tessitori, 1876.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

Medals and diplomas of merit for teachers: the *Premio Bottero* award in Turin (1891-1918)

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ABSTRACT: In the wake of Unification, the education ministers of the Kingdom of Italy launched the conferral of medals and diplomas of merit, as both an incentive and a token of gratitude to teachers called, in the face of numerous challenges, to form a national consciousness and identity. Turin City Council decided to join its efforts to those of the Ministry by setting up its own awards. One such prize was the Premio Bottero, called after the famous Turin journalist of the same name and founder of the newspaper «La Gazzetta del Popolo». Awarded every two years between 1891 and 1918, at each edition, the two winning teachers received the sum of 500 lire each. Only lay teachers at state schools were eligible to receive the award, which by regulation was conferred on similar numbers of men and women candidates. Candidates were required to have at least fifteen years' teaching service, display competence and skill in their teaching work, exercise their profession with dedication and enthusiasm, and hold experience of teaching adults as well as primary schoolchildren.

ETT/TEE KEYWORDS: Award; Primary school teacher; Italy; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

A key line of inquiry within recent historical-educational research in Italy and elsewhere investigates the “material” dimension of schooling, attempting to reconstruct authentic everyday life in the classroom in terms of spaces, learning contents, teaching practices, the actors in the educational process, and the school community as a relational place¹. Historians of education have particularly

¹ Key studies in this area include, within Italian and Spanish scholarship, those of A. Escolano, *La cultura material de la escuela*, Berlanga De Duero, CEINCE, 2007; A. Badanelli, J. Meda (edd.), *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en España: balance y perspectivas*, Macerata,

focused on teachers, seeking to retrace their personal and professional stories by studying a rich and diverse range of new sources, including personal files and service records, competitive examination papers and class registers, autobiographical diaries/memoirs and obituaries, literary texts and newspaper reports². The current study falls within this perspective, examining an area that has received relatively little attention to date: the conferring of prizes on teachers.

1. *The legislative background*

In the wake of Unification, the education ministers of the Kingdom of Italy, who were committed to systematically bringing literacy education to the working classes, proposed a series of measures as an incentive and token of gratitude to teachers then being called, in the face of numerous challenges, to form a national consciousness and identity among the population. As is well known, teachers faced insecure employment conditions and poor remuneration, which often fell below the minimum threshold established by the Casati Law of 1859: indeed, it was common practice for town councils to unofficially induce teachers to accept low pay in exchange for the assurance that their contract of employment would be renewed³. Numerous initiatives were taken by private individuals or associations to set up prizes with the dual aim of fostering, and making known to the general public, the deserving work of teachers who displayed «singular diligence and care in the discharge of their duties». It was primarily the responsibility of the State, however, to concretely and publicly

eum, 2013; Simonetta Polenghi, *School subjects didactics in the history of education. Sources and methodology. Italian studies*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», n. 1, 2014, pp. 635-648; J. Meda, *Mezzi di educazione di massa. Saggi di storia della cultura materiale della scuola tra XIX e XX secolo*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2016.

² A. Ascenzi, *Drammi privati e pubbliche virtù. La maestra italiana dell'Ottocento tra narrazione letteraria e cronaca giornalistica*, Macerata, eum, 2012; 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)*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2017; M.C. Morandini, *Telling a story, telling one's own story: teachers' diaries and autobiographical memories as sources for a collective history*, in C. Yanes-Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in Historical Research into Education: Heuristic Perspectives and Methodological Issues*, Cham, Springer, 2017, pp. 115-127; M.C. Morandini, *La maestra in Italia tra Otto e Novecento: il caso torinese di Elvira Bono*, «Rivista di Storia dell'Educazione», n. 1, 2018, pp. 173-190.

³ C. Covato, *Un'identità divisa. Diventare maestra in Italia fra Ottocento e Novecento*, Rome, Archivio Guido Izzì, 1996; I. Porciani, *Sparsa di tanti triboli: la carriera della maestra*, in Ead. (ed.), *Le donne a scuola. L'educazione femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Florence, Il sedicesimo, 1987, pp. 170-190; S. Ulivieri (ed.), *Essere donne insegnanti: storia, professionalità e cultura di genere*, Turin, Rosenberg & Sellier, 1996.

recognize the «untiring labours» and «anxious care» devoted by teachers to educating the people; this would serve as «a powerful stimulus» and, at the same time, as an expression of equity and justice.

This explains the decision of Minister Berti, in 1866, to annually award medals (silver and bronze) and book prizes to those elementary school teachers in each province of the kingdom who had particularly distinguished themselves in the daily exercise of their profession, including outside of the classroom setting⁴. Indeed, the ministerial circular of 10 July announcing the scheme referred to both regular classroom teaching activities and service in night schools and Sunday schools: the proposed evaluation criteria included class sizes and pupils' attendance records but also the results obtained as reflected in students' academic performance⁵. Lists of candidates were presented to the ministry by committees specially set up for this purpose, often with the input of local education boards or the local teachers themselves. The publication of the list of the winners, in the Kingdom of Italy's official gazette and the official documents of the Ministry of Public Education, bore a twofold purpose: on the one hand to ensure well-deserved visibility to and express the nation's appreciation of these citizens who were contributing so generously to social and civil progress; on the other, to promote a spirit of emulation among teachers, making them more willing to face their daily challenges with courage and a sense of duty, and aware that their merit and efforts could be formally recognized.

In 1891, Minister Paolo Boselli revised the rules, effectively tightening them by introducing new constraints: for example, candidates were now required to have a minimum number of years' teaching experience at the primary school level, while awards and honours were to be distributed across the country as a function of density of population. Teachers who had been in service for at least eight and four years were eligible for the silver and bronze medal, respectively: three years' service were sufficient to obtain honourable mention. Provinces with over five hundred thousand inhabitants were entitled to the annual award of one silver and four bronze medals: the remaining provinces had to settle for two bronze medals a year and a silver medal every two years⁶.

These new conditions were dictated by objective considerations: on the one hand, the steady increase in the number of teachers, as primary education

⁴ *Circolare del Ministero dell'Istruzione pubblica. Istituzione di una medaglia d'onore per gli insegnanti elementari meritevoli* (10 luglio 1866), in *Raccolta delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari*, Florence, Dalmazzo, a. XLV, 1866, parte seconda, p. 1343. The medals were engraved with the name of the teacher who had won the honour, while the prize books featured an epigraph by the Ministry of Education.

⁵ Further criteria included «efforts on the part of the teachers to impart notions of agriculture» and number of years' teaching in schools in the same municipality. The committee was free to introduce additional evaluation criteria.

⁶ For further background, see Article 11 of the *Regolamento per la distribuzione dei sussidi all'istruzione primaria e popolare* (29 January 1891), «Gazzetta ufficiale del Regno d'Italia» [henceforth GU], n. 54, 26 March 1891, p. 871.

became more widely available over time and the nation grew in size following the annexation of Venetia in 1866 and that of Rome in 1870; on the other hand, awareness of the evident disparity in the number of teachers between geographical areas with different densities of population. The expansion of the Kingdom of Italy likely also drove the decision to restrict the remit of the local authorities: mayors could only provide information to the provincial education boards who, having consulted the school inspectors, submitted their shortlist of deserving candidates to the Ministry. The increasing complexity associated with managing a growing volume of information presumably explains the exclusion of the teachers themselves from the consultations.

In 1902, it was decided to award a gold medal to all teachers who had completed «forty years of continuous service in boys' and girls' primary schools»⁷. This recognition for a life dedicated to the education of several generations of Italians was not only formal in nature: in addition, teachers who were still in service after forty years, were eligible to receive, at the minister's discretion, extra remuneration drawn from the funds allocated under Item 92 of the ministry's budget. The medal could be worn in public as long as a strict protocol was observed: specifically, it was to be placed «on the left breast, hanging from a silk ribbon with the national colours and 36 mm in width» (Art. 2)⁸.

These last two measures – particularly that of 1891 which also contained provisions for the recognition of retired teachers, municipalities, associations and individuals who were deserving of reward and encouragement – would weigh heavily on the coffers of the State: for one thing, the number of teachers who had completed forty years' service soon reached the threshold of four hundred, a figure that also attests to the high proportion of older teachers in service at that time. The need to reduce expenditure, which in the 1903-04 school year led the Parliament to cut back on the funding for the purchase of medals, prompted a broader debate on the most effective strategies for genuinely improving teachers' economic status. Indeed, an interim measure that could only benefit a tiny proportion of all elementary school teachers was less urgent than intervention to permanently ensure all teachers a decent standard of living and social visibility. This explains the approval, only a few months later, of the Orlando Law, which in addition to extending compulsory schooling to the age of twelve years, provided for an increase in minimum salaries for teachers, to 850 lire for girls' schools and 1000 lire for boys' schools and mixed schools: the additional costs deriving from application of the new measure were to be

⁷ Regio decreto del 27 febbraio 1902 - n. 80, in GU, 27 marzo 1902, n. 72, p. 1329. The scope to award a gold medal «in cases of singular altruism shown to have enhanced the education of the people» was also provided for in the earlier-cited Article 11.

⁸ These provisions were confirmed via the Royal Decree of 21 September 1919 – n. 1795, in GU, n. 243, 13 October 1919, p. 3010.

reimbursed to the municipalities by the State⁹. The expenditure to be borne by the central state was contained by effecting major cuts to other areas of spending by the Ministry of Education.

Nevertheless, the minister did not think it appropriate to abolish forms of moral recognition, and so provision was made for the annual conferral of first, second and third-class diplomas of merit that still entitled to the recipients to decoration, at their own expense, with gold, silver and bronze medals, respectively. These honours continued to be distributed based on the population density of the individual provinces, while «stricter conditions» were applied to the selection of successful candidates in an attempt to offer «greater guarantees» of fairness: from raising the minimum length of teaching service required to be eligible (25, 15 and 10 years, respectively) to specifying the characteristics to be evaluated («zeal», «irreproachable conduct» and «positive fruits obtained»)¹⁰. Nominations were now managed in a far more top-down fashion: the royal superintendent of schools replaced the provincial education boards, directly collecting the inspectors' reports and drawing up a shortlist of candidates for submission to the ministry. This was the endpoint of a process that had gradually stripped local bodies of their decision-making power in favour of the bureaucratic and administrative wing of the public education system.

The beginning of the fascist dictatorship coincided with the introduction of new requirements for eligible candidates and the *a priori* definition of the total number of diplomas to be conferred annually by the State: twenty first-class, 40 second-class and 100 third-class diplomas¹¹. The lack of a provision for distributing the honours across the different provinces of the kingdom, which up to that point had been equitably represented, and the addition of appropriate civic and political conduct as an evaluation criterion alongside a proven record of good teaching, on the one hand failed to guarantee the capillary reach of the award system, and on the other risked legitimizing the ideologically-based assessment of candidates. Also emblematic of this period was the appearance of fascist symbols on the front of the medals («the fasces in pale») and the addition of a «4 mm-wide black band» on the outer edge of the tricoloured ribbon on which the medal was hung. Neither was the timing of the award-giving ceremony a random detail: 21 April, the date traditionally associated with the founding of the city of Rome¹². In the late 1930s, the control exercised

⁹ Teachers at night schools or Sunday schools were entitled, on presentation of a certificate of commendation issued by the school inspector, to annual remuneration of 100-150 lire and 75-100, respectively (Art. 12). Cfr. *Legge concernente provvedimenti per la scuola e per i maestri* (8 July 1904) – n. 407, in GU, n. 182, 4 August 1904, pp. 3933-37.

¹⁰ *Regio Decreto con il quale si accordano diplomi di benemerenzza alle persone che si prestarono a vantaggio dell'istruzione primaria e della educazione infantile* (28 October 1904) – n. 633, in GU, n. 293, 17 December 1904, pp. 5982-5983.

¹¹ *Regolamento generale dei servizi dell'istruzione elementare* (26 April 1928), in GU, n. 107, 19 July 1928, pp. 39-40.

¹² *Regio Decreto sulle Norme per il conferimento di diplomi a persone ed Enti che si siano resi*

by the regime over the conferring of diplomas of merit became even more binding and explicit. The committee with responsibility for final assessment of the candidates was chaired by the Minister for National Education (the title given to the education ministry from 1929 onwards) and included not only representatives of the school authorities, but also members of fascist organizations then operating at various levels and in various modes around the country: from a fascist party representative, to the national trustees of the different branches of the Associazione della Scuola (a professional organization for university and school teachers), to a representative of the national union of private teachers¹³. This same committee also judged the candidates for the «Stella al merito della scuola», a decoration awarded to those who had distinguished themselves by championing and supporting a leading educational institution serving the young generations of fascists and therefore, in the propagandandistic terms of the regime, destined to offer the country a secure and glorious future¹⁴. Introduced by Minister Bottai in June 1939, this award was the Mussolini government's last measure of note in the area of awards for teachers before Italy joined World War II, a move whose catastrophic outcomes precipitated the collapse of the regime on 25 July 1943.

2. *The Bottero award*

On 29 December 1889, in the context of community celebrations in honour of Giovanni Battista Bottero's forty years of journalistic activity¹⁵, the ground

benemeriti della diffusione ed elevazione della cultura e della educazione nazionale (20 January 1936) – n. 209, in GU, n. 43, 21 February 1936, pp. 487-488.

¹³ *Legge sul conferimento dei diplomi di benemerita e istituzione della Stella al merito della scuola* (29 June 1939) – n. 975, in GU, n. 164, 15 July 1939, pp. 3227-28. Committee members held office for two years and could be reappointed. Further detail on the functioning of this small work group may be found in the implementing regulation that came into force with Royal Decree n. 133. of 15 February 1940.

¹⁴ The five-pointed star was positioned at the centre of an enamelled blue shield bearing the faces «in pale» on one side and on the other, the words «in recognition of the merit of the school». Every year, up to 50 gold stars, 100 silver stars and 200 bronze stars could be conferred. The “gold” stars were actually made of a less precious metal with a golden-coloured coating.

¹⁵ Giovanni Battista Bottero (Nice, 1822-Turin 1897): after graduating in medicine, in 1848 he gave up a university career to found the «Gazzetta del popolo», a Turin newspaper with a strongly secular identity that supported the campaign for the introduction of compulsory education. Sympathetic to Cavour, Bottero was also a friend and admirer of Francesco Crispi. See the entry on Bottero in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, Enciclopedia Treccani, vol. XIII (1971), pp. 432-441. For a detailed account of the public ceremony, cf. *Un giubileo giornalistico*, «Gazzetta piemontese», n. 361 (30-31 dicembre 1889), p. 1 and *Discorsi pronunciati nell'antica aula del senato italiano il giorno 29 dicembre 1889 nell'occasione delle onoranze popolari al dottor G.B. Bottero*, Turin, Tipografia Massaro e C., 1890.

was laid for the setting up, in Turin, of a cash prize for in-service teachers at the city's primary schools. On that date, a committee chaired by lawyer Lorenzo Eula, decided to use an annuity of six hundred lire donated by the founder of the «Gazzetta del popolo» to award two allowances every two years, of 500 lire each, to lay teachers in the employ of the city, who had been recognized by the municipal authorities as deserving of commendation for their efforts to deliver education to the working classes, and who were financially struggling¹⁶.

On 9 April 1890, the City Council accepted the donation, making the city of Turin the new beneficiary of the annuity¹⁷. In July of the following year, the rules for the distribution of the allowances and the procedure for identifying the nominees were drawn up. It was determined that separate shortlists would be required for male and female candidates, in recognition of the fact that it would be impossible to fairly compare men and women given their different life conditions: it was further decided to alternate the award of the allowances between: two female teachers, and one male and one female teacher, given the stronger representation of women among primary teachers.

Candidates' professional merit and financial situation were subject to a threefold evaluation procedure: first, the teachers at each of the schools took part in a secret ballot held during a general assembly; second, the school principals were invited to vote on the definitive shortlists of candidates and submit them to the city council; finally, the council – based on a report signed off by the school inspector and the head of the city education office – announced the winners. For both ballots, the quorum required was an absolute majority of those eligible to vote: only teachers who had received at least 10% of their colleagues' preferences and 50% of those of the school principals, could be shortlisted¹⁸. The decision to involve the general body of teachers reflected the will to ensure the exercise of direct representation, in keeping with the liberal spirit that characterised the management of public life: finally, it was deemed that candidates' true economic circumstances would be best known to the colleagues with whom they worked side by side on a daily basis.

In the period 1893-94, after an alternative proposal to use the Bottero annuity to augment the pension fund had been shelved, the prize project was officially launched. Already in the course of the first edition, problems arose that later revisions of the rules only solved in part. The procedure followed to select the

¹⁶ *Lettera di Lorenzo Eula* (27 February 1890), in *Verbale della seduta della giunta municipale* (29 March 1890), «Atti della giunta municipale di Torino» [henceforth GMT], vol. 86, n. 34, §. 38, 1889-90.

¹⁷ *Atti municipali di Torino, Verbale della seduta del Consiglio comunale* (9 April 1890), vol. 42, 1889-90.

¹⁸ In drawing up the rules for the awarding of the prize, the council largely adopted the proposals of the Councillor for Public Education, Emilio Gioberti. Cfr. *Atti della giunta municipale di Torino, Verbale della seduta della Giunta municipale di Torino* (1° July 1891) - n. 54, §. 24, in GMT, vol. 90, 1891.

nominees was immediately found to be complicated and cumbersome: it was difficult both to satisfy all the prescribed conditions at each stage in the process, and to distil the points of view of the different parties involved into a shortlist. Not surprisingly therefore, at the council meeting of 31 March 1897, it was decided to hand over the assessment of candidates' applications to a committee, chaired by the mayor (with the councillor for public education as his deputy) and comprising the head of the education office and three other members appointed ad hoc by the council for each new edition of the prize: this small group was given the task of drawing up one shortlist of three men and another of three women for the editions in which there was one prize-winner of each sex, and a shortlist of five female candidates for the editions in which both prize-winners were women¹⁹. The ad hoc members of the committee were usually councillors, flanked, in tribute to the memory of Bottero, by the director of the «Gazzetta del popolo». Over the years, the committee members came to include some prominent figures: from the renowned scholar Gustavo Balsamo Crivelli to the architect Giovanni Angelo Reyceud who designed key urban renewal projects in the city of Turin during the period spanning the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries²⁰. Continuity between the various committees was ensured by the participation, for almost all editions of the prize, of Antonio Ambrosini, head of the municipal primary education office from 1897 to 1925²¹.

The procedure for the presentation of candidates was also destined to change. Initially, the formal applications was submitted by the candidates themselves: subsequently, the school principals were invited to nominate a couple of candidates from among the members of their teaching staff who had completed at least fifteen years' service. It was hoped via this modification to broaden the pool of candidates, identify better quality candidates, and represent the city's primary schools more thoroughly²². Indeed, few applicants had come

¹⁹ *Norme per il conferimento del premio Bottero*, in GMT, *Verbale della seduta 31 marzo 1897*, vol. 109, n. 19, §. 471, 1897.

²⁰ Concerning the architect's twenty years' service on the city council, cf. E. Gianasso, *1888-1905: Giovanni Angelo Reyceud amministratore comunale*, Turin, Archivio della città, 2002.

²¹ Antonio Ambrosini (1850-1926): a secondary teacher from the Marche region, he moved to Turin in 1897 to take up a post as head of the municipal education office. In this capacity, he headed numerous projects including the setting up of outdoor schools. He also authored many education articles and text books. See the entry on Ambrosini in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *Dizionario biografico dell'educazione*, 2 vols., Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013, vol. I, pp. 41-42.

²² There were over thirty municipal primary schools spread around the different areas of the city. They were mainly called after famous Italian poets and writers (Alfieri, Carducci, De Amicis, Manzoni, Parini, Pellico, Tasso), education ministers (Boncompagni, Casati, Coppino), educationalists (Rayneri, Allievo, Aporti, Pestalozzi, Troya), and citizens of Turin who had made outstanding contributions to the development of an education system for all (Ricardi di Netro, Pacchiotti, D'Azeglio). Also eligible for the award were student teachers on teaching practice at the Scuola Normale Domenico Berti and teachers of first-year classes at the day school of the Professional Institute.

forward under the initial scheme, due in part to a natural sense of modesty and reserve and in part to the mistaken belief that financial insecurity was the only criterion used to assign the two allowances. Nonetheless, this amendment was doubtfully received by the members of the 1911 committee called to apply it for the first time: the opinions of the school principals, who were only familiar with the latter part of their teachers' careers, were at risk of being arbitrary in the absence of objective parameters²³; however, it was difficult to define objective measures of aspects such as commitment and teaching skill²⁴. This explains the tendency of the principals to favour, all other things being equal, the teachers with the longest number of years' teaching experience, and who were therefore unlikely to have the opportunity to participate in subsequent editions of the award.

Furthermore, the requirements for candidates to have contributed to providing education for the working classes and to be personally in need financially, were not defined in enough detail to enable the committee, as observed by the director general for schools and the school inspector in a report dated 24 June 1895, to express, «in secure conscience, a rational comparative judgment»²⁵. If, they argued, the only criteria for comparing teachers were diligence and zeal in the discharge of their duties, impeccable demeanour toward superiors, colleagues and students, and satisfactory results in terms of their pupils' academic performance, all characteristics shared by many teachers, no true selection process could be possible: yet only beginning in 1911, did memos to school principals contain a reminder to bear in mind, as a possible selection criterion, teachers' hours of service at local branches of charitable and mutual aid societies, viewed to all intents and purposes, as "supplementary" school institutions²⁶. These charitable organizations, which were funded by the City Council, members' subscriptions, legacies from benefactors and loans from financial institutions (Opere Pie San Paolo and Cassa di Risparmio), provided for the material needs of poor students, as well as offering them forms of welfare and mutual aid: at every school – whether urban or rural – they were

²³ See in this regard a letter from Maddalena Francone, dated 9 April 1911, and addressed to the education councillor. The teacher accused her principal of having excluded deserving teachers from his list of recommendations, on account of unfounded personal resentment towards them. It does not appear that this protest was followed up in any way.

²⁴ The liveliness of the debate within the committee is borne out by the fact that it took all of three sessions (8 April, 20 June, and 3 July) to agree on the shortlist of five names. A detailed account of the debate may be found in the Turin City Archive [henceforth ASCT], *Affari d'istruzione*, 1911, c. 310, f. 21.

²⁵ *Relazione ammessa al verbale della seduta del 25 giugno 1895* - n. 44, in GMT, vol. 103, 1895.

²⁶ *Ai Signori Direttori e alle Signore Direttrici delle Scuole urbane elementari. Conferimento del premio Bottero* (6 February 1911), in ASCT, *Affari d'istruzione*, 1911, c. 310, f. 21.

given a mandate to collect money via a range of initiatives and use it to provide educational assistance²⁷.

Information concerning candidates' families and financial status was sent to the committee by the municipal police: the police report generally specified the number of people in a candidate's household and how they were related to one another, the size of the candidate's home and its rental cost, ownership of other real estate properties and/or sources of income other than their teachers' salaries; they also provided details, where known, of candidates' spending on their children's education and on treating serious prolonged illness²⁸. However, the police did not always have access to certain information: for example, Albertina Milone Abbate, a class teacher at Scuola Pellico, was reported in 1900 to be the owner of real estate properties whose value and location had not been possible to ascertain; in the case of Giovannina Guglielmino, a candidate from Monviso School in the 1898-99 edition, on the other hand, the report only noted that she was believed to own property. Sometimes even glaring contradictions showed up in the police reports: the teacher Cristina Sola Nicola was described in the 1897-98 academic year as a widow with three young children and a dependent father, who «lives modestly off the fruit of her labours» but the following year as renting up-market accommodation and enjoying a very comfortable lifestyle²⁹. It was clearly difficult to rank candidates when there was no objective proof of special merit and when the personal information available was not always reliable. In light of this scenario, it is not surprising that for the first five editions of the award, the prize – divided into four equal parts – was delivered in the form of an allowance³⁰.

During the phase in which the winners of the prize were chosen from among the teachers who put themselves forward as candidates, the committee attempted to find objective confirmation for the claims made in their applications by consulting the confidential reports completed each year by the school principals as a tool for evaluating the work of the individual teachers on their staff. In these reports, numeric scores were assigned for aspects such as diligence, discipline, teaching method, and conduct. In the space reserved for notes, comments, which could be more or less detailed, were often provided to explain the scores.

²⁷ Among the most curious and original projects, was the setting up at the Scuola Gabrio Casati of a string orchestra that turned over the proceeds of its concerts to the local benefit society.

²⁸ For example, in a note about the teacher Caterina Fontana Casati, dated 6 March 1900, the sum of 60 lire is reported, corresponding to the upkeep of two of her children at boarding school: their fees were being paid by the Church and a group of charities.

²⁹ *Maestre elementari concorrenti al premio Bottero 1897-1898 and Informazioni sugli insegnanti concorrenti ai premi Bottero per il biennio 1899-1900*, in ASCT, *Affari d'istruzione*, 1900, c. 151, f. 12 e 1901, c. 164, f. 17.

³⁰ In the years 1901-02 the available sum of 1,120 lire, was actually divided into five equal parts. The recipients were: Fontana Casati Caterina; Martinotti Alesio Margherita; Quazzolo Sassi Paolina; Azzurro Oniglio Anna; Magnetti Sangiovanni Amalia. Cfr. *Verbale del 22 aprile 1903* - n. 42, in GMT, vol. 130, 1903.

For example, in the 1894-95 school year, the principal of Scuola D'Azeglio wrote of teacher Angela Bonisconti Rissone:

Arrived late on fewer occasions than last year, improving in diligence. I have never caught her red-handed; I have never received complaints from family members; yet I suspect that in the odd case she administers [the Sacrament of] Confirmation [to her students]. She is good at teaching and knows how to get the students to speak; if next year, as seems likely, two boys-only third classes are formed, one of them may be assigned to this teacher³¹.

Beginning in 1911, the need to justify their nominations for the Bottero prize, prompted the majority of school principals to draw up complete profiles of their candidates, including their academic qualifications, publications if any, details of service delivered in the various types of school (day, night, Sunday) and any further special contributions to the education of the working classes. A representative example is the report, dated 1913, of the principal of Scuola Silvio Pellico: the teacher Ferdinando Poesio was commended for having taught French for years at the Archimede Sunday school for working class students, and as a longstanding contributor to prestigious education journals (*Istitutore* and *Osservatore scolastico*), while Beatrice Piantanida was praised for her commitment to her own ongoing professional development, borne out by her attendance at drawing and singing courses run by the city council, and her generous participation in projects that involved accompanying the students on field trips (guided visits, lectures, educational walks)³². During the years of Italy's participation in the First World War (1915-1918), greater emphasis was placed on manifestations of patriotism, evident for example in the heroic and exemplary courage with which teachers coped with the loss of a son who had died in battle, their zealous commitment to their school work while volunteering with military and civilian relief providers, and their awareness of the need to instil «unshakable faith in final victory» in students' families³³.

Alongside their volunteer work in hospitals and relief centres where clothes and wool were distributed to soldiers, the wounded, and refugees, at school the teachers regularly involved their students in the relief effort by inviting them to donate cash, recruiting their help to prepare packages of clothes/bedlinen, and collecting donated items for sale on charity stalls. One teacher, Giorgina Ansaldi, at Scuola Monti, got her young female pupils to participate in the national loan scheme by buying share certificate or life insurance policies, while Petronilla Calza Marchisio of Scuola D'Azeglio got her class to join the Red Cross.

³¹ *Estratto del rapporto riservato sul conto della Signora Bonisconti Rissone Angela*, in ASCT, *Affari d'istruzione*, 1901, c. 164, f. 17.

³² *Scuola Silvio Pellico. Proposte della Direzione locale per l'assegnazione del premio Bottero (biennio 1911-1912)*, in ASCT, *Affari d'istruzione*, 1913, c. 345, f. 15.

³³ *Lettera del direttore della scuola D'Azeglio* (12 April 1919), in ASCT, *Affari d'istruzione*, 1919, c. 417, f. 13.

The archives contain numerous letters of recommendation, written by influential citizens who wished to intercede with the mayor or education councillor on behalf of teachers known to them personally or to whom they were related³⁴. For example, in 1913, the engineer Antonio Vinca wrote a letter in support of Margherita Valdata, whose kindness, dedication and competence as a teacher he had experienced as a parent, while in 1917, cavaliere Giuseppe Mussino wrote a recommendation for the wife of his cousin Attilio, who had just left for the front³⁵. These were clear instances of undue interference, which however, did not affect the committee's final decision. What then were the criteria followed by the different committees in drawing up the shortlists? In the course of the various editions, prizes were awarded to 36 teachers: 26 women and 10 men³⁶. Selection of the prize-winners was based exclusively on assessment of the merits and economic status of the individual candidates: the documentary sources contain virtually no references to the schools they worked in. It follows that there was no perceived need to rotate allocation of the allowances paid with the Bottero annuity among schools: there is more than one example of teachers at the same school receiving the prize in different editions. In the 1905-06 edition, two female class teachers at Scuola Pacchiotti even received the award simultaneously: Elvira Bono and Rosalia Massasso.

Candidates often had to apply many times before finally winning the prize: Caterina Fontana Casati, for example, only won it on her fourth attempt in 1901-1902.

The regulations stated that individual candidates could receive the award up to three times at intervals of at least four years³⁷. This explains the decision of Delfina Pollini Porta, who was awarded half an allowance in 1897, to apply again, without success, in 1905-06 and 1907-08. The fact that many winners had already made it to the shortlist phase of earlier editions suggests that the different committees followed broadly similar evaluation criteria. Thus, the successful candidates shared a set of key characteristics: the desire to continuously acquire new knowledge, as borne out by the qualifications and licenses they had successfully obtained; an aptitude for teaching; a record of carrying out educational work with working-class adults, for which they

³⁴ A curious case was that of Serafino Morra, class teacher of a group of fifth-graders at the Scuola d'Azeglio, who requested that his nomination be set aside, although he had been put forward by his immediate superior. In a letter to the head of the education office dated 7 February 1917, the teacher explained that having recently been bereaved of his mother, no form of recognition could offer him joy and satisfaction at that particular point in his existence.

³⁵ The two letters, dated 26 February 1913 and 12 February 1917, respectively are held in ASCT, *Affari d'Istruzione*, 1913, c. 345, f. 15 and 1917, c. 398, f. 15.

³⁶ Cristina Nicola Sola was the only teacher to win the Bottero prize twice: in the edition of 1893-1894 and again in that of 1899-1900. In both cases, however, she was required to divide the allowance with another teacher.

³⁷ See Article V of the regulations approved by the City Council on 31 March 1897. The text is identical to the following version of the Regulation, dated 26 January 1911.

had often already received awards and honours; the authoring of educational writings and text books. While Alcea Guggi Sacchi had attained three extra diplomas (drawing, singing and manual education) and brilliantly completed a pedagogy course at the University of Turin, Clementina Alotti was particularly expert in the management of classes of “slow learners” and “repeat” students. Maria Luisa Lucca had been awarded a certificate of merit and a bronze medal, while Giuseppina Giordani Mussino had published several primary school text books and articles in children’s magazines. The earlier cited joint-winners at Scuola Pacchiotti had distinguished themselves by piloting a new method of learning to read based on normal words, which led in turn to the development of a primer that was adopted in all the city’s elementary schools³⁸.

All candidates were teachers who lived in precarious economic conditions due to poor health or because they had one or more dependents who were not necessarily family members. For example, Rosa Maddalena Flandin had taken in a pupil, who was the daughter of a poor carpenter with TB, to protect the child from potential infection: the teacher continued to support the girl even after she had found a job, not wishing to risk sending her back to her father nor to deprive the parent of the daughter’s modest monthly income. Apart from a few rare exceptions, all the candidates had long experience of teaching in the municipal primary schools. Winners close to retirement age were more frequently men: for example, in 1907-08, Giovanni Gera with 41 years’ teaching experience, and in 1915-16, Giovanni Becchis with 39. Thus, there was a clear tendency, in cases of equal merit, to take into account factors such as income and length of teaching service.

3. *The world of female primary teachers*

The rich and varied documentary material on the Premio Bottero, held in the historical archives of the city of Turin, offers a glimpse of the interesting world of primary teachers in Turin in the period spanning the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. While the reports of the school principals allow us to reconstruct the training and teaching careers of a significant number of municipal teachers, based at different schools around the city, the information gathered by the local police offers a reasonably accurate picture of their economic and family status. I have chosen here to focus my analysis on the female teachers for two different reasons: first, the strong

³⁸ The new method of teaching reading differed from traditional approaches in that, unlike the classic method, learners were first taught to recognize short simple words, rather than letters and syllables. For further background on these two teachers, see Morandini, *La maestra in Italia tra Otto e Novecento: il caso torinese di Elvira Bono*, cit.

representation of women (over two thirds of the total) among the teachers of the municipally-run elementary schools in Turin; second, the fact that the city council assigned the Bottero prize to male and female teachers following the already cited ratio of one to three. In total, some one hundred female candidates were considered for the Bottero prize: a limited enough number if we consider the number of editions: thirteen, at regular intervals, between 1893 and 1918. While the number of candidates increased when school principals were required to nominate them, it was also the case that the principals tended to cyclically submit the same names: this was likely due to the fact that it was technically possible to win the prize up to three times.

The identity of some of the candidates is unknown: for the editions for which there is no surviving documentation in the archives, the records of the city council may be consulted, but these often only report the names of the shortlisted candidates; this means that the total number of candidates indicated is approximate. In the case of other candidates, little information has survived about their years of service, posts held, and salary at the time of application; these gaps are due to the extremely sketchy reports filed by the school principals in question. With respect to the remaining candidates – the greater part – enough information is available to derive a broad general description of them. For the most part, the female candidates held primary school teaching diplomas (a school-leaving qualification), and had completed additional specialist courses in disciplines that were an integral part of their teaching programmes: from calligraphy to drawing; from singing to gymnastics, from telegraphy to manual education. They were thus often invited by their superiors to help draw up curricula, engage in experimentation in the classroom, take part in international exhibitions³⁹ and sometimes even to take up teaching assignments in the secondary schools where they had completed their own primary teacher training⁴⁰. Some had even spent time abroad with a view to furthering their professional development: For example, Ernestina Garnerone went to France to attend two teacher training courses in manual education. Some ten candidates had also qualified for posts as school principals: a similar number had obtained one or more accolades from the Ministry of Education for their contribution to educating the working classes (honourable mention, bronze medal, certificates and diplomas of merit). The fact that the reports frequently describe the candidates' knowledge as «well-assimilated», «out of the ordinary», «solid and wide-ranging», «wide» and «deep» suggests that the number of nominees with extra academic qualifications over and above the basic primary teaching

³⁹ The documentary sources show that some of the candidates also travelled to take part in the education sections of one or more of the international exhibitions held in Italy and Europe during the first decade of the twentieth century: Paris in 1900, Milan in 1906 and Brussels in 1910.

⁴⁰ Such was the case of Enrichetta Masserano, a past pupil of the Regia Scuola Normale in Ripatransone, who was called back there to teach manual education. The teacher training school, located in Marche, annually received funding from the Ministry of Education.

diploma was even higher than that attested by the surviving documentary sources. Eleven of the female candidates had excelled by publishing text books (readers, religion books), prize books, histories of local educational institutions (nursery schools) and their benefactors (*Cenni biografici sul conte Roberto D'Azeglio*), teaching manuals for individual disciplines (women's handicrafts, drawing) and articles on teaching methods for local and national journals⁴¹.

The female candidates were mostly single women, whether unmarried, widows or abandoned by their husbands, who were forced to support their children, mostly minors, elderly parents and sometimes even orphaned nephews or nieces, or brothers or sisters who had no steady income or were overburdened with debt: when alongside such everyday struggles, exceptional events, such as prolonged serious illness, struck, then these teachers truly led a life of poverty and deprivation⁴². Emblematic is the case of Gisla Balbo Saraceno who for health reasons, was also obliged to move house: she could not sustain the cost (eight lire a month) of regular travel to receive treatment on top of her already huge medical expenses⁴³. Candidates who taught in the fifth and sixth grades of elementary school introduced by the earlier-cited Minister Orlando in 1904), boys' and girls'⁴⁴ day schools, night schools and Sunday schools, often also carried out voluntary work: for example, some of them gave free Italian and French classes at the local Circolo della Lega Italiana d'insegnamento⁴⁵ or home economics and gymnastics classes to young workers; others contributed to projects run by their local mutual aid and benefit societies (the setting up of school museums and libraries, summer camps)⁴⁶.

Of particular interest are the insights into the contemporary approach to exercising the teaching profession, understood as encompassing both a didactic and a relational dimension. Many adjectives, often synonymous with one another, were used to define the female teachers' habitual attitude to their

⁴¹ The candidates had also published numerous literary works: Giuseppina Giordani Mussino, for example, was the author of novellas, short stories, biographies and novels.

⁴² Luigia Chiriotti, who lived with her sister and sick mother, supplemented her salary by renting out rooms of her house. Due to her situation of economic hardship, she had twice obtained an extraordinary welfare benefit from the municipal authority.

⁴³ *Domanda di Balbo Saraceno Gisla* (18 February 1900), in ASCT, *Affari d'istruzione*, 1901, c. 164, f. 17.

⁴⁴ Some principals felt that the female teachers of boys' classes were more meritorious, given that boys were more difficult to manage from the point of view of discipline. We note in particular the work of Giovanna Busca who taught at Borgo Dora, a school attended by children from working-class families, who habitually carried out simple menial work in the market square.

⁴⁵ Concerning the Turin branch of the Lega italiana d'Insegnamento [Italian Teachers' League], see the booklet produced by the Foa printing press in 1896, which contains the statute and rules of the society.

⁴⁶ We may cite, by way of example, the holiday camps organized by the Scuole Pellico and D'Azeglio, respectively: the former, located in Salice, a spa town near Voghera, allowed poor children to benefit from the therapeutic minerals in the spa waters; the latter, located in the town of Giaveno, was set up to host the children of fathers who had been called up to fight in WWI.

work: assiduous, diligent, conscientious, patient, tireless, characterized by enthusiasm and by sincere and maternal affection for the schoolchildren. The candidates also deployed innovative methods that helped to make their lessons more varied and pleasant; they used modern teaching aids and techniques such as, for example, light projections⁴⁷: an open outlook that could also be observed in the longest serving. If Teresa Galetti could see into the heart of each of her students, studying their make-up and tailoring her teaching to suit their individual mindsets, Maria Calza Marchisio, who was highly artistic, made her classroom look cheerful and pleasant by hanging paintings with scenes of childhood on the walls and displaying colourful pencil or paint drawings to illustrate target concepts of various kinds. Loving and demanding at the same time, these teachers successfully maintained order and discipline in their classrooms, without having recourse to coercive measures, and led their pupils, in a natural and almost unconscious manner, to develop good study habits and conscientiously complete their duties. Indirectly through their words and example, the teachers also educated the pupils' parents: their courteous and friendly manner, and modesty and prudence in expressing their views, underpinned the families' esteem, gratitude and trust towards them. They were also frequently praised by the school principals for their respectful attitude towards their superiors. Negative comments on candidates occasionally featured when the teachers put themselves forward for the prize: Giuseppina Carena Ceresole came across as «haughty and often biting» with her female colleagues, «sour» with the parents and «little inclined to respect the authority of the principal»; Ernestina Garnerone is disinclined to «strive for discipline and rids herself of the pupils she does not by irregular means»⁴⁸.

It must undoubtedly be recognized that this group was selected ad hoc and as such, may only be viewed as partially representative of municipal primary teachers as a whole. It is equally true, however, that the current reasonably sized sample of teachers provides a rich set of data that can serve to sketch an image of the teacher that is different from the standard stereotypical view. The teachers' sense of initiative, borne out by the variety of classroom and extra-curricular activities that they implemented in both war and peace time, and their propensity to try out new methods, which, in some cases, they even pioneered, suggest a lively and dynamic educational setting in which new educational models could be developed and new teaching practices tested.

⁴⁷ On the use of this teaching aid, see L. Lombardi, *Le proiezioni luminose nella scuola italiana nel Primo Novecento*, in P. Bianchini (ed.), *Le origini delle materie. Discipline, programmi e manuali scolastici in Italia*, Turin, SEI, 2011, pp. 166-190.

⁴⁸ *Rapporto riservato sul personale addetto alla scuola* (school years 1898-1899 e 1899-1900), in ASCT, *Affari d'istruzione*, 1900, c. 151, f. 12 e 1901, c. 164, f. 17.

A stone on the wall. Collective and public memory of an eclectic primary school teacher

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ABSTRACT: Within the recent research field represented by the perspective of school memories in its various declinations, the present contribution intends to focus on the theme of public buildings named after figures in the educational and scholarly field as a space and instrument of public and collective memory, in order to identify, on the one hand, what reasons and representations guided the ruling class in choosing them, on the other what identity of teaching profession is transmitted through such commemorative plaques. Particularly, it will be considered a case study consisting of the naming of a municipal library in Bologna after Cesare Malservisi (1935-2005), a figure of primary school teacher between the 60's and the 80's, well-known in the city for his multifaceted activities. Indeed, Malservisi was also a librarian, a scholar of folk traditions and folk culture and a singer-songwriter.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Stone memories; Public memory; Collective memory; Primary school teachers; Italy; XXth Century.

Introduction

On 12th April 2014 the Lame Library¹ of Bologna, in a heart-felt ceremony in the presence of authorities – including the Mayor of the city Virginio Merola, the President of the Navile District Daniele Ara and the President of the Bologna Libraries Institution Daniele Donati – family, friends, former students and the

¹ One of the eleven municipal libraries belonging to the Bologna Libraries Institution and located in the current Navile District in the north of the city. The library until then had retained the name of the former Lame District, which, along with those of Bolognina and Corticella, has been included since 1985 in the more extensive Navile District.

public, was named after Cesare Malservisi, a primary school teacher between the 60's and the 80's, but also, a librarian, a dialect singer-songwriter and an intellectual figure, who died in 2005 and was widely appreciated and recognized in the territory and in the collective memory of Bologna².

As a part of the recent field of studies, both internationally and nationally, represented by the perspective of the school memories³ – in its various forms, from individual to collective, also including the places, the moments and the policies through which this memory is built and handed down – and in particular by the practice of the naming of schools and public buildings after figures of the educational and scholastic field, as space and instrument of public memory⁴, this case study, examining the naming of a Bologna municipal library after the primary school teacher Cesare Malservisi, is interesting, from

² The naming ceremony was the first of a series of commemorative events that took place during that same year. Specifically, an exhibition, set up at the library, entitled *This beautiful job* curated by the wife of Malservisi, Francesca Ciampi, and Patrizia Cuzzani; three events respectively focused on the different “souls” of the plural identity of Malservisi: the teacher (through interventions and dialogue between former students, former colleagues and others who had known him and had worked with him), the scholar and teacher of folk dances (with dances performed by groups of dancers and friends from all over the territory in which he had worked) and finally the singer-songwriter (with a musical evening of re-propositioning of his repertoire of songs).

³ See P. Cunningham, *Making Use of the Past. Memory, History and Education*, «History of Education Society Bulletin», vol. 66, 2000, pp. 68-70; A. Escolano Benito, J. M. Hernandez Diaz (edd.), *La memoria y el deseo: cultura de la escuela y educacion deseada*, Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch, 2002; A. Viñao Frago, *La memoria escolar: restos y huellas, recuerdos y olvidos*, «Annali di Storia dell'Educazione e delle Istituzioni Scolastiche», vol. 12, 2005, pp. 19-33; L. Tanggaard, K. Nielsen, *School memories situating school*, «Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research», vol. 57, n. 1, 2013, pp. 71-88; 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)*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2016; A. Ascenzi, E. Patrizi, *Inside School Lives: Historiographical Perspectives and Case Studies. Teachers' Memories Preserved at the Centre for Documentation and Research on the History of Schoolbooks and Children's Literature*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 3, n. 1, 2016, pp. 343-362; J. Meda, R. Sani, *Il Simposio internazionale su «La Memoria Escolar. Nuevas tendencias en la investigación histórico-educativa: perspectivas heurísticas y cuestiones metodológicas» (Siviglia 22-23 settembre 2015)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XI, n. 1, 2016, pp. 603-609; C. Yanes Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao Frago (edd.), *School memories. New trends in the history of education*, Cham, Springer, 2017.

⁴ See J.M. Hernandez Diaz, *La escuelas de la ciudad tienen nombre*, in A.P.L. Moreno Martinez, A. Sebastián Vicente (edd.), *Patrimonio y etnografía de la escuela ed España y Portugal durante el siglo XX*, Murcia, SEPHE/CEME Universidad de Murcia, 2012, pp. 145-172; H.M. Perez Moreno, *La cultura escolenímica en España. Propostas para el estudio etnohistórico de los nombres de las escuelas*, «Cabás», vol. 7, 2012, pp. 1-16; M. D'Ascenzo, *Creating places of public memory through the naming of school buildings. A case study of urban school spaces in Bologna in the 19th and 20th centuries*, «El Futuro del Pasado», vol. 7, 2016, pp. 441-458; Ead., *Collective and public memory on the walls. School naming as a resource in history of education*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XII, n. 1, 2017, pp. 633-657; J. González Ruiz, *Memoria y gratitud: el reconocimiento de la docencia a través de escrituras expuestas*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XII, n. 1, 2017, pp. 271-295.

a historiographical point of view, not only because of the specificity of the institution, but also because of a peculiarity that seems to characterize the city itself.

This was not the first occasion in which a library of the city was dedicated to a primary school teacher, indeed two other municipal libraries had been named in that way before⁵.

In 1993, on the occasion of the inauguration of the new Civic Center of the Reno District, the library was named after Orlando Pezzoli (1922-1993), a teacher and partisan, who had also been from 1964 to 1979 – following the political and administrative decentralization started in Bologna at the beginning of the 60's – first added by the Mayor for the Santa Viola District, also contributing to its cultural life as an author, as well as of memories about his experience of war, of several local history studies⁶. In 1998⁷ the library of the Saragozza District, located in Villa Spada, was dedicated to Oriano Tassinari Clò (1936-1995)⁸, who was alike a multifaceted figure of teacher and, at the same time, a journalist for the *Avvenire. Bologna Sette* and a scholar of local history⁹.

This continuity adopted by the local administration of Bologna in the choice to remember – through the naming of public buildings such as municipal libraries and subsequent affixing of specific plaques on the walls – names of figures that were not solely teachers, but with other roles and activities participated and contributed to the life and the history of the city, certainly deserves to be explored and deepened. However, in this contribution, I intend to focus on the particular case of the teacher Cesare Malservisi, whose reconstruction of the

⁵ Istituzione Biblioteche, Promozione e comunicazione delle attività culturali (ed.), *L'Istituzione Biblioteche del Comune di Bologna. I luoghi della lettura e della conoscenza*, Bologna, Istituzione Biblioteche, 2014, pp. 12-13, 15.

⁶ See O. Pezzoli, M.A. Soglia (edd.), *Santa Viola, 1943-1973*, Bologna, Zanini, 1973; O. Pezzoli, *Fuori porta prima del ponte. Santa Viola*, [s.l.], Comitato ricerca storica e sociale su Santa Viola, 1976; Id., *È storia. Casa del popolo Nerio Nannetti, Santa Viola, Bologna*, Bologna, Centro Stampa P.C.I., 1981.

⁷ *La biblioteca di Villa Spada intitolata a Oriano Tassinari Clò*, Last updated: December 29, 2009, <<https://www.bibliotecasalaborsa.it/cronologia/bologna/1998/2056>> (last access: 09.09.2018).

⁸ See *Per Oriano Tassinari Clò. Lo zigo zago. Umori alla rinfusa*, Bologna, SEAB, 2005; C. Cappelletti, *Rimpianto per la morte di Oriano Tassinari Clò*, in Id., *La mia Grizzana*, Bologna, Tinarelli, 2009, pp. 93-96.

⁹ See O. Tassinari Clò, *Santuario di Montovolo. Riola (Bologna)*, Bologna, Tipografia Labanti e Nanni, 1975; Id., *Bassa bolognese. Il riso...e le lacrime*, [s.l.], [s.n.], 1984; Id., *Bologna, una volta. immagini e memorie tra nostalgia e... rabbia*, [s.l.], [s.n.], 1987; P. Rubbi, O. Tassinari Clò, R. Renzi (edd.), *Bologna la bella*, Bologna, L'inchiostro blu, 1987; Id., *Santa Maria in Strada 994-1994. Il millennio della badia della Samoggia*, Calcara, Tipografia Piccinini, 1994; Id., *Tavernola e Stanco. Un popolo, una storia fra Reno e Setta*, Bologna, Il nove, 1994; P. Rubbi, O. Tassinari Clò (edd.), *Una storia nella storia. Il Collegio dei ragionieri a Bologna, 1895-1995*, Bologna, Patron, 1995.

professional biography has been the subject of my doctoral thesis¹⁰. I wish to investigate and analyze here what collective and public memory has been built and transmitted. This study uses a plurality of sources, starting from the official ones, such as municipal resolutions, to others including the printed and online publicity of the Council of Bologna, but also photos and video¹¹ of the naming ceremony, plus documents and materials taken from his personal archive and a variety of oral sources.

1. *Who was he? Profile and context of life of Cesare Malservisi*

Cesare Malservisi was born in Bologna in 1935 of a working class and socialist family. After attending primary and secondary school in the years between the Second World War and the reconstruction, he continued his studies enrolling in 1949 at the Istituto Magistrale «Laura Bassi» of Bologna. In 1953, having successfully completed his teacher training course of studies and eager to continue to deepen his own cultural education, Malservisi matriculated at the University of Florence for the Diploma of qualification for supervision in the primary schools, which he achieved in 1960. During the years of university education Malservisi came into contact with various exponents of what is now historically recognized as the «scuola di Firenze»¹², also involving long cultural and human relationships especially with Lamberto Borghi, Renato Coèn and Raffaele Laporta, as demonstrated for example by correspondences belonging to its substantial archive kept by the family.

In that same period – between the second half of the 50's and the beginning of the 60's – Malservisi begun also to move the first steps of his teaching apprenticeship through positions as substitute teacher in the state primary schools and educator in the educational and cultural institutions (youth and recreational centers, marine camps and libraries) of the City of Bologna, obtaining annual appointments confirmed year by year until 1964, when he became a tenured primary school teacher¹³. In particular, the most enduring task, during that period of apprenticeship, was the one carried out at the new

¹⁰ C. Venturelli, *Maestri di scuola e non solo: profilo di Cesare Malservisi (1935-2005)*, Doctoral Thesis, Department of Education Studies «Giovanni Maria Bertin» (Supervisor: M. D'Ascenzo), Bologna, University of Bologna, Academic Year 2018.

¹¹ Photos e video are available on the website of Bologna Library Institution, <<http://www.bibliotechebologna.it/articoli/71164/offset/60/id/70881>> (last access: 09.09.2018).

¹² See F. Cambi, *La "scuola di Firenze" da Codignola a Laporta (1950-1975)*, Naples, Liguori, 1982; F. Cambi, P. Federighi, A. Mariani (edd.), *La pedagogia critica e laica a Firenze: 1950-2015. Modelli. Metamorfosi. Figure*, Florence, Florence University Press, 2016.

¹³ Staff Archive of the Council of Bologna, Public Education Divisione, Matricular file n. 13922, Cesare Malservisi.

institution of municipal libraries¹⁴, started by the Council at the beginning of the 60's as part of the process of political and administrative decentralization and in response both to the city's progressive urban and demographic growth, and to the increase and differentiation of the demand for culture resulting from mass education and imposition of new social forces. However, it seems opportune and relevant – as well as understanding the reasons underlying the entitlement and the specific collective memory object of this contribution – to remember how the institution of municipal libraries did not represent an absolute novelty in the administrative, cultural and educational history of Bologna. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, various initiatives had taken place in favor of the diffusion and improvement of the culture of all the citizens¹⁵. The decentralized library circuit started in 1960 – also on the wave of some initiatives promoted in the 50's at a national level as the Reading Centers in 1951 and the National Reading Service in 1953 – was indeed part of a long-standing tradition characterizing the council administration in its attention to promote education and the widest possible dissemination of culture in the whole society¹⁶. Specifically, at the first library opened in 1960 at the Civic Center «Francesco Zanardi» in the San Donato District, followed the decentralized sections of public reading in the Marconi District, in Borgo Panigale and in the Pescarola area of the Lama District, where Malservisi resided with the family made up with his wife and life teaching colleague, Francesca Ciampi. The young teacher, after a first service in the Marconi District, was commissioned at the latter library, actively contributing to launch it and thus becoming its founding librarian in the collective memory.

Malservisi – who maintained his role at the Lama library until 1964, living with passion and commitment the related work of organization and management – therefore played a leading role in the initial phase of development of the new municipal library network. This was a crucial period during which the

¹⁴ See V. Montanari, *La pubblica lettura a Bologna: dalla libreria Zambeccari alle biblioteche di quartiere*, «Il carrobbio», vol. 7, 1981, pp. 305-323; A. Cionci, V. Montanari, *Per una storia delle biblioteche a Bologna*, «Il carrobbio», vol. 12, 1986, pp. 109-122.

¹⁵ See L. De Franceschi, *Biblioteche e politica culturale a Bologna nella prima metà del Novecento: l'attività di Albano Sorbelli*, Milan, Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, 1994; M. D'Ascenzo, *Istruzione popolare e biblioteche circolanti a Bologna nel secondo Ottocento. Il caso della Lega bolognese per l'istruzione del popolo*, in Istituto Gramsci Emilia-Romagna, *Editoria e lettura a Bologna tra Ottocento e Novecento. Studi e catalogo del Fondo di storia dell'editoria dell'Istituto Gramsci Emilia-Romagna*, Bologna, Istituto Gramsci Emilia-Romagna, 1999, pp. 91-115.

¹⁶ In this regard, deserve to be mentioned the experience of «Biblioteca popolare circolante» launched in 1872 by the «Lega Bolognese per l'istruzione del popolo» and the creation between 1917 and 1918, under the socialist administration of the Mayor Francesco Zanardi, of a first prototype of decentralized network of libraries. See M. D'Ascenzo, *Tra centro e periferia: la scuola elementare a Bologna dalla Daneo-Credaro all'avocazione statale, 1911-1933*, Bologna, Clueb, 2006, pp. 195-203; Ead., *Col libro in mano. Maestri, editoria e vita scolastica tra Otto e Novecento*, Turin, SEI, 2013, pp. 149-175.

foundations were laid for the definition of the service not only as an instrument of decentralization, but as a real place for cultural promotion and participation, as well as for permanent education and collective government of the territory.

Indeed, the birth of the municipal libraries as well as the experience itself of Malservisi – also in the transition to tenured teacher in the state primary schools – took place and were deeply intertwined in the extraordinary season of political, cultural and pedagogical planning, already expanding from the second half of the 50's overcoming the urgency of reconstruction and starting the period of strong economic development, that had begun to distinguish the city government. With particular regard to the administration and to the educational and school policies, since the 60's the new impetus and the revival of pedagogical and didactic innovation, which had characterized Bologna until the advent of fascism¹⁷, experienced a further and significant period of intense and incisive activities through the work of the Department of Education directed from 1960 to 1975 by Ettore Tarozzi¹⁸. Indeed, he qualified it, from the first moments of his long term, for the innovativeness and the quality of the interventions on several levels, among which it seems important to remember. On one hand the start in 1962 of one of the more famous, still in myth, initiatives of the tradition of Bologna, the «Febbrai Pedagogici» whose result and also merit was that of making the city a great assembly in which the involvement and participation of the citizenry in the comparison and management of school life and educational services were promoted; on the other hand, the nomination in 1966 of Bruno Ciari¹⁹ in the direction of the educational institutions of the council with the aim of qualifying the experience of Bologna even more in the direction of avant-garde and exemplariness.

Malservisi – tenured teacher from 1964 to 1969 at the primary school «Adelfo Grosso» in the Bolognina District, where he had lived with his family of origin until his marriage, and then from 1969 to 1974 in the school «Antonio Silvani» in the Lama District, the same area as the library – not only actively participated in the manifestation of «Febbrai Pedagogici», but also came into

¹⁷ See M. D'Ascenzo, *La scuola elementare nell'età liberale. Il caso Bologna: 1859-1911*, Bologna, Clueb, 1997; Ead., *Tra centro e periferia: la scuola elementare a Bologna dalla Daneo-Credaro all'avocazione statale, 1911-1933*, cit.; Ead., *Alberto Calderara. Microstoria di una professione docente tra Otto e Novecento*, Bologna, Clueb, 2011.

¹⁸ See M. D'Ascenzo, *Virginia Predieri, maestra di scuola dell'infanzia nella Bologna del secondo dopoguerra*, in M. D'Ascenzo, G. Ventura (edd.), *Dalla parte delle maestre. La stagione pedagogica di Virginia Predieri (1931-2009)*, Lecce-Rovato, Pensa MultiMedia, 2016, pp. 17-63.

¹⁹ See G. Bonomi, O. Righi (edd.), *Una stagione pedagogica con Bruno Ciari*, Bologna il Mulino, 1982; E. Catarsi, A. Spini (edd.), *L'esperienza educativa e politica di Bruno Ciari*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1982; L. Bellatalla, *Ciari Bruno*, in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, 2 vols., Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013, Vol. 1, pp. 346-347; D'Ascenzo, *Virginia Predieri, maestra di scuola dell'infanzia nella Bologna del secondo dopoguerra*, cit., pp. 39-55.

contact, sharing and welcoming the reflection and work in his didactic practice, with the charismatic figure of Bruno Ciari.

In particular, Malservisi, during the fourth edition of «Febbrai Pedagogici» in 1965, collaborated with other teachers and experts in the organization and realization in the Lame District of a course for parents, consisting of fifteen lessons concerning different problems and themes of psychic-pedagogical and hygienic-health nature. This included that of the readings made by children and adolescents for which – also in the light of his recent experience as a librarian – he showed a special interest and involvement, as emerges from the documents related to the initiative and kept in his personal and professional archive²⁰. These are precious sources from which emerges the reflective practice of this teacher and his search for an education integrated into the society and shared between school and family. Indeed, faced with the observation of the problem – still present – about the attitude of young generations with reading Malservisi posed it not in terms of «if»

fortunately today young people study for a few more years and, well or badly, at school something ends up reading²¹,

but «how» children and adolescents approached books and the activity of reading, and the way in which school and family had to act to make the reading a moment of growth and personal training

to make sure that this increase in quantity of readings is transformed into an increase in intellectual capacity, a critical spirit, a good taste²².

On the basis of his activity and the observations he had been able to make in the Pescarola library, Malservisi found in young people, independently of the text, a hasty and approximate reading modality, and therefore exhorted everyone, teachers and parents, to reflect on the deeper meaning and value of reading, an experience that he affirmed

it means getting in touch with the thought of men, scholars; have new forces available, new ideas; take possession of new skills; open horizons to our mind. It is not a coincidence that the first workers' revolts have always demanded, alongside economic improvements, even greater education. [...] The road to a more free and fair life also passes through education²³.

Malservisi demonstrated – consistently with the training received during the years of the university in Florence and with the lesson of Dewey and Borghi – an

²⁰ Archive «Malservisi-Ciampi» (AMC) kept by the family, File *Scuola per genitori. Pescarola 1965*, copy of the speech made during the lesson *Le letture dei fanciulli e degli adolescenti*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

acceptance and adoption of the ideals of integral, plural and open democracy and global formation of personality. He was aware of the role played by the environment and social relationships in the learning processes, and had in fact sought since the beginning of his career to realize that collaboration between school, family and community as foundation of an education aspiring to democracy and freedom. He thought that the responsibility of his educational function and his professional identity were not limited to the teaching of the different school disciplines carried out in class with his students, but concerned the complexity of the relations with the other contexts of belonging of children and his participation, as an aware citizen, in the more general political and social life. Malservisi was convinced that a teacher could not lose interest in the society in which he was living, and that at the same time it was necessary to promote and strengthen between parents and families a concept of school as a place for meeting, collaboration and development for the whole community, not just of education for the children. The family and professional life choice, carried out by Malservisi and his wife, to live and work in the same neighborhood and in the same community is not therefore of secondary importance. For the couple – convinced that their way of teaching could not ignore the daily experience of their students – living and teaching in the same context on one side was part of that continuum between civil and educational commitment that saw them both participating and protagonists of the rich and unique season of political, cultural and pedagogical ferment that was animating the city of Bologna and Italy of those years. On the other hand it meant being able to know and understand more deeply the mechanisms and problems of the children's life environment and thus being able to realize a school as instrument of understanding and intervention on reality.

Precisely in his didactic practice, constantly connected to a social, participated and shared management of the educational process, it is possible to find the influence of the meeting with Ciari – already known, together with his wife Francesca, in Certaldo (FI) – and therefore of the innovative experience and research disseminated and promoted by the «Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa» (MCE), whose experiments and methodology represented a pedagogical perspective with which he had already come into contact since the time of university training. In this, he recognized a harmony and commonality of commitment to new school and society. In other words, a school and a society where each one could begin to think, discuss, experiment and plan, where each one could broaden his own horizon and that of his social group, where each one was put in a position to be free, to give the best of himself and to be master of himself.

This effort and intent also clearly emerges from the annual work plans kept in his archive²⁴, tools to create and develop, as indicated by Ciari himself,

²⁴ AMC, File *Piani di lavoro*, from 1969/1970 to 1984/1985.

«an atmosphere of community»²⁵. This was also crucial for his reflexive professionalism, to explain his educational and didactic project and its pedagogical references: to clarify – to himself and to others – the link between the ideal of the school that was intended, and the pursuit of the strategies to achieve it. In other words, it was not a fixed and abstract design, but of didactic choices made in coherence and function of a school as a place for meeting and collaboration between teachers, families and society to grow free men with «non-dogmatic mentality»²⁶, able to realize themselves and, at the same time, participate and contribute to the development of the community. The work plans laid out by Malservisi prove to be closely connected with the context and the daily reality in which his students lived and to which they belonged. Thus it is a precious source not only to reveal his didactic practice, but also – in particular for this contribution – to draw useful elements for the reconstruction of the socio-environmental characteristics of the Lame District between the '60s and the '70s, the scenario of his life, his teaching and civil commitment deeply connected with his collective and public memory.

At that time, the District²⁷, one of the largest in the city, although still including several rural areas, was experiencing a profound urban and social restructuring with the construction of various council housing complexes. It was therefore characterized by the presence of ancient peasant buildings, for the most part – given their dilapidated conditions – inhabited by immigrants who came from different Italian regions as their first accommodation in the city of Bologna, and new areas of settlement, along the main roads connecting to the centre, the destination of migration from the bordering countryside. The population, which reflected this strong and dual mobility from the close agricultural areas and the south of Italy, was therefore predominantly of immigrant origin and mostly belonging to the working class with employment in the industry and construction sector, alongside a poor percentage of those with a job in the clerical and commercial sectors. Like many other peripheral and labouring areas in the major Italian cities of the time, the Lame District was a transition territory, whose problems of isolation and social and cultural marginality were reflected also in the school population and therefore among the students of Malservisi.

²⁵ B. Ciari, *Le nuove tecniche didattiche*, Rome, Edizioni dell'asino, 2012, p. 237.

²⁶ AMC, File *Piani di lavoro*, Annual work plan 1969/1970, p. 7.

²⁷ In this regard, it is interesting to point out that such a description of the Lame District was given by the American historian and anthropologist David Kertzer who right there conducted, between 1971 and 1972, a field research for his doctoral dissertation on the issue of coexistence between Catholics and communists, merged into the publication Id., *Comrades and Christians. Religion and political struggle in Communist Italy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980, where, furthermore, one of the songs written by Malservisi was cited, mentioning him as an expert on the traditions and identity of the area (pp. 138-141).

In the same years during which the question of the scholastic selection, also through the use of rejection and voting, appeared – especially as a result of the impact of *Lettera a una professoressa* – in the Italian pedagogical and political debate, Malservisi, outlining the composition and characteristics of his class, identified the most difficult aspect in the inclusion process. In particular, Malservisi claimed that the main criticality to be faced was the need on the one hand to offer tools for reading and adapting to the new social, cultural and even school contexts, on the other hand to avoid the risk of a blind assimilation, and the suppression of cultural heritage, spontaneity and individual originality. Also for this reason and, on the eve of the Delegated Decrees of 1974, with a pregnancy and significance even stronger than in the past, Malservisi was convinced of the ineluctability of close and renewed relations of collaboration between school, family and territory meant both as a community and as administration. From the point of view of didactic practice, instead, the renewal of the school's functions, in order to create a real social motivation for learning, stimulate a form of cooperative work and provide the experience to be accumulated to that acquired by children in extracurricular and family life, was concretized with the choice of using the Freinetian techniques repropounded and disseminated by the MCE – this included the use of the printing press, the free text and the creation of the class newspaper – combined with meditated and rigorously planned explorations of the environment. The result was that of experiences and opportunities for teaching and learning integrated in an interdisciplinary perspective, encouraging the development of a critical spirit and a spontaneous and sincere creative expression, and intimately connected with what is now recognized as education for active citizenship, heritage and environment.

In 1974 the Malservisi family moved to Monterenzio, a mountain town about thirty kilometers from the city of Bologna, where he concluded his career teaching in local schools until 1992, the year of his retirement. Despite the differences due to the new mountain context compared to the city, the professional story of Malservisi proved to be characterized on the one hand by the continuity of an elaborate didactic practice, with the necessary adaptations, in line with what he had already experienced, on the other by a reflective professionalism constantly in research, also as a consequence of the changes that involved the Italian school during the 80's.

Finally, in that period a further and significant chapter opened in the life of Malservisi, or rather the strong bond with the territory, with its traditions and its culture, which was part of his plural identity, found a more conscious and refined form through the work as a singer-songwriter. A work²⁸, in Bologna widely known and appreciated, of which perhaps one of the crucial elements

²⁸ See C. Malservisi, *Che bân udâur: 72 canzoni in dialetto bolognese con traduzioni*, Bologna, Alberto Perdisa, 2007 (F. Ciampi ed.).

was given by a participated and continued osmosis with the territory, that also became part of a pedagogical vision. This is because, as pointed out by Antonio Faeti – friend of Malservisi since the 50's – in a video interview released to the writer on 18th May 2016

the territorial conscience is the conscience of everything, it is from there that you get your existence, your roots, your value, your meaning.

2. This must be the place. Which memory and why?

In 2012, five years after the death of Malservisi, the Council of the Navile District unanimously voted for the proposal, addressed to the municipal administration, to name after him the library located in via Marco Polo 21/13 and still devoid of title²⁹. In support of the candidature it was identified the precedent that he had played for the institution, opening it in its original location at the «Pizzoli» sports centre in the Pescarola area and contributing to making it

a vital center for young people and adults of one of the least-served Districts in the city, in a situation of cultural isolation³⁰.

The particular choice of the building through which to pay homage to the figure of Malservisi and the main motivation offered, already indicated the core of the memory left between the citizenship and supported by the local administration: the strong link with the territory and the commitment in the society and, therefore, an image of a teacher integrated and in tune with the wider politics and council management of educational and cultural institutions. In recalling the profound sense of belonging to the community, achieved through concrete action, the dimension of the teacher was certainly not forgotten

a rigorous teacher, he created a lively, active, exciting school that gave space to a playful creativity³¹

nevertheless it seems interesting to note how the aspect of the teaching profession, after having schematically summarized the stages of his career in

²⁹ See District Council Acts, Navile District, 27th September 2012 Session, Minutes and O.d.G. n° 52/2012, P. G. n° 222974/2012, Proposal for naming the Lama library in via Marco Polo 21/13 after Cesare Malservisi <<http://www.comune.bologna.it/quartierenavile/atti/148:11539/>> (last access: 18.09.2018).

³⁰ O.d.G. n° 52/2012, cit.

³¹ *Ibid.*

chronological order, was instead declined with detail in its interweaving with the reality of the district

the use of typography in the class made his love for books an important formative element. With the ‘class newspaper’ the printed paper became a vehicle of ideas, a way to give value to writing, escaping from the subjection of the press. [...] He grew up generations of students/readers by welding the fracture, which often exists, between school and culture in the broad sense. In the Lama area he carried out an exemplary operation of preserving the neighborhood identity and opening it to the city’s breath³²

and with the particular political, cultural and pedagogical season experienced by Bologna during the 60’s. For example, it was noted that

in 1965 with a group of volunteers, colleagues and friends, he gave birth to a “parents’ school” which saw a rich season of meetings, debates, studies on the topic of sharing responsibilities about the education of young people³³

referring, though not exactly and explicitly, to the parent course organized in the framework of the 4th «Febbraio Pedagogico».

From the profile outlined by the administration, it emerges a model of a teacher – whose proletarian roots were underlined – who, capable of reading the needs and aspirations not only of his students, but also of the wider community, became an agent of civil, political and cultural promotion, of social redemption and democratic maturation

Cesare Malservisi was an intellectual and a worker in the highest and most popular sense of the word. There are thousands of people who, involved in the many initiatives he produced, have known and esteemed him³⁴.

The proposal to name the library after Malservisi was then further supported, although it was not a circulation area, by the Advisory Commission for the Designation of City Routes – in particular by the President and also Councilor for Culture and Youth, Alberto Ronchi – which in turn invited the City Council to support the proposal³⁵. In January 2014 the opinion of the District Council and of the Commission were approved by the Council which gave favorable authorization to proceed³⁶.

The official acts, especially those produced by the District Council to start the bureaucratic procedure necessary for the naming, certainly allow us to

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Council of Bologna, Urban planning, Home and Environment Department, Advisory Commission for the Designation of City Routes Acts, 14th October 2013 Session, Minutes n° 188.

³⁶ Acts of the Municipal Council, 21st January 2014 Session, Act n° 13/2014, P. G. n. 3525/2014, Designation of new circulation areas <http://atti9.comune.bologna.it/atti/wpub_delibere.nsf/cercaDG.xsp> (last access: 18.09.2018).

grasp, beyond the commemorative intent, traces of the use and of the political and educational wisdom of this choice: the promotion of active citizenship and integration in a period marked by the consequences of social disintegration and inequality produced by the economic crisis and by the imposing of a specific – and sadly connoted – representation of migration in public and political communication. As Jedlowski claims, taking up the studies and observations of Halbwachs³⁷,

the contents of the past that appear to be ‘preserved’ in the memory are, actually, the result of a constant work of reconstruction of the past itself, which takes place starting from the interests of the present³⁸.

However it was in particular the ceremony of naming, with its ritual structure, its choreography, its gestures and words said, the most meaningful manifestation, at different levels, of the collective and public memory of Malservisi.

In this regard, it also seems important to underline the particularity of the source that remained as evidence of the event and it is subsequently examined. Indeed it is a video, so it returns not only the official speeches, but also the «scenic layout» of all the people present and their emotional participation. Initially collected in a sort of semi-circle, similar to a hug, in front of the new plaque – unveiled after a violinist had performed the melody of a song by Malservisi – the audience, in the first row family and friends including Antonio Faeti, then gathered around the different authorities that would have carried out their functions, realizing also from the point of view of the proxemics the closeness between citizenship and administration.

Thus, around the library, place of mediation and production of memory, a «mnemonic synchronization»³⁹ was realized, the community’s evocation of a common past that each member and participant in the commemoration seemed to remember and share, despite «different interests and motivations»⁴⁰. If, citing the definition offered by Nora,

the fundamental purpose of a place of memory is to stop time, to block the work of oblivion, to fix a state of things, to immortalize death, to materialize the immaterial to [...] enclose the maximum sense in the minimum of signs⁴¹

³⁷ See M. Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1950.

³⁸ P. Jedlowski, *Memoria, esperienza e modernità*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 1989, p. 11.

³⁹ E. Zerubavel, *Mappe del tempo. Memoria collettiva e costruzione sociale del passato*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2005, p. 15.

⁴⁰ A. Confino, *Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method*, «The American Historical Review», 102, n. 5, 1997, p. 1390.

⁴¹ P. Nora, *Entre Mémoire et Histoire. La problématique des lieux*, in Id. (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire. I. La République*, Paris, Gallimard, 1984, p. XXXV.

the library and the plaque with the new denomination «Lame-Malservisi» constituted an organizational base of memories, affections, emotions, worries and hopes, a material and symbolic space where to root a collective memory and identity to ensure on the one hand, continuity between past and present, on the other «legitimacy and tradition to projects that aspire to define the future»⁴².

In this regard, it is therefore significant what the President of the Navile District, Daniele Ara, declared in his introductory speech

We conclude a very important process that is the naming of the library after Cesare Malservisi [...] for the role he had in the Lame District in difficult, but from a certain point of view very exciting, years of which we would like to recover the spirit: the idea of a community that begins to take care of itself, citizens and administration that try to build the best for the community. [...] Today we name the library after Cesare looking back, [...] but as I have said to you today is only the beginning, [...] we renew forward an argument⁴³.

Again Malservisi, in his plural identity

Cesare was many things: the first librarian of this area, a teacher in the true sense of the word and also a singer-songwriter⁴⁴,

was remembered and taken as an example of teacher who promoted active citizenship, alliances between school and territory, as well as conservation and enhancement of cultural heritage. A role also underlined – in the last speech of the ceremony – by the screenwriter for television and theatre and children's writer Janna Carioli who, recalling the opening of the library in the district in the early 60's and the contribution of Malservisi, claimed in fact

the arrival of a library for 13 or 14-year-old boys and girls was really a window to the world. [...] A teacher changes your life, not because he influences you and leads you to do things you do not want to do, but because he knows how to bring out those potentials, those desires, those aspirations that you did not even know you had⁴⁵.

In the second speech of the event, the President of Bologna Libraries Institution, Daniele Donati, reintroduced an invitation to recover the dimension of lively and committed participation demonstrated by the teacher Malservisi in the course of his career

I was coming back from a meeting where we discussed how to create a civil society, how to give life to the community, and we had used difficult words, crowd, sharing, fab-lab, then I read the story of Cesare Malservisi and I see all this, which today seems so complicated, made with love and with ease, with a passion, a dedication and a spontaneity that unfortunately

⁴² Jedlowski, *Memoria, esperienza e modernità*, cit., p. 62.

⁴³ <<http://www.bibliotechebologna.it/articoli/71164/offset/60/id/70881>> (last access: 09.09.2018).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

we have lost in many places. So the greatest teaching is this: when a man has his work, he believes it, he loves the place where he lives, he makes it better simply by being there, staying in that place and doing things in that place. The things that he can do, from the smallest to the most important⁴⁶.

The exhortation for the collaboration between school, families and society was also taken up in his speech by the Mayor of Bologna, Virginio Merola,

I am sure that Cesare, who worked hard to keep this community together and to qualify the pedagogical research also through the library and all his initiatives as a teacher, had always had a happy exhaustion. The happiness and serenity that come from being in the community and thinking of his own freedom as a responsibility towards others⁴⁷

referring however not only to the figure of Malservisi, but using the commemoration of the latter to remember – and celebrate – the most general administrative and educational history of the city and in particular the season of Tarozzi, Ciari and «Febbrai Pedagogici»

Bologna has always had important figures in its history such as Cesare, but it has been possible because we have been a community that has always held dear the themes of education, teaching and pedagogical research. In many respects we were the first in Italy, we will continue to be if, in this difficult phase for our community and for our country, we relaunch strongly the investment on the school and the enhancement of teachers' work⁴⁸.

In conclusion and in line with what historical-educational research and literature have shown during the last decade, the choice of naming a municipal library to the teacher Malservisi seems to respond to two needs, one of a pedagogical-educational nature, the other political-administrative. First, it was intended to underline the importance of teachers and to recognize their role as agents for the development of a cooperative and democratic community and the growth of active citizens. Second, the naming met the precise intention of the local administration to remember – and also transmit to future generations – the particular political and scholastic model that, starting from the 50's, had made the city of Bologna an example of innovation and originality thanks to a territorial, social and educational issues management participated and shared with the citizenry. The idea of a government of the common good and a pedagogical reflection that Malservisi not only shared, but also actively supported through his educational, political and civil commitment, representing that figure of «organic intellectual»⁴⁹, outlined by Gramsci, as a promoter of renewal and emancipation of the society to which he belongs.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ See A. Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, 4 vols., Turin, Einaudi, 1975, Vol. 3, pp. 1513-1551.

Renewing the ties of a century of history: an experiment in citizen history on the occasion of the Centenary of the Fortuzzi school

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ABSTRACT: In 2017, the primary school Fortuzzi located in Bologna, reached its first 100 years of age. It was actually inaugurated on July 22, 1917 and today hosts two sections of full-time primary school. As part of the initiatives to celebrate the centenary, a public and participatory research has been carried out. The objective was not limited to the reconstruction of the most significant events that accompanied the existence of the school and that of the people who both taught and learned inside this facility. At the same time we have always wanted to communicate to the citizenship and the subjects that constituted the actual school (pupils, students and parents) the importance of the institution in the city context and the changing character that it had taken over time. The purpose of this essay was to provide a report of the characteristics of this experimental research formula, illustrating its methods and results, reflecting both its potential and its limits.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Citizen history; Intersubjective memory; Outdoor school; Bologna; Italy; XXth Century.

In 2000 we were both teachers in a fifth class at the Fortuzzi elementary school in Bologna. Even back then the Fortuzzi operated as an all-day school which allowed us to programme long term projects. At the time the National Curriculum for *History* required pupils to study the modern and contemporary

age, especially the twentieth century. This made us decide to dig into the school's past and to make use of a learning path with our class. Recent literature on the topic was scarce: a couple of mentions in local historical works like the book about the history of the Giardini Margherita, the park in which the school was built¹. We thus consulted some of the municipal archives (Archivio Storico comunale, Biblioteca del Museo del Risorgimento, Archivio di Stato) to find historical documents and publications that could help us in tracing the broad outlines of the school's history during our lessons. By asking the children's parents, we were able to get in touch with a former teacher and three pupils from the 1960s who were all willing to be interviewed by our students. We put together a booklet available online² and our research also gave rise to a small exhibition at school organised by the pupils themselves. An article in the local newspaper³ meant that the exhibition aroused great local interest and – quite unexpectedly – several ex-students turned up at the opening, armed with their report cards, old exercise-books and even their aluminum lunch-boxes. A few also still had the handmade bags that served to carry their books outside when, fifty years ago, lessons were held outdoors in the garden. Alderman Longhena was a leading figure behind the building of the Fortuzzi, the first Bolognese *scuola all'aperto* [outdoor school] and his grandson came along to the exhibition bringing us copies of some marvellous school photos dating back to the 1920s.

This made us realise the peculiar nature of the reconstruction of the history of a lively and pulsating body like a school which evolved in an era still dominated by landlines and the printed word. Such a project can only be successful if the public are made aware of both the study and its results, but it is also dependent on the availability and the involvement of the very people who were once its protagonists.

As a result of this experience, the whole school gained an increased historiographical awareness in the years that followed. For example, 2008 saw the first issue of the school *Annale* [Yearbook], a 24-page booklet of class photos, stories of learning experiences in the current school year and some documents from the past. The *Annale* aims to strengthen the sense of a school identity and to make both parents and pupils aware that they are heirs to a long history. As the school's centenary year drew near in 2017, our previous experiences prompted us to set off on a more in-depth journey. The whole school – with each of the ten all-day classes – decided to mark the school year with a series of important initiatives. These included more let us say 'historical'

¹ L. Valente, L. Leoni, *Il passeggio regina Margherita. 1876-1976*, Bologna, Comune di Bologna, 1976.

² <https://drive.google.com/open?id=1zZR1O_nZHnhJ-i_GSSQskeEZb4jyhB0f> (last access: 28.09.2018).

³ E. Calessi, *La Fortuzzi in mostra con la sua storia*, «Il Resto del Carlino», 23 maggio 2000, p. 4.

events like the planting of the so-called Centennial oak tree, or the history-themed game organised by the parents' committee which mixed facts from the past century about the school with world history, or the unveiling of a special plaque designed and made by the students and teachers of Bologna's High School of Art. We instead revisited the documents we had collected in 2000, along with all the material that had emerged since then, and carried out a more systematic analysis with the aim of organising an exhibition for the local townspeople. So, what can be said about the school's history?

The school's history

The construction of a outdoor school within Bologna's Margherita park was first approved in 1915 by the socialist council headed by Mayor Francesco Zanardi and the aforementioned Councilor Mario Longhena. The school had two and then later three pavilions that could each host a class of delicate children in need of a healthy outdoor life in contact with nature. Reference points were the similar examples of outdoor schools that had developed at that time in some European and Italian cities which, in this case, were well in tune with the socialist administration's social programme and with a vision of public education that reached out to the sickly offspring of the poor working classes.

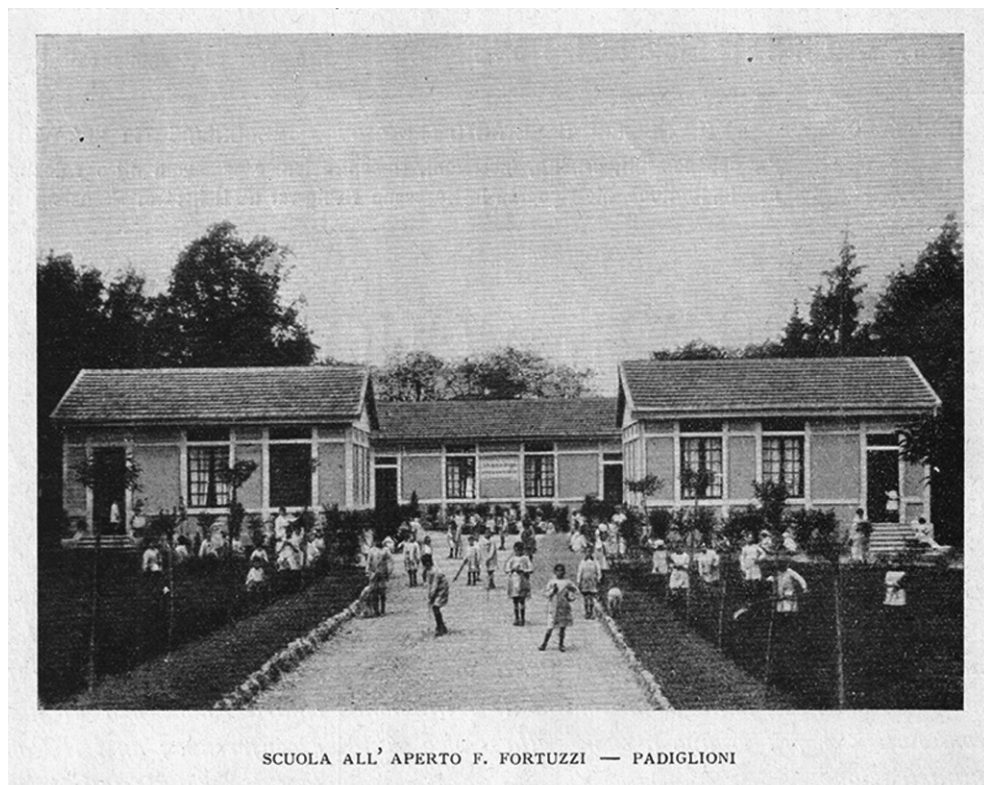
The school was inaugurated on July 22, 1917, at the height of the First World War, and significantly named after Fernando Fortuzzi, a «humble, unknown, self-educated porter»⁴ member of the socialist town council. Despite his anti-war feelings, he had fought at the front where he had contracted the disease that caused his death. He was described in the council's obituary as the «pride and hope of the Bolognese working class»⁵.

The management of the school was put in the hands of Argia Mingarelli, first the head teacher and then the sectional director of the town's special schools. This school prototype not only served as «prevention against future diseases» for frail children at risk of tuberculosis, but its intention was to also radically innovate teaching practices. It was a question of «removing the school from traditional abstractionism and framing it as an activity that operates in the real world», of replacing «the old didactic tables with a new system of teaching» that would «prepare the children to keep their feet on the ground and their eyes on the stars»⁶. The school was directed at the most vulnerable children who

⁴ *Inaugurazione della «Scuola Fortuzzi» ai Giardini Margherita*, «Il Resto del Carlino», 23 July 1917, p. 2.

⁵ «La vita cittadina», November 1916, p. 13.

⁶ B. Gardenghi, *La scuola all'aperto*, «La vita cittadina», July 1917, pp. 171-172. A. Mingarelli, *La scuola all'aperto*, «La vita cittadina» July 1919, pp. 171-182 (also published as a booklet, Bologna, Coop. tipografica Mareggiani, 1919).



Pic. 1. «La vita cittadina», febbraio 1924, photo Castelli.

often struggled in traditional schools. Mingarelli describes them thus: «indolent, apathetic or excessively restless due to organic weakness», «accused of being listless by the teachers themselves», «creatures whose faces bore the signs of anaemia and lymphatism». The Fortuzzi school was born architecturally and didactically for them.

The particular kind of teaching that moved out of the classroom required special materials for it to work: wool and cotton mats «to protect the children when they lie down on the damp grass», folding desks and chairs for lessons, books, exercise books and blackboards, but also capes and clogs for the pupils to wear on rainy days⁷. Careful hygiene and diet, fresh air and sunshine, gymnastics, singing and work in the garden ensured the student's physical well-being, but three and a half hours a day were also dedicated, as far as possible, to «real-world learning». And recreation time was considered to be of the utmost

⁷ M. D'Ascenzo, *Tra centro e periferia. La scuola elementare a Bologna dalla Daneo-Credaro all'avocazione statale (1911-1933)*, Bologna, Clueb, 2006, pp. 213-218.



Pic. 2. «Il giornalino della scuola all'aperto», January 1923.

importance, since this was when «the special school [...] is transformed into a bustling laboratory where, thanks to the free choice of activities, we witness the most interesting moments»⁸. [Pic 1]

The «Giornalino della scuola all'aperto» [Outdoor School Magazine] was a formidable means of reporting the news of the school's early days. The magazine was established as a «faithful mirror of school life» and published between 1921 and 1924. [Pic. 2]

It came out once a month and its 4-8 pages offered articles and columns about school life, school trips and educational visits, correspondence with pupils from other schools who had come into contact with the unprecedented participatory experience offered by the Fortuzzi, stories in episodes written by the teachers, news about the most important events of the month and «l'Albo d'onore» [merit list] that mentioned children who had been well-behaved or shown good personal hygiene. The children's so-called «diaries» or the short passages in which they narrate their everyday experiences are what really allow us to understand the diversity and uniqueness of the life and teaching at this school. This is because, as Argia Mingarelli tells us – following Giuseppe Lombardo Radice's example – «creative writing is the living mirror of thought and subjective action»⁹.

The focus on nature clearly emerged in the daily news and it was clear that animals were an integral and vital part of school life. Since the children spent their days in the park, the teachers encouraged them to respect the various small wild animals who had made their home there. By directly observing these

⁸ Mingarelli, *La scuola all'aperto*, cit., p. 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

birds, insects, and even mice, the children could further develop their scientific skills. They also looked after the other school animals: Cocò the monkey (a Mexican platyrrhine) donated by one of the school's many benefactors, Checca the goat and her kids, the bees, rabbits, geese, hens and peacocks, along with Bobis the dog, a present from Councilor Longhena, who – as we are told by one of the teachers – watched over this little «Noah's Ark». The animals were not kept for educational purposes alone: piglets were bought and then fattened to be sold for their meat by feeding them the acorns from the wood in the park – the money was used to finance school trips, while butchering the pigs was an excellent exercise in anatomy.

They learnt about Botany by cultivating a vegetable garden where they grew wheat, hemp, potatoes and vegetables, which is also indicative of the attention paid to the utilitarian side of these lessons in nature and the work experience to which they alluded. Teaching stepped outside traditional canons and was based more on less obvious stimuli, as can be read in the following extract describing what happened after a heavy snowfall:

After noon the teacher sent us out into the playing field to draw the Alpine chain in the snow. We got some spades to shovel away the extra snow, and, after [having finished] the general backbone from Cadibona to the Karst, we returned to class. The next morning we went out to build the highest mountains and the tunnels. We worked all morning. And, at noon we had got to the Bernina. After lunch, we started work again and we had finished by two o'clock. We put a tin-train into each tunnel to help the little ones understand better. The other classes came to see with their teachers and they congratulated us¹⁰.

Educational outings to get to know the city were the rule rather than the exception (the airfield, the foundry, the Bios cinema, the newly restored artistic complex with Niccolò dall'Arca's Pietà. The older children from the fifth and sixth classes also went on several school trips away, aimed at broadening their education and fostering a national consciousness. The first stop was Ravenna to see Dante's tomb; then Padua, Venice, Ronchi and Trieste and the battlefields of the First World War in the Karst region; finally, Milan, Turin, Aosta, Genoa, taking in the house of Alessandro Manzoni, the glaciers and the Tyrrhenian Sea. The idea of a close relationship between school and society is gaining a foothold.

However, we can perceive some signs of the changes on the horizon even in the very first news stories. Tension was gradually mounting in an Italian society marked by the unequivocal manifestation of the progressive political hegemony of fascism, which was penetrating into everyday school life, deeply enrooting its symbols and rituals. In Spring 1923 the *Rimembranza* [Remembrance] path prepared in the schoolyard still had features that were subtly patriotic, while

¹⁰ B. Randaboschi, *Prima nevicata. Costruzione della catena alpina*, «Il giornalino della scuola all'aperto», vol. III, n. 4, 31 January 1923, p. 2.

in October of the same year, the school's participation in the civil ceremony to celebrate the March on Rome was already an explicit tribute to Mussolini's party¹¹.

Thus, during the period of dictatorship, the school's attempt to project itself beyond the walls of Bologna as an alternative education model petered out – the *Giornalino*, for example, stopped being published in June 1924. The school did however manage to maintain its educational vitality in daily school life, even though the classic elements of fascist propaganda were gradually seeping into its activism. The news reports show clear indications of the immersion in Mussolinian ideology, for example, with the celebration of the wheat festival (1929), or with the «festive songs» praising «the King and the Duce» sung to greet the Podestà on his visit, or again with the inauguration of a memorial stone dedicated to the African Empire in 1939¹².

However, nature studies and nature lessons were still of vital importance. This is clearly demonstrated in the collective exercise book from 1936-37 which describes the care with which the children looked after the trees they had been assigned (2 pupils per tree) in the orchard. The political context is easy to see in the drawings of the flag-raising ceremony or in others depicting students in uniform, or again in the anti-English polemic, but lessons are directly involved in looking after nature and writing about it. Such teaching practices were also maintained thanks to the continued presence of Argia Mingarelli, director of Bologna's schools and a second generation of now permanent teachers (Egle Bianchi, Bianca Zona Donini, Serena Fuligni).

When Italy chose to go to war alongside Nazi Germany, the school day assumed the rhythm of daily mobilisation. All kinds of food and comforts were collected to be sent to the soldiers at the front or to the injured in hospital; precise instructions were given about exactly what to do in the increasingly frequent bombing raids, also because the school lacked a bomb shelter – on the list prepared by the Education Offices the entry for the school reads: «No shelter. In the woods»¹³. Until 1943, that is to say while the school was still functioning, paramilitary activities continued to be taught, such as courses to become «caposquadra balilla» [leader of a fascist youth section]. A certain Franco Tattini, for example, took part in one of these courses and was marked

¹¹ «Il giornalino della scuola all'aperto», vol. 3, n. 4, 31 January 1923, pp. 1-2; vol. 4, n. 1, 31 October 1923, p. 5.

¹² «Il Comune di Bologna», April 1929, p. 90; *Il Podestà in visita alle colonie comunali*, «Il Comune di Bologna», December 1933, p. 94; *Manifestazione patriottica alla Scuola Fortuzzi*, «Avvenire d'Italia», 14 June 1939, p. 3.

¹³ Ispettorato scolastico di Bologna to Provveditore, object: *La scuola per i soldati*, 24 February 1941, Archivio di Stato of Bologna [As-Bo], f. Provveditorato agli Studi of Bologna, series II, b. 98; Provveditorato agli Studi of Bologna, *Rifugi antiaerei negli edifici scolastici*, list [August 1943], As-Bo, f. Provveditorato agli Studi of Bologna, serie II, b. 164.

down (98 out of a 100) for having been unable to repeat by heart the «Decalogo del balilla» [Decalogue of the Young Fascist]¹⁴.

It took quite a while for school life to return to normal after the war, also because Bologna and the surrounding areas had been right on the Gothic Line. The school buildings escaped the bombing, but from 1943 onwards became the temporary headquarters of the Council's Technical Office, after which they were occupied by an «English command» in the summer of 1946¹⁵. One of the most experienced teachers, Egle Bianchi, passed away in May 1945 and was replaced by Pia Galimberti from Fortuzzi's «sister» outdoor school in Casaglia, who came to work alongside the more senior teachers.

The folding desks were taken out into the garden, the drawing-from-life activities started again, and the school took back control of many practical matters such as hygiene checks, micro-accounting and correcting homework, as well as gardening and beekeeping activities (the bees were in fact the only remaining classroom animals). The way in which the 1947 *Premio della bontà* [Goodness Award] was awarded also linked the past with the present since, although a ministerial circular promoted the prize, the winner was still chosen by the pupils themselves. Quite a few other new activities now appeared on the curriculum, such as lessons with the bomb-disposal squad or the teaching cassette about the deactivation of unexploded devices warning about the risks of post-war accidents. A choir was set up under the guidance of Maestra Alvisi together with the pupils from the Armandi Avogli school and this passion for singing would become a source of satisfaction for many boys and girls in the years to come. However, notwithstanding all this, one gets the impression that the original impetus had somehow been lost and that the strong subversive force that had originally distinguished this radical *scuola all'aperto* was gradually dying away¹⁶.

In this post-war period, the school started to assume an ever-increasing role not only as the city's main center for the delicate children sent there by the School Health Services, but also as a refuge for children born into disadvantaged or fragile families, perhaps with a single parent. The 1948 documentary with the emblematic title – *La gente non ci guarda* [People don't see us] – bears witness to the school's crucial function as a means of integration. The film alludes to all those disadvantaged and neglected children on the fringes of city life who had

¹⁴ Video testimony of Franco Tattini, February 2017; school report of Franco Tattini (1943), Fortuzzi school virtual archive.

¹⁵ *List* [September 1944], As-Bo, f. Provveditorato agli Studi of Bologna, serie II, b. 187, fasc. Cessione locali all'autorità militare; *List* [supposedly August-September 1946], As-Bo, f. Provveditorato agli Studi of Bologna, serie II, b. 196, fasc. Necessità urgenti per migliorare il funzionamento delle scuole.

¹⁶ An authoritative opinion in this sense is that of Mario Longhena who in 1960 wrote: «later the teachers forgot and closed more and more inside the classrooms», M. Longhena, *Venti anni nelle pubbliche amministrazioni*, Rome, Opere nuove, 1960, pp. 63-66.

just been through the war and for whom the school was, first of all, a place of moral redemption¹⁷.

The now communist town council picked up the threads of the original school and began spending money on its refurbishment: first of all, a fourth and larger pavilion was built to provide a new classroom space, followed by the construction of a larger building to be used as canteen and assembly hall, completed in 1952. Then, between 1956 and 1958, further work was undertaken to enlarge the canteen to hold up to 152 children and to build accommodation for the caretaker¹⁸.

At the height of the economic boom in the 1960s, the school was now working at full capacity with five classes. This was a time of great renewal for the Bolognese schools driven by Bruno Ciari, the council's educational director for school activities¹⁹. The Fortuzzi school, however, tended to take a backseat in terms of being an innovative school. The custom of going out into the garden to study gradually disappeared, while new activities started up, such as participation in the recently-established Trofeo Seragnoli basketball tournament, one of the first events in the town that sanctioned the transition from traditional educational gymnastics to mass sports activities, as demonstrated by the two basketball nets that were put up in the yard. It is worth noting that between the late 1960s and the early 1970s, Guido Fanti (Bologna's mayor and the first president of the Region) and Bruno Ciari both sent their children to the Fortuzzi. This was an important sign of recognition and trust in this outdoor school formula whose classes opened their doors to both children with physical and social difficulties (still sent here by the Council Health Care Services)²⁰ and to the sons and daughters of the enlightened Bolognese bourgeoisie. Moreover, the benefits of an 8-hour school day were now gradually being recognised. Right from the start, the school had been one of the few to offer the longer school hours that would be introduced with the new full-time model, even though it still continued to operate with just one teacher per section, flanked by experts in integrated disciplines like drawing or gymnastics.

The proper full-time model (8 hours a day with two state teachers sharing a class) was gradually introduced from 1975-76 onwards. It proved so successful that the council decided to double the number of classes and set about restructuring the school in the mid-1980s. The original buildings were

¹⁷ G. Pellegrini, *La gente non ci guarda*, 1948, in M. Mellara, A. Rossi, *La febbre del fare. Bologna 1945-1980*, Cineteca di Bologna, Bologna 2010.

¹⁸ More informations about this topic in: *Comune di Bologna, completamente refettorio scuola «Fortuzzi», concessione di proroga*, 2 September 1952; *Comune di Bologna, Collaudo costruzione della casa del custode e ampliamento del refettorio*, 3 May 1958; Archivio Storico Comunale di Bologna.

¹⁹ G. Bonomi, O. Righi, *Una stagione pedagogica con Bruno Ciari*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1982.

²⁰ As-Bo, f. Provveditorato agli Studi of Bologna, b. 272, fasc. Assistenza medica agli alunni, Ufficio Igiene e Sanità.

joined together by a reinforced concrete structure with windows that formed a single block to accommodate 10 classes and with plenty of common areas. Meals started to be eaten in the space in front of the classrooms, which was also used for group activities, while the canteen was turned into a gym. By now, admittance to the school was no longer reserved for delicate children or those at social risk, but was now open to those living locally, who mainly came from urban middle-class families who were mindful of the «ecological» dimension.

In fact – just for the record – the school has recently started to take a strong interest in nature once again. This was partly in reply to the unprecedented building boom in the town that makes the school's green and natural environment even more attractive, but also due to the growing levels of ecological awareness affecting society as a whole. However, whatever the case, more time is still needed for statements of principle to be transformed into new ways of teaching.

At the beginning of the new millennium, the construction of a small high-voltage substation right next to the school entrance caused comprehensible concerns amongst parents and staff as regards the levels of electromagnetism. The result was a particularly strong collective response: the parent-teacher committee organised numerous protests to try and stop the project, involving everyone from the town and culminating on January 20, 2001 when a thousand parents, teachers and children marched from the city centre to the school. Even though the project still went ahead, the various initiatives served to strengthen those imaginary bonds that held the school community together in the name of its children's well-being, encouraging the renewed growth of a collective identity²¹.

Citizen History

As the school's centenary drew near, it became obvious to us that the celebration could serve as a chance to try and connect the threads of historical reconstruction and collective memory in a unitary process. However, we were also all too aware that this process could only make sense if it involved the extremely vast and complex world of cultural operators, teachers, children and parents, former teachers and alumni. All of these people possibly had something to do with the Centenary and with the history of the school, everyone could provide new information and knowledge to enrich and enhance the occasion and these fruits could at the same time be enjoyed by all. The success of citizen

²¹ The only result of the conflict has been the 24-hour monitoring of electromagnetic emissions. About the initiatives: V. Varesi, *Bordon boccia la cabina Enel*, «Repubblica Bologna», 29 April 2001, p. IV; I. Venturi, *Grillo tra i bambini ai Giardini Margherita «Con la cabina Enel si rischia la leucemia»*, «Il Domani di Bologna», 29 May 2001, p. 1.

science research²² depends on the fact that anyone interested in a particular subject can share in this knowledge and make a contribution from his/her own point of view. It goes without saying that in our case there was a vast number of citizens who might have been interested in collaborating in the process of building the school's history and memory, seeing that in its hundred-year existence it could count over four thousand pupils (not to mention all the parents, grandparents, acquaintances) and at least two hundred teachers and administrative staff.

As teachers at the school we thus decided on a research path of at least 12 months, culminating in the Centenary celebrations. Many parts of the research would be made public, since we had no other way of contacting and involving any of the former teachers and pupils with whom we had lost touch. We were also convinced that publicising our research would definitely get the parents of current pupils involved and allow the gradual rediscovery of the school's history to be lived by the families, as if the historiographical profile was one of the natural dimensions of school life.

We thus created a Facebook group called «Centenario della scuola Fortuzzi – Bologna», inviting teachers and parents to join, which permitted us to organise both our research and to meet with all the other people involved.

The Facebook group (which is still particularly active) has therefore acted as our virtual main square to launch appeals and communicate dates, to publish the partial results of our research and to open discussions about specific issues related to the school's history and memory. We posted once a week using the documents and materials we had collected in the past and those which were gradually coming to light, to refresh content on the Centenary and to transmit small insights into history; each post was accompanied by a request for any objects, photos or memories that could help enrich our virtual archive.

We have also done our best to ensure that all the information about our research and the main events also appeared on the pages of traditional media, guaranteeing a greater impact on those age groups that were particularly important for our work. Thus, the local news sections of newspapers like «la Repubblica», «il Resto del Carlino» and the «Corriere» helped us make our work known and also indirectly gave a helping hand to our search for firsthand information and documents²³.

²² «The collection and analysis of data relating to the natural world by members of the general public, typically as part of a collaborative project with professional scientists», definition in <<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com>> (last access: 03.08.2018).

²³ F. Gieri Samoggia, *I cento anni delle Fortuzzi. «Mandateci le vostre foto d'epoca»*, «Il Resto del Carlino», 15 December 2016, p. V; I. Venturi, *Scuola Bologna, l'appello delle Fortuzzi: «Chi si ricorda del leone Reno?»*, «Repubblica Bologna on line», 1 February 2017, <https://bologna.repubblica.it/cronaca/2017/02/01/foto/scuola_bologna_l_appello_delle_fortuzzi_chi_si_ricorda_del_leone_reno_-157375860/1/#1> (last access: 28.09.2018); C. Balbi, *Cento lunghi anni di scuola all'aperto. Un tuffo nella storia delle Fortuzzi*, «Corriere di Bologna», 10 May 2017, <<https://corrieredibologna.corriere.it/bologna/notizie/cronaca/2017/10-maggio-2017/cento-lunghi-anni>>



Pic. 3. «Il giornalino della scuola», 1 March 1948, Marzio Govoni's personal collection.

Let us just quote some examples of how the social network has played a vital role in our research. First of all, it gave us access to documents that would otherwise have been untraceable. In fact, this was precisely how Marzio Govoni, a collector of photos and old documents, got in touch with us a few months after the Centenary celebrations. His collection contained a corpus of 460 pages of a school magazine written between 1948 and the 1950s. We knew of its existence because the aforementioned 1948 documentary film shows a girl writing for this very magazine, but we had never been able to find any actual copies. Govoni had purchased the materials a few years earlier from a second-hand dealer and he kindly allowed us to make a digital copy to study and then to publish. The corpus is made up of unique handwritten copies dating from 1948 to 1952 and 1958 written by the students of the teacher Bianca Zona Donini. The magazines gave us a precise and detailed account of school life in those years and permitted us to make a first comparison between the teaching methodology used in the original school and post-war didactics. Moreover, since almost all the children were involved in writing these «diaries», we were able to reconstruct and publish the lists of students' names which we then cross-checked on the web and in the phone-book. [Pic. 3]

scuola-all-aperto-tuffo-storia-fortuzzi-2401563588910.shtml> (last access: 28.09.2018); I. Venturi, *Cent'anni di scuola alle Fortuzzi il modello Bologna è nato qui*, «Repubblica Bologna», 7 May 2018, pp. I-II; F. Gieri Samoggia, *Scuola Bologna, alle elementari Fortuzzi la memoria è una passeggiata*, «Il Resto del Carlino», 25 May 2018, < <https://www.ilrestodelcarlino.it/bologna/cosa%20fare/fprtuzzi-1.3935692> > (last access: 28.09.2018).

This allowed us to organise a meeting of around fifteen pupils aged between sixty and seventy-five, who came together again after more than fifty years to interact and share their ideas and to discuss the magazine they had helped create. One might say that we set up a kind of focus group centred on their schooldays²⁴.

Social media also provided the background and the opportunity to rediscover the history of the school's hymns. At first, we posted the words of the anthem sung in the 1920s which had come to light during research in the library. This post encouraged some former students to try and remember the songs they sung at school in the 1950s and 1960s. We discovered the existence of a new hymn that was completely different from the original one and whose text had been partially transcribed. Finally, the former student Eleonora Galliani actually sang, recorded and posted the entire version with guitar accompaniment just for us (under the suggestive title of «acoustic memory»)²⁵.

The public dimension of social media offers great opportunities for research structured in such a way. For example, we often opened discussions with former pupils to settle doubts as to how classes were formed, about the presence of teachers, and on teaching and educational practices.

A photo and a drawing in a notebook showed the folding desks which were essential elements in allowing lessons to be held outside in the two woods that were close to the school buildings. This encouraged former pupils to tell us more about how these desks were used and what these lessons in the garden were like, which enriched our information about such a particular method of teaching. The following post by Pietro Franchi, a former pupil, mixes technical and educational aspects and reminiscences of nature studies:

I remember, the desktop was hinged to a horizontal part which contained the inkwell. This was inserted into a hole that was the right size to hold it, since the latter was U-shaped like a test-tube. The children had to fold their desks, closing them up. They had to remember to remove it [the inkwell] so as not to spill the ink. Then we would take the desks outside, under the trees. Then lessons. I remember drawing from real life. Studying plants and insects. Drawing: I remember a *Cetonia Dorata* [rose chafer] and a *Cerambyce* [longhorn beetle]. We were all fascinated by the latter. It was scary because it was so big and its antennas used to stick to your fingers. Drawing leaves, tracing around their edges. Flowers, I can still hear the teacher Bianca Zona's words as she told me how to draw the leaves of a carnation. The leaves had to be wrapped around the stem and so the drawing was rolled up, taking care to cover a part of the leaves with the stem.

And Rodolfo Caroli adds

²⁴ Facebook <Centenario della scuola Fortuzzi – Bologna>, post of 19 June 2018 (last access: 28.09.2018).

²⁵ E. Galliani, *Inno della scuola Fortuzzi*, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qQk9dg2VMaU&feature=youtu.be>> (last access: 28.09.2018).

I remember the folding desks with the folding chairs, next to the bag that was used to hold notebooks and textbooks, the inkwell was taken out and kept apart, and on sunny days we took our desks and chairs into the woods for our lessons, often the ground was uneven and the tables constantly wobbled to and fro.

and, between one post and another, Pietro shares a new memory and for the record implicitly asks the others for help: «I've just thought of something else. In the afternoon, we used to «do» the textbook»²⁶.

But apart from these and the other particularly interesting historiographical contributions, the Centennial social network has been further enhanced by all the times people have shared perhaps just one photo or a single memory, by all those conversations trying to put a name to teachers or classmates, by the chains of memories and questions that passed from one former student to another and which we often «sent on» to other groups interested in Bologna's past history, or even by the read- receipts confirming that our present pupils' parents had opened our posts. These and other actions and expressions of interest have made our social page a veritable treasure trove of freely-circulating memories that we have been able to use in the reconstruction of the school's past. In fact, we must emphasise that this kind of work which employs social media has much more in common with the construction of an archive, than with a historiographical study whose sources are carefully selected to meet a predetermined aim. On the contrary, when an archive is being set up, the sources *cannot* and *must not* be selected, but each and every piece of material has to be collected. It is then up to the historian to select the material from this archive that could be useful for the specific purposes of his/her research, leaving out anything considered to be non-functional or repetitive.

However, this mode of public discussion and reflection has a number of hidden dangers that cannot be overlooked. For example, we came across such a problem when, due to our contradictory information, we were trying to work out the names of the teachers in each class at a specific period in time. Once we had asked the question publicly on the FB page, we realised all too late that we were lifting the veil on a never openly-declared case of student failure, which even today is still subject to social stigma. Fortunately, the person in question was remarkably philosophical about the whole matter and we were thus able to learn more about the high level of selectivity operating in the school at the time. Public discussions and private talks allowed us to gather some quite touching stories on the subject. However, it is clear that a cautious and well-thought-out approach must be adopted when conducting these multi-voiced public discussions on social media.

Other sticky issues for such media are difficult and unpleasant memories, punishments, embarrassing situations, and *all that goes unsaid* at school.

²⁶ Facebook: <Centenario della scuola Fortuzzi – Bologna>, post of 20 July 2018 (last access: 28.09.2018).

Research on such emotionally-charged topics is always problematic, and social media are certainly not the best place to share such sensitive matters. In our case, for example, we soon realised that all the people we met who were stepping back in time were more than ready to open up about their positive memories and their nostalgia and that they were happy to recall and tell us their stories of everyday life and pleasant episodes. It goes without saying that school life was not just that, but the embarrassment of talking about its darker side veiled an important part of these experiences. For example, a former student wanted to tell us his memories of life at school, but preferred to give us an oral account of the punishment system, as he felt uncomfortable writing it down. However, as time has gone by and thanks to regular meetings and growing trust, even this shadowy side of the school has been put into words, which has permitted us to gather material that rounds out our reconstruction and makes it well-balanced.

That is why, alongside our FB page, we have also tried to interview all the people who were willing to talk to us. For some of these, we collected their stories according to the canons of oral history, that is by preparing a list of questions to be asked in a quiet environment. In other cases, we acted differently, inviting them to be interviewed in our classrooms and working on their story together with our students during lessons. Although the protocol was obviously less strict here, it had a distinct advantage in that it set up a strong connection between the children and the former pupils who came back to school to describe their past experiences to their present-day counterparts. Furthermore, we should not overlook or underestimate the value of the interesting questions that children always ask, especially because their point of view is so different to the historian's. Most of these interviews were filmed and are now stored in the virtual archive, whilst a 15-minute selection from the entire corpus was presented to the public during one of the events for the centenary²⁷.

The main event to mark the Centennial year was an exhibition held in the school neighbourhood that showcased an organised synthesis of the documentary material we had collected. The reason for choosing an «exhibition» media stemmed from the need to go beyond the school yard and bring this story to the town. Although we had practically no funds, we managed to produce 22 panels narrating the timeline of events at our school, a clear and accessible way of displaying information for all the local people who were interested. Apart from the photos and documents on the panels themselves, we selected about forty other photos that had also come to light during our research to give an idea of just how much material we had collected. Two showcases displayed the exercise-books and school kit belonging to Roberto Camera who had been a pupil at the school from 1950 to 1954. Help in setting up the exhibition came from the other teachers and parents who gave us a hand with the graphics

²⁷ C. Carpigiani, S. Frittelli, G. Gabrielli, *Frammenti di memorie*, video, 2017, <<https://www.facebook.com/gianluca.gabrielli.165/videos/1942684479395430/>> (last access: 28.09.2018).

and installation. We celebrated the opening by holding a party, the scene of many touching encounters between pupils of the past and present, moments of mutual recognition and sometimes of profound feelings. The exhibition was open to the public for three weeks and during this period we organised another event about the teaching methods and history of outdoor schools²⁸.

The wealth of information provided in the exercise books belonging to the afore-mentioned Roberto Camera led us to undertake another initiative, whose novelty makes it all the more interesting. Since the pages of these schoolbooks are full of «diary entries» and «news», we tried to put together an anthology of these passages to be transformed into a script that could be read aloud. Alessandro Berti, parent, actor and director, was involved in creating a two-voiced reading out of these excerpts from young Roberto's written work, performed for the first time at the school party. What emerges is the image of a gentle and dedicated young child as compared to the strong and assertive presence of the teacher, so typical of the school of that time. Roberto is caught up in the constant and tiring endeavour to get good marks, always worrying about whether he had done enough, about how he could improve his behaviour and work harder but, at the same time, he is always ready to step up to the plate and take the opportunity to breathe some fresh air into the nature surrounding him in his news about home and school. The public reading was recorded²⁹ and we have plans to produce another more professional version, enriched with photos and drawings.

Last but not least, alongside this resurfacing of memories, our research has instilled a new awareness of the historical stratification that is incorporated within the buildings but also in the trees and plants in the garden itself. For example, that strange circular concrete shape buried in the ground just in front of the school's service entrance was once a fountain which only stopped working in the 1960s. Although its voice had apparently been lost, it now sounds out again in the words of a little girl from 1923 who tells us:

As soon as we get to school in the morning, Miss makes us take off our shoes and all day we go barefoot. In the evening, before we put our shoes back on, we go and wash our feet in a beautiful round basin. The water is clear and warm, because it gets the sun all day. What fun it is to wash our feet and wet our legs! You should see the colour of the water after we've washed them! O how good it is to feel clean! Then every week we have a bath. Having a bath is essential to our health!³⁰

²⁸ <<http://www.istitutocomprendivo20bologna.gov.it/images/pages/19093-64391-Pieghevole.pdf>> (last access: 28.09.2018).

²⁹ <<https://www.facebook.com/100013738271527/videos/407233023077970/>>, (last access: 28.09.2018).

³⁰ L. Pirini, *Prima di ritornare a casa*, «Il giornalino della Scuola all'aperto», vol. 2, n. 1, 14 October 1921, p. 2.



Pic. 4. The teacher Bianca Zona Donini in front of the circular fountain, [1952], photo Camera, Roberto Camera's Collection.



Pic. 5. A group of little girls in front of the circular fountain just before the restructuring work, 1983, Chiara Bacchi's Collection.

But the fountain also speaks to us in the black and white photo of the teacher Bianca Zona Donini who is shown posing on the basin [Pic. 4] at the beginning of the 1950s, and in the colour photo that captures a group of little girls in 1983 – just before the restructuring work that buried the structure. [Pic. 5]

But there is more here than just man-made works. By measuring the circumferences of the oaks and holm oaks in the schoolyard, the children discovered that three of these trees are well over one hundred years old and that they have therefore accompanied the school on its whole life path. These are those very trees which provided the acorns for the children to collect and feed to the pig raised in the courtyard to finance school trips. This is what little Federico has to say about the matter in 1922: «every day [sic] we used to change the [pig's] bedding, I used to bring him his pigswill and I often cleaned his skin with warm oil, smelling of garlic. When I did this, he used to stand still and raise his snout as if to thank me. We used to feed him with the acorns from our holm oaks»³¹. And those trees also provided the funds to buy books for the school library in the 1950s:

³¹ F. Zardini, *L'allevamento*, «Il giornalino della Scuola all'aperto», vol. 2, n. 4, 20 January 1922, p. 2.

The acorns [sic] fall from our huge oak trees. Not many, because last year the harvest was so abundant. We collect them. It's great fun. More than hard work, it's fun for us [sic] [...] We sell the first acorns to a farmer, an old friend of the school. We weigh them. There are around 25 kilos³².

These and other elements led us to decide to create the *Percorso della storia e della memoria* [Path of History and Memory] in spring 2018. The path has 15 waypoints around the garden, considered as representing milestone moments in these hundred years: from the «limes of remembrance» planted in 1923 in memory of pupils' fathers who had died in the Great War; to the lions' cage built in 1939 next to the school entrance by the fascist podestà as a symbol of the conquest of Ethiopia or again the concrete base of the flagpole that was used between the 1920s and the 1950s. The *Percorso* was presented to the people of the town on May 26, 2018 and the presence of around a hundred townsfolk gave us the chance to rekindle old friendships and to make new contacts. Who can forget the lively discussion sparked by our arrival on the forecourt where basketball once used to be played: our former pupils delighted us with stories of their first lessons and of their training sessions without any nets. The path has now become a teaching tool for the current classes, and next school year it will be up to the children of the fourth and fifth classes to take parents and visitors on this historical journey.

Although we have been working on collecting material for the school centenary for more than two years, we have to say that, rather than running out of motivation, new research avenues have opened up with longer-lasting projects, which we hope will also inject some new life into teaching.

In conclusion, it is worth spending a few words as regards our relationship with the various institutions which, in our case, we shall divide into archival institutions and administrative ones. As far as the former are concerned we can report a quite positive experience: almost all the libraries and archives we contacted were quite willing to help us and sometimes even went out of their way to give us particular support in our search for documents or essential information³³. However, it must be said that the administrative institutions have shown little or indeed no interest in our work. The educational institution to which our school belongs has given us its full support, but for obvious reasons could not stretch to anything more than paying the security costs for the exhibition opening, whereas the higher offices of the Ministry of Education have done nothing at all. The town council went to great lengths not only to

³² *Si lavora!* and *Piccoli guadagni*, «Giornalino della scuola», class II, November 1951, Marzio Govoni's personal collection.

³³ For example, the Archivio storico comunale of Bologna, the Archivio storico Indire of Florence, the Biblioteca of Bologna University, the Biblioteca of Museo del Risorgimento of Bologna, the Biblioteca del Seminario Episcopale of Padua. As for the Bologna Film Library Foundation, we found great availability to consult the preserved photographs, but we were not allowed to show them in the exhibition.

find us the exhibition space in our neighborhood, but also to print hundreds of leaflets for our school which has always been viewed as one of Bologna's crowning glories. Other institutions have shown no interest at all. Perhaps the project was seen as a somewhat lackluster initiative, since it originated within a state school and was created by simple teachers outside of an institutional framework and perhaps our lack of experience prevented us from successfully soliciting support and synergy in these particular environments.

We have decided to preserve the heritage of photos, documents and films we have collected over time in a virtual archive at the Fortuzzi school. To date there are over eighty folders which are labelled for the same number of subjects (some contain just a few photos, others have dozens, perhaps hundreds of documents and statements) and about fifteen files relate to institutions or publications. We have completed the digitisation of the entire corpus of Roberto Camera's (1950-54), Chiara Cappelli's (1968-73) and Lucia Cappelli's (1970-75) exercise-books for a total of about one hundred notebooks. The owners retain the original documents but have given permission for us to scan and study them. In fact, we are firmly convinced that this heritage of history and memory is jointly owned: on the one hand, we have the people for whom these materials are important memories, and, on the other, there is the school, which, through our coordination, has been able to make these memories interact and become intertwined in a composite, dialectical collective discourse. Our project has been an attempt to give a form with multiple participants and voices to thousands and thousands of stories that make up the story of a hundred-year-old school.

Funeral memories

The politics of immortality: the funeral of an education minister and teacher unionist

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ABSTRACT: The funeral of former Education Minister and teacher unionist Fridtjuf Berg in 1916 is analysed here from the perspective of collective remembrance. Drawing on obituaries and on media coverage depicting the funeral, this article discusses how the commemoration of Berg was an expression of two uncompleted achievements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries: the rising social status of elementary school teachers and the emergence of a collective teacher identity. The funeral is analysed both as an expression of these tendencies and as an attempt to strengthen the very same tendencies, thereby counteracting the fact that the elementary school and its teachers were still haunted by a lack of social status as well as by fragmentation. Thus the funeral provided an opportunity to symbolically express cherished but precarious ideals.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Memory; Funeral memories; Sweden; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

Introduction

The subject of this article is the funeral and commemoration of a former Education Minister – Fridtjuf Berg – who died in 1916 at the age 64 after a life devoted to educational issues. In spring 2013, nearly a century after this event, we discovered a scrapbook in an archive in Stockholm, where most of the obituaries and newspaper notices on Berg's death and funeral had been

collected. The obituaries bear witness to a rather spectacular funeral. A large number of wreaths in 17 carriages followed him to the grave, and the press coverage of the funeral was significant. In a historical perspective this is most probably a quite unique celebration that has something interesting to tell us about elementary school teachers and their collective memories¹.

The subject of the commemoration – Fridtjuv Berg – had in many ways held a unique position in the educational field of his time. Born in 1851, he had since the 1880s been one of the leading voices of a new generation of elementary school teachers. Apart from being an elementary school teacher throughout his career, he was a politician and a teacher unionist. As a teacher unionist, active in Sveriges allmänna folkskolläraryörening (SAF) [The Swedish Association of Elementary School Teachers] he had written extensively for a new, national magazine for teachers and he had been the chairman of the teachers' union. As a politician he had been a member of the Swedish parliament for decades and, most importantly, Minister of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs. He was the first elementary school teacher to become a member of the government². There were thus obvious reasons for elementary school teachers to regard Berg as a leading figure of their profession, but that in itself cannot explain why the funeral and the commemoration became such an important event.

The aim of this article is to understand the conditions and meanings of Berg's funeral and commemoration. What does it tell us about the schools, the teaching profession and education policies at the beginning of the twentieth century? What specific historical conditions made this particular way of celebrating a leader possible? And what do the funeral and the commemoration symbolise? We will argue that the conditions and symbolism of the funeral may be connected to issues concerning social status and social cohesion. We will also argue that the funeral can be analysed as a symbolic celebration of the heightened social status and increased social cohesion of the community of elementary school teachers. Further, we will show that the importance of this symbolism lay in the fact that these achievements can be described as unfinished projects. The social status and cohesion of elementary school teachers might be challenged in the future, and the extent to which it had actually been realised at this point in time could be debated as well.

¹ The old scrapbook from 1916 contains the obituaries for Fridtjuv Berg, retrieved from more than 100 Swedish newspapers and magazines. The scrapbook was probably compiled by the Swedish Association of Elementary School Teachers «Sveriges Allmänna Folkskolläraryörening» (SAF) and is now kept in the TAM archives (TAM-arkiv) in Stockholm.

² J. Landahl, *Politik & pedagogik: en biografi över Fridtjuv Berg*, Stockholm, Lärarförlaget, 2016.

Collective memories of individuals

The funeral of Fridtjuf Berg was not an isolated phenomenon. It grew out of general trends both in late nineteenth-century society and in elementary schools. The 19th century and the early 20th century was a time when memorial practices came to the forefront, and spectacular funerals were one expression of this trend. In recent years we have seen a proliferation of research focusing on the ways in which societies remember. The labels have shifted somewhat: collective memory, cultural memory, social memory³. Overlapping with this research is research on death rituals as a way of remembering and on the remembrance of different kinds of leading figures such as politicians or famous authors⁴. Less research, however, has been conducted about leading figures in education. This article wishes to add to the literature on collective memories by discussing how a leading pedagogue has been remembered. More specifically, by investigating a person who has worked politically with educational issues, the article relates to a neglected theme in the history of education, namely the role of education ministers. Furthermore, since Berg's multifaceted career in education also included work as a teacher unionist, the article also relates to the question of how teachers unions are formed.

Berg's funeral was in many ways a typical expression of its time. His position, both as a politician and as a school teacher, was affected by newly created traditions of how to make death public. When Berg died, he had been a member of Parliament for the Liberals for 25 years and had also been Minister of Education for two periods (1905-06, 1911-14). The staging of his funeral can be compared to the way other prominent politicians, scientists and authors also became subjects of attention in the late 1800s and the decades thereafter. Increasingly, burials became large spectacles when large crowds followed their hero to the grave⁵. These monumental burials were part of a larger trend towards the creation of collective national memories and invented

³ J. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011; P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989; J.K. Olick, V. Vinitzky-Seroussi, D. Levy (edd.), *The Collective Memory Reader*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2011.

⁴ A. Ben-Amos, Avner, *Funerals, Politics, and Memory in Modern France, 1789-1996*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000; N. Tumarkin, *Lenin lives! The Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 1983.

⁵ V. Lundberg, *Den siste af de typiske 1848 års män i Sverige. Anteckningar om Julius Mankell och den svenska demokratins förhistoria*, «Historisk tidskrift», vol. 125, n. 3, 2005, pp. 421-440; U. Holgersson, *Hjalmar Brantings jordafärd på film*, in E. Hedling, M. Jönsson (edd.), *Välfärdsbilder: Svensk film utanför biografen*, Stockholm, Statens ljud- och bildarkiv, 2008, pp. 75-99; K. Johannesson, E. Johannesson, B. Meidal, J. Stenkvist (edd.), *Heroer på offentlighetens scen: politiker och publicister i Sverige 1809-1914*, Stockholm, Tiden, 1987; A. Nyblom, *Ryktbarhetens ansikte: Verner von Heidenstam, medierna och personkulten i sekelskiftets Sverige*, Stockholm, Atlantis, 2008.

communities⁶. They were also part of a more general trend to celebrate famous leading individuals. The contemporary author August Strindberg (1849-1912) noticed in his 1882 novel *Det nya riket* (The New Kingdom) that the «worship of saints» («helgondyrkeriet») had spread to an unprecedented degree in society and had «assumed magnificent proportions; today, singers, actresses, modelers, poets, timber merchants and MPs are canonised»⁷.

Strindberg did not mention elementary school teachers in his enumeration of the new saints of modernity, but in fact the teaching profession did its best to celebrate its leading individuals. This cult of great individuals coincides with the creation in 1880 of the first national organisation for teachers in Sweden, The Swedish Association of Elementary School Teachers («Sveriges Allmänna Folkskolläraryörening»), which among other things was active in the construction of a history of elementary school teachers. Its weekly magazine *The Swedish Teachers Magazine* («Svensk Läraretidning») often included articles that celebrated important individuals and organisations. The death, anniversary or birthday of leading pedagogues, primarily men, was often the subject of ambitious articles, portraying the life of individuals and the times in which they had lived. Somewhat paradoxically, given that elementary schooling was a rather new social phenomenon, the magazine showed a great deal of interest in its history, and the celebration of important individuals and organisations often made the front page. In 1916, the year when Fridtjuf Berg was buried, the magazine's front page also included articles covering the 50th anniversary of the Finnish school law, the death of a famous schoolman from the Netherlands and the unveiling of a bust at a Swedish Teachers Training College. Inside the magazine, obituaries were common features, as well as articles about teachers' birthdays. The National Association of Teachers also collected money from its members to produce oil paintings of its leaders as well as to raise memorial stones on their graves.

The meaning of these phenomena has been largely neglected in previous research. An exception is Mats Sjöberg, who has explored the meanings of obituaries in *The Swedish Teachers Magazine*⁸. His aim has been to explore the meaning of «the good teacher» as expressed in the obituaries and birthday articles of teachers in the period 1930-1960. We share the conviction that obituaries are suitable for making visible ideas about what constitutes greatness,

⁶ E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger (edd.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983; J. R. Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1994.

⁷ A. Strindberg, *Det nya riket. Skildringar från attentatens och jubelfesternas tidevarv* (translation by authors), Stockholm. Albert Bonniers förlag, p. 104.

⁸ Cf. A. Ullman, *Rektorn. En studie av en titel och dess bärare*, Stockholm, HLS, 1997 where obituaries in a similarly way is used to explore the different ways in which principals, headmasters and headmistress were hailed afterwards.

since the genre in itself is celebratory⁹. In contrast to Sjöberg, however, our interest is not primarily in teachers, although indeed Berg was also a teacher. Rather, our interest is in the construction of the good education minister and the good teacher unionist, and by implication, ideas about the leader of the teacher collective.

Sources

Our main sources are obituaries about Fridtjuv Berg printed in Swedish newspapers and texts about the funeral in the Swedish Teachers Magazine. Most of the obituaries have been collected in a scrapbook¹⁰. It is unclear who made this scrapbook and for what purpose. It might have been a member of his family, but it is more probable that it was made by the Swedish Teachers Magazine, which printed many of the obituaries. The scrapbook might therefore in part have been a way of collecting articles for publication in the magazine¹¹. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the scrapbook omits the long articles on Berg that were published in The Swedish Teachers Magazine. Apart from the scrapbook, we have also used material published in The Swedish Teachers Magazine. This material is particularly valuable since it shows how the elementary school teachers responded to the funeral. To put these responses into perspective, we have also explored how the funeral was represented in a magazine for an association of only female teachers. As we will see, there are radical contrasts between the ways in which the two magazines represented the funeral, and these differences mirror tensions in the community of elementary school teachers.

1. *Celebrating community*

Several scholars have pointed out that there is a connection between community and commemoration. A common function of collective remembrance, whether it is in the form of monuments, obituaries or anniversaries, is to express and

⁹ M. Sjöberg, *Den gode folkskolläraren. Självbild och identitet inom den manliga folkskollärarkåren 1930-1960*, in M. Sjöberg (ed.), «Goda lärare». *Läraridentiteter och lärararbete i förändring*, Linköping, Linköpings universitet, 2006.

¹⁰ Scrapbook, available in TAM-arkiv, *Fridtjuv Bergs personarkiv*, vol 1.

¹¹ For a general discussion of scrapbooks as a social phenomenon, see E.G. Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2012.

reinforce group solidarity¹². How does this general perspective apply to the profession of elementary school teachers around 1900? In the following we will discuss the ways in which the funeral was an expression of the imagined community of elementary school teachers.

The specific nature of elementary school teachers as a collective needs first to be pointed out. In fact, Swedish elementary school teachers of the late 19th century and early 20th centuries belonged to a profession with extremely individualistic traits. Some did not have any colleagues whatsoever. Many lived alone in an isolated house with few, if any, contacts with fellow teachers. In 1883 there were 10,000 elementary schools and 11,000 teachers in Sweden, as pointed out at the time by Berg himself¹³. At the same time there were some efforts to counteract this teacher atomism. In the second half of the 19th century, elementary school teachers organized themselves in a number of local union clubs. An important change took place in 1880, when a national organization for elementary school teachers – SAF – was formed¹⁴. In the following year a magazine was established as an organ for this association. Repeatedly, but at intervals of a few years, large national as well as Nordic meetings for elementary school teachers were organized, which attracted thousands of participants¹⁵. Thus, individualism coexisted with an emerging sense of collective identity. For the first time in history it was becoming possible to imagine a national community of elementary school teachers. Fridtjuv Berg was one of the main characters in SAF and in its magazine. Among other things he had served as Secretary of SAF and Editor of the magazine. His function was thus that of a community builder. In general terms, it was a community that was created in the same way as national identities are created: by reading newspapers¹⁶. The Swedish Teachers Magazine was printed once a week, and was a constant reminder that the individual teacher was not alone, that the country was full of other teachers, although they did not meet face to face very often¹⁷. The magazine greatly encouraged interest in elementary school history and its pioneers. Articles about famous pedagogues were very common. Thus was created a mnemonic community. And it was this newspaper-reading, book-

¹² For a critical overview, see S.L. Scott, *Dead Work: The Construction and Reconstruction of the Harlan Miners Memorial*, «Qualitative Sociology», vol. 19, n. 3, 1996, pp. 365-393.

¹³ F. Berg, *Folkskolan såsom bottenkola*, Stockholm, Lars Hökerbergs förlag, 1883, p. 49.

¹⁴ J. Franzén, *Sveriges allmänna folkskolläraryörening 1880-1930: minnesskrift*, Stockholm, Sveriges allmänna folkskolläraryörening, 1930.

¹⁵ J. Landahl, *Det nordiska skolmötet som utbildningspolitisk arena: Ett rumsligt perspektiv på pedagogikens historia*, «Utbildning och demokrati», vol. 24, n. 3, 2015, pp. 7-23.

¹⁶ H. Edgren, *A History of the Press in Sweden*, «Historisk Tidskrift», vol. 133, n. 4, 2013, pp. 739-741.

¹⁷ Among the factors that contributed to this community was the new railway network, which facilitated the development of a swift and reliable postal service. E. Engström, *Posten måste fram. En pedagogikhistorisk studie av rekrytering till och utbildning i svenska postverket årtiondena omkring sekelskiftet 1900*, Stockholm, Stockholms universitet, 1988.

reading and supposedly education-hungry collective that was «mobilized» when Fridtjov Berg eventually, in 1916, passed away.

Organising the funeral

Berg's funeral was of general interest in Sweden and was front-page material, for example in the leading Liberal newspaper «Dagens Nyheter». However, the social group to which the funeral was of most importance consisted of elementary school teachers. The funeral was to a large extent created by, and for, elementary school teachers. It was in this respect a new kind of spectacle.

Berg's funeral was not a state funeral. The scale of the funeral was rather an effect of the community of elementary school teachers who in various ways supported it. The whole funeral was to a large extent a symbolic manifestation of the close connection between the individual Fridtjov Berg and the collective of elementary school teachers. This fact became evident in the people who attended the funeral. There were politicians present, but also a large number of elementary school teachers. When the coffin was carried into the church, it was preceded by 14 standards, each representing an elementary school in Stockholm, carried by schoolboys. A choir consisting of elementary school teachers performed a Requiem. Then the priest, Sam Stadener, spoke, and he too had a connection with the elementary school teachers. Apart from being a priest, Stadener was also an elementary school teacher by training. He was also a Liberal politician, and later – in 1930 – he himself would become Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, thus following closely in the footsteps of the man for whom he was now conducting a funeral service. In the Funeral Oration, Stadener talked about Berg as «a carrier of light» and a precursor of the teaching profession who was both «a dreamer» and «an organiser»¹⁸. He invoked the image of a national web of schools and teachers who on this day were assumed to be affected by the death of Fridtjov Berg. He concluded that there was not a single school in the whole country which did not mention the name Berg except with a sense of gratefulness and loss.

In the thousands of villages hidden in the forests and spread across the plains stand the people's schools. From them today flows a mighty wave of gratitude, of rejoicing that a man lived among us who now has passed away, a wave of sorrow that his patriotic heart has ceased to beat¹⁹.

After the ceremony began the funeral procession to the cemetery. The carriage carrying Berg's coffin was followed by 17 carriages carrying wreaths

¹⁸ Sam Stadener, quoted in «Svensk Läraretidning», *Fridtjov Bergs griftefärd*, n. 10, 1916, p. 166.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

that had been donated primarily by various local teachers associations. When the funeral procession arrived at the cemetery, an orchestra from an elementary school consisting of pupils played a Funeral March. After the coffin had been lowered into the grave, five speeches were held, two by Liberal politicians and three by representatives of elementary schools.

The role of the wreaths is significant as a material manifestation of the connection between elementary school teachers and Fridtjuv Berg. While the majority of elementary school were indeed absent from this funeral, they were symbolically present – represented by the large number of wreaths that had been donated by local teachers' organisations around the country. In total there were 166 (documented) wreaths at the funeral. Of these, 30 were given by individuals or couples. Most of the wreaths (136) were given by a collective group such as a Teachers Training college (from both students and teachers) or, as in most of the cases, from a local teachers association. These wreaths had an important symbolic function in that they made the funeral more spectacular. Since the wreaths had to be carried from the church to the cemetery, located north of the city, the funeral procession was made much more visible. It can be estimated that the line of horses and carriages stretched over about 200 metres. The distance between the church and the cemetery was approximately five kilometres, and it must have taken the funeral procession at least an hour to reach the cemetery. Thus the funeral communicated a message to the world that this was an important person from an important profession. And the large number of wreaths symbolised the bond between Berg and the elementary school teachers. All the teachers who had contributed to a wreath were in a collective ritual of mourning. And this feeling of being united was also expressed in the words that SAF wrote on their wreath:

Your love for our people and your work for their upbringing exhort the men and women of the Swedish elementary schools to be united in the desire to follow in your footsteps²⁰.

The pre-existing community of elementary school teachers was, in other words, an important condition for the making of this funeral. The dramaturgy of the event was, to a large extent, based on the world of elementary schooling, its pupils and primarily its teachers.

Reproducing the funeral

The way that the funeral was represented in the media made it possible for a large audience to take part in the ceremony. The large number of obituaries

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

in the national and local daily press is one example, but the clearest example is the representation of the funeral in *The Swedish Teachers Magazine*. The magazine came out the day after the funeral, and the report covered as much as eight pages. The first page was a photograph from the church and the following seven pages described the funeral in detail. The oration held by the priest in church, the speeches held by the grave, and even every single text written on the 166 wreaths was meticulously reproduced. The accounts have an almost cinematic sharpness as if the intention was to convey the feeling of actually attending the funeral. It was, in other words, possible to follow the funeral in great detail without having been there in person. In addition, the funeral was reproduced on postcards. In total six postcards have been found, available in Berg's personal archive²¹. In addition, a short film was produced for the cinemas, as part of the weekly journal movies that were a novelty of the time²².

For people who could not attend the funeral in Stockholm there were also memorial services in other cities. For example, some of the Teacher Training Colleges held their own ceremonies at a later date. The division of SAF in Stockholm arranged a memorial service on what would have been Berg's 65th birthday, and this celebration was printed in a brochure. The brochure contained the whole programme and all the speeches, making it possible for people to remember and experience the day, even if they couldn't attend. A special remembrance book about Berg was also produced²³.

This way of mediating the funeral made the audience bigger. The community of the bereaved multiplied as the news about the funeral was reproduced instantaneously. While the number of people who could have a seat in the church was limited, there were no limits to the number of people who could read detailed, and sometimes slightly poetic, accounts of the funeral shortly after it took place.

It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss how these accounts were understood by the people who read them. But it would probably be wrong to simply assume that they were bad copies of reality that failed to provoke an emotional response among the readers. It would be an oversimplification to say that the funeral had an "aura" that was lost when it was reproduced mechanically, as Walter Benjamin might have put it²⁴. Rather, the reproduction of the funeral made it possible for a larger collective to take part – or not take part – in a community of national sorrow. The mediation of the funeral dissolved the connection between physical closeness and emotional experience. And in fact, there might also have been emotional intensity that was greater than inside the church.

²¹ Riksarkivet, «Familjen Bergs släktarkiv», vol. 79.

²² «Svenska Biografteaterns veckorevy 1916-03-00», Svensk mediedatabas, Kungliga biblioteket.

²³ *Fridtjuv Berg: några minnesblad*, Stockholm, Svenska andelsförlaget, 1916.

²⁴ Cf. W. Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, London, Penguin Books, 2008.



Pic. 1. Postcards from Berg's funeral.

The Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, K G Westman, attended the funeral and wrote about it in his diary. In fact, he complained that the atmosphere in the church was not emotional enough. His explanation was the presence of too many politicians in the church.

I was at Fridtjuv Berg's funeral. Politicians are a cold lot and there were far too many of them there; they stifled what should have been a gripping event. We saw Adelswärd's smug smile, revealing his superficial egoistic nature, the smile of the paunch²⁵.

²⁵ K.G. Westman, *Politiska anteckningar juni 1914-mars 1917*, Stockholm, Kungl. Samf. för utg. av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1983, p. 221.

The leader cult and the cult of the community

Selectively choosing what was important to remember, established a special kind of collective memory. Berg was regarded as the major leader of the elementary school teaching profession. But what was the nature of this leadership? How was the relationship between leader and community understood? In several of the texts on the wreaths Berg was referred to as the “chief” (*hövdingen*) of the elementary school teachers. This was not unique for Berg; it was a frequent way of describing leaders at the time. According to Kurt Johannesson this label expressed a specific idea about the relationship between the chief and the people. «(T)here was a lot of talk about the chiefs in Sweden at the turn of the century. It was imagined that a chief was always chosen by ‘the people’ and that he therefore stood in mystical harmony with its essence and will»²⁶. The leadership of the “chief” was in that sense in strong contrast to other kinds of leadership. A king «just inherited his title and his power. But a chief had received his position from the people and thus from a different and higher authority»²⁷. To label somebody as a chief was, in other words, a way of describing public legitimacy. When it comes to Berg, it should also be pointed out that the national organization for teachers elected its central board, to which Berg belonged for decades, democratically. Thus it was practically impossible to be a leader with a total lack of legitimacy from the other teachers in the organization. The fact that Berg had worked for the organization for so many years, and written extensively for the magazine, also meant that he could easily be associated with the core of the community. While he made a career late in life and became minister, he was still seen as belonging to the community of elementary school teachers, where he originally started his career. This is exemplified by the fact that, late in life, after having been minister, he returned to *Svensk läraretidning* to become its editor. This fed his reputation of being loyal to the collective of elementary school teachers. As one of his colleagues expressed it after his death;

He was one of us, «flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone»²⁸.

There were clear elements of a leadership cult in the tributes to Berg, who was seen as someone high above the community of teachers, but the cult of the individual was also a cult of the collective. Durkheim argued that religion is a kind of projection of love for society onto the idea of God²⁹. In an analogical

²⁶ K. Johannesson, «*Hövdingen är fallen*» *Om Hjalmar Branting som politisk symbol*, Uppsala, Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen, 1994, p. 19.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Fridtjuv Berg – kamraten*, «*Svensk läraretidning*», n. 13, 1916, p. 228.

²⁹ É. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2001.

fashion, we might see the funeral as an expression of the teacher collective's love for itself, or at least its willingness and ambitions to love itself. And the interesting fact is that this was the first time in history that the elementary school teachers had such a leader, a person who shared their background but had transcended it. As a government minister and a unionist he could be seen as a leader, but as a teacher he could be seen as part of the community. Many obituaries highlighted how Fridtjuv Berg had been the embodiment of the ideal teacher: «It should also be said that the majority in that profession had seen, in his words, a mirror image of their better self»³⁰. This depiction of a person who is both part of and superior to a certain collective seems to imply another aspect, to which we will now turn: a dream of increased social status.

2. *Celebrating social status*

The celebration of Fridtjuv Berg can also be read as an attempt to symbolically celebrate the social status of elementary school teachers. The actual place of the burial is one example of this. Berg was buried in a very special part of the large Northern Cemetery located just outside Stockholm. This part of the cemetery, Lindhagen Hill [«Lindhagens kulle»] was reserved for more prominent people and more prominent gravestones and mausoleums; it signalled nobility. When the famous Swedish author August Strindberg wrote his last will, he deliberately asked *not to be* buried at this place, which he called Vanity Fair. He preferred to be buried among common people³¹. We do not know why Berg was buried here, and whether he himself had any influence on the decision. But most likely he would at least have been content with being buried just some 100 metres from his old time political role model, the liberal Adolf Hedin. Regardless of what Berg thought, the burial place sent a clear message about the social status of the buried person. The fact that he was buried here was a symbolic expression of how the 'Chief' Fridtjuv Berg – and by implication every elementary school teacher – was valued in society. This burial place symbolically demonstrated that an elementary school teacher could belong to the same social stratum as prominent politicians, famous authors, important entrepreneurs and so on.

The fact that Berg was buried almost like a king could be interpreted in two ways. One interpretation is to see it as a democratization of memory and of bereavement. One example of this phenomenon is that, in the 20th century, soldiers started to get better funerals³². A second interpretation is

³⁰ Scrapbook, *Värmlandsposten*.

³¹ A. Strindberg, «Min sista vilja», Appendix to August Strindbergs probate. Available at <http://www.stockholmskallan.se/ContentFiles/SSA/0145A_radhusratten_bou/SE_SSA_0145a_EIIA1_2_849A_1913.pdf> (last access: 11.01.2018).

³² T. Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains*, Princeton,

that Berg's funeral reflected the increased social status of elementary school teachers. Historically their social status had been very low in Sweden. Their position in the social structure reflected the position that elementary schools had in the broader school system. To a large extent the social elite did not use elementary schools to educate their children; instead, they tended to use private teachers and private schools to prepare their children for the more exclusive secondary education in grammar schools. However, in the late 19th century, the elementary school teachers went through a process of professionalization. Step by step, they managed to gain greater influence on educational issues. Their political representation increased, their influence on national and Nordic school meetings grew, their education became longer and a new national organisation of elementary school teachers was founded³³. To this list we should add the new importance of history, the fact that social status was achieved by the use of history. The elementary school teachers did not just increase their status through increased education, or by being active in Parliament, or by taking a large number of courses in their spare time. Their increased status was also detectable in the way in which they remembered their past, erected monuments and buried their leaders.

A teacher in the government

An important part of the status question was press coverage: obituaries and articles about a funeral. We saw earlier that the Swedish teachers magazine wrote extensively about Fridtjuv Berg's death, and this ambitious coverage was an expression of the community ideal that constructed him as one of its main leaders. However, regardless of how many pages this particular magazine devoted to this subject, it did not affect Berg's status in society at large. For general recognition it was also of paramount importance that other newspaper printed obituaries and that they showed a certain degree of respect. These newspapers signalled that he was an important person outside of the community of elementary school teachers, and this esteem could also be used in communication with the teacher community. In fact, it is obvious that the Swedish teachers magazine was very interested in what other newspapers wrote. They used extensive space in their magazine (5 pages) to reproduce other obituaries and comments³⁴.

An obituary is a micro-biography, a short, condensed piece that summarises the life of a person, often with a focus on the most positive achievements. The

Princeton University Press, 2015.

³³ C. Florin, *Kampen om katedern: feminiserings- och professionaliseringsprocessen inom den svenska folkskolans lärarkår 1860-1906*, Umeå, Umeå universitet, 1987.

³⁴ «Svensk läraretidning», n. 11, 1916, pp. 186-191.

vast number of obituaries was a way of summarising Berg's achievements and thereby symbolically celebrating the teaching profession. Berg's career was dedicated to education, and he worked in many different spheres of the educational system – from the classroom to the government. However, what most obituaries tended to focus on was not his achievements as a teacher, as a textbook writer or even as a teacher unionist. The part of his life that was most frequently described was his time as Education Minister. This means that the obituaries focused on a relatively short part of his life. His time as a minister lasted in total less than three years.

There were good reasons for focusing on his time as a minister. It was after all his most public position, and a quite recent one as well (his second period as Education Minister ended in February 1914). In terms of social status, it was also his most prestigious position. What is important is that he was also a new kind of Education Minister with a new kind of social background. Previous ministers were often prominent academics. Several were Fellows of the Swedish Academy, some held positions as professors, others were headmasters of prestigious grammar schools. In contrast, Berg was just an elementary school teacher. His education was limited to elementary schooling, prematurely terminated studies in secondary school, one year in teacher training college and one year at a Folk High School in Denmark. He never went to university and he did not graduate from upper secondary school. In that respect he was a new kind of education minister. His elementary school background made him a symbol of the rising social status of elementary school teachers. As one obituary expressed it:

That an elementary school teacher became a government minister was, naturally, of great importance for raising the status of his profession³⁵.

The fact that Fridtjov Berg was an autodidact distinguished him from many previous Ministers of Education. His lack of formal education was a sensation when he became a minister, according to one obituary:

To the amazement of the country, an elementary school teacher was Head of the Church of Sweden and Minister of Education, a man who had never been to university³⁶.

The art of managing conflicts

The obituary is a text in which we do not expect criticism of the person portrayed. Mostly the dead person is described in a very positive fashion, even

³⁵ Scrapbook, TAM-arkiv, *Falu-kuriren*.

³⁶ Scrapbook, TAM-arkiv, *Göteborgs handels- och sjöfartstidning*.

by opponents. This is true also of Berg's obituaries. Although there are a few examples of criticism of his time as a politician, the general tendency was to describe him in a positive fashion.

When all the obituaries are summarised, they seem to tell the reader that Berg was a unifier, a leader with loyal followers who were inspired to improve their positions as elementary school teachers in society, to the benefit of school and society. However, the obituaries also tell a different story, about a political life of hard struggles and conflicts. Several obituaries indicate or speak directly about the criticism and scepticism that Berg faced during parts of his career: how he was ridiculed when he became a minister; how he was criticised for being too unpatriotic in the conflict with Norway; how people protested against his spelling reform, aimed at simplifying spelling in school. It is interesting that these conflicts are mentioned in the obituaries. Reference to them means that the harmonious picture that 'everybody loves Fridtjuv Berg today' was complemented by the opposite view of struggle and conflict.

It is also possible to see these conflicts as important elements in the construction of unity, and perhaps also of social status. The funeral was, in some respects, a protest against the ways in which Berg had allegedly been treated. It is most likely that the critics were, paradoxically, co-constructors of the wave of sympathy that the funeral expressed. It may not be a coincidence that this kind of burial occurred roughly during the same period as the great protest marches, at the same time as the mass became an actor in society's power game, for example in the rise of the celebration of May Day. The commemoration of Berg does at times have the character of a protest against what were described as false allegations and harsh media criticism³⁷. In that sense, the funeral had some similarities to a protest march, a collective protest masked as a parade. In this case the (implied) protest was partly about Berg as a person and partly about the teacher collective that he represented. While he was not hated as personally as, for example, Staaff was, he did represent a profession that was accustomed to being belittled. This brings us to our last theme in this article.

3. *An unfinished project*

We have seen how the funeral expressed what looked like two major achievements of the Swedish elementary school teachers at the beginning of the 20th century: their strengthened community and their heightened social status. This symbolism was partly the result of a mnemonic socialization conducted by

³⁷ On mourning as protest, see H.F. Senie, *Mourning in Protest: Spontaneous Memorials and the Sacralization of Public Space*, in J. Santino (ed.), *Spontaneous Shrines and the Public Memorialization of Death*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

the National Association of Elementary School Teachers that had been going on for some decades and culminated in the organization of Berg's funeral. However, in order to fully understand the meaning of the funeral, it would be wrong to see it only as an expression of a more or less finalised process of increased status and social cohesion. Rather than seeing the funeral only as a celebration of a finished project, we might just as well see it as a defence of an unfinished or even threatened process.

The first reason for this interpretation has to do with the disruption that death causes. When somebody dies, there is always the possibility that chaos will prevail in an organisation. In her study of the leader cult in the U.S.S.R., Tumarkin points out that the cult of Lenin escalated after his death. One explanation of this fact is that there was a need to strengthen the community in a potentially unstable situation. Lenin became «a unifying symbol that could and did inspire energetic loyalty during the potentially unstable interregnum that followed Lenin's death»³⁸. A similar conclusion is drawn in an anthropological study on rituals surrounding death:

It seems that the most powerful natural symbol for the continuity of any community, large or small, simply or complex, is, by a strange and dynamic paradox, to be found in the death of its leader, and the representation of that striking event³⁹.

A second reason for viewing the funeral in relation to unfinished projects has to do with the concrete political goals that characterised Fridtjuv Berg's thinking. Berg's most important idea had to do with comprehensive education, a common school for all social classes. The results of this struggle were quite small; the goal had not yet been achieved. However, by constructing him, or at least his ideas, as immortal, it was possible to imagine a time when the seeds of history could start growing in the soil of the future. As one obituary put it:

all this is seed that has borne fruit and which now, for many a year, since his voice was silenced for ever, will continue to flourish and produce rich harvests for the good fortune of our people⁴⁰.

A third reason for seeing the funeral as expressing an unfinished or flawed project has to do with the ambiguous status of elementary school teachers. They were occasionally mocked in the press, they still lacked university education, in contrast to secondary school teachers, and a recent attempt by them to gain access to university studies had failed⁴¹. Clearly, the rising social status

³⁸ Tumarkin, *Lenin lives! The Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia*, cit., p. 207.

³⁹ R. Huntington, P. Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death. The Anthropology of Mortuary Rituals*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 182.

⁴⁰ *Fridtjuv Berg – kamraten*, «Svensk läraretidning», n. 13, 1916, p. 228.

⁴¹ Florin, *Kampen om katedern: feminiserings- och professionaliseringsprocessen inom den svenska folkskolans lärarkår 1860-1906*; Landahl, *Politik & pedagogik: en biografi över*

of elementary school teachers was not a completed project. The precarious nature of the social position of teachers was therefore, one might conclude, an important reason for celebrating the signs that could still be interpreted as demonstrating social status.

A fourth reason has to do with community and gender issues. In 1906 a major crisis affected the national teacher organisation, creating severe tensions between two categories of teachers: male and female. The crisis consisted in a proposal about salaries put forward by Berg during his time as Education Minister. The controversial aspect of the proposition was that it introduced different salaries for men and women. This was a new policy for which the women teachers felt betrayed. In protest they formed a new organisation, exclusively aimed at women teachers, and they also started a magazine⁴². This was a major problem for the cohesion of elementary school teachers, and Berg later modified his position; but the dissolution had already begun, and it would increase even further when an association for only male teachers was established⁴³. When Berg died there are also indications that the association for women teachers had not forgiven him for the salary regulation. In contrast to many other teachers associations and other educational organisations, the women's organisation did not send a wreath to the funeral. This absence of a wreath from the women teachers was not the only example of a conspicuous silence from the women's organisation. It is also a striking fact that the magazine *Lärarinneförbundet* (The Female Teachers Association) waited for two and a half months before publishing a text about the death of Berg – in contrast to the leading magazine for elementary school teachers, which published eight pages about the funeral the day after it took place. One reason for the delay was that *Lärarinneförbundet* was not published very often; only five issues were printed in 1916, but the April issue did not include his obituary. Not until the middle of May did the issue come with a text in memory of Berg – and this had been sent in by one of its reader. This indicates that the decision concerning different salaries for male and female teachers was traumatic for the elementary school teachers' cohesion. It is also very striking that most obituaries do not explicitly mention this trauma. Rather, Berg is described as the great unifier. This selective way of remembering shows how the funeral was used as a way of healing wounds or hiding aspects of the past that did not fit the image of a fragmented teaching profession.

Fridtjuv Berg, cit.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Landahl, *Politik & pedagogik: en biografi över Fridtjuv Berg*, cit.

4. *Discussion: immortality as a professional strategy*

This article has discussed the relationship between death, community and status in the context of a professional group during the early 20th century. In any society and any context, death constitutes a crisis, and different societies invent different kinds of rituals to deal with it. The cemetery is one example of an attempt that both separates and blurs the boundaries between the living and the dead: «Maintaining the dead as members of society maintains the continuing life of the living. [...] The cemetery is an enduring physical emblem, a substantial and visible symbol of this agreement among men that they will not let each other die»⁴⁴. Creating such a continuity is a way of handling the disruption of death, to counteract the discontinuity that might follow and to strengthen the community. By commemorating dead people, history is told and a mnemonic community is strengthened. «Indeed, familiarizing new members with its past is an important part of a community's effort to incorporate them»⁴⁵.

The attempt to remember people, in a sense making them immortal, is in some cases more evident than in others. In fact, it mirrors ongoing power struggles between social groups. In the perspective developed by Zygmunt Bauman, we can describe it as a way of making some people more immortal than others. In that respect, death is the great de-equalizer. «Through the social rituals we all become in a sense immortal, but some of us will obviously become more immortal than others. [...] The political economy of immortality proves, under closer scrutiny, to be just another policy of stratification; perhaps the most effective of such policies»⁴⁶. When school teachers paid tribute to their dead leader and thus immortalized him, it can be described as a democratization of an established strategy for social status that had previously been reserved for the elite.

This article has analysed what the celebration of a dead leader of elementary school teachers symbolised and how it was made possible. Elementary school teachers had for decades nourished a historically oriented culture in which interest in great pedagogues was a central aspect. They had struggled for increased social status and internal cohesion. To a certain extent they had reason to feel that they had succeeded, but to a certain extent they also had reason to doubt how far they had succeeded. Increased social status and social cohesion was still an unfinished project, or even a threatened project. It is therefore possible to interpret the funeral both as a celebration of real achievements and as an exhortation to keep going. Thus the collective remembering was about both past history and the future.

⁴⁴ W. Lloyd Warner, *The Living and the Dead: A Study of the Symbolic life of Americans*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1959, p. 285.

⁴⁵ E. Zerubavel, *Social Memories: Steps to a Sociology of the Past*, «Qualitative Sociology», vol. 19, n. 3, 1996, pp. 283-299, quotation on p. 290.

⁴⁶ Z. Bauman, *Mortality, Immortality and Other Life Strategies*, Cambridge, Polity, 1992, p. 53.

Remembering teachers and headmasters. Funeral memories as source in history of education between nation building and collective memory

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ABSTRACT: Studies of school memories have underlined the heuristic value of many new sources which have been underused by education historians until now. This contribution sets out to analyse the forms of public commemorations of school teachers and headmasters, understood as historical sources able to reveal many aspects of school, collective and public memories. Starting from the studies of obituaries of school teachers and officials in Italy, the paper circumscribes the area of investigation to the local case of the city of Bologna (Italy) from the Unity of Italy to the post-Second World War period. Some common aspects emerge over time in relation to the contents and forms of commemoration, but also the peculiarities in relation to the different historical periods and the different ways of remembering female and male school teachers, in a sort of «gender» commemoration.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; School memories; Primary teachers' and Headmasters' funeral memories; Collective memory; Italy; XXth Century.

Introduction

The recent historiographical attention towards school memories and forms of collective and public memory¹, has led education and school historians to

¹ *International symposium "school memories" New Trends in Historical Research into Education Heuristic Perspectives and Methodological Issues*, Seville 22-23 September, 2015. Following the conference, a selection of articles were published by C. Janes-Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends In The History of Education*, Cham, Springer, 2017.

consider public commemorations and printed obituaries as new sources of research, able not only to provide information on professional biographies but also to underline the social relevance of some teachers who remain in the collective memory. In this regard, the studies of Anna Ascenzi and Roberto Sani brought to light the forms and methods of obituaries published in some prestigious Italian teaching journals in the period running from Italian Unity to after the Second World War, collected when drafting the *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione* (Biographical Dictionary of Education), outlining the transformations of the social image of teachers in Italian cultural history in relation to various political and cultural contexts². While the obituaries in teaching journals enlighten the collective teaching memory built from “inside”, other sources show the social representation of the teacher identity, for example the commemorations of teaching staff in public and/or official speeches given by the authorities, sometimes during the unveiling of name stones or the inauguration of school buildings named after school staff.

These speeches can also be considered as sources useful for building historical-educational knowledge, not only for their reconstruction of biographies but also for the social, political and cultural consideration of school staff in a precise historical moment and, in the long term, the evolution of the social image of teachers.

This contribution examines the commemorative speeches given by members of the municipal councils of the city of Bologna at the funerals of teachers and school officials in the period from Italian Unity to after the Second World War, as well as the obituaries published in the official municipal journal and other journals of the period. This local case study offers insight into the many contextual reasons linked to the choice of some commemorations, based on the knowledge of the local dynamics of public authorities, institutions and figures, a possibility which often escapes national and “top-down” reconstructions³. Moreover, in the long term this type of investigation can contribute to the

² 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)*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2016; G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, 2 vols., Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013 (hereinafter DBE). Generally, on obituaries as instruments for the construction of the social identity of groups and communities, see M. Perry, *Red Ellen' Wilkinson: Her ideas, movements and world*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2014.

³ M. D'Ascenzo, *Linee di ricerca della storiografia scolastica in Italia: la storia locale*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 3, n. 1, 2016, 249-272; Ead., *The impact of the local dimension on the history of teaching profession in Italy*, «Rivista di storia dell'educazione», vol. 5, n. 1, 2018, pp. 153-171; Ead., *Creating Places of Public Memory through the Naming of School Buildings. A Case Study of Urban School Spaces in Bologna in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, «El futuro del pasado», vol. 7, 2016, pp. 441-458.

historical reconstruction of the collective representation of the teaching profession, and thus of the identity of teachers held in the collective memory⁴.

1. *The late appearance of commemorations of teachers and war heroes on the altars of collective memory*

Systematically digging into the minutes of the Bologna municipal council meetings in the first decades after Unity, we find the obituaries of great political and cultural figures, yet none commemorating teachers. It is not hard to imagine the reasons for this. Public commemoration is naturally a highly symbolic gesture, aiming to celebrate the power of the time and construct a collective identity, which in the second half of the 19th century recognised the symbols of *nation building* in the – both nationally and locally relevant – renowned personalities of Renaissance politics, a sort of aristocracy of commemoration that was functional to the ruling classes⁵.

Indeed it is not by chance that the commemorations of school teachers began to appear in the minutes of the municipal council meetings during the Socialist council chaired by Francesco Zanardi between 1914 and 1920. This was certainly a different choice, aiming to reassess the school “workers”, the teachers, but it is certainly not by chance that these commemorations referred above all to teachers who died in the Great War or those who were deeply committed to political and cultural fields. The reason for the change in traditional figures of commemoration was therefore generally political – that of the Socialist council and the «redemption of the meek» – and related to the more general context of the Great War. While the Great War triggered a profoundly emotional collective period, catalysing the attention of the local people and the authorities in the municipal council, it is also true that the choice of commemorating municipal

⁴ On collective memory refer to M. Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1950; J. Le Goff (ed.), *La nuova storia*, Turin, Einaudi, 1977, pp. 347-399; P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989; A. Huyssen, *Present pasts. Urban palimpsests and the politics of memory*, Stanford, Stanford University, 2003; P. Nora (ed.), *Entre Mémoire et Histoire*, in Id., *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. I, Paris, Gallimard, 1984; P. Jedlowski, *Memoria, esperienza e modernità*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 1989; E. Zerubavel, *Mappe del tempo. Memoria collettiva e costruzione sociale del passato*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2005; J. Assmann, *Cultural memory and early civilization. Writing, remembrance, and political imagination*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011; U. Fabietti, V. Matera, *Memorie e identità. Simboli e strategie del ricordo*, Milan, Meltemi, 2018.

⁵ As explained by B. Schwartz «to remember is to place a part of the past in the service of conceptions and needd of the present» in Id., *The social context of commemoration: a study in collective memory*, «Social Forces», vol. 61, n. 2, 1982, p. 374. Sulla storia della scuola di Bologna nel periodo considerate see M. D’Ascenzo, *Tra centro e periferia. La scuola elementare dalla Daneo Credaro all’avocazione statale 1911-1933*, Bologna, Clueb, 2006.

staff who died in the Great War represented the council's ultimate defence against claims of neutralism and scant patriotism. Indeed it was precisely the Socialist council which paved the way for commemorations of municipal staff, including teachers. The first was Dino Sassoli, who died in the war and was remembered by the Councillor for Education Mario Longhena as a «gentleman», a teacher of «sure and strict consciousness», both «good and mild» and learned

I must, here, in this hall [...] remember the first teacher of this municipality who died in the long war: Dino Sassoli. He was a Gentleman and a teacher of sure and strict consciousness: he performed his duty to the end, and in doing so was always good and mild. He was learned, and sought to increase his own culture in order to be able to disseminate it, improved, more delicate and better, to his children, of whom he was fond and who will remember him [...] Called to arms, he went, and as a soldier adopted that strictness he had set himself in school in the performance of his duties; and in his new life he earned esteem and affection. And he died in peace: his last thoughts were for his daughter, his mother and his wife: this he told to the poor soldier near him; and those women cry and that girl will never smile at her father again, with his serious frown and the sweet heart of a maiden⁶.

On the same occasion Longhena remembered the teacher Carolina Borzaghi

a young teacher of our schools, who born into a misfortunate family found her own way of overcoming the difficulties of her early years and – not by easy, parallel routes – earned her modest position, from which her teachings were offered with great nobility, like that she had known with her own efforts and pains and of which she bore the signs in her melancholic bearing and the austerity of her life⁷

thus underlining that fruitful determination for social redemption and feminine emancipation as a teacher whose lessons were of «great nobility», also confirmed by the memories of her teacher colleagues in the local teaching journal of the time

that elected educating soul had made an apostolate of her task in school. Learned, hard-working, tireless, she found joy in teaching and instilled all her goodness in those sweet maidens who had the fortune to be guided by her⁸.

Two years later, the mayor Francesco Zanardi dedicated much time to the commemoration of teacher Francesco Gualandi, underlining the sacrifice of a

passionate young man, full of faith, scrupulously honesty, devoted to duty, who bravely took part in the harsh events of the war⁹

⁶ Historical Archives of the Municipality of Bologna, Minutes of the Bologna municipal council meetings (hereinafter ASCB, CC), 22 July 1916.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ S. A., *I nostri morti. Carolina Borzaghi*, «La Voce dei maestri» (hereinafter VM), vol. II, n. 10, 10 August 1916, p. 7.

⁹ ASCB, CC, 24 February 1918.

and more quickly remembering a teacher from the Bolognese «old school», Lorenzo Garbieri, without any particular epithets.

The two teachers who died in the war were also remembered in the official municipal journal «La vita cittadina» in a short obituary with a small portrait¹⁰. They were also remembered by the city teachers' association, not only for their patriotic but also their personal virtues. Sassoli in particular was celebrated for the humility with which he made no claims for his noble social background and his solid classical culture, along with his kindness and human nobility

Dino Sassoli was one of our most valorous and most modest colleagues. But not only because he was a teacher, whose colleagues and pupils are afflicted with profound sorrow; but also because this educator had all the virtues and affections of a perfect gentleman. This young man, who could have claimed a high noble title, and who was a school teacher; who had the kindness of a maiden and who improvised as a soldier, well used to the harsh fatigues of war; who, due to the depth of his doctrine and his innate artistic taste, was able to talk in detail of a Greek or Latin classic, and who loved to ask advice from his newest colleague on questions of elementary teaching; this young man who earned the esteem and affection of everyone who knew him because he was able to compound these apparent contradictions within a higher principle which summed together all of his virtues and which he called nobility. To a friend who once invited him to claim his noble title for himself and his family, he replied: Nobility... you need only to feel it in your soul. This sums up all of Dino Sassoli¹¹

while Gualandi, for his activism in the Bologna Teachers' Society, as a «dearest colleague»

aged 26, in the blossom of his youth, an ardent believer in ideals, Francesco Gualandi, captain and gunner, our dearest colleague and teacher in the schools of Bologna, sacrificed his life for his country. Having been seriously injured, he died on 17th January in the Seminary hospital, in the arms of his adoring wife and his father. The funeral attracted a huge demonstration of affection and a tribute of honour by the local people and the civil and military authorities. This can only partly soothe the horrible agony of his wife and family. The Bologna Teachers' Society, which considered him as one of their dearest sons and bravest soldiers, is profoundly moved by this terrible tragedy, and sends its deepest condolences to the family of its dear, lost colleague. Our Association shall aptly honour his memory and that of other colleagues who lost their lives in the tragic events of the past few years, and whose memory lives on in our hearts¹².

It must be added that other primary school teachers died in the war during those years, but were not commemorated in the council, or at least none of them were honoured with the emphasis and breadth attributed to Sassoli and

¹⁰ S.A., *Funzionari municipali morti in guerra. Sassoli maestro Dino*, «La vita cittadina» (hereinafter VC), n. 4, April 1918, p. 96; S. A., *Funzionari municipali morti in guerra. Gualandi maestro Francesco Giuseppe*, «VC», n. 8, August 1918, p. 209.

¹¹ La Voce, *Il capitano Dino Sassoli*, «VM», vol. II, n. 9, 10 July 1916, p. 7.

¹² S.A., *Il nostro olocausto*, «VM», vol. IV, n. 3, 7 February 1918, p. 2; S.A., *Francesco Gualandi*, «VM», vol. IV, n. 5, 7 February 1918, p. 2.

Gualandi, as if they were the chosen heroes of a neutralist council, precisely because they were more well-known in the city due to their family background on one hand and their socialistic militancy on the other. Their public memory as «sacrificial victims» of the teaching class was an opportunity to strengthen the city identity, thus building a kind of collective school memory which clear political and pedagogic purposes.

Again in 1919 Zanardi remembered worthy local citizens and simple municipal employees, including teachers, while at length Longhena commemorated Gustavo Guazzaloca, one of the first promoters of the Teachers' Society in the second half of the 19th century who worked actively in school and welfare initiatives, underlining his untiring works with war orphans¹³. It almost seemed that with this commemoration of Guazzaloca, Longhena sought confirmation of the efforts the Socialist council was making to help children during the War: this was therefore also an instrumental commemoration for political purposes. In all these cases during the Socialist council, the number of commemorations of simple figures in civil society increased, and therefore municipal teachers were understood as figures devoted to teaching as mere citizens, and women as a cry for emancipation, emblems of a teaching identity marked by clear ethic, civil and patriotic tension.

2. A «gender» commemoration during the twenty years of Fascism

The violent arrival of Fascism in the city saw an increase in commemorations in the minutes of the municipal council meetings, both relating to illustrious figures and municipal employees, including teachers. This outlined a policy of reconfiguration of the local collective memory, through frequent commemorations and namings of schools and buildings, with the related inauguration ceremonies. Greater emphasis was paid to deceased teachers, many of whom came from the «old guard», but the choices of the school staff profiles and the contents and methods of the commemorations moved in a, if not «Fascist», at least nationalist direction. In April 1924 the teacher Amalia Casali was commemorated by the mayor Umberto Puppini, who offered an interesting description

a humble and modest lady, perhaps not known to many of Bologna's citizens [...] she was the teacher that the Government of King Vittorio Emanuele II assigned to the first school that the Government had opened in the municipality of Bologna. Mrs Mattiuzzi was the first primary school teacher who flew the Italian flag from a school in our city. She was born in Venice 98 years ago. She played a lively role in works of piety and patriotism from the

¹³ O. Vancini, *Necrologio. Gustavo Guazzaloca*, «VC», n. 5, May 1919, p. 10. M. D'Ascenzo, *Guazzaloca Gustavo*, in *DBE*, cit., Vol. 1, pp. 697.

very constitution of the Kingdom of Italy. In 1861 she lost her husband and had to work to survive; she thus qualified as a teacher, entering teaching when she was getting on in life, aged 38. She loved School. On Sunday she would teach girls and women. She kept the school open for her female pupils even during the summer. And many of them, overcoming that natural instinct children have of enjoying their holidays, attended the school even in the summer, such was their fondness for the teacher. She continued to teach until the age of 73. I repeat that I commemorate this first Female Teacher of the schools of Bologna not only to underline her own very special merits, not only to offer expressions of comfort for her own son, who was first a worthy teacher and then a headmaster in our schools, but because I feel that the name of the teacher Mrs. Mattiuzzi may, due to the special circumstances of her life, be considered a marker and a symbol. As soon as the opportunity presents itself, after completing all previous commitments, the municipal administration proposes to name a school after «Amalia Casali Mattiuzzi». In doing so we do not intend merely to honour this unsurpassed educator, this first female teacher in the municipality of Bologna, but also to honour, through her, all those teachers we had, many of whom live on only in our memory; and we also intend to keep the virtues of Mrs Mattiuzzi alive among our teaching staff, so that they may be kept in future, as was in the past and which continues today, worthy of our first and most noble of primary school teachers (applause)¹⁴.

proposing the establishment of a new school named after this «lover of school» and «unsurpassed educator» rich in virtue, an emblem of all the deceased teachers of the city who «live on only in our memory» and who were a «marker and a symbol» for all present and future teachers. This commemoration aimed to celebrate the loyalty to the Homeland born from the Renaissance, very distant from the constant teachers' protests from the teaching associations which were then very active¹⁵. A municipal school was named after Mattiuzzi Casali in 1925 as she was «the first female primary school teacher in our municipal schools»¹⁶ and during the same council meeting two primary schools were named after Sassoli and Gualandi, indicated respectively as the «primary school teacher in the municipal schools, who died a hero in the Great War» and «municipal primary school teacher, who died following injuries sustained in the war»¹⁷.

A few months later the municipal council remembered the «sacred mission as an educator of young people» of Ugo Parmeggiani, the teacher who had stood out for his «unique educational virtues» and for his production of school material. His «perseverance» and civil passion, alongside his «rare modesty», were celebrated: these were virtues which the city's conservative climate

¹⁴ ASCB, CC, 17 April 1924.

¹⁵ On Bolognese teaching associations, see D'Ascenzo, *Tra centro e periferia*, cit. On the complex personal story of Amalia Casali see M. D'Ascenzo, *Educare la nazione. Le maestre a Bologna tra Otto e Novecento*, in F. Tarozzi, E. Betti (edd.), *Le italiane a Bologna. Percorsi al femminile in 150 anni di storia unitaria*, Bologna, Editrice Socialmente, 2013, pp. 85-91.

¹⁶ ASCB, CC, 16 February 1925.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* See M. D'Ascenzo, *Collective and public memory on the walls. School naming as a resource in history of education*, «History of education & children's literature», vol. XII, n. 1, 2017, pp. 633-657.

could not help but emphasise, as if the school and the positive characteristics of Parmeggiani, «who was a worthy and much loved teacher in our primary schools for thirty years»¹⁸ could act as a common city identity, built on the best pedagogic and educational innovations

in the vast school field, the teacher Ugo Parmeggiani stood out for his exceptional educational virtues; appointed as teacher in 1887, he retired from honourable service in 1917; he was headmaster in Arcoveggio and in the now-closed schools of S. Marcellino and Aurelio Saffi. He published a paper for teaching history and geography, which was highly appreciated as an effective teaching aid. He composed and published an atlas of the Renaissance, in which historical events were recorded clearly and precisely. His last work was a map of our city, updated with the most recent constructions. Our fond gratitude goes out to the memory of the late teacher, in the name of the local citizens and particularly all those who personally had the honour of appreciating the good works he did in his sacred mission of educating our young people, a mission performed for many long years with perseverance, faith, passion and rare modesty (applause)¹⁹.

The passage to the Podestà regime in 1926 interrupted the series of municipal council meeting minutes and the resolutions of the Podestà offer no elements for comparison and collective commemoration, even of teachers, and none can be found in the minutes of the municipal council supporting the Podestà in the following years. However, in the official journal of the municipal administration we find some obituaries or «crisantemi», some just a few rows long, some covering whole pages, above all in the case of elderly teachers from the city's «old guard», almost as if to define a collective school identity founded on the “legend of the origins”, that first “glorious” season when schools in Bologna first opened and were consolidated. In 1928 the «mourned and worthy teacher» Gustavo Guazzaloca was remembered through the prize established in his name²⁰, while in 1929 ample room was given to the celebration of the passing of the elderly teacher Adolfa Martinelli Solmi, whose career was peppered with awards and recognitions, due to her «domestic and civil virtues» as well as her «enlightened mind and profound culture, her generous heart and unwavering will»

mourning her loss, innumerable pupils in whom She had instilled such domestic and civil virtues. This worthy Teacher (N.B. with a capital 'T') had an enlightened mind and profound culture, generous heart and unwavering will: those who worked with Her learned many unforgettable lessons. Domestic misfortunes did nothing to compromise the sweetness and fervour of this educator, who always brought serenity and a smile to school. Alongside Her, distrust and consternation disappeared, as her infallible counsel, brought by maternal goodwill, restored courage and faith to any perturbed soul²¹

¹⁸ ASCB, CC, 26 May 1924.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ S.A., *Vita scolastica*, «Il Comune di Bologna» (hereinafter «CB»), n. 5, May 1928, p. 72.

²¹ A. Mingarelli, *Adolfa Martinelli Solmi*, in S.A., *Vita scolastica*, «CB», n. 1, January 1929, p. 66.

expressed in a brilliant career

in a very short time, the school authorities recognised this woman's spirit and entrusted her with the most delicate tasks. When the Edmondo De Amicis School, the first grand school building of our municipality, opened in 1898, she was assigned the position of 'Capo Cantonale'. Her 30 years' of work in our schools were, for 'Signora Solmi' (as everyone called her) a succession of the sweetest satisfactions. Indeed the Ministry awarded her firstly a silver medal and in 1922 a gold medal for 30 years' of teaching service, on her retirement. A public ceremony was held with the authorities and friends at the De Amicis school²².

In subsequent years, the funeral commemorations of teachers continued, and new aspects can be seen. The memory of male teachers appears focused clearly on the contents of their civil, cultural and educational works. For example in 1931 Michelangelo Pizzoli, one of the most senior and best teachers, was commemorated, remembering his long career in the city

graduating with honours from the Scuola Normale, he was one of our best teachers. For many years he was headmaster at the Santa Viola schools, in via Galliera, and in Piazza Galilei; he was then appointed as district director, and in this position Pizzoli stood out for his high sense of duty, his certain experience, his kindness and affability. In 1911 he was awarded the pension of merit, established by the Municipality for the most distinguished headmasters and teachers; and retired when he reached the limits of service. Ill for many years, he awaited death with serene awareness and passed away on 28 December 1930. He was born on 6 June 1857²³

or teacher Domenico Marabini, for his strictness, loyalty, intransigence, faith and patriotism

a teacher at the old school in Via dell'Orto Botanico, he was able to enliven that grey and dim classroom with his exuberant temperament and activity, which he took to extremes; I remember him as headmaster of the school in Arcoveggio, strict and loyal, intransigent in service and indulgent in judgement, at times violent in his scoldings yet always paternal in counsel; I remember him as a fervid defender of teachers and school, a man loved even when criticised. And as a man of action, who aroused love and alighted discussions and criticism. Fervent in faith, fervent in patriotism, fervent in his endless fatigue, he was not beaten by sorrow when his young son died, he was not beaten by the political aversions after the war, he did not tire in those many years devoted to the school. An incurable disease broke his vigorous fibre, but did not break his spirit; and he passed away as a man with a peaceful conscience²⁴.

Two years later headmaster Alberto Calderara commemorated the teacher Giuseppe Parmeggiani and his long teaching career after attending the Scuola Normale in Forlimpopoli

²² *Ibid.*, p. 66.

²³ S.A., *Crisantemi*, «CB», n. 1, January 1931, p. 92.

²⁴ A.C., *Vita scolastica*, «CB», n. 6, June 1931, p. 95.

where Valfredo Carducci's proud modesty educated paternally and austere. Having won a study grant, the college annexed to the school wanted him to take up a teaching post immediately and he held that office with the probity and full awareness of duty which accompanied him throughout his life²⁵

he then went on to develop a long career, identifying the teaching profession with the sense of duty, keeping one's word, honesty and humility as the virtues of teachers *tout court*, as if they were skills that are now

gone, there is a scarcity of small virtues. Keeping time, keeping his word, not being ashamed of conversing with simple people, recognising his humble beginnings, speaking his mind when needed to each man without bravado but with firm yet muted words, escaping gossip, serving those in need cordially and naturally, without any superfluous words but rather with diligent interest, these are the virtues of Giuseppe Parmeggiani, and which are worth remembering even now that he has left us for eternity, as time will be the best judge of him²⁶.

Again in 1933 an important headmaster was commemorated: Alessandro Graziani, celebrated with a two-page long obituary which illustrated his rich *curriculum* of work and success, achieved «with admirable zeal», striving for the «improvement and enrichment of his culture», becoming a municipal school inspector and thus offering «additional proof of his dynamic and intelligent organisational and managerial skills» with the addition of human qualities which completed his professional identity as a teacher and headmaster, as well as a «worthy citizen»

wherever he appeared, his upright, noble figure offered a lively appeal for discipline, the aware performance of duty, and the thaumaturgic virtues of will; his word, always mild and affectionate even when scolding, never fell short, as his exquisitely sensitive soul always allowed him to find the right tone and the best way to touch people's hearts²⁷.

These long commemorations to men focused more on telling of their «high» cultural profiles, teaching skills, civil commitment, but without any specific political lean, aside from some generic references to «patriotism». In the case of female teachers, on the other hand, with the exception of Adolfa Solmi, it seems rather that they were celebrated for the characteristic «maternal» virtues attributed by convention and common opinion to female teachers, who were relegated to indefatigable self-denial, sweetness, obedience, modesty and industrious silence²⁸. And thus in 1929 the teacher Clementina Cincinnati was

²⁵ A. Calderara, *Giuseppe Parmeggiani*, «CB», n. 10, October 1933, p. 90.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

²⁷ S.A., *Alessandro Graziani*, «CB», n. 2, 1933, pp. 79-80.

²⁸ C. Covato, *Maestre e professoresse fra '800 e '900: emancipazione femminile e stereotipi di «genere»*, in S. Olivieri (ed.), *Essere donne insegnanti: storia, professionalità e cultura di genere*, Turin, Rosenberg & Sellier, 1996, pp. 19-46; A. Ascenzi, *Drammi privati e pubbliche virtù. La maestra italiana dell'Ottocento tra narrazione letteraria e cronaca giornalistica*, Macerata, eum, 2012.

lively, intelligent, industrious and kind. Working in silence, with her own very special art, ability and self-denial, she earned the affection, esteem and admiration of all those who had become familiar with her talents of the mind, heart and character [...] her activity was prodigious and her modesty on a par with her activity: she had to be seen at work to understand her worth; she was never the one to underline it²⁹

indeed so much that she left a profound mark on the families and in the schools where she had used a camera

and one by one she entertained the pupils from all the classes, who, in the few minutes of recreation, were happy to see the lovely films which she had chosen with meticulous care and which she changed every week³⁰.

With the same «feminine» rhetorical tones used for female teachers, the «worthy teacher» Marcellina Cecconi from the Acri schools was commemorated: «the memory of that good and kind lady, an example and goodness, patience and self-denial, was still alive»³¹ and Zelinda Nicoli, remembered for her

maternal sweetness with the children, cordiality with her colleagues, deference towards her superiors, all balanced by noble austerity which made her worship all and be worshipped. She had that culture and those sentiments which make the spirit, more than docile, fond of that humble office of primary school teacher and which cancel such office in the eyes of the pupils' relatives³²

just like Amelia Occhi³³, Bona Minarelli «for her long and intelligent work as an educator»³⁴, or Annita Corsini, with her «true mother's heart for the children» and the «disseminator of good» as

a valorous teacher in our city primary schools, that exquisite educator. She was truly an older sister, with a mother's heart for the children, whom she taught with abundant tenderness, intelligence and self-denial. The affectionate gratitude of the parents – the esteem of her superiors and colleagues, particularly those who were close to her in the last years at the “Giordani” and the “Venezian” – her love for the children, impressively manifested in that dark and rainy November, when a truly stricken crowd accompanied her to the eternal peace of her grave. The school has lost not only an excellent teacher but an untiring disseminator of good³⁵

teacher Teresa Veronesi «skilled, good, industrious teacher and noble educator», remembered for

²⁹ M. Serra, *Vita scolastica*, «CB», n. 9, September 1929, p. 80.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³¹ S.A., *Vita scolastica*, «CB», n. 10, October 1929, pp. 84-85.

³² A.C., *Vita scolastica*, «CB», n. 2, February 1931, p. 102.

³³ M. Bartolini, *Vita scolastica*, «CB», n. 5, May 1931, p. 938.

³⁴ S.A., *Vita scolastica*, «CB», n. 12, December 1931, p. 82.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

the affection and hard work she performed in life as a skilled, good and industrious teacher, noble educator, loving mother. All too soon death took away this precious existence, but cannot dowse the memory of her; in the heaven of the elected ones, the spirit of Teresa Parmeggiani Veronesi, who inspired enlightened goodness, shall always remain the guardian angel of her home³⁶

or in the forms of a kind of «feminine» sacerdotal ministry, commemorating the teacher Luisa Bertani

all the people of Santa Viola, demonstrating the love the good teacher had sown in her many years of teaching, paid tribute to her with flowers and a solemn, moving funeral. Honouring her memory, the Headmistress and colleagues of the XI section gave £200 to charity³⁷

and the maternal apostle of popular education for Ginevra Bertocchi Cavallazzi

who for over thirty years dedicated her life to educating the local children and to the sacred care of her family. Exemplary teacher, elected and most sensitive spirit, most generous in assisting the disgraces of others, wife and sweet mother, stoic in physical suffering, she did not want to leave the fatigue of school behind her when – having achieved that powerful dream of seeing her grown son worthy of her – she could have enjoyed some well-earned rest. And she fell, giving her last energies to the local children with noble generosity³⁸.

These commemorations of teachers share some common elements, at least until the mid-Thirties: industriousness, devotion, diligence, honesty, participation in the winning narrative *telos* of national education. However, the «male» commemorations underline energy, vigour, intelligence, educational worthiness, patriotism, while the «female» ones highlight the virtues of a profession still focused on the «maternal» dimension, which required silent and humble industriousness inspired by the ethics of sacrifice for the school, the family and the country. These two different narrative registers confirm the historical construction of the «male» and «female» teaching identity, perpetuating long-term gender stereotypes.

³⁶ S.A., *Vita scolastica*, «CB», n. 3, March 1932, p. 98.

³⁷ A.C., *Vita scolastica*, «CB», n. 2, February 1933, p. 106.

³⁸ A.C., *Vita scolastica*, «CB», n. 4, April 1934, p. 105. Other commemorations of teachers, with similar contents and tones, in S.A., *Vita scolastica*, «CB», n. 5, May 1932, p. 90 on Emma Falzone Fontanelli; in A.C., *Vita scolastica*, «CB», n. 3, March 1934, p. 97 on Maria D'Alessio Balducci who «left the school and life while the school still range out with the hymns celebrating the prize-giving day and life promised to be calm and rosy, finally after the long, loving and riting care spent educating the children».

3. *Remembering teachers after the Second World War*

Commemorations of teachers continued after the Second World War. These teachers had lived and worked through the age of Giolitti and Fascism, holding managerial positions in the municipality and contributing to the life of the city schools, and in 1933 had become state employees. The profiles, above all male, emerging from the investigation of the municipal council meeting minutes, are well known figures. In 1949 the municipal journal dedicated a whole page to the memory of Alfredo Plata, teacher and later school official in Bologna who was well known as an author of text books for primary schools, mentioning only quickly his political commitment as the organiser of the city's first teaching association and its periodical, neglecting the Fascist period and that of the renewed democracy³⁹.

On the contrary, the commemoration of Renato Tega in 1955 focused exclusively on his key political role as a Socialist, antifascist, exiled partisan and member of the Constituent Assembly, and thereafter municipal councillor and councillor for education in Bologna. Of the many pages dedicated to his memory, only some ex-teachers – including his ex-colleague Anna Serra in the ranks of the political opposition – briefly mentioned his teaching profession in terms of the «elevation of school» and as an «unequaled educator», underlining his virtues such as civil commitment towards the last

typical example of an 'old-school' teacher, who truly built worthy generations, a teacher of life, a man of undying conscience, civil coherence which cannot be disputed in any way⁴⁰.

In 1956, with no particular commemoration, the municipality paid a sum for the funeral of Augusta Rossi⁴¹, an obscure primary school teacher who became famous in 1950 having starred in a film made by the Istituto Luce on «Italy's oldest teacher»⁴². Indeed she had taught the major Giuseppe Dozza and other local and national cultural figures, as demonstrated in a publication from a few years later

we must not forget the teacher Augusta Rossi, a spinster, who died shortly before her 105th birthday on 30th September 1956. Her pupils included Mario Missiroli, Gherardo Gherardi, the mayor of Bologna Giuseppe Dozza, the son of Augusto Righi, Engineer Aldo, and many other Bolognese personalities. Given the rarity of her impressive age, on her centenary 'Settimana Incom' dedicated an article to her in 1950⁴³.

³⁹ S.A., *Alfredo Plata*, «CB», n. 3, December 1949, p. 42.

⁴⁰ ASCB, CC, 9 November 1955.

⁴¹ ASCB, CC, 3 December 1956.

⁴² <<https://www.storiaememoriadibologna.it/rossi-augusta-486207-persona>> (last access: 24.03.2018).

⁴³ A. Cervellati, *Bologna popolare. Piccole storie bolognesi*, Bologna, Tamari Editori, 1963, p. 185.

Between 1959 and 1961 three important figures of the city's school history died, and were widely commemorated during the council meetings. As men of the school, they were praised for their organisational and educational commitment, the role they played in the city education system, firstly as members of the teachers' association and subsequently mediators during the Fascist period. Arnaldo Cocchi, teacher and later general director of the Bologna primary schools and official of the Ministry, was remembered for his educational paternity towards all, his goodness and protection of anti-Fascist teachers

I also remember that men who during the twenty year period were persecuted for their democratic political ideas, were helped by him. This must not be forgotten, as his whole person will not be forgotten⁴⁴.

Councillor for Education Giuseppe Gabelli recalled the brilliant *curriculum* of Luigi Arnaud, «a life devoted wholly with a passion to school» as a «true teacher» of great culture, passion and intelligence right from the Giolitti era, with worthy works and writings, and coherent choices such as the abandonment of the teaching profession from 1925 to 1933 for political reasons and his formative role as the father of Bruno, who was awarded the gold medal of the Resistance⁴⁵.

In 1961 Councillor for Education Ettore Tarozzi commemorated Antonio Amadori, underlining his participation in the battles for school in the early 20th century, his silent work during Fascism and his appointment as headmaster in municipal schools, his position as a mentor for young teachers and his gifts of intellect and humanity which, indirectly, were indicated to the public as positive aspects of the teaching identity, that of being

a precise scholar of pedagogical problems, tenacious, a hard worker, who stood out above all for his humility, which freed him from all ostentation⁴⁶.

After three important «male» teachers and headmasters, the municipal council commemorated only two female teachers in the following decade. Ester Capponi and Anna Serra were ex-teachers who became municipal councillors, although not in the same political parties. Ester Capponi had taught in Bologna during the Fascist period, but her commemoration remembered above all her political commitment among the ranks of the Communist party during and after Fascism, «in exile for eighteen years»⁴⁷, municipal councillor after the Second World War and a leading figure in the «left» feminine battles of the Unione Donne Italiane (UDI) for which she was remembered

⁴⁴ ASCB, CC, 23 February 1959.

⁴⁵ ASCB, CC, 1 June 1959.

⁴⁶ ASCB, CC, 30 June 1961.

⁴⁷ ASCB, CC, 1 February 1963.

as a woman who, paying for this privilege with her own personal sacrifice, anticipated and made possible the time in which Italian women were able to exercise their rights and duties as citizens with dignity and responsibility⁴⁸.

The emerging profile is that of a strong, solid woman working at civil level and a «comrade» of the party, but in the labile traces of her commemoration as a teacher the words used refer to her «gifts of humanity, human warmth which her pupils of Castel San Pietro still remember» and as an «educator» who had devoted «her whole life to the struggle to elevate and emancipate the female working class», the very same words used to remember Renato Tega. This means that while the dimension of her political work prevailed, the image of the traditional sweet, maternal teacher is confirmed, with a stereotype of democracy which survived the war in Italy and remained transversal to various political orientations.

A little over a decade later, on her own death Anna Serra, who had often remembered her deceased colleagues in the municipal council in previous years, was also commemorated⁴⁹. Municipal councillor Giancarlo Tesini recalled the help he had received from her

because Anna Serra, and this – I believe – was a characteristic of her whole existence, a characteristic which perhaps came also from her profession: she enjoyed the responsibility of helping those who were unprepared, and was almost naturally led to feeling closer to younger people.

With great generosity, we celebrate her existence made of struggles, sacrifices and dedication right from the start, as a teacher, the daughter of teachers, in the mountain schools

which could only be reached along a mule track and she told us that she slept in a cot behind a curtain, and sometimes her pupils came to visit her in the snow and how cold she was

and the persecutions and searches by the Fascists at her home, because of her resistance to orders, in years which saw her commitment in the Azione Cattolica association and in schools grow, later becoming chairperson of the Bologna branch of the Associazione Italiana Maestri Cattolici (AIMC – Italian Association of Catholic Teachers), municipal councillor in the Democrazia Cristiana party in Bologna after the Second World War and holding ministerial positions. Serra was commemorated for her rigour and the strength of her ideas, her profound competence expressed with argumentative force in the council debates on school issues generally and particularly on the city schools, a veritable «strength» of the Christian Democrats in the council and

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ ASCB, CC, 24 April 1974.

an anticipator of new visions, above all a new vision of school, that more social vision of school which we progressively uphold today,

a true «school worker» defined by Angiola Sbaiz in the official commemoration and

illustrious educator who reached the dimension of commitment and impact of the great educators of the past, whose life was filled with intelligence and love representing her essential vocation, her talent as an organiser, as she is remembered here as the promotor of initiatives for children generally, we remember⁵⁰.

These contents and forms of collective memory are different from those used in the past for a female ex-teacher. Certainly the vast political and cultural profile was still underlined, but the words used were similar to those used for men; of course, the Seventies had digested the changes brought about by the struggle for female emancipation and Serra's characteristics were similar to those attributed in the past to male teachers and officials, those of competence and organisational skill.

The commemoration of Anna Serra in 1974 also marked the end of an area: that of the memory of «old guard» teachers and officials who had crossed the seasons of the Giolitti period, Fascism and the post-Second World War period, covering over eighty years of Italian history, in that difficult mediation of political ideals, civil commitment and the teaching profession, concretely working to develop educational practices, and ultimately defining a teaching identity whose memory – left to posterity – aimed to consolidate the ties of the Community between the past and present, in many cases also remaining in the collective and public memory.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, the words of councillor Giorgio Bonfiglioli.

Funeral memories as a form of promotion of the value system and contributions of important protagonists in the area of development of education in Montenegro

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ABSTRACT: This theoretical study focuses on the phenomenon of public forms of commemoration in order to describe and analyse the forms, functions and importance of commemorating the individuals who have contributed to the development of education in Montenegro. The research presents an analysis of: ceremonies and orations from the funerals; in educational and other public institutions; tombstones and funerary epitaphs; memorials (in memoriam/obituaries) in the journals; books of remembrance and papers given at scientific conferences, etc. It was shown that the forms of public commemorations are expressions of respect and sadness, as well as significant life celebrations of pedagogical workers, their performance and, in accordance with that, the corresponding value system. They are very important as fulfilment of the private formal obligations (funeral as one of the most important forms of human communication), but also as promoting the importance, history and progress of education.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Funeral Memories; Commemoration; History of Education; Montenegro; XIXth-XXIth Centuries.

Introduction

Modern Montenegrin society is characterized by fast development tendencies and modernization, striving to compensate the delay comparing to the most developed countries in Europe. One of its most significant particularities is that the huge importance is given to the traditional values and customs. The forms of

memories, i.e. the expressions of respect and sympathy for the deceased persons and their families are extremely important. On the other hand, the education of the individuals and their complete contribution have always been highly estimated and understood as a basis for the development of the Montenegrin society and its emancipation. Therefore, keeping memories of the famous protagonists' contribution to the development of education in Montenegro through the phenomena of public memorial forms have always had a specific importance and weight. They also had various and influential functions. Remembering the lives of certain individuals and continuous paying respect to the significance of education, as well as the affirmation of it, promoted and encouraged, at the same time, the importance of the very history of education, being the crucial content of the system of values in Montenegrin society and its complete history. However, the connection of these segments has never been systematically researched within the context of the history of education in Montenegro so far.

This research was based on the methods of analysis of documentation and theoretical analysis of available sources of information on the content, diversity, functions and importance of the phenomenon of public forms of commemoration dedicated to the work and life of deceased eminent teachers in Montenegro. We investigated and analysed all available sources of information about: the structure and content of ceremonies, especially speeches and jeremiads at the funerals of eminent personalities in the Montenegrin education; inscriptions on graves and monuments; obituaries in the daily and educational journals; books of remembrance and papers given at scientific conferences dedicated to the memory of the deceased eminent intellectuals and educators; etc. We specifically pointed out and analysed the specific things referring to the forms commemorating the deceased individuals, who were important in the fields of education, science and art. They are typical almost exclusively of Montenegro.

1. *The cult of death in Montenegro*

Having been born, a man was given a life, but at the same time they were thrust with their death. To be specific, «life and death show themselves marvelously inseparable: a child which is born bears in itself the legacy of death. A child is a virtual dead body, but a dying face may hope to be outlived in the memories of those who stay behind»¹. For a traditional Montenegrin, oblivion, i.e. spiritual death was worse than physical death. Its opposite is remembrance as a spiritual renaissance, which means life, like a resurrection

¹ L.V. Toma, *Antropologija smrti* [Anthropology of Death], 2 vols., Beograd, Prosveta, 1980, Vol. I, p. 23 (in Serbian).

or illusive immortality. It may look paradoxical, but one of the main reasons for such understanding of life lies in numerous wars and constant fight for survival through the turbulent history of its existence. By their acts, deeds and sacrificing their lives for the community, many of them earned respect and eternal life in the memories of generations to come. Montenegrins are obsessed with the cult of the dead, and it is almost unimportant how they lived, but whether they died honorably². Through the history, their physical existence was constantly jeopardized, but the strength was found in forms of memories and by respecting their history and the individuals who contributed to the survival and the development of the community by their achievements and by scarifying their lives. Over the long period of time in the past, the children in Montenegro were, instead of listening to their mothers singing them lullabies and telling them bedtime stories, listening to the hymns dedicated to their grand ancestors. These tribal and warrior way of life and upbringing are the reasons why the Montenegrins strongly identify themselves with their ancestors, which had influence on their character, morality and system of values³.

The aim has always been to enter the long remembrance and by that the eternal life. That was above all the expression of the way they understood the essence and the point of existence and not the consequence of the religious influence. Therefore, a typical Montenegrin was trying to go to death quietly, calmly, courageously and with no fear⁴, wishing an honorable and long lasting life (which is testified by a lot of old sayings like: «Do the work so that you live longer and die with honour»; «Work hard as if you are to die tomorrow»; «Lose your head for honour and do not lose honour for anything»; «It's better to die with honour than to live in shame»⁵). During the lifetime one should think of death, of dying with dignity, of how one would be mourned (in old sayings «Die like a man, not like a dog», in oaths «So I part with my soul in serenity» or «So to die shamelessly»⁶). Some thoughts of Petar II Petrovic Njegos (1813-1851; a head of church and state, a founder of the first primary school in Montenegro, a ruler famous for his work relating to the printing of the textbooks, education and intellectuals, who has remained the most important poet until the present day) on death became folk proverbs, like: «Blessed is the one who lives forever for he had the reason to be born»⁷ or «Everyone is born to die once, only honour and shame live forever»⁸. A huge number of other folk proverbs, which

² T. Bakovic, *Depresivni optimizam crnogoraca* [Depressive Optimism of Montenegrins], Zagreb, Jugoart, 1985, p. 58 (in Serbian).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁶ R. Delibasic, *Pedagogija po narodu* [Pedagogy by People], Podgorica, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 2012, pp. 232-233 (in Serbian).

⁷ P. II P. Njegos, *Gorski vijenac* [The Mountain Wreath], Beograd, Zavetine, 2008, p. 19 (in Serbian).

⁸ P. II P. Njegos, *Lazni car Scepan Mali* [The False Tsar Stephen the Little], Beograd, Delfi,

has death as their topic, and their meaning depict the relation to life and death in Montenegro. They are also important testimony and indicator of the local traditional system of values and customs.

There is an old tradition in Montenegro that public expression of mourning and remembrance of a beloved kinsman last for a year, sometimes much longer, or even until the day a mourner dies. Women used to express it by wearing black scarves on their heads, members of family by wearing black clothes, often black armbands and the traditional Montenegrin cap is lined with black colour. Practically, mourning is nowhere else expressed by traditional costumes to such a great extent as it is in Montenegro⁹. The above mentioned signs of mourning through clothes gradually became regular part or normal traditional costumes. They became forms of everlasting collective mourning and together with other traditions, they had their role in national upbringing, specially during the centuries of war when they were the reminders of the need to fight, sacrifice and maintained the consciousness of their community¹⁰.

2. Ceremony of the funeral

In the anthropological and ethnological sense, the main specificity of Montenegro's society has always been maintaining and respecting the culture of memory and, related thereto, the rite of funeral which originates in the Old Slavic animistic concepts, i.e. the belief in the existence of the soul as an immaterial part of man¹¹. This rite, as a complex expression of sadness, respect and celebration of one's contributions and his/her private life and professional work, has taken diverse forms, specifics and a complex structure in Montenegro.

Frequent presence by almost all members of community at funerals in Montenegro reminds them all of the crucial values in life and of human transience. The sense of life which is always in the shadow of death is one the major creative motives as well as a reminder that a person's existence should be marked with as many creative endeavors as possible¹². The funeral ceremonies are of great significance not only as a very important and complex form of communication with the dead, but also as a form of communication among the

2017, p. 24 (in Serbian).

⁹ M.S. Filipovic, *Obicaj kolektivnog trajnog zaljenja I* [The Custom of Collective Permanent Regret I], «Istorijski zapisi», Cetinje, vol. 4, n. 1-3, 1949, p. 84 (in Serbian).

¹⁰ M.S. Filipovic, *Obicaj kolektivnog trajnog zaljenja II* [The Custom of Collective Permanent Regret II], «Istorijski zapisi», Cetinje, vol. 4, n. 4-6, 1949, p. 156 (in Serbian).

¹¹ V. Zoric, D. Vuckovic, *Teacher education in Montenegro*, in K.G. Karras, C.C. Wolhuter (edd.), *International handbook on teachers education worldwide*, Nicosia, HM Studies and Publishing, 2018, pp. 710-725, p. 714.

¹² J. Strikovic, *Samoubistvo i apsurd* [Suicide and Absurdity], Beograd, Partizanska knjiga, 1982 (in Serbian).

living themselves. They are not just a reflection of respect and condolences to the family and friends of the deceased, but are in a certain way experienced as a part of the tradition and culture, as a moral obligation and the final farewell in this material world to the esteemed member of the community.

In the ritual of the funeral, being selected to be a speaker at a funeral or commemoration was the utmost privilege and responsibility. The individuals with the highest degree of intellectual ability and education have always been given the honour, those gifted with superb thought and writing, ability of expression, poetic and rhetoric skills, which have always been exceptionally highly valued in Montenegro. Namely, a person who gives a speech at a funeral is almost always one of the colleges of a passed away person, who has a gift for such a type of speech and who knew the dead person well. By this he is saying goodbye to the dead person in the name of all the present. By analysing those kind of speeches dedicated to the dead persons who deserved the honours in the field of education, it is easily noticed that these speeches do not speak only of the dead person, but of the present ones, i.e. of their feelings, recollections, etc. The prevailing feelings are sorrow, respect, perception of life and death through which the present are reminded of the crucial values of life, moral acts, love, family, work and endeavours. Commonly, at the end of the speech, a speaker directly addresses to the family with the words of support, gratitude, dignity and pride. The most frequent characteristics of a dead person which are pointed out are the relationship to their family, colleagues, local community, profession. The message which is sent speaks about what people should be like, i.e. self-sacrificing, consistent, noble, cordial, good, honest, modest, brave, honorable, loyal, hard-working, strong, etc. On these occasions, the origin of the family, upbringing and the reputation of the family, nation and fatherland are almost always emphasised. The speeches at funerals are usually ended with words: «May the eternal glory be with you!». It is a direct way of expressing gratitude to the dead person for all that they did in their lifetime. The significance of their deeds, the indelible mark which they left behind made them immortal in people's memories.

One of the most representative and most significant written testimony of the speeches on funerals in Montenegro is in the book *For Pride and Memory* («Za ponos i pamcenje»)¹³, written by Petko Boskovic. The author recorded 30 eulogies given at the funerals of respectable persons from year 1964 until 1999, many of which worked in the fields of education, science and art. Boskovic often gave eulogy speeches in the name of teachers, like the speech given at the funeral of Vladimir Sekulic, the teacher (1931-1992) in which he underlines the brightness, the strength of mind, the fight for justice and human happiness of

¹³ P. Boskovic, *Za ponos i pamcenje* [For Pride and Memory], Bijelo Polje, Društvo za proučavanje porijekla stanovništva Bijelo Polje & Grafikon, 2002, pp. 91-205 (in Serbian).

the late teacher¹⁴. There was a very inspiring eulogy speech at the funeral the teacher named Matija Knezevic (1913-1978), who was also a head master of a primary school in Pavino Polje, in which Boskovic emphasizes the late Knezevic's human characteristics, his parental and family traits, his human qualities, his strength in the tortures he was suffering during the wars. Boskovic specially points out Knezevic's pedagogical work, i.e. his devotion to the school work, his pedagogical approach, parental attitude, the feeling of respect for the young people, helping them to become independent, teaching them to become humane and patriots. Also, the fact that he was interested in their further successes as well as his work on adult education made him become a respectable and popular teacher with his role being educating, cultural and missionary¹⁵. In his eulogy speech at the funeral of the teacher named Camil Mehovic (1914-1990), Boskovic emphasized his endeavours in the local community and his commitment to the idea of national equality for which he was highly respected and loved by people of all nationalities and by all the people who knew him. He belonged to all and helped in building of multinational, tolerant, humane and democratic society. As a teacher, Mehovic taught young people to respect each other, to love and believe each other and, if needed, to unselfishly sacrifice for freedom, peace and progress, just like their ancestor had done. Mehovic received many recognitions and awards for his work as well as medals, which were specially pointed out in Boskovic's eulogy speech¹⁶. One of the most important reasons for that lies in the fact that medals as rewards have extremely important and specific value in Montenegrin tradition. In the above mentioned speeches and analyses of the educators' work and contribution, very important universal pedagogical values and characteristics of a good teacher in Montenegro are recognised. Those speeches saved from oblivion moral values and qualities, difficulties in life, successes and results, recognitions and rewards. The eulogy speeches are characterised by a painful and emotional addressing and a touching farewell to those people¹⁷. The speeches that are saved present recollections of a particular time context and people who were creating it and lived in it.

The eulogy speeches given at the commemoration ceremonies in educational institutions (like schools, universities, Montenegrin academy of art and Science, theatres, libraries, etc) are sometimes published in educational and scientific magazines in Montenegro. Those speeches have a function and largely a structure and characteristics of a necrology, i.e. in memoriam texts. One of those most representative speeches and speakers was the one held by Slobodan Vukicevic, a Sociology Professor and former dean of The Faculty of Philosophy in Niksic,

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 189-193. Speech was held at a funeral in Pavino Polje 13.04.1992.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-119. Speech was held at a funeral in Bijelo Polje 31.03.1978.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-181. Speech was held at a funeral in Bijelo Polje 02.01.1990.

¹⁷ M. Bulatovic, *Predgovor* [Preface], in Boskovic, *Za ponos i pamcenje*, cit., p. 10.

regarding the death of Miladin Miso Vukovic (1938-2007), a Professor of the Literature Theory and the Russian Literature and former Dean of The Faculty of Philosophy in Niksic on 10th October, 2007¹⁸. In his eulogy speech, Professor Vukicevic addressed to the family, colleagues and students of the deceased and to all the present citizens, pointing out the following: «Sense, calmness, dignity and ethics – that was Miso Vukovic»¹⁹. The description contains in short the essence of the personal and professional life and work of the deceased Vukovic. At the same time, it is a message to the present and future generations.

It is important who gives speech, how and about whom it is spoken at the funerals and commemoration ceremonies. It also refers to the traditional funeral customs which have remained specific almost only for Montenegro and they are called wailings and dirges. Men wail and this is almost only done while offering condolences at funerals of the deceased men. In the past it used to be inevitable tradition, whereas, today it is extremely rare. This is an expression of mourning by a mature or elderly man, who is a respectable figure in his community, and who, like an ancient actor, mourns for the deceased person with sentences and exclamations describing the character and merits of the deceased. Those are the short, well chosen and strong sentences which, at a certain moment, in a special atmosphere, echo painfully and touch the hearts of the present people. However, they are always well-measured and correspond to the reputation of the deceased person as well as to the time and place and by no means insult the mourning family and friends. Yet, one does not chant wail for everybody²⁰, while it is not hard to find right words for a good and important man. In the old Montenegro, «people used to have higher opinion of good wailings or dirges chanters than of a singer or a poet»²¹. They are, to a great extent, a vital living, life and personal example of the Montenegrin traditional, national literature roots and subsequently point out the significance of the ceremony referring to the memory of the dead.

A massive number of people and esthetic simplicity are general characteristics of the funeral ceremony in Montenegro, while the dirges are the specific ones. Death is usually announced by the loud mourning of the deceased person's closest family members²², and it is a very old tradition in Montenegro. One of the men in the family would mourn loudly and painfully in front of the deceased man's house²³. The tradition of mourning songs and dirges has been known in the world for over a few thousand years. Mourning songs has always been

¹⁸ S. Vukicevic, *Dubom – naucnik zivotom – eticar* [By Spirit – a Scientist by Life – an Ethician], «Vaspitanje i obrazovanje», vol. 32, n. 4, 2007, pp. 225-229 (in Serbian).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

²⁰ P. Vlahovic, *Obicaji, verovanja i praznoverice naroda Jugoslavije* [Customs, Beliefs and Superstitions of the People of Yugoslavia], Beograd, BIGZ, p. 48 (in Serbian).

²¹ Bakovic, *Depresivni optimizam crnogoraca*, cit., p. 58.

²² Vlahovic, *Obicaji, verovanja i praznoverice naroda Jugoslavije*, cit., p. 44.

²³ P.A. Rovinski, *Etnografija Crne Gore* [Ethnography of Montenegro], 2 vols., Podgorica, CID, 1998, Vol. II, p. 209 (in Serbian).

present in the region, but the custom of chanting the dirges at funerals is almost exclusively typical of Montenegro. The oldest written evidence of it was found in *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* («Ljetopis popa Dukljanina»), by anonymous author, a priest, most probably from the 12th century at the funeral of the king and legislator Svetopek²⁴. Vukoman Dzakovic (1905-1991), a headmaster of School Teacher Training Schools in Niksic and Belgrade and the professor of the Serbo-Croatian language and literature and a very important collector and researcher of the Montenegrin national dirges claimed that the classical ones appeared during the tribal life and resistance to the enemies, starting with the Turkish occupation at the end of the 15th century. They were frequent in the period until the Second World War and therefore, especially in this period, their role was not only to express pain for the dead, but to promote heroism and morale, which makes it a very specific artistic phenomenon²⁵. The creation and performing of the dirges in a traditional way have maintained in Montenegro almost to the present time, often in very developed forms. However, today they are present much more in rural than in urban areas.

Dzakovic explained in details that the difference between mourning songs and dirges lies in the fact that the mourning song is the grief that overwhelmed several women and it is intimate by nature. Therefore, it is not intended to listeners and it is older and widespread. On the other hand, the dirges are expressed by a woman who is publicly addressing to listeners and they have higher artistic form and content, enriched with stylistic pictures, proper tone and melody²⁶. The mourning song boils down to improvisation and has no artistic value whatsoever, while a dirge is mourning song in verses, as Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic (1787-1882, an important philologist, a language reformer and a collector of folk proverbs and dirges) described them²⁷. Vuk Vrcevic (1811-1882, born in Risan; a teacher, a writer and a collector of folk songs and Vuk Karadzic's associate) first started to systematically record Montenegrin folk dirges²⁸. The greatest collection (101 dirge) was created by Novica Saulic and it was published in 1929²⁹.

Dirges are refined way of saying goodbye to a deceased person through the art of choosing the right words which would express, in verses, the importance of their lives. The verses of sorrow and pain are expressed by women in melodic patterns. The dirges in verses are almost exclusively created by women. By

²⁴ S. Mijuskovic (ed.), *Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina* [Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja], Titograd, GZ, 1967, p. 202 (in Serbian).

²⁵ V. Dzakovic (ed.), *Crnogorske narodne tuzbalice* [Montenegrin Folk Dirges], Titograd, Graficki zavod, 1970, pp. 7-8 (in Serbian).

²⁶ Id. (ed.), *Crnogorske narodne tuzbalice*, cit.

²⁷ V. Karadzic, *Srpske narodne pjesme* [Serbian Folk Poems], 2 vols., Bec, Stamparija jermenskog manastira, 1841, Vol. I, p. 89 (in Serbian).

²⁸ V. Vrcevic, *Tuzbalice* [Dirges], Titograd, Pobjeda, 1986 (in Serbian).

²⁹ N. Saulic, *Srpske narodne tuzbalice* [Serbian Folk Dirges], Beograd, Graficki institut Narodna misao, 1929, p. VIII (in Serbian).

doing it, women paid respect to a deceased person, naming their good deeds, admiring their physical and spiritual characteristics. They would comfort the mourners, encourage, inspire, teach and give advice to them, as well as criticise the deceased for their mistakes and faults. Sometimes, they would outdo the men who gave speeches on the funerals³⁰. The dirges were supposed to provoke the desire among the ones present at funeral to look up to the deceased person. At the same time, the content of the dirges had to be realistic and true and the deceased had to deserve certain verses of dirges. The most important part of a dirge is its moral component because they point out what is considered to be a norm and value in a society³¹. They have always had an inspiring, critical, ethical, social and teaching role and function. Over time, they have become a part of collective consciousness and ethical being of the Montenegrin people³². The content and chanting of the dirges aimed at expressing the grief, reminding the present of the whole life of the deceased man. They are also directed to deceased's ancestors and members of the family and they want to preserve the memory of the dead man and prevent them from falling into the oblivion and complete death, thus keeping their spirit alive and touch the hearts of the present people. The content of the dirges in Montenegro region is mostly similar the one that appear in surrounding countries, where one can find them in decasyllabic verse. The main difference is that in Montenegro they are created in octosyllable verses, although decasyllabic is present as well³³.

With their lyricism and heroism, the dirges inspired even Petar II Petrovic Njegos. In his most important piece of writing called *The Mountain Wreath* («Gorski vijenac»)³⁴, which is considered to be the Bible of the Montenegrin people³⁵, he wrote a dirge as one the most beautiful lyric works of art (the dirge of Batric's sister³⁶). He also pointed out the social role of the dirges in times of fightings against the Turks because they inspired the fighters to heroic acts³⁷ (the dream of Vuk Mandusic³⁸). The above mentioned dirge is the most significant and the most influential one and the first to be printed in Montenegro. It is interesting that the dirge over the passed away Petar II Petrovic Njegos chanted by his sister Stana was not to be found and printed until the 20th century. In the dirge she says:

³⁰ Bakovic, *Depresivni optimizam crnogoraca*, cit., p. 158.

³¹ T. Cubelic, *Na stazama usmenog narodnog stvaralastva* [On the Paths of Verbal Folk Creativity], Osijek, Pedagoski fakultet, 1982, p. 69 (in Serbian).

³² Radojevic, *Crnogorske tuzbalice* [Montenegrin Dirges], in Vrcevic, *Tuzbalice*, cit., pp. 7-35, p. 29.

³³ Vlahovic, *Obicaji, verovanja i praznoverice naroda Jugoslavije*, cit., p. 46.

³⁴ Njegos, *Gorski vijenac*, cit.

³⁵ Vrcevic, *Tuzbalice*, cit., p. 41.

³⁶ Njegos, *Gorski vijenac*, cit., pp. 59-61.

³⁷ Dzakovic (ed.), *Crnogorske narodne tuzbalice*, cit., p. 9.

³⁸ Njegos, *Gorski vijenac*, cit., pp. 39-40.

[...] so beautiful and unresolved philosopher,
 At he prime of your life, oh you bishop.
 Golden mind, wholly wisdom, the head of the country,
 [...] you immortal before, as well as after death.
 [...] you ruled wisely over your Montenegro,
 [...] young Danilo will follow you, my master,
 Whom you left behind,
 And sent him all over the world,
 To learn wisdom, oh you wise head of ours³⁹.

The verses of the dirge written by Njegos's sister contain poetical expressions of grief, as well as admiration for his wisdom, ruling and spiritual abilities and accomplishments. She also mentioned Danilo Petrovic, Njegos's successor, whom he left behind and invested in his education. The way in which Njegos's parents said goodbye to their son and ruler was particularly dignified. They asked for no mourning, wailing or weeping. His mother Ivana addressed to her deceased son with the words filled with pride, love and pleasure to have had such son. She accentuated that she would not cry because Njegos had done so many things in his life and they were all very proud of him. His father Tomo's speech was, according to many, dignified, sensible and inspiring, with the conclusion that life must go on according to principles and values typical of Montenegro of that time⁴⁰. Pride, love, rationality and strength were the reflection of Njegos's figure, of the accomplishments and values of Montenegro of those days. Therefore, they influenced the relation to his death and life in general.

3. *Tombstones and funerary epitaphs*

The manner in which the deceased are buried and the objects which are placed by their corpses are indicative of the efforts to remain close to them and to maintain a relationship that once existed between them and the living. All over the world the cemeteries have been built in order to preserve the dead, but also to keep them physically separated from the places inhabited by the living; however, in the earlier days, there had been a practice to bury the dead in the gardens, houses, churches, etc., which is exactly where the life was at its most intense form⁴¹. A general attitude towards death in Montenegro, even today, is reflected in the fact that an average, traditionally raised Montenegrin

³⁹ See more in R. Pestic, *Tuzbalica sestre nad Njegosevim odrom* [Dirge of Njegos's sister on his grave], Cetinje, Glasnik etnografskog muzeja na Cetinju, vol. 3, 1963, pp. 347-352 (in Serbian).

⁴⁰ Vrcevic, *Tuzbalice*, cit., pp. 126-127.

⁴¹ I. Colovic, *Knjizevnost na groblju* [Literature at the Cemetery], Beograd, Narodna knjiga, 1983, p. 90 (in Serbian).

considers it far more important to build his own and his family's tomb than to buy or build a house⁴². The place of burial and a suitable tombstone with an inscription or an epitaph are supposed to correspond to the deceased in many respects, that is, to reflect their life and symbolically frame their importance. A specific example is the famous wish of Petar II Petrovic Njegos to be buried at the highest mountain's peak within the Montenegrin borders of the time, on the top of Lovcen, in a little and modest chapel which he had constructed previously to honor his predecessor Petar I Petrovic, at some distance from the inhabited areas and in a symbolically significant place. The wish of Njegos became true, but due to frequent warfare, the chapel was ruined and reconstructed many times. Eventually, the monumental mausoleum was built in its place in 1974, with a short dedication and no epitaph.

Stanko Ivanovic (1870-1927), once the rector of the Theology School in Cetinje (the first institution for education of clergymen and teachers in Montenegro⁴³), and subsequently a professor in the Grammar School in Skoplje, as well as a translator, died on Vis (an island in the contemporary Croatia), and was transferred and buried eight months later in Cetinje, in the garden of the Vlach Church. The following words were engraved on his tombstone:

Memento mori – Remember the Death
1870-1927
Protoiereus Stanko S. Ivanovic
Professor – Rector of the Theology School in Cetinje
Here, beneath this cold rock
In the eternal repose rests
A well-known fighter for people's rights
And freedom of the enslaved [...]⁴⁴.

On the other side of the tombstone, the following verses were engraved, representing a direct commemoration expressed by his former students:

Our kind teacher,
Only death and no fierce fight
Could distract you from your path
May your soul rest in peace
In the divine eternity
Forever you will be remembered
By all of us.
Your students⁴⁵.

⁴² Bakovic, *Depresivni optimizam crnogoraca*, cit., p. 58.

⁴³ See more in V. Zoric, *The development of primary school teachers education in Montenegro*, «History of Education & Childrens Literature», vol. 8, n. 1, 2013, pp. 107-129.

⁴⁴ Lj. Kapisoda, *Vlaska crkva* [Vlaska church], Cetinje, Obod, 1990, p. 35 (in Serbian).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

The words of gratitude expressed by former students and engraved on the tombstone represent the highest form of honoring the deceased educator. Unlike the contemporary practices, in the late 19th and the early 20th century it was not unusual for students and fellow teachers to express publically their connection with the teacher and colleague who passed away – it was common even in the wider region surrounding Montenegro⁴⁶.

In the yard of the Vlach Church there is, among others, the tombstone of Kostadin Sule Radov Radulovic (1790-1872). He was a widely known wise man and speaker in many occasions, funerals included, who invented and wrote numerous anecdotes (60), aphorisms, adages (1000) and riddles (100). He was regarded as a symbol of folk creative imagination and natural wisdom of common people, which is the reason why he is still called Montenegrin Socrates. A succinct inscription stands on his gravestone:

A wise man from people – the captain;
Sula Radov Radulovic;
1790-1872;
Komani – Cetinje;
Commemorating 100 years since he passed away;
The Board⁴⁷.

Thus, even a century after Radulovic died, no person had an idea for an epitaph good enough to do him honor and to suit this man who possessed extraordinary rhetoric skills himself and a great wisdom. No one could find adequate verses to match the power of his own words – the words which have always been the sublimation of the values most highly ranked in the Montenegrin folk tradition: humanity, good judgment, wisdom⁴⁸.

Matija Ban (1818-1903), a famous professor and a diplomat in Serbia, composed the epitaph for Djuro Milutinovic Crnogorac (1774-1844; born in Grahovo, near Rozaje), who was a blind player on *gusle* (traditional Montenegrin music instrument) and an excellent connoisseur of folk songs, as well as the first bookseller in the reformed Serbia of the 1830ies. Ban emphasized the virtues of the deceased:

You showed to the world that a miserable blind man
Can also serve his country in the best of ways [...]
You left this world, but your spirit

⁴⁶ B. Šuštar, *Zgodba z nagrobnika prvega ucitelja na soli Smuka/Langenthon na Kocevskem okoli leta 1888* [A Story from the First Tutor's Tomb at the Smuka/Langenthon School in Kochevski around 1888], «Kronika», vol. 55, n. 3, 2007, pp. 405-428, p. 420 (in Slovenian).

⁴⁷ Kapisoda, *Vlaska crkva*, cit., p. 30.

⁴⁸ V.B. Radulovic, *Sula Radov u svom vremenu* [Sula Radov in his time], Podgorica, Kulturno-prosvjetna zajednica, 2003 (in Serbian).

Entered rightfully contented
The heavenly light⁴⁹.

These words reflect an immense gratitude and a desire to save from oblivion Milutinovic's merits which are timeless and transcend the material and physical limitations, reflecting at the same time the most important traditional values. All these examples, in effect, illustrate the fact that the origins of the tombstones inscriptions and epitaphs in Montenegro are to be traced to a certain extent in the oral forms of communicating with the dead, which are part of the ancient funerary rituals, such as dirges or funeral speeches.

A specific example of commemorating the dead is a plaque on the elementary school in the village called Gorice, near Bijelo Polje. It was placed there to honor the memory of two significant and prominent teachers: the priest Neso Joksimovic (served from 1894 to 1904), who started educational activities in that rural area in the first place, and Milan Gluscevic (worked from 1953 to 1995), who taught in that school for over 40 years. In addition to their names, photographs and the dates of their office, there are also a cross and a five-pointed star on the plaque, symbolizing their ideological orientations and the historical periods they lived in, but which, however, did not pose limitations to their educational work. The commemorative sign was constructed in 2016 by their former pupils, descendants and the local people from the village. The memorials like this one are very important at many levels: they reflect the time of which they speak, they shape the young people while helping them connect to various local histories and inheritance; they connect the school with its own history, drawing attention to the importance of schooling and transferring a complex and vital message⁵⁰.

A unique example of a monument dedicated to a profession in Montenegro is the *Monument to the teacher* («Spomenik učitelju»), raised on the 6th December 2013. A symbol of educational work in Montenegro, the monument was built in Danilovgrad, the little town in which the first teachers' education school was established in 1919. It is formed as an elliptical ring, reminding of the shape of the Earth, and a circle, that is, a wheel as a symbol of mobilizing knowledge. All the forms of commemorating and remembering a school, either a specific one or the school in general, are valuable, whereas the forms of commemorating and remembering teachers represent a special reminder and an important message for our cultural and national development, as they recall people who

⁴⁹ M. Ban, *Djela* [Works], 8 vols., Beograd, Kraljevsko-srpska drzavna stamparija, 1892, Vol. I, pp. 126 (in Serbian).

⁵⁰ B. Šuštar, *O znamenjih hvaleznosti in spomina na učitelje v kulturni krajini* [About the Signs of Gratitude and Memory of Teachers in the Cultural Landscape], in T. Vasle (ed.), *Narava je nasa učiteljica* [Nature is Our Teacher], Grize, Drustvo učiteljev podružnicnih sol, 2016, pp. 52-57 (in Slovenian).

contributed to it through their dedication to educational vocation⁵¹. On the 5th October every year, on the International Teacher's Day, wreaths and flowers are brought to the *Monument to the Teacher*, commemorating generations of teachers who tried to educate the young in an honorable, dignified and professional manner. It is particularly unusual that the monument was erected and maintained by the *Non-governmental Association «Monument to the Teacher»*, with no other inscription but these same words on it⁵². It is rare to find a tombstone inscription made in the modern time which is not reductive, sparse, too discrete and minimalistic. Moreover, the number of monuments on the tombs of prominent individuals, or any kind of the tombstones with epitaphs whatsoever, has never been high in Montenegro. It has always been a rarity. However, there are other forms of remembering the dead.

4. *Publications (obituaries and in memoriam texts in daily newspapers, professional and scientific educational journals; monographs; and scientific papers at conferences)*

The Montenegrin cultural pattern encourages open manifestation of grief, which is often expressed in the pompous speeches and very emotional and dramatic obituaries in daily newspaper⁵³. When an educational worker passes away, the institution in which he or she worked always has an obituary published in a daily newspaper on behalf of all his co-workers, and, in addition to that, one of them often publishes an in memoriam text in one of the scientific journals, such as *Education and schooling* («Vaspitanje i obrazovanje»)⁵⁴ (usually from three to ten pages long) or *Educational work* («Prosvjetni rad»)⁵⁵ (a shorter text, about 200 words long). Almost every issue of this kind of

⁵¹ B. Šuštar, *Se kdo se spomni na solo in solnike? Uciteljski nagrobni spomeniki med spominom, pozabo in zgodovinskim virom* [Does Anyone Still Remember School and Schoolchildren? Teacher's Tombstones Between Memory, Oblivion and Historical Source], in L. Bezljaj Kregel, I. Furlan (edd.), *Ohranjanje spomina: zbornik strokovnih prispevkov za mentorje zgodovinskih krozkov* [Preservation of Memory: a Collection of Professional Contributions for Mentors of Historical Circles], Ljubljana, Zveza prijateljev mladine Slovenije, Komisija za delo zgodovinskih krozkov, 2013, pp. 45-58, p. 57 (in Slovenian).

⁵² *Odluka o podizanju spomen-obilježja Spomenik učitelju* [Decision on Raising Monument – Monument to the Teacher], «Sluzbeni list Crne Gore – opštinski propisi», n. 34, 2013 (in Montenegrin).

⁵³ Bakovic, *Depresivni optimizam crnogoraca*, cit., 1985, p. 58.

⁵⁴ «Vaspitanje i obrazovanje: casopis za pedagogsku teoriju i praksu» [«Upbringing and Education: Journal of Pedagogical Theory and Practice»], Podgorica, Zavod za udzbenike i nastavna sredstva, 1975 (in Serbian).

⁵⁵ «Prosvjetni rad: list prosvjetnih, kulturnih i naucnih radnika Crne Gore» [«Educational Work: the Paper of Educational, Cultural and Scientific Workers of Montenegro»], Podgorica, Zavod za udzbenike i nastavna sredstva, 1949 (in Montenegrin).

journals contains several of these texts. In memoriam texts inform the readers of the decease of certain renowned individuals, also presenting information about their life and work, their professional development and the contribution they made. They are formed as a sort of formal farewell. These texts are often considered an important source of information not only for biographers of the prominent individuals, but also for historiographers, as well as for the various research fields that deal with history of certain scientific disciplines, in particular those related to teaching and education. In memoriam texts are usually structured in the following way: they contain basic biographical information, details about schooling and education, professional training, professional engagement, contribution, and a list of rewards that the deceased may have won or the influence he/she had made, in addition to the analysis of his/her characteristics and personal life information. An example of these texts may be found in the in memoriam text dedicated to the Montenegrin most important and world-known andragogist, Dusan Savicevic⁵⁶ (1926-2015; born near the town of Niksic), which emphasizes the facts that point to his important role in science and research carried out in the region⁵⁷. It is very significant that this in memoriam text was written by Savicevic's colleague Ratko Djukanovic, another important Montenegrin andragogist, professor and former Rector of the University of Montenegro.

There is also a considerable number of in memoriam texts that were written by former pupils to honour their deceased teachers or headmasters in important educational institutions of Montenegro. The reason for this is to be found in the gradual consciousness of the former students and colleagues that these sorts of texts, published in scientific journals and dedicated to teachers with merits, have become a vital form of «monument», which has proved itself over time to be a more permanent and more extensive source of information than words engraved on tombstones⁵⁸. Such is the case with the text dedicated to Jagos Jovanovic, a professor and the principle of the first higher school established in Montenegro, that is, the Higher School of Pedagogy in Cetinje, which was written by professor Radivoje Sukovic, once also a student of the first generation enrolled into the school⁵⁹. Apart from the usual structure and content of a text dedicated to a deceased professor, this particular writing contains also many

⁵⁶ See more in V. Zoric, *Establishment, work and prospective development of the department of pedagogy in Montenegro*, «Journal of Educational Studies», vol. 67, n. 3, 2016, pp. 104-123.

⁵⁷ R. Djukanovic, *Prof. dr Dusan Savicevic (1926-2015)* [Prof. PhD Dusan Savicevic (1926-2015)], «Vaspitanje i obrazovanje», vol. 40, n. 2, 2015, pp. 193-196 (in Serbian).

⁵⁸ B. Šuštar, *Faded Memories Carved in Stone: Teachers' Gravestones as a Form of Collective Memory of Education in Slovenia in the 19th and Early 20th Century*, in C. Yanes-Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School memories: new trends in the history of education*, Cham, Springer, 2017, pp. 175-187, p. 175.

⁵⁹ R. Sukovic, *Jagos Jovanovic – Direktor Vise pedagoske skole* [Jagos Jovanovic – Director of College Pedagogical School], «Vaspitanje i obrazovanje», vol. 24, n. 3, 1999, pp. 267-271 (in Serbian).

important information on the Jovanovic's role in the organization, development and functioning of the Higher School of Pedagogy, which leads toward a better understanding of a general history of education and schooling in Montenegro, particularly through presenting data on the process of transformation of two-year into three-year studies, that is, on remodeling the Higher School of Pedagogy first into Teachers Education Faculty and, eventually, into the Faculty of Philosophy in Niksic, University of Montenegro. There have been some examples of the former students writing and publishing together, as a group, in memoriam texts for influential educational workers in Montenegro, such as the text written in the honour of the professor and the Principle of the Grammar School in Titograd – Mirko Djuranovic (1928-2015)⁶⁰. In memoriam text written by Montenegrin authors to honour teachers and professors from other countries are not rare; they concern educational workers who, though not having lived in Montenegro, had Montenegrin origins and contributed by means of their work to the entire region or beyond, also being engaged occasionally in Montenegro, such as pedagogy professor Mirjana Pesic (1943-2016) from the University of Belgrade⁶¹. Also, there have sometimes been in memoriam texts published for the prominent workers in education who had never had any direct or indirect connection to Montenegro whatsoever, but turned out to be important for science and education in general, such as the one dedicated to the great pedagogue, primarily the historian of pedagogy, the pioneer and the first professor in the field of comparative pedagogy in the former Yugoslavia, Dragutin Frankovic (1913-2002) from Croatia⁶². What all these texts have in common is the grief, a sense of loss and reverence for the noteworthy educational workers who passed away, as well as an attempt to keep the memory of the important professional who contributed to the development of education, culture and society at both the local and the regional level.

Even the monographs in Montenegro sometimes contain in memoriam texts, such as the one written by Petar Boskovic in the honor of the academician and geographer Milisav Lutovac (1901-1988)⁶³. In addition to emphasizing the importance of Lutovac's works, which reached far beyond Montenegro, this text particularly underlines his relationship towards his home-place (the region of Polimlje, the Prokletije mountains, Bjelasica and Komovi). It is this part that was described in the most picturesque way, quoting the lines which Lutovac

⁶⁰ C. Bogicevic *et al.*, *Mirko Djuranovic (1928-2015) omiljeni i nenadmasni direktor titogradske gimnazije* [Mirko Djuranovic (1928-2015) Favorite and Unsurpassed Director of Gymnasium in Titograd], «Vaspitanje i obrazovanje», vol. 40, n. 3, 2015, pp. 179-180 (in Serbian).

⁶¹ T. Novovic, *Prof. Mirjana Pesic (1943-2016)* [Prof. Mirjana Pesic (1943-2016)], «Vaspitanje i obrazovanje», vol. 41, n. 1, 2016, pp. 151-153 (in Serbian).

⁶² B. Vlahovic, *Prof. dr Dragutin Frankovic (1913-2002)* [Prof. PhD Dragutin Frankovic (1913-2002)], «Vaspitanje i obrazovanje», vol. 27, n. 2, 2002, pp. 191-194 (in Serbian).

⁶³ Boskovic, *Za ponos i pamćenje*, cit., pp. 67-69. Text was previously published in «Bjelopoljsko novine» [«Bjelopoljske newspaper»], 11.10.1988.

always had with him written on a piece of paper while travelling that part of the country: «If I happen to die along the way, please bury me exactly where you find me, under the road or above it, it doesn't matter, as long as it is somewhere among the mountains where eagles alight and where there are no worms»⁶⁴. This quote also reveals Lukovic's attitude towards death, as well as his love for his home-place, geography and nature. Texts with a form and function of a necrology also appear in daily newspapers in Montenegro, such as those in the newspaper *Dan*, dedicated to the recent demise of Petko Boskovic (1929-2018; born in Bijelo Polje), who was, among other forms of professional work, a geographer, writer of several schoolbooks and monographs, and a person who contributed greatly to the development of local community⁶⁵. These texts enumerate various contributions and merits of Boskovic, which facilitates the understanding of his published works and his entire biography.

Conference papers collections have a special importance in this respect. Conferences are often organized in honour of the deceased educational workers and researchers, either soon after their death or on the occasion of an anniversary, in order to express the grief and to preserve the memory of them through presenting and analyzing their achievements and influence. One of these is the collection of papers from the conference dedicated to the life and oeuvre of the famous academician, professor and linguist Jovan Vukovic (1905-1979)⁶⁶. It was held to honour the hundred years from his birth. There were 35 speakers, eminent experts, whose papers were published in the collection. However, this collection also contains other important texts, such as the one from the 1979, when, on behalf of all the students, Novica Petkovic voiced the farewell to the professor in carefully chosen words, which proved to be a prediction too: «The overall insight of professor Vukovic and the entire knowledge contained in his long and prolific scientific work will continue to be and last, they will be developed, tested and carried out further in the future work of his students, in the generations of researchers who will deal with the Serbo-Croat linguistics»⁶⁷. Many years after that, 08-09.11.2003, in Vukovic's birthplace, in Pluzine, a conference was organized. At the opening of the conference, the academician Branislav Ostojic pointed out that the occasion was a sign of debt, an homage and an expression of gratitude felt toward the widely acknowledged researcher and the person of high moral virtues, stressing the fact that Vukovic had been recognized as such during his lifetime, but that a time for re-affirmation of

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁶⁵ *Odlazak borca, profesora i pisca* [The Departure of a Fighter, a Professor and a Writer], «Dan», Last updated: February 24, 2018, <<https://www.dan.co.me/?nivo=3&rubrika=Ljudi%20i%20dogadjaji&clanak=634721&najdatum=2018-02-12&datum=2018-02-24>> (last access: 25.08.2018) (in Serbian).

⁶⁶ N. Vukovic (ed.), *Zivot i djelo akademika Jovana Vukovica* [Life and Work of Academician Jovan Vukovic], Podgorica, Redakcija Monografije Piva i Pivljani, 2004 (in Serbian).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

the memory of him had come⁶⁸. Jovan Vukovic was himself one of the best connoisseurs and analysts of the Montenegrin dirges, and he specifically described their characteristic features, contents and the structure of the verses, the subject matter of which is always adjusted to different social contexts and local circumstances⁶⁹.

Several months before the conference in question took place, another conference was held, dedicated to the memory of a deceased academician, professor and writer Novo Vukovic (1937-2002) and followed by the publication of the presented papers dealing with his life, works and achievements⁷⁰. Preceding that, an in memoriam text was published by his colleague professor Branislav Ostojic, in which he explicitly underlined the relationship Vukovic had with his students, stating how much the students enjoyed his lectures, as well as kind, sophisticated and pedagogically correct attitude he cherished; he also pointed out that Vukovic was a very moderate person in everything, calm and serene, punctual, consistent, modest, dignified, humane, noble and philanthropic⁷¹. At the end of his text, Ostojic concluded: «We feel a double gratitude – for his work and for the example he embodied. Could one possibly hope for a monument better than such a memory?»⁷². The conference was held in 2003, in Vukovic's hometown Zabljak. Among numerous papers presented at the conference (over 30), there are two particularly unconventional. One was written by the academician Zoran Lakic and titled *In front of the door of death* («Pred vratima smrti»)⁷³. It analyses particularities of various ideas, viewpoints and achievements Vukovic reached in the final years of his life. The other is particularly interesting: it closes the collection, subliming the sorrow on the occasion of his death through the verses of the dirge that Anka Zugic voiced at his funeral on 24 August 2002. Some of the verses are as follows:

[...] Rest in peace, our dear brother,
In a blessed eternal peace
Human grandeur such as yours,
Never dies, never⁷⁴.

⁶⁸ B. Ostojic, *Otvoranje skupa* [Opening the conference], in Vukovic (ed.), *Zivot i djelo akademika Jovana Vukovica*, cit., pp. 9-10.

⁶⁹ P. Vlahovic, *Doprinos Jovana Vukovica nauci o narodu (etnologiji)* [Contribution of the Jovan Vukovic to the Science of the People (Ethnology)], in Vukovic (ed.), *Zivot i djelo akademika Jovana Vukovica*, cit., pp. 269-274, p. 271.

⁷⁰ B. Ostojic (ed.), *Zivot i djelo akademika Nova Vukovica* [Life and Work of Academician Novo Vukovic], Zabljak, SO Zabljak, 2003 (in Serbian).

⁷¹ Id., *Zivot i djelo akademika Nova Vukovica* [Life and Work of Academician Novo Vukovic], «Vaspitanje i obrazovanje», vol. 27, n. 2, 2002, pp. 184-187 (in Serbian).

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁷³ See more in Z. Lakic, *Pred vratima smrti* [In the Front of the Door of Death], in Ostojic (ed.), *Zivot i djelo akademika Nova Vukovica*, cit., pp. 35-41.

⁷⁴ A. Zugic, *Novu Vukovicu (tuzbalica)* [To Novo Vukovic (Dirge)], in Ostojic (ed.), *Zivot i djelo akademika Nova Vukovica*, cit., pp. 265-266.

The entire dirge abounds in the feelings of incredulity and pain, revealing thus the valuable role Vukovic played in the lives of his family, friends and colleagues, as well as his love towards creative work. The verses represent the sublimation of the importance of Vukovic's system of values, since it is regarded as timeless. The memory of him has been occasionally evoked in other forms and events, such as the one from 2017, marking the 80th anniversary of his birth in the National Library Djurdje Crnojevic in Cetinje⁷⁵. The conferences dedicated to renowned individuals who passed away, as well as celebrations of anniversaries of their birth, aim at reminding of their achievements and the value system they cherished and promoted, saving them from oblivion and recreating them in a way, with a new vital energy.

At the other pole stand the texts on some of the forgotten but noteworthy individuals, who passed away long time ago, whether they lived in the country or abroad. These texts also assume the form of in memoriam texts and obituaries. The most representative examples in this sense, which aim at correcting the historical injustice through remembrance, are to be found in the 10-volume book by Dusan Martinovic *Portraits* («Portreti»)⁷⁶, which depicts and analyses the biographies and works of numerous scientists, professors and artists, from Montenegro and other countries, who contributed to the development of education, science, schooling and value system in Montenegro. For example, one of these texts represents a portrait of the life and work of Giuseppe Valentinelli (1805-1874)⁷⁷, a prominent Venetian bibliographer, librarian and historian, also the first bibliographer – a foreigner who dealt with the respective Montenegrin bibliography and, therefore, initiated the Montenegrin bibliography⁷⁸. This text is an expression of memory and a reminder, an act of acknowledgement and gratitude to the long deceased and, until recently, almost forgotten pioneer of bibliography on Montenegro, even though it is not known whether he ever visited it.

Another Italian who is not forgotten in Montenegro is Dionisie de Sarno San Giorgio (1856-1937; born in Naples, and died in Perast, Montenegro). He worked in Montenegro for a long period of time as a conductor, teacher and composer and, what is particularly important, he composed the first Montenegrin opera *The Balkan Empress* («Balkanska carica»), staged in 1891 in Cetinje and based on the story written by the Montenegrin king of the period: Nikola I Petrovic. De Sarno also set a text by Jovan Sundecic to music when

⁷⁵ Nacionalna biblioteka Crne Gore Djurdje Crnojevic na Cetinju [National Library of Montenegro Djurdje Crnojevic at Cetinje], <<https://nb-cg.me/dogadaji/obiljezeno-80-godina-od-rodenja-akademika-nova-vukovica-u-nbcg/>> (last access: 20.07.2018).

⁷⁶ D. Martinovic, *Portreti* [Portraits], 10 vols., Cetinje, Centralna narodna biblioteka SR Crne Gore Djurdje Crnojevic, 1983-2009 (in Serbian).

⁷⁷ Martinovic, *Portreti*, Vol II, cit.

⁷⁸ See G. Valentinelli, *Bibliografia della Dalmazia e del Montenegro* [Bibliography of Dalmatia and Montenegro], Zagabria, Ljudevito Gaj, 1855 (in Italian).

composing a hymn for the 100th anniversary of the birth of Simo Milutinovic Sarajlija (1791-1847; born in Sarajevo), a famous poet and a teacher of Petar I Petrovic Njegos. Along with the hymn, the speech held by Jovan Sundecic (1825-1900) was also published, as he was the editor of the most influential Montenegrin journal of education at the time – *Education* («Prosvjeta»)⁷⁹. The hymn and the highly inspired speech were a form of honoring the memory of Milutinovic, as well as an homage to the impact he had in the upbringing of Petar I Petrovic Njegos, the greatest of poets and a person whose role in the development of education in Montenegro was invaluable.

Concluding remarks

We have concluded that in Montenegro there are various forms of expression, marking and maintenance of memories tributes to the life and contributions of significant individuals in their teaching or scientific or artistic profession and the wider context of development of education and training. It was shown that the form of memories are at the same time expressions of sadness, as well as significant life celebrations of pedagogical workers, their performance and, in accordance with that, of the corresponding value system. It was found that in this context the most common and the most important forms and sources of memories are forms and content of speeches at funeral and commemoration ceremonies in educational and other public institutions, as well as obituary, articles and in memoriam texts in daily newspapers and educational journals, scientific works from conferences and monographs, through which the importance of the contribution of the outstanding individuals is recalled and kept from oblivion and which serve as a model for current and future generations. As such, throughout history, various forms of commemorating the deserving individuals were not dedicated only to those in or from Montenegro, but also to those outside it whose work made a significant contribution to the development of education in general and education in the region. Funeral memories in Montenegro are very important in the education community, both on a personal level, as expression of feelings and empathy, as well as fulfilment of the private formal obligations (which in this society is also one of the most important forms of human communication), but they are also important on the collegiate, professional and broader level of honouring and commemorating as well as promoting the importance, history and progress of education.

⁷⁹ J. Sundecic, *Besjeda i himna* [Oration and anthem], «Prosvjeta», vol. 1, n. 11, 1893, pp. 1-11 (in Serbian).

Invention of educational tradition

The invention of tradition in the Italian University during the Fascist period (1922-1943)

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ABSTRACT: On the basis of a rich amount of sources, some of which are still less used by scholars, this article aims at focusing the attention on the Fascist regime's aspiration to make University the privileged place for the elaboration of an Italian cultural and civil tradition, which was able to establish itself in the world and to recover the idea of a national «primacy». Hence the need of a real «invention of an Italian university tradition» during the twenty years of Fascism, in order to start a process of an ideological reconstruction for national identity, clearly and mainly founded on the recovery of a glorious past.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; History of university; Invention of tradition; Fascism; Italy; XXth Century.

On June 10th, 1923, Benito Mussolini, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Italy, addressed to the students of the University of Padua by sending a clear signal to the entire Italian university world: Fascism intended to recognize to Italian universities a hegemonic role, recovering and enhancing their glorious tradition and underlining their primary vital function as a centre for the irradiation of culture and a mine for the new fascist ruling class, in the desired and final realization of that ideal of «state university», which had been always cherished, but never concretely made in the previous decades.

The Duce stated: The Government, which I have the honour of representing [...], highly appreciates Universities. The Government relies on the Universities, because they are also fixed and glorious points of reference in peoples' life. [...] The Government will do everything possible for Italian universities. The Government understands their enormous historical importance, it respects their noble traditions, it wants to bring them up to modern

needs. [...] How could a Government of fighters disdain universities? This would be not only absurd, but criminal¹.

After all, it is well-known that the post-unification liberal ruling class had identified in the University one of the main tools for the education of the bourgeois class who, «strengthened by the feeling of national belonging, had to provide the necessary consensus to create a new State from the ‘Risorgimento revolution’»². However, this goal had been only partially achieved. In fact, if it is true that the Italian school system had favoured the access to higher education for a higher number of students than the one in other European countries, in order to be able to stimulate in Italy a certain demand for education, which was almost absent before unification³, it is equally undeniable that the numerous and more urgent problems to be faced and, above all, the social and political crisis of the immediate post-war period prevented to complete that sketched project to create a national University, which war and mobilization of culture seemed to have accelerated, in spite of the real good intentions⁴.

Therefore, this idea strongly reaffirmed during Fascism. In fact, thanks to the articulated reform carried out by Giovanni Gentile in 1923⁵, that process

¹ *Scritti e discorsi di Benito Mussolini. L'inizio della nuova politica (28 ottobre 1922 I - 31 dicembre 1923 II E.F.)*, 3 vols., Milan, Hoepli, 1934, Vol. III, pp. 105-108.

² Cfr. L. La Rovere, *Storia dei Guf. Organizzazione, politica e miti della gioventù universitaria fascista, 1919-1943*, Turin, Bollati Boringhieri, 2003, p. 25. About the Italian university in the first post-unification fifty years and the main university policies implemented by the ruling class of the time, please see in particular: S. Polenghi, *La politica universitaria italiana nell'età della Destra storica (1848-1876)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1993; I. Porciani (ed.), *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, Naples, Jovene, 1994; Ead., *L'Università dell'Italia unita*, in A. Mazzacane, C. Vano (edd.), *Università e professioni giuridiche in Europa nell'età liberale*, Naples, Jovene, 1994, pp. 51-76; F. Colao, *La libertà di insegnamento e l'autonomia nell'università liberale. Norme e progetti per l'istruzione superiore in Italia (1848-1923)*, Milan, Giuffrè, 1995; I. Porciani, M. Moretti, *La creazione del sistema universitario nella nuova Italia*, in G.P. Brizzi, P. Del Negro, A. Romano (edd.), *Storia delle Università in Italia*, 3 vols., Messina, Sicania, 2007, Vol. III, pp. 323-379.

³ About the characteristics of the post-unification Italian school system, please see in particular: M. Barbagli, *Disoccupazione intellettuale e sistema scolastico in Italia, 1859-1973*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1974; G. Ricuperati, *La scuola in Italia dalla legge Casati a oggi*, Turin, Loescher, 1976; D. Ragazzini, *Storia della scuola italiana: linee generali e problemi di ricerca*, Florence, Le Monnier, 198; L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita. Dalla Legge Casati al Centro-Sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001; R. Sante Di Pol, *La scuola per tutti gli italiani. L'istruzione di base tra Stato e società dal primo Ottocento ad oggi*, Milan, Mondadori, 2016.

⁴ Regarding University, you can consider, for example, the work of the Royal Commission for the reorganization of higher education, established by Minister Edoardo Daneo in 1910. About it, please see: M. Moretti, *La questione universitaria a cinquant'anni dall'unificazione. La Commissione Reale per il riordinamento degli studi superiori e la Relazione Ceci*, in Porciani (ed.), *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, cit., pp. 209-309; L. Pomante, *Per una storia delle università minori. Il caso dello Studium Generale Maceratense tra Otto e Novecento*, Macerata, eum, 2013, pp. 223-240.

⁵ About the university reform arranged by Giovanni Gentile, please see: M. Ostenc, *La*

of centralization and nationalization of the higher education system seriously began to take shape, in order to give life to a real «Italian University». The return of the Superior Council of Public Education under the direct ministerial control, the centralized appointment of rectors and deans, the need for the approval of the statutes of each university by the Minerva ministry, as well as the organization of the so-called free universities within a precise state architecture, which provided for three types of universities in Italy, can be considered important interventions to achieve the so-called university «nationalization».

However, in parallel with the process traced at a legislative level by Gentile, who intended to redefine the overall structure of the Italian university system, in order to make it functional to the new society who was being defined, even in the wake of the liberal tradition (and although the Gentile reform would have given rise to a national educational system very different from the one desired by the regime, as we know)⁶, during the entire twenty-year period one of the main resolutions of Mussolini and those who came after the philosopher from Castelvetro at the helm of the ministry of Public Education was, above all, that of “reconsidering” University at a not only institutional and administrative level. In fact, in the above-mentioned speech in Padua in 1923, as well as subsequently in another speech addressed to the university students in Pisa on May 23rd, 1924⁷, or in a telegram sent to prof. Arrigo Solmi, rector of the University of Pavia, on May 21st, 1925, the Duce insisted on expressing his precise intention to especially «give back» to Italian universities that vigour and cultural hegemony which had distinguished them during their centuries-old history, so that Italian universities could recover their «noble traditions» and thus increase «the greatness of Italy» and «the intellectual glory of the nation»⁸.

However, in order to be able to fully realize this project, a specific apologetic celebration of university «glorious traditions» was necessary⁹. Hence the Fascist

scuola italiana durante il fascismo, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 1981; G. Gentile, *Lo spirito informatore della riforma*, in Id., *La riforma della scuola in Italia*, edited by H.A. Cavallera, Florence, Le Lettere, 1989, pp. 431-435 and *passim*; G. Ricuperati, *Per una storia dell'Università italiana da Gentile a Bottai: appunti e discussioni*, in Porciani (ed.), *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, cit., pp. 313-377; M. Moretti, *Scuola e università nei documenti parlamentari gentiliani*, in Senato della Repubblica, *Giovanni Gentile, filosofo italiano*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2004, pp. 77-108; E. Signori, *Università e fascismo*, in Brizzi, Del Negro, Romano (ed.), *Storia delle Università in Italia*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 381-423.

⁶ About the heterogenesis of the reform purposes promoted by Giovanni Gentile, please see in particular J. Charnitzky, *Fascismo e scuola. La politica scolastica del regime (1922-1943)*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1996.

⁷ B. Mussolini, *Messaggio agli universitari pisani. 23 maggio 1924*, in E. Susmel, D. Susmel, *Opera omnia di Benito Mussolini*, 44 vols., Rome, Volpe Editore, 1978-1980, Vol. XXXVII: *Appendice 1, scritti: 1907-1945*, p. 195.

⁸ Id., *Telegramma al magnifico rettore dell'Università di Pavia, professor. Arrigo Solmi, 21 maggio 1925*, in Susmel, Susmel, *Opera omnia di Benito Mussolini*, cit., Vol. XXXIX: *Appendice 3, carteggio 2: 1924-1925*, p. 429.

⁹ On this regard, please see R. Sani, *Introduzione. Le relazioni annuali dei rettori per le*

invention of a mythological tradition¹⁰, which especially aimed at introducing University as a typically Italian “creation” by trick, underlining the birth of the first Italian universities during the late Middle Ages, in a period when Italy started to be considered the cradle of culture and intellectual development par excellence and concealing the real actual coexistence of many other prestigious European universities¹¹. This invention represented a tool, which would have allowed the regime to identify a mythical original event destined to mark a clear discontinuity in national history from which we can date the “rebirth” of Italian people¹², and it was an obligatory step to create a Fascist tradition, which represented «not only a system of ritualized procedures aimed at a symbolic use of mass politics, but [also] a pedagogy for the new Italians under Mussolini»¹³. More concretely, Mussolini thus launched a process of ideological

inaugurazioni degli anni accademici. Una fonte preziosa per la storia dell'università, in L. Pomante (ed.), *L'Università di Macerata nell'Italia unita (1861-1966). Un secolo di storia dell'ateneo maceratese attraverso le relazioni inaugurali dei rettori e altre fonti archivistiche e a stampa*, Macerata, eum, 2012, pp. 25-77.

¹⁰ As we know, the reference is obviously to the notion of «invention of tradition» elaborated by Eric Hobsbawm in E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger (edd.), *The invention of tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983. Instead, the merit of having applied the historiographical category of the «invention of tradition» not only to political organizations and public apparatus, «but also to those social and cultural institutions mainly invested by deep and radical changes and wrestling with the consequent need for a new and stronger legitimation of their role and their prerogatives and functions» has to be ascribed to a more recent contribution by Roberto Sani. And among these social and cultural institutions, there are also universities and higher education institutions with regard not only to the ancient *colleges* of the English universities wrestling with the changes produced by the industrial revolution in the cultural and scientific field, to which Hobsbawm refers, but also the old and new universities which arose in Germany and in France during the nineteenth century, as well as that peculiar type of «minor universities» widely spread in Italy, to which Sani pays his special attention. On this regard, please see R. Sani, *The invention of tradition in the minor Universities of united Italy. The case of the thirteenth-century origins of the Studium Maceratense*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 7, n. 1, 2012, pp. 485-504.

¹¹ In fact, as it is known, if it is true that some of the most important Italian universities, such as those of Bologna, Padua and Naples (Federico II), can trace their founding date back to the period between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries, during the Middle Ages, it is equally undeniable that other prestigious universities, such as those of Oxford, Paris, Cambridge and Salamanca also saw the light in other European countries in the same period. About the medieval origins of Italian and European universities, please see the works by J. Verger, *Le università nel medioevo*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1982; G.P. Brizzi, J. Verger (edd.), *Le università dell'Europa*, 6 vols., Cinisello Balsamo, Silvana Editoriale, 1990-1995 (in particular, Vol. I: *La nascita delle università*); A. Romano (edd.), *Università in Europa. Le istituzioni universitarie dal Medio Evo ai nostri giorni: struttura, organizzazione, funzionamento. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Milazzo, 28 settembre-2 ottobre*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 1995.

¹² For this argument, please see C. Tullio-Altan, *Ethnos e civiltà. Identità etniche e valori democratici*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1995 and R. De Felice, *Mussolini il fascista*, 6 vols., Turin, Einaudi, 1966-1970, Vol. I, t. II: *L'organizzazione dello Stato fascista*, pp. 372-377.

¹³ Cfr. La Rovere, *Storia dei Guf. Organizzazione, politica e miti della gioventù universitaria fascista, 1919-1943*, cit., p. 185.

reconstruction of national identity, clearly and mainly founded on the recovery of past and tradition.

Many Italian universities immediately showed themselves in perfect harmony with the regime's will to recover the Italian centuries-old university history, because they felt strongly reassured by the above-mentioned interventions by the Duce, which gave a new outburst and vigour to them, as a guardian of the «highest and noblest» Italian culture, on the one hand and definitively removed many repeated threats by some Minerva owners about the concrete hypothesis of a possible suppression of the weaker universities, which was supported by most of the public opinion, in recent years on the other hand¹⁴. The University of Naples Federico II was leading these petitions and, in April 1925, thanks to its rector, the professor of Mineralogy Ferruccio Zambonini, and the entire academic Senate, it sent to all the Italian universities and higher education institutes a circular, where the entire academic world was invited to overcome parochialism and local pride, in order to share together the «Fascist project» to recover the glorious tradition of the national University as a place for the elaboration of those ideas which, over the centuries and even in the face of troubled situations, had guaranteed Italy a cultural, scientific, political and civil primacy, which would have strongly come back in great favour now, thanks to the Fascist work.

The circular says: – Italian universities have always united all the Italian people in a single feeling, witnessing the Italian and Roman immortality over the centuries, even when our country, bent by foreign forces, underwent many gentlemen who did not carry its name in their heart. [...] The Universities were the mine, where the great ideas, which had to push all the Italian people towards the conquest of national freedom and independence, were elaborated with suffering; they intensely animated those generations of young people, who moved from their bloody classrooms in 1821 and found rest on the Glockenkarkopf and the Snežnik only after a century. Today the University of Naples, with a renewed heart and the most sacred devotion, reverently rejoins the august word of the supreme Head of State, who could interpret the soul of the Nation with such a noble fervour¹⁵.

A month later, on the occasion of the XIV Congress of the Italian Society for the Progress of Sciences, held in Pavia from 24 to 29 May and chaired by the physicist Carlo Somigliana, Prof. Prassitele Piccinini, a doctor, a

¹⁴ For this argument, please see Pomante, *Per una storia delle università minori. Il caso dello Studium Generale Maceratense tra Otto e Novecento*, cit., pp. 222-239.

¹⁵ Archive of the University of Parma (hereinafter AUP), Correspondences, year 1925, b. 998, sub-folder 1, *Alle università ed agli istituti d'istruzione superiore d'Italia [Italian universities and higher education institutions]*. This document is also in other university archives (including, for example, the State Archive of Macerata – hereinafter ASMC –, Circulars, 1921-1935, b. 700, f. 1925), together with telegrams or short letters of enthusiastic response sent by the rectors or the secretaries from various Italian universities (please also see AUP, Correspondences, year 1925, b. 998, sub-folder 1, *Al chiarissimo Rettore della R. Università di Napoli [To the illustrious Rector of the Royal University of Naples]*).

pharmacologist and, above all, a passionate lover of the historical disciplines, put himself in perfect ideological harmony with the proposal of the University of Naples, introducing a communication with the title *Opportunità che la storia delle Università italiane sia ulteriormente studiata e largamente fatta conoscere* [Opportunities for the history of Italian universities to be further studied and widely made know] at the prestigious meeting. In this intervention he hoped that the whole scientific community and, in particular, the academic one, would commit itself to start a «complete historical work on our glorious universities», being aware that the «history of Italian universities [...] is identified with the history of all the sciences». On the basis of a similar initiative promoted by Minister Luigi Rava in the first decade of the twentieth century and then resulted in a publication composed of two volumes with the title *Monografie delle Università italiane e degli Istituti Superiori* [Monographs from Italian Universities and Higher Education Institutes] and edited by the Ministry of Public Education¹⁶, Piccinini invited various professors to work to a detailed reconstruction of the history of Italian universities with «rigour and devotion», stating that, contrary to what happened on other occasions, the main *ratio* behind this proposed activity should have been to lay stress on the «Golden» period of the universities in the Middle Ages,

since our Universities had already been the venue and the mine of juridical studies and those who could love such studies in Europe at that time benefitted here, when the light of Rome was still almost off all over Europe in the Middle Ages and the first elaborations of a new jury and a very modest scientific activity had just been outlined.

Therefore, thanks to these prestigious «roots», which were so backdated over time, the Italian University had to be considered the original cradle of European wisdom in the main fields of human knowledge and its originality and independence from other cultures and countries. This primacy could be only worthy of adequate consideration and, above all, the object of a «careful and laborious» study, just as it was in the Duce's auspices, and would have been «precious» and useful not only to Italy, but to all the civil countries¹⁷.

A few days after Piccinini's speech, the Ministry of Public Education, led by Prof. Pietro Fedele, a refined medievalist and an academic of History, worked to give concrete expression to the will desired by many people, Duce *in primis*, to recover the «glorious historical traditions» of Italian universities.

¹⁶ Ministry of Public Education, *Monografie delle università e degli istituti superiori*, 2 vols., Rome, Tipografia operaia romana cooperativa, 1911-1913.

¹⁷ P. Piccinini, *Opportunità che la storia delle Università italiane sia ulteriormente studiata e largamente fatta conoscere*, in *Atti della Società Italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze: quattordicesima riunione, Pavia 24-29 maggio 1925, pubblicati per cura del segretario prof. Roberto Almagià*, Rome, Italian Society for the Progress of Sciences, 1926, pp. 530-532. Some extracts of the text are also in *Le università italiane*, «Rivista di Terapia moderna e di Medicina pratica», vol. 27, n. 11, 1934, pp. 3-19.

On November 18th, the circular n. 19238 was sent to all the universities, where the ministry gave precise instructions, so that «Universities and Higher Education Institutes would be provided with seals reproducing the historical emblem of the University and the Institute, [...] the symbol of a history which no invader has ever been able to assign to the oblivion»¹⁸. This ordinance strongly suggested to universities to abandon the almost general uniformity of their seals to the State coat of arms (the Savoy emblem), in order to restore their more ancient ones. As well analyzed by Ennio Lazzarini, this operation was certainly not so easy to implement, because «many seals in the 1700s were generally ruined for the precariousness of their material on which they were affixed and the emblems were lost»¹⁹, but it clearly aimed at formally reviving a piece of university history in the wake of that repeatedly recalled «veneration of the origins»²⁰. However, it led to a deep revision of the coats of arms and the seals of Italian universities, often generating real «political and diplomatic incidents» in those universities which, especially concerned with showing themselves to be faithful executors of the regime's will, interpreted the return to past as a clear suggestion to a «flight forward» and even added the lictor's fasces onto their seals²¹. The very important process of revision of university emblems for Minister Fedele, who showed a particular and competent attention to the meticulous reconstruction of the real or invented origins of the first Italian universities as a good medievalist, engaged Italian universities for the year 1926, as confirmed by a series of circulars, where the Minerva's owner repeatedly expressed the hope that all the universities would adapt themselves to the ministerial directive as soon as possible, in order to offer the nation «a unified and unambiguous historical framework of Italian Universities», even in a «sacred and dutiful respect» of their particular historical events, which were well symbolized in the seals²².

The process of recovery and «invention of Italian university tradition» had already been started. The operation desired by Mussolini to revive the pomp of the glorious past centuries was destined to play a leading role throughout the twenty years, in order to make it the lifeblood of the Fascist modernity.

In 1929, Pietro Fedele insisted once again on the need to recover the traditions of Italian Universities and to enhance their role as a source for the best «cultural energies of the country», when he was no longer the Minerva's owner, but the

¹⁸ AUP, Correspondences, year 1925, b. 998, sub-folder 1, *Circolare del 18 novembre 1925, n. 19238. Sigilli e emblemi delle Università e degli Istituti Superiori*.

¹⁹ E. Lazzarini, *Università italiane. Stemmi, sigilli, medaglie*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2002, pp. 31-32.

²⁰ Cfr. La Rovere, *Storia dei Guf. Organizzazione, politica e miti della gioventù universitaria fascista, 1919-1943*, cit., p. 187.

²¹ Cfr. Lazzarini, *Università italiane. Stemmi, sigilli, medaglie*, cit., p. 32.

²² Please see, for example, the circulars in ASMC, Circulars, 1921-1935, b. 700, f. 1926, *Circolare del 29 marzo 1926. Emblemi delle Università e degli Istituti Superiori* and *Circolare del 16 dicembre 1926. Festa delle matricole*.

president of the First Section of the Higher Council of Public Education and, speaking at the inauguration ceremony of the renewed Council²³, he applauded the confirmed will expressed by the new Minister Giuseppe Belluzzo to guarantee vitality and dignity to all the Italian universities and higher education institutions²⁴, underlining how

the Fascist Government, intended to revive and to promote the traditions and the immortal forces of the homeland, may not really think of extinguishing any of the hotbeds of our culture, shining of a glorious past or recently aroused by the Fascist Government for obvious national needs²⁵.

A few months later Mussolini, being aware that his orientation to revive the centuries-old tradition of the Italian universities was now increasingly strengthened even within the university world, returned again on this issue in a decisive manner. In fact, on May 24th, 1929, on the occasion of the fourteenth Italian anniversary coming to Great War, an impressive gathering was held in Rome, in which over 15,000 Fascist goliards took part, after arriving at the capital city from all the Italian universities for a demonstration which should have represented «a solemn proof of Fascist power among the hard-working young people»²⁶. The date of this event took on a particular significance in Fascist symbolism as a revenge of the «healthy forces» of the country, an announcement of the «spiritual rebirth» of the nation and an anticipation of the glorious future to which it was destined²⁷. On this «great Roman day», the Duce did not lose the opportunity to intervene in his speech *Libro e moschetto* [Book and musket], in order to lay stress on the «moral and spiritual greatness» of Italian Universities, an institution of which every Italian person had to be «well proud»:

²³ As we know, the Higher Council of Public Education was “reorganized” by Fascism on the basis of the Royal Decree n. 2751 of November 29th, 1928, *Disposizioni concernenti il Consiglio superiore della pubblica istruzione ed il Consiglio superiore delle antichità e belle arti*, «Gazzetta ufficiale del Regno d’Italia», vol. 69, n. 292, December 17th, 1928, pp. 6103-6104.

²⁴ Please see *Il problema della Scuola illustrato da S.E. Belluzzo al Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione*, «La Scuola Fascista», vol. 5, n. 18, February 3rd, 1929, pp. 1-2. Very similar contents can also be found in *Il discorso del Ministro Belluzzo*, «La Scuola Fascista», vol. 5, n. 25, June 2nd, 1929, pp. 10-11.

²⁵ Cfr. *La risposta dell’on. Fedele*, «La Scuola Fascista», vol. 5, n. 18, February 3rd, 1929, p. 2.

²⁶ Cfr. *Quindicimila studiosi universitari fascisti rendono omaggio al Duce nel XIV annuale dell’intervento*, «Il Popolo d’Italia», May 8th, 1929. For a detailed report of the gathering, please see Archive Luce, Cinegiornali, series Giornale Luce A0346, *La seconda adunata goliardica a Roma*, <<http://senato.archiviolucente.it/senato-luce/scheda/video/IL5000013385/2/La-seconda-adunata-goliardica-a-Roma.html>>, last access: 31.01.2019). For a critical reading of the event on May 24th, 1929, please see La Rovere, *Storia dei Guf. Organizzazione, politica e miti della gioventù universitaria fascista, 1919-1943*, cit., pp. 129-130.

²⁷ Cfr. *La parola incitatrice del Duce ai goliardi d’Italia*, «Il Popolo d’Italia», May 25th, 1929.

So, this is a great day, which evokes indelible memories in our souls. [...] You have come from all the universities, from the glorious ones, crowned with several centuries of glory, to the ones which the Fascist regime created, in order to show that young people from all the universities are unanimous with Fascism. The torch of spirit and spiritual conquest has been lighted in your universities throughout the centuries. During the era of the Risorgimento, volunteer battalions left from the lecture rooms. In 1915, Universities emptied once again and the students dressed in gray-green gathered at the iniquitous border which was to be crossed²⁸.

As it was foreseeable, Mussolini's words «inflamed the souls» of young university students but, above all, they offered some of the most authoritative Fascist personalities of the time the opportunity to perfectly align with the thought and the instructions provided by the Head of Government, in a phase of increasing growth of consent to the regime.

So, in the early 1930s, after so many seductive declarations of intent, the National Fascist Party (PNF) felt the need to clearly codify and to regulate, among Fascist students, the shared and repeated need to revive the ancient traditions of the university world, a symbol of the Italian cultural primacy par excellence and also a primary and exclusive expression of Italian feeling for Fascism. Not by chance, a few weeks after the assumption of the PNF secretariat, the new secretary Giovanni Battista Giuriati decided to face this topic in a large circular addressed to all the university students²⁹. In the long and detailed document, issued on November 15th, 1930, the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies addressed the federal secretaries giving them precise rules concerning the organization of the Fascist University Groups (better known as GUF)³⁰, with «the purpose [...] to increasingly unite the life of the hard-working young people with the life of the Party»³¹. In addition to providing precise guidelines on the «spirit» which should have animated the meetings

²⁸ Cfr. B. Mussolini, *Libro e moschetto*, in E. Susmel, D. Susmel, *Opera omnia di Benito Mussolini*, Florence, La Fenice, 1951-1980, Vol. XXIV: *Dagli accordi del Laterano al dodicesimo anniversario della fondazione dei Fasci: 12 febbraio 1929-23 marzo 1931*, pp. 97-98.

²⁹ About the contents of this circular, please see in particular B. Garzarelli, *Un aspetto della politica totalitaria del PNF: I Gruppi universitari fascisti*, «Studi Storici», vol. 38, n. 4, 1997, pp. 1121-1161 and Ead., *Universitari fascisti e rapporti con l'estero: le attività dei GUF in campo internazionale*, «Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica», vol. 12, n. 2 of the year 2000, pp. 225-264.

³⁰ About the GUF, please see M.C. Giuntella, *I Gruppi Universitari Fascisti nel primo decennio del regime*, «Il movimento di liberazione in Italia», vol. 107, n. 2, April-June 1972, pp. 4-38; A. Grandi, *I Giovani di Mussolini: fascisti convinti, fascisti pentiti, antifascisti*, Milan, Baldini & Castoldi, 2001; La Rovere, *Storia dei Guf. Organizzazione, politica e miti della gioventù universitaria fascista, 1919-1943*, cit.; H.A. Cavallera, *La formazione della gioventù italiana durante il ventennio fascista*, 2 vols., Lecce, Pensa MultiMedia, 2006; S. Duranti, *Lo spirito gregario. I gruppi universitari fascisti fra politica e propaganda (1930-1940)*, Rome, Donzelli, 2008.

³¹ Central State Archive (hereinafter ACS), GUF, b. 46, f. 619, *Circolare del 15 novembre 1930. Norme sull'inquadramento del GUF*. This circular is also in «L'Università italiana. Rivista dell'istruzione superiore», vol. XXVI, n. 12, December 1930, pp. 196-199.

among Fascist university students, the behaviour to be held at their professors or the role to be attributed to sport, Giurati devoted a specific paragraph of his circular to the attitude which the GUF should have assumed on their stays abroad or on their relationships with foreign colleagues, towards the press and, especially, to Italian traditions. On this regard, he stressed, in particular, the importance of the restoration and the enhancement of the most exteriorized and apparently less relevant university traditions belonging to five or six centuries ago by the Fascist students, such as, for example, a goliardic celebration or the use of a particular item of clothing, to be interpreted as an unavoidable activity, in order to repossess an undisputed period of Italian glory, to which the rebirth put in place by the regime was returning its right splendour and its appropriate value:

The circular says: – All the traditions, even the neglected or the forgotten ones, must be repeated and put right again with Fascist spirit and style. [For example], the goliardic cap, dear to all the Italian people and in memory of all the most beautiful great achievements, must continue to cheer all our gatherings and our ceremonies with the vivacity of its colours and the scorning challenge of its shape. However, it is necessary to free it from all the frills and the pendants accumulated around it over time by a misunderstood spirit of novelty. The freshmen's party must be continued in its nicest manifestation of comradeship and greeting, which the older people give to those who advance on the threshold of the University³².

With the passing of the years, when Fascist rhetoric became bombastic and redundant both in style and content and the regime increasingly assumed the features of a «political religion»³³, even the activity to recover Italian university traditions and the already recalled «veneration of the origins» ended up being officiated in all the universities and, in particular, also during the most significant recurrences and student demonstrations. After all, parades, public celebrations, mass meetings and, more in general, many «spectacular» commemorations organized by the regime ended up developing a real «Fascist liturgy»³⁴, whose main purpose was to mould «a new man», thanks to the fusion between the Fascist symbols and rituals and the pre-existing national ones³⁵.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ About this topic, please see, above all, the works by Emilio Gentile, including: E. Gentile, *Fascism as Political Religion*, «Journal of Contemporary History», vol. 25, n. 2, April 1990, pp. 229-251; Id., *Il culto del littorio: la sacralizzazione della politica nell'Italia fascista*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 1993; Id., *Le religioni della politica: fra democrazie e totalitarismi*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2001.

³⁴ Cfr. L. Klinkhammer, *Il fascismo italiano tra religione di Stato e liturgia politica*, in V. Ferrone (ed.), *La Chiesa cattolica e il totalitarismo. VIII giornata Luigi Firpo, Atti del Convegno Torino, 25-26 ottobre 2001*, Florence, L.S. Olschki, 2004, pp. 185-203 (quotation on p. 185).

³⁵ About the question of the fusion between the Fascist symbols and rituals and the pre-existing national ones, please see R. Suzzi Valli, *Riti del Ventennale*, «Storia contemporanea», vol. XXIV, n. 6, December 1993 and Ead., *Jugendfeiern im faschistischen Italien. Die Leva Fascista*, in S. Behrenbeck, A. Nützenadel, *Inszenierungen des Nationalstaats: Politische Feiern in Italien und Deutschland seit 1860/71*, Köln, SH-Verlag, 2000.

Therefore, no collective manifestation of the regime could escape this animating *ratio*. As anticipated, during the 1930s and especially by the will of Achille Starace, Giuriati's successor to the PNF secretariat and then the GUF secretary, university events became, in particular, the ideal opportunity to revive and to enhance Italian University traditions, especially the medieval or the early Renaissance ones, in order to make them pivotal and indispensable elements in the work of reinforcing national identity.

The most emblematic case was surely represented by the International University Games, which took place in Turin from 1 to 10 September 1933 and whose organization for the Italian part was entrusted to the GUF³⁶. On June 7th, 1933, a circular signed by the Minister of Public Education, Francesco Ercole, warned the rectors of the Italian universities that the International University Games, to which «the intervention of representative teams from the most important foreign universities» was assured, would have taken place in the Piedmontese town during the first half of September. It established that the «banners of Italian Universities, escorted by the Italian university students belonging to the Fascist University Groups», were there, in order to make the official opening ceremony more solemn and with the aim at reviving the famous «Italian university tradition»³⁷. On June 20th, various local GUF secretariats were informed by the national secretariat that all the universities would have taken part in the opening ceremony not only with their banner, but also with a representation of heralds, buglers and drummers in perfect medieval dress, in order to «faithfully reproduce the ancient customs of our glorious universities»³⁸.

On July 7th, Starace, notoriously very careful to the external organization of parades and mass public events, provided the local GUF secretariats with a detailed circular, a copy sent «to the Minister of Public Education, the magnificent rectors and the podestas of the university cities», containing further information about the desired correct course of the event and, above all, the instructions regarding the function and the ideological value which the regime intended to attribute to it. First of all, he specified that the representations of each university had to be constituted by a well-defined and equal number of

³⁶ The first World Student Games were held in Paris in May ten years earlier and were organized under the aegis of the Confédération Internationale des Étudiants. The Turin edition of the Summer Universiade was the seventh one – the second one in Italy, after the one in Rome, combined with the winter one held in Cortina in 1928 – and it was articulated in two times: the summer games in Turin were preceded by the winter ones, held in Bardonecchia from January 29th to February 3rd. On this regard, please see *Gli studenti dell'Università di Bologna dal fascismo alla liberazione. Aula Magna dell'Università di Bologna, 21 aprile 2010*, catalogo della mostra a cura di Paola Dessì e Pier Paolo Zannoni, Bologna, Clueb, 2010, pp. 26-27.

³⁷ AUP, year 1933, b. 1173, sub-folder 1, *Circolare del 7 giugno 1933, n. 9693. Giochi universitari internazionali di Torino*.

³⁸ ASMC, Circulars, 1921-1935, b. 700, f. 1933, *Circolare del 20 giugno 1933. Ai segretari dei Gruppi Universitari Fascisti*.

personalities for each city, specifically composed of «a drummer, [of] four buglers with banderols, [of] two standard bearers with the city colours on their flags, [of] two men in arms, [of] a main page with the University Banner, flanked by two valets, and [of] a variable number of pages» in the end, as usual during the best medieval ceremonies³⁹. In this way, «while the representatives of the hard-working young people from all over the world are gathered in the field of the great «Mussolini» Stadium, the banners of the Italian Universities will parade on the track to give their greetings and their hospitality to the competitors».

In his circular, Starace precisely underlined that the «glorious banners of the age-old Universities» would have remembered «what a beacon of light Italy was being even in darker times», while «the new University Banners, created by Fascism», would have witnessed «how much the Fascist Italy has done even in this field in ten years». All those who were directly or indirectly involved in this event should have contributed to confer to this manifestation that majesty and that interest which the regime desired and, above all, to guarantee the perfect realization for the process of recovery of the «immortal Italian university tradition»:

it will be good that, where the University already has not its own necessary means or cannot directly provide for them, an active collaboration between the Magnificent Rector and the GUF Secretary must be established, in order to obtain all the indispensable facilities from the Podesta Lords to ensure that the representations are in keeping with historical traditions and, at the same time, appropriate and uniform for [...our] provisions as much as possible both in terms of number and composition of each member⁴⁰.

According to Starace, besides being an effective propaganda tool for the regime, as well as a useful means to affirm a precise shared feeling of national identity, the «historical Carousel of Italian universities», inserted in the context of the first day of an international important event, should have also realized that perfect desired mixture between medieval elements and Fascist ones. In fact, it was now a real ritual celebrated on the occasion of a sports event, an excellent example of how the regime did not limit the orchestration of mass liturgy only to political rites, but it took possession of all the spheres of collective life, bending them for its own purposes and integrating them into the

³⁹ About the structure and the organization of festivals and ceremonies in the medieval period, please see J. Verdon, *Feste e giochi nel Medioevo*, translated by Marina Karam, Milan, Baldini Castoldi Dalai, 2004.

⁴⁰ AUP, year 1933, b. 1173, sub-folder 1, *Circolare del 7 luglio 1933, n. 18. Achille Starace ai segretari dei Gruppi Universitari Fascisti di Bari, Bologna, Cagliari, Camerino, Catania, Ferrara, Firenze, Genova, Macerata, Messina, Milano, Modena, Napoli, Padova, Palermo, Parma, Pavia, Perugia, Pisa, Roma, Sassari, Siena, Torino, Trieste, Urbino, Venezia; e per conoscenza a S.E. il Ministro dell'Educazione Nazionale, ai Magnifici Rettori delle Regie Università e ai signori Podestà delle città sedi di Università.*

«veneration of Fascism»⁴¹. Along the track of the «Mussolini» Stadium, where «the spirit of a new Italy» would have been in the air in the sight of a «stunning and euphoric crowd», as it was typical of the Fascist events of that time⁴², even the GUF pennants and the athletic teams in black shirt would have taken turns together with the university representations in medieval costume, led by the ones from the University of Rome; the standard bearers would have been escorted by their secretary in «regulation uniform» and, after pronouncing the form of oath, the «music [would have sung] Youth, while the games with flags [would have been] resumed by all the standard bearers»⁴³.

Therefore, as we have already seen, the Fascist attempt to recover the Italian university tradition, launched by Mussolini in the early 1920s, seemed to have reached its peak in this circumstance. Indeed, the historical continuity between the medieval University and the Fascist one assumed by Starace proved to be almost absent, at least with reference to the «historical Carousel». In fact, the preparation of the banner for the «age-old Universities» was simply a real process of «invention of tradition» more than an intervention of tradition recovery. In fact, as pointed out by Ennio Lazzarini, few universities could really boast a historical banner to be «brought up again and repropounded for the occasion»; therefore, most of them were created or even instantly “invented”, often taking the University seal or just some of its parts as the main decorative element for the banner⁴⁴. However, Starace’s requests in many universities ended up pushing the academic leaders not to skimp any significant economic efforts at all, in order to be able to satisfy the demands of the regime as best as possible. The case of the Royal University of Parma was emblematic, because the rector Luigi Preti authorized the University bursar to fully pay the sums requested by the local GUF for the participation expenses of their representation to the «historical Carousel»:

The quotation for these expenses [...] was of L. 6,456: it included the purchase of 16 costumes, 16 caps, 2 flags, 4 banderols with the city colours and the rental of 16 wigs, 16 pairs of shoes, several armours and trumpets, a drum and finally train tickets to Turin⁴⁵.

The «Casa d’Arte» by Egisto Peruzzi in Florence “guaranteed” all the material, which had probably never been owned by the University or was no longer kept in any depository:

⁴¹ Please see Gentile, *Il culto del littorio: la sacralizzazione della politica nell’Italia fascista*, cit., p. 50 and pp. 141-142.

⁴² Please see Suzzi Valli, *Riti del Ventennale*, cit., pp. 1027-1031.

⁴³ AUP, year 1933, b. 1173, sub-folder 1, *Direttiva dell’11 agosto 1933 dei Gruppi Universitari Fascisti. Carosello storico delle Università fasciste*.

⁴⁴ Please see Lazzarini, *Università italiane. Stemmi, sigilli, medaglie*, cit., pp. 32-33.

⁴⁵ AUP, year 1933, b. 1173, sub-folder 1, *Disposizione del rettore della Regia Università di Parma, 23 agosto 1933*.

It was the supplier of the costumes for the valets in the Municipalities of Florence, Arezzo, Pistoia, etc., the province of Pisa, the Florentine association of Kick Game in costume, the D.L. for the historical re-enactment of the Saracen joust of Arezzo, as well as the Royal University of Florence and Pisa, for which the new costumes of the valets were just now designed⁴⁶.

In this way, as pointed out by Filippo Ferrari, the glorious «Banner of the age-old University» of Parma, with valets, buglers and standard bearers, would have been entirely reconstructed on paper by the «Casa d'Arte» in Florence, which also provided the costumes for various historical re-enactments, from the Saracen joust to the Kick Game in costume, two phenomena which could not be certainly considered typically of Parma. So, the representations in costume were the result of a real invention like the entire «historical Carousel» set up by Starace⁴⁷.

The long and laborious Fascist process of recovery and exaltation of the Italian university tradition found its *climax* during the years when the Ministry of Public Education was held by Giuseppe Bottai⁴⁸. According to the former Minister of Corporations, the creator and the writer of the popular *Carta della Scuola* and, above all, a refined intellectual and a real «interpreter of the educated Fascist soul»⁴⁹, Italian universities were mainly called

to recover their relationship with past (tradition) and to place themselves at the head of a 'deep renewal of Italian culture and science', that is, to revive the real 'primacy' which Italy had for centuries in this field of studies. At the same time, Italian universities should have returned to be the real workshops, where the new ruling class could be selected⁵⁰.

⁴⁶ AUP, year 1933, b. 1173, sub-folder 1, *Lettera della Ditta Egisto Peruzzi all'Economato della Regia Università di Parma*, 29 agosto 1933.

⁴⁷ Please see F. Ferrari, *La fascistizzazione dello sport a Parma (1926-1939)*, in F. Sicuri, R. Montali (edd.), *Storia di ieri. Parma dal regime fascista alla liberazione, 1927-1945*, Reggio Emilia, Diabasis, 2011, pp. 107-124.

⁴⁸ About Giuseppe Bottai at the helm of Minerva, please see in particular P. Nello, *Mussolini e Bottai: due modi diversi di concepire l'educazione fascista della gioventù*, «Storia Contemporanea», vol. 8, n. 2, 1977, pp. 335-366; R. Gentili, *Giuseppe Bottai e la riforma fascista della scuola*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1979; G. Bottai, *Vent'anni e un giorno: 24 luglio 1943*, Milan, Garzanti, 1949; S. Cassese, *Un programmatore degli anni Trenta: Giuseppe Bottai*, «Politica del diritto», vol. 1, n. 3, 1970, pp. 404-447; Id., *Bottai, Giuseppe*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome, Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1971, Vol. XIII, pp. 389-404; G.B. Guerri, *Giuseppe Bottai, un fascista critico*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1976; A.J. De Grand, *Bottai e la cultura fascista*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 1978; G. Bottai, *Diario 1935-1944*, edited by G.B. Guerri, Milan, Rizzoli, 1982; M. Galfré, *Giuseppe Bottai. Un intellettuale fascista*, Florence, Giunti, 2000. P. Vassallo, *Giuseppe Bottai*, Chieti, Solfanelli, 2014; L. Pomante, *Giuseppe Bottai e il rinnovamento fascista dell'Università italiana (1936-1942)*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2018.

⁴⁹ Cfr. Galfré, *Giuseppe Bottai. Un intellettuale fascista*, cit., p. 3.

⁵⁰ Cfr. Pomante, *Giuseppe Bottai e il rinnovamento fascista dell'Università italiana (1936-1942)*, cit., pp. 12-13.

Hence a series of original initiatives and projects, directly promoted by Bottai, having as a common denominator the Minister's clear will to revive the academic culture and the centuries-old «italian tradition» of university studies, a process which was considered essential for the perfect fulfillment of that process of cultural, ethical and civil growth for the Fascist Italy desired by the regime⁵¹.

A significant cultural and editorial initiative launched by the Minerva's owner in the early months of 1939 can be considered particularly interesting for the purposes of our discussion, because it drew on the idea which was partly already developed by Prassitele Piccinini in the early 1930s and widely illustrated in this work. In fact, with the clear «apologetic intent to emphasize and to enhance the merits of the Italian universities»⁵², on January 16th, 1939, Bottai sent to the rectors of the Italian universities a circular, where the highest academic authorities were invited to promote a collection of monographs about universities, so that «their multifaceted activity is widely recognized and duly appreciated in Italy, and even outside Italy»⁵³. For this reason, each university should have provided for its own «autobiography» «under the direction and the patronage of the Ministry», giving rise to a work of «non-vulgar divulgation», where

severity of research and accuracy of data are enlivened by that warmth of sincerity and passion, which emphasises our aspirations, our labours, our achievements, without any boring pedantry on the one hand, and any empty rhetoric on the other hand⁵⁴.

According to Bottai, this work, destined both «to give an integral knowledge of our universities» and to «arouse the interest in the conditions of our higher education in most of educated people coming from all the countries», would have allowed to revive the pomp of the glorious tradition of the oldest «culturally refined» and «currently splendid» universities, also managing to fill the obvious gaps of an often antiquated literature, which was known only to a «restricted circle of learned people» and as an expression of «fragmentary visions» connected to such particular issues «in such a way as to not draw the attention

⁵¹ About these initiatives launched by Minister Bottai for the renewal of the Italian University, please see *ibid.*

⁵² Cfr. G.P. Brizzi, *La storia delle università in Italia: l'organizzazione della ricerca nel XX secolo*, in L. Sitran Rea (ed.), *La storia delle università italiane. Archivi, fonti, indirizzi di ricerca. Atti del convegno. Padova, 27-29 ottobre 1994*, Trieste, Edizioni Lint, 1996, pp. 273-292 (quotation on p. 277).

⁵³ ACS, Ministry of Public Education, Directorate General of Higher Education, *Circolare n. 233 del 16 gennaio 1939. Collezione di monografie sulle Università d'Italia*. Enclosure: *Norme per la esecuzione della Collezione di monografie sulle Università d'Italia*. This document was also published in the Official Bulletin of the Ministry of Public Education (hereafter BUMEN), vol. 66, n. 6, February 7th, 1939, pp. 295-301 (the quotations are taken from the Bulletin). About the collection of monographs promoted by Minister Bottai, please see Pomante, *Giuseppe Bottai e il rinnovamento fascista dell'Università italiana (1936-1942)*, cit., pp. 21-30.

⁵⁴ BUMEN, *Collezione di monografie sulle Università d'Italia*, cit., p. 296.

of the scholars specialized in this or that branch». Without jeopardizing the knowledge of the most recent history, the new «university autobiographies» should have obviously paid particular attention especially to the real or invented origins and the first centuries of university life, a fundamental expression of that «cultural and civil primacy» of the Nation, which Fascism still intended to revive.

This project elaborated by Bottai would have tried to pursue a double objective. On the one hand, starting from this publishing initiative and on the basis of the example provided by the Institute of History at the University of Bologna⁵⁵, which Bottai considered a model to be exported everywhere, Italian universities were called to give life to a special institute or another similar institution, which would specifically and permanently attend to the history of their own university and all those future studies in the field of higher education; on the other hand, thanks to the considerable number of planned monographs, a real university history library would have been created to be used at a propaganda level both in Italy and abroad, in order to convey the image of a country which had been the cradle of culture during the “mythical” centuries of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and stood as candidate to be it again thanks to the “enlightened” projects of the Fascist regime⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ About the oldest and the most important research centres on the history of Italian universities, please see especially the above-mentioned Brizzi, *La storia delle università in Italia: l'organizzazione della ricerca nel XX secolo*, cit., and the most recent L. Pomante, *Las investigaciones sobre la historia de las universidades en Italia. Un balance historiográfico del siglo pasado*, «CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades», vol. 20, n. 1, 2017, pp. 163-192 (in particular 163-165).

⁵⁶ On this regard, please see E. Gentile, *La politica estera del partito fascista. Ideologia e organizzazione dei Fasci italiani all'estero (1920-1930)*, «Storia contemporanea», vol. 26, n. 6, 1995, pp. 897-956.

The invention of the educational tradition in religious Madrid elite schools. Identity and distinction of the private school culture during Franco's dictatorship

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ABSTRACT: Tradition is key in identity processes, using history to legitimize the past. This work aims to study the traditions of some elite private schools in Madrid belonging to religious congregations during the Franco era. For this analysis we have selected two relevant experiences in educational historiography, namely, the Congregation of the Marianist Fathers and the Brothers of the Christian schools-La Salle. Our purpose is not to reconstruct the history of these congregations or their educational institutions, which has been the object of study by other specialized authors, but to examine the way that two private religious colleges for the education of boys – Nuestra Señora del Pilar and Nuestra Señora del Maravillas-La Salle – made use of rituals, rules and practices that shaped their own traditions in order to build a school identity.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Invention of tradition; Christian schools; Franco's dictatorship; Spain; XXth Century.

Introduction

Since the 1980s, historians Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger have been exhorting us to revise our reconstruction of the past and incorporate into it the historiographical analysis known as the «invention of tradition» or «tradition

invented»¹. Collective imaginaries and cultural identities have both been determined by the ideological meaning embodied in cultural and/or political practices. In this sense, tradition, while playing a key role in processes of identity, can also be a source of tension between what is acknowledged in the present and the symbolic power of the past. Put another way, Tradition is not exempt from conflict. The very idea of tradition – which itself includes tension between our perspective of the past and our perspective of the present – deepens the temporal breach while at the same time attempting to overcome it².

As Hobsbawm has stated, there is a profound ideological meaning embodied in cultural and political practices – often having its origin in literature – that with time comes to be seen collectively as *natural*, *spontaneous*, or *dating back to time immemorial*³. An example of this can be found in the European dictatorships that have followed a similar pattern, using the invention of traditions in their processes of national reconstruction⁴. In Spain, Franco's regime forged a model of ideological and pedagogical discourse within the educational culture consisting of rituals, rules and practices that ultimately configured their own, present-day tradition. Legitimized by the past, these traditions were configured as signs of identity.

While bearing in mind the impossibility of separating the study of invented traditions from a general analysis of history, in this article we propose to examine the traditions – invented or not – of two elite, private religious schools in Madrid: Nuestra Señora del Pilar – henceforth «Pilar», in deference to the name used by the Marianist community – and the school Nuestra Señora del Maravillas-La Salle – henceforward «Maravillas»⁵. These boys' schools belonged to the

¹ E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger (edd.), *The invention of tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983 This is the first edition and it has been reprinted several times. We are using the edition translated into Spanish in 2002: E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger (edd.), *La invención de la tradición*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2002, p. 7.

² P. Ricoeur, *Tiempo y narración. El tiempo narrado*, Madrid, Siglo XXI, 2009, p. 939.

³ B. Riego, *La invención del futuro en sus orígenes contemporáneos*, in J. Chaves Palacios (ed.), *Humanismo y nuevas tecnologías en la sociedad de la información*, Badajoz, Universidad de Extremadura, 2001, pp. 11-38, cf. p. 11. The terminology used by this author was taken from E. Hobsbawm, *Introducción: La invención de la tradición*, in Hobsbawm, Ranger (edd.), *La invención de la tradición*, cit., pp. 1-13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁵ The choice of these schools is due to the absence of monographic studies on private religious teaching in Madrid. Nonetheless, we are aware of the research that has been published on the educational work carried out by the Hermanos de las Christian schools in other parts of Spain. (Dávila, Naya et al in Gipuzkoa, as well as Viñao and Martínez in Barcelona) for the purpose of verifying whether these orders relied on the same symbolic practices in all of the centers run by them. We are also aware of the lack of any monographic study on the Marianist priests and, more specifically, on the Colegio del Pilar, one of the most prestigious schools in Madrid and one receiving considerable social and media attention. Along with press coverage, the institution has even been the subject of a TV program, <https://www.lasexta.com/programas/salvados/mejores-momentos/javier-ruperez-pilaristas-teniamos-cierta-sensacion-ser-superiores-demas_201510255724516c4beb28d44600961f.html> (last access: 10.09.2018).

Congregation of Marianist Priests and the Brothers of the Christian schools -La Salle, respectively. It is not our intention to give an account of the history of these congregations or of their educational institutions, as this subject has been addressed by other specialized authors⁶. Both institutions offered a solid education to the children of well-to-do families, with an educational tradition that became a sign of distinction as well as an identifiable educational model for the Spanish middle and upper class.

A study dealing with the revision of the term “tradition” brings us into the realm of a polysemic and quite versatile concept that historians, philosophers and sociologists have addressed from myriad angles, resorting to terms such as invented tradition, hegemonic tradition, meta-traditional rational tradition, research tradition, etc.⁷ In the next section, we will address the methodological questions concerning the diversity and heterogeneousness of the documentary sources used as well as the categories of analysis that have been chosen. These include the location and characteristics of the buildings as well as the symbolic practices such as religious activities, sports and alumni associations. By

⁶ P. Dávila Balsera, *Las órdenes y congregaciones religiosas francesas y su impacto sobre la educación en España. Siglos XIX y XX*, in J.M. Hernández Díaz (ed.), *Francia en la educación de la España Contemporánea (1808-2008)*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 2011, pp. 101-159, cf. p. 103; P. Dávila Balsera, L.M. Naya Garmendia, H. Murua Cartón, *Bajo el signo de la educación. 100 años de la Salle en Gipuzkoa*, Bilbao, Hermanos de las Escuelas Cristianas, 2009; P. Dávila, L.M. Naya Garmendia, *La enseñanza privada religiosa en España: instituciones, políticas e identidades*, in J. Pintassilgo (ed.), *Laicidad, Religioes e Educaçao na Europa do Sul no Século XX*, Lisboa, Instituto de Educaçao da Universidade de Lisboa, 2013, pp. 367-392; P. Dávila, L.M. Naya, H. Murua, *Prácticas y actividades religiosas en los colegios privados del País Vasco durante el siglo XX*, *Historia y Memoria de la Educación*, vol. 2, n. 4, 2016, pp. 141-175; P. Dávila, L.M. Naya, I. Zabaleta, *Memory and Yearbooks: An analysis of their structure and evolution in religious schools in 20th century Spain*, in C. Yanes, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, Switzerland, Springer, 2017, pp. 65-79; J. M. Delaunay, *Exilio o refugio en España (veinticinco años después)*, «Anuario de la Iglesia», n. 16, 2005, pp. 153-164; V. Faubell Zapata, *Órdenes, Congregaciones y Asociaciones eclesiales masculinas dedicadas a la educación y a la enseñanza*, in B. Bartolomé (ed.) *Historia de la acción educadora de la Iglesia en España. Tomo II. Edad Contemporánea*, Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1997, pp. 323-448, y V. Faubell Zapata, *Educación y órdenes y congregaciones religiosas en la España del siglo XX*, «Revista de Educación», Número Extraordinario, 2000, pp. 137-200; M. Ostolaza Esnal, *Entre religión y modernidad: los colegios de las Congregaciones Religiosas en la construcción de la sociedad guipuzcoana contemporánea, 1876-1931*, Bilbao, Universidad del País Vasco, Colec. Historia Contemporánea, 2000; M. Ostolaza, P. Fullana, *Escuela católica y modernización. Las nuevas congregaciones religiosas (1900-1930)*, in J. de la Cueva, F. Montero, *La secularización conflictiva. España (1898-1931)*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2007, pp. 187-213; P. Fullana, F. Montero, *Los movimientos educativos juveniles del movimiento católico en España (1868-1968)*, «Historia de la Educación», n. 22-23, 2003-2004, pp. 33-51; A. Yetano, *La enseñanza religiosa en la España de la Restauración (1900-1920)*, Barcelona, Anthropos, 1987; A. Viñao, M.J. Martínez Ruiz-Funes, *Tradición y modernidad: el programa iconográfico del Colegio de Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova de Barcelona (1900-1956)*, «Rivista di storia dell'educazione», vol. 5, n. 1, 2018, pp. 17-40.

⁷ M.I. Mudrovic, M^a I., *El valor heurístico de un análisis formal del concepto de tradición*, «Prismas. Revista de Historia Intelectual», n. 5, 2001, pp. 329-336.

analyzing their collective imaginaries and school practices, we should be able to form an idea of the schools' identity.

1. *Tradition and school identity*

In order to reflect upon school practices, we have no choice but to revise conceptually the term *tradition*. Tradition is a structural condition rooted in the historical dimension of human beings, who, far from springing from a void, are the result of a legacy that they then appropriate, critically⁸. Lluís Duch and Jan Assman⁹ have both pointed out that transmission and reception are indispensable conditions of tradition, thus making it a true communicative action¹⁰; this results in its implicit, habitual and unconscious nature¹¹. Tradition therefore functions as a figurative structure capable of giving meaning to the interpretative horizon of a given culture¹².

In speaking of traditions, we must bear in mind that using the past to legitimize the present implies that tradition is a form of knowledge of experience¹³. Many experiences that claim to be ancient are actually of fairly recent origin, when not invented outright. As such, they often function as discursive strategies that exercise extraordinary power in the construction of the present¹⁴.

The term tradition has found a complement in the invention of tradition, giving us what is known as *invented tradition*. This category includes traditions that were truly invented, elaborated and consolidated as well as those that emerged over a brief period of time and were very quickly established. We could define them as «a group of practices normally governed by a set of explicitly or tacitly accepted rules, of a symbolic or ritualistic nature, that seeks to imbue certain values or behavioral norms through repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, when possible, an attempt is made to connect them with an appropriate historical past»¹⁵. All invented tradition,

⁸ H. Rombach, *El hombre humanizado. Antropología estructural*, Barcelona, Herder, 2004, p. 140.

⁹ J. Assman, *Religión y memoria cultural. Diez estudios*, Buenos Aires, Lilmod Ediciones, 2008, p. 45.

¹⁰ S. Sola-Morales, *La importancia de la tradición en los procesos identitarios*, «Ars Brevis», n. 23, 2017, pp. 207-223, cf. p. 210.

¹¹ L. Duch, *Religió i comunicació*, Barcelona, Fragmenta Editorial, 2010, p. 56, cf. in Sola-Morales, *La importancia de la tradición en los procesos identitarios*, cit. p. 212; Assman, *Religión y memoria cultural*, cit. p. 90.

¹² Sola-Morales, *La importancia de la tradición en los procesos identitarios*, cit. p. 213.

¹³ F. Bárcena, *La experiencia reflexiva en educación*, Barcelona, Paidós, 2005, p. 92.

¹⁴ Sola-Morales, *La importancia de la tradición en los procesos identitarios*, cit. p. 209.

¹⁵ E. Hobsbawm, *Introducción: la invención de la tradición*, in Hobsbawm, Ranger (edd.), *La invención de la tradición*, cit. p. 20.

therefore, rely on the use of the past to legitimize an action and to bolster the cohesion of the group. They become symbols of a struggle, helping in the movement forward from a traditional to a modern society. In the practice of a tradition, there is an implicit authority legitimizing it, passing judgement, as it were; Gadamer defines it as an act of reflexive judgement given by someone:

that which is consecrated by tradition and by the past possesses an authority that has become anonymous and our historic, finite figure is determined by the fact that the authority of what has been transmitted – and not that which we accept rationally – has power over our action and our behavior¹⁶.

Invented traditions generally fit into one of three categories: «First are those that are meant to create or symbolize social cohesion within a community, i.e., the feeling of belonging to a group; a second category is made up of those that serve to legitimize institutions or relationships of power and authority; in the third category are those invented traditions that imbue beliefs, value systems and conventions relating to behavior»¹⁷. We believe that the invented traditions of certain private schools in Madrid attended by students from the privileged class during Franco's dictatorship correspond to the first two types. Religious schools tend to promote a sense of identity that differentiates them from other congregations, encouraging a feeling of belonging. The sphere of power that they managed to establish then tended to perpetuate itself over the course of generations.

Among the practices that favor the institutionalization of invented traditions are repetition and invariability, both of which guarantee a continuity with the past – be it real or made-up – and impose set practices. Hobsbawm believes that «inventing traditions is essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by a reference to the past, even if this only arises out of repetition»¹⁸.

Another key concept here is that of identity-creating processes, as the influence of traditions is fundamental in building identities. Tradition «inspires most identity processes and has shown itself to play a determining role not only in creating the memory of a group, but in the conscience of each of its members»¹⁹.

¹⁶ Gadamer, *Verdad y método*, Salamanca, Ediciones Sígueme, 1993.

¹⁷ Hobsbawm, *Introducción: La invención de la tradición*, in Hobsbawm, Ranger (edd.), *La invención de la tradición*, cit., p. 16.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁹ Sola-Morales, *La importancia de la tradición en los procesos identitarios*, cit. p. 209.

2. Sources of study

In order to study the traditions that defined the school culture at the two centers under consideration we undertook a bibliographical analysis of research dealing with religious educational institutions in Spain. Especially valuable, as original, unpublished sources, were the diaries of teacher-training experiences kept by students of Pedagogy from Universidad Complutense de Madrid (henceforward UCM)²⁰. These memoirs and accounts provide descriptions of the rituals and customs comprising the traditions of these schools. Included are numerous photographs, and while these are useful as historical evidence and as visual registers of the schools' culture²¹, they cannot really show us objectively what was happening. Nevertheless, through rigorous analysis these images do serve to inform us about what was valued at the time, what was considered "photographable" and worthy of being captured for posterity as a memento of a tradition. With regard to the diaries and memoirs, Dávila and Naya have made the point that while they may not be enough to relate an actual history, they do provide us with a closer look at the (elitist) social, cultural and economic values of the families that sent their children to these schools²².

We have also examined the commemorative yearbooks published by the two religious educational centers themselves, and these have provided an

²⁰ They are kept in the archives of the museum Museo de Historia de la Educación «Manuel Bartolomé Cossío» de la Facultad de Educación (UCM).

²¹ Following are several studies that we have published recently on school photography: T. Rabazas, S. Ramos, *The school child: two images of a pedagogical model in Madrid, 1960s*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIII, n. 1, 2018, pp. 305-326; Ramos, Rabazas, Colmenar, *Fotografía y representación de la escuela privada madrileña en el franquismo. Entre la propaganda y el relato*, cit.; C. Colmenar, T. Rabazas, S. Ramos, *La representación social de la educación en las escuelas madrileñas de Patronato en el franquismo (1950-1970)*, «Educació i Història. Revista d'Història de l'Educació», n. 32 (julio-diciembre), 2018, pp. 199-234.

²² P. Dávila, L.M. Naya Garmendia, I. Zabaleta, *Internados religiosos: marketing del espacio a través de las Memorias escolares en España durante el primer tercio del siglo XX*, in P. Dávila, L.M. Naya Garmendia (edd.), *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo. VII Jornadas científicas de la SEPHE y V Simposio Iberoamericano*, Donostia-San Sebastián, Universidad del País Vasco, 2016, pp. 183-208, cf. p. 186; Dávila, Naya, Zabaleta, *Memory and Yearbooks: An analysis of their structure and evolution in religious schools in 20th century Spain*, cit., p. 67.

invaluable window into the public image that these centers wished to cultivate²³. Yearbooks, bulletins and reports put out by the schools and by their alumni associations have provided yet another sources. As Fullana and Montero have stated, «the commitment of the religious institutions is made explicit first and foremost in their publications»²⁴. For this reason we have also made an in-depth examination of the school press, while the journals published by ex-students were especially helpful for connecting the institutions with the families and students in a more permanent way. From the early 20th century on, the Pilar center maintained this tradition, publishing several different journals²⁵. For our study we have focused on the school magazine published originally during Franco's time and called *Soy Pilarista* (I am Pilarist)²⁶. Currently the journal goes by the name *Siempre Pilaristas* (Always Pilarists) and is the mouthpiece of the association of ex-students of the school.

Perseverancia (Perseverance) was the name given to the journal published by the Maravillas school as a forum for students and former students. Both of these publications chronicled the social, cultural, artistic, sporting and recreational events as well as covering the religious practices of the Lasalle and Marianist Communities. Special emphasis was given to images portraying the traditions and identities of the schools²⁷.

²³ About the Colegio Nuestra Señora de las Maravillas, we studied: A. Calvo, *El Colegio de Nuestra Señora de las Maravillas. Crónica de cien años. 1892-1992*, Madrid, Hermanos La Salle, 1995; H. La Salle, *Cien años maravillosos. Colegio Nuestra Señora de las Maravillas. La Salle. 1892-1992*, Madrid, Hermanos La Salle, 1994. Dealing with the Colegio Nuestra Señora del Pilar, we consulted various publications, the outstanding ones being: Asociación de Antiguos Alumnos del Colegio del Pilar, *Colegio Nuestra Señora del Pilar, 1946. Recuerdos en el año de las Bodas de oro de la compañía de María en España*, Madrid, 1946, *Bodas de Oro del Colegio Nuestra Señora del Pilar*, Madrid, 1957; J. de Isasa González de Ubieta, *Colegio del Pilar. 75 años (1907-1982). Abiertos a la sociedad*, Madrid: Colegio del Pilar, 1982; J. de Isasa González de Ubieta, *100 años. El Pilar. La enseñanza nos hará libres*, Madrid, 2007; *El Pilar, cien años de historia, 1907-2007*, Madrid, Colegio Nuestra Señora del Pilar, 2007.

²⁴ Fullana, Montero, *Los movimientos educativos juveniles del movimiento católico en España (1868-1968)*, cit., p. 39.

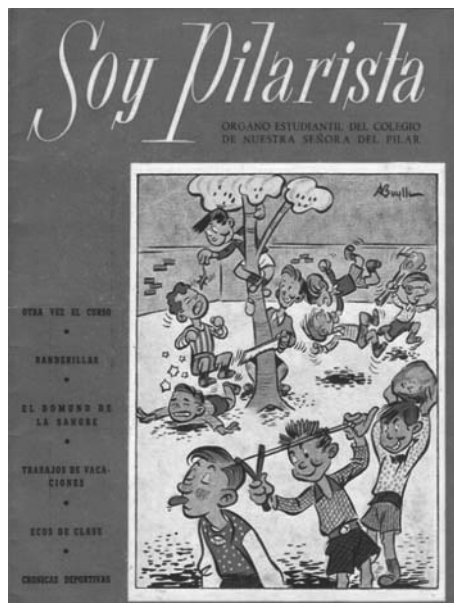
²⁵ In 1912 the school published *Proyección*, «a weekly magazine covering students' artistic, literary and scientific work», and *Recuerdos de Nuestra Señora del Pilar*, published between 1912 and 1922 and in which teachers and students provided an account of school life. From 1923 until 1936 the center published the magazine *El Pilar*, which provided information about the history of the institution, albeit from a more official perspective. Beginning in 1942 this journal became the official mouthpiece of all of the Marianist schools in Spain. C. Labrador, *La compañía de María (Marianistas)*, in B. Delgado Criado (ed.), *Historia de España y América, La Educación en la España contemporánea. (1878-1975)*, 1994, Madrid, SM and Morata, vol. III, pp. 598-599.

²⁶ On 9 April 1944 the weekly newspaper *Soy Pilarista*, an initiative of two students from year 4 of the baccalaureate program who were helped by a teacher. The publication consisted of six type-written pages. and within a year the print run was up to 860 and there were some 800 subscriptions, de Isasa, *1907-1982. 75 años abiertos a la sociedad. Colegio del Pilar*, cit., p. 54.

²⁷ We consulted issues published between 1946 and 1961.



Pic. 1.



Pic. 2.

Pic. 1. Cover of the journal «Perseverancia», n. 56, 4th season, February-March, 1961²⁸; Pic. 2: Cover of the journal «Soy Pilarista», n. 101, 1953²⁹.

And finally, we have complemented these sources with the oral testimony of former students³⁰, of the authors of some of the Pedagogy teachers-in-training memoirs and of members of the alumni associations of the two schools.

3. *Traditions invented by elite schools. Pilar and Maravillas*

Over the course of history, education has always been one of the most important factors in determining a family's social position. Those who are able to attend elite educational institutions will find themselves in the upper

²⁸ Image obtained by the Asociación de Antiguos Alumnos del Colegio Maravillas, Hemeroteca, Revista Perseverancia, <https://issuu.com/aamaravillas/docs/perseverancia-febr.-marz._61.compr> (last access: 20.08.208).

²⁹ Image obtained from <<https://www.todocoleccion.net>> (last access: 25.08.208).

³⁰ We would like to give special thanks for the testimony given by D. Jaime del Rey and D. Fernando Micó, former students of the Colegio Maravillas, and former students of Pilar D. Rafael Amat Trueda and D. José Ramón Fernández.

class socially, politically and economically, and such a situation reinforces the privileged condition of entitled social groups. In the case of the Pilar and Maravillas schools, the education offered was directed towards the children of upper middle-class families from Madrid³¹. They were what Foucault and Goffman referred to as total organizations³²; these organizations structured, in an all-encompassing way, the social and academic life of their students for years, starting from the time they began their lives as students.

School buildings as icons of school and social identity

School buildings constitute an icon of identity for private religious schools. As Antonio Viñao has pointed out, their location is never random³³. The architecture, setting, facilities and spaces are all integral elements for the families and social class that they serve.

Both the Pilar and Maravillas schools were strategically located in upper middle-class neighborhoods in Madrid, the first in the Salamanca neighborhood and the second in the area known as El Viso. Pilar was built in a neo-gothic style, following a monumental model of architecture that could hardly have been more different from the public school buildings in Madrid at the time³⁴. The monumental character of the building, along with the stained glass windows, is what former students of the school remember most vividly³⁵.

³¹ One of the teacher-training memoirs studied confirms the professional activities of the students' parents, who were mostly businessmen, lawyers, engineers, doctors, specialists, etc. A. Martínez, Modesto Barreales, *La Salle en el Viso. Estudio de los aspectos formativos de la educación en el colegio Maravillas-La Salle* (FRM: 884), 1964, pp. 17-18.

³² Both authors address this concept in the following works: M. Foucault, *Vigilar y castigar. Nacimiento de la prisión*, México, Siglo XXI, 1987; E. Goffman, *Internados. Ensayos sobre la situación social de los enfermos mentales*, Buenos Aires, Amorrortu, 1972.

³³ A. Viñao Frago, *Los espacios escolares ¿cómo abordar un objeto polifacético y multiforme?*, in Dávila, Naya (edd.), *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo*, cit., p. 31.

³⁴ The building was designed by Manuel Aníbal Álvarez Amorós and built between 1908 and 1916. Although it was originally meant to be a girls' boarding school, the Marianist community ended up acquiring it and it officially opened on 23 October 1921. On 19 February 1997 the B.O.C.M. (Official Bulletin of the Madrid Regional Government) the decree of 30 January declaring the Colegio del Pilar «Bien de Interés Cultural en la categoría de Monumento» (Monument pertaining to the region's cultural patrimony).

³⁵ For the occasion of the centenary of the building's construction, the alumni association published a book bringing together some of the impressions that former students had of the building: *100 pilaristas hablan del Pilar*, Madrid, Colegio Nuestra Señora del Pilar, 2007, and these were chosen several years later for an article by a former student published by Sánchez Martín, José Luis (2016), *Pequeña historia de un gran edificio, Siempre Pilaristas*. Revista de la Asociación de Antiguos Alumnos del Colegio del Pilar, n° 145, pp. 10-11. Here are some of the former students' testimonies: «[...] the building on Castelló street seemed gloomy [...]» (D. José Luis Olaizola); «[...] the white, luminous, transparent building generated a sense of well-being» (D. Antonio Garrigues



Pic. 3. Aerial image of the school Nuestra Señora del Pilar, Madrid, 1957 (FRM 826)³⁶.

Occupying an entire block of the neighborhood, the structure consisted of several symmetrical pavilions articulated around a central patio. As is attested to by the aerial photograph shown below, the school building itself constituted an iconic reference and sign of identity, as is the case with many religious educational centers³⁷.

With the Maravillas school, we have an example of how the order of the Brothers of Christian schools undertook establishing an elite school in Franco's Madrid. After a number of changes in its location, Maravillas finally found a permanent home in the neighborhood Colonia el Viso³⁸, a district of predominantly individual homes, many with gardens. The school is of a more modern design than Pilar and is articulated around a central pavilion. Photograph 4, taken by a professional photographer and used to make a post card, shows the school's location in this privileged residential area of the capital:

Walker); «[...] the venerable building on Castelló street, so imposing, prepared to bear another hundred years all the weight of the Colegio del Pilar [...]». (D. Ignacio Maldonado Ramos). «To the eyes of a nine year-old boy from Zaragoza, the school seemed like a huge castle. Its dimensions were inconceivable. It was a fort» (D. Jorge Bernabeu Larena). «I always thought it was a very nice building, the hallways were wide, the classrooms were big and the stained glass windows were amazing» (D. Rafael Amat Trueda).

³⁶ The image provided by the pedagogy student was obtained from the commemorative book published by the Association of Former Students of the Colegio Nuestra Señora del Pilar, *Bodas de Oro del Colegio Nuestra Señora del Pilar*, Madrid, 1957.

³⁷ Viñao, Martínez Ruiz-Funes, *Tradición y modernidad: el programa iconográfico del Colegio de Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova de Barcelona (1900-1956)*, cit., p. 11.

³⁸ The commemorative work by Antonio Calvo, published in 1995, gives a detailed history of the school (Calvo, *El Colegio de Nuestra Señora de las Maravillas*, cit., pp. 40-61).



Pic. 4. Aerial image of the school La Salle-Maravillas of Madrid, 1964 (FRM 884).

In both the Pilar and Maravillas schools, the design of the structure centers around the spaces dedicated to the church, the chapels and worship. It seems evident that religion is intended to be one of the central pillars of the schools' general activity, as well as a sign of distinction.

Living the religious tradition in a private school

Under Franco, the introduction of worship in private religious schools, led by the teachers themselves, became quite common³⁹. The schools would incorporate the church's liturgical festivities into their teaching program and draw up a monthly school calendar observing the religious festivities as well as the celebration of each congregation's feast days and the local festive days⁴⁰.

³⁹ Dávila, Naya Garmendia, Murua, *Prácticas y actividades religiosas en los colegios privados del País Vasco durante el siglo XX*, cit., p. 151; Dávila, Naya Garmendia, Zabaleta, *Memory and Yearbooks: An analysis of their structure and evolution in religious schools in 20th century Spain*, cit., p. 72.

⁴⁰ For example, in Madrid, the following feast days were especially important: la Inmaculada, Nuestra Señora de la Almudena (patron of Madrid), San Isidro (patron of Madrid). In May, the exaltation of the Virgin Mary was celebrated with masses, songs, floral offerings, etc. The veneration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus took place in June. In this way, every month had its religious festivity: San José, Palm Sunday, Saint Thomas, Immaculate, Christ the King, holy Trinity, All Saints, Corpus Christi, Virgin of the Pilar, etc. These have been described by authors Dávila, Naya Garmendia, Murua, *Prácticas y actividades religiosas en los colegios privados del*



Pic. 5



Pic. 6

Pic. 5 and pic. 6. Palm Sunday Procession in the Maravillas school (FRM 884), 1967.

By means of triangulation we were able to determine the most representative festivities of the Pilar and Maravillas schools.

The Lasalle community established certain feast days that served as signs of identity of a sort for their centers. In a recent work, professors Viñao and Martínez show that, beginning in the first third of the 20th century, two new liturgies were incorporated into the Lasalle schools: that of the Sacred Heart (1920) and the feast day of Christ the King, promulgated by Pope Pious XI in 1925⁴¹. The feast day of Palm Sunday, however, was celebrated with much greater revel in the Maravillas school than it was in Pilar. A former Maravillas student recalls the way in which the Palm Sunday procession was celebrated with great enthusiasm. It was also obligatory for all students to participate in it. This oral testimony – supported by the images shown in photographs 5 and 6 – describes how «some of the students wore white habits and were given a palm for the occasion. Only a few of them wore a green hood, the rest would tie a handkerchief around their head in the Palestinian style, imitating the dress of the time»⁴². The religious identity that the schools promoted in their students had a social and political component as well, evidenced by the participation of municipal guards and local and religious authorities. Virtually the entire populace of this well-to-do neighborhood took part and participated in the

País Vasco durante el siglo XX, cit., p. 152.

⁴¹ Viñao, Martínez Ruiz-Funes, *Tradición y modernidad: el programa iconográfico del Colegio de Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova de Barcelona (1900-1956)*, cit., p. 12.

⁴² Jaime del Rey studied in Maravillas School in the decade of the years 50 (1951-1961).



Pic. 7. Celebration of the day of the virgin of Pilar, 12/10/1946 in the central patio of the school, El Pilar. 75 years, p. 59.

procession. While the exact origin of this tradition is uncertain, we do know that this festivity was celebrated in all of the schools pertaining to the Brothers of Christian schools in Gipuzkoa⁴³.

Another tradition invented by the Lasalle congregation can be found in its inclusion of the feast day of Saint John the Baptist Lasalle as the patron of Christian teachers and of the congregation. They also organized a day of recreational and sports activities – which we will discuss presently – which in addition to establishing a sign of identity, also served to create a sense of belonging among the students of the school. We believe that these types of activities conferred a greater «visibility» to the school and served to differentiate it from other religious centers in Madrid.

The Marianist congregation, on the other hand, celebrated their patron on the feast day of Our Lady of the Virgin of Pilar. Every year on October 12 a mass was celebrated in the school's central patio with an altar of the Virgin⁴⁴,

⁴³ P. Dávila, L.M. Naya Garmendia, H. Murua, *Bajo el signo de la Educación. 100 años de la Salle en Gipuzkoa*, 2 vols., Bilbao, Hermanos de las Escuelas Cristianas, 2009. In these authors' account of the Palm Sunday procession in the small village of Zestoa, organized by the Lasalle school San José, they describe the multitudinous presence of the townspeople, accompanied by the traditional palms and representing the biblical scene of Jesus entering Jerusalem, thus marking the start of Holy. See: Vol. II, pp. 245-246.

⁴⁴ The altar with the altarpiece of the Virgin was finished on 12 October 1942.

as can be seen in image 7. This was a solemn and multitudinous event, attended by students, former students and family members⁴⁵.

The commemorative yearbooks and the school journal carried annual accounts of this celebration, where delegations of the civil and religious authorities participated. From the photograph we can surmise that the celebration was considered an official act, given the presence of the national flag on the balconies, very much in keeping with the patriotic and religious fervor encouraged by Franco's regime. Other religious festivities included in the Marianist school calendar were the celebration of the day of the founder, father Guillermo José Chaminade, as well as the commemorative anniversary of the congregation's arrival in Spain.

In a different aspect, regarding the symbols displayed in the classrooms, there seems to have been a relative scarcity of patriotic portraits in these religious schools. By law, classrooms were required to display certain religious and patriotic symbols, and during the early years of the dictatorship one could find a crucifix, an image of the Virgin Mary and portraits of the dictator Franco and Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera in virtually every class. Starting in the mid-1950s, however, these symbols gave way to a greater preponderance of images relating to the congregation itself: school flags, insignias, hymns, etc. Thus, the patriotic symbols of the regime were less predominant, even if the values being exalted were often very similar. A former student of the Maravillas school describes the students lining up perfectly every morning as the Spanish flag was raised to the accompaniment of the national anthem⁴⁶. Yet this student does not recall the image of Franco in the classrooms. It is very likely that these centers enjoyed a greater autonomy than did the public schools and were less likely to be subject to educational inspections.

As a complement to their regular school pursuits these religious centers also offered extra-curricular activities. These ranged from catechism "contests", in which LaSalle students would test their knowledge, to the creation of religious and apostolic works and associations, to the organization of spiritual exercises and experiences in coexistence. Our oral sources have described how spiritual exercises and the practice of harmonious coexistence took place in both schools, generally during Easter week and on a voluntary basis. As Dávila and Naya have affirmed, manifestations of religiosity became widespread in this type of school through the practice of apostolic activities such as the Eucharist and the Marian Devotion, which were incorporated into curricular and extracurricular life through associations that included the Congregación de la Inmaculada (Congregation of the Immaculate Conception) or of San Juan

⁴⁵ As confirmed by the account given by D. Rafael Amat Trueda. He adds that in adverse weather, the celebration was held in the school's two chapels.

⁴⁶ Jaime del Rey recalls this ritual taking place in the first years he attended the school, during the 1950s. At the end of the decade the practice seems to have ceased.



Pic. 8. Photograph of Crusaders (Eucharistic Crusade) in Pilar⁴⁷.

Bautista (Saint John the Baptist); the Cruzada Eucarística (Eucharistic Crusade), the Congregación la Archicofradía del Santísimo Niño Jesús (Congregation the Archconfraternity of the Blessed Child Jesus); Acción Católica (Catholic Action), among others⁴⁸.

The religious associations with the greatest presence in the two schools studied here were the «Archconfraternity of the Blessed Child Jesus»⁴⁹ in the Maravillas school and the «Eucharistic Crusade»⁵⁰ in Pilar, with the Crusaders constituting an important part of the latter's identity. Participants in these processions were equipped with spears and heraldic flags.

⁴⁷ de Isasa González de Ubieta, *Colegio del Pilar. 75 años (1907-1982). Abiertos a la sociedad*, cit., p. 69.

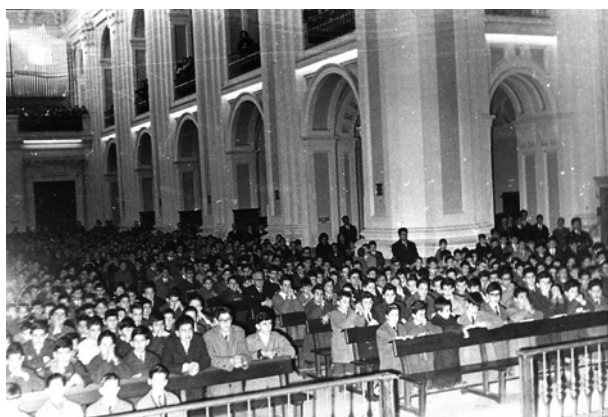
⁴⁸ Dávila, Naya Garmendia, Murua, *Prácticas y actividades religiosas en los colegios privados del País Vasco durante el siglo XX*, cit., p. 146.

⁴⁹ For the younger students it was known as Congregantes del Niño Jesús (Congregants of Baby Jesus) and for the older ones, Sección Tarsicios (Tarcisios Section).

⁵⁰ Holy Association for the promotion of devotion to the Eucharist among children and youth. It was founded in 1914 by the Belgian priest Edouard Poppe and blessed by Pope Pious X. It was organized as a children's version of the Asociación del Apostolado de la Oración (Association of the Apostles of Prayer) and spread around the world through congregations and religious orders. It was inspired in the ancient Crusades and consisted of three spiritual levels that corresponded to age groups: the Page (6 to 8 years); the Crusader (9 to 11 years) and the knight (12 to 14 years). The creed of the Crusade was contained in these four words: pray, receive communion, sacrifice yourself and be an apostle, <<https://fsspx.org/es/la-cruzada-eucaristica>> (last access: 8-08.2018).



Pic. 9



Pic. 10

Pic. 9. The church of the Maravillas-La Salle school, 1964 (FRM 884); Pic. 10. Church of Nuestra Señora del Pilar school, 1962 (FRM 826).

In photograph 8 we see a scene with Crusaders in the school Nuestra Señora del Pilar during a mass being held in the school's church. Their dress recalls that of the medieval knights who fought to defend Christianity during the Crusades in the 11th and 12th centuries.

During Franco's rule two outstanding events would prove decisive for the religious life of the private schools: the Sacrament of the Eucharist and the Marian Devotion⁵¹. As is chronicled in the memoirs and the school magazines,

⁵¹ The celebration of the regional, national and international eucharists of Barcelona (1952) had a considerable repercussion in its promotion of the practice of the eucharist as a sacrament. The Marianist devotion, regulated in 1937 by a decree declaring the 8th of December as the feast of the Immaculate Conception, was then proclaimed a national feast day. Two years later, in 1954, the centenary of the proclamation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception by Pope Pious the XIth was celebrated and was denominated the Marianist Year. N. Pérez, *Historia Mariana de España*, Salamanca, Imprenta Kadmos, 1995, vol. II, p. 957. Citado en Dávila, Naya Garmendia,

in the Marian Year of 1954, numerous activities were organized in the religious centers: angelus, sabatina and novena orations, May and October devotions, pilgrimages, Mary in the homes, etc. As is attested to by images 9 and 10, the Eucharist was a distinguishing feature of these schools. The photographs are a testimony to the grandiosity and importance of the role played by the church in these centers and to the importance of the sacrament of the Eucharist. For the Marianist community, these public religious acts constituted a key element in a religious education whose aim was to introduce students into a life of Christianity:

Religious instruction is the first, the most necessary, the most useful and in every way the most practical of all of the disciplines. We may say that the temporal and eternal future of the child depends to a great degree on this religious teaching. This consideration in itself should be motive enough for the Marian religious instructor to put all of his effort into teaching the discipline well and making it interesting⁵².

The photographs taken inside the churches of the Pilar and Maravillas schools are meant to give visibility to the active participation of the student body in the schools' religious life.

The sporting tradition

Modern sports was another distinguishing feature of these two schools. Its origin can be found in the *Public Schools*, those male educational institutions that served England's aristocratic and upper middle classes. The practice, which conferred a kind of control and a realm for moral education, responded to the need for entertainment and to some of the ideological, political and economic demands of the ruling class. The French sociologist and philosopher Jean-Marie Brohm defined it as a «practice of class»⁵³ due to its exclusive nature and to the social distinction that it bestowed, both of which served to encourage a «masculine Christianity».

In the case of the two schools that concern us here, sports were one of the fundamental instruments used in the invention of traditions, bringing together elements from political, social and religious traditions. Influenced primarily by the British model – which in turn had appropriated elements from past continental aristocratic and military models –, private schools like Pilar and

Murua, *Prácticas y actividades religiosas en los colegios privados del País Vasco durante el siglo XX*, cit., pp. 146-147.

⁵² J. Ayuso Arroyo, *Estudio de la labor formativa del Colegio del Pilar de Madrid*, 1962 (FRM 826), p. 74.

⁵³ J.M. Brohm, *20 Tesis sobre el deporte*, in J.M. Brohm et al., *Materiales de sociología del deporte*, Madrid, La Piqueta, 1993, pp. 47-55 (in particular p. 48).



Pic. 11. Students of the Colegio del Pilar practicing fencing.

Maravillas invented a sporting tradition with conservative elements that helped in creating a differential, elitist identity. This included the design of sporting practices that stood apart from those of other social classes; as Hobsbawm has pointed out, the idea was to draw a line that would separate the elite from the masses and from the physical exercises that the latter practiced in public schools⁵⁴. In team sports, the dominant activities were football, basketball and, to a lesser extent, handball. However, these schools gradually incorporated other activities such as field hockey, roller hockey, track and field, golf, tennis, fencing and skiing, all sports that required special facilities and whose cost was prohibitive for the working class⁵⁵. The practice of these sports was associated with a series of values, attitudes and behaviors specific to a certain social class and ultimately they served to conserve and reproduce codes of behavior that were key in defining the lifestyle of an upper class whose

traditions needed to be distinguishable from those of the working class.

Referring again to observations made by Pierre Bourdieu⁵⁶, the schools that incorporated these modern sports were more highly considered than those that were dedicated exclusively to academic pursuits⁵⁷. The words offered by José Antonio Elola, the National Delegate for Sports in the 1950s, sum it up eloquently:

The Pilar school has put great effort into the physical education of its students, with the idea that physical education is not merely an element, or even a very important element, of sport;

⁵⁴ E. Hobsbawm, *La fabricación en serie de tradiciones: Europa, 1870-1914*, in Hobsbawm, Ranger (edd.), *La invención de la tradición*, cit., p. 311.

⁵⁵ P. Bourdieu, *Deporte y clase social*, in J.I. Barbero, *Materiales de sociología del deporte*, Madrid, La Piqueta, 1993, pp. 57-82, (in particular p. 79).

⁵⁶ Bourdieu, *Deporte y clase social*, cit. p. 65.

⁵⁷ R. Velázquez Buendía, *El deporte moderno. Consideraciones acerca de su génesis y la evolución de su significado y funciones sociales*, «Efdeportes. Revista Digital», vol. 7, n. 36, 2001, pp. 10-21, (in particular p. 13).



Pic. 12. First roller hockey team of the Colegio del Pilar. Year 1948-1949⁵⁸.

it is everything in sport, part and parcel. They understand that no matter how you look at it, the results obtained in sporting competitions constitute nowadays a kind of barometer for measuring the progress and level of nations. [...] In short, Pilar considers sports to be a social endeavor of the greatest importance⁵⁹.

Sports constituted part of the overall religious ritual, helping to consolidate a school identity forged through the yearly repetition of celebrations marked by the Marianist and Lasalle religious communities. Religious acts were accompanied by sporting events, including gymnastics, games and competitions. Among the many examples, we find that of the gymnastic exhibition celebrated in 1949 in the Maravillas center in homage to its patron, San Juan Bautista de la Salle, on the 50th anniversary of his canonization; and the gymnastics festival held in 1953 for the occasion of the feast of the Ascension.

The Pilar center placed great importance on a sporting competition that was held to mark the centenary of the death of its founder, Father Guillermo José Chaminade⁶⁰. Such sporting activities encouraged religiosity while at the same time promoting patriotism, and in commemorations such as the Day of Hispanism, students would take part in military-style marches. So while the predominant focus of these centers was on religious principles, patriotic values – the same ones espoused by the regime – were also reinforced.

⁵⁸ Both images appeared in one of the Pilar school's commemorative publications: de. Isasa González de Ubieta, *Colegio del Pilar. 75 años (1907-1982). Abiertos a la sociedad*, cit., p. 40 y p. 64.

⁵⁹ *El Pilar, cien años de historia, 1907-2007*, Madrid, Colegio Nuestra Señora del Pilar, 2007, pp. 153-154.

⁶⁰ González de Ubieta, *Colegio del Pilar. 75 años (1907-1982). Abiertos a la sociedad*, cit. p. 67.



Pic. 13

Pic. 13. Journal «Perseverancia», vol. 1951-1952, p. 83; Pic. 14. Journal «Perseverancia», vol. 1952-1953, p. 91.



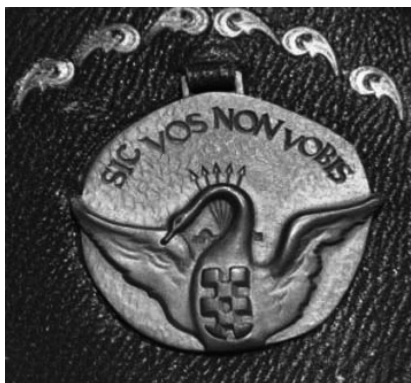
Pic. 14

In addition to consolidating a school identity, sporting activities helped encourage in the students a sense of belonging to an educational community. The practice of sports at Pilar became indissociably linked with the institution's values, which made the center «a school of gentlemen, in whom the sense of honor and nobility is a pillar and which provides a purpose for a conduct whose model was forged indelibly by their ancestors»⁶¹, to say it in the words of the school hymn. Sports thus acquired the virtue of a line that connected the past with the present, guarding against the breaking of traditions and reaffirming a distinguished sense of identity.

Returning again to the perspective of Hobsbawm, sport functioned as a mechanism for bringing together people of a similar social class, i.e., it allowed the self-selection of socially acceptable partners that, if not, were lacking of relationship spaces to establish social and economic links⁶². Pilar and Maravillas organized sporting competitions among students from the centers themselves as well as in competition with other schools of a like social class (Jesuits, Marianists, Lasalle, etc.).

⁶¹ A. Ayuso Arroyo, *Estudio de la labor formativa realizada en el colegio del Pilar*, Madrid, 1962, (FRM 826), p. 87.

⁶² Hobsbawm, *La fabricación en serie de tradiciones: Europa, 1870-1914*, cit., p. 308.

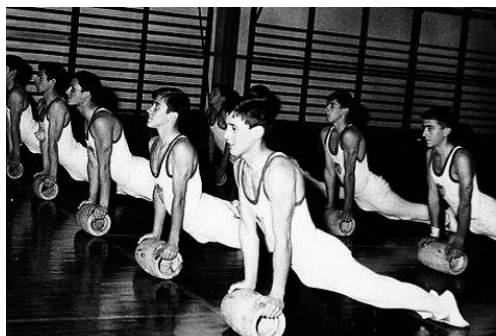


Pic. 15



Pic. 16

Pic. 15 y pic. 16: Medal for participation in the XIII National School Games for the student Jaime del Rey from the Maravillas school. Juvenile Competition (1961) (Private collection of former student D. Jaime del Rey).



Pic. 17



Pic. 18

Pic. 17 y pic. 18: Gymnastic team of the Colegio Maravillas-La Salle. Inauguration of the new gymnasium in the Maravillas school, 1962⁶³. (Private collection of former student D. Fernando del Rey Tapia).

⁶³ An architectural work by Alejandro de Sota.

Juvenile and youth competitions were organized regularly by the Delegación Nacional del Frente de Juventudes (National Delegation of the Youth Front) and by the Campeonatos Nacionales Escolares (National School Competitions). Depending on the type of sport, they were held at the Moscardó facilities in Madrid or at the university sports facilities of the Ciudad Universitaria (University Grounds). While meant to encourage a sense of camaraderie among schoolmates, they also favored a spirit of rivalry and competition with other schools of a similar social status belonging to other religious congregations. Triumphs in sports competitions were used to reinforce the center's sporting tradition; they were presented as a guarantee of excellence in physical education, one that was given visibility in the collections of trophies displayed in the schools.

While sports in general formed a part of the students' overall formation, gymnastics was given special importance. In Pilar and Maravillas, physical education and gymnastics were generally taught by non-religious teachers from outside of the school, designated by the Frente de Juventudes (Youth Front). The sporting facilities in these schools were a far cry from those typically found in public schools. Pilar, for instance, boasted of two gymnasiums equipped with all manner of «apparatuses, ropes, poles, ladders, bars, parallel bars, vaulting horses, vaulting boxes, etc.»⁶⁴. The school went as far as to rent from the Youth Front the sports facilities located in their Mountain Base for training⁶⁵. Maravillas also had a modern, well-equipped gymnasium and quality facilities.

In a collaborative effort carried out between physical education teachers, medical inspection workers and the laboratory of applied psychology, Pilar offered medical gymnastics to students with physical handicaps or problems. The Maravillas school also provided special physical education classes and physical therapy for those needing them, as well as supplementary gymnastics classes for students who stood out in the activity. All of these features contributed, ultimately, to the distinction of these schools.

In summary, sport as it was practiced in these private religious schools contributed to the configuration of an invented tradition that imitated the most prestigious international *colleges*.

Alumni associations. Intergenerational networks of stability and continuity

Social and economic perpetuation among families from the Madrid social elite and the private religious schools serving them was bolstered greatly by the creation of social clubs and associations of ex-students. Some centers followed international models developed during the 19th century, such as the English

⁶⁴ Ayuso Arroyo, *Estudio de la labor formativa realizada en el colegio del Pilar*, cit., p. 84.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

«Dinners of ex-students», the German *Alter Herren* del «*Kösener Korps*» of students, or the American traditions of the «chapters of former classmates» and university associations⁶⁶. As networks for social interaction among males, these groups played a vital role in the formation of the country's ruling class, one maintained through a broad-ranging social effort and a religious commitment that could be qualified as «paternalist and self-perpetuating»⁶⁷. Former students often preferred these «informal social networks created within the school and university which were reinforced by family continuity, business contacts and clubs, which often worked much more efficiently than the formal associations»⁶⁸.

While the configuration of these social networks of ex-students was fairly uniform from one school to another, the Colegio Pilar seems to have put greater emphasis on this social aspect of the student body⁶⁹. The Association of Former Students of the College of Pilar (Asociación de Antiguos Alumnos del Colegio del Pilar) was created in 1923 through the determination of the graduating class of 1913. The association carried out a range of activities for the purpose of generating solidarity and encouraging camaraderie and interaction among students from different graduating classes. They also cultivated intellectual activities, establishing prizes and medals for the outstanding academic performers at all age levels, including university students, thus creating a solid and enduring link between students and their school. Bourdieu referred to this as «forms of classification from the school»⁷⁰. While these kinds of activities were also practiced at Maravillas, they were not institutionalized through alumni associations as they were at Pilar⁷¹. A variety of social activities served to complement the purely academic angle; at Pilar this included literary contests, poetry competitions, photography, music, singing, monthly film sessions, field trips, cultural visits, conferences on professional training, etc. All of these cultural activities served to highlight the socio-cultural distinction of these centers. Music also played an important part in these centers' programs; in the

⁶⁶ Hobsbawm, *La fabricación en serie de tradiciones: Europa, 1870-1914*, cit., p. 306.

⁶⁷ Fullana, Montero, *Los movimientos educativos juveniles del movimiento católico en España (1868-1968)*, cit. p. 38.

⁶⁸ Hobsbawm, *La fabricación en serie de tradiciones: Europa, 1870-1914*, cit., pp. 306-307.

⁶⁹ The Colegio del Pilar hosted numerous groups, including the Congregación Universitaria de María Inmaculada (CUMI) (which went on to be called Comunidades cristianas CEMI, once the former students had become professionals), the Asociación de Padres de Familia, the Obra de San José – made up of members of the Compañía de María of the school, parents of ex-Marianist students who had graduated from the center, all families as well as the Association of Former Pilar Students. Ayuso Arroyo, *Estudio de la labor formativa realizada en el colegio del Pilar*, cit., p. 102.

⁷⁰ P. Bourdieu, *La nobleza de estado. Educación de élite y espíritu de cuerpo*, Argentina, Grupo Siglo veintiuno, 2013, traducción de Alicia Beatriz Gutiérrez, p. 22.

⁷¹ The magazine «Perseverancia» tells in different issues of the awarding of medals of honor to students in the primary, secondary and pre-university levels.



Pic. 19. Students performing in a play in the school Maravillas-La Salle⁷².

Maravillas school it was offered as a subject and the more talented students could play in the school orchestra⁷³.

The Pilar alumni association also promoted works of charity and carried out social activities in underdeveloped areas in the outskirts of Madrid in neighborhoods such as Ventas⁷⁴, La Elipa or Carabanchel. As we discussed in a previous article, these charity programs were complemented by what was known as the CEO: «Centro de Enseñanza Obrera» [Center for Worker Education], which offered night classes for laborers, given by students who were finishing high school or had recently graduated. By addressing this kind of service vocation, linked to the concept of the religious tradition that emphasized the importance of helping others, the school was appealing to the sense of social responsibility within the privileged class. The school also helped establish scholarships for needy children and sponsored free schools⁷⁵.

⁷² La Salle, *Cien años maravillosos. Colegio Nuestra Señora de las Maravillas. La Salle. 1892-1992*, cit., p. 24.

⁷³ Calvo, *El Colegio de Nuestra Señora de las Maravillas. Crónica de cien años. 1892-1992*, cit. p. 62.

⁷⁴ One of our testimonies describes how «voluntarily, students could go on Sunday mornings to visit the neighborhoods of shacks, especially in Ventas, near the Almudena Cemetery. The shacks and the neighborhood really impressed us – that was probably the idea – and made us realize that there are people who didn't live as well as we did and that we should help». Testimony of D. Rafael Amat Rueda.

⁷⁵ Ramos, Rabazas, C. Colmenar, *Fotografía y representación de la escuela privada madrileña*



Pic. 20. Musical performance by a group of students at the school El Pilar, Madrid, 1962 (FRM 826).

In summary, a series of intergenerational networks consolidated a social circle made up of families, the school, and the community, whose persistence over the generations reinforced a sense of identity.

Conclusions

Despite the lack of research dealing with the invention of traditions as a category of analysis, we are well aware of its historiographical potential. It is quite useful for providing a window into the processes of identity that have been configured throughout history. In the context of education it is a key element in the shaping of a distinct identity and as a mechanism for protecting a certain social position. In the two educational experiences studied here, that of the Pilar College, belonging to the Marianist congregation, and the Maravillas College, of the Lasalle congregation, we find that, notwithstanding certain differences and peculiarities, both centers followed similar strategies to configure their identity elitist. Invented traditions became institutionalized through the invariable and repeated practice in school of rituals impregnated with moral, religious and ideological values. This has led to these institutions having singular, distinct identities that have endured over time.

In short, through some elements that make up the school's identity: the school's location; the building itself, religious activities, sports; projects undertaken by associations of former students, we find a kind of invented traditions that were conducive to social cohesion in the community they represented, as well as a sense of belonging within the group. Furthermore, the relationships of power and authority that were consolidated both within the educational institution itself and between it and the social class that it served were then transferred down from generation to generation.

«Lenin has studied here»: a case study of the invention of the Soviet University «revolutionary» myth

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ABSTRACT: This article examines the invention of tradition and related processes in the Soviet period, as well as their transformation in the post-Soviet period, with respect to one of Russia's oldest universities – Kazan University. These processes are illustrated through the evolution of the «Lenin myth», which was defined over the course of decades and functioned as both a site of collective memory and self-representation of the university, as well as a matrix for all of the university's educational work with its students. The myth emphasizes Vladimir Ulyanov-Lenin's time at Kazan University as the origin of the future leader's revolutionary biography, thus thinking the university, through Lenin as student, with the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state. Although the «Lenin myth» has lost its central position in contemporary university tradition, it remains a significant part of a subterranean university culture. Moreover, its separate and formalized elements continue to be utilized by both the official bureaucratic discourse and by the new traditions of the modern university.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: University; Historical memory; Corporative memory; «Revolutionary» myth; Soviet and post-Soviet Russia; XXth Century.

Introduction

Eric Hobsbawm refers to the «invention of tradition» as the creation of a «set of social practices of ritual or symbolic character, usually regulated by explicitly or implicitly recognized rules», the goal of which is «the introduction of certain values and norms of behavior and a means of achieving repetition»¹. He further argues that this process is most often connected with the radical transformation of society and the destruction of old social forms and, along with them, old traditions not attached to new forms. However, it is important to note that old social forms, old institutions with old functions, and related traditions are capable of adapting to new conditions. Among those «institutions, nominally unchanging, but in actuality changed into something different» through the process of the «invention of tradition», Hobsbawm refers, in particular, to universities².

In the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries, Russian universities experienced at least two major upheavals associated with radical societal transformations and the associated break with old traditions. The first of these upheavals was caused by the 1917 Revolution and the ensuing traumas, in which the entirety of the higher education system in Russia was restructured in accordance with the ideological and practical needs of the victorious Bolshevik regime and its vision of the function and purpose of higher education. The second upheaval is linked to the spread of negative global tendencies³ to the Russian educational environment in the post-Soviet period. In Russia, these tendencies took on hypertrophied forms and led to the managerization of Russian universities and the formalization and bureaucratization of scientific and educational work, specifically through the application of scientometrics and competency-based approaches, in accordance with the political task of entering the top of global educational rankings⁴. Both of these major upheavals were connected with painful processes of destruction of the former structures of Russian universities, their systems of administration and interaction with

¹ E. Hobsbawm, *Izobretenie traditsii* [The Invention of Tradition], «Vestnik Evrazii» [Bulletin of Eurasia], vol. 1, 2000, p. 48.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

³ See, for example: B. Readings, *The University in Ruins*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 1996.

⁴ See: T.A. Hagurov, *Vysshee obrazovanie* [Higher Education]: mezhdu sluzheniem i uslugoi, «Vysshee obrazovanie v Rossii» [Higher Education in Russia], vol. 4, 2011, pp. 47-57; E.Yu. Kolesnikova, *Ideya universiteta i ego missiya* [University Idea and Its Mission]: klassicheskie i sovremennye interpretatsii, «Yuzhno-Rossiiskii Forum» [South-Russian Forum], vol. 2, n. 5, pp. 63-70; Svetlana Malysheva, «Between Pious Descendants and Frenzied Space Dwellers»: *Heterotopia of a University*, «Dialog so Vremenem» [Dialogue with Time], vol. 57, 2016, pp. 161-168; T.A. Balmasova, *Tret'ya missiya universiteta* [The Third University Mission] – *novyi vector razvitiya?*, «Vysshee obrazovanie v Rossii» [Higher Education in Russia], nn. 8-9, 2016, pp. 48-55.

authorities both «from without» and «from within», the organization of educational and scientific processes, the procedure for selecting students and teachers, the university habitus, and the code of conduct and relations of university personnel. They were also linked to the reconstruction and qualitative reevaluation of historical memory about the university and the memory of the university itself, often with the partial disavowal of prior university traditions and the re-invention of new or old ones.

In this article the aforementioned processes are examined through the example of the invention and subsequent evolution of the «Lenin myth». This myth was defined over the course of decades and functioned as both a site of collective memory and self-representation of the university, as well as a matrix for all of the university's educational work with its students. The myth emphasizes Vladimir Ulyanov-Lenin's (1870-1924) time at Kazan University as the origin of the future leader's revolutionary biography, thus thinking the university, through Lenin as student, with the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state.

One of Russia's oldest universities, Kazan Imperial University was founded in 1804 by order Tsar Alexander I during the years of his youthful attraction to the liberal ideas of Enlightenment philosophy and the spirit of humanitarian reform. The Russian idea of the university combined the progressive ideals of the service to Truth, Science, and Enlightenment and the principles of autonomy and corporativity with the task of serving state interests, primarily through the education of bureaucrats for the state apparatus or other state needs⁵. The imperial university tradition, which was «invented» in the nineteenth century through the use of festivals and anniversary celebrations⁶, confidently placed Kazan University among its European counterparts, and indeed traces its roots directly from the classical German university.

Kazan University's «revolutionary» myth and traditions largely destroyed or altered their imperial counterparts, replacing them for the long decades of Soviet rule. This transition from imperial to revolutionary ideology determined not only the symbolic status of the university, but also its function, its finances, and its physical layout. The basis of this new mythos was Vladimir Ulyanov-Lenin's short (less than a semester) education at Kazan University and his eventual expulsion following his participation in a student demonstration in

⁵ See: I.P. Ermolaev (ed.), *Istoriya Kazanskogo unibersiteta* [History of Kazan University], Kazan, Kazan University Printing House, 2004, pp. 11-17; E.A. Vishlenkova, S.Yu. Malysheva, A.A. Salnikova, *Terra Universitatis: Dva veka universitetskoj kul'tury v Kazani*, Kazan, Kazan University Printing House, 2005, pp. 21 ff.

⁶ See, for example: E. Vishlenkova, A. Salnikova, *The Anniversary Celebrations Stories in the Kazan University*, «Otechestvennaya Istoriya» [Russian History], vol. 5, 2004, pp. 133-141; E.A. Vishlenkova, F.N. Dmitriev, *Pragmatika traditsii* [Pragmatics of Tradition], *ili Aktual'noe proshloe dlya rossiiskikh universitetov*, in E.A. Vishlenkova, I.M. Savel'eva (edd.), *Soslovie rossiiskikh professorov* [Stratum of Russian Professors]. *Sozdateli statusov i smyslov*, Moscow, VShE Printing House, 2013, pp. 61-95.

December 1887. The 17-year-old Volodia Ulyanov entered Kazan University earlier that fall after graduating from the Simbirsk Grammar School, enrolling in the university's law department. The arrest and execution of his older brother, Alexander Ulyanov, a student at St. Petersburg University, in the spring of that year for his participation in a plot to take Tsar Alexander III's life had little impact on the young Lenin's opportunities, neither preventing him from graduating with honors from his grammar school nor from entering Kazan University.

In the fall of 1887, open student demonstrations against prohibitive rules that impinged upon student freedoms and rights to collective action occurred in higher education institutions in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Odessa, and Kharkov. On 4 December 1887 similar activity took place at Kazan University when a meeting of more than 350 students entrusted their petition for the democratization of the university charter to rector Nikolai Kremlev. Among the students was the freshman Vladimir Ulyanov, who played no special role in the demonstrations and was certainly neither the initiator nor the leader of the student action. He was, however, among the 39 persons arrested and, like the others, he signed a document accepting his dismissal from the university. The rebellious students were also told to leave Kazan for a time, and Ulyanov chose the village of Kokushkino, not far from the city, as his place of residence, likely because the village, located not far from Kazan, was home to the estate of his maternal grandfather, Aleksandr Blank⁷. Nearly forty years later it was these events that became the basis for the creation of Kazan's revolutionary myth and associated revolutionary traditions. The university, in this myth, became the site of Lenin's «first steps into revolution» as leader of the world proletariat.

It should be emphasized that Lenin has always been portrayed within this myth not only as an outstanding young revolutionary, but also as a representative of the widespread, canonical archetype of the revolutionary-minded, progressive-thinking Russian student. This is why all of the physical and symbolic places related to Lenin's memory at Kazan University were carefully preserved and actively shaped by Soviet power. This process of commemoration presented the entire culture of the Imperial University as a possible physical and mental space for the formation of true revolutionaries. In this model, Kazan University became a kind of «cradle of revolution» on the one hand and a place of condemnation and rejection of student-revolutionaries by imperial power, as had allegedly occurred with the participants of the 1887 student meeting, on the other. This version of the memory of the leader of the Bolshevik revolution was presented as unambiguous and consistent, and

⁷ This is how the modern historian A.L. Litvin describes these events (A.L. Litvin, *Yubilei kakogo universiteta praznuetsya v Kazani* [Anniversary of What University is Celebrating in Kazan]?, «Vechniaia Kazan» [The Evening Kazan], 2004, n. 181, 2011; *K dnyu rozhdeniia Lenina* [To Lenin's birthday]: *mify i legendy partiinoi istorii*, «Argumenty i fakty» [Arguments and Facts], April 20, 2011.

it was meant to be adopted by and conferred upon every student who crossed the famous university's threshold. The university thus acquired the status of a sacred space, and the university's students and the university community were given the role of ideological and political heirs of the leader and as carriers and transmitters of the «Lenin myth».

1. *The Origins of the Myth*

In the first few years after the October coup of 1917, the problems associated with the reformation of higher education did not command a great deal of attention from the Bolshevik leadership. More pressing realities demanded their efforts as the country, torn apart by political and social contradictions from the First World War was plunged, without relief, into civil war. Still, already beginning in 1918 a series of decisions and measures made by Soviet authorities laid the foundation for the destruction of the previous system of Russian higher education. First were changes in the social composition of the student body (its intentional «proletarianization», the abolition of entrance exams, the transition to evening classes) and of teachers (the abolition of pre-revolutionary scientific degrees and academic titles, the introduction of the single title of professor for all docents who had taught for at least three years, and the reappointment of all professors who had served more than 10 years in universities or more than 15 years in higher education in general). Second came the overall breakdown of the structures of the old university (the abolition of the law and history departments, and eventually of the other humanities) and the system of university administration (the weakening of the role of university and faculty Councils, the introduction in their place of Soviet bureaucrats and functionaries). Many more changes followed⁸.

The university body did not greet the change in power of October 1917 with enthusiasm. In a famous resolution from 9 December 1917 the University Council affirmed its support for a resolution issued by Kharkov University, which condemned the seizure of power by «a group of fanatics and dark dealers». Two events at Kazan University in the first years of Soviet power gave the institution further reason not do doubt the mood of the professoriate and their relationship with the new regime. In August 1918 during the civil war Kazan was occupied by troops of the People's Army of the Committee of Members of the Constituent Assembly (Komuch), the anti-Bolshevik government centered in Samara. The Council of Kazan University and the professoriate publicly supported Komuch and the People's Army, but Komuch's power in Kazan lasted only about a month. About 100 professors, teachers,

⁸ See Vishlenkova, Malysheva, Salnikova, *Terra Universitatis*, cit., pp. 127-136, 149-151.

and employees of the university fled Kazan with the retreating Komuch army⁹. Many of them, however, were soon allowed to return. But in 1922, professors at Kazan University and the university Council, headed by the rector, supported their colleagues from Moscow University and openly protested against the policies of the Soviet government with respect to the universities. The leaders of the «Kazan professors strike», rector Aleksandr Ovchinnikov and professors Irinarkh Stratonov and Grigorii Troshin, were expelled from the country on the so-called «philosophers' ships» as part of a large group of the Russian intelligentsia who had disturbed Bolshevik power¹⁰.

Given these conditions, the lack of the university's political loyalty to the government, and the necessity of breaking the resistance of the old professoriate by implanting «Sovietness», the new university leadership felt the need to legitimize the university as an educational institution with revolutionary traditions. The history of the university's «Lenin myth» began in earnest after Lenin's death in 1924, when momentum for forming a cult around the leader emerged in the country¹¹. The initiative for inventing this local myth successfully fit into general trends of political-ideological processes active at the time. Specifically, these included the posthumous construction and memorialization of Lenin's biography, the constitution of «Sovietness» as the basic characteristic of the new man, the «communization» and «workerization» of all of the country's professional organizations and the corresponding restructuring of relationships between and within them.

As it turns out, the «shameful stain» on the university's history – the fact of Vladimir Ulyanov's expulsion for his participation in a student meeting – became an important symbolic resource for the university. Already in December of 1922, Kazan University celebrated the 35th anniversary of the 1887 meeting. Students sent Lenin a letter in which they portrayed him as an «old student of our university» and themselves as followers of his work in the social reconstruction of the world. At a meeting of the university staff it was suggested that the university take on the name Lenin for itself. In March 1923 Lenin was elected an honorary member of Kazan University's Academic Council. At the time, these attempts to link the university with Lenin were of little consequence. However, Lenin's death reinvigorated this process. During the days of mourning in January 1924, the university leadership sent their condolences for Lenin's death to the main

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 219-220.

¹¹ On the formation of the Lenin's cult see: N. Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives! The Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia*, Cambridge (MA), London, Harvard University Press, 1983; B. Ennker, *Die Anfänge des Leninkults in der Sowjetunion*, Köln, Weimar, Wien, Boehlau, 1997; S. Malysheva, *The Russian Revolution and the Instrumentalization of Death*, *Slavic Review*, vol. 76, n. 3, 2017, pp. 647-654. However, the features of the Lenin's cult of Lenin were already visible in 1918. See, for example: R. Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams. Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution*, New York, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 92.

organ of Soviet power in the Tatar Republic, the Central Executive Committee (TatTsIK). The document highlighted the university's unique grief over having expelled the former student and the resulting peculiarity of the university's loss, as «it is mixed with the knowledge and grief of that shameful stain at the hands of the tsar's oprichniki that has remained with Kazan University»¹². On 24 January and 27 January 1924, respectively, Kazan University's Board and Council met and decided to petition the government concerning the university's adoption of the name of the leader of the revolution and founder of the Soviet state. The university would have to wait quite a long time, nearly a year and a half. Finally, on 26 June 1925, by decision of the government's highest organ, the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, Kazan University was officially named in honor of V.I. Ulyanov-Lenin. The inscription on the university's main building, which had read «Imperial University» had been concealed by black fabric in anticipation of the government's decision, was redone on 29 June 1925, replaced with the words «V.I. Ulyanov-Lenin Kazan University»¹³. Large portraits of Lenin were installed in the university's Assembly Hall and in the University board's meeting room.

It is notable that the key moment of Kazan University's «revolutionary myth» – Lenin's participation in a student meeting at the beginning of his revolutionary biography – was not yet universally accepted in the 1920s. Indeed, it was often deliberately ignored by those in the capital who acted as creators of Soviet historical mythology. For example, in honor of the Day of Remembrance of Lenin in 1926, the Proletkult sent to its provincial offices a dramatization¹⁴, in which Lenin was expelled from Kazan University not for his personal participation in the student meeting, but rather simply as the brother of the executed revolutionary, Alexander Ulyanov¹⁵. Presumably in light of such impulses, Kazan University in the 1920s repeatedly reaffirmed that it had been «bestowed» with image of Lenin as a young revolutionary, despite having already been granted this official status. For example, during the days celebrating the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution in November

¹² *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Respubliki Tatarstan* [State Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan], f. R-732, op. 1, d. 514, l. 12. *Oprichniki* – the guardsmen, people in the ranks of the oprichnina troops, personal guard, created by the Tsar Ivan the Terrible in the framework of his political reforms in 1565. Extremely violent. Since the XIX century, the word has become a household word for those who fought the revolutionaries with cruel measures.

¹³ See: Litvin, *Yubilei kakogo universiteta prazdnuetsya v Kazani* [Anniversary of What University is Celebrating in Kazan], cit.

¹⁴ *Proletcult* (Proletarian cultural and educational organizations) (1917-1932) – mass cultural, educational, literary and artistic organization of proletarian amateur activities under the People's Commissariat of education, the body of Soviet state power, which controlled in the 1920–1930s almost all cultural and humanitarian spheres.

¹⁵ *Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva* [Russian State Archive of Literature and Arts], f. R-732, op. 1, d. 516, l. 6.

1927, a large portrait of Lenin as student was hung on red fabric between the columns of the university building.

Already in the 1920s, memoirists actively supported the myth of Lenin's revolutionary beginnings at Kazan University. For example, a former student of the university's law department, the historian and later editor and publisher of Lenin, Marx, and Engels, Vladimir Adoratskii, recalled soon after Lenin's death in 1924 a conversation the two of them had had some twenty years earlier. According to Adoratskii, Lenin remembered «a particular event related to student riots that took place at the end of 1887. By then, Vladimir Ilyich could no longer recall what exactly had happened and why the event had even occurred». Lenin did recall, however, a conversation with his arresting officer, who reproached him for damaging a wall and asked «why are you rebelling, young man?» To this, the young Ulyanov allegedly answered «the wall is rotten – you can barely touch it and it falls apart!»¹⁶. Lenin's response to the officer became proverbial, but the fact that he otherwise recalled little about the student unrest was forgotten. In 1933, a sketch from Lenin's autobiography, which he had written in May 1917, was published in which he described the beginnings of his revolutionary life in the following terms: «In the Spring of 1887, my older brother Alexander was executed by Tsar Alexander III for the attempt on the monarch's life (1 March 1887). In December of the same year I was arrested for the first time and was expelled from Kazan University for student unrest; not long after I was sent away from Kazan»¹⁷.

Over the following decades the local myth of the student demonstration and of Lenin's revolutionary initiation received widespread recognition through its active development in both memoirs and in literature. In time, too, details about the young Ulyanov's leading role in the demonstration were further articulated. For example, in an article published in the journal «Smena» (the country's largest youth journal, published by the Central Committee of the Komsomol¹⁸) celebrating the 60th anniversary of the student demonstration, professor Boris Volin, a specialist on Lenin's life and a member of the Marxism-Leninism department of Moscow State University, argued that Lenin was the central figure in all activities associated with Kazan University's student demonstration in 1887¹⁹.

¹⁶ Vladimir Adoratskii, *Za 18 let* [During 18 Years]. *Vstrechi s Vladimirom Il'ichom, «Proletarskaya Revoliutsiya»* [The Proletarian Revolution], vol. 3, n. 26, 1924, pp. 93-94.

¹⁷ V.I. Lenin, *Nezakonchennaya avtobiografiya* [Unfinished Autobiography], [May 1917] in M.A. Savel'ev, V.G. Sorin (edd.), *Leninskii sbornik* [Lenin's Anthology], XXI, Moscow, Partizdat, 1933, p. 57.

¹⁸ VLKSM (All-Union Lenin's Communist Youth League) (1918-1991) – political youth organization in Soviet Russia / USSR.

¹⁹ B. Volin, *Lenin v Kazanskom universitete* [Lenin in Kazan University], «Smena» [The Shift], n. 479, May 1947.

Literary figures also contributed to the mythologization of these events. The classic Soviet poet, Vladimir Mayakovsky, who traveled to Kazan in 1927 and read excerpts from his poem «Vladimir Ilyich Lenin» at Kazan University, was so inspired by his visit that he composed new lines that reflected upon both critical elements of the «Lenin myth» and on the idea of the myth's educational impact in determining the revolutionary identity of Kazan's students. These new lines would be heard the year after the poet's visit in Kazan University's auditorium:

The University is
 the pride of Kazan,
 and its walls
 until now
 preserve
 the most loving memory
 of its truly great citizen.
 From afar
 through the years
 the idea stirred
 during university lectures,
 he thought of battles
 and Red October,
 going up and down stairs thusly.
 I look into a hushed, still hall:
 Here ten of every hundred
 their eyes twinkling,
 and also, like him,
 with high cheekbones.
 And death to touch him
 does not dare,
 knowing
 what the future holds!
 The youths
 hearken to
 stanzas about death,
 but their hearts hear:
 immortality²⁰.

Finally, the authors of Kazan University's anniversary narratives also left their mark on the formation of the «Lenin myth». The first Soviet history of the university, Kazan University professor and historian Mikhail Korbut's two-volume «V.I. Ulyanov-Lenin Kazan State University at 125 Years», published in 1930, was the first major effort in this regard. The text emphasized the obvious and undeniable advantages of Soviet university culture, which, as Korbut

²⁰ V. Mayakovskii, *Po gorodam Soyuzu* [Running through the Cities of the Union] in Id., *Sobranie sochinenij v 12 tt.* [Collected Works in 12 vol.], Moscow, Pravda, 1978, v. 4, p. 169.

argues, emerged from the inherently revolutionary tradition of the university, as seen best during the «Kazan period» of Lenin's life. The second volume also included a separate chapter devoted to the 1887 student demonstration and specifically to Vladimir Ulyanov-Lenin's participation²¹. This text was republished throughout the Soviet period to mark special anniversaries in 1954, 1977, and 1979²².

2. *The Invention of a Tradition: Rituals and Symbols*

During the Soviet period, the idea of Kazan University as the site of Lenin's first foray into revolutionary activity gave the university significant symbolic capital. As we have seen, academic and literary narratives were instrumental in the development and growth of the Lenin myth and its association with the university. However, this symbolic capital was also manifested and memorialized through the use of physical objects. As such, special physical spaces in which rituals could be articulated were also an important part of the university's revolutionary myth and tradition.

Already in the 1920s, an attempt was made to construct a memorial-propaganda zone known as «Lenin's corner» in the center of Kazan. This space was intended to become a «living hotbed of the ideas and doctrines of V. I. Lenin» and a «space for ritual communication» between students and the «leader of the world proletariat». This complex would include, in addition to Kazan University itself, a garden and monument to Lenin, as well as several blocks in the city center in which children's and educational institutions would be concentrated²³. This project was only partially implemented, however. On 7 November 1924, a bust of Lenin was installed and was replaced the following year with a bronze monument. Thirty years later, in November 1954, on the eve of Kazan University's 150th anniversary a new monument of bronze and granite of the young student Volodia Ulyanov was installed in a run-down area of the university quad directly across from the main university building. Soon, this area would become the core of the university's architectural and symbolic

²¹ M.K. Korbut, *Kazanskii gosudarstvennyi universitet imeni V.I. Ul'yanova-Lenina za 125 let* [Kazan State University named after V.I. Lenin for 125 years] (1804/05–1929/30), Kazan, no publisher, 1930.

²² See, for example: Yu.V. Burnasheva, R.I. Nafigov, *V.I. Lenin v Kazanskom universitete* [V.I. Lenin in Kazan University], Kazan, Kazan State University, 1977. About other University's anniversary «stories» of this period see: Vishlenkova, Salnikova, *The Anniversary Celebrations Stories in the Kazan University*, cit., p. 137.

²³ See: Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Respubliki Tatarstan [State Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan], f. R-732, op. 1, d. 516, l. 5; d. 518, l. 62; d. 128, l. 47; A.A. Salnikova, «*Children loci*» construction in the Soviet city of 1917-1927, «Dialog so vremenem» [Dialogue with Time], vol. 60, 2017, p. 227.

space. It should be said that the space for this new monument was exceptionally well-chosen: students immediately fell in love with the new square, surrounded by the remains of the university's old clinical garden, where they could spend time with «Volodia». The space did not receive an official designation, but students soon began to refer to it as the «frying pan» due to its architectural form. It is clear that students did not always take away from the space the official ideas and memories which its creators had hoped they would. Many important university events, including festive meetings, the laying of flowers on Lenin's birthday, and others were traditionally held near the young Ulyanov monument. But for students the space was primarily a non-ideological symbol of student brotherhood and freedom, albeit one closely linked with both Kazan University specifically and with student memories associated with the university. As one student wrote later, «for me it will always be that, no matter where I am, I will always tremble at the sight of my dear 'frying pan' with its monument to Volodia», «The monument to the young Volodia Ulyanov – to me, that is the university»²⁴.

In 1954, Chernyshevsky Street, on which both the main university building and the monument to the student Ulyanov stood, was renamed Lenin Street.

However, a few monuments and new place names were clearly not sufficient to give the Lenin myth the sort of weight which authorities desired. In 1948, not long after the end of the Great Patriotic War, a new Lenin memorial auditorium was opened to visitors at Kazan University. Initially, the exhibition covered the entire Volga period of Lenin's life, but in 1960, in preparation for Lenin's 90th birthday celebration, the exposition was completely reconstructed. The main focus of the newly-designed exhibit was the prominent place devoted to the events of the 1887 student demonstration.

The Lenin myth reached its peak in the 1970s with the succession of several important memorial celebrations, including the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth in 1970, the 90th anniversary of the student demonstration in 1977 and the 175th anniversary of the founding of Kazan University in 1979. Just before the celebration of the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth, Kazan University triumphantly opened a new memorial zone dedicated to the leader on 17 April 1970. The intent of this project was to restore, down to the smallest detail, an area of the university to its condition in the 1880s when Vladimir Ulyanov had been a student there. Several important features of the university, including the cast-iron staircase which led to the Assembly hall in which the famous student demonstration had been held, the Assembly hall itself, and study room No. 7 at the law department, where the future leader had himself worked, were all restored such that they would have been familiar to the young Lenin himself. It was in this sacred space that all students attended their first lecture on the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a course that was

²⁴ From the questionnaires of the former Kazan University students, authors' archive.

mandatory to students of all majors. This first lecture would, of course, put a special emphasis on Lenin's time at and contribution to the history of Kazan University. The Lenin memorial zone was also where students were awarded their Komsomol cards, where students were invited to meet with veterans of the October Revolution, where the university's best employees were celebrated and given awards, and where numerous other social and academic activities were held. In April 1970, the famous poet of the 1960s, Yevgeny Yevtushenko read his recently-written poem «Kazan University» in the memorial assembly hall. Like his predecessor Vladimir Mayakovsky, Yevtushenko addressed the university's students as the heirs and successors of Lenin:

The courage of seventeen
 Bequeathed by Lenin
 to you,
 The maturity of seventeen
 Bequeathed by Lenin
 to you.
 And choosing your path
 at the crossroads,
 Stepping into the footsteps
 he left,
 Seventeen-year-olds, be
 As Lenin was at seventeen!²⁵

The 90th anniversary of the student demonstration was celebrated on a truly unprecedented scale. Events held by either the Party Committee or the university administration included a ceremonial meeting, a celebratory concert, a torchlight procession, the laying of wreaths on the young Lenin monument, a student rally under a banner which read «Lenin's Ideas are True!», and even a visit to the village of Lenino-Kokushkino where the young Vladimir Ulyanov had been exiled after his participation in the events of 1887. In addition, the university held an All-Union scientific-theoretical conference dedicated to a deeper study of the Kazan period of Lenin's life, a political song competition, the reading of numerous lectures by academics, politicians and social figures concerning the social and political problems of the day, and an art exhibit entitled «The image of young Lenin in the works of Soviet artists». The participants of these celebrations appealed to Soviet youth to «live, study, and work like Lenin!» The concert program included the reading of an excerpt from Yevtushenko's poem «Kazan University» entitled «The Demonstration», a section of the Tatar composer Batu Muliukov's oratorio, «Kazan», also entitled «The Demonstration» performed by the University Choir, and Nikolai Dobronravov's poem «And the Battle Continues», sung by Aleksandra

²⁵ E. Yevtushenko, *Kazanskii universitet* [Kazan University] (poema), Kazan, Tatar Book Publishing House, 1971.

Pakhmutova and ending with the iconic words «And the battle continues! The heart pounds in the chest... and Lenin, so young, with young October ahead!».

The 1970s were also the decade in which the ritual honoring and commemorating of Lenin were formalized into the activities and structures of everyday life at Kazan University. On the first day of classes, 1 September, the day began with a ceremonial reception and rally near the young Ulyanov statue, followed by a meeting in the historic assembly hall where students were told about the events of 1887 and about the glorious traditions associated with Lenin. Every year on 16 December a staging of the famous 1887 student demonstration took place. 22 April was the first day of the yearly Lenin Week, which included the Lenin lessons, the students' final socio-political certification, and the Lenin test, which was supposed to check students' political literacy and activity. Students and teachers joined together in the annual Lenin Communist clean-up, also held in April, and, in May, students participated in the Lenin relay-race. The university's best students who were actively engaged in public work were awarded Lenin scholarships. The university newspaper was called «The Leninets». Lenin's name and/or his visual image was reproduced on memorial plaques, in sculpture and portraits, bas-reliefs and panels. Lenin was visually represented on anniversary badges and medals, on folders and notepads, on the covers of notebooks, and on postcards and envelopes printed for special anniversary dates. In 1979, the pediment of the university's main academic building was decorated with the Order of Lenin, joining the Order of the Red Banner of Labor which had been awarded to the university in 1955.

Lenin, embodied in stone and in bronze, in golden letters on the facade of the main university building, and in the memorial «Lenin zone» became the university's most important «site of memory». Indeed, the image of Lenin was so commonly identified with the university that the two became intertwined together. The myth of the university's «Leninist identity», as well as the «Lenin» traditions that became inherited features of university life turned out to be among the most stable and crucial features of the university's history during the Soviet period. Both were regularly reaffirmed and fixed through ritual and symbolic practices, especially during anniversary celebrations, and were converted not only into ideological capital, but also into tangible material and economic resources. Although the Lenin myth was one of many, it is, perhaps, one of the most illustrative examples of the subordination of memories both about and of the university to political and ideological power. The myth enabled a situation in which all spheres of life at Kazan University (educational, research, socio-political, everyday, etc.) became «Leninist» and worthy of both imitation and reproduction.

3. *The Fate of the Lenin Myth and Traditions*

In the post-Soviet period both the Lenin and wider revolutionary myths lost their currency, as their symbolic capital was no longer in demand at the state level and thus could not secure any sort of benefits for their patrons. At the same time, the Lenin myth of Kazan University was destroyed by the Communist Party's loss of both its power and its monopoly on truth, the overall discrediting of communist ideology, as well as by forces «from below». The image of Lenin played a key role in the structured system of Soviet elementary education, with the pins of the «Little Octobrists» communist youth organization featuring a curly-haired young Volodia Ulyanov and the «young pioneer» organization for older children technically being named the «Vladimir Lenin All-Union Pioneer Organization». But with the end of the Soviet Union, Lenin's countenance no longer fulfilled its mobilizational functions and, gradually, the youth of the last Soviet generation either became indifferent towards or outright rejected the imagery of Soviet education. Moreover, Lenin was no longer revered by new generations of students who were filled with an emotional attachment to democratization and the excitement of creating new political movements and parties. In the 1990s, disappointment with the Soviet system, combined with a newfound awareness about the truth of mass political repression throughout the Soviet period, eventually manifested itself in a war on memory and on monuments.

Under these conditions, the stabilizing function played by the university's revolutionary myth threatened to become a destabilizing one. Student protests at the university directly invoked the memory of the 1887 student demonstration, thereby transforming the domesticated and mummified myth of the university's revolutionary heritage into actual living practice. In February of 1990, students of Kazan University, members and supporters of various political movements and parties (the Democratic Union, the Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists, so-called «radicals») began organizing a student gathering scheduled for 1 March 1990. The organizers of the gathering, primarily students from the history department, put forward a set of demands including wide-ranging university autonomy, the protection of the rights and interests of students, the de-ideologization of education, the freedom and equality of all public organizations at the university, and the creation of a broad Student Union. These measures were supported by both the Komsomol Committee and the University Communist Party Committee, the leading Party-Komsomol organs at Kazan University. During the preparation for the 1 March gathering, in addition to the social-educational demands, there were calls to remove the name V.I. Ulyanov-Lenin from the official designation of the university. However, it became clear later that this demanded was not supported by the majority of representatives of the Democratic Union, and representatives from other movements did not insist upon it. In order to refute the rumors about their «anti-Leninist» orientation

and their demand that Lenin be removed from the university pediment, the organizers of the gathering appeared in the 28 February 1990 edition of the city newspaper, «Evening Kazan». Nevertheless, on Lenin's birthday, 22 April 1990, one of the members of the organizing committee, a history student and anarcho-syndicalist, Herman Aletkin, laid a wreath of barbed wire on Lenin's monument in Freedom Square in the center of Kazan²⁶.

It is noteworthy that, despite all the turbulence of the 1990s, during which many of the country's monuments to former political leaders and heroes were dismantled, the statue of the young Vladimir Ulyanov, an image of a student at the center of the beloved «frying pan», was never seriously considered for removal. Even the reaction to an incident in April 2009, when unknown vandals poured black paint over the statue, is significant. The overall response, as reported by the press, was one of both disappointment and some surprise. After all, the sculptural image of young Lenin had been «depoliticized» over time, and was perceived by new generations of students primarily as an abstract monument of Lenin as student, or even as simply «a student's best friend before exams» (according to one student superstition, sitting in the «frying pan» and having a virtual «conversation with Volodia» can contribute to receiving a good grade)²⁷. In 2016 A.L. Litvin, a professor at Kazan University, proposed that the statue of the young Lenin should be moved within the university courtyard to the library, noting that «the university no longer carries Lenin's name and is referred to as the Volga Area or Federal University». His suggestion that the monument be replaced with a «memorial to the university itself»²⁸ received little support within the university community.

Lenin's name left the university only gradually and not without a struggle. Not long after the 1990 student gathering and the momentous events of 1991, including the August putsch, the university newspaper «Leninets» changed its name to simply «Kazan University». In 2004 the university celebrated its 200th anniversary, and used the occasion to take another step in disassociating its legacy with that of Lenin. During the anniversary renovations of the university's main administrative and educational building, the inscription on the pediment

²⁶ I.E. Alekseev, *Studencheskaya skhodka 1 marta 1990 goda v Kazanskom gosudarstvennom universitete – nerealizovannaya popytka provozglasheniya universitetskoj avtonomii i sozdaniya nezavisimogo studencheskogo soyuza* [Student meeting on March 1, 1990 in Kazan State University is an Unrealized Attempt to Proclaim University Autonomy and to Create an Independent Student Union] in A.A. Burkhanov (ed.), *Problemy istorii i kul'tury Volgo-Ural'skogo regiona i Evrazii* [Problems of history and culture of the Volga-Ural region and Eurasia], Kazan, Yaz, 2017, pp. 53-57.

²⁷ *V Kazani vandaly oskvernili pamyatnik Leninu* [In Kazan Vandals Desecrated the Monument to Lenin], see the website: <<https://www.tatar-inform.ru/news/2009/04/29/165116/>> (last access: 01.06.2018).

²⁸ *Lenin i Kazan* [Lenin and Kazan]: *brat poveshennogo ili vozhd' revolyutsii?*, «Business Online», 2016, see the website: <<https://www.business-gazeta.ru/article/308757>> (last access: 17.06.2018).

which read «V. I. Lenin Kazan State University» was shortened to «Kazan State University». However, both the Soviet Order of the Red Banner of Labor and the Order of Lenin were preserved on the building's facade. The official name of the university, as represented on its official letterhead, retained Lenin's name despite the architectural change for another six years. It was finally removed as part of the university's official name only after the government of the Russian Federation issued an order on 2 April 2010 which united several universities in Kazan under the designation Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University. The removal of Lenin's name was met with disapproval by the entire university community. Opinions were divided. Some members of the university community, even those who were not supporters of either Lenin's ideas or his actions, nevertheless believed that Lenin had become part of the university's history and that this history should not be abandoned despite changing political conditions. Others argued that abandoning the very principle of educating students in the spirit of Lenin's aspirations and ideals, including the «irreconcilable class struggle» and the utopian path of the «world revolution» and the «construction of communism», was tantamount to the rejection of Lenin's name as a symbol of the past. Pro-Communist members of the university body openly expressed their indignation at Lenin's disappearance from the name of the university and repeatedly called for his return. In 2009, Ekaterina Averyanova, a communist student at Kazan University, wrote a letter to Russian President Dmitry Medvedev on this very issue²⁹. In 2015 the platform of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation included a «people's initiative» for the gathering of signatures in support of returning Lenin's name to Kazan University. However, judging from the results of the campaign, the University Corporation's support of the initiative was lukewarm at best. Of the 851 collected signatures, only 463 were «in support» of preserving Lenin's name as part of the official designation of the university, a paltry 2.32% of the necessary signatures³⁰.

Although public ambivalence had doomed efforts to preserve Lenin as an official part of the university identity, popular sentiment swelled in response to attempts to eliminate «Kazan» from the name of the university. On 21 October 2009, Russian President Dmitry Medvedev issued a decree entitled «On the Establishment of Federal Universities in the North-West, Volga, Ural, and Far Eastern Federal Districts» which provided for the assignment of «regional names to newly enlarged federal universities. Accordingly, Kazan University was to

²⁹ See: E. Aver'yanova, *Kazanskomu federal'nomu universitetu – imya V.I. Lenina!* [The name of Lenin – to Kazan Federal University!], official website of the Central Committee of Communist party of Russian Federation – KPRF.RU, Republic of Tatarstan, see the website: <https://kprf.ru/rus_soc/73685.html/print> (last access: 17.06.2018).

³⁰ *Vozvrashchenie imeni Vladimira Il'icha Ul'yanova-Lenina Kazanskomu (Privolzhskomu) federal'nomu universitetu* [Return of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov-Lenin's Name to Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University, 2015, see the website: <<http://ni.kprf.ru/n/3911/>> (last access: 17.06.2018).

be renamed Volga Area Federal University. The news of this reorganization caused unrest amongst the student body, who organized pickets in support of the former name of the university. These pickets had the unintended effect of heightening Communist hopes of a «student revolution» similar to that of the French in the late 1960s. The situation, however, did not go that far, and the university administration agreed to meet with students in order to reassure them about the situation. In the end, students and teachers, as well as the university leadership, were extraordinarily interested and active in preserving the Kazan university «brand». In the wake of this flurry of activity in October 2009, a series of talks were held at the highest levels of the Russian state. The President of the Republic of Tatarstan held back-to-back talks with the Russian President and with the Minister of Education and Science, and the university was visited by several high-ranking officials³¹. As a result of these talks, a compromise was reached wherein Kazan University was allowed to retain its former name, supplemented in brackets with the regional designation: Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University. Of the ten federal universities in Russia, Kazan University is the only one which was able to retain its historical name.

The university body's differing attitudes towards the removal of Lenin from the official name of the university and the attempted replacement of the university's civic designation with a regional one illustrate a central feature of Hobsbawm's argument. In his work, Hobsbawm famously identifies three types of tradition. The first concerns traditions which establish or symbolize social connections within a group or social body (i.e. identity with the «community»). The second type of tradition concerns institutions, status, and social relations which are conditioned by the government, thus making the tradition have «legal» force. The final form of tradition is one which socializes individuals, or, to put it another way, imprints upon individual consciousness' systems

³¹ Arkadij Dvorkovich i Myakzyum Salakhov obsudili vopros o sohranении brenda «KGU» [Arkady Dvorkovich and Myakzyum Salakhov Discussed the Preservation of the Brand KSU], 2009, October, 23, see the website: <<https://www.tatar-inform.ru/news/2009/10/23/190292/>> (last access: 17.06.2018); *Rektor KGU raz «yasnil studentam osobennosti sozdaniya PFU na baze vuza»* [Rector of KSU Explained to Students the Features of the Creation of PFU on the Basis of the University], see the website: <<https://www.tatar-inform.ru/news/2009/10/27/190749/>> (last access: 17.06.2018); *Myakzyum Salakhov: «Brend «Kazanskii universitet» budet sokhranen* [Myakzyum Salakhov: «The Brand 'Kazan University' will be preserved», see the website: <<https://www.tatar-inform.ru/news/2009/10/28/190935/>> (last access: 17.06.2018).); *Privolzhskii federal'nyi universitet sokhranit v svoem nazvanii slovo «kazanskii»* [Volga Federal University will retain the word «Kazan»], 2009, October, 27, see the website: <<https://www.tatar-inform.ru/news/2009/10/27/190651/>> (last access: 17.06.2018); *Andrei Fursenko: «PFU mozhet nazvat'sya 'Kazanskii gosudarstvennyi universitet (federal'nyi)»* [Andrey Fursenko: «PFU can be called 'Kazan State University (Federal)»], see the website: <<https://www.tatar-inform.ru/news/2009/10/30/191305/>> (last access: 17.06.2018). Arkadii Dvorkovich – Assistant of the President of the Russian Federation from May 13, 2008 to May 21, 2012. Myakzyum Salakhov – rector of Kazan State University in 2002-2010. Andrei Fursenko – Minister of Education and Science of the Russian Federation in 2004-2012.

of values and rules of conduct (i.e. identity with the «nation»). Hobsbawm believed that it was the first type of tradition, which is predominantly communal in its orientation, was the foundational tradition from which the second and third forms emanated³². Indeed, the communal tradition and sense of belonging to a distinct social body have, in the case of Kazan University, proven to be more stable and fundamentally more significant than those associated with the university's revolutionary myth, which was based upon rituals and symbols directly related to political power and ideology.

However, in light of recent societal and economic changes, and particularly as a result of the recent trend towards the creation of the managerial university, educational institutions, while «nominally unchanged, have, in reality, been transformed into something completely different»³³. This transformation, as well as the reduction of university autonomy, has seriously challenged even those communal traditions which had survived the collapse of communist ideology in 1991. Although pushed to the periphery of Kazan University's official identity, the Lenin myth continues to exist as part a subterranean university culture. Today, its value lies primarily with its important role in university history, rather than with its ideological meanings. The most significant myth now in contemporary university culture is the «enlightened» one which dates to the 19th century and celebrates, in Humboldtian fashion, the university's culture-building mission³⁴.

In an effort to reconcile the university mythos with the realities of post-Soviet Russia, university discourses and traditions increasingly gravitated towards the imperial past as a legitimizing force. The appearance of portraits of the university's founder, Alexander I, in public areas, proposals to rename the university in the emperor's honor, and the official designation of the historical Auditorium as the «Imperial» hall all reflect attempts to re-center the image of the university within an imperial past³⁵. At the same time, the official university myth and tradition, like their «subterranean» counterparts, are fed by elements the «enlightenment» mythos, although these are reduced primarily to their utilitarian functions. For example, the university devotes considerable attention to honoring its most famous scientists and graduates so as to emphasize its historic role in Russian education. The meaningful aspects of the «enlightened» myth, however, are not embodied either in practice or in new traditions. Moreover, in light of the transition to a more managerial university culture, the retrospective legitimization (the historicity) of the university offered by the «enlightenment» mythos has continued to play a smaller and smaller role in

³² Hobsbawm, *Izobretenie traditsii*, cit., pp. 56–57.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³⁴ Yu. Kolesnikova, *Ideya universiteta i ego missiya*, cit., pp. 64–65.

³⁵ *V Kazanskom universitete zal, gde Lenin nachal svoyu revolyutsionnyi put', stal Imperatorskim* [In Kazan University, the Hall where Lenin Began His Revolutionary Path, Became Imperial], see the website: <<https://realnoevremya.ru/articles/53499>> (last access: 17.06.2018).

how the university presents itself to the outside world. Instead, «prospective» legitimization has become more and more important, with the university increasingly positioning itself as new, innovative, and dynamic³⁶. This trend is even reflected in the reconceptualization of those university spaces which have been preserved or memorialized over the course of the university's history. Traditionally, these spaces have been considered as existing both as places «of all times» and also «outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages»³⁷. The new managerial university has sought to mobilize these spaces in a more clearly utilitarian direction, and in 2016 announced that the objective of Kazan University's Museum complex was in «improving the competitiveness of Kazan Federal University's museums in the areas of education, research, curatorship, and cultural enlightenment through the use of recent advances in the field of museum studies and the integration of our museums into the global museum community»³⁸.

Conclusion

The Lenin myth became the core of Kazan University's invented tradition during the Soviet period. The creation of the Lenin myth was followed by its formalization and ritualization through numerous university mediums. Lenin's participation in the 1887 student demonstration, which in reality was incidental, over time acquired new details and descriptions before eventually becoming something like a university epic. The Lenin myth eventually was defining feature of Kazan University's educational mission and became the tool with which each of the university's educational practices was articulated. The discourse of this new tradition supported the active invention, implementation, reproduction, and eventual crystallization of new rituals and symbols. By the end of the Soviet period the origins of these rituals, symbols, and traditions were shrouded in a dense fog of historicity.

The Lenin myth, and the tradition based upon it, did not immediately disappear during or after the dismantling of Soviet power in Russia in the 1990s. In the wake of revolutionary and liberal sentiments in the 1990s, the hardened myth suddenly found a second life, and emerged from the obscurity of memorial zones and museums into the heated debates taking place at various

³⁶ See, for example: *Privetstvennoe slovo rektora KFU* [Welcome Speech of the KFU Rector of KFU], see the website: <<https://rector.kpfu.ru/privetstvennoe-slovo/>> (last access: 17.06.2018).

³⁷ M. Foucault, *Drugie prostranstva* [Other Spaces] in M. Foucault, *Intellektualy i vlast'* [Intellectuals and Power]: *Ibrannye politicheskie stat'i, vystupleniya i interv'iu*, part 3, Moscow, Praxis, 2006, p. 200.

³⁸ *Muzei Kazanskogo federal'nogo universiteta* [Kazan Federal University Museums], see the website: <<https://museums.kpfu.ru/o-komplekse/>> (last access: 17.06.2018).

levels of Russian society both in Kazan and across the country. However, the attempted resuscitation of the Lenin myth in the post-Communist environment was both limited and short-lived. Eventually, it became part of subterranean university culture, itself formed in response to the conscious managerization of the university and the subsequent erosion of both the university habitus and its memory. Although the role of retrospective legitimization within the traditions of the managerial university continues to decrease, the Lenin myth has retained a certain degree of stability due to the leader's historic connection with the university and to the close association of Lenin with the Kazan University brand. As such, certain formalized elements of the Lenin myth remain in limited demand within new university traditions.

The invention of the Common School tradition

Early American educational historiography and the building of a long-standing narrative

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ABSTRACT: In the second half of the 19th century, comprehensive Histories of Education started to be written in the United States. Especially in their treatment of history from the Reformation onwards, these books «invented a tradition» presenting everything as a preparation to the full realization of the Common School model, overlooking the fact that education in the US was largely made of individual efforts or organized by local communities. This narrative was made popular by its dominance in textbooks for teacher training, being therefore repeated in classrooms. While «revisionist» historians of the 1960's attributed it to the Progressive Era authors, we argue that it was born much earlier, together with the Common School movement itself, and we analyze the major elements of its narrative, seen as a self-aware technique more than a failed attempt by amateur historians.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Common school; Invention of tradition; USA; XXth Century.

Reversing an epigram, Sol Cohen has said that under some circumstances, «History is a trick played on the dead by the living». The most frequent circumstance in history of education is the combination of high political zeal and sloppy historiography. Simply, the past is misrepresented.

H. Warren Button

1. *A historiographical debate and a cultural history question*

The primacy of history of schooling in the development of American history of education is a long-acknowledged reality, and is reflected even on language (*educated* meaning «cultivated», «schooled», while the similar adjective in Italian means generally «well-mannered» in daily speech). In this paper, we will at first outline the debate on the subject, the questions it raises and especially the questions that are still left behind¹ by the so-called “new” history of education. In the second section we will try to give an outline of the historical narrative which interpreted the past, in teleological terms, as a preparation of the Common School movement, through a reading of the texts making the paradigm popular and praised, i.e., some History of Education books used in teacher training in late 18th and early 19th century. We will conclude with some reflections on how American «History of Education» was becoming a defined genre and how the ingredients of its «narrative» were more and more carefully and deliberately selected by its authors.

In the United States, history of education as a defined subject attempting a systematization² goes together with the full implementation of the Common School model starting around 1860 (according to Carl Kaestle)³; and the first book on the subject, the *History and Progress of Education* by Linus Pierpont Brockett also known as «Philobiblius», was published right in 1860, with a laudatory preface by Henry Barnard, one of the «fathers of the Common School» along with Horace Mann.

As we can see shortly, a century later the so-called “new” historiography of the 1960’s – and still the contemporary mainstream historiography – would connect the birth of History of education in the US with the Progressive Era⁴. However, Philobiblius’ work, with Barnard’s endorsement, is the initial

¹ The allusion to George W. Bush’ educational program *No Child Left Behind* is intentional. The program replicated, perhaps unconsciously, the same «standardization and control» logic of 19th-century Common School proposals, applied with the help of modern testing techniques, and posited the same challenge to individual freedom and the basis of liberal education. It is another example of the force of the «long-standing narrative».

² We agree with Milton Gaither when, in his book *American Educational History Revisited: A Critique of Progress*, he gathers information on «history of education» texts and documents well before the 19th century, in full Colonial times; in this sense, the history of education always existed, but we argue that when it isn’t perceived as such, it fails to act as a cultural influence on actual educational thought and processes.

³ We refer to the historical account of the development of Common School idea provided in the classical study by C. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860*, New York City, Hill & Wang, 1983.

⁴ With the intent of connecting “old” historiography with the aims and policies of Progressive Era, even great historians overstretched its chronological definition, sometimes including in it the full Common School Era: «Mayo, convinced of the power and potential of the school, defined education as schooling, thereby articulating a progressivism that has its roots in the 1840’s and

landmark of a tradition whose second landmark is Painter's *A History of Education* (1886): from these sources, it can be inferred that systematic History of Education in the US dates back to earlier years, some decades before the Progressive Era, and that the "progressive" educational ideas were less the cause than the product of this early historiographical tradition, as the fairly teleological title of Philobiblius' book («History and *Progress* of Education») makes clear.

Before delving deeper into the debate, it is perhaps useful to assess the meaning of «Common School model», of which History of Education as a new discipline in the US was both an offspring and an endorsement. The concept of Common school in itself does not coincide either with «public school», controlled and financed by the State – even if the final outcome of the model was a public-school system – nor with a «free school» open without a fee for all the attendants. We will here propose a definition combining the intents of Horace Mann, the most prominent «Common school apostle» of the 1830's and 40's, and Kaestle's definition: the Common School was an elementary school intended to serve all the children in the area – with a contribution from the parents or not –, providing instruction based on a common curriculum controlled by some centralized authority, and where teacher education and selection was similarly controlled and somewhat certified.

The Common School concept is clearly drawn on the blueprint of that Prussian model which attracted the interest of many educational scholars and policymakers in 19th-century America, and would become extremely influential at the end of the century⁵. However, the Common School would have tried to take roots in a very different terrain and facing a powerful opponent, the liberal tradition, implying the idea of minimal State control and the resistance to general taxation. The Enlightenment tradition which brought about, in late 18th-France, Condorcet's proposal of public education fully controlled and financed by the State, was the same that in its American-liberal version hindered Thomas Jefferson's first «common-school» attempt contained in his 1779 *Bill for a more General Diffusion of Knowledge*⁶. Therefore, the Prussian idea of the moral coincidence of public school and *Staatsgeist* was not to be seen in the US, nor it is today. The difference of context and culture has been well summarized by Jürgen Herbst:

would culminate in *Democracy and Education* (1916)» (L. Cremin, *The Wonderful World of Elwood Patterson Cubberley*, New York, Columbia University, 1965, p. 34).

⁵ See the recent volume by J. Overhoff, A. Overbeck (edd.), *New Perspectives on German-American Educational History: Topics, Trends, Fields of Research*, Bad Heilbrunn, Klinkhardt Verlag, 2017.

⁶ Thomas Jefferson, *A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge*, 18 June 1779, on «Founders Online» (U.S. National Archives), <<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-02-02-0132-0004-0079>> (last access: 28.09.2018).

During the first half of the nineteenth century the push and pull between the advocates of local and state control over public education on the elementary and secondary levels continued in both Prussia and the United States. In the latter a widely scattered, predominantly rural population of diverse ethnic and religious allegiances drew on the revolutionary generation's suspicion of administrative authority and its commitment to representative republican government. It resisted the calls for creating state systems of national education and fought the efforts of public school reformers to abolish the district system and introduce state supervision. In defeated monarchical Prussia the central government, relying on its well-trained civil servants, the *Beamten*, succeeded in balancing traditions of local responsibility for public and private schooling with administrative oversight. [...]. Its policies increased in effectiveness after the failed revolution of 1848⁷.

While Prussian school system found in the half of the 19th century the most favorable conditions for its development, Common School advocates in the US struggled with «independent-minded local-control advocates, many Southern slaveholders, members of non-English and non-Protestant groups who favored cultural distinctiveness and independent schooling, blacks who had been left out of the new common-school systems, and a smattering of full-fledged radicals who opposed the whole religious and economic underpinning of the predominant ideology»⁸, both before and after the 1860's relative consolidation of the model.

So it is no surprise that Common School advocates, as soon as a network of schools became a reality in several States, tried to endorse, defend and perpetuate the model through teacher education and cultural representation, promoting historical accounts in which the extreme variety of Early American educational experiences was read as a constant, irresistible, challenged but victorious tension towards a common, officially non-denominational (but indeed «lower-common-denominator-Protestant»), centrally organized school system. As summarized by Warren Button at the American Educational Research Annual Meeting in 1978, «history of education was the history of the establishment, organization, consolidation, and inevitable triumph of the public schools»⁹.

This is right as a general outline, but distinctions should be made in order to understand the historiographical debate which took place in the 1960's, and its political and cultural implications. In his address, Button starts from Richard G. Boone's *Education in the United States* (1889) and centers the attention on Elwood P. Cubberley's *Public Education in the United States* (1919), leaving aside older works to focus chronologically on the Progressive Era, and choosing works that were limited to US educational history and, as far as Cubberley is concerned, focused explicitly and intentionally on public schools. Even if the

⁷ J. Herbst, *Nineteenth-Century Schools between Community and State: The Cases of Prussia and the United States*, «History of Education Quarterly», vol. 42, n. 3, fall 2002, p. 325.

⁸ C. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, cit.

⁹ H. Warren Button, *Creating More Useable Pasts: History in the Study of Education*, «Educational Researcher», vol. 8, n. 5, May 1979, pp. 3-9 (in particular p. 3).

historiographical design of both works can look flawed and biased according to contemporary canon of historical “neutrality” (whatever that may mean), the choice of the targets is clearly not neutral, and takes account of the so-called “revisionist” historiography of the Sixties, well represented by Lawrence Cremin’s virulent *The Wonderful World of Elwood Patterson Cubberley* (1965) and, on some extent, by Bernard Bailey’s noteworthy historiographical proposal.

According to Cremin and other revisionist, «old historians» were not real historians, but school administrators and policymakers eager to promote their own institutional context; they were anachronistic in overemphasizing the «public school» elements in Colonial and early Republic times, and were “parochial” in depicting American school system as a perfect mechanism, thus leaving aside the repressive and exclusionary elements of public schooling and ignoring its critical points. The criticism was powerful but as politically driven as much it had been Cubberley’s faith in the Progressive Era system, and equally inclined to be flawed in terms of historical research.

As Sol Cohen forcefully summarized in his (balanced) review of an anti-revisionist book,

Now two things occurred: one, the jaundiced reputation of Cubberley and the notion of an “old” educational historiography became rigidly fixed. And two, a “new” history of American education, a watershed in American historical writing on education, so the story goes, was ushered in; it allegedly inserted social history, cultural history, history from “the bottom up”, history of race, ethnicity, gender, of class conflict and group interests, of the oppressed and marginalized, and comparative history into educational historiography. Moreover, the “new” historian of American education would allegedly employ novel quantitative methodologies and theoretical models borrowed from the social sciences. It was as if the “new” history of American education had no precedents in the entire history of American educational historiography¹⁰.

Cremin has unquestionably been the most important educational historian of the 20th century, and his monumental, three-volume *American Education* still stands as the source of most contemporary accounts, schoolbooks and all sort of derivative scholarship (while the most useful reference book for the historian is Sol Cohen’s six-volume «documentary history»)¹¹, and therefore, his criticism of Cubberley and other Progressive Era historians had a deep impact on his own historical work, drawing attention on other educational agencies as the family, local communities or religious denominations and opening to a vast array of new sources. Nevertheless, the contemporary public school

¹⁰ S. Cohen, *History, Memory, Community* [Review of: Milton Gaither, *American Educational History Revisited: A Critique of Progress*, New York, Teacher’s College Press, 2003], «Historical Studies in Education / Revue d’histoire de l’éducation», vol. 16, n. 2, fall/automne 2004, p. 354.

¹¹ S. Cohen, *Education in the United States. A Documentary History*, New York, Random House, 1973-1974.

model still is conceived by Cremin as the culminating outcome of a progressive path to improvement, and the «Common School tradition», even if undergoes critical scrutiny, is still in Cremin's *American Education* the centerfold and the pinnacle of Western educational history. We can say that Button is inaccurate in the details but substantially right when he records Cremin's historiography as a «variation» of the old model:

There were variations, of course. Edgar W. Knight gave greater weight to schools in the south. R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin emphasized the intellectual aspects of school development. There were other minor variations on the theme, but history of education was generally in-house – by educators, for education students, and about schools, celebrating their inevitable and magnificent triumph¹².

«Revisionist» approach to educational history developed new research methods, as quantitative research and microhistory in the educational realm, and helped to build a new approach to the history of education as a part of cultural history. On the political side, it changed the value judgment attached to the «common school/public school» model and the bundle of paternalism and Protestant ethic which sustained it, forcefully challenged by «radical revisionists» as Michael B. Katz in *The Irony of Early School Reform* (1968). However, both historiographical and radical Revisionism never cast a doubt on the fact that the «common school/public school» tradition had been the most important educational experience in American history or the most bound to the future.

Here we will try to understand how this certainty took form, observing the building of a «Common School-centered» narrative all along the first US systematic educational histories employed in teacher training, before the Progressive Era and its administrative and economic urgencies dictated the agenda of urban and centralized education. We will do so without accusing the “old” historiography of being biased – and in some cases praising the «old historians» for their clarity in declaring their intents and limitations: history of education is, at least after the Enlightenment, always a sort of public history, determined or conditioned by a variety of civic, moral and political aims. As it has been stated, with all the assertiveness of the scholarly common sense, by William W. Brickman:

For practical purposes, it is necessary for the educational historian to present his account on the basis of the principle of selectivity. The extent to which he can be objective about his selectivity becomes an index of the objectivity of his historical narration¹³.

¹² Warren Button, *Creating More Useable Pasts*, cit., p. 4.

¹³ W.W. Brickman, *Revisionism and the Study of the History of Education*, «History of Education Quarterly», vol. 4, n. 4, Dec. 1964, pp. 209-223 (in particular pp. 209-210).

2. *Building the narrative: 19th-century American educational historians and their preferred topics*

To summarize the conclusions of the previous chapter, we argue that the «public school-oriented narrative» in American educational historiography was neither a product of the economic and political priorities of the Progressive Era – even if it was reinforced by the advent of Progressivism – nor necessarily expressed the official views of school administrators and policymakers: it surged in earlier times, around 1860, under the direct influence of the Common School reformers and survived the strong educational and social turmoil of the Civil War, being only reinforced with the assumption of the rank of citizens of many Blacks to integrate (and assimilate) to the manners and morals of the dominant white society.

For these reasons, we will limit our analysis to some 19th-century American historical works, purposely stopping before the early 20th-century historiographical phase – closely and passionately challenged by Revisionists –, individuating some common features constituting the components of a historiographical narrative still influencing the mainstream history of education and schoolbooks on the subject.

The aforementioned *History and Progress of Education, from the earliest times to the present* by Linus Pierpont Brockett aka «Philobiblius»¹⁴, well represents the context features making these histories both widespread and readable. Brockett was a physician who successfully entered the market of popular history books, schoolbooks, and biographies, stating in the title itself that his *History of Education* was «intended as a manual for teachers and students». In his work, he drew heavily upon the *Système Complet d'Instruction et d'Education* by Theodore Fritz and did not show much interest in introducing original research, compiling a rich, and easy to read, account of the subject from Biblical times to his time.

The venture enjoyed the seal of a preface by Henry Barnard, the most renowned Common School reformer after Horace Mann, aimed at making the book a reliable choice for normal schools and teachers' professional improvement. Barnard's presentation is all the more interesting because it reflects the uncertainties of the Common School paradigm at the very moment of its success. American education, states Barnard, always functioned very well without any centralization and without the need of a specific preparation of teachers, and stands like the living denial of the Common School ideals themselves; but the improvements in teacher education will bring further improvement and, in any case, «it is a duty to use them». The celebration of the Common School centralizing spirit is introduced by a convincing glorification

¹⁴ Philobiblius [L.P. Brockett], *History and Progress of Education, from the earliest times to the present, intended as a manual for teachers and students*, New York, Barnes & Burr, 1860.

of the liberal, individualistic American tradition in education: as such, Barnard's preface to this inaugural work of the US historical-educational tradition expresses the lively contradictions of a time of change¹⁵.

The general structure of Philobiblius' *History* follows the blueprint of most popular history books and schoolbooks of the 19th century: a chronological account divided into chapters and paragraphs illustrating periods and medallions of illustrious men and works, starting from the most ancient civilizations. The narrative is lively, without any gross mistakes, and remarkably informed – in comparison with other American popular historians – about late Medieval and Renaissance authors. Generalizations and oversimplifications are compensated by the ability to entertain the reader all along three hundred pages, even if at the end the author looks tired and eager to finish his work. After the first eight chapters, ranging from ancient India and China to classical Antiquity, at the ninth chapter Christianity comes and with it one of the historiographical topics, Christ as a passionate teacher:

During the three years of his public ministrations, Jesus was almost incessantly engaged in giving instruction. To the crowds which followed his footsteps he taught in parables, usually drawn from nature or from the customs and practices of the Jewish family – a method previously practiced by the Hebrew prophets, and to some extent by the pagan philosophers¹⁶.

The topic is not a novelty of history of education treatises: it is massively present, for example, in Sunday School narratives and in children's religious books¹⁷. The allusion to Christ as teacher has here a new meaning: the emphasis on the Gospel and on the act of oral transmission of God's word allows the authors to anticipate the great transition from "ancient" to "modern" education, coming with the Reformation and the impulse for popular literacy prompted by the practice of daily reading of the Scriptures. This is not only a historiographical commonplace but also, with due distinctions and further contextualization, a historical truth. But its relevance in American general histories of education

¹⁵ «Nowhere among civilized nations is the business of education pursued with such utter lack of system, such complete, unsympathizing, independent, self-dependent isolation of effort – though yet with a fervor, devotion, energy, and natural capacity almost equally unrivaled. Yet our system of education has, nevertheless, been so universally and efficiently successful as a *practical* system [...] as to furnish what seems a conclusive refutation of the positions taken. [...] The comparatively high standard of mental and moral attainment reached by the graduates of our educational institutions, is not a proof that our educators do not need the same aids, and the same use of them, as those of other countries. Because they succeed astonishingly well without them, it would be folly to argue that they would not succeed still far better with them; and if this is so, it is unnecessary to prove at length that it is a duty to use them» (Henry Barnard, in Philobiblius [Brockett], *History and Progress of Education*, cit., pp. 18-19).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

¹⁷ The subject is very appreciated and still widespread in the preaching and media of Protestant churches and especially of militant denominations such as the Jehova's Witnesses, Mormons or African-American Baptists.

exceeds the necessity of historical account and is presented as marking the start of a new era, of which Common School reforms will be the full realization: the fidelity of Puritan and German immigrants to Bible reading is often emphasized as a distinctive feature of the pious American people, and given as a reason for the (claimed) greater interest of Americans in general education¹⁸. Reformation educational thought, in Philobiblius' account like in his early successors, is greatly simplified: Luther is depicted mainly as the promoter of a universal system of elementary instruction, and of a "pyramid" system of higher studies based on results, making the founder of the Reform the anticipation of Thomas Jefferson's educational proposals.

Hitherto there had been, as we have already said, no education for the masses; but it was a necessary corollary from Luther's religious principles, that the whole people must be taught, that they might read the Scriptures [...] Luther insisted on the development of thought and the culture of the reasoning powers; and, though himself versed in all the subtleties of the scholastic philosophy, he did not deem it well suited to cultivate and invigorate the minds of youth, and therefore denounced it with his usual energy and vehemence. In 1527, he and his friend Melancthon were directed, by the Elector of Saxony, to investigate the condition of the schools of that country, and, if necessary, to reorganize them. This, by their joint labor, was accomplished, and their plan of instruction published, which provided for the education of children of all classes and both sexes, in the elementary studies, and for a more extended course for those who gave promise of intellectual ability¹⁹.

Another element of the narrative is the overshadowing of American accomplishments in higher education, probably because such accomplishments were generally connected with the early foundation of religious – even Catholic – colleges and private establishments, and represented the «old world», high-class, socially and culturally selected educational system imported by the British élite during the Colonial era. American primacy in education is always represented as a primacy in elementary education, especially appreciated because attained without the enforcement of compulsory schooling (a choice that was considered too illiberal even by the most ardent school system promoters). Philobiblius cannot still present common elementary education as a reality in most States, and focuses on New England and New York, looking forward to Common School reformers as «the glory of the country» and the future of general education.

¹⁸ «While the efforts of these and other eminent teachers in Europe, were directed to the improvement of education in their respective countries, the colonies which, in 1620 and the twenty-five years succeeding, had left England and planted themselves on the rugged shores of New England, had brought with them not only the manners, customs, and culture of their native land, but the determination to rear here educational institutions which should prevent their descendants from subsiding into barbarism» (Philobiblius, *History and Progress of Education*, cit., p. 224).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 187-188.

The higher education is not equal to that of [...] England, France, or Germany. But, in the wide diffusion of elementary education, and in the development of a high intellectual activity, no country of Europe can compare favorably with the New England States and New York. A comparison of the percentage of children in attendance upon the schools in these States, to the whole population, with Prussia, Austria, Saxony, and Denmark, where attendance is compulsory, will show conclusively the efficiency of their school organization. [...] The efforts of Woodbridge, Carter, Gallaudet, and others; and, more recently, of Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, David P. Page, Bishop Alonzo Potter, and other eminent friends of education, have accomplished much for the diffusion of right views on the subject of teaching, and have led to the adoption of measures which render our common-school system the glory of our country²⁰.

The direct causal connection «Gospel-Reformation-Puritans-New England early school reforms-Common School reforms» will become a commonplace of American educational historiography: at least a chapter will be devoted to Massachusetts where, in order, 1. Puritans and other religious settlers had maintained alive the Bible readings and pious sentiments; 2. the original attention of the Reformers for popular literacy was deeply felt by the communities; 3. as soon as the 17th century, «public school» laws were established and enacted (quoting at least the fundamental but also overestimated *Old Deluder Satan Act*); 4. A network of schools developed, but lingering inequalities and the insufficient preparation of the teachers prompted Horace Mann, in the 1830's, to found the Board of Education and start his battle for a common curriculum, centralized school system. The reconstruction contains some truth but has fundamental flaws, especially the fact that most Eastern states are the only focus of educational historical, leaping from the Colonial Era and early Republic to late 19th century, purposely skirting the issue of the first half of 19th century when the Louisiana Purchase made the United States an immense land of settling and conquest opportunities, open to deregulated, individual educational experiences in the spirit of the Frontier. Therefore, in these histories of education, the vast America was still depicted as the smaller country of the Thirteen Colonies, and the world of rural and frontier schooling, of Native education, of Southern plantations and Black Sunday schools, was ignored as it had never existed.

This narrative is to be found almost identical in another popular educational historian, Franklin Verzelius Newton Painter, author of *A History of Education* (1886). The *Old Deluder Satan Act* is quoted emphasizing the direct reference of the ordinance to Luther, and anachronistically presented as a “common school” provision:

The action of the Puritans was prompt and vigorous. Within a few years after the landing of the Mayflower, when their number was yet small, when their homes were without comfort, when they were continually menaced by the scalping-knife of the savage, they established a

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 281-82.

system of schools that placed them in advance of the most enlightened portions of Europe. [...] The most remarkable action, however, of the Massachusetts colony was in relation to common schools. In 1647 the General Court passed the following order, the preamble of which recalls the powerful words of Luther [...]»²¹.

Painter's book was the second issue of the *International Education Series* directed by William T. Harris, «US Commissioner for Education», presented as «a library for teachers and school managers, and text-books for normal classes. The aim will be to provide works of a useful practical character in the broadest sense».

The «practical character» of the series should have proved successful, and Painter's history underwent several reprints. The 1897 edition is indeed an identical reprint of the first edition, but in the meanwhile the series boasts 40 titles, ranging from history (Richard G Boone's *Education in the United States* is also part of the series) to English translation of the classics (Rousseau, Herbart, Pestalozzi, Froebel), to educational psychology and practical subjects as heating and ventilation in schools. The popularity of Painter's books, given the success of the series, should have been widespread among teachers and in normal school classes.

More than twenty years from Philobiblius' work, educational culture is changing. Common School model is more largely accepted but also resents the comparison with the Prussian system, while more travelers and functionaries go to Europe and Germany and write reports. Painter himself presents his research as deeply indebted with German educational historians:

It was in the library of the University of Bonn, nearly four years ago, as I sat before an alcove of educational works and leisurely examined the admirable histories by Raumer and Karl Schmidt, that the thought and purpose of preparing this work were first conceived. In view of the poverty of our literature in educational history, it seemed to me that such a work, by exhibiting the pedagogical principles, labors, and progress of the past, might be helpful to teachers in America²².

Painter, like Philobiblius, starts from ancient civilizations and did not make much original research, admitting his dependence from Schmidt, Raumer, Paroz, and Ditte; his exposition is less enticing but more accurate than his predecessors' free prose, and from the Reformation onwards is articulated in mini-monographs on authors such as Agricola, Reuchlin, and Sturm, and later Montaigne, Fénelon or Francke. On this aspect, his fascination with the German model can be clearly seen, and when he comes to the contemporary times and the progress of the public schools he is eager to show the (imaginary) scenario of a fast, almost real-time systematization of American school system,

²¹ F.V.N. Painter, *A History of Education*, New York, Appleton & Company, 1886, p. 312.

²² *Ibid.*, p. XIII.

in which the relatively independent teachers are paralleled to the civil servants (*Beamte*) of Prussian tradition:

A strong interest in education exists in every section of our country; and, under the impulsion of this feeling, every effort is made to advance the public schools. Neat and well-furnished school-houses are rapidly supplanting the log-huts and temporary make-shifts of the past; a better qualified class of teachers is being demanded by public sentiment; the various school officers are held more firmly to a faithful discharge of their duties; the school term is being lengthened; better courses of study and improved methods of teaching are being everywhere introduced²³.

A picture of US as the «new Prussia», where a rapidly advancing school system would have in due time provided full literacy, a common core of competencies and a shared national ethos, was not meant to satisfy all readers, and leave some perplexities in the historian himself. How to depict the Founding Fathers as partisans of Common School ideas and leave aside the liberal tradition and the model of self-conducted, no-school education represented by Benjamin Franklin, whose autobiography had become of the most read and cherished juvenile books? The «liberal conundrum» was surfacing: if citizens must be educated by the State in order to understand and protect liberal values, the action of State education itself, especially if enforced through compulsory schooling, denies the same values it is intended to protect.

The problem is clearly perceived by Richard Gause Boone, another of the historians of the «International Education Series», whose *Education in The United States. Its history from the earliest settlements* is the first book especially devoted to the national history of education. Like most of his predecessors, he had no formal academic titles in History: he started his career as a rural teacher, ascending as superintendent and then to Professor of Pedagogy at the Indiana University (without having ever earned a degree, and eventually getting an *ad honorem* M.A. and PhD). His work, very well organized on a thematic structure, is losing the light-hearted amateur character of Philobiblius' histories and takes a more serious, «professional» tone. The «liberal conundrum» is not avoided, but resolved with an intrepid «nevertheless» and the assumption for which even liberal republicanism accepts centralization «for the greater good»:

The modern representative Government, like the contemporary Church, is an organized protest against the dominance of unreasoning authority, from whatever source. Nevertheless, the national Government in this country has had a large share in the control and direction of educational thought and institutions. It has created and repeatedly enlarged school funds, first and directly, by appropriations of land, to the common schools, academies, and universities; and indirectly, through the surplus revenue deposit, and the three per cent of public land sales. It is officially charged with the education of the Indians and Alaskans; provides generously for military and naval education, both in the two national institutions

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

and in established colleges and universities in the States; furnishes homes and instruction to many hundred soldiers' orphans, and has with rare wisdom contributed millions to the schooling of the impoverished South. The true spirit of republicanism has never opposed any centralization that looked to the greater general good²⁴.

Formulas like *organized protest* and *the true spirit of Republicanism* constitute, with analogous expressions, one of the aspects of a narrative that was becoming more and more self-aware, individuates its own contradictions and found rhetorical expedients to overcome them. If an aspect of the glorious march towards common education looked difficult to accept or explain, stating that this controversial aspect represented the «real» intention of the Founding Father's idea of nation, hindered by the circumstances, or the «essence» of Republicanism, was deemed enough for the (inattentive?) reader to accept and endorse it.

Starting with Boone's enterprise dedicated solely to US history, American histories of education became more and more aware of their necessity to select, simplify and organize facts in order to be didactically effective. The omnivore curiosity of passionate amateur historians started giving place to the organized communication structures of the normal school professors, who weren't perhaps «objective on their selectivity» as postulated by Brickman, but had clear their target and their aim to illustrate «the rise and development of modern systems of instruction», with the words of Samuel G. Williams, the author with which we conclude our analysis.

3. *Accepting and managing the «invention of tradition» process: US educational history at the threshold of the Progressive Era, and some concluding remarks*

Samuel G. William's *History of Modern Education. An account of the Course of Educational Opinion and Practice From the Revival of Learning to the Present Decade* was published in 1892 in a series called the «School Bulletin Publications», whose catalogue included theory and history of education, books of the Common School reformers, textbooks, teaching aids (cube roots blocks, crayons, registers) and reference works such as a «Cyclopedia of education», series of «Biographies of educators» and «Life and works of Pestalozzi», and a reprint of Comenius' *Orbis Pictus*. Williams himself presented himself in the frontispiece as Professor of the Science and Art of Teaching at Cornell University, so that he started the Progressive-era tradition of historians of education who were part of the school and college system for the professionalization of future

²⁴ R.G. Boone, *Education in The United States. Its history from the earliest settlements*, New York, Appleton and Company, 1889, p. 308.

teachers, and as such, with this system in full bloom, were reaching a larger audience – losing perhaps some curious general reader, but gaining thousands of students obliged to study the book as a part of their training.

This book was, as stated in the Preface, drawn out from Professor William's lectures, and represents «the last half of his course on the history of education» (implying there was a first half focusing on ancient and medieval education). The starting point of the history is, needless to say, the Renaissance-Reformation time, and the reconstruction focuses mainly on individual educational thinkers and reformers, whose contribution was included and interpreted in an evolutionary framework without fear of forcing or misinterpreting facts. Williams looks honestly committed to the pre-Enlightenment ideas expressed by Luther or Sadoletto, and that 16th-century education presupposed the idea of «universal freedom»:

In this century the idea of universal, and even *compulsory* state education, which had been forcibly expressed by Plato, had been practiced by the Spartans and probably by the Jews, and possibly had been conceived as desirable by Theodulf in the days of Charlemagne, – we find expressed in at least three widely different quarters, by Luther in 1524 and 1530, by Sadolet, archbishop of Carpentras in 1533, and by the nobility in the States General at Orleans in 1560. [...] We have then three distinct proposals in this century for universal education, under direction of the state, and compulsory in its character. One of these proposals comes from the leading figure of the Reformation, a second from a prelate of the Roman church, and a third from a body of the French nobility. Evidently therefore, thus early in the Renaissance period, a perception of these great educational principles, which the present age is coming to regard as well-nigh axiomatic, had already gained a degree of acceptance in theory which seems more remarkable when we consider how slowly they have been accepted in practice. In concluding this part of our subject, it is interesting also to remark, that the arguments with which Luther especially in general, and Sadolet in part, enforce their ideas, are the same that are urged in our own days for like purposes: viz., the need of universal enlightenment as the logical correlative of that universal freedom of thought which is the essence of the Humanitarian revolution; and the right and duty of the state to supervise it, enforce it, and insure it against the chances of parental poverty, ignorance, and caprice, in the interest of the entire body of citizens²⁵.

A process of extreme selection, actualization, and forced coherence – for modern standards – made ancient thought easy to grasp as a necessary precondition and anticipation of contemporary educational ideas. It is noteworthy that William's history presents itself, for the first time, as the result of the *construction of a narrative*:

There should be a place, not only amongst teachers, but also in a very considerable class of enlightened friends of education, for a work depicting in a moderate compass the rise and development of modern methods of instruction, the growth of educational systems

²⁵ S.G. Williams, *The History of Modern Education. An account of the Course of Educational Opinion and Practice From the Revival of Learning to the Present Decade*, Syracuse (NY), C.W. Bardeen, 1892, pp. 40 and 44-45.

and organizations, and the course of modern ideas of education as revealed in the works of representative men. [...] The chief difficulty in its preparation has arisen from the abundance and complexity of the materials that have been presented. An attempt has been made, by a careful selection of truly representative facts and personages, by a rigid exclusion of all other matters however intrinsically interesting, and by treating the several centuries from the standpoint of what in them seemed most characteristic, to construct a narrative which should be truthful and perspicuous without being unduly bulky²⁶.

«Truthful and perspicuous», but also made light and readable with the exclusion of everything deemed as «non-representative» even if «intrinsically interesting», William's history of education epitomizes the full maturity of the long-standing narrative of American education, seen as a process of actuation of the liberal-republican ideal of emancipation of the citizen through the gradual organization of a Common School system. While we agree that history of education should be part of cultural history at large, perhaps its first historians did not comply to the portrait sketched by Bernard Baylin at the very beginning of historiographical «revisionism»:

They lacked the belief, the historian's instinct, that the elements of their world might not have existed at all for others, might in fact have been inconceivable to them, and that the real task is to describe the dawning of ideas and the creation of forms – surprising, strange, and awkward then, however familiar they may have become since – in response to the changing demands of circumstance²⁷.

Perhaps early American educational historians did possess this «basic instinct» of the historian – the sense of distance and irreducibility of the past to more recent categories –, but they equally possessed the instinct of the public historian: the necessity to compose, with historical data and information, a meaningful account, able to speak to the potential reader, his knowledge network and his interests. When it is known that the reader of a history book will not be a historian, at some extent the «invention of tradition» is unavoidable, and the management of this «invention» is the real challenge in putting historical research at the service of the social improvement, whatever it may mean or be. Further studies in the realm of juvenile literature, popular culture, and the media, even well inside the 20th century, could give more insights on this narrative and, we believe, further reinforce the perception of its resilience and durable influence on American educational culture and policies.

As stated by Boone in the preface of his *Education in the United States*, «the statesman or the teacher knows practically when he knows the trend of the system which he is to direct or manage». In the light of this practical knowledge, this «invention of tradition» process could lose the stigma of being

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. III-IV.

²⁷ B. Baylin, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study*, New York, Vintage Books, 1960, p. 10.

the awkward outcome of a generation of politically biased amateur writers of history, and appear as the result of an idea of public history fully conscious of its functions and limits.

*Essays and
Researches*



Saggi e
Ricerche

Syrian protestant college in American missionary archives (1887-1902)*

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ABSTRACT: American Protestant missionary colleges spread throughout the Ottoman Empire following the declaration of the Imperial Edict of Gulhane and the Edict of Reform. Thereafter, the number of missionary schools increased quickly. This paper focuses on the period between 1887-1902 in the Syrian Protestant College, which was started by American missionaries in Syria. Founded in 1866, the school turned into a prominent institution in the region within 20 years. The school was particularly popular for its provision of medical studies. Serving students from different religious and sectarian backgrounds, the college also had an international nature. It was not only instrumental in the spread of Arab nationalism in the region, but was also famous for the high quality education it offered as well as its library, museum, laboratories and fossil collections in the 1880s. This study analyzes the school between 1887-1902 based on the American Missionary archives.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Missionary schools; American Protestant Colleges; Syria; Ottoman Empire; XIXth Century.

Introduction

The resolution to establish the Syrian Protestant College was made in 1862 during a mission meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). The decision was made thanks to Daniel Bliss and William E. Dodge. As mentioned by Bliss, the college started operating on 3 December 1866 with 16 students and 4 staff members. American missionaries presided over the Syrian Protestant College, whose two decades between 1866-1886

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are analyzed in this paper. The college has been in operation from 1866 to the present day on behalf of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and by Protestant American missionaries, and remains the most fruitful product of the Syrian mission. Between 1866-1886, the Syrian Protestant College acted in line with the mission goals, remained strictly loyal to the principles of Protestantism, offered modern education by its day's standards and revived Arab nationalism in the long run¹. Greatly valued by the American Board, the Syrian Protestant College became recognized as one of the best educational institutions in this region following the completion of its development stage. Despite occasional discipline and language problems, which stemmed from the school's international body of students, its missionary teachers and the missionary organization solved these effectively. This paper focuses firstly on 1887-1898 and, secondly, from then to 1902 in the Syrian Protestant College.

1. *Syrian Protestant College between 1887-1898*

The Syrian Protestant College flourished from 1887 to 1898. In 1887, strict disciplinary practices prevailed in the college. As in other American schools around the Ottoman country, student discipline was of utmost importance in this school as well, and a punishment system was in place. In 1887, six Syrian Protestant College students were given official warnings and one was dismissed from school².

Within the same year, the missionaries grew the school library to improve education. Books on education and religion were added to the library collection. As the college was a missionary school, its shelves contained both scientific and religious books. This was made possible with the financial help received from Protestants, and most importantly from D.S. Dodge³.

According to the missionaries, education in the college was successful in 1887. The budget demanded by the missionaries and awarded by the American Board was also used wisely. In addition to instructional expenses, the budget

¹ The era between 1866-1886 in the Syrian Protestant College was discussed in an earlier article of mine. The present article, on the other hand, focuses on the era between 1887-1902 in light of newly acquired information and documents. For information between 1866-1886 in the college, see: Ö. Yıldız, *Syrian Protestant College in American Missionary Archives (1866-1886)*, «History Of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XII, n. 2, 2017, pp. 47-67.

² Papers of The American Board of Commissioners For Foreign Mission [P.A.B.C.F.M]. P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. No: 1144. (In the coming endnotes, the documents of the American Board Archives will be abbreviated as P.A.B.C.F.M. The reel information shows the number of microfilm while document number denotes the number of the document in the microfilm).

³ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1144.

allowed the building of a school wall and several other expenses to be made on the school grounds. Diploma and rental expenses amounted to 106 Turkish Lira. Overall, a balanced budget was drawn and presented⁴.

In order to improve its educational activities, the Syrian Protestant College sent its teachers overseas. Dr. Post went to the USA for a few weeks on 18 April 1887, followed by a visit to Switzerland to improve the plant collection in the college. This visit helped him in his studies on the flora of Syria, Palestine and Egypt⁵.

Special missionary work was undertaken in the Syrian Protestant College in order to convert the youth to Protestantism. Young Mens Christian Association (YMCA) particularly focused on this aim. Mr Woodruff wrote a report for the YMCA Sabbath School on 18 July 1887. This report states that the Sabbath School was divided into 9 sections; their meetings took place in the afternoons; they sometimes met at the Church of Beirut; their last meeting on 17 July included hymns and readings; and Father Samuel Jessup was influential in their religious activities. It also adds that 62 young members were active in Protestantism activities. American missionaries held prayer meetings in the YMCA on Wednesdays in order to attract young people⁶.

As can be seen, the religious activities of the Syrian Protestant College were effective. The college resolved to continue its conversion efforts on new students as well. As mentioned in a report dated 20 July 1887 by D. Bliss, the college was good at its religious efforts⁷.

In 1887, a particularly successful year, six students graduated from the Faculty of Medicine. Overall, 98 students graduated from the Health School, 92 from the College, 12 from Pharmacology, and 109 from the Preparatory School. The American missionaries continued to work with local teachers as well. A raise was recommended in the salary of Mr Dakhil of the Faculty from 8 to 9 Turkish Lira, while it was resolved that Mr Yusuf Aftimus and Mr Said Shugair would continue to work on last year's salaries⁸.

As in all of their other schools, the American missionaries kept detailed financial data at the Syrian Protestant College, too. They sent regular financial reports to their headquarters in Boston. The money transfers made in 1886-1887 from the American Board in New York to the Syrian Protestant College were as follows in Pounds⁹:

First remittance entered July 1st, 1886;
Bills: £ 647.16.3

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1145.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

Collected off Bliss: 30.16.0
 Collected off Porter: 21.10.5
 Second remittance entered October 13th, 1886;
 Bills: 596.1.10
 Books Porter: 27.16.2
 W.T. Bliss: 10.6.6
 West: 65.15.6

Third remittance entered January 3rd, 1887;
 Bills: 571.2.7
 Dr. Kay: 150.18.11
 West: 40.0.0
 Dr. Fisher: 5.0.0
 Prof. Porter: 10.9.10
 Dr. Bliss: 10.7.8

Fourth remittance entered March 6th, 1887
 Bills: 975.2.7
 Books porter: 42.
 3.5
 Land Fund: 205.19.5
 Student: 11.6.7

In addition, the 1887 balance sheet of the Syrian Protestant College was as follows¹⁰

1887	Balance Sheet	Cr.
June 30 th	By Cash for Salary Account	387.822.30
June 30 th	By Cash Board and Tuition	209.496.35
June 30 th	By Cash Miscellaneous	76.667.35
June 30 th	By Cash Land and Building	72.319
June 30 th	By Cash Theodore Fund	3.785.10
June 30 th	By Cash Library Fund	3.278.30
June 30 th	By Cash Balance carried forward	44.837.20
	Total	798.208

Table 1. Syrian Protestant College Budget, 1887.

As shown in the annual budgets, the American Board made every effort to support the Syrian Protestant College in their educational activities. 1887 seemed to be another successful educational year according to the missionaries. The missionaries were happy with the number of graduates, the quality of the school staff and Protestantism efforts. The missionaries started to achieve significant benefits in the region.

¹⁰ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1146.

In 1888, D. Bliss wrote the 22nd annual report of the Syrian Protestant College. He wrote that 1888 was also a successful year. The conditions of the college improved significantly as compared to previous years. Student success was markedly improved and their general culture level was higher. There were not too many disciplinary problems, and fewer students were sanctioned. No health problems emerged. Dr. Dight suffered from typhus in October, but swiftly recovered in December. Dr. Post, Dr. Daud Pleem and Dr. Wortabet continued teaching in the Faculty of Medicine¹¹.

Mr George L. Robinson started to teach in the Preparatory School. The Board administration was approached to hire a French teacher for the French Department. Mr Dakhiel was retired and Mr Yusuf Aftermius was hired for 5 Turkish Lira per month. Mr Said and Mr Louis Beddoor continued to work in the Preparatory School¹².

In 1888, there were 181 students in the college. Of these, 33 were attending the Health Department, 70 were attending the College and 78 were attending the Preparatory School. The school library also continued to grow. It housed 3,500 volumes in European languages, mostly in English. There were also 800 Arabic and Turkish titles. Nofel Efendi of Tripoli donated his rare books to the school. Health-related books amounted to 850 volumes¹³.

The year 1888 saw minor problems about building and land prices, which was overcome by a 1,000 Sterling donation from a British Protestant¹⁴. As can be seen, American Protestant missionaries were supported by British Protestants in their endeavors away from home.

In 1888, Professor West, the head of the YMCA, retired fully satisfied with the efforts of the Young Men's Christian Association. He reported the number of active members as 60 and added that the College offered Theological Seminary and the teachers participated in missionary work. He stated that prayer meetings were held regularly and attended by students. He believed that choosing the best man in the College as their leader would be a good method for prayer instruction and missionary activities. Such competition would encourage students to attend prayer meetings. Consequently, in the final annual meeting, Professor Porter was chosen as the new head. The building was renovated with donations from other Protestants¹⁵.

In 1888, the college library and reading room were improved. The number of students using the library increased by hundreds¹⁶. In 1888, 24 students graduated from the Preparatory School, 12 from the Literary department, 6

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1147.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

from health and 1 from pharmacology¹⁷. The financial sheet of the Syrian Protestant College in 1888 was as follows¹⁸:

1888	Balance Sheet	Cr.
June 30 th	By Cash for Salary Account	396,761.5
June 30 th	By Cash Board and Tuition	227,188.25
June 30 th	By Cash Miscellaneous	60,094.15
June 30 th	By Cash Theodore Fund	1,048.--
June 30 th	By Cash Library Fund	2,267.30
June 30 th	By Cash Balance carried forward	90,621.--
	Total	777,900.35

Table 2. Syrian Protestant College Budget, 1888.

As can be seen, the efforts of the Syrian Protestant College continued to grow from year to year. The quality of instruction increased and the school became a renowned institution in the region. Its success came from the discipline practised over the children and the modern instructional methods followed. As it was a missionary school, theology classes were not ignored and students were Protestantized continually through the YMCA. What they valued most in education was the library and the laboratories. The importance they also placed on practical education prepared students for success in their professional lives. These efforts continued into 1889 as well. The 23rd annual report of the college was prepared during this year.

The hospital of the school became very popular in the region. Patients came for treatment from as far as Egypt. In order to increase the quality of education, some students were sent to the USA for observations and self-development¹⁹.

The departments of the 199 students enrolled in the school in 1889 were as follows:

Medical Department: 38

Literary Department: 65

Preparatory Department: 96

The students came from Egypt, Cyprus, Arabia, Austria, Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Damascus, and mostly Lebanon²⁰. Students from various nations gave the school an international nature.

In January 1889, Dr Glover resigned and Dr. Fisher had to return to the USA for health problems in the family. The mission therefore asked the American Board headquarters for replacements. The school valued Arabic courses. These classes were run by Mr. Jabr Dhumit. The missionaries believed that native

¹⁷ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1148.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1149.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

teachers were an advantage for the college. Even the French department had native French staff and viewed this as an advantage²¹.

The school museum grew each year. As stated in the 1889 museum report²²:

1. Museum of Archeology: A considerable number of coins has been added to the numismatic collection, one of them a rare Cufic coin, not found even in the British Museum. A few antiques have also been added, none of these have entailed any expense on the College. In the absence of Prof Porter, details cannot be given.
2. Physical Cabinet: A Le Clanches battery of thirty cells has been purchased and several instruments have been repaired.
3. Geological Collection: The Rev. Wm. Bird gave several days of labor in the workroom of this department, and by means of his accurate knowledge of localities, he was able to properly label many specimens hitherto worthless, owing to their being unnamed, and no note of their locality being found. He has also presented to the Museum several blocks of Nerinea fossils from Ain Anub. There have been added by Prof Glover a number of fossils from Lebanon, and he has determined and labelled a large number of specimens hitherto without labels [...].
34. Herbarium: The Herbarium has been enriched by a magnificent collection of ferns from all quarters of the World. The Herbarium has furthermore been increased by a collection of about 2000 mounted plants from North America [...].

As mentioned by its manager, the museum continued to grow. This was also the case for the library in 1889. Dr. Post purchased books worth 24.000 Piasters from the USA. In addition to these, observations were made in the observatory and meteorological records continued to be regularly kept. Measurements were continually recorded²³.

Religious studies continued throughout the year with motivating activities. The Sabbath School was in operation. The number of boarding students was 159 and each student paid 12 Turkish Lira in fees. Therefore, the College was a paid institution²⁴. As stated by D. Bliss on 4 July 1889, the 1889 budget of the college was as follows²⁵:

1889	Balance Sheet	Cr.
June 29 th	By Cash for Salary Account	391,890.5
June 29 th	By Cash Board and Tuition	250,359.35
June 29 th	By Cash Miscellaneous	85,928.20
June 29 th	By Cash Theodore Fund	1,200.30
June 29 th	By Cash Library Fund	74,545.--
June 29 th	By Cash Monreo Hall Fund	132,171.35
	Other	85,136.5
June 29 th	Total	1,021,232.10

Table 3. Syrian Protestant College Budget, 1889.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1150.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1151.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

As can be seen from the data, the budget of the college increased every year. The missionaries recorded all expenses in detail and sent a balanced budget to the headquarters. In general, all incoming money was spent. A noteworthy observation from the budgets was that no sum was transferred to the following year.

According to a report dated 1890 by Daniel Bliss, the number of students went up by 30 as compared to the previous year. The resulting number of students was 228. The Health Department had 46 students, the College had 57 students, and the Preparatory School had 125. The college encouraged respect for all religions. The Durzi and Jews mingled with Christians and Protestants. Of the students, 14 came from Egypt, 11 from Cyprus, 6 from islands, 8 from Asia Minor, 9 from Damascus, and others from Syria, Palestine, Austria, Jerusalem, Aleppo and mostly Lebanon²⁶.

Discipline problems were mostly solved. One student was dismissed from the school and several were given official warnings and basic sanctions. On the whole, there were no major health problems. There were a few cases of serious diseases but no casualties among students or teachers. The educational staff changed a little. Dr Fisher, Dight, Beattie, Molliux, Aftimus and Shugair retired²⁷.

During this year, the following instructional materials were purchased²⁸:

Anatomy and Histology: 1 microscope

Archeology: 9 Gold Cufic coins, 130 Silver Cufic coins, 49 Copper, Colonial and others, 22 Pieces of Ancient Glass, 8 Bronzes, 8 terra cotta lamps, 5 Palmyrine busts.

Botany: Material for mounting specimens and charts.

Geology: Specimens from the Smithsonian Institute.

Observatory: Cottam's Charts of Constellations.

Surgery: A set of instruments for operations on cadavers.

Zoology: Mounting of 69 diagrams. Specimens from the Smithsonian Institute.

Fossils and minerals were collected for the museum. Special species were transported from Egypt, and Mr Lookwood donated an Indian rock to the collection. The Smithsonian Institute helped the collection grow²⁹.

Alfred E. Day was hired to teach Natural Sciences. On 23 June 1890, sample plants were brought from Europe and Antep for the plant collection of the college. The American missionaries particularly valued their plant collection and made sure they mentioned it in their annual reports. In addition to the studies in the Chemistry laboratory, pharmaceutical studies were also carried

²⁶ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1152.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1154.

²⁹ The Institution was founded in 1846 with funds from the Englishman James Smithson (1765-1829). He left his estate to the United States to found «at Washington, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge», <<https://www.si.edu/about/history>P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551>, Doc. n. 1154.

out. On 25 June 1890, 280 volumes of books were purchased for the library. Of these, 97 were history books and biographies, 48 were medical books, 26 were art and archeology books, 19 were science books, 12 were psychology books, and the rest were literary books. Important activities were organized throughout this year in history and art history³⁰.

The college offered modern education. Practical learning was encouraged and modern materials were bought. To illustrate, an Electric Chronograph was purchased in 1890³¹.

Students were involved in missionary work. The Sabbath School continued and Professor West showed particular interest in the school. Professors from different disciplines offered private tutorials to students. The missionaries collected 1024 piasters for orphan girls in Syria and undertook aid work. Bible studies continued with weekly 1-hour Bible class in all departments of the college³².

In 1890, 11 students graduated from the Preparatory School, 8 from the college, 4 from Pharmacology, and 7 from the Medical School³³. As stated by D. Bliss on 30 July 1889, the budget of the college was as follows in 1889³⁴:

1889	Balance Sheet	Cr.
June 30 th	By Cash for Salary Account	383.762.05
June 30 th	By Cash Board and Tuition	271.572.35
June 30 th	By Cash Miscellaneous	70.612.10
June 30 th	By Cash Theodore Fund	6.011.35
June 30 th	By Cash Library Fund	72.473
June 30 th	By Cash New Hall	311.083.30
June 30 th	By Cash Apparatus Fund	14.077.10
June 30 th	By Cash Grading Fund New Hall	17.760.20
June 30 th	By Cash Balance Carried Forward	17.721.--
	Total	1.163.074.25

Table 4. Syrian Protestant College Budget for 1889.

In 1891, the 25th annual report of the Syrian Protestant College was prepared. It stated that when the first annual report was written in 1866, the American missionaries did not have a building, library, apparatus or land of their own. The missionaries added with pride that significant developments took place in 25 years and by 1891, they had 30 acres of land, 6 buildings, 5,000

³⁰ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1154.

³¹ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1155.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1156.

volumes of books in the library, as well as geological, botanical, zoological and archeological apparatus and collections, and plants collected from Syria worth at least 250.000 dollars³⁵.

By 1891, the school had produced 272 graduates. These graduates worked in places such as Syria, Istanbul, Paris, London, Edinburgh, Africa, Cyprus, Asia Minor, Palestine³⁶. As can be understood, it was an entirely international school with its graduates working in diverse places.

The college used sanctions and the missionaries believed in their usefulness. A student was dismissed from the school in 1891. Three were suspended for 3 months for disobedience. Four were given official warning. The teachers believed that these sanctions were effective³⁷.

Museum and observatory work continued in 1891 as well. Special species continued to be collected from around the world. The school building was rearranged and tools were purchased for the laboratories. Additionally, 1500 dollars were spent on the chemistry laboratory³⁸.

The year 1892 presented many problems for the school. The cholera epidemic in Damascus spread to the entire region and a large area was quarantined. During the first week of school, only 104 students could attend class, and cholera caused serious consequences throughout the country, affecting the college as well. These serious problems disrupted education³⁹.

In 1892, Dr. Bliss went to the USA when the college closed. Professor Frank S. Woodruff, Dr. Charles L. Bliss and Franklin T. Moore were hired. Prof. Woodruff became head of the English Literature Department, while Dr. Bliss ran Anatomy classes and Mr. Moore taught English classes. Teachers also taught religious matters⁴⁰.

Local teachers continued to help with educational activities. These teachers were particularly used to increase the number of students and minimize their language problems. Local teachers such as Najip Salibi and Shukri Malif helped American missionaries by working in several departments of the college⁴¹.

The college buildings were in need of repair. A total of 2.000 dollars were spent on repairs in the medical building. A meeting hall was built for 500 people. The library books now exceeded 5000, and educational activities continued despite the problems⁴².

The Museum of Archeology was enriched during the past year by the purchase of 19 gold, 43 silver and 97 copper coins. In addition, approximately

³⁵ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1157.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. nn. 1158, 1159.

³⁹ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1159.

⁴⁰ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1160.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*



Pic. 1. Syrian Protestant Mission staff in 1893.

Seated 1. To r.: Henry H. Jessup, William Bird, Cornelius Van Dyke, William W. Eddy (grandfather of. Col. William Eddy), Samuel Jessup.

Standing 1. To r.: Frederick W. March, Franklin E. Hoskins (father of Harold B. Hoskins), William K. Eddy, Dr. Geoarge E. Post, Oscar J. Hardin, Pres. Daniel Bliss, William S. Nelson, William Jessup, George C. Doolittle.

100 pieces of ancient glass, 40 articles in bronze, 50 in terra-cotta, 1 large Palmyrine bust and a few other small articles were added to the collection, all at a cost of 3,488 piasters or about £ 25⁴³.

In 1892, the observatory continued its activities. New and modern materials and tools were purchased to offer practical education in a laboratory environment. Permanent learning was targeted by enabling students to use these materials and tools⁴⁴.

Educational activities continued in 1893 as well. The educational staff was given priority. The activities continued with the contributions of the American Board and the main goal of the school remained Protestant missionary work. Above are the names and photos of the missionaries in Syria in 1893, mostly in the college⁴⁵.

In the 1896-1897 school semester, an annual report was written, particularly stating that the economic conditions of the school were positive. It was hoped that after the holiday, 1898 would be an even more promising year⁴⁶.

In 1896-1897, the number of students in the school was 309. Of these, 65 were medical students, 72 were college students, and 172 were preparatory

⁴³ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1161.

⁴⁴ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1162.

⁴⁵ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1089.

⁴⁶ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1163.

students. Greek students left the college due to the Turkish-Greek problem. According to the missionaries, Beirut was the safest place in the Turkish Empire. The students were of the following religions⁴⁷:

	Preparatory	Collegiate	Medical	Total
Protestants	36	30	23	89
Greek Orthodox	85	30	16	131
Greek Catholic	12	6	4	22
Armenian Orthodox	9		11	20
Maronites	12	1	2	15
Druzes	7	1	4	12
Muhammedans	4	1		5
Jews	4	2	4	10
Latin Catholic	2	1	1	4
Copt	1			1

Table 5. Syrian Protestant College students during 1896-1897 and their religions.

As shown in the table, the biggest number of students were Greek Orthodox, followed by Protestants. Owing to the missionary activities, Protestants took second place before many other sects. They referred to carrying out these activities in unchartered territory as a significant achievement. In 1897, the number of students was 20. Mr. Paul Erdman retired from the college. Diseases and other reasons led to changes in the teaching staff in 1897⁴⁸.

The college doctor was happy with the health conditions in the college compared to previous years. There were no serious diseases or epidemics. At the same time, religious work was still underway in the Sabbath School. Bible reading classes continued. Students came to the Chapel and Protestantism studies continued⁴⁹.

The library received 541 new volumes. Of these, 78 were in Arabic, and others in English and other European languages. The students showed great interest in the library and the rare books in them. H. Porter was in charge of the library⁵⁰.

The museum was still growing, and new additions were made to the Archeology museum⁵¹. The chemistry laboratory was effective. The Chemical Society held 10 meetings and organized the following conferences: «The Early History of Chemistry», «Oxygen» and «Chemistry and Civilization»⁵².

⁴⁷ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1164.

⁴⁸ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1165.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1166.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*



Pic. 2. Syrian Protestant Mission Faculty Members, 1898.

Source: P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1090.

From left to right, the faculty members in 1898 were:

First row seated: Dr. Harris Graham, Dr. George E. POST, Pres. Daniel Bliss, Dr. Harvey Porter, Dr. Robert H. West.

Second row: A. Chamorel, James R. Swain, Alfred E. Day, John W. Nicely, Dr. Walter B. Adams, Dr. Franklin T. Moore, Jabre Dumit, Daoud Aftimon.

Third row: Khalil Tabit, Frederic N. Jessup, Dann L. Wood, Charles W. Wisner, Nasib Bodre, dr. Charles A. Webster, Faris Bey Khouri.

Barl row: William H. Hall, Mr Shdudi, Shukri Maluf, Bulus Khauli.

Students and lecturers continued to gather data about fossils and animals in the fields of geology and zoology⁵³. Daniel Bliss stated the following in his report about astronomy work in the observatory⁵⁴:

The astronomical work of the Observatory has been restricted to the observation of variable stars and suspected variables principally in the more Southern part of the sky, work beyond the reach of the majority of Northern observatories. 589 observations were made on 55 different nights. Four new variables were discovered, two of suspected variability were confirmed, and data have been obtained of considerable value in determining the period of a number of others. Incidentally, three small nebulae have been discovered. Another year's work in this field probably complete the work on variable stars as at present planned out.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1167.

As can be seen, the college functioned as a research institute and offered practical education based on experiments and observation.

In 1897, 4 students graduated from the Medical School, 7 from the College, 5 from Pharmacology and 25 from the Preparatory School. The American missionaries appealed to the Ottoman state to legally recognize their diplomas, and they succeeded. In addition, American missionaries prepared a balanced budget and presented it to the headquarters of the American Board⁵⁵.

In 1898, American Missionaries continued their activities in the Syrian Protestant College. The photo from the American Board archives shows the staff of 1898 in the Syrian Protestant College⁵⁶.

The 33rd annual report of the Syrian Protestant College covering 1898/1899 was written by the head Morris K. Jessup and treasurer D. Stuart Dodge. The meeting started with prayers and the executive board was approved⁵⁷. In 1899, there were 381 registered students. Of these, 337 were Christians and 44 were non-Christians. The students and their religions were classified as follows⁵⁸:

	Medical	Collegiate	Preparatory	Total
Protestants	25	39	46	110
Greek Orthodox	27	42	88	157
Greek Catholic	2	8	15	25
Armenian Orthodox	9	6	3	18
Maronites	-	5	6	11
Latin Catholic	-	1	7	8
Coptic	-	-	8	8
Jews	3	2	12	17
Mohammedans	2	1	14	17
Druzes	3	2	5	10

Table 6. Student Classification by Religion in 1898-1899 in the Syrian Protestant College.

The Syrian Protestant College had 26 teachers. Of these, 15 were Americans, 9 Syrians, 1 Waldensian. Mr Swain retired and was replaced by Mr J. M. Mitchell⁵⁹.

In April, Professor Day and Miss Mary Dodge Jessup got married. Teacher exchanges took place. Discipline problems were minimal. No serious problems occurred⁶⁰. As stated, the college continued to grow between 1887-1898. The number of students, the materials in the collections, and the number of volumes in the library increased. Religious missionary work and Bible classes

⁵⁵ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1168.

⁵⁶ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1090.

⁵⁷ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1171.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1172.

continued. The outbreak of cholera and the Turkish-Greek war affected the college negatively but the missionaries continued their educational endeavors in the region.

2. *Syrian Protestant College between 1899-1902*

A serious problem in 1899 was the Turkish authorities not recognizing the medical school diploma of the American missionaries. Even though the diploma of the French Medical School in Beirut was recognized by the Ottoman State, American Missionaries were unable to obtain the same privilege, which demoralized them. In order for this problem to be solved, the American missionaries planned to contact Turkish authorities and the American government. They stated that this situation gave the French school an advantage over them⁶¹.

Religious studies continued. There were 190 boarding students in the Sabbath School. There were 35 more youth who regularly attended the YMCA meetings⁶².

As stated by C. A. Webster, 4,500 piasters were spent on buying certain apparatus for the Anatomy Department. He also stated that 84 coins were added to the Archeology Department within the same year. In addition, a bacteriology laboratory was also developed⁶³.

An x-ray apparatus was purchased for the Medical School. This was to be useful for the department⁶⁴. The numbers of graduates in 1899 were 5 from the Medical School, 10 from Pharmacology, 8 from the Art School, and 37 from the Preparatory School⁶⁵.

In 1899, small changes occurred in the Preparatory department. According to the mission:

In general the school has been running smoothly along the lines laid out during its history and slightly altered a year ago. One Syrian teacher has been added to the teaching staff, and has thus made possible a further division of classes. The Bible classes and Arabic classes were divided according to the scheme of a year ago. The change in the French teachers has greatly improved that course. The new teacher has brought with him new methods and new force which have been very beneficial. His work has been especially noticeable in Class C, the beginning class in french, where he has given up the old system of translation, and introduced dictation of easy sentences and conversation⁶⁶.

⁶¹ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1173.

⁶² P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1175.

⁶³ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1176.

⁶⁴ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1177.

⁶⁵ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1178.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

It can be seen from this excerpt that they were open to new methods and techniques. The same changes were made in English classes to improve students' language training. Indeed, significant improvements happened in English classes. Mr. Wood and Mr Jessup were influential in this. Similar improvements took place in Geography classes, too. The book was replaced with one printed in America⁶⁷.

Disciplinary problems occurred in 1899 as well. One student was suspended and two received warnings. Students were penalized for smoking, going against school rules and immoral behavior⁶⁸.

On 12 July 1899, the college budget was as follows in American currency⁶⁹:

Balance sheet expressed in United States money (dollar)

5,523,01.....	Balance July 1, 1898	.....20,759,25
17,046,68.....	Salary Account	.....9,868,52
18,520,32.....	Board and Tuition Account	.....4,099,52
996,01.....	Miscellaneous Account	.....4,070,47
	land and Wall Fund	.....213,41
163,33.....	Theodore Fund	.....524,11
787,61.....	Library Fund	.....225,38
720,34.....	Apparatus Fund	.....1,288,44
1,423,12.....	Book Account	.....3,572,88
4,038,39.....	Ada Dodge Hall Extension	.....977,58
	Account	
.....	New Preparatory Hall	.....3,619,26
	Balance Carried Forward	
49,218,82		49,218,82

The annual report of the faculty was prepared in the meeting held on 11 July 1900, at 10:00. A noteworthy incident during this year was Dr. Eddy's death. He had been active in the activities of the American Board in Syria since 1864, and his passing was a huge loss for the Syrian Protestant College⁷⁰.

The opening of the Commercial School was decided in 1900. The Ada Dodge Memorial Hall was assigned for this purpose. The language of instruction in the school was to be English. Official requests were made for professors for this department, as well as others⁷¹.

In 1900, the number of students became 432. It was 43 years since the establishment of the school and 2,207 students had registered. In 1900, the school staff included 10 professors, 2 adjunct professors, 18 teachers, a chief

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1180.

⁷⁰ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1180.

⁷¹ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. nn. 1180, 1181.

nurse and 2 professional nurses⁷².

In 1900, football, basketball and cricket games took place in the school, sports activities were given importance, and swimming classes were organized on Sundays. The social activities of the school were diverse⁷³. The Syrian Protestant College continued its YMCA activities. The number of members was 60, and the number of people attending Bible studies was on average 70⁷⁴.

Plans were made for certain departments of the college to be extended and repaired. The missionaries continued to work for their Medical School diploma to be recognized and compete with the French school. Seeing the French attain certain favors from the Ottoman state had lowered their motivation, as they claimed that the American school was the best in the empire and the region⁷⁵. Besides, their graduation rates were falling due to graduates escaping to Istanbul to complete their training. The table below reveals this⁷⁶:

Class of	As Freshmen	As Seniors	Per cent of Original entries who have graduated	Escape to Constantinople
1890	8	9	100	-
1891	11	9	82	2
1892	10	7	70	2
1893	9	6	60	1
1894	8	7	70	4
1895	12	8	66	2
1896	8	6	60	4
1897	19	4	21	13
1898	21	6	27	13
1899	19	6	28	10
1900	10	8	42	10
1901	15	3	19	10

Table 7. The rates of Syrian Protestant College graduates headed to Istanbul.

As shown in the table, graduation rates fell each year and students headed to Istanbul, causing a problem for the missionary school. In the year 1900, the Pathology museum was enriched. Fifteen wax models depicting skin diseases were added. The surgical museum also grew to include materials on bone diseases and tumor types. Practical surgical tools and several apparatus for

⁷² P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n: 1182.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1183.

⁷⁵ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1185.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

x-rays were obtained. Latest developments in radiology were reflected in the hospital. The bacteriology laboratory was renewed. The students started to spend more time in the hospital⁷⁷.

In the College, Professor West and Mr Mitchell carried out effective work. Compared to previous years, the college staff in 1900 was more qualified⁷⁸.

Final steps were taken to open the Commercial School the following October. For this, the Syrian Protestant College faculty board made the following recommendations⁷⁹:

1. That Ada Dodge Hall be used as the Commercial School building.
2. That English be the language of instruction.
3. That the classes of the school be kept separate from the classes of other departments.
4. That the course cover two years.
5. That a knowledge of three languages be required: the native tongue of the student, English, and a third choice between French, Turkish and Arabic.
6. That the provisional course of study be as follows: penmanship, languages, bookkeeping, business arithmetic, commercial geography, commercial law, commercial history and economics.
7. That the tuition fee be 10 stg. per annum.

In 1900, the budget was as follows in American currency⁸⁰:

<i>Balance sheet expressed in United States money (dollar)</i>		
3,619,35.....	Balance July 1, 1898	
17,118,10.....	Salary Account	.....21,823,00
21,391,15.....	Board and Tuition Account	.....11,192,20
1,403,14.....	Miscellaneous Account	.....10,129,90
5,885,18.....	land and Wall Fund	.....1671,00
204,60.....	Theodore Fund	.....103,60
869,03.....	Library Fund	.....1,050,00
765,80.....	Apparatus Fund	.....818,87
1,593,93.....	Book Account	.....1,750,21
18,685,71.....	Bliss Hall	.....17,158,46
.....	Ada Dodge Memorial	.....963,00
5,011,90.....	Post Hall	.....473,40
4,982,68.....	Dormitory Fund	.....11,540,65
81,530,57	Balance July 1, 1900	81,530,57

⁷⁷ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1186.

⁷⁸ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1186.

⁷⁹ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1187.

⁸⁰ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1190.

The Syrian Protestant College Faculty Board held a private meeting on 14 December 1900, which was attended also by the American Consul General. The following were decided in this meeting⁸¹:

1. The engagement of a permanent professor as Assistant or Associate principal of the Preparatory Department.
2. That the salary of Mr. Jereidini for 1901-1902 be 84 Stg., and of Mr. Khauli be 80 Stg.; and that for 1902-1903 and thereafter they be 100 Stg. each with the title of Adjunct Professor.
3. That two American and Syrian instructors be added to the present staff of the Preparatory Department. If the professor in the first recommendation be appointed, only one new American would be required.
4. That the salary of Professor Dumit be 150 Stg. from October, 1901.
5. That a new American instructor be engaged to devote a part of his time to the Collegiate Department and the remainder to the Commercial Department.
6. That the minimum age for entrance to the Preparatory Department be eleven years.
7. That Fisk Hall be completed at once for occupation in October, 1901, in accordance with the authorization of the Board of Trustees in 1899.

As can be seen, the Faculty Board met to discuss the changing needs for teaching staff or the changing circumstances. The preparatory department agreed that their minimum age for enrollment would be 11. The American missionaries respected the founding missionaries. Fisk Hall was built as a tribute to Missionary Fisk, who arrived in Istanbul in 1819 to launch American missionary work in the Ottoman state.

In 1901, the Syrian Protestant College continued to be an influential school in the region. Reports about teachers' activities and salary changes were presented to the American Board. Financial demands were particularly presented to the Board of Trustees in New York⁸².

By 1901, the school had largely completed its development with its halls, classrooms, museums and other buildings. The report in 1901 was prepared by Daniel Bliss, the principal. During this year, 109 new students arrived at the school. The number of teachers was 34. Ten of these were Syrians and 24 were foreigners⁸³. New developments occurred at the collegiate department. The following were added to the Archeology Museum⁸⁴:

1. Greco-Phoenician bas-relief in black basalt.
2. Fragment of a bas-relief, statue of Zeus with a Phoenician inscription.
3. Inscribed fragment of a sarcophagus.
4. Large brick of Nebuchadnezzar with cuneiform inscription.
5. Greco-Phoenician statuettes.
6. Small altar.
7. Jewish bone casket.

⁸¹ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1192.

⁸² P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1195.

⁸³ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1197.

⁸⁴ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. nn. 1198,1199.

8. Stone mortar with bronze trimmings.
9. Wine and oil jars.
10. Terra-cotta bowl with Arameic or Babylonian inscriptions.
11. Pieces of Glass.
12. Mummified birds from Egypt.
13. Bronze statuettes.
14. Sitting statuette in stone from Egypt.
15. Fragments of Pottery with bas-reliefs from Egypt.
16. Gold coins, Greek.
17. Silver coins, greek and colonial.
18. Bronze coins, Greek and colonial.
19. Gold Roman coins.
20. Silver Roman coins.
21. Bronze Roman coins.
22. Silver Cufic coins.
23. Bronze Cufic coins.
24. Gold coins of Medieval Europe.

As can be seen, the museum had grown significantly. It now housed 2063 archeological remains and 3275 coins. The museum manager H. Porter referred to these developments as satisfying⁸⁵. In 1901, the Preparatory school of the Syrian Protestant College had 315 students. Their distribution was as follows⁸⁶.

Fourth Form: 57

Third Form: 75

Second Form: 85

Upper First Form: 59

Lower First Form: 39

As can be seen, the Preparatory department had 5 classes. The American missionaries tried to attract youth between the ages of 11-14 in order to educate them from scratch. In this way, they carried out their Protestantism activities and transmitted their own culture to the people of the region. However, these young children sometimes created discipline problems at school. These problems were frequently presented to the American Board by Daniel Bliss⁸⁷. New books were purchased for the library in 1901. The Board continued their financial support. It was suggested that certain teachers' salaries be raised. A balanced budget for 1901 was also drawn and 275.718,15 Piasters were spent⁸⁸. In 1902, too, the 36th annual report of the school was written by Daniel Bliss. He mentioned the significant success of the school in the last quarter of the century. The school was the window of Beirut opening onto the West and the most preferred school of the Syrian province of the Ottoman State. The main goal of the school was

⁸⁵ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1199.

⁸⁶ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1201.

⁸⁷ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1202.

⁸⁸ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1203, 1205, 1206.

missionary work⁸⁹. The year 1902 saw 615 students in the school, from the following religions and sects⁹⁰:

Greek Orthodox: 252
 Protestant: 153
 Muhammedans: 45
 Greek Catholic: 35
 Armenian Gregorian: 32
 Jew: 30
 Maronite: 24
 Copt: 19
 Roman Catholic: 13
 Druze: 9
 Armenian Catholic: 3
 Total: 615

The Medical School had a successful year in 1902. The pediatric diseases section was established. A room was set aside for Roentgen imaging and used for diagnosis and treatment⁹¹.

In 1902, 326 students were attending the Preparatory School in the Syrian Protestant College. These students were divided into 5 classes. Course materials had not changed substantially but new books were added⁹². Young students and their disciplinary problems bothered the teachers. At the same time, day students also caused occasional trouble. Missionaries sought solutions to these problems and consequently demanded a separate elementary school⁹³. In the annual report of the Syrian Protestant College written in 1902, the faculty board made recommendations for the future. There were also notes about developing the school and raising teacher salaries. Finally, a balanced budget of 868,270,30 Piasters was drawn and the year was reported as successful⁹⁴.

1902 was an important year for the school and American missionaries. One of the most important incidents of the year, as observed in the document dated 9 July 1902, was Rev. Daniel Bliss' retirement. Prior to his departure from the Syrian Protestant College, Dr Bliss worked in the school for a total of almost 40 years. According to the missionaries, Dr. Bliss and his wife had both contributed enormously to the Christian College. They were the ones who had turned the school into a missionary institute⁹⁵.

⁸⁹ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1206.

⁹⁰ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1210.

⁹¹ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1212.

⁹² P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. nn. 1214, 1215.

⁹³ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 1215.

⁹⁴ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. nn. 1215, 1217.

⁹⁵ P.A.B.C.F.M. Reel 551, Doc. n. 12118.

Conclusion

In sum, it can be seen that the influence of the American missionaries continued in the Syrian Protestant College during the 15 years between 1887-1902. Particularly YMCA carried out Protestantism activities on young college-goers and organized regular meetings with this purpose. They organized the Sabbath School on Sundays and prayer meetings on Wednesdays.

Another finding of the study has been that a college budget was regularly prepared and reported to the American Missionary board. The Syrian Protestant College budget increased from year to year and new needs emerged with the development of the school.

Both local and foreign teachers were working at the Syrian Protestant College. It was therefore an international school. Language courses were particularly important. The documents show that the students were expected to take French classes in addition to English, and that the missionaries made a special effort to meet the needs of teachers as they taught this course.

The Syrian Protestant College also stood out with the education it offered. In the 15-year period mentioned, missionaries made great effort to offer modern education in the region. The presence of an observatory in the school meant modern studies in astronomy. The formation of various collections was a positive outcome of this. It is worth noting that trips were made to other provinces and countries to build these collections, and that contributions came from various European countries.

Another feature of the Syrian Protestant College which improved in 1887-1902 was the school museum. Archeology, geology and plant collections were built and displayed. Having established the most prestigious museum in the region, missionaries added new collections to it every year.

The Medical School, the most important part of the Syrian Protestant College, also grew. They offered practical training in their hospital. The arrival of a Roentgen device helped the missionaries in diagnosis and treatment. A bacteriology laboratory was also built to increase the value of the Medical School. However, the American missionaries in this era complained about the Medical School diplomas not being recognized by the Ottoman State. They believed that it was unfair competition for the diplomas of the French School in the region to be recognized while theirs were not. Therefore, students in the last year of their studies went to Istanbul to get their diplomas from the French. Therefore, the number of Syrian Protestant College Medical School graduates fell from year to year.

The Syrian Protestant College practised strict discipline. The annual reports mentioned the names of sanctioned students. Those that caused particularly serious problems were dismissed from school. Warnings were also issued. A serious problem in the Syrian Protestant College during 1887-1902 was the cholera outbreak. The epidemic caused great trouble in Syria as in other parts

of the country. Many students could not go to school on the opening day, and the number of students fell. Yet another problem was the departure of the Greek students from school due to the Ottoman-Greek war of 1897. These two events stalled the educational activities of the missionaries.

With respect to instruction, it is possible to say that the instructional methods and techniques of the era were largely successful. American missionaries were observed to be open to new methods and techniques. Certain changes in 1899 led to improvements in English instruction. Textbooks were also renewed. To illustrate, the Geography book was changed for better student success. The library particularly grew between 1887-1902. The number of volumes in the college library exceeded 5.000. Books were imported from the USA and various countries in Europe.

In sum, missionary activities continued in the Syrian Protestant College between 1887-1902. Despite several problems, it offered modern education, and its budget, number of buildings, collections, books and students increased. It remained one of the most influential schools in the region.

«Transformando el jardín en escuela». Las escrituras expuestas en las Escuelas del Ave-María del Padre Manjón*

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«Transforming the garden into a school». The writings exhibited in the Schools of the Ave-María of Padre Manjón

ABSTRACT: The objective of this article is to approach the Ave-María Schools and the manjoniana pedagogy from the methodology of the Social History of Written Culture. For this, I am going to focus on the role they played and the way in which the so-called exposed scriptures were used, which in these schools acquire the form either of inscriptions or of reliefs.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Social history of written culture; Exposed scriptures; Schools of Ave-María; Spain; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

Introducción

Acostumbrada a pasar todos los veranos en tierras andaluzas, fue el año pasado cuando decidí cambiar la garantía del tiempo soleado y caluroso del sur por la inestabilidad atmosférica de Asturias. Fue paradójico encontrarme allí, en un pequeño pueblo llamado Arnao, los restos arqueológicos de una de las obras pedagógicas más importantes del pasado siglo y cuyo nacimiento surge, precisamente, en Andalucía, en los extrarradios de Granada. Me refiero, claro está, a las Escuelas del Ave-María que don Andrés Manjón y Manjón fundó a partir de 1888 con el fin de ofrecer una educación gratuita a todos aquellos

* Este trabajo se enmarca en el Proyecto de Investigación «*Scripta in itinere*». *Discursos, formas y apropiaciones de la cultura escrita en espacios públicos desde la primera edad moderna a nuestros días* (Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad HAR2014-51883).

niños/as que no tenían medios suficientes para acudir a la escuela¹. En aquellos momentos España estaba sumergida en una profunda crisis que afectó también al sistema educativo: maestros/as sin preparación, con sueldos insuficientes, rechazados socialmente, con métodos educativos anticuados y con escasos materiales. Esto, allí donde existían escuelas, puesto que en muchos pueblos, y en las afueras de muchas ciudades, como era el caso de Granada, los niños/as no tenían opción a una educación pública por falta de edificios².

Fue precisamente en estas circunstancias cuando Manjón creó su propuesta pedagógica, coincidiendo con el surgimiento de métodos innovadores, en Europa y en España, que revolucionaron el panorama educativo. Buena parte de ellos compartían la idea de convertir al niño/a en protagonista del proceso de enseñanza y entendían que la educación debía ser, como defendía también Manjón, integral, gradual y continua; activa, artística, sensible e intuitiva; al aire libre y lúdica. Sin embargo, la escuela manjoniana era religiosa, lo que hizo que Manjón recibiera críticas por parte de quienes apostaban por una enseñanza laica y viceversa³. Aun así, sus escuelas fueron admiradas y se convirtieron en un ejemplo, fundándose centros manjonianos por toda España⁴, incluyendo al pequeño pueblo asturiano de Arnao. Me recuerdo, hace ahora un año, en el patio de esta escuela abandonada al que accedí gracias a que no existe ningún tipo de obstáculo que lo impida. Me fue muy fácil comprender que me encontraba en un aula al aire libre, donde las habituales escrituras expuestas escolares, carteles, láminas y mapas, que decoraban e instruían desde las paredes de las clases, se habían transformado en inscripciones y relieves en el exterior de esta escuela.

He aquí lo que quiero destacar en este artículo: cómo la pedagogía manjoniana inventa un nuevo espacio escolar, que no mira hacia dentro sino hacia fuera, y que llena de escrituras, conformando una variante de lo que Armando Petrucci denominó un programa de exposición gráfica⁵.

¹ P. Manjón, *Vida de don Andrés Manjón y Manjón fundador de las Escuelas del Ave-María por un Maestro de dichas Escuelas*, Granada, Tip. Paulino V. Traveset, 1926, p. 106.

² En estos momentos la escuela era obligatoria y gratuita por ley, pero la crisis económica impedía atender adecuadamente al cumplimiento estos derechos. A. Viñao Frago, *Escuela para todos: educación y modernidad en la España del siglo XX*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, p. 19.

³ F. Canes Garrido, *Las Escuelas del Ave María: una institución renovadora de finales del siglo XIX en España*, «Revista Complutense de Educación», vol. 10, n. 2, 1999, p. 160.

⁴ En Andalucía (Granada, Cádiz, Almería, Córdoba, Málaga, Sevilla o Huelva); Extremadura (Badajoz); Madrid; Castilla y León (Salamanca, Ávila, Burgos); Castilla la Mancha (Ciudad Real; Cuenca; Albacete) Galicia (Coruña); Asturias (Oviedo); Cantabria (Santander); País Vasco (Bilbao); Navarra (Pamplona); Aragón (Zaragoza); Valencia (Alicante); Murcia; Barcelona. M.E. García López, *Las Escuelas del Ave María de Arnao*, Oviedo, Patronato Municipal de Cultura de Castrillón, 2004, p. 47.

⁵ «Programma di esposizione grafica: si tratta del fenomeno che si verifica quando il *domus* di piú spazi grafici fra loro in qualche modo o misura organicamente collegati li utilizza al fine di realizzarvi una serie di prodotti scritti omogenei e coerenti per affinità grafico-formali e testuali, sempre muniti di un marchio di identificabilità non equivoco (stemma, nome, simbolo)» (A.

Andrés Manjón nace en Sargentos de la Lora (Burgos) en el seno de una familia de labradores. Y como todos los niños y niñas de su época sufrió las consecuencias de la situación tan deplorable en la que se encontraba la educación de su tiempo⁶. Algo que le marcó en su futuro y en su modo de ver la enseñanza: «Aborrecía la escuela y temía la Maestro, y cuando podía, me libraba de los dos escondiéndome. Mis padres [...] se enteraron, y mediante una tunda de ellos y otra de Campos, el enérgico Maestro, opté por volver a la escuela, como quien opta entre la cárcel y la horca»⁷.

Una vez finalizado el nivel de secundaria ingresó en el seminario de Burgos, tras un primer intento fallido por su poca preparación. Terminó sus estudios en Valladolid y es allí donde estudió Derecho, finalizando la carrera en 1873. Aprobó las oposiciones de cátedra de Derecho Canónico en la Universidad de Santiago como profesor auxiliar en 1879. Pasado un año se mudó a Granada por concurso de traslado, en 1886, seis años más tarde, fue elegido para dirigir y administrar la Abadía del Sacromonte en dicha ciudad. Este mismo año también se ordenó como sacerdote⁸. Cuando alcanzó esta posición reflexionó sobre la educación y el fin que quería conseguir con sus escuelas:

Quando me vi en la cumbre o Somo de dos Cátedras, una de Universidad y la otra de Seminario, tendí un mirada sobre el camino recorrido y los atasques y lagunas que en él había encontrado, reflexioné y me dije: ¿Sufrirán [los demás] las consecuencias de una menguada enseñanza primaria [como la] que yo he sufrido? [...] A este pensamiento obedecen las Escuelas del Ave-Marí; no quiero que pasen otros lo que yo pasé por faltarme una buena escuela⁹.

A partir de este momento Manjón comenzó a crear sus Escuelas del Ave María, escribió y publicó diferentes libros con los procedimientos pedagógicos que utilizaba en ellas, creó escuelas de formación para maestros/as y, sobre todo, dio una gran difusión a toda su obra. Como consecuencia recibió una gran cantidad de propuestas para que estas escuelas fueran creadas por todo el país. El 10 de julio de 1923 falleció en Granada dejando tras de sí una obra que fue admirada e imitada por muchos¹⁰.

Petrucchi, *La scrittura. Ideologia e rappresentazione*, Turin, Einaudi, 1986, p. XXI).

⁶ M. de Pinedo, *Del norte vino la luz. Vida y obra de Don Andrés Manjón*, Granada, Asociación de Antiguos Alumnos del Seminario de Maestros del Ave María, 2002, p. 24.

⁷ Manjón, *Vida de don Andrés Manjón y Manjón fundador de las Escuelas del Ave-María por un Maestro de dichas escuelas*, cit., p. 16.

⁸ De Pinedo, *Del norte vino la luz. Vida y obra de Don Andrés Manjón*, cit., pp. 33-38.

⁹ Manjón, *Vida de don Andrés Manjón y Manjón fundador de las Escuelas del Ave-María por un Maestro de dichas escuelas*, cit., p. 26.

¹⁰ De Pinedo, *Del norte vino la luz. Vida y obra de Don Andrés Manjón*, cit., p. 40.

La educación en relieve

Los suelos de los patios de las Escuelas del Ave-María estaban repletos de diferentes tipos de escrituras expuestas que hicieron posible que el método manjoniano tuviera un carácter lúdico, intuitivo y activo. Estas escrituras, como ya he señalado anteriormente, podían ser bien inscripciones, bien relieves. De la misma manera podía tratarse de escrituras efímeras o móviles y permanentes o fijas. De entre las inscripciones, predominan los gráficos que con letras, números y/o símbolos, esquematizan contenidos de diferentes materias. De entre los relieves, el protagonismo lo ostentan los mapas. Hay que aclarar que no existe una distinción precisa entre todos estos términos dentro de la literatura manjoniana, utilizándose en muchas ocasiones como sinónimos; sin embargo, lo que aquí se propone para entender el uso y significado de todas estas escrituras es prestar atención tanto a su factura material como a sus tipologías, pues ambas resultan claves para entender su funcionalidad y uso.

TIPOS DE ESCRITURAS EXPUESTAS			
Suelo del patio	Inscripciones	Permanente o fija	Gráficos
	Relieves	Efímera o móvil	Mapas
Paredes	Mármoles y pizarras		Miscelánea

Cuadro 1. Esquema sobre los tipos de escritura expuesta presentes en las Escuelas del Ave-María. Elaboración propia.

Al margen de las inscripciones y relieves creados en el suelo, las paredes de los patios también servían de soporte para la escritura, bien en sí mismas o a través de mármoles y pizarras. El empleo de estos dos elementos fue tal, que se utilizaron de forma combinada, e incluso integrada, con las inscripciones y relieves para escribir y señalar alguna información específica. Así lo señaló Federico Olóriz, catedrático de medicina, en un artículo publicado en *La Escuela Moderna*, que posteriormente se convirtió en un importante opúsculo cuyo fin fue difundir las fundaciones manjonianas:

Incrustadas en los rústicos muros que sostienen y afirman los cuadros del terreno vi muchas losas de mármol blanco, que acaso fueron antes mesas de algún café: son los encerados de aquella Escuela a cielo descubierto. Aun se reconocían en varias losas, trazados con carbón, problemas de Geometría, cálculos aritméticos y toscos dibujos, algunos intencionados y

grotescos; pero entre muestras tan diversas de las tareas e inclinaciones de tantos escolares, reparé con gusto en que ni por casualidad había palabras o dibujos obscenos o injuriosos¹¹.

De este modo, Manjón transformó el suelo y los muros de los patios de sus escuelas en espacios gráficos donde poder escribir¹². En un artículo firmado por F. Suárez Bravo y publicado en 1912, podemos leer la descripción del conjunto de escrituras expuestas que conformaron este programa de exposición gráfica escolar:

Se han incrustado letras y números en las losetas de los muros, se han hecho encerados en las paredes y se ha cubierto el suelo del jardín de arena para que no falte papel en el cual escribir y blando lecho sobre el cual caer¹³.

Por otro lado, cada escritura expuesta tenía asociado un juego que los alumnos/as desarrollaban guiados por su maestro/a. Según puede verse en el cuadro 2, estos juegos eran distintos según la materia de la que tratasen las inscripciones y los relieves. Así, para la enseñanza de la Geografía se «viajaba» sobre los mapas en relieve y sumergidos; en el caso de la Historia y de la Historia Sagrada, se utilizaba el juego de la rayuela; para la Aritmética se recurría a gráficos con fórmulas o con la tabla pitagórica; para la Geometría, con polígonos; para el aprendizaje de la lectura, gráficos con el alfabeto y las pizarras; para la Gramática, se usaba el gráfico de los círculos gramaticales; y finalmente, para la Música, se recurría a las pizarras para aprender solfeo y canto¹⁴.

No debemos olvidar, sin embargo, que la enseñanza de Manjón se caracterizó por ser integral. Esto explica que un mismo juego (la rayuela) o elemento (las pizarras o los mapas) sirviera para explicar distintas materias, así como la existencia de juegos transversales, siendo el más empleado el de la personalización. Este consistía en que los niños/as interpretaban en primera persona los conceptos o personajes como si estuvieran actuando en un teatrillo. El maestro/a escribía en un cartel el papel que debía interpretar cada niño (por ejemplo, para enseñar las partes de la oración un niño/a hacía de sujeto, otro

¹¹ F. Olóriz Aguilera, *Recuerdos de una visita a la Colonia escolar fundada por D. Andrés Manjón. Relato hecho en el Ateneo de Madrid en sesión dedicada a propagar las fundaciones de Manjón, y publicado por «La Escuela Moderna»*, Madrid, Imprenta de Hernando y Compañía, 1899, p. 13.

¹² Para el concepto «espacio gráfico» remito a Petrucci, *La scrittura. Ideologia e rappresentazione*, cit., p. XXI.

¹³ F. Suárez Bravo, *Las Escuelas del Ave María*, «El Siglo Futuro», vol. 2, n. 180, 1912, p. 2.

¹⁴ En las Escuelas del Ave-María se enseñaban las siguientes materias: Doctrina Cristiana, Historia Sagrada, Lectura, Escritura, Aritmética, Geometría, Geografía, Gramática Castellana, Historia de España, Labores, Música y Canto, Dibujo, Gimnasia e Higiene. Sin embargo, en este artículo sólo me ocupo de aquellas materias en las que tenemos constancia del uso pedagógico de las escrituras expuestas. Asimismo, sólo hacemos referencia a los juegos en los que se utilizó dicha modalidad escrita.

de verbo, etc.) que representaba lo que le tocaba sobre las inscripciones o los relieves¹⁵ tal y como podemos ver en la siguiente cita:

La Sintaxis avanza con bandera desplegada llevando tras sí: 1º. A las Partes de la Sintaxis: Régimen, Concordancia y Construcción; 2ª a los Elementos de la Oración, Sujeto, Verbo y Complemento, y los siete saludan con inclinación graciosa al público. [...] No faltará la pizarra. [...]

Verbo.— Soy el Verbo, otro elemento de la Oración, quizá el principal. Expreso el sentido de la oración, declarando unas veces esencia: (Escribe [en la pizarra]) *Soy*, otras estado, *Duermo*, otras acción, *Como* y otras pasión y efecto *Sufro*. Recibo la influencia del agente o Sujeto y paso la acción al Complemento. Algunas veces soy intransitivo, y la acción no pasa de mí. *Pedr[o] duerme*. Sólo tengo un modificativo, que es el Adverbio. Cuando es negativo, va delante de mí, por ejemplo: *No vivo*, y cuando no lo es, va después de mí: *Vine ayer*, *Ando despacio*¹⁶.

MATERIAS Y ESCRITURA EXPUESTA						
Materia	Tipología	Escritura	Nombre	Juegos		
Geografía	Relieve	Móvil en pizarras y tablillas	- Mapas sumergidos - Mapamundi y de España	Viajes		
Historia	Inscripción	Combinación de escritura fija (inscrita) y móvil	Gráficos: - Periodización	Rayuela		
Historia Sagrada			Gráficos: - Fórmulas - Cuadro pitagórico	Personalización		
Aritmética			Gráfico: - Polígonos			
Geometría			Gráfico: - Alfabeto	Las siete esquinas		
Lectura			Gráficos: - Círculos gramaticales	Partes de la oración		
Gramática			Pizarra	Efímera	Partituras y letras de canciones	Solfeo y canto
Música						

Cuadro 2. Esquema sobre las diferentes materias que llevaban asociada escritura expuesta en las Escuelas del Ave-María. Elaboración propia.

¹⁵ A. Manjón, *El pensamiento del Ave-María: modos de enseñar*, Granada, Patronato de las Escuelas del Ave-María, 1948, p. 112.

¹⁶ *Gráficos aplicables a la escena de Gramática Castellana, de Historia de España, de Geografía Descriptiva*, Granada, Imprenta-Escuela del Ave-María, 1932, p. 22. Negrita y cursiva del original.

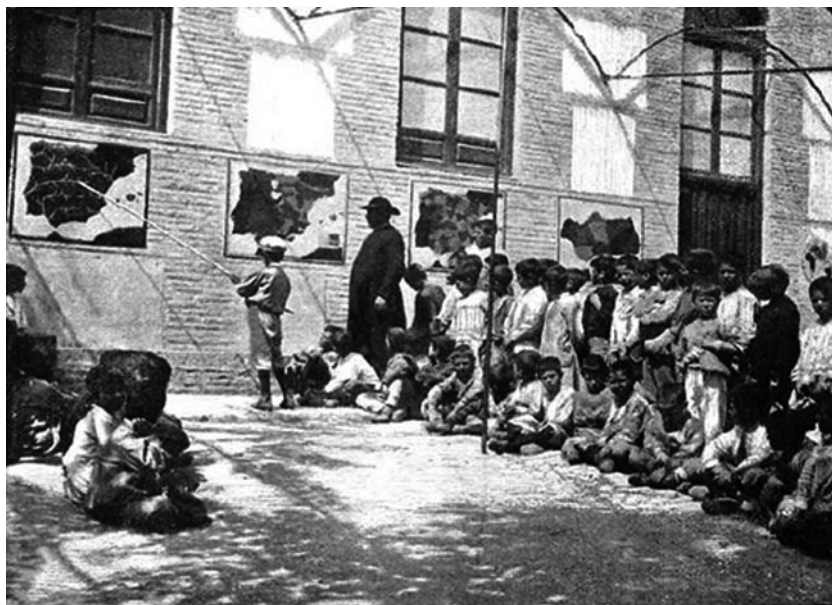
Aunque por regla general las escrituras expuestas de las Escuelas del Ave-María reflejan unas características homogéneas, en ocasiones hay algunas diferencias que merece la pena destacar:

- La materialidad de los soportes de escritura varió según la zona donde se construyó la escuela. Se tendió a utilizar materiales y recursos propios o típicos para abaratar costes, siendo la piedra, la madera, el ladrillo y el cemento los más comunes. Por ejemplo, en la Escuela del Ave-María de Granada predomina el uso del llamado empedrado granadino y de ladrillos de barro cocido, mientras que en la escuela situada en el pueblo asturiano de Arnao, se recurrió al cemento para su fabricación¹⁷.
- El momento en el que cada escuela se funda conlleva diferencias de contenido en las inscripciones y relieves, derivadas de los cambios legislativos en el ámbito educativo y del propio devenir histórico.
- Otra diferencia importante es que no en todas las escuelas encontramos las mismas inscripciones y relieves¹⁸. En función del espacio disponible y de las especificidades regionales podemos encontrar variaciones. Por ejemplo, hay escuelas que tienen un mayor número de escrituras expuestas que otras, o presentan elementos que otras no muestran. Si bien, hay algunos que se convirtieron en imprescindibles y que definen hoy la pedagogía manjoniana, como fueron los mapas en relieve y sumergidos y el gráfico de la rayuela de la Historia.
- Igualmente hay que tener en cuenta que, a pesar de las instrucciones dadas por Manjón en sus escritos, la forma en que se realizaron los juegos varió según el maestro/a, ya que cada docente imprimió su sello personal. Así lo constató Miguel Fenollera y Roca, uno de los discípulos y seguidores de Manjón:
El procedimiento escolar no puede sujetarse a una táctica fija e inflexible, pues para ser eficaz debe acomodarse a las circunstancias y estas en la labor escolar tienen variedades infinitas; son los procedimientos escolares, no reglas para sujetar al maestro, sino medios o instrumentos que se ponen en su mano para que los aplique en provecho de su misión como garantía de feliz éxito¹⁹.
- Finalmente, el tratamiento que Manjón dio en sus escritos a las inscripciones y relieves fue desigual, lo que provoca que sea más sencillo reconstruir el uso que se hizo de unas escrituras más que de otras, siendo los mapas a los que más atención prestó.

¹⁷ Véase C. Moreno Fernández, *La herencia educativa de Andrés Manjón: aprender jugando en las Escuelas del Ave María*, «Cabás», n. 4, 2010, p. 2, <<http://revista.muesca.es/articulos4/167-la-herencia-educativa-de-andres-manjon-aprender-jugando-en-las-escuelas-del-ave-maria>.ISSN 1989-5909> (último acceso: 07.03.2018) y García López, *Las Escuelas del Ave María de Arnao*, cit., p. 77, respectivamente.

¹⁸ Siguiendo la comparación entre las Escuelas del Ave-María de Granada y de Arnao, encontramos en los patios de las primeras la rayuela geométrica o el cuerpo humano, que no existen en las segundas.

¹⁹ M. Fenollera y Roca, *Hojitas escolares. Segunda serie (Experiencias escolares)*, Valencia, Tipografía Moderna, 1915, comenzó a publicarse en 1912, p. 29.



Pic. 1

Mapas sumergidos: «el gran gráfico»

Podríamos decir que los gráficos más conocidos de las Escuelas del Ave María son los mapas sumergidos, definidos como «el gran gráfico»²⁰, que se utilizaban principalmente para la enseñanza de la Geografía. Manjón fue un fiel defensor del uso de los mapas para el estudio de esta materia. Podían servir en cualquier formato, aunque él siempre aconsejaba partir de los mapas en relieve²¹ para que los niños/as pudiesen ver, palpar y, por lo tanto, comprender los símbolos representados en los mapas murales que, en el caso de las escuelas manjonianas, eran realizados por los propios alumnos/as sobre las paredes del patio, tal y como se recomendaba en los manuales editados en estas escuelas²² (pic. 1). Sin embargo, sabemos por el diario de Andrés Manjón que los mapas murales del

²⁰ *Manuales Manjón para uso de las Escuelas del Ave-María. Geografía. Breve resumen en seis lecciones prácticas*, Granada, Imprenta-Escuela del Ave-María, 1928, p. 66.

²¹ J. Montero Vives, *Educación enseñando la Geografía y la Historia según D. Andrés Manjón*, Granada, Imprenta-Editorial Ave María, 1999, p. 7.

²² Al menos es uno de los ejercicios propuesto en *Manuales Manjón para uso de las Escuelas del Ave-María. Geografía. Breve resumen en seis lecciones prácticas*, cit., p. 66. Este manual es una recopilación de los ejercicios publicados por Manjón en A. Manjón, *Hojas catequistas y pedagógicas del Ave María por D. Andrés Manjón*, Granada, Imprenta-Escuela del Ave-María, 1909-1910. Por otra parte, Federico Olóriz nos describe cómo los alumnos construyeron un mapa en el suelo del patio de la escuela de Granada en *Recuerdos de una visita a la Colonia escolar*



Pic. 2



Pic. 3

patio de la escuela de Granada fueron pintados por los maestros Manuel Olmos y su ayudante, Segundo, entre 1897 y 1899²³.

Existían dos tipos de mapas sumergidos, que a veces eran políticos y a veces físicos: por un lado, el mapamundi (pic. 2), utilizado para conocer los continentes y los países y sus capitales, y para situar a España en el mundo. Manjón recomendaba, en este caso, empezar a enseñar desde lo general a lo particular. Comenzar estudiando el mundo para llegar al pueblo donde vivía cada niño/a²⁴.

Por otro, el mapa de España (pic. 3) se empleaba para aproximar al alumno/a a las características de cada una de las regiones (costumbres, gastronomía, lengua), lo que demuestra el interés de Manjón en que los niños/as amasen a su patria, para lo cual resultaba imprescindible que la conocieran en todos sus aspectos²⁵. Con este fin, Manjón animaba a los maestros/as a reproducir los

fundada por D. Andrés Manjón. Relato hecho en el Ateneo de Madrid en sesión dedicada a propagar las fundaciones de Manjón, y publicado por «La Escuela Moderna», cit., pp. 13 y 14.

²³ En diciembre de 1897 Manjón escribió que en la pared del patio se pintó un mapa grande de España y que en junio de 1899 se habían incluido dos nuevos mapas por los mismos maestros: el mapamundi y el de Europa, los cuales «adornan e instruyen». J.M. Prellezo García (ed.), *Diario del P. Manjón 1895-1923*, Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2003 [1973], pp. 120 y 172 respectivamente. Podríamos decir que Manuel Olmos fue la mano derecha de Andrés Manjón. Su presencia en el diario de Manjón es constante y, según la última biografía publicada, Manjón le eligió como su sucesor. Manjón, *Vida de don Andrés Manjón y Manjón fundador de las Escuelas del Ave-María por un Maestro de dichas escuelas*, cit., p. 82.

²⁴ A. Manjón, *Hojas catequistas y pedagógicas del Ave María: de la Naturaleza: Geografía*, Cuaderno 1º, Hoja 11º, p. 173.

²⁵ A. Manjón, *El pensamiento del Ave María. Colonia escolar permanente establecida en los cármenes del Camino del Sacro-Monte de Granada*, Granada, Imprenta de las Escuelas del Ave-

monumentos más representativos de las provincias españolas o en su defecto a usar postales donde estos apareciesen o a emplear frutas, verduras y otros alimentos característicos de cada comunidad que los niños/as debían aprender a situar en su lugar correspondiente²⁶.

En abril de 1903 se publica en el periódico *La Época* una de las múltiples visitas que se realizaron a estas escuelas. En este caso, es la realizada por Diego Marín, quien nos describe de esta manera el mapa de España en relieve de la Escuela del Ave-María de Granada mostrándonos cómo, efectivamente, se recurría a todo tipo de elementos para ser identificados en el mapa:

Todos los niños rodean el pintoresco jardín, en que se halla, de relieve, en el suelo, bordeado de ebonibus, el mapa de España. Una hermosa maceta representa a Madrid; un capitel árabe a Granada; una esbelta columna, con la imagen de la Virgen del Pilar, a Zaragoza, y así las demás capitales. Las principales montañas, con sus vertientes, están esbozadas en el terreno, viéndose los ríos representados por gruesos alambres, y con otras señales los demás detalles del mapa, que, además se halla pintado, en gran tamaño, en el muro frontero del jardín-escuela. Hácese la descripción del suelo pisándolo y viajando los alumnos de un punto a otro a la voz del maestro, alternando en la lección los cánticos populares de cada región, que entonan todos los alumnos, acompañados por la banda de música infantil de la colonia²⁷.

Los mapas sumergidos en relieve, como hemos visto, se construían a partir de ladrillo, piedra, madera o cemento. Fuera el material que fuera, se labraban los accidentes geográficos y se realizaban distintos surcos que representaban los ríos con sus afluentes y los mares, que gracias a un sencillo sistema hidráulico se llenaban de agua. En el caso de que no se contase con agua, ésta se sustituía por alambres²⁸.

Independientemente de que se tratara del mapamundi o del mapa de España, el color tenía una función esencial, ya que era uno de los elementos que se utilizaban para captar la atención de los niños/as. En el caso del mapamundi, Manjón recomendaba pintar los continentes de la siguiente manera: Europa de verde, África de negro, Asia de amarillo, América de cobre y Oceanía de verde aceitunado. Como los mapas eran pisoteados continuamente por los alumnos/as, la pintura no duraba mucho tiempo, por lo que aconsejaba utilizar serrín de colores para suplirla²⁹.

María, 1900, p. 65.

²⁶ A. Manjón, *El maestro mirando hacia fuera o de dentro a fuera*, Madrid, Tip. de la Revista de Arch., Bibl. y Museos, 1923, p. 398.

²⁷ Creemos que el autor hace referencia aquí al arbusto de flores blancas y pequeñas llamado *euonymus* o evónimo. D. Marín, *Las Escuelas del Ave María*, «La Época», n. 18.972, 1903, p. 2.

²⁸ Cfr. Montero Vives, *Educación enseñando la Geografía y la Historia según D. Andrés Manjón*, cit., p. 30.

²⁹ Manjón, *El pensamiento del Ave-María. Colonia escolar permanente establecida en los cármenes del Camino del Sacro-Monte de Granada*, cit., p. 296.

Para sensibilizar la enseñanza se ayuda al Maestro de algunos recursos, que pueden ser:

- a) Distinguir con colores las partes del mundo.
- b) Levantar con piedras rocosas las montañas.
- c) Personificar las *razas* con muñequitos vestidos y figurados con los caracteres más propios para distinguirlas: las *religiones* con los símbolos más apropiados, la *Cruz* para el Cristianismo, la *Media Luna* para el Mahometismo, el *Sol* u otros ídolos para el paganismo y la idolatría; los *idiomas* con los libros que expresen con diversos colores los diversos dialectos o las lenguas hijas; y los *gobiernos* con muñecos que ostenten los atributos con que se adornan o representan los jefes del gobierno.

Otros muchos recursos pueden utilizarse, pero quedan a la iniciativa del Maestro³⁰.

Junto a la pintura, la escritura jugaba también un papel muy importante. Las pizarras y tablillas permitían insertar en los relieves aquellas nomenclaturas e indicaciones que, por lo general, contenían los mapas murales. Así, los niños/as escribían sobre ellas los nombres de continentes, de ríos y océanos, de montañas y cordilleras, de países, de capitales, etc. Por ejemplo, mientras un niño o una niña «viajaba» saltando sobre el mapa sumergido de continente en continente, otros tres niños/as escribían los nombres de dichos continentes en pizarras que debían colocar en el lugar correcto sobre el mapa sumergido. De la misma manera, cuando de lo que se trataba era de enseñar los límites de España, el maestro/a, o bien les daba los nombres escritos y los alumnos/as debían colocarlos en su lugar correcto, o bien ponía las pizarras alrededor del mapa y el niño o la niña debía escribir el nombre del lugar en el que las mismas estaban situadas³¹.

Si el objetivo era, por poner otro caso, dar a conocer a los niños/as los cabos principales de la Península, el maestro/a les entregaba unas tablillas con el nombre de dichos accidentes geográficos para que los colocasen en el mapa. Para reforzar al alumno/a menos habilidoso en esta materia, el maestro/a optaba por decir en voz alta el nombre de los cabos españoles mientras que el alumno/a en cuestión recogía la tablilla correspondiente. Una variante de este juego era que el maestro/a colocaba las pizarras erróneamente, para que los alumnos/as corrigieran la ubicación³².

Finalmente, para enseñar las cordilleras españolas así como sus sierras, picos, etc., los alumnos/as se cogían de las manos formando una cadena sobre la cordillera que querían representar y decían el nombre concreto donde estaban situados (pic. 4). El ejemplo que pone Manjón y que también vamos a utilizar aquí es el de los Pirineos: cada grupo de niños/as que formaba la cadena decía, según la situación que le correspondía, si se encontraba en los Pirineos Orientales, Centrales, Occidentales, etc., y lo dejaban por escrito en ese mismo

³⁰ *Manuales Manjón para uso de las Escuelas del Ave-María. Geografía. Breve resumen en seis lecciones prácticas*, cit., pp. 43 y 44.

³¹ Manjón, *El pensamiento del Ave-María: Modos de enseñar*, cit., p. 301.

³² *Ibid.*

Pic. 4³³

lugar. Una vez hecho esto, otro grupo de niños/as se acercaba para leerlo en voz alta, y así sucesivamente³⁴.

El juego de la Rayuela

Para la enseñanza de la Historia de España, así como para la Historia Sagrada, se recurrió a las inscripciones. El gráfico más conocido y posiblemente el más utilizado para el aprendizaje de estas materias fue la rayuela.

La versión popular de este juego consistía en escribir sobre el suelo un gráfico con números correlativos, normalmente del 1 al 10, en su casilla correspondiente. Los niños/as debían lanzar una pequeña piedra y saltar a

³³ El pie de imagen original de esta foto dice: «Grupo de alumnos del Ave-María aprendiendo gramática por el método intuitivo», pero creemos que se trata de un error puesto que en el mapa en relieve de la Escuela del Ave-María de Granada se construyó, precisamente, la columna con la imagen de la Virgen del Pilar para situar en el mapa a Zaragoza. Entendemos, de este modo, que los niños de esta fotografía se encuentran sobre dicho mapa relieve. Al ir de la mano podemos interpretar que están jugando a conocer las cordilleras españolas. Asimismo, hay que decir, que el texto que acompaña a esta fotografía describe diferentes juegos sobre geografía.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

la pata coja por los diferentes números de manera ordenada, golpeando dicha piedra con el pie y con cuidado de que ésta no se desviase del camino. Asimismo, el niño/a en cuestión no debía pisar las rayas trazadas. Las diferencias más claras con las rayuelas de Manjón son tres. Por un lado, los números utilizados en este juego fueron sustituidos por símbolos, letras y abreviaturas que hacían referencia a hechos y personajes relevantes de la Historia, bien de España, bien de la religión cristiana. Las cancioncillas típicas utilizadas mientras se saltaba se modificaron por la narración de estos acontecimientos. Y por último, en algunas ocasiones, en lugar de tirar una piedrecita se utilizaban otros elementos llamativos para el niño o la niña como estampas, dulces o flores, que podían obtener como premio si eran capaces de relatar los acontecimientos hasta el lugar donde las recompensas estaban situadas.

Aunque estos gráficos podían hacerse de manera efímera, trazados con un palo sobre la arena o dibujados en el encerado, se recomendaba hacerlos fijos para que permanecieran en los patios de las escuelas. El material que se sugería para su construcción eran la pizarra o el mármol blanco y negro para así, además de saltar, escribir sobre ellos. Si no se disponía de tales recursos, se aconsejaba cualquier piedra o el ladrillo. En el caso concreto de la rayuela de la Historia de España, se hacía hincapié en la importancia de que esta inscripción se situara junto a los mapas, puesto que aunque la clase de Historia se daba sobre la rayuela, sobre el mapa también se interpretaban los hechos históricos a través del juego de la personalización³⁵. Como vemos, la enseñanza integral era una constante en la metodología manjoniana.

De este modo, a través de este gráfico se mostraban, por medio de inscripciones, los acontecimientos más relevantes de la Historia de España. Para clasificarlos, se dividía en tres etapas históricas que abarcaban, la primera de ellas, desde los primeros pobladores a la invasión árabe en 711; la segunda, desde esta hasta 1492 y, por último, desde 1492 al período actual. Este «período actual» fue renovándose a medida que iban sucediéndose nuevas formas de gobierno³⁶ (pic. 5).



Pic. 5

³⁵ A. Manjón, *Hojas catequistas y pedagógicas del Ave María: el hombre español o Historia de España*, Cuaderno 5, Hoja 6, p. 83.

³⁶ Así lo señalan las diferentes ediciones que muestran esta enseñanza. Por ejemplo, la Rayuela

Adentrándonos en la simbología, la rayuela comienza con una clara referencia a la religión cristiana, dando a entender la importancia de la influencia de Dios en la vida de los hombres y mujeres como no podía ser de otro modo al tratarse de escuelas católicas. De este modo, se señala la primera y última letra del abecedario, situadas, cada una de ellas, junto a un círculo, tratando de mostrar así que Dios es el principio y el fin de todas las cosas, pero, a su vez, que no tiene principio ni fin, lo cual es representado por el círculo. Dentro del mismo se dibujaba un triángulo, unidad que comprende la trinidad, con el ojo de la providencia en su interior.

En cuanto a la primera etapa histórica, se divide en seis franjas que corresponden a los siguientes períodos:

- Primer poblador de España, Túbal, nieto de Noé.
- Las primeras tribus que se asentaron en la Península. Por un lado, los celtas al norte, y por otro, los Íberos en la zona centro. Poco a poco ambos se fueron uniendo formando los celtíberos.
- La llegada por el Mediterráneo de los pueblos comerciantes, los fenicios y griegos, y un pueblo con ánimo conquistador, los cartagineses.
- Los romanos penetran en España en el siglo III a. C. y expulsan a los cartagineses. Durante este período nace Jesucristo, de ahí el símbolo de la cruz.
- La invasión de los pueblos bárbaros: Suevos, Alanos y Vándalos.
- Esta etapa se cierra con la dominación de los visigodos sobre casi toda la Península. La cruz hace referencia a la reconversión de uno de sus reyes, Recaredo, que reinó desde el 586 hasta el 601.

La siguiente etapa histórica está representada por una diagonal que divide el recuadro en dos. De este modo se separa, por un lado, la España cristiana a la izquierda, y por otro, la España árabe a la derecha. Por este mismo orden, las letras adquieren el siguiente significado: según la zona cristiana, Reino de Asturias; Asturias y León; León y Castilla; León y Castilla Perpetuamente (o León Castilla y definitivamente Unidos, dependiendo de la edición del manual que explica el gráfico); Casa de Trastámara; Castilla y Aragón. Y según la parte árabe: Gobierno de Emires; Gobierno de Califas de Córdoba; Almohades; Almorávides; Benimerines y Reinos de Taifa.

El último período se inicia con unas «manecillas» a los márgenes de la rayuela. La que señala al oeste hace alusión al descubrimiento de América por Cristóbal Colón, y la que señala al este remite a la participación de Aragón en las guerras italianas. Estos símbolos aparecen de nuevo, más abajo, apuntando hacia el gráfico, indicando así la pérdida de esas tierras y colonias.

De nuevo, en el interior del gráfico se clasifican los diferentes monarcas según las dinastías cuya importancia queda determinada por la longitud de las líneas que le acompañan. De este modo, en primer lugar, se muestra a la Casa de Austria. Junto a Felipe IV se marca un recuadro a la izquierda donde aparece la P de Portugal, haciendo alusión a su independencia de España. Le sigue la Casa de Borbón con sus reyes y la referencia a la ocupación de Gibraltar por parte de Inglaterra.

Junto a la inicial que representa el reinado de Isabel II se dibuja un triángulo y unas interrogaciones con las que Manjón se pregunta qué fueron la Revolución de 1868, el reinado de Amadeo de Saboya y la I República, «si gobiernos o disloques»³⁷. En cuanto al triángulo, simboliza a la masonería. El fundador de las Escuelas del Ave-María culpa a esta organización de que la sociedad se alejara de la ideología cristiana: «Para indicar quiénes destronaron y sucedieron a esta señora y a nombre de qué. Es un secreto que todos conocen»³⁸. Miguel de Unamuno fue una de las muchas personalidades que visitaron las Escuelas del Ave-María para conocer la original metodología manjoniana. Él mismo se interesó por el significado del triángulo situado frente a Isabel II en la rayuela de la Historia, quedándose sin habla tras descubrirlo. Andrés Manjón lo cuenta en su diario: «Le dije que la Masonería que la había destronado y nos impuso la Revolución – y anota la reacción del literato al oír la respuesta – Se quedó tragando saliva por un rato»³⁹.

Finalmente, cerrando este gráfico y fuera de sus márgenes, se marca una X que manifiesta la incógnita de los acontecimientos históricos futuros.

La enseñanza de este gráfico variaba según el nivel de los niños/as. Para el primer grado bastaba con que conocieran el significado de las letras y de las líneas que lo conformaban. Para el segundo y tercer grado se ampliaba la explicación de los contenidos y detalles de la rayuela de forma progresiva.

En cuanto a los procedimientos que se recomendaban para utilizarle, aparte del conocido juego de la rayuela, eran, por un lado, que los niños/as copiaran el esquema en una pizarra desarrollando las iniciales y escribiendo el nombre que correspondiera. Así, aprendían al mismo tiempo Historia y Ortografía⁴⁰. Por otro, no faltaba el juego de la personalización. Para ello, Manjón recomendaba el uso de trajes, objetos, cultos, lenguas, cantos, etc. que dieran más veracidad a las representaciones⁴¹.

³⁷ Manjón, *Hojas catequistas y pedagógicas del Ave María: el hombre español o Historia de España*, cit., p. 94.

³⁸ *Manuales Manjón para uso de las Escuelas del Ave-María. Historia de España*, cit., p. 9.

³⁹ Anotación realizada el 11 de septiembre de 1903. Prellezo García (ed.), *Diario del P. Manjón 1895-1923*, cit., p. 307. Para conocer más sobre la visita que realizó Unamuno a estas escuelas véase: J. A. Cabezas, *Una visita de D. Miguel de Unamuno a las Escuelas del Ave María de Granada*, «Salmanticensis», Vol. 9, nn. 1-2, 1962, pp. 231-239.

⁴⁰ A. Manjón, *Curioso método Manjón. Modos de usar el resumen de Historia patria*, «El Correo Español. Diario tradicionalista», vol. 4, n. 90, 1902, p. 1.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Como hemos mencionado ya, para llevar a cabo estos teatrillos, el maestro/a entregaba a cada niño/a por escrito el papel que debía aprender para después representarlo sobre el gráfico: «Como cada uno de [los alumnos] sólo tiene un papel, lo aprende pronto y le dice, y los demás que le escuchan lo estudian oyéndole, y al mes salen todos sabiendo los papeles de todos»⁴². Para que el procedimiento fuera efectivo, a pesar del optimismo de Manjón, los manuales de estas escuelas advertían de la necesidad de que las interpretaciones fueran rotando entre los alumnos/as, pues de otra manera se pecaba de que los niños/as sólo aprendieran bien el personaje que les había tocado representar⁴³. Como ejemplo, anotamos a continuación la personalización que se propone del símbolo X y las diferencias argumentativas según la edición del manual que consultemos. Así, en la de 1916 el niño/a que representaba esta letra tenía que decir:

Yo soy la X, la incógnita, el porvenir.

Para saber quién seré no hay más que recordar lo que han dicho mis antepasados, puesto que el hoy es hijo del ayer, y el mañana será hijo del hoy.

Yo carezco de historia porque llevo en mis entrañas el producto de todas las generaciones pasadas, y seré, pues, la gloria o la ruina de la Patria.

Seré la gloria si vosotros, los hombres del mañana, imitáis a los hombres de bien, de carácter, de inteligencia, piedad, honor y patriotismo; y seré la ruina si vosotros sois malos, esto es, si imitáis a los seres que charlan, a los impíos que perturban, a los que quieren hacer de la nación un escabel de su vanidad; en una palabra, si dejáis de ser buenos españoles y buenos cristianos⁴⁴.

En el manual de 1932, sin embargo, la visión del futuro es descrita con mayor incertidumbre. El rechazo manifestado por gran parte de la comunidad religiosa ante los cambios políticos y sociales que se sucedieron en el país durante la Segunda República fue evidente, reflejándose también en la enseñanza:

El porvenir es hoy más oscuro que nunca, y lo que de él puede predecirse tiene poco de halagüeño. El socialismo, degenerado en comunismo, tiene planteada la batalla contra todo lo que significa orden, religión y propiedad. Los elementos llamados de orden no acaban de unirse, aunque lo intentan.

La batalla se ha de dar ¿Quién triunfará? Sólo Dios lo sabe⁴⁵.

El juego de la rayuela también se adaptó para explicar la Historia Sagrada. En este caso el gráfico se divide en siete bloques donde además de abreviaturas e iniciales, algunas de ellas de mayor tamaño para destacar la importancia de unos personajes frente a otros, se incluyen signos matemáticos que representan

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

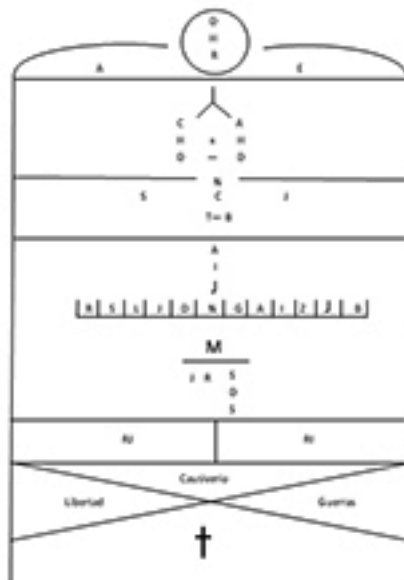
⁴³ *Manuales Manjón para uso de las Escuelas del Ave-María. Historia de España*, cit., p. 4.

⁴⁴ A. Serrano, *Breve resumen de Historia de España para la explicación de esta asignatura, según el procedimiento del Padre Manjón*, Imp. de Juan Garro, 1917, p. 47.

⁴⁵ *Manuales Manjón para uso de las Escuelas del Ave-María. Historia de España*, cit., p. 37.

los daños que sufrió la humanidad según la religión cristiana (pic. 6).

De nuevo la rayuela comienza con un círculo que representa lo eterno porque no tiene ni principio ni fin, simbolizando de esta manera a Dios. Dentro del círculo se añaden las letras D, H y R una debajo de la otra. La letra D hace referencia a Dios, el Creador, la H al hombre pecador y la R al redentor, simbolizando así la síntesis del Cristianismo. Bajo esta circunferencia se añaden las iniciales de Adán y de Eva, los primeros padres de la humanidad. De ellos nacen Caín y Abel. Los hombres se reproducen, por eso aparece el símbolo de la multiplicación entre las dos H, creciendo también la maldad en la tierra, por lo que Dios envió el castigo a través del Diluvio Universal marcado con un signo de resta. De este castigo se salvó Noé y sus descendientes, Sem, Cam y Jafel, que repoblaron la tierra.



Pic. 6

Con la T y la B se hace referencia a la dispersión de los hombres en la Torre de Babel. De nuevo marcado con un signo de resta, pues es interpretado como un daño que sufrió la humanidad. La A hace referencia a Abraham, elegido por Dios para formar un pueblo fiel. La I es Isaac, el hijo de Abraham. Le siguen sus descendientes Esaú y Jacob, éste con una inicial de mayor tamaño en comparación con el resto por su importancia, ya que tuvo doce hijos que conformaron las diferentes tribus que poblaron la tierra (Rubén, Simeón, Levi, Judá, Dan, Neftalí, Gad, Aser, Isacar, Zabulón, José y Benjamín). De entre todos ellos, de nuevo vemos una inicial mayor, la referida a José.

La M representa a Moisés, que liberó a los israelitas de la esclavitud de Egipto. Bajo Moisés primero gobernaron los jueces y luego los reyes. Entre los reyes se destacan Saúl, que fue infiel al Señor; David, conquistador de Jerusalén y Salomón, pues aunque sabio y poderoso, se mostró infiel a Dios. A su muerte, el reino se dividió, quedando, por un lado, las tribus de Judá y Benjamín que continuaron el reino de Judá. Las otras diez, sin embargo, constituyeron el reino de Israel. De este modo, los israelitas gobernaron en la tierra prometida.

Finalmente encontramos la última etapa de este gráfico dividida en cuatro partes. El cautiverio que duró 70 años, destacado por el profeta Daniel. La Libertad dada por Ciro, rey de los persas y vencedor del rey de Babilonia. Las guerras que estallaron por la invasión de los sirios, cuyo rey, Antíoco, asaltó la ciudad de Jerusalén, siendo los hebreos, dirigidos por Judas Macabeo, quienes

reconquistaron la ciudad. Los romanos entraron en escena cuando se iba a formar reinado con Herodes como monarca. Por último, la cruz hace referencia a la llegada del Mesías. Su nacimiento, su muerte y resurrección representada por este símbolo, marca la unión del mundo con el cielo, separado desde la caída de Adán y Eva. Como vemos, la rayuela no está cerrada, porque, según la doctrina, Jesucristo continúa viviendo en su obra, la Iglesia Católica, Apostólica y Romana⁴⁶.

Para enseñar la Historia Sagrada con este gráfico se procede de la misma manera que con la rayuela de la Historia de España, advirtiendo siempre de la importancia de que no se enseñara de una forma rutinaria y que los alumnos/as aprendieran bien el significado de cada letra y símbolo⁴⁷.

Ya hemos mencionado la importancia y difusión que Manjón dio a estos gráficos, ya que fueron elementos claves para la identidad de sus escuelas. En el caso de la rayuela de la Historia Sagrada fue un discípulo de Manjón, Miguel Fenollera, fundador de una Escuela del Ave-María en Turia (Valencia)⁴⁸, quien se encargó de divulgar su explicación⁴⁹. Pero lo cierto es que fue otro maestro quien adaptó este juego popular a la enseñanza de ambas materias. Manjón, en uno de sus escritos, revela que el pedagogo Melchor García Sánchez, tras el ejercicio continuo de observar, ensayar y escucharle sobre lo apropiado de la enseñanza a través del juego, se le ocurrió adaptar la rayuela a un gráfico de Historia⁵⁰. Luis Bello, en su obra dedicada a las escuelas españolas, advierte que este maestro granadino ya enseñaba la Historia de España a través de este procedimiento en la escuela privada donde daba clase antes de trabajar en las Escuelas del Ave-María y, por lo tanto, antes de que lo hiciera Manjón⁵¹.

⁴⁶ Fenollera y Roca, *Hojitas escolares. Segunda serie (Experiencias escolares)*, cit., pp. 129-132.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁴⁸ *El Congreso catequístico de Valladolid*, «El siglo futuro», vol. 2, n. 581, 1913, p. 1.

⁴⁹ Véase el manual del cual es autor: Fenollera y Roca, *Hojitas escolares. Segunda serie (Experiencias escolares)*, cit. y A. Martín Sánchez (ed.), *Crónica del primer congreso catequístico nacional español celebrado bajo la presidencia del Emmo. y Rvdmo. Sr. Cardenal de Cos en la ciudad de Valladolid en los días 26, 27, 28 y 29 de junio de 1913*, Valladolid, Casa editorial religiosa de Andrés Martín Sánchez, 1913, Vol. 2, pp. 129-132.

⁵⁰ Manjón, *El pensamiento del Ave-María: Modos de enseñar*, cit., p. 259. Cita recogida en Montero Vives, *Educación enseñando la Geografía y la Historia según D. Andrés Manjón*, cit., p. 103.

⁵¹ L. Bello, *Viaje por las escuelas de España: Más Andalucía*, Madrid, Compañía Iberoamericana de publicaciones, S.A., 1929, Vol. 4., p. 118. Asimismo, en la página 382 nos indica que dicha escuela estaba situada en la calle de Aben-Hamar, número 2. Por otro lado, hay publicaciones que explican estos procedimientos y dan la autoría al citado maestro, véase: M. García Sánchez, *Pedagogía: procedimientos y prácticas de enseñanza*, Salamanca, Francisco Núñez, 1905; J. Aguazas Fernández, *Procedimientos psico-físicos García Sánchez. La historia patria*, «La Escuela Moderna», n. 135, 1902, pp. 442-446 y del mismo autor: *Procedimientos psico-físicos García Sánchez. La Historia Sagrada*, «La Escuela Moderna», n. 136, 1902, pp. 39-42.



Pic. 7



Pic. 8

Inscripciones para la Aritmética y Geometría

Para la enseñanza de Aritmética y de Geometría también se utilizaban inscripciones que se situaban en los patios de estas escuelas. Por ejemplo, para dar a conocer las medidas de superficie se recomendaba tener un metro cuadrado que bien podía ser una pizarra con dichas dimensiones o bien se podía realizar en el suelo:

Disponiendo de terreno, se puede hacer un decámetro cuadrado o área, dividida en 100 cuadrados de á metro o centiáreas, y paseándolo se aprende a contar, y aun a sumar y restar, multiplicar y dividir, jugando y escribiendo en él⁵².

Asimismo, para aprender a sumar, restar y multiplicar se utilizaban tanto las típicas tablas conocidas por todos/as como las tablas pitagóricas, consideradas, ambas, instrumentos indispensables para que los niños/as memorizaran las operaciones⁵³ aunque el proceso de enseñanza combinaba tanto el cálculo mental como el escrito: «Manejen unos niños el yeso para escribir en la pizarra, mientras otros verifican la operación con la mente y otros cuentan con las bolas, manos, cosas, etc.»⁵⁴.

En cuanto a las inscripciones dedicadas a la Geometría se centraban en mostrar las diferentes formas de la línea. Los niños/as debían identificarlas y dibujarlas. Lo mismo sucedía con la enseñanza de los polígonos⁵⁵ (pic. 7 y pic. 8).

⁵² A. Manjón, *Hojas catequísticas y pedagógicas del Ave María por D. Andrés Manjón: del sistema métrico decimal*, Cuaderno 1, Hoja 10, p. 155.

⁵³ A. Manjón, *Hojas catequísticas y pedagógicas del Ave María por D. Andrés Manjón: de la suma*, Cuaderno 2, Hoja 4, pp. 49-64; Id., *Hojas catequísticas y pedagógicas del Ave María por D. Andrés Manjón: de la resta*, Cuaderno 2, Hoja 10, pp. 145-160 y Id., *Hojas catequísticas y pedagógicas del Ave María por D. Andrés Manjón: de la multiplicación*, Cuaderno 3, Hoja 4, pp. 49-61.

⁵⁴ Manjón, *Hojas catequísticas y pedagógicas del Ave María por D. Andrés Manjón: de la resta*, cit., p. 148.

⁵⁵ Id., *Hojas catequísticas y pedagógicas del Ave María por D. Andrés Manjón: geometría*,

La lectura, la Gramática y las escrituras expuestas

Manjón era partidario de que los niños/as empezasen su contacto con las letras desde el primer día que llegaban a la escuela, y que la lectura y la escritura se aprendieran de forma simultánea. Por ello, en los patios de sus escuelas no faltaban las inscripciones del alfabeto (pic. 9) y las pizarras, recurso continuo de aprendizaje. Asimismo, siempre aconsejaba empezar a enseñar las letras minúsculas y vocales⁵⁶. Ramón Pérez de Ayala publicó un artículo contando la visita que realizó a estas escuelas y en un momento dado nos describe una de estas clases:

En el muro de la iglesia hay un rectángulo de cemento negro, y sobre él, escritas con tiza y en gran tamaño, las cinco vocales. Cada niño tiene una pizarra y un pizarrín en la mano. Pregunto qué hacen estos niños, y la maestra, que ha interrumpido su labor de costura a mi llegada, dice: «Están aprendiendo a escribir las vocales». [...] Cada niño disfruta de absoluta autonomía en sus primeros y rudimentarios tanteos gráficos. No escriben, antes bien dibujan las letras; cada cual interpreta y traza los caracteres del modelo a su modo, y de ello reciben todos extraordinario goce, a juzgar por el afán entusiasta con que se aplican a cubrir de rasgos sus respectivas pizarras. Puede decirse que cada niño ha resumido en sí la tarea secular y premiosa del género humano, inventando un alfabeto característico conforme a su gusto estético y a sus necesidades de expresión⁵⁷.

Varios autores describen también el juego de las esquinas para aprender a leer. Éste consistía en utilizar la propia verja de la escuela, coronada con grandes letras de hierro. Los niños/as debían ocupar el puesto según la letra que se nombrase⁵⁸. Otro recurso recurrente era utilizar letras de diferentes materiales: de metal, en fichas, en escapularios, en cubos, etc. y de distintos tamaños. Los alumnos/as las agrupaban por su figura o dimensión. En el caso de las letras de metal se realizaba un juego llamado «Pasear las letras»: una vez colocadas en una pared del patio, el maestro/a pedía a sus alumnos/as que eligieran una. Estos debían pasear hasta el lugar donde estaban situadas, una vez allí tenían que seleccionar la letra escogida. Este proceso ayudaba a aprender las letras tanto por el niño/a que caminaba como por el niño/a que observaba y esperaba su turno. El maestro/a podía ampliar el juego mandando a los alumnos/

Cuaderno 4, Hoja 4, pp. 49-64 y Id., *Hojas catequísticas y pedagógicas del Ave María por D. Andrés Manjón: de los ángulos y polígonos en general*, Cuaderno 4, Hoja 10, pp. 145-160.

⁵⁶ Id., *Hojas catequísticas y pedagógicas del Ave María por D. Andrés Manjón: del hombre en cuanto animal que habla*, Cuaderno 1, Hoja 3, p. 44.

⁵⁷ R. Pérez de Ayala, *La educación de España. Las Escuelas del Ave María*, «El Imparcial», vol. 16, n. 570, 1913, p. 3.

⁵⁸ Olóriz Aguilera, *Recuerdos de una visita a la Colonia escolar fundada por D. Andrés Manjón*, cit., p. 11. Véase también: L. Gayo del Valle, *Las escuelas Manjón en Granada*, «La correspondencia de España», vol. 15, n. 382, 1900, p. 1.



Pic. 9

as combinar las letras seleccionadas. De este modo, el niño silabeaba, leía y escribía⁵⁹.

Muy conocido es, por otro lado, el relieve utilizado para enseñar las partes de la oración dentro de la asignatura de Gramática. Este recibió el nombre del juego de los círculos gramaticales. Para ello se hacían seis círculos que representaban las partes variables de la oración y otros cuatro para las invariables. Todos ellos unidos entre sí. Varios son los juegos que se crearon alrededor de este gráfico. Uno de ellos consistía en colocar en cada círculo a uno o a varios niños/as, el maestro/a decía a cada uno la parte de la oración que representaba pidiéndole que lo demostrase con ejemplos. Otro de los juegos requería de los niños/as la misma formación que acabamos de mencionar y mientras el maestro/a explicaba la lección, los alumnos/as debían levantar la mano cuando el maestro/a aludiese al componente gramatical que le correspondía. Manjón también propuso que en el interior de los círculos se colocasen diferentes tipos de premios como estampas, chucherías, etc. Los niños/as debían coger la estampa del círculo correspondiente según la palabra que el maestro/a pronunciase, bien un nombre, bien un verbo, etc.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ J. Montero Vives, *Cómo educar enseñando la Gramática, la Aritmética y las Ciencias Naturales según D. Andrés Manjón. Antología de textos didácticos*, Granada, Escuelas del Ave María, 1999, p. 18.

⁶⁰ A. Manjón, *Hojas catequísticas y pedagógicas del Ave María por D. Andrés Manjón: de las partes de la oración*, Cuaderno 1, Hoja 9, p. 136.

Las pizarras de los patios del Ave-María: letras de canciones y pentagramas

Para Manjón siempre fue importante que la música estuviese presente en las enseñanzas de sus escuelas. Una tarea que no siempre fue fácil, tal y como nos indica el 4 de febrero de 1897 en su diario: «Hoy han comenzado las maestras a estudiar música, con el fin de enseñarla a las niñas cuando sepan. Hace seis años se intentó esto en balde; veremos ahora»⁶¹. El propio Manjón, sin embargo, asegura que esta materia se empezó a enseñar en sus escuelas desde que se fundaron⁶². Seguramente se refería a la educación musical de los niños, puesto que nos consta, de nuevo por su diario, que por estas mismas fechas los alumnos ya habían tenido varios maestros de música⁶³.

En esta materia la escritura expuesta se manifestó en las pizarras que rodearon los muros de los patios de las Escuelas del Ave-María. En ellas se escribieron pentagramas con las notas musicales para aprender solfeo, canto y letras de canciones dedicadas a la Virgen⁶⁴ (pic. 10 y pic. 11)⁶⁵.

Manjón definió la Música como una materia que «agrada, suaviza y educa»⁶⁶, y tal vez por eso se convirtió en un recurso más del aprendizaje lúdico e integral que caracterizó su metodología, utilizándose en todas las otras materias.

Ejemplo de ello lo tenemos en el manual *Gráficos aplicables a la escena* de estas escuelas, donde encontramos canciones que fueron utilizadas en el juego de la personalización en las materias de Gramática: «Es la Gramática / como la brújula, / que al navegante / debe guiar [...]»⁶⁷; y de Historia de España: «Oh reina singular / de Castilla, Isabel, / de reinas ejemplar, / modelo de mujer [...]»⁶⁸ y de Geografía: «[...] Pirineos al Norte / al Sur Gibraltar, / y al Oeste linda / solo Portugal [...]»⁶⁹.

La prensa del momento se hizo eco de este sistema educativo, siendo, lo que más llamó la atención, los cánticos populares de cada comunidad que niños y niñas cantaban sobre el mapa⁷⁰. De nuevo, en el citado manual encontramos

⁶¹ Prellezo García (ed.), *Diario del P. Manjón 1895-1923*, cit., p. 79.

⁶² A. Manjón, *Las Escuelas del Ave-María en 1910*, «Gaceta de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes», n. 1.084, 1911, p. 237.

⁶³ El día 22 de febrero de 1897 Manjón nombra al joven maestro de música Antonio Cobaleda y el 23 de febrero del mismo año, nombra al maestro precedente a este: Francisco Portillo. (Prellezo García (ed.), *Diario del P. Manjón 1895-1923*, cit., p. 81).

⁶⁴ M. Romero Arias, *Arquitectura de las Escuelas del Ave-María*, Granada, Valparaíso ediciones, 2014, p. 41.

⁶⁵ En el pie de foto de esta imagen se dice que la fotografía fue remitida por F. Pons, quien pudo ser su autor. En cuanto a la autoría de este artículo, el mismo está firmado por la inicial «A.» por lo que podemos deducir que, tal vez, lo escribió el propio Andrés Manjón.

⁶⁶ Manjón, *Las Escuelas del Ave-María en 1910*, cit., p. 237.

⁶⁷ *Gráficos aplicables a la escena de Gramática Castellana, de Historia de España, de Geografía Descriptiva*, cit., p. 4.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁷⁰ Algunos ejemplos en: Marín, *Las Escuelas del Ave María*, cit., p. 2. y las citas recogidas



Pic. 10



Pic. 11

ejemplos de coplas castellanas, extremeñas, cordobesas o valencianas, cantos típicos del País Vasco, seguidillas murcianas, sardanas, jotas o canciones asturianas, granadinas sevillanas o gallegadas:

en Romero Arias, *Arquitectura de las Escuelas del Ave-María*, cit., pp. 39 y 40 de los periódicos «El Defensor de Granada», n. 12.631, 1902, p. 1 y el «Noticiero Granadino», n. 103, 1904, p. 1.

Miña nai, miña naiciña,
 com-a miña n'hai ningunha.
 Que me quentab-a cariña
 c-o calorciño d-a súa.
 Ay la... ay la... ay la...
 La... la... la... la... la...⁷¹

Las escrituras expuestas manjonianas a debate

Como se puede observar tras este breve recorrido por las diferentes materias que utilizaron las escrituras expuestas como recurso pedagógico en el marco de la metodología manjoniana, en cada uno de los juegos, y a diferencia de lo que ocurre en los mapas murales o en los libros de texto, la escritura que se empleaba en la propuesta de Manjón era efectuada en movimiento. Siempre de la mano del niño y de la niña (sea o no autógrafa, pues en ocasiones era el maestro quien escribía), que debía transportarla y colocarla en un lugar determinado, produciéndose así una unión inmediata y claramente sensible entre significante y significado, fin principal de la enseñanza intuitiva. Manjón lo explica en pocas palabras en la siguiente cita, en la que, además de la enseñanza intuitiva, hace referencia a la enseñanza activa y al aire libre, los tres ejes esenciales de su pedagogía:

[El niño/a] ha conseguido, pues, con tales procedimientos, fijar la atención, grabar la idea y unir inseparablemente idea y palabra, oxigenar el pulmón y desarrollarle, junto con los músculos, y ha logrado convertir la enseñanza en acción y transformar el jardín en escuela y el juego en enseñanza⁷².

Sin duda, esta metodología llamó la atención de toda la comunidad educativa, política y social del país. La gran mayoría alabó los argumentos y procedimientos que ofertó Manjón, sin embargo, muchos otros/as los cuestionaron. Algunas de las críticas iban dirigidas contra su metodología lúdica. A diferencia de lo que sostenían los principales pedagogos defensores de la enseñanza a través del juego como Friedrich Fröebel, en las Escuelas del Ave-María no se daba a los niños/as las herramientas necesarias para que ellos mismos los crearan. Al contrario, el niño/a debía acoplarse a juegos prescritos, muy bien definidos desde el principio, orientados a otro de los fines que buscaba Manjón: la enseñanza de la religión cristiana.

⁷¹ «Mi madre, mi madrecita, / como la mía no hay ninguna / Que me calentaba mi carita / con el calor de la suya». *Gráficos aplicables a la escena de Gramática Castellana, de Historia de España, de Geografía Descriptiva*, cit., pp. 112-113.

⁷² Cfr. Montero Vives, *Educación enseñando la Geografía y la Historia según D. Andrés Manjón*, cit., p. 24.

En la pedagogía de Manjón el niño, en lugar de ser un creador de sus propios conceptos e ideas, es un colaborador mecánico. El sistema está ya creado de antemano al niño conforme a un orden inmutable, y orientado a un fin evidente, la práctica de la doctrina de Cristo⁷³.

En esta misma línea distintos autores y autoras plantearon que la pedagogía manjoniana no fomentaba la creatividad del niño/a, ni su sentido crítico ni la capacidad de aprender a pensar por sí mismos, en buena medida porque abusó del aprendizaje memorístico en los juegos (personalización), los gráficos y la simbología⁷⁴. De igual modo, se cuestionaron algunos aspectos del discurso desarrollado por Manjón en sus explicaciones, puesto que en ocasiones estaba afectado de una cierta subjetividad. Así lo hizo constar en un artículo publicado por la *Escuela Moderna* en 1920 Gerardo Rodríguez García. En él se recoge el testimonio de Celedonio Villa cuando visita las escuelas manjonianas. Éste cuenta que en la exposición que se encontraba en el interior de la escuela había colocada una gran cruz sobre el retrato de la reina D^a María Cristina. Según Manjón, esta cruz explicaba la culpabilidad de dicha soberana por la pérdida de las colonias junto con «la vida de cien mil españoles, cuatro mil millones de pesetas y ocho millones de súbditos, más el honor y la gloria formada por toda una leyenda de proezas y hazañas». Este tipo de juicios estuvieron presentes en las explicaciones que se llevaron a cabo, a través de las escrituras expuestas, en los patios de estas escuelas⁷⁵. La crítica que realiza Gerardo Rodríguez ante esta anécdota no puede ser más pedagógica:

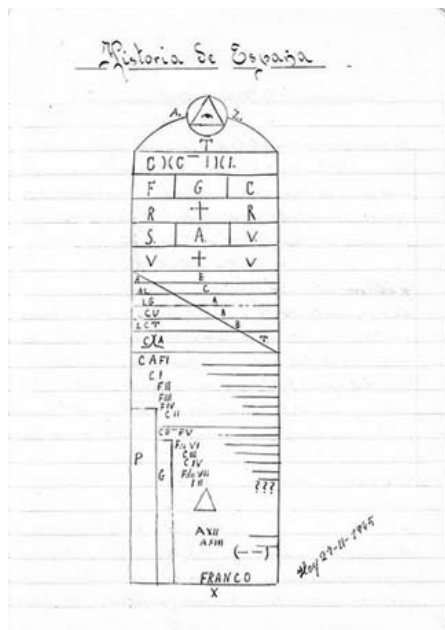
Ciertamente, es un hecho innegable la coincidencia de todas esas desdichas nacionales con la regencia de S.M. la reina D^a María Cristina. Pero no es justo cargar, ante los niños, todo el peso del desastre sobre una personalidad única, a quien la Historia juzgará, en definitiva, con más serenidad que la que parece emplear el Sr. Manjón en este arreglo simbólico, que no puede menos de producir en las imaginaciones infantiles un efecto que el educador juicioso debe evitar, más que cultivar. Si queremos señalar responsabilidades históricas, hagámoslo; pero dando a conocer a la juventud el proceso entero, en su curso secular⁷⁶.

⁷³ R. Pérez de Ayala, *La Educación de España. Las Escuelas del Ave-María*, «El Imparcial», n. 16.582, 1913, p. 3.

⁷⁴ M. Carbonell Sánchez, *Enseñanza viva*, «La Escuela Moderna», n. 298, 1916, pp. 329-331.

⁷⁵ Otros ejemplos de esta subjetividad en el discurso de Manjón pudo estar presente en la explicación de la Rayuela de la Historia donde, en el mismo gráfico, se inscriben tres interrogaciones que representan la Revolución del 68, el reinado de Amadeo de Saboya y la I República para manifestar su desacuerdo con estas formas de gobierno, como ya hemos visto. O la inscripción de un triángulo para culpar a la masonería del destrone de Isabel II.

⁷⁶ G. Rodríguez García, *Las escuelas Manjón y Siurot*, «La Escuela Moderna», n. 349, 1920, p. 705. En algunas de las anotaciones que escribe Manjón en su diario comprobamos que Gerardo Rodríguez nunca admiró la obra de Manjón ni que este fue simpatizante de la revista «La Escuela Moderna» ni de las personas que la representaban pues iba en contra de sus principios religiosos: «dirigida por quienes tiran a la secularización o laicismo de la enseñanza». Prellezo García (ed.), *Diario del P. Manjón 1895-1923*, cit., p. 311.



Pic. 12

Los relieves y las inscripciones también fueron sometidos a examen. En general la crítica se refirió a la rigidez que suponía, por un lado, aprender el significado de los gráficos, como ya se ha mencionado, y, por otro, la imposibilidad de poderse actualizar, según evolucionaran las ideas pedagógicas, una vez que se habían fijado en los suelos de los patios:

Me hacen gracia los gráficos con ladrillos puestos de canto, pues revelan en el que los concibió que tuvo la idea de haber encontrado el procedimiento definitivo, y para que no se desvirtuara su esencia le asegura su permanencia en ladrillo, consiguiendo así que se transmita sin alteración a las generaciones venideras. ¡Desconocimiento de la enseñanza y de los niños! La mejor cualidad de un gráfico es que se pueda renovar con frecuencia y que sean los niños quienes los construyan⁷⁷.

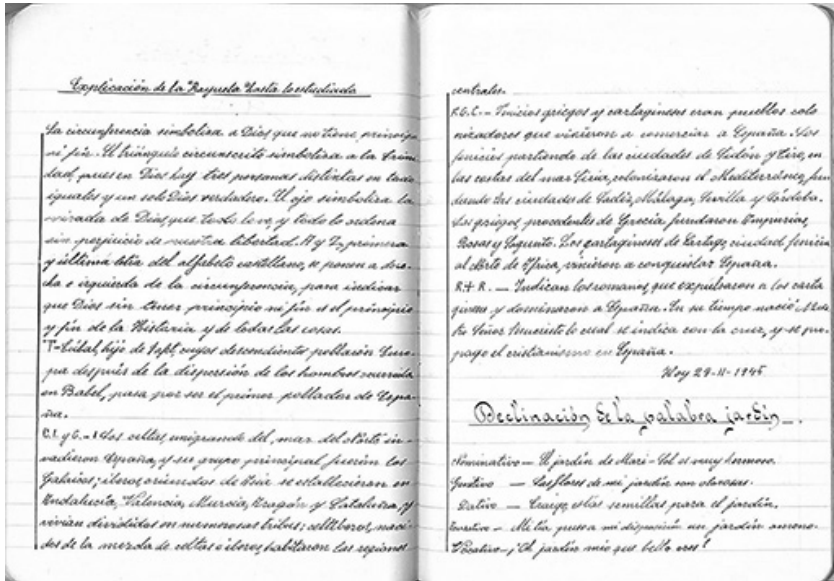
Fallecido Manjón, las críticas a su pedagogía continuaron y con ellas se consumó la decadencia de algunos de sus procedimientos. Así lo manifestó Blas Caballero Sánchez, director de la Escuela del Ave-María de Arnao (Asturias), en sus memorias publicadas en 1970:

Recuerdo [...] cierto día que ante unos cuarenta párvulos sentados al aire libre en unas gradas de ladrillo, como era habitual en la práctica de los métodos manjonianos (digo «era» porque de aquello queda poquísimo, o no queda nada, debido a incalificables ingratinidades y acientíficas «renovaciones», tan distantes del espíritu del P. Manjón como de la caridad cristiana que dio vida a su Obra), don Pedro desarrolló como tema de su lección «La fealdad de las malas palabras»⁷⁸.

Sin embargo, los gráficos difundidos por Manjón tuvieron bastante repercusión, aunque sin los fines perseguidos por su fundador. Tanto es así que, muchos años después de su muerte, algunos de ellos siguieron dibujándose en cuadernos escolares como su puede ver en el de Primitiva Jiménez (pic. 12 y pic. 13), en el curso académico 1944-1945, en el que se incluye un gráfico de la rayuela de la Historia de España.

⁷⁷ D. Bayón, *Escuelas del Ave María. Dos puntos de vista*, «Escuelas de España», vol. 4, 1929, p. 65.

⁷⁸ B. Caballero Sánchez, *Cincuenta años de magisterio*, Oviedo, Gráficas Summa, 1970, p. 16. Para saber más sobre Blas Caballero Sánchez como director de la Escuela del Ave-María de Arnao (Asturias), así como de dicha escuela véase: García López, *Las Escuelas del Ave María de Arnao*, cit., 2004.



Pic. 13

Como conclusión podemos decir que Manjón rompe la norma establecida en la escuela del momento. Con la creación de este programa de exposición gráfica escolar, el aula deja de ser un espacio interior, sacro y rígido para convertirse en exterior, lúdico y activo. Esta transformación espacial fue acompañada de una pedagogía innovadora, en la que la escritura expuesta, representada por las inscripciones y relieves, fue redefinida y pasó a formar parte del curriculum de las Escuelas del Ave-María. Y que a pesar de las críticas, en muchos casos certeras, Manjón supo utilizar los recursos necesarios para difundir su metodología. Para ello aceptó la visita de todos cuantos quisieron conocer su modo de enseñar, aceptó como la mejor de las donaciones la difusión de su labor y no dejó de escribir y publicar textos que explicaban y defendían sus propuestas tal y como vemos en la siguiente cita:

Si alguno nos pregunta por qué empleamos este medio, le diremos que por varios motivos. Uno es que los niños se muevan, otro que se fijen, otro que jueguen, otro que tracen gráficos, otro que por las líneas se graben las ideas, otro que como el gráfico es una especie de pauta, en ella caben lo poco y lo mucho, los hechos principales para los que empiezan y las ampliaciones y detalles para los que amplían y perseveran⁷⁹.

⁷⁹ Manjón, *Hojas catequísticas y pedagógicas del Ave María* por D. Andrés Manjón: el hombre español o *Historia de España*, cit., p. 82.

Changes in and challenges of the secondary teacher training system in Budapest during the Great War and the period immediately following it*

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ABSTRACT: In this paper we examine the patterns of secondary teacher training in continental Europe and their impact on the development of the teaching profession in Hungary. We focus on teacher training institutions at the University of Budapest between 1914 and 1924. We employed a qualitative approach in our research. We therefore gained the results by carrying out hermeneutical document analysis of archival sources and analysing the content of secondary literature. We also used the theory of professionalization to interpret the results. Furthermore, the recollection, national tradition and places of

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memory (*lieux de mémoire*) notions implemented by Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora were used in our study to explore the «recollection layers» of the Eötvös Collegium as a national historical site. During our investigations we found that the relationship between the Ministry of Religion and Public Education and the institutions of secondary teacher training (Secondary Teacher Training Institution, National Secondary Teacher Examination Committee and Baron Eötvös József Collegium) was based on cooperation within the framework of state regulation until 1918. The Baron Eötvös József Collegium was founded on the «scholar teacher» principle. The boarding school, which based on the French *grandes écoles* system was considered an important element of secondary teacher training. This was illustrated by the fact that various political regimes interfered with the operation of the institute by directly regulating it. Some of these measures were symbolic but others transformed the inner life of the boarding school and influenced training. The Collegium was an integral part of the secondary teacher training system, thus it is a historical memorial site which refers to Hungarian secondary teacher training prior to 1950. This reference is an important «recollection layer» which allows researchers to explore the peculiarities of the secondary teacher training system in the Hungarian capital.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; History of colleges; Secondary teacher training; Hungary; XXth Century.

Introduction

In the second half of the 19th century, two typical pedagogical professional cultures and knowledge systems emerged (lower – primary schoolteachers and upper – secondary teachers). These differed from one another in several important respects¹. This emergence occurred in different time periods, with shifts in different regions of Europe from the very end of the 18th century to the turn of the 20th century. It was also a parallel process to the formation of modern nation states and thus involved several complex and dynamic micro and macro structural changes. Within this framework, a dual public education system (mass education and training of the elites) and various pedagogical professions (secondary teacher, vocational school teachers, elementary teachers) and university disciplines (education and its sub disciplines) came into existence in European countries.

The professionalization of secondary teachers was the focus of the aforementioned complex historical process. In this paper we try to focus on the development of the secondary teacher profession in Hungary, similarities to other developments in Europe and its peculiarities at national level. With the emergence of the Hungarian dual public education system, the fundamentals of the Hungarian secondary teaching profession also developed in the era of

¹ A. Németh, *A pedagógusszerep történeti változásai*, in A. Németh, B. Pukánszky (edd.), *A magyar pedagógia tudománytörténete, Nemzetközi tudományfejlesztési és recepciós hatások, nemzeti sajátosságok*, Budapest, Gondolat, 2005, pp. 470-471.

the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy². We examine this branch of the pedagogic profession and its particularities. Therefore, our paper could be viewed as a case study because we concentrate on the development and challenges of teacher training facilities at the University of Budapest between 1914 and 1924. In our research we focused on the Baron Eötvös József Collegium, from which the educational political elite expected to succeed in solving the problems of teacher training³. We also want to find an answer to the question of why various political regimes of the 20th and 21th centuries have paid special attention to the teacher boarding school⁴.

Theoretical framework of the study

This is a qualitative study in which we use the theory of professionalization and the recollection, national tradition and places of memory (*lieux de mémoire*) notions invented and examined by Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora to interpret data from primary and secondary sources⁵. The data are interpreted after the hermeneutic document analysis of archival sources and content analysis of secondary literature⁶.

Early Hungarian reforms were made some time after the main European development trends of the 19th century. The professionalization process was a basic component of 19th century modernization, which was linked to the formation and prevalence of a modern national governing system. As a result of this process, highly educated and influential professional elites emerged across Europe. This was directly related to the fact that these professionals played a significant role in the governance of modern European nation states. By examining these developments (theoretical and practical aspects of the teaching profession), English-speaking («Anglo-Saxon») researchers invented the notion of ‘professionalization’ to illustrate the transformation from special intellectual activities and functions into professions.

² A. Németh, *A magyar pedagógia tudománytörténete, Nemzetközi tudományfejlődési és recepciós hatások, nemzeti sajátosságok*, Budapest, Gondolat, 2005, pp. 104-105.

³ See 28.258/1895. IV. Session to discuss the principles of the teacher training boarding school in the Ministry of Religion and Public Education (MRPE) held on 23rd May 1895. Budapest, 23rd May 1895. Mednyánszky Dénes Library and Archive (MDLA) 88th box, 185/1st dossier.

⁴ I. Garai, *A tanári elítőkészítés műhelye, A Báró Eötvös József Collegium története 1895-1950*, Budapest, ELTE Eötvös József Collegium, 2016, pp. 359-360; A. Ladányi, *A középiskolai tanárképzés története*, Budapest, Akadémiai, 2008, p. 110.

⁵ I. Romsics, *Clio bővületében. Magyar történetírás a 19-20. században – nemzetközi kitekintéssel*, Budapest, Osiris, 2011, pp. 234-235.

⁶ K. Kéri, *Bevezetés a neveléstörténeti kutatások módszertanába*, Budapest, Műszaki, 2001, pp. 69-73; I. Szabolcs, D. Éva, *(Analitikus) jellegű kutatások*, in I. Falus et al. (edd.), *Bevezetés a pedagógiai kutatás módszereibe*, Budapest, Keraban, 2011, pp. 84-94.

The formation of professionals was seen as one of the most important social changes in the modernization process by Talcott Parsons⁷. The Anglo-Saxon or structuralist direction of professionalization research⁸ was based on its ideal-typical features, and a critical approach to the professionalization process evolved as a result. The emergence of this direction was facilitated by Harald Perkin's ideas. He concluded that the connection between professional groups and the market was influenced by the influence of the state⁹. By using the «Berufskonstruktuion» notion introduced by Hans A. Hesse, this critical approach examines the formation of professions across continental Europe¹⁰.

The state-controlled education systems in continental Europe meant that professional development in these regions differed from the Anglo-Saxon model. In most of the countries on the continent (especially in Central-Eastern Europe), the institutionalization of professional activities began with the enlightened absolutist states' attempts to centralise. One development trend was connected to Napoleon, who established the French secular public education system. From 1808, all schools in the public and tertiary education sectors were assigned to the Education Authority (Université France). By supporting the development of lyceums and grandes écoles, Napoleon's reform centralized and unified the whole education system, which trained efficient professionals to satisfy the needs of the army and public administration.

The main aim of French higher educational institutions was to provide students with the practical knowledge which would allow them to practise as professionals successfully or permit them to certify others in the field. This practical education was combined with selective and competitive admission processes and an examination system. As publicly financed and maintained scientific institutions, faculties provided candidates with degrees which enabled them to practise their profession in their relevant field. In accordance with the competences and administrative regulations of these faculties, the degrees were valid throughout the country and guaranteed to the public that graduates were highly trained. Furthermore, they also functioned as a 'permit' for practising the professions¹¹.

⁷ C.E. McClelland, *The German experience of professionalization, Modern learned professions and their organizations from the early nineteenth century to the Hitler era*, Cambridge-New York-Sydney, Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 12; C. Ruane, *Gender, class and the professionalization of Russian city teachers, 1860-1914*, Pittsburgh-London, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994, pp. 5-6.

⁸ E. Freidson, *Are professions necessary?*, in T.L. Haskell (ed.), *The authority of experts. Studies in history and theory*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1984, pp. 3-27; M.S. Larson, *The rise of professionalism, A sociological study*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, University of California Press, 1977.

⁹ Ruane, *Gender, class and the professionalization of Russian city teachers*, cit., p. 7.

¹⁰ McClelland, *The German experience of professionalization*, cit., p. 13.

¹¹ V. Karády, *A francia egyetem Napóleontól Vichyig*, Felsőoktatási Kutatóintézet – Új Mandátum, 2005, p. 185.

Prussian school reforms established the other type of centralized school system in Europe from the 18th century onwards. The transformation of secondary schools had already begun in the last quarter of this century, and resulted in the development of German secondary schools (Gymnasiums). The King of Prussia established the Upper Schools' College (Oberschulkollegium) that centralized the administrative governance system of education. In 1788, final examinations (Abitur) became compulsory in secondary schools and at the same time the Philological Seminar (Philologische Seminar) was set up for the standardized training of secondary teachers. These measures also influenced the renewal initiatives of the University of Berlin. Philological training was transformed and extended, which led to modernization of the university's organizational structures. As a result of the amendments to the training, the philosophy faculty's preparatory role was no longer necessary. The traditional preparatory function of the Faculty of Arts was not needed anymore because the secondary school education and final examinations prepared students sufficiently for university studies.

The German model of secondary teaching began to expand across Central-Europe with the implementation of the examination for upper secondary teachers in 1810 (Prüfung der Schulamt-Candidaten). This type of training created a new intellectual group which severed its ties with theological training. It also allowed secondary teachers to become independent professionals. The aim of the 1810 Edict on teacher examinations was to train teachers in a range of subjects and not just to be experts in certain ones. Consequently, they became familiar with the depth of human cultural achievement. This was a basic component of their training which also transformed their personalities and attitude towards education. Nevertheless, later examination decrees in the 1830s and 1860s tended towards training experts in secondary school subjects¹². By using the regulatory tools of the state, these decrees also helped secondary teachers as an evolving professional group to create and refine their training system, regulate the conditions for graduation and limit fraudulent practices¹³. Thanks to their qualifications, ideological importance and social function, secondary teachers were, as civil servants, independent and free from the excessive influence of religion and local magistrates in the countryside¹⁴.

¹² P. Lundgreen, *Berufskonstruktion und Professionalisierung in historische Perspektive*, in H.J. Apel, P.-K. Horn, P. Lundgreen et al. (edd.), *Professionalisierung Pädagogischer Berufe im historischen Prozess*, Bad Heilbrunn, Klinghardt, 1999, pp. 22-23.

¹³ M. Heidenreich, *Berufskonstruktion und Professionalisierung, Erträgen soziologischen Forschung*, in Apel, Horn, Lundgreen et al. (edd.), *Professionalisierung pädagogischen Berufe im historischen Prozess*, cit., pp. 42-43.

¹⁴ K-E. Jeismann, *Zur Professionalisierung der Gymnasiallehrer in 19. Jahrhundert*, in Apel, Horn, Lundgreen et al. (edd.), *Professionalisierung pädagogischen Berufe im historischen Prozess*, cit., pp. 67-68.

In addition to the theory of professionalization, we also took Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora's findings on recollection and its transformation into historical narrative into account as part of this study¹⁵. Halbwachs separated individual recollection, social strata and national tradition from one another. Moreover, Nora reflected on Halbwachs' interpretation by creating the notion of places of memory (*lieux de mémoire*)¹⁶. National identity comprises places of memory, therefore they can exist in various forms (festivals, monuments or autobiographies). They have one common feature: by becoming part of the historical canon, they help to form and maintain an institutionalized connection between the past and the present. In short, they create and sustain national identity¹⁷.

Places of memory evolve through the disappearance of natural recollection. These distinguished places help to create a dialogue between the past and the present through the process of recollection¹⁸. Nevertheless, remembrance can also be used for political purposes in order to restructure national identity or overwrite parts of it according to political ideologies¹⁹. These notions can be useful in order to explore the reasons behind distinguished attention to the Eötvös Collegium by all political regimes in Hungary in the 20th and even the 21st century. It can also help to reveal the «remembrance layers» of Eötvös Collegium as a place of memory²⁰.

Institutional development of secondary teacher training in Hungary in the second half of the 19th century

The implementation of the Organisationsentwurf²¹ in 1849 facilitated the development of secondary teachers as a professional group by establishing core secondary school institutions (8-grade Gymnasiums and 6-grade secondary modern schools). Furthermore, reforms at the University of Pest followed the transformation of secondary training²². During the political ease in the early

¹⁵ P. Nora, *Emlékezet és történelem között. Válogatott tanulmányok*, Budapest, Napvilág, 2009, pp. 14-15.

¹⁶ Romsics, *Clio bővületében*, cit., pp. 234-235.

¹⁷ Nora, *Emlékezet és történelem között*, cit., pp. 22-23; E. Bartha, *A társadalmi osztályok pszichológiája, Kollektív tudat, szükségletek és az osztályfogalom Maurice Halbwachs munkájában*, «Fordulat», vol. 2, n. 5, 2009, pp. 129-130.

¹⁸ Nora, *Emlékezet és történelem között*, cit., p. 19.

¹⁹ H. White, *Metatörténelem, A 19. századi Európa történelmi képzelőereje*, in J. Gyurgyák, T. Kisantal, *Történelem-elmélet*, Budapest, Osiris, 2006, Vol. II, p. 881.

²⁰ See 303/2011. (XII. 23) decree of the Hungarian government on historical sites.

²¹ Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Österreich.

²² I. Garai, A. Németh, *Construction of the national state and the institutionalization processes of the modern Hungarian secondary school teacher training system*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 5, n. 1, 2018, p. 223.

1860s between the Habsburg dynasty and the Hungarian political elite, it became possible to graduate in secondary school subjects. In 1862 Teacher Examination Committees were set up separately for teacher candidates in Gymnasiums and secondary modern schools. These committees both came under the directorship of József Sztoczek, the former head of the Teacher Examination Committee of Secondary Modern Schools, in 1875. The new Committee's name was the National Secondary School Teaching Examination Committee of Budapest (NSSTEC), whose title referred to its role in certifying teachers throughout Hungary and for all types of secondary schools²³.

In addition, the Secondary Teacher Training Institution (STTI) was established in accordance with the plans of József Eötvös²⁴ in 1870²⁵. The institution initially had four departments²⁶. A pedagogical division was also created in 1872. The 'practice secondary school' for teacher candidates was assigned to the pedagogical division, although the head of the institute later became the director of the secondary school²⁷. The main aim of the teacher training institute was to provide students with a more systematic preparation for the practice of the profession. To achieve this aim, members of the institute were expected to study 15 hours at the faculty of philosophy and they also had to attend courses at the institute and prepare assignments²⁸. Essentially, students prepared for the profession within the framework of German-type seminars at the institute. Nevertheless, these seminar type-courses were run under the supervision of the head of the institute, which was not the case with seminars at German universities. Eötvös thought that running all the seminars would help address the challenges of teacher training in a more efficient way²⁹.

However, his expectations of efficiency remained unfulfilled. For that reason, the faculty of philosophy made recommendations for amending the teacher training system in 1878. The faculty proposed extending university studies by one year and also wanted to establish seminars for all secondary subjects³⁰.

²³ Tv. 274/1876. Letter from József Sztoczek, the head of NSSTEC, to the MRPE about the examination fees. Budapest, 6th April 1876. Hungarian National Archive National Archive (HNA NA) K 636 198th box, 30. title (1925).

²⁴ He was the first MRPE in Hungary.

²⁵ A. Bartal, *A Pesti m. Kir. tudomány-egyetem bölcsészeti kara mellett középtanodai tanárjelöltek számára felállított állami tanárképezdének története*, in Id. (ed.), *A M. Kir. Középtanodai Tanárképezde értesítője az 1870/1871-1872/1873. évi időszokról*, Pest, Pesti Könyvnyomda Részvénytársaság, 1873, p. 4.

²⁶ Classical-philology, history-geography, maths-physics, natural history. Codex of Teacher Training Institute, 1872, 2. § quoted by Bartal, *A Pesti m. Kir. tudomány-egyetem bölcsészeti kara*, cit., pp. 13-14.

²⁷ I. Kiss, *A Trefor utcai «minta», Az ELTE Ságvári Endre Gyakorlóiskola története*, Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 1987, pp. 11-15.

²⁸ Codex of Teacher Training Institute, 1872, 22. § quoted by Antal, *A Pesti m. Kir. tudomány-egyetem bölcsészeti kara*, cit., pp. 5-33.

²⁹ Bartal, *A Pesti m. Kir. tudomány-egyetem bölcsészeti kara*, cit., pp. 4-5.

³⁰ Proposal of Faculty of Philosophy on the development of secondary teacher training, 1878,

These reforms were implemented in the 1880s, however these seminars focused more on the academic aspects of the subjects rather than teacher training. Even contemporaries did not believe these seminars significantly improved teacher training³¹.

The 30th Act of Parliament of 1883³² did not clarify the relationship between teacher training institutions either. It was unclear whether the teacher training institute or seminars at the university would be recognized as main sites of teacher training. It was telling that the STTI was mentioned only once in the text³³, thus contemporaries often complained about the ambiguities of the teacher training «system»³⁴.

By the middle of the 1890s, the situation regarding teacher training became critical because of a lack of adequately trained secondary teachers³⁵. The son of József Eötvös, Loránd Eötvös, was MRPE between 1894 and 1895 and he decided to renew his plan to set up a teacher training boarding school similar to the Parisian École Normale Supérieure. This was also proposed by the National Secondary Teacher Association in 1885³⁶. Thankfully, Eötvös' successor, Gyula Wlassics, supported this idea and for that reason he provided financial support to the new institute. The Baron Eötvös József Collegium was established under the curatorship³⁷ of Loránd Eötvös and the directorship of Géza Bartoniek on 21st September 1895³⁸.

By signing his supreme decision in Ischle on 5th October 1895, Franz Josef, the emperor of the Dual Monarchy, also approved the establishment of the institute³⁹. The head of state thereby gave his symbolic approval of the boarding school's objectives. Consequently, the Collegium was launched with the consent of the highest-ranking political figures. This reflects the importance attached to it and explains why particular attention was paid to the institute during the regime changes that took place later in the 20th century.

pp. 24-27 quoted by M. Kármán, *A tanárképzés és az egyetemi oktatás*, Pedagógiai tanulmány, Eggenberger, Budapest, 1895, pp. 20-30.

³¹ Z. Beöthy, *Az egyetemi tanárképzés kérdéséhez, Az egyetemi seminariumok, Ösztöndíjak és ellátás, A tanárképző-intézet átalakítása*, Budapest, Hornyánszky, Viktor, 1894, p. 4.

³² 30th Act of Parliament of 1883 *on secondary schools and training of teachers*.

³³ § 26 of 30th Act of Parliament of 1883; G. Orosz, *A debreceni Országos Magyar királyi Középiskolai Tanárképző Intézet*, Debrecen, University of Debrecen, [Sine anno], p. 2.

³⁴ Kármán, *A tanárképzés és az egyetemi oktatás*, cit., p. II.

³⁵ 25874/1898. MRPE's 5th department opinion on the planned development of Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 18th May 1898. MDLA 88th box, 185/4th dossier.

³⁶ Garai, *A tanári elitképzés műhelye*, cit., p. 44. Ladányi, *A középiskolai tanárképzés története*, cit. p. 28.

³⁷ The curator was the supreme leader of the Collegium. He was the link between the ministry and the Collegium and represented the institute in public.

³⁸ 9/1895. Letter from Loránd Eötvös to the MRPE in relation to the launch of the Collegium. Budapest, 17th September, 1895. MDLA 88th box, 185/1st dossier.

³⁹ L. Kósa, *Dokumentumok az Eötvös József Collegium történetéből*, in Id. (ed.), *Szabadon szolgál a szellem, Tanulmányok és dokumentumok a száz esztendeje alapított Eötvös József Collegium történetéből*, Budapest, Griff, 1995, pp. 170-172.

Although the boarding school was an experiment in the very early period of its operation, it followed the «Instructions» of the STTI⁴⁰ in its training program. The students worked in small groups and in seminars, and their academic training was supported by the library of the institute⁴¹. Furthermore, French language assistants and, from 1912, German language assistants assisted with training. They were expected to be involved in the everyday lives of the students. Full catering was also provided to members of the Collegium; this made education at the institute rather exclusive compared to the standards of teaching and living experienced by ordinary university students in Hungary at the time⁴².

The institute was expected to fulfil the concept of «scholar teacher» created by the educational political elite. This expectation was reflected in the 1899 reforms of Loránd Eötvös, who implemented the changes as president of the STTI⁴³. The new regulation changed the inner structure of the institute significantly⁴⁴ and gave the teacher training system a clearer structure. Eötvös wanted teacher training to comprise STTI training, the Eötvös Collegium and secondary school practice for prospective teachers⁴⁵. These measures fundamentally influenced the development of teacher training institutions in subsequent decades.

Teacher training institutions during the Great War

The various institutions in the teaching training system found themselves in very different circumstances at the beginning of the Great War. By this time, the NSSTEC had, in vain, been trying to convince the MRPE of the need to increase the fees for teacher qualification examinations, the budget of the NSSTEC and the pay of committee members for decades. The committee tried to urge the ministry to raise the fees in 1906, 1912 and 1913⁴⁶. Finally the ministry considered accepting the proposals, however the planned measures were postponed because of the war. Negotiations on the proposals began in

⁴⁰ «Instructions» of STTI contained the exact content and requirements of teacher qualification examinations and the specific curriculum for each subject.

⁴¹ 92/1925. Géza Bartoniek's proposal for restricting the demands of 27th Act of Parliament § 4th (2) in 1924. Budapest, 19th August 1925. MDLA 50th box, 95/4th dossier.

⁴² Garai, *A tanári elitképzés műhelye*, cit., p. 78.

⁴³ Tk. 51/1899. Letter from Loránd Eötvös to Gyula Walssics MRPE on the approval of the new STTI regulation. Budapest, 30th September 1899. Archive of ELTE 15/b box, 7th dossier.

⁴⁴ [Sine anno]: Regulation of STTI, Budapest, Published by the decree of MRPE No. 38640 in 1899, 1899, § 3-8.

⁴⁵ [Sine anno]: Regulation of STTI, cit., § 2.

⁴⁶ 309/1913. Letter from Zsolt Beöthy, the head of NSSTEC, to the MRPE about the need to increase the fees for teacher qualification examinations. Budapest, 20th November 1913. HNA NA K 636 164th box, 30th title (1923).

1917, when the co-committees of Debrecen and Kolozsvár (now Cluj-Napoca)⁴⁷ demanded the NSSTEC proposals by pointing out that the examination fees of co-professions (solicitors, physicians and engineers) were higher than teacher training exams. On 14th February 1918, the cabinet decided to double the spending on the honorarium of members of the committee and the fees for teacher examinations⁴⁸. Due to the high inflation rate at the very end of the war, the committee felt compelled to request another increase in fees.

It was clear that the profession of secondary teacher had a relatively low status, however this was not only reflected in low examination fees in comparison with those for other professions but also in a low budget for administrative obligations. Requests for increasing this budget were made when the committee was set up⁴⁹. The administrative costs of the NSSTEC were funded on a casual basis until 1872. At that time, the ministry decided to provide the committee with a regular amount (100 forints) to cover the costs of administrative matters and the fees paid to the head of the committee⁵⁰. Indeed, this little amount of money was not enough to cover all the expenses of the NSSTEC. Furthermore, the committee should have been provided with more funding because of the increased administrative pressure resulting from an increased number of prospective teachers. Károly Hofer, deputy head of the committee, made it clear in his letter to the ministry that the NSSTEC was feasible because the directors of the committee were rectors and deans at the same time. They could therefore use their own administrative staff to address the issues of the committee. Furthermore, the sharing of staff with STTI also allowed administrative costs to be reduced. By the time of the Great War, funding was still insufficient. After 1906, the NSSTEC and STTI moved into a common office, although they each had different leaders. They therefore shared their administrative staff in order to compensate for the lack of financial resources⁵¹.

Nevertheless, the STTI did not have to face financial problems until 1918 (at least this was not mentioned by Gedeon Petz, the head of the institute, in the files he sent to the ministry). Most of the university students were called up when the war broke out, which put their studies in the faculty of philosophy on hold. This phenomenon also affected the work of the STTI. The return of

⁴⁷ The University of Kolozsvár was established in 1872 and the University of Debrecen was set up in 1912. Shortly after their foundation, the MRPE established secondary teacher examination committees and teacher training institutions at the new universities.

⁴⁸ Proposal for the cabinet on the increase in teacher qualification fees. Lajos Tóth under-secretary. Budapest, 5th February 1918. HNA NA K 636 197th box, 30th title (1925).

⁴⁹ See Tv. 57/1868. Letter from József Sztocek, Head of the University of Engineering and Teacher Examination Committee of Secondary Modern Schools, to MRPE. Buda, 4th August 1868. HNA NA K 636 198th box, 30th title (1925).

⁵⁰ No. 8106/1872. III. Decree of MRPE on the 100-forint annual funding for the NSSTEC. HNA NA 198th box, 30th title (1925).

⁵¹ Tv. 1421/1914. Letter from Zsolt Beöthy to the MRPE about the administrative budget of the NSSTEC. HNA NA K 636 198th box, 30th title (1925).

students en masse from the front lines made it almost impossible to satisfy their needs. The invasion of Transylvania by the Romanian army also affected the institution in August 1916. Oszkár Netoliczka, the head of the Lutheran secondary school in Kronstadt, fled and was allowed to give German literature lectures to teacher candidates until 1917⁵².

The unique position and influence of Eötvös Collegium was reinforced even further in government cultural policy and teacher training in the period leading up to the war. At the very beginning, Loránd Eötvös suggested some purposeful developments in the further operation of the institute. According to these proposals, the number of students was to be increased to 100 in the long term in order to train 25 highly qualified teachers for the Hungarian public education system annually. The prerequisites of this measure were to extend the headquarters, hire more teachers and double the number of language assistants. The new French language assistant was to be a historian in order to be able to teach French and write academic papers which would improve relations between the two countries⁵³. As a result of the suggested proposals, new headquarters were built and were opened in October 1911. The appearance of the new palace reflected the Collegium's significance in the affairs of the State⁵⁴. This was amplified by the fact that scholarship was granted to Bosnian and Turkish students so that Hungarophile intellectuals could be trained for the political and imperial aspirations of the Monarchy in the Balkan peninsula⁵⁵.

This development unfortunately proved to be short-lived because of the war. Effective academic work faltered as many of the students, like ordinary university students, were drafted into the armed forces. In addition, French language assistants also left the institute as political tensions increased in the first days of August 1914⁵⁶. Members of the teaching staff were also forced into military service.

Eötvös expressed his concerns about the fate of the institute in August 1914. He was afraid that the Collegium would become a hospital or army barracks⁵⁷. His fears were unfortunately confirmed when 32 injured soldiers were hospitalized for 10 months in the institute in 1914/1915. Furthermore, 16 families were given accommodation shortly after the Romanian invasion in Transylvania in 1916. In the summer of 1918, the return of soldiers en masse and the prospect of losing the war created a critical situation in the boarding school.

⁵² Tk. 58/1916. Letter from Gedeon Petz, the Head of STTI, to MRPE. Budapest, 25th October 1916. HNA NA K 636 85th box, 25th title (1920).

⁵³ 23/1898. Letter from Loránd Eötvös to Gyula Wlassics MRPE about the development of the Collegium. Budapest, 22nd April, 1898. MDLA 88th box, 185/4th dossier.

⁵⁴ Garai, *A tanári elitképzés műhelye*, cit., p. 127.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

⁵⁶ 98/1914. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to MRPE about citizens of hostile countries. Budapest, 8th October 1914. MDLA 50th box, 96/2nd dossier.

⁵⁷ Letter from Loránd Eötvös to Géza Bartoniek. Schulterbach, 9th August 1914. MDLA 39th box, 65th dossier.

Students returning from the trenches spent most of their time foraging for food to supplement their poor course, which they were given in the institute⁵⁸. This resulted in the need to relax the strict inner order of the Collegium. Unwanted changes were prevalent and almost unmanageable due to the turbulent political atmosphere resulting from the lost war, and divided students⁵⁹.

Teacher training after the lost war

Teacher candidates came in droves from the front lines to continue their studies in the summer of 1918. Their influx overwhelmed the institutes of the university, so the Authority of Veteran Teacher Candidates organized courses in order to enable them to continue their studies. These courses began in February and March 1919⁶⁰ and continued after the declaration of Hungarian Soviet Republic on 21st March 1919. The Public Education Commissariat became the successor of MRPE and inherited the teacher training portfolio. The Commissariat decided to organize further courses for teacher candidates in June 1919. It also regulated the subjects and appointed teachers who were responsible for running the courses⁶¹. Circumstances were unfavourable at the beginning of the program. A total of 373 students wanted to enrol for the course instead of the 200 they had envisaged. Furthermore, many of the appointed teachers refused to run communist-inspired courses, thus key ideological subjects (philosophy, history of socialism) remained without teachers⁶². In spite of the difficulties, the training was delivered in NSSTEC rooms and lasted from 30th June to 22nd August 1919⁶³. In terms of the professionalization of secondary teachers, the ideological courses were rather alien. The new regime suspended the autonomy of the professional elite by changing their career prospects and appointing political nominees to important positions. It also impinged on their cognitive professional knowledge by making ideological subjects compulsory.

Teacher examination committees were filled with members who were loyal to the new regime, just like the aforementioned training courses. Furthermore,

⁵⁸ D. Györi, *A nagy érettségi, Regényes visszaemlékezések*, Budapest, Magvető, 1960, pp. 89-90.

⁵⁹ G. Fėja, *Szabadcsapat, Életregény*, Budapest, Szépirodalmi, 1965, pp. 20-21.

⁶⁰ 81.231/1919. IV. Letter from Gyula Méhes to the Public Education Commissariat. Budapest, 10th April 1919 HNA NA K 636 85th box, 25th title (1920).

⁶¹ 151.606/1919/VI. 1. Letter from the Public Education Commissioner to the Union of Hungarian Teachers. Budapest, 11th June 1919. HNA NA K 636 85th box, 25th title (1920).

⁶² 158120.1919. VI/I. Expenses of summer training for teacher candidates. Letter from Gyula Méhes, Head of Authority of Veteran Teacher Candidates, to the Public Education Commissariat. Budapest, 6th July 1919. HNA NA K636 85th box, 25th title (1920).

⁶³ 176112. XVI. B. Letter from Gyula Méhes, Head of Authority of Veteran Teacher Candidates to the MRPE. Budapest, September 1919. HNA NA 85th box, 25th title (1920).

on 1st June 1919 József Balassa, whose name appeared among the suggested teachers for the summer courses, was appointed director of the STTI. At the same time, former teachers of the teacher training institute were dismissed⁶⁴.

The central institution of the new teacher training system was the Teacher Training College. Balassa wanted to transform the STTI for the sake of the College. He thought that secondary teacher training should be separate from the faculty of philosophy and intended to involve in the operation of the College practicing secondary teachers in order to create a new didactic-methodological training. Consequently, the Commissariat transformed the organization, the content and conditions of teacher training in order to achieve its cultural and political aims.

It soon became obvious for the directorate of the Eötvös Collegium that transformation of the framework for the secondary teacher profession could be threatening for the institute. The Commissariat arbitrarily sent 13 veteran teacher candidates to the boarding school. It also prohibited the institution from applying the usual admission process⁶⁵. Moreover, the inner structure of the boarding school was also changed in accordance with the expectations of the Commissariat, which supplied the students with propaganda materials. It also tried to implement symbolic measures to be more popular with the members. One of these efforts was to change the name of the Collegium. «Lenin Collegium» appeared as a reference to the Eötvös Collegium in the official documents between the institute and the Commissariat⁶⁶. The transformation of the framework resulted in the Collegium losing its autonomy. In accordance with Balassa's intentions, the institute became part of the Secondary Teacher Training College. However, this measure could not be implemented properly due to the chaotic political situation and the fall of the communist political regime⁶⁷.

After 1920, a new political structure emerged which defined itself as being against the revolutions of 1918-1919. Therefore, significant measures were implemented in the field of teacher training. The first decrees served repealed all the acts and edicts of the revolutionary regimes and reinvented the structure and content of the teacher training of the pre-revolutionary order.

MRPE Decree No. 104.291/1920 (15th May 1920) provided the NSSTEC with the right to

⁶⁴ Tk. 241/1919. Dismissal of former members of the STTI. Budapest, 31st May, 1919. Archive of ELTE 15/b, 4th registration book.

⁶⁵ 119/1919. Report of Bartoniek Géza on the prohibited admission process. Budapest, 31st December, 1919. HNA NA K 636 85th box, 25th title (1920).

⁶⁶ Minutes by Géza Bartoniek on the use of the name «Lenin Collegium». Budapest, June 1919. MDLA 88th box, 185/5th dossier.

⁶⁷ Garai, *A tanári elítékézés műhelye*, cit., pp. 177-178.

[...] investigate whether teacher candidates are suitable for educating youth in ethics and the Hungarian national interest. If students are found to be unfit from in accordance with the committee's opinion, their diploma should be withheld by referring to this decree»⁶⁸.

Consequently, the decree gave a clear mandate to the teacher examination committees to examine the candidates' professional readiness and political motives. Moreover, if their political motivations were deemed incompatible with the current ideology, their teacher examinations could be called off. The committee often prescribed further conditions for candidates who had taken their examinations in the communist era in order to acknowledge their examinations validity. In some cases, the committee cancelled candidates' teacher examinations because of their political behaviour.

Their professional autonomy was also threatened by the 53rd Act of Parliament of 1921, which gave political support for propagating PE lessons among youngsters. That was a necessity for the Hungarian government because the peace treaty after the Great War prohibited the existence of conscription. PE teachers tried to transform the neo-humanist content of teacher training courses using their politically favourable position. They wanted PE lessons to become a major subject in secondary schools thus it could have been assigned to other major subjects, e.g. history, geography, etc.⁶⁹ NSSTEC and STTI rejected that proposal, and this resulted in PE lessons being recognized as a third minor subject. The experiment of training teachers specializing in PE as a 3rd subject would have been delegated to the Eötvös Collegium⁷⁰. Tellingly, the professional organizations of teacher training could not prevent the government from interfering in the content of the training. Finally, the plan was derailed by Pál Teleki. The new curator of the Eötvös Collegium also opposed the plan. His political prestige helped to preserve the original content of the training⁷¹.

The lack of financial resources became even more problematic as a result of the enormous inflation rate after the war⁷². Furthermore, the ministry centralized control of the NSSTEC and STTI after 1924⁷³. This centralization was a part

⁶⁸ 104.291/1920. MRPE Decree on the investigation into the validity of former teacher examinations. Budapest, 15th May 1920. quoted by 644774/1924. IV. 22nd March. Proposal of the 4th division of MRPE on the decree of Béla Balda. Budapest, 22nd March 1924. HNA NA K 636 248th box, 30th title (1927).

⁶⁹ 1163/1922. Letter from Zoltán Ábudi, Co-Head of the National PE Association, to MRPE. Budapest, 8th July 1922. HNA NA K636 163rd box, 27th title (1923).

⁷⁰ Report of the session of composited committee dedicated to reform of training of PE teachers. HNA NA K 636. 163rd box, 27th title (1923).

⁷¹ 183/1923. – 5. Letter from Pál Teleki to the MRPE. Budapest, November 1923. HNA NA K 636 163rd box, 27th title (1923). Teleki was a senior politician in Hungary in the early 1920s. He was foreign minister and prime minister.

⁷² 347/1920-1921. Letter from János Melich, the co-president of NSSTEC, to the MRPE about transferring the extra financial support. Budapest, 28th November 1920. HNA NA K 636 183rd box, 30th title (1924).

⁷³ 67532/1924. IV. Letter by Gedeon Petz about the nomination of János Melich as vice

of a longer reform process in which the regulations pertaining to STTI and teacher qualification examinations were altered⁷⁴. The MRPE declared during this reform process that the «National» (N) in NSSTEC should be changed to «Governmental»⁷⁵. The drafting of the new Teacher Training Act also reflected increasing state influence over the professional institutions. The new act enabled the STTI to become an authoritative institution for all the training, which led to a change in the relationship between the institutions.

The leaders of the Eötvös Collegium also recognized the looming prospects of increased state influence. One sign was the abrupt retirement of Géza Bartoniek by the MRPE in June 1921⁷⁶, which alienated the students and supporters of the Collegium. Once again, Teleki helped to ease tensions. He wanted the institute to continue operating without interruption and therefore had Bartoniek's retirement annulled in addition to having the ministry appoint Bartoniek as director again⁷⁷. This plan guided him during negotiations on the reform of PE lessons in which he played an enormous role. Thanks to Teleki's influence in cultural policy and extensive connections in Europe, the Collegium was able to broaden its international ties by recruiting an Italian language assistant in 1922⁷⁸.

Standards at the Collegium only reached the level of those during the peace era in the second half of the 1920s. As students affected by the war left the institute and the quality of the Collegium's work became satisfactory, Teleki thought that the time had come to link the generational shift in the institute's leadership with the transformation of the boarding school's training system. By redefining the objectives of the training and easing tensions with STTI, he established the Collegium as a scientific institution in the new teacher training system, which was created by the 27th Act of Parliament in 1924⁷⁹.

director of STTI. Budapest, 30th June 1924. HNA NA K 636 183rd box, 30th title (1924).

⁷⁴ G. Kornis, *Középiskoláink reformja és a főiskolák*, in Id. (ed.), *Kultúra és politika, Tanulmányok*, Budapest, Franklin, 1928, p. 101.

⁷⁵ 121907/1923. IV. Directorate of NSSTEC: Amendment of regulations for teacher qualification examinations. Comments on the MRPE proposal. Budapest, August 1924. HNA NA K636 197th box, 30th title (1925).

⁷⁶ 6792/1921. Letter by József Vass MRPE about the retirement of Géza Bartoniek. Budapest, 9th June, 1921. MDLA 38th box, 63rd dossier.

⁷⁷ Garai, *A tanári elítékézés műhelye*, cit., p. 163.

⁷⁸ 168/1922. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to MRPE about the invitation of Italo Siciliano. Budapest, 25th October 1922. MDLA 47th box 84/b/4th dossier.

⁷⁹ The Act redefined the training and qualification of secondary teachers. STTI became a central institution in the training system. All university students who wanted to gain a secondary teacher qualification were expected to be a member of the STTI. The Collegium was forced to coordinate its curriculum with the expectations of the STTI each year.

Summary

In this study we examined the development of the secondary teacher profession in continental Europe and then focused on the situation in Hungary until 1924. We used the notion of professionalization to interpret the changes in the relationship between teacher training institutions and the MRPE in the examined time period.

This relationship was based on cooperation within a state-authorized and bureaucratically-regulated framework until 1918. In reality, the MRPE regulated teacher training-related issues by actively involving professional institutions. Nevertheless, the amount of funding for the system was relatively small in comparison with other professions. The German-style neo-humanist training ideas and institutions were challenged after the Great War by a lack of resources, an influx of students returning from the trenches and people from lower socio-economic groups, and direct political intrusion into core elements of the training system.

Furthermore, the relationship between the ministry and teacher training institutions became asymmetrical after 1918. After the collapse of the Dual Monarchy, the makeup of the professional elite changed in accordance with political ideologies. The policy of state overrepresentation did not fade away after the fall of the communist regime. Although the MRPE involved the professional elite in changing the teacher examination codex or the formulation of the new teacher training law, state influence remained strong in terms of the training's ideological focus and symbolic (denomination) issues.

The Eötvös Collegium, which was based on the French model, was founded on the basis of the «scholar teacher» concept, which had neo-humanist origins. Its main aim was to train highly qualified teachers and it therefore attracted the attention of every political regime. Political interest was expressed in denomination and intrusion into training at the boarding school. As a historical site, it refers not only to its former members but incorporates the training concept of the Monarchy era and alludes to the «recollection layers» of the teacher training system before the 1950s. The Collegium gives us an insight into the history of other elements of the secondary teacher training system through its connections to STTI and NSSTEC. The professional training of secondary teachers was often challenged by the state as the result of turbulent political changes.

The cultural poetics of anthropomorphism: rereading a chinese fable

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ABSTRACT: Taking as a point of departure the allegorical nature of the Chinese fable *The Wolf of Zhongshan* (1544), this paper investigates the cultural poetics of anthropomorphism in contemporary re-constructions of the tale in its adaptation for young children. The poetics suggested in this essay is twofold: the aesthetic and the ethical. It first and foremost theorizes a subversive function of the fable, challenging the commonly accepted function of fable as moralizing cautionary tale, and posits fable as a dynamic, evolving form. Then the poetics aims to issue various ethical calls to the reader: to cast away presumptions of form, to engage the moral ramifications of criticism, and to consider environmental ethics in encounters with non-human alterity.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Chinese fable; Children's literature; Anthropomorphism; Socialist realism; Ethics; China; XVIth-XXth Centuries.

From early childhood through emerging adulthood, contemporary Chinese children are educated to learn four-character Chinese idioms, mainly allegorical saws. The idiom often contains one or two nonhuman images to portray a scenario or metaphorically present a personality. To illustrate, *lang bei wei jian* (the wolf and the jackal collude to do evil) is an immediate example of the mention of the wolf. Additionally, the proverbial wisdom constitutes an integral part of Chinese knowledge base. Many proverbs are structured on an antithetical or analogical relationship, for instance, *lang zhong shi ren, ren zhong shi lang*, (a group of wolves can eat man, a group of men can eat wolf); *lang you lang dao, she you she zong* (the wolf has its track, and the snake leaves its traces). The underlying analogy and antithesis in these allegorical sayings reflect human's shared faculty to make immediately related associations with the experience of the nonhuman being. Overall in the Chinese wolf literature

for children, according to Du Yaquan's comprehensive zoological dictionary of 1922¹, wolf is cruel beyond description, whose eyes have a «fierce gleam» and howl is «mournful». Simply put, the appearance of a wolf is synonymous with evil. Chinese allegorical sayings, to a certain extent, bear resemblance to the spirit of Aesopian fables that have built animals into idiomatic stereotypes – a wolf in sheep's clothing, cry wolf, hungry as a wolf, to name a few. By all means, it is almost ubiquitous that the wolf villain capable of all evils has become a cultural archetype in the international cultural history. It even goes without examination that the anthropomorphic animal is most often the form, whereas the didactic human is at the level of substance, making up what is called «animal lesson» for children in almost every fable.

In comparative perspective, however, it is interesting to note that, among Chinese allegorical texts including tales of animal transformations and strange tales, although animals are depicted as imbued with human sentience, they are rarely endowed with speech capacity. *The Wolf of Zhongshan* is, without doubt, an unusual text in that it is a full-fledged animal fable featuring a talking wolf. Although it reads like another Aesopian story that further reinforces the stereotype of the wolf villain, I will argue in this article that a scrutiny of the historical life and cultural metamorphosis of this highly amorphous Chinese fable gives us a glimpse of the culture-specific ideologies associated with the original story and its visual-verbal adaptations in the twentieth-first century. In the investigation, 6 picturebooks (available in the book market) and 4 textbook adaptations (from the official Chinese Language Courses for teenagers) are used to study how this typical tale accounts for the Chinese characterization of the wolf as an ambiguous focal point to discuss humanity. Chinese aesthetics of allegory, Laura Brown's notion of the «cultural fable», and Jack Zipes's revisionist view of fairy tale as «art of subversion» guide my literary analysis of how fable relevant to issues like the status of the nonhuman can be reconsidered in an anthropocentric cultural context. Anthropomorphism as a trope further represents a critical avenue toward an extended gesture of affinity with the nonhuman beings.

A Chinese Cultural Fable of Non-human Alterity

As a story taking shape in the 15th century after years' retellings, *The Wolf of Zhongshan* is generally regarded as a moral story of ingratitude. The debate over the authorship of this tale has persisted to this day, as whether it was written by Ma Zhongxi (1446-1512), a scholar in Ming dynasty, or credited

¹ A.F. Jones, *Developmental Fairy Tales: Evolutionary Thinking and Modern Chinese Culture*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 2010.

to his predecessors Xie Liang in Song dynasty and the Tang poet Yao He². Here in this article I refer to the well-acknowledged version authored by Ma Zhongxi as the source text. In this story of only 2,075 Chinese characters, the tension between wolf and man, goodness and evil is brought to the fore. When Zhao Jianzi, the state's most powerful minister, goes out hunting, he comes across a wolf that «raises itself on its hind legs like a human being»³. Zhao shoots at the wolf, but the wolf escapes right away. When the wolf is being chased, a Mohist scholar *Mr. Dongguo* happens to pass by. Due to his Mohist belief in «the universal love», Dongguo takes pity on the wounded creature. He hides the wolf in his sack containing books and successfully evades the hunter's attention. As soon as Zhao leaves, the wolf whimpers that he is so famished that he may die eventually. «Since you are a Mohist scholar thinking of making a contribution to the world», adds the wolf, «why not let me eat you to keep me alive»?⁴ While it is too late to regret, Dongguo proposes that they settle the dispute by presenting their case, as tradition has it, to three elders. They go down the open road and find the first three beings they come across for a just sentence. When the first two nonhuman beings, an old dying apricot tree, and an old cow, hold that Dongguo should be eaten and the situation grows obviously disadvantageous to Dongguo, they locate the last elder—an old man. The man shows disbelief in the wolf's words that he was nearly suffocated in Dongguo's bag. To convince him, the wolf gets back to the bag to demonstrate the process, and ultimately this is how he meets his own doom.

Clearly, this story bears the fabular motif that «an ungrateful beast is tricked back to the captivity», or corresponds to AT 155 tale type «The Ungrateful Serpent Returned to Captivity». Like many other fables, it is difficult to fix a precise date of the original story. It appears likely when Indian tale «The Tiger, the Brahman and the Jackal»⁵, or derivations from *Jātaka Tales* were orally transmitted in Tibetan areas, these stories were assimilated to Chinese folk culture. For example, the Tibetan version «The Rabbit, the Sheep and the Wolf»⁶ has a much earlier niche than the Han Chinese version due to Tibet's geographical proximity to India. «Greatly influenced by the Indian Buddhist

² Y. Chen, *The Authorship, Themes and Styles of The Wolf of Zhongshan*, «Xiangtan Normal College Journal», vol. 2, 1983, pp. 15-24; Z. Zhang, *Regarding the Authorship of The Wolf of Zhongshan and the Play*, «Journal of Chongqing Normal University Edition of Social Sciences», vol. 3, 2009, pp. 71-81.

³ Z. Ma, *The Wolf of Zhongshan*, in *A Collection of Fables*, Shandong, Tomorrow Publisher, 1987, p. 58.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁵ D. Ashliman (Engl. transl and ed.), *Ingratitude is the Wolf's Reward*, Folktales of Arne-Thompson-Uther Type 155, c1999-2014, Last updated: August 26, 2014, <<http://www.pitt.edu/~dash/type0155.html>> (last access: 1.2. 2018).

⁶ Nuori (Chin transl.), *The Rabbit, The Sheep and the Wolf*, in L. Dongfan (ed.), *Divine Lady on the Heavenly Lake*, Tibet, Tibet People's Publishing, 2004.

culture», folklore scholars Lin Jifu and Teng Xiaoyu note that, the Tibetan version has «a strong Buddhist overtone»⁷.

Although *The Wolf of Zhongshan* could only have come into being through oral transmission and adaptations, I would identify in this section how it has distinguished itself from other counterparts in terms of its representation of the nonhuman beings and human-oriented ending. These two aspects provide reference points for the Chinese cultural imagination of animal archetype and boundary issue as subsumed in the tale.

The fable is set in the Warring States period (475-221 BC), an idiosyncratic Chinese cultural context, in which all schools of thought contend to promote their ethical values as national moral standards, including Confucianism, Daoism and Mohism. The satirical denigration of Mohism is arguably interpreted to be apparent in this tale from Dongguo's social status. As a Mohist scholar, he advocates the application of «universal love», thus seeks to reckon with the myriad creatures with compassion and protect them from devastation. The central tenet Mohists hold is remarkably different from the people-oriented Confucian ethical vision, based on the tenor of «the benevolent man should love people» (*ren zhe ai ren*). In this respect, the story can be considered as a Confucian allegory that seeks to reinforce Confucian humanistic values by undermining the Mohist value of creaturely justice. Nevertheless it is also pointed out that by the time this tale was recorded, Mohism had been outdated for almost a thousand years, and the Ming society was at its peak of adopting rationalist Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism (Chen, 1983, p. 19). Therefore, Dongguo as a Mohist scholar may not allude to the necessarily stereotyped connection often popularly attached to Mohism. What functions, then, does the act of Dongguo, a scholarly figure who shows sensitivity to the feelings of other living things, leverage? And what ethico-political message is imparted from the part of nonhumans' protest against human powers?

A number of interpretations, however, have shied away from identifying the physical reality of the wolf and those two nonhuman characters, and determined it as a locus for political satire at the given time⁸. Like many other fables that display animal characters in human disguise to satirize demonstrable human flaws and fallibility, *The Wolf of Zhongshan* also knowingly serves as an occasion for challenging or embarrassing notorious political figures. The wolf, in this regard, has been widely read as symbolic presence of Li Mengyang, a Ming scholar-official failing to speak for his friend Kang Hai who had once saved him from his deep trouble. Although the immediate association of fable

⁷ J. Liu, X. Teng, *A Comparative Study of Han and Tibet Versions of The Wolf of Zhongshan*, «Folk Culture Forum», vol. 6, 2010, pp. 8-20.

⁸ Z. Zhang, *Defence for Li Mengyang: Investigating the Ming Play The Wolf of Zhongshan*, «Journal of The Northwest Normal University (Social Sciences)», vol. 2, 1982, pp. 65-68; G. Wang, *The Wolf of Zhongshan and the Play Not a Satire of Li Mengyang*, «Gansu Social Sciences», vol. 10, 2004, pp. 33-36.

with its political allusion or social criticism underlies much fable analysis, I find that Chinese literary aesthetics of *yuyan* provides a refreshing and dynamic perspective to examine this issue.

Translated into but not necessarily interchangeable with «allegory», *yuyan* has long characterized China's art and literature. According to Zhuangzi, it refers to an indirect language to represent the Dao of all things, *jie wai lun zhi* (to say something by borrowing others), so as to overcome the ordinary bound of language⁹. In the long tradition of masking and lodging unspeakable official experiences through a frequent recourse to the use of metaphorical images and stories, tales involving animals are easily conceived as vehicles of personal allegory to insinuate at greater matters. Such indirect approach to make an argument can help people grasp something ineffable and unspeakable, like Dao. Through this lens, *yuyan* shares the same tropical trait of allegory in anchoring a symbolic meaning beyond its literal sense. Then it makes sense that the wolf – whose very ungratefulness Dongguo has to tread through – is merely a human surrogate to exemplify such a disfavoured moral trait.

By extension, unfurling the mantle of Dao, rather than humanity, to all things becomes the breeding ground for Chinese Daoist aesthetics of allegory. Nonhuman characters are rarely portrayed to exercise their speech capacity only when they assume human shape, a manifestation of Chinese cultural tradition which sees blurred and even unlanguageed perceptual boundaries between human and animals. In addition to idioms and animal proverbs mentioned at the beginning, Chinese *yuyan* texts are mostly stories of transformations of, for instance, a fish transforming into a bird, and strange tales of, for instance, the fox spirits traversing liminal worlds to enchant young male scholars. The Chinese traditional aesthetic and ethical conception of boundaries among species that are «constantly altered, blurred, erased, multiplied, or redefined»¹⁰, in some degree, runs counters to the western human-animal dualism, the metaphor of the great chain of beings, that sets animals apart from humans primarily due to their lack of capacity to speak and reason. The latter, in turn, harnesses the creative and critical consciousness to endow their characters with anthropomorphic qualities. In this respect, *The Wolf of Zhongshan* not just complicates Chinese allegorical practice, but in a way that assimilates the rhetorical tradition of anthropomorphism, intersects with one another to project a wide array of meanings and affects the nonhuman characters could possibly embody and lead to.

Laura Brown's notion of the «cultural fable» informs my contemplations of the nature of this tale. In «Fables of Modernity», Brown proposes that

⁹ L. Ge, *Liberation as Affirmation: The Religiosity of Zhuangzi and Nietzsche*, Albany (NY), State University of New York, 2006, p. 39.

¹⁰ J.T. Zeitlin, *Historian of the Strange: Pu Songling and the Chinese Classical Tale*, Stanford (CA), Stanford University Press, 1993, p. 7.

the cultural fable, as «a complex imaginative work», should be able to «tell a story whose protagonist is an emanation of contemporary experience and whose action reflects an imaginative negotiation with that experience»¹¹. Every cultural fable, in her account, «links literary culture with the major forces of historical change»¹². Such engagement, as it sustains, is deeply involved with the conceived conjunctions of alterity and modernity¹³. Cultural fable is thus posited as a analytic structuralist tool that links literary conventions with specific historical phenomena to conjure up, stimulate and dissolve modern assumptions of dualistic distinctions (race, gender and species etc.).

To extend Brown's observation, I claim that the commonly accepted function of fable as moralizing cautionary tale should be challenged in contemporary reading. Fable is no longer statically didactic, instead, it should be reconceived as a dynamic, evolving form. As the rhetorical yoking of Chinese *yuyan* and allegory we find in *The Wolf of Zhongshan* highlights an on-going process of cultural convergence and metamorphosis, it proves that every cultural fable has the potential to «enable a simultaneous reading of literature and of history»¹⁴, and to evolve from their period into our own time. Rhetorically, therefore, anthropomorphism is an important point of departure for us to re-examine, reverse and reconstitute the interpretative expectations of this fable. Whereas the earlier cultural experience of this text has been bound up with the collective anticipation of anecdotal connections and allegorically mantled didacticism, my reading of the cultural fable, with a focus on the nonhuman part, explores the featured experience of human encounter with animal alterity.

The encounters with nonhumans, in the instances of happening, create an affect, be it social, material or psychic. Encountering the wolf, the traditionally aggressive and vile animal, can be especially antagonistic to a degree that invites aggression rather than engagement. In this fable, Dongguo rises above his fear of the wolf because of his belief in «universal love». But his genuine engagement with a wider spectrum of creatures begins when the wolf suggests the tree as the first judge of their case. Initially Dongguo hesitates to ask the tree, thinking, «all plants are purely ignorant, why should I bother»? But the wolf demands, «Just ask this fellow. I am sure he has a lot to say». It is then the tree speaks of his own life of being exploited to the last minute by the owner:

The farmer planted me with a seed. I flowered in a year and bore fruits in another yet. In three years, my trunk was the size of an arm, and in ten years, I became a bulky tree. For the past twenty years, I have fed the farmer and his family with my fruit. I fed him, his children, guests and servants, and he even sold some of my fruit at the market and made a profit on

¹¹ L. Brown, *Fables of Modernity: Literature and Culture in the English Eighteenth Century*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2001, pp. 2-3.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

it. I have made an enormous contribution to his family. Now I am too old to flower or bear fruit. The farmer is so angry that he broke off my branches, tore off my leaves and sawed off my limbs for fuel. He is also going to sell what is left of me for timber. Alas. In my old age, I cannot even be exempted from the final slaughter. What should the wolf not eat you, if you haven't made a greater contribution than mine? In such case, the wolf should eat men¹⁵.

In similar fashion, the old cow tells his story of how he has served his master by dutifully providing him with milk and ploughing his fields for years to guarantee the farmer's life of abundance. But as the cow grows old, his master wants to slaughter him, so «his meat can be preserved, his hide can be made into leather, and his horns and hoofs can be carved into useful utensils». The cow finishes his lament on his own bitter fate with an unwavering vote: «Do not talk about human gratitude. I cannot see any single reason why you should not be eaten by the wolf»¹⁶. By giving the old tree and the ageing animal voices to speak for themselves, the story offers two essentially poignant monologues from which we can sense ennui and anxiety of other nonhuman beings about their life and death. More importantly, it raises a sophisticated debate over what is a just ethical sentence, and who should be eaten, men or animals?

Lin Yutang, a famous Chinese writer and translator, brings the part of nonhuman others into view in his compilation and translation of Chinese short stories. In the preface to the story, he comments that:

The style is highly classical, making the wolf talk in the language of cultured gentlemen of Tsochuan (which I have, of course, not followed), but this fault may be forgiven in consideration of the author's very original comment on human ingratitude toward animals, who are our friends and faithful servants¹⁷.

From a nearly Buddhist perspective, Lin defends the unfair treatment of the nonhuman beings, which most people tend to neglect within the text. Interestingly, the unequal sense of animal justice as within the original text and associated with Lin's paratext, if felt, allows for human-nonhuman kinetics to set in.

I concur with Lin's observation that the author attempts, not insignificantly, to dive into the process of empathizing with others to make the identificatory suffering surface. The predatory human-centred social practice is called into question while the taxonomic and social categorization of species is disrupted. Given language capacity, the nonhuman characters utter their moments of protest. In this, there is a recursive logic that dismantles logocentric anthropocentrism so that all nonhuman beings are allowed to partake of a tale of moral revenge against human beings. Remember that the wolf is being

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹⁷ Y. Lin, *Famous Chinese Short Stories*, Beijing, Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 2009, p. 258.



Pic. 1. Selected covers of the picturebook adaptations of *The Wolf of Zhongshan*.

hunted by an authoritarian human figure just because he stands on his feet like a human (an open defiance against human dignity?). We may consider the wolf, the tree and the cow as an «other» family who shares the similar destiny of being objectified and victimized. In contrast, the two-legged cohort of Zhao Jianzi, Dongguo and the elderly man rationalize violence in various ways of hunting, deceiving, and running a knife through the wolf. The text thus reveals that it is human thought and feelings the reader ultimately encounters when the «voices» of animal others are heard. It is increasingly clear now that the seemingly commonsensical and reductive morality of this cultural fable is not what we thought it was.

Despite a discernible note of empathy, the ending of Ma's text still embraces a less ambiguous attitude towards the nonhuman life. While the first half part seems to render a benign and ecocritical view that trees and beasts are all sentient creatures, the human part ends with a Confucian human-oriented message that «You are indeed an impractical moralist! Too much benevolence makes you a fool, which is against the tenets of *junzi* (benevolent man)»¹⁸. Such an ending strikes a resonance in the Roman fable of the similar type «Of Nature and the Returns of Ingratitude»¹⁹. The philosopher who saves the emperor benefactor from the serpent's bite says: «My lord, you are now free; shake the venom from your bosom, and go your way: do not repeat your folly. Remember that the

¹⁸ Ma, *The Wolf of Zhongshan*, cit., p. 57.

¹⁹ C. Swan, *Of Nature and the Returns of Ingratitude*. Last Updated: May 21, 2017, <[https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Gesta_Romanorum_Vol._II_\(1871\)/Of_Nature_and_the_Returns_of_Ingratitude](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Gesta_Romanorum_Vol._II_(1871)/Of_Nature_and_the_Returns_of_Ingratitude)> (last access: 17.08.2017).

serpent is only influenced by his natural propensities»²⁰. It seems inevitable that stories of this type resort to familiar tones of a Cartesian species hierarchy that routinely denies animal agency and privileges human's propensity to transcend bestiality.

The ambiguous moral twist of Chinese tale is, nevertheless, further complicated by virtue of the allegorical and subversive effect of anthropomorphism. Yoking the themes of species exploitation and liberation, human fears and animal hopes, the fabulist morality is paradoxically denied and affirmed at the same time. In this respect, *The Wolf of Zhongshan* is more than a trace memory of the 16th century or the earlier process of circulation. It is also a fitting allegory for the early 21st century with its embodied theme of alterity. Within this context, what follows is to examine how the cultural poetics of anthropomorphism is laid out in its contemporary adaptations in dealing with the animal alterity.

Socialist Realist Ethics of Identity in the Contemporary Chinese Adaptations

Contemporary adaptations of this tale are mostly seen in picturebooks, short animations and textbooks for elementary school students. The 6 picturebooks and 4 stories in Grade Three, Grade Four and Grade Seven textbooks (Figure 1) I have chosen for scrutiny, reveal the similar premise of their different moral constructions. Not only have Dongguo and the wolf been generally characterized stereotypically, respectively as a gullible pedant and an ungrateful beast, the (putative) subversive content of the original tale, including the anthropomorphic tree and cow, is problematically remade.

The *lianhuanhua* version of this tale titled *Mr. Dongguo*, illustrated by Liu Jiyou in 1951, is perhaps the most elaborate adaptation so far. In this palm-size picture book of sequential drawings, Dongguo is depicted and illustrated as a teacher who never fails to «speak of being a good person»²¹, and can hardly harden his heart to kill any mosquito or ant²². The adaptation particularly, as Linda Hutcheon notes in many adaptations for children, engages in the «back story» to «help foster audience/reader identification» with the adapted characters²³. In the case of *Mr. Dongguo*, these details include Dongguo's inner life, his political dissent against Zhao Jianzi who is a general waging a war in the neighbouring country Zhongshan in this adaptation, the purpose of Dongguo's visit to Zhongshan to see whether Zhao is wrecking the innocent lives there, and on his way his encounter with a weeping woman whose son is eaten by a

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ J. Liu, D. Juxian, X. Gan (edd.), *Mr. Dongguo*, Beijing, Lianhuanhua Press, 2016, p. 3.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

²³ L. Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, New York, Routledge, 2006, p. 118.



78 狼垂着眼睛盯着东郭先生，东郭先生还当它在忏悔哩，谁知狼在临死的时候，还说了一句老实话。



79 这时候，刚才东郭先生遇见的那个妇人走来了，她还认得吃她儿子的正是这只狼。

Pic. 2. In Liu Jiyou's *lianhuanhua* version, the woman identifies the wolf who has eaten her son, a final move to wake up Dongguo.

wolf. The «back story» as such builds up the tension, working as a pre-sequel to what Ma Zhongxi's text begins with.

In contrast to the strong condemnation of exploited subjects, the responses of the tree and the cow in this picture book are recognisably different. The old peach tree closed his eyes, recalling his youth blissfully. Whenever his branches were overloaded with peaches, the children were happy to pluck the fruit. And the tree was contented, asking the children to eat whatever they like. So was the milking cow, offering his own milk to his master without any grudge. He would leap joyfully at the sight of his master who came to milk him, «go on milking (which sounds like 'eating' in the cow's gibbering), it makes me happy»²⁴. When the old farmer passes with a hoe on his shoulder, he tricks the wolf to the bag in the similar way. But as soon as the farmer raises his hoe to bring it down on the wolf, Dongguo still wants to stop the farmer, considering it too cruel to kill the ungrateful creature. Regardless of Dongguo's sermon, the farmer spikes the wolf to death and pulls him out. «What a pity», the wolf breathes his last and sighs, «It is my biggest regret in my life of not eating up such a nerd»²⁵. At that point, the weeping woman shows up again, accusing the wolf of having dragged off her son (Pic. 2). «I want to peel off his skin and pluck out his sinews», says the woman²⁶. Hearing this, *Mr. Dongguo* decides to harbour no sympathy for the wolf. After his return home, he resolutely forsakes his writing

²⁴ Liu, Juxian, Gan (edd.), *Mr. Dongguo*, cit., p. 67.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

about how «good-heartedness often meets with recompense», and turns to the topic of «uprooting the evil once and for all»²⁷.

A noteworthy focus of this elaborate adaptation is on the re-education and enlightenment of Dongguo, who, ironically, turns from an advocate of absolute goodness to a person who makes no reconciliation with the absolute evil, that is, the wolf. The clear-cut polarization between good and evil, unfolded between the cult of the hero Zhao Jianzi and the demonization of the enemy wolf, facilitates this process and in doing so, makes this adaptation exemplify socialist realist literature for children in the early People's Republic of China. Synthesizing the adapted story with *lianhuanhua*, the most popular format of children's literature then, this narrative demonstrates how the adaptation tends to pronounce a nationalist rhetoric by reshaping children's perception of ancient tales. For example, as already indicated, Zhao Jianzi is exalted as a heroic political image who wages the battle against Zhongshan Country simply because of the country's treachery and «indiscriminate slaughter of countless innocent victims»²⁸. His hunting party aims to eliminate the wolves, «since the wolves there have caused a lot of deaths»²⁹. In the course of this narrative, all those ambivalent details in Ma's text are told and illustrated unequivocally. The cow and the peach tree are complacent with their sacrifice; and Dongguo ultimately becomes a new man. Only the enemy that «eats commoners» must die. Although this adaptation is now viewed as a sort of visual propaganda, it still has a great effect upon many subsequent adaptations which hail young readers to fall back into the moral-political teachings obediently.

The most recent picturebook *Mr. Dongguo*, drawn by the Chinese painter Ma De, is based on the plot from Liu Jiyou's version, and therefore delivers a same positive message of «You have to help each other, and learn how to sacrifice»³⁰. Without doubt, the socialist realist logic of obedience to the positive-energy messages for great communal causes still wields its power in contemporary Chinese children's culture. Among the other four picturebook adaptations in a myriad of art forms of ink-brush, paper-cut sketching and drawing in the twenty-first century, only two picturebooks briefly dwell on the angry responses of the tree and the cow. Zhu Jie and Lu Yi's picturebook³¹ removes the content of the speaking cow and tree, and sets the elder man as the only judge to trick the wolf into the bag again. A magic window book compiled illustrates the cow and the tree as unsympathetic outsiders, «They ask the tree to judge, but the tree can hardly make it clear; and they turn to the old cow who prefers to mind

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁰ D. Ma, *Mr. Dongguo*, Beijing, Tsinghua University Press, 2016, p. 16.

³¹ J. Zhu, L. Yi (edd.), *Mr. Dongguo and the Wolf*, 3rd edition, Nanjing, Jiangsu Education Publishing House, 2013.

his own business»³². In different ways of illustrating and exploring a specific animal lesson to the young readers, Dongguo's ungrateful beast, moving from being an object of human hunting to being a subject of unappeasable desire, represents the imaginary evil other. The nonhumans in these adaptations are almost deprived of the livingness in the shadow of human-centred discourse. The final demise of the wolf makes a happy ending: evil is vanquished for the sake of good and as every cautionary tale for good boys and girls proves, the wolf is a rapacious animal, greedy and ungrateful as ever.

My observation of picturebook adaptations, in terms of structural elements, narrative perspectives and moral implications, is likewise applicable to the textbook adaptations. In the textbooks for Grade Three and Grade Four, the content of the cow and the tree is completely removed, reducing the story to obvious homily. In this, those people who eschew a more complex interpretation of the fable may agree with Chen Youjun's assertion that even if the two paragraphs of inquiring the apricot tree and the cow are deleted from the textbook adaptation of *The Wolf of Zhongshan* for middle school students, «any unbiased mind who reads the abbreviated text will not come to another conclusion except that the theme of the story is mainly to criticize the wolf's ingratitude»³³. In so saying, Chen's argument not only represents a filtered engagement with the canonical text, but also transposes the callous attitude toward the representation of nonhumans onto children's education. To guide children toward ethical literacy, however, we should consider such view in terms of adaptation and ethical vision as notoriously simplistic and morally diminishing, and therefore not advisable.

In contrast to the removal of the nonhuman monologues, the other two textbook adaptations—Ye Shengtao's 1934 version, and a contemporary version for the Grade Seven students—are unquestionably formulated on a certain degree of fidelity to its literary source. Unsatisfactorily, we can still detect a cultural cliché from the two paradigmatic re-narrations, which tend to send a message with striking clarity that «if you don't kill this ungrateful beast, you are nothing but stupid»³⁴. Overall, adult authors tend to censor the content of this fable so as to make it a socialist realist cautionary tale for children, without considering the possibility of enacting another more subversive formulation.

In contrast to Ma's fable that exhibits a critical and empathic quality, the contemporary adaptations generally inscribe nonhuman characters to strict dichotomies. The wolf image is loaded with heavy negative symbolic meanings, without raising any critical or ethical awareness of how young readers should treat the wolf—the species long gone from their quotidian life, and even from

³² Y. Kong (ed.), *Mr. Dongguo and the Wolf*, Wuhan, Wuhan University Press, 2015.

³³ Y. Chen, *The Authorship, Themes and Styles of The Wolf of Zhongshan*, «Xiangtan Normal College Journal», vol. 2, 1983, p. 20.

³⁴ S. Ye, *Mr. Dongguo and the Wolf*, Chengdu, Tiandi Publishing, 2016, p. 58.

humanity's habitat. Demonising the wolf in literary representation, without regard for its physical reality and subversive representational possibility, shows a predominant paradigm of wolf representation across a number of cultures. On the other hand, such sappy anthropomorphism is also informative of a politically-charged and dualist moral attitude, as inculcated in children as to why it is right the certain animals go on being demonised: where sheep and goats are timely proxies for human interest, and where we are interested in them, wolves must simply be eternally bad.

Most of traditional folk and fairy tales are inherently subversive in the origin, as Jack Zipes's study on the fairy tales informs us³⁵. Yet in the process of appropriation in the emergent cultural culture, the subversive currents are exploited and contained in an effort to regulate social behaviours. At stake in the contemporary life of *The Wolf of Zhongshan* is a similar challenge that whether it can work out its subversive potential, even though the tale is inevitably thrust into a saturated ideology. To borrow Zipes' words in commenting on how the subversive elements of folk and fairy tales are institutionalized, its adaptations and the «big bad wolf» animated features are all impregnated with «palatable» animal stereotypes simply «operate ideologically to indoctrinate children so that they will conform to dominant social standards which are not necessarily established in their behalf»³⁶.

A case in point is the literary socialization of a collectivist childhood in these adaptations, which stereotype allegorical animals upon young mind without challenging the instrumentalism of the ideological groundwork. In the early and middle twentieth-century Chinese children's literature, the characteristic morally conservative attitude towards childhood is encapsulated in two debates over fabulous animals³⁷. The first debate was provoked in 1931 when the local authority intervened with the translations of fairy tales from the western origin, and opposed the use of «language of birds and animals» in textbooks for children. The second censorship was targeted at picturebooks that involved cute anthropomorphic rat characters in 1957, demanding an extreme realism that dons every anthropomorphic creature with classist and realistic implications; therefore, the rat characters should be portrayed as «harmful creatures to be eliminated»³⁸. Though these two debates in retrospect appear clumsy and stifling of creativity, we also gain some insight into the abrasive cultural negotiation between anthropomorphism as an imported allegorical trope, and Chinese *yuyan* that begets tales of the strange and the metamorphic. As it turns

³⁵ J. Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion: The Classical Genre for Children and the Process of Civilization*, New York, Routledge, 1991.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³⁷ C. You, *Ghostly Vestiges of Strange Tales: Horror, History and the Haunted Chinese Child*, in A. Jackson (ed.), *New Directions in Children's Gothic: Debatable Land*, New York: Routledge, 2017, pp. 91-93.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

out, indigenizing anthropomorphism in contemporary Chinese pragmatist cultural context slips into the tendency to vet fantasy for absolutist didactic purposes. By turning talking animals into flat and melodramatic characters that mouth a message that mainly to preach, there remains a suspicion about the anthropocentric morality behind any instance of anthropomorphism.

As a paranoid socialist realist mindset reveals a fear of the cognitive confusion between fantasy and reality, animal characters are actors of an instrumentalism of the binaries, a social dualistic ethics of the «innocent» and the «harmless» suppressing the «evil» and the «violent». In such a case, notwithstanding the popular identification with innocent animal heroes and (mis) representation of villainous animals, there is still a lack of critical and creative engagement with animality in this cultural fable. The adapted versions have downplayed the subversive aspect of that traditional tale, and positioned it in a safe fabular mode, therefore, a conservative teaching is seen from a conventional system of morality endorsed. With these animal examples of virtue and vice, children are taught to discern evil (and stereotyped evil characters) from goodness (and stereotyped good characters), and then directed to absorb absolutist moral paradigm. In this social context that casts a regulatory gaze at the children, ideology and fable are intimately allied to give shape to an unflagging human-centred animal pedagogy.

All in all, present-day adaptations of *The Wolf of Zhongshan* reflect the politically charged and ethically apathetic manner in which Chinese collectivist culture today represents anthropomorphic animals in texts for children. Jacques Derrida warns readers to «avoid fables» in the sense that «the history of fabulization... remains an anthropomorphic taming, a moralizing subjection, a domestication. Always a discourse of man, on man, indeed on the animality of man, but for and in man»³⁹. Anthropomorphism emerges again as a topical lens through which we can examine the limits and possibilities of animal representation. If presenting the human contact with animals and nature in such a fabulist tradition is «an anthropomorphic taming», recourse to reinterpretations and adaptations seems apt here to enliven the scene of animal reality. But how should *The Wolf of Zhongshan* and more of its contemporary adaptations function as guiding children toward their responsible ethical-cultural identity, as opposed to cultivating in them a dominant attitude towards nature? Can anthropomorphism display ethics of care in the literary treatment of animals? The answers to these questions, as I will explore in the following section, require withdrawing the conceptual priority of the human subject and agency from our critical and creative experience with those anthropomorphic entities.

³⁹ J. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, New York, Fordham University Press, 2008, p. 37.

Benevolence and Malevolence of Anthropomorphism

Not incidentally, reinterpreting the role of anthropomorphism and readdressing its inevitable difficulties in an age of unfolding ecological hazards also concern modern scholarship. In the nascent stage of anthropomorphism scholarship in children's literature, Deirdre Dwen Pitts famously speaks of talking animals as a «pathetic mechanism» in children's stories and insists that children's literature should respect «the dignity of the animal's ordered world»⁴⁰. Harriet Ritvo also claims in «The Animal Estate» that no connection can be found to «real creatures» in «the large literature of animal fable and fantasy»⁴¹. Following the line of anthropomorphism as a mode of misattribution, Marion Scholtmeijer asserts that «the very use of animals within products of culture can be seen as a variant of the acts of appropriation which humankind practices in reality over the natural world»⁴². Even though a subdued tone of anthropocentrism is detected from tales of animal subversion and revolt, these stories of animal characters overthrowing human hegemony are argued to have testified «guilt at what Man has done to animals made deeper by the knowledge that animal can never win»⁴³. In «Understanding Children's Animal Stories», Kathleen Johnson examines the content and structure of fifty-nine children's realistic animal stories for ideological expressions of anthropocentrism. She concludes that the messages brought by these stories are ambivalent: while these stories appear to inform the reader about actual or potential connections to other animals, they cannot go beyond the anthropocentric views⁴⁴. To put it another way, the use of animals as symbols and reflections or projections of human concerns in animal stories, in fact, erase animal lives and reveal anthropocentric perspectives.

Without seeing anthropomorphic representation as a utilitarian anthropocentric strategy, Steve Baker recommends the use of anthropomorphism in his monograph «Picturing the Beast»⁴⁵. He argues that it helps blur the distinction between the human and animal bodies, and question the illusion of human superiority. The film critic Jonathan Burt is among those scholars who follow this line of advocacy. In his study of animals in films, suggests that it should never be easy to «characterize animal films as merely optimistic or

⁴⁰ D.D. Pitts, *Discerning the Animal of a Thousand Faces*, «Children's Literature», vol. 3, n. 1, 1974, p. 172.

⁴¹ H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 1987, p. 4.

⁴² M.L. Scholtmeijer, *Animal Victims in Modern Fiction: From Sanctity to Sacrifice*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1993, p. 6.

⁴³ M. Blount, *Animal Land: The Creatures of Children's Fiction*, New York, Avon Books, 1974, p. 24.

⁴⁴ K.R. Johnson, *Understanding Children's Animal Stories*, Lewiston, E. Mellen Press, 2000.

⁴⁵ S. Baker, *Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity, and Representation*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1993.



Pic. 3. Selected scenes of the wolf being hit to death from four different adaptations, respectively illustrated by Caver (2016), Ma (2016), Liu (1951), and Liu (2013), from left to right.

pessimistic, escapist or engaged»⁴⁶, instead, animal representations can be used to change human-animal, human-human relations and the position of animals in human culture.

Besides the renewed temperament in evaluating the use of anthropomorphism in broader context of art and literature, the whole arena of animal studies now also informs its role in children's literature criticism. In parallel with developing ethology as a science discipline, anthropomorphism has undergone three

⁴⁶ J. Burt, *Animals in Film*, London, Reaktion, 2002, p. 14.

alternating stages – acceptance in the 1930s, rebuttal in the middle of twentieth century and re-acceptance towards the end of twentieth century⁴⁷. With the extensive investigation of the animal mind (with consciousness, intelligence, cognition and self-awareness as keywords) in the twentieth-first century, it is generally acknowledged that anthropomorphism does not «disrupt scientific observation, but support the continuity between humans and animals»⁴⁸. As such, the critical examination of anthropomorphism always expands beyond the disciplinary boundary of literature, to include the animal ethics and politics.

As anthropomorphism has drawn critical attention in English children's literature⁴⁹, its evolving fate in China shows a dramatic trajectory. In the process of cultural indigenization, anthropomorphizing animal figures has become widely accepted in children's stories and wider cultural market in the late twentieth and early twentieth first centuries. In an essay on contemporary brand designs, it is observed that people in China «have higher anthropomorphizing tendencies than people in the United States»⁵⁰. Riding the trend of brand anthropomorphism, the numerous adaptations of *The Wolf of Zhongshan* give us a glimpse of how anthropomorphic animals against this backdrop appear unsophisticated and uncontested in China. Turning a creature easily anthropomorphic may be much the same as to ascribe it with familiar and manipulatable qualities, and further, to diminish its actuality as an animal. Thus audience may be hailed into an ideology that confuses fable animals with the real. Through this crude form of socialist realist ideology, a story of the good human always prevailing over the evil wolf is retold. In this respect, the hegemonic representation strategy, working from the ideological illusion within and the curbed subversive content without, goading young readers to identify with a cultural habit of obedience. Through the conservative or reductive teachings, animal stereotypes are stuck firmly in their mind, since the disciplinary norm shall be obeyed for socially acceptable «good will». Otherwise, the punishment is cruel. As in Liu Zhenjun's adaptation, when the old man lifts his walking stick, he forcefully strikes the bag in which the wolf lies, again and again «without any mercy». We are told and shown that, *Mr. Dongguo* was dumbfounded. The wolf kept screaming miserably and died right away». But the story does not stop here. The author adds that,

After the story of *Mr. Dongguo* and the Wolf goes around, the name of *Mr. Dongguo* is synonymous with any person who cannot distinguish between the good and the evil, and

⁴⁷ D.S. Mills, M. Jeremy, *The Encyclopedia of Applied Animal Behaviour and Welfare*, Wallingford, UK, CABI, 2010, pp. 27-28.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴⁹ L.R. Fraustino, *The Rights and Wrongs of Anthropomorphism in Picture Books*, in C. Mills (ed.), *Ethics and Children's Literature*, VT, Ashgate, 2014, pp. 145-162.

⁵⁰ I. Ghuman *et al.*, *Anthropomorphism and Consumer-brand Relationships: A Cross-cultural Analysis*, in F. Susan, M. Breazeale, J. Avery (edd.), *Strong Brands, Strong Relationships*, Abingdon, Oxon, Routledge, 2015, p. 144.

lavishes too much sentimentality in vain. Little friends, have you understood the story? We can never be like *Mr. Dongguo*⁵¹.

Continuing the mantra of anthropocentrism in the same vein, the violent scene of hitting the wolf to death is found the most unsettling in both the picturebook and textbook adaptations (Figure 3). Whatever aesthetic style it is visualized, it allows little room to negotiate the hatred for this «ungrateful beast». The hoe or the stick, held high, resolutely puts down at the recaptured animal, regardless of its miserable cries. The ethical norm that the wolf must die and the nonhuman speech must be insignificant in these adapted texts, growing out of an anthropocentric morality, remains there to justify humans' predator rights.

With respect to the cultivation of morality in children's books, once the implied sense of personhood is conjured up in animals, human audiences are reminded of their own flesh-and-blood experiences, and their very primordial connectivity with animals. Hence killing anthropomorphic animals in a matter-of-fact manner has been reckoned as improper for children. Although underlying this logic is a problematic worldview that humans is the measure of all other lives, there is an entailed hope for humans who can rise above the cannibalistic impulse especially in the ethical treatment of animals. So to speak, any human charge at animals should not be easily justified. Given anthropomorphic quality, those putatively tormented others (the tree, the cow, the historically demonized wolf) can have a chance to be heard and respected, and then capture children's ethical attention in the process of reading. As Scholtmeijer rightly emphasizes, anthropomorphism can lead to the rationalization of an ideology of human dominance and animal victimization, if it is imposed without further thinking with animals. Reading the past and present life of the wolf in *The Wolf of Zhongshan*, I would add that it is time that anthropomorphism drew out an ethics of care, of questioning the repressed others or the taken-for-granted killing, as we are brought into a world of quickened animal disappearance and shrunk bio-diversity. As in Ma Zhongxi's narrative, the wolf urges Dongguo to listen to these others-«an ignorant tree» and «a dumb beast». At these moments of reading, we hear their stories and feel interlinked through a bond of empathy. The spirit of genuine gratitude flows in if we wish to rediscover new meanings of the «ungrateful beasts», the historically hated subjects, as condemned in the textbooks, anecdotes and proverbial wisdom.

Of course, it remains a challenging task to give new meanings to old tale that involves stereotyped animals, those dead metaphors stuck in our mind, and to respond to calls of alterity from reading. Thinking so, it is also my speculation that adopting a critical reading distance to enact a narrative focus

⁵¹ Z. Liu, W. Yaxi (edd.), *Mr. Dongguo and the Wolf*, Nancang, 21st Century Publishing House, 2013, p. 31.

of the nonhuman part, typically in this unique Chinese animal tale, is crucial to keeping this cultural fable alive in the heart of the young generation, and more importantly, eliciting a refreshed sense of ethical-social responsibility in them. Such reading mentality requires a decentring of very stability within monastic or dualist identity, breaking spell of submissively accepted moral obedience (particularly in collectivist culture), and trained attentiveness to fostering ecological sensitivity.

Conclusion

As the first sophisticated animal fable within Chinese aesthetic context, *The Wolf of Zhongshan* has its own narrative trajectory that moves beyond the local trope *yuyan*. The subversive function of the fable, implied in Ma's narrative, informs us of concomitant cultural allegorical constructions of the wolf in the collective imagination. As this fable continues its cultural life among rhetoric, disciplinary power, exemplarity and human-nonhuman ethics, it becomes increasingly problematic that contemporary adaptations unanimously tamper with, or silence the nonhuman protest in various ways. The instrumentalization of those nonhumans as exploitable objects, like the tree, the cow and other non-carnivores, is normalized in the contemporary cultural production and goes unexamined, unveiling animal lessons replete with species stereotypes. From Aesopian wolf to the wolf of Zhongshan across cultures, the extent to which these fable animals are represented, adapted and re-formulated is informed by moral ramifications with regards to animals in the corresponding natural cultural context, and in turn reinforces for the audience, young and old alike, the prevailing social attitudes. A central thesis of this study is to re-interpret and reflect upon the possible ethical concerns with regard to fable animals. To cast away presumptions of fable as statically didactic and to reinvigorate it with environmental ethics constitute an advisable cultural poetics of anthropomorphism, which lead us to recalibration and resilience of human-nonhuman ethics in the 21st century. This repositioning of fable should clear room for reconsideration not just of one tale but of an entire form.

Beyond the initial aim of literary adaptation for children: stylistic and narrative changes and their «Byproducts» in the Penguin readers edition of *Gulliver's Travels**

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ABSTRACT: Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* has long been recognized as a literary canon both for adults and children. The present paper explores places where the personality of characters has been changed. These changes operate on stylistic levels of diction, syntax and sentences order, as well as on more macroscopic level of plot, as rearranging the motivation of Gulliver's escape from Lilliput to Blefuscu. Changes also occur on narrative level by replacing retrospective focalization with experiencing focalization to depict Gulliver's mollified treatment, heartened mood and elevated ego. The paper argues that the adaptation inevitably alters the personality of the protagonist as well as other characters and changes their character space, thus restructuring their relationship. The result is an edition with a somewhat changed protagonist in a changed social setting.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children's literature; Literary adaptation for children; Characterization; Power relation.

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Adapting literary works for children is a common practice and can be traced as early as its beginning in eighteenth-century Britain, when literature specifically written for children was still a rare phenomenon. This adaptation process usually involves simplification and bowdlerization, as well as other strategies. Since children's vocabulary, reading ability and cognitive ability are still to be developed, it is necessary to simplify literary works so that children can more easily understand the work without losing their interest to go on reading. There are also times when even the plot of the story is simplified, not for easier understanding, but for other purposes such as corporate culture, as Hastings points out when dealing with moral simplification in Disney's *Little Mermaid* that the product «appears to be a classic example of the corporate appropriation of an originally creative work of art»¹. The other strategy, bowdlerization, involves details or episodes that are considered as improper for child readers in a specific cultural context, including dirty jokes, satire, scatology, obscene language, violence, political allusions, etc. These strategies are among the most common means of adapting literary works for children, and, more importantly, they bear meta-awareness during the adaptation process. Adaptors are consciously employing them during the process. They make adjustment to the original work so that the adaptation can meet up with linguistic, vocabulary, cognitive and moral expectations of child readers. However, adaptation may have some other by-products that are not the initial goal of the adaptor, nor are they intended to be so. It is often presumed that the adaptation may simplify the language and the plot, may delete certain redundant characters, may bowdlerize improper scenes, but few would expect the adaptation to change the personalities of the characters, especially other characters than the protagonist. Though sometimes the protagonist may undergo some beautifying changes in personality for educational purposes, as Haifeng Hui finds in the heroicizing treatment of Gulliver in a school edition of the novel in China², changes of other characters are often deemed unnecessary for adaptation and hitherto have not received critical attention. In this sense, the present paper focuses on the changes of personality that happen to the protagonist as well as to other characters in the Penguin Reader's Edition of *Gulliver's Travels* to explore not only this neglected phenomenon but also the ensuing interaction between the changed protagonist and other characters, in an effort to reconsider the nature and mechanism of changes in personality in adaptation. It should be noted that such changes to the protagonist and to other characters are not separate but cooperate and collaborate with each other, reflecting a different power relationship, which, though not necessarily intended by the adaptor, leads to a

¹ A.W. Hastings, *Moral Simplification in Disney's The Little Mermaid*, «The Lion and the Unicorn», vol. 17, n. 1, 1993, p. 84.

² H. Hui, *Appropriating Robinson Crusoe in Chinese primary school after-class compulsory reading: Applauding a 'kind-hearted' Crusoe*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 9, n. 1, 2013, p. 698.

different interpretation of the same story/novel/characters. When discussing the adaptation of *Anne of Green Gables*, Brock-Servais and Prickett contend that the adaptation «may lend itself to tropes and themes not available in the original text»³. Yet their focus is drawn to the more apparent feature of theme in the light of Linda Hutcheon's theory of adaptation based on fidelity to the original work, while the present paper goes beyond the question of fidelity and is concerned with the more latent construction of character and power relationship. While the aim of literary adaptation for children is generally acknowledged to make adults' canon accessible to children, the final outcome of the adaptation may produce different characters, different power relationships, and even different values and world views not directly implicated or even intended by this aim.

1. *Penguin Reader's edition of Gulliver's Travels*

The edition under discussion is a title in Penguin Readers series, published in 2008 for level 2 (elementary) readers, retold by Pauline Francis. Children's editions of literary classics can be divided into two types: general editions for a wider reader group, and educational editions that are often intended either for direct use in classrooms or as supplementary reading materials. The general editions usually are more diverse from edition to edition: some may have undergone thorough adaptation while others may, due to different market targeting or lack of budget, be virtually mere replicas of the original with a few illustrations. The educational editions, that is, editions that often have a direct educational purpose and use (though all children's editions are educational in a sense), usually undergo more thorough adaptation in multiple aspects so as to meet teaching and curricular requirements in language, vocabulary, style and content, which makes them ideal cases to explore the complexities and subtleties of adaptation.

The present paper selects *Gulliver's Travels* as a case study, as this novel exhibits sophisticated language, political allusions, scatological and sex jokes, and ironies often difficult for child readers, therefore requiring more comprehensive and thorough adaptation than other less linguistically and socially sophisticated works. Currently, the most popular educational/children's editions of leveled readers include Penguin Readers, Oxford Reading Tree, Macmillan Readers, as well as others. They all come with online support materials for teachers and have close connections with English language curriculum. But for this novel, the Macmillan Readers offers an abridgement containing only the first part, titled

³ R. Brock-Servais, M. Prickett, *From Bildungsroman to Romance to Saturday Morning: Anne of Green Gables and Sullivan Entertainment's adaptations*, «Lion and the Unicorn», vol. 34, n. 2, 2010, p. 214.

Gulliver's Travels in Lilliput (published in 2008). And Scholastic does not have a leveled reader for the novel. So the choice is between the Oxford Reading Tree edition (published in 2014, 88 pages) and the Penguin Readers edition (published 2008, 64 pages). However, as the former edition has no customer comment on Amazon.com and the latter has more than 835 comments, which is a simple and convenient indication of their popularities in the children's book market, the present paper selects the Penguin Readers edition of the novel to explore the personality changes in literary adaptation for children.

2. Stylistic adaptation in diction and sentence order

The sharp contrast in body size brings out the question of personal physical strength, social status and stance in treating others in the first two parts of *Gulliver's Travels*. Danielle Spratt also argues that Gulliver's comparative body size has implication of power relations when linking Gulliver's body to economic theory at the time: «In essence, as a diminutive body, he represents the colonized body that is at the mercy of a larger, more powerful colonial governor»⁴, while Monica F. Jacobe calls it «the physicality of the power dynamics»⁵. Swift first situates Gulliver in Lilliput where all the people are only six inches tall and then reverses the trick by having him drifted to a kingdom where he becomes the little man. During Gulliver's stay in Lilliput, he treats all the Lilliputians very politely (though sometimes restraining his sudden mischievous desire to grab one and «dash against the Ground»⁶). What is more, he treats the high officers and the king very humbly as if treating a real king of the normal size in a normal country. The satiric effect works when he gives those miniature king and courtiers, whom he can easily trample on the ground, the same kind of respect usually given to real ones, and when, later in the novel, he shows an undaunted heart in endeavoring to raise himself to an equal position to Brobdingnagians when he is in fact living at the mercy of those giants. Although Gulliver clearly sees the sharp difference of his size to those in Lilliput and Brobdingnag and the ensuing implication of the difference in personal strength, he is almost blind to the fact that such fact can change his power relationship with them. Rodino has pointed out the implication of this blindness, which leads him to change from the self-conceived «hero of freedom» into one who has been «lulled into complete readerly docility by the illusion of interpretive free play». Ironically,

⁴ D. Spratt, *Gulliver's economized body, colonial projects and the lusur naturae in the travels*, «Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture», vol. 41, 2012, p. 142.

⁵ M.F. Jacobe, *Society cannot be flat, hierarchy and power in Gulliver's Travels*, «Nebula», vol. 6, n. 1, 2009, p. 127.

⁶ J. Swift, *Gulliver's Travels* [1726], ed. by Claude Rawson, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 20.

Gulliver stubbornly insists in treating Lilliputians equally as human beings, and unequally as people of different social status, seeming unaware of the fact that his bodily strength wipes out any authority derived from royal blood and high office. It is the Lilliputian king and his courtiers who understand this fact much more clearly, which justifies their fear and untrust of Gulliver. They have a thousand reasons to fear Gulliver, because they are always afraid that he may pose threats to their citizens or help their enemies, and they try to conquer this fear by restraining him with chains, weapons, and later on with laws, which are all in fact useless if Gulliver decides to fight for his liberty. But Gulliver «swore and subscribed to these Articles with great Cheerfulness and Content»⁷ and «in the most submissive manner»⁸. The bitterness of Swift's satire is apparent in this contrast of body size, social status and stance. Rawson wisely points out that Gulliver maintains «a satirist's stance of ultimate exasperation»⁹.

The Penguin Readers Edition chooses to adjust Gulliver's humble stance in front of the king, intending to render a more equal power relationship between Gulliver and the Lilliputians. When Gulliver is being attacked by Lilliputian soldiers when he is tied onto the ground, the narrator says: «I put up my hand and showed him: 'I will stay here'. Then I had an idea. I also put my hand to my mouth: 'I am hungry'», whereas in Swift's original he «answered [...] in the most submissive manner». The phrase «the most submissive» clearly indicates Gulliver's excessively low attitude in front of the strange miniature soldiers that he has seen for the first time, and the phrases in the Penguin Readers' Edition's depict a more peaceful, less intense atmosphere, where they can communicate with each other with less hostility. Not coincidentally, when in Swift's original novel Gulliver is restrained in his big house in Lilliput by «fourscore and eleven Chains» to prevent him from escaping, in the adaptation he enjoys a much more comfortable treatment of restraint, where they only «put *a* string round one of my feet and tied it to the wall of the church»¹⁰.

Clearly «chain» and «string» have no difference in vocabulary sophistication, which suggests that the adaptor's intention in the change of diction should be sought in other directions. Since the two nouns denote different objects in their literal meaning while referring to the same object in the context, the choice is caused by different focalization. According to David Herman, the classical concept of focalization is «a way of talking about perceptual and conceptual frames, more or less inclusive or restricted, through which participants, situations, and events are presented in a narrative»¹¹. «Chain» reveals the

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁸ *Ibid.*, cit., p. 19.

⁹ C. Rawson, *Gulliver and the Gentle Reader, Studies in Swift and Our Time*, London, Routledge, 1973, p. 27.

¹⁰ Italics mine.

¹¹ D. Herman, *Beyond Voice and Vision: Cognitive Grammar and Focalization Theory*, in *Point of View, Perspective, and Focalization: Modeling Mediation in Narrative*, ed. by Peter Hühn

Lilliputian's perspective: they use chains to lock Gulliver and immobilize him. No matter how huge the giant is, this is what they think the right tool to carry out the job. By contrast, «string» in the adaptation reveals the perspective of Gulliver the character, who, due to his comparatively huge body size, calls the strong chains used by Lilliputians «strings». We have to keep it in mind that the context where the two words are situated is the scene relating how he is treated by the Lilliputians in his big house. The scene is narrated by Gulliver and the focalizer is also Gulliver. In most cases, the narrator is the same person as the focalizer, that is, the narrator who is speaking and the person who is seeing is the same one. But, as pointed out by Rimmon-Kenan, there are times when «focalization and narration are separate»¹². Swift's original novel shifts the focalizer from Gulliver the figural narrator (the narrator who is also a character in the narrative) to the Lilliputians (suggested by the use of «chains»), whereas the adaptation keeps the consistency of adopting Gulliver the figural narrator throughout. The shift of focalizer in Swift's original novel conveys a homodiegetic narrator whose mentality is susceptible to changes, who is naïve and gullible: he learns everything new and frequently adopts the frame work of the places that he visits, whether it is language, world view, or other institutional or ideological frameworks. However, Gulliver the character in the adaptation is kind of another image, someone who is more confident in his mentality and psychological state, who seldom changes his focalization and stick to his own way of interpreting the outside world and his elevated ego. The frequency of the shift of focalization in the process of signifying exhibits the stability of the character's interpretive frame and worldviews, a conditioning factor which influences his power relation with other characters. This subtlety of the narrative focalization in *Gulliver's Travels* has also been discussed by Claude Rawson from the perspective of authorial intention, arguing that «the situation is the product of a continuous elusive interplay between narrative and authorial voices, not of a character's point of view or an explicit authorial statement of doctrine»¹³. Maybe the ending part of Rawson's argument, what he finds not belonging to Swift's novel, holds true to the Penguin Reader's edition. A more prominent and easier difference is the cardinal numbers before the two nouns. Here the former ninety-one contrasts sharply to the latter one, hinting that the Lilliputians whom Gulliver encounters in the adaptation have considerably less hostility towards him than those in the original novel. This is a significant change of the setting of interpersonal relationship. What seems to be a difference in some words depicting how Gulliver is treated arise not from any endeavor to simply the language or content, but clearly indicates the adaptor's

et al., Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2009, pp. 124.

¹² S. Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction, Contemporary Poetics*, 2nd ed., London, Routledge, 2002, p. 75.

¹³ C. Rawson, *Gulliver, Travel, and Empire*, «CLCWeb, Comparative Literature and Culture», vol. 14, n. 5, 2012, p. 9.

efforts to situate the protagonist in a somewhat different exotic country, where the protagonist and other characters may have more peace and friendship, though a total rewriting of the plot is not possible. *Gulliver's Travels* would stop to be a literary classic if Gulliver lives cheerfully with Lilliputians on the island happily ever after, but there is indeed room for readers of the children's edition to perceive a little more harmonious relationship between them in the adaptation.

A considerable change in Gulliver's diction from being neutral and distanced in matters of war to affirmative and volunteering happens in Chapter Four and Five, Part I, when the king requests Gulliver's help in their defense against a coming Blefusudian fleet. Swift portrays Gulliver as considerably modest over issues of partisan conflicts by an indirect speech of Gulliver's answer to the king, which is termed diplomatically and neutrally:

I desired the Secretary to present my humble Duty to the Emperor, and to let him know, that I thought it would not become me, who was a Foreigner, to interfere with Parties; but I was ready, with the Hazard of my Life, to defend his Person and State against all Invaders.

The neutral stance in terms of party politics or even avoidance has authorial voice behind it: Swift is not interested in party politics at all, and what in fact brings inconveniences and even misfortunes to him is that unfortunately for him «there is no non-partisan way to take sides in a partisan Quarrel»¹⁴ at his time. He has an even more intolerant attitude towards war that even today he is regarded as «as an arch critic of war and the moneychangers who make a killing on it»¹⁵. Moreover, to add to the neutralization of Gulliver's involvement in the war, the narrator avoids revealing Gulliver's attitude and motivation of his interference in the war, talking of his scheme in a matter-of-fact and detached way: «I communicated to his Majesty a Project I had formed of seizing the Enemy's whole Fleet» Gulliver here perfectly displays the stance of a subject when dealing with the king, showing adequate respect and at the same time maintaining his identity as a (third-party) foreigner. The verb «communicate» conveys the formality with which he talks to the king and the distanced relationship between them. However, in Penguin Reader's Edition, Gulliver's neutral stance on such issues has been changed in a way that is incompatible with Swift's own attitudes.

I went to the king the next day. 'I can help you in your war', I told him. 'The ships of Blefuscu are waiting for the right wind. Then they will come to Lilliput. They know nothing about me because I stay away from the sea. Listen, I have a plan'¹⁶.

¹⁴ D. Oakleaf, *A Political Biography of Jonathan Swift*, London, Pickering & Chatto, 2008, p. 43.

¹⁵ C. Fox, *Introduction*, in Id. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 8.

¹⁶ Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, retold by Francis Pauline, Penguin Readers. London,

In Swift's novel, Gulliver's passive and distanced involvement in the war between Lilliput and Blefuscu is indicated by the use of «duty» and a negative answer that begins with «not» and shifts its emphasis by «but». 'Duty' shows the lack of initiative and motivation to get involved in the war, which sharply contrasts with the beginning sentence of Gulliver's answer in the Penguin Reader's Edition which states in a direct, affirmative and even condescending way: «I can help you in your war». Of course, children's editions in general would often adopt a more familiar tone. But the Penguin Readers edition differs from the original not only in tone but also, and more prominently, in its additional disclosure of information. Gulliver analyzes the situation of war and the advantage of his taking an ambush, which is not a part in the original novel, thus showing a more active and deciding role over the matter. The new answer modifies the power relationship between the two and places Gulliver in a more privileged position, and he is clearly aware of it. The ending sentence is an echo of the beginning. It cements this new, modified power relationship, reminding us of a somewhat different Gulliver adventuring in a somewhat different social setting. This time, Gulliver doesn't need be so humble and cautious. He becomes bolder and more confident, and he meets people who are also adapted accordingly to accommodate his elevated ego.

A seemingly similar but in fact supplementary example of this kind of adaptation involving character's ego is the scene when Gulliver accepts the articles of the Lilliputians. Swift's original novel employs bombastic and self-inflating language for the Lilliputian court:

FIRST, The *Man-Mountain* shall not depart from our Dominions, without our Licence under our Great Seal.

SECONDLY, He shall not presume to come into our Metropolis, without our express Order; at which time, the Inhabitants shall have two Hours Warning, to keep within their Doors.

THIRDLY, The said *Man-Mountain* shall confine his Walks to our principal high Roads; and not offer to walk or lie down in a Meadow, or Field of Corn.

[...]

I swore and subscribed to these Articles with great Chearfulness and Content [...]¹⁷

whereas the Penguin Reader's Edition changes the diction significantly:

'Follow my rules and we will untie your strings' he told me.

Rules of Golbasto Momaren Evlame Gurdilo Shefin mully UUYGue, King of Lilliput, a Great Man.

1 *The Man-Mountain will ask before he leaves our country.*

2 *He will ask before he comes into the city. (Two hours before this, everybody will go into their houses and stay there.)*

3 *He will only walk on the roads.*

Pearson, 2008, p. 11.

¹⁷ Swift, *Gulliver's Travels* [1726], cit., pp. 37-38, italics original.

4 *He will walk carefully. He will not put his foot on any person, or on their horses. He will not take anybody up in his hands.*

5 *He will help our ships and our men in the war with the people of the Island of Blefuscu.*

6 *He will help our workmen when they build a wall round our garden.*

7 *We will give him food -food for 1,728 of our people.*

[...]

I read the rules and said to the king: 'I will follow them'¹⁸.

It is undeniable that the articles in the adaptation use more informal and colloquial language for an easier understanding for child readers, such as «leave» for «depart», «only walk» for «confine». «help» for «ally», «rules» for «articles», and «follow» for «subscribe». At first sight, they may pass for adaptation for easier vocabulary, as is often the case in the adaptation of children's literature. Yet there are important changes in diction that can't be simply dismissed in this way. First, the original novel adopts a cold and distanced legal tone in the articles, to which Gulliver responds with «great Chearfulness and Content». His easily satisfied temperament reflects his humbleness and sense of inferiority in front of the king. Yet in the adaptation where the cold terms of the articles are replaced by a more familiar and friendly tone, he only gives a blunt answer «I will follow them» without much emotional excitement or satisfaction. The growing difficulty to be satisfied when Gulliver deals with the king and his court indicates a high self-esteem and in this fashion changes the relationship between them.

Second, the strong modal verb 'shall' in every article is replaced by the weak modal verb «will», which differs from the former not so much in vocabulary sophistication as in tone. The significance of the change is better illustrated if compared with the previous example, which depicts a more confident Gulliver who treats himself more equally with Lilliputians in the adaptation. But in the example here, the change from «shall» to «will» is a change of the king's attitude, not Gulliver's. If it is only Gulliver's personality that has been changed, then it can be explained that the adaptor wants a protagonist with a more desirable character in an educational context. But then there is no need to change other characters in the story. Swift depicts a humble Gulliver and a more suspicious and cocky Lilliputian court. The two sides match well: the more humble Gulliver is, the more the court will take advantage of his low stance. At the same time, the court, unlike Gulliver, is keenly aware of his physical power, and cannot rest assured of his humble stance, thus always exhibiting a suspicious untrust of him. Interpersonal relationship is dynamic: it is a constant negotiation of the changing power and self-esteem of the two sides. When the adaptor depicts a more confident Gulliver with a higher self-esteem, there should be some extra room in terms of interpersonal relationship for his elevated ego, therefore entailing a king who is less ridiculously commanding.

¹⁸ Id., *Gulliver's Travels*, cit., p. 10.

To borrow Alex Woloch's invented narratological term---character space, the expanded character space of Gulliver inevitably entails the adjustment of other characters' space, since «the emplacement of a character within the narrative form is largely comprised by his or her relative position vis-à-vis other characters»¹⁹. The nature of the change in their relationship is manifested in the last article for Gulliver: «LASTLY, That upon his solemn Oath to observe all the above Articles, the said *Man-Mountain* shall have a daily Allowance of Meat and Drink». The most apparent change is the subject of the sentence and therefore the whole sentence order, behind which lies the change of manner in which the court decides to treat Gulliver. It is obvious that the Lilliputians realize that food is a vital condition that can be used to threaten Gulliver. The sentence places the condition for providing Gulliver with food at the beginning and adopts solemn dictions such as «upon», «oath» and «observe», showing a strong and firm attitude of the courts. In the Penguin Reader's Edition, the firmness in the attitude disappears and is replaced by an easy-going tone «We will give him food for 1,728 of our people». The conditional phrase is gone, signaling a weaker commanding tone and less threatening intention of the Lilliputian court. It should also be noted that the subject of the sentence is changed, which breaks the consistency of adopting Gulliver as the subject in the previous six rules. This extra effort in changing the subject and sentence order should not be a random choice but arises from specific purpose of the adaptor. The effect is that the atmosphere conveyed here in the adaptation is less intense, more easy-going and friendly, indicating a more harmonious if not equal power relationship between Gulliver and the court.

3. *Adaptation in plot: characterization and personal relationship*

Apart from microscopic adaptation in diction and sentence order, there are more sustained changes in plot, distributed along the story line. In this case, changes are made in multiple places and their significance gradually builds up and accumulates, which affects the reader's understanding of the novel in a not easily detected way.

In Swift's original, after Gulliver offers to help Lilliput against Blefuscu in the war, the king asks Gulliver to bring all the Blefuscuian ship to him so that he can be the ruler of Lilliput and Blefuscu, which is refused by Gulliver. The king is unhappy about this and never forgives him. Then the two countries sign a peace contract, and the Blefuscuian ambassadors invite Gulliver to visit their country. Gulliver asks the King for a leave to go, who grants him in a cold way.

¹⁹ A. Woloch, *The One vs. the Many, Minor Characters and the Space of the Protagonist in the Novel*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2003, p. 18.

Then the plot is interrupted by Chapter VI, which explains the learning, law and customs of Lilliput, and is then continued in Chapter VII, which begins with the Lord's private visit to inform him of the scheme against him. Gulliver is horrified after hearing the news, and determines to make use of the earlier leave granted by the king to escape to Blefuscu. The arrangement of these events reveals the reason why Gulliver leaves Lilliput for Blefuscu.

There are several details worthy of notice here that reflect the relationship between Gulliver and the king. First, when arguing against the king's decision to conquer Blefuscu, Gulliver maintains his former position being an inferior subject. It has to be admitted that he tries very hard in this matter, which is evidenced by phrases such as «endeavoured», «many arguments» and «protested», yet they at the same time unmistakably betrays his inferiority in front of the king. No matter how hard he tries, his efforts are in vain. Second, when he is invited by the ambassadors to visit Blefuscu, he does not forget to go to the king to ask for a leave, as required by the articles he has sworn to, and his request is granted by the king in a cold way. Swift does not forget to reveal Gulliver's feelings towards these articles later in the novel, «I disliked upon Account of their being too servile, neither could anything but an extreme Necessity have forced me to submit». Yet Gulliver manages to suppress his feeling and never forgets to follow these articles. Third, when he hears of the king's resolution to put out his eyes, his response is «under many Doubts and Perplexities of Mind», which is obviously a satiric understatement.

By contrast, Gulliver makes a much more heroic figure in the Penguin Reader's Edition through resolution and determination in his conversation with the king. Facing the king's order to conquer Blefuscu, he bluntly rejects the order, saying: «No, I won't help you with that. Don't kill those people, it's wrong». The first sentence begins with a strong negation word 'No,' followed by another negation 'won't' to reject the order, and again followed by the third negation «don't» to further advise the king. Here, the negation shifts from Gulliver's decision not to help the king to his advice for the king's about what is the right thing to do (not killing these people), in which process the change of the agent of the action reveals a more powerful and assertive Gulliver, who places himself in an almost equal position as the king, if not higher. What's more, his integrity and conscience even lead him to say some good words for Blefuscu when the two countries are negotiating peace: «Don't take too much from the people of Blefuscu. They'll be unhappy again». This is too much for Gulliver in the original novel, where he is only given a very obscure mentioning «he [the ambassador] owed great Obligations to me for many good Offices I had done him in making the Peace». The addition to the original novel makes explicit Gulliver's changed temperament and speaks for his elevated ego.

4. *Narrative adaptation in focalization*

An instance demonstrating the adaptation's mollification of Gulliver's unpleasant treatment in Lilliput and his emotional response is the housing issue, which is achieved by the replacement of retrospective focalization with experiencing focalization. As analyzed above, Gulliver is in an inferior power position in the original novel. Whether forced into this position or he naturally submits to it, he is not without grudges, as he complains of their «servile» nature. Readers would naturally inquire, if he is more confident, bolder and more privileged in the adaptation, would this unhappy, or discontented, state of mind find any changes? A hint to the answer lies in Gulliver's changed attitude towards the house. When he lives in Lilliput, housing becomes a problem for him as ordinary houses are too small to accommodate him. In Swift's original novel, the big house where he lives in is an ancient temple «which, having been polluted some Years before by an unnatural Murder, was, according to the Zeal of those People, looked upon as Prophane». This is an allusion to the Banqueting-House at White-Hall before which Charles I was beheaded²⁰. It is not difficult to see from words such as 'unnatural' and 'profane' that the Lilliputians dislike this place, and the fact that the Lilliputians arrange such an unpleasant place for Gulliver to live in reveals their first negative impression of him and their efforts to exert control and discipline on the man-giant. The original narrative is told by Gulliver the character narrator through a combination of experiencing and retrospective focalization. As in the example discussed above about the difference in diction between «chains» and «string», here again the narrator and the focalizer are separate. It enables the narrator to inject feelings belonging to a later time stamp into the present narrative moment. Here, the retrospective focalization hints to readers through prolepsis the negative association with the house before he enters it for the first time. The subtlety is that for the experiencing Gulliver, he has no knowledge or association of the house, but readers get to know it from the retrospective focalization, which shapes their impression of the Lilliputian's attitude towards Gulliver before Gulliver knows it himself. The retrospective focalization here affects readers' interpretation of the relationship between Gulliver and Lilliputians. Calling the house an ancient temple being «polluted» and deemed «profane» reflects Lilliputians' hard attitude towards Gulliver, who is in an inferior position from the beginning. By contrast, in the adaptation, not only is the allusion to the beheading of Charles I removed, but also Gulliver's unpleasant mood is changed into a cheerful tone with an exclamation mark: «We stopped in front of an old church. This was my house now!». The focalization here, different from the retrospective one in the original where the experiencing Gulliver has

²⁰ I. Higgins, *Notes*, in C. Rawson (ed.), *Gulliver's Travels*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 289.

no way to know about the house but to let the retrospective Gulliver relate his later negative impression, is clearly of the experiencing Gulliver, who can respond more immediately and exhibit his excitement at the narrative moment. As Fludernik points out when discussing first-person narrative, when the narrator does not become older or wiser over the narration, «the text may eschew retrospection and concentrate on the action as it takes place, at any one particular moment in time»²¹. The change of focalization from retrospective to experiencing serves to depict Gulliver's mollified treatment, heartened mood and elevated ego. He even regrets the loss of the large house when he goes to Blefuscu: «They wanted me to be happy. But there was no big house for me there. I had to put my coat over me and sleep outside on the ground». He is, to be sure, unhappy without the house, which is a polluted and profane building in the original novel. There is no such mentioning of the loss of the large house in Blefuscu in the original novel. Therefore, the added sentence in the adaptation conveys an emphasis on a change not in language complexity or length, but on the psychology and the mood of the protagonist.

Since Gulliver undergoes significant changes in personality, psychology and mood, the dynamics of the story therefore has to be adjusted to make room to or cooperate with these changes. The character space of the king, for instance, has undergone changes that are in line with those of Gulliver. When his order is rejected by Gulliver, the Swiftian king «could not forgive me [Gulliver]», whereas the king in the adaptation was «angry». The distance and formality of the diction makes it difficult for both Gulliver and the reader to figure out the specific reasons: is it more because of the fact that Gulliver's rejection undermines the king's authority, or is it due to the king's frustration that his ambition to rule the two countries is baffled? The narrator's uncertainty in the phrase depicts a more authoritative king, whose distanced and elevated position is reinforced when he grants Gulliver's request to visit Blefuscu «in a very cold manner», therefore rendering the image of a not easily fathomable king. The building-up of the king's image culminates in the narrator's report of the court's arguments of how to punish Gulliver. Despite the Treasurer and the Admiral's insistence that Gulliver should «be put to the most painful and ignominious Death», the king «gave many marks of his great *Lenity*» and «endeavouring to extenuate your [Gulliver's] crimes». The combination of authority, inscrutability and lenity in a king's character is commonplace in traditional literature in the eighteenth century, and here apparently Swift is satirizing such a figure by placing him in a country of dwarves.

By contrast, the king's responses in the Penguin Reader's Edition are more straightforward than the original novel where he «was very angry». But the most revealing remark comes when one of Gulliver's good friends told him: «The king is afraid. Perhaps you will start another war in Blefuscu and fight

²¹ M. Fludernik, *An Introduction to Narratology*, London, Routledge, 2009, p. 90.

us there». In Swift's original, it is the Treasurer, the Admiral and those with personal grudges against him who insist on his death, and it is the king who wants to spare his life. So the final punishment is a compromise between the two slightly differentiated parties in the court. But in the adaptation, it is undoubtedly the king who is the lead in pushing the punishment of Gulliver. More importantly, the reason for the king's decision is his fear that Gulliver might aid Blefuscu exactly as he has aided Lilliput, therefore posing a potential threat to his rule. This fear betrays a change in the character of the king, who seems to begin to be aware of the limit of his power and the ridiculous nature of his bombast in front of a foreign giant who can easily destroy a fleet, whereas in the original novel he seems blind to these limits and insists on treating Gulliver in a most commanding and condescending way. In the same way, Gulliver is unaware of his real power and chooses to submit himself to the king's authority, just as the king is also unaware of the illusionary nature of the high tone of his own authority. The two make perfect match in their blindness and keep the story going on. In the adaptation, however, since Gulliver becomes more confident and bolder, which means he comes to know that he doesn't need to be so much afraid of Lilliputians, the king, on the other hand, also has to undergo a corresponding change, that is, he realizes his powerlessness in front of Gulliver, which is why he is afraid Gulliver will help his enemies in war. The change in the character of the protagonist permeates the story and affects other characters, leading to their changes. In this way, interpersonal relationship in the adaptation also changes towards a more realistic, less ironic and more direct nature.

Conclusion

Literary adaptation for children, though often assumed to be a simple task of simplification and bowdlerization, is nevertheless far more complicated. Whether intentionally or not, they inevitably involve changes in the personality of characters, rearrangements of character space, and the restructuring of their relationship. The stylistic changes of diction and syntax, the more macroscopic changes of plot, and the change in focalization align with each other and are oriented towards the same kind of changes in personality and power relationship. The above analysis show that literary adaptation of classic works for children goes beyond simplification and purging improprieties when fulfilling their mission to make literary classics more accessible to children. The result is an edition with a somewhat changed protagonist in a somewhat changed society with basically the same plot.

Brief history of Slovak children's literature until 1960

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ABSTRACT: The text speaks about the evolution of Slovak children's literature from its beginning until the first half of 20th century. It introduces children's literature as a specific kind of literature with certain needs (age, intentionality, aesthetics, education) that make it partly different from the rest of literary area, from literature for adults, and whose principles motivate its periodization. However, this paper offers rather a chronological point of view, as its aim is also to show how unfavourable political conditions and lack of freedom could lead into high quality, like in the case of certain authors whose writing for adults was banned so they wrote for the young readers.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children's literature; Literature; Education; Slovak Republic; XXth Century.

The story of Slovak children's literature resembles the fairy tale about *Cinderella*, in which unfavourable conditions finally brought a certain blessing. Compared to Slovak literature for adults, its evolution and recognition started notably later. Although, this fact is not so surprising because similar evolution can be observed in children's literature of other nations. However, in the second half of the twentieth century, Slovak children's literature reached a very high level

of quality, which came relatively soon, paradoxically, also due to an outer, non-literary, ideological impact. In that time, Slovak children's literature provided an asylum for nonconformist writers who opposed contemporary communist ideology, and therefore their publishing for adults was often impossible. The majority of those writers probably would not have ever written for children had been the ideological situation different, but the area of children's literature somehow avoided such strong control and censorship that dominated the remaining body of contemporary Slovak literature for adults. Those writers were glad to find at least some space where they could quite freely employ their creativity into the production of many very charming and imaginative books for children.

Slovak juvenile literature in the context of national literature

Any contemplation about children's literature usually deals with one basic question, whether children's literature is anyhow specific so that we have the right to separate it, if only for working reasons, from the context of national literature. When looking for the answer, we have to understand the following two facts. At first, our recipient is either a child or immature human being whose socialisation skills, intellectual or emotional dispositions, value system, interests and experiences are evolving gradually in proportion to the achieved level of ontogenesis (and with reading and literary experience), who needs also literary art in direct ratio to his/her own personal needs, abilities, and interests. The second fact is that juvenile literature is just like the literature for adults, it is the art based on texts and signs and therefore both of them share the same values and aesthetic criteria.

If we accept ontogenetically conditioned psychosocial peculiarities of its addressee, we can come to the conclusion, that children's literature is a subsystem of artistic literature, which distinguishes itself from the rest by its intentional relation to the age of its recipient, by its reflection in it. Here pragmatic functions (didactic, entertaining, popularising, etc.) can appear as dominant compared to the prevailing aesthetic functions of adult literature¹. The only particularity of the juvenile literature is the phenomenon of intentionality and of the children's age aspect that influences the whole structure of a literary work for children. The aforementioned age aspect appears as a very important factor that determinates a general evolutionary line of Slovak children's literature.

Respect to psychosocial peculiarities of the child reader and searching for the right manners of their inclusion in an artistic text reflected itself in the high-

¹ J. Poliak, *V službách detskej literatury*, Bratislava, Mlade leta, 1983.

quality children's literature in Slovakia². In case that these factors are ignored and an artistic work is reduced to utilitarian-didactic aspects, aesthetic qualities and ambitions of an artistic text limp far behind the educational ones. As a matter of fact, such situation happened in Slovak children's literature in the 19th century and remained unchanged until the 1930s. In that time, there appeared either spontaneous or conscious aesthetic emancipation and equalisation of the relationship between the creator and consumer that was formed on the basis of contemporary and aesthetic conceptions of literature for adults, which exclude utilitarian and didactic principles so traditional in books for children³. Such change started either consciously as we can see in works of writers like Ludmila Podjavorinska, Maria Razusova Martakova and Jozef Ciger Hronsky, or spontaneously, like in texts of Ludo Ondrejov, Martin Razus, Jan Bodenek. In comparison with the evolution of children's literature of other European countries, this seems a great and fast progress. In a relatively short time, Slovak juvenile literature achieved not only a very high qualitative level but also quantitative one (if we compare production and population). This situation appeared as a consequence of certain events, which had happened inside as well as outside the contemporary literary scene⁴. However, their result brought the arrival of the generation of writers oriented to the child aspect.

Instead of temporality in periodization of Slovak children's literature, dominance or subordination of artistic elements are respected as a dividing principle. For example, Ondrej Sliacky, a respected, Slovak, literary theorist and publicist, suggests periodization based on other principles than historical milestones⁵. In his opinion, 1778 can be regarded as the key year, because of the first publication of Samuel Tesedik's school book for children⁶, which contained first exemplums for child readers (of-course, as it was typical for that period, they had moralising character). In line with this, Sliacky divides Slovak children's literature into the following periods:

1st period – didactic texts for children and teenagers 1778-1940;

2nd period – artistic texts for children and teenagers (classic artistic works for children and teenagers from 1940 to 1960);

3rd period – modern artistic texts for children and teenagers (from 1960 till present)⁷.

² O. Sliacky, Z. Stanislavova, *Kontury slovenskej literatury pre deti a mladez v rokoch 1945-1997*, Presov, Nauka, 1998, pp. 52-54.

³ O. Sliacky, *Dejiny slovenskej literatury pre deti a mladez do roku 1945*, Bratislava, Mlade leta, 1990, pp. 138-139.

⁴ B. Simonova, *Zaner v pohybe. Reflexie o rozpravke*, Banska Bystrica, PF Univerzity Mateja Bela, 1997.

⁵ O. Sliacky, *Kontury periodizacneho procesu slovenskej literatury pre deti a mladez. Zanrove hodnoty literatury pre deti a mladez IV*, Nitra, UKF, 1997, pp. 109-121.

⁶ In the original language: *Knizecka k citani a k prvnm zacatkum vzdelanim skolskych ditek*.

⁷ Sliacky, *Kontury periodizacneho procesu slovenskej literatury pre deti a mladez*, cit., pp. 115-117.

Within this study, we'll accept the implication that literature for children and teenagers is a subsystem that comprises a set of texts for a special type of recipient (from preschool age children to adolescents until 18 years). These texts form three subdivisions:

1. Folk literature, or more precisely literary folklore (the term is narrower than folklore because this notion in its Latin origin means knowledge of folks) with its textual elements domination. It is mainly verbal production of folks, a relatively independent semiotic and communicational system with genre constitution and its own expressive features, a pure motivic material serving further for the creation of other texts (folklore stylization in different aspects);
2. Unintentional texts (a compilation of texts that were not created for a child reader, however, adolescent readers gradually adopted them);
3. Intentional (a compilation of texts that were primarily created for child readers).

Collecting literary folklore

The 19th century was a period when Slovakia was only one territory of Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Building national identity became a mission for Slovak patriotic intellectuals. Collecting of folklore material, therefore, was not any hobby but one of the activities leading to further formation, establishment and confirmation of the national self-recognition⁸. In that time, many important collectors of Slovak literary folklore worked also on its preservation for the future generations. Amongst them were personalities of Slovak cultural life like Jan Kollar (1793-1852), whose compact philosophic conception of Slavic history had a great impact on Slovak as well as other national movements. He collaborated with Pavol J. Safarik and Jan Benedikty on assembling collections of folk songs. And there were other important contemporary men of letters who devoted their efforts to such activities, amongst the most important were Jan Francisci-Rimavsky (1822-1905) whose was the first publication of Slovak folk tales in 1845. Because he did not continue with this material the texts were further elaborated⁹ (1880-1883) by Pavol Dobsinsky, the most known author of Slovak national folk-tales. Another contemporary collector of folklore, Samuel Reuss (1783-1852), insisted on keeping the original narrative form of folk tales, which should not undergo any adaptation or remodelling. His son Ludovit Reuss (1822-1905) continued in his father's collecting activities and published two books of folk tales, the first in cooperation and the second (512 pages) on his own¹⁰. Augustin Horislav Skultety (1819-1892) and Dobroslav

⁸ P. Liba, *Literatura a folklor*, Nitra, Pedagogicka Fakulta, 1991, pp. 29-33.

⁹ In the original language: *Svenske prstonarodne povesti*.

¹⁰ Their original titles were: *Prostonarody zabavnik 3* and *Prostonarodny zabavnik 4*.

Cipka (1819-1861), both important collectors of folk narratives, published the first fictional book for children written in Slovak language in 1846¹¹. Also, a well-known Czech writer Božena Němcová became an enthusiastic collector of Slovak folk narratives¹². Her work motivated Skultety and Dobsínský to hurry along with their Slovak legends, which were published in 1858 in the form of six booklets containing altogether 64 fairy tales. However, Pavol Dobsínský (1828-1885) was the most important collector of folktales. Between the years 1880-1883, he published so far the most important eight-volume anthology of Slovak folktales¹³. Because some of the included texts had been collected by Jan Francisci - Rimavský or Czech writer Božena Němcová¹⁴ and already published in magazines, Dobsínský explains in the introduction, that inaccessibility of those texts for contemporary readers made him edit and incorporate them. By inaccessibility of the texts, Dobsínský meant the fact that earlier publications of Slovak folktales were written in archaic language and often in local dialects, which made their reading and understanding difficult even for adults. Dobsínský's publication actualized the language of the earlier texts and thus enhanced their intelligibility, especially for young readers.

The content of those books is quite heterogeneous, their major part consists of fantastic fairy tales but there are also fairy tales about animals, legends along with realistic and humorous stories. Such assortment required certain stylistic adjustment and we can recognise it in the form of the characteristic, compact, unifying, authorial line. Dobsínský's books meant and still mean an invaluable source of national folk heritage and due to that they have been republished and re-edited several times since their first publication. The second edition from 1959 was adorned with illustrations of a great Slovak painter Martin Benka, the third edition came in 1966 and fourth in 1973. The most actual version was again stylistically and semantically adjusted¹⁵ by Lubomír Feldek to fit requirements of present times, and published as *The Great Book of Slovak Fairy tales*¹⁶ in 2003, which proves that traditional folk values still live and have their impact also in the 21st century.

¹¹ In the original language: *Zornicka*.

¹² Their publication came between 1857-58, and the original title was *Slovenske pohadky a povesti*.

¹³ In the original language: *Prostonarodne slovenske povesti*.

¹⁴ They were a bit modified compared to their original version.

¹⁵ Some elements of cruelty and raw corporeality from the original version were modified, softened, to fit contemporary standards of child recipients.

¹⁶ In the original language: *Velka kniha slovenskych rozpravok*.

Classic Slovak literature and child readers

During the 19th century didactic tendencies highly and deeply marked children's literature, and permeated even works of the greatest writers. As a reaction to the situation, many books that were primarily written for adult readers were used as reading material for children. Nowadays, in our literary context, we distinguish this part of literary material as unintentional literature for youth¹⁷, which, by its form and content, reflected interests of children more than fairy tales or short rhymed poems that were regarded as basic reading material for this age level. Those books altogether with folk narratives formed the basis of children's literature and showed the first signal of its future liberation from religious didactics.

This area also comprises literature that was created in the earlier period, before standardisation of Slovak language in 1843 when literature struggled with language barriers. Those Slovak authors who wanted to write for their own people, for those who lived in Slovak area of Austro-Hungarian Empire¹⁸, were using either Bible Czech language or Bernolak's Slovak language¹⁹. It was the first attempt to standardise the language, which itself is a kind of obstacle, but when that the theme and genre form were admissible, the language barrier could not prevent readers' interest as it can be illustrated by the most important works of that time, by Jan Holly's (1785-1849) heroic poem *Svatopluk*, or Jozef Ignac Bajza's (1755-1863) travelogue²⁰ about various stories and experiences of young Rene from Venice and his teacher Van Stiphout.

The most important development of unintentional literature or use of literature for adults by child recipients came with the Romantic movement and its writers Samo Chalupka (1812-1883), Janko Kral (1822-1876), Andrej Sladkovic (1820-1872) and Jan Botto (1829-1881). Uncomplicated, direct style of their poems that were filled with emotionally painted images and epic elements attracted young readers and children. Moreover, Chalupka's lyrical-epical, heroic poems on the history of Slovak nation, for example *Crush him!*, *Branko*, *Likava Prisoner*, *Turcin Ponican* or *Valibuk*²¹, resonated young reader's craving for national freedom and independence. Although, *Crush Him!* became the most popular of Chalupka's poetry, other poems of his reached almost equal status, especially among children who easily learnt them by heart. Such is the case of *Turcin Ponican*, the poem that can be understood as a certain prototype of children's poetry²². Historical novels with romantic plots, expressive images

¹⁷ J. Kopal, *Proza a poezia pre mladez*, Teoria/poetologia, Nitra, Enigma, 1997, p. 16.

¹⁸ Further AHE.

¹⁹ It was the first attempt to standardize the language.

²⁰ In the original language: *Rene mladenca prihody a skusenosti*.

²¹ In the original language: *Mor ho!*, *Branko*, *Likavsky vazen*, *Turcin Ponican*, *Valibuk*.

²² J. Kopal, E. Tucna, E. Preloznikova, *Literatura pre deti a mladez*, Bratislava, SPN, 1987, pp. 46-48.

that articulated nationalist and humanistic ideas, for example, *The Count from Liptov, Orava, Brother's Hand*, written by Jan Kalinciak (1821-1871), had similar success among young readers. Unintentional literature for children had a book form until 1880, and its texts brought new, folk-related themes, which were well accepted and understood by child readers.

The first link to the life of folk people and traditions of folk epic appeared with the texts of Martin Kukucin (1860-1928). His short stories were and are still able to challenge aesthetic perception in young readers²³, and therefore they are still published nowadays. With autobiographical stories from the writer's childhood and student years a cast of village children, pupils, journeymen and students entered Slovak literature for the first time, accompanied with the writer's sympathy and respect to their spiritual values. Kukucin was a real master of literary portraits, which is well demonstrated by the vitality of his child characters. His novel *Young years* (1899)²⁴, which speaks about young, student love, is regarded as the most brilliant artistic work of Slovak literature for young readers. The novel has been so highly appreciated since its publishing not only by readers but also by teachers and literary theorists that its name was used for the most recognised Slovak children's literature publishing house²⁵.

Jozef Gregor Tajovský (1874-1940) was another important realistic writer and dramatist who worked with the theme of Slovak village. This theme resonates especially in his short stories that are based on personal recollections from his childhood, like in the book *First Watch* (1959)²⁶, where the village and life in the country seem to mean an island of happiness and optimism for the main character. Jozef Gregor Tajovský is recognised as the first representative of social aspect in Slovak children's literature. His short stories *Apoliena* and *Innocent Hands* show appalling pictures from the life of starving children who lived in haunting social conditions.

Amongst the remaining most important authors and works of children's literature of that period were also Pavol-Orszagh Hviezdoslav and his lyrical-epical poems *Zuzanka Hraskovie*, *Poludienok*, or poems and novels *Little Tinker*, *Flying Shadows* written by Svetozar Hurban Vajanský, realistic novels and short stories of Božena Slancikova Timrava (e.g. *Mojzik and Other Fairy tales*, or *The Tapaks*), humoristic-satiric short stories of Janko Jesenský published in *The Sun Bath* collection (1913)²⁷, Elena Mrothová Soltesová's

²³ J. Sedlák, *Epické znanie v literatúre pre mládež*, Bratislava, SPN, 1981, pp. 48-50.

²⁴ In the original language: *Mláde leta*.

²⁵ Publishing house Mláde leta was founded in 1953 and was the only company specialising in children's literature in Slovakia until 1980s. The company still exists, however nowadays as a part of *Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo*.

²⁶ In the original language: *Prvé hodinky*.

²⁷ In the original language: *Slnečný kúpeľ*.

epistolary novel *My Children*²⁸ (1923-24), or Ladislav Nadasi Jege's historical novel *Adam Sangala* (1923).

In the time when children's literature acquired independent position on the scene of Slovak literature, some literary works for adult readers still were included in children's reading material, but not as an opposite to the pseudo-literature for children or intentional literature as we call it nowadays, but as some supplementary material, and this situation still can be observed even nowadays. Such novels were, for example, Jozo Niznansky's books *Adventures of Moric Benovsky* and *Cholera*²⁹ (both were published in 1932), as well as Jan Hrusovsky's adventure novel *Janosik* about the most famous Slovak hero-rebel. These novels meant a certain compensation for the lack of adventure stories in children's literature of that time.

The birth of special children's literature

The years 1581 and 1685 are recognized as important boundary marks in the history of Slovak children's literature. While the first is connected with the publication of Slovak catechism for children, which was the first publication for child readers printed on Slovak territory of AHE, the second year represents publication of *Orbis Pictus* written by Johannes A. Comenius. Although in 17th and 18th centuries there were other publications for children, the majority of them were either religious or school texts. That situation started to change at the end of the 18th century due to Maria Teresa's school reforms and pedagogic and philanthropic ideas of the époque of enlightenment³⁰. Various supplementary books with entertaining, demonstrative or edifying character were printed along with spelling-books, catechisms and anthologies. Such literature was not only for children and pupils but also for teachers, educators and parents. Its inner tendency was based on the catechetical form, i.e. questioning and answering, where questions required definite, fixed, answers. The second kind of texts was based on the Socratic form of dialogues, on individual deduction and reasoning.

Elements of literary fiction appeared in Slovak children's literature at the beginning of 19th century. There was also a growing number of poetical declamations, short epic forms, as well as combinations of above-mentioned dialogic methods, e.g. conversation of the father and teacher with their child. The Socratic method was widely applied too due to the influence of translations of educational texts (e.g. J. Ch. Kampe's *Young Robinson*). This kind of literature gradually achieved national-educational status with wide representation in the

²⁸ In the original language: *Moje deti*.

²⁹ In the original language: *Dobrodruzstva Morica Benovskeho* and *Cholera*.

³⁰ Sliacky, *Dejiny slovenskej literatúry pre deti a mladez do roku 1945*, cit., pp. 14-17.

country³¹. Among Slovak authors who were using the aforementioned form were Samuel Tesedik, Juraj Ribay, Pavel Michalko at al. Some of their works had a character of short thematic encyclopaedias.

A synthesis of forms can be found also in Jan Kollar's *Reading Book for children in Slovak schools, towns and villages*³². The book tried to present basic knowledge about the man, Earth, Universe, history and crafts. Owing to its thematic richness and diversity of literary forms, Kollar's Reading Book itself represents an ideal realisation of efforts towards educational and entertaining literature for children in the first phase of its development.

The second phase is connected with the revolutionary-democratic movement around Ludovit Stur in Slovakia. After many not only political struggles, Ludovit Stur with his disciples achieved legalisation of Slovak language in 1843. Stur and his people were not only devoted collectors and recorders of Slovak songs and folk narratives, they also created their own artistic works, poetry, short stories and dramatic texts. Children and writing for child readers were naturally included in their program and their strong influence can be observed during following fifty years in the greater number of children's books, journals³³ and in the process of the aestheticization of intentional lectures for children, which we can detect in that time.

In 1846-1847 the first journal for children called *Zornicka* was published by A. H. Skultety and J. Cipka. The journal offered children their first reading of fiction, especially short stories that were based on certain pedagogical bits of advice. Their plots usually illustrated some moral principles, which were again foregrounded at the end of each story. With its philosophy and orientation that highlighted principles of meekness, and direct link between happiness and personal ethics, *Zornicka* completely fitted contemporary official ideology. Although the impact of the journal on the development of Slovak children's literature was invaluable, it moved further from educative tractates to fiction, the journal itself was still following aims of scholastic education³⁴. Skultety's two books of poems for children that were published in 1850 and 1855³⁵ had also moralising and educative character, however, lively and vital children's voices that resonated in some of them were more significant than any moralising. The first play for children, *Orphans*³⁶ written by J. Matuska (1821-1877), followed similar principles.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41.

³² Originally published as *Citanka aneb Kniha k citani pro mlade zve skolach slovenskych v mestech a v dedinach* in 1825.

³³ There were four Slovak journals for children in Slovak territory of AHE: *Vcielka*, *Priatel dietok*, *Noviny malych*, and *Zornicka*.

³⁴ Sliacky, *Dejiny slovenskej literatury pre deti a mladez do roku 1945*, cit., pp. 29-30.

³⁵ In the original language: *Recnovanky I* and *Recnovanky II*.

³⁶ In the original language: *Siroty*.

Children's fiction became highly influenced by the national movement that was at its peak during the following fifty years. Its priority was nationally and morally oriented education based on the Ten Commandments that would reinforce the love of the national language³⁷. There was only one known exception from this trend, Martin Braxatoris, (1863-1834)³⁸, the poet who dealt with a specific children's world at the beginning of 20th century and whose editing work for a children's paper³⁹ had a significant impact on the quality of contemporary literature for children. There was similarity in understanding that Braxatoris shared with those writers of so-called high literature of that period, who, in individual cases, had entered the children's sphere (e.g. S.H. Vajansky, J. Cajak), or when child environment was included into their artistic works (e.g. P.O. Hviezdoslav, M. Kukucin, T. Vansova, J.G. Tajovsky).

Early stages of Slovak children's literature were neatly connected with the national and social situation in Slovakia⁴⁰. The most important authors used their works as psychological weapons to fight for national identity and independence and therefore no literary critique could influence their writing for children and loosen the strong impact of didactic conceptions⁴¹.

Despite their limited quantity, foreign books and their translations brought a great and positive influence into the children's literary area of those times. H. C. *Andersen's Fairy tales* from 1911⁴² were especially important. Cyril Gallya, the man who translated the book, introduced Andersen and his whole poetical-philosophical inventory to Slovak child readers. Gallya's translation was not only quantitative extension, it was also an introduction of a new type of children's fiction⁴³, and the importance of it was also noted by Svetozar Hurban Vajansky, one of the most significant writers and critics of that time.

³⁷ Sliacky, *Kontury periodizacneho procesu slovenskej literatury pre deti a mladez*, cit., p. 111.

³⁸ He was the son of Andrej Sladkovic, who was an important member of the Ludovit Stur's group.

³⁹ In the original language *Noviny mladých*.

⁴⁰ By Slovakia we mean the Slovak part of AHE, which more or less corresponded with the area of actual Slovak Republic.

⁴¹ Sliacky, *Kontury periodizacneho procesu slovenskej literatury pre deti a mladez*, cit., pp. 109-121.

⁴² Prior to this publication, in 1888, there was one collection of H. C. Anderson's fairytales published under the title *Lilies of the valley*, but its translation by Frano Macvejda lacked good quality.

⁴³ Sliacky, *Kontury periodizacneho procesu slovenskej literatury pre deti a mladez*, cit., p. 112.

Literature for children between 1918-1945

In 1918, Czechoslovakia was accepted as a sovereign state, independent of Austrian-Hungarian Empire and it became an utmost importance for contemporary Slovak writers to take care of their national language. At first, older selections of pre-war books, magazines, and translations were published, and later also new texts written by new authors from new publishers and newly established publishing houses. Matica slovenska, the oldest and most respected nationally oriented institution, linked up its activities with those from the time between 1863-1875. In the literature for children, a great effort was focussed on conceptuality, native works and artistic aspects. Establishment of a new edition *Young student's reading*⁴⁴ meant another important step in the development of Slovak children's literature, which moved further when, in 1936, an independent department for children's literature headed by Stefan Krčmery started to work as a part of Matica slovenska. From 1925 to 1927, Matica slovenska was issuing one magazine for children, which was called *Little Bee*⁴⁵. It was eventually replaced by *Little Sun*⁴⁶ with more elaborated graphics, higher attention to artistic aspects, original texts, creative as well as thematic and generic diversity. The Department of Friends of Slovak Literature for Youth was set up in 1931, in Bratislava as an outcome of Czech teachers' initiative and their active involvement focusing on creating textbooks for students and teachers⁴⁷. The most important of them were Frantisek Volf, Josef Pospisil, and Jaroslav Vodrazka, the illustrator. According to Sliacky, the basic leading tendencies in children's literature in that time were:

Humanistic and nationalistic – Ludmila Podjavorinska's *Agnus Dey*⁴⁸, Martin Razus' *Marosko*;
 Psychologizing and social – Jan Bodenek – *Ivko's White Mother*, Martin Hrnko – *The Hedgehogs*, Frano Kral – *Jano, Mother Cenko's children*⁴⁹
 Naturalistic – Ludo Ondrejov – *Outlaw's Youth*⁵⁰
 Optimalistic – Jozef Ciger Hronsky – *Courageous Hare, Courageous Hare in Africa, Budkacik and Dubkacik*⁵¹;
 Adventurous – Ludo Ondrejov's books;
 Historizing – Jozef Ciger Hronsky, Jozef Horak and his *Folk-tales*⁵².

⁴⁴ In the original language: *Citanie studujucej mladeze*.

⁴⁵ In the original language: *Vcielka*.

⁴⁶ In the original language: *Slniecko*.

⁴⁷ J. Noge, *Literatura v literatúre*, Bratislava, Mladé letá, 1988.

⁴⁸ In the original language: *Baranok boží*.

⁴⁹ In the original language: Jan Bodenek – *Ivkova Biela Mat*, Martin Hrnko – *Jezkovia*, Frano Kral – *Jano, Cenkovovej deti*.

⁵⁰ In the original language: *Junacka pasovacka*.

⁵¹ In the original language: Jozef Ciger Hronsky – *Smely zajko, Smely zajko v Afrike, Budkacik and Dubkacik*.

⁵² Sliacky, *Dejiny slovenskej literatúry pre deti a mladez do roku 1945*, cit., pp. 132-138.

The authorial fairy tale is an independent category within Slovak children's literature. While in other European countries this kind of fairy tale was formed during the Romantic period (O. Wilde, Grim brothers, H. C. Andersen, L.N. Tolstoy, etc.), in Slovakia, conditions favourable for this genre didn't appear sooner than in 1930 with texts and rhymed fairy tales written by Ludmila Riznerova-Podjavorinska⁵³. Her first characters were a little boggler hare⁵⁴ (1930), and a sparrow from a sparrow family⁵⁵ (1943). These books are playful, rhythmic, entertaining but also contain advice, which is explicitly expressed in their epilogue. They present even serious situations with humour, without any mark of derision or irony. Life of animals and their relationships copy human lives and similar situations (personal happiness as the highest value). These fairy tales use repetition of motives and rhythmic units, concreteness of imagery, work with language elements, metaphors, anaphors, folkloric elements, phraseology, colloquialness, and footed verse⁵⁶.

Maria Razusova Martakova (1905-1964) is another important author for children as well as a poetess, prose writer, dramatist and translator. Her fairy tale poetry does not have purely epic character. Her stories, which are often set in the animal world or countryside, support poetic quality of her texts⁵⁷. Maria Razusova Martakova belongs among those writers who had to adjust their writing to the contemporary political situation and its requirements. After the year 1948, the beginning of socialisation of the country negatively impacted also the quality of Martakova's texts. For example, her lyrical-epical compositions *Song of the Vah* (1953) or *Colourful Garden* (1953)⁵⁸, which were written as her reaction to post February events, lack persuasive expressiveness. Moreover, her measure to incorporate social motives into writing appears as superficial. Martakova's prosaic writing contains allusions to folk-tales like in her *Fairy tale World*⁵⁹, adaptations of fairy tales of Ludovit Stur group's writers. They were published in the books *First wreath* (1954), *Second Wreath* (1957)⁶⁰, in a book of children's folk games *Hoja, Dunda, Hoja* (1956), in Fairy tales about the national rebel-hero *Janosik* (1955)⁶¹ and its enlarged version *Springal battle* (1962) or in the story *Boy's Summer* (1956)⁶². The example of Martakova's artistic line shows a common tendency of Slovak writers whose writing for adults was either banned or they had to agree upon many compromises to fit the new ideology. Some of them retreated to a newly found asylum of children's

⁵³ G. Magalova, *Meditatívna rozpravka*, Trnava, Typi Universitatis Tyrnviensis, 2013, p. 11.

⁵⁴ In the original language: *Zajko-Bojko*.

⁵⁵ In the original language: *Cin-Cin*.

⁵⁶ Sliacky, *Dejiny slovenskej literatúry pre deti a mladez do roku 1945*, cit., pp. 249-295.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 312-314.

⁵⁸ In the original language: *Piesen o Vahu* (1953) and *Farebna zahrádka* (1953).

⁵⁹ In the original language: *Rozpravkovy svet*.

⁶⁰ In the original language: *Prvý venček a Druhý venček*.

⁶¹ In the original language: *Rozpravky or Janosikovi*.

⁶² In the original language: *Junacka pasovacka and Chlapckovo leto*.

literature where they discovered the artistic freedom they needed. There they could write not compromising their personal principles, ideas and opinions.

After 1948, the situation in Slovakia become complicated for writers. While until that year, children's literature was aesthetically and ideologically diversified, after the February coup, in 1948, its main ambition was to produce texts that would boost and promote the ideology of socialist literature for children, which in particular meant orientation to contemporary themes, like building the state, promotion of socialist ideology, related tasks and duties, re-education of people in line with the leading ideology and activities of youth clubs and organisations. And again, a utilitarian function of literature was foregrounded at the expense of aesthetic principles⁶³. Writers' approach to topics became superficial, they treated them with uncritical optimism, conflicts became often schematic, characters lacked artistic depth and persuasiveness. In that time, literature presented simplified and constructed picture of reality.

Writers' reactions to literary schematism varied. There appeared a wide scale of responses not only to the situation but also to the newly required ways of writing, the new philosophy of life as well as to the ideologically blended perception of the world. There were adaptations, polemicizing or retreats from schematism as forms, methods and nuances of reactions to the situation in the literature and society in that time. On the other hand, we should notice that children's literature writers had a better situation than those who wrote for adults. This branch of literature was not under such high ideological control, and therefore many authors changed either to some extent or completely their target readers⁶⁴. One example is Hana Ponicka, a signatory of Charta 77⁶⁵, who wrote for children during one period of her writing career. Then her books about a little cork-boy or Winter Fairy tail⁶⁶ were published (1961).

Writers' retreats from schematism had various forms in that time. The most frequent were returns to one's own childhood and youth when everything seemed enjoyable from the distance of time, or returns to the country and nature, to folk narratives or to history. It is very interesting to see how historical themes can resonate in the times that require certain ideological coding of the message⁶⁷. Theoretically, in the second half of the 20th-century, literary schematism became a target of official criticism. Even Marxist literary theorists formally started to speak against it. For example, Daniel Okali⁶⁸ explained: «from its beginnings, also our socialist literature tried to form the conception

⁶³ V. Marcok *et al.*, *Dejiny slovenskej literatury*, Bratislava, LIC 2004, pp. 382-384.

⁶⁴ E. Vitezova, *Jozef Horak a uniky zo schematizmu. V silociarach schematizmu*, Nitra, UKF, 2008, pp. 161-181.

⁶⁵ Citizen's initiative in the socialist Czechoslovakia.

⁶⁶ In the original language: *O stoplikovi* or *Zimna rozpravka*.

⁶⁷ Vitezova, *Jozef Horak a uniky zo schematizmu. V silociarach schematizmu*, cit., pp. 163-165.

⁶⁸ D. Okali, *K problematike socialistického realizmu*, «Slovenske pohľady», n. 5, 1976, p. 13.

of a new man, hero, who was proletarian and his fight for the revolutionary change in the world. A creative method of Socialist realism facilitated that seeing, knowing and evaluation of the birth and development of the new proletarian hero was based on typification. Should a hero create an artistic impression, he had to express synthesis of individual and collective, class-determining signs. He should not become a scheme, but his character should remain lively, with the unique personality and specific traits, although, at the same time he had to impersonate typical, decisive features of the class».

However, practical solutions were not so direct. Such situation was not easy for writers and the dilemma whether to write or not was heavy. That was the reason that many of them, as we have already mentioned above, found their solution in other than contemporary themes. Children's literature became their sanctuary where they could write without turning coats, without adjusting to norms of contemporary communist ideology. From there they could send their messages covered into allegories or metaphors, because censorship, control and repressions were much weaker within that genre.

The birth of modern children's literature

A cardinal change in Slovak children's literature and finalisation of the processes of its position as an integral part of the national literature happen in the sixth decade of the twentieth century⁶⁹. The main impact on its evolution came from the young generation of writers, who entered literature with their own formulated, artistic program. They brought there «a child aspect» or point of view, child perception, evaluation, and commenting on the world. This generation is also called "the generation of child aspect"⁷⁰ and they introduced also modern expressive means to this field. With them lively, vigorous child characters, child sense of humour, playfulness and fantasy entered into writing for children. The basic structural change appeared at first in poetical books of Lubomir Feldek and Miroslav Valek. Their poetics was further developed by Klara Jarunkova, Jan Navratil, Jozef Popovic, Jaroslava Blazkova, Maria Durickova, Eleonora Gasparova, Milan Ferko, Vincent Sikula and many other great writers whose artistic texts make us call the period a golden age of Slovak children's literature⁷¹ despite its significant lack of social and artistic freedom.

⁶⁹ Marcok *et al.*, *Dejiny slovenskej literatury III*, cit., pp. 391-392.

⁷⁰ F. Miko, *Hra a poznanie v detskej proze*, Bratislava, Mladé letá, 1980, p. 246.

⁷¹ Z. Stanislavova, *Kontexty modernej slovenskej literatury pre deti a mladez*, Presov, Nauka, 1998, p. 12.

Educational-and-cultural processes in Ukraine in XVIIth Century: european tendencies

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ABSTRACT: Publications printed anciently of the 17th century, archival materials, periodicals of the 19th century, works of Ukrainian emigrants and modern researchers were analyzed in the article. Attention was paid to the fact that educational-and-upbringing system acquired particular importance in the times of social-and-economic transformations, determination of priorities of humanitarian policy. In the 17th century, Ukraine experienced a kind of renaissance that raised it to the European level of social and educational-and-cultural development. Activity of brotherhood schools, Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium, printing houses and libraries was favourable to it. The development of education in Ukraine was considered in the context of European civilization which sustained various influences of distinctive civilizations (Russian, Polish, Austrian, etc.).

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Development of printing houses and libraries; Educational literature; European-type schools; Ukraine; XVIIth Century.

Introduction

Educational-and-cultural processes that took place in Ukraine in the 17th century sustained ambiguous and often contradictory influences. On the one hand, the great influence was caused by foreign, Polish rule, and on the other hand, Ukrainian culture «kept spiritual roots of the Eastern Slavic unity and at the same time mastered actively the achievements of Western European Enlightenment whose transformer and transferor was Poland»¹.

The location of Ukraine on the boundary of Greek-and-Slavic cultural world with Latin Europe led to the fact that these processes «in the forms of educational practice, and in the main circle of enlightenment ideas they combined foreign with the national brighter than anywhere else which based on stable traditions of Enlightenment culture of Ancient Rus»². Therefore, it is important to adequate estimation of the Ukrainian cultural-and-educational heritage of the XVII century: 1) to analyze when and how borrowed material, borrowed forms from other cultures were assimilated that was introduced into its treasury of educational ideas and forms; 2) to ascertain both separate phenomena and typologically related ones at the level of borrowings which arose independently on a national basis; 3) to highlight the contribution of Ukrainians to the development of educational-and-cultural processes of those states which included the territory of present Ukraine.

The role of printing houses in the development of education

The center of cultural activity in Ukraine moved to the East – to Kiev having into consideration social-and-political processes of the beginning of the XVII century. Economic situation in Kyiv, spiritual traditions, connections with different lands and cities of Ukraine caused its revival not only as an all-Ukrainian center of Orthodoxy but also as a significant educational center. The latter was connected, first of all, with appearing and increasing of a system of printing houses. After all, «book printing is one of the most important movers of education in the history of mankind in general and of every nation in particular»³.

Printing houses met one of the main needs – a quick and wide exchange of ideas between those who produced them and those who mastered them and

¹ G. Kornetov, *Očerki istorii sbkoly i pedagogičeskoj mysli narodov SSSR s drevnih vremen do konca XVII v.* [Assay on history of school and pedagogical thought of the nations of the USSR from ancient times to the end of XVII century], Moskva, Pedagogika, 1989, p. 266.

² *Ibid.*

³ T. Golubev, *O nachale knigopechatanija v Kieve* [On beginning of book printing in Kyiv], «Kievskaja starina», vol. II, nn. 4-6, 1882, pp. 381-400.

put them into practice. Although printed editions contained religious content, but they had a significant educational-and-upbringing potential. Printed books in Ukraine began to be used as long ago as the XV century on the territory of that time. At first, they were the books intended for church service which were received from neighboring Krakow. Modern research of D. Rott⁴ pointed out on the development of printing, libraries and schools in the 17th century in Poland. First own printing houses appeared in the second half of the XVI century on the territory of Ukraine. Soon, the system of printing houses grew, satisfying the needs of the clergy both in books of ecclesiastical and secular, in particular of pedagogical purpose which contributed to the development of education in general⁵.

The first printing house in Ukraine was founded in Lviv by Ivan Fedorov in 1573. In 1574, he published his famous «Apostle» [Apostol] and «ABC book» [Bukvar]⁶. Printing houses worked in Lviv, Ostroh, Lutsk, Uhorts, Unev, Zabludov, Peremyzhl, Novhorod-Siverskyi, Kyiv and Chernihiv at the beginning of the XVII century. In addition, there were private printing houses of Mykhailo Sliozka, Arsenii Zhelyborskyi in Lviv, bishop Gedeon Balaban in Sirityn and Krylos, Tymofii Verbytskyi and Spyrydon Sobol in Kyiv and others. Significant contribution to the publishing business was made by the so-called travelling printing houses of Pavlo-Domzhiv Liutkovych-Telytsia and Kyrylo-Trankvilion Stavrovetskyi who performed orders for schools, monasteries⁷. By the end of the XVII century there were about 20 printing houses in Ukraine which played a significant role in the struggle of Orthodox Church with Catholicism and Unionism⁸.

Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra became the driving force of the Orthodox revival after moving a cultural center to Kyiv. In 1610, its archimandrite Yelysei Pletenetskyi formed around him a group of educated clergymen, including Iov Boretskyi, Tarasii Zemko, Zakharii Kopystianskyi, Pamva Berynda and Lavrentii Zyzania. Having bought a printing press, he began on «to carry out a grandiose publishing project, according to which about 30 books mainly of religious content were published during 15 years. This amount exceeded the total number of all books published in Ukraine at that time»⁹. According to T. Golubiev, the first book published in Kyiv-Pechersk printing house dated back to 1619 and it was called «Trefologion» [Trefologion] (Anfologion) [Anfologion]¹⁰.

⁴ D. Rott, *Bracia czescy w dawnej Polsce*, Katowice, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego Katowice, 2002.

⁵ Golubev, *O nachale knigopechatanija v Kieve*, cit., pp. 381-400.

⁶ *Bukvar* [ABC book], Pечат' Ivan Fedorov, L'vov, 1574. This is the first Ukrainian-Russian printed educational book, which is made up of five eight-letter notebooks.

⁷ Z. Hyzhnjak and V. Man'kivs'kyj, *Istoriya Kyjevo-Mogylyans'koi' akademii'* [History of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy], Kyiv, VD «Kyjevo-Mogylyans'ka akademija», 2008, p. 7.

⁸ Golubev, *O nachale knigopechatanija v Kieve*, cit., p. 382.

⁹ O. Subtel'nyj, *Ukrai'na: istorija* [History of Ukraine], Kyiv, Lybid', 1993, pp. 110-111.

¹⁰ Golubev, *O nachale knigopechatanija v Kieve*, cit., p. 385

All the printing houses were actually cultural-and-educational institutions which did not care about profits but about education spread among the people. This was especially true of Pechersk printing house, which «was like an Academy that united the best writers and scholars of that period during the time of its existence (1616-1720)»¹¹.

Publications made in Lavra [Lavri] «freely circulated in the whole Ukraine» without a great competition. Lviv, even when it was already cut off by the border from Kyiv, took Kyiv-Pechersk books with pleasure. In addition, Pechersk books moved to Russia, Moldova, where «Ukrainian was the governmental language, and the language of the church was Latin». Pechersk publications were «not foreign» on Athos in Slavic monasteries. In general, Lavra [Lavra] was «the strongest Ukrainian cultural fortress that was considerably on guard of their native nation»¹².

During the time when Petro Mohyla headed Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra (end of 1632 – the first half of 1633), they started printing the books in Polish. It was considered that the first book printed in Polish was panegiryc [panegirik] written by the students of the Mohyla Collegium by P. Mohyla¹³. Pechersk printing house published also secular books except books of religious content, the example of which was the first dictionary «Slavic Russian lexicon and interpretation of the names» [Leksikon” slavenorosskij i imenem tolkovanie] by P. Berenda (1627), «Semi-rules» [Poluutasvi] (1690)¹⁴. The printing house did not stop its educational activity for 269 years of its existence despite losses from the fires in 1718, 1772, 1776 and 1788¹⁵.

Bibliography guide printed in the magazine «Kievskaya starina» in 1895 evidenced about the geography of books distribution from Kyiv and Lviv printing houses in the third quarter of the XVII century where it was noted that V. Eingorn presented a brochure (of 19 pages in volume) titled «Books of Kyiv and Lviv printing houses in Moscow in the third quarter of the XVII century» [Knigi kievskoj i l'vovskoj pechati v” Moskve v” tret'yu chetvert' XVII v.] in 1894. It provided valuable information about books distribution of Kyiv printing house in the second half of the XVII century in Moscow. They mentioned the following rectors of Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium – I. Gizel

¹¹ I. Ogijenko, *Istoriya ukrai'ns'kogo drukarstva: Istoryko-bibliografichnyj ogljad ukrai'ns'kogo drukarstva XV-XVIII vv.* [History of Ukrainian publishing, Historical-and-bibliographical review of Ukrainian printing of XV-XVIII centuries], Kanada, VINNIPEG, 1983, p. 273.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 278.

¹³ Golubev, *O nachale knigopечатaniya v Kieve*, cit., p. 400.

¹⁴ *Poluustav, ili pravilo istinnago zhivota khristianskago* [Semiregulations or the rule of real Christian abdomen], Kyiv: Tip. Pecherskoj Lavry, 1690, p. 8. Note that the Semiregulations [*Poluustav*] contains the most frequently used prayers chosen from the Church's statutes and intended for the laity. To date, the surname of the author in archival documents has not survived.

¹⁵ P. Lebedincev, *Kievo-Pecherskaja lavra v ee proshedshem i nyneshnem sostojanii* [Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra in its Past and Present State], «Kievskaja starina», vol. 15, n. 8, 1886, pp. 618-619.

(1646-1650), L. Baranovych (1650-1657), I. Galiatovskyi (1657-1669) as the authors of these publications. V. Eingorn remarked that the Moscow Tsar permitted L. Baranovych to print his work «Truby» [Trubi] at the state (governmental) cost; I. Galiatovskyi was «mercifully» praised by the Tsar for the work «True Messiah» [Mesiya Pravdivij] and received a reward; I. Gizel, Pechersk Archimandrite, received a permission to sell books of Kyiv printing for a «free price» in Moscow in 1672 sending 539 copies of different books there. It should be noted that there were 50 Polish ABC books, 50 grammar books of Old Slavonic, 12 Bibles, 58 Books of Hours, 7 Lives of Holy Fathers of Pechersk (collections of stories), 31 alphabets, 320 kanunyks (selected parts from the theological books «Minei» [Minei]), 4 semi-rules among the books brought from Kyiv¹⁶. The above list showed that not only church-theological literature but also educational books were printed in Ukraine.

According to V. Eingorn, Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery opened in Moscow a shop for books trade in 1672, where they also sold books of Lviv printing and even the well-known Bible of Ostrog printing. It is noteworthy that there were also books printed in Polish, in particular the works of L. Baranovych «Lives of sacred persons» [ZHittya svyatykh] (1670) and «Apolon's lute» [Lyutnya Apolonova] (1671) among the books brought for sale¹⁷.

L. Baranovych, founding a printing house in Novgorod-Siverskyi in 1674, transferred it to Chernihiv in 1679 and combined it with Chernihiv printing house. It was printed «about 50 pieces of various literary books in Ukrainian, Polish and Latin, including grammar, Books of Hours, Psalter, Oktoikh [Oktoikh], prayer books for primary studies, as well as a number of own works and works of their associates»¹⁸ during the time of the printing house location in Novgorod-Siverskyi.

There was a printing house in Ostrog at the same time with Kyiv-Pechersk and Chernihiv printing houses, which printed the first Bible in the Old Slavonic language which has remained to present day¹⁹. The so-called nomadic private printing houses operated at the monasteries except printing houses. For example, Kyrylo Trankvilion Stavrovetskyi published «Mirror of Theology» [Zertsalo Bogoslovii] (Pochaiv, 1618), «Teaching Gospels» [Evangeliie Uchitel'noe]

¹⁶ V. Eingorn, *Knigi kievskoj i l'vovskoj pečati v" Moskve v tret'ju četvert' XVII v.* [Books of Kyiv and Lviv publishing in Moscow in the third quarter of XVII century], «Kievskaja starina», vol. 49, nn. 5-8, 1895, p. 101. Note that Vitaliy Eingorn is a teacher, a source scholar, a doctor of historical sciences, whose scholarly work addresses various issues of the history of Ukraine with the use of archival material.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹⁸ O. Suhomlyn's'ka, N. Dichek, T. Samoplavs'ka, *et. al.*, *Ukrai'ns'ka pedagogika v personalijah: navch. posib. dlja stud. vyshh. navch. zakl.* [Ukrainian Pedagogy in persons: textbook for the students of higher educational institutions]. Kyiv, Lybid', 2005, p. 139.

¹⁹ A. Lazarevskij, *Dva dokumenta k istorii Chernigovskoj tipografii* [Two documents on the history of Chernihiv publishing house], «Kievskaja starina», vol. 16, nn. 9-12, 1886, pp. 571-579.

(Rakhmanov, 1619), «Precious pearl» [Perlo Mnogotsennoe] (Chernihiv, 1646) in his «nomadic» printing house.

I. Ogienko described the state of printing in Ukraine in the XVII century in general as follows:

There is a great number of books in Ukraine, large libraries are founded in the cities. The books are flowing as a wide river from abroad, but they are not less distributed from native printing houses which were then exceeding amount, and when we read Ukrainian books of the XVII century, we are surprised by the huge erudition of their authors, amazed by the true scientific method, peculiar purity of the thoughts logic²⁰.

It should be mentioned «Grammar» [Gramatiku] by M. Smotrytskyi (1619), «Lexicon» [Leksikon] by P. Berynda (1627), the first textbook on History «Synopsis» [Sinopsis] (1674) among the important publications of that time.

Book printing in Ukraine, its beginning and development were greatly caused by rapid growth of the system of schools, urgent necessity for educational manuals – ABC books, grammar books, dictionaries. According to Ye. Medynskyi, just Lviv printing house presented 34 237 ABC books, 500 grammar books, 200 copies of «On education of the children» [Pro vikhovannya chad] in the period from 1584 to 1722²¹.

Propagation of education through libraries

Paying contribution to the printing houses, one cannot ignore the importance of libraries operated by the monasteries and churches in educating the people and spreading theological and pedagogical thought. Rare valuable monuments of ancient writing and printing were found in Dermansk, Gorodyshcha and Liubar monastery churches as noted in the «Report of Volyn Church-and-Archaeological Society in 1899». Dermansk monastery was of particular value in this respect. 26 pieces of ancient manuscript books dated back to the XIV-XV centuries were found in its library. Some of them were signed by the princes (kniiaz) of Konstiantyn Ivanovych and Konstiantyn Konstiantynovych Ostrozhsnyi, Meletii Smotrytskyi, and others. Such bibliographic rarities as «Oktoikh» [Oktoïkh] by Dermanskyi of 1610 and «Teaching Gospels» [Rakhmanovs'ke «Uchitel'ne evangelie»] by Rakhmanov of 1619 were presented in different languages among several hundred of early printed books.

²⁰ I. Ogienko, *Ukrai'ns'ka kul'tura: korotka istorija kul'turnogo zhyttja ukrai'ns'kogo naroda* [Ukrainian culture: brief history of cultural life of Ukrainian nation], Kyiv, Vyd-vo knygharni Je. Cherepovs'kogo, 1918, p. 34.

²¹ E. Medynskij, *Bratskie shkoly Ukrainy i Belorussii v XVI-XVII vv. i ih rol' v vossoedinenii Ukrainy s Rossiej* [Fraternal schools of Ukraine and Belorussia in XVI-XVII centuries and their role in reunion of Ukraine with Russia], Moskva, Izd-vo APN RSFSR, 1954, p. 52.

Many books with autographs and marginal notes by M. Smotrytskyi gives wide material concerning his erudition, scientific interests and biography of this outstanding figure of church history and enlightener of Volyn²². The report on protection of book funds contains the information that many «scholar» theological treatises of different kinds written in various monasteries of Volyn and by the monks-Vasilians from the neighborhood lands were kept in the library of Liubar women's monastery²³.

Given review of printing and distribution of printed production confirms that a book not only of church theme but also educational one played a significant role in educational-and-cultural life of the Ukrainian society of the XVII century. Just educational book contributed to education spreading, that is the evidence of the latter demanding.

Influence of political and economic realities on educational-and-cultural processes

No one can ignore the political, ideological, cultural and economic realities that directly affected both the life of the region population and the nature of education revealing peculiarities of educational-and-cultural processes that took place on the territory of Ukraine during the mentioned period. The Lublin Union of 1569 gave rise to the rule of the Polish nobilities in Ukraine. At that time, Jesuit collegiums as educational institutions of special type where they taught a wide range of secular disciplines in conjunction with theology began to operate.

In addition to the Jesuit collegiums, there were different types of Protestant schools – Socinian, Aryan and Calvinist educational establishments situated in Dubetsk – a school and a seminary (the Russian voivodship), Kholmilnyk (Bratslav voivodship), Kysylyn, Goshcha and Berestechko (Volyn voivodship), Kamianets-Podilsk, Manivka and others²⁴. Greek, Latin, Polish, Church Slavonic language, Mathematics, Dialectics and Rhetoric were studied in these institutions and they studied also Philosophy and Theology at Manivtsi school that points to its higher status. Undoubtedly, the main purpose of those schools was the upbringing of young generation in a religious spirit. At the same time, West European ideas of humanism and reformation were spread in Ukraine through such schools. They contributed to expansion of education in Ukraine

²² Y.A. Yarotskij, *Uchenyya obshchestva* [Educational societies], «Kievskaja starina», vol. 69, nn. 4-6, 1900, pp. 123-126.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-126.

²⁴ V. Lytvyn, *Istoriya Ukraïny: v 3 t. Z najdavnishykh chasiv do kincja XVIII st. T. 1.* [History of Ukraine: in 3 volumes. From the ancient times to the end of XVIII century. V. 1], Kyiv, VD «Al'ternatyvy», 2003, p. 354.

in the second half of the XVII – XVIII centuries as evidenced by the study of Polish scientists²⁵. N. Dichek mentioned that «the activity of educational church institution was an extremely influential factor in education spreading, in particular, of the European level, among Orthodox Eastern Slavic peoples»²⁶.

Appearing of fraternal schools

Fraternal schools in Ukraine began to appear after the decree of King Stephen Bathory in 1585 according to which Orthodox fraternities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Galicia were allowed to hold schools²⁷. The oldest fraternal school in Ukraine is considered to be Lviv fraternal school founded in 1585 by Lviv fraternity. Later, in 1591, Lutsk fraternal school and Kyiv fraternal school were founded in 1615.

Fraternal schools were people's institutions differed primarily from the rest schools by democratic principles (children of all classes and orphans studied here). Fraternities considered their patriotic goal in the revival of the Slavic language and Orthodox religion in the conditions of offensive of Catholicism to religious and national rights of the Ukrainian people.

Movement on fraternities forming appeared in cities where the organizers of schools creation were lower middle class citizens supported by the Orthodox nobilities. Educational movement went from the cities to the villages. Peasants also established fraternities with hospitals and schools where they taught children²⁸. The main purpose of the fraternities, according to their regulations, was saving and increasing of Orthodox Church. The influence of the fraternity and its control over the fulfillment of Christian moral postulates expanded to all laics and clergy of the city. That is, fraternities «corrected social relations, tried to limit economic and spiritual power of the Church, its interference in

²⁵ See, in particular: K. Bartnicka, *Zarys historii wychowania: Wyzsza Szkola Humanistyczna w Pultusku*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Akademickie «Zak», 2001; L. Kurdybacha (ed.), *Historia wychowania*, Warszawa, Państwowe wydawnictwo naukowe, 1967; S. Kot, *Historia wychowania: Od starożytnej Grecji do poławini wieku XVIII*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Akademickie «Zak», 1995, Vol. I; S. Litak, *Historia wychowania: Do Wielkiej Rewolucji Francuskiej*, Krakow, Wydawnictwo Wam Wsf – P «Ignatianum – Krakow», 2004, Vol. I; L. Kurdybacha, *Walka oświeckosc oświaty w XVII i XVIII wieku: Czytelnik*, Warszawa, 1950; S. Mozdzen, *Historia wychowania do 1795*, Kielce, 2005; S. Olczak, *Szkolnictwo parafialne w Wielkopolsce w XVII i XVIII wieku: (w swietle wizytacja koscielnych)*, Lublin, TN KUL, 1978.

²⁶ N. Dichek, *Rozvytok osvity na ukrai'ns'kyh zemljah u dobu baroko* [Development of education in the Ukrainian area in Barocco epoch], «Pedagogiczna i psychologiczna nauky v Ukrai'ni: zbirnyk naukovykh prac», vol. I, n. 1, 20112, p. 166.

²⁷ Hyzhnjak, Man'kivs'kyj, *Istorija Kyjevo-Mogyljans'koi' akademii'*, cit., p. 12.

²⁸ V. Bidnov, *Sbkola j osvita na Ukrai'ni* [School and education in Ukraine] in D. Antonovych (ed.), *Pam'jatky istorychnoi' dumky Ukrai'ny. Ukrai'ns'ka kul'tura: lekci'* [Monuments of historical thought in Ukraine. Ukrainian culture: lectures], Kyiv, Lybid', 1993, p. 53.

public life»²⁹. At the beginning of the XVII century there were already about 30 fraternities, including: in Galych, Rogatyn, Stryi, Mykolaiv, Komarne, Peremyshl, Yaroslav – in Galicia; in Kholm, Krasnostav, Zast – in Kholmshchyna; in Bilsk, Byrest and Voladava – in Pidliashia; in Volodymyr, Lutsk, Dubno – in Volyn; in Pinsk – in Polissia; in Medzhybozh – in Podillia. Some time later, fraternities appeared in Kyiv, Lutsk, Vinnytsia, Nemyriv spreading throughout Naddnyprianshchyna («land over Dnieper»).

Practically, fraternal communities «led a social movement for establishment of the traditions of Ukrainian culture, preservation of a native language, formation of consciousness of the people in conditions of exacerbation of Catholic expansion»³⁰.

The merit of the fraternities was also the fact that they formed a system of schools (from elementary to secondary and high) which were of spiritual and educational nature, a system of printing houses, assisted in spreading of skillfulness and democratization of education, gathered around a group of scientists and writers³¹. Special feature of fraternal schools was that curriculum was not limited by church-and-religious disciplines, but included scientific secular subjects. They were recognized as «schools of Greek, Slavic, Russian, Latin and Polish writing which testified the importance of learning languages in these schools»³².

It was fraternity that became «new leaders in school affairs. Their activities were in close connection with the nature of education in previous times: they understood education in the same sense as it was understood before, that is, education «should serve the interests of Orthodox religion and church»³³.

The activity of fraternal schools was regulated by the regulations drawn up by the example of Lviv fraternity (1586) and approved by Iyeremia, Patriarch of Constantinople, in 1592. Regulations («School order») of Lviv fraternal school pointed to democracy and all-classes nature of education. It clearly defined the requirements for teachers, outlined relationships between teachers and students, the issues of students' discipline, determined the schedule of a school day, the principles of education organization, the content of education, school relationship with the families, the procedure of young people admission

²⁹ Hyzhnjak, Man'kivs'kyj, *Istoriya Kyjevo-Mogylyans'koi' akademii'*, cit., p. 12.

³⁰ M. Kashuba (ed.), *Problema ljudyny v ukrai'ns'kij filosofii' XVI-XVIII st.* [Problem of a human in Ukrainian philosophy of XVI-XVIII century], L'viv, Logos, 1998, p. 31.

³¹ V. Nychyk, *Gumanistychni i reformacijni idei' na Ukrai'ni (XVI – pochatok XVII st.)* [Humanistic and reformation ideas in Ukraine (XVI – beginning of XVII century)], Kyiv, Naukova dumka, 1990, p. 5; P. Kapterev, *Istoriya russkoj pedagogiki. Gl. VI. Obshestvennye (bratskie) i gosudarstvennye shkoly konca XVI i XVII vekov* [History of Russian pedagogics. Ch. VI. Public (fraternal) and state schools at the end of XVI and XVII centuries], «Pedagogika», n. 3, 1993, p. 45.

³² Kapterev, *Obshestvennye (bratskie) i gosudarstvennye shkoly kontsa XVI i XVII vekov*, cit., p. 47.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-57.

to the school and dismissing from the student staff. Regulations of Lviv fraternal school was taken as the basis for making regulations by other fraternal schools, in particular, Kyiv and Lutsk schools. Studying these documents allows getting a fairly complete picture about organization of the educational process in these institutions.

All fraternal schools passed two stages in their development by pedagogical content. Greece had a great influence on them at the first (primary) stage in the development of fraternal schools. Therefore, Orthodox Ukrainians living in Southwestern Rus kept close ties with just this country as a spiritual center of Orthodox religion, and the first organizers of school matters were invited from here that caused the domination of a Greek element in Ukrainian education – Hellenic-Slavic education became widespread. However, later fraternal schools began to get closer to Latin-Polish educational institutions. Language skills opened up opportunities for learning the achievements of Western European culture, initiation of teaching disciplines that tended to Philosophy (Rhetoric with reduced dialectic variants, that is, Logic), preparation of textbooks, individual philosophical treatises that created the preconditions for separating Philosophy from non-philosophical spheres, primarily from Theology³⁴. Therefore, the second stage was characterized by basing of pedagogical theory and practice on the principles of Slavic pedagogical traditions including experience of Western European pedagogy.

A special role lied to Philosophy and Philology among the sciences studied in fraternal schools and in which European renaissance-and-humanistic tendencies were embodied. The teachers of Lviv and later from Kyiv fraternal school – L. Zyzania and P. Berynda worked fruitfully in this direction. Thus, the work «Lexicon» [Leksikon] by P. Berynda was used as a textbook for studying Church Slavonic language in schools of the XVII-XVIII centuries. Scientific adaptation of vocabulary material was carried out in «Lexicon» [Leksikon] for the first time in Eastern Slavic philology. P. Berynda preparing this publication translated into Ukrainian or explained about 700 words, turned to Greek, Latin, Arabic, Hebrew, almost all Slavic languages, as well as languages of Western Europe³⁵. Philological works by L. Zyzania, M. Smotrytskyi, P. Berynda belonged to the models of humanistic pedagogy. In particular, L. Zyzania and M. Smotrytskyi were well-informed about the achievements of Byzantine humanists of the XV century who conducted pedagogical activity in Western Europe. I. Uzhewych, a Ukrainian philologist of the XVII century wrote «Slavic grammar» [Slovensku gramatiku] in Latin – which was in fact the first grammar book of the old-Ukrainian literary language of XVI-XVII centuries. This book introduced the Old Ukrainian literary language into the sphere of European science of that time.

³⁴ Nichik, *Gumanistichni i reformatsijni ideji na Ukraïni (XVI – pochatok XVII st.)*, cit., p. 53.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

Fraternal schools as original educational institutions combined East Slavic traditions of teaching with forms of Western European school practice. The age of students at fraternal schools ranged from 8-9 to 20-25 years. The basis for dividing students into groups was two principles: 1) linguistic – more general which defined the school: Russian, Slavic-Greek, Latin (Latin-Polish); 2) class – which corresponded to the level of knowledge in each of the schools. The duration of study in each of the classes was not clearly determined and on average was two years of study in the elementary class, one year in each of the grammatical classes and three years in the classes of Poetics and Rhetoric if Rhetoric was combined with Dialectics. The functioning of these or other classes was not permanent but depended on the presence of teachers, and on the financial capabilities of a fraternity³⁶.

Fraternal schools were open educational institutions. Their activities were based on democratic principles. The schedule of a school day conformed to the generally accepted schedule of a Western European school of that time.

Educational-and-upbringing process was based on humanitarian principles by nature. Study of languages (Greek, Slavic, Russian, Latin, Polish), as well as teaching such subjects as Grammar, Poetry, Rhetoric, Dialectics and other components of Philosophy and Arithmetic affirmed about its humanitarian orientation.

Students were obliged to speak only in Latin both at school and out of the institution. This was due to the creation of conditions «for gaining general educational knowledge of the Western European level by Ukrainian youth not only in foreign universities, but also in the Motherland. Such level could be ensured, first of all, by free mastering of Latin, as well as learning of the achievements of European science of that time»³⁷. They used in-class writing exercises – exercitium and home tasks – occupation in addition to oral check of the tasks. Elementary forms of a dispute were practiced – original contests (competitions) when the mistakes of the answering student were corrected by the other with simultaneous asking him a question on grammar³⁸. Elements of mutual learning were widely used: for example, one student asked another in Greek and the latter had to answer in Slavic. This allowed not only checking language skills, but it also promoted responsibility, dignity and the ability to think quickly.

Poetics was taught in a special class or together with Rhetoric. At that time, Poetry performed an educational function. Auxiliary disciplines, such as History, Geography, Mythology and Ancient Literature played an important role in a rhetorical class. Elementary geographic information was given

³⁶ Kornetov, *Ocherki istorii shkoly i pedagogicheskoy mysli narodov SSSR s drevnih vremen do konca XVII v.*, cit., p. 275.

³⁷ Dichek, *Rozvytok osvity na ukrai'ns'kyh zemljah u dobu baroko*, cit., p. 167.

³⁸ Kornetov, *Ocherki istorii shkoly i pedagogicheskoy mysli narodov SSSR s drevnih vremen do konca XVII v.*, cit., p. 278.

along with historical ones. Sources of knowledge in this case served various «Cosmographies» [Kosmografii] of Western European origin³⁹. Particular attention in fraternal schools was given to the Slavic language which was studied by Slavic grammar books created by the teachers of these institutions: «Grammar of Slavic language» [Grammatikoj slovenskogo yazyka] by L. Zyzania, «Grammar of Svanic correct syntagma» [Grammatikoj slovenskoj pravil'noj sintagmy] by M. Smotrytskyi⁴⁰, which was the only textbook on grammar in Ukraine, Belarus and Russia until the middle of the XVIII century and had a great impact on the development of linguistics in all Slavic peoples.

At the beginning of the XVII century, Kyiv fraternity was the most powerful and influential which included representatives of different classes: craftsmen, shopkeepers, poor Orthodox nobility, clergy and Cossacks. This fraternity differed from other Ukrainian fraternities because of the large representation of clergy and Cossacks. The very fact of entering into Kyiv fraternity by the representatives of various classes proved «the process of consolidation of different layers which became intensive with national-liberation frame of mind among the population»⁴¹.

Kyiv fraternal school from the beginning of its foundation (1615) was led by personalities known for their erudition, pedagogical and publicistic works, cultural and pedagogical activity, which could not properly affect the content, forms and methods of its pedagogical activities. Many prominent figures of the XVII century studied there, including writers S. Kosov, S. Pochaskyi and others.

In 1615-1618, I. Boretskyi was a rector in Kyiv fraternal school, whose name was closely connected with a cultural-and-national movement in Ukraine. He believed that social progress depended on education. These ideas were clearly showed in his book «On education of the children» [O vospitaniu chad] (1609), where science was placed above all else, since everything good came from it, and a man became a person thanks to it. I. Boretsky subordinated his pedagogical, educational, and literary work to solution of the most important, at that time, problem – awakening of the national consciousness of Ukrainians, desire for liberation; he demonstrated that Ukrainians had a historical right to their own Motherland, Religion and Church⁴².

The next rector of Kyiv fraternal school was M. Smotrytskyi (1619-1620) who wrote textbooks for schools, including the well-known «Slavic grammar of correct syntagma» [Grammatiki Slavenskiya pravilnoe sintagma] (syntagma – a set of rules) published in 1619⁴³.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁴⁰ M. Smotritskij, *Grammatika* [Grammar book]. Moscow, 1619, p. 283.

⁴¹ Hyzhnjak, Man'kivs'kyj, *Istorija Kyjevo-Mogylyans «koi akademii»*, cit., p. 26.

⁴² I. Borec'kyj, *Protestacija* [Protestation], in *Pam'jatky brats'kyh shkil na Ukraïni: kin. 16-17 st.* [Monuments of fraternal schools in Ukraine: the end of 16-17 century], Kyiv, Naukova dumka, 1988, pp. 321, 324.

⁴³ Smotritskij, *Grammatika*, cit., p. 283.

The third rector of the Kyiv fraternal school (1620-1624) was Kasiian Sakovych (he studied at Krakow and Zamoisk academies) who taught Latin and Rhetoric, had poetic abilities. He was the author of two textbooks on Philosophy for fraternal schools – «Aristotle's problems or issues about a nature of a man» [Aristotelivs'ki problemi abo pitannya pro prirodu lyudini] (1620) and «Treatise about a soul» [Traktat pro dushu] (1625) – built in a form of questions and answers, contained such maxims as «say», «remember», «learn» and so on.

Later the rectors were: Spyrydon Sobol, probably, in 1626-1628; Khoma Yevlevych in 1628-1632, the author of the poem in Polish «Labyrinth or a confused road» [Labirint, abo zaplutana doroga] (1625).

The fact that Petro Konashevych-Sagaidachnyi, the Hetman of Zaporizhian Army was one of the most honorable members of Kyiv fraternal school who «together with all his army» joined to Kyiv fraternity «supporting the cultural-and-national movement in Ukraine and taking protection both fraternity and fraternal school»⁴⁴.

In 1620, Metropolitanate and the entire Orthodox hierarchy was restored in Ukraine at the initiative of P. Sagaidachnyi and with the support of Fraternity, which was abolished by the decision of Beresteiskyi council and replaced by the Uniate 25 years ago. Metropolitan and bishops were ordained to Ukrainian eparchies during October-December. Iov Boretskyi became the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Galicia and all Rus.

Restoring of Orthodox Ukrainian Metropolitanate was a great event not only of church but also of political significance that «inspired confidence in the Orthodox people and thus contributed to the national-and-liberation struggle»⁴⁵. This event took place at the Church of Bogoiavlennia-Blagovishchennia which belonged equally to Kyiv fraternity, Fraternal Monastery and Fraternal school. This testified about the high authority that Kyiv fraternity together with its school had gained among Orthodox people.

Consequently, fraternal schools represented the first experience of organizing the work of an educational institution in a class-lesson system, initiated group studying of the children of different age, a clear determination of time and space (classroom), regulation of the behaviour of children and teachers. Lviv, Lutsk and Kyiv fraternity schools successfully competed with Jesuit and Protestant educational institutions in terms of teaching.

⁴⁴ Hyzhnjak, Man'kivs'kyj, *Istorija Kyjevo-Mogylyans'koi akademii*, cit., p. 28.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Activity of P. Mohyla concerning reforming of education and Church

In general, the significance of the ordination of new Orthodox hierarchs was specified by the fact that Orthodox Church lost its hierarchs after the conclusion of Brest Union (1596) and joining of the majority of bishops to it. After Feofan (Theophanes), the patriarch of Jerusalem, ordained several bishops and appointed I. Boretskyi as the Metropolitan of Kyiv, «Orthodox Ukrainians had again their ecclesiastical archbishops»⁴⁶.

In 1627 P. Mohyla was elected as the Archimandrite of Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, and in 1632 he was elected as the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Galicia and all Rus by 49 Orthodox deputies at Convocation Szym in Warsaw. P. Mohyla after having taken the highest position in the church hierarchy of Ukraine began to unite the efforts of public institutions and different classes – first of all, fraternities, intelligentsia and Cossacks. His policy in the religious sphere and consecutive actions aimed at recognition of Ukrainian Orthodox Church and return of its lost rights, found support among the Cossacks, which gave Kyiv fraternity school (Collegium).to their subordination.

The activity of P. Mohyla coincided with the national-and-cultural movement in Ukraine. He understood that he would have to work with the people, who, according to V. Lypynskyi, did not use state institutions for a long time, only Church was their organizing and educating institution. However, the Church occurred weakened. The Church should have «been ennobled and disciplined, inculcated ability to do without dependence from the power and without its support»⁴⁷ to obtain liberties for the nation, Church and religion. To achieve this purpose, P. Mohyla «introduced strict discipline among priests and monks, eliminated harmful habits, demanded keeping of moral Orthodox principles». He made great efforts to «Ukrainian Orthodox Church could hold out and take appropriate place in the Christian world»⁴⁸.

P. Mohyla continued the tradition of the revival of the Ukrainian language, initiated by his predecessors, cultural figures of fraternities and fraternal schools and did his best to change Church Slavonic language hard to understand into Ukrainian language to common people.

⁴⁶ Subtel'nyj, *Ukrai'na: istorija*, cit., p. 111.

⁴⁷ V. Lypyns'kyj, *Religija i cerkva v istorii' Ukrai'ny: (peredruk statej z «Ameryky», 1923 r.)* [Religion and church in the history of Ukraine: (reprinting of articles from «Ameryka», 1923)], Kyiv, PBP «Fotovideoservis», 1993, p. 42.

⁴⁸ Hyzhnjak, Man'kivs'kyj, *Istorija Kyjevo-Mogyljans'koi' akademii'*, cit., pp. 44-45.

School of European Model

A school of European model which at the same time would remain deeply national, Ukrainian should serve for implementation of the plans of P. Mohyla – to reform education and the Church. Just such school to his mind was supposed to prepare highly educated scholars, theologians, clever and disciplined priests and monks, people of state thinking who could «make Ukraine independent and represent it adequately at the highest levels of interstate and church relations»⁴⁹.

P. Mohyla opened a school in the building of Troitskyi Monastery of Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra in summer of 1631, which remained in history under the name of Lavrska school or gymnasium. This school was similar to Polish and Western European collegiums by the volume of subjects and organizational structure. There were lower (grammatical) classes and higher ones – Poetics, Rhetoric, and Philosophy. However, it did not last for a long time. According to Z. Khyzhniak, «the Kyivites were worried whether Petro Mohyla as Archimandrite would subordinate upbringing of youth to exclusive religious interests, which would be contrary to the principles of fraternal school education»⁵⁰. Fraternalists strongly insisted on joining Lavra School with fraternity school which was under their supervision.

Activity of Kyiv fraternal collegium

Joint schools began to operate on 1st September 1632 in the territory and in the buildings of Fraternal school under the name of Kyiv Fraternal Collegium, later as Kyiv or Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium. This institution met the requirements of European higher education by the content of curriculum and the level of teaching, however it was somewhat different from the academies and universities operating in that countries with a clear structure of the faculties (usually four). Latin was studied at the artistic (preparatory) faculty. The student obtained a Bachelor degree of Arts after mastering Grammar, Rhetoric, the Principles of Dialectics, and Master's degree in Art after mastering Philosophy, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Theory of Music, and only then he was allowed to enter the Theological, Medical or Juridical faculties.

In contrary, Kyiv collegium did not have faculties, students did not receive academic degrees, they did not always teach Theology. The latter was due to the prohibition of the Polish government to teach theological sciences at the collegium, otherwise the institution would have the rights of the academy. The ruling circles of Poland could not agree to the free development of the collegium,

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

finding a threat in creation of the ideological center for separation of Ukraine from Poland. At the same time, the basis of study at Kyiv collegium was «seven free sciences» took in collegiums and universities of Europe; great attention was paid to the Latin language⁵¹ as a language of scientific and literary life and international communication. It was the first institution of higher education founded by the Orthodox «first of all, that the youth «drank water of sciences» from their native, but not from other sources, renouncing their faith, language, wisdom, and customs of their own people». It was «a means of self-preservation of Ukrainians»⁵².

According to V. Bidnov, Kyiv-Mohyla collegium «attracted Ukrainian youth here from all over Ukraine and Bila Rus during the XVII and XVIII centuries». Many young people from the collegium, and then from the academy went abroad to German, Italian and French universities to continue education there. We can name such well-known people as M. Smotrytskyi, F. Prokopovych, as well as the first professors of Kyiv-Mohyla collegium (I. Gisel, L. Baranovych, etc.) whom P. Mohyla «sent abroad to prepare them as school teachers for working in Kyiv»⁵³. Thus, I. Gisel studied in Cambridge, L. Baranovych in Vilno (now Vilnius, Lithuania), Kalish (now Poland), P. Mohyla in Sorbonne, M. Smotrytskyi in Leipzig, Wittenberg, Nuremberg, F. Prokopovych in Rome.

N. Dichek notes that: «Collegium had in its subordination some educational institutions that worked under its curriculum: in Vinnytsia (since 1634) and Kremenets (since 1636) according to the experience of European universities»⁵⁴.

No one can forget that all educational and cultural processes took place during constant conflicts of Ukrainians with Poles describing the processes happened in the life of Ukraine of that period. Polish-Ukrainian conflicts become particularly acute in the 40's of the XVII century. Old spiritual connections between the two peoples of Ukraine and Poland (of Renaissance age) were transformed into tension and confrontation in political, national and religious spheres, which could not have resulted in a serious rebellion. O. Subtelnyi analyzing the preconditions for the rebellion of 1648 under the leadership of B. Khmelnytskyi named among the most important, firstly, that the newly settled lands of Kyiv area, Bratslavshchyna and Chernihiv area which became the scene of the rebellion, «were unique not only in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also in the whole Europe», «belonged to the

⁵¹ This is confirmed by the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Kyiv in one of many cases, to be more sure in case No. 4671 Heneral'na vijs'kova kantselyariya 1656-1777 rr Vidomosti pro navchannya v Kiivs'komu kolegiumi rosijs'kij ta latins'kij movi sina kozaka z m-ka Zin'kiv Gadyats'kogo polku Ivana Nestelya. [Chief military chancery of 1656-1777. Information about study of the Russian and Latin languages of the Cossack's son – Ivan Nestel from town of Zinkiv of Gadiach unit in Kyiv collegium], which is presented on page 8.

⁵² V. Nichyk, *Kyjevo-Mogylyans'ka akademija i nimec'ka kul'tura* [Kyiv-Mohylianska academy and German culture], Kyiv, Ukr. centr duhovnoi' kul'tury, 2001, p. 6.

⁵³ Bidnov, *Shkola j osvita na Ukrai'ni*, cit., p. 55.

⁵⁴ Dichek, *Rozvytok osvity na ukrai'ns'kyh zemljah u dobu baroko*, cit., p. 168.

most powerful and richest magnates»; and secondly, they were inhabited by the people «ready and able to fight for their interests»⁵⁵.

B. Khmelnytskyi repeatedly appealed to the Moscow Tsar with a request in the name of common for them Orthodox religion to come for help. However, Moscow responded with extreme caution. And only in 1653 Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich gathered Zemsky Sobor (council) which decided that «the sovereign should take them under his high arm for the sake of Orthodox religion and holy church of God»⁵⁶. But in 1656 the Moscow Tsar made peace with Poland without the participation of the Ukrainian side. This resulted in the division of Ukraine in 1660 into the Right Bank and the Left Bank Ukraine, each with its Hetman. Ukraine became the arena for Russian-Polish confrontation since the mid 60s of the XVII century. In addition, an internecine struggle began in Ukraine. The Right Bank Ukraine became a sphere of interests of the Poles and the Left Bank of Russia according to the Andrusiv truce⁵⁷.

However, the consequences of the rebellion of 1648 were not only negative, but also positive: it was formed Cossack state, which conducted its independent policy for a long time, destroyed a large property and land was divided between the Cossacks. This contributed to the increase in agricultural productivity which acquired an industrial character in some places. Formation of the European system of capitalist economy was started, and this process occurred more intense on the Left Bank than in the rest territory of Ukraine. Application of hired labour of free workers was extended⁵⁸. All this inevitably affected the spiritual life of the society causing the spread of the ideas of the Enlightenment, because political and economic development needed educated, self-thinking people.

Functioning of people's schools

People's school – diakivka given elementary education was popular among the people in the XVII century. Chiefly, such schools were founded by the churches; teachers were clerks who received some fee (by agreement) from students' parents. Corresponding agreement was concluded between the community and the teacher. The children were taught Slavic alphabet, reading according to the Book of Hours, the Psalter, the Apostle, Writing, the principles of Arithmetic. These schools became close to the people because they were not

⁵⁵ Subtel'nyj, *Ukrai'na: istorija*, cit., p. 115.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁵⁷ G. Korotych, *Istorija filosofii' Ukrai'ny: kurs lekcij* [History of philosophy of Ukraine: lectures course], Mariupol', 2002, p. 148.

⁵⁸ Ju. Vil'chyns'kyj, M. Skrypnyk, Z. Skrypnyk, *et al.*, *Rozvytok filosofs'koi' dumky v Ukrai'ni* [Development of philosophical thought in Ukraine], Kyiv, 1994, pp. 50-51.

too official, they were cheap, they met the needs of the population and did not neglect their native customs and folk language.

The teacher was guaranteed certain rights. Thus, he had the right to leave school at any time if the community did not provide him with food. Quite often, itinerant clerks-students-seminarists, pupils of Ukrainian religious schools travelling through cities and villages and earning for living by cultural -and-educational work (composed and recited poems, went with a vertep (nativity play) taught in people's schools. Itinerant clerks performed teaching mission in small villages and hamlets taking the functions of a mobile school because there were no churches in the farmsteads, and consequently, schools that were usually built not far from the church in the center of the village. Thanks to them, every child living far away from the school was able to study at home or near the home for a quiet possible payment for parents. This contributed to full provision of elementary general education for all school-age children in Ukraine, which had an extremely important educational significance. After all, there was a large number of farmsteads and hamlets in the country – each peasant built a house to be closer to his field.

Itinerant clerks had also high authority among the students and parents because they taught in their mother tongue using accessible and comprehensible to all means of folk pedagogy, on the basis of national virtues and norms of Christian moral, did not avoid physical labour, helped the peasants in the farms. People's schools were created by the people themselves, they were not limited by a curriculum or regulations, did not need large funds for equipment.

There were seminaries (bursa) in the vast majority of schools and they were under the patronage of the community and provided shelter for orphans. The guardian of these children was a teacher. Travelling students except orphans lived in such shelters, who because of the lack of a school in their region settled there where such school worked. As a rule, they became the assistants of these travelling clerks and they often taught.

Cossack, Sich, Regimental, Palanka schools

Cossack, Sich, Regimental, Palanka schools appeared in the second half of the XVII century, which were created with the support of Cossacks from Zaporozhian Sich. B. Khmelnytskyi started this tradition by signing the Decree on organizing of schools for preparation of kobzars, lyre players at the kobzar departments in 1652 and he took them under his care. In fact, they were the first musical schools in Ukraine. Cossacks-kobzars worked here as the teachers, who could not use weapons because of age or other reasons. Classes with students were held individually. Only when a young man could independently create an artistic work, he was given the right to sing in public. Such schools

operated in Kyiv, Chernihiv, Novgorod-Siversky, Pochaiv, Baturyn and other Ukrainian cities. It was founded a singing school at the Sich in the end of the XVII century.

Some years later, Cossack schools were created in regimental and sotnia of cities and towns of Ukraine. And although the teaching methods were primitive in the Cossack schools, the teachers made educational process different by using visual methods, especially during ABC studying. These schools like diakivky existed at the parents' expense.

Sich school operated in Zaporozhian Sich at the church of Sviatoi Pokrovy (St. Intercession) which consisted of two departments: one was for preparing Cossacks to be palamars (sacristans), clerks and deacons. The second department was intended for orphans – godsons of prosperous class of Cossacks and for children taken by the Cossacks during the battles⁵⁹. These children taught reading and writing, singing and military craft.

Learners often studied for over ten years at Cossack schools. The monastic monk led the school.

There was a monastic school in addition to Cossack schools operated at Samarskyi Pustyno-Mykolaivskyi monastery and church-and-parochial schools worked almost at all churches «in palankas of Zaporozhian community which was in palankas by large villages, winter villages and small villages» (Zaporozhian Cossacks had about 60 churches during their historic life)⁶⁰. Monastic schools formed religious spirituality, cultivated Ukrainian national spirit and feelings of religious national independence.

Thus, the XVII century laid modern understanding of the school which main characteristics were: group teaching of the children; definition of time (lesson) and space (classroom); scrupulous regulation of the child's behaviour during classes (how to sit, how to write, how to get up, how to sit down, how to answer, how to ask) and teachers' behaviour, moving during the breaks (in the class, at school, in the yard, etc.). This especially concerned to Jesuit educational institutions where they always kept rituals in classes' organizing⁶¹.

Although the content of education was formed beyond the problem of child's development, it was based on the idea of natural correspondence in organization of learning. The content «laid not in the pedagogical sphere, but rather in the program of reformational renewal of Christianity and solving social problems»⁶². In their totality, they «provoked the development of national languages and literatures (through the translation of the Bible), thereby laying the foundations for the development of the content of education, and the presence of several religions, changing in attitudes towards the child and social

⁵⁹ S. Siropolko, *Istoriya osvity v Ukrai'ni* [History of education in Ukraine], Kyiv, Naukova dumka, 2001, p. 201.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁶² *Ibid.*

factors became an impetus for secularization and separation of education from the church»⁶³.

Arising and development of Enlightenment period

In the last third of the XVII century, Ukraine (as a territory), directly or indirectly, freely or unknowingly, through participation in a political, diplomatic or military struggle, through the redistribution of its lands between neighbouring countries, fell into the sphere of interests of European politicians and became a participant of creation of a fundamentally new geopolitical situation⁶⁴. This period became a turning point not only for Ukraine but also for the whole Eastern Europe. Further political, economic, social and cultural transformations were caused by the events that took place at that time, and first of all, by the struggle for the possession of the contemporary Ukrainian lands⁶⁵.

Education as a way of understanding and «civilizing» the needs acquired the status of an effective method of social progress, but it also depended on the development of the material sphere of society. After all, according to G. Raynal, manufactory contributed to the progress of education and science. Only mechanics led to expansion of Mathematics study. All branches of science began to develop along with the progress of art and crafts. The development of science also affected the social sphere of society. There were changes in the political system and philosophy: people were given more rights; rulers were given ability to rule of peoples' mind and heart, thought and will on the basis of justice⁶⁶. Philosophical paradigm of the Middle Ages was replaced by philosophical paradigm of Modern Times. Religious-and-spiritual education gradually turned into a secular one. Secondary educational institutions already prepared the elite for ruling the state; they introduced the study of the real sciences: Mathematics, Natural History, Natural History, Geography, History of the State and Region, as well as «living» foreign languages. It began the process of refusal from «universal» (Latin) language in favour of the national one. Secularization became deeper. Materialism became a dominant philosophical tendency of the XVII-XVIII centuries⁶⁷.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁶⁴ V. Zaruba, «Ukrai'ns'ke pyttannja» v systemi jevropejs'koi' polityky ostann'oi' chverti XVII stolittja [«Ukrainian issue» in the system of European policy of the last quarter of XVII century], «Kyj'vs'ka starovyna», n. 1, 2003, pp. 3-12.

⁶⁵ D. Doroshenko, *Get'man Petro Doroshenko: ogljad jogo zhyttja i politychnoi' dijal'nosti* [Petro Doroshenko, hetman: review of his life and political activity], N'ju-Jork, Vyd-vo UVAN u SShA, 1985, p. 712.

⁶⁶ G. Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, «Chez Jean-Leonard Pellet», vol. 3, 1780, p. 486.

⁶⁷ M. Barna, *Rozvytok pedagogichnoi' osvity v Galychyni (1772-1939 rr.)* [Development of

The result of such transformations was arising and development of the Enlightenment, the main idea of which was to affirm the dependence of social progress on education, upbringing and the development of sciences. A marked separation of theology and philosophy, the development of natural sciences occurred; the concept of educated absolutism appeared. According to G. Korotych: «Enlightenment originated as a synthesis of humanism and reformation, as an antifeudal ideology»⁶⁸. The school was becoming an urgent need for the Ukrainian population⁶⁹.

We agree with the opinion of Yu. Vilchynskyi and M. Skrypnyk that the second half of the XVII century was characterized as a period of formation of the Enlightenment worldview in the development of spiritual and cultural life of Ukraine. That was the time for «active learning and comprehension of the ancient achievements of Western European culture, creation of own scientific tradition for the development of philosophy and the science of Modern Times»⁷⁰.

Conclusions: the tendencies of the development of education in Ukraine

Performed analysis of educational-and-cultural processes of the XVII century gives the opportunity to distinguish the main tendencies that realized in specific forms of educational activity, as well as in the direction of general educational phenomena of culture. They include: increase the number of printing houses and libraries at the monasteries as educational-and-cultural centers; growth of economic development of Ukrainian lands, the result of which was raising the role of education; expansion the system of schools due to appearing of new types (fraternal, Cossack, Sich schools, etc.); organization and implementation of the educational-and-upbringing process on the basis of a class-and-lesson system, strengthening of secular fundamental principles in its content caused by penetration of humanistic and reformatory ideas to Ukraine (democratization of education, recognition of the natural equality of people, denial of the church monopoly in the field of spiritual culture and education of the population).

pedagogical education in Galychyna (1772-1939)], «Ridna shkola», nn. 7-8, 1998, pp. 33-48.

⁶⁸ Korotych, *Istorija filosofii' Ukrainy: kurs lekcij*, cit., p. 50.

⁶⁹ P. Zhiteckij, *Ocherk literaturnoj istorii malorusskogo narechija v XVII v. Sholasticheskaja nauka na juzhno-russkoj pochve vo vtoroj polovine XVIII veka* [Assay on literary history of Little Russian (Ukrainian) dialect в XVII century. Scholastic science on Southern-Russian basis in the second half of XVIII century], «Kievskaja starina», vol. 23, n. 12, 1888, pp. 401-416.

⁷⁰ Vil'chyns'kyj, Skrypnyk, Skrypnyk, *Rozvytok filosofs'koi' dumky v Ukraini*, cit., p. 51.

Un tratado de educación cosmopolita: las *Cartas* de Lord Chesterfield a su hijo

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A treatise on cosmopolitan education: the Letters of Lord Chesterfield to his son

ABSTRACT: The *Letters* written by Lord Chesterfield to his son are a fascinating testimony which allows us to reconstruct the education received at the end of the Old Regime by the members of the high nobility in charge of leading the destinies of nations. This article is intended to show this education's strong cosmopolitan character, the ultimate aim of which was to convey young people a way of understanding life and politics whose cultural background was common to the whole of Eastern Europe. After referring briefly to the genesis and the importance of the analyzed work, different aspects are studied separately. First, the value and the relative weight the author accords to the wide variety of languages he wants his son to learn: Latin, Greek, English, French, German, Italian and Spanish. Second, the role of Greek and Latin culture, and subsequently that of the vernacular, closely linked to the exercise of politics. Thirdly, the wide, multifaceted and multilingual canon of readings proposed. Finally, the peculiar Ciceronianism – somewhat Machiavellian – of the author, as well as the importance of the knowledge of the world, that is to say, the proper integration within the «good society» of the time are examined.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Aristocratic education; Classical languages; Modern languages; Rhetoric; XVIIIth-XIXth Centuries.

En el año de 1774 un inesperado suceso escandalizó a la alta sociedad londinense: vieron la luz los centenares de cartas que un destacadísimo miembro de la aristocracia británica – Philip Dormer Stanhope, cuarto Conde de Chesterfield – había dirigido durante décadas a su hijo ilegítimo, con la intención de prepararlo para convertirse en un político tan relevante y hábil como él.

Puesto que no fueron escritas para ser divulgadas, en ellas se aludía con frecuencia a los rudos modales de la nobleza británica, por comparación con la francesa. No salían bien paradas algunas ilustres personalidades de la época,

cuyo carácter y conducta se criticaba. Además, se daban consejos de dudosa moralidad o poco coherentes con la religión anglicana que el autor decía profesar¹.

A pesar de ello, este singular epistolario alcanzó una enorme difusión, puesto que se realizaron multitud de ediciones, totales o parciales, así como adaptaciones de muy diverso signo. Las reediciones y las traducciones a las principales lenguas europeas fueron también numerosas.

Nos hallamos, pues, ante un texto que logró superar múltiples fronteras y barreras, no sólo de carácter geográfico y lingüístico, sino también de índole social y cultural. Por ello, creemos que tiene mucho sentido analizar este fenómeno, y a continuación iremos desgranándolas y analizándolas una a una.

Puede decirse que, en particular bajo el antiguo Régimen, a pesar del avance de las lenguas vernáculas, ciertos tratados de cortesía, al igual que otro tipo de textos, gozaron de una extraordinaria difusión internacional. Ello se debió en buena medida a que la aristocracia europea compartía una misma tradición cultural, heredada en parte de sus ancestros medievales, pero conectada también con la cultura de cuño humanístico.

Por ello, cabe afirmar que las *Cartas* de Lord Chesterfield, «si bien son una obra maestra de estilo, no son una obra literaria»², sino más bien el testimonio más acabado de «un estilo educativo elaborado desde el Renacimiento y que se había convertido, con numerosas variantes, en el de toda la Europa civilizada. [...] Podrían haber sido escritas por cualquier padre de su rango y de su tiempo, si las circunstancias [...] y el talento de su autor no las hicieran únicas»³.

Ahora bien, las diversas naciones tuvieron un peso muy desigual en la definición y conformación de ese código de conducta de curso habitual entre las elites sociales y políticas. De hecho, fueron sucediéndose unas a otras, al tiempo que en el ejercicio de la hegemonía política o cultural. Marc Fumaroli ha escrito con razón que el del cortesano fue un «papel perfeccionado por siglos de experiencia, matizado por cada un de las tres grandes naciones latinas», que nuestro autor logró revestir «de un fuerte carácter de independencia muy inglés y muy suyo»⁴.

¹ A pesar de su éxito, durante décadas, muchos tuvieron por inmorales tanto a la obra y como a su autor. Sobre los cargos levantados y los motivos de las críticas, que a menudo poco tenían que ver con la ética, véase J. C. Collins, *Lord Chesterfield's Letters*, in J.C. Collins, *Essays and Studies*, Londres, McMillan, 1895, pp. 197-201 y 233-239. Dicho autor fue pionero a la hora de rehabilitar a nuestro Conde, pero contamos además con la extensa y detallada obra de R. Coxon, *Chesterfield and his Critics*, Londres, Routledge and Sons, 1925, pp. 140-212. Hoy se llega incluso a elogiar la benevolencia y la naturalidad con que se expresó un padre tan solícito por su hijo. Cfr. M. Fumaroli, *Prólogo. El hombre del guante*, in Lord Chesterfield, *Cartas a su hijo*, Barcelona, Acantilado, 2006, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Así, los escritores italianos tuvieron un papel preponderante en los primeros momentos, explicable por su mayor familiaridad con las fuentes de la cultura greco-latina. El *Cortésano* de Baltasar de Castiglione, el *Galateo* de Giovanni della Casa y *La civile conversazione* de Stefano Guazzo, fueron sin duda los tres grandes exponentes de esta etapa fundacional de la cortesía. Sólo un intelectual del prestigio de Erasmo pudo competir con ellos, aunque fuera con una obra de circunstancias como el *De civilitate morum puerilium*, llamada sin embargo a convertirse en instrumento y modelo para la moralización del pueblo.

El predominio político español no se extendió al ámbito de las buenas maneras, si exceptuamos el tardío éxito de ciertas obras del jesuita Baltasar Gracián, en particular su *Oráculo manual y arte de la prudencia*. Serían los autores galos quienes, durante el *Grand siècle*, gozasen de un extraordinario reconocimiento internacional. Las *Máximas* de La Rochefoucauld, los *Caracteres* de La Bruyère, el *Nouveau traité de la civilité* de Antoine de Courtin, o las *Cartas* de Madame de Lambert, tuvieron sin duda una enorme importancia, pero cabría citar otras muchas obras escritas en francés que fueron muy leídas.

La aparición del epistolario de Lord Chesterfield, cuya repercusión sería inmensa, viene a coincidir con el afianzamiento de la hegemonía política y económica británica. A partir de entonces, Francia entrará en una dura competencia con sus vecinos del otro lado del Canal de la Mancha, sin perder no obstante su capacidad para inspirar la vida social, en particular gracias al prestigio de su lengua. A partir de entonces, dos códigos de conducta – la «etiqueta» francesa y la británica – tenderán a reinar en los hogares burgueses. El progresivo ocaso de la cultura humanística, que durante siglos había dado vida a la reflexión sobre las buenas maneras, explica que en los manuales de urbanidad decimonónicos predominen las reglas sobre la exposición de su razón de ser.

Así, el libro cuya significación histórica analizamos, tiene un carácter singular y contradictorio. En primer lugar, porque aun habiendo sido escrito por un inglés, su contenido guarda estrecha relación la tradición humanística, tal y como fue interpretada y aplicada a la vida cortesana, singularmente en Francia. También porque a nuestro juicio se trata de último tratado cortesía que se benefició de la profunda cohesión típica de las elites aristocráticas, cuyos valores eran comunes y transcendían las fronteras nacionales. De ahí su extraordinario grado de difusión, que ya no volvería a repetirse, una vez consumada la crisis del Antiguo régimen. Otros manuales de cortesía – por ejemplo, el *Über den Umgang mit Menschen* de Adolph Knigge o el *Nuovo Galateo* de Melchiorre Gioia – gozarían de gran predicamento en sus respectivos países (Alemania e Italia), pero no tanto fuera de ellos.

De nuestro epistolario se tiraron antes de que concluyera el siglo XVIII numerosas ediciones, la primera en 1774⁵, así como diversas traducciones

⁵ *Letters Written by the Late Right Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to His Son,*

y adaptaciones. Sidney L. Gulick⁶ reseña veintisiete, impresas en Inglaterra, Irlanda, Escocia, París, Viena y varias ciudades de los Estados Unidos. El éxito fue tal que, de forma casi inmediata, se pusieron a la venta unos índices y en 1787 salieron cinco ediciones de un suplemento en el que figuraban algunas cartas que no estaban disponibles trece años antes. En cuanto a las traducciones, se preparó al punto una versión en alemán (Leipzig, Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1774-1777) y en seguida otra en francés (París, Panckoucke, 1775), lengua en la que se hicieron tres ediciones en Holanda, entre 1776 y 1779, una en Estrasburgo y Viena (1785) y otra en París (1796). Por su menor precio, circularon aún más las selecciones y adaptaciones, que fueron muy numerosas.

Por último, tengamos muy presente que la obra vio la luz durante el periodo de la emancipación de las colonias americanas. Buena parte de los ejemplares impresos en Europa cruzaron el Atlántico con destino a ese inmenso mercado ávido de novedades editoriales. Este fenómeno debió de ser particularmente intenso, pues, según el *National Union Catalogue* (vol. 102, pp. 620-634), en las bibliotecas de Estados Unidos⁷ y de Canadá, hay centenares de ejemplares que datan de los siglos XVIII y XIX. Además, la primera traducción al español, firmada por Tomás de Yriarte⁸, apareció en Buenos Aires, y la segunda⁹, debida al diplomático mexicano Luis Maneiro, sin duda fue concebida sobre todo para su distribución en Hispanoamérica.

Un periplo formativo multilingüe y cosmopolita

Uno de los rasgos más sorprendentes del epistolario de Lord Chesterfield es que en él se sirve de lenguas muy diversas. Este hecho resulta aún más llamativo si tenemos en cuenta que tenía carácter no ya privado, sino cabría decir íntimo. Desea transmitir a su hijo los secretos de la corte, para que pueda hacer carrera en ella y, sin embargo, le remite misivas que hoy, en un mundo que tiende a

Philip Stanhope, Late Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Dresden, Together with Several Other Pieces on Various Subjects. Published by Mrs. Eugenia Stanhope, from the Originals Now in Her Possession, 2 vols., Londres, J. Dodsley.

⁶ S.L. Gulick, *A Chesterfield Bibliography to 1800*, Charlottesville, Bibliographical Society of America, 1979, pp. 240-242.

⁷ Sobre la influencia de la obra que estudiamos en este país, puede verse C.J. Lukasik, *Breeding and Reading: Chesterfieldian Civility in the Early Republic*, in S. Samuels (ed.), *A Companion to American Fiction, 1780-1865*, John Wiley & Sons, 2008, pp. 158-167.

⁸ *Cartas escritas por el Muy Honorable Felipe Dormer Stanhope, conde de Chesterfield, a su hijo. Traducidas del inglés al castellano por el general Tomás de Yriarte*, 2 vols., Buenos Ayres, Imprenta de la libertad, 1833.

⁹ *Cartas Completas de Lord Chesterfield a su hijo Felipe Stanhope, vertidas del inglés por el Cónsul don Luis Maneiro, ciudadano mejicano*, 2 vols., Le Havre, Alfonso Lemale, 1844. En las citas textuales nos apoyaremos en esta traducción, cuyo español es similar al que se hablaba y escribía a mediados del siglo XVIII.

la uniformidad lingüística y cultural, ningún padre sería capaz de escribir y ningún hijo podría comprender.

La primeras cartas – de la uno a veintiséis – están redactadas en francés, la lengua materna de un niño que no ha cumplido aún los seis años. Luego predomina el inglés, hay unas cuantas en francés y hallamos numerosos fragmentos en latín, sólo al principio traducidos. Cuando el pequeño Philip tiene ocho años, recibe la carta cincuenta y dos, redactada en su integridad en tal idioma, al igual que la setenta. Todavía no ha entrado en el colegio, pero la estudia con un preceptor. En las cartas que analizamos, las citas de los autores greco-latinos son frecuentes, al igual que palabras y expresiones, no sólo en lenguas clásicas, sino también modernas, sobre todo el francés y en menor medida en italiano. No en vano, Lord Chesterfield era un incorregible francófilo, en lo que a la cultura y la civilización se refiere.

Por otra parte, nuestro Conde está convencido de que una de las metas principales de la formación intelectual ha de ser el dominio de múltiples idiomas. Si evita que su hijo obtenga un título universitario y prefiere que, cuando tiene catorce años, emprenda un *grand tour* por diversos países y ciudades, no es sólo para que pueda conocer las cortes, futuros escenarios de su actividad política. Pretende también que aprenda a hablar y escribir en diversas lenguas, aspecto sobre el que le da consejos y le interroga a menudo en las cartas que le envía. De hecho, las habilidades lingüísticas tienen un puesto de privilegio en el elenco de saberes con que desea equipar a su vástago¹⁰, y cuando años más tarde realiza un balance de sus progresos¹¹, da por hecho que se maneja bien en cinco idiomas: inglés, francés, alemán, italiano, latín y griego. Aun así, mucho tiempo después, inmerso de lleno a la actividad política, debería seguir practicando la primera, que curiosamente es la última en la que ha sido entrenado¹², para convertirse en un gran orador parlamentario¹³.

Fuera de las Islas Británicas predomina, sin embargo, el francés. De él se dice en un momento dado que «se ha convertido en la lengua universal de Europa»¹⁴: la que se suele emplear en la diplomacia y la política. Habida cuenta de que su madre – Madelina Elizabeth du Bouchet – era una *gouvernante* venida del otro lado del Canal, Philip debió de aprenderlo de niño. Siendo un adolescente, ya lo domina¹⁵, pero su padre desea que lo cultive con esmero, no sólo para hablarlo y escribirlo con absoluta perfección, sino también para llegar a asimilar a fondo el buen gusto y el refinamiento galos. Algo nada habitual, comenta, entre los

¹⁰ Carta 152, 27 de mayo de 1748.

¹¹ Carta 229, 9 de julio de 1750.

¹² Carta 255, 16 de mayo de 1751.

¹³ Carta 306, 12 de febrero de 1754.

¹⁴ Carta 237, 24 de diciembre de 1750.

¹⁵ Carta 152, 27 de mayo de 1748; Carta 192, 5 de septiembre de 1749; Carta 204, 26 de noviembre de 1749.

jóvenes ingleses, que «no comprenden suficientemente la lengua ni se hallan bastante limados para ser recibidos en las mejores sociedades francesas»¹⁶.

El siguiente idioma que debe hacer suyo nuestro joven noble es el alemán. De ahí que su periplo europeo se inicie visitando diversas cortes germanas. A los diez y seis años, Lord Chesterfield estima que su hijo debería haberlo logrado¹⁷, tras haber pasado dos años en el extranjero, y en efecto parece que es así¹⁸. Tanto durante esta etapa, que dura aproximadamente dos años y medio, como en las siguientes, le recuerda que ha de practicarlo, en cuanto tenga ocasión, con otros miembros de la alta sociedad o incluso con su criado. Además, debe de responder a las cartas de su padre en dicho idioma, usando la caligrafía que le es propia¹⁹. Incluso cuando está a punto de concluir su *grand tour*, el joven Philip sigue estudiando alemán²⁰ por motivos prácticos: «ya verás cuán útil es el día que llegares a manejar negocios, tanto más cuanto que serás casi el único inglés que pueda hablarlo y entenderlo»²¹. También como pieza clave de una evidente estrategia de promoción personal y política: «el hablarlo y escribirlo bien te distinguirá en Inglaterra sobre todo el mundo, y es además de suma utilidad para cualquiera empleado en el Imperio como probablemente lo serás tú»²². En efecto, Philip acabará integrado en la legación diplomática de Hamburgo²³.

La segunda fase del *grand tour* que estamos siguiendo se desarrolla en Italia y de nuevo se justifica tanto por la utilidad de visitar diversos centros de poder, como por la necesidad de aprender una lengua. Del italiano, al igual que del español, se dice que es fácil²⁴, si se sabe francés y latín²⁵, porque no es tan irregular como otros idiomas y basta leerlo, oírlo y perder el miedo a equivocarse para comunicarse en él²⁶. A pesar de que en su corte se utiliza el francés, Philip debe comenzar a aprenderlo en Turín, con vistas a su estancia posterior en Roma y otras ciudades, lo que implica hablarlo, pero además servirse de él en las cartas a su padre²⁷. No obstante, la utilidad de la lengua trasalpina es muy relativa y no hay que manejarla a la perfección: «Pocos o ningunos negocios

¹⁶ Carta 227, 5 de junio de 1750.

¹⁷ Carta 152, 27 de mayo de 1748.

¹⁸ Carta 204, 26 de noviembre de 1749; Carta 215, 25 de enero de 1750.

¹⁹ Carta 171, 13 de diciembre de 1748; Carta 179, 12 de abril de 1749; Carta 181, 27 de abril de 1749; Carta 188, 30 de julio de 1749; Carta 193, 12 de septiembre de 1749; Carta 199, 24 de octubre de 1749; Carta 224, 8 de mayo de 1750.

²⁰ Carta 267, 2 de enero de 1752.

²¹ Carta 224, 8 de mayo de 1750.

²² Carta 240, 21 de enero de 1751.

²³ Carta 317, 17 de septiembre de 1757.

²⁴ Carta 181, 27 de abril de 1749; Carta, 184, 16 de junio de 1749.

²⁵ Carta 152, 27 de mayo de 1748; Carta 199, 24 de octubre de 1749.

²⁶ Carta, 184, 16 de junio de 1749; Carta 186, 6 de junio de 1749; Carta 199, 24 de octubre de 1749; Carta 208, 16 de diciembre de 1749; Cartas 240, 21 de enero de 1751.

²⁷ Carta 179, 12 de abril de 1749; Carta 181, 27 de abril de 1749; Carta, 184, 16 de junio de 1749; Carta 185, 22 de junio de 1749.

se discuten en italiano, a no ser en Italia; y si entiendes bien esta lengua para leer las cartas que puedan dirigírsete, o para hablarla regularmente con los pocos italianos que no saben francés, no te tomes mucho trabajo por este lado, hasta que tengas más tiempo para ello»²⁸. Ahora bien, sucede que italianos y franceses hablan mal el idioma de sus vecinos²⁹, por lo que conviene defenderse en ambas lenguas.

Una vez que su hijo ha residido aproximadamente veinte meses en Italia, Lord Chesterfield decide enviarlo a París, donde permanece por espacio de dos semestres, separados por otro en el que vuelve a Inglaterra. Antes, su progenitor le ha preguntado en varias cartas por sus progresos con el italiano³⁰ y parece satisfecho con ellos³¹. No obstante, le sugiere que contrate un maestro e insiste en que ha de practicarlo, al igual que el alemán, en cuanto se ofrezca la ocasión durante las selectas reuniones sociales a las que asiste³². También que lea, por turno, y hable en todas las lenguas que conoce³³. Con todo, la impresión es que nuestro diplomático en ciernes domina el inglés, el francés y – en buena medida – el alemán³⁴, pero sigue aprendiendo el idioma trasalpino cuando está a punto de concluir su viaje por Europa³⁵. Sin embargo, durante tal periodo la prioridad ya no son las lenguas, sino que se introduzca en el *grand monde*, y a estas alturas, Lord Chesterfield hace una valoración muy positiva de la preparación de su hijo en este terreno: «Tú sabes bien cuatro idiomas modernos, y con muy poco trabajo puedes llegar a conocerlos perfectamente»³⁶.

Tras su presentación en París, Philip viaja a Alemania, donde reside durante veinte meses y se da a conocer en las diversas cortes. El objetivo principal es introducirse en la vida política, pero el aprendizaje de las lenguas está también presente. De hecho, nada más llegar allí, Lord Chesterfield le advierte: «Acuérdate de no hablar más que alemán; aparenta verlo como un idioma maternal y preferirlo a cualquier otro; di que es tu lengua favorita, trata de hablarlo con pureza y elegancia, si es susceptible de ello. Por este medio no sólo conseguirás saberla mejor, sino también agradar y obsequiar a las gentes»³⁷. Ahora bien, en la misma carta, le pregunta si perfeccionó su italiano durante su paso por París y le pide que, si fuera así, aprenda español, «lo cual puede

²⁸ Cartas 240, 21 de enero de 1751.

²⁹ Carta 218, 22 de febrero de 1750.

³⁰ Carta 215, 25 de enero de 1749; Carta 224, 8 de mayo de 1750; Carta 240, 21 de enero de 1751.

³¹ Carta 217, 8 de febrero de 1750; Carta 218, 22 de febrero de 1750; Carta 240, 21 de enero de 1751.

³² Carta 226, 24 de mayo de 1750; Carta 234, sin lugar, ¿noviembre de 1750?; Carta 238, 24 de diciembre de 1751.

³³ Carta 234, sin lugar, ¿noviembre de 1750?

³⁴ Carta 255, 16 de mayo de 1751.

³⁵ Carta 267, 2 de enero de 1752.

³⁶ Carta 273, 2 de marzo de 1752.

³⁷ Carta 285, 21 de julio de 1752.

hacerse en poco tiempo y así no te verás obligado, en el curso de los negocios, a emplear y pagar traducciones de ninguno de los idiomas de Europa»³⁸. Al final de esta etapa, le aconseja también hablar en italiano con un viejo amigo suyo al que va a conocer³⁹, y cuando está a punto de concluir, afirma: «I take it for granted that your late residence in Germany has made you as perfect and correct in German, as you were before in French»⁴⁰; lo cual parece confirmar que nuestro joven conoce sobre todo estos dos idiomas.

Cumplidos los veinte años, regresa a su país para comenzar su carrera política, primero como miembro del Parlamento⁴¹ y luego como diplomático⁴². Hay pocas cartas de este periodo, porque Philip vive en Inglaterra y ya es en un adulto que ha contraído matrimonio. A pesar de todo, a veces su padre no puede resistirse a darle consejos, como cuando vuelve a pedirle que intente aprender español, como hizo él mismo en su momento, aunque luego lo olvidase. Así, explica, no se verá obligado a confiar en los traductores, que no siempre son fieles a los originales que manejan⁴³.

El programa formativo, basado en los viajes, que hemos descrito hasta aquí refleja bastante bien el equilibrio geopolítico y cultural de Europa del siglo XVIII. A pesar de su preeminencia cultural y lingüística, Francia atraviesa por serios problemas. Según llega a comentar nuestro Conde en una misiva, en ella existen, “y tomarán cada día mayor cuerpo, todos los síntomas precursores de los grandes cambios y revoluciones”⁴⁴. En cambio, está convencido de que Prusia es una potencia emergente, bajo la dirección de Federico II, de quien dice que, «es sin disputa, el soberano más hábil de Europa»⁴⁵. Se da además la circunstancia de que una Italia dividida y una España subordinada a los intereses galos, tienen un escaso peso político y militar. No es extraño, pues, que Lord Chesterfield desee que su hijo conozca el francés y el alemán, además de la lengua de su país, cuyos intereses se va a ocupar de defender en un futuro.

El peso de la tradición: presencia y función de las lenguas clásicas

Lord Chesterfield vivió en una época de paulatinas pero hondas transformaciones, tanto sociales y políticas, como culturales y educativas. En lo relativo a las segundas, comprobó cómo la consolidación de las lenguas

³⁸ Carta 285, 21 de julio de 1752.

³⁹ Carta 304, 15 de enero de 1754.

⁴⁰ Carta 309, 8 de marzo de 1754.

⁴¹ Carta 313, 27 de noviembre de 1754.

⁴² Carta 317, 17 de septiembre de 1757.

⁴³ Carta 351, 16 de marzo de 1759.

⁴⁴ Carta 303, 25 de diciembre de 1753.

⁴⁵ Carta 174, Londres, 10 de enero de 1749.

y las literaturas nacionales ponía en cuestión el sentido de la presencia del griego y el latín en las escuelas. El prestigio de éste último, en tanto que cauce esencial de la cultura, se vio erosionado, y su posición hegemónica se debilitó considerablemente, en particular en el ámbito de las ciencias experimentales. Ello repercutió en los colegios de gramática y las universidades, cuyo currículo habitual comenzó a ser muy criticado e incluso reformado, si bien no pasaría a la historia hasta las primeras décadas del siglo XIX.

El plan de formación que diseñó para su hijo⁴⁶ refleja a la perfección la encrucijada que hemos descrito. Se educó primero con un preceptor, que le enseñaba tanto lenguas clásicas como modernas, además de matemáticas y geografía. Luego fue, por espacio de cuatro años, alumno de Westminster, una de las más reputadas *public schools* inglesas, reservadas para los vástagos de la aristocracia. En ella, la instrucción se centraba sobre todo en el estudio de los idiomas y autores clásicos, aunque había también clases de francés, geografía y danza. El siguiente paso debería haber sido matricularse en Oxford y Cambridge, pero su padre opinaba que quienes lo hacían, tal y como le sucedió a él mismo, corrían serio riesgo de convertirse en pedantes eruditos. Por ello, tal y como hemos visto, a los catorce años, el pequeño Philip fue enviado a recorrer las diversas cortes europeas, para aprender sus respectivas lenguas y familiarizarse con sus usos y costumbres.

Nuestro Conde conocía las doctrinas de los pensadores más destacados de su tiempo. De Locke dice que es un filósofo sólido⁴⁷, y de Hume, que «sus ideas son imparciales, profundas, nuevas por lo regular y a mi parecer justas»⁴⁸. No así las de Berkeley, cuyo fundamento no discute, pero no le convencen⁴⁹. Sin embargo, le basta con que su hijo tenga unas pocas nociones sobre tales materias, para no pasar por un ignorante⁵⁰. Por otra parte, en lo que a los antiguos respecta, afirma que «Cicerón y Platón son un modelo de elocuencia, sólo por eso han sobrevivido, pues su filosofía es miserable»⁵¹. A pesar de ello, cuando es más joven, le aconseja que lea, no sólo a Aristóteles, sino a su maestro, porque ambos son de mucha utilidad⁵². Si practica tal eclecticismo, es seguramente porque, como veremos, ante todo le interesa que hable con soltura múltiples lenguas, para desenvolverse en el mundo, además de usar con gran elocuencia el inglés, para brillar en el Parlamento.

⁴⁶ Un excelente estudio sobre este tema se debe a S. M. Brewer, *Design for a Gentleman. The Education of Philip Stanhope*, Londres, Chapman and Hall, 1963.

⁴⁷ Carta 251, 22 de abril de 1751.

⁴⁸ Carta 316, Bath, 12 de enero de 1757.

⁴⁹ Carta 164, Londres, 27 de septiembre de 1748.

⁵⁰ Aportamos algunos datos sobre el particular en un trabajo previo: J. Laspalas, *Distinción social, cortesía y educación en la obra de Lord Chesterfield*, en A.N. González, A.M. García (edd.) *Distinción social y moda*, Pamplona, EUNSA, 2007, pp. 56-57.

⁵¹ Carta 311, Londres, 26 de marzo de 1754.

⁵² Carta 234, sin lugar (¿Londres?), sin fecha (¿noviembre?), 1750.

Por todo lo dicho, no sorprende que buscarse conservar lo mejor de la tradición, sin renunciar a la modernidad, como se observa en la siguiente declaración de principios: «Ten presente que la literatura, hablo de la griega y de la latina, es un ornato de lo más útil y necesario, que es vergonzoso no poseerla; mas al mismo tiempo evita con todo esmero los abusos y errores mencionados que la acompañan muy a menudo»⁵³. No se discute, pues, la necesidad de rendir el habitual tributo a la Antigüedad, aunque se critican los excesos del pedantismo. Es más, Lord Chesterfield, no sólo se interesa por los progresos de su hijo en este ramo de la instrucción literaria⁵⁴, sino que además reconoce su extraordinaria importancia.

el conocimiento de los idiomas griego y latino es absolutamente necesario para todo hombre bien educado, porque así se considera generalmente; y la palabra iliterato, en su acepción común, significa un hombre que ignora estos dos idiomas. Espero que si a esta hora no los has alcanzado les andarás muy cerca, de modo que dedicándoles una pequeña parte del día por dos años más, no dejarás nada que desear sobre este punto⁵⁵.

Ahora bien, al punto comprobamos que sólo quedan algunos restos de los ideales del humanismo renacentista. El cultivo de las lenguas clásicas tiene un acusado carácter instrumental. Cuando ya está enfrascado en el conocimiento del mundo, le escribe a Philip: «Lee de griego y de latín lo puramente necesario para la inteligencia de los autores clásicos, que te servirán de ornato en la juventud y de recurso y consuelo en la vejez»⁵⁶. La segunda ventaja tiene calado formativo y cultural, pero la primera resulta bastante limitada. En primer lugar, porque ambas lenguas sólo han de aprenderse para poder leer en ellas, pero no para escribir. No obstante, no faltan tampoco las alusiones a la necesidad de mantener vivo el dominio del estilo gracias al contacto con la cultura greco-latina. Así, cuando Philip esta en una Academia para nobles en París, en la que su ocupación principal debe ser conocer a otros jóvenes de su posición, su padre le aconseja: «Dedica todos los días una parte de tiempo a los autores griegos, no a los poetas, [...] sino a Platón, Aristóteles, Demóstenes y Tucídides que nadie conoce excepto los verdaderos adeptos»⁵⁷. Una recomendación similar recibe años más tarde, cuando está comenzando su carrera política⁵⁸.

Ahora bien, el fin que se pretende – pasar por una persona culta – tiene mucho de utilitario. «Figúrate qué lustre y fama ganarás a tu regreso aquí – leemos en otro lugar –, si se te considera como el mejor y más aprovechado literato entre los jóvenes distinguidos de Inglaterra». Aunque se cite de nuevo «el real placer y

⁵³ Carta 142, Bath, 22 de febrero de 1748.

⁵⁴ Carta 132, Londres, 24 de noviembre de 1747.

⁵⁵ Carta 152, Londres, 27 de mayo de 1748.

⁵⁶ Carta 242, Londres, 4 de febrero de 1751.

⁵⁷ Carta 234, sin lugar, ¿noviembre? de 1750.

⁵⁸ Carta 312, Londres, 5 de abril de 1754.

el sólido consuelo que te proporcionarás para toda tu vida»⁵⁹. Y lo mismo cabe decir del sorprendente interés por el aprendizaje de la segunda lengua clásica, que no obedece tanto a su valor intrínseco, como a la búsqueda del prestigio social. «El griego es el idioma que debe distinguerte en el mundo literario – le dice a su vástago nuestro autor –, porque con el latín no lo conseguirías», pues era todavía lengua de uso corriente. Por eso, le aclara a continuación que el primero hay que practicarlo con asiduidad⁶⁰. Sin embargo, su valor es muy relativo. «Todo tu griego – se lee en otra misiva – no te promoverá del grado de secretario al de enviado, y después al de embajador; pero probablemente lo conseguirás por medio de las maneras y de tu porte airoso»⁶¹. Y más adelante hallamos esta rotunda declaración: «La compostura es ahora un objeto más importante que todo el griego que sabes. Acuérdate que el mundo es en el día tu único negocio»⁶².

Un nuevo humanismo: las lenguas vernáculas y la “ciencia” política

Hemos visto cómo nuestro autor no rechaza la tradición educativa heredada del humanismo, pero la adapta a los objetivos que tiene en mente al planificar la formación de su hijo. Ahora bien, también la complementa, porque la considera muy insuficiente. Es más, se lamenta de que los nobles ingleses no saben historia y lenguas modernas, sino sólo algo de latín y griego. «Preparados de esta manera van, como ellos dicen, al extranjero, pero en realidad es lo mismo que si estuviesen en sus casas; porque no hablando más idioma que el suyo y siendo torpes y sumamente tímidos, no van a las sociedades, a lo menos a las buenas, sino que comen y cenan solos en las fondas»⁶³.

Esa actitud era suicida en alguien que, durante el siglo XVIII, se preparase para ser embajador. Mucho más que las lenguas clásicas, en franco retroceso, debían interesarle las que utilizaban las principales potencias políticas de la época. No en vano, como se insinúa en el anterior texto y en otros a los que ya hemos hecho referencia⁶⁴, el dominio de tales idiomas era esencial para entrar a formar parte del «gran mundo», el pequeño círculo de notables que regía entonces los destinos de Europa. De hecho, constituye un elemento sustancial de la estrategia

⁵⁹ Carta 172, Londres, 28 de diciembre de 1748.

⁶⁰ Carta 234, sin lugar, ¿noviembre 1750?

⁶¹ Carta 247, Londres, 20 de marzo de 1751. Ideas semejantes reaparecen en la Carta 262, Greenwich, 30 de junio de 1751.

⁶² Carta 263, Greenwich, 8 de julio de 1751.

⁶³ Carta 150, Londres, 10 de mayo de 1748. Incluso antes de escribir a su hijo, en una carta dirigida su madre (Bath, 5 de noviembre de 1769), Lord Chesterfield discrepa en este punto de sus compatriotas.

⁶⁴ Véase en particular, un pasaje ya reproducido de la Carta 285, 21 de julio de 1752.

de seducción a la que está llamado un diplomático, pues el uso fluido de su idioma es un signo de deferencia que cautiva el corazón del interlocutor. En efecto, advierte Lord Chesterfield, «nada lisonjea más a las gentes que encontrar un extranjero que se toma el trabajo de hablar correctamente la lengua del país; esto es agradable al orgullo nacional y a las preocupaciones locales de que todos tenemos porción»⁶⁵. Por el contrario, aplicando un principio sacado de la retórica greco-latina, puede decirse lo siguiente: «El que no conoce a fondo un idioma y no lo habla con facilidad, aparecerá siempre inferior a sí mismo, porque la falta de palabras y de frases encadena y estropea sus pensamientos»⁶⁶.

Ahora bien, la pericia lingüística es también de gran provecho en la misma acción política. «Cualquiera que no habla un idioma con facilidad y perfección – se reconoce –, nunca puede conversar ventajosamente, sin ventilar las materias en iguales términos»⁶⁷. Y en otro lugar se afirma, con una fe digna del mejor humanismo: «Si dos hombres de igual talento negocian juntos aquel que entienda mejor la lengua que se emplea en la negociación sacará infaliblemente la ventaja al otro. La significación y la energía de la palabra es a menudo de gran consecuencia en un tratado y aun en una carta»⁶⁸. Una idea que se vuelve a reiterar más adelante: «En los negocios de estado, la fuerza y extensión de una palabra suelen ser de mucha importancia; en la conversación, una idea común puede ganar, o un pensamiento elevado perder mucho, según el grado de exactitud o de elegancia de una sola palabra»⁶⁹. También el no verse obligado a recurrir a intérpretes es de gran relevancia: «En vez de acudir a las traducciones, es una felicidad poder ir uno mismo a la fuente, conversar y negociar bajo un mismo pie con las personas de todos los países, cosa que no sucede al que trata los asuntos en idioma que los otros conocen mejor que él»⁷⁰.

No obstante, no basta la formación filológica. «Los conocimientos que te son más útiles – le dice nuestro Conde a su hijo –, y a que debes dedicarte con más particularidad, visto el fin al que te destinan, son las lenguas vivas, la historia moderna, la cronología y la geografía, las leyes de las naciones y el *ius publicum*»⁷¹. Tesis con la que conviene relacionar la siguiente: «Recuerda también que la literatura moderna de primer orden es aún más necesaria que la antigua, y que será mejor que conozcas perfectamente el estado actual de Europa, que el que guardaba antiguamente, aunque yo desearía que supieses ambos con perfección»⁷². Más nutrido, aunque tal vez en exceso ambiciosa,

⁶⁵ Carta 273, Londres, 2 de marzo de 1752.

⁶⁶ Carta 273, Londres, 2 de marzo de 1752.

⁶⁷ Carta 152, Londres, 27 de mayo de 1748.

⁶⁸ Carta 224, Londres, 8 de mayo de 1750.

⁶⁹ Carta 188, Londres, 30 de julio de 1749.

⁷⁰ Carta 273, Londres, 2 de marzo de 1752.

⁷¹ Carta 152, Londres, 27 de mayo de 1748. Véase también la misiva destinada a la madre de Philip (Bath, 5 de noviembre de 1769) citada en una nota precedente.

⁷² Carta 142, Bath, 22 de febrero de 1748. A la dudosa utilidad de la Historia Antigua, la que se enseñaba en los colegios, se alude también en la Carta 242, Londres, 4 de febrero de 1751.

es este posterior elenco de materias: Lógica, Moral, Historia, Derecho natural, Derecho de gentes y Derecho público⁷³.

Sin embargo, estos saberes no han de ser asimilados por vía académica, sino de manera informal y relacionándolos con el mundo presente. Ello queda mucho claro en el siguiente texto, tan detallado como elocuente:

Todo el tiempo que te quede para la lectura, te pido que lo emplees en cosas que tengan relación inmediata con tu carrera, como la historia moderna, las lenguas vivas, las memorias, anécdotas, cartas, negociaciones, etc. Recoge también todo lo que halles de auténtico sobre el estado actual de las cortes de Europa, del carácter de los reyes, de los príncipes, de sus ministros, como también de sus diferentes miras, conexiones e interés; del estado de su hacienda, fuerzas militares, tráfico, manufacturas y comercio⁷⁴.

Y que el aprendizaje debe producirse ante todo por experiencia se comprueba otra vez en esta advertencia: «acuérdate de que los libros vivos valen más que los impresos, y no pierdas el tiempo con éstos cuando puedas emplearlo con los otros, porque la lectura debe ser ahora tu diversión y de ningún modo tu asunto más serio»⁷⁵. La meta es, pues, de índole práctica. No se trata de formar un “asesor” o un “experto”, sino un político que sepa decidir con acierto apoyándose su profundo conocimiento del mundo en el que se desenvuelve.

El cosmopolitismo literario: un canon de autores múltiple

Supuesta la necesidad del dominio de los idiomas, es necesario determinar cómo ha de adquirirse. En este terreno, Lord Chesterfield sigue igualmente la tradición retórica y entiende que para ello es necesario, no sólo practicarlas de modo oral, sino también leer con asiduidad a los clásicos literarios de cada una de ellas. De hecho, nuestro personaje era un gran conocedor y amante de la literatura, por lo que estaba sin duda al tanto de las polémicas sobre la constitución de un nuevo canon de autores, alternativo o al menos complementario del ya consagrado, integrado por las milenarias obras de la Antigüedad.

De acuerdo con la tesis expuesta más arriba, el latín y el griego son tratados como lenguas muertas. Es necesario conocerlas para leer a sus autores más representativos y útiles, pero hay que disimular ese saber, para no resultar pedante, en particular cuando de tratan asuntos oficiales⁷⁶. «De ninguna manera querría yo – le aconseja su padre a Philip – que desconocieses a los antiguos;

⁷³ Carta 229, Londres, 9 de julio de 1750.

⁷⁴ Carta 262, Greenwich, 30 de junio de 1751. Puede verse también pasaje muy semejante en la Carta 242, Londres, 4 de febrero de 1751.

⁷⁵ Carta 262, Greenwich, 30 de junio de 1751.

⁷⁶ Carta 265, Londres, 19 de diciembre de 1751.

pero aún mucho menos querría que te jactases de una excesiva familiaridad con ellos. Habla de los modernos sin desprecio, y de los antiguos sin idolatría; juzga de unos y otros por su mérito, y no por su época; y si te aconteciese tener en la faltriquera algún clásico de Elzevier, ni lo ostentes ni lo menciones»⁷⁷. Un consejo similar se halla en otra carta, en la que se elogia además a Lady Hervey, protectora del joven en París, porque «conoce perfectamente el latín aunque tiene la cordura de ocultarlo»⁷⁸.

Nuestro futuro diplomático, primero en una *public school* y luego bajo la dirección de su preceptor, es sometido a un extenso programa de lecturas del que forman parte los autores habitualmente prescritos: entre los griegos, Hesíodo, Demóstenes y Tucídides, y entre los latinos a Cicerón, César, Tito Livio, Horacio, Virgilio y Ovidio⁷⁹. Estos cinco últimos escritores constituyen la pauta a la hora de expresarse, pues toda palabra que no usen, debe ser proscrita, y son los únicos que deben frecuentarse, so pena de incurrir en la pedante afectación del fatuo erudito, que «ha leído mucho más latín malo que bueno, y en consecuencia escribe lo mismo»⁸⁰. Llama la atención el poco aprecio por Homero, pues sólo se recomienda una vez su lectura. Sin embargo, se afirma que Ariosto no es inferior a él, o que Voltaire es menos tedioso para leer de corrido, y en otro pasaje se dice que el lenguaje de sus héroes es tosco⁸¹. Claro que nuestro Conde confiesa que la épica no es su género favorito, con excepción de la *Eneida*, por lo que conviene no parangonar el oropel de Tasso con el oro de Virgilio, como decía Boileau⁸².

Ante las lenguas modernas y sus obras maestras, la actitud es, sin embargo, muy distinta. «Un hombre de mérito – se lee en un pasaje – debe conocer los autores clásicos de cada idioma», es decir, los franceses, los ingleses y los italianos. Y luego se añade: «ignoro si hay autores de este género en alemán, y realmente tengo poca curiosidad de saberlo. Esta especie de libros adornan el entendimiento, fertilizan la imaginación y suelen ser materia de plática en las mejores sociedades. [...] Citar los autores modernos no es cosa pedante como cuando se trata de los antiguos»⁸³. No cabe duda de que estas líneas reflejan las inclinaciones de la época, al igual que el criterio en función del cual se debe valorar el estilo: «las obras fáciles – sentencia con audacia nuestro Conde – son

⁷⁷ Carta 142, Bath, 22 de febrero de 1748.

⁷⁸ Carta 231, Londres, 22 de octubre de 1750.

⁷⁹ Carta 156, 6 de julio de 1748; Carta 164, Londres, 27 de septiembre de 1748; Carta 170, Londres, 6 de diciembre de 1748; Carta 203, Londres, 24 de noviembre de 1749; Carta 262, Greenwich, 30 de junio de 1751.

⁸⁰ Carta 164, Londres, 27 de septiembre de 1748.

⁸¹ Carta 234, sin lugar, ¿noviembre de 1750?; Carta 254, Londres, 10 de mayo de 1751; Carta 273, Londres, 2 de marzo de 1752; Carta 291, Londres, 4 de octubre de 1752.

⁸² Carta 217, Londres, 8 de febrero de 1750; Carta 237, Londres, 24 de diciembre de 1750; Carta 291, Londres, 4 de octubre de 1752.

⁸³ Carta 273, Londres, 2 de marzo de 1752.

siempre las mejores; porque todo autor que es obscuro no tiene ciertamente ideas claras». Principio que a continuación se desarrolla del siguiente modo:

Por lo que llevo dicho fácilmente conocerás que he tratado de precaucionarte, e impedir que tu imaginación se deslumbre ni se corrompa tu gusto con los *concetti*, los refinamientos y las falsas ideas que son tan comunes en los autores españoles e italianos. Creo que no corres ningún peligro sobre este particular, porque tu gusto se ha formado con la lectura de los autores selectos que florecieron en las mejores edades de Grecia y Roma, que no incurrieron en las puerilidades de que he hablado. Creo poder decir con fiabilidad que Francia e Inglaterra han monopolizado en el día el verdadero ingenio, el gusto sano, y el buen sentido; porque temo que los alemanes no alcancen estas cosas y que los italianos las pasen muy de lejos. Si no me engaño, los primeros se arrastran un poco, y estoy seguro de que los últimos se elevan muy a menudo hasta perderse de vista. En justicia debe decirse que los mejores autores ingleses y franceses no han caído en aquel falso gusto, y que no admiten como bueno ningún pensamiento que no sea exacto y fundado en la verdad⁸⁴.

Lord Chesterfield es, pues, tributario del gusto neoclásico imperante en su tiempo, lo que es harto evidente cuando minusvalora a Shakespeare, Dante y Petrarca⁸⁵. Por eso, la nómina de los autores modernos que recomienda es bastante previsible. De entre los ingleses, Milton, Pope, Dryden, Swift, Atterbury y Addison⁸⁶. De entre los franceses, Corneille, Racine, Crébillon, Molière, Marivaux, La Fontaine, Boileau, Bouhours, pero no Scudery o Calprenède, salvo por conocer un poco las extravagancias del preciosismo barroco⁸⁷. Por otra parte, su rendida admiración por Voltaire, algunos de cuyos pasajes equipara con Virgilio y Racine⁸⁸, se explica acaso en parte por la amistad que le unía a él. También, aunque no por motivos literarios, sino por su aguda disección del alma humana y la vida cortesana, son muy útiles las *Máximas* de La Rochefoucauld, *Los Caracteres* de La Bruyère, las *Provinciales* de Pascal, el *Avis d'une mère à son fils* de la Marquesa de Lambert, las *Memorias* del Cardenal Retz y las *Consideraciones sobre las costumbres* de Duclos⁸⁹. Respecto del italiano, se

⁸⁴ Carta 217, Londres, 8 de febrero de 1750. El conceptismo, tanto italiano como español, se condena de nuevo en la Carta 305, Londres, 1 de febrero de 1754.

⁸⁵ Carta 147, Londres, 1 de abril de 1748 y Carta 217, Londres, 8 de febrero de 1750.

⁸⁶ Carta 128, Londres, 9 de octubre de 1747; Carta 203, Londres, 24 de noviembre de 1749; Carta 217, 8 de febrero de 1750; Carta 273, Londres, 2 de marzo de 1752; Carta 289, Londres, 29 de septiembre de 1752.

⁸⁷ Carta 138, Londres, 29 de enero de 1748; Carta 176, Londres, 7 de febrero de 1749; Carta 217, Londres, 8 de febrero de 1750; Carta 234, sin lugar, ¿noviembre de 1750?; Carta 237, Londres, 24 de diciembre de 1750; Carta 251, 22 de abril de 1751; Carta 273, Londres, 2 de marzo de 1752.

⁸⁸ Carta 276, Londres, 13 de abril de 1752; Carta 286, Londres, 4 de agosto de 1752; Carta 291, 4 de octubre de 1752; Carta 296, Londres, 1 de enero de 1753.

⁸⁹ Carta 145, 25 de marzo de 1748; Carta 149, Londres, 26 de abril de 1748; Carta 160, 30 de agosto de 1748; Carta 161, Londres, 3 de septiembre de 1748; Carta 162, Londres, 13 de septiembre de 1748; Carta 208, 16 de diciembre de 1749, Carta 242, Londres, 4 de febrero de 1751; Carta 257, Greenwich, 6 de junio de 1751; Carta 307, Londres, 13 de febrero de 1754; Carta 250, Londres, 15 de abril de 1751.

afirma que «en esta lengua hay autores muy elegantes y de mucho mérito»⁹⁰. En concreto, Ariosto, Tasso, Guarini y Boccacio, entre los literatos, además de pensadores e historiadores como Maquiavelo, Guicciardini, Bentivoglio, Davila y Scarpi⁹¹. La meta de todas estas lecturas es doble. Por un lado, se trata de profundizar en el genio de cada lengua, a fin de hablarla y escribirla con corrección y elegancia. En cambio, un segundo tipo de libros proporciona los contenidos propios de la “ciencia” política.

A éstos últimos se añaden crónicas y colecciones de documentos históricos (el *Recueil* de Rousset de Missy, la *Histoire du gouvernement de Venise* de Amelot de la Houssaye, las *Memorias* del Duque de Sully, el *Abrégé chronologique* de Henault, la *History of Scotland* de Roberston⁹²), varios diccionarios (Moreri y Bayle⁹³) y tratados de Derecho (Grocio, Pufendorf, Mably y Montesquieu⁹⁴). Hay también antologías para aprender a escribir cartas, tanto privadas como oficiales. Así, junto a las consagradas epístolas de Cicerón a Ático, son valiosas las del Cardenal d'Ossat, Madame de Sevigné, el Conde Bussy, el presidente Jeannin, el Conde d'Estrades y Sir William Temple⁹⁵. En cuanto al arte de la negociación política, se recomienda leer los tratados de Caillères y Pecquet, y la correspondencia de Richelieu⁹⁶. Los consejos de Morvan de Bellegarde para agradar en la conversación⁹⁷, pertenecen también a este ámbito.

El orador como parlamentario: ¿pervivencia de un ideal formativo consagrado?

Todo lo expuesto hasta ahora es, en cierto sentido, un largo preámbulo formativo, ya que el fin último que se plantea Lord Chesterfield es convertir a su hijo, primero en diplomático, y luego en Secretario de Estado. Ahora bien, su carrera política tiene que ser gradual, de modo que, apoyado por su progenitor,

⁹⁰ Carta 199, Londres, 24 de octubre de 1749.

⁹¹ Carta 185, Londres, 22 de junio de 1749; Carta 187, Londres, 20 de julio de 1749; Carta 197, Londres, 9 de octubre de 1749; Carta 217, Londres, 8 de febrero de 1750; Carta 226, Londres, 24 de mayo de 1750; Carta 240, Londres, 21 de enero de 1751; Carta 262, Greenwich, 30 de junio de 1751; Carta 273, Londres, 2 de marzo de 1752; Carta 353, Londres, 16 de abril de 1759.

⁹² Carta 177, Londres, 28 de febrero de 1749; Carta 231, 22 de Octubre, de 1750; Carta 280, 31 de mayo de 1752; Carta 353, 16 de abril de 1759.

⁹³ Carta 133, Londres, 11 de diciembre de 1747.

⁹⁴ Carta 121, Londres, 14 de abril de 1747; Carta 155, 1 de julio de 1748; Carta 159, Londres, 23 de agosto de 1748; Carta 228, Londres, 11 de junio de 1750; Carta 237, Londres, 24 de diciembre de 1750; Carta 274, Londres, 5 de marzo de 1759.

⁹⁵ Carta 123, Londres, 30 de julio de 1747; Carta 280, Londres, 31 de mayo de 1752.

⁹⁶ Carta 145, Londres, 25 de marzo de 1748.

⁹⁷ Carta 111, Bath, 29 de septiembre de 1746; Carta 138, Londres, 29 de enero de 1748.

se integra antes en la Cámara de los Comunes. Es entonces cuando le escribe lo siguiente:

Todo el que no brille allí, vivirá obscuro, despreciado y sin importancia; y no puedes concebir cuán fácil sería a un hombre que sólo contase con la mitad de tu talento y de tu saber, brillar en aquella asamblea si así lo quisiese. La receta para hacer un orador, y un orador aplaudido, es corta y fácil. Toma de sentido común *quantum sufficit*; agrega una poca de aplicación a las reglas y usos de la cámara; expón los pensamientos que te ocurran bajo nueva luz, y mezcla todo esto con una buena dosis de pureza y elegancia de estilo⁹⁸.

Podría pensarse que con estas palabras se intenta animar a un inexperto y medroso jovencito, pero cabe también interpretarlas de otro modo. En una de sus cartas, nuestro Conde define al orador, inspirándose en Cicerón⁹⁹. Le parece imposible que tenga vastos conocimientos de ciencias, derecho, filosofía o teología, porque «la vida de un hombre es muy corta». Será, por el contrario, buen político el «que mejor hablare sobre el asunto que se ofrezca, y que, por la feliz elección de sus palabras, la viveza de su imaginación, el encanto de su voz y las gracias naturales de sus ademanes, sabe embellecer su asunto y logra al mismo tiempo fijar la atención y despertar las pasiones de los auditorios»¹⁰⁰. Y en la siguiente misiva, se reitera que los saberes científicos son superfluos ante una asamblea, pues en ella se diserta sobre «asuntos que pertenecen al sentido común»¹⁰¹.

El triunfo político parece depender, por tanto, de dos elementos: la sensatez a la hora de elegir una causa, y la habilidad en el momento de defenderla. Con todo, en última instancia, lo que marca la diferencia es el ornato, el acierto a la hora de escoger las palabras. «Esto es lo que propiamente puede llamarse arte oratorio, porque el resto sólo depende del sentido común y del conocimiento del asunto»¹⁰². Hay que tener un cierto talento, porque «la delicadeza y la solidez de los pensamientos son dones del cielo que no pueden adquirirse pero sí perfeccionarse; mas la elegancia y la delicadeza de la expresión se adquiere tomándose el trabajo y el cuidado indispensables»¹⁰³. Por eso, quien persigue con ahínco la elocuencia – «con razón se dice que el poeta nace y el orador se

⁹⁸ Carta 306, Londres, 12 de febrero de 1754.

⁹⁹ El carácter ciceroniano de las cartas que estudiamos fue ya destacado por Collins, *Lord Chesterfield's Letters*, cit., pp. 245-248. Mucho más detallado es, a este respecto, el análisis G. McClish, *Is Manner Everything all? Reassessing Chesterfield's Art of Rhetoric*, «Rhetoric Society Quarterly», vol. 28, n. 2, 1998, pp. 6-24.

¹⁰⁰ Carta 205, Londres, 5 de diciembre de 1749. En la Carta 247, Londres, 20 de marzo de 1751, se dice que la elocuencia es de mucho más valor que el saber científico o la erudición de Oxford y Cambridge. Y en la Carta 216, Londres, 5 de febrero de 1750, se advierte que Descartes, Malebranche, Locke o Newton no son útiles, sino Horacio, Boileau, Walter o La Bruyère. Es decir, la formación literaria prima sobre cualquier otra.

¹⁰¹ Carta 206, Londres, 9 de diciembre de 1749.

¹⁰² Carta 249, Londres, 7 de abril de 1751.

¹⁰³ Carta 255, Londres, 16 de mayo de 1751. Véase también la Carta 203, Londres, 24 de septiembre de 1749.

hace»¹⁰⁴, puede llegar a dominarla, por un proceso mecánico, aun sin poseer mucho ingenio. «Estoy convencido – llega a comentar nuestro autor –, no sólo por teoría sino por experiencia, de que, suponiendo un poco de sentido común, lo que se llama un buen orador es lo mismo que un buen zapatero, y que ambos oficios pueden adquirirse con el mismo grado de aplicación»¹⁰⁵. A pesar de ello, nuestro Conde anima a su hijo a no descuidar «cosas que erróneamente consideras bagatelas, cuando realmente son el negocio más importante de tu vida»¹⁰⁶.

El motivo es que el trabajo es corto y el provecho muy grande¹⁰⁷, pues sucede que la elocuencia es en extremo útil para ganar las voluntades, como se sostiene en este otro texto, sacado de una epístola poco anterior a algunas de las que acabamos de citar:

Una constante experiencia me ha convencido de que la suma pureza del lenguaje, la elegancia del estilo y las gracias de la elocución, cubren multitud de faltas, tanto en un orador como en un escritor. [...] Gana el corazón, o no obtendrás nada; los ojos y los oídos son los únicos caminos que conducen al corazón: El mérito y el saber no ganarán el corazón, bien que asegurarán la conquista cuando se hubiere ganado, y ésta es una verdad que te ruego tengas siempre presente. Seduce los ojos con tus modales, tu aire y tus movimientos; deleita los oídos con la elegancia y armonía de tu dicción: el corazón no tardará en rendirse, y una vez rendido te aseguro que el hombre o la mujer que te escuchare cederá al impulso del corazón. Persuádate de que la mayor parte de los hombres no analizan ni van hasta el fondo; son incapaces de pasar más allá de la superficie; todos tienen sentidos que es necesario seducir, pero son pocos los que poseen una razón que se deba contentar. La actitud y las gesticulaciones graciosas encantan sus ojos, y la dicción elegante arrebatada sus oídos; para ellos un razonamiento sólido sería trabajo perdido¹⁰⁸.

Otra tajante declaración de principios, complementaria de la anterior, es ésta:

Estoy seguro de que no es menester repetirte lo que tantas veces has sentido tú mismo, quiero decir, el mucho realce que la elegancia de dicción comunica a los pensamientos, y la facilidad con que hace pasar aun los malos. Casi a esto viene a reducirse toda la magia en la cámara de los comunes, y en realidad en toda reunión pública o privada. Las palabras, que son el traje de los pensamientos, exigen ciertamente más cuidado que los vestidos, que

¹⁰⁴ Carta 203, Londres, Londres, 24 de septiembre de 1749. Véase también Carta 77, sin lugar, ¿1741?; Carta 98, Bath, 16 de julio de 1743; Carta 211, Londres, 26 de diciembre de 1749; Carta 226, 24 de mayo de 1750.

¹⁰⁵ Carta 306, Londres, 12 de febrero de 1754. Véase también la Carta 311, Londres, 26 de marzo de 1754.

¹⁰⁶ Carta 255, Londres, 16 de mayo de 1751.

¹⁰⁷ Cfr. Carta 306, Londres, 12 de febrero de 1754.

¹⁰⁸ Carta 203, Londres, 24 de noviembre de 1749. Véase también la Carta 207, Londres, 12 de diciembre de 1749, también muy próxima en el tiempo.

sólo sirven para adornar la persona, y sin embargo, merecen su parte de atención. [...] Te lo repito aún, por la milésima vez: no trabajes ahora más que en adquirir las cualidades ornamentales. Muy mal conocen el mundo, y gastan muchas palabras en vano, los que nos alaban la simplicidad y la solidez sin ornato¹⁰⁹.

Todo lo que venimos diciendo guarda una estrecha relación con el pensamiento ciceroniano. Es probable que nuestro autor lo interprete de modo estrecho, e incluso lo tergiverse, al ponerlo al servicio de intereses pedestres, pero hasta cierto punto eso se halla implícito en la ambigüedad de la misma retórica, que puede ponerse al servicio tanto de causas nobles como indignas. Por lo demás, son numerosos los pasajes en los que igualmente afirma que, tanto en el carácter personal, como en el discurso y en la conducta, lo esencial no es la forma sino el fondo¹¹⁰. Ciertamente, de poco o nada sirve para triunfar lo segundo, si se descuida lo primero¹¹¹, pero no por ello se ha de caer en la frivolidad y falta de escrúpulos de muchos políticos. De ahí que Lord Chesterfield le aclare su hijo: «El fin que yo me propongo en tu educación y que ciertamente alcanzaré, *si te place*, es reunir en ti todas las luces de un sabio con las maneras de un cortesano, y que juntes lo que rara vez marcha junto en una misma persona entre mis compatriotas: mundo y conocimientos»¹¹².

En este punto, comprobamos aún con más claridad como la argumentación no es la de Cicerón y el planteamiento es mucho más realista. De algún modo, puede decirse que pretende hacer compatibles los ideales humanísticos con las estrategias propias de la acción política, tal y como la concibieron o analizaron los maquiavelistas y los tacitistas durante el siglo XVII. Buena muestra de ello es también que, lejos situar al orador en un mundo ideal, como hacía su predecesor romano, nuestro Conde lo vea encarnado en un hombre de gobierno real, y en un gran adversario político, a saber, Lord Bolingbroke. Y más aún, aun cuando diste de ser un modelo perfecto, le propone a su hijo que lo imite. Es más, el antológico retrato que se traza de él, no es en absoluto benévolo, y de hecho es juzgado de modo francamente contradictorio:

Si su conducta cuando joven hubiese correspondido con sus prendas naturales y adquiridas, habría merecido justamente la calificación de *hombre completo*. [...] Considerándole tal como ahora es, el epíteto de completo le conviene mucho más que a ningún hombre de cuantos en mi vida he visto. Mas él es un ejemplo muy humillante de la violencia de las pasiones humanas y de la debilidad de la razón más sublime¹¹³.

¹⁰⁹ Carta 301, Londres, 20 de noviembre de 1753. La equiparación del lenguaje con la vestimenta aparece también en la Carta 215, Londres, 25 de enero de 1750.

¹¹⁰ Puede verse al respecto Laspalas, *Distinción social, cortesía y educación en la obra de Lord Chesterfield*, cit., pp. 65-68 y 71-72.

¹¹¹ Véase *ibid.*, pp. 87 y ss.

¹¹² Carta 150, Londres, 10 de mayo de 1748. Algo similar consta también, tanto en la Carta 193, Londres, 12 de septiembre de 1749, como en la Carta 194, Londres, 22 de septiembre 1749.

¹¹³ Carta 207, Londres, 12 de diciembre de 1749. La descripción del personaje de la que está extraído el texto, merece ser leída con detenimiento.

Y en otro lugar leemos que Pope hizo bien en considerarlo un *omnis homo*, si bien sólo con la edad se atemperaron sus pasiones. Con todo, «no desearía yo más – le confiesa nuestro autor a su hijo – sino que fueses lo que él es actualmente, sin pasar por lo que fue»¹¹⁴, porque en él se unían *all the politeness, the manners, and the graces of a courtier, to the solidity of a statesman, and to the learning of a pedant*¹¹⁵. Ahora bien, cuando hablaba, se parecía a Belial, el Señor de los infiernos, del cual dice Milton en su *Paraíso perdido* (II, 113-114): *could make the worse appear the better reason*¹¹⁶. Y, además, como Francis Bacon y tantos otros, justificaba la disimulación, aunque no la simulación¹¹⁷, y recomendaba la precaución y la desconfianza, conductas que nuestro aprendiz de diplomático debe practicar¹¹⁸. Aun así, Lord Bolingbroke es presentado en reiteradas ocasiones como el principal dechado de elocuencia y estilo¹¹⁹, e incluso se alaban sus escritos filosóficos¹²⁰. Su perfil parece, pues, el de una especie de humanista cortesano, sin duda, culto, elegante y persuasivo, pero escurridizo y muy bregado en las disputas e intrigas cortesanas. Con razón, ha sido descrito, como una «síntesis del *orator* antiguo según Cicerón y Quintiliano, y del *honnête homme* a la francesa según La Rochefoucauld y el caballero de Méré»¹²¹.

La cultura al servicio del conocimiento del mundo

Sería un error pensar que en la formación, tal y como la concibe Lord Chesterfield, lo esencial o lo más relevante es la cultura filológica y retórica. En realidad, ésta no deja de ser un recurso inútil si quien la posee no tiene experiencia de la vida. Por eso, en lugar de enviar a su hijo a la universidad, lo embarca en un *grand tour*, durante el cual debe aprender las lenguas modernas, pero también sumergirse en la buena sociedad. Debería comenzar entonces a desentrañar las leyes de ésta última, tan útiles como complejas, antes de recibir, a su regreso a Inglaterra, una instrucción específica para dominar a la perfección su lengua materna. Que las cosas son así se comprueba en el curioso balance contable que hallamos en una de las cartas: en el haber figuran

¹¹⁴ Carta 202, 21 de noviembre 1749.

¹¹⁵ Carta 272, Londres, 20 de febrero de 1752. Una frase similar figura en la Carta 202, Londres, 21 de noviembre de 1749.

¹¹⁶ Carta 207, Londres, 12 de diciembre de 1749.

¹¹⁷ Carta 183, Londres, 22 de mayo de 1749.

¹¹⁸ Carta 280, Londres, 31 de mayo de 1752.

¹¹⁹ Carta 207, Londres, 12 de diciembre de 1749; Carta 239, Londres, 14 de enero de 1751; Carta 240, Londres, 21 de enero de 1751, Carta 247, 20 de marzo de 1751; Carta 289, Londres, 26 de septiembre de 1752.

¹²⁰ Carta 304, Londres, 15 de enero de 1754.

¹²¹ Fumaroli, *Prólogo. El hombre del guante*, cit., pp. 12-13.

todas las materias filológicas y científicas, pero en el debe aparecen tres: inglés, pronunciación y modales. «Las delicias de la sociedad – se dice en ella – forman actualmente el último ramo de tu educación»¹²².

A partir de ese momento, el modo de aprender cambia de manera radical. «Debes consagrar algunas horas para aprender lo que no sabes y retener lo que sabes – se le aconseja a Philip –, y procurarte sin embargo, mucho tiempo para los placeres de la sociedad, que son ahora la parte más esencial de tu educación»¹²³. Y todavía más claro es este otro pasaje: «El mundo es el único libro a que por ahora debes dedicarte, si lo comprendes bien te será más útil que cuantos hayas leído. Cierra los mejores libros siempre que puedas asistir a la compañías más selectas, y persuádate de que cambiado por lo mejor»¹²⁴. Algo que es igualmente aplicable a las lenguas extranjeras: «te encargo que te procures el tiempo suficiente para asistir a las sociedades, porque sólo en ellas puedes aprender lo que te será mucho más útil que esos idiomas»¹²⁵.

En efecto, la principal y más difícil de las disciplinas es el conocimiento del hombre y el mundo. «Es increíble – leemos en una carta – la ventaja que retiramos de haber visto mas cosas, mas hombres y mas países que otras gentes»¹²⁶. Y en otra se afirma lo siguiente: «Esta es la utilidad real de los viajes, porque al formar relaciones penetras la vida interior y puedes sorprenderla en paños menores, medio único de conocer las costumbres, las maneras y todas aquellas infinitas particularidades que distinguen a un lugar de otro»¹²⁷. No en vano, como se ha dicho ya en una bastante anterior: «Este conocimiento es el verdadero objeto de los viajes de un caballero, si viaja como debe hacerlo; y a fuerza de frecuentar la buena compañía de todos los países, llega a ser cosmopolita; ya no es inglés, francés, o italiano, sino europeo; adopta las mejores maneras de cada lugar; es francés en París, italiano en Roma e inglés en Londres»¹²⁸. No cabe duda de que es eso lo que Lord Chesterfield espera de su hijo, a quien le explica poco después: «Por donde quiera que has viajado has sido siempre introducido en las mejores sociedades; de modo que debes ser un Europeo»¹²⁹.

Si la elocuencia, aunque su adquisición sea posterior en el tiempo, no es muy difícil de dominar, es en buena medida porque, al igual que otros ramos de la instrucción, es concebida como un instrumento para desenvolverse con éxito en la vida cortesana y la acción política. Estamos ante la piedra angular del programa que hemos expuesto, el cual, acaso debe más a la cultura barroca que a la ilustración. Ahora bien, la notable difusión durante el siglo XIX del

¹²² Carta 229, Londres, 9 de julio de 1750.

¹²³ Carta 230, Londres, 6 de agosto de 1750.

¹²⁴ Carta 280, Londres, 31 de mayo de 1752. Esta idea se reitera en la Carta 248, Londres, 25 de marzo de 1751.

¹²⁵ Carta 267, Londres, 2 de enero de 1752.

¹²⁶ Carta 312, Londres, 5 de abril de 1754.

¹²⁷ Carta 299, Bath, 3 de octubre de 1753.

¹²⁸ Carta 288, Londres, 22 de septiembre de 1752.

¹²⁹ Carta 288, Londres, 22 de septiembre de 1752.

epistolario que hemos estudiado indica seguramente que las elites burguesas captaron también la relevancia de tan singular y equívoca habilidad, que parece consubstancial al ejercicio del poder. De este modo, «los secretos de la tradición oral propia de la educación aristocrática se veían democratizados, como un producto cómodo y al alcance de todo el mundo. Era el signo de los tiempos»¹³⁰. Quedaba así desvelada e inmortalizada una tradición formativa, reservada a la nobleza y elaborada colectivamente durante siglos, hasta entonces poco menos que inédita.

¹³⁰ Fumaroli, *Prólogo. El hombre del guante*, cit., pp. 12-13.

El concepto curricular de «consumo» durante el tardofranquismo y la transición democrática en España (1969-1982)*

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The curricular concept of «consumption» during the late Franco and the democratic transition in Spain (1969-1982)

ABSTRACT: The concept of consumption as a personal and social activity has evolved considerably over the years. The school, as an essential institution in the transmission and perpetuation of knowledge, has played a fundamental role in its definition and establishment, especially since the publication of the Ley General de Educación of 1970 and the complementary regulations that developed it. The aim of this paper is to describe, analyse and explain the changes that took place after the adoption of this Law with regard to «the revision of the contents of education, orienting it more towards the formative aspects». In addition, we will see some examples of how this is done in practice.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: State; Political transition; Textbooks; Educational curriculum; Spain; XXth Century.

La escuela es un ritual de iniciación que introduce al neófito en la sagrada carrera del consumo progresivo, un ritual propiciatorio cuyos sacerdotes académicos son mediadores

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entre los creyentes y los dioses del privilegio y el poder, un ritual de expiación que sacrifica a sus desertores, marcándolos a fuego como chivos expiatorios del subdesarrollo¹.

La vida de consumo sólo puede ser una vida de aprendizaje rápido, pero también debe ser una vida en la que todo se olvida velozmente. Olvidar es tan importante como aprender, si no más importante².

Antecedentes, debates y propuestas

En 1969, en pleno auge desarrollista, con los tecnócratas en el poder y con un panorama político y económico de estabilidad dentro del régimen sin precedentes, sólo los movimientos estudiantiles, la conflictividad en algunos sectores laborales y las reivindicaciones semi-clandestinas a favor de la instauración de la democracia, enturbiaron la «paz» social impuesta por la fuerza y acatada por imperativo doctrinal. Una paz, entendida como servicio y sometimiento a la Patria, que todo español debía exaltar «con heroísmo, desinterés o abnegación, con ánimo de contribuir al bien superior que España representa», como había recogido el *Fuero del Trabajo* 30 años antes³. Para las autoridades, estas manifestaciones contrarias a las políticas imperantes de cuño tecnocrático y opusdeísta, sólo eran un síntoma de la falta de orden, de compromiso y disciplina, impensables en los momentos iniciales del «Glorioso Movimiento Nacional». Todo ello, a pesar de estar alentadas en numerosas ocasiones por los organismos internacionales a los que, desde hacía años y como símbolo de normalización internacional, pertenecía España. Los tiempos habían cambiado y las necesidades y horizontes de futuro también.

En este contexto de relativo progreso económico – en el que el índice de crecimiento alcanzó un promedio de 7,5 anual entre 1960 y 1967 y el PNB per cápita pasó de 291 dólares en 1960 a 818 en 1970, en el que cada vez hubo más protestas sociales a favor de los derechos políticos, laborales y estudiantiles, más radicalización y contraofensiva de las fuerzas de orden público, y mayor grado de compromiso con los organismos e instituciones internacionales a favor de mayores cuotas de reforma del Estado –, la educación pública, esto es, la que debía llegar a todos los rincones e integrar a todos los sectores de la sociedad, seguía siendo la gran olvidada en los distintos gobiernos franquistas. Pongamos algunos ejemplos: durante el curso 1965-66, según datos ofrecidos por el INE y recogidos en el II Plan de Desarrollo, existía todavía un 17% de menores sin escolarizar; en términos absolutos 796.929. Si sumamos a este guarismo la doble matrícula y los no asistentes a la escuela por motivos varios, la cifra

¹ I. Illich, *La sociedad desescolarizada*, México, 1985, p. 66 (primera edición, 1971).

² Z. Bauman, *Vida de consumo*, Madrid, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016, p. 133 (primera edición, 2007).

³ *Fuero del Trabajo*, 9 de marzo de 1938. BOE, 10 de marzo de 1938, núm. 505, p. 6.178.

superaba el millón de niños y niñas sin recibir enseñanza regular⁴. La situación era preocupante si tenemos en consideración, además, que «el triple juego del crecimiento vegetativo de la población, las migraciones interiores y el imprevisto desarrollo urbano han hecho que *en algunas provincia, en términos absolutos, la situación de déficit de escolarización sea en 1965 tanto o más grave que en 1880*»⁵. El problema de tan ingente marginación educativa, por tanto, no se debía sólo ni fundamentalmente a la «explosión escolar» a la que continuamente se aludía en los informes oficiales, sino a la falta de voluntad política dada la presencia de los colegios privados (ampliamente de carácter religioso), que colmaban con creces las necesidades de la población más acomodada y de clase media o media-alta y que atenuaban el problema en su globalidad o, al menos, entre los sectores más exigentes académicamente y tendentes a la promoción social. El propio Tena Artigas, secretario general técnico del MEN, afirmaba en la defensa del dictamen de la Comisión Nacional sobre la reforma de la ley de reforma de la enseñanza primaria que, «en la silenciosa y pausada, pero profunda y decidida tarea emprendida por el Ministerio de Educación Nacional en los últimos años, de reestructuración de las bases de nuestra educación, le ha llegado el turno a la enseñanza primaria». Y argumentaba como objetivos básicos de dicha reforma, la dignificación de la enseñanza y la elevación de su nivel y calidad⁶.

En efecto, según sus protagonistas, la reforma fue ideada por las circunstancias especiales que tuvieron lugar a finales de los años 60, entre las que cabrían citar las crisis de orden académico y orden público. Y añadían:

Inicialmente tal crisis no parecía abocar sino a la reforma del nivel universitario, y tal fue el sentido en que se manifestó el nuevo ministro al tomar posesión en abril de 1968. Sin embargo, el nuevo equipo ministerial, constituido entonces, aceptó la idea propugnada por su Secretario General Técnico, de abordar la revisión completa del sistema y tal idea fue elaborada y propuesta al Gobierno, de quien hubo de partir, como es obvio, la pertinente decisión⁷.

Sería Ricardo Díez Hochleitner, director del Departamento de Planificación y financiación de la UNESCO y secretario de dicha comisión, quien se percatara de la conveniencia de reformar todo el sistema educativo español para adaptarlo

⁴ J.L. Romero, A. de Miguel, *La educación en España y su evolución*, in *La educación en España*, «Anales de Moral Social y Económica», n. 25, 1970, pp. 17 y ss.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21. La cursiva es de los autores.

⁶ A. Tena Artigas, *Reforma de la Enseñanza Primaria. Ley 169/de 21 de diciembre de 1965*, «Revista de Educación», vol. LXI, n. 177, p. 24. Véase del mismo autor, *La educación en el Plan de Desarrollo*, Madrid, Gredos, 1966. Su hermano, Joaquín, quien también colaboró en dicha reforma educativa, sería Director General de Enseñanza Primaria entre 1956 y 1968.

⁷ R. Díez Hochleitner, J. Tena Artigas, M. García Cuerpo, *La reforma educativa española y la educación permanente. Estudio preparado por el Instituto de la Unesco para la Educación en colaboración con el Servicio Internacional de Información sobre las Innovaciones Educativas (IERS)*, París, Unesco (Experiencias e Innovación en Educación, núm. 31), 1977, pp. 13-14.

a las nuevas circunstancias del país y de su entorno europeo. Se «sacaba a la calle» y, además, «a contracorriente», en clarificadoras expresiones de Lázaro Flores, todo el problema educativo – en sus distintas etapas y niveles – que venía arrastrando España desde la destrucción de las políticas reformistas republicanas iniciadas cuarenta años atrás⁸.

De hecho, mientras los Estados europeos gastaban un promedio de 250 dólares por alumno durante esta década, España se situaba a la cola con mucha diferencia. Bélgica, Finlandia y Suecia encabezaban el ranking con 504, 392 y 386 dólares, respectivamente; lo cerraban Rumanía con 184, Austria con 157 y España con tan solo 26. Las diferencias eran abrumadoras. Pese a todo, ya existía cierto equilibrio con el resto de partidas económicas si tenemos en consideración que en 1950 el presupuesto de las fuerzas armadas triplicaba el de educación y, el año 1968-69, se situaba algo menos de un punto porcentual por arriba (31.59 frente a 9.63 y 15.60 frente a 14.89, respectivamente)⁹. Con razón, José Luis Villar Palasí, Ministro de Educación y Ciencia, exponía en la introducción al Libro Blanco de la reforma educativa y, con posterioridad también en la Ley General de Educación, que las propuestas que contenía el texto eran «un acto de fe en el futuro de España, así como en la imaginación creadora y en la capacidad renovadora de los españoles». En la misma obra se defendía la democratización de la enseñanza y se consideraba la educación como un derecho primario «que condiciona en cierto modo los demás derechos humanos»¹⁰. Con palabras más rotundas se manifestaba, igualmente, el grupo de expertos de la UNESCO que había visitado nuestro país un año antes para realizar el informe de la situación educativa: «El sistema escolar español necesita un cambio radical [...] El trabajo preparatorio que se requiere es considerable. Es preciso proporcionar los correspondientes planes y programas de estudio, material didáctico, material de orientación, edificios y equipo, y formar al personal»¹¹. Además, se admitía que los principales defectos de la administración escolar española habían sido la centralización excesiva, la falta de coordinación entre los ministerios, la organización interna deficiente y la escasa eficacia.

⁸ E. Lázaro Flores, *La Reforma del setenta, vivida y vista por un profesional de la administración*, «Revista de Educación», Número extraordinario: *La Ley General de Educación veinte años después*, 1992, p. 285.

⁹ Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, *La Educación en España. Bases para una política educativa*, Madrid, MEC, 1969, pp. 170 y 171.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 10 y 143.

¹¹ UNESCO, *España. La Reforma de la Educación. Informe Preliminar*, París, febrero, 1969, p. 36. Por invitación del Gobierno español, entre octubre y noviembre de 1968, visitó España una misión UNESCO-BIRD-FAO. El informe que citamos lleva en su portada la palabra ‘confidencial’ y expresaba las opiniones de la Unesco (no necesariamente la de las otras organizaciones) según testimoniaba en el prefacio el propio René Maheu, director general de la organización internacional.

Tanto los expertos – nacionales o extranjeros – como los responsables de la política educativa, expresaban las dudas del funcionamiento del sistema educativo y la necesidad de adaptarlo a las nuevas condiciones económicas y sociales del país. Era urgente que incorporara a nuevos sectores de la población y que lo hiciera de manera más democrática, aparte de ser más permeable y eficiente a las demandas de la sociedad moderna. El sociólogo Jiménez Blanco lo expresaba de la siguiente guisa en 1970:

nuestro sistema educativo sigue montado sobre las bases de la sociedad pre-industrial y resulta eficaz para cumplir una función, perfectamente adaptada a aquel tipo de sociedad, pero malísimamente acoplado a las nuevas exigencias de la nueva sociedad. Al sistema educativo se le pide suficiencia técnica y lo que normalmente proporciona es una base legitimadora de ciertas aspiraciones de ciertas clases de la sociedad¹².

Y remataba su exposición con el siguiente interrogante: «¿será este sistema educativo adecuado cuando se incorporen estudiantes procedentes de las clases bajas?».

El propio Libro Blanco, en cuya elaboración no participó ningún especialista extranjero pero sí se hacía notar la influencia de los mismos en todo el proceso de cambio que contenía y que generó¹³, constataba el anacronismo del sistema educativo y lo retrotraía a mediados del siglo XIX: «El sistema educativo español vigente se ajusta, en términos generales, a la concepción peculiar de una sociedad de características muy distintas de las actuales. En realidad, su estructura y organización no difieren en sus grandes líneas de los principios básicos de la Ley Moyano de 1857»¹⁴. Siguiendo el mismo tipo de análisis, hacía patente la necesidad de una transformación profunda de la sociedad y de su sistema de valores, sólo posible a través de un nuevo y más abarcador modelo educativo:

España, como el resto del mundo, atraviesa una crisis profunda de valores que anuncia el nacimiento de una nueva sociedad. El sistema de valores que ha regulado la forma de vida de las generaciones pasadas y de las que han alcanzado la edad madura en la época actual está sometido a un amplio proceso de revisión. Al mismo tiempo, las ideologías y las estructuras sociales están en tela de juicio y experimentan cambios aún inseguros¹⁵.

Al dedicar su atención a la Educación General Básica y, sobre todo, a su segunda etapa – de los 11 a los 13 años – consideraba beneficiosa la «ampliación

¹² Jiménez Blanco, *La calidad de la enseñanza en España*, in *La educación en España*, cit., p. 93.

¹³ J. Blat Gimeno, *Apuntes sobre la elaboración y aplicación de la reforma educativa de 1968-1970*, «Revista de Educación», Número extraordinario: *La Ley General de Educación veinte años después*, cit., p. 291.

¹⁴ Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, *La Educación en España. Bases para una política educativa*, Madrid, MEC, 1969, p. 203.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

del círculo de conocimientos», el «conocimiento del mundo social y cultural» y el «desarrollo de actitudes, valores, y hábitos religiosos, morales y sociales, esto es, formación religiosa y cívico-moral»¹⁶.

Se fijaban las bases, por tanto, para emprender el camino de la modernización nunca del todo abordada, casi siempre frustrada y jamás concluida con éxito y con consenso; al principio, por incredulidad gubernamental y ausencia de medios financieros y, después, esto es, durante la Transición, por prejuicios sectarios, desmarques ideológicos y rencillas partidistas carentes de justificación desde la lógica de la racionalidad y la eficiencia política. El propio Blat Gimeno, vicesecretario general técnico y coordinador del Libro Blanco y de los trabajos preparatorios para la reforma, lo expresaba con cierto desconsuelo: «Lamentablemente, esa rica contribución de comentarios, críticas y sugerencias, solamente se aprovechó en parte por la excesiva prisa en la elaboración de la Ley General de Educación impuesta por motivos políticos»¹⁷.

1. *La LGE como marco general de la reforma y su normativa ministerial complementaria*

En el BOE de 6 de agosto de 1970, número 187, se publicaba la ley que daba soporte al enorme esfuerzo y a todas las voluntades académicas y políticas que habían trabajado durante los dos últimos años. Se aprobaba, por tanto, la Ley 14/1970 de 4 de agosto, *General de Educación y Financiamiento de la Reforma Educativa* que ponía fin a casi un siglo y medio de monolitismo legal en el ámbito de la enseñanza formal.

Como contenía su exposición de motivos, «esta ley viene precedida como pocas del clamoroso deseo popular de dotar a nuestro país de un sistema educativo más justo, más eficaz, más acorde con las aspiraciones y con el ritmo dinámico y creador de la España actual» y, además, señalaba que «el período de Educación General Básica, que se establece único, obligatorio y gratuito para todos los españoles, se propone acabar en el plazo de implantación de esta Ley con cualquier discriminación y constituye la base indispensable de igualdad de oportunidades educativas, igualdad que se proyectará a lo largo de los demás niveles de enseñanza». La reforma general que establecía abarcaba todos los niveles, potenciaba la unificación de los mismos, abordaba el naciente tema de la calidad educativa y extendía la obligatoriedad hasta los 14 años (aunque en la práctica fuera hasta los 16, al exigir a aquellos alumnos que no cursaran el bachillerato a continuar estudios de formación profesional de primer ciclo).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 212 y 213.

¹⁷ Blat Gimeno, *Apuntes sobre la elaboración y aplicación de la reforma educativa de 1968-1970*, cit., p. 293.

Una Ley que terminó siendo torpedeada tanto desde dentro del sistema, y no sólo por la ausencia de medios financieros, como desde el exterior por la falta de apoyo social y académico, produjo lo que algunos autores han venido a denominar «la contrarreforma educativa» que tuvo lugar a partir de 1973¹⁸.

En su exposición de motivos, aludía a la necesidad de capacitar al individuo para afrontar con garantías los retos del «ritmo acelerado del mundo contemporáneo». Expresaba la voluntad de revisar los contenidos para hacerlos más acordes a esa realidad social: «Para intensificar la eficacia del sistema educativo la presente Ley atiende a la revisión del contenido de la educación, orientándolo más hacia los aspectos formativos [...] y las exigencias que plantea el mundo moderno». En su título preliminar hacía referencia, igualmente, a los fines de la educación en todos sus niveles y modalidades y señalaba como elementos básicos la formación humana integral, el desarrollo armónico de la personalidad y la preparación para el ejercicio responsable de la libertad, «inspirados en el concepto cristiano de la vida y en la tradición y cultura patrias; la integración y promoción social y el fomento del espíritu de convivencia; todo ello de conformidad con lo establecido en los Principios del Movimiento Nacional y demás Leyes Fundamentales del Reino». Es decir, establecía unas nuevas dimensiones al proceso educativo que antes no se habían contemplado pero señalando los márgenes que los acuerdos con la Santa Sede imponían y que el propio régimen político y jurídico establecía. De este modo, en el capítulo segundo, y en concreto en su artículo 15, a la hora de abordar las especificidades de la Educación General Básica, se afirmaba que de cara a la segunda etapa – esto es, entre los 11 y los 13 años –, «habrá una moderada diversificación de las enseñanzas por áreas de conocimiento». Con esta inclusión en la articulación del texto, se sentaban las bases para incorporar, suprimir o modificar nuevos contenidos curriculares, como a la postre tuvo lugar en los desarrollos normativos publicados a tal efecto. Se afianzaban las directrices para renovar metodologías, prolongar el período escolar, equipararse y cumplir con los mandatos internacionales, e incorporar nuevos contenidos acordes con los tiempos de cambio que, al menos sobre el papel, comenzaban a contemplarse y cuyo origen se remontaba muchos años antes como demuestran algunos estudios de especial relevancia¹⁹.

El primer desarrollo normativo que aprobaba las orientaciones pedagógicas para la Educación General Básica, se publicó en el BOE de 8 de diciembre de

¹⁸ A. Viñao, *Escuela para todos. Educación y modernidad en la España del siglo XX*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2004, p. 85.

¹⁹ G. Ossenbach, A. Martínez Boom, *Itineraries of the discourses on development and education in Spain and Latin America (circa 1950-1970)*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 47, n. 5, 2011, pp. 679-700; L. Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, *Estados Unidos, ¿Soporte del franquismo o germen de la democracia?*, in L. Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, Ricardo Martín de la Guardia, Rosa Pardo Sanz (edd.), *La apertura internacional de España. Entre el franquismo y la democracia (1953-1986)*, Madrid, Sílex, 2016, pp. 263-307.

1970, núm. 293, en forma de orden ministerial con fecha de 2 de diciembre. A través de un texto muy breve dirigido a los directores generales de enseñanza primaria, media y profesional, el Ministro Villar Palasí señalaba lo siguiente: «El artículo 9, apartado 3 de la Ley General de Educación prevé el establecimiento de un sistema de revisión y actualización periódica de planes y programas de estudio que permita el perfeccionamiento y la adaptación de los mismos a las nuevas necesidades educativas...». Igualmente se señalaba que la puesta en marcha del sistema educativo necesitaba la experimentación previa a su implantación, porque «muchas de las innovaciones pedagógicas exigen una cuidadosa investigación, experimentación y evaluación de resultados». Por todo ello, el ministro disponía en esta orden que durante el curso académico 1970-71, las actividades didácticas en todos los centros de EGB, se ajustaran a las orientaciones pedagógicas elaboradas por la comisión creada a tal efecto.

Tres meses después, esto es, el 13 de marzo de 1971 (BOE núm. 62), se publicaba otra orden ministerial rubricada el 27 de febrero, por la que se dictaban las normas sobre libros de texto de la Educación General Básica. El «viraje significativo en la concepción y orientación de la enseñanza» (sic) hacía necesario la publicación de unas directrices específicas avaladas por los responsables del Ministerio, esto es, por la Dirección General de Orientación Educativa, que debían ser seguidas por las editoriales. En el punto quinto se afirmaba: «En el caso de los libros destinados a formación religiosa o a educación cívica, la presentación de la maqueta o texto en el Instituto de Ciencias de la Educación requerirá, además [...] dictamen favorable de la Conferencia Episcopal o de la Delegación del Movimiento...». Dentro del calendario previsto para las sustituciones de los libros antiguos por los nuevos, el curso 1974-75 se consideraba el último para emplear los libros no adaptados a las nuevas normativas gubernamentales.

En esta serie de disposiciones emanadas por el ministerio, la siguiente orden tendría fecha de 6 de agosto de 1971 por la que se prorrogaban y completaban las orientaciones pedagógicas para la Educación General Básica (BOE 24 de agosto de 1971, núm. 202). En la misma, no se intentaba trazar un marco rígido que uniformara la educación, sino «por el contrario, se buscó a través de los objetivos, los contenidos, la metodología y la evaluación, indicar metas y sugerir procedimientos que la experiencia y la iniciativa de los educadores completarían y darían eficacia al fecundarlos en la realidad cotidiana del quehacer educativo». Para ello, era necesario prorrogar dichas orientaciones en los cursos siguientes como contemplaba esta nueva orden ministerial, firmada por delegación por la directora general de orientación educativa en manos de Ángeles Galino. Dichas orientaciones volverían a ser complementadas con otras normativas, Decreto de 20 de julio (BOE 13 de septiembre de 1974, núm. 220) y orden de 2 de diciembre (BOE de 16 de diciembre de 1974, núm. 300) sobre libros de texto y material didáctico.

Comenzaba una nueva fase en la que las directrices políticas, los requerimientos administrativos y las prácticas escolares debían caminar al unísono para obtener los resultados esperados. Todo ello, pese a admitir, como manifestó en su momento el profesor Beltrán, que «las directrices curriculares no siempre responden a la política que las dictó, como tampoco las prácticas traducen literalmente las directrices, lo que puede explicarse porque la iniciativa reformadora y sus propósitos son diferentes en los tres niveles que se encuentran implicados – el político, el administrativo y el práctico»²⁰. Habría que añadir: y el social, de manera muy determinante.

2. Normativa ministerial específica sobre el contenido de consumo

La necesidad de vincular los libros de texto a la realidad social en la España franquista se remonta a los comienzos del régimen debido a su afán por el adoctrinamiento y la observancia al orden político establecido. Sin embargo, desde una perspectiva más pedagógica y sistemática, podemos buscar sus raíces en los años 60. En el Diccionario de Pedagogía Labor, en la voz «educación social», se señala que

por fuerza ha de acortarse la distancia entre la escuela y la vida, entre los libros de texto y los hechos de la realidad social [...] Ciertamente no ha de ser el criterio de utilidad social el único que imponga rumbos a la confección de programas escolares, pero el empeño en ignorarlo se pagaría con graves faltas de adaptación social²¹.

A través de la influencia internacional de la educación programada, del modelo curricular que permitió y de toda la reforma manualística que representó, se mostraba la necesidad de establecer puentes entre la escuela y la realidad más próxima y determinante, como han demostrado algunos investigadores recientemente²².

Sin embargo, para el caso concreto que nos ocupa, relativo al concepto de consumo, la primera normativa publicada data del 30 de junio de 1977 (BOE de 29 de julio de 1977, núm. 180). En ella se hacía referencia a otra orden ministerial anterior, de 29 de noviembre de 1976 (BOE de 3 de diciembre de 1976, núm. 290), en la que se introducía, con carácter experimental y para el curso 1976-77, nuevos contenidos en las orientaciones pedagógicas del área

²⁰ F. Beltrán Llavador, *La reforma del currículum*, «Revista de Educación», Número extraordinario: *La Ley General de Educación veinte años después*, cit., pp. 193-207 (cita p. 195).

²¹ V. García Hoz (dir.), *Diccionario de Pedagogía Labor*, Barcelona, Editorial Labor, 1964, Vol. I, p. 319.

²² M. González-Delgado, T. Groves, *La enseñanza programada, la UNESCO y los intentos por modificar el currículum en la España desarrollista (1962-1974)*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 4, n. 2, 2017, pp. 73-100.

social en la segunda etapa de la EGB. De la siguiente manera venía recogido en dicha normativa ministerial:

La educación para la convivencia – incluida por el Gobierno en su declaración programática – aparece así como objetivo demandado para la construcción de un tipo de sociedad que parta de una nueva orientación del hombre como sujeto de derechos y deberes públicos, y de una paralela potenciación de virtudes éticas y comunitarias. De ahí que sea necesario establecer, dentro del área social para la segunda etapa de la Educación General Básica, unos contenidos de educación cívico-social que vengan a corresponder a las actuales exigencias en este campo de la enseñanza.

En 8º curso, se introducían contenidos referentes a «la conservación de la naturaleza como obligación de todos», «el hombre como agente de degradación», «la defensa de la persona frente a la manipulación de los valores espirituales, socio-políticos y materiales», etc. Debido al escaso tiempo transcurrido desde su publicación, resultaba insuficiente la valoración de la experiencia educativa y pedagógica a efectos de su implantación definitiva. Pues bien, a través de la orden del 30 de junio se reestructuraban las orientaciones pedagógicas de dicha área aprobadas en las órdenes ministeriales de 2 de diciembre de 1970 y de 6 de agosto de 1971, que mencionamos más arriba. A partir de ahora, se demandaba el conocimiento y la comprensión de la realidad social del mundo presente y futuro, así como las relaciones e interacciones sociales de la vida humana mediante la integración de los hechos y situaciones históricas, geográficas, sociales, económicas, políticas y antropológico-culturales que afectan a las personas como miembros de la sociedad «y en los que se tengan en cuenta desde los primeros niveles del sistema educativo los aspectos sanitarios, vial, del consumo, del medio ambiente, las experiencias naturales y sociales, la formación cívico social y las peculiaridades regionales en sus aspectos socio-culturales». Por ello, el ministerio optó por prorrogar, durante el curso 1977-78, y con carácter experimental, la mencionada orden de 29 de noviembre de 1976 por la que se establecían nuevos contenidos en las orientaciones pedagógicas del área social en la segunda etapa de la EGB. Asimismo, se autorizaba a la dirección general de educación básica para publicar las instrucciones necesarias sobre los aspectos didáctico-científicos, «así como divulgar los ensayos y experiencias realizadas en el curso 1976-77».

Estas directrices se complementarían con otras publicadas en una nueva orden de 6 de octubre de 1978 (BOE de 13 de octubre de 1978, núm. 245) sobre nuevos contenidos en las orientaciones pedagógicas del área social, en la segunda etapa de la EGB, y que hacían referencia a la educación para la convivencia con nuevos añadidos pedagógicos sobre educación ética y cívica, y programas de educación cívico-social, «que recogían las aspiraciones propias de una sociedad en proceso de democratización». En los objetivos generales, estaban, entre otros, «preparar para el ejercicio y respeto de los derechos y deberes de ciudadanía, las libertades democráticas y los derechos humanos

fundamentales», o «desarrollar el espíritu crítico, la capacidad de autonomía moral y el sentido de responsabilidad que permitan descubrir e interpretar los valores de la sociedad y defenderse de todo tipo de manipulación». En las especificidades correspondientes a cada curso de la segunda etapa, aparecía – en octavo de EGB – el siguiente descriptor: «La persona y los medios de comunicación social, objetividad y manipulación informativa. El hombre como consumidor. Defensa contra la manipulación. La austeridad al servicio del bien común». Junto a este, se apuntaba «El trabajo como autorrealización, como factor de convivencia, solidaridad y de progreso social. El trabajo como posible factor de alienación: Sus causas. Ética profesional». Era una manera de fomentar y consolidar hábitos, conocimientos y estrategias de participación y convivencia colectivas. No debemos soslayar que las primeras elecciones generales constitucionalmente democráticas se celebraron el 1 de marzo de 1979 y que de ellas surgieron los primeros ayuntamientos erigidos por voluntad popular. Era necesario agrandar el perímetro de la democracia y para ello nada mejor que comenzar por los más pequeños y por sus familias para fortalecer los pilares de la tolerancia en todos sus aspectos y dimensiones, como bien recogió la orden ministerial de 29 de noviembre de 1976 que contenía dos apartados específicos: «la convivencia social» y «la base de la democracia».

Y así llegamos al curso 1982-83. Todos los libros y material didáctico autorizados para sexto, séptimo y octavo de EGB, de acuerdo con las orientaciones pedagógicas de 6 de agosto de 1971, de 24 de octubre de 1977, de 6 de octubre de 1978 y de 18 de febrero de 1980, siguieron utilizándose durante el primer año académico hasta aplicarse los programas renovados en cada uno de dichos cursos. La aprobación del Real Decreto 3087/1982 de 12 de noviembre (BOE, 22 de noviembre) fijó las enseñanzas mínimas para el ciclo superior de EGB y autorizaba al Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia para desarrollarlo en el ámbito de sus competencias. De hecho, en este Real Decreto, en la materia de Ciencias Sociales y en el bloque temático tres, dedicado al comportamiento cívico-social, aparecía como enseñanza mínima de carácter general «Aprender a detectar y defenderse de la manipulación ideológica y política. Tomar conciencia de ser consumidor. Conocer y exigir sus derechos. Utilizar correctamente los bienes de consumo familiares y comunitarios». A través de la orden de 25 de noviembre de 1982 por la que se regulaban las enseñanzas de ciclo superior de EGB, se procedía a renovar materias y contenidos, especificándose en cursos, asignaturas y bloques temáticos. Es decir, se concretaban las ideas contenidas de manera general en el Real Decreto.

Aunque en sexto curso existía un bloque temático sobre el comportamiento cívico-social, donde se recogían «los valores y actitudes», «la vida comunitaria y el respeto hacia los demás», «el respeto a las normas de convivencia», etc., en los cursos de séptimo y octavo se añadían, además, los contenidos destinados a «desarrollar el sentido crítico a través del análisis de distintos tipos de información emitida por los medio de comunicación. Aprender a detectar

y defenderse de la manipulación ideológica, política, religiosa, de consumo. Tomar conciencia de ser consumidor. Conocer y exigir sus derechos. Utilizar correctamente los bienes de consumo familiares y comunitarios».

Por tanto, el descriptor de ‘consumo’ fue explícitamente contemplado, definido y analizado en los libros de texto a partir de 1979²³; y, además, se hizo desde una perspectiva crítica y poco complaciente con respecto a determinados poderes económicos, empresariales y publicitarios. Debemos de tener muy presente las contradicciones existentes en los distintos manuales en los que, al mismo tiempo que se criticaba el consumo desmesurado e irracional en los alumnos, se elogiaba la modernización, el desarrollismo tecnocrático, el surgimiento de nuevas fábricas, el alza en la producción, la inversión pública y el adecuado abastecimiento de la sociedad en su conjunto²⁴. Un debate no cerrado entre el pragmatismo productivo de las sociedades capitalistas, el consumo de masas, los valores y normas de una sociedad en incipiente apertura democrática, y los avances de las corrientes filosóficas del momento junto a las consecuencias socio-educativas y morales del aggiornamento proveniente del Concilio Vaticano II²⁵.

²³ M. Ferraz Lorenzo, *El consumo responsable como deber cívico en los libros de texto durante la transición democrática española*, in *XIX Coloquio de Historia de la Educación. Imágenes, discursos y textos en Historia de la Educación. Retos metodológicos actuales*, Madrid, SEDHE, 2017, pp. 366-369; Y. Hernández Laina, A.M^a. Badanelli Rubio, *Imaginario del consumo y consumismo en los manuales escolares del tardofranquismo y la Transición española. Consolidación de nuevos hábitos en la sociedad de consumo*, in *XIX Coloquio de Historia de la Educación. Imágenes, discursos y textos en Historia de la Educación. Retos metodológicos actuales*, Madrid, SEDHE, 2017, pp. 115-118; M. Ferraz Lorenzo, *Consumo de masas en los libros de texto durante la Transición política en España. Estado de la cuestión*, in *Avances en Ciencias de la Educación y del desarrollo, 5th International Congress of Educational Sciences and Development*, Granada, s.e., 2018.

²⁴ M. González Delgado, M. Ferraz Lorenzo, *Consumption’ as an ideological and social concept in school textbooks during the democratic Transition in Spain (1977-1982)*, «Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society», vol. 10, n. 2 (2018).

²⁵ «No faltan motivos de inquietud. Muchos hombres, sobre todo en regiones económicamente desarrolladas, parecen garza por la economía, de tal manera que casi toda su vida personal y social está como teñida de cierto espíritu economista tanto en las naciones de economía colectivizada como en las otras. En un momento en que el desarrollo de la vida económica, con tal que se le dirija y ordene de manera racional y humana, podría mitigar las desigualdades sociales, con demasiada frecuencia trae consigo un endurecimiento de ellas y a veces hasta un retroceso en las condiciones de vida de los más débiles y un desprecio de los pobres. Mientras muchedumbres inmensas carecen de lo estrictamente necesario, algunos, aun en los países menos desarrollados, viven en la opulencia y malgastan sin consideración. El lujo pulula junto a la miseria. Y mientras unos pocos disponen de un poder amplísimo de decisión, muchos carecen de toda iniciativa y de toda responsabilidad, viviendo con frecuencia en condiciones de vida y de trabajo indignas de la persona humana». Pablo VI, *Constitución Pastoral Gaudium et Spes*, 1965, Cap. 3, *La vida económico-social*, apartado 63, 7 de diciembre, <http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_sp.html> (último acceso: 12.04.2018).

3. *El concepto de consumo en los libros de texto. De la teoría a la práctica*

Como ha apuntado Zygmunt Bauman parafraseando a otros autores, hasta 1910, y en la undécima edición de la *Enciclopedia Británica*, sólo se consideró necesario incluir una breve entrada sobre el concepto de «consumo», definido como gastarse en sentido físico o, en expresión más estrictamente económica, como «destrucción de bienes»²⁶. En términos parecidos se expresó la *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, coloquialmente conocida como la Espasa-Calpe. Ésta definía consumir en su primera acepción como «destruir, aniquilar, agotar, extinguir» y, en la segunda, como «disipar, derrochar, malgastar, no dejar rastro ni reliquia de lo que se poseía o tenía»²⁷. Al referirse al consumo lo definía taxativamente como «el empleo destructivo de las cosas aplicándolas directamente a la satisfacción de las necesidades humanas»²⁸. Pero dicha definición se fue modificando y atemperando a las nuevas condiciones de trabajo y de vida. Así, en plena Transición democrática, se publicó un *mini diccionario del consumidor* por parte del Instituto Nacional del Consumo, lo que avala la tesis de la importancia que el concepto (y su práctica), suscitaba incluso para las autoridades españolas. Una vez aclaradas en su páginas que «el consumo de un determinado bien no implica necesariamente su destrucción, como pudiera parecer por el significado amplio de la palabra», añadía inmediatamente que

En el consumo efectuado por una persona o grupo social influyen diversos factores, algunos de tipo económico y otros de índole psicológica o social. Dentro de los primeros cabe señalar el nivel de ingresos que condiciona la cantidad de productos consumidos y su variedad, además de la calidad de los mismos. Por lo que respecta a los factores psicológicos pueden citarse, por ejemplo, los hábitos y costumbres²⁹.

Añadía, asimismo, en la voz «necesidad» que «es el móvil de toda actividad económica» y que «en las sociedades de consumo de masas la propaganda y publicidad influyen decisivamente en su creación. Las necesidades, finalmente, son inagotables: satisfechas unas, surgen otras»³⁰.

²⁶ Z. Bauman, *Vida de consumo*, Madrid, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016, p. 79.

²⁷ Voz «Consumir», in *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada europeo-americana*, Madrid, Espasa-calpe, S.A., 1913, Tomo XV, p. 98.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

²⁹ Instituto Nacional del Consumo, *Mimi diccionario del consumidor*, Madrid, Ministerio de Comercio y Turismo, Secretaría de Mercado Interior, 1980, p. 31. En la voz «consumidor», aparecía la siguiente reflexión: «Se busca al consumidor para que consuma, se le halaga, se le mima, se le agobia con la publicidad. Como consecuencia lógica de esta nueva situación el consumidor comienza a tener conciencia de su importancia y, por consiguiente, exige que los bienes que le vende el proceso productivo satisfagan plenamente sus necesidades a precios asequibles para él. Se dispone a hacer valer sus derechos y a integrarse en asociaciones para facilitar esta labor. Puede decirse que ha nacido el movimiento de los consumidores» (pp. 32-33).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Por la misma época se publicó un libro de divulgación, paradójicamente editado por una de las más poderosas editoriales católicas españolas de libros de texto, que ilustraba la fase de crecimiento imparable que experimentaban las sociedades industrializadas, en el que se advertía que «el consumo de masas o consumo masivo es un fenómeno relativamente reciente, aún desconocido por una gran parte de la humanidad» y alertaba de sus peligros y de las «plagas» y «trampas» que ocasionaba³¹.

El consumo, como hecho social, fenómeno en auge y representación simbólica tendente a mantener una errónea concepción de igualdad económica y social, aparece en los libros de texto para ser criticado por los excesos capitalistas que supone y las injusticias que crea en los usuarios o consumidores. Una práctica que pretendía convertirse en organizadora universal de los tiempos de ocio, de los estilos de vida y de los comportamientos modernos que poco o nada tenía que ver con nuestro pasado laboral, firmemente estructurado y con sus propios valores morales de ahorro y de pertenencia a un común y racional proceso productivo. Como ha señalado Luis Enrique Alonso, «El consumo pasaba, por tanto, a convertirse en la forma principal (pero desigual) de integración social y de normalización, en un período donde las metáforas de crecimiento ordenado y, en cierto modo, socializado son dominantes»³².

Pues bien, es en este entramado de intereses empresariales y comerciales, de nuevas estrategias laborales, de publicidad explícita y nada subliminal, de políticas económicas en expansión y de mayor grado de internacionalización de las mismas, y de incipiente cosificación de la población, donde los libros de texto fijan sus idearios sobre el descriptor de consumo en el emergente contexto democrático español. Pero antes de comenzar, diremos cuáles son los recursos bibliográficos que hemos utilizado y por qué.

En un trabajo de estas características donde sólo se trata de ilustrar lo que hemos ido señalando hasta el momento en el ordenamiento jurídico, hemos querido ser muy selectivos con respecto a los libros de texto utilizados. Por ello, hemos escogido los manuales de las editoriales españolas más conocidas y con mayor volumen de ventas en todo el territorio estatal durante la segunda mitad de los años 70 y la primera mitad de los 80; estas casas editoriales son Anaya, Santillana, Bruño, SM y el propio Ministerio. Los cursos escolares elegidos son 6º, 7º y 8º o, lo que es lo mismo, las edades comprendidas entre los 11 y los 13 años, siguiendo el criterio establecido en las propias órdenes ministeriales³³.

³¹ J.G. Anleo, *Consumid, empobreceos, destruid la tierra. Perfil de la sociedad de consumo*, Madrid, Ediciones S.M., 1978, pp. 14 y ss.

³² L.E. Alonso, *La era del consumo*, Siglo XXI, Madrid, 2005, p. 50. Véase, también, L.E. Alonso, F. Conde, *Historia del consumo en España: una aproximación a sus orígenes y primer desarrollo*, Madrid, Debate, 1994.

³³ R. Valls Montés, *Historiografía escolar española: siglos XIX-XXI*, Madrid, Uned, 2012.

En uno de los primeros manuales analizados, editados por el Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, para la asignatura «Educación para la convivencia»³⁴, aparece una selección de textos ampliamente variada y plural. Los extractos de documentos proceden del Concilio Vaticano II, Talmud, Aristóteles, Tomás de Aquino, Voltaire, Dostoievski, Maritain, Faure, Huxley, E. H. Car, Antonio Aróstegui, Tocqueville, Pascal, Descartes, Ovidio, Ortega y Gasset, Chesterton, Giner de los Ríos, Célestin Freinet, Quevedo, Cicerón, Maquiavelo, Maurice Herzog, Helder Cámara, Ghandi, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Confucio, Lorenzo Milani, Antonio Machado... la lista se amplía en los libros de texto de la misma asignatura para los cursos de 7º y 8º, publicados también el año 1977. Aunque no se trataba el consumo directamente, sino otros temas afines propios de la asignatura como «La democracia», «el respeto a las minorías», «La dignidad humana», «La amistad», «El trabajo», etc., la variedad de temáticas es tan amplia, diversa y analizada desde distintos enfoques teóricos e ideológicos que merece la pena traerla a colación, como ejemplo de pluralidad en el conocimiento.

En otro de los manuales, y en concreto en el tema 36 dedicado a «El medio ambiente social», hay un subapartado titulado «Austeridad al servicio del bien común». En los dos primeros párrafos aparece la siguiente idea:

Si somos sinceros, gran parte de los bienes que consumimos no son de verdad necesarios. Sin embargo, nos vemos impulsados a adquirirlos, unas veces porque 'están de moda' y otras para 'competir' con los demás, intentando de esa forma aparentar ser superiores a los otros 'consumiendo más y mejor'. Pero hay una realidad evidente, y es que esa actitud degenera en un derroche, en un despilfarro que en la mayor parte de las ocasiones la sociedad no se puede permitir.³⁵

Un poco más abajo, se hablaba de la importancia de practicar un consumo moderado, de seguir las campañas que realiza el Estado para impulsar el ahorro e, incluso, de no gastar productos de importación gravosos para toda la comunidad «nacional». Y contraponía el rol del Estado, como benefactor del ahorro, con el de las empresas privadas y sus campañas de publicidad para orientar los gustos y el gasto en determinados productos comerciales. Incluso se habla de la «manipulación velada» (*sic*) «que persigue privar al hombre de su propia libertad de interpretación u opción ante cualquier acontecimiento».

En este y otros textos, el trabajo se considera un derecho fundamental e inalienable, que dignifica a las personas. Por ello, se afirma que «gracias al trabajo atendemos nuestras necesidades y las de nuestra familia. Pero nuestra sociedad capitalista nos incita, mediante la publicidad, a un consumo cada día mayor, y cuando el consumo se reduce, se provoca el paro o la recesión

³⁴ MEC, *Educación para la convivencia. Selección de textos orientativos. Área Social*, 6º curso de EGB. Madrid, Servicio de publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1977.

³⁵ J. Abad Caja (dir.), *Sociedad 80*, 8º de EGB, Madrid, Santillana, 1979, p. 277.

económica»³⁶. También aparece la idea de trabajo entendido como comunidad de intereses: «En la comunidad de trabajo los trabajadores se relacionan entre sí, ya que su trabajo es parte de una actividad conjunta que tiene un objetivo común y porque existe una comunidad de intereses entre los trabajadores»³⁷. No se entiende el trabajo, por tanto, como actividad individual o aislada destinada a dar simple satisfacción a las necesidades privadas. «No vivimos aislados. Vivimos dentro de la sociedad, es decir, «convivimos» con los demás», rezaba el epígrafe 3, del tema «El hombre y la convivencia social»³⁸.

En este esquema relativo al trabajo y a los valores educativos, a la austeridad y convivencia, lo colectivo o común se antepone siempre a lo privado. Pongamos otro ejemplo: en el tema titulado «El respeto al hombre», a la hora de abordar la dignidad humana para crear una sociedad más justa, se indica lo siguiente: «si para ello resulta preciso supeditar los intereses personales habrá que hacerlo, dando preferencia a los colectivos, socializando nuestra forma de vida y despojándola de todas aquellas creencias anticuadas que impidan la formación de una sociedad nueva». En el primero de los temas dedicado a la convivencia – concepto reiterativo –, aparecen expresiones tan poco empleadas hasta entonces como «sentido de la equidad», de «solidaridad entre los hombres» e, incluso, de la importancia del respeto entre ellos, echando mano de la Encíclica papal «Pacem in Terris» y recordando los logros conseguidos en este aspecto por algunos gobernantes y, sobre todo, por los papas Juan XXIII y Pablo VI a través del Concilio Vaticano II³⁹. Esta línea interpretativa aparece con relativa frecuencia en otros manuales.

En otra ocasión, en el apartado «Educación Ética y Cívica» que se inserta en los libros de Ciencias Sociales a partir de 1979, se afirma que «sin libertad el hombre no puede llegar a ser verdaderamente hombre; se convierte en una máquina que sólo hace aquello para lo que está programada y sin posibilidad alguna de decisión. Nada debe oprimir esa libertad natural, propia del hombre, nada que no sea fruto de su voluntad». Y en la lista presentada de los constructores de la libertad y la convivencia, aparecen nombres tan ilustres como Sócrates, Henri Dunant (precursor de la Cruz Roja Internacional), Albert Schweitzer (médico, filósofo y teólogo, uno de los máximos representantes de humanitarismo en África), Martin Luther King o Juan XXIII⁴⁰. En el libro de la misma colección de 6º, se indica en el apartado también dedicado a «Educación

³⁶ J.I. Cases Méndez, O. Cabezas Moro, G. Pavón Espiga, *Educación para la convivencia*, 6º de EGB. Madrid, Anaya, 1980, p. 35.

³⁷ J. Abad Caja (dir.), *Sociedad 80*, 6º de EGB, Santillana, 1979, p. 249.

³⁸ Equipo aula 3, *Ciencias Sociales*, 6º de EGB, Madrid, Ediciones Anaya, 1986, p. 18.

³⁹ J.I. Cases Méndez, O. Cabezas Moro, G. Pavón Espiga, *Educación para la convivencia*, 6º de EGB. Madrid, Anaya, 1980, pp. 7-10.

⁴⁰ J. Abad Caja (dir.), *Sociedad 80*, 7º de EGB, Madrid, Santillana, 1979, pp. 271, 313 y ss.

Ética y Cívica», que: «El consumo es lógico cuando está orientado a la satisfacción de nuestras necesidades; es necesario para desarrollarnos íntegramente y para ser partícipes de los logros y avances que la cultura y la técnica han aportado a nuestra civilización. Pero, en muchos momentos, consumimos cosas que no son realmente necesarias, sino sencillamente porque lo hacen otros o porque socialmente está bien considerado». Y añade en el párrafo siguiente: «A esto colabora en gran medida la publicidad, que, desde los medios de comunicación social, especialmente la televisión, nos impulsa continuamente a la adquisición de bienes no necesarios»⁴¹.

La misma línea argumental aparece en otro de los manuales, de una editorial diferente. En el libro de Historia Universal y de España, en el tema dedicado a «Medios de comunicación social. El hombre como consumidor», se señala que

Uno de los mitos más conocidos, fabricados por las agencias de publicidad, es el que proclama rey al consumidor [...] este mito ha calado muy hondo en la conciencia de los consumidores. Este consumismo hace que el hombre corra el peligro de convertirse en *robot*, en un hombre alienado, sometido a la dictadura de los medios de comunicación. Resultado de todo ello es el empobrecimiento del individuo, pues a cambio de bienes de consumo tiene que vender su trabajo y su tiempo libre.

Y añadía este mismo apartado unas líneas más abajo: «A la sociedad de consumo le ha correspondido también su «maldición»: violencia y delincuencia, drogas, pereza, enfermedades del crecimiento económico, bolsas de pobreza en medio de la abundancia, estrechez colectiva y explotación de los países pobres»⁴². En otros manuales aparece la misma idea: «Todos en mayor o menor medida, somos consumidores de bienes, es decir, utilizamos distintos elementos para nuestro perfeccionamiento. El hombre no vive del aire; no obstante, en nuestra vida hay quien en vez de consumir para vivir, vive para consumir, y eso es totalmente negativo porque *desnaturaliza* a la persona». O por poner otro ejemplo, del mismo manual, «Casi todos estamos metidos de lleno en la consumo-manía, es decir, en la obsesión por consumir y tener cosas [...] consumir es necesario para todos, pero la obsesión del consumo por el consumo es absurda, además de injusta e «insolidaria»⁴³.

Críticas al individualismo, a la alienación de las personas, al consumo (concepto identificado e intercambiable al de consumismo), al progreso sin límites y sin previo análisis de la realidad que lo produce, al desempleo, a las empresas, a la publicidad y, por contra, elogios al papel social desempeñado por el Estado,

⁴¹ Id. (dir.), *Sociedad 80*, 6º de EGB, Madrid, Santillana, 1979, pp. 269 y 270.

⁴² J. Rastrilla Pérez, *Historia universal y de España. El mundo contemporáneo*, 8º de EGB, Madrid, SM Ediciones, 1979, p. 259.

⁴³ A. Colomer Viadel (dir.), *Educación Ética y Cívica. Octavo curso de EGB*, Madrid, Bruño, 1979, p. 28.

al trabajo, al equilibrio y justicia sociales, a la igualdad de oportunidades, etc. son los elementos básicos que definen los libros de texto durante esta etapa histórica y que contrasta con lo que ocurriría con posterioridad, como ya han demostrado otros autores y trabajos⁴⁴.

Conclusiones

Tal y como ha afirmado Michael W. Apple en el prefacio a la edición española de su conocida y clásica obra *Ideología y currículo*, «aunque nuestras instituciones educativas funcionan distribuyendo conocimiento y valores ideológicos, no es eso lo único que hacen. En cuanto que sistema de instituciones, en última instancia también ayudan a producir el tipo de conocimiento (el tipo de bien) necesario para mantener los acuerdos económicos, políticos y culturales actualmente existentes»⁴⁵. Una vocación manifiestamente reproductora en la que intervienen distintos factores y agentes pero cuya concreción se hace a través del conocimiento asumido e impartido por las escuelas al que, el propio Apple, denominó «conocimiento técnico». Pues bien, en la encrucijada que supuso el tardofranquismo y la Transición democrática en España, el consumo – en cuanto contenido curricular prescrito – fue tanto un conocimiento técnico, por ende, legitimador de determinados intereses en el sentido tradicional del término, como liberador, dado que pretendía oponerse a una serie de intereses empresariales y publicitarios, y aliarse a determinadas concepciones ideológicas de un Estado social que pretendía emerger con fuerza del barrizal dictatorial, compartiendo cierto sentir con los sectores populares más activos y reivindicativos (representados en sindicatos y partidos políticos democráticos o, incluso, fuera de ellos) con las corrientes filosóficas más activas y críticas en boga (neomarxismo y Escuela de Frankfurt) y de los aires renovadores de la Iglesia católica (Concilio Vaticano II y neoescolasticismo). Todas estas variables, influencias e interdependencias, aparecen de manera expresa en los libros de texto y en su política de acercamiento a los problemas de la población y a la nueva concepción de sociedad en ciernes.

Por tanto, más allá de los méritos individuales y colectivos adquiridos con la nueva asignatura, lo que se constata es que el Estado deseaba mostrar

⁴⁴ M. González Delgado, *Conflicto, legitimación y cambio en el currículum: 1970-1990*, Tesis Doctoral leída el 24 de enero de 2014 en el Dpto. Historia y Filosofía de la Ciencia, la Educación y el Lenguaje, <<https://www.educacion.gob.es/teseo/mostrarRef.do?ref=1057785>>; También S. Berlanga Quintero Salvador, *La educación del consumidor en el aula, en la familia y en la sociedad*, Zaragoza, Mira editores, 2010; J. Delval, *El descubrimiento del mundo económico por niños y adolescentes*, Madrid, Morata, 2013, D. Buckingham, *La infancia materialista. Crecer en la cultura consumista*, Madrid, Morata, 2013 (edición original, 2011).

⁴⁵ M.W. Apple, *Ideología y currículo*, Madrid, Akal, 1986, p. 6 (edición original, 1979).

una autoafirmación ante la sociedad que no consiguió mantener tan sólo una década después. Pese al entusiasmo democratizador de los inicios, la visión más economicista y pragmática volvió a las aulas – de la mano de las propias reformas educativas – y, aunque las temáticas abordadas sobre el consumo continuaron, la asunción de la inevitabilidad de los poderes fácticos y de los beneficios del gasto para el mantenimiento del sistema y del orden social, desplazaron la visión más crítica abordada en los años 70. También es cierto que, con un partido político de izquierdas en el poder, comenzaba la reconversión industrial, el aumento del desempleo, de la deuda pública, de la moderación salarial... es decir, la vuelta a la normalidad económica e institucional y la huida de la política, entendida como actividad a través de la cual los ciudadanos, haciendo gala de una libertad recién estrenada (muchas veces pactada y otras tantas amenazada, y bajo el paraguas de una visión internacionalizada), tomaban sus propias decisiones colectivas.

«¡Estudiosa juventud! Elevad vuestra mente ácia la nobleza del arte!». The tradition of the artistic education in Chile in the Speech from Alessandro Ciccarelli (19th century)

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ABSTRACT: In 1849 Alessandro Ciccarelli Manzoni, napolitan painter with a working brilliant international career, performed the *Discurso de inauguración de la Academia de Pintura* in Santiago de Chile. Thereby was established the plan of the Government to offer to the country an institution that could watch over the education of young artists involved in history painting. We will analyze the *Discurso* and we will reflect about the establishment of a painting education system that was set since that moment and of which Ciccarelli was pioneer. We think that the resulting adhesion of the institution to the canon of the classicism of 19th century, even though it seemed anachronistic in relation to the romantic trend that took place in America and Europe, turned out to be in line with the idiosyncrasy of Chile, that grew until the moment when the institutions regulated the education in Arts.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education, Artistic education; Education system; Chile; XIXth Century.

Introduction

In the following article¹, our purpose is to highlight the basic landmarks of the process that led to the official regulation of the artistic education in Chile during the 19th century.

We are going to do it with focus on the *Discurso*² given by the eminent Alessandro Ciccarelli Manzoni, painter with origination from Naples and international career who arrived in Chile from Brazil in 1848. The Italian's speech given on 8th March 1849 during the opening of the «Academia de Pintura», run from that moment by himself, set a starting point in the modern theories about artistic education in the country, settling definitely Chile and Chileans in the intense and fervid cultural movement of the 19th century interested in the young American republics.

We are going to distinguish the landmarks of the building of the traditional artistic education through the analysis of the Chilean educational scene during the 19th century and of the main steps of Ciccarelli's *Discurso*, and we will end with our reading of Ciccarelli's legacy in Chilean country.

Modern studies about Arts and Education in Chile reserved a large space to the analysis of the encouraging *Discurso* of the Italian professor. Among these, it is possible to highlight the studies published between 2004 and 2013 written by the Chilean researchers Isabela Cruz de Amenábar³, Josefina de la Maza⁴ and their fellow citizen Pedro Zamorano Pérez⁵. In 2012, in the frame of the *VI Jornadas de Historia del Arte* in the care of Fernando Guzmán Schiappacasse and Juan Manuel Martínez, who had as purpose to fulfill the *historiographical silence* between Italy and Chile, Ciccarelli was protagonist of detailed analysis in a roundtable entirely dedicated to his presence in Chile and Brazil⁶.

¹ The present article is the result of the researches that took place in the frame of the investigation program whose author is Principal Researcher: CONICYT Iniciación FONDECYT n. 11160359 *Diálogos decimonónicos entre Chile y Europa. La enseñanza del dibujo: vehículo de influjos y transferencias artísticas*, (20016-2019) financed by Fondo Nacional de Desarrollo Científico y Tecnológico de Chile, supported by Universidad Autónoma de Chile.

² A. Ciccarelli, *Discurso pronunciado en la inauguración de la Academia de Pintura por su director D. Alejandro Ciccarelli, seguido de la contestación en verso leída por D Jacinto Chacón*, Santiago, Imprenta Chilena, 1849.

³ I. Cruz de Amenábar, «La Atenas del Pacífico». *Alejandro Ciccarelli y el proyecto civilizador de las Bellas Artes en Chile republicano*, «Tiempos de América», n. 11, 2004, pp. 91-104.

⁴ J. De La Maza, *Inauguración de la Academia de Pintura (Documentos para la comprensión de la Historia del Arte en Chile)*, Santiago de Chile, Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2013.

⁵ P. Zamorano Pérez, *El Discurso de Ciccarelli en la fundación de la Academia de Pintura de Chile (1849)*, «Quiroga», n. 4, July-december 2013, pp. 76-86.

⁶ F. Guzmán Schiappacasse, J.M. Martínez, (edd.), *Vínculos artísticos entre Italia y América. Silencio Historiográfico. VI Jornadas de Historia del Arte*, Valparaíso, Museo Histórico Nacional, Facultad Artes Liberales Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, Centro CREA, 2012, particularly CFR. chapter *Alessandro Ciccarelli*, pp. 185-230, with interventions of Valéria Esteves, Pedro Zamorano Pérez, Marisol Richter, Cynthia Valdívieso, Josefina de la Maza. Two years later than the intervention of the researcher V. Lima, *Arte y Política en el Discurso de Alessandro Ciccarelli*,

In previous periods the historians Antonio Romera⁷, Eugenio Pereira Salas⁸, Ricardo Bindis⁹, in their excellent systematizations of the global scene of the Chilean art history, apart from aesthetic judgments about pictorial art, recognized in Ciccarelli's theoretic and pedagogical point of view the premise for the country to outline the project of a national artistic education with international range, and concretely to Europe.

In a recent request form that we presented to the *Divisão de Informação Documental de la Fundação* of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro, we could verify a scarcity of bibliographical sources that would reserve deep researches to the role played by Ciccarelli as a promoter of artistic pedagogy in Brazil¹⁰.

Little success in critics in Italy, too, where the historiography hardly considered our artist, as we realized reading the news about his artistic job: a collection – with a methodology that reminds the one of Vasari – of works related to prizes and honors achieved during Bourbon expositions in the first half of 1800¹¹.

However, we consider reorganizing all the information scattered in the three countries where Ciccarelli was active, Italy, Brazil and Chile, a work to do and

1849, that was not published, in the frame of the Seminario that took place in the Universidad de Santiago de Chile in 2010, *El poder: prácticas, representaciones y universos simbólicos en América colonial y republicano. Ciencias, tecnologías y culturas. Diálogo entre las disciplinas del conocimiento. Mirando al futuro de América Latina y el Caribe*.

⁷ A. Romera, *Asedio a la Pintura Chilena. Desde el Mulato Gil a los bodegones literarios de Luis Durand*, Santiago, Ed. Nacimiento, 1969, pp. 43-46.

⁸ E. Pereira Salas, *Estudios sobre la historia del Arte en Chile Republicano*, Santiago, Edición de la Universidad de Chile, 1992, pp. 63-73.

⁹ R. Bindis, *La pintura chilena: desde Gil de Castro hasta nuestros días*, Santiago, Ediciones Philips Chilena, Departamento de Publicidad, 1985.

¹⁰ C.R. Maciel Levy, *Exposições Nacionais da Academia Imperial e da Escola Nacional de Belas Artes. Período Monárquico, 1840-1884*, Rio de Janeiro, Pinakothek, 1990, p. 45; R. Pontual, *Dicionário das Artes Plásticas no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, Editora Civilização Brasileira, 1969, pp. 134-135; Q. Campofiorito, *História da pintura brasileira no século XIX*, Rio de Janeiro, Pinakothek, 1983, pp. 81-85. Search made in March 2018, kindly replied on the 26th March 2018 by Sir Jorge Ricardo C. Raposo da Câmara, Técnico em Documentação of the mentioned above institution. We use the occasion to thank his courtesy and availability during the elaboration of the present article.

¹¹ *Annali Civili del Regno delle Due Sicilie*, Naples, Tipografia del Real Ministerio degli Affari Interni nel Real Albergo dei Poveri, Vol. 19, 1839, in particular pp. 141,148,150; «La Pallade. Giornale delle Belle Arti», vol. 1, n. 1, 16th February 1839, in particular pp. 115-116 and pp. 195-196; «Il Telescopio», n. 1, 10th May 1836, p. 20; «Il tiberino giornale periodico per servire alla storia delle arti belle arti», vol. V, n. 20, Saturday 25th May 1839, p. 117; «L'arte in Italia rivista mensile di belle arti», vol. 4, 1872, p. 118; G. Matteucci, P. Nicholls (edd.), *Pittori e pittura dell'Ottocento italiano (1996-1997)*, Rome, Redazioni Grandi Opere dell'Istituto Geografico De Agostini, ad vocem; U. Carughi, L. Martorelli, A. Porzio (edd.), *Il Palazzo della Prefettura*, Naples, Sergio Civita, 1989, pp. 102 y 104. R. Rinaldi, *Pittori a Napoli nell'Ottocento*, Naples, Libri & libri, 2001, p. 58; M. Cardelli, *I due purismi: la polemica sulla pittura religiosa in Italia, 1836-1844*, Florence, Tipografia Capponi, 2005, p. 453; C. Lorenzetti, *L'Accademia di belle arti di Napoli (1752-1952)*, Florence, F. Le Monnier, 1953, p. 463; C.T. Dalbono, *Storia della pittura in Napoli ed in Sicilia: dalla fine del 1600 a noi*, Naples, Stamperia Gargiulo, 1859, p. 229.

we intend to dedicate to him an exhaustive monograph. The present article intends to be the starting point of this task that we establish as our next target.

1. *The first attempts of systematization of the artistic education in Chile (1652-1818)*

In Villegas Vergara and his coauthors'¹² recent publication, the information about the implementation of drawing studies in Chile are plentiful. However, the little data we conserve about the first forms of teaching related to this discipline in the 17th century, led us to suppose the absence of a systematic and official organization of these studies until the 18th century. The second half of 1700 marked a radical deviation of the route, since the promulgation of the Pragmatic Sanction in 1767 forced the Jesuits to abandon the Chilean territory and make the country orphan of that being an institution that until that moment was guaranteed by the support of the monks¹³.

Thirty years later, the erudite Manuel de Salas' intervention let the discipline of drawing, its application and its teaching to be inserted in the educational program of the first generation of professionals of trade, agriculture and industry of the country¹⁴. In 1797 the «Academia de San Luis» founded by Salas started its teaching activities, putting in motion the slow but productive walk to the systematization of artistic studies in the country.

With the declared purpose of educating «buenos comerciantes, hábiles agricultores y verdaderos mineros: ocupaciones íntimamente conexas con el bien del pueblo, de los individuos y del Estado»¹⁵ (good traders, skillful farmers and real miner: tasks intimately related with the goods of the working-class, of the individual and of the State, tda), Salas was able to create in Chile the need of building an organized pedagogic system that considered drawing one of the basic abilities in the educational process of young Chileans. And he did it when, in pursuit of the progress of the country, equated drawing to the arithmetic and geometry as aspects of autonomy and employability of the discipline.

¹² I. Villegas Vergara, C. Navarrete, B. Camhi Jacard, D. Espinoza Guerra (edd.), *Dibujo en Chile (1797-1991). Variaciones epistemológicas, aplicaciones profesionales*, Santiago, LOM Ediciones, 2017.

¹³ To go into detail about this moment in the history of artistic education in Chile, P. Berríos *et al.*, *Del taller a las aulas: la institución moderna del arte en Chile (1797-1910)*, Santiago, Editorial Estudios de Arte, 2009.

¹⁴ N. Cinelli, *Hacia la enseñanza de los estudios artísticos en Chile: Manuel de Salas y la academia de San Luis*, «Alpha», n. 42, jul. 2016, pp. 297-310.

¹⁵ M. de Salas, *La Academia de San Luis, Informe de la Academia presentado al Presidente Interino José de Santiago Concha*, 12th August 1802, p. 17 in online version, available for consultation on <<http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/mc0017525.pdf>> (last access: 06.01.2018).

The theories of the great thinkers of European Enlightenment, in which he got involved during his trip in the Old World between 1777 and 1782, had a great weight in Salas' purpose. In this occasion was fundamental on one hand his finding of the documents of Conde de Campomanes, an intellectual who had Salas as an enthusiastic transmitter of his ideas in America¹⁶. On the other hand, the opportunity to visit the «Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando» Madrid and the «Academia Provincial de Bellas Artes» in Cádiz.

With the change in the governmental institutions that watched over the country since 1811, Salas understood the required change to preserve the survival of the «Academia de San Luis»¹⁷.

With the new republican phase, the Education Committee decided that the «Academia» fuse together with other educational centers, giving life to the Instituto Nacional, whose responsible was Juan Egaña, as demonstrated in the document signed in July 1813¹⁸. Thanks to his leadership was generated a significative change in the history of the Chilean artistic education: even though the school went on providing a drawing teaching channeled toward the compilation of maps and the reproduction of geometrical figures, teaching pointed to the application of the drawing to the beaux arts, with training in drawing landscapes and portraits in which the subject boasts his status.

That is how in less than a century starting from Manuel de Salas, who, inspired by the European reformist wind, introduced the matter of drawing in a technical and scientific perspective required for the advance of the country, appears Juan Egaña, who moved its usefulness to the education of young artists, setting the basis for the future «Escuela de Bellas Artes» in Chile. The path to the «Academia de Pintura» started.

¹⁶ In the *Memorial* signed by Salas in 1801 we find a reference to Conde de Campomanes' work, *Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos y su fomento*, cf. M. de Salas y Corbalán, *Escritos de Don Manuel de Salas y documentos relativos a él y su familia, Obra publicada por la Universidad de Chile*, Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes, 1910, Vol. 1, p. 215. The influence he had in Salas' ideas and the resulting transfer to the Chilean field are evident in the *Reglamento del Gremio de los Plateros*, set on 9 April 1802, in which Salas determines a connection between drawing and basic disciplines, that until that moment were not taken into consideration. We read: «8° Durante este tiempo, será obligación del maestro enseñarle el oficio y la doctrina cristiana, darle buen ejemplo, procurar que aprenda á leer, escribir, la aritmética vulgar y el dibujo, como requisitos todos, sin los que jamás podrá poner tienda pública» (*Ibid.*, p. 543). Cfr. Cinelli, *Hacia la enseñanza*, cit.; V. Ripamonti Montt, *Academia de Pintura en Chile: sus momentos previos*, «Intus-Legere Historia», vol. 4, n. 1, 2010, pp. 127-153.

¹⁷ Salas y Corbalán, *Escritos*, cit., in particular, *Carta del 20 de febrero de 1811, dirigida al Presidente y a los vocales de la Junta Provisional de Gobierno*, p. 632. In Villegas Vergara was compiled a real clear table with the succession of the teachers who were in charge of the drawing chair, where the discontinuity in the application of this class during the first decades of the period, subject of our research, is clear. Cfr. I. Villegas Vergara, *La enseñanza del dibujo artístico en Chile: 1797-1858*, Doctoral Thesis, Department of Design (Supervisor: C. Plasencia P.), Valencia, Universitat Politècnica de València, 2008-2009, p. 225.

¹⁸ F. Guzmán Schiappacasse, *El pensamiento de Juan Egaña y el monumento erigido para celebrar el 18 de septiembre de 1819*, «Atenea», n. 511, 2015, pp. 207-219.

2. *The founding of the «Academia de Pintura»: Ciccarelli, Kerichbach and Mochi, the european directors (1849-1884)*

Quoting the fortunate expression that resumes the readings about the system of the chilean contemporary arts that the already mentioned Antonio Romera in 1969 and Pedro Zamorano in 2007 gave us, in which the view and re-view of the artistic phenomenon started a productive dialogue between Chile and Europe, we postulate that it was Ciccarelli's arrival in Santiago in 1848 what marked a literal «exogenous siege»¹⁹ both in the artistic education and in the development of the national arts of 19th century.

In effect, since the foundation until 1884, since when the rectorship of the «Academia de Pintura» was led permanently by great chilean artists, the directors were Europeans: we are referring to the italian Alessandro Ciccarelli and Giovanni Mochi²⁰ and the german Ernest Kirchbach²¹.

Amongst them, Ciccarelli was the one who intensified the most the debate of the chilean historiography that, with spirited supporters and vehement critics, summarized in too hard judgments the figure of a theoretical painter not in line with the chilean artistic surroundings that he reached in the middle of 1800.

The perspective to investigate his presence in Santiago and the tracks that were left there have now to find a new interpretative approach that put aside the purely esthetic significance of the building of students educated with and for him and focus on the analysis of arts inspired by the Neapolitan, based on a gradual process of teaching-learning in academic contexts.

It is to consider that his role in the scene of the american arts of 19th century become clear if we take into consideration his period of education in Italy, developed with Vincenzo Morani and Giuseppe Mancinelli directed by Vincenzo Camuccini, excellent painter of history in that international enthusiastic artistic laboratory that was Rome of 19th century, that became again a prestigious and attractive cultural center²². Ciccarelli's purpose in the «Academia» was to establish a method for learning the Beaux Arts with a basic learning of the

¹⁹ Romera, cit.; P. Zamorano *et al.*, *Antonio Romera: asedio a su obra crítica*, «Aisthesis Revista Chilena de investigaciones estéticas», n. 42, 2007, pp. 98-117.

²⁰ Giovanni Mochi was a painter who studied in the Accademia in Florence, who travelled the most he could in his time, first to Rome and then to Paris, fascinated by the Antiquity in its original, medieval and Renaissance interpretation. He arrived in Santiago in 1876.

²¹ Ernst Kirchbach was a painter with a distinguished career as a teacher that led him to work in Dresden Akademie and then in London, where his contribution to the decoration of the stain glass windows in Saint Paul's cathedral set his international fame. He arrived in Chile in 1869.

²² S. Susinno, *L'Ottocento a Roma. Artisti, cantieri, atelier tra età napoleonica e Restaurazione*, Milan, Silvana Editoriale, 2009; G. Capitelli, *Los «pintores de Pio IX» en Santiago de Chile: los misterios del rosario para la iglesia de la Recoleta Dominica (1870)*, in F. Guzmán, J.M. Martínez (edd.), *Arte Americano e Independencia. Nuevas Iconografías, Acti della Quintas Jornadas de Historia del Arte (Santiago de Chile, 2010)*, Santiago, DIBAI, UAI, CREA, Museo Histórico Nacional, 2010, pp. 45-60.

correct use of drawing. Once learned it, the student could get on with great skill in a brilliant career as a painter.

The german Ernest Kirchbach was the one who took control over the «Academia» when Ciccarelli left the charge in 1869. The historians Romera and Pereira Salas highlighted the change of path promoted by Kirchbach in the field of artistic education. In their opinion, the reason was the new director's taste for dramatic and pathetic compositions that were far from that assumed academic interpretation of the artistic surroundings that characterized Ciccarelli's paintings and education plan.

On the contrary, we do not notice this distance between the two directors of the «Academia». We consider that the German's language is plentiful of archaeological reminiscences and that his preference for the attention for the graphic details of medieval taste created in his canvas spectacular compositions clearly inspired by Raphael, that are related to that classicism that Felice Giani and Francesco Podesti had happily interpreted in Rome a few years before.

The third and last european director in charge in the «Academia» was Giovanni Mochi from Florence, whose experience was welcoming received by his contemporaries and by the chilean historiography of the past century, too. The positive welcome reserved to Mochi was due mostly to the adoption of a drawing learning personalized system that boosted the natural qualities of every student of the «Academia». He was the one who started the fruitful project of reinterpreting locally the artistic language that worked as starting point for the beginning and development of the new artistic trend in Chile during the 19th century.

Beyond the similarities and the differences among the directors, it is essential to recognize that the system set by Ciccarelli, Kirchbach and Mochi encouraged a debate that led the country to question about the adhesion to european educational models in academic field.

We consider that the regulation of the drawing classes, together with the application of a study plan consolidated in the «Academia» and worked year after year, gave advantage to the evolution of the technical levels reached in the works of the 19th century, making way for the Arts to the invention of an artistic language and local styles²³ that in some years would be useful to visually represent forms and colors of the new chilean being.

²³ N. Cinelli, *Alessandro Ciccarelli, primer director de la Academia de Pintura en Santiago (siglo XIX)*, in *No hay más que un mundo: globalización artística y cultural*, Sevilla, CEIBA, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, in process of publishing.

3. *Ciccarelli's speech and his project in the opening of the «Academia»: analysis of the content*

The «Academia» was inaugurated, as already mentioned, in the morning of the 8th March 1849, event celebrated with the mentioned Ciccarelli's grandiloquent *Discurso*, in our opinion one of the nodal landmark in the conceptualization of the modern idea of Art History in Chile.

The authority radiated from his words was guaranteed by the prestige that Ciccarelli, active in his native city in Campania, had as a painter of established international career. Grant holder, or rather pensioned, in the Eternal City until 1839, he was active in Rio de Janeiro since 1843, and during a lustrum he was in the entourage of Pedro II's Imperial Court, where he arrived as chamber painter and Empress Teresa Cristina of the Two Sicilies' drawing teacher. Here attracted his attention the elegance of the Magnanimous' surroundings and the bay in Rio de Janeiro, that inspired in him paintings that reveal an interpretation of the drawing surroundings between classicism and post-Canova style and intellectualized landscape.

After a trip that through Rio de Janeiro led him to Valparaíso crossing Montevideo, he arrived in Santiago de Chile in October 1848, with the charge to conduct the project. This project was first entrusted – and not accomplished – to Raimond Monvoisin, a french painter who, as the Neapolitan, moved through Brazil before arriving in Chile. This project was the funding of the «Academia de Pintura».

The excitement that welcomed Ciccarelli in Chile is testified by the newspapers from the period that, since the painter's arrival, dedicated words and ink to the near opening of the «Academia Nacional» and to its renowned italian director.

The second Friday of January 1849 the newspaper «El Araucano» published the *Reglamento*, approved by Manuel Bulnes on the 4th of the same month, that would govern the institution and that awoke the interest of «obreros, artesanos, sacerdotes, extranjeros y políticos etc., [que] acudieron a matricularse» [laborers, artisans, priests, foreigners and politics etc., [who] came to sign up, tda]. The reading public get used to the stages of the artistic education in drawing, as considered in the study plan of the «Academia».

Less than two months after the publication of the news, the opening ceremony gathered the big bosses of the Government, among which the president Bulnes and the Minister of Public Education Salvator Sanfuentes stood out.

The climax of the ceremony was the *Discurso*, by which even in Chile the Art History was proclaimed scientific discipline, with a system, an organization and a development that were demonstrable with precise data and justifiable rules.

The audience who had the honor to participate to the event wanted to listen encouraging words about progress and artistic evolution, and Ciccarelli, who understood the urgent necessity of providing to the country an institution that

take charge of the building of a visual imaginary and an own artistic culture, articulated it with a praiseworthy rhetoric.

Already since the first wordings, thanks to the expedient of prestigious literary sources of the magnitude of Plato, Aristotle and Oppian, the Italian framed the education of the future national artists in the field of the roman and greek classic experience. In the news from the press as in the *Discurso* was obvious the constant and explicit reference to the type of education given in the «Academia», that was constantly addressed to the drawing learning as basic competence to face the complex charges about painting of history that the young Chilean Republic required to build its own national identity starting from an artistic language that was properly chilean.

Pánfilo, nos asegura que se ordenó primero en Sicione y después en toda la Grecia, i principalmente en Atenas, que nos niños nobles, ántes que todo los demás aprendiesen la diagrafia, i que este arte del dibujo se mirase como la primera de todas las artes liberales; que esta pasó después a los ciudadanos de la clase media; pero que los siervos por un edicto perpétuo fueron para siempre excluidos de ella. El mismo Platón enseñaba el dibujo junto con la ciencia mas sublime, y segundo Aristotele asi lo hacía para que la juventud se hiciese capaz de conocer y juzgar bien lo bello²⁴.

Role of art, power of the drawing, recognized artistic models, local conditions of art: new concepts that for the first time resounded in Chile as essential keys to lead at its maximum level the institution that was opening.

Mentioning far places as Cumae, Naples, Locri, Croton, Sybaris, Metapontum, and finishing with Pompeii and Herculaneum, using words as canon, science, drawing and color in the same sentence, Alessandro could produce in the audience that desire of Beauty and artistic Taste as vehicular tools of the prestige reached by the young Republic of Chile. With poetic work, he offered to the public the image of the country that everyone in the audience wanted to see, and to do it he started to describe the place that compared to Chile, that is Italy:

Mientras que Troya acababa de ser destruida [...] comenzó la inmigración en el litoral itálico, que no era entonces más que una tierra virgen como la América lo era a la época de su descubrimiento. [...] Se establecieron varias colonias, i en poco tiempo llegaron a hacerse civilizadas y florecientes. [...] En poco tiempo la inmigración griega encontró en el suelo de la Italia un clima suave, ameno, i un terreno fecundo. [...] allí en poco tiempo se vieron aparecer los mas grandes filósofos, lo mas insignes legisladores, i los mas apasionados cultivadores de las bellas artes²⁵.

In the presence of the consul Carlos von Hochkofler on 18th June 1848 with the explicit intention to prepare «artists depending on the ability of everyone in

²⁴ Ciccarelli, *Discurso*, cit., p. 9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

order to satisfy the first necessities of the country, as portrait, landscape or scene painters», he signed the contract that recited «Sir Ciccarelli commits himself to install an «Academia de Pintura», giving a collection of beginning in drawing of the most selected ones that exist in Rome in the private pontifical press, and of work of the most renowned french originals». To be successful in this goal, Ciccarelli made the drawing learning the backbone of the study plan, conscious that the classes of *disegno* contained in themselves a group of complementary learnings of other disciplines – as knowledge of iconology, fashion, anatomy, proportions, building elevation – essential points to realize historical paintings that the chilean public of that time liked so much.

When he signed the contract and bet on an educational project that since then would be chimerical in Chile, Ciccarelli had direct experience of two pedagogical institutions, the *Real Istituto di Belle Arti* in Naples, and the *Accademia Nazionale di San Luca* in Rome, both scene of great debates about artistic education.

In the first one, when Ciccarelli studied, such debates were nourished by the minister Ruffo, by his famous Statute of 1822 and above all by the Bourbon biennial introduced in 1825; in the second one, in the occasion of the constant public competitions that regularly gave an account on the status of the Arts of 19th century through the exposition of the artists' exams that studied in that classrooms. In these occasions, real mundane meetings, the awards were the mirror of the evolution of taste and of european artistic theories that slowly arrived in America²⁶.

In particular, we consider that Ciccarelli's presence within the Real Istituto and the Accademia in Rome, together with the awards won in different occasions, are the key elements to investigate properly his apparently anachronistic highlighting the *disegno*: when he arrived in Chile, the years of experience in Italy were a matter of fact.

The commitment that Ciccarelli made with this project was important: the chilean Government entrusted him with the responsibility of running the Beaux Arts' practical exercise, and at the same time it required him the organization of the study plan that would protect the exercise. The Italian looked for the combination of these works in the formulation of fixed rules that were universally applicable to the chilean Arts and that had the objective to educate the students to detect and be able to read *multiple tastes* in artistic matters on the one hand; on the other hand, they should educate the students to the transposition on the canvas of an only *good taste*. And he indicated clearly that the necessary elements to the explication of its formulation were to look for in the greek, roman and Renaissance art, presented as canons of good taste and

²⁶ M. Sartor, R. Gutiérrez Viñuales (edd.), *Dossier Artisti italiani in America latina. Presenze, contatti, commerci*, «Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte», n. 63, 1997.

as artistic models, even «bajo el bello cielo de Chile» [under the beautiful sky of Chile, *tda*]²⁷.

In the «Academia» it was taught how to apply that rules, and at the end of every course, through the public exposition of the future artists' exercises, the theory, according to which the progress of chilean arts was parallel to the progress of the country, was obviously to be supported. The center was built since its opening as a mirror of the chilean republican society and as unique and privileged place where the power to *precisely draw* was to acquire thanks to the theoretical education offered by the professors:

Quando un nuevo pais ya constituido, posee una universidad de estudios literarios para el desenvolvimiento de la inteligencia, como principio de toda concepción, este principio, esta concepción se quedaría sin ninguna realización ni aplicación práctica a nuestras necesidades, si no fuese seguida de la acción. Esta acción debe estar consignada en un cuerpo científico i mecanico justamente, para poderse manifestar; esta rueda indispensable entre la ciencia y la industria, es una academia de bellas artes en un cuerpo social²⁸.

Aware of how official was the act, and of how influential were the personalities that he had as an audience, Ciccarelli appealed to them directly so that they would publicly feel themselves as protagonists and responsible for the rosy future of Chile: he asked the state to took charge of setting in motion the pedagogic politics, useful to systematize the artistic studies in the country. The director expected that the governmental authorities would accept the challenge that an artistic renovation based on the implementation of the academy represented for the country. Even more, he expected that they would recognize in the artistic profession a profitable and prestigious tool for Chile, as for the career in the army.

With a dialectics that included many references to the exaltation of principles of the mother country and to the eternity of the national glory, the artists were presented as holders of the visual memory of the military majesty of the country and of its broadcasting out of the territorial boundaries of Chile:

Si los hijos de la patria derramaron su sangre en los campos de batalla para asegurar su independencia i su grandeza, las bellas artes tienes la misión de fecundar esta semilla de virtud i patriotismo, ilustrando por medio del arte las hazañas de estos valientes. Así consiguen las naciones ser respetadas por sus vecinos, i estimadas por la posteridad, porque el arte es la trompa de la gloria, que ensalza la virtud donde la encuentra, la levanta y la conduce al templo de la inmortalidad²⁹.

Employing one of the most used topics in the artistic oratory, Alessandro demonstrated the possibilities of the realization of his prediction confirming

²⁷ Ciccarelli, *Discurso*, cit., p. 16.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

that, in those decades of 19th century, Chile was experiencing conditions similar to those that the greek and roman classic world lived in its epoch of major cultural splendor. The echo of J.J. Winckelmann's, the *Prussian made roman*, and Anton Rafael Mengs', «the philosopher painter», theories arrived even to the «Academia» in Santiago, and when Ciccarelli verbalized it with a logical hyperbole, the audience probably experienced the sweet feeling that back in time was the national pride.

Far from being just a proof of classic erudition, it was clear the orator's intention to guide Chile through a process of Beaux Arts' development, acquired with accuracy and determination and above all in a social and political context that would support it:

¡Estudiosa juventud! Mostraos reconocida a esta patria que os ama, correspondedle con una aplicación fervorosa a esta ciencia de amor. [...] Elevad vuestra mente acía la nobleza del arte; estended el horizonte de vuestra idea [...] no os detengáis en la mitad del camino; la palma de la victoria la obtiene solo aquel que marcha animoso y fuerte, superando todos los obstáculos que se le presentan en la difícil via³⁰.

The worries about the role that Ciccarelli would play in this process could be remarkable if we take a little time reflecting on his painting *Vista de Santiago desde Peñalolén*: a large land, kissed by a sunset that from the yellow ochre to the most bright gold colors the Chilean Coast Range, his self-portrait with his back turned, with a dress that was not usual for a trip on horseback to paint *en plain air*, and that was so elegant that contrasts with the bare surroundings³¹.

Ciccarelli's ambitious project had in that time many compliments as bad reviews. Among the first ones, beyond the enthusiastic press that was produced in the weeks after the opening of the «Academia», it is enough with mentioning the reasoned catalogue of the Exhibition of Colonial Period that was organized in 1873 in the rooms of the ancient Palace of the Governors, actual building of Central Post Office Building in the capital. The main organizer of the event, the supervisor of Santiago Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, that was the one who wrote the document, dedicated a large space to the description of the artistic objects that were brought together in the temporary collection that embraced the period between Pedro de Valdivia's arrival in 1541 and the first year of President Manuel Bulnes' government, 1841. In the first section, dedicated to the portraits of distinguished personalities, we find several paintings of Alessandro Ciccarelli and of some of his students, proof that the object to educate artists able to tell the story of Chile was reached.

The Speech of 1849 had its effect on the audience.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³¹ C. Valdés, *Comienzo y deriva de un paisaje. Alessandro Ciccarelli, Antonio Smith y los historiadores del arte chileno*, «Artelgie. Dossier Thématique – Image de la nation: art et nature au Chili», n. 3, 2012.

For what relates the Neapolitan's opponents, we will mention the caricature of Antonio Smith, a student of Ciccarelli, that consigned him to History with a paint brush in his hand, pronounced moustaches, bohemian pose with messy hair and a not attentive composition that did not bring justice to an Italian painter of 19th century with unquestionable artistic qualities.

Conclusion

The publication of Antonio Smith's caricature publicly summarized the kind of feeling that Ciccarelli's students had after a decade under the care of the «Academia». However, we believe that the incompatibility of nature and taste between the Neapolitan and the academic environment that he had to supervise, that was the reason of the difficult relation between the Italian and his students, overshadowed the real significance of the consequences that Ciccarelli's theories had in Chile.

The debate sustained by the criticism to the Italian made the country question the artistic models chosen in the education of the first generation of artists who came from the «Academia».

Ciccarelli's intentions to combine pedagogy, artistic practice and social utility of art found fertile ground a few years later, in the Conference that the painter Juan Francisco González held in November 1906 in the Hall of Honor in the Universidad de Chile. The simple but noteworthy title was «The drawing education»³². Even though were made references to different models in relation to the ones praised by Ciccarelli, mentions to a French tradition and presentation to the audience of the application that drawing had in Japan (country taken as an example of progress and well-being), the passages where it is possible to recognize the Neapolitan's trace are several.

We consider that, when González defended the epistemological consequences of the education of the artistic drawing in spite of the usual belief that reduced the discipline just to a manual ability, he was referring to Ciccarelli's theory: drawing helps a group of supplementary skills that are necessary in the education of an artist.

In conclusion, it is possible to educate through drawing, so through Art.

³² J.F. González, *La enseñanza del dibujo, Conferencia dictada en noviembre de 1906 en el Salón de Honor de la Universidad de Chile*, «Anales de la Universidad de Chile», n. 2, 1906, pp. 103-118.

Il secolo dei trovatelli e il brefotrofia di Osimo. Un modello di istituto assistenziale tra fede e diplomazia nelle Marche dell'Ottocento

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The foundlings' century and the brefotrofia of Osimo. A model of a welfare institution between religious faith and diplomacy in the Nineteenth century's Marche

ABSTRACT: This essay aims to reconstruct the history of a charitable institution for abandoned children created in the city of Osimo, in the region Marche, during the XIXth century. Particularly, it analyses the process and the preliminary debate for the opening of a 'brefotrofia' in the city, strongly desired by the cardinal bishop Giovanni Antonio Benvenuti, who was an example of welfare and diplomatic commitment. His episcopal work was intertwined with several politics events, such as the insurrections of 1830-1831, after which he was completely repudiated by the Roman Curia, also due to his bond with Carbonari movement's, Freemasonry's and Napoleonic exponents. In the specific instance, is reported the Leopoldo Armaroli's contribution in the writing of the regulation for the 'brefotrofia', as an expert on the foundlings' phenomenon.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Abandoned children; Foundlings; Welfare culture; Catholic Church; XIXth century.

1. *Le Marche e l'assistenza ai trovatelli tra il XVI e il XX secolo*

Il fenomeno dell'infanzia abbandonata rappresenta uno dei più drammatici problemi di storia sociale che segnò l'Europa nel corso dei secoli e che, a seconda del periodo storico e del luogo di riferimento preso in esame, assunse

caratteristiche e modalità differenti¹. A esso viene comunemente associato il fenomeno dell'*esposizione*, con cui si intende l'atto per cui bambini, generalmente neonati, venivano abbandonati in luoghi pubblici o appartati, o presso le *ruote* di ospedali, istituti assistenziali o conventi.

In Italia le prime strutture dedite all'assistenza dei neonati risalirebbero addirittura al periodo di Giustiniano, ma fu soprattutto nel corso del Medioevo

¹ Tra i lavori più significativi apparsi su tale tematica debbono essere segnalati: M. Gorni, L. Pellegrini, *Un problema di storia sociale. L'infanzia abbandonata in Italia nel secolo XIX*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1974; S. Pagano, *Gli esposti dell'Ospedale di S. Spirito nel primo Ottocento*, «Ricerche per la Storia Religiosa di Roma», vol. 3, 1979, pp. 353-392; G. Da Molin, *L'infanzia abbandonata in Italia nell'età moderna*, Bari, Università degli Studi, 1981; V. Hunecke, *I trovatelli di Milano. Bambini esposti e famiglie espositrici dal XVII al XIX secolo*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1988; D.L. Ransel, *Mothers of Misery. Child Abandonment in Russia*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988; G. Botti, L. Guidi, L. Valenzi (edd.), *Povert  e beneficenza tra Rivoluzione e Restaurazione*, Napoli, Morano, 1989; M. Capul, *Abandon et marginalit : les enfants plac s sous l'Ancien R gime*, Pr f. de M. Serres, Toulouse, Privat, 1989; G. Di Bello, *Senza nome n  famiglia. I bambini abbandonati nell'Ottocento*, Firenze, Manzuoli, 1989; S. Fronzoni, *Lontano dalla madre: forme e istituti dell'esposizione a Bologna nella prima met  dell'Ottocento*, «Sanit  Scienza e Storia», vol. VI, n. 2, 1989, pp. 55-76; J. Boswell, *L'abbandono dei bambini in Europa Occidentale. Demografia, diritto e morale dall'Antichit  al Rinascimento* [trad. it. di Francesca Olivieri], Milano, Rizzoli, 1991; E. Sonnino, *Esposizione e mortalit  degli esposti nello Stato pontificio agli inizi dell'Ottocento secondo le statistiche raccolte da Leopoldo Armaroli*, in *Enfance abandonn e et soci t  en Europe. XIV-XX si cle. Actes du colloque international de Rome (30 et 31 janvier 1987)*, Roma,  cole fran aise de Rome, 1991, pp. 1065-1096; P. Chassaingne, *Un aspect peu connu de l'abandon d'enfants dans l'Angleterre victorienne: le baby farming*, «Annales de d mographie historique», Parigi, 1992, pp. 187-197; *Assistenza e beneficenza in et  moderna: le istituzioni nella Marca*, atti del XXVII convegno di Studi Maceratesi (Treia, 23-24 novembre 1991), Macerata, Centro di studi maceratesi, 1993; O. Bussini, *Il ruolo dell'ospedale di Camerino nell'assistenza all'infanzia abbandonata*, «Studi Maceratesi», vol. XXVII, 1993, pp. 251-276; V. Cavalcoli, *Fonti archivistiche relative all'assistenza e beneficenza nelle Marche in et  moderna*, «Studi Maceratesi», vol. XXVII, 1993, pp. 33-42; G. Da Molin, *Nati e abbandonati. Aspetti demografici e sociali dell'infanzia abbandonata in Italia nell'et  moderna*, Bari, Cacucci, 1993; A. Palombarini, *I "mamoli buctati": l'assistenza agli esposti nelle Marche di et  moderna*, «Studi Maceratesi», vol. XXVII, 1993, pp. 57-84; G. Da Molin (ed.), *Trovatelli e balie in Italia secc. XVI-XIX*, atti del Convegno *Infanzia abbandonata e balatico in Italia (secc. XVI-XIX)*, (Bari, 20-21 maggio 1993), Bari, Cacucci, 1994; C. Grandi, *Benedetto chi ti porta, maledetto chi ti manda*. *L'infanzia abbandonata nel Triveneto (secoli XV-XIX)*, Treviso, Edizioni Fondazione Benetton Studi Ricerche-Canova, 1997; D. Caroli, *Abbandono, fame e devianza dei giovani in URSS*, «Storia e problemi contemporanei», n. 27, 2001, pp. 173-202; A. Palombarini, *Gettatelli e trovatelli. I bambini abbandonati nelle Marche (XVI-XX secolo)*, Ancona, Affinit  elettive, 2005; N. Terpstra, *Abandoned children of the Italian Renaissance: orphan care in Florence and Bologna*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press, 2005; M. Canella, L. Dodi, F. Reggiani (edd.), *Si consegna questo figlio. L'assistenza all'infanzia abbandonata e alla maternit  dalla Ca' Granda alla Provincia di Milano: 1456-1920*, Milano, Universit  degli Studi di Milano, Skira, 2008; F. Reggiani, *Sotto le ali della colomba: famiglie assistenziali e relazioni di genere a Milano dall'et  moderna alla Restaurazione*, Roma, Viella, 2014; D. Caroli, *Per una storia dell'asilo nido in Europa tra Otto e Novecento*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2016; R. Sani, *For a history of childhood and of his education in contemporary Italy. Interpretations and perspectives of research*, «Cadernos de Hist ria da Educa o», vol. 15, n. 2, Uberl ndia, Edufu, 2016, pp. 808-862; D. Boati, R. Cavallo, G. Uberti (edd.), *Una vita per l'infanzia. Il Pio Istituto di Maternit  di Milano: una esperienza di 150 anni*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2017.

che numerosi ordini religiosi decisero di creare appositi istituti per l'infanzia abbandonata, legati di consueto all'attività di ospedali o chiese cittadine. Le prime ruote, su modello francese, furono introdotte in Italia nel 1198 nell'Arcispedale di *Santo Spirito in Saxia* a Roma e, successivamente, nel 1445 presso *Santa Maria degli Innocenti* a Firenze, la quale costituì anche il primo esempio di *brefotrofio* specializzato in Europa.

In particolare, a partire dal Cinquecento uomini e donne di fede, grazie al loro costante impegno e alla loro dedizione nei confronti dei più deboli e degli emarginati, conquistarono un vero e proprio primato nell'ambito assistenziale, divenendo pratica espressione del principio di carità, proclamato e perseguito soprattutto nei territori dello Stato Pontificio.

Per quanto riguarda nello specifico le Marche, il fenomeno dell'abbandono infantile divenne sensibilmente serio a partire dal biennio 1590-1592, quando a seguito di una forte carestia, causata da un peggioramento climatico e dalla diffusione di un'epidemia di tifo petecchiale, si innescò una terribile crisi a livello economico e sociale. Le conseguenze per la popolazione furono disastrose: il prezzo del pane si innalzò notevolmente a causa della mancanza di grano, che fu allora sostituito da miscele di farina di lino, fava, miglio o ghianda, aventi scarse proprietà nutritive o addirittura dannose, soprattutto per i cagionevoli organismi dei più piccoli; in più, molte famiglie, la cui vita era strettamente legata all'allevamento e al lavoro dei campi, furono costrette a lasciare le loro abitazioni e a emigrare verso località medio-collinari.

In un tale contesto, si registrò un drastico innalzamento del tasso di mortalità dei *projetti*, a causa specialmente delle precarie condizioni igienico-sanitarie degli istituti, della mancanza dei sussidi economici e della difficoltà riscontrata nel reperire balie e nutrici idonee all'allattamento.

In linea generale la situazione sembrò migliorare nel corso del Seicento, ma già nel secolo successivo nuove carestie investirono il precario equilibrio marchigiano e causarono un'ulteriore crisi a livello economico e alimentare: il numero dei bambini abbandonati tornò a crescere in quanto le famiglie d'origine non riuscirono nuovamente a poter garantire loro il fabbisogno necessario alla sopravvivenza.

Purtroppo, nel corso dell'Ottocento il tasso di mortalità degli esposti continuò a crescere notevolmente, tant'è che molti storici e studiosi parlano di una sorta di *infanticidio legalizzato* perpetrato durante il cosiddetto *secolo dei trovatelli*: una vera e propria *strage di innocenti*, su cui per molto tempo si fece calare un velo di ambigua reticenza. Nella migliore delle ipotesi, i bambini venivano esposti presso le ruote di ospedali, istituti o conventi, non di rado però venivano abbandonati anche davanti le edicole sacre lungo le vie rurali, in ceste appese agli alberi, all'interno dei forni di campagna spenti o semplicemente lasciati davanti i sagrati delle chiese.

Contemporaneamente, in questo periodo, si registrò la diffusione di una nuova pedagogia connotata in senso popolare e cristiano, promossa da singoli

studiosi raccolti attorno a istituzioni educative, periodici specializzati o società filantropiche, i quali si fecero carico delle preoccupazioni sociali di larghe fasce della società post-rivoluzionaria. Allo stesso tempo, essi furono sensibili alle nuove istanze di progresso e libertà, tipiche del periodo illuminista e, grazie alla promozione dei loro ideali, riuscirono a trasformare la solidarietà nei confronti degli emarginati e l'uso di metodologie assistenziali ed educative, basate sull'amorevolezza, sulla persuasione e sulla prevenzione, in elementi imprescindibili per l'affermazione del rispetto del valore umano. Queste nuove concezioni, inoltre, incentivarono la maturazione di una rinnovata sensibilità e coscienza civica, che andò a riflettersi anche nella promozione delle responsabilità genitoriali sostenuta dalla Chiesa sia nei confronti dei figli legittimi, sia di quelli illegittimi.

Nel XIX secolo, nei piccoli centri rurali tipici della zona marchigiana, la situazione continuò a essere tutt'altro che idilliaca e volta al progresso: l'innalzamento della fertilità della popolazione aveva causato un rapido aumento demografico che, a sua volta, causò un peggioramento della situazione economica delle famiglie contadine; inoltre, si registrò una crescente diffusione della piccola criminalità, in quanto braccianti, mezzadri e lavoratori alla giornata videro dimezzarsi i loro salari e, spinti dalla necessità, si diedero al pascolo abusivo, o iniziarono a compiere piccoli furti per reperire generi di prima necessità. Durante il Convegno di Urbino del 1979, lo storico del diritto Mario Sbriccoli ha affermato che nel contesto mezzadrile «il fenomeno del furto campestre mostra come, sul piano della storia dei fenomeni criminali, la principale di tali logiche tipiche sia quella che fa della condizione mezzadrile un luogo della pratica illegalistica e, quindi, un terreno privilegiato della *riduzione disciplinare*»², dimostrando come questo uso fosse legato a una sorta di 'economia morale' tipica della mezzadria, per cui spesso questo genere di furti rimaneva impunito.

Di fatto, il contratto mezzadrile non offriva ai coloni nessuna garanzia, il ritmo della vita quotidiana era scandito solo dalle esigenze della terra e i bambini non venivano mandati a scuola; in questo modo si delineò una sorta di classe sociale segnata profondamente dall'ignoranza, dalla miseria, dalla precarietà delle condizioni igieniche e fortemente legata alle credenze religiose, ai pregiudizi e alle superstizioni popolari.

È proprio in questo contesto che il fenomeno dell'infanzia abbandonata trovò terreno fertile per la sua diffusione, poiché per le famiglie più povere la nascita di un bambino rappresentava soltanto la presenza di una 'bocca in più da dover sfamare' e una sorta di impedimento alla produttività della madre. All'epoca la concezione del ruolo della donna e quella dell'infanzia erano molto lontane da quelle odierne e pertanto non era insolito lasciare i propri figli avvolti

² M. Sbriccoli, *Il furto campestre nell'Italia mezzadrile. Un'interpretazione*, «Annali dell'Istituto Alcide Cervi», vol. 2, 1980, p. 420.

in strette fasce per molte ore per poter tornare a occuparsi fin da subito della gestione della casa e del lavoro agricolo, o svezzare i neonati precocemente per non doversi preoccupare regolarmente del loro nutrimento.

In condizioni di così grave povertà si innalzò anche l'età in cui veniva contratto il matrimonio, solitamente perché alla futura sposa mancava la *dote*³, o spesso si decideva di non officiarlo del tutto, provocando la nascita di numerosi figli illegittimi, ritenuti dall'opinione popolare frutto di relazioni illecite e peccaminose e che, per questo, dovevano essere abbandonati, in modo da evitare che il nome della famiglia fosse tacciato di vergogna e disonore.

Nelle Marche il sostegno agli esposti fu generalmente garantito dai brefotrofi, ovvero da istituti ecclesiastici, comunali, gestiti da commissioni di beneficenza o da opere pie private, aventi il compito di raccogliere i bambini abbandonati nelle ruote, negli ospedali o nei luoghi pubblici, e di occuparsi del loro sostentamento, promuovendo il più possibile il baliatico esterno e l'adozione, anche attraverso l'erogazione di un sussidio in denaro a favore dei genitori affidatari. All'interno di questi istituti le condizioni igienico-sanitarie erano a dir poco precarie e, insieme alla mancanza di risorse economiche, ciò contribuiva al drastico innalzamento del tasso di mortalità dei *trovatelli*.

All'aumentare del numero di istituti assistenziali in Italia, crebbe anche il numero degli abbandoni e questo significativo dato, per molto tempo, fu al centro di un grande dibattito sulle responsabilità e sugli abusi delle ruote e delle strutture assistenziali: infatti, presso i torni non venivano lasciati solo neonati, ma a volte si ritrovavano anche bambini fino ai cinque anni, ricoperti di olio o burro per cercare di farli passare ugualmente nelle piccole culle, sovente provocando loro la rottura di qualche arto, problemi muscolari o, nel peggiore dei casi, addirittura la morte.

Anche all'epoca numerose furono le ricerche svolte sulle strutture presenti nel panorama italiano e sulla loro funzionalità: un esempio concreto ne è la ricerca relativa al numero degli esposti presenti nello Stato Pontificio, promossa nel corso del Novecento da Eugenio Sonnino⁴ presso l'Archivio di Stato di

³ La dote rappresentava l'insieme di beni che la donna, o chi per lei, portava al futuro marito per sostenere le spese del matrimonio e che poi diveniva parte integrante del patrimonio familiare. Istituzione molto antica, risalente all'epoca romana, col tempo divenne parte integrante del diritto e non più semplice costume. La sua definitiva abolizione avvenne solo con la legge n. 151 del 19 maggio 1975 in materia di diritto della famiglia, quando la si ritenne ormai un istituto anacronistico. Inoltre, nel codice civile è stato inserito l'art. 166-*bis* per cui ogni convenzione che tenda alla costituzione di beni in dote è da ritenersi nulla; tuttavia, le doti costituite in precedenza alla legge del 1975 non sono state annullate ma continuano ad essere disciplinate dalle norme antecedenti.

⁴ Eugenio Sonnino è stato un demografo italiano di fama internazionale. Nato a Roma nel 1938, fu anche tra i fondatori della Società Italiana di Demografia Storica. Nel testo *Esposizione e mortalità degli esposti nello Stato pontificio agli inizi dell'Ottocento, secondo le statistiche raccolte da Leopoldo Armaroli*, cit. in nota (1), Sonnino fa riferimento ai dati raccolti dal conte Armaroli nell'opera *Indagini statistiche sugli Esposti distribuite per città. Parte 1° e Parte 2°*, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Biblioteca, Manoscritti n. 196-197.

Roma, la quale si basò sulle precedenti indagini del conte Leopoldo Armaroli (1766-1843)⁵. Ponendo a confronto la popolazione locale e le istituzioni per l'assistenza agli esposti attive agli inizi dell'Ottocento, i dati raccolti nell'area marchigiana permettono di osservare un notevole incremento del numero dei *progetti* nel corso dei primi trent'anni del secolo: nel 1822 i trovatelli erano circa 2.560, mentre nel decennio successivo arrivarono a un totale di circa 7.350.

A seguito del processo di unificazione nazionale, invece, le indagini stimarono che nelle Marche, nel 1861, gli istituti dedicati all'infanzia abbandonata fossero ben 16 e che il numero degli esposti ivi raccolti fosse all'incirca 4.000.

Nel corso dell'Ottocento, su tutto il territorio marchigiano, a essere abbandonati furono sempre più i figli legittimi, a causa soprattutto della povertà delle famiglie d'origine; le Marche infatti, erano caratterizzate da un'economia prettamente agricola e l'uso del sistema mezzadrile diede una particolare impostazione all'intero contesto socio-culturale: il colono e la sua famiglia rappresentavano una risorsa del 'padrone' dal punto di vista lavorativo e la loro presenza fissa era necessaria alla cura dei campi e del bestiame⁶; essi rimanevano quindi relegati nella loro realtà campestre, non avevano tempo libero, erano analfabeti e non erano soggetti attivi nella vita cittadina. Solo nel Novecento, grazie al movimento di riscatto contadino, le condizioni igieniche e la qualità della vita dei contadini migliorarono, per cui di conseguenza diminuirono anche gli abbandoni e i brefotrofi divennero progressivamente semplici istituti di accoglienza temporanea o *uffici di consegna*, che nella pratica si occupavano di affidare i bambini a balia estero e di organizzare le adozioni; al loro interno ormai rimanevano unicamente i bambini malati o quelli riportati dall'amministrazione dell'istituto a causa del malcostume o dell'inadempimento delle proprie responsabilità da parte delle balie o delle famiglie affidatarie. In queste particolari situazioni, gli esposti maschi potevano essere impiegati all'interno del brefotrofo o dell'ospedale cittadino per alcuni lavori manuali, mentre le femmine erano generalmente trasferite nei conservatori, dove venivano avviate alle attività tipiche delle brave mogli e madri di famiglia; inoltre, erano loro garantiti la regolarizzazione dello status giuridico e il mantenimento, fino a un'età stabilita dai regolamenti e dagli statuti dei rispettivi istituti di accoglienza.

⁵ Leopoldo Armaroli fu un avvocato e politico maceratese molto vicino agli ideali filonapoleonici, che appoggiò anche il Governo delle Province Unite nel corso dei moti rivoluzionari degli anni Trenta dell'Ottocento. Dopo la caduta del governo napoleonico si ritirò a vita privata e si occupò occasionalmente di politica, dedicandosi soprattutto ai suoi interessi storico-culturali. Egli promosse diverse ricerche sul tema dell'infanzia abbandonata che confluirono nell'elaborazione del testo *Ricerche storiche sulla esposizione degli infanti presso gli antichi popoli e specialmente presso i Romani*, pubblicato a Venezia nel 1838, presso la tipografia di Giuseppe Antonelli (cfr. U. Coldagelli, *Armaroli, Leopoldo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 1960-2017, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1962, vol. 4, pp. 225-227).

⁶ Cfr. M. Moroni, *La mezzadria nelle Marche*, in F. Adornato, A. Cegna (edd.), *Le Marche nella mezzadria. Un grande futuro dietro le spalle*, Macerata, Quodlibet, 2014, p. 18.

2. L'origine della rete assistenziale per la prima infanzia nella città di Osimo

Nell'agosto del 1725, con una bolla di papa Benedetto XIII, fu ristabilita la sede vescovile di Cingoli, ricavandone il territorio dalla diocesi di Osimo, alla quale fu poi unita *aeque principaliter* e con cui costituì la diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli: punto di riferimento e modello episcopale marchigiano, la diocesi fu sede cardinalizia e, nel corso dei secoli, si mostrò particolarmente efficiente in ambito assistenziale, grazie alla creazione di numerosi nosocomi, monti frumentari, opere pie e brefotrofi.

La sua appartenenza allo Stato Pontificio⁷ inoltre, influì notevolmente sulla natura delle istituzioni burocratiche e amministrative, qualificando in termini qualitativi gli interventi e le predisposizioni comunali in ambito assistenziale. Fu proprio sotto la tutela della Chiesa, infatti, che nacquero le più importanti strutture a favore degli emarginati, generalmente gestite da ordini religiosi o da pii benefattori laici, per questo poste al di fuori dell'ordinamento statale, in quanto nello Stato Pontificio non vi era una normativa che regolamentasse in linea generale gli istituti di beneficenza pubblica.

Le iniziative sociali nella città di Osimo furono messe a dura prova soprattutto nel periodo dell'occupazione francese, quando le forti tensioni tra Napoleone e l'allora papa Pio VII portarono alla soppressione degli istituti ecclesiastici e degli ordini religiosi, sostituiti nel loro ruolo mutualistico da un'apposita *Commissione di beneficenza*, introdotta nelle Marche a partire dal 1808, ma soppressa poco dopo a seguito della restaurazione dell'autorità pontificia, che riprese severamente il suo governo, a causa delle numerose iniziative massoniche e carbonare che dovette fronteggiare nella prima metà dell'Ottocento.

Fu durante il governo pontificio che a Osimo nacquero alcune importanti strutture per il sostegno alla prima infanzia: il primo orfanotrofio osimano di cui si trova traccia fu creato dal cardinale Galamini⁸ con decreto 23 aprile

⁷ La diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli appartenne allo Stato Pontificio fino al 1860. Il 13 settembre di quell'anno i gendarmi e gli ausiliari pontifici si allontanarono da Osimo. Il 16 settembre arrivarono in città le prime truppe piemontesi, che in un primo momento si appostarono fuori Porta Vaccaro, nella zona della Misericordia, poi a San Sabino e all'Abbadia; due cannoni furono posti anche a Piazzanuova e alcune compagnie furono spostate a San Biagio, mentre altre forze giungevano da Jesi in direzione Castelfidardo. Contemporaneamente, però, altre truppe pontificie provenienti da Macerata, si diressero verso Loreto e si scontrarono con quelle piemontesi presso la selva delle Crocette (Battaglia di Castelfidardo). A partire dal 21 settembre i piemontesi partirono alla volta di Ancona e si allontanarono da Osimo, in cui ormai il governo pontificio fu considerato decaduto.

⁸ Agostino Galamini (Brisighella, 1552 - Osimo, 1639) fu vescovo di Osimo dal 1620 al 1639. Appartenente all'Ordine dei Domenicani fu inquisitore in diverse città e commissario del Sant'Uffizio, fu anche maestro dei sacri palazzi, ministro generale del suo Ordine, vescovo di Loreto e Recanati e cardinale di Aracœli. Tra il 1621 e il 1623 fu tra i cardinali papabili. A Osimo numerose furono le opere architettoniche che finanziò per l'ampliamento del palazzo della Curia e dell'episcopio; nel 1625 aprì l'orfanotrofio femminile e nel 1628-1629 fece costruire il fonte battesimale e il soffitto a cassettoni del Battistero, adiacente al Duomo cittadino. Galamini consacrò la città alla Vergine del Rosario, in onore della quale commissionò numerose opere

1625, era destinato alle orfanelle ed era collocato nell'area dell'attuale Piazza Dante; dalle memorie del gonfaloniere Andrea Bonfigli⁹, invece, si ha notizia di un orfanotrofio maschile, situato nel Palazzo della nobile famiglia Buttari-Caccianemici, nei pressi dell'abside del Duomo; un altro istituto, che si occupava di educazione e istruzione, fu l'*Istituto San Leopardo* (o *conservatorio delle Pupille*), dedicato alle orfane e alle giovani figlie di operaie, fondato e finanziato dal vescovo Compagnoni¹⁰.

Il grave problema dell'infanzia abbandonata, che già dalla seconda metà del Cinquecento dilagava nelle campagne marchigiane, a Osimo fu seriamente affrontato a partire dalla prima metà del XIX secolo quando, grazie all'impegno del cardinale Giovanni Antonio Benvenuti¹¹, nominato vescovo della diocesi osimana nel 1828, fu creato un apposito brefotrofio comunale per gli esposti, che fino ad allora invece erano stati trasferiti nel vicino istituto di Recanati¹², oppure momentaneamente collocati presso il *conservatorio delle Pupille* o nell'orfanotrofio maschile *Santa Maria della Misericordia*.

Più volte nel corso dell'Ottocento il Consiglio comunale aveva discusso e trattato il tema dell'esposizione e spesso furono fatte anche delle proposte interessanti, come quella del dicembre 1818 con cui si avanzava l'idea di creare un Ospedale distrettuale degli esposti con sede proprio in Osimo; purtroppo però dopo più di un anno di dibattito il progetto non fu concretizzato, nonostante l'approvazione

d'arte; inoltre istituì anche l'opera pia dei Poveri di San Tommaso da Villanova (cfr. M. Morroni, L. Egidi, *Dizionario enciclopedico osimano*, Osimo, Osimo edizioni, 2001, p. 249).

⁹ Andrea Bonfigli (1789-1881) fu più volte gonfaloniere di Osimo nel 1838-'43-'51-'60 e fu l'ultimo della città. Laureato in giurisprudenza a Roma, fu tra i sostenitori del governo napoleonico e dal 1817 divenne anche un carbonaro; per questo fu ripetutamente processato e assolto. Bonfigli nel corso della sua carriera ricoprì diversi ruoli importanti, come quello di giudice del Tribunale Fiscale nel 1838 o di consulente di governo nel 1851; diede inoltre lavoro a molti operai facendo costruire a Osimo le strade di circonvallazione. Dopo il 1860 si ritirò a vita privata e si dedicò ai suoi studi e alla scrittura delle *Memorie autobiografiche* (*ibid.*, p. 68).

¹⁰ Pompeo Compagnoni (Macerata, 1693 - Osimo, 1774) fu vescovo di Osimo dal 1740 al 1774. Laureato in legge, erudito e letterato, fu anche uditore del cardinale Barberini e allievo di Gravina; lavorò a diversi volumi, editi anche in latino, e a una collana di testi greci. Una volta ordinato vescovo condusse una vita povera e austera in tutto e, proprio per il suo atteggiamento intransigente in fatto di costume religioso e sociale, subì diverse polemiche nel corso del suo episcopato. Viene spesso ricordato per la fondazione nel 1748 dell'Accademia Ecclesiastica e, nel 1751, per l'istituzione del conservatorio delle Pupille di San Leopardo (*ibid.*, pp. 162-163).

¹¹ Giovanni Antonio Benvenuti fu vescovo della diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli dal 1828 al 1838. Originario di Belvedere Ostrense (Ancona), il suo governo spirituale conquistò la simpatia e l'affetto di tutta la popolazione osimana, da cui egli viene soprattutto ricordato per la sua premurosa attenzione nei confronti degli esposti e per la creazione dei Brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli. Oggi il cardinale riposa nella cripta posta sotto l'altare del duomo cittadino (cfr. G. Pignatelli, *Benvenuti, Giovanni Antonio*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, cit., 1966, vol. 8, pp. 667-671).

¹² A Recanati le confraternite si occupavano dei bambini trovati nel cosiddetto 'orto dei giudei' già dal 1328, poi dal 1540 esse decisero di unire tutti i loro ospedali e di dedicarsi esclusivamente all'assistenza degli esposti. Nel corso del Settecento Osimo entrò a far parte del consorzio creato con Recanati e i *trovatelli* furono per questo collocati nell'Ospedale degli Esposti di Santa Lucia, a fronte di un rimborso spese in denaro.

della Sacra Congregazione del Buon Governo, a causa del parere negativo dei consiglieri comunali, i quali non volevano accettare il regolamento imposto dalle autorità centrali, poiché esso stabiliva di provvedere al mantenimento dei bambini solo fino ai sette anni, un'età ritenuta ancora troppo sensibile e immatura, che rendeva i bambini vulnerabili alla malavita e al vagabondaggio.

L'idea di creare un istituto rivolto all'assistenza degli esposti non fu del tutto abbandonata e la questione fu ripresentata all'attenzione delle istituzioni civili ed ecclesiastiche tra il 1823 e il 1833, grazie al volere del cardinale Benvenuti, il quale si preoccupò personalmente di sollecitare l'attenzione e l'intervento diretto del governo pontificio, tramite soprattutto una fitta corrispondenza con il cardinale Gamberini, segretario degli Affari di Stato Interni¹³.

Il vescovo osimano aveva proposto la creazione di due istituti per i *trovatelli*, uno a Osimo e l'altro a Cingoli: i due luoghi pii, disciplinati da uno stesso regolamento, creato e adattato alle peculiari circostanze e caratteristiche della diocesi, si sarebbero occupati anche degli esposti dei paesi limitrofi alla diocesi, tramite la creazione di un consorzio, e nel dettaglio i *progetti* di Filottrano e Montefano sarebbero confluiti nel brefotrofio di Osimo, mentre quelli di Appignano e Staffolo in quello di Cingoli.

Il progetto ottenne la definitiva autorizzazione della Curia romana solo nel 1838: dal 1° luglio entrò in vigore a tutti gli effetti il regolamento che stabiliva l'apertura del brefotrofio di Osimo e di Cingoli e che sanciva definitivamente il distacco dal consorzio di Recanati.

3. *Il Regolamento dei brefotrofi della diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli*

Il Regolamento dei brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli fu redatto già nel 1834 dai deputati eletti dai pubblici *Comizi dei Comuni* e, creato su modello di quello degli altri istituti marchigiani, si apriva con la citazione latina:

¹³ Antonio Domenico Gamberini (Imola, 1760-Roma, 1841) discendeva da una famiglia del patriato imolese affermata nella pratica forense; completò i suoi studi a Roma presso l'Accademia dei nobili ecclesiastici e si laureò in giurisprudenza nel 1784. Gamberini si inserì presto nei meccanismi della giurisprudenza pontificia a causa anche della non entusiasmante conoscenza che aveva avuto del sistema burocratico statale, largamente corrotto. Avviò ben presto una propria attività legale, sulle orme del padre, ma dopo la restaurazione dell'autorità papale a seguito dell'occupazione francese, gli fu chiara la necessità di intraprendere la carriera ecclesiastica. La sua ascesa fu rapidissima ed egli fu onorato della porpora da papa Leone XII già nel 1828; tra gli importanti incarichi che ricoprì ci furono quello di segretario della Congregazione del Concilio, segretario della Congregazione per la Residenza dei vescovi, quello di vescovo di Orvieto, di cardinale presbitero di Santa Prassede, di cardinale vescovo di Sabina e di camerlengo del Collegio cardinalizio (cfr. G. Monsagrati, *Gamberini, Anton Domenico*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, cit., 1999, vol. 52, pp. 106-109).

Pater meus et mater mea dereliquerunt me: Dominus autem assumpsit me
Psalm. 26.

La direzione dei due stabilimenti fu affidata a una Congregazione di deputati, presieduta da un priore nominato al suo interno, dal quale dipendevano un computista, un segretario, un custode, un cassiere e un medico; in totale essa era formata da sette deputati, scelti tra le personalità cittadine più «probe, rette, giuste, per il pietoso e interessante ufficio» che avrebbero dovuto rivestire: i deputati sarebbero stati tre del Comune centrale e due per ciascun Comune aggregato, restavano in carica per almeno tre anni, con possibilità di rielezione, e a essi si aggiungeva un deputato ecclesiastico nominato, invece, direttamente dal vescovo. Per questo ruolo a Osimo, nel luglio 1838, fu scelto il canonico Giacomo de' Conti Gallo¹⁴, indicato dal vescovo in quanto aveva compiuto «con ogni lode» le ingerenze durante la separazione di Osimo e Cingoli dall'istituto di Recanati¹⁵.

In una lettera del 6 agosto 1838 inviata al gonfaloniere di Osimo, il cardinale concede l'approvazione alla nomina dei tre deputati osimani: il commendatore Giandomenico Pini¹⁶, il commendatore Franco Acqua e il signor Antonio Urbinati si sarebbero riuniti in Congregazione con i deputati di Filottrano e con quelli di Montefano, non appena i Comuni avessero dato notizia sull'oggetto.

Il priore generalmente veniva scelto tra i deputati più anziani e aveva, tra l'altro, il compito di organizzare, presso i locali del brefotroffio, le adunanze della Congregazione che, preliminarmente, era tenuta a prestare giuramento di osservanza dei principi cristiani di carità e benevolenza, su cui Benvenuti aveva basato tutta la sua lotta per la creazione dei due luoghi pii; per l'istituto osimano, nel corso dell'adunanza presso la «pubblica Residenza» della deputazione direttrice del 4 ottobre 1838, fu scelto come priore il commendatore Francesco Acqua¹⁷.

La Congregazione si sarebbe dovuta occupare del coordinamento dell'assistenza agli esposti, di fornire loro uno stato civile, del loro sostentamento, del mantenimento materiale e della loro educazione; in più, nel Regolamento

¹⁴ Giacomo Gallo (Osimo, 1807-1881) fu patriarca titolare di Costantinopoli dal 1878 al 1881 e vicecamerlengo; apparteneva a una delle nobili famiglie osimane più ricche e influenti della città, a cui il Comune aveva conferito il privilegio di essere sempre inclusa nel rango dei gonfalonieri (cfr. Morroni, Egidi, *Dizionario enciclopedico osimano*, cit., p. 251).

¹⁵ Archivio diocesano di Osimo, Diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli, *Brefotrofi, Questione brefotroffio provinciale di Recanati, Istituzione dei brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli. Corrispondenze-Relazioni (1823-1886)*, lettera del 29 luglio 1838, con cui l'uditore del cardinale Benvenuti, Gaetano Martini, comunica al signor Giacomo de' Conti Gallo la sua elezione a deputato ecclesiastico; si attende quindi la sua conferma per iniziare l'esercizio di tale carica.

¹⁶ Giandomenico Pini (Osimo, 1771-1845) fu gonfaloniere di Osimo e consigliere provinciale, membro di una nobile famiglia osimana (cfr. Morroni, Egidi, *Dizionario enciclopedico osimano*, cit., p. 413).

¹⁷ Francesco Acqua fu deputato, anziano, gonfaloniere e consigliere governativo. Fu anche un accademico dei Risorgenti e, occasionalmente, scrittore di vari componimenti poetici (*ibid.*, p. 5).

si stabili che gli esposti maschi non adottati sarebbero potuti rimanere a carico dell'istituto fino al compimento del dodicesimo anno di età, mentre le femmine fino ai diciotto anni.

Il Regolamento, in vigore a partire dal luglio 1838, era costituito da 137 punti, suddivisi in dieci titoli, ovvero «Disposizioni generali; Della Congregazione de' Deputati delle Comuni aggregate allo Stabilimento; Del Priore; Del Computista e segretario; Del Custode; Del Cassiere; Del Professore Medico; Delle Nutrici, e del Baliatico; Delle Adozioni; Disposizioni transitorie»¹⁸; esso agevolava e prediligeva il baliatico esterno, che aveva una durata media di almeno tre anni, generalmente concesso a famiglie di campagna, lontane dalle città e senza prole, in quanto più probabilmente esse avrebbero poi deciso di procedere con l'affido e l'adozione del bambino.

All'epoca non era insolito per le balie poter scegliere personalmente il bambino di cui occuparsi, ma questa possibilità spesso causò una duplice problematica agli istituti assistenziali: innanzitutto le balie preferivano i maschi alle femmine, poiché essi avrebbero contribuito maggiormente all'economia familiare e perché, se si fossero sposati, non necessitavano della dote; in secondo luogo, si diffuse la modalità per cui alcune madri, estremamente povere, decidevano di esporre il proprio figlio per poi andare a riprenderlo a baliatico, senza rivelare la loro vera identità, in modo da poter usufruire ugualmente del sussidio in denaro offerto dall'istituto che, nel caso delle esposte, era anche più elevato¹⁹. Per risolvere queste criticità, le Amministrazioni dei brefotrofi decisero di svolgere alcune indagini sulla maternità o sulla paternità dei *progetti* di cui si facevano carico, per assicurarsi che i motivi dell'abbandono fossero appunto validi e per evitare l'esposizione dei legittimi o degli illegittimi riconosciuti, sempre nel rispetto però del Codice civile dell'epoca: non era infatti ammessa la ricerca della paternità se non nei casi di «ratto o stupro violento», mentre la ricerca della maternità era consentita soltanto se promossa dal figlio²⁰.

L'operato delle balie e delle famiglie adottive veniva controllato dai parroci, che avevano il dovere di rilasciare i certificati di idoneità e di buona condotta, e dal priore del brefotrofo, che continuava a esercitare una funzione tutoria nei confronti degli esposti anche dopo l'adozione; in particolare egli doveva vigilare sull'operato delle famiglie adottive e controllare che, dopo la

¹⁸ Archivio storico comunale di Osimo, fondo *Brefotrofo*, fascicolo 2, *Regolamento per l'amministrazione dei due più comunali brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli*, Loreto, tipografia dei Fratelli Rossi, 1838, in *Statuti e Regolamenti (1838-1931)*.

¹⁹ Il sussidio in denaro offerto dal brefotrofo consisteva in dieci scudi per l'adozione degli esposti maschi e in quindici scudi per le esposte; questa cifra poteva arrivare fino a venti scudi per i maschi e venticinque per le femmine, se l'adozione fosse avvenuta nei confronti di bambini fino ai quattro o cinque anni. Nel caso in cui gli esposti fossero stati più grandi, il premio corrisposto era di venticinque scudi per i maschi e di trenta scudi per le femmine.

²⁰ Cfr. Gorni, Pellegrini, *Un problema di storia sociale. L'infanzia abbandonata in Italia nel secolo XIX*, cit., pp. 58-66.

riscossione del premio in denaro, si prendessero cura dei bisogni materiali e morali dei bambini.

Nonostante i buoni propositi di questa tipologia di istituti assistenziali, al loro interno le precarie condizioni igienico-sanitarie favorivano la diffusione di malattie e infezioni, trasmesse sovente dalle stesse balie: tra le cause principali dei decessi degli esposti, infatti, vi erano malattie gastro-intestinali, polmonari o esantematiche, il vaiolo, la sifilide e la denutrizione, ma anche maltrattamenti fisici che i bambini subivano dal personale degli istituti, o che avevano dovuto sopportare durante il trasporto verso la ruota o verso un ospedale, o ancora, le disumane condizioni in cui spesso venivano abbandonati. Alcuni *progetti* venivano ritrovati già moribondi a causa dell'assideramento, altri invece erano esposti perché nati prematuri, sottopeso o con qualche deformazione fisica; frequente era l'abbandono dei gemelli, che avrebbero gravato troppo sull'economia familiare. A volte ai margini delle strade erano lasciati addirittura gli aborti o i «cadaverini», nel caso in cui le famiglie non potessero permettersi le spese del funerale. Purtroppo, molti venivano abbandonati anche dai *bastardari* o *casanolanti*, ovvero dalle persone pagate appositamente dai brefotrofi per il trasporto degli esposti in strutture adeguate, ma che spesso erano negligenti e noncuranti dei piccoli che avevano a carico²¹.

Nel caso del brefotrofio di Osimo, dal Regolamento si evince una specifica prassi che il personale doveva seguire una volta che un esposto fosse stato 'raccolto' dalla ruota o fosse presentato all'istituto: il bambino veniva subito ricevuto e assistito presso i locali individuati nell'Ospedale degli Infermi SS. Benvenuto e Rocco²², dove veniva visitato da un medico; il parroco poi lo avrebbe condotto presso il Duomo cittadino per battezzarlo, qualora non fosse già certificata l'avvenuta ricezione del sacramento e, infine, su di lui si apriva un fascicolo, nel quale, di volta in volta, si sarebbero annotate tutte le informazioni utili sul suo conto²³.

Nel corso del tempo, l'efficienza dello stabilimento osimano consentì di ampliarne il raggio d'azione e per questo, a partire soprattutto dalla seconda metà dell'Ottocento, entrarono a far parte del suo consorzio anche i Comuni

²¹ Cfr. Palombarini, *Gettatelli e trovatelli. I bambini abbandonati nelle Marche (XVI-XX sec.)*, cit., pp. 79-80.

²² Il priore dell'Ospedale degli Infermi SS. Benvenuto e Rocco di Osimo, guidato dall'omonima confraternita, si accordò già nel 1837 con il gonfaloniere della città, il commendator Acqua, per la cessione di alcuni locali in cui poter installare il nuovo brefotrofio comunale, ovviamente dopo aver ricevuto le autorizzazioni necessarie da parte del cardinale Benvenuti, che coordinò in prima persona tutto l'*iter* per la creazione del luogo pio (Archivio storico comunale di Osimo, fondo *Brefotrofio*, fascicolo 1, *Atti della Fondazione*, foglio 1048, lettera del 12 luglio 1837 del gonfaloniere Acqua al priore della Confraternita dei SS. Benvenuto e Rocco, in *Istituzione del brefotrofio e aggregazione dei Comuni, 1833-1916*).

²³ Si veda anche Archivio storico comunale di Osimo, fondo *Brefotrofio*, fascicolo 1, *Informazioni e ricevimento degli esposti (1812-1931)*.

limitrofi di Castelfidardo, Montecassiano, Loreto e Offagna, nonostante non appartenessero alla diocesi osimana.

Nell'estate del 1838 le condizioni di salute di Benvenuti peggiorarono e il Capitolo cattedrale ottenne da Roma la nomina di un amministratore apostolico, identificato nel vescovo di Jesi cardinale Pietro Ostini, il quale a Osimo nel 1838 fu anche l'istitutore dell'Opera pia dei poveri cronici; egli prese in mano le questioni amministrative e burocratiche della diocesi, coadiuvato perlopiù dal canonico monsignor Francesco Romiti vicario generale, il quale in particolare, si occupò della nomina dell'Amministrazione definitiva del brefotrofito e delle questioni di ordinaria amministrazioni da risolvere con il gonfaloniere Andrea Bonfigli²⁴.

Alla morte del cardinale Benvenuti, l'opera di accoglienza e assistenza comunque non si arrestò e fu portata avanti con la medesima determinazione dal suo successore, il cardinale Giovanni Soglia-Ceroni²⁵, ricordato dagli osimani soprattutto per il grande impegno sociale e per l'importante contributo economico versato durante l'epidemia di colera del 1854-1855.

Tra il 1839 e il 1840 il cardinale Soglia e il gonfaloniere Francesco Acqua si mobilitarono anche per la risoluzione della questione delle «sette zitelle» ancora ospitate nel Conservatorio dell'istituto di Recanati, per le quali si continuava a versare un contributo, e per organizzare le adozioni degli esposti, su modello dell'Arcispedale di *Santo Spirito* di Roma²⁶. Nel corso del 1839 su questa tematica fu interpellato nuovamente il cardinale Gamberini che, per conto del cardinale osimano, chiese al pontefice di raccogliere l'istanza dei priori e delle Congregazioni direttrici dei brefotrofi, con cui richiedevano di ricevere le prerogative per le adozioni degli esposti: il pontefice la accolse e concesse

²⁴ Tra le questioni affrontate da Romiti e dal gonfaloniere Bonfigli nel corso di una fitta corrispondenza epistolare e di incontri privati presso la «pubblica Residenza», vi furono perlopiù il progetto di regolamento per le scuole da sottoporre all'approvazione della Superiorità Ecclesiastica, l'elezione del nuovo medico primario, «il digiuno votivo da adempiersi» dalla popolazione osimana in occasione della natività di Maria, la nomina del custode per il brefotrofito, la questione delle tumulazioni degli esposti e il problema dei dazi. Si vedano le lettere di monsignor Romiti e del gonfaloniere Bonfigli tra il luglio 1838 e il marzo 1839, in Archivio diocesano di Osimo, Diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli, *Brefotrofi, Questione brefotrofito provinciale di Recanati, Istituzione dei brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli. Corrispondenze-Relazioni (1823-1886)*.

²⁵ Giovanni Soglia Ceroni (Casola Valsenio, 1799-Osimo, 1856) fu cardinale e vescovo di Osimo tra il 1839 e il 1856. Viene spesso ricordato come il «servitore di cinque papi», perché fu crocifero, confidente, messo e rappresentante di Pio VII; da Leone XII invece fu nominato Segretario della Congregazione degli Studi e, passato il pontificato di Pio VIII, fu eletto Segretario della Congregazione dei vescovi e dei regolari, consultore della Congregazione degli affari ecclesiastici straordinari e di quella dell'Indice del Sant'Uffizio da Gregorio XVI; infine, fu anche segretario di Stato di papa Pio IX. A tale proposito si veda P.G. Rinaldi Ceroni, A. Padivani (edd.), *Il card. Giovanni Soglia Ceroni servitore di cinque papi*, Casola Valsenio, [s.e.], 2015.

²⁶ Il 10 settembre 1839 Francesco Acqua inviò al cardinal Soglia la copia della *Modula per l'adozione dei Progetti di Santo Spirito* di Roma e la copia del modello in latino del breve di Innocenzo XIII (Archivio diocesano di Osimo, Diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli, *Brefotrofi, Questione brefotrofito provinciale di Recanati, Istituzione dei brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli. Corrispondenze-Relazioni (1823-1886)*, corrispondenza del 10 settembre 1839-7 maggio 1840).

ai vicari generali le facoltà necessarie *pro tempore* per «interporre i decreti» a favore della stipulazione degli «Istromenti di filiazione, adozione e arrogazione degli Esposti, ed Esposte», decretando che tali strumenti fossero da ritenersi validi e obbligatori solo nel caso in cui fossero state rispettate tutte le condizioni e gli obblighi indicati nel *motu proprio* di Benedetto XIV.

A seguito poi degli eventi che portarono all'unificazione d'Italia, furono istituite le nuove Congregazioni di carità e ciò causò un periodo di instabilità nelle direzioni degli istituti di assistenza e pubblica beneficenza; nel Comune di Osimo, la Commissione municipale diede l'incarico di formare la nuova Congregazione al conte Francesco Fiorenzi, consigliere comunale e più volte sindaco della città, che nel 1861 fu anche eletto deputato alla Camera, riconfermato poi nel 1865²⁷.

Il passaggio del brefotrofito comunale sotto il controllo della Congregazione di carità fu fortemente voluto dal sindaco Sinibaldo Sinibaldi²⁸, che all'epoca era anche presidente della stessa Congregazione e che, con una lettera del 14 gennaio 1862, chiese direttamente alla Commissione municipale di trasferire la direzione amministrativa del brefotrofito consorziale, facendo leva sulla legge delle opere pie del 20 novembre 1859²⁹. Purtroppo però, il provvedimento non trovò subito pratica applicazione e il caso dell'istituto osimano fu ripresentato all'attenzione della Congregazione di carità solo nel 1863, quando finalmente il 6 novembre si diede l'approvazione per l'accorpamento del luogo pio agli altri istituti assistenziali; in questa occasione fu nominata anche una Deputazione straordinaria formata da Lorenzo Fiorenzi, Giuseppe Briganti Bellini e Alessandro Lardinelli, avente il compito di redigere un nuovo Regolamento per lo stabilimento osimano, in modo da poter eliminare definitivamente il retaggio delle norme pontificie, pur non venendo meno all'impegno e allo spirito di carità nei confronti dei più deboli.

Il nuovo Regolamento fu discusso e approvato tra il marzo e il luglio del 1864, nel corso delle adunanze della Congregazione di carità, all'epoca guidata dal presidente Francesco Petrini³⁰; esso, oltre a regolare le modalità di assistenza e presa in carico dei *progetti*, rifletteva i nuovi orientamenti politici di matrice liberale, che all'epoca erano particolarmente diffusi a Osimo e che diedero voce alle mutate esigenze sociali del periodo postunitario. Il nuovo codice risultò molto più conciso rispetto al precedente, era infatti costituito da soli 49

²⁷ Cfr. Morroni, Egidi, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Osimano*, cit., pp. 226-227.

²⁸ Sinibaldo Sinibaldi (Osimo, 1789-1868) apparteneva a una delle più importanti e ricche famiglie osimane, fu gonfaloniere della città nel 1846 e poi, nel 1860, fu nominato sindaco e presidente della Commissione municipale. Ex carbonaro, fu il primo sindaco osimano del Regno d'Italia e fu tra i fondatori della Cassa di Risparmio (*ibid.*, pp. 491-492).

²⁹ Legge con cui fu istituita nuovamente la Congregazione di carità e con cui si iniziò la generale regolamentazione degli istituti di beneficenza che, nel corso del governo pontificio, non erano stati ordinati da nessuna legge a livello statale.

³⁰ Archivio storico comunale di Osimo, fondo *Brefotrofito*, fascicolo 2, *Regolamento del Brefotrofito di Osimo*, in *Statuti e Regolamenti (1833-1921)*, 19 luglio 1864.

articoli ed era suddiviso in sei titoli: «Disposizioni generali; Della Deputazione; Della Congregazione di Carità; Del Presidente; Delle Nutrici e Baliatici; Delle Adozioni ed Affiliazioni».

Nel 1864 cambiò anche la composizione della Deputazione direttrice: i membri erano ancora sette, ma non era più previsto un deputato ecclesiastico, tre deputati venivano eletti dal Comune di Osimo, due dal Comune di Filottrano e due da quello di Montefano, Comuni che il brefotrofio osimano continuava a riunire in consorzio; in più, nel Regolamento si specificava che per i deputati eletti era negata la possibilità di far parte contemporaneamente della Congregazione di carità³¹. Le delibere della nuova Deputazione non erano considerate valide se alle adunanze non avessero partecipato almeno quattro dei sette deputati, oltre ovviamente al presidente, che aveva l'obbligo di convocare le adunanze almeno una volta l'anno. L'età massima consentita agli esposti per poter rimanere nell'istituto fu spostata ai vent'anni per i maschi, mentre per le femmine ai venticinque anni, a meno che nel frattempo non fossero stati legittimati, adottati o avessero contratto matrimonio; in più si modificarono i premi in denaro concessi per il baliatico e per l'affiliazione, che fu concessa solo dopo i tre anni, e furono specificatamente indicati i cinque requisiti necessari delle balie e delle nutrici: il legittimo matrimonio, il consenso del marito, la buona salute e l'essere ben provviste di latte, non avere a carico altri esposti e, soprattutto, essere di buoni e rispettabili costumi.

Il Regolamento del brefotrofio osimano fu nuovamente modificato nel 1904, su istanza del presidente Camillo Acqua³² e dell'intera Congregazione, quando fu ufficialmente chiusa la ruota e quando si sancì che il ricevimento degli esposti dovesse esser fatto tramite la presentazione diretta al custode della struttura, solo entro il primo anno di vita del bambino³³.

La stabilità raggiunta dallo stabilimento osimano fu profondamente scossa però dall'ascesa del fascismo, che causò un'ulteriore modifica della gestione delle istituzioni di beneficenza e assistenza, soprattutto dopo l'emanazione della legge n. 847 del 3 giugno 1937³⁴, con cui furono definitivamente eliminate

³¹ *Ibid.*, *Deputazione Direttiva (1838-1921)*.

³² Camillo Acqua (Velletri, 1863 - Ascoli, 1936) si laureò a Roma in Scienze naturali nel 1886, fu cultore di biologia, insegnò al Campana di Osimo e poi all'Università di Roma. Fu presidente della Congregazione di carità dal 1895 al 1898 e, in seguito, dal 1902 al 1909 (cfr. Morrone, Egidi, *Dizionario enciclopedico osimano*, cit., p. 4).

³³ Cfr. L. Egidi, *Assistenza e beneficenza in Osimo attraverso i secoli*, Osimo, Istituti Riuniti Padre Benvenuto Bambozzi, Errebi, 1999, p. 51.

³⁴ La legge entrò in vigore il 1° luglio 1937 e sanciva la nascita dell'ECA, ovvero un ente morale operante in ogni Comune italiano a favore degli individui e delle famiglie bisognose, con l'intento di elevare l'attività dal piano della mera beneficenza elemosiniera a quello più moderno dell'assistenza e di concentrare, sia dal punto di vista amministrativo sia da quello funzionale, i diversi istituti assistenziali nati fino a quel momento. L'ente quindi subentrava in ambito amministrativo e patrimoniale alle Congregazioni di carità e la sua gestione era affidata a un organo collegiale, il Comitato, presieduto dal podestà del Comune in cui veniva istituito.

le Congregazioni di carità e con cui fu creato l'Ente comunale di Assistenza (ECA), il quale appunto ereditò le funzioni delle istituzioni precedenti.

La prima commissione amministrativa a Osimo fu presieduta da Raffaele Ubaldo Cardinali³⁵, all'epoca anche podestà della città, e tra i suoi più stretti collaboratori vi furono Carlo Cenerelli e Anna Frezzini; alcune opere pie osimane però furono separate dall'ECA e furono poste sotto il controllo di un altro ente amministratore, denominato Federazione delle Opere pie di Osimo, guidato da un presidente, nominato dal prefetto, e da quattro consiglieri, di cui due nominati dal podestà e gli altri due dall'ECA e dal segretario politico del Fascio di combattimento osimano; questo ente nel 1939 modificò il proprio nome in Istituti riuniti di beneficenza e fu investito da vari cambiamenti gestionali a causa dello scoppio della seconda guerra mondiale.

Per quanto riguarda le sorti del brefotrofo, si attesta che esso all'inizio fu escluso dal progetto di decentramento dell'ECA e che nel 1946 i suoi locali furono trasferiti in un nuovo edificio, nei pressi di via San Filippo, dove furono collocati anche gli uffici dell'Ente comunale di assistenza e l'Asilo Infantile San Giuseppe da Copertino. Solo nel 1948 il brefotrofo fu affidato alla gestione dell'ECA anche se gli Istituti riuniti di beneficenza si opposero fermamente al trasferimento amministrativo, presentando per di più un reclamo alla Prefettura; un compromesso fu raggiunto solo grazie alla mediazione e all'intervento di alcuni funzionari provinciali, attraverso i quali fu firmata una convenzione con cui, a partire dal 1° gennaio 1949, sarebbe iniziata una nuova gestione amministrativa del brefotrofo a carico dell'Ente comunale di assistenza, che continuò il suo operato anche dopo la caduta del fascismo³⁶.

Progressivamente il luogo pio osimano si trasformò in un semplice ufficio di collocamento per i bambini abbandonati, il cui numero si fece sempre meno significativo, fino ad arrivare al suo completo disuso, in quanto i neonati venivano ormai accolti solo da ospedali e orfanotrofi, a seguito anche delle numerose modificazioni a livello legislativo.

4. *Il dibattito per la creazione del brefotrofo consorziale di Osimo*

Nei registri dell'Archivio diocesano di Osimo si trova una ricca collezione di relazioni, di progetti e gran parte della corrispondenza che precedette la creazione del luogo pio osimano, con i modelli a cui l'istituto avrebbe dovuto

³⁵ Raffaele Ubaldo Cardinali (Osimo, 1896-1978) fu podestà di Osimo dal 1937 al 1942, artefice di numerose opere pubbliche tra cui Porta Vaccaro, dell'ampliamento dell'Ospedale e della chiesa del cimitero maggiore, era anche proprietario di una attiva filanda (cfr. Morroni, Egidi, *Dizionario enciclopedico osimano*, cit., p. 95).

³⁶ Cfr. Egidi, *Assistenza e beneficenza in Osimo attraverso i secoli*, cit., pp. 143-147, 155.

ispirarsi: presso la Curia osimana, già nel 1825, furono infatti inviati da Roma dei modelli prestampati per l'adozione dei *trovatelli* e, dallo *Spedale degli Innocenti*, arrivarono dei modelli di massime generali per il funzionamento dell'istituto e per il ricevimento e l'ammissione della «Creatura Esposta»³⁷.

La discussione sul problema dell'infanzia abbandonata iniziò a essere all'ordine del giorno nelle adunanze del Consiglio comunale di Osimo a partire soprattutto dal 1832, ovvero quando il cardinale Benvenuti, tornato a rivestire concretamente i suoi ruoli e le sue funzioni episcopali dopo un periodo di grande instabilità e incertezze causato dai *moti romagnoli*, fece sentire con forza la vicinanza al suo popolo tramite il profondo impegno nell'assistenza alle classi sociali più deboli e, per questo, l'apertura di un brefotrofio a Osimo rappresentò per lui una sfida fondamentale per l'effettiva riuscita della sua missione episcopale.

L'ostacolo principale all'apertura del pio istituto fu posto dalla Delegazione apostolica di Macerata, la quale si opponeva categoricamente alla separazione dal consorzio recanatese; ciò per Benvenuti costituì un vero e proprio 'affronto' personale e fu costretto a rivolgersi a numerose autorità della Curia romana, chiedendo, appunto, che questo ostacolo fosse definitivamente rimosso; in particolar modo fitta fu la corrispondenza tra il cardinale osimano e il cardinale Gamberini, della Segreteria per gli Affari di Stato Interni, il quale cercò di mediare le controversie tra gli ecclesiastici del Maceratese e tra le autorità romane.

I consiglieri comunali di Osimo e Cingoli approvarono la delibera e la proposta per la creazione dei pii stabilimenti già dal 1832, mentre Benvenuti si prodigò per poter procedere alla stesura del regolamento e per stabilire le modalità per il corretto funzionamento dei due brefotrofi; a tal fine, furono interpellati anche i gonfalonieri dei vari Comuni che si sarebbero uniti al consorzio osimano e, in particolare, fu tenuto in grande considerazione il parere del conte Leopoldo Armaroli, all'epoca priore di Appignano: ex sostenitore del governo napoleonico, dopo essersi ritirato a vita privata, era divenuto un grande studioso del problema dell'esposizione e, probabilmente per questo, era considerato da Benvenuti un esperto competente in materia, capace di redigere rapporti obiettivi e pregevoli sulle caratteristiche di un buon istituto e sui dibattiti delle adunanze consiliari.

Il confronto sulla separazione dal consorzio di Recanati ebbe soprattutto carattere economico e, per tema centrale, la tassa richiesta dall'Ospedale e dal Conservatorio di Santa Lucia per l'assistenza degli esposti provenienti da Osimo, ritenuta da Benvenuti eccessivamente gravosa per le casse della diocesi,

³⁷ I modelli prestampati dell'istituto romano di *Santo Spirito in Saxia* giunsero presso la Curia osimana il 14 giugno 1825, mentre quelli dell'*Ospedale degli Innocenti* di Firenze arrivarono il 25 giugno 1825 (cfr. Archivio diocesano di Osimo, Diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli, *Brefotrofi, Questione brefotrofio provinciale di Recanati, Istituzione dei brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli. Corrispondenze-Relazioni, 1823-1886*).

specialmente se comparata con quella richiesta alla diocesi di Macerata; il cardinale osimano si sentì 'offeso', se non addirittura 'mortificato', per l'ostinata resistenza alle sue sollecitazioni e, in una lettera rivolta al cardinale Gamberini del 12 aprile 1836, espresse chiaramente il suo dissenso, affermando che, comunque, avrebbe continuato a sostenere la sua causa fino alla morte. Benvenuti svolse le sue indagini e continuò a ritenere l'operato dell'istituto di Recanati inadeguato e inefficiente, a discapito del funzionamento e del disciplinamento, per esempio, degli altri stabilimenti marchigiani, per i quali aveva anche chiesto un resoconto al conte Armaroli; egli, inoltre, auspicava la separazione da Recanati per ragioni morali, ovvero offrire agli esposti maggiori possibilità di sopravvivenza, condizioni di vita più umane e garantire loro l'acquisizione di uno stato civile «di cui li aveva defraudati la inumanità de' loro genitori»³⁸.

In particolare, ciò che causò maggiormente il risentimento del cardinale osimano fu la scarsa considerazione che la Curia romana riservò alla sua diocesi, molto ricca e influente all'epoca, le cui motivazioni religiose, nel corso del 1836-1837, furono completamente oscurate dalla semplice questione economica: Gamberini, infatti, nella sua corrispondenza con Benvenuti fa più volte riferimento all'enorme spesa che la diocesi avrebbe dovuto sobbarcarsi con la creazione dei due luoghi pii e suggerisce piuttosto una revisione della tassazione imposta da Recanati, prevedendo eventualmente anche la creazione di una apposita congregazione, composta da «persone più che ragguardevoli», per controllare i preventivi e i consuntivi³⁹.

La separazione dal consorzio di Recanati era fortemente voluta, oltre che da Benvenuti, anche dalle autorità laiche poste a governo del territorio osimano e di quelli limitrofi, come i gonfalonieri e i priori di Staffolo, Montefano, Appignano, Filottrano e ovviamente Osimo e Cingoli, i quali si riunirono più volte tra il 1834 e il 1836 per discutere sulle modalità della separazione e per redigere una prima bozza del regolamento che avrebbe poi guidato l'operato degli stabilimenti per gli esposti.

L'allora vescovo di Recanati, Adriani, mantenne sempre ottimi rapporti con il cardinale osimano e decise a sua volta di appoggiare la proposta di separazione dal consorzio, a patto però che Osimo e Cingoli saldassero tutti i loro debiti nei confronti dello stabilimento recanatense; inoltre, anche Adriani si mise in contatto con la Segreteria degli Affari di Stato Interni, ammettendo che l'istituto *Santa Lucia* si sarebbe ben volentieri occupato soltanto degli esposti della sua diocesi, nonostante il parere contrario degli altri 14 Comuni contribuenti.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, lettera del 12 aprile 1836 del cardinale Benvenuti al segretario di Stato cardinale Gamberini.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, lettera del cardinale Gamberini del 17 marzo 1836, in risposta al dispaccio del cardinale Benvenuti del 14 gennaio 1836, in cui si esprimeva la «pendenza» dell'istituto di Recanati.

Presso la Curia romana il cardinale Benvenuti cercò degli appoggi autorevoli su cui poter confidare per l'approvazione del suo progetto e per sollecitare la definitiva autorizzazione del pontefice: in particolare, il 13 giugno 1835 si mise in contatto con il maceratese monsignor Lavinio de' Medici Spada, all'epoca uditore di Segnatura a Roma, a cui chiese di indagare sulle reali motivazioni «avvolte da tanto tempo nel più profondo mistero»⁴⁰ per cui Gamberini non aveva ancora concesso il permesso alla definitiva separazione di Osimo dal consorzio con Recanati, mentre il 2 giugno 1836 prese contatto con monsignor Carlo Luigi Morichini⁴¹, ponente del Buon Governo a Roma, di cui apprezzava fortemente i risultati ottenuti nei pii stabilimenti della capitale, facendogli presente le sue ragioni a sostegno del prospetto per l'erezione dei due brefotrofi, nonostante le insistenti resistenze della Segreteria degli Affari di Stato Interni.

In una lettera al cardinale Gamberini del 7 giugno 1836, Benvenuti definì l'opposizione della Curia romana addirittura «impolitica, immorale e anticristiana», e ribadì con forza che avrebbe continuato a sostenere la causa contro i grandi istituti di assistenza degli esposti, in quanto li considerava praticamente mortali per i bambini e perché ciò glielo imponeva la sua «coscienza di nome, di Vescovo, di Cardinale»⁴².

Gamberini, di tutta risposta, chiese che fossero interpellate le Congregazioni Governative, come prescritto nella legge 5 luglio 1831, spiegando che soltanto dopo i loro voti egli avrebbe incaricato i delegati di Macerata e Ancona affinché eseguissero le relative disposizioni di legge; infine, una volta portate a termine queste incombenze, egli si sarebbe preoccupato di consegnare al pontefice un rapporto completo sulla situazione. Allo stesso tempo il Segretario di Stato cercò di persuadere monsignor delegato di Macerata ad accettare la separazione dall'ospizio di Recanati, in quanto il vescovo Adriani aveva già 'minacciato' di essere disposto alle dimissioni dal ruolo di presidente del pio istituto, qualora le resistenze di Macerata e Monte Milone fossero perpetrate a lungo, causando ulteriori disagi e scontri con le altre diocesi affiliate al consorzio.

Il congresso delle Congregazioni Governative, tenutosi il 24 giugno 1836, diede parere positivo al distacco delle diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli e Benvenuti ne fu prontamente informato dal gonfaloniere di Osimo, il commendator Acqua; il cardinale con grande gioia chiese allora immediatamente a Gamberini

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, lettera del cardinale Benvenuti a monsignor de' Medici Spada del 13 giugno 1835.

⁴¹ Carlo Luigi Morichini (Roma, 1805-1879) fu un importante ecclesiastico italiano che ricoprì diverse cariche nello Stato pontificio: fu nunzio in Baviera, vicepresidente del Consiglio di Stato, abile diplomatico, partecipò attivamente anche al Concilio Vaticano I. Morichini fu nominato cardinale nel 1852 e gli fu affidata prima la diocesi di Jesi e poi quella di Bologna, carica a cui però rinunciò per rientrare in curia come cardinale vescovo di Albano; inoltre, viene spesso ricordato per i suoi studi in ambito economico e assistenziale (cfr. I. Veca, *Morichini, Carlo Luigi*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, cit., 2012, vol. 76, pp. 803-807).

⁴² Archivio diocesano di Osimo, Diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli, *Brefotrofi, Questione brefotrofia provinciale di Recanati, Istituzione dei brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli. Corrispondenze-Relazioni (1823-1886)*.

di sottoporre al pontefice il rapporto sulla separazione e sulla creazione dei due brefotrofi, provvedendo, se necessario, anche a forzare le Delegazioni di Macerata e Monte Milone al distacco, in quanto esse continuavano a impedire lo scioglimento del consorzio, ‘minacciando’ di appoggiare la proposta solamente nel caso in cui lo stesso stabilimento di Recanati fosse stato soppresso. Per mediare la discussione tra le parti, il cardinale Gamberini propose allora al vescovo Adriani di continuare ad accogliere presso l’istituto Santa Lucia anche gli esposti di Macerata, almeno fin quando non si sarebbe trovato un edificio adeguato a tale funzione in quella città.

Finalmente nel maggio 1837 la situazione sembrò sbloccarsi e il cardinale Gamberini iniziò a sollecitare Benvenuti per ottenere i dettagli sulla separazione e sulla creazione del nuovo brefotrofo di Osimo; per questo motivo furono inviati a Recanati alcuni deputati speciali della diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli, per stabilire i dettagli della separazione, che si poté ritenere effettiva solo dal luglio 1837, periodo in cui furono aperte le ruote a Osimo e Cingoli e fu completato il Regolamento.

In attesa dell’attivazione delle Congregazioni direttrici, la guida dei due pii stabilimenti fu affidata temporaneamente ai gonfalonieri delle città, che furono incaricati di creare una deputazione ordinaria per provvedere al collocamento degli esposti e alla risoluzione di alcune questioni burocratiche, tra cui anche l’individuazione dei custodi delle ruote, i pagamenti degli infermieri, l’organizzazione dei baliatici e le richieste di matrimonio alle ‘zitelle’. Fece quindi séguito una fitta corrispondenza tra il cardinale Benvenuti e i priori, i gonfalonieri e i deputati di Recanati, Osimo, Cingoli, Filottrano, Staffolo, Appignano e Montefano, affinché fosse curato con estrema attenzione ogni dettaglio della separazione e perché fossero stabilite le linee guida per l’apertura dei due nuovi brefotrofi: la segreteria per gli Affari di Stato Interni attendeva infatti notizie a riguardo prima di poter procedere con la definitiva richiesta di approvazione da parte del Santo Padre⁴³.

Nel corso dei congressi e delle adunanze per la separazione, un altro impedimento fu rappresentato dalla questione delle «bastarde invalide e croniche» tenute presso il conservatorio di Recanati, ma appartenenti alla diocesi osimana, di cui non era auspicabile un trasferimento e di cui, comunque, non si ritenne possibile un ritiro prima dello stabilirsi dell’Amministrazione definitiva presso il nuovo stabilimento osimano e per le quali venne allora richiesta una somma in denaro da utilizzare per il loro mantenimento; il gonfaloniere di Osimo, commendator Acqua, chiese che tale somma fosse rateizzata, per

⁴³ *Ibid.*, lettera del 19 agosto 1837 del cardinale Benvenuti al cardinale Gamberini, con cui inviò la maggior parte delle informazioni sugli accordi presi con Recanati per il distacco della diocesi osimana dal consorzio recanatese e sull’amministrazione provvisoria scelta per la gestione dei due nuovi brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli.

agevolare il pagamento di tutte le incombenze economiche che il Comune stava già sostenendo all'epoca.

Al contempo, alla fine del 1837, fu inviata a tutti i priori la copia del Regolamento per gli stabilimenti di Osimo e Cingoli, che fu sottoposto all'approvazione dei Consigli comunali e dell'Antica Delegazione, si cercarono delle soluzioni per il pagamento bimestrale dei salari arretrati delle nutrici degli esposti e per il pagamento dei contributi all'Ospedale di Santa Lucia, sollecitato anche dal «Capo della Magistratura della città centrale»⁴⁴.

Il vescovo Adriani e il cardinale Benvenuti si accordarono sulle modalità di pagamento delle nutrici, sull'individuazione di una persona che si occupasse proprio della definizione dei baliatici e della presa in carico degli esposti, sulla risoluzione dei problemi legati al trasferimento dei *progetti* e sulle modalità di pagamento dei debiti; nel dettaglio, l'organizzazione del saldo dei debiti osimani fu affidata al segretario comunale Filippo Giacconi⁴⁵, il quale spesso fu inviato presso l'Istituto di Recanati per prendere accordi con l'Amministrazione, affinché fosse affrontato anche il tema delle nutrici, che necessitavano di nuove patenti e di essere riconosciute, a tutti gli effetti, come dipendenti dalle nuove Amministrazioni dei brefotrofi, mentre per il Comune di Cingoli, che si trovava in maggiori difficoltà economiche, la questione dei pagamenti fu sottoposta direttamente al gonfaloniere della città.

Un definitivo accordo sulla separazione dal consorzio di Recanati fu raggiunto solo nel 1838, quando la Delegazione provinciale di Macerata si convinse ad approvare le decisioni delle adunanze consiliari e, di conseguenza, a riconoscere il Regolamento creato per i brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli, presso i quali sarebbero stati uniti i Comuni di Staffolo, Appignano, Filottrano e Montefano, appartenenti alla provincia maceratese.

5. *La figura del cardinale Benvenuti, uomo di Chiesa e diplomatico d'eccellenza*

Nel corso dell'Ottocento la città di Osimo vide l'alternarsi di ben dodici vescovi, di cui otto furono onorati della porpora e ciò costituì un elemento di grande vanto per l'intera città, benché tanta frequenza di successioni non mancasse di provocare alcuni risvolti negativi sulla vita spirituale della diocesi, come la diffusione di ideali massonici e carbonari; nonostante ciò, Osimo riuscì a riconquistare la sua autorevole posizione, soprattutto durante l'episcopato

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, lettera del 21 dicembre 1837 inviata da Benvenuti al gonfaloniere di Osimo, per informarlo dei contatti presi con le *Magistrate*.

⁴⁵ Filippo Giacconi (Osimo, 1785-1840) fu notaio e segretario comunale, autore di alcuni componimenti poetici occasionali, stampati dalla tipografia Quercetti; fu anche carbonaro a Osimo nel 1820 (cfr. Morroni, Egidi, *Dizionario enciclopedico osimano*, cit., p. 258).

del cardinale Giovanni Antonio Benvenuti, già noto agli osimani perché ex alunno del Collegio Campana e per la sua vicinanza alla nobiltà osimana mentre rivestiva la carica di delegato apostolico di Ancona.

Benvenuti era dotato di grande abilità diplomatica e di una notevole fermezza di carattere che gli consentirono di ricoprire incarichi piuttosto importanti nel corso della sua carriera: fu delegato apostolico, dopo la laurea in *utroque iure* alla Sapienza, seguì il nunzio monsignor Litta⁴⁶ a Varsavia, dove divenne uditore di nunziatura; con lo stesso incarico si trovò poi a Pietroburgo con monsignor Litta, che era stato inviato in qualità di ambasciatore straordinario per riprendere le relazioni diplomatiche con la Russia, interrotte nel 1784. In quel periodo infatti la Santa Sede tentava di ottenere dalla Russia un appoggio nella critica situazione che si era creata a seguito della pace di Tolentino e sperava che la missione di Litta potesse ristabilire definitivamente la giurisdizione papale sui cattolici russi, fino ad allora gravemente limitata; purtroppo però la Chiesa si espresse in maniera negativa riguardo l'elezione dello zar a gran maestro dell'Ordine di Malta⁴⁷ e, nell'aprile del 1799, Litta fu costretto ad abbandonare il suo incarico e a lasciare per sempre Pietroburgo. Da quel momento Benvenuti tenne la reggenza della nunziatura e le sue buone capacità gli valsero gli elogi dello stesso zar, ma la mancanza di un incarico ufficiale rese piuttosto difficile il suo ruolo, anche se l'esperienza e le simpatie di cui si era circondato lo rendevano idoneo a un efficace svolgimento dei suoi compiti.

A seguito dell'assassinio di Paolo I e dell'ascesa al trono del figlio Alessandro I, la situazione politica e i rapporti con la Chiesa mutarono profondamente: Benvenuti comprese subito la necessità di avvertire la Segreteria di Stato sulle reali intenzioni della Russia, che non desiderava un nunzio, quanto piuttosto un ministro senza dignità vescovile per poter ricostruire i rapporti diplomatici con lo Stato Pontificio; per questo, una volta giunto a Pietroburgo monsignor Arezzo agli inizi dell'aprile 1803 come ambasciatore della Santa Sede, a Benvenuti fu concesso di tornare in patria, dove giunse però solo nel marzo 1804.

In Italia il vescovo, dopo una breve sosta nella città natale, si recò a Roma, dove in qualità di esperto delle problematiche russe fu adoperato all'interno della Segreteria di Stato e dove, al contempo, rivestì il ruolo di agente della Repubblica di Ragusa. A seguito dell'inizio della guerra tra Francia e la terza coalizione, Benvenuti nel 1805 fu inviato a Napoli per una difficile missione:

⁴⁶ Lorenzo Litta (Milano, 1756 - Monte Flavio, Sabina, 1820) fu dapprima arcivescovo titolare di Tebe, poi nunzio pontificio in Polonia, delegato apostolico a Pietroburgo e fu legato a latere a Mosca; fu nominato cardinale nel 1801 e, a partire dal 1814, anche prefetto di Propaganda Fide. Infine, divenne cardinale vicario nel 1818. Viene inoltre ricordato per aver tradotto l'*Illiade*. Si veda anche G. Rumi, *Scaccato d'oro e di nero. I fratelli Litta Visconti Arese negli anni della Rivoluzione e dell'Impero*, in Id., *Lombardia guelfa 1780-1980*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 1988, pp. 17-37.

⁴⁷ Il gran maestro dell'Ordine di Malta è la suprema autorità istituzionale, superiore religioso e sovrano, capo di Stato in qualità di principe e la durata del suo incarico è vitalizia.

convincere i contingenti anglo-russi sbarcati in città a firmare un accordo per cui essi si impegnavano a rispettare la neutralità dello Stato Pontificio, alla tutela dei beni e dei francesi residenti nello Stato romano, a percorrere un itinerario il più lontano possibile da Roma e a rimborsare gli eventuali danni arrecati dal loro passaggio. Purtroppo, i contatti presi da Benvenuti e la proposta di convenzione furono rifiutati dai russi e la situazione divenne pericolosa per il vescovo, al quale fu consigliato di allontanarsi dalla città, poiché sospettato di essere addirittura una spia francese.

L'anno seguente al suo rientro a Roma, ovvero nel 1806, Benvenuti fu nominato referendario di Segnatura e prelado domestico di Sua Santità, incarichi con cui poté entrare a tutti gli effetti nella Congregazione del Buon Governo; allo stato attuale delle ricerche, dal 1807 al 1815 non si hanno più notizie sulla sua carriera ecclesiastica, probabilmente a causa dell'occupazione francese. Le informazioni sugli incarichi del vescovo riprendono dal 1815, quando fu inviato a Civitavecchia come delegato straordinario, dove rimase per cinque anni. Nel 1820 Benvenuti fu poi trasferito ad Ancona, sempre in qualità di delegato straordinario, dove il suo ottimo operato fu caratterizzato dalla scoperta di una congiura organizzata da alcuni ufficiali della Carboneria, capeggiati dal colonnello Dondini, e dall'abolizione della franchigia del porto alle manifatture di cotone, seta e lana.

L'occasione di ricoprire un altro prestigioso incarico si presentò a Benvenuti alla morte di Pio VII quando, nel periodo di sede vacante, partiti i cardinali legati per prender parte al conclave, il vescovo fu nominato delegato straordinario delle Quattro Legazioni, carica che ricoprì fino al dicembre 1823, quando rientrò ad Ancona. Ben presto però fu richiamato a Roma, alla segreteria del Buon Governo, poiché Leone XII il 2 luglio 1824 lo aveva nominato con un breve delegato straordinario delle province di Marittima e Campagna e visitatore di tutte le comunità di Stato, ruolo che prevedeva tra l'altro il dovere di riordinare l'amministrazione provinciale e di cercare di arginare il fenomeno del brigantaggio, che si era diffuso nelle campagne a partire dall'inizio del secolo. Benvenuti allora lasciò al suo uditore Secondo Biamonti la supplenza al Buon Governo e raggiunse subito Frosinone, dove si impegnò nella lotta al brigantaggio adottando misure restrittive molto severe: introdusse la milizia volontaria, istituì un tribunale speciale, ritirò i porti d'arma e le patenti di caccia e avviò una sorveglianza speciale sui sospettati e sulle loro famiglie, che portò alla confisca di numerosi beni e alla condanna di congiunti e familiari, fino al terzo grado di parentela.

Per quanto riguarda invece l'ambito amministrativo, Benvenuti prescrisse il corretto andamento delle amministrazioni locali, danneggiate dai disordini degli anni precedenti, incentivò il miglioramento e la costruzione di nuove strade, perché fermamente convinto della centralità delle vie di comunicazione, e incoraggiò lo sviluppo dell'istruzione popolare, attraverso un piano di riforma scolastica, in quanto la riteneva fondamentale per il miglioramento economico delle due province.

Grazie agli importanti risultati ottenuti, Benvenuti fu onorato della porpora nel concistoro segreto del 2 ottobre 1826 e fu incaricato a Forlì come prolegato; due anni dopo, nel dicembre 1828, fu pubblicato con il titolo dei SS. Quirico e Giulitta e fu chiamato a prendere parte alla Congregazione dei Vescovi e Regolari, Immunità ecclesiastica, Buon Governo e Lauretana e gli fu affidata la diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli.

Alla morte di Leone XII, nel conclave del marzo 1829, prima dell'elezione di Pio VIII, in un primo momento circolò anche la candidatura di Benvenuti, grazie all'appoggio dei cardinali Pacca⁴⁸ e Albani⁴⁹, ma fu poi scartata a causa di alcune accuse di scarsa dottrina e dirittura morale, mossegli dallo schieramento di De Gregorio⁵⁰ e di Bernetti⁵¹. La probabilità di salire al soglio pontificio si fece più concreta nel successivo conclave del 1831, poiché la sua posizione era sostenuta anche dalla Francia e in quanto Bernetti gli offrì il sostegno del partito di De Gregorio, a patto che però non fosse nominato segretario di Stato Albani; tuttavia Benvenuti rifiutò qualsiasi compromesso e contribuì a sbloccare la situazione di stallo dichiarando di voler votare per Cappellari⁵², che fu infatti eletto con il nome di Gregorio XVI. Il neoletto pontefice si trovò subito a dover affrontare la rivoluzione che dagli inizi di febbraio aveva investito le Legazioni e che, ben presto, si diffuse nel territorio delle Marche e dell'Umbria; in questa occasione Benvenuti fu nominato legato *a latere* e si occupò del ripristino dell'ordine e dell'autorità papale⁵³.

6. Il coinvolgimento del cardinale Benvenuti nei moti rivoluzionari del 1830-1831

L'attenzione agli emarginati e ai più deboli ha da sempre contraddistinto la diocesi di Osimo, una tra le più antiche nelle Marche: la sua fondazione

⁴⁸ Bartolomeo Pacca (Benevento, 1756 - Roma, 1844) fu prosegretario di Stato dal 1808 al 1814. Nel corso del conclave del 1829, il re di Francia esercitò su di lui il diritto di veto (cfr. D. Armando, *Pacca, Bartolomeo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, cit., 2014, vol. 80, pp. 39-45).

⁴⁹ Giuseppe Andrea Albani (Roma, 1750 - Pesaro, 1834) fu cardinale Segretario di Stato dal 1829 al 1830 (*Albani, Giuseppe Andrea, ibid.*, 1960, vol. 1, pp. 607-609).

⁵⁰ Emanuele de Gregorio (1758 - Roma, 1839) fu l'ultimo archimandrita del Santissimo Salvatore, col nome di Emanuele II e fu barone in Terra di Savoca (M. Caffiero, *De Gregorio, Emanuele, ibid.*, 1988, vol. 36, pp. 212-215).

⁵¹ Tommaso Bernetti (Fermo, 1779 - Fermo, 1852) fu cardinale Segretario di Stato dal 1828 al 1829 e dal 1831 al 1836. Abile diplomatico, si trovò per molto tempo in Francia e fu anche vicecancelliere di Santa Romana Chiesa (G. Pignatelli, *Bernetti, Tommaso, ibid.*, 1967, vol. 9, pp. 338-343).

⁵² Bartolomeo Alberto Cappellari (Belluno, 1765 - Roma, 1846) fu eletto papa nel 1831; apparteneva alla Congregazione camaldolese dell'Ordine di San Benedetto (*Gregorio XVI, papa, ibid.*, 2002, vol. 59, pp. 229-242).

⁵³ Cfr. Pignatelli, *Benvenuti, Giovanni Antonio, ibid.*, 1966, vol. 8, pp. 667-671.

infatti risalirebbe al IV secolo per opera del *protoepiscopo* San Leopardo, e la sua primigenia estensione risultava essere di poco superiore a quella dell'antica colonia romana, comprendendo gli attuali Comuni di Filottrano, Cingoli, Appignano, Staffolo, Montecassiano, Montefano, Offagna e Castelfidardo.

Le notizie riguardanti il succedersi dei vescovi alla guida della diocesi risultano però piuttosto lacunose fino al XII secolo e, di fatto, oggi si conoscono i nomi di soli settantasette vescovi, ma purtroppo di alcuni non si hanno notizie esaurienti sulle attività episcopali⁵⁴.

Molteplici furono gli eventi storici di particolare rilevanza che interessarono la città di Osimo nel corso dei secoli e uno fra tutti fu la dominazione francese a cavallo tra il Settecento e l'Ottocento, che divise la città dal punto di vista politico e che trovò considerevoli sostenitori specie nelle famiglie osimane più facoltose. La situazione degenerò a partire dal 2 aprile 1808, quando i già precari rapporti tra Napoleone e il papa furono segnati dall'annessione dello Stato Pontificio al Regno d'Italia, passaggio che a Osimo avvenne ufficialmente solo l'11 maggio dello stesso anno; in questo modo la città entrò a far parte del II Distretto del Dipartimento del Musone, la cui giurisdizione era affidata al viceprefetto Berselli, di stanza a Loreto.

Sempre nel 1808, a séguito delle numerose pretese e minacce di Napoleone, che voleva sfruttare per i propri interessi l'appoggio papale e, dopo l'annessione dello Stato Pontificio all'impero francese, il papa decise di scomunicare tutti i responsabili di questo sopruso; per tutta risposta Napoleone fece arrestare proprio papa Pio VII⁵⁵ e lo fece prigioniero prima in Francia, poi a Savona, negandogli qualsiasi contatto esterno. Inoltre, nel 1810 fece applicare la legge per la soppressione degli ordini e delle congregazioni religiose, che sanciva in modo definitivo la rottura tra il governo napoleonico e quello papale; anche la città di Osimo ne fu investita e dai loro monasteri furono cacciate le Clarisse di San Niccolò, le Cappuccine dell'Addolorata e le Benedettine, mentre dai conventi maschili furono allontanati i Cappuccini, gli Osservanti, i Filippini, gli Agostiniani, i Conventuali, i Silvestrini e i Domenicani. L'unica congregazione che si mantenne fu quella delle Terziarie Cappuccine, in quanto la natura della loro istituzione risultava essere quella di un «Istituto di educazione e di avviamento al lavoro per le figlie del popolo».

Il regime napoleonico introdusse numerose innovazioni nella società dell'epoca, tra cui una nuova festività religiosa dedicata proprio a San Napoleone, in omaggio al sovrano regnante, che entrò in vigore dal 15 agosto 1806 e che fu considerata festa di precetto; la stessa data a Osimo fu scelta per la consegna delle doti alle *zitelle* povere, tra cui generalmente avevano la

⁵⁴ Cfr. Morroni, Egidi, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Osimano*, cit., p. 191.

⁵⁵ Barnaba Niccolò Maria Luigi Chiaramonti (Cesena, 1742 - Roma, 1823) fu eletto papa nel 1800 e apparteneva all'Ordine benedettino (cfr. Boutry, *Pio VII, papa*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, cit., 2015, vol. 84, pp. 11-22).

precedenza quelle di buoni costumi, che vivevano onestamente e che avevano l'intenzione di dedicarsi alla vita religiosa, sempre nel rispetto delle volontà testamentarie o del regolamento delle Opere pie istituite in loro favore⁵⁶.

Nei primi anni dell'Ottocento il regime napoleonico si occupò anche della regolamentazione dei vari servizi controllati dalle Congregazioni di carità⁵⁷ e iniziò a interferire nel ruolo e nelle attività del clero secolare: per esempio, al cardinale osimano dell'epoca, Giovanni Castiglioni⁵⁸, fu ordinato di recarsi a Milano con gli altri vescovi marchigiani per prestare giuramento di fedeltà al potere temporale francese, ma egli si rifiutò e per questo fu privato di tutte le sue rendite.

La situazione generale si risolse soltanto con la definitiva liberazione di papa Pio VII che rientrò a Roma nel 1815, quando ristabilì l'autorità dello Stato Pontificio, diviso ora in province o delegazioni, a loro volta suddivise in governi. In questa occasione la città di Osimo entrò a far parte della Delegazione di Ancona e diventò al contempo governo di un territorio che comprendeva Agugliano, Offagna e Polverigi, anche se per lungo tempo nella città proseguì l'occupazione austriaca.

L'antica unione tra fede, governo e legge si era già dissolta durante il periodo rivoluzionario e la Chiesa tipica dell'*ancien régime* era stata smantellata in età napoleonica, ma nella fase del ripristino del governo ecclesiastico, per ristabilire la forza e l'autorità della Chiesa, furono reintrodotti i vecchi metodi di polizia, soprattutto nei confronti di chi aveva appoggiato gli ideali napoleonici e contro le prime tendenze repubblicane. Mutarono le prospettive d'azione in ambito ecclesiastico, intellettuale e nell'opinione pubblica dell'epoca e ciò influì ideologicamente e istituzionalmente sulle relazioni tra Stato e Chiesa; in risposta al processo di laicizzazione dello Stato, il governo pontificio iniziò ad attribuire maggiore valore alla sovranità temporale del papa, basandosi su tre diversi principi di legittimazione: il primo poggiava sull'antichità, la continuità e la stabilità del possesso del potere, il secondo considerava la sovranità temporale come suprema garanzia di indipendenza spirituale e, infine, il terzo prevedeva l'affermazione dello Stato Pontificio come centro della società cristiana, luogo del primato giuridico e politico del cattolicesimo⁵⁹.

⁵⁶ Cfr. Egidi, *Assistenza e beneficenza in Osimo attraverso i secoli*, cit., p. 35.

⁵⁷ Le Congregazioni di carità in Italia e nelle Marche furono introdotte a partire dal 1808 e si occuparono di pubblica assistenza e beneficenza, anche per ovviare alla chiusura delle istituzioni religiose; esse furono però soppresse dopo la Restaurazione nel 1815.

⁵⁸ Vescovo nato a Ischia di Castro nel 1742 e morto a Osimo nel 1815. Fu penitenziere maggiore di Pio VII ed ebbe l'onore di riceverlo ufficialmente nel suo trionfale viaggio di ritorno a Roma, a séguito della prigionia. Egli fu inoltre consultore della Congregazione dell'Indice, censore della Sapienza ed esaminatore di vescovi. Castiglioni fu vescovo di Osimo dal 1808 fino alla morte nel 1815 (cfr. Morroni, Egidi, *Dizionario enciclopedico osimano*, cit., p. 104).

⁵⁹ Cfr. F. Traniello, *Idee e modelli di relazione tra Chiesa, Stato e società, avanti il 1848*, in L. Pazzaglia (ed.), *Chiesa e prospettive educative in Italia tra Restaurazione e Unificazione*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1994, pp. 16-19.

Una quindicina di anni dopo la Restaurazione, tra il 1830 e il 1831, si scatenarono una serie di rivolte contro il governo ecclesiastico, che alterarono definitivamente il quadro politico dell'Europa occidentale, modificando gli equilibri di potenza retti dalla Santa Alleanza; in particolare, significativa fu la rivoluzione di Parigi del 1830, che portò all'ascesa al trono, con legittimazione popolare e non ereditaria o territoriale, di Luigi Filippo d'Orléans.

Sulla scia degli eventi europei, nell'autunno del 1830, le organizzazioni carbonare dell'Italia centrale avviarono i preparativi per un'insurrezione anti-austriaca: nel Modenese, Ciro Menotti ed Enrico Misley, strinsero un patto con Francesco IV, sovrano del Ducato, che prevedeva il sostegno del duca alla rivoluzione nei propri territori in cambio della possibilità di diventare re di una monarchia costituzionale, nata dall'unificazione dei territori interessati dalle sommosse; il duca però non tenne fede al patto, accusò Menotti di congiura e lo condannò a morte. La tensione crebbe e a Bologna e Parma i moti scoppiarono nel febbraio del 1831, dilagarono poi in tutta la Romagna, in Umbria e nelle Marche, e portarono anche alla costituzione di un nuovo governo delle Province Unite italiane, ovvero una repubblica parlamentare, nata a séguito della proclamazione d'indipendenza dallo Stato della Chiesa. Nel marzo 1831 in Francia si insediò il governo del moderato Périer e il Ducato di Modena e Reggio fu occupato dagli austriaci, i quali si unirono all'esercito pontificio per cercare di fermare le ribellioni e ristabilirono le leggi e gli ordinamenti precedenti, attraverso una dura repressione; il governo delle Province Unite si mostrò così incapace di poter difendere il Ducato. In risposta la Francia occupò Ancona, ma ciò non modificò particolarmente la situazione e i moti del 1831 finirono per concludersi con un nulla di fatto, anche se contribuirono alla presa di coscienza italiana sulla necessità di liberarsi dalla dominazione austriaca per poter finalmente conquistare la libertà e l'indipendenza.

Durante i *moti romagnoli* il vescovo della diocesi osimana era appunto il cardinale Giovanni Antonio Benvenuti, nominato dall'allora papa Gregorio XVI anche legato pontificio per le Marche⁶⁰, con il compito di sollevare le masse popolari contro i rivoluzionari affiliati alla carboneria, per tentare di arginare il clima di grande agitazione nell'Italia centrale e riaffermare la piena autorità del governo pontificio. In qualità di legato *a latere* con potestà illimitate e, avendo fama di essere un 'moderato', Benvenuti poté entrare senza sospetti nella zona insorta; purtroppo però, nel corso della sua spedizione nei luoghi conquistati dai rivoluzionari, fu intercettata una lettera del prosegretario di Stato Bernetti a lui indirizzata, in cui si faceva luce in modo inequivocabile sui reali obiettivi della sua missione e, per questo, egli venne immediatamente arrestato e trasferito a Bologna, dove si decise di tenerlo in ostaggio per ottenere la liberazione dei detenuti politici di Civitavecchia e Civita Castellana. Per assicurarsi la sua scarcerazione intervennero il governo spagnolo e francese, il papa il 24 febbraio

⁶⁰ Cfr. Morroni, Egidi, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Osimano*, cit., p. 57.

1831 indirizzò una protesta al corpo diplomatico e a nulla valsero neppure le ingerenze austriache: i rivoluzionari infatti, convinti della necessità di trattenerne il cardinale per poter raggiungere i loro scopi, risposero a tutte queste iniziative negativamente.

In seguito, Benvenuti fu trasferito ad Ancona per volere del generale Zucchi⁶¹, per tentare di negoziare una sua eventuale capitolazione tramite la stipulazione di una convenzione in dodici articoli, con cui si sarebbe ristabilito il governo pontificio a patto che fosse concessa ai compromessi una piena e assoluta amnistia, fosse fornito un passaporto a chi desiderava emigrare e che ai pensionati, agli impiegati e ai militari fossero assicurati tutti i diritti di cui godevano prima della rivoluzione. Il governo pontificio però non ritenne valida tale convenzione, in quanto giudicata estorta a Benvenuti con la violenza, il quale era ancora in stato di detenzione, così come non la riconobbero gli austriaci entrati dal 29 marzo in Ancona; proprio quest'ultimi, il 30 marzo riuscirono a catturare i rivoluzionari che, ottenuto il permesso da Benvenuti, si erano imbarcati per mettersi in salvo dall'avanzata delle truppe austriache. Invano il cardinale cercò di spiegare a Bernetti che la sua azione era stata compiuta in realtà senza alcun condizionamento, poiché egli l'aveva ritenuta necessaria per evitare una sanguinosa guerriglia organizzata dalle truppe di Zucchi e per bloccare Sercognani⁶², che progettava di marciare su Roma. Nonostante ciò Benvenuti fu sconfessato e deposto dalla carica, ma fino al 9 aprile proseguì il suo lavoro sull'esecuzione della convenzione e riuscì a ripristinare l'amministrazione civile nelle Marche e in Umbria, grazie anche all'aiuto del generale austriaco Geppert che, pur non riconoscendo la convenzione, lavorò con il cardinale per ottenere il disarmo delle truppe dei rivoltosi⁶³.

Il cardinale Benvenuti fu infine costretto all'adempimento degli ordini della Segreteria di Stato e fece piena sottomissione, nonostante sul piano pratico la sua missione avesse comunque raggiunto gli scopi preposti, a discapito di un completo fallimento dal punto di vista politico. Al termine degli eventi rivoluzionari del 1831 Benvenuti ripartì per Osimo, diocesi che gli era stata

⁶¹ Carlo Zucchi (1777-1863) originario di Reggio nell'Emilia, fu un generale italiano. Egli guidò le truppe organizzate nel corso dei moti rivoluzionari del 1831 a Reggio Emilia, le quali si distinsero per la tenace opposizione alle milizie austriache. Il 28 marzo Zucchi e altri rivoluzionari cercarono di mettersi in salvo salpando per la Francia dal porto di Ancona, ma vennero catturati in mare dagli austriaci e il generale fu condannato a morte, pena che poi fu commutata in quella del carcere a vita. Fu liberato allo scoppio della rivoluzione nel 1848 e, dopo la proclamazione del regno d'Italia, fu nominato luogotenente generale a riposo (cfr. A. Baldini, *Zucchi, Carlo*, in *Enciclopedia italiana*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, vol. XXXV, 1937, p. 1047).

⁶² Giuseppe Sercognani (Faenza, 1780 - Versailles, 1844) fu un patriota italiano che, nel corso dei moti del 1831, fu incaricato del comando della Guardia nazionale di Pesaro. Sercognani dopo aver vinto a San Leo, proseguì verso Roma, battendo l'esercito papalino che tentava di fermare la sua avanzata, ma giunto nei pressi di Civitacastellana, apprese la notizia della capitolazione di Ancona, decise allora di sciogliere il corpo dei volontari e di recarsi in Francia (cfr. Baldini, *Sercognani, Giuseppe*, in *Enciclopedia italiana*, cit., vol. XXXI, 1936, p. 429).

⁶³ Cfr. Pignatelli, *Benvenuti, Giovanni Antonio*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, cit.

affidata già nel 1828, dove trascorse gli ultimi anni del suo vescovato dedicandosi alle cure pastorali e dove riassunse interamente le sue funzioni episcopali, nonostante fosse profondamente logorato e scosso nel fisico e nello spirito.

Nella città di Osimo non mancarono le influenze rivoluzionarie e, una volta ripresi i suoi incarichi all'interno della diocesi, Benvenuti si occupò della stesura di editti e notificazioni con cui, come interprete delle paterne disposizioni di Sua Santità, si preoccupò di risparmiare il «sangue de' suoi figli», di ristabilire l'equilibrio nelle zone sottoposte al suo governo e di evitare che fossero rilasciati falsi documenti di buona condotta politica da parte dei parroci⁶⁴.

Purtroppo, facendo leva sul pretesto delle trascorse vicende politiche, Roma decise di non approvare né ratificare i successivi provvedimenti di Benvenuti e nel 1838, a causa anche delle sue precarie condizioni di salute, di nominare il cardinale Ostini, vescovo di Jesi, come amministratore apostolico che avrebbe dovuto affiancarlo, se non addirittura sostituirlo, nella gestione della diocesi. Per Benvenuti ciò rappresentò un'ulteriore mortificazione e per questo decise di ritirarsi nella residenza vescovile di campagna a Casenuove, una località nei pressi della città, dove rimase fino alla morte il 14 novembre 1838.

In particolare, oltre all'allontanamento del cardinale Benvenuti, i moti del 1831 a Osimo avevano causato le dimissioni della guardia provinciale, il cambiamento della magistratura, l'apertura di sottoscrizioni e la partenza di numerosi volontari che scelsero di arruolarsi: le conseguenze di questa instabilità politica influenzarono tutto il contesto sociale cittadino⁶⁵, dove si riuscì a ristabilire un clima di pace e stabilità, solo con la ripresa dell'autorità del cardinale Benvenuti nel 1832.

7. Il rapporto tra il cardinale Benvenuti e il conte Leopoldo Armaroli. Il contributo dell'avvocato maceratese nel dibattito sulla creazione del brefotrofo osimano

Il cardinale Benvenuti, al rientro nella diocesi di Osimo, si dedicò interamente al suo governo spirituale e soprattutto si preoccupò del buon andamento dell'Istituto Campana, da lui stesso frequentato in gioventù, incentivò le visite pastorali, utilizzandole come strumento di supporto ai suoi cittadini e per controllare l'operato dei suoi parroci, incitandoli a seguire il suo esempio di zelo apostolico, e decise di dedicarsi attivamente all'assistenza dei poveri e degli emarginati.

⁶⁴ Archivio diocesano di Osimo, fascicolo 13, *Editti. Notificazioni. Indulti. Decreti* (206), Card. G. Castiglioni, G. Alessi Vic. Cap., Card. C. A. Pelagallo, Card. F. S. Marinelli, Card. E. Dandini, Mons. T. M. Ascensi, Card. G. A. Benvenuti, Vesc. G. Zelli, 1808-1838.

⁶⁵ Cfr. Morroni, Egidi, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Osimano*, cit., p. 353.

In particolare, il cardinale era oltremodo preoccupato per il profondo disagio morale ed economico causato dalla collocazione degli esposti presso l'istituto Santa Lucia di Recanati e dall'alto tasso di mortalità registrato al suo interno, per questo, come già precedentemente spiegato, orchestrò un abile lavoro diplomatico, al fine di costruire due brefotrofi diocesani in cui poter accogliere anche i *progetti* dei comuni limitrofi.

Tra le importanti autorità che intervennero a sostegno del progetto di Benvenuti, peculiare fu il contributo intellettuale dell'avvocato Leopoldo Armaroli: ex sostenitore del governo napoleonico, senatore per il dipartimento del Musone a Milano, fermo oppositore del programma indipendentistico di Federico Confalonieri, fu coinvolto in controverse vicende politiche che, a séguito del crollo del governo napoleonico, nel 1814 lo spinsero a ritirarsi a vita privata presso Appignano, nel Maceratese. In questo periodo l'avvocato si dedicò principalmente agli studi di suo interesse personale e rivestì la toga soltanto in occasioni straordinarie ma, dopo lo scoppio dei moti rivoluzionari del febbraio 1831, fu riportato all'attività politica con l'elezione a ministro della Giustizia del nuovo governo delle Province Unite italiane. Il precipitare degli eventi però, non gli consentì di prendere effettivamente possesso dell'ufficio e, per questo, decise di ritirarsi definitivamente ad Appignano, dove si occupò dell'amministrazione del Comune di cui nel 1832 fu eletto gonfaloniere.

In occasione delle adunanze delle Deputazioni dei nuovi brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli, su istanza dello stesso Benvenuti, Armaroli redasse un rapporto sul progetto di regolamento dei due istituti e lo fece probabilmente in qualità di esperto sul tema dell'infanzia abbandonata: nel 1838, infatti, egli pubblicò un volume dal titolo *Ricerche storiche sulla esposizione degli'infanti presso gli antichi popoli e specialmente presso i romani*⁶⁶, nella cui prefazione, rivolgendosi a Sua Eccellenza il signor conte e marchese Giovanni Battista Costabili Containi⁶⁷, egli scriveva:

L'attenzione, che alcune circostanze mi diedero motivo di consacrare agli stabilimenti degli Esposti ed alle regolazioni dei medesimi in parecchi paesi da me maggiormente conosciuti, mi ha condotto a studj e ricerche, i cui risultati potrebbero avere una più estesa ed utile applicazione. Mosso da questa lusinga, e incoraggiato dal parere di persone esperte ed

⁶⁶ L. Armaroli, *Ricerche storiche sulla esposizione degli infanti presso gli antichi popoli e specialmente presso i Romani*, Venezia, tipografia di Giuseppe Antonelli, 1838.

⁶⁷ Giovanni Battista Costabili Containi (Ferrara, 1756 – Ferrara, 1841), considerato da Armaroli esempio di virtù e qualità, condivise con lui l'appoggio alla politica napoleonica, che gli permise anche una rapida carriera durante il Regno Italico. Creato marchese da papa Gregorio XVI, negli ultimi anni della sua vita si dedicò attivamente alla costituzione della sua biblioteca e della quadreria (cfr. Venturi, *Costabili Containi, Giovanni Battista*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, cit., 1984, vol. 30, pp. 264-266).

intelligenti, mi sono determinato di dare alle stampe il primo saggio delle mie elucubrazioni in siffatta materia, riservandomi di fargli succedere appresso alcune osservazioni e proposizioni sullo stato in cui trovansi al presente in molti luoghi le istituzioni di questo genere, e sui provvedimenti che sarebbero da reputarsi i più convenevoli per le medesime.

Armaroli nei *prolegomeni* del volume poi spiegava:

Allorché il supremo Creatore dell'universo comandò ad ogni essere, di cui die' vita, di crescere, moltiplicarsi e popolare la terra, furono i bruti ed i vegetali, che sommessamente ascoltarono il grido dell'Onnipossente, e vi prestarono obbedienza passiva tale, che a questo unico scopo applicarono tutta intiera la loro esistenza. Non colla stessa solerzia lo ascoltò l'uomo, perché, arricchito dal celeste dono del raziocinio, abilitato a giovarsi del beneficio del libero arbitrio, non è il solo istinto, che lo determina e lo muove, ma riflette, calcola, combina, e soprattutto anche all'impero delle passioni quel partito afferra, cui più lo chiamano o l'interesse o il piacere. [...]

3. Ma tra gli uomini non è l'istinto che indipendentemente da ogni altro agente lo ecciti alla congiunzione de' sessi, onde riprodurre l'opera la più sublime, cui si è degnato il suo Creatore di compartire la propria immagine e similitudine. Tre stimoli nella sua provida sapienza ha inserito Dio a tal uopo ne' nostri NERVI, nel nostro CUORE, nella nostra MENTE, quello cioè del SENSO, quello dell'AMORE e quello del proprio INTERESSE. È per viste INTERESSATE, che molti colla santità de' connubj aspirano alla conservazione della prosapia, a far passare le avite e le acquistate sostanze ai germogli del proprio sangue, e provvedersi di essi, perché in vecchiaja gli assistano, dopo la morte li ricordino, li piangano. [...] Non altrettanto può dirsi di quella caterva di uomini, che convertono l'alto mistero conservatore della umana specie in un voluttuoso sgravio di materiale SENSUALITÀ. Le carnali loro compiacenze, sieno pure chiarite dalla fiaccola dell'imeneo, molto più se sieno lordate dalla lascivia e dal bordello, restano funestate sempre dall'altrui invocata fecondità, ch'eglino quale sciagura paventano. O si tema per essa sospeso il libero esercizio della libidinosa intemperanza, o fra la turba dei conjugati assolutamente mendichi, o anche di coloro, che mediante il sudore del volto non credono di lucrare ciò che basti ad alimentare sé stessi o la prole (che nell'indigente classe suol essere più frequente), sgomenta la preveduta necessità di prestare alimento ad un mal augurato vivente destinato a gemere fra la miseria ed il disprezzo (2). È da queste due caterve di uomini che o si estingue con male arti il germe prima, che col respiro introduca l'atmosfera ne' suoi polmoni, o colla fame o col laccio si uccide, o esposto crudamente ne' trivj o ne' vestiboli de' tempj, ove non esistono come ora tra noi, pubblici pietosi ricoveri, è raccomandato al proprio destino e all'altrui misericordia.

All'epoca, secondo quanto riportato da Armaroli, erano per lo più gli illegittimi a essere esposti, in quanto la crescente civiltà e la più solerte vigilanza dei magistrati aveva fatto sì che anche i più poveri avessero gli strumenti per occuparsi della propria prole, evitando così di ricorrere alla ruota; inoltre, la stessa morale cristiana si era fatta portatrice di valori e argomenti con cui persuadere i credenti della loro responsabilità genitoriale e dell'importanza della cura e dell'allattamento materno, almeno nei primi mesi di vita.

Per avvalorare i suoi studi, Armaroli raccolse anche numerose testimonianze delle pratiche in uso presso gli antichi brefotrofi e presso gli istituti dediti all'accoglienza degli esposti, come per esempio quella di porre del sale tra le fasce dei *progetti* per capire se questi avessero ricevuto o meno le acque battesimali,

o la creazione di apposite vasche atte a ricevere gli esposti introdotte nelle basiliche, forse in supplemento dell'antica «colonna lattaria»⁶⁸, nella speranza che qualche buon cristiano misericordioso li prendesse in custodia per assisterli ed educarli.

Nel secondo rapporto del conte Armaroli indirizzato al cardinale Benvenuti⁶⁹, l'avvocato fa inoltre riferimento a una realtà francese del X secolo, ovvero un istituto chiamato «degli incitatori della carità di Santa Marta», il cui scopo era quello di raccogliere gli esposti affinché non morissero senza essere stati battezzati. Si racconta poi del 1570, quando un vescovo di Parigi lasciò una casa presso St. Landry detta «la casa della culla», dove una buona vedova raccoglieva e nutriva gli esposti; purtroppo le sue «fantesche» e coloro che le succedettero intrapresero un tragico traffico di bambini: per il fissato prezzo di venti soldi, i trovatelli venivano venduti alle mendicanti per sfruttarli nelle elemosine, in quanto sollecitavano più facilmente la compassione pubblica, oppure erano venduti alle nutrici, per sostituirli ai bambini dati loro a baliatico esterno e poi morti, per evitare di perdere il sussidio in denaro, o ancora erano venduti ai cultori di arti magiche, che li immolavano per gli «arcani della grand'opera». Indignato da questo scandaloso e terribile uso, fu poi San Vincenzo de' Paoli nel 1638 a creare un ospizio affidato all'istituto delle Dame della Carità, dedicato proprio all'accoglienza dei bambini abbandonati.

Armaroli sostiene che la direzione degli istituti assistenziali per l'infanzia abbandonata dovesse essere affidata a personalità competenti, capaci non soltanto di occuparsi dell'amministrazione finanziaria, ma anche di provvedere alla formazione di cittadini dotati di retta moralità. Lo stile di vita collegiale, simile a quello dei monasteri, era a volte preferibile per la cura e l'educazione dei ragazzi, ma non sempre esso poteva essere applicato a quelli che dovevano crearsi e formarsi uno stato sociale; infatti, il brusco passaggio dalla «catena» alla libertà avrebbe potuto causare il precipitare nella «voragine del vizio». Specialmente le esposte, chiuse tra quattro mura, non avrebbero potuto comprendere i doveri della buona moglie e madre di famiglia e, una volta uscite, sarebbero state facilmente preda delle attenzioni indesiderate da parte di uomini mossi dal solo bisogno fisico e non dal sentimento.

Sempre nel rapporto inviato al cardinale osimano, Armaroli scrive:

Il sentimento di carità, di compassione, e di beneficenza non è dato alla nostra specie per un vano attributo e se qualche volta non riceve ospitalità nelle Città popolate, si dirige con dignità nelle deserte campagne, ove viene accolto gradito, e quasi giornalmente secondato.

⁶⁸ La «colonna lattaria» ha origine nell'antica Roma, dov'era posta nel Foro Olitorio; accanto a essa venivano abbandonati i bambini nella speranza che qualche passante li nutrisse o li togliesse dalla strada per occuparsene.

⁶⁹ Secondo rapporto del conte Armaroli inviato al cardinale Benvenuti (s. d.), in Archivio diocesano di Osimo, Diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli, *Brefotrofi, Questione brefotrofia provinciale di Recanati, Istituzione dei brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli. Corrispondenze-Relazioni (1823-1886)*.

A queste mie riflessioni, sebbene appoggiate alle massime anche più austere de' due grandi Economisti Politici il Cav. Gaetano Filangeri, e il Consigliere di Stato Giuseppe Palmieri m'impose Vra Emza d'investigare se vi corrispondesse la testimonianza dell'esperienza. In esecuzione di tale onorevole incarico mi sono procurato i necessarj elementi di fatto onde naturalmente in tutte le loro attribuzioni, e in tutti metodi di conoscere i diversi Stabilimenti, che per provvedere ai bastardi esistono nella nostra Provincia.

L'avvocato continua facendo riferimento agli istituti di Recanati, Fermo, Camerino e Fabriano, dotati di conservatori in cui si accoglievano i *progetti* anche dopo il baliatico e agli istituti di Ascoli, Ancona, Jesi, San Severino, Tolentino e Treia che supplivano al problema dell'infanzia abbandonata senza il bisogno di racchiudere quei poveri infelici in «pubbliche case». La pubblica beneficenza, in questi casi, si occupava allora dell'assistenza sanitaria degli esposti, per consentire loro la sopravvivenza, si preoccupava di non lasciarli in balia di loro stessi finché non fossero stati autonomi e cercava di conciliare la filiazione, per garantire agli esposti il più conveniente stato civile con il minor dispendio possibile di risorse pubbliche.

Un'altra difficile tematica affrontata da Armaroli è quella del tasso di mortalità riscontrato all'interno degli stabilimenti, che nel corso del tempo si era parzialmente attenuato grazie al miglioramento delle condizioni igienico-sanitarie, ma che costituiva ancora ai primi dell'Ottocento un dato particolarmente preoccupante; i livelli di mortalità rappresentavano per l'avvocato un decisivo parametro di valutazione dell'efficienza degli istituti rivolti all'infanzia abbandonata e a conferma di ciò egli si rifà alla Fisiologia del dottor Richerand⁷⁰ e a diversi esempi, come quello di Mantova e di Macerata, ritenendo che varie fossero le cause della mortalità dei bambini, tra cui non erano da sottovalutare i modi con cui spesso erano abbandonati o condotti presso gli ospedali. Un altro fattore veniva individuato nella nascita prematura o nelle malformazioni e patologie fisiche, come problemi al sistema circolatorio o al sistema nervoso, che spesso non rendevano possibile la sopravvivenza dei bambini oltre il primo anno di vita.

L'avvocato esamina l'argomento da più punti di vista nel corso dei suoi scritti e propone innovazioni amministrative per tentare di superare la gravosa situazione degli esposti, ma soprattutto egli riflette sulle problematiche che scaturiscono all'inizio dell'esposizione: spesso per ridurre i rischi del trasporto dei *progetti*, si verificavano delle trasgressioni dell'obbligo di esposizione presso lo stabilimento di rispettiva competenza territoriale e ciò causava conflitti e rivendicazioni tra i vari istituti, i quali non volevano in nessun modo farsi carico degli esposti altrui.

I problemi amministrativi, il problema della malnutrizione e della cagionevole salute dei *trovatelli* convinsero il conte Armaroli a sostenere la tesi per cui a un grande stabilimento, erano preferibili istituti assistenziali di piccola entità,

⁷⁰ Cfr. B.A. Richerand, *Nuovi elementi di fisiologia*, Firenze, G. Piatti, 1815⁶.

disposti capillarmente sul territorio, a stretto contatto con la popolazione e meno burocratizzati, i quali, se gestiti in modo corretto, avrebbero potuto sicuramente ridurre in modo significativo il tasso di mortalità degli esposti⁷¹.

Infine, Armaroli compie una terza osservazione nel suo rapporto, affrontando il tema dell'eredità: all'epoca infatti, con l'adozione gli esposti non entravano a far parte legalmente delle famiglie da cui erano accolti e non acquisivano nemmeno il diritto di succedere ai propri padri adottivi, neppure in mancanza di ogni altro erede legittimo. L'avvocato riteneva allora che nel regolamento fossero da omettere, almeno inizialmente, le indicazioni per il disciplinamento delle filiazioni e che fosse compito del cardinale invocare l'attenzione del pontefice, il quale, tramite un rescritto uniforme a quello emanato da Benedetto XIV, poteva autorizzare i giudici ordinari di Osimo e di Cingoli a interporre i loro decreti nelle *arrogazioni* degli esposti dei rispettivi brefotrofi, in qualità di delegati sovrani.

Finché Benvenuti rimase in vita i consigli, le opinioni e gli studi di Armaroli furono tenuti in grande considerazione per l'organizzazione dell'istituto osimano e per quello di Cingoli, circostanza alquanto peculiare visti i trascorsi politici del cardinale e dell'avvocato maceratese, che non contribuì di certo al recupero del consenso da parte della Curia romana nei confronti dell'operato di Benvenuti e che, probabilmente, influì notevolmente sul prolungamento del dibattito e sull'acquisizione dell'autorizzazione papale per la creazione dei due brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli.

⁷¹ Cfr. Sonnino, *Esposizione e mortalità degli esposti nello Stato pontificio agli inizi dell'Ottocento secondo le statistiche raccolte da Leopoldo Armaroli*, cit., pp. 1083-1087.

There is no story without its heroes. Ten women and the right to vote in Italy in 1906

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ABSTRACT: It is common opinion that the first women voters in Italy were the women who voted in 1946. However, the very first ones were ten bold teachers from the Marche area who had their right to vote recognized with a judgement issued on 25th July 1906 by the Court of appeal of Ancona headed by jurist Lodovico Mortara. Their story and oblivion thereof are explained by the process of women's liberation, the liveliness of Italian women's associations in the early 20th century and the political and civil dynamism of the time bearing the name of statesman Giovanni Giolitti.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Contemporary history; History of school; Rights and duties; Women's liberation; Italy; XXth Century.

The events of a changing country

During the period straddling the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, Italy was affected by a series of profound changes.

Having resisted the temptation of an authoritarian regression of its parliamentary institutions put in its way by conservative forces¹, Italy turned over a new leaf by leaning on the authority of its Prime Minister Giovanni Giolitti, who was responsible for forming three long-lasting governments between 1903 and 1914. Giolitti was deeply convinced that the country needed structural reforms; under his rule, Italy came to experience its first industrial successes and

¹ See F. Cammarano, *Storia dell'Italia liberale*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2011, pp. 286-296; A.A. Mola, *Giolitti, venti anni dopo. Dall'Italia all'Europa*, in Id. (ed.), *La svolta di Giolitti. Dalla reazione di fine Ottocento al culmine dell'età liberale*, Foggia, Bastogi, 2000, pp. 9-12.

began to shed the typical features of an agricultural nation; important social reforms were carried out and special laws for the *Mezzogiorno* (Southern Italy) were passed; the railway network was nationalized; and revenue conversion was achieved, i.e. a reduction in the interest paid by the State to those who possessed public debt assets, an obvious sign of the savers' trust in public finances.

This picture, however, was not completely bathed in light: there were a few shadows looming over it too. Giolitti governed, in effect, for a period of fifteen years with a rock-solid parliamentary majority, which was guaranteed, in part, by the strict control of prefects during electoral selections; he aimed for the support of the middle classes and the organized proletariat, leaving all other social classes out of his reforms; he did not resolve the *Mezzogiorno's* problems at the root; and he had a huge number of critics amongst progressive political forces and intellectual circles².

Giolitti was a man from the mountains; he was concrete and determined: he had an in-depth knowledge of the State's bureaucratic machinery (having been a lawyer and a ministerial civil servant before becoming a Member of Parliament); he was removed from any kind of rhetoric, but he possessed a virtue common to all great statesmen: long-term vision. He had the ability to look a long way ahead and, by doing so, he had understood that the future of Italy was in the hands of the Catholics and left-wing forces, as in fact it turned out during the course of the twentieth century. His strategy was to also incorporate these forces into the liberal world and lead them into accepting the laws and institutions of liberalism and democracy, drawing the conversation away from talks of revolution and radical changes that could not be easily controlled.

Giolitti did not like wars nor any resort to violence: he was pushed to conquer Libya in 1911-1912 – at a time when virtually every European country had at least one colony in Africa or Asia – because of pressure from certain lobbies and also because Italy's foreign policy underwent a distinct turn of direction during that period: after years of following a pro-German line, Italy became closer to France, a country that, together with the United Kingdom, was the main European colonial power of the time³.

On many other issues, however, Giolitti remained a nineteenth century man: after all, he was born in 1842 in Mondovì, a small town in Piedmont, the region of Turin, which had been the first capital of Italy from 1861 to 1865. One of these issues was the role of women: even on a personal level, from his mother to his sister, women had exerted a considerable influence over his life. Giolitti believed, however, that women's social role should be fulfilled at home, within the scope of family life. He despised or better ignored Italy's feminist and suffragist movement, which had been striving for women's political rights

² See E. Gentile, *L'Italia giolittiana*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1990, pp. 229-233.

³ See Mola, *Giolitti. Lo statista della nuova Italia*, cit., pp. 282-337.

– first and foremost the right to vote – and for their integration in the Italian society for over twenty years.

Having taken place between 1906 and 1907, the circumstances at the centre of our story are deeply connected with Giolitti's Italy: a country where only 8% of a population of 35 million (2,800,000 citizens) was allowed to vote, and they were all men.

If we consider the decade leading up to 1906, i.e. the period from 1896 to 1906, we can see that the average duration of a government was eight months. The protagonists of this story, ten grammar school teachers, had ten months' time to exercise their right to vote; this being the right to vote that they had sensationally obtained thanks to a judgement issued by a judge.

Had they managed to exercise this right, before the end of a government and the staging of electoral rallies, 2,800,000 citizens plus ten elementary school teachers born in the Marche would have been called to vote. The Marche – the home region of Raphael, Leopardi and Rossini – was a peripheral, rural and traditionalist area that had been completely forgotten by the state for half a century⁴.

An age-defining event

On the 25th July 1906 the Court of Appeal of Ancona, headed by Lodovico Mortara, recognized the right to vote to ten woman teachers from the Marche.

The judgement immediately appeared, to commentators and jurists, as something sensational.

It was reached through the combined interaction of at least four factors: the vibrant and dynamic activism of the various women's associations that were striving for the right to vote in Giolitti's Italy; the political and civil resurgence of a region that had lived through the first post-unitary four decades tepidly, sleepily and, most of all, forgotten by the state; the legal competence and intellectual honesty of the judge who handed down the judgement; and the courage and civil determination of ten women from the province of Ancona who, without any political angles, fought for the recognition of a right that was not expressly forbidden by any legal or official document of the Italian state.

In 1903 various women's associations had joined together to form a national council of Italian women, affiliated to the International Council of Women, head-quartered in Rome and with a programme that included the right to vote. In 1904 the Republican Member of Parliament Roberto Mirabelli put forward a proposal of reform of the electoral law which – inspired by the principle of

⁴ See L. Pupilli (ed.), *Le Marche in età giolittiana (1900-1914)*, Ancona, Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche, 2007, pp. 5-10.

‘necessary universality’ of suffrage – petitioned for women’s right to vote in general elections: this proposal brought about a lively mobilization of women’s groups. In 1905 a few committees in favour of women’s suffrage were set up across Italy and this proved to be an incentive to those women who already met all the legal requirements to register on the electoral rolls⁵.

On the 26th February 1906 Maria Montessori – the eminent Marchesan pedagogist and anthropologist who had been one of the first Italian women to obtain a university degree in 1886 and who had distinguished herself as one of the most lively champions of female emancipation (without any politically partisan militancy) – launched an appeal in the pages of the newspaper «La vita», on behalf of the Society «Thought and Action», in which she urged women to join the electoral register, emphasizing that the law did not expressly forbid it. Posted on the walls of the capital, Montessori’s proclamation echoed throughout Italy⁶.

It is important to stress that right then Montessori, while increasingly combining scientific method with attention to spirituality, had initiated a critical discussion with Anna Maria Mozzoni, on the subject of a «modern Eve», placing her in contrast with Mary of Nazareth’s «social maternity». This, however, did not stop her from joining Mozzoni in presenting yet another petition to the Parliament: encouraged by pro-suffrage committees, women from all over Italy filed requests to register on the electoral rolls⁷.

Thus, the suffragist issue, hitherto discussed only in cultural and political settings, was being argued in a court of law and was entering a debate on the nature of Italy’s legal and constitutional system.

With no small measure of surprise, eleven electoral commissions (in Mantua, Caltanissetta, Imola, Palermo, Venice, Cagliari, Florence, Brescia, Naples and Turin) accepted these requests; however, they were subsequently rejected on appeal by their respective courts of appeal, which repealed women’s registrations on the electoral rolls.

In particular, some of the courts showed, through their respective judgements, that they felt threatened by women’s suffrage as if it were a kind of nightmare: in a judgement dated 14th August 1906 the Court of Appeal of Florence stated that if «a majority of women were to be formed in Parliament, this majority could enter a coalition against «the Head of State», thus gifting the civilized world a «new and bizarre spectacle», lacking in «decorum and use»⁸.

⁵ See S. Soldani, *Prima della Repubblica. Le italiane e l’avventura della cittadinanza, in Una democrazia incompiuta. Donne e politica in Italia dall’Ottocento ai nostri giorni*, a cura di N.M. Filippini e A. Scattigno, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2007, pp. 74-76.

⁶ See M. Severini, *Montessori Maria*, in L. Pupilli, M. Severini (edd.), *Dizionario biografico delle donne marchigiane (1815-2018)*, Ancona, il lavoro editoriale, 2018, pp. 201-203.

⁷ See F. De Giorgi, *Montessori, Maria*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 2012, vol. 76, p. 167.

⁸ See G. Galeotti, *Storia del voto alle donne in Italia*, Rome, biblink, 2006, p. 47.

Double surprise

In this dynamic context, nine elementary school teachers from Senigallia (Carolina Bacchi, Palmira Bagaioli, Giulia Berna, Adele Capobianchi, Giuseppina Graziola, Iginia Matteucci, Emilia Simoncioni, Enrica Tesei and Dina Tosoni) and one from Montemarcano (Luigia Mandolini-Matteucci) filed a similar request for inclusion on the electoral register and their application was sensationally accepted on the 28th May by the Electoral Commission of the province of Ancona – the body responsible for reviewing the electoral rolls, in compliance with the law of 11th July 1894 n. 286.

The commission's spokesperson, a lawyer named Luigi Capogrossi-Colognesi, was the one to suggest that the teachers' request be accepted, on grounds that they were entitled by birth-right to the civil and political rights of the Kingdom of Italy, they were also over the age of twenty one, literate and fully qualified grammar school teachers. Out of the five members of the commission, two (the court chairman Monaco and the prefecture councillor d'Arcais) voted against the petition, while the remaining three (a lawyer named Guglielmo Bonarelli, Capogrossi-Colognesi and Professor Malia) voted in favour, thus allowing the plaintiffs on to the electoral register pending routine criminal record checks.

In a letter to a newspaper, Capogrossi-Colognesi published a reminder that, despite the fact that the commission's decision had caused a stir in some legal circles, he had carried out a «simple and rigid application of the current law», interpreting «its impact and significance independently of its political consequences»⁹.

This surprising result was followed by another, even more remarkable, event.

The King's Prosecutor of the court of Ancona, Cavalier Nicola Marracino, lodged an appeal against the provincial Commission's deliberation, on the grounds of a restrictive interpretation of the electoral regulations of 1895 (women didn't enjoy civil and political rights and, not being tax-payers, were not allowed direct representation of their interests) and on the alleged incompatibility of typically feminine qualities with the «strong duties» required for political commitment.

The female plaintiffs were notified of the prosecutor's appeal sometime between 3rd and 4th June and the first appeal hearing was scheduled for 30th June: none of the teachers appeared on that day and the hearing was deferred to 18th July. Once again the teachers did not appear before the court and, ultimately, the appeal was rejected on 25th July 1906 by the Court of Appeal of Ancona headed by Lodovico Mortara¹⁰.

⁹ To learn more about him, see N. Sbano (ed.), *Dizionario degli Avvocati di Ancona*, Ancona, il lavoro editoriale, 2009, pp. 94-97.

¹⁰ See M. Severini, *Il voto negato. La battaglia isolata di dieci maestre marchigiane*, in N.

Mortara – aged fifty-one, from Mantua, professor of civil procedure in Pisa and Naples, judge of the Court of Cassation – was one of Italy's most eminent jurists. He was a staunch supporter of the idea that judges should occupy a central position, as active participants in the authentic creation of the law; Mortara's stance was based on his own educational and professional background and took a dynamic view of the legal system and the state. The idea of equality, which provided substance to his constitutionalist vision of civil proceedings, was profoundly inborn in Mortara's own family history, which was typical of Italian-Jewish emancipationists¹¹.

The judgement he handed down was unprecedented and generated great public interest.

We will talk about it in more depth later, but, for now, let's summarize it.

Mortara was personally against the women's right to vote because he believed that, as long as women were confined to the boundaries of their homes, they would not be able to fulfil any social role other than that of mothers and wives. In 1906, however, he was appointed to deal with this issue not as a citizen, but as a judge. Since there was no written law in existence that excluded Italian women from voting, Mortara simply followed routine procedure as any jurist would do in a liberal and democratic state¹².

«Let's go and see» – he said, essentially – what the state's fundamental law says on the subject. At the time, the law was enshrined in the Albertine Statute, a constitutional text issued in 1848, when Italy did not exist as a state yet: it had become the constitutional text of the Kingdom of Sardinia from which, following the sensational events of the Risorgimento, the Kingdom of Italy had been created in 1861.

Article 24 of the Albertine Statute states:

All *regnicoli*, regardless of title or grade, are equal before the eyes of the law. [...] All enjoy equal civil and political rights, and are entitled to civil and military appointments, barring any exceptions determined by the law¹³.

Sbano (ed.), *Donne e diritti. Dalla sentenza Mortara del 1906 alla prima avvocata italiana*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2004, pp. 76-78.

¹¹ Born in a family where patriotism and pandects had constantly intersected, Lodovico was the son of Marco Mortara (1815-1894), Chief Rabbi of the Jewish community of Mantua and a scholar of Hebraism of world renown. Marco was a patriot, teacher, preacher and scientist who took part to the community debate about some relevant issues (capital punishment, divorce, rabbinic education, the advisability of calling a rabbinic synod in Italy) and defended Hebraism at a time when threats were coming from religious scepticism and Jews were increasingly excluded from different social environments. A. Salah, *L'epistolario di Marco Mortara (1815-1894). Un rabbino italiano tra riforma e ortodossia*, Florence, Giuntina, 2012.

¹² L. Lacchè, «Personalmente contrario, giuridicamente favorevole». *La «sentenza Mortara» e il voto politico alle donne (25 luglio 1906)*, in *Donne e diritti*, cit., pp. 99-121.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

What did the term *regnicoli* mean in nineteenth century Italian? It means «the Kingdom's inhabitants». Were these male or female inhabitants? Mortara asked himself in 1906. In order to answer this difficult question carefully, Mortara took the time to read and interpret the following articles in the Albertine Statute, from 25 to 32, according to which women enjoyed all fundamental, social and political rights.

And political rights were not only those connected with carrying out public duties, but included the right to vote; a right to which – according to Mortara – all *regnicoli* should be entitled, barring any exceptions determined by the law. The Italian legislature, however, had not passed any laws that excluded women from voting in general elections since 1861. Therefore, Mortara officially upheld the appeal lodged by the ten woman teachers and, handing down a judgement that became known by his name, ordered the mayors of the towns where the women resided to register them on the municipal rolls as «voters in general elections».

The publication of Mortara's judgement came as a bolt from the blue. When the news reached the press, newspaper editors rushed to send their reporters to Ancona to find out what was happening. Lawyers and politicians expressed their surprise and amazement.

One of Italy's most famous political pundits, Gaetano Mosca, confessed in the «Corriere della Sera» – the country's most authoritative newspaper – that he had got his forecast completely wrong, claiming that no court of law would ever uphold an appeal in favour of women's right to vote¹⁴.

With the exception of a few isolated cases, most of the political and legal establishment rallied against *Mortara's judgement*: starting from the greatest lawyers of the time, like Vittorio Emanuele Orlando who, as a professor of constitutional law at the University of Rome and future prime minister, declared that women's right to vote «was not permitted by the law». His statement confirmed the opinion held, as he described it, by «a universality of Italians», both in favour and against¹⁵.

As increasing numbers of lawyers continued to express their opinions, the mayors of Senigallia and Montemarçiano (the latter a small country town where the mayor was the husband of one of the women – Luigia Mandolini) added the ten teachers to their electoral registers.

¹⁴ See G. Mosca, *Le iscrizioni delle donne nelle liste elettorali politiche*, «Corriere della Sera», 27 february 1906.

¹⁵ See V.E. Orlando, *Le donne hanno diritto al voto politico?*, «La Tribuna», 3 august 1906.

A single interview

Two days after the publication of *Mortara's judgement*, a lawyer named Edgardo De Francesco, who was a contributor to «Il Giornale d'Italia», was posted by the Rome-based newspaper to the Marche, specifically to Falconara, with the task of interviewing Mortara.

The newspaper had an anti-Giolitti liberal stance and would turn out to be on the front-line of reporting about the event's developments. Furthermore, it was one of the most authoritative voices nationally to confine the judgement's value to «pure exegesis of the written law»; for this reason its contributor was sent to interview Mortara not only as a «magistrate», but also as a «jurist and citizen», so that his thoughts on «the grave and complex issue» could be known.

On the evening of 30th July De Francesco headed for the villa in Falconara where the Mortara family were staying; he met the Chairman of the Court of Appeal of Ancona along the «main road», not far from the house itself, accompanied by his daughter.

This was the only interview that he would ever release on the issue and, when questioned by the journalist, Mortara replied that, on a personal level, he did not feel «any enthusiasm towards extending the right to vote in general and local elections to women», because he got the impression that most women were not «yet mature» enough to perform this «important duty». When interviewed on the same topic in 1903 by a journalist from Milan, Mortara had expressed his aversion to women's right to vote.

In 1906, however, he had been summoned as a magistrate to pronounce on the issue and, therefore, he had had to free himself of «all personal prejudice» in order to examine the letter of the law dispassionately.

Mortara continued to say that his judgement, in accordance with the Albertine Statute, refuted both a tendency rooted in European public law to exclude women from enjoying political rights and also to expressly forbid them from voting in local elections. The latter had been made necessary to eliminate any «doubt» that could have arisen in those Italian provinces where that right had existed before the country's unification. In fact, even if only under «extreme special measures» and «for the purpose of census registration», women in the regions of Lombardy, Veneto and Tuscany, had been allowed, before Italy's Unification and under Austrian and Lorraine rule, to vote in local elections.

In short, a «true dissonance» existed between the Statute and local electoral laws, and the judge confirmed that his colleagues from the Court of Ancona had been «persuaded» by this.

Furthermore, the transformation of political institutions «into a free State» was gradually replacing the old hermeneutical doctrine centred on the idea of the legislator as the «master of the State»: the legislator was becoming the «first and highest» of those bodies destined for the service of social living and, as

such, his function, and duty, was to «adjust» the law to the needs of civil life. The office of the magistrate as interpreter of the law was, therefore, taking on a completely new degree of importance; as a consequence,, rather than undertaking «historical research into the law-maker's thought» as it might have been in the more or less recent past, he had to ask himself «what the intention was behind» a legislative body that maintained a legal formula liable to be interpreted differently from how it had originally been intended.

Mortara's language was as clear as his convictions were extremely modern.

The interview ended with De Francesco's thanking Mortara and apologising for disturbing him at a time – summer – usually devoted to holiday. Mortara, assuming that the interviewer was referring to «rest and relaxation on the beach», corrected him, pointing at his books: «You realise I'm not here on holiday, do you?»¹⁶.

The endgame

The Office of Public Prosecutions of Ancona appealed to the Court of Cassation via the prosecutor Augusto Nazari, a magistrate who had worked on the Bank of Rome scandal. Controversies and arguments on the case continued to be reported in the press for several weeks.

Maria Montessori herself published a poetic hymn in the newspaper «La vita» celebrating the city of Ancona, in which she extolled the virtues of the so-called Doric capital («My birthplace, you have conquered women and history») and she described the city emphatically as «a delightful oasis of the world, where hermits became saints, and was chosen by D'Annunzio as his love nest». Montessori, however, was born on 31st August 1870 in Chiaravalle, a small town 20 km away from Ancona and many residents of her home town complained that their fellow-resident, having lived in Rome for years, had forgotten her origins¹⁷.

As the interest of the press in the judgement came to an end, this thorny issue reached the third and final stage of the judicial process.

On the 4th December the Court of Cassation in Rome, chaired by Senator Pagano Guarnaschelli, annulled the judgement passed by Mortara and decided to refer the case to the capital's Court of Appeal for further examination.

In short, the Supreme Court established that women's right to vote was hindered by those very «exceptions» determined by the law of article 24 of the

¹⁶ See *Il voto politico alle donne*, Intervista di E. De Francesco a L. Mortara in «Il Giornale d'Italia», 1 august 1906.

¹⁷ See Severini, *Il voto negato*, cit., pp. 80-81. Orlando, *Le donne hanno diritto al voto politico?*, cit.

Statute, which needn't «be plainly formulated», but which could result «from the fundamental rules and the informative spirit of all public law legislation».

The Cassation's judgement reversed the essence of Mortara's judgement, stating that the silence of the law on the matter should be interpreted as «an obvious and implicit exclusion of women from performing public duties and from exercising political rights»; it went on to state that the explicit exclusion from voting in local elections had been a way of eliminating the exceptions of certain pre-unification states; and, most of all, it stated that a reform of this kind required «long and careful preparation»¹⁸.

Once again tradition, in the form of custom and unwritten standards of public law, had prevailed over the letter of the constitutional text.

Furthermore, it was perfectly clear that the political consequences of Mortara's judgement had given many people sleepless nights.

Parliamentary scenes

The issue of women's suffrage had been discussed in the Italian parliament on a number of occasions. A few ministers had put forward, as we will see, bills aimed at allowing women to vote, but nothing had come of them.

Nevertheless, on 25th February 1907 an unprecedented event took place. A petition was submitted to the Chamber of Deputies – one of the two branches of the Italian Parliament – in February 1907. It had been drafted by suffragist Anna Maria Mozzoni in 1906 and signed by 10,000 women, some of them well-known people.

On the day, the parliamentary public galleries were crowded with women, a fact that had a profound effect on the attending Members of Parliament, even though it produced a diametrically opposite result.

The discussion was opened by the Republican MP Roberto Mirabelli, who had introduced a bill on emancipation in 1904, which had been rejected by Parliament: he stated that that petition had been presented so that women would not remain «nailed to the cross of secular exclusions» and, therefore, an issue that had already been raised in Britain and France should be faced up to in Italy too.

In particular, Mirabelli issued a reminder that the absence of any law establishing the exception of women's right to vote in general elections, as was the case for local elections, should be interpreted as an admission that women could exercise that right, since the principle of equality in both civil and political

¹⁸ See Atti Parlamentari, *Camera dei Deputati*, Discussioni, Legislatura XXII, 25 february 1907, p. 12304; M. Severini, *Dieci donne. Storia delle prime elettrici italiane*, Macerata, Liberilibri, 2012, pp. 32-41.

spheres was «clear». The legislator had not intended to exclude women from voting in general elections using silence and that silence could not be used to deny the strength of «the clear and precise word» written in the «law of laws», i.e. the Constitution.

A law excluding women from voting in general elections did not exist and, therefore, denying women the vote using «an arbitrary interpretation» was no longer possible.

Finally Mirabelli recalled how the petition referred to a «great revolution» taking place in the world and amongst modern nations; a revolution that had led «the poor man's daughter» to leave her home for a place of manual work and «the middle-class daughter» to study at university or find a job as «shop assistant, trader, industrialist, telegraphist, telephone operator, electrician or journalist». It was an evolution, a «historical progress» that could not be fought, because in the «great plot of human society» economic, financial, intellectual, religious and political problems were all mutually dependent. By «courageously» facing the problem of life itself, women had discovered that they were «unarmed», i.e. lacking the «most formidable» weapon available in countries «governed by a representative regime»: the vote.

There was no need for any new law to allow women to vote or take part fully in public life: already Mazzini, Italy's greatest patriot and «heated advocate of women's suffrage», had advised «to remove from our minds any notion of superiority, because we do not possess any». The women signatories to the petition had rightly written: «We have the right to vote, because we are citizens, because we pay taxes and rates, because we produce wealth, and because we pay a blood tax with the pain of motherhood»¹⁹.

Illustrious Liberal Members of Parliament – including Luigi Luzzatti, would-be-prime-minister from 1910 to 1911 – spoke against this statement; all of them held the conviction that the right time for Italian women to vote had not come yet.

Until the Prime Minister Giovanni Giolitti himself took the floor and was as humorous in refuting the opposition's argument as he was determined to close the case as speedily as possible.

The Piedmontese head of government tackled the issue on a procedural level – in his opinion, when it came to petitions, the House should not decide an agenda –; he joked about the fact that the issue had found consensus amongst members of parliament from opposing sides; he stated it was important to take into account the state of Italian legislature and the «customs of the country»; and he concluded emphatically by saying that it was not his intention «to take on any specific commitment on such a delicate matter today».

The fifty-six year old Member of Parliament Andrea Costa, who had been the first Socialist to be elected to the Italian Parliament in 1882, also intervened in the debate: he stated that women's suffrage would not happen as a result

¹⁹ See G. Belardelli, *Mazzini*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2010, pp. 197-198.

of the petition by the ladies present, but would come from «women workers' associations», from the «fields», the «places of manual work», from those women who needed to be «the bread-winners for their children».

Nevertheless, a House majority approved the government's proposal to refer the petition to the Interior Ministry.

On 20th May 1907 a parliamentary committee chaired by the sixty-eight year old Senator Gaspare Finali gathered at the Interior Ministry in Rome; the committee had been established as a result of Giolitti's government commitment in the lively vote that had taken place earlier that year, on 25th February.

The committee remarked that granting women certain legislative reforms, while still not allowing them to vote, could improve their condition²⁰.

From epilogue to oblivion

The Court of Appeal in Rome, taking the Cassation's conclusions on board, upheld the appeal of the King's Prosecutor to the Court of Ancona on 8th May 1907 and ordered the removal of the ten teachers from the electoral register. In passing its judgement, the Court drew on the distinction between private and public law and stressed that in the latter «the *ius commune* is not all *ius scriptum*» [«common law is not all written law»], because there were principles that, while not openly stated «in any legislative measure», were sanctioned by use. Women's exclusion from taking part in elections could be counted amongst these, since it had been sanctioned by the *ius commune* prior to the Albertine Statute and confirmed by the Statute itself²¹.

The Court of Appeal in Ancona too decided, on 6th July 1907, to act in accordance with the Cassation's conclusions, noting the importance of Mortara's judgement on a political and social level, i.e. that this was an important issue which had to be solved «with clear and definite legal measures»²².

So, the curtain was brought down in an essentially predictable way, on an event that had been the climax, as far as its results were concerned, of Italy's process of women's emancipation.

Why was the manner of this outcome predictable?

In 1906 Italy was a country with a population of approximately 35 million, where only 8% of people voted, all of them men, and the political consequences

²⁰ See Galeotti, *Storia del voto alle donne in Italia*, cit., p. 121.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 133. See Judgment of the Court of Cassation of Rome, 4 december 1906, in *Donne e diritti*, cit., pp. 185-193; Lacchè, «*Personalmente contrario, giuridicamente favorevole*», cit., pp. 147-149.

²² Severini, *Dieci donne*, cit., p. 42.

that could arise from women's admission into political life caused great concern to government staff at the time.

The prevailing Italian culture of the time regarded voting and «feminine nature» as mutually incompatible; it was thought that if women engaged in political affairs they would be going against their nature; that women's interests could be protected through slow and gradual reforms, rather than through the right to vote; many believed that women's suffrage was a «revolutionary idea»; and lots of Italians held chauvinistic prejudices.

With this epilogue, the initiative of ten brave women teachers from the Marche was destined to sink into complete oblivion for almost a century.

It is hard to comprehend how such an important event could be completely forgotten in a region, like the Marche, characterized by a strong interest in history.

In all probability, the reason why the events of 1906 were neglected for so long is due to a form of collective amnesia affecting both the female protagonists and the single male protagonist of this story.

The teachers, who had originally met at work, gradually lost contact with one another; some of them left their communities to move to different towns or cities, both in Italy and abroad; but none of them, it seems, kept any record or handed down any memory of the event in which they had played such a key role.

Mortara himself lay forgotten for a long period: both because of the introduction of a new Civil Procedure Code (1940) and, also, because of the long silence that lasted until 1968 when the scholar Salvatore Satta decided to re-introduce the «Master» from Mantua as a topical figure, thus laying the foundations for his revival²³.

Finally, the deep commitment shown by Italian women during the Resistenza and the political and civil reconstruction of the aftermath of the Second World War, which culminated in the exercise of citizenship «for all purposes», did open new avenues of participation to women, but also indirectly confined to oblivion the intrepid enterprise of ten women teachers from the Marche. The First World War and twenty years of Fascist dictatorship had already contributed to their removal from memory. In the post-Second World War period, however, in a country as strongly politicized as Italy, two facts may have played a significant role: that the women of 1906 had not been members of any political party and that their initiative had taken place during a monarchic regime everybody was keen to forget.

These are the words of the scholar Elena Loewenthal who reviewed this book in the newspaper «La Stampa» on 26th February 2013:

There is no story without its heroes: even that of women's suffrage has its own, and there are many indeed. Ten, plus one²⁴.

²³ See L. Mortara, *Pagine autobiografiche* (1933), in S. Satta, *Quaderni del diritto e del processo civile*, 6 vols., Padua, Cedam, 1969, Vol I, p. 65.

²⁴ See E. Loewenthal, *Nell'Italia del 1906 dieci donne potevamo votare*, «La Stampa», 26

History rediscovered

The story of the first women voters started to be gradually rediscovered in the late 20th century with different studies, which would eventually intersect in the early years of the new century.

A slow gradual revival of the issue was originated by some historians from the Marche area. In the late 1980s, Andrea Casciari, a student at the Law Faculty of the University of Perugia, got his degree with a thesis on Mortara's judgment in the academic year 1987-1988. His was a diligent dissertation, based on juridical sources and on press records, but reported only few details about the women who had engaged the resounding battle at the time of Giolitti's leadership²⁵. After his degree, however, Casciari was still interested in the life of the ten teachers involved in the battle, of whom he only knew the names and town of residence, and decided to go to Senigallia to learn more. He gave a copy of his thesis to Mario Gambelli, the director of the "Antonelliana" Library, who became enticed by the distant events and soon reported about them in a brief article published in a renowned local magazine²⁶. Casciari tried to find out whether any of the intrepid women of 1906 was still alive, but they had all died by then (the last to depart was Adele Capobianchi, at 88 of age on 12th February 1970). He could, however, meet Maria and Emma Storani, the two daughters of Giulia Berna. Though they kept the memory of their mother as a strict and austere woman (who had died on 10th October 1957), they were entirely unaware of the events happened earlier in the century²⁷.

At the same time, Franca Del Pozzo, a scholar belonging to the circle of the Regional Institute for the history of the liberation movement, started to reconsider the events of 1906 in the light of the periodicals published locally. Her studies revealed that the conservatory magazines of the time had resolutely opposed the teachers' battle, and even derided it quite a few times, while the republican and socialist ones had not pushed further than mildly supporting the movement, which was met by the general indifference by the public opinion²⁸.

At national level, the first biographical notes about judge Mortara were published by his son in 1990²⁹, giving way to some fairly interesting suggestions.

february 2013, p. 49.

²⁵ See A. Casciari, *La sentenza Mortara del 25 luglio 1906 e il diritto elettorale politico e amministrativo della donna*, Degree thesis of the University of Perugia, Faculty of Law Studies, academic year 1987-1988.

²⁶ See M. Gambelli, *Un caso di "femminismo" senigalliese ante litteram*, «Sestante», nn. 2/3, 1989, pp. 44-46.

²⁷ See Severini, *Il voto negato*, cit., p. 86.

²⁸ F. Del Pozzo, *Ancona 1906: «le donne hanno diritto al voto»*, «Storia e problemi contemporanei», n. 4, 1989, pp. 109-125.

²⁹ G. Mortara, *Appunti biografici su Lodovico Mortara*, «Quaderni fiorentini per la storia del pensiero giuridico moderno», n. 19, 1990, pp. 107-113.

However, thirteen more years would pass before a person of his stature became the focus of a real convention. A research convention about «Lodovico Mortara in the hundredth anniversary of his taking oath in the Court of Cassation» was held in Rome, in the auditorium of the United Sections of the Court of Cassation, on the initiative of the latter and of the Cassa Nazionale di Previdenza ed Assistenza Forense, on 24th January 2003. The assembly actually laid the foundations for scientific research not only about the judge, but also about the political and electoral incidents of 1906-1907, as the convention was attended by the scholars who would later promote further studies on the issue. One of them was Nicola Sbano, a lawyer from Ancona, who was already planning a conference to pay tribute to the first Italian woman to become a lawyer (in 1919), Elisa Comani³⁰, and decided to put the two topics in one³¹.

As highlighted by Sbano himself, the conference made a happy «starting point for deeper research and more accurate thoughts»³².

In 2012, jurist Nicola Picardi published a comprehensive profile of Mortara in the leading Italian biographic directory³³. In the same year, after several scholars had failed similar attempts, the first scientific reconstruction of the events of 1906-07 and of the human and professional life of the ten teachers was produced. Their job was a crucial element in the feat, as their vocational files were finally found, after long archive research, in a secondary storage area of the Municipal Archives of Senigallia. In 1906, in fact, school teachers were still members of municipal staff, until the enactment of Law Daneo-Credaro (1911)³⁴. Further research studies, again connecting judge Mortara and the bold teachers, followed in 2013³⁵ and in 2016³⁶, while the updated profiles of the teachers were published in a complex publishing operation staged by Associazione di Storia Contemporanea in 2018³⁷. The collection tells the story

³⁰ Comani was born in Bergamo on 21st January 1893, but moved to the Marche area after her father Francesco Eugenio, a history teacher at high school and university, died. She studied law at the University of Camerino in 1915, became the first woman lawyer in Italy at the Courts of Ancona and enrolled with the Bar Association on 10th august 1919. She made her debut before the court of Ancona defending a soldier accused of cowardice. Updated notes about her are found in *Dizionario biografico delle donne marchigiane*, cit., pp. 92-93.

³¹ «Donne e giustizia. Storia dell'Avvocatura al femminile e storia di una causa fatta dalle donne per il voto e di un grande giudice, Lodovico Mortara, che nel 1906, Ad Ancona, dette loro ragione», Ancona, 23 may 2003: the proceedings of the convention have been published in *Donne e diritti*, cit.

³² See N. Sbano, *Introduzione*, in *ibid.*, p. 22.

³³ See N. Picardi, *Mortara, Lodovico*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2012, vol. 77, pp. 232-236.

³⁴ See Severini, *Dieci donne*, cit., pp. 137-171.

³⁵ See *L'impegno politico e intellettuale delle donne nel Novecento*, a cura di L. Pupilli and E. Sansoni, Fano, Aras, 2014, pp. 171-179.

³⁶ M. Severini, *Mortara e le donne: la sentenza del 1906 e la legge del 1919*, in Id. and L. Pupilli (edd.), *Dodici passi nella storia. Le tappe dell'emancipazione femminile*, Venice, Marsilio, 2016, pp. 54-74.

³⁷ *Dizionario biografico delle donne marchigiane*, cit.

of the women from the Marche area – the second one in Italy after a volume about Lombardy edited by Rachele Farina in 1995³⁸ – and points to the need, as if proof was needed, for more similar studies to be promoted in Italy³⁹.

Lastly, 2017 saw the publishing of a biography of Giulia Berna⁴⁰, one of the ten teachers and lively protagonists of a forgotten page of Italian and European history, which we have now better understood.

³⁸ See R. Farina (ed.), *Dizionario biografico delle donne lombarde (568-1968)*, Milan, Baldini&Castoldi, 1995.

³⁹ See P. Di Cori, *Sotto mentite spoglie. Gender studies in Italia*, «Cahiers d'études italiennes», n. 16, 2013, pp. 15-37.

⁴⁰ See M. Severini, *Giulia, la prima donna*, Venice, Marsilio, 2017.

Les organisations de jeunesse fascistes dans l'Italie mussolinienne (1926-1943). *L'Opera Nazionale Balilla (O.N.B.)* et *La Gioventù Italiana del Littorio (G.I.L.)**

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Fascist youth organizations in Mussolini's Italy (1926-1943). The Opera Nazionale Balilla (O.N.B.) and the Gioventù Italiana del Littorio (G.I.L.)

ABSTRACT: On the basis of a large collection of sources that have not yet been analyzed, the present paper aims to reconstruct in detail the history of the fascist youth organizations during the Mussolini regime, paying particular attention to the *Opera Nazionale Balilla* (O.N.B.) and to the *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio* (G.I.L.).

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; History of youth organizations; Fascism; Italy, XXth Century.

Mussolini avait créé l'*Opera Nazionale Balilla* (O.N.B.) le 30 janvier 1926, placée sous son autorité directe assistée de celle du ministère de l'Intérieur et

* Abréviations: A.C.S.: Archivio Centrale dello Stato; P.C.M.: Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri; B.C.G.G.: Bollettino del Comando Generale della G.I.L.; D.B.E.: G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *Dizionario biografico dell'Educazione*, 2 vols, Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013; D.B.I.: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-2013; D.F.: V. De Grazia, S. Luzzato (edd.), *Dizionario del fascismo*, 2 vols., Turin, Einaudi, 2003.

du commandement de la Milice¹. Elle devait renforcer la formation spirituelle des nouvelles générations et leur contrôle politique. La présidence de l'O.N.B. incombait au «ras» de Crémone Renato Ricci (9 janvier 1927) qui entendait tremper le caractère de la jeunesse italienne en lui inculquant un nouvel esprit de discipline². Sa nomination ne fut pas uniquement liée à sa fidélité au duc, mais aussi à ses compétences en matière d'éducation physique qui lui avaient permis d'accéder à la direction des Avant-gardes juvéniles fascistes dès juin 1925. Ricci était un athlète qui pratiquait la natation, le ski, l'escrime et l'équitation. Autoritaire, il entendait régner sans partage sur l'O.N.B. Il s'opposa à la nomination du fasciste Asvero Gravelli à ses côtés, bien que ce dernier ait été le principal organisateur des premiers groupes de Balillas dès juin 1922³. La commission chargée d'élaborer le règlement de l'O.N.B. était présidée par le sous-secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur Giacomo Suardo⁴; mais en attendant la formation du Conseil et de la Junte exécutive de l'O.N.B., où l'influence du secrétaire du Parti National Fasciste (P.N.F.) Augusto Turati risquait de nuire à la sienne, Ricci réussit à s'arroger des pouvoirs discrétionnaires (août 1927) que la loi du 16 novembre 1928 consacra définitivement.

Le débat sur la jeunesse

L'attitude à adopter à l'égard de la jeunesse faisait l'objet d'un débat à l'intérieur du fascisme. Les disciples de Giovanni Gentile voyaient dans l'éducation dispensée par les organisations de jeunesse un simple complément de l'enseignement scolaire et ils veillaient jalousement à la préservation

¹ G. Giovanazzi, *La scuola primaria fascista. Suo ordinamento e i suoi problemi*, Turin, Paravia, 1937, pp. 60-63. L'O.N.B. «il devait utiliser des moyens appropriés pour préserver la jeunesse sans la perturber et la préparer, dans un climat de discipline, aux tâches que chaque citoyen a dans un État organisé pour assurer la grandeur du pays». Camera dei Deputati. Atti Parlamentari. Documenti, *Disegni di legge*, n. 719, 30 gennaio 1926. Sur O.N.B. voir C. Betti, *L'O.N.B. e l'educazione fascista*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1984; H.A. Cavallera (ed.), *La formazione della gioventù italiana durante il ventennio fascista*, 2 vols., Lecce, PensaMultimedia, 2006.

² R.D. 3 janvier 1926, n. 2-247. Sur Renato Ricci voir: S. Setta, *Renato Ricci dallo squadristismo alla Repubblica Sociale Italiana*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1986.

³ P. Nello, *L'Avanguardismo giovanile alle origini del fascismo*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 1978. Sur Asvero Gravelli voir D.B.I., Vol. LVIII, pp. 751-754.

⁴ Ministero dell'Interno, *Opera Nazionale per l'assistenza e l'educazione fisica e morale della gioventù*, Rome, s.e., 1927, p. 3. Outre Suardo ils faisaient partie de la commission R. Ricci et F. Ciarlantini (P.N.F. organisations de jeunesse), G. Gasperini (Chef de cabinet, ministère de l'intérieur), V. Serra-Caracciolo (Direction générale de la santé, ministère de l'intérieur), A. Pallio Salimbeni (Chef de la division de l'éducation physique, ministère de la guerre), A. Traditi (La milice générale), G. Nardi (Chef de la division de l'enseignement primaire, ministère de l'éducation), Lando Ferretti (Comité national olympique italien, C.O.N.I.).

de la réforme de 1923. Ernesto Codignola critiquait ceux qui s'imaginaient éduquer politiquement les élites du pays avec des parades et des manifestations patriotiques qui les distraient de leurs études. La rhétorique des meetings et l'inquisition policière n'avaient pour lui rien à voir avec l'idéal du fascisme⁵. Codignola n'était pas hostile pour autant à l'O.N.B., à condition qu'elle n'empiétât pas sur les activités scolaires. Elle pouvait dispenser une action éducative bénéfique en s'adressant à la fantaisie et au cœur des jeunes. Giuseppe Bottai estimait que l'O.N.B. devait faire éclore dans la jeunesse les idées neuves dont elles étaient porteuse⁶. En lui ouvrant les colonnes de sa revue «*Critica fascista*» (1928), il entendait éviter une fracture entre les générations. Il fallait pour cela accorder plus d'importance au débat et moins d'autorité à la hiérarchie afin d'inciter les jeunes à s'engager en politique⁷. Ces derniers se demandaient si la classe dirigeante ne contenait pas encore des éléments déficients et ils préconisaient une épuration parmi les fascistes⁸. Mussolini intervint dans le débat en janvier 1930. Les jeunes devaient s'orienter résolument vers des activités politiques, syndicales, scolaires ou militaires s'ils voulaient accéder à des postes de direction; mais il fallait savoir obéir pour acquérir ensuite le droit de commander, oser mépriser un idéal de vie d'indifférence ou de commodité⁹. Bottai s'en prévalait pour affirmer qu'un régime soucieux de ne pas se figer dans une méthode, s'emprisonner dans des préjugés, s'interdire toute possibilité de perfectionnement et de renouveau de sa classe dirigeante devait se maintenir au contact des jeunes au niveau spirituel aussi bien qu'intellectuel¹⁰. Le fascisme était né d'une réaction multiforme qui nécessitait une réflexion idéologique; mais les jeunes fascistes vivaient leur engagement comme une mystique qui ne pouvait être enseignée. Elle unissait ses adeptes dans le culte du chef qui symbolisait une volonté capable de transgresser toutes les doctrines. Le débat s'orientait vers le corporatisme. Les jeunes croyaient que le fascisme était un dépassement du socialisme et ils s'imaginaient pouvoir contribuer aux avancées sociales en luttant à l'intérieur des organisations du régime plutôt que contre

⁵ Ernesto Codignola, *Scuola e politica*, «*La Nuova Scuola Italiana*», n. 45, 1928. Sur Ernesto Codignola voir: D.B.E., Vol. 1, pp. 369-370; G. Tassinari, D. Ragazzini (edd.), *Ernesto Codignola pedagogista e promotore di cultura*, Rome, Carocci, 2003.

⁶ Sur Giuseppe Bottai voir: D.B.E., Vol. 1, pp. 206-208; G.B. Guerri, *Giuseppe Bottai, un fascista critico*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1976; A.J. De Grand, *Bottai e la cultura fascista*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 1978; R. Gentili, *Giuseppe Bottai e la riforma fascista della scuola*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1979; M. Galfrè, *Giuseppe Bottai. Un intellettuale fascista*, Florence, Giunti, 2000; L. Pomante, *Giuseppe Bottai e il rinnovamento fascista dell'Università italiana (1936-1942)*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2018.

⁷ *Un regime di giovani*, «*Critica fascista*», 1^o juin 1928.

⁸ G. Contri, *I giovani e il regime*, «*Critica fascista*», 1^o septembre 1929; A. Cutelli, *Il problema dei giovani*, «*Critica fascista*», 1^o décembre 1929; A. Nasti, *La classe politica come dovere*, «*Critica fascista*», 15 octobre 1930; A. Nasti, *Giovani, meno giovani e giovanissimi*, «*Critica fascista*», 1^o décembre 1930.

⁹ B. Mussolini, *Punti acquisiti sui giovani*, «*Foglio d'ordini del P.N.F.*», 20 janvier 1930.

¹⁰ *Editoriale*, «*Critica fascista*», 1^o février 1930.

elles¹¹. Le succès de Ricci paraissait pourtant être celui de l'aile intransigeante du fascisme; mais le «ras» agissait pour son propre compte. Les informateurs de la Police transmettaient au secrétariat de Mussolini le portrait d'un aventurier aussi vénal qu'arrogant qui avait épousé une riche propriétaire de carrières de marbre de Carrare¹².

La culture de Ricci était des plus sommaires, mais il fit preuve de qualités d'organisateur et d'une grande persévérance dans la mise en place des structures de l'O.N.B. Beaucoup de préfets faisaient traîner en longueur l'application de la loi d'avril 1926 qui obligeait les provinces et les communes à fournir les locaux nécessaires à son fonctionnement. Ricci multiplia les interventions auprès du ministère de l'Intérieur pour les y contraindre. Mussolini figurait parmi les défenseurs les plus convaincus des organisations de jeunesse et la loi du 15 mars 1927 décida que le ministère des Corporations devrait leur verser une subvention égale à 2% des contributions syndicales obligatoires¹³; mais Ricci avait toujours besoin de nouveaux financements, bien qu'en 1928 les revenus de l'O.N.B. aient quintuplé par rapport à l'année précédente. Un autre problème à résoudre concernait les réticences du ministère des Finances à détacher des fonctionnaires auprès des bureaux administratifs de l'O.N.B. Ricci invita les Comités périphériques de son organisation à s'autofinancer partiellement auprès des entreprises locales; mais l'O.N.B. souffrit toujours de difficultés financières, malgré les efforts de son directeur pour solliciter la générosité des citoyens. L'O.N.B. bénéficia du soutien du ministre de l'Instruction publique Pietro Fedele qui multiplia les circulaires en sa faveur¹⁴. Les Balilla étaient les futurs citoyens appelés à participer à la vie sociale de la Nation dans les domaines civil et politique. Leur éducation physique et morale était l'un des instruments les plus efficaces pour assurer la grandeur de la patrie. Fedele recommandait aux chefs d'établissements scolaires d'inciter leurs meilleurs élèves à s'inscrire à l'O.N.B. Il soulignait l'importance des liens qui l'unissaient à l'Instruction publique et saluait la naissance des sections féminines¹⁵. Le ministre prenait des mesures incitatives en attribuant aux élèves inscrits à l'O.N.B. les avantages venus des patronages scolaires¹⁶.

¹¹ R. Zangrandi, *I giovani e il fascismo*, in *Fascismo e antifascismo. Lezioni e testimonianze*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1963, p. 210.

¹² A.C.S., Segreteria particolare del duce, Carteggio riservato, b. 48, *Renato Ricci*.

¹³ R.D. 3 avril 1926, n. 2247, «Gazzetta ufficiale», 11 gennaio 1927. A.C.S., P.C.M., 1928-30, f. 1/1-15, n. 2104, sf. 13, *Opera Nazionale Balilla. Contributi di Enti e di Associazioni pro O.N. Balilla e nomina di detti Enti o Associazioni a Soci onorari*.

¹⁴ Sur Pietro Fedele voir D.B.E., Vol. 1, pp. 533-534.

¹⁵ ACS, Fascicolo Pietro Fedele, Circolare n. 22, 27 février 1927, *Iscrizione degli alunni delle scuole*; Circolare n. 88, 25 septembre 1927, *Ai gruppi dei Balilla e delle Avanguardie giovanili. Istituzione delle «Piccole Italiane» e delle «Giovani Italiane»*, «Bollettino della Pubblica Istruzione», 25 septembre 1927; Circolare n. 6 del 27 décembre 1927, *Opera nazionale Balilla*, «Bollettino ufficiale della Pubblica Istruzione», 10 janvier 1928.

¹⁶ Circolare n. 63, août 1928, «Bollettino della Pubblica Istruzione», 1928, p. 2990; R.D. 17

Les enseignants pouvaient être suspendus dans leurs activités pour des raisons d'incompatibilité physique, intellectuelle ou morale¹⁷; mais le régime ne se privait pas d'utiliser ces dispositions à des fins politiques pour écarter des enseignants antifascistes. En mai 1928, 4200 enseignants seulement étaient inscrits au P.N.F. Ricci s'efforça de séduire les instituteurs en obtenant que ceux qui encadreraient les jeunes puissent se parer de titres militaires toujours valorisant auprès des populations et postuler aux fonctions exercées par les officiers de la Milice (juillet 1927). Il réussit à transférer à l'O.N.B. toutes les compétences de l'Ente Nazionale per l'Educazione Fisica (E.N.E.F.) créée par la réforme Gentile de 1923 pour l'enseignement de la gymnastique dans l'enseignement secondaire¹⁸. L'E.N.E.F. avait recruté ses enseignants sans tenir compte de critères politiques et Ricci souhaitait en former de nouveaux. Le passage de l'E.N.E.F. sous l'autorité de l'O.N.B. s'accompagna en 1928 de démissions d'enseignants de gymnastique qui ressemblaient fort à une épuration¹⁹. En outre, dès 1928, toutes les écoles publiques, les bibliothèques populaires, les centres récréatifs et le «Doposcuola» furent affiliés à l'O.N.B.²⁰ Il lui incombait désormais d'œuvrer pour l'éducation fasciste de la jeunesse italienne afin de donner à la Nation une génération consciente de ses devoirs, unie par la même passion et le même but dans l'existence. Pour Ricci, le caractère fédérateur du fascisme procédait de son essence révolutionnaire. Dans un pays qui avait perdu «toute conscience collective et le sens historique de la Nation», il rallumait la flamme d'une passion capable de «fondre les fragments de l'Italie de l'après-guerre» pour créer «le type de l'Italien nouveau»²¹.

L'O.N.B. et le scoutisme catholique

Depuis 1925, le Saint Siège renforçait l'autorité de l'Action catholique sur les activités sociales et éducatives de l'Eglise que l'effondrement du Parti Populaire Italie (P.P.I.) risquait de livrer au fascisme. En 1927, des associations catholiques turinoises comme la «Gioventù femminile» comptaient 8079 adhérentes et les «Donne cattoliche» 9138²². Elles dispensaient une formation morale et

mars 1930, n. 394 e R.D. 12 1934, n. 1312.

¹⁷ R.D. 17 mars 1927, n. 486.

¹⁸ *Soppressione dell'Ente Nazionale per l'educazione fisica e passaggio all'Opera nazionale «Balilla» delle Funzioni già ad essa attribuite*, «Bollettino ufficiale della Pubblica Istruzione», 3 janvier 1928; R.D. 20 novembre 1927, n. 2341.

¹⁹ Sur E.N.E.F. voir A. Ponzio, *La palestra del Littorio. L'accademia della Farnesina: un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell'Italia Fascista*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2009, pp. 20-25.

²⁰ R.D. 21 avril 1928, n. 2176.

²¹ R. Ricci, *I provvedimenti del regime per la difesa della stirpe: giovani nello Stato fascista*, «Gerarchia», n. 12, décembre 1928, p. 954.

²² F. Imberti, *Relazione della presidenza della giunta diocesana di Torino per l'anno 1927*

religieuse, dissuadant leurs membres de participer à des actions politiques réservées aux hommes. La «Gioventù femminile» aidait ses adhérentes à un choix de vie. Elles pouvaient opter pour l'«état religieux, l'«état matrimonial» ou la «virginité dans le monde»; mais tout abandon de la maison pour le monde du travail était déconseillé. Le «Corpo Nazionale Giovani Esploratori Italiani» (C.N.G.E.I.) fondé en 1912 était à l'origine dirigé par des francs-maçons; mais le génois Mario Mazza avait introduit des méthodes inspirées du scoutisme dans le mouvement des «Gioiose» (ou «Juventus Juvat») qu'il avait créé en 1905²³. Cette orientation finit par prévaloir sur le catholicisme traditionnel et les «Explorateurs catholiques» de Mazza adhèrent à l'«Associazione Scautistica Cattolica Italiana» (A.S.C.I.)²⁴. Certains cadres du scoutisme catholique passèrent dans les rangs de l'O.N.B. Ce fut le cas de Carlo Manzia et d'Antonio Canevaro²⁵. La loi de 1926 laissait entrevoir la possibilité d'un maintien d'autres organisations de jeunesse que l'O.N.B.²⁶; mais elle ne fut publiée qu'en janvier 1927, suite aux débats suscités au sein du gouvernement italien et dans le parti fasciste par la crainte de perturber les relations avec le Vatican. Dès le 4 janvier, Mussolini avait informé le père Tacchi Venturi qui était l'interlocuteur privilégié des négociateurs concordataires, que l'O.N.B. ne prétendait pas au monopole de l'éducation de la jeunesse; mais Tacchi Venturi n'était pas convaincu et il s'adressa au ministre de l'Intérieur Luigi Federzoni pour qu'on respectât la parole donnée²⁷. Ricci avait en effet informé Mussolini le 4 septembre 1926 de la nécessité de s'opposer à l'offensive de certains milieux catholiques. Cette situation impliquait pour l'O.N.B. l'autorisation de surveiller le scoutisme, d'absorber les organisations concurrentes ou de procéder à leur dissolution²⁸.

all'Assemblea diocesana del 29 gennaio 1928, in A.A.T., serie: Carte sparse, Carteggio Azione cattolica.

²³ Voir Spensley, *Mazza e i «Ragazzi esploratori italiani»*, in M. Sica, *Storia dello scautismo in Italia*, Rome, Nuovo Fiordaliso, 1996, pp. 32-35.

²⁴ Sur Mario Mazza voir D.B.E., Vol. 2, pp. 142-144.

²⁵ Carlo Manzia, chef des éclaireurs catholiques, je collabore avec les magazines O.N.B. et ce fut l'organisateur du «Balilla guidi» qui préserva les méthodes de scoutisme, accordant une plus grande responsabilité aux principaux manipulateurs et une activité accrue aux petits groupes. Secrétaire provincial de l'O.N.B. à Rome, Manzia sera promu secrétaire spécial de Ricci lorsque le président de l'O.N.B. est devenu sous-secrétaire d'État à l'Éducation nationale. Pour son initiative, Ricci a nommé le chef scout Viola d'organiser les «mousquetaires Balilla» de Rome. Antonio Canevaro était l'animateur principal du «Coorti dell'O.N.B.». Dans les écoles privées de Gênes. Public avec Luigi Varese le magazine «La Traccia», très influencé par la tradition du scoutisme. Canevaro, vice-président provincial du N.-B., a été promu podestat de Gênes de la République de Salo et a été tué en avril 1945.

²⁶ R.D. 3 avril 1926, n. 2247: *Istituzione dell'Opera nazionale Balilla per l'assistenza e l'educazione fisica e morale della gioventù*, «Gazzetta ufficiale», 11 janvier 1927, n. 7. Outre l'entraînement militaire, l'O.N.B. il a dû donner aux jeunes une éducation religieuse avec des prêtres catholiques qui ont reçu le titre d'aumôniers (R.D. 9 janvier 1927, n. 5, «Gazzetta ufficiale», 12 janvier 1927, n. 8).

²⁷ A.C.S., P.C.M.: 1926, 1-6-1829 s/f. Ministero dell'Interno.

²⁸ *Appunto della segreteria della presidenza per B. Mussolini*, 4 septembre 1926, in A.C.S.,

Un décret avait modifié quelques dispositions de la loi, supprimant toutes les organisations de jeunesse, à l'exception des Jeunes Explorateurs Catholiques qui pouvaient poursuivre leurs activités dans les chefs lieux de province comptant plus de 20000 habitants; mais cette concession supposait un accord préalable avec l'O.N.B. dont les initiales devaient figurer sur les bannières, ainsi que le signe du Licteur²⁹. La presse fasciste justifiait la disparition du scoutisme dans les petites localités en insistant sur la nécessité de s'unir au lieu de se disperser dans une dangereuse concurrence³⁰. Le pape condamna cette initiative le 27 janvier dans une lettre de la secrétairerie du Vatican; mais les rapports du scoutisme catholique avec les fascistes restaient corrects, en dépit de quelques exceptions. Une interview de Ricci au «Popolo d'Italia» (mars 1927) y contribua. Le président de l'O.N.B. déclara qu'il considérait les Explorateurs catholiques comme des collaborateurs du fait de leur adhésion cordiale au régime fasciste. Le préfet et le commandant de la Milice apparaissaient aux côtés de l'évêque pendant les manifestations scoutées et en mai 1927 Ricci participa à la fête de saint Georges des Explorateurs romains³¹.

L'O.N.B. se montrait par ailleurs particulièrement soucieuse de rester en bons termes avec les autorités ecclésiastiques. Les Balillas et les Avantgardistes qui fréquentaient l'enseignement secondaire devaient suivre les cours de religion de leur établissement, alors que la réforme scolaire de 1923 en faisait une obligation dans les écoles primaires seulement. Les proviseurs étaient tenus de transmettre aux comités de l'O.N.B. une «note finale de progrès» à ce sujet. L'enseignement religieux était dispensé par leurs instituteurs aux Balillas à l'école primaire. Le règlement de l'O.N.B. voulait «élargir non seulement l'instruction mais aussi l'assistance religieuse». Dans ce but, elle dispensait un enseignement religieux complémentaire de celui des prêtres accrédités par l'Etat qui illustrait les programmes officiels des différentes classes primaires d'un point de vue liturgique et sacramentel. Les Avantgardistes qui ne fréquentaient plus l'école n'étaient pas oubliés. Ils formaient un groupe à part avec son propre aumônier. Les comités provinciaux de l'O.N.B. laissaient les enfants à la garde de leurs parents le dimanche jusqu'à 10 heures du matin pour qu'ils puissent assister à la messe. Dans les cas d'urgente nécessité, des instructeurs de l'O.N.B. pouvaient les conduire à l'église. Les présidents de comités communaux devaient faire un rapport sur la fréquentation des activités de l'O.N.B., y compris celle des cours

P.C.M., 1-6-1, 829, s/f; Opera Nazionale Balilla.

²⁹ R.D. 9 janvier 1927, n. 5: *Modificazioni alla legge 3 aprile 1926, n. 2247 concernente la istituzione dell'Opera Nazionale Balilla per l'assistenza e l'educazione fisica e morale della gioventù*, «Gazzetta ufficiale», 12 janvier 1927, n. 8; «Bollettino ufficiale della Pubblica Istruzione», 25 janvier 1927, n. 4).

³⁰ «Il Tevere», 16 janvier 1927.

³¹ Sica, *Storia dello scautismo*, cit., p. 170.

d'instruction religieuse. Dans le choix des prêtres qui en étaient chargés, une parfaite entente avec les autorités ecclésiastiques locales était indispensable³².

La recherche d'une bonne entente avec l'Eglise ne pouvait s'étendre au scoutisme dont l'O.N.B. redoutait la concurrence et les agressions fascistes contraignirent l'A.S.C.I. à disparaître en avril 1928³³. Pie XI rappela que l'Eglise était chargée de l'éducation chrétienne et les négociations concordataires s'interrompirent à plusieurs reprises; mais Mussolini qui avait utilisé les dispositions relatives aux organisations de jeunesse à plusieurs reprises comme moyen de pression sur le Vatican était désormais persuadé que le Saint Siège ne pouvait plus renoncer aux négociations sur le Concordat. L'intérêt du duce pour la jeunesse allait croissant «Le régime entend préparer spirituellement toute la jeunesse italienne d'où doivent sortir les classes dirigeantes de l'Italie fasciste de demain, après des sélections successives, écrivait Mussolini en janvier 1930. A cette fin, ont été créées, à côté de la Milice et du partiles organisations des Balillas, des Avantgardistes et des Groupes Universitaires Fascistes. Le principe totalitaire de l'éducation de la jeunesse, systématiquement revendiqué par le fascisme, répond à cette nécessité suprême de la révolution fasciste qui entend durer, c'est-à-dire être continuée dans le futur»³⁴.

La mainmise de l'Etat fasciste sur la jeunesse entraîna le transfert de l'O.N.B. sous l'autorité du ministère de l'Education nationale³⁵. Ricci entra au gouvernement comme sous-secrétaire d'Etat à l'Education physique et juvénile³⁶. L'O.N.B. continua à profiter du soutien de l'instruction publique, le ministre incitant les élèves à s'y inscrire et proposant de récompenser les enseignants qui s'y consacraient³⁷. Le ministre Balbino Giuliano demandait d'abonner les bibliothèques scolaires au journal «Il Balilla» et son successeur Francesco Ercole multipliait les circulaires dans ce sens³⁸; mais Giuliano

³² E. Bellucci, *L'educazione religiosa nell'O.N.B.*, in A. Monticone, *Cattolici e fascisti in Umbria (1922-1945)*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1978, pp. 106-107.

³³ R.D. 9 avril 1928, n. 696, «Gazzetta ufficiale», 16 avril 1928. Il est interdit toute forme d'organisation, même provisoire, qui se propose de promouvoir l'éducation, la création d'une profession, un art ou une profession ou de toute autre manière l'éducation physique, morale et spirituelle des jeunes, à l'exception des formations ou organisations fascistes Opera Balilla.

³⁴ Mussolini, *Punti acquisiti sui giovani*, cit.

³⁵ R.D. 14 novembre 1929, n. 1992, *Passaggio dell'Opera nazionale Balilla e della Giovane e Piccole Italiane alla dipendenza del Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale*. Voir B. Mussolini, *Discorso all'Assemblea del Partito, Palazzo Venezia, 14 settembre 1929*, in P. Caporilli, *Il fascismo e i giovani*, Rome, Angelo Signorelli, 1939, pp. 60-61.

³⁶ Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale, «Bollettino ufficiale della Pubblica Istruzione», n. 4, 1930, p. 100.

³⁷ Circolare n. 5, 14 janvier 1930, *Iscrizione degli alunni all'Opera Nazionale Balilla*; Circolare n. 40, 26 mars 1931, *Proposte di benemerenze per il personale direttivo e insegnante che abbia svolto opera proficua a favore dell'O.N.B., dell'O.N.D. e delle Giovane e Piccole Italiane*.

³⁸ Circolare n. 70, 5 janvier 1931, *Abbonamento al giornale «Il Balilla»*; Circolare n. 18, 12 marzo 1932, *Diffusione del settimanale «Il Balilla»*; Circolare n. 14, 21 Marzo 1934, *Settimanale «Il Balilla»*; Circolare n. 46, 27 octobre 1934, *Diffusione del settimanale a colore «Il Balilla»*. Le journal «Il Balilla», fondé en 1922, a été transféré sous l'autorité de O.N.B. en 1931.

refusa les demandes d'aides financières de Ricci (novembre-décembre 1931)³⁹. L'O.N.B. organisait des cours de «Culture fasciste» qui se réduisaient aux litanies de la propagande: l'étude de la guerre de 1915-1918 d'un point de vue fasciste, la naissance des Faisceaux de Combat, les diverses étapes de la «révolution» et la victoire. Les réalisations du régime donnaient lieu à un cours d'économie politique: organisation et subordination des pouvoirs, fondements et buts du nouveau Droit, organisation militaire de la Nation, rôle de la presse et de la police, statuts du P.N.F., lois sociales, réformes scolaires, politique économique, financière et démographique. «Notre péninsule est trop petite pour contenir tous ses enfants, pouvait-on lire dans un manuel à usage des Balillas et des Avantgardistes, et beaucoup d'entre eux furent contraints à émigrer. Aujourd'hui, le fascisme ne permet plus que personne ne s'éloigne et aille travailler pour enrichir les autres, plus particulièrement nos adversaires»⁴⁰. Balbino Giuliano incitait les directeurs d'école et les instituteurs à assister à ces cours dispensés pendant les vacances (à Rome, en août 1931)⁴¹. Son successeur Francesco Ercole en faisait autant en 1933 et 1934⁴². Ricci les remerciait de leur collaboration⁴³. Il siégeait au gouvernement, mais le passage de l'O.N.B. sous la tutelle de l'Education nationale mettait fin à la présidence incontestée et sans partage qu'il exerçait depuis deux ans.

La création des Faisceaux juvéniles de Combat

Ricci subit un sérieux revers avec la création des Faisceaux juvéniles de Combat. Le Grand Conseil, constatant l'absence d'une organisation fasciste de la jeunesse entre l'O.N.B. et le parti, décida le 8 octobre 1930 la création d'une structure destinée aux jeunes gens âgés de 18 à 21 ans. Elle fut confiée au parti qui attribua sa direction au «ras» de Lucques Carlo Scorza, déjà à la tête des Groupes Universitaires Fascistes (G.U.F.). Scorza n'en était guère satisfait «Les masses universitaires ne sont pas encore ce que voudrait le duce, déplorait-il. Les étudiants en Droit, Lettres et Philosophie sont les plus éloignés de nous. Les plus proches sont par contre ceux de Médecine et les élèves ingénieurs. Les uns vivent dans l'abstraction, les autres dans l'exactitude. Il existe parmi

«Avanguardia», une quinzaine d'années, dirigée par Ricci, s'adressait à l'avant-garde.

³⁹ Ponzio, *La palestra del Littorio. L'accademia della Farnesina: un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell'Italia Fascista*, cit., pp. 58-60.

⁴⁰ *Manuale per il Balilla; Corsi di cultura per Avanguardisti e Piccoli fascisti*.

⁴¹ Circolare n. 50, 24 avril 1931, *Corsi informativi nazionali per dirigenti ed insegnanti elementari*.

⁴² Circolare n. 27, 6 avril 1933, *Corsi nazionali per dirigenti ed insegnanti della Scuola primaria*; Circolare n. 9, 15 février 1934, *Corsi preparatori nazionali per dirigenti ed insegnanti della scuola elementare*.

⁴³ Circolare n. 134, 15 novembre 1930, *Tesseramento dell'O.N.B.*

les universitaires un sentiment d'autonomie à l'égard du parti et une très vive réticence à la discipline et à la hiérarchie»⁴⁴. Scorza pouvait compter sur le soutien du secrétaire du parti Giovanni Giuriati et les Faisceaux juvéniles se développèrent rapidement, comptant 300000 adhérents en mars 1933⁴⁵. Dès juin 1931, leur premier rassemblement avait réuni 10000 participants à Florence⁴⁶. Le 8 octobre, à l'occasion du premier anniversaire de leur fondation, 40 000 jeunes marchèrent sur Rome et défilèrent dans la capitale⁴⁷. Dans un message, Mussolini saluait leur marche «sur les traces consulaires qui virent les colonnes des Chemises noires décider de la victoire en 1922»⁴⁸.

Le fascisme était confronté à la crise de l'Action catholique. Une violente campagne menée surtout par la presse corporative du régime lui reprochait de «retourner à la politique» et d'envahir le domaine de l'organisation syndicale fasciste⁴⁹. L'Action catholique était également accusée de former des cadres susceptibles de remplacer plus tard ceux du fascisme⁵⁰. Giuriati rédigea le «Décalogue des Jeunes fascistes» qui leur proposait un style de vie opposé aux valeurs chrétiennes⁵¹. L'organisation de Scorza se composait d'équipes, de centuries, de manipules et de faisceaux. Une centurie était commandée par un chef de manipule, deux centuries par un centurion et un faisceau juvénile par un fiduciaire assisté d'un «aiutante». Au niveau national, les faisceaux juvéniles étaient commandés par le secrétaire du parti qui délguait ses pouvoirs à deux vice commandants et à un chef d'Etat Major. Dans les provinces, ils étaient commandés par le secrétaire fédéral du parti, assisté d'un commandant en second choisi parmi les officiers de la Milice, d'un «aiutante» et d'un Attaché aux Sports. Les jeunes fascistes portaient un uniforme composé d'une chemise noire, d'une culotte bouffante aux trois-quarts, d'un foulard jaune et rouge. Ils étaient astreints à des règles strictes, avec un encadrement de miliciens plus serré que celui des Avant-gardistes et des exercices plus nombreux. La création des Jeunes fascistes posa le problème de leur recrutement. Le «Giornale d'Italia» souhaitait qu'il fût ouvert à tous les jeunes de 18 ans, afin d'accroître les bases sociales du fascisme; mais Giuriati procédait à une sévère épuration du parti et

⁴⁴ A.C.S., Segreteria particolare del Duce, Carteggio riservato (1922-1943) f. 242/R, *Riunione del Direttorio del P.N.F.* Sur Carlo Scorza et Fasci giovanili, voir: R. De Felice, *Carlo Scorza*, in *Autobiografia del fascismo*, Bergamo, Minerva Italica, 1988, pp. 519-533; C. Rastrella, *Carlo Scorza, l'ultimo gerarca*, Milan, Mursia, 2010.

⁴⁵ Sur Giovanni Giuriati, voir: E. Gentile, *Introduzione*, in G. Giuriati, *La parabola di Mussolini nei ricordi di un gerarca*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 1991; G. Salotti, *Giovanni Giuriati*, in *Il Parlamento italiano: 1861-1988*, Milan, Feltrinelli, Vol. XV, 1990; D.B.I., Vol. LVII, pp. 120-123.

⁴⁶ «Annali del Fascismo», 22 juin 1931.

⁴⁷ *Lo sviluppo dei Fasci giovanili*, «Gioventù fascista», 4-11 octobre 1931, nn. 29-30.

⁴⁸ B. Mussolini, «Il Popolo d'Italia», 8 octobre 1931, p. 4.

⁴⁹ G. Casini, *Professionisti cattolici o cattolici di professione*, «Il Lavoro fascista», 19 mars 1931, p. 1.

⁵⁰ Id., *Manovre cattoliche*, «Il Lavoro fascista», 26 mars 1931.

⁵¹ *Il Decalogo dei Giovani fascisti*, «Annali del Fascismo», 10 septembre 1931.

il fut décidé qu'à partir du 1^o juillet 1931 on ne pourrait devenir Jeune fasciste qu'en provenant des Avant-gardistes de l'O.N.B.

Scorza chercha à insuffler aux jeunes gens une conception mystique du fascisme et il fut chargé de la lutte contre la Federazione Universitaria Cattolica Italiana (F.U.C.I.)⁵². Il avait dirigé «L'Intrepido», le journal fasciste de Lucques (1920), transformé en quotidien sous le titre «Il Popolo toscano» (1926), et il fonda «Gioventù fascista» le 31 mars 1931 pour le 12^o anniversaire des Faisceaux de Combat⁵³. La revue polémiquait avec «L'Osservatore romano» en situant ses attaques sur un plan moral⁵⁴. Elle citait en exemple les pires violences de l'histoire de la papauté et prétendait justifier son apologie de la violence par les Saintes Ecritures. La formation militaire était indispensable pour viriliser les adolescents et on pouvait haïr ses ennemis tout en restant un bon chrétien. Pour «Gioventù fascista», les organisations fascistes honoraient la religion et il était inutile d'en maintenir d'autres⁵⁵. En fait, les cercles catholiques étaient les derniers obstacles à la formation fasciste de la jeunesse et il fallait la leur soustraire de plus en plus. Les attaques de «Gioventù fascista» suscitérent des violences destinées à paralyser leurs activités⁵⁶. Le 19 avril, Giuriati prononça un discours vivement hostile à l'Eglise. «Gioventù fascista» dénonçait aussi les agissements des «fuorusciti» antifascistes et l'attitude du gouvernement belge accusé d'avoir hébergé De Rosa, l'auteur d'un attentat contre le prince héritier Humbert à Bruxelles⁵⁷.

En 1932, la crise de l'Action catholique s'achevait. Des circulaires précisaient que les membres de l'O.N.B. devaient recevoir 20 leçons de religion par an, en présence d'un instruteur⁵⁸. Les autorités ecclésiastiques collaboraient désormais ouvertement avec l'organisation de jeunesse fasciste. Asvero Gravelli devint rédacteur en chef de «Gioventù fascista» (1932) qui passa ensuite sous la direction du nouveau secrétaire du parti Achille Starace⁵⁹. A la fin de 1936,

⁵² Sur F.U.C.I. voir G. Marcucci Fanello, *Storia della F.U.C.I.*, Rome, Studium, 1971; R. Moro, *La formazione della classe dirigente cattolica (1929-1937)*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1979; L. Pomante, «Fiducia nell'uomo e nell'intelligenza umana». *La Federazione Universitaria Cattolica Italiana (F.U.C.I.) dalle origini al '68*, Macerata, eum, 2015.

⁵³ «Gioventù fascista» a publié 400 000 exemplaires en 1931. Dans ses premiers numéros, le magazine public rappelle les dirigeants du fascisme sur la guerre et le «squadrisme». (G. Giuriati, *Ricordi di guerra. Quando fui morto*; D. Perrone Compagni, *Rievocazioni squadristi; Giornale fiorentino*; Giuseppe Bastianini, *Rievocazioni squadristi. La mia prima spedizione*; A. Melchiori, *Rievocazioni squadristi. Tra poche ore, l'Italia sarà fascista*, «Gioventù fascista», nn. 1-3-4-7, 1931.

⁵⁴ *Odiare i suoi nemici*, «Gioventù fascista», 12 avril 1931.

⁵⁵ *Note molto chiare*, «Gioventù fascista», 26 avril 1931.

⁵⁶ R. De Felice, *Mussolini il duce, Vol. I: Gli anni del consenso: 1929-1936*, Turin, Einaudi, 1974, pp. 228-231.

⁵⁷ «Gioventù fascista», mai 1931.

⁵⁸ Circolare, 15 mars 1932, «Bollettino diocesano di Gubbio», novembre-décembre 1932, in E. Bellucci, *L'educazione religiosa nell'O.N.B.*, in Monticone, *Cattolici e fascisti in Umbria (1922-1945)*, cit., p. 111.

⁵⁹ A. Starace, *Fasci giovanili di Combattimento*, Milan, Mondadori, 1933.

la revue prendra le nom de «Libro e moschetto». Les Faisceaux juvéniles dispensaient une éducation virile qui répugnait au sport de compétition⁶⁰. Le régime avait besoin de marcheurs infatigables, d'escaladeurs de montagnes et de marins intrépides plus que d'athlètes⁶¹. Les Jeunes fascistes devaient allier des qualités politiques à cette forme physique⁶². Un nouveau statut les soumit à une préparation militaire (1^o février 1935) et des cours de formation politique furent organisés pour eux (23 mars 1935). Les loisirs qui leur étaient proposés paraissent puérils. Les films étaient produits par la firme Cines-Pittaluga, une société cinématographique spécialisée dans les œuvres pour enfants. Le romantisme de cape et d'épée l'emportait dans «Lo scudo» de Gennaro Righelli et «Rubacuori» (Vous que j'adore) de Guido Brignone⁶³. Conscient des faiblesses culturelles des Jeunes fascistes qui n'étaient généralement plus scolarisés depuis l'école primaire, Scorza créa des cercles pour y remédier. Ils organisèrent des débats qui se limitèrent à des considérations superficielles sur l'irrédentisme dalmate ou corse, sans étude approfondie du problème⁶⁴. La direction de Scorza marqua une nette affirmation du rôle du parti dans l'éducation de la jeunesse et son organisation devint l'un des instruments du régime et du duce.

La création des Faisceaux juvéniles n'était pas la seule menace pour l'O.N.B. Scorza voulait en effet enrôler dans les G.U.F. les élèves des dernières années de l'enseignement secondaire au détriment du corps des Avant-gardistes. Ricci s'y opposait en soutenant que cette prétention contredisait deux principes fondamentaux du régime: le volontariat qui conférait toute sa dignité à l'engagement et une éducation identique pour les éléments issus de classes sociales différentes afin de les fondre dans la Nation. Par ailleurs, le règlement des Faisceaux juvéniles prévoyait que les Avant-gardistes âgés de 18 ans devaient s'inscrire aux faisceaux, ce qui privait l'O.N.B. de certains de ses meilleurs éléments; mais Ricci obtint que les chefs de centuries et les chefs d'équipe qui formaient l'élite des Avant-gardistes fussent seulement détachés aux faisceaux en restant à la disposition de l'O.N.B. Toutefois, les chefs d'équipe avant-gardistes durent impérativement rejoindre les faisceaux juvéniles à 18 ans pendant l'été 1936, seuls les «cadets» et les chefs de centurie restant à l'O.N.B. Pour compenser ces pertes, Ricci organisa 4 camps entre juillet et septembre afin de permettre aux chefs d'équipe d'accéder rapidement au grade supérieur et de rester à l'O.N.B.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ L. Ferretti, *Educazione virile, cioè fascista*, «Gioventù fascista», 1931, n. 1.

⁶¹ A.C.S., Segreteria particolare del duce, Riunione del Direttorio del P.N.F., s/f.2, Inserta A, *Rapporto di Carlo Scorza sulle organizzazioni della gioventù (11 luglio 1931)*.

⁶² «Libro e moschetto», n. 3, 1937.

⁶³ «Gioventù fascista», 1^o mars 1931.

⁶⁴ *Corsica, terra dei forti*; «Gioventù fascista», 20 septembre 1931; *Bonifacio, città mora*; «Gioventù fascista», 10 marzo 1931; *Le nostre terre. Eroismo e fede del nostro popolo*, «Gioventù fascista», 6 septembre 1931.

⁶⁵ Ponzio, *La palestra del Littorio. L'accademia della Farnesina: un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell'Italia Fascista*, cit., pp. 117-118.

Le Forum Mussolini et l'Académie fasciste d'Education physique

Ricci voulait créer une école prestigieuse pour former des enseignants d'éducation physique imbus de l'idéal fasciste de l'«homme nouveau». L'emplacement initialement prévu près de la cité universitaire de Rome ne convenant pas, Ricci dut se rabattre sur le piémont de la colline Monte Mario⁶⁶. Il fonda l'École supérieure d'Education physique de Rome en 1927 et décida que le diplôme de cet établissement serait le seul à permettre de devenir enseignant titulaire et d'accéder aux fonctions de direction de l'O.N.B. En novembre 1928, l'école fut transformée en Académie d'Education physique. Les élèves en sortaient avec le grade d'officier de l'O.N.B., et non plus avec un simple diplôme d'enseignement. Ils devaient apporter à la jeunesse «la fièvre des nouveaux principes». Ricci avait de grandes ambitions pour la nouvelle académie. Il l'imaginait dans des édifices faits de blocs monolithiques pour donner une impression de solidité sobre et durable⁶⁷. Son architecture devait mettre la Méditerranée en scène, Ricci présentant ses couleurs et leur ordonnance dans l'espace comme dans une œuvre longuement méditée. Le développement des constructions, la dispositions des rues, des esplanades et des zones vertes reliant les bords du Tibre au bois de Monte Mario procédaient d'un concept d'ensemble⁶⁸. Le premier tronçon comprenait le «Stadio dei marmi» et le «Stade des cyprès» sur l'emplacement du futur stade olympique. L'architecte Marcello Piacentini se réjouissait de voir cet ensemble évoluer vers des dimensions en harmonie avec le paysage. Les éléments architectoniques se mêlaient à la nature avec des références à l'architecture grecque et à celle des grandes villes romaines du Bas-Empire⁶⁹. L'académie ne devait pas compter plus de 150 élèves par cours, sélectionnés sur des critères scolaires et politiques. L'accès en était réservé aux titulaires d'un diplôme d'enseignement secondaire supérieur; mais priorité était donnée aux candidats ayant effectué leur service comme officier dans la Milice, à l'ancienneté dans l'inscription au parti et enfin seulement aux périodes d'enseignement dans des établissements publics.

L'académie avait commencé à fonctionner dès la rentrée de septembre 1928⁷⁰. Les 150 premiers élèves étaient presque tous des adultes, déjà

⁶⁶ C. Cresti, *Architettura e fascismo*, Florence, Vallecchi, 1985, p. 79.

⁶⁷ G. Accosto, V. Fraticelli, R. Nicolini, *L'architettura di Rome capitale*, Rome, Golem, 1971, pp. 415 ss.

⁶⁸ A.C.S., P.C.M.: 1934-1936, b. 7/2, f. 3856, *Renato Ricci a Mussolini su «Foro Mussolini»*.

⁶⁹ Sur «Foro Mussolini», voir: E. Del Debbio, *Memoriale*, in A. Greco, G.Santuccio (ed.), *Foro italico*, Rome, Multigrafica, 1991; M. Caporilli, F. Simeoni (edd.), *Il Foro italico e lo stadio olimpico: immagini della storia*, Rome, Tomo Ed., 1990; V. Vidotto, *La capitale del fascismo*, in Id. (ed.), *Rome capitale. Storia di Rome dall'Antichità a oggi*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2002, pp. 379-413. Sur l'inauguration du premier coffre, voir M. Piacentini, *Il Foro Mussolini in Rome*, «Architettura», vol. XII, février, 1933, pp. 65-74.

⁷⁰ Sur l'inauguration de l'Académie (5 février 1928 VI), voir: Caporilli, Simeoni, *Il Foro italico e lo stadio olimpico: immagini della storia*, cit., p. 72. Le rôle de l'Académie est défini

moniteurs d'éducation physique, instituteurs ou directeurs d'écoles primaires. La construction du complexe était confiée à l'architecte Enrico Del Debbio, originaire de Carrare⁷¹. L'extérieur du bâtiment de l'académie s'inspirait des constructions antiques, avec ses frontons, ses colonnes et ses niches ornées de statues⁷². L'absence de lourds ornements incitait les commentateurs à parler d'un «modernisme linéaire et ailé»⁷³; mais l'exiguïté du site contraignit Del Debbio à limiter l'espace sportif à deux tribunes en ciment armé⁷⁴. A la demande du duc, une piscine, un stade olympique (1932-1934), des courts de tennis (1932) et une salle d'armes (1936) furent ajoutés à l'ensemble, ainsi que des logements d'étudiants (1934-1936) sur un espace beaucoup plus étendu⁷⁵. L'extension du projet nécessita un «plan régulateur» de Del Debbio⁷⁶. Il comportait l'académie, le «Stadio dei marmi», le «stade des cyprès», l'hôtellerie du sud et la colonie d'héliothérapie. L'ingénieur Costantino Costantini dessina l'obélisque et les terrains de tennis. En juin 1936, Ricci envisageait d'ajouter à l'ensemble un «Hercule moderne». Cette statue de bronze, rivale de celle de la Liberté et de la Tour Eiffel, aurait symbolisé le fascisme en dominant le complexe du haut de ses 80 mètres, sur un espace 5 fois plus étendu que la place de Venise⁷⁷. Elle ne fut jamais réalisée, remplacée à l'extrémité d'une longue avenue par une obélisque dédiée à Mussolini, sorte de pylone entre deux édifices jumeaux. L'obélisque, symbole du pouvoir fasciste, était faite d'un seul bloc en marbre de Carrare. C'était un monolithe large de 2,5 mètres et haut de 18 mètres reposait sur un piédestal de marbre blanc veiné de bleu. L'ensemble monumental était impressionnant avec ses 33 mètres de hauteur et ses 320 tonnes. Dans ses fondations était ensevelie une reproduction du «Code du Forum Mussolini» (Codice del Foro Mussolini) qui relatait en latin l'histoire des premières années de l'O.N.B. et de la construction du forum⁷⁸. L'obélisque coûta 2,3 millions de liras. L'emplacement initial de la statue de bronze fut occupé par la «Fontana della sfera». En septembre 1936, un comité «Pro Roma Imperiale», organisation d'Italo-américains pro-fascistes, envoya 5 caisses de ferrailles pour aider à la construction d'un monument à l'Empire sous forme d'une colonne de bronze. Le Forum Mussolini, que Francesco Ercole définissait

par le décret n. 1227 du 28 août 1931 à Reggio. Parmi les professeurs, les professeurs Domenico Bettacchi, Gastone Meldolesi et Carmelo Midulla. Le recteur de l'académie, Riccardo Versari, était professeur d'anatomie à l'université de Rome.

⁷¹ Sur Enrico Del Debbio voir: D.B.I., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 477-480.

⁷² Cresti, *Architettura e fascismo*, cit., pp. 80-81.

⁷³ F. Saporì, *L'arte e il duce*, Milan, Mondadori, 1932, pp. 127-128.

⁷⁴ Caporilli, Simeoni, *Il Foro italico e lo stadio olimpico: immagini della storia*, cit., p. 48, pp. 179-199, pp. 202-209.

⁷⁵ A.C.S., P.C.M.: 1934-1936, b. 7/2, f. 3856, R. Ricci a Mussolini, 22 maggio 1935.

⁷⁶ A.C.S., P.C.M.: 1928-1930, b. 1/1-15, f. 2104, R. Ricci, *Deliberazione n. 14, 13 gennaio 1928*.

⁷⁷ A.C.S., Carte Renato Ricci, b. 6, *Promemoria di R. Ricci per B. Mussolini, 22 giugno 1936*.

⁷⁸ *L'inaugurazione del Foro Mussolini*, «Bollettino dell'Opera Nazionale Balilla», 15 novembre 1932, p. 3.

en 1932 comme le «Centre expérimental de la nouvelle pédagogie fasciste», impliqua d'énormes sacrifices financiers à l'O.N.B.⁷⁹

Au début des années 1930, Ricci avait confié les travaux à l'architecte rationaliste Luigi Moretti⁸⁰. Ce dernier refusa de se plier aux nouvelles techniques dans la réorganisation du complexe; mais on passa du noyau original de Del Debbio, avec l'académie (1928) et le «Stadio dei marmi» (1928-1932), aux réalisations de Moretti avec la «Casa delle Armi» (1936), le «Palazzo delle Terme» et la «Piazzale dell'Impero». Le «Stadio dei marmi» ressemblait à un amphithéâtre antique modernisé. Il servait de lieu d'entraînement pour les élèves de l'académie et correspondait aux préférences de Ricci pour le sport éducatif. Le stade était orné de statues en marbre blanc de 4 mètres de hauteur, inspirées d'un style gréco-romain et financées par des dons des différentes provinces d'Italie. Elles représentaient deux groupes d'athlètes en bronze d'Aroldo Bellini, le premier (Gli atleti) à l'entrée du stade, et le second (I Lottatori) près de la tribune d'honneur. L'union de l'art et du sport devait permettre d'aborder par la statuaire le thème de l'«homme nouveau»⁸¹. Le «Stadio dei marmi» semblait une anticipation des arènes d'Albert Speer et du titanisme d'Arno Brecker. L'ensemble illustre un passage de la rhétorique de l'athlétisme de masse à celle de l'empire romain ressuscité. Le traditionalisme de l'académie et le classicisme des statues du stade s'opposaient à l'abstraction métaphysique de la «Fontana della sfera» sur la «Piazzale dell'Impero».

La «Casa delle Armi» était la réalisation de Moretti représentant la plus dure rationalité⁸². L'«Accademia della scherma» (1933-1936) nacquit à la suite de l'échec de Del Debbio d'une «Casa del Balilla» expérimentale. Ce fut l'œuvre la plus connue de Moretti, avec la «Palestra del duce» (1936) et la «Cella commemorativa» (1940). Elle contribua à la mystique fasciste d'internationalisme destinée à la sublimation du régime. L'«Accademia della scherma» obéissait à une architecture simple et solennelle. La construction géométrique consistait en deux volumes orthogonaux reliés entre eux qui abritaient la bibliothèque et la salle d'armes. La première se situait dans un long atrium comportant deux galeries latérales destinées à la lecture et précédées d'un espace abstrait au plafond rouge pompéien. La salle d'armes était recouverte de deux demi voûtes en ciment armé, masquées à l'extérieur par une enveloppe revêtue de marbre de Carrare. Elle pouvait accueillir 300 élèves. Les parois du «gymnase du duce» étaient elles aussi entièrement recouvertes de marbre blanc veiné de noir. La pureté grecque de la salle devait faire ressortir et exalter tout geste un peu vif. Moretti fut également chargé de la réalisation de

⁷⁹ A.C.S., Direttorio P.N.F., II, b. 15.

⁸⁰ S. Santuccio, *Luigi Moretti*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1985.

⁸¹ C.O.N.I., *Cronache radiofoniche dello sport. Anni XII-XIII*, 26 janvier 1935, Rome, E.I.A.R., 1936, p. 162.

⁸² L. Moretti, *La Casa delle Armi, le sue opere e il suo archivio*, Rome, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, 2005.

la «Piazzale dell'Impero» qui devait rendre toute son importance à la «Fontana della Sfera». Celle-ci avait été construite par Mario Paniconi et Giulio Pediconi, deux architectes associés à Moretti dans le plan régulateur de Pérouse. Pour la «Piazzale dell'Impero», Moretti s'assura du concours d'artistes comme Angelo Canevari, Achille Capizzano, Giulio Rosso et surtout Gino Severini. Leur tâche consistait à illustrer la campagne d'Ethiopie et à célébrer le premier anniversaire de l'Empire. De légères dénivellations du terrain étaient soulignées par divers traitements du pavé en marbre dans la partie centrale et par des mosaïques dans les zones latérales. L'ensemble était relié par une double file de blocs de marbre, 11 de chaque côté, et 6 autres de plus grande taille destinés à mettre en valeur les deux entrées principales orientées vers l'obélisque et la fontaine. Les plus belles mosaïques étaient sans doute celles de Severini, dont l'élégance néo-classique parvenait à s'extraire de la rhétorique mussolinienne. Elles représentaient en noir et blanc des scènes de sport ou d'histoire de l'Italie. Les mosaïques, les fresques et les sculptures de Severini conféraient aux constructions un caractère indéniablement italien⁸³. La présence des mosaïques rappelait les découvertes archéologiques de l'époque: Villa d'Hadrien à Tivoli, fresque de la Villa des Mystères à Pompéi et la ville antique d'Ostie (Ostia antica)⁸⁴. La «Piazzale dell'Impero» constituait le nerf du Forum Mussolini. Elle devait servir d'entrée monumentale à la Via Imperiale qui aurait traversé symboliquement la capitale et abriter les rassemblements commémorant les fastes de l'Empire⁸⁵. Elle anticipait sur un accès triomphal aux Jeux olympiques de Rome de 1944 et était conçue pour les parades sportives et les défilés militaires.

Le Forum Mussolini était ouvert aux technologies du sport les plus modernes de l'époque. Les frais d'inscription s'élevaient à 5000 liras par an, mais des exonérations étaient prévues, par exemple pour des élèves dont les familles résidaient en Tunisie. Les cours d'une durée de deux ans en internat comprenaient en priorité la pratique de la gymnastique. Après la nomination de Ricci à la présidence des Sports d'hiver (1930), les activités de ski se développèrent à l'académie⁸⁶. Une réforme de 1930 introduisit des disciplines médicales dans les programmes: Anatomie, physiologie, psychologie de la puberté, traumatologie et hygiène. La pédagogie, la philosophie et la législation fasciste furent également enseignées; mais cette dimension scientifique et culturelle n'effaça pas le but principal de l'académie qui consistait à former les dirigeants fascistes de l'O.N.B. au terme d'un «sévère noviciat moral, politique, sportif

⁸³ Ruth Ben-Ghiat, *La cultura fascista*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2004.

⁸⁴ S. Tozzi, *Severini al Foro Italico*, «Riscoperta del Mosaico», vol. II, n. 9, septembre 1998, pp. 18-21.

⁸⁵ P. Marconi, *Il Piazzale dell'Impero al Foro Mussolini in Rome*, «Architettura», vol. XX, nn. 9-10, septembre-octobre 1941, p. 347.

⁸⁶ A. Cammarata, *Pedagogia di Mussolini. La scuola dell'Opera Nazionale Balilla. I Corsi per i capi centuria e i Campi Dux*, Palermo, Trinarchi, 1932, pp. 98-100; G.A. Oddo, *Due anni da allievo dell'Accademia fascista*, Cantù, Tip. Grassi e Prini, 1935, pp. 47-49.

et militaire»⁸⁷. Les nouveaux diplômés étaient soumis à un apprentissage de 9 mois directement orienté vers les activités d'encadrement de l'œuvre de Ricci. Ils suivaient alors des cours de gymnastique et de physiologie de la croissance. Ils s'initiaient surtout à l'organisation de campings et de colonies de vacances. Les élèves de l'académie furent en majeure partie des fascistes convaincus modelés par le régime. Ils étaient un millier à sortir de l'établissement en 1936.

Le Forum Mussolini impressionnait et décontenançait les visiteurs étrangers «Deux hauts bâtiments, percés et reliés par un porche géant étagent les salles du Palais de l'Education physique et du Palais de l'Escrime, faisant de ce lieu une université des sports, écrivait Paul Emile Cadilhac en 1937. Au-delà du porche, des statues se dressent le long d'une allée qui conduit au stade de marbre blanc. Au-dessus des gradins, un peu écrasées par elles, des effigies d'athlètes inscrivent les gestes caractéristiques de tous les jeux olympiques. C'est somptueux, mais un peu déconcertant du fait de la trop grande échelle des statues. Le stade de marbre sert à des parades sportives et para militaires de jeunes gens et de jeunes filles. Ici, le pays est glorifié: défilés, chants et harangues alternent, exaltant les âmes de ces jeunes gens. Plus loin viennent le stade de pierre à caractère plus sportif, des courts de tennis, des terrains de rugby et de football, une très belle piscine. Puis, avec ce faste cher à la Rome fasciste, la Fontaine de la sphère, énorme globe de pierre posé sur un champ de mosaïques noires et blanches inspirées de celles qui parent les Thermes de Caracalla. Enfin, l'obélisque triomphal»⁸⁸. Ricci était très fier de cette académie où l'élève jouissait «des avantages d'un milieu cordial et de l'assurance d'une carrière fructueuse et considérée». Il aimait en faire les honneurs lui-même aux visiteurs étrangers qu'il entraînait «dynamiquement», passant en revue au pas de gymnastique les salles, les bibliothèques, les piscines et les gymnases. Inspirée par la «foi fasciste», l'académie était par ses finalités culturelles et sportives, comme par son équipement technique «le complexe sportif le plus étendu, le plus original et le plus parfait en matière d'éducation physique jamais réalisé dans le monde»⁸⁹. Elle représentait «la plus grande expérience d'éducation d'Etat tentée jusque là»⁹⁰. Le régime avait conçu un prototype d'école totalitaire, symbole perpétuellement tangible de la «révolution fasciste» inscrit dans la pierre du Forum⁹¹. Ricci abusa largement de ses fonctions pour favoriser l'emploi des marbres de Carrare dans ces édifices monumentaux. Entre 1928 et 1935, plus de 18000 tonnes furent utilisées dans la construction du Forum Mussolini, d'une valeur de 13 millions de lire⁹².

⁸⁷ C. Midulla, *L'indirizzo ortogenico-costituzionalistico e l'educazione fisica giovanile. Prolusione tenuta all'inaugurazione dell'anno accademico 1929-1930, il 18 dicembre 1929 VII*, Rome, s.e., 1930, pp. 22-23.

⁸⁸ Paul-Emile Cadilhac, *Impressions d'Italie*, «L'Illustration», 11 septembre 1937, pp. 35-38.

⁸⁹ A.C.S., P.C.M.:1934-1936, 22 mai 1935, b. 7/2, f. 3856, *Relazione di Ricci a Mussolini*.

⁹⁰ R. Ricci, *Prefazione*, in A. Pica, *Il Foro Mussolini*, Milan, Bompiani, 1937, p. 5.

⁹¹ N. Zapponi, *Il partito della gioventù. Le organizzazioni giovanili del fascismo: 1926-1943*, «Storia contemporanea», vol. XIII, nn. 4-5, octobre 1982, p. 605.

⁹² Lors de l'inauguration du Centre pour la préparation politique du jeune au Foro Mussolini

Ricci créa aussi l'Académie d'Orvieto pour la formation des organisations de jeunesse féminines. L'accès de cet établissement était réservé aux jeunes filles titulaires de la «maturité» (baccalauréat) ou d'un diplôme équivalent. Les candidates devaient présenter des garanties de bonne conduite morale et politique. Les études en internat coûtaient 5000 lire par an. L'enseignement en 2 ans comportait des exercices physiques destinés à la grâce du corps, ainsi qu'une «formation d'épouse et de mère». La danse, la musique, le chant, les travaux domestiques figuraient au programme. L'aspect intellectuel reposait sur des cours de pédagogie générale, d'éducation physique pour l'enfance, d'histoire et de législation fasciste. Les élèves recevaient une initiation à la physiologie générale dans le cadre d'un enseignement d'hygiène. L'académie d'Orvieto était le symbole d'une volonté de modernisation de la condition féminine; mais elle inquiétait certains milieux fascistes qui condamnaient un modèle jugé trop imité de la «garçonne»⁹³.

L'O.N.B. avait tout un programme de construction de «Case del Balilla», les gymnases étant presque inexistantes dans l'Italie libérale. L'idée de doter les villes de lieux mis au service des citoyens renforçait l'idéal d'Etat éthique et le concept d'architecture comme art social. En une dizaine d'années furent construites des centaines de «Case del Balilla», à commencer par celle de Moretti à Plaisance, simple et hardie dans sa structure cubique. Comme directeur du Bureau technique de l'O.N.B., Moretti réalisa la «Case del Balilla» de Trecale (Novare) (1934), d'Urbino et de Tivoli (1937); mais il regrettait que leur architecture limpide et précise n'évoquât aucun type architectural⁹⁴. Moretti fut le parfait interprète d'un programme d'urbanisme qui obéissait au dessein de Ricci d'insérer le sport dans la ville. Del Debbio soumit en 1933 un projet de construction à Rome de la «Casa madre Balilla» de style moderne, étranger au classicisme de ses débuts⁹⁵; mais c'est Moretti qui dota la capitale de l'édifice le plus moderne du pays en réalisant la «Casa del Balilla» du Trastevere (1933). Elle obéissait à une architecture dominée par la diversité des volumes internes, s'articulant les uns dans les autres. En 1937, l'O.N.B. disposait de 640 édifices comprenant des «Case del Balilla», des écoles et des colonies de vacances, sans compter les camps sportifs, les gymnases et les piscines⁹⁶.

en janvier 1940, Ricci affirma que le bâtiment était son travail «Il n'y aurait aucun besoin, écrit Bottai à la fois le marbre de Carrare couvert par le cri puissant» (G.Bottai, 3 janvier 1940, in G.B. Guerri (ed.), *Diario 1935-1944*, Milan, Rizzoli, 1982, p. 172).

⁹³ R. D. 20 novembre, n. 927. Sur. Accademia d'Orvieto, voir L. Motti, M.Rossi Caponeri (edd.), *Accademista ad Orvieto. Donne ed educazione fisica nell'Italia fascista, 1932-1943*, Perugia, Quattroemme, 1996.

⁹⁴ L. Moretti, *Case del Balilla*, «Lo sport fascista», vol. IX, n. 4, avril 1936, p. 23.

⁹⁵ P. Marconi, *Due opere dell'architetto Del Debbio*, «Architettura», juillet 1934.

⁹⁶ A. Nepri, *La grandiosa attività edilizia dell'Opera Nazionale Balilla*, «La Cultura Moderna», décembre 1937, p. 670.

*Les écoles rurales de l'O.N.B.*⁹⁷

L'O.N.B. obtint progressivement le transfert sous son autorité d'écoles privées de lutte contre l'analphabétisme. Le décret du 6 septembre 1928 lui permit d'annexer les écoles rurales de Calabre et de Sicile gérées par l'Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno Italiano (A.N.I.M.I.). L'O.N.B. se trouvait alors à la tête de 477 écoles rurales disposant chacune de 3 ou 4 classes primaires et réparties dans 12 provinces. L'année suivante vint le tour de la Sardaigne⁹⁸. Les établissements de l'île relevèrent de 3 directions correspondant aux provinces de Cagliari, Nuoro et Sassari. L'O.N.B. comptait 690 écoles rurales à la fin de 1929, 786 en 1931, 860 en 1932, 925 en 1933 et 1040 en 1934. Les 2/3 des écoles rurales du pays s'adressaient alors à 42000 élèves dépendant de l'O.N.B. Ricci essaya de se ménager le soutien des maîtres; mais il précisa qu'ils devaient être des exemples de «vie italienne» et agir pour amener les populations rurales à se sentir membres de la communauté nationale. Le citoyen fasciste sentait battre en lui tout le tragique de la vie, il sentait vivre la Nation où ses aspirations trouvaient leur pleine réalisation⁹⁹. Un enseignement de «culture fasciste» devait y contribuer et les élèves se présenter en classe en uniforme. Le développement de l'agriculture devenait un facteur de régénération nationale et les instituteurs devaient en enseigner les techniques. Les écoles rurales organisaient des Cours du soir et des jours fériés. Elles avaient une mission éducative et sociale particulière qui en faisait un centre de culture paysanne, le maître étant l'animateur de la vie intellectuelle des populations locales¹⁰⁰. Entre 1932 et 1934, l'O.N.B. s'empara des écoles rurales de Toscane, Vénétie, Lombardie, Piémont, Ligurie, Emilie, Campanie et Molise, portant le nombre de ses établissements à 3190. Toutefois, le pourcentage d'élèves inscrits dans ses écoles restait variable, faible en Emilie-Romagne¹⁰¹. Les écoles de l'Agro Romano et des Pouilles furent annexées à leur tour, apportant 2013 établissements scolaires supplémentaires¹⁰². Au total, l'O.N.B. possédait 7796 écoles (dont 6533 écoles rurales) réparties entre 87 directions provinciales. Le nombre de ses élèves était passé de 14845 en 1929 à 193393 à la fin de 1936, soit 30% de la population scolaire¹⁰³. Par contre, le fascisme peinait à

⁹⁷ L. Montecchi, *I contadini a scuola. La scuola rurale in Italia dall'Unità alla caduta del fascismo*, Macerata, eum, 2015.

⁹⁸ F. Pruneri, *La scuola durante il fascismo in Sardegna negli anni del consenso*, in Cavallera (ed.), *La formazione della gioventù italiana durante il ventennio fascista*, cit., Vol. 2, pp. 415 ss.

⁹⁹ R. Ricci, *Le scuole rurali dell'Opera Nazionale Balilla*, Rome, s.e., 1928, p. 8.

¹⁰⁰ P. Barbaro, *Fascismo e educazione nell'area dello Stretto*, in Cavallera (ed.), *La formazione della gioventù italiana durante il ventennio fascista*, cit., Vol. 2, p. 295.

¹⁰¹ *Le scuole dell'Ente di cultura in Emilia-Romagna dal 1923 al 1934*, in *Scuola e educazione in Emilia Romagna «Istituto per la Storia della Resistenza in Emilia-Romagna»*, «Annale», vol. 3, 1983, p. 321.

¹⁰² R. D. 25 février 1935.

¹⁰³ Le R.D 20 juin 1935, n. 1196, attribué ces écoles sont appelées «écoles rurales». Avec le

pénétrer l'enseignement secondaire où il restait cantonné dans la gymnastique. Ricci voulait généraliser l'enseignement de la «culture fasciste», mais il dut se contenter de créer deux écoles à cet effet, l'une à Rome et l'autre à Catane (septembre 1928).

L'encadrement et les activités de l'O.N.B.

L'O.N.B. comprenait deux formations: celle des Balillas (8-14 ans) et celle des Avant-gardistes (14-18 ans). Elle eut à ses débuts un caractère exclusivement masculin puisqu'il s'agissait d'une organisation à la discipline quasi militaire¹⁰⁴. Les organisations féminines des Petites Italiennes et des Jeunes Italiennes relevaient encore du P.N.F.¹⁰⁵ L'article 10 du règlement du 9 janvier 1927 prévoyait d'inculquer à la jeunesse un esprit de discipline. L'O.N.B. dispensait une instruction pré militaire, des activités gymniques et sportives, une éducation culturelle et une assistance religieuse. Elle ignorait les préjugés confessionnels et acceptaient que les Balillas et les Avant-gardistes juifs puissent pratiquer leur religion; mais elle ne fit rien pour la formation professionnelle, alors qu'elle aurait pu être un instrument valable auprès des jeunes qui avaient quitté l'école. Les Balillas suivaient la même formation que les Avant-gardistes, mais ils étaient encadrés par des instituteurs qui tenaient compte des ajustements liés à leur âge. Par contre, les Avant-gardistes étaient commandés par des officiers et des sous-officiers de la Milice. Ricci souhaitait en effet une interpénétration entre les deux organisations¹⁰⁶. Pour éviter que de pareilles responsabilités fussent confiées à des miliciens inaptes à les exercer, on exigea des candidats un certain nombre de garanties. Ils devaient exercer une profession compatible avec leurs nouvelles fonctions, ne pas avoir d'antécédents judiciaires et être physiquement aptes¹⁰⁷. On considérait qu'à plus de 14 ans les Avant-gardistes avaient acquis une maturité suffisante pour supporter une discipline militaire imposée par des cadres de la Milice qui leur inculquait l'amour de la patrie, le respect de l'ordre établi, le sens de l'honneur et celui des responsabilités. Des sentiments d'altruisme et de générosité les préparaient à devenir plus tard de bons pères de famille, de bons citoyens et de bons soldats. Le personnel de l'O.N.B. investi de fonctions culturelles devait être recruté parmi les diplômés de l'Académie fasciste. A titre

R.D. 14 octobre 1938, n. 177 sera dénommée «Ecole rurale d'État».

¹⁰⁴ Regolamento O.N.B., 9 janvier 1927.

¹⁰⁵ Circolare n. 88, 25 septembre 1927, *Istituzione delle «Piccole Italiane» e delle «Giovani Italiane»*.

¹⁰⁶ R. Ricci, *Balilla e gioventù fascista*, in Mussolini e il fascismo, Rome, Daffino, 1929, p. 319.

¹⁰⁷ Ponzio, *La palestra del Littorio. L'accademia della Farnesina: un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell'Italia Fascista*, cit., p. 123.

exceptionnel, un concours était ouvert aux candidats titulaires d'une licence en Lettres, Droit, Sciences politiques, économiques ou commerciales. Quelques personnes ayant donné satisfaction dans l'exercice de fonctions au sein des comités provinciaux de l'O.N.B. pouvaient être candidates au concours sans posséder les diplômes requis¹⁰⁸.

*Le sport en Italie et l'éducation physique à l'O.N.B.*¹⁰⁹

Mussolini tenait à faire une place au sport dans la vie de la Nation et il avait créé dans ce but la «Médaille de la valeur athlétique», une distinction qu'il tenait à remettre personnellement¹¹⁰. Toutes les associations sportives avaient été intégrées dans 32 fédérations nationales relevant du Comitato Olimpico Nazionale Italiano (C.O.N.I.), une organisation fascisée par Lando Ferretti¹¹¹. Ce dernier fut remplacé par le secrétaire du parti Augusto Turati (1928) après l'échec des athlètes italiens aux Olympiades d'Amsterdam; mais Lando Ferretti conserva son influence au Bureau de presse du chef du gouvernement en dirigeant les revues «Lo sport fascista» et «Lo schermo». Issu d'une famille bourgeoise, ancien élève de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Pise, Lando Ferretti était un sportif accompli. Il avait adhéré au fascisme en 1922 et dirigé le C.O.N.I. de 1925 à 1928¹¹². Il critiquait sévèrement une école «sceptique et décadente» enfermée dans un «pédante érudition dispensée dans des lieux tristes où des élèves se consumaient dans l'étude de froides successions de dates»¹¹³. Pour Ferretti, le sport mettait en jeu des valeurs politiques et sa pratique contribuerait à faire des Italiens des fascistes. Toutefois, il séparait le sport de compétition du sport pour tous¹¹⁴. Le champion devait rester au sein de la Nation et le fascisme condamnait des compétitions absurdes pour lesquelles les enfants se passionnaient au détriment de leurs études. Le Bureau de presse du P.N.F. publia en 1928 une «Carta dello sport» (Charte du sport) qui distinguait trois types d'activités: les sports populaires, les sports de prestige et les sports féminins¹¹⁵. Le sport devenait une activité nationale, en dépit du

¹⁰⁸ R.D. 5 mars 1934, n. 405.

¹⁰⁹ M. Canella, S.Giuntini, *Sport e fascismo*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2009; E. Landoni, *Gli atleti del duce. La politica sportiva del fascismo (1919-1939)*, Sesto S. Giovanni, Mimesis, 2016.

¹¹⁰ F. Fabrizio, *Sport e fascismo. La politica sportiva del regime, 1924-1943*, Florence, Guaraldi, 1976, p. 44.

¹¹¹ R.D. 2 mars 1927.

¹¹² Fabrizio, *Sport e fascismo. La politica sportiva del regime, 1924-1943*, cit., p. 20.

¹¹³ Voir le discours de Lando Ferretti à Camera dei deputati (6 février 1926) in L. Ferretti, *Esempi e idee per l'Italiano*, Rome, 1930VIII. Voir: L. Ferretti, *Il libro dello sport*, Rome-Milan, Libreria del Littorio, 1928, p. 64.

¹¹⁴ A. Bacci, *Lo sport nella propaganda fascista*, Turin, Brandipolibri, 2002, p. 43.

¹¹⁵ *Mens sana in corpo sano* et *Cultura popolare*, «Cronache radiofoniche dello sport

«suprême dédain de l'Université» et de la «méfiance des partis de gauche qui en avaient d'abord entravé le développement»¹¹⁶.

La pratique du sport divisait le P.N.F., écartelé entre la nécessité d'une formation et l'attrait des grands spectacles. Dans un premier temps, il ne jugea pas nécessaire de construire des stades coûteux qui ne servaient qu'aux manifestations sportives des grandes villes¹¹⁷. Ricci partageait cette opinion. Il défendait le sport comme outil éducatif mais se montrait critique envers les spectacles sportifs. Le fascisme multiplia les «Campi Sportivi del Littorio» (Camps sportifs du Licteur), établissements standardisés et bon marché pourvus d'un terrain de football, d'une piste d'athlétisme et de tribunes pour les spectateurs. Ces camps s'efforçaient de remédier à l'inégale répartition des équipements sportifs dans le pays; mais la diffusion de la pratique sportive visait d'abord à l'amélioration physique de la race¹¹⁸. D'octobre 1928 au début de 1930, on construisit 1445 «Campi Sportivi del Littorio» en Italie septentrionale, 554 en Italie centrale et 384 en Italie méridionale¹¹⁹.

Les succès italiens en cyclisme et en football incitèrent le parti et les autorités locales à financer la construction de grands stades dans les grandes villes. Certes, le fascisme utilisait toujours le sport comme un type d'éducation. Ricci concevait sa mission dans cet esprit et il demandait que les stades et les terrains de sport fussent dotés de nombreuses places afin d'attirer le plus de spectateurs possible¹²⁰. En fait, les grands stades étaient investis d'une fonction de propagande dans une architecture qui unissait le bâtisseur à la sensibilité de la foule¹²¹. Le premier fut construit à Bologne (mai 1927), suivi du «Testaccio» de Rome (1929), du «Giovanni Berta» de Florence (1932), de la «Favorita» de Palerme (1932) et du «Benito Mussolini» de Turin (1933). Le «Littoriale» de Bologne fut le premier équipement sportif fasciste à faire référence à l'architecture de l'Antiquité. Il devait rappeler les grandes arènes romaines en s'inspirant du Colisée et des Thermes de Caracalla. Le «Littoriale» était entouré de 2 piscines et de 4 courts de tennis. Ses arcades faisaient référence à la tradition antique mais son équipement très fonctionnel était construit selon des techniques modernes, avec l'emploi de béton armé pour produire de grands volumes¹²². Le stade «Giovanni Berta» de Florence construit par Pier Luigi Nervi s'affirmait à la pointe d'une innovation reposant sur le, béton

C.O.N.I.», nn. 6-7, 1929, p. 201.

¹¹⁶ L. Ferretti, *Il fascismo e l'educazione sportiva della nazione*, «Civiltà fascista», 1928, pp. 609-613.

¹¹⁷ A.C.S., P.C.M.: 1928-1930, b. 3/2, f. 4301, A. Bonacossa, *Memento*, 15 septembre 1928.

¹¹⁸ A. Turati, *Prefazione*, in P.N.F., *Campo Sportivo del Littorio*, Rome, Libreria del Littorio, 1928, p. 3.

¹¹⁹ B. Del Marco, *La costruzione dei campi sportivi*, Milan, Hoepli, 1938.

¹²⁰ A.C.S., P.C.M.: 1928-1930, b. 3/2-5, f. 4301, *Opera Nazionale Balilla (R. Ricci)*.

¹²¹ «Cronache radiofoniche dello sport C.O.N.I.», 1^o juin 1935, p. 223.

¹²² C. Savoia, *Dallo Stadio del Littoriale all'Ippodromo Bolognese*, «L'Assalto», 8 mars 1932, p. 5.

armé¹²³. La structure des escaliers extérieurs, composée de deux architraves en forme d'hélices, était une nouveauté pour l'époque. L'expression politique se manifestait du haut d'une tour de 60 mètres située face à la tribune couverte. Le «Stadio Mussolini» de Turin était le fruit d'une synthèse entre l'art et la fonction¹²⁴. Tout manquement à la symétrie s'exposait aux critiques¹²⁵; mais, alliée au monumentalisme, elle contribuait à une architecture écrasante pour l'individu¹²⁶. L'architecture des stades italiens cherchait une synthèse entre les éléments classiques et modernes¹²⁷; mais l'obligation de construire rapidement des équipements sportifs jouait en faveur d'un «fonctionnalisme moderne». Avec l'évolution impériale et totalitaire du régime, cette architecture s'orienta vers le «monumentalisme»¹²⁸.

L'équipe nationale de football (squadra azzurra) disputa 62 matches entre 1930 et 1938, n'en perdant que 6. Elle remporta la «Coupe Jules Rimet» (1934 et 1938) ainsi que les Jeux Olympiques de Berlin (1936). Ces succès étaient commentés à la radio par le reporter sportif Nicolò Carosio dont la voix devint vite familière aux auditeurs: langage précis, ton modéré, utilisation calculée des temps de pauses¹²⁹. Entre 1931 et 1934, la presse sportive italienne vécut un «âge d'or» lié à la légende créée autour des champions. Ce fut aussi une bonne période pour les quotidiens qui consacraient une place importante au sport¹³⁰. Ricci n'y voyait pourtant qu'un moyen de «régénération psychologique» de la jeunesse italienne. L'O.N.B. s'inspira largement des expériences pédagogiques d'Eugenio Ferrauto, un maître d'armes qui avait été instructeur des «arditi» pendant la Grande guerre. Ricci lui confia la direction du Bureau d'Education physique de l'O.N.B.. Dans ses écrits, Ferrauto insistait sur la progression technique, sur le respect de la croissance des enfants, la lucidité de l'acte moteur et le rôle éducatif du jeu. Il mettait l'accent sur la spécificité psychosomatique des jeunes filles. En 1929, une campagne des autorités ecclésiastiques, reliée par les hygiénistes et la presse catholique protesta contre les excès de la gymnastique féminine. Le Grand Conseil Fasciste mandata le président du C.O.N.I. pour reconsidérer les activités sportives féminines en évitant tout sport pouvant distraire la femme de sa mission essentielle: la maternité (1^{er} octobre 1930)¹³¹.

¹²³ G. Michelucci, *Lo stadio «Giovanni Berta»*, in *Firenze dell'ingegnere Pier Luigi Nervi*, «Architettura», n. 2, mars 1932, pp. 105-106.

¹²⁴ Id., *Il nuovo Stadio del Littorio*, «Architettura», n. 4, avril 1933, pp. 239-245.

¹²⁵ G. Finetti, *Il più recente Stadio d'Italia*, «L'Illustrazione italiana», n. 38, 17 septembre 1928.

¹²⁶ G. Pagano, *Del 'monumentale' nell'architettura moderna «Casabella»*, n. 40, avril 1931, p. 12.

¹²⁷ «Cronache radiofoniche dello sport C.O.N.I.», 28 août 1937, pp. 242-243.

¹²⁸ D. Bolz, *Les arènes totalitaires. Hitler, Mussolini et les jeux du stade*, Paris, 2007, p. 273.

¹²⁹ P. Ortoleva, *Carosio Nicolò*, D.F., Vol. I, p. 235.

¹³⁰ P. Murialdi, *La stampa quotidiana del regime fascista*, in V. Castronovo, N. Tranfaglia (edd.), *La stampa italiana nell'età fascista*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 1980, p. 154.

¹³¹ «Coltura popolare», décembre 1929. Sur Eugenio Ferrauto voir D.B.E., Vol. I, p. 451.

Les instructeurs de l'O.N.B. devaient développer le désir de vaincre «loyalement et sans faiblesse» au moyen d'exercices sollicitant l'agilité plus que la force. Les Balillas s'adonnaient à des jeux collectifs et les Avant-gardistes à des activités sportives plus athlétiques. La formation physique était également destinée à donner le sens de la discipline par le goût de l'ordre et de l'exactitude. L'éducation physique était une discipline formatrice du caractère et le corps une «porte dérobée de l'âme». L'étude de l'hygiène était étroitement liée à la pratique d'exercices physiques. Elle insistait sur la vie en plein air, l'équilibre entre le travail et le repos, l'hygiène personnelle alimentaire et domestique. Elle traitait des maladies contagieuses, de la constitution du corps humain et des règles élémentaires du secourisme. En septembre 1929, Ricci insistait sur le lien entre l'éducation physique et la formation pré militaire afin que les jeunes fussent préparés à servir la patrie¹³². Des officiers de la Milice en étaient chargés, leur enseignement portant sur des notions techniques et le maniement du mousqueton. Les Avant-gardistes recevaient une initiation à la topographie et manipulaient le fusil-mitrailleur. Des concours, avec éliminatoires communaux et provinciaux, furent organisés pour les jeunes de l'O.N.B. Ils étaient couronnés par la coupe «Dux» à Rome. Leurs épreuves comportaient autant d'exercices para militaires, gymniques et patriotiques que sportifs et l'attrait d'un voyage dans la capitale suffisait à assurer leur succès. Le nombre des participants suivit une progression parallèle à celle de l'encadrement par d'anciens élèves de l'Académie fasciste de Rome: de 5000 à 29000 entre 1932 et 1937, avec 600 «académistes»¹³³.

Ricci était passionné d'aviation, détenteur de brevets de pilote d'hydravion, et chaque légion de l'O.N.B. devait comporter en principe une centurie aérienne. Les Avant-gardistes de cette centurie ajoutaient à leur uniforme le béret des aviateurs de l'Aéronautique. Ils participaient à des activités spécifiques, suivaient des leçons d'aérodynamique, s'initiaient au fonctionnement des moteurs d'avion et à l'aéromodélisme. Une école de vol à voile de l'O.N.B. fut ouverte en 1927 dans l'Appenin émilien, à Pavullo nel Frignano près de Modène. Elle décernait des brevets de pilote. Une autre école se situait dans l'Appenin ligure à Casella, près de Gênes. Ces deux établissements étaient adossés à des collines herbeuses qui servaient de piste d'envol. Les élèves avant-gardistes étaient soumis à une discipline militaire, avec une cérémonie au drapeau à 6 et 19 heures. Toutefois, les

¹³² R. Ricci, *Prefazione*, in *Manuale del Capo centuria avanguardista*, Rome, s.e., 1929; Sur l'éducation physique à O.N.B., voir Caporilli, *Il fascismo e i giovani*, cit. pp. 102-105: «Le fascisme en somme n'est pas seulement le donneur de lois e fondateur d'instituts, mais éducateur et promoteur de la vie spirituel. Il ne refait pas les formes de la vie humaine, mais le contenu, homme, caractère, foi. Et pour cela, il veut discipline et autorité qui descendent dans les esprits et là dominations sans opposition».

¹³³ Ponzio, *La palestra del Littorio. L'accademia della Farnesina: un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell'Italia Fascista*, cit., pp. 86-88.

deux écoles manquaient de moyens. Une bonne partie des orphelins de guerre vivaient dans deux types d'établissements fondés par David Levi-Morenos¹³⁴ : les colonies de jeunes travailleurs qui prônaient le retour à la nature et les navires-écoles¹³⁵. Ces derniers, basés à Venise, Bari, Naples et Cagliari, accueillait gratuitement 700 orphelins des gens de mer. En passant sous l'autorité de l'O.N.B., l'esprit ne fut plus le même¹³⁶. Ils devenaient des écoles professionnelles diffusant une formation technique utile dans la Marine, les vieux bâtiments «Sicilla», «Eridano», «Caracciolo» et «Azuni» n'étant plus adaptés à cette nouvelle orientation. L'O.N.B. annexa aussi le collège maritime «Vittorio Emmanuele III» d'Anzio, au sud de Rome. Cette Maison de marins balillas était capable d'héberger 2500 enfants. Ricci donna une vive impulsion aux centuries marines où les «Balilla Marinaretti» se répartissaient entre les «reparti segnalatori» et les «reparti nocchieri». En collaboration avec la Lega navale italiana, il s'agissait de former de jeunes «mousses» rompus aux exercices du métier de la mer et de développer le goût des sports nautiques. En 1933, 35000 adolescents s'adonnaient à ces activités. Le Centre romain des Centuries marines de l'O.N.B. était installé aux portes de la capitale, sur la rive du Tibre longeant la voie Flaminienne. C'était une importante construction pouvant abriter 1000 Balillas et 800 Avant-gardistes. Elle était baptisée Caius Duilius en l'honneur du vainqueur des Carthaginois dont les dépouilles ornaient la colonne rostrale dressée sur le forum antique, près de la tribune aux harangues. «Un bâtiment astiqué et briqué comme un navire anglais, percé de fenêtres largement ouvertes sur l'éblouissement blond du Tibre»¹³⁷. Des unités motocyclistes furent également constituées ainsi que des formations d'Alpins.

¹³⁴ A. Ferrière, *Orphelinats modèles en Italie*, «Pour l'ère nouvelle», mars 1926, p. 29. Sur Davide Levi-Morenos, voir : D.B.E., Vol. II, pp. 32-33.

¹³⁵ D. Levi-Morenos, *Per una esperienza nazionale di educazione rurale. Le colonie dei Giovani Lavoratori*, Rome, s.e., 1927; P. Engel, *Les colonies de jeunes Travailleurs*, «Pour l'ère nouvelle», 1927, pp. 174-181; A. Mencarelli, *Inquadrati e fedeli. Educazione e Fascismo in Umbria nei documenti scolastici*, Naples, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1996, p. 14; L. Montecchi, *Un'esperienza di istruzione rurale integrale*, «Annali della Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione dell'Università di Macerata», vol. 4, 2009.

¹³⁶ R.D. 10 août 1928, vol. VI, n. 2506, *Passaggio delle Navi-scuola marinaretti e dell'Orfanotrofio Marittima «Vittorio-Emmanuele II» all'Opera Nazionale Balilla*, «Gazzetta ufficiale», 26 septembre 1929.

¹³⁷ R.D. 14 juin 1928, n. 1551, *Regolamento per la costituzione e funzionamento dei Reparti Avanguardisti e Balilla marinai*, «Gazzetta ufficiale», 16 juillet 1928.

Organisation, grades et promotions à l'O.N.B.

Le modèle militaire de l'O.N.B. transparaisait à travers l'uniforme et l'organisation des escouades. La tenue des Balillas reflétait l'unité du groupe, tout en respectant la hiérarchie des grades. Elle comprenait la chemise noire, un foulard bleu tenu par une agrafe à l'effigie du duce, des culottes courtes et des chaussettes montantes de couleur vert-de-gris, une ceinture et un fez noir. A 12 ans, le Balilla devenait «mousquetaire». A 14 ans, les Avant-gardistes se répartissaient entre les «mousquetaires» et les «mitrailleurs». L'O.N.B. était organisée en équipes, manipules, centuries, cohortes et légions. Une équipe comptait 11 membres, une manipule 3 équipes, une centurie 3 manipules, une cohorte 3 centuries et une légion entre 3 et 5 cohortes. Chaque province comptait au moins une légion. La progression au sein de l'O.N.B. obéissait à des cérémonies aux rites initiatiques. Le jour anniversaire de la fondation de Rome (21 avril) qui remplaçait la Fête du Travail du 1^o mai, les nouveaux adhérents étaient reçus solennellement et les Balillas de 14 ans promus Avant-gardistes en présence des dignitaires du régime. Cette «leva» fasciste avait lieu dans chaque chef-lieu de province. Le président provincial de l'O.N.B. remettait la liste des Avant-gardistes promus dans les Faisceaux juvéniles au secrétaire fédéral du parti qui transmettait au commandant de légion celle des Jeunes fascistes admis au P.N.F. et dans la Milice. Le secrétaire fédéral prononçait la formule rituelle du serment des recrues pendant qu'un Jeune fasciste recevait une arme et un Avant-gardiste le foulard aux couleurs de Rome. La première «leva» en l'An VII vit la promotion de 47,000 Balillas. Ils étaient 80000 l'année suivante.

Un règlement fixait les procédures des promotions, des dégradations et des exclusions en s'inspirant d'un code militaire. Ricci imposa le «style fasciste» à l'O.N.B.. Une circulaire du 8 avril 1928 exigea le «salut à la romaine», la poignée de main dénotant une conscience incertaine. Le Balilla devait être un «noble exemple d'éducation virile, fidèle à la race latine»¹³⁸. L'O.N.B. voulait tremper constamment la vigueur des générations futures qui devaient être faites «d'hommes forts et sains, à même de remplir leurs devoirs de citoyens et de soldats»¹³⁹. Ses activités se déroulaient le samedi après-midi: une circulaire du ministre de l'Education nationale (1931) prescrivait aux chefs d'établissements scolaires de veiller à ce que les élèves puissent disposer de leurs congés pour participer aux séances de l'O.N.B. Celle-ci contribuait à la formation non seulement physique des jeunes, mais surtout de leur volonté. Après la prière au roi et au duce, on procédait à «l'appel des héros» de la Grande guerre et du fascisme, arbitrairement confondus. La lecture des citations à l'ordre du jour était consacrée aux actes remarquables accomplis par des Balillas. L'après-midi s'achevait par des exercices de préparation militaire. Ces activités présentaient

¹³⁸ O.N.B., *Giovinetza eroica*, Rome, Presidenza nazionale 1932, pp. 3-4.

¹³⁹ Circolare, 27 juillet 1928, in F. Gazetti, *Assistenza e previdenza in Italia*, Rome, 1937.

un caractère rituel répétitif, à base de parades. A partir de 1933, le recrutement de l'O.N.B. s'élargit aux «Fils de la louve» ouverts aux enfants âgés de 6 à 8 ans. L'uniforme des Balillas comportait une chemise noire ouverte, avec revers et signes distinctifs en métal, une ceinture blanche portant un «M», des pantalons courts gris-verts, avec rabat à la marinière, des chaussettes, des chaussures noires montantes et un fez orné d'une «louve romaine». Le fascisme s'immisçait ainsi dans la sphère familiale de la petite enfance.

Le rôle social de l'O.N.B. et les colonies de vacances

L'O.N.B. annexa les patronages scolaires¹⁴⁰. Ricci avait conscience de l'importance de son rôle social. Pour le V^o anniversaire de la «marche sur Rome» (octobre 1927), il organisa un concours attribuant une centaine de «Bourses d'études et d'activités laborieuses» d'un montant de 400 à 800 lire à des Balillas et Avant-gardistes. Le V^o concours pour une «Borsa di Studio e Operosità Benito Mussolini» doté de 60000 lire de prix, réunit 2137 participants provenant de 83 comités provinciaux (1934). Les candidats présentèrent 1500 travaux. Des prix de 800, 400 et 200 lire furent attribués à 76 Avant-gardistes et 26 Jeunes Italiennes. Des prix de 400, 200 et 100 lire furent décernés à 58 Balillas et 32 Petites Italiennes.

A partir de 1928, les membres de l'O.N.B. purent bénéficier d'une assurance contre les accidents grâce à la Caisse mutuelle d'assistance «Arnaldo Mussolini»¹⁴¹. A l'occasion de la «Befana fascista», l'O.N.B. procédait chaque année à des distributions gratuites de vêtements, de friandises et de jouets. En 1930 (An VIII), 2401771 enfants en bénéficièrent. Par contre, l'initiative de Ricci en faveur des cantines scolaires hivernales resta sans lendemain¹⁴². Pour avoir prise sur les masses, l'O.N.B. devait insister sur l'aspect récréatif dans une perspective d'assistance sociale. Les colonies de vacances pouvaient y contribuer en montrant que les séjours au bord de la mer ou à la montagne n'étaient plus réservées aux seules familles riches¹⁴³. Ricci leur donna une forte impulsion. En 1930, 10% seulement des enfants concernés pouvaient séjourner en colonies

¹⁴⁰ R.D. 17 mars 1930, n. 314. Le parrainage de l'école fournissait gratuitement des manuels scolaires, des cahiers, des fournitures scolaires, des vêtements aux élèves pauvres, ainsi que l'organisation de la nourriture gratuite et payante et toutes les autres activités de bien-être que la loi lui a assignées.

¹⁴¹ «Bollettino dell'Opera Nazionale Balilla», 15 novembre 1928. Ce périodique a été publié en 1927 à l'initiative du Ministère de l'éducation, puis de l'éducation nationale (1929) sous la direction de R. Ricci, avec Renato Marzolo en qualité de rédacteur en chef.

¹⁴² Circolare n. 3, 7 janvier 1935, *Refezione invernale nelle scuole elementari*.

¹⁴³ C.S. De Martino, A. Wall (edd.), *Cities of childhood Italian colonies of the 1930's*, London, The Architectural Association, 1988.

de vacances; mais le nombre de ces établissements tripla en 10 ans, dépassant les 3000 au milieu des années 1930. Le choix des enfants envoyés dans les colonies obéissait à un dépistage sanitaire parmi les enfants pauvres et de santé fragile; mais le nombre de colons n'atteignit pas le million, alors que l'O.N.B. comptait 3,5 millions d'adhérents. En 1935, un congrès de médecins réuni à Rimini réorganisa la prophylaxie des maladies infantiles et fixa les périodes de cures dans les différentes colonies pour les enfants qui en souffraient. La même année, 550000 enfants les fréquentèrent et l'O.N.B. assura 1127685 visites médicales. En outre, 350000 Balillas et Petites Italiennes subirent une visite médicale obligatoire dans les campings provinciaux et 30000 avant-gardistes dans les campings nationaux. En 1936, 2379070 Balillas passèrent devant un médecin sur 3 millions d'adhérents.

Sur la côte adriatique, 23 nouveaux établissements furent créés en 10 ans, ces constructions représentant un demi-million de mètres cubes. Au début de l'été 1934, la «Colonia XXVIII Ottobre», plus connue sous le nom de «Le Navi», fut inaugurée à Cattolica¹⁴⁴. Elle représentait une flotte de navires dans une architecture néo-futuriste: 4 pavillons-dortoirs en forme de bateau pouvaient héberger 900 enfants. Ils flanquaient l'édifice central qui était conçu comme un navire-amiral. La colonie marine de Calambrone était ouverte aux enfants de postiers et de cheminots. Les travaux s'achevèrent en 1933. Ils furent confiés à l'ingénieur Angiolo Mazzoni qui avait adhéré au mouvement néo-futuriste et dont le nom figurait au «Manifeste futuriste de l'architecture aérienne» (1934). L'installation semblait répondre à une vision aérienne de l'espace. Vue d'en haut, elle paraissait faite de corps disposés de façon improvisée afin d'accentuer l'impression de ligne brisée en mouvement. En Sicile, la colonie marine «Dux» de Catane pouvait accueillir 2200 enfants. Leur hébergement et leur nourriture étaient gratuits. Ils pouvaient pratiquer des jeux, participer à des compétitions et prendre des bains de mer. Leur hygiène faisait l'objet de soins attentifs, avec des visites médicales et des cures de soleil¹⁴⁵. Il existait aussi des colonies organisées par le Dopolavoro. Celles de l'Istituto di Previdenza dell'Associazione Fascista della Scuola (A.F.S.) hébergeaient 650 enfants en 1934¹⁴⁶. La «Mostra delle colonie estive e dell'Assistenza all'infanzia» à Rome fut confiée en 1937 aux architectes rationalistes De Renzi et Giovanni Guerrini, sous la direction d'Adalberto Libera¹⁴⁷. Elle comptait 13 pavillons sur une superficie de 20000

¹⁴⁴ C. Baldoli, *Le Navi: fascismo e vacanze in una colonia estiva per i figli degli italiani all'estero*, «Memoria e Ricerca. Rivista di Storia contemporanea», n. 6, 2000.

¹⁴⁵ L. Todaro, *Educazione e scuola a Catania tra le due guerre*, in Cavallera, *La formazione della gioventù italiana durante il ventennio fascista*, cit., Vol. 2, p. 409.

¹⁴⁶ «Foglio d'informazioni corporative», vol. VI, nn. 8-9, août-septembre 1934.

¹⁴⁷ Sur Mario De Renzi, voir D.B.I., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 109-112. Sur Adalberto Libera voir D.B.I., Vol. LXV, pp. 25-29; F. Garofalo, L. Veresani, *Adalberto Libera*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1989.

m 2. Le pavillon des Balillas, d'allure strictement militaire, était gardé par un enfant de 12 à 13 ans, casqué, harnaché et l'arme au poing¹⁴⁸.

Un règlement de 1934 fixait le déroulement de la journée des colons. Leurs activités étaient à base d'éducation patriotique et pré militaire, avec le «lever des couleurs», les «marches, l'appel aux morts pour la patrie, les chants et l'endoctrinement politique¹⁴⁹. L'éducation dispensée dans les colonies au bord de la mer devait «agir sur l'âme de l'enfant pour que fleurissent en lui les vertus du citoyen, le sens héroïque du devoir et de la fraternité». Les bains de soleil, la gymnastique, les chants et les jeux collectifs accompagnaient une «éducation de l'esprit dans un sens fasciste¹⁵⁰. Tous les centres de vacances ne dépendaient pas de l'O.N.B., certains relevant des Faisceaux féminins ou de l'Opera Nazionale per la Maternità e l'Infanzia (O.N.M.I.). A proximité des grandes villes, des colonies héliothérapiques accueillaient des enfants pour la journée. Promu au secrétariat du Syndicat National des Architectes, Del Debbio conçut en 1934-1935 un projet de colonie héliothérapique à Rome, aux implantations très éloignées de la régularité académique¹⁵¹. Entre 1927 et 1938, le nombre de colons passa de 80000 à 772000. En 1934, les 475261 colons se répartissaient entre 184106 au bord de la mer, 180 611 à la campagne, 59 006 à la montagne et 40308 au bord des fleuves¹⁵².

L'O.N.B. organisait pour les enfants des familles plus aisées des croisières en Méditerranée à bord du «Cesare Battisti», moyennant une contribution de 50 lire. La moitié de ces voyages se dirigeaient vers la Libye, d'autres se rendaient à Rhodes et dans le Dodécanèse. En 1927, plus de 1000 Avant-gardistes visitèrent la colonie italienne et l'année suivante les portes de l'Orient méditerranéen. Ces croisières pouvaient servir de vitrine du régime à l'étranger. Les 1000 Avant-gardistes de la «7^e croisière» se rendirent à Godollo en Hongrie pour participer au IV^e Jamboree mondial¹⁵³. Ils défilèrent devant le régent Horthy, visitèrent Budapest, la puszta et le lac Balaton¹⁵⁴. Ces déplacements pouvaient revêtir un caractère politique. Ainsi, 42 élèves de l'Académie d'Education physique de Rome soigneusement sélectionnés firent un séjour aux Etats-Unis de février à août 1931¹⁵⁵. En juillet 1933, Ricci conduisit 500 Avant-gardistes en Allemagne. Ils furent reçus par Hitler, visitèrent Dresde, Leipzig, Berlin, Hambourg et Mayence. Ricci créa à Rome les «Campeggi Dux», pleins de dévotion au chef. Installés sur la zone des Parioli, entre la boucle du Tibre et la villa Glori, 50 000 Avant-gardistes se succédaient sous des tentes pendant une quinzaine de

¹⁴⁸ P.E. Cadilhac, *Impressions d'Italie*, «L'Illustration», 11 septembre 1937, pp. 35-38.

¹⁴⁹ «Corriere dei Piccoli», 5 août 1934.

¹⁵⁰ *Il regime e la sanità della stirpe*, «La Domenica del Corriere», 5 août 1935.

¹⁵¹ *La colonia elioterapica dell'O.N.B. a Rome*, «Architettura», janvier 1935, pp. 1-6

¹⁵² «Fogli d'informazioni corporative», vol. VI, n. 7, juillet 1934.

¹⁵³ «Bollettino dell'O.N.B.», 15 avril 1933.

¹⁵⁴ B. Ollivier, *Jeunesse fasciste*, Paris, s.d., pp. 230-232.

¹⁵⁵ Ponzio, *La palestra del Littorio. L'accademia della Farnesina: un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell'Italia Fascista*, cit., pp. 53-57.

jours. Ils disposaient de terrains de sport et menaient «une vie saine et sereine, réglée par un horaire strict et disciplinée par les normes de vie des camps militaires»¹⁵⁶. Ils subissaient une intense propagande faite essentiellement de discours patriotiques¹⁵⁷. Deux jeunes gens montaient la garde à l'entrée sous un char d'assaut en carton-pâte. Des visites collectives des jardins, des fontaines, des casernes, des musées et des ruines romaines étaient organisées, ainsi que celle du Vatican. A côté du «Camp Dux» de l'O.N.B., celui des Jeunes fascistes installé dans la pinède Sachetti paraissait beaucoup plus austère.

L'O.N.B. profita d'une intense propagande. La Fiat baptisa «Balilla» une berline automobile atteignant 115 km à l'heure en vitesse de pointe et une autre voiture décapotable s'appelait «Balilla sport». Une marque de tracteurs portait aussi ce nom¹⁵⁸. Depuis 1926, la radio diffusait la rubrique «L'angolo dei bambini» destinée aux enfants. Les programmes s'inspiraient de l'œuvre d'Edmondo De Amicis en insistant sur les sentiments patriotiques avec des allusions à la politique fasciste d'éducation de la jeunesse. En outre, le «Giornale radiofonico del fanciullo» s'adressait aux plus jeunes sur le ton des instructeurs de l'O.N.B. A partir de 1934, des bandes dessinées popularisèrent l'O.N.B. dans l'opinion et auprès des enfants. Elles se contentaient pour le moment de raconter les aventures amusantes d'enfants soldats; mais elles furent envahies ensuite par la propagande, la presse enfantine participant à la propagande en faveur de la guerre d'Ethiopie en 1935. Le thème favori du «Corriere dei piccoli» était la dénonciation de la «barbarie abyssine»¹⁵⁹. Rome dominait spirituellement tous les peuples en dictant les lois de la «civilisation fasciste»¹⁶⁰. L'Angleterre et la France voulaient punir l'Italie en lui infligeant des «Sanctions». Elles oubliaient qu'elle avait enseigné la civilisation au monde entier et les avait sauvées pendant la Grande guerre¹⁶¹.

L'O.N.B. et l'éducation nationale

Ricci comptait sur la mystique fasciste et la glorification du duce pour vaincre la résistance de certains secteurs de l'enseignement. Les disciples de Gentile ne lui étaient pas hostiles, à condition que les activités de l'O.N.B. n'empiètent pas

¹⁵⁶ «La Domenica del Corriere», 2 septembre 1935.

¹⁵⁷ F. Cappi, *Parole ai giovani*, Rome, F.lli Palombi, 1931.

¹⁵⁸ «Gioventù fascista», 1^o août 1934.

¹⁵⁹ *I nostri soldati in Africa orientale*, «Corriere dei Piccoli», 19 mai 1935, p. 3 et *Scene di barbaria abissina*, 7 juillet 1935, p. 5.

¹⁶⁰ *Italia proletaria e fascista*, «Gioventù fascista», novembre 1935.

¹⁶¹ V. Meletti, *Libro fascista del Balilla*, voir P.N.F., *Manuale d'educazione fascista*, Rome, Savelli, 1977.

sur celle de l'école¹⁶². L'O.N.B. prit une extension considérable qui traduisait la volonté du fascisme d'en faire une organisation de masse. Elle développait ses activités sociales et s'adjudgeait l'éducation physique et sportive dans les établissements d'enseignement secondaire. Les fascistes prétendaient qu'on y pratiquait une pédagogie destinée à «obtenir le maximum d'avantages le plus facilement possible»¹⁶³. Ils entendaient y remédier par des exercices mécaniques comme le «salut romain», le «garde-à-vous», le «repos», l'alignement et la «marche» qui devaient développer des qualités viriles indispensables à la défense de la Nation. Ce type de formation mobilisait 297000 élèves du secondaire en 1933¹⁶⁴. Une partie essentielle des cours d'éducation physique était consacrée à la préparation de la fête gymnique du 24 mai qui avait réuni 1500000 participants en 1933. L'importance de cette manifestation venait de son aspect spectaculaire, en présence des parents d'élèves et des hiérarques qui en profitaient pour exalter les réalisations du régime.

Le fascisme cherchait à s'immiscer dans l'enseignement primaire. Sergio Panunzio avait demandé, au cours d'un débat à la Chambre des députés (juin 1929), le transfert de la formation des maîtres à l'O.N.B. Lando Ferretti dispensait des cours de «culture fasciste» aux enseignants de l'Urbe. Il insistait sur la formation du citoyen par une pédagogie sollicitant les émotions du cœur. La crise du monde enseignant posait un problème moral et les maîtres devaient ressentir toute la hauteur de leur mission pour la transmettre aux masses populaires¹⁶⁵. Ricci essaya de s'emparer de l'enseignement de la gymnastique à l'école primaire en multipliant les cours destinés aux instituteurs et aux directeurs d'écoles¹⁶⁶. Il voulait confier à l'O.N.B. la gestion et le contrôle de tous les Instituts de magistère afin qu'elle pût exercer son influence sur ces établissements. Les instituteurs de l'époque fasciste devaient être des éducateurs et des missionnaires, des instructeurs militaires et des guides culturels pour les nouvelles générations¹⁶⁷; mais cette ambition de transformer les Ecoles normales primaires en foyers d'éducation fasciste se heurta au refus du

¹⁶² E. Codignola, *Un decennio di politica scolastica*, «La Nuova Scuola Italiana», 1933, n. 4.

¹⁶³ G. Pellizzi, *Educazione fisica ed insegnamento secondario*, «Critica fascista», 1928.

¹⁶⁴ Camera dei Fasci e delle Corporazioni, *La legislazione fascista: 1929-1934*, Rome, Senato del Regno e Camera dei deputati, 1935, p. 1444. La culture militaire est entrée dans l'enseignement à l'époque d'avant la guerre en Ethiopie (Loi 31 décembre 1934, n. 2132, «Gazzetta ufficiale», 21 janvier 1935, n. 17).

¹⁶⁵ S. Panunzio, *L'Opera Balilla e i maestri*, «I Diritti della scuola», 16 juin 1929, p. 1562; *La lezione di Lando Ferretti al corso di cultura fascista per gli insegnanti*, «La Tribuna», vol. VIII, n. 41, 14 février 1930, p. 5.

¹⁶⁶ Circolare n. 54, 22 mai 1932, *Corso nazionale informativo di ginnastica per dirigenti e insegnanti della scuola elementare*; Circolare n. 77, 22 août 1932, *IV° Corso nazionale informativo e II° Corso nazionale Preparatorio trimestrale di educazione fisica*. Voir G. Biondi, F. Imberciadori, *Voi siete la primavera d'Italia. L'ideologia fascista nel mondo della scuola: 1925-1943*, Turin, Paravia, 1982, pp. 100-104.

¹⁶⁷ R. Ricci a G. Bottai, 14 aprile 1937, in A.C.S., Segreteria particolare del duce, Carteggio ordinario, 500 009/I.

ministre de l'Éducation nationale Giuseppe Bottai qui entendait maintenir un dualisme complémentaire entre l'école et l'O.N.B. Les organisations de jeunesse devaient compenser les carences de l'école qui, du fait de la féminisation du corps enseignant, ne pouvait être une préparation virile à la vie¹⁶⁸; mais elles ne devaient pas se substituer à elle. En fait, les tâches scolaires croissantes de l'O.N.B. en faisaient l'instrument privilégié de la fascisation de la jeunesse. Le régime étendait son emprise sur les jeunes filles afin de faire prévaloir sa conception de la femme, mère exemplaire dévouée à la patrie. Cette exploitation du don de soi ne devait pas être vécue comme un renoncement «On sert aussi la patrie en balayant la maison», pouvait-on lire dans le «Decalogo della Piccola Italiana». La femme était la première responsable de la destinée d'un peuple. Le fascisme prétendait s'inspirer d'une éducation dynamique susceptible de tremper les énergies féminines et de fortifier leur rigueur morale.

L'O.N.B. : «Education virile» ou «Education guerrière»

Un officier de l'Armée proposait en 1931 la formation du guerrier comme idéal d'éducation. Un débat s'ensuivit montrant que l'opinion éprouvait de la répulsion pour une militarisation de la jeunesse. Ricci avait pourtant demandé à Mussolini dès novembre 1930 l'autorisation d'équiper les gymnases des Avant-gardistes de mitrailleuses et de mousquetons¹⁶⁹. En 1935, avec l'imminence de la guerre d'Éthiopie, les activités militaires de l'O.N.B. furent renforcées. En plus du maniement d'armes, les Balillas apprirent à se servir du masque à gaz¹⁷⁰. Le 24 mai 1935, la commémoration du 20^e anniversaire de l'entrée en guerre de l'Italie fut d'une solennité exceptionnelle. Dans les chefs – lieux de province, la cérémonie commença par la «leva» fasciste, et à Rome 25000 jeunes défilèrent en présence de Mussolini au pied du Temple de Vénus récemment restauré. Le cortège était précédé par les «Fils de la louve» qui venaient d'être créés¹⁷¹. Au printemps de 1937, 3 avions spéciaux transportèrent en Allemagne des représentants de l'Académie de Rome qui célébrèrent la guerre comme moyen de former la jeunesse. Fin avril, Ricci conduisit 1000 Avant-gardistes à Berlin pour rencontrer la jeunesse hitlérienne autour de feux de camp. Le fuhrer les reçut en leur parlant d'idéal suprême et d'objectifs communs. La fraternisation entre les «jeunesses en brun et en noir» répondait au mot d'ordre: «Le monde nous appartient». Ricci ne se lassera pas de répéter aux diplomates italiens

¹⁶⁸ E. Codignola, *La carriera magistrale*, «La Nuova Scuola Italiana», 1933, n. 1.

¹⁶⁹ V. Rossetto, *Educazione bellica per la salvezza della civiltà*, «Rivista pedagogica», vol. XXIV, mars-avril 1931; L.S. Villa, *Proprio educazione bellica?* «Rivista pedagogica», vol. XXIV, mai-juin 1931.

¹⁷⁰ R.D. 31 décembre 1934, Art. I et II, *Preparazione militare*.

¹⁷¹ «Corriere dei Piccoli», mai 1935.

du palais Chigi que le pacte d'Acier puisait ses fondements dans l'«Axe de la jeunesse» forgé au printemps de 1937.

L'importance croissante de la formation pré militaire et la prédilection fasciste pour les sports de combat posaient le problème d'une «éducation guerrière» à l'O.N.B.; mais une forêt de drapeaux, le port d'un uniforme, les grades, la marche au pas cadencé, les exercices d'ordre serré et une discipline stricte ne suffisaient pas à une telle éducation. En dépit des déclarations fracassantes de Mussolini, les résultats obtenus par l'O.N.B. ne correspondaient pas à de tels objectifs. D'ailleurs la participation de la jeunesse à l'organisation de Ricci pouvait paraître illusoire. Certes, le nombre d'inscrits augmentait régulièrement, de 1,2 million à 4,2 millions entre 1926 et 1934; mais ces chiffres posent le problème du consensus au régime. Presque tous les écoliers participaient aux manifestations de l'O.N.B. encadrés par leurs enseignants, cette mobilisation s'expliquant par des considérations très éloignées d'une adhésion au bellicisme du duc. Elle était largement imputable aux instituteurs. Afin d'accroître leur autorité, Ricci les avait chargé de la perception des cotisations; mais ils avaient tendance à gonfler les chiffres pour ne pas être suspectés de manquer de zèle¹⁷². Dans l'enseignement secondaire, où le professeur d'éducation physique contrôlait la fréquentation des élèves aux activités de l'O.N.B., le pourcentage d'adhérents était proche de 100%. Les défections les plus nombreuses concernaient les jeunes qui n'étaient plus scolarisés. Etre Balilla n'était pas gratuit: il fallait payer 5 lire d'inscription, 5 lire pour les chaussures et 25 pour le costume complet. Les familles pauvres ne pouvaient se le permettre¹⁷³; mais elles essayaient de tourner la difficulté en confectionnant l'uniforme elles-mêmes.

L'O.N.B. bénéficiait pourtant d'une situation favorable, profitant du soutien de la presse et de la sympathie de l'opinion. Elle disposait de structures administratives et d'un personnel d'encadrement, présentait l'attrait de l'uniforme, l'espoir de conquérir les galons de chef d'équipe, la séduction des manifestations sportives et des démonstrations gymniques. L'O.N.B. offrait des avantages matériels comme l'assistance du patronage scolaire, les bourses d'études, les assurances accidents, les colonies de vacances, les campings et les croisières. Elle permettait de meubler le temps libre des adolescents dans des villes démunies d'espaces verts et d'installations sportives. Les temps étaient mûrs pour l'épanouissement d'organisations favorisant hors de l'école la formation du caractère, la vie au grand air et les activités sportives.

¹⁷² R. Gentili, *Istruzione premilitare ed educazionc della gioventù fascista*, nn. 4-5, 1984, pp. 155-174.

¹⁷³ A. Monti, *Le fortune di Lalillu*, «Il Pont», novembre 1957.

Les difficultés de l'O.N.B.

Ricci était confronté à de multiples difficultés. Les effectifs de l'O.N.B. croissaient rapidement, atteignant 1236181 adhérents (812242 Balillas et 432935 Avant-gardistes) en 1928. Ainsi, à Florence, de nombreux élèves du lycée «Dante» s'inscrivaient à l'O.N.B., malgré les réticences de leurs parents qui craignaient de voir ces activités extra scolaires nuire à leurs études¹⁷⁴. Cet afflux posait un sérieux problème d'encadrement aux 21600 gradés et instructeurs et aux 640 aumôniers de l'œuvre¹⁷⁵. Ricci tenta d'y remédier par des mesures ponctuelles, en assurant par exemple une formation gratuite aux élèves de l'Académie fasciste d'éducation physique qui s'engageaient à devenir des cadres de l'O.N.B. Il s'efforça aussi de déceler parmi les Avant-gardistes les éléments susceptibles de faire carrière dans l'œuvre en organisant parmi eux des cours spécifiques; mais ces dispositions restèrent insuffisantes. Certes, en 1931, dans la seule province de Florence, on dénombrait 12 légions d'Avant-gardistes et 21 de Balillas, soit entre 20000 et 30000 adhérents à l'O.N.B. Celle de Salerne comptait 4100 Avant-gardistes, 8000 Balillas et 5000 Petites et Jeunes Italiennes¹⁷⁶; mais la crise de l'Action catholique avait porté préjudice au recrutement et si on dénombrait 954000 Balillas et 660000 Petites Italiennes dans la péninsule en 1934, les Avant-gardistes n'étaient plus que 418000 et les Jeunes Italiennes 110000 seulement. Les difficultés du recrutement s'amplifiaient: le 1^o janvier 1932, on dénombrait 798544 Balillas et 235828 Avant-gardistes. Certes, en Ombrie, de nombreux instituteurs et directeurs d'écoles avaient des responsabilités dans l'O.N.B. et le nombre d'adhérents s'élevait à 42006 en 1932 pour une population scolaire de 60000 élèves¹⁷⁷; mais en Sardaigne, le pourcentage d'inscrits était tombé de 40% à 23,4% des écoliers de l'enseignement primaire entre 1931 et 1932¹⁷⁸. La situation ne s'améliora guère l'année suivante. Au 1^o janvier 1933, l'O.N.B. comptait 836354 Balillas et 243936 Avant-gardistes. Le dynamisme de l'œuvre venait de ses éléments les plus jeunes. Les enfants entraient à l'O.N.B. avec joie. La perspective du port d'un uniforme les enthousiasmait. Parmi les instituteurs qui les encadraient, les plus jeunes étaient souvent les plus convaincus, les plus âgés se montrant plus réservés¹⁷⁹. Constatant le manque d'efficacité des comités provinciaux dans le

¹⁷⁴ S. Cingari, *Un'ideologia per il ceto dirigente dell'Italia unita. Pensiero e politica al liceo «Dante» di Firenze (1853-1945)*, Florence, Leo Olschki, 2012, p. 314.

¹⁷⁵ «Bollettino dell'Opera Nazionale Balilla», 15 avril 1930. En 1929, 1,5 million de membres répartit sur 500 légions, encadré par 5000 officiers de la milice et 18 000 enseignants ou instructeurs. F. Cappi, *I fascisti di domani. Discorso alla Casa del Pensiero*, Rome, 13 marzo 1929).

¹⁷⁶ G. Roux, *Fabrication d'une jeunesse*, «L'Illustration», 13 juin 1931, p. 257.

¹⁷⁷ Mencarelli, *Inquadri e fedeli. Educazione e Fascismo in Umbria nei documenti scolastici*, cit., pp. 40-41.

¹⁷⁸ Pruneri, *La scuola durante il fascismo in Sardegna*, in Cavallera, *La formazione della gioventù italiana durante il ventennio fascista*, cit., Vol. 2, p. 480.

¹⁷⁹ L. Cremaschi, *Cinquant'anni di battaglie scolastiche*, Rome, I diritti della scuola, 1950,

recrutement, Ricci s'adressa aux directeurs didactiques qui pouvaient exercer un contrôle strict sur les enseignants et leurs élèves¹⁸⁰; mais les 35000 instituteurs assistés de 1064 aumôniers étaient en nombre insuffisant pour encadrer une organisation qui comptait en outre 269000 Fils de la louve¹⁸¹. Ricci tenta de résoudre ce problème en donnant plus de pouvoirs aux instituteurs qui devinrent les principaux acteurs de la diffusion de l'O.N.B. dans les années 1930.

Un tournant dans l'histoire de l'organisation de jeunesse se situa en 1929 lorsqu'elle fut rattachée à l'Education nationale. Mussolini l'avait toujours soutenue parce qu'il voyait en elle un moyen de contourner un système scolaire jugé trop libéral; mais son passage sous l'autorité de la Minerve et le recours croissant à des enseignants comme personnel d'encadrement donnaient l'impression d'une interpénétration entre l'école et les organisations de jeunesse. Les enseignants issus de la société libérale pré fasciste restaient persuadés de l'importance d'une culture humaniste dans la formation de la personnalité et ils tendaient à privilégier les activités de l'esprit sur celles du corps. Tout en reconnaissant l'utilité des exercices gymniques et sportifs, ils redoutaient les conséquences négatives pour les études d'un engagement excessif dans l'O.N.B. En général, ils étaient hostiles à l'entrée de la politique à l'école qui pouvait perturber le travail scolaire. Afin de donner plus de prestige aux professeurs de gymnastique, un cours supérieur fut organisé à l'Académie de Rome. Il était réservé aux élèves issus de l'académie et aux titulaires d'un diplôme de médecine. Le programme des enseignements était ambitieux: embryologie, physiologie de l'enfant, pathologies de la croissance, chimie biologique, psychologie du travail, législation et statistiques démographiques. Cette formation débouchait sur un doctorat es sciences appliquées à l'éducation physique¹⁸²; mais ce diplôme, vite tourné en dérision (es myologie), ne sera jamais reconnu par l'Education nationale. A partir de 1932, l'idée d'organiser un second cycle d'études supérieures en 2 ans à l'académie fut abandonnée et l'établissement n'obtint jamais le rang universitaire.

(Continue)

pp. 182-183.

¹⁸⁰ «Bollettino dell'Opera Nazionale Balilla», 15 novembre 1933, p. 1.

¹⁸¹ A.C.S., P.C.M.: 1928-1930, b. 1-1-15, s/f. 46.

¹⁸² T. Sillani, *L'Etat mussolinien et les réalisations du fascisme en Italie*, Paris, Plon, 1931.

*Sources and
Documents*



Fonti e
Documenti

L'educazione delle donne nell'Italia post-unitaria. Una autorevole discussione a più voci della fine degli anni Ottanta

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The education of women in post-unitary Italy. An authoritative discussion with several voices of the late 1980s

ABSTRACT: Starting in the 1980s, in Italy, very significant surveys have matured on the history of women's education and education. In order to offer readers and readers the opportunity to confront themselves, in a sort of «archive of ideas», with the themes of the debate that took place in those years, it is reposed here, with a wide and documented introduction of a critical approach, a multi-voice discussion, already appeared in 1988 on the Italian contemporary history journal «Passato e presente», entitled *The education of women after Unity. A multi-dimensional problem*, which, coordinated by Simonetta Soldani, had as specialists and high-profile scholars such as: Ester De Fort, Silvio Lanaro, Mario Alighiero Manacorda, Marino Raicich and Giuseppe Talamo.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Education and female education; Liberal age; Italy; XIXth Century.

Introduzione

A lungo, le donne sono state educate a non istruirsi.

All'interno di una prassi formativa egemone nella storia dei rapporti educativi, lo spazio destinato all'istruzione femminile ha svolto un ruolo decisamente marginale. Al contrario, la convinzione diffusa della necessità di educare le donne sulla base di contenuti a loro specificamente destinati ha origini molto antiche ed è stata oggetto, nel tempo, di una grande e costante attenzione.

Ne è una testimonianza il dibattito che si è andato svolgendo nel corso dei secoli su questo tema e che ha coinvolto, in diverse epoche storiche, le più varie correnti filosofiche, pedagogiche, etiche e scientifiche, quasi sempre concordi nell'individuare proprio nell'educazione della donna a un preciso modello comportamentale un insostituibile fattore di coesione sociale.

Dalla educazione dipende la bontà o la tristizia della Donna, per questo la bontà o la tristizia dell'uomo, quindi la felicità o infelicità del genere umano¹.

In queste brevi righe, tratte da un manuale del 1874, è contenuta, in sintesi, una «verità» di antica tradizione, fondata sull'importanza del rapporto fra l'educazione della donna e il buon andamento della convivenza fra gli uomini; una convinzione alimentata dal sapere pedagogico, ma presente soprattutto nel senso comune dominante.

E questa «verità», come ha messo in luce la più recente indagine storiografica, è apparsa a lungo legata in modo indissolubile a una altra diffusa certezza, relativa alle finalità dell'intervento educativo:

Contenete il più possibile il loro desiderio di sapere nei limiti della norma, e insegnate ad esse che il loro sesso deve avere nei riguardi della scienza un pudore delicato, quasi simile a quello che ispira l'orrore del vizio².

È quanto afferma François Fénelon nel suo famoso saggio *Éducation des filles* (1687). Egli disvela così, in modo assai significativo, un atteggiamento, dif fusamente presente nella storia della nostra cultura, tendente a ostacolare l'istruzione femminile negandone l'opportunità etica e l'utilità sociale. Affermazioni di questo genere sono, infatti, molto frequenti nell'ambito di quella sconfinata letteratura che, con singolare ripetitività argomentativa, tenuto conto dell'estrema varietà delle situazioni storiche e sociali, ha avuto come oggetto di analisi il tema dell'educabilità della donna: un'istanza pedagogica che viene connessa al destino dell'intero genere umano.

Da un punto di vista storico, dunque, l'educazione delle donne, affidata prevalentemente alla semplice trasmissione orale di modelli comportamentali, si colloca in una posizione conflittuale rispetto all'istruzione, che si riteneva doveroso escludere o limitare il più possibile nell'itinerario formativo a loro destinato.

La loro educazione, considerata un problema non solo pedagogico, ma anche etico, religioso, di costume, precede di gran lunga nel tempo l'affermarsi, in termini socialmente significativi, della problematica relativa all'istruzione femminile, che si svilupperà, seppure in forme contraddittorie e incerte, soltanto a partire dagli ultimi decenni dell'Ottocento. Nell'ambito della realtà

¹ G. Maneglia Massari, *La donna e la sua educazione*, snt, 1874, p. 11.

² F. Fénelon, *Éducation des filles*, Paris, Flammarion, 1687, p. 81 (la traduzione è mia).

europea, infatti, il lento e diseguale cammino della scolarizzazione femminile va inquadrato nel contesto dell'impegno dei vari Stati nazionali nei confronti del superamento dell'analfabetismo popolare che registrava un po' ovunque cifre particolarmente allarmanti.

Anche l'istruzione delle donne, pur connotata da problematiche specifiche, si inserisce cioè in una realtà più generale connessa a molteplici fenomeni culturali e sociali, dal rapporto fra Stato e Chiesa nell'ambito delle istituzioni formative alla politica scolastica dei ceti dirigenti nazionali, alle caratteristiche dello sviluppo industriale e alle sue ripercussioni nel tessuto della convivenza civile. Ma se il tema dell'alfabetizzazione delle donne, così come quello del loro accesso all'istruzione superiore, si può considerare dal punto di vista storico cosa recente, viceversa sulla loro educazione esistono testimonianze anche lontane nel tempo, alimentate da una letteratura sconfinata che esprime, a livello teorico e ideale, le risposte pedagogiche via via elaborate in funzione del ruolo assegnato alla «donna» all'interno dei vari sistemi sociali.

L'attenzione nei confronti dei problemi connessi alla scolarizzazione femminile, a lungo e ovunque contrastata e temuta, dell'alfabetizzazione, dell'accesso delle donne ai saperi più elevati e al mondo delle professioni, pur in modo discontinuo e, per certi aspetti, episodico, è stata presente, nel contesto della realtà italiana, a partire dal secondo dopoguerra, in alcuni studi e riflessioni che potremmo definire pionieristici. Penso, ad esempio, ai lavori di Tina Tomasi e di Dina Bertoni Jovine³.

È certo, tuttavia, che solo a partire dalla seconda metà degli anni Settanta, anche in Italia, si moltiplicano gli sguardi storiografici e nascono nuovi punti di vista favoriti dai fermenti conoscitivi maturati, in quegli anni, nei confronti della storia della scuola e dell'educazione. Grazie al disvelamento della centralità della formazione come motore di sviluppo sociale, la scuola e l'educazione si rivelano a pieno titolo oggetti di indagine ritenuti, come mai prima d'allora, rilevanti all'interno di una molteplicità di percorsi disciplinari di tipo, ad esempio, economico, sociologico e indubbiamente anche storico, al di là degli studi pedagogici e a volte in polemica, in alcuni casi a mio avviso anche eccessiva, con essi. Le indagini sulla storia dell'istruzione e dell'educazione delle donne ne diverranno presto una parte sempre più significativa nel contesto di quell'evoluzione metodologica ed interpretativa che, com'è noto, deve molto al

³ Cfr., a questo proposito, T. Tomasi, *L'educazione della donna nel passato*, «Scuola e città», n. 11, 1965, pp. 728-734; Ead., *Anna Maria Mozzoni e la reintegrazione giuridica della donna*, «Scuola e città», nn. 11-12, 1975, pp. 473-479; D. Bertoni Jovine, *Funzione emancipatrice della scuola e contributo delle donne all'attività educativa*, in Società Umanitaria (ed.), *L'emancipazione femminile in Italia. Un secolo di discussioni*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1963. È opportuno anche, in questo contesto, ricordare gli studi di Franca Pieroni Bortolotti sulla storia dell'emancipazionismo femminile fra Otto e Novecento. F. Pieroni Bortolotti, *Socialismo e questione femminile in Italia (1892-1922)*, Milano, Mazzotta, 1974; Ead., *Femminismo e partiti politici in Italia (1919-1926)*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1978.

diffondersi della lezione della scuola delle *Annales* e all'irrompere, nella scena storiografica, dei *Womens's studies*, successivamente ampliatisi agli studi di genere, che hanno dato luogo, in tempi più recenti, anche ad altri esiti come i *Mens's studies* o gli studi *queer*.

Non si può ignorare, inoltre, che la tensione conoscitiva, all'interno degli studi di storia e di storia sociale, nei confronti della realtà femminile, seppure alimentata dalla scoperta di una nuova centralità della vita privata, dell'infanzia e della famiglia nella vita sociale e dalla riscoperta di soggetti, in prima istanza i ceti marginali, prima esclusi dalla storia stessa, scaturisce anche dal maturare di una nuova coscienza individuale e collettiva, che certamente non nasceva soltanto da una svolta epistemologica ma soprattutto dagli esiti delle lotte dei movimenti femministi dai quali soprattutto scaturì la possibilità per le donne, nel corso del Novecento di "prendere la parola": l'unica forma di rivoluzione compiuta in quel secolo, secondo Eric Hobsbawm⁴.

La storica Gianna Pomata aveva definito, proprio nei primi anni Ottanta, la storia delle donne «una questione di confine» sia perché, a sua avviso, essa poneva l'esigenza di una interrelazione costante fra discipline diverse sia perché sollevava di fatto la necessità di una critica radicale delle categorie (o ipostasi?) dominanti in quel le scienze storiche e sociali che si erano a lungo basate, dal punto di vista della differenza di genere, su una neutralità solo apparente e di fatto manipolativa⁵.

Ridare voce a soggetti confinati in un silenzio protrattosi per secoli, e, dunque, sottrarre la soggettività femminile a un secolare oscuramento è stato il tratto più comune e significativo di un insieme di ricerche che hanno sfiorato temi, spazi temporali, categorie disciplinari molto diverse fra di loro. La praticabilità conoscitiva di quella questione «di confine» si poneva ancora, tuttavia, in termini ipotetici e problematici.

Scrivere la storia delle donne? Si chiedevano a loro volta, poco più tardi, George Duby e Michelle Perrot:

La questione fu a lungo sconveniente o inesistente. Votate al silenzio della riproduzione materna e domestica, nell'ombra dell'intimità della casa che non vale la pena né di essere calcolata né di essere raccontata, le donne hanno poi una storia? [...] Le tracce esilissime che esse hanno lasciato provengono non tanto da esse stesse perché – non so nulla né mai lessi una lettera – quanto dallo sguardo degli uomini che governano la città, costruiscono la sua memoria e amministrano i suoi archivi⁶.

⁴ Cfr. E. Hobsbawm, *Il secolo breve (1914-1991)*, tr. it., Milano, Rizzoli, 2014.

⁵ G. Pomata, *La storia delle donne: una questione di confine*, in N. Tranfaglia (ed.), *Il mondo contemporaneo. Vol. X: Gli strumenti della ricerca*, tomo III, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1983, p. 1434.

⁶ G. Duby, M. Perrot, *Per una storia delle donne*, in P. Schmitt (ed.), *Storia delle donne. Vol. I: L'antichità*, XXXXXX, 1990, p. V.

È necessario, allora, partire dalla critica di un immaginario maschile stratificatosi nel tempo, che ha proiettato sulle donne, in modo prescrittivo, modelli comportamentali e aspettative sociali: «Filosofi, teologi, giuristi, medici, moralisti, pedagoghi [...] dicono instancabilmente che cosa siano le donne e soprattutto che cosa debbano fare»⁷.

Se ne può dedurre che

L'ascolto diretto della loro voce dipende tuttavia dal loro accesso ai mezzi espressivi: il gesto, la parola e la scrittura. Questione di alfabetizzazione, certamente, che abitualmente segue quella degli uomini, ma che localmente può precederla; più ancora questione di penetrazione in un dominio sacro e sempre segnato dalle frontiere fluttuanti del permesso e del vietato⁸.

Queste considerazioni delineano un modo di intendere la storia delle donne in una prospettiva non meramente descrittiva o autoreferenziale, ma più problematica e legata alle relazioni. A una dimensione di tipo relazionale si è approdati, infatti, grazie all'introduzione della categoria del «genere» nell'ambito degli studi storiografici. Questo approccio interpretativo è basato, infatti, sull'analisi delle «relazioni fra i sessi, inscritti non nell'eternità di una natura irreperibile, ma prodotti da una costruzione sociale che giustamente importa scomporre»⁹.

Sul finire degli anni Ottanta, in Italia, l'attenzione nei confronti della presenza delle donne nel mondo della scuola e degli itinerari formativi a loro destinati, in una storia di lunga durata prende forma in alcune significative iniziative di studi e di approfondimento tematico.

Nel 1989, ad esempio, viene pubblicato in Italia un importante volume, a cura di Simonetta Soldani, *L'educazione delle donne. Scuola e modelli di vita femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*¹⁰. Il volume contiene, in forma ampliata e arricchita di altri interventi, i contributi di studiosi e studiose di storia contemporanea, storia delle donne, storia della scuola e dell'educazione, al Convegno di studi «Le donne a scuola. L'educazione femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento», tenutosi a Siena nel marzo del 1987.

Con la pubblicazione di questo volume, che raccoglie anche la conferenza tenuta da Mario Alighiero Manacorda in occasione dell'apertura della mostra sullo stesso tema, curata da Ilaria Porciani e allestita nei Magazzini del Sale

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. VII.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. IX.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. VIII.

¹⁰ S. Soldani (ed.), *L'educazione delle donne. Scuola e modelli di vita femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1989. Nel volume sono presenti contributi di Clotilde Barbarulli, Giorgio Bini, Gaetano Bonetta, Tiziana Bruttini, Annarita Buttafuoco, Tiziana Bruttini, Valeria Calvino Manacorda, Carmela Covato, Silvia Franchini, Giovanni Landucci, Valter Monastra, Mauro Moretti, Mario Alighiero Manacorda, Daniele Marchesini, Giuseppe Padovani, Maria Jolanda Palazzolo, Giorgio Petrocchi, Ilaria Porciani, Marino Raicich, Gianni Resti, Anna Scattigno, Simonetta Soldani e Maria Luisa Trebiliani.

del Palazzo Pubblico di Siena dal febbraio al maggio di quell'anno, ha scritto Simonetta Soldani

si conclude un'esperienza di lavoro tanto intensa quanto fruttuosa, che ha sollecitato un'ampia ricognizione su temi e problemi, su fondi e materiali documentari rimasti sin qui del tutto marginali nella ricerca e nel dibattito.

Di alcune delle questioni e delle novità affrontate dà conto la ricca discussione che chiuse i lavori del Convegno e che, debitamente rivista e arricchita, è stata pubblicata su «Passato e presente» (*L'educazione delle donne all'indomani dell'Unità. Un problema a più dimensioni*, n. 17, 1988)¹¹.

Alla discussione coordinata da Simonetta Soldani hanno partecipato, dimostrando un interesse che ora ci appare ovvio ma che allora non era affatto scontato, una qualificata esperta del settore Ester De Fort e quattro insigni studiosi (Silvio Lanaro, Mario Alighiero Manacorda, Marino Raicich, Giuseppe Talamo).

Il testo di questa interessante discussione, che la rivista «History of Education and Children's Literature» ha pensato di ospitare ora nella sezione Documenti, come avvio di un ipotetico «archivio delle idee», rappresenta la testimonianza della consapevolezza, maturata proprio in quegli anni, della necessità di confrontarsi, anche in ambito storico-educativo, con quell'ineludibile "questione di confine" la cui trattazione non poteva costituire, come si è detto, soltanto un mero completamento o risarcimento tematico nei confronti di argomenti prima ignorati, ma si annunciava come una vera rivoluzione storiografica ed interpretativa.

Affiorano, infatti, in quella discussione, sapientemente diretta da Simonetta Soldani, questioni metodologiche ed interpretative che conservano ancora oggi una straordinaria attualità.

Ne cito solo alcune: l'assenza di una attenzione riservata alla storia dell'istruzione femminile, sottolineata in particolare da Marino Raicich, nei più significativi studi di storia della scuola e dell'educazione in Italia¹²; il ruolo, richiamato da tutti, delle politiche scolastiche dello Stato unitario laico e liberale nel confronto-scontro con l'egemonia culturale esercitata dalla Chiesa cattolica; il rapporto, considerato per certi aspetti discutibile, fra l'innovazione storiografica e l'influsso dei movimenti (Giuseppe Talamo); il ruolo della scuola normale e della formazione delle future maestre come canale privilegiato dell'accesso delle donne ad una istruzione post-elementare (Ester De Fort); il rapporto fra economia e scolarizzazione (Silvio Lanaro, Mario Alighiero Manacorda).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. XVIII. S. Soldani (ed.), *L'educazione delle donne all'indomani dell'Unità. Un problema a più dimensioni*, «Passato e presente», n. 17, 1988, pp. 11-36.

¹² Marino Raicich fa riferimento agli studi di Lamberto Borghi, Dina Bertoni Jovine ma anche di Giuseppe Talamo e di Ester De Fort; questi ultimi, peraltro, presenti e partecipi al dibattito di seguito riprodotto.

In questa sede, piuttosto che riassumere gli aspetti più significativi della discussione, si vuole soprattutto ridare voce a chi ne fu protagonista lasciando alle lettrici e ai lettori, che ne risultassero stimolati, l'opportunità di valutare quanto i temi, allora sollevati, ci interpellino nell'oggi e sollevino ancora interrogativi significativi, svelando territori di indagine ancora da esplorare e contribuendo ad una riflessione critica, per molti versi e da molti punti di vista, ineludibile sul complesso rapporto fra coscienza collettiva, intellettuali, scuola e educazione nell'Italia del secondo dopoguerra.

Discussioni

L'educazione delle donne all'indomani dell'Unità, un problema a molte dimensioni

Simonetta Soldani

Un po' ovunque, nel corso degli ultimi dieci-quindici anni, si è cominciato a prestare crescente attenzione alle vicende, alle implicazioni, alle conseguenze dell'ingresso della donna nel mondo della scuola, del sapere formalizzato e istituzionalizzato, con tutto ciò che un processo del genere comporta e presuppone per l'intera società. Ritmi e modi del processo di scolarizzazione che, con moto sempre più accelerato a partire dai primi decenni dell'Ottocento, investì le donne delle vane classi sociali modificando radicalmente termini e connotati della loro «educazione», sono stati oggetto di numerose ricerche e di dibattiti anche accesi, che hanno permesso di acquisire conoscenze e prospettive nuove, di far uscire dalle nebbie indefinite in cui aveva rischiato di scomparire per sempre un «evento» che segnalò, accelerò e interpretò trasformazioni di enorme portata nel campo del diritto e delle istituzioni, del lavoro e della politica, della famiglia e della mentalità collettiva alle quali peraltro la storiografia ha sin qui dato assai poco rilievo.

Quanto all'Italia, è innegabile un certo ritardo nel proporre e mettere in cantiere ricerche del tipo di quelle che troviamo segnalate in ogni numero di «Histoire de l'éducation» o a cui si appoggiano ricerche come quelle recentemente raccolte da Felicity Hunt sotto il titolo *Lessons for Life. The Schooling of Girls and Women 1850-1950* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1987). Ma l'importanza assunta dagli studi sulla costruzione de L'Italia nuova e sulla centralità che in tale ambito assumono le profonde discrasie rilevabili fra Stato e società, fra innovazione e tradizione, fra centro e periferie le une alle altre a lungo ignote; la crescita e il rinnovamento in atto da alcuni anni negli studi di storia dell'istruzione; il consolidarsi di un filone di «storia delle donne» attento alle dinamiche culturali, sono fatti che lasciano pensare ad una situazione in movimento: come del resto è confermato dai primi studi apparsi e dalle iniziative assunte o programmate per il prossimo futuro. E appunto a una delle iniziative già realizzate – una mostra e un convegno tenutisi a Siena nella primavera del 1987 per iniziativa del Dipartimento di storia di quella Università sotto il titolo complessivo di *Le donne a scuola. L'educazione femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento* – si riconnette la discussione che si pubblica qui di seguito, frutto (ampiamente rivisto e arricchito) di una tavola rotonda, tenutasi a conclusione di quelle giornate di studio, cui hanno partecipato Simonetta Soldani (Università di Firenze), Marino

Raicich (Università di Trieste), Giuseppe Talamo (Università di Roma), Ester De Fort (Università di Torino), Mario A. Manacorda (Università di Roma) e Silvio Lanaro (Università degli Abruzzi).

Al centro, inevitabilmente, la clamorosa novità rappresentata dalla creazione di un sistema scolastico laico, forte, e ispirato a principi di sostanziale «coeducazione» fra sessi e ceti sociali diversi da parte di uno Stato nazionale e liberale stretto dall'esigenza di attenuare sia l'egemonia culturale della Chiesa sia la forza di particolarismi plurisecolari intessuti di sapere tradizionale, ma sempre pronto a smussare l'incisività delle sue iniziative. Ma, anche, e altrettanto inevitabilmente al centro sono i silenzi, le apatie, le preclusioni di un universo ancora lontano dall'avvenire in tutti i suoi spezzoni geografici e sociali la centralità dell'alfabeto, della scuola, del sapere: soprattutto quando a entrare in quella dimensione nuova doveva essere la parte più fragile e immota del corpo sociale. La donna, appunto (a cura di Simonetta Soldani).

La storiografia italiana in questi ultimi anni ha dimostrato un interesse nuovo e crescente per la storia dell'istruzione, crocevia di dinamiche politiche e culturali, economiche e sociali attinenti al faticoso processo di modernizzazione del paese all'indomani della costituzione del Regno d'Italia. Nello stesso periodo, seppure con minor forza dirompente che altrove, anche in Italia si è venuta facendo strada una storiografia di impronta femminista e, dietro questo stimolo, un'attenzione nuova al soggetto donna, ad una scomposizione «per genere» delle vicende e delle realtà del passato. Ma a differenza di quanto è accaduto in altri paesi, dove la ricerca sulla formazione, nel corso del XIX secolo, di un «sistema scolastico» declinato al femminile e dell'accesso in massa delle donne ad un'istruzione formalizzata, pubblica, laica e di livello postelementare è stata tanto ricca quanto appassionata e contraddittoria, quei due filoni d'interesse stentano a trovare punti d'incontro e di convergenza, benché il campo sia uno di quelli in cui, forse, i frutti potrebbero essere più importanti e proficui. Così, mentre la dimensione della «specificità regionale» può dirsi ormai un fatto acquisito, non altrettanto accade per quella che potremmo definire dello «specifico femminile». Di qui la prima domanda: in che senso può essere utile evidenziare il tema, farlo oggetto di un'analisi specifica? Quali problemi ciò pone? E quali apporti ne potrebbero venire?

Marino Raicich

A tentare un bilancio, anche sommario, degli approcci allo specifico femminile nel panorama degli studi italiani di storia dell'educazione in Italia, la somma finale risulterebbe davvero modesta, specie se la si confrontasse con i risultati di analoghe ricerche in Francia, nei paesi anglosassoni, in Germania. La verifica può farsi su tutte e tre le fasi e le tendenze riscontrabili negli studi relativi alle vicende scolastiche dell'Italia contemporanea, di questi ultimi quarant'anni. Inizialmente,

a prevalere è stato un orientamento che risolveva il tema nella storia delle correnti pedagogiche e che proprio per questo già di per sé favoriva il silenzio sullo specifico femminile. Tant'è che le due opere più rilevanti di questa tendenza – *Educazione e autorità nell'Italia moderna* di Lamberto Borghi del 1951 e *Storia dell'educazione popolare in Italia* di Dina Bertoni Jovine del 1958 – pur se incentrati su due aspetti della vicenda che avrebbero potuto trovare un utile momento di verifica nell'esame del versante femminile (si pensi all'insistenza del primo sulla teoria dei due popoli e della seconda sulla scuola in quanto snodo cruciale e rivelatore del rapporto governanti/governati) tacciono del tutto sull'argomento.

Né le cose sono cambiate negli studi che hanno privilegiato un approccio istituzionale. La cosa può essere comprensibile nel libro di Giuseppe Talamo su *La scuola dalla legge Casati alla inchiesta del 1864* (1960), dato l'arco temporale ristretto preso in considerazione, benché la questione delle «normali e magistrali femminili» conoscesse proprio allora, nel dibattito tra piemontesi e toscani, una fase di grande acutezza e di indubbia rilevanza. Se dallo studio di Talamo, che tra l'altro ebbe il grande merito di calare nella realtà politica e amministrativa l'astrattezza delle varie dottrine pedagogiche attraverso l'esplorazione di carte d'archivio e della stampa – relazioni, ispezioni, inchieste, lettere, circolari –, si passa ad altre opere di impianto analogo, il silenzio è meno spiegabile. Prendo il bel libro di Santoni Rugiu del 1959 su *Il professore nella scuola italiana*; vi trovo ritratti persuasivi del professore piemontese e di quello napoletano, del professore positivista e di quello idealista: quasi nulla, invece, su un fenomeno di rilevante portata culturale e sociale come il nascere e il crescere – fino a diventare maggioritaria – della figura sociale della professoressa. Che cosa significò questo fatto in termini di conquista di un ruolo per la donna? E in termini di rinuncia ad altri ruoli? Come e perché, nell'animo della classe dirigente, questa femminilizzazione del ruolo docente fu vista come una perdita di dignità del vecchio liceo «prussiano»?

Prendo un altro bel libro, *La storia della scuola elementare in Italia* di Ester De Fort, del 1979: ci trovo molti spunti interessanti ma, anche in questo caso, la questione della maestra, della conquista del lavoro nella scuola primaria da parte delle donne nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento (un fatto che Guido Mazzoni – carducciano, professore e senatore – giudicava «rivoluzionario» nell'inchiesta sul femminismo promossa nel 1911 dalla «Nuova Antologia») è trascurato quasi completamente. Eppure si tratta di un fenomeno di grande rilievo, e relativamente precoce (in Francia, per esempio, esso emerge più tardi, ed ha proporzioni più limitate). Che significato ha avuto per la vita delle campagne la figura della «maestra rurale»? Che cosa dovevano o potevano essere queste maestre? Tramite di incivilimento del rozzo contadino o pericolose distruggitrici di una vita tradizionale sulla cui immobilità riposava l'ordine costituito? E questa stessa figura sociale – una donna sola che vive lontana da casa, in un ambiente spesso ostile – che cosa ha significato nell'emancipazione femminile? O ancora: la *Maestrina degli operai* di De Amicis non rispecchia forse – anche facendo la

dovuta tara al cliché oleografico e languoroso proprio dell'autore – la drammatica realtà della vita delle scuole serali nelle periferie operaie di fine Ottocento mai, sin qui, studiata?

Infine, il delinearci di studi attenti alla sfera della socialità, ancora dieci anni or sono vivamente sollecitati da Giuseppe Ricuperati attraverso un eloquente confronto critico con la ricerca inglese e francese (Stone, Ozouf e de Dainville, soprattutto), non ha dato per ora frutti apprezzabili su questo versante, almeno per ciò che riguarda l'Ottocento. Forse alcune delle premesse alle sezioni del catalogo della mostra senese (penso per esempio alle pagine di Simonetta Soldani sulle *Scuole femminili per il lavoro*) e alcune delle relazioni al convegno tenutosi in parallelo possono essere considerate come dei primi tentativi di smuovere il terreno. Mi sembra anzi di poter dire che, collaborando sia all'una che all'altra iniziativa, ho avuto spesso l'impressione di essere entrato con un piccolo falchetto in una gran selva da disboscare. Fuor di metafora, alla ricchezza delle fonti fa riscontro un impressionante vuoto di strumenti e studi preliminari (generali ed esemplificativi) a cui appoggiarsi e fare riferimento lungo il cammino: una povertà, va detto, che non fa altro che dilatare ed esasperare vuoti ed assenze di ordine più vasto, irrimovibili nella fase di consumo individualistico della ricerca che stiamo vivendo e nel disgregato panorama della cosiddetta «organizzazione degli studi».

Quanto poi alla «storia delle donne», i risultati mi sembrano, almeno su questo punto, abbastanza evanescenti. Forse perché, come ha notato il gruppo di Christine Dauphin («Critica marxista», n. 1, 1987, p. 127), fin quasi a ieri essa ha espresso una netta «predilezione [...] per lo studio del corpo, della sessualità, della maternità, della fisiologia femminile». Ma forse vi è anche una certa difficoltà a far uscire la dialettica fra il dominio e l'oppressione «dai limiti dell'enunciato constataativo generale» a causa di una «sorta di autoaffascimento dell'infelicità», di «un disconoscimento della storia del femminismo e della sua articolazione con la storia politica e sociale»: un giudizio, questo, riferito alla Francia, ma che mi pare valga anche per l'Italia, dove il diverso orientamento di Franca Pieroni Bortolotti è rimasto a lungo un fatto isolato.

Giuseppe Talamo

Vorrei innanzitutto esprimere una preoccupazione. Quella che non si abbiano a ripetere gli errori propri di tanta parte della storiografia sul movimento operaio dei primi anni Cinquanta, quando negli studi sembrò prevalere una impostazione separata, settoriale, e per ciò stessa riduttiva e subalterna, delle tematiche relative, col rischio di farne degli innocui *atouts* relegabili ai margini del discorso. Il primo augurio, quindi, è che in prospettiva gli storici imparino a tener conto dello «specifico femminile» senza, peraltro, isolarlo. Solo se l'analisi di questo

aspetto diviene uno strumento di individuazione delle contraddizioni presenti nel complesso di un contesto storico e sociale, è possibile che la ricerca storiografica non resti essa stessa prigioniera negli ambigui confini della subalternità. Ma, detto questo, è bene sottolineare che una problematica specifica legata alla storia dell'istruzione femminile nei diversi contesti nazionali esiste, e va riconosciuta e indagata. Assumerla, oggi, come oggetto di indagine storiografica significa non soltanto approfondire una direzione di ricerca finora trascurata, soprattutto nel panorama italiano, ma anche ripercorrere criticamente quelle metodologie storiografiche e quegli atteggiamenti culturali che hanno impedito, in passato, di cogliere l'importanza di questa tematica.

Il problema dell'accesso della donna all'istruzione e alla cultura non può essere, infatti, circoscritto nell'ambito di uno studio che si limiti all'analisi delle trasformazioni legislative e quantitative della scolarizzazione femminile. Questi aspetti del problema assumono un rilievo conoscitivo soltanto se inseriti in un sistema interpretativo – aperto anche ad altri contributi disciplinari: dall'antropologia alla statistica – in grado di cogliere la conflittualità storicamente determinatasi fra un modello culturale tendente per secoli a circoscrivere nel privato il ruolo femminile e l'emergere della donna come soggettività politica e sociale: e d'altra parte, a mio avviso, tale fenomeno è connesso in misura rilevante alla storia e alle vicende del movimento operaio, a cui proprio per questo ho fatto prima riferimento.

La conquista dell'alfabeto da parte della donna e, per altri versi, il suo accesso agli studi superiori – circoscritto, ancora nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento, a pochi casi esemplari – rappresentano la rottura di una tradizione che confinava la formazione femminile in un angusto ambito comportamentale ed etico, alternativo all'istruzione, considerata assai spesso come una possibile causa di degenerazione del costume: una tale rottura riguarda appunto l'insieme della società, ha conseguenze e ripercussioni di ordine generale e di grande portata. D'altronde, il problema dell'accesso della donna all'istruzione è strettamente collegato alle condizioni della sua vita materiale, all'appartenenza a una classe, a un ceto e, dunque, alla sua collocazione nella società, all'articolazione e alla struttura di quest'ultima. E ancora: se si pensa alla realtà dell'Italia postunitaria si impone immediatamente la necessità di collegare l'analisi della cosiddetta questione femminile all'emergere del movimento operaio come soggetto politico e alle lotte delle lavoratrici contro un'oppressione legata soprattutto alla sfera dell'attività produttiva. Questa esperienza di sfruttamento non appartiene certamente alla vita della donna borghese e aristocratica. Tuttavia è proprio nell'ambito di una realtà socialmente e culturalmente elitaria che si svilupperà il fenomeno inedito dell'emancipazionismo come movimento progressista che ha avuto, fra l'altro, l'indiscutibile merito storico di individuare nella tematica del lavoro e dell'istruzione i nodi dell'oppressione materiale e spirituale delle masse femminili.

Il problema dell'istruzione della donna assunto come oggetto storiografico rivela, dunque, una carica conoscitiva complessa e originale proprio perché risulta connesso sia alle caratteristiche dello sviluppo del sistema scolastico – segnato dal divario fra classi dirigenti e masse popolari e dal travagliato rapporto fra Stato e Chiesa – sia a quei condizionamenti culturali e a quei pregiudizi dominanti nel senso comune talmente radicati nella tradizione da essere condivisi anche da uomini con orientamenti ideologici per altri versi lontani fra di loro. In questo senso, il problema dell'educazione della donna si lega alla storia di un «costume» tendente a negare o a sottovalutare il valore dell'istruzione femminile, ancora dominante fino ai primi decenni del nostro secolo. Ed è soprattutto in relazione a questo aspetto del problema che l'indagine storiografica viene sollecitata a nuove aperture metodologiche e disciplinari.

Ester De Fort

L'analisi dell'itinerario delle donne, assai meno formalizzato di quello maschile, consente di far luce su una molteplicità di esperienze e di realtà, spesso circoscritte alla sfera privata e familiare, che sono per lo più sfuggite, finora, ad un orientamento degli studi prevalentemente istituzionale. D'altronde, il recupero del privato può abituarci anche a dare maggior peso ai risvolti «soggettivi» di rilevanti fenomeni sociali. Penso alle molte motivazioni biografiche dell'accesso femminile alla carriera dell'insegnamento, o alla particolare percezione del proprio ruolo da parte delle insegnanti, oggetto di alcuni studi recenti.

Anche nell'ambito di ricerche incentrate sulle strutture scolastiche, l'attenzione allo specifico femminile si può rivelare assai feconda. Di qui la necessità di tenere presenti i particolari contenuti dell'istruzione femminile, e i ritmi e le dinamiche ad essa proprie, che complicano ulteriormente un tessuto scolastico già profondamente squilibrato e disomogeneo. È oggi chiaro, fra l'altro, che anche le strutture risultano assai meno neutre e asessuate di quanto io stessa non le abbia considerate nel mio studio di dieci anni fa sulla *Storia della scuola elementare in Italia dall'Unità a Giolitti*, come è stato già osservato.

E tuttavia sono convinta che, se l'educazione femminile costituisce in una certa misura un mondo a sé, concentrare l'attenzione solo sulle differenze può essere fuorviante, conducendo a sottovalutare lo iato che, per esempio, intercorre fra progetti e obiettivi da una parte ed effettiva realtà della scuola dall'altra. Per quanto riguarda la scuola elementare si ha spesso l'impressione che i contenuti educativi di cui essa avrebbe dovuto farsi portatrice, e ai quali era affidato il compito di ribadire il tradizionale ruolo sociale della donna, venissero posti in secondo piano dagli insegnanti, come del resto è attestato dalle relazioni degli ispettori, dalle quali balza agli occhi l'assoluta priorità assegnata da maestri e maestre al leggere, allo scrivere, al far di conto, obiettivi in cui essi vedevano

la prova tangibile dei risultati del loro lavoro. E ciò fa pensare che, almeno nella scuola elementare, più che dai contenuti specifici dell'insegnamento, le differenze sessuali fossero ribadite nel rapporto informale che si veniva a creare tra insegnanti e allievi.

Per l'Italia, puntare l'obiettivo sul secolo che sancì non solo il diritto all'istruzione delle donne, ma il loro concreto accesso al mondo della cultura scritta, definendone forme, percorsi, finalità, significa fra l'altro confrontarsi con la costruzione di uno Stato moderno su basi nazionali, costituzionali e laiche; con la sua necessità di affermare un insieme di comportamenti e di valori autonomi e in certa misura alternativi rispetto a quelli espressi dalla Chiesa di Roma, al suo grande potere sociale e culturale in una fase che la vedeva in netta ripresa; e, infine, con marcate e robuste zone d'ombra nel conclamato laicismo delle classi dirigenti di contro alla forza, alla resistenza e alle capacità di adattamento e di mediazione messe in campo dalla Chiesa per mantenere – in modi diversi e più congrui alle mutate condizioni, esigenze e prospettive – la propria egemonia nel campo dell'educazione «al femminile».

Ester De Fort

Personalmente, ritengo che l'accento debba sì battere sulla contraddittorietà del ruolo dello Stato unitario – spesso subalterno ai modelli educativi tradizionali e incapace di contrastare la presenza confessionale nel campo dell'educazione femminile –, senza per questo sottovalutare la sua capacità di farsi portatore di innovazioni di grande portata storica. È solo a partire dall'Unità, infatti, che si può parlare di una avanzata inarrestabile, benché lenta e tortuosa, dell'alfabetismo femminile: e una scomposizione per classi d'età metterebbe in luce che essa fu particolarmente forte nelle fasce soggette alla scolarizzazione. È all'indomani del 1860 che la scuola, e principalmente la scuola pubblica, si afferma come la mediatrice principale, decisiva, dell'accesso delle donne alla cultura scritta: un fenomeno le cui conseguenze sul piano della mentalità e del costume sono ancora da approfondire, ma del quale non si può negare la rilevanza. Ed è il fondo giacobino dello Stato nazionale che impone ad una società civile riluttante qualcosa di cui essa non sente il bisogno, e che anzi giudica pericoloso. Questo non significa sottovalutare le esitazioni della nuova classe dirigente, che non era affatto concorde nel riconoscere alle donne il diritto all'istruzione, ma solo tenere conto dell'esistenza di remore e ostacoli d'altra natura.

Le indicazioni relative a contenuti e fini dell'insegnamento, d'altra parte, mirano esplicitamente ad attenuare la temuta carica eversiva dell'istruzione femminile e a prevenire l'opposizione delle famiglie. Di qui, ad esempio, la polivalenza di una materia quale quella dei «lavori donneschi», a cui è affidato il compito di fornire l'elemento caratterizzante dell'insegnamento in ambito

femminile, al fine di assicurare quanti vedono nell'istruzione un lusso superfluo, di attirare simpatie con la loro patente utilità, di favorire – anche – una gestione più razionale del ménage familiare: non per nulla la formazione della buona massaia emancipata dalle «superstizioni», nella quale le abilità pratiche si fondono con doti di previdenza e di operosità, costituisce un obiettivo importante della scuola primaria, parallelo e complementare alla formazione del «buon operaio», nella prospettiva di una classe lavoratrice capace di trovare in sé, nelle sue risorse, la soluzione alla precarietà delle proprie condizioni. E sempre per rimanere nell'ambito delle modificazioni indotte o favorite (non sempre volontariamente: ma dal punto di vista dei risultati questo ha poca importanza) dalla scuola pubblica e dai suoi programmi, vorrei aggiungere che qualcosa di simile a ciò che si è detto per i lavori femminili vale per l'educazione fisica: un insegnamento che faceva propria un'immagine di donna proiettata ancora verso la maternità, ma consapevole (in un clima via via più sensibile al problema della degenerazione della razza) dell'importanza del proprio vigore fisico in rapporto a tale funzione, fino a valorizzare caratteristiche quali l'intraprendenza e l'energia, decisamente lontane dalla docilità e dalla rassegnazione privilegiate dall'educazione tradizionale.

Naturalmente, resta vero che per tutto l'Ottocento l'educazione delle donne (e soprattutto di quelle dei ceti medio-alti) continua a svolgersi secondo moduli consolidati, dai quali lo Stato probabilmente non vuole e sicuramente non sa distaccarsi nel momento in cui crea le proprie istituzioni. Anche gli educandati statali, oggetto delle ricerche di Silvia Franchini, risultano fortemente influenzati dal modello confessionale sia nei contenuti culturali che nell'organizzazione, e del tutto incapaci di svolgere una concorrenza efficace nei confronti di un apparato che poteva contare su un'esperienza secolare, come emergeva già nel saggio apparso su «Passato e presente» e come la relazione al convegno senese ha chiarito assai bene. Tale apparato, d'altronde, cercò in ogni modo di evitare il controllo pubblico, che peraltro si limitava a richiedere – non sempre con successo – alcune garanzie di patriottismo o per lo meno di rispetto delle istituzioni liberali, e che solo in parte riuscì a modificare l'impostazione claustrale di educandati e pensionati. Di fatto, più che l'azione dello Stato, fu il cambiamento della domanda sociale d'istruzione a porre in crisi – verso la fine del secolo – il modello del collegio (o per lo meno ad accentuarne il carattere elitario), che risultava obsoleto e troppo costoso per quei ceti medi che andavano accostandosi in misura sempre più massiccia alla scuola, anche allo scopo di offrire alle figlie, con l'istruzione, un nuovo tipo di dote e un'opportunità di impiego da sfruttare come garanzia nella eventualità di momenti difficili, e che proprio per questa somma di ragioni guardava con particolare favore alle scuole normali. Ci si può del resto chiedere se la mancata fondazione di nuovi collegi femminili da parte dello Stato non sia connessa – oltre che a esigenze di bilancio e alla sottovalutazione del problema dell'istruzione secondaria femminile – alla convinzione che quel problema potesse essere risolto in modo accettabile con le scuole normali. Sottolineo questo fatto perché mi pare che talvolta si tenda a dare un risalto eccessivo agli indubbi

cedimenti dello Stato in fatto di laicismo: non bisogna dimenticare, credo, che proprio le scuole normali furono definite dai gentiliani dei «covi di laicismo».

Quale risposta dette la Chiesa alle trasformazioni sociali e culturali realizzatesi fra Otto e Novecento? Purtroppo, su questo piano ci si trova quasi al livello zero della ricerca. Si direbbe che la Chiesa provveda ad adeguare i lineamenti delle istituzioni da essa dipendenti a quelli pubblici, tenendo conto di programmi e curricoli delle scuole statali, promuovendo forme di esternato, diversificando fini e piani di intervento: ma gli studi mancano, e la ricerca si presenta difficile per l'eterogeneità delle istituzioni, ognuna delle quali dotata di un proprio statuto, così come per il carattere dispersivo della documentazione, che richiede innumerevoli sondaggi locali per offrire un quadro di lettura attendibile delle tendenze generali. E tuttavia questa indagine resta un passaggio obbligato ed urgente per capire ciò che accade in un settore di tale rilevanza.

Per il momento, non ci resta che porre degli interrogativi: per esempio, sulla geografia delle iniziative confessionali, sulla differenza dei progetti educativi dei vari ordini religiosi, sullo spazio riservato all'educazione delle diverse classi sociali, sul suo eventuale modificarsi nel corso del secolo. Così come sarebbe importante sapere se e in quale misura le istituzioni (a carattere assistenziale più che educativo) rivolte alle fanciulle dei ceti popolari mantenessero intatta la loro vitalità di fronte all'espandersi della scuola elementare; e, ancora, se e quando la Chiesa compisse una scelta esplicitamente orientata alla specializzazione del proprio intervento in una duplice direzione: da un lato verso i ceti più poveri e «pericolosi» (riuscendo a mantenere in questo campo posizioni di monopolio), dall'altro verso ceti medi di vario livello, con la creazione di un sistema di scuole magistrali confessionali che riuscirà a decollare realmente solo in età fascista, contrastando con efficacia la concorrenza della scuola pubblica e creando le premesse per un efficace controllo sulla formazione del personale preposto all'educazione del popolo, vale a dire della maestra elementare.

Di tutto questo, sia chiaro, sappiamo ancora troppo poco: e basta dire questo, mi sembra, per qualificare l'arretratezza degli studi e la necessità di impegnarsi a fondo per superarla, così da portare alla luce aspetti e situazioni utili ad una migliore comprensione dell'Italia contemporanea, e non solo sul piano sociale.

Marino Raich

Credo superfluo soffermarmi a dimostrare che la nascita dello Stato nazionale costituisce un evento decisivo e periodizzante nelle vicende dell'istruzione femminile. Vorrei piuttosto, attraverso qualche esempio, richiamare l'attenzione sulle conseguenze di lungo periodo e di vasta portata del fatto che la «scolarizzazione» delle donne ai diversi livelli avvenisse nel quadro e sotto l'egida di una legge burocratico-accentratrice, ma non discriminatoria in sé come la legge Casati che,

preparata per il Piemonte sabauda (e al più padano), per oltre sessant'anni costituirà il referente essenziale dell'intero Regno, pur se tra infiniti contrasti, fissando procedure, contenuti e traguardi omogenei per realtà fortemente differenziate fra loro.

Così, ad esempio, il modello della scuola normale femminile piemontese, attuato nel cosiddetto decennio di preparazione, travolse il modello toscano di Lambruschini (ambizioso, ma assai più «educativo» che istruttivo e in sostanza paolotto) imponendosi in tutta la penisola, tanto che anche la scuola normale femminile napoletana raffigurata da Matilde Serao sulle pagine della «Nuova Antologia» nel 1885 – da lei frequentata nei primi anni Settanta – è, nei modelli di apprendimento e di comportamento che propone, una scuola molto «piemontese». E il fatto ha un'importanza non indifferente, ove si pensi che la faticosa e stenta alfabetizzazione d'Italia si dovette, in gran parte, a quel tipo di maestre che si erano imposte grazie alla conquista piemontese e che – nonostante i loro imbarazzi linguistici rispetto al modello toscano e manzoniano – furono chiamate a contribuire all'unificazione del paese su un punto quanto mai delicato e arduo come quello della lingua. D'altronde, la legge Casati si colloca ad uno snodo cruciale per il passaggio da una fase esclusivamente privata (in casa o in collegio, e in una logica che privilegiava nettamente le finalità «educative») ad una pubblica, istituzionalizzata e più attenta alla dimensione del sapere: un passaggio duramente avversato dai conservatori e dalla Chiesa, e tale da trovare nella legge Casati uno strumento poco sensibile, ma non del tutto ostile o inadatto.

A parte i primi e faticosi avvisi del Regno di Sardegna e del Lombardo-Veneto, fu da allora che, concretamente, anche per le donne si cominciò a schiudere la prospettiva di scuole pubbliche, di titoli di studio finalizzati, di ruoli professionali via via più ambiziosi. Uscendo da una fase di acquisizione culturale non formalizzata (penso non solo ai salotti e ai libri di lettura per le fanciulle di civile condizione, ma anche al poco esplorato mondo delle prediche, del confessionale, del catechismo elementare, o alle veglie presso il focolare la sera nelle campagne: tutti elementi che contribuiscono a formare una concezione del mondo, una cultura), la donna conquistò in misura sempre più estesa, anche se in dosi particolarmente modeste, l'abaco, la grammatica, il libro di lettura, il romanzo e, infine, il manuale di storia e il trattato universitario. Senza dimenticare una lunga fase intermedia in cui i saperi restano specifici e distinti per i due sessi: dall'alternativa fra tiro a segno e pratiche di agricoltura da un lato e lavori donneschi dall'altra nella formazione, rispettivamente, del maestro e della maestra, fino alle distinte sfere riservate alla donna nell'esercizio della medicina (le malattie femminili e infantili). Varrebbe davvero la pena di studiare da vicino (anche con confronti internazionali) la vicenda che porta alla progressiva erosione dello specifico, tenendo conto delle ideologie. Per esempio, del fatto che alcuni settori dei movimenti femminili, e non dei più moderati, hanno insistito anche di recente sulla necessità di rivendicare e valorizzare una educazione equivalente, non *uguale* a quella maschile, in quanto

principium individuationis di un senso destinato a restare subalterno se si adegua a uno spettro di modi e di saperi propri del maschio.

Ma con l'Unità accadde anche che le tensioni fra il governo piemontese e il clero degli anni Cinquanta, o la polemica torinese di Bertrando Spaventa con i gesuiti e i paolotti, diventarono questioni nazionali, arroventandosi nel clima della questione romana. E se la Chiesa difese con particolare calore la sua egemonia sull'educazione della donna, lo fece, oltre che per motivi di principio, perché avvertiva benissimo che per la borghesia liberale questo era un punto di incertezza. Non è davvero un cliché di comodo la raffigurazione del notevole moderato (magari massone) che disponeva l'ispezione dei seminari, la chiusura di una scuola di suore e intanto affidava l'educazione della figlia ad un educando religioso e si preoccupava della sua formazione cattolica, o il caso dell'intellettuale che la domenica accompagnava «le donne» fino alla Chiesa aspettandole poi al caffè nella cerchia degli amici «liberi pensatori»: dove non si tratta, ovviamente, del civile rispetto della libertà di culto per il coniuge, quanto di una determinazione precostituita di una verità inferiore concessa con spirito di superiorità ad un essere inferiore o più debole come la donna e il bambino, con una coda ben visibile fino alle posizioni espresse da Gentile nel 1907 e nel 1923.

Ma anche qui gioverà passare da un quadro generico ad una attenta aratura del terreno, facendo per esempio uno spoglio della stampa cattolica non solo nelle sue manifestazioni più note («La Civiltà cattolica», «La Scuola cattolica», «La Rassegna nazionale»), ma anche delle prediche, della stampa locale, dei carteggi fra monsignori e notabili. E lo stesso vale per l'opposto versante.

Mario A. Manacorda

La cesura costituita dalla nascita dello Stato nazionale risulta particolarmente limpida ove si punti l'obiettivo sul fatto che essa coincide approssimativamente con l'aprirsi di nuovi problemi, di nuove possibilità e prospettive. La creazione di un sistema scolastico pubblico comincia a coinvolgere sistematicamente anche le femmine come soggetto di un'istruzione *quasi* comune a quella dei maschi. E anche se nella realtà questo rimane un sistema a mezzo fra conservazione e progresso, dove coesistono come insegnanti vecchi frati e nuovi garibaldini, vecchie monache e nuove maestre della penna rossa, il monopolio ecclesiastico scompare: anche se poi l'ispirazione religiosa cattolica, a cui invano si pensa di opporre un'educazione civica, rimane e impronta di sé tutto, e più di ogni altra cosa l'idea della condizione e del destino della donna.

Ma il fatto più nuovo sta nel primo emergere di donne laiche come protagoniste dell'educazione della prima infanzia: donne, molto spesso, non cattoliche e straniere, che si occupano dei giardini froebeliani (tra le quali voglio ricordare la più lucida di tutte, Elena Raffalovich Comparetti) e alle quali solo la nuova

situazione politica dà diritto di cittadinanza e una qualche libertà d'azione. Le loro iniziative, benché presto riassorbite e omogeneizzate, sono a mio parere più importanti ancora dell'accesso delle donne ai licei e all'università (più o meno dello stesso periodo) di cui danno l'esempio fra le prime alcune figlie di garibaldini come Bertani e Sacchi, e più importanti del loro primo e controverso accesso alle professioni liberali, di cui è esempio la più che trentennale battaglia per essere ammesse all'esercizio dell'avvocatura dopo la prima laurea della valdese Lydia Poët.

Senza il nuovo Stato liberale, tutto ciò sarebbe stato per molte aree del paese impensabile. Dietro c'è la volontà di affermare una nuova ideologia, che rifiuta di muoversi nel cerchio dei soliti cristianissimi argomenti della costola d'Adamo e simili. E scusatemi se continuo a pensare che la Chiesa ha svolto su questo specifico punto un ruolo retrivo, poco o niente adattabile, salvo che sul piano della immediata capacità d'intervento per muoversi lungo un doppio binario: quello connesso al mantenimento delle proprie scuole monacali, e quello legato ad una capillare presenza nelle scuole statali, con le persone, con le idee, con i libri di testo.

Adattabile, e molto, anche sui principi, è stato invece il laicismo delle classi dirigenti, che è continuato fino al primo e al secondo Concordato. È singolare (e dovrebbe far riflettere) il fatto che la Chiesa cattolica sia arrivata oggi a qualche piccolo ripensamento a mezza bocca sul caso degli ebrei deicidi e su quello della scienza (Galileo), ma a nessun ripensamento (e anzi ad un'incessante riaffermazione di integralismo) sul punto della scuola, e cioè dell'educazione di quella gioventù che – parola di Pio XI – «è in suo potere».

Penso all'infinita documentazione prodotta da uomini delle più diverse aree politiche, ideologiche e culturali intorno all'inopportunità di istruire le donne, e comunque alla necessità di badare più al cuore che alla mente, di dar loro più educazione che cognizioni di merito; all'esasperata insistenza sul loro destino di madri, sorelle e spose, coi lavori domestici e comunque «femminili» assegnati loro perpetuamente in sorte; al destino predisposto per le allieve e le oblate dei centri monacali di educazione, quello cioè di diventare cucitrici e ricamatrici, modiste e serve, col rischio calcolato di finire meretrici. Penso alla religione e alla devozione, chiamate a fare da supporto all'asservimento delle donne ad un loro preteso destino ben più di quanto non accadesse agli uomini; alla natura chiamata in causa per giustificare il tutto da gran parte del positivismo e dei suoi estenuati cultori di fine secolo, con una insistenza pari solo all'insipienza dei loro «scientifici» scritti; all'orrore ripetuto per la parola «emancipazione», ai cauti aggettivi con cui l'accompagnavano anche gli spiriti più liberali quando finalmente osavano pronunciare quel termine... Del resto anche gli effetti delle differenze sociali appaiono per le donne più decisamente marcati che per i maschi, con le moltissime escluse e le pochissime educate in casa o in istituti privilegiati secondo modelli raffinati, completi e «disinteressati», che solo sul finir del secolo cominciarono a tener conto di programmi, esami e diplomi mirati per lo più

su quelli delle modestissime «normali», le cui fortune travolsero ogni barriera preconcepita. E come non vedere l'importanza che potrebbe avere una verifica concreta, specifica, in un campo decisivo com'è quello educativo, di una vicenda che, salvo poche eccezioni, vede la donna stessa farsi propagandatrice di questo modello teorico-pratico, sostenitrice di questa situazione, e gioiosamente corriva verso questo suo dimidiato destino?

Quanto alle motivazioni ideali che sostennero queste scelte politiche, mi sembra che esse rinviiino al fatto che dove c'è un ristretto dominio di classe, c'è anche bisogno di un'ideologia repressiva di supporto con funzioni preventive. E tanto più se quel dominio si esercita in un quadro di democrazia borghese, cioè formale: elezioni, parlamento, godimento delle libertà giuridiche, ma sotto un dominio economico effettivo anche sui mezzi per la confezione dei cervelli. Questo ruolo conservatore dell'ideologia cattolica è stato fin troppo teorizzato *apertis verbis* da papi, cardinali, vescovi e pievani, perché ci sia bisogno di insisterci su. Storicamente, le questioni da evidenziare sono l'occultamento degli aspetti più dolorosi della condizione femminile (fino alla prostituzione, agli stupri e alle violenze), e l'addolcimento, per così dire, di quelli più normali (inoccupazione, disoccupazione, occupazione subalterna ecc.). È comunque da rilevare che il campo dell'istruzione resta uno di quelli relativamente più aperti a moderate possibilità femminili: forza del femminismo, o debolezza del campo dell'istruzione?

Giuseppe Talamo

Per quanto riguarda l'Italia, il problema della transizione da una quasi totale esclusione della donna dalle istituzioni formative a un suo graduale, ma anche contraddittorio, accesso alla cultura va letto sullo sfondo della dinamica determinata dal permanere di alcune caratteristiche interne alle diverse realtà preunitarie nell'ambito del nuovo tessuto sociale e il processo complessivo di unificazione dello Stato nazionale.

In questo contesto, il ruolo politico della legge Casati – struttura portante del nostro sistema scolastico fino al 1923 – è estremamente significativo dal punto di vista dell'analisi della politica culturale delle classi dirigenti e del loro rapporto con il «popolo-nazione». Il senso politico della legge Casati va ricollegato allo spirito che caratterizzò, negli stessi anni, i provvedimenti legislativi destinati a regolamentare i Comuni e le Province, o a definire i rigidi confini sociali del suffragio elettorale. Al di là dei contenuti specifici, infatti, si ritrova in essi uno stesso modello di società: quello a cui si ispirava la classe dirigente moderata e liberale, sostanzialmente accettato anche dalla Sinistra costituzionale e «democratica».

Dunque, l'idea di scuola presente nella legge Casati non è disgiunta da una precisa idea di società, entrambe segnate da uno spirito profondamente elitario, che tendeva a confinare l'istruzione degli «umili», dei subalterni, in una dimensione quanto mai riduttiva e a utilizzare sia l'ignoranza sia l'acculturazione mediocre come strumenti di controllo sociale. I cedimenti dello Stato nei confronti della Chiesa – che in quegli anni conduceva, al vertice, una battaglia contro l'alfabeto per il popolo e contro la scuola pubblica – sono anche l'espressione di una rinuncia della classe dirigente a impostare e a portare avanti una politica culturale e scolastica che fosse strumento di emancipazione e di crescita culturale della popolazione.

Ciò spiega, a mio parere, il carattere restrittivo della risposta data all'emergere di una nuova domanda di istruzione da parte dei ceti popolari e di alcuni strati della popolazione femminile; un carattere restrittivo che si manifesta, per quanto riguarda la donna, nell'aver ostacolato e ritardato il suo accesso all'istruzione postelementare e nell'aver poi canalizzato questa esigenza in un curriculum – la scuola normale o l'istituto superiore di magistero femminile – di fatto subalterno e funzionale alle aspettative sociali, tendenti a confinarla nel ruolo di madre e di educatrice.

Silvio Lanaro

Se riteniamo che un aspetto fondamentale della modernizzazione delle società e delle collettività in epoca contemporanea sia dato dall'avvento dello Stato come principio organizzatore fondamentale, non avremo difficoltà a rilevare l'importanza del fatto che in Italia questo non accade perché anche dopo l'Unità siamo in presenza di un corpo bicipite, con almeno due principi organizzatori della società: lo Stato e la Chiesa.

E infatti lo Stato non riesce a creare un sistema scolastico imperniato su un sistema di valori che esprimessero il senso della sua legittimazione storica e culturale presso l'opinione pubblica, e cioè su quei principi laici e liberali che erano all'origine dei conflitti e degli scontri susseguitisi tra il 1860 e il 1870 a proposito della soppressione delle corporazioni religiose e della liquidazione dell'asse ecclesiastico, e che avevano portato all'abolizione della Facoltà di Teologia. A me sembra che lo Stato non riesca a impregnare l'istruzione di quei valori laico-liberali che giustificavano la sua stessa esistenza, né per le femmine né per i maschi, né in alto né in basso. Ed è su questo vuoto non casuale che la Chiesa fa leva per mantenere, modificandola e aggiornandola, la propria influenza ed egemonia a livello formativo: una influenza che, naturalmente, è tanto maggiore quanto più macroscopici sono i ritardi, i silenzi, i tentennamenti dello Stato liberale nel settore specifico. Il caso dell'educazione delle donne è, in questo senso, davvero esemplare.

Ma, ripeto, il problema è di ordine più generale. Pensiamo a cos'è il mondo contadino francese rispetto a quello italiano. Se leggiamo un classico degli studi sull'argomento come *Peasants into Frenchmen* di Eugen Weber scopriamo che il contadino francese dell'Ottocento è per un verso il *sauvage* tante volte descritto da grandi romanzieri tipo Flaubert – selvaggio in una misura inimmaginabile per un contadino italiano – e per l'altro, a pochi anni di distanza, una persona che ha acquisito un suo senso dello Stato-nazione, che sente in sé un minimum di appartenenza alla realtà Francia ed è in grado di esprimere forme di lealismo politico. In Italia abbiamo un contadino più «civile» e socialmente attivo e, insieme, molto meno nazionalizzato: una miscela potenzialmente esplosiva, che tuttavia non dà luogo a fenomeni sanfedisti o ad assalti con forconi alle città.

Merito di chi? Merito del movimento cattolico che, in alcune aree, sindacalizza precocemente i contadini, assumendo iniziative che sono proprie, altrove, dei socialisti e «sostituendosi» allo Stato nel promuovere e radicare un senso più vasto della collettività sociale. Le analogie che si potrebbero tracciare con ciò che accade nel campo dell'istruzione e ancor più specificamente dell'educazione delle donne è evidente; anche se in certi casi e periodi si ha l'impressione che lo Stato riconsegna tutto intero alla Chiesa il ruolo egemone sull'uno e sull'altro.

È bene ricordare che la forza del mondo e del movimento cattolico sta nel fatto che essi non emarginano le donne (come non le emargineranno i socialisti, almeno in via teorica); o comunque, le emarginano molto meno di quanto non faccia la cultura liberale. Basta pensare alle iniziative assunte per l'organizzazione di scuole normali che consentano alle donne di entrare in possesso della «patente magistrale», formando quelle maestre elementari che – assunte in via del tutto preferenziale dai Comuni diretti da maggioranze consiliari cattoliche, ma ben viste anche da quelle moderate per la loro docilità e ossequienza all'ordine costituito – dispenseranno a larghe mani l'insegnamento religioso ai figli e alle figlie del popolo.

La cultura dominante italiana, la cultura liberale, è infatti profondamente antifemminile: a tal punto da ostacolare la nascita di una moderna società borghese frenando rapporti e scambi fra classi sociali diverse, da velarne valori e ideologia, da intaccarne miti e pratiche sul piano della concezione della famiglia, del suo ruolo privato e pubblico. Né l'Italia può contare, si direbbe, su quella concezione dell'amore che travolge ogni norma e ogni barriera, di netta ascendenza romantica, che altrove ebbe effetti ben al di là dell'ambiente letterario, fornendo supporto e alibi a numerosi «tradimenti» dei codici sociali ed etici universalmente accettati. Così, nella *Rosa delle Alpi* di Francesco Dall'Ongaro una giovane domestica non accetta le attenzioni del padrone, più anziano di lei ma molto rispettoso e molto sollecito, perché la differenza di classe le appare insormontabile. E ne *Le tessitore* di Pietro Thouar una ragazza sposa un artigiano perché i due hanno sentito parlare l'uno dell'altro come bravi e solerti lavoratori. Quali sono dunque le alternative al modello manzoniano di donna (che è quello vincente) proposte dai suoi avversari, e cioè dagli avanguardisti alla Carlo Bossi o alla Vittorio Imbriani?

L'alternativa è l'irrisione perfino dell'amore coniugale, perché le donne sono fatte per «spulzellarle», come diceva appunto Imbriani...

La narrativa dell'Ottocento ci dice molte cose su questi forti caratteri antifemminili della cultura italiana, che certo concorrono a spiegare la capacità di presa nel mondo femminile del movimento cattolico, depositario, tramite la Chiesa, di un sistema di valori che lo Stato italiano non volle o seppe né incrinare né sostituire con una visione moderna del ruolo della donna, più funzionale a un'idea della famiglia capace di costituire il perno della società borghese.

Quando si parla di donne, di storia delle donne, il versante dell'economia rischia di essere relegato ai margini del campo di osservazione. Eppure mi sembra difficile negare che tutta una serie di problemi su cui hanno richiamato l'attenzione, per esempio, studiosi come Giovanni Vigo o, per altri versi, come Marzio Barbagli, assumano uno spessore e una caratterizzazione particolari quando l'obiettivo si concentra sull'accesso alla scuola delle donne, sui tempi e sui modi in cui esso avvenne, sulle resistenze implicite ed esplicite, soggettive ed oggettive, che lo contrastarono e ritardarono. Anche perché il «bisogno» di alfabeto e di cultura si presenta indissolubilmente legato alla questione del lavoro e degli sbocchi professionali, cioè di una socialità intrisa di aspetti e rapporti economici.

Quali, dunque, i possibili percorsi di una ricerca che non voglia eludere tematiche di questo tipo, che possono aiutare a controbilanciare una insistenza eccessiva sulla sfera del «privato»?

Giuseppe Talamo

Abbiamo assistito negli ultimi anni al maturare di una nuova attenzione storiografica per i problemi dello sviluppo del sistema scolastico e dell'istruzione. La novità più significativa, e comune a molte indagini, consiste nell'acquisita consapevolezza dell'opportunità di non isolare il problema scolastico nell'ambito della sua specificità istituzionale, ricercando costantemente i nessi fra l'istruzione e alcune coordinate – economiche, politiche, ideologiche e culturali – indispensabili ad una «spiegazione» della sua funzionalità sociale. In questo senso, non parlerei tanto di una caduta di interesse per la dimensione economica, quanto piuttosto di una oscillazione, a volte disordinata, nel sottolineare i diversi aspetti di cui si compone il discorso: in una prospettiva che, peraltro, segnala l'individuazione di interessanti e nuove linee di ricerca.

È vero invece che, per quanto riguarda le tematiche femminili, le novità storiografiche emerse negli ultimi anni in rapporto alle discussioni metodologiche e teoriche sviluppatesi nel sistema di studi che viene definito «storia delle donne» hanno lasciato un po' in ombra questa dimensione. E tuttavia va detto che, se

c'è stata la tendenza a concentrare eccessivamente l'attenzione sulla sfera del privato, questo dipende anche dal carattere essenzialmente «privato» delle funzioni storicamente assegnate alla donna. Questa scelta tematica può diventare riduttiva e ambigua solo se cede ad una sorta di separatismo teorico che ne oscuri il senso, intrinseco alla struttura di un determinato tipo di società, trascurando di verificarne i legami con un insieme complesso di articolazioni e di problemi.

Mario A. Manacorda

Il privato vuol dire le coscienze, l'ideologia; si capisce bene che si sia cominciato a studiare da lì, perché la maggior parte dei documenti ci riportano a questo. Ma non manca del tutto neppure la dimensione dell'economia, e dunque del ruolo e della vita sociale. La lenta, contrastata ammissione delle donne agli impieghi pubblici, la loro presenza, ampia ma non esplosiva all'interno di vecchie e nuove manifatture, e ancor più l'apparire di un composito, massiccio esercito di lavoratori a domicilio costituiscono altrettanti aspetti caratterizzanti (ma di diversa entità) del mercato del lavoro femminile nell'ultimo quarto del secolo XIX, quello cioè che permette di veder emergere le nuove tendenze in atto.

Verso la metà degli anni Settanta, infatti, comincia una timida assunzione di donne nelle «sale» dei telegrafi e poi dei telefoni; soprattutto a partire dal decennio successivo cominciano ad aprirsi alcune opportunità di impiego in uffici e ditte commerciali, mentre la schiera delle maestre si ingrossa a dismisura. Negli stessi anni si cominciano a istituire le prime scuole professionali femminili, per opera di notabili illuminati, di Comuni più sensibili alla «questione operaia», di Società di mutuo soccorso di impronta liberal-progressista e magari vagamente mazziniana, ma anche per l'impegno di donne come Laura Solerà ed Ernesta Napollon: ma tutte si premurano di esortare le fanciulle che le frequentano a non voler fare sleale concorrenza all'uomo nell'industria, a tornare alla cucina e all'economia domestica o, al più, ad occuparsi in lavori a domicilio e in attività educative.

Del resto, le opportunità di un lavoro qualificato, al di fuori dell'insegnamento elementare e dell'assistenza all'infanzia, che richiedesse una qualunque dose di istruzione, erano davvero poche, e tali resteranno per tutto il secolo: per contro, perfino a Monza (e cioè in una zona ad alta alfabetizzazione femminile) ancora nel 1888 si denunciavano casi di bambine in età da asilo d'infanzia portate in braccio dalle madri alla fabbrica, dove per 12-15 ore avrebbero girato l'aspo e tenuto accesi i fornelli. È questa realtà, questa condizione subalterna della donna rispetto all'uomo che va tenuta presente insieme alle vicende dell'istruzione, che dipendono non poco dalle opportunità teoriche e pratiche che il mercato del lavoro offre.

Ester De Fort

Credo che l'esigenza di distinguere, di tracciare direttrici e ipotesi di lavoro differenziate (per ceti, per periodo, per tipologia scolastica) sia, in questo ambito di problemi, una sorta di pregiudiziale. Proprio per questo vorrei evitare affermazioni generali, per soffermarmi brevemente sulla figura della maestra, che è poi quella attraverso cui la scuola offre, sia pure involontariamente, l'immagine di un ruolo femminile svincolato da una dimensione esclusivamente domestica, anche se con alcune ambiguità connaturate alla caratterizzazione del mestiere, che si vuole materno.

Riallacciandomi a quanto ho già osservato, vorrei sottolineare che è lo Stato, col suo impellente bisogno di insegnanti connesso all'affermazione dell'obbligo scolastico e alla sua decisione di ricorrere all'impiego di personale femminile, ad aprire le strade ad un fenomeno che certo non è una peculiarità italiana, ma che come ha già ricordato Raichich proprio nel nostro paese assume dimensioni particolarmente rilevanti. Senza dimenticare – sempre a proposito di contraddittorietà – che tale processo finisce ben presto per sfuggire alla volontà di direzione attiva dello Stato, al punto che esso sembra piuttosto subirlo (soprattutto per ragioni di convenienza economica), mantenendo e alimentando grosse riserve sulla capacità delle maestre di impartire un'educazione virile ai propri allievi maschi.

Ciò non significa che lo Stato sia pregiudizialmente ostile all'ingresso nel mercato del lavoro delle donne di ceti medio, come del resto confermano alcune esperienze pilota compiute nel campo delle scuole di commercio femminili alla fine degli anni Settanta di cui si è occupata Simonetta Soldani nell'ambito del convegno senese. Mentre però esse falliscono o conducono per vari anni un'esistenza stentata per via della loro «precocità» rispetto al mercato del lavoro sia sul versante della domanda che dell'offerta, negli stessi anni le prime donne accedono a scuole secondarie (rimaste fino a quel momento monopolio dei maschi nonostante il silenzio della legge istitutiva) e la domanda di istruzione magistrale femminile conosce una vera e propria impennata. Due fenomeni, questi, da studiare nel merito, se si vogliono comprendere caratteristiche e trasformazioni della domanda sociale d'istruzione, per coglierne i rapporti con l'andamento del mercato del lavoro femminile. D'altronde, è naturale che l'esigenza di professionalizzazione sottesa a quella domanda si orienti di preferenza verso scuole finalizzate al mestiere indicato dagli stereotipi correnti come il più adatto alle donne, e comunque idonee ad aprire le porte di numerose altre possibilità occupazionali nei campi più diversi.

Marino Raicich

Direi che la questione del rapporto scuola-lavoro-occupazione sul versante femminile non solo non è stata oggetto, sin qui, di studi specifici, ma è ancora da mettere a fuoco in tutta la sua ricchezza e complessità tematica, derivante dal fitto intreccio di fattori culturali e ideologici di cui la Chiesa è corifea coerente e costante, ma che si trovano largamente presenti nella morale familiare dei laici (la teorizzazione delle specifiche attitudini naturali della donna, del suo destino domestico), e fattori oggettivi, propri di un mercato del lavoro afflitto da un'offerta permanentemente in eccesso, come ha mostrato Marzio Barbagli nel fortunato e meritorio studio su Disoccupazione intellettuale e sistema scolastico in Italia. E vale la pena di ricordare che quei fattori sono stati presenti a lungo: in qualche misura, anzi (e in forme neanche troppo sotterranee), lo sono ancora.

Vorrei qui solo ricordare il modo diverso in cui il sistema formativo affrontò, all'indomani dell'Unità, due questioni centrali come l'educazione al lavoro (e in specie alla manualità) e la formazione all'esercizio di professioni e attività necessariamente extradomestiche nel caso di soggetti maschili e femminili. Nella scuola elementare, l'unica frequentata (per lo più in forma incompleta) da un numero consistente di bambine, i classici lavori femminili, specie quelli immediatamente utili (e cioè il cucito, il rammendo, l'uncinetto) hanno una presenza robusta, per tutto il secolo XIX ed oltre. Per i maschi, di fatto, non c'è nulla di simile. Tranne che nel caso di scuole annesse a istituti di beneficenza per orfani e trovatelli, che spesso possedevano il banco da falegname in laboratorio, gli edifici non avevano nessuna attrezzatura utile allo scopo.

In realtà, i ragazzi facevano il loro precoce apprendistato in orario extrascolastico, aiutando nella bottega o nell'officina dove lavorava il padre o presso qualche vicino di casa. Per le scuole rurali si sente spesso parlare dell'insegnamento di tecniche agricole e di un orto annesso: ma si tratta più di un auspicio che di una realtà diffusa, nonostante l'impegno con cui il ministro Baccelli cercò di moltiplicare tali pratiche sul finire del secolo. Anche in questo caso i ragazzi (e le ragazze) imparavano l'arte (e i pregiudizi) dei campi fuori dalle aule scolastiche. È noto, del resto, che il loro impiego lavorativo era tanto generalizzato da consigliare la chiusura delle scuole rurali nei periodi più impegnativi. I lavori donneschi, invece, non ponevano alcun problema organizzativo: sia la maestra che le scolare portavano da casa quanto era necessario, e non di rado le scolare ascoltavano la maestra che parlava di grammatica e di aritmetica con le mani occupate in lavori di maglia e cucito: lo stesso sottofondo che nelle scuole delle monache accompagnava le letture devote fatte a turno, ad alta voce.

Pesava notevolmente su questa situazione la cultura delle famiglie, poco propense a mandare le bambine a studiare cose «inutili» e ben contente che esse imparassero qualcosa che poteva essere sicuramente messa a frutto. Una mentalità, questa, che accompagnava l'alunna anche alla scuola normale, se è vero che nei libri che presentavano modelli di temi di italiano per le normaliste

mi sono imbattuto più volte in «tracce» di questo tipo: «L'alunna risponde ad una lettera della madre preoccupata che con gli studi sua figlia si monti la testa e perda le virtù domestiche, e le racconta quanto tempo dedichi al lavoro nel corso dell'orario scolastico, inviandole, come prova della sua buona formazione, un lavoro d'ago». Persino negli Istituti superiori di magistero di Firenze e di Roma – le cosiddette Università femminili – sono presenti i lavori donneschi: né manca chi ne esalta il valore simbolico, di richiamo, anche per le donne dotte, al loro ruolo «naturale».

Su questo punto, lo spoglio dei libri di lettura potrebbe fornire conferme, esplicitazioni e precisazioni molto numerose e varie. Da un primo sondaggio mi pare di poter dire che le letture femminili sviluppano il tema del lavoro più di quelle maschili. Penso, per fare un esempio, alla *Fanciulla massaja* di Ida Baccini, che offre uno stridente confronto con un classico per bambini come Cuore, dove le mani degli scolari sono sporche solo d'inchiostro, e i poveri lavorano sì, ma fuori della scuola: e che tale tendenza fosse più ampia dei confini d'Italia lo dice il fatto che il libro di lettura per le scuole popolari di Trieste del 1899, approvato dal Ministero di Vienna, presentasse come scolara modello una bambina che «coll'uncinetto fa borsellini, guanti di lana e legacci».

Dunque la scuola, nel quadro di una precisa divisione dei ruoli, cominciava molto presto a preparare la futura «regina» della casa. E anche chi prolungava i suoi studi per un lavoro non domestico come la maestra, era bene che imparasse quei lavori. Per tre buoni motivi: per insegnarli, per offrire un modello di vita che contribuì a sciogliere la diffidenza delle famiglie, per provvedere a se stessa, visto lo stipendio di fame che le veniva corrisposto. Del resto, in una società che ignorava ogni forma di previdenza che non fosse la supplica per un sussidio, la donna capace di cucire, rammendare, ricamare, possedeva un modesto capitale di capacità da mettere a frutto lavorando per terzi nel caso di un'improvvisa vedovanza, o di qualche rovescio di fortuna.

Il rapporto si fa opposto se guardiamo alla scuola in quanto luogo di formazione di quadri professionali, dai ruoli più modesti a quelli che richiedevano un consistente bagaglio culturale. Mentre si può dire che le scuole per i maschi fossero poste tutte sotto questo segno (con l'unica eccezione dei licei e della loro cosiddetta «cultura disinteressata»), tale dimensione restò a lungo esclusa nel caso delle donne, in linea di fatto, se non per ragioni di diritto. A fare da cavallo di Troia furono le scuole normali, non solo perché il lavoro della maestra si estese a macchia d'olio, ma perché già sul finire degli anni Settanta esse cominciarono ad arricchirsi di una serie di «corsi liberi», da Milano a Siracusa, e ad essere usate come lasciapassare tanto generico quanto polivalente. Anche l'iscrizione alle scuole tecniche, agli inizi, fu considerata più un parcheggio in attesa di avere l'età consentita per iscriversi alla scuola normale che una scelta in funzione di impieghi minori nel terziario.

Così, mentre le scuole normali maschili si svuotavano, visti gli stipendi dei maestri, quelle femminili conobbero – in tempi diversi, naturalmente, nelle diverse

regioni d'Italia – una parallela, netta impennata. A Milano, già in occasione dell'inchiesta Scialoia, il direttore della scuola normale maschile denunciava (novembre 1873) un vero e proprio crollo della «vocazione», che gli appariva tanto più pericoloso in quanto, a suo parere, le donne erano del tutto inadatte a reggere una classe superiore delle elementari. Milano, comunque, costituisce sì un termometro significativo, ma in netto anticipo rispetto a gran parte del paese: tanto più, dunque, sarebbe utile avere un quadro sufficientemente articolato della situazione e della sua dinamica, del modo in cui le maestre erano considerate e trattate, delle difficoltà (e magari delle umiliazioni) che anche quelle fornite di «patente» dovevano superare per conquistarsi e mantenere un posto stabile, tra sindaci malevoli, assessori e ispettori anche troppo galanti, famiglie sospettose, ambienti ostili. Anche in questo caso, al di là della comune cornice, sarebbero da illuminare le differenze, che dovevano essere sensibili anche a livello di gruppi dirigenti, se è vero che un galantuomo come Settembrini, seccato dalla petulanza delle maestre al congresso pedagogico di Napoli, in una lettera a Raffaele Masi del 15 settembre 1871 ne parlava come di «povere puttanelle diventate maestre per meriti femmieschi». Se così si esprimeva l'Italia migliore, è facile arguire quale fosse l'opinione corrente a questo proposito.

Di qui, ancora una volta, il richiamo alla necessità di una ricerca paziente, capillare, che tenga conto delle differenze regionali, perché, al di là delle «naturali» differenze biologiche e di classe (ha ragione Manacorda: nonostante il ribadito carattere naturale della diversità, alias inferiorità, femminile, le differenze di classe risultano centrali nella vicenda scolastica della donna più ancora che in quella degli uomini) esse si presentano come uno dei tratti più macroscopici della storia che stiamo cercando di mettere a fuoco. Non era solo la figlia di un operaio milanese ad avere di fronte a sé prospettive diverse da quelle della figlia del bracciante pugliese: un divario altrettanto ampio separava senza dubbio una ragazza della borghesia israelita di Torino da una che appartenesse alla famiglia di qualche grosso notevole siciliano. Anche per ciò che riguarda scuola e questione femminile l'Italia unita era tutt'altro che una.

Tema centrale per capire il dipanarsi di progetti, dibattiti e interventi, il binomio educazione/istruzione sembra nutrirsi di tensioni, rapporti conflittuali, controversie intorno al primato dell'uno o dell'altro termine che si attenuano fino a scomparire nel caso si tratti di scuole femminili, in nome di una concorde sottolineatura della priorità assoluta da assegnare alla dimensione educativa. Di qui l'importanza di una analisi più ravvicinata delle idee dell'epoca sulla donna, sulle sue funzioni e sul suo ruolo, in generale e in rapporto all'estrazione sociale, e cioè in funzione del sesso e della classe. In che senso può essere utile rilevare questa specifica declinazione femminile del problema, e quali sembrano essere le direttrici di lavoro più promettenti?

In quest'ottica, d'altronde, mi pare si possa dire che la tendenza a restringere gli studi all'educazione formalizzata, scolastica, o comunque a isolarla da un contesto formativo in cui gli ambienti e gli strumenti di educazione «informale»

– la famiglia, la lettura, la vita associativa e di società, religiosa e laica... – sono quelli che danno il tono ed hanno la preminenza fin quasi, alla fine del secolo, costituisce un fattore di debolezza e di rigidità da superare. Quali le vostre opinioni e le vostre esperienze di studio a questo proposito? E fino a che punto si può isolare l'Italia dai paesi più sviluppati, dagli impulsi che essi inviavano e dalle influenze che essi esercitavano, ma anche dall'attenzione con cui si seguivano le loro elaborazioni e le loro esperienze?

Ester De Fort

Mi pare si possa dire che il superamento della contrapposizione tra educazione formalizzata e informale rappresenti l'obiettivo verso il quale si stanno ormai indirizzando gli studi. La stessa analisi dell'educazione scolastica va emancipandosi da un'impostazione prevalentemente rivolta agli aspetti istituzionali. Ciò comporta attenzione, oltre che agli strumenti di trasmissione informale dei contenuti educativi (dall'organizzazione degli spazi all'abbigliamento degli insegnanti), al significato – almeno in parte diverso – dell'esperienza scolastica per gli alunni e per le alunne.

Per quanto riguarda la scuola elementare, si tratta di un'esperienza che la povertà dell'istruzione impartita, la brevità e saltuarietà della frequenza non autorizzano a sottovalutare. È molto probabile, ad esempio, che non sia corretto ricondurre solo alla docilità e subalternità tradizionali il migliore rendimento scolastico delle bambine, che alcuni insegnanti attribuiscono ad un entusiasmo da neofite di fronte al contatto con un mondo nuovo dal quale sono state sinora escluse.

Le modalità con cui la scuola si confronta con l'ambiente esterno e con le altre agenzie e luoghi della formazione – la famiglia, la parrocchia, la strada o il lavoro – costituiscono un altro aspetto da approfondire: e non c'è dubbio che la questione presenti un interesse e un'importanza del tutto particolari sul versante femminile, visto che nell'educazione delle donne il peso specifico della scuola resta assai minore per tutto l'Ottocento, almeno in media. D'altronde, va detto anche che tutta la scuola tende progressivamente a dilatare la propria influenza, abbandonando quel caratteristico aspetto di parcheggio chiassoso e turbolento che, comunque, l'accompagna per tutto l'Ottocento.

Se da parte dei genitori all'iniziale diffidenza subentra spesso una delega totale che non impedisce i conflitti e che è ben lontana dalla collaborazione vagheggiata dagli insegnanti, la lotta contro la concorrenza della strada, portatrice di proprie leggi ed esperienze, è più dura. È significativo, a questo proposito, che tra gli ambienti progressisti si sviluppi nei primi anni del nuovo secolo l'utopia di una scuola globale, che coordini e integri a sè attività educative d'ogni genere (doposcuola, ricreatori, biblioteche, università popolari). A questo progetto di

formazione continua, che verso la fine del primo decennio del Novecento sembra trovare un principio d'attuazione nei Comuni più grossi o ad amministrazione socialista, fanciulli e adulti delle classi popolari dovrebbero sacrificare il proprio tempo libero. Rimane ancora da verificare in che misura (e, nel caso, con quali declinazioni specifiche) questo progetto investa anche le donne, che appaiono meno esposte all'influenza corruttrice della strada e dell'osteria. Il fatto centrale, comunque, resta a mio parere l'accesso di massa delle donne alla scuola: e ad una scuola che in Italia è fondamentalmente uguale per maschi e femmine, a differenza di quanto avviene in gran parte dei paesi europei. L'attenzione ai modelli dei paesi stranieri più avanzati, che costituisce una costante della politica scolastica dell'Italia liberale, non ha infatti alcun esito pratico, nonostante gli innumerevoli viaggi di studio di parlamentari, burocrati e persino insegnanti, che danno luogo a relazioni ufficiali e ufficiose e ad una intensa attività pubblicistica che sarebbe importante esplorare anche al di là della loro inefficacia riformatrice.

L'interesse per ciò che si fa (o che si è fatto) altrove non si configura come imitazione e non implica subalternità. Almeno dal punto di vista dei progetti, dell'affermazione di principi, della elaborazione di idee e di progetti la classe dirigente italiana non pare al traino d'Oltralpe. La parità dei sessi di fronte all'istruzione, così come l'obbligo dei Comuni di provvedere nella stessa misura all'istruzione femminile e maschile, sono principi importanti, e ben lontani dall'essere riconosciuti ovunque.

Il silenzio della legislazione e le carenze delle strutture aprono poi altri spiragli di istruzione non discriminata: nelle scuole elementari, ad esempio, la coeducazione dei sessi è una realtà diffusa, per motivi di bilancio. Anche l'accesso delle donne alla scuola secondaria e superiore, che nessuna normativa ha previsto (e quindi nemmeno vietato), avviene precocemente rispetto ad altri paesi europei, come la Germania e la Francia. E a favorirlo sono proprio i ritardi e le esitazioni dello Stato nell'organizzare una tipologia specifica di istruzione femminile secondaria, quale si afferma ad esempio in Francia, dove le donne saranno a lungo impegnate nel combattere contro l'emarginante sistema di licei e collegi creato per loro dalla legge Sée del 1880: legge apparentemente avanzata, per il suo riconoscimento della necessità di un'istruzione secondaria per le donne, essa finisce per ingabbiarle in una scuola «disinteressata» che non le vuole allontanare dalla loro «vocazione» materna. A dire il vero anche nel nostro paese non mancano i tentativi in questo senso, avviati soprattutto ad opera degli enti locali, ben prima del liceo femminile istituito da Gentile, che dimostrerà di non aver fatto tesoro di quest'esperienza. Ma essi si scontrano con la difficoltà di trovare un preciso referente sociale, dal momento che per le *élites* continua a essere preferibile l'educando, mentre i ceti piccolo-medio borghesi rifiutano un'istruzione fine a se stessa.

Mario A. Manacorda

È senz'altro vero che aver rigidamente separato, negli studi, la ricerca sulla scuola e quella su tutti gli altri strumenti e tramite di istruzione e di educazione, fin quasi a scordarsi che essi tuttavia esistevano, rappresenta un pesante fattore di debolezza. Tanto più che, fino alla conquista di una effettiva parità in campo scolastico (comunque rimasta a lungo fragile e incompleta), proprio le iniziative informali sono state lo strumento educativo più attivo e più «visibile», e dunque anche più idoneo a restituirci informazioni, testimonianze, parametri utili per conoscere e capire la cultura delle donne, ciò che essa era e ciò che si voleva che fosse. Così come è tramite le riviste che si elabora e si diffonde un modello nuovo di donna impegnata, ma sempre incerta nella scelta delle vie per la propria affermazione, che quasi mai è emancipazione. Ed è un modello che fornirà materiali non solo per la vita vissuta, ma anche per i libri di testo scolastici.

Forse, è in questa duratura marginalità del fattore scuola che vanno ricercate anche le premesse della lunga battaglia volta a far sì che nel binomio educazione/istruzione fosse sempre il primo termine ad avere una netta preminenza e a modellare sulle proprie esigenze contenuti e spessori del secondo. D'altronde, quel binomio è fondamentale per capire il senso di una lunga, indomita battaglia ideale: dall'ossessivo ritornello delle forze conservatrici ottocentesche, ripreso ed esaltato dall'idealismo gentiliano (come puntualmente ebbe a osservare Antonio Gramsci) fino alle odierne discussioni sulla riforma della scuola che ad esso fanno appello ogni volta che l'insegnamento religioso viene riportato in ballo come fondamento esclusivo e ineliminabile di ogni progetto e percorso educativo. Di tal genere erano, per non dimenticarlo, le richieste dei cattolici in occasione del dibattito sui ritocchi ai programmi della scuola media nel 1977; di tal genere è, implicitamente o esplicitamente, l'ispirazione del secondo Concordato.

Insistere su quel binomio vuol dire due cose. Svalutare l'istruzione in quanto valore umano di per sé, in nome di una sua concezione meramente strumentale, di cosa da servire unicamente all'esercizio di questa o quella professione, casalinga, artigianale o intellettuale; ridurre l'impegno di attuazione pratica, limitandosi a istruire ciascuno o ciascuna a quel poco che serve alla sua particolare destinazione sociale. E, come si sa, secondo Monaldo Leopardi e tutti gli altri come lui, se al ciabattino bastano sillabario e catechismo, alla donna può essere sufficiente anche soltanto il secondo. Nel secolo per eccellenza del progresso, si giunge anzi ad una rinnovata esaltazione della moralità come ignoranza. La donna di Tommaseo e di larga parte del cattolicesimo ottocentesco deve essere tenuta lontana dalla letteratura amena e «romanzesca» come dalla febbre gialla. Che poi tali letture fossero consentite ai maschi, la dice lunga sulla parità o meno dell'essere umano, sciaguratamente bisessuato...

Fino a che punto, però, quella realtà può essere ridotta, compresa e spiegata in termini tutti italiani, quasi che si trattasse di una delle molte «specificità nazionali» che volta a volta vengono tirate in ballo? A me sembra che in ogni caso i modelli

europei abbiano grande influenza, sia nell'offrire una immagine di donna ideale, sia nel decidere alcuni caratteri macroscopici e di fondo del sistema scolastico. Schematizzando, si potrebbe dire forse che sul piano delle istituzioni prevale il modello francese, sul piano dei contenuti il modello tedesco (con gli evidenti riflessi sulla questione femminile), e sul piano individuale quello anglosassone: non è certo un caso, del resto, che il principale collaboratore della Raffalovich nel giardino froebeliano di Venezia fosse quell'Adolfo Pick che aveva compiuto numerosi viaggi all'estero per conto del ministero della Pubblica istruzione.

Giuseppe Talamo

Dietro la tendenza a separare la ricerca sull'educazione non formale, così come essa si dispiega nell'insieme dei rapporti sociali, dall'analisi dell'educazione formale e dell'istruzione all'interno delle istituzioni scolastiche vere e proprie non c'è, a mio avviso, solo una implicita rigidità teorica, ma anche l'emergere di un problema reale, che ha avuto ripercussioni significative proprio nel campo della formazione destinata alla donna.

Intendo parlare del manifestarsi di quel conflitto fra istruzione e educazione che, sulla base di una tradizione secolare, permane fino ai primi decenni del nostro secolo. Come la più recente storiografia ha messo in luce, mentre la necessità di educare la donna non è stata mai messa in discussione, ma è stata anzi considerata un elemento fondamentale per il mantenimento dell'ordine sociale, l'ipotesi di una sua istruzione è stata vista a lungo come dannosa o inutile, e perfino come causa di una possibile degenerazione dei costumi. Anche all'interno delle istituzioni scolastiche, pubbliche e private, fino alla prima metà dell'Ottocento e oltre, i contenuti culturali destinati alla donna risultano assolutamente mediocri e sostanzialmente sacrificati all'educazione del comportamento e a quelle attività considerate squisitamente «femminili», che acquistavano però connotazioni diverse a secondo del ceto sociale di appartenenza. Dunque, l'educazione non formale ha svolto senza dubbio un ruolo preminente, esplicandosi nei luoghi tipici della vita privata (nelle famiglie, innanzitutto, ma anche nei salotti, recentemente valorizzati da Maria Jolanda Palazzolo, e in altri luoghi di socializzazione informale). Penso, anche, alla stampa e al suo ingresso trionfale nel mondo femminile borghese e alla sua prepotente laicizzazione. E quando si parla di stampa, credo che non ci si debba limitare a quella destinata esplicitamente alle donne: occupandomi delle vicende di un grosso quotidiano come «Il Messaggero», il cui primo proprietario e direttore aveva dichiarato di voler conquistare anche il pubblico femminile, ho avuto modo di constatare che tale proposito si traduceva in una spiccata attenzione per le cronache mondane, per il «privato» e il «familiare»: insomma un'operazione non proprio educativa, a mio parere, che peraltro ebbe un certo successo, spia dell'esistenza di curiosità

e bisogni di inusitata ampiezza e intensità, la cui incidenza dal punto di vista formativo resta tutta da studiare.

Cogliere la complessità dei riferimenti a cui il termine educazione rinvia, e insieme la diversità del fenomeno istruzione non significa, comunque, accantonare il problema delle correlazioni e dei nessi fra le due sfere, proprio perché il privilegiamento del contenuto etico dell'intervento educativo e l'esclusione della donna dagli studi o la finalizzazione di questi al perfezionamento del ruolo di madre e di educatrice – argomento dominante nel clima culturale della seconda metà del secolo scorso – sono fenomeni che riguardano sia le caratteristiche del sistema scolastico sia l'organizzazione della vita sociale, i valori a cui essa si informa, le necessità e le tensioni che l'attraversano, le condizioni e i ruoli in cui si articola ed esprime.

Silvio Lanaro

Vorrei dire qualcosa in merito a due questioni accennate da Talamo. Sul salotto, in primo luogo, di cui credo si debba circoscrivere in modo drastico la sfera di azione e di influenza. Le mie esperienze di ricerca sul Veneto mi dicono che essi erano quasi esclusivamente aristocratici. La borghesia, anche medio-alta, ne aveva pochi e di diverso carattere. In un recente libro di memorie (intitolato, chissà perché, *Una vita ribelle*) Giuliana Benzoni afferma che ancora alla vigilia della prima guerra mondiale vi erano a Roma salotti – come quelli di sua nonna, moglie di Ferdinando Martini – in cui maturavano scelte rilevanti, e magari decisive, per il futuro del paese. Ma quel salotto era appunto imperniato sulla figura di una aristocratica di alto lignaggio, viste le sue ascendenze viscontee. Quando, negli anni Novanta, Francesco Crispi, o meglio sua moglie Lina Barbagallo, aveva cercato di dar vita ad un salotto borghese «importante», il tentativo era stato duramente snobbato e disprezzato dalla Roma che contava. A mio parere, insomma, il salotto subisce le caratteristiche e le dinamiche della società circostante molto più di quanto non contribuisca a foggiarle e a promuovere cambiamenti.

Ben diverso il discorso da fare a proposito della stampa e delle biblioteche domestiche, un tema che mi affascina da molti anni, nell'ottica di giungere a tracciare una sorta di mappa della biblioteca dell'italiano medio nel secolo che va dalla metà dell'Ottocento alla metà del Novecento. I primi sondaggi, fatti soprattutto in case di grossi imprenditori, sembrano indicare che molto spesso la biblioteca dell'italiano è in larga misura la biblioteca dell'italiana, nel senso che è modellata su precise compatibilità. Così, è molto raro imbattersi in libri di tecnica o di ingegneria, e perfino nei famosi manuali Hoepli, mentre ci sono in abbondanza Cantù, De Amicis, Mantegazza, Fogazzaro o, ancora, i trattati

di storia sacra, le *Origini della Francia contemporanea* di Taine e la letteratura storica controrivoluzionaria in genere.

Ma parlare dei libri significa anche parlare dei «circoli di lettura», fortemente sollecitati dal nascente nazionalismo e assai influenti nella formazione di una opinione pubblica, soprattutto a ridosso della guerra di Libia, ampiamente frequentati da donne di una borghesia media, istruita, «moderna». Del resto, tutto il versante «nazional-lavorista» risulta della massima importanza per quanto riguarda l'educazione della donna, incuneandosi fino nei «Comitati per la moda italiana», che si proponevano di emancipare le donne dall'influenza parigina, che le voleva ridotte a figurini o da quella anglosassone, che le irrigidiva e «snaturava»...

Infine, per quanto riguarda le classi subalterne, teniamo presente che ci sono esperienze storiche ed esistenziali che di per sé, per la loro indole, «producono» alfabetizzazione, istruzione, educazione. L'emigrazione, per esempio, ha bisogno di alfabeto e ne stimola la conquista anche da parte delle donne, soprattutto laddove essa si intreccia all'esistenza di un tessuto economico familiare favorevole com'è quello della piccola proprietà: per ragioni sociali, ma anche di un minimo, possibile coinvolgimento nella gestione dei beni.

Marino Raicich

Non mi pare proprio il caso di stare a contrapporre i contributi degli storici delle istituzioni e degli analisti del magma sociale, gli studi sull'istruzione formalizzata e quelli sull'educazione informale. Non solo perché ciascuno può ben fare il proprio mestiere e, come diceva Thomas Mann, c'è spazio per tutti nella casa del Signore, ma perché le monoculture e i monopoli metodologici sono perniciosi anche per gli storici.

Non si può negare che, per tutto l'Ottocento, fermarsi alla scuola istituzionalizzata significa rinunciare a capire la cultura e i comportamenti della grande maggioranza delle donne che vissero in quel secolo. D'altra parte, trascurare il momento istituzionale significa non tener conto che la «lunga marcia» delle donne non riguarda solo le trasformazioni a cui andò incontro la cultura della futura sposa e madre, ma la conquista di un sapere sempre più rapportato o rapportabile alla necessità e al desiderio di un lavoro extradomestico non manuale, di un ruolo nella società e perciò di un titolo di studio: tanto che il dato caratterizzante del secolo è dato proprio dalla progressiva, vasta istituzionalizzazione dell'educazione femminile.

Vorrei far rilevare, a questo proposito, l'esistenza di un elemento di difficoltà e di contraddizione che finì col rendere più impervio (ma anche più variegato) il paesaggio e il percorso. A partire dagli anni immediatamente successivi all'Unità, nei disegni dei ministri e dei pedagogisti è ben visibile il crescente prestigio del

modello tedesco (o meglio prussiano) di organizzazione della scuola, decisamente poco incline a «concedere» cultura alla donna. Forse per questo, nel dibattito e nelle riflessioni, assunsero forza altre suggestioni. Quelle francesi della Terza Repubblica, senza dubbio; qua e là quelle americane; più spesso, quelle inglesi, grazie anche alla vasta eco del volume di Stuart Mill su *La servitù delle donne*, l'unico che in Italia abbia avuto una fortuna comparabile a quella che, oltre un quarto di secolo dopo, avrebbe arriso a *La donna e il socialismo* di August Bebel. Per non parlare della spinta dell'innovazione, della disponibilità a sperimentare e a rompere modelli troppo rigidi che venne da stranieri eterodossi della più varia provenienza, soprattutto per quanto riguarda settori, soggetti ed ambiti periferici rispetto agli obiettivi della legge Casati, e comunque meno «strutturati»; dalle iniziative di Adolfo Pick, di Elena Raffalovich e di Julia Salis Schwabe per gli asili e le scuole popolari, fino alla presenza di studentesse come Anna Kuliscioff e alle Bakunin per ciò che riguarda l'ingresso delle donne nelle Università.

Ma vorrei anche ricordare che le distinzioni non sempre sono così lineari come possono far pensare le formule usate per segnalarle, e che, al di là della classica semplificazione binaria Stato/Chiesa, l'incontro delle ragazze con forme «scolastiche» avviene in larga misura per il tramite di una miriade di piccole iniziative, via via meno informali, che vanno dalla «maestra privata» a istituti dotati di un minimo di strutture, spesso di livello culturale molto basso, ma capaci talora di raggiungere anche livelli dignitosi. Penso all'esperienza torinese di Francesco De Sanctis, insegnante in una scuola di fanciulle che non era né di Stato né religiosa; penso alla scuola fiorentina impiantata da Thouar e gestita poi dalla Nencioni, che per circa quarant'anni, fra il 1840 e il 1880, attrasse gran parte delle ragazze del ceto medio, e cioè di quegli strati sociali che non andavano né negli educandati né alle Scuole leopoldine per le fanciulle del popolo, e dove fugacemente insegnò (non ancora satanico ma certo non clericale) il giovane Giosuè Carducci.

Dalle numerose inserzioni dei giornali si direbbe che si tratti soprattutto di scuole diffuse tra la borghesia urbana in rapida crescita, dove spesso insegnavano, per arrotondare lo stipendio, i docenti del ginnasio cittadino, e dunque persone in grado di corredare le loro allieve di una certa cultura non del tutto chiesastica. Editori come Treves, che a partire dagli anni Settanta cominciano a pubblicare riviste femminili con pagine di ricami, ma anche con racconti edificanti e di avventura, è a fanciulle con questo tipo di studi alle spalle che si rivolgono in primo luogo, proponendo quei loro prodotti come strumenti educativi, e non solo come passatempi.

Non c'è dubbio, comunque, che l'educazione delle donne rimanga, per tutto l'Ottocento, assai meno istituzionalizzata di quella maschile, e come dispersa in un territorio vasto, meno direttamente e puntigliosamente sorvegliato o diretto dai pubblici poteri: con la conseguenza, per quanto ci riguarda, di rendere la ricerca assai più complicata e incerta, e più ampio il campo di cui è necessario tener conto.

Critical Reviews



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Nuove piste di ricerca per la storia della letteratura per l'infanzia: a proposito di un recente volume*

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New research paths for the history of children's literature: about a recent volume

ABSTRACT: This critical note focuses on some aspects of a recent volume, considered fundamental and foresight of further developments: on the one hand, the interpretation of the history of children's literature as a history of non-formal education processes; on the other hand, the study of children's literature in translation and its editorial fortune; finally, the study of children's religious literature.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children's literature; Children's journal; Education; Italy; XIXth Century.

* Tutti gli interventi raccolti in questo contributo hanno quale punto di partenza per la loro riflessione storiografica il volume A. Ascenzi, R. Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2018, Vol. 2.

Ilaria Mattioni

Fuori dall'ombra: i periodici per l'infanzia e la gioventù nell'Ottocento

Il secondo volume di *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento* si chiude con un interessante approfondimento sulla pubblicistica periodica per l'infanzia e la gioventù. Gli autori dell'opera, Anna Ascenzi e Roberto Sani, sono riusciti in questo modo a colmare una delle lacune che caratterizza la gran parte dei testi che intendono restituire uno spaccato della storia della letteratura per bambini e adolescenti in Italia. Non è, questo, il primo volume che racchiude al suo interno uno spazio dedicato ai periodici per ragazzi, ma il valore aggiunto sta nel non considerare le pubblicazioni per l'infanzia e la gioventù come un corollario, un'appendice di secondaria importanza rispetto alla «letteratura vera» – le opere e gli autori – quanto piuttosto come parte integrante di quel progetto di costruzione di valori condivisi, mentalità e costumi civili in strati sempre più larghi della popolazione, progetto che avrebbe portato all'edificazione della nazione italiana. Viene quindi meno l'immagine di «giornaletti» approssimativi, svogliatamente sfogliati dai ragazzi, e prende quota quella di imprese editoriali con una propria dignità e una pianificazione redazionale portate avanti da donne e uomini intraprendenti, sorretti – se non sempre da una solida cultura – dalla volontà di formare le giovani generazioni.

Già don Bosco nel 1848 aveva dato alle stampe a Torino, per l'editore Giacinto Marietti, «L'amico della gioventù. Giornale religioso, morale, politico». Sul primo numero della rivista, che nelle intenzioni avrebbe dovuto avere cadenza bisettimanale, il sacerdote astigiano spiegava in questo modo le ragioni che avevano portato alla nascita del periodico: «L'urgente brama di istruirsi e ricrearsi leggendo, diffusa per tutte le classi sociali è suggello che contrassegna, ove più ove meno, la presente generazione. [...] Corre la gran necessità dei giornali. [...] Si cercherà di illuminare e premunire la gioventù contro ciò che, per avventura, potrebbe oscurare la verità della fede, corrompere il buon costume o traviare»¹. La rivista, con un'impostazione fortemente religiosa e priva di qualsiasi aspetto ludico, non suscitò l'entusiasmo dei ragazzi e, dopo 61 numeri, cessò le pubblicazioni. Nell'area piemontese, dopo l'unificazione della penisola, furono editi numerosi periodici per ragazzi «improntati a fini schiettamente religiosi»². Pubblicati da Giulio Speirani, alla loro direzione vi era Giovan Battista Cipani. Quest'ultimo scriveva che suo desiderio era quello di aiutare a conservare e alimentare negli animi giovanili

¹ La direzione, *L'urgente brama*, «L'amico della gioventù», vol. I, n. 1, 21 ottobre 1848, p. 1.

² G. Genovesi, *La stampa periodica per ragazzi*, in V. Castronovo, N. Tranfaglia (edd.), *La stampa italiana del neocapitalismo*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1976, p. 390.

i principi e i sentimenti cristiani³. «Ore di ricreazione» (1877), «Il Giovedì» (1888), «Il Novelliere illustrato» (1890), «Innocenza» (1891), valsero a Cipani la benedizione di papa Leone XIII. Si trattava tuttavia, anche in questo caso, di periodici a carattere confessionale e di scarsa attrattiva per un pubblico di bambini e ragazzi, per quanto venisse riconosciuto a Cipani di aver cercato di cogliere e tenere in considerazione le manchevolezze tipiche delle precedenti pubblicazioni cattoliche per fanciulli. Fra le pagine dei periodici diretti da Cipani, infatti, le riduzioni semplificate del Vangelo e le poesie moraleggianti venivano intervallate da rubriche che rispondevano ai «perché» dei bambini, mentre la prima pagina risultava illustrata, nel tentativo di andare incontro agli interessi dei lettori.

Importante – e suscettibile di ulteriori sviluppi – appare la mappatura dell'editoria per ragazzi che emerge dal paragrafo dedicato ai periodici da Ascenzi e Sani. Nella seconda metà degli anni Ottanta dell'Ottocento Milano cede lo scettro a Roma che, grazie alle iniziative del tipografo-editore Edoardo Perino, avrebbe vissuto un periodo d'oro. È tuttavia interessante sottolineare che quest'ultimo, nato a Torino, aveva qui compiuto il suo apprendistato⁴. Il cerchio sembra chiudersi: la pubblicistica periodica per ragazzi inizia il suo fiorire, come si è visto poco sopra, nella Torino sabauda pre-unitaria per poi proseguire il percorso in una Roma divenuta capitale del Regno d'Italia, ma in cui l'eco torinese sembra non essersi spenta. Nel mezzo Milano (e in parte Firenze), città in cui il potere politico non ha mai soggiornato ufficialmente, ma «capitale morale e culturale in cui era prosperata una stampa per bambini e ragazzi interessante e, per certi versi, innovativa.

Bene emerge dalla ricostruzione di Ascenzi e Sani come moltissimi fra i periodici presi in esame guardassero a un panorama internazionale sentito come più ricco e moderno rispetto a quello locale⁵. Non è certo casuale se il primo tentativo di realizzare un giornale per ragazzi fu in realtà una rielaborazione dei fascicoli mensili de «L'Ami des Enfants» di Arnaud Berquin, pubblicati in Francia fra il 1782 e il 1783 e tradotti in italiano dal Pirrotta per l'editore Antonio Fortunato Stella di Milano nel 1812⁶. È forse improprio definire, sulla scorta del Genovesi, «L'amico dei fanciulli» un vero e proprio giornale⁷. Di fatto non era nulla più di una mera traduzione di brani, dettata tuttavia dalla volontà di porre rimedio alla mancanza di periodici che si rivolgessero ai

³ M. Barbieri, *I giornalini cattolici. Sguardo storico*, «Schedario», n. 27, 1957, pp. 103-104.

⁴ 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.

⁵ A titolo esemplificativo cfr. K. Drotner, *English children and their magazines: 1751-1945*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1988.

⁶ G. Genovesi, *La stampa periodica per ragazzi da «Cuore» a Charlie Brown*, Parma, Guanda, 1972, p. 17.

⁷ Cfr. A. Ascenzi, R. Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2017, Vol. I, pp. 47-48.

giovani. Lo stesso Pietro Thouar, che con la pubblicazione nel 1834 a Firenze de «Il giornale dei fanciulli», può essere considerato il primo a concretizzare un periodico per ragazzi, si ispirò – come ricordano Ascenzi e Sani (p. 331) – a ciò che veniva pubblicato nel campo della letteratura destinata all’infanzia nei più importanti paesi europei. Qualche anno più tardi (1881) anche Ferdinando Martini avrebbe guardato fuori dai confini nazionali per il suo «Giornale per i bambini», fondato a Roma e portato avanti grazie alla collaborazione con Guido Biagi. In questo caso sarebbero stati i periodici per ragazzi editi in Gran Bretagna a essere presi a modello, in particolare «Boys of England» e «The Boy’s Own Paper»⁸. Nello stesso anno la conoscenza di ciò che veniva pubblicato negli Stati Uniti, in Inghilterra e in Francia spinse l’etnologo e orientalista Angelo De Gubernatis alla compilazione di un periodico espressamente pensato per le fanciulle, «Cordelia. Foglio settimanale per le giovinette italiane». De Gubernatis aveva già avuto modo di occuparsi di tematiche quali l’educazione e l’istruzione femminili tra il 1869 e il 1872 sulla «Rivista Europea», periodico da lui diretto e sul quale veniva citato a varie riprese il John Stuart Mill di «On the Subjection of Women». La pubblicazione si era spesso scagliata contro l’ignoranza in cui erano tenute le donne e a favore dell’istruzione superiore femminile; un atteggiamento simile, di attenzione nei confronti della formazione culturale delle fanciulle, può essere ritrovato anche in «Cordelia». Ascenzi e Sani fanno ben emergere, anche attraverso i ricordi del De Gubernatis stesso, la volontà del periodico di educare ed edificare: a raccontini a sfondo palesemente morale si affiancavano narrazioni incentrate sull’archeologia, su questioni civili, politiche e religiose, sulle lingue orientali. Era tuttavia escluso dalla pubblicazione, in maggior misura sotto la direzione del periodico da parte di Ida Baccini, alcun accenno al nascente movimento emancipazionista in favore di una riproposizione di modelli culturali ed educativi assolutamente tradizionali. Interessante risulta anche l’accenno fatto dagli autori alla rubrica intitolata «Palestra delle giovinette» che accoglieva gli scritti inviati dalle lettrici. Se è vero che tale sezione avrebbe avuto vita breve, è altrettanto vero che essa dava voce al desiderio di scrittura insito nelle ragazze e speranza di promozione letteraria in un paese come l’Italia in cui la letteratura al femminile era ancora considerata con sospetto. «Cordelia» si impegnava a pubblicare «una cosuccia fatta lì per lì, in un giorno d’esame, da una signorina di 14 o 15 anni: senza farci la più piccola correzione, senza aggiungerci o levarci nemmeno una virgola»⁹ e questo, l’incoraggiare cioè le ragazze a scrivere e a farsi leggere, può essere considerato uno dei meriti non minori della rivista. La stessa Maria Majocchi Plattis, colei che a partire dal 1911 seguirà le orme del De Gubernatis e di

⁸ F. Loparco, «Boys of England», «The Boy’s Own Paper», and the English influence in the Italian «Giornale per i bambini», «History of Education & Children’s Literature», vol. IX, n. 2, 2014, pp. 419-443.

⁹ Jolanda, Angelo De Gubernatis e la «Cordelia», «Cordelia», n. 23, 8 giugno 1913, p. 706.

Ida Baccini nella direzione della rivista e più conosciuta con lo pseudonimo di *Jolanda*, ricorda di avere mosso i primi passi di scrittrice proprio inviando «un bozzettino» alla «Palestra delle giovinette» di cui era assidua lettrice¹⁰. Questo tentativo di far emergere le ragazze dall'ombra delle mura domestiche e di affidare alle lettrici un ruolo attivo sarebbe stato cavalcato da «Cordelia» soprattutto nel Novecento, con la promozione di «circoli di cordeliane» diffusi in tutta Italia. I circoli avrebbero dovuto svolgere attività filantropiche, dalla raccolta di libri per i carcerati alla ricopiatura della rivista in *braille* per le giovani non vedenti, ma avrebbero potuto organizzare anche la vita sociale delle abbonate pianificando gite, conferenze o partecipazioni a spettacoli teatrali¹¹.

Se «Cordelia» (1881-1942) può essere considerato il più longevo tra i periodici sorti nell'Ottocento che si rivolgevano all'infanzia e all'adolescenza, tutta una serie di periodici indirizzati alle fanciulle avranno vita più o meno difficile: «L'albo delle fanciulle italiane» (1879), «L'amico delle fanciulle» (1883), «Letture per le giovinette» (1883), «La Rivista per signorine» (1894), «Le Signorine» (1896), «La Giovinetta Italiana» (1896)¹². Spesso riviste meteore più che periodiche, testimoniano tuttavia che un cambiamento era in atto nella considerazione dell'infanzia e dell'adolescenza al femminile, un mutamento che nondimeno avrebbe stentato a farsi largo almeno fino alla metà del secolo successivo.

Proprio il Novecento, tuttavia, avrebbe visto aumentare l'attenzione nei confronti dei bambini e degli adolescenti, con una crescita esponenziale anche dei periodici loro dedicati. Se la borghesia avrebbe creato un vero e proprio modello sociale veicolato con pubblicazioni come «Il Giornalino della Domenica» di Vamba (1906) o «Il Corriere dei Piccoli» (1908) e il mondo cattolico non avrebbe mancato di trasmettere la propria visione del mondo con «Il Giornalino» (1924) e «Il Vittorioso» (1937), la costruzione dell'«italiano nuovo» sarebbe passata anche attraverso la creazione di giornali per ragazzi ispirati ai partiti politici, basti solo pensare al fascista «Il Balilla» (1923) o al comunista «Il Pioniere» (1950). Una corsa alla conquista dell'infanzia, dunque, che non poteva tuttavia tenere conto di una nuova modalità espressiva: il fumetto.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ M. De Giorgio, *Le italiane dall'Unità a oggi. Modelli culturali e comportamenti sociali*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1992, pp. 386-389.

¹² Cfr. Commissione nazionale per la realizzazione della parità tra uomo e donna, *La stampa periodica delle donne in Italia, catalogo 1861-1985*, a cura di R. De Longis, Roma, Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 1986.

Luana Salvarani

Te la do io l'America: genio e follia del self-helpismo italiano

Il secondo volume dell'antologia curata da Anna Ascenzi e Roberto Sani si apre con un capitolo dedicato al «self-helpismo» italiano. La scelta è azzeccata per almeno due ragioni: la scarsa visibilità finora accordata a questo filone indubbiamente perdente ma storicamente relevantissimo; la sua funzione di *turning point* anticipato tra gli ideali *ancien régime* rappresentati dalla letteratura (non solo giovanile) dell'epoca preunitaria e lo slancio, a volte le smanie, di modernizzazione della *belle époque*. I self-helpisti davvero cercarono di aprire un «secondo volume» della storia d'Italia, sognando di archiviare per sempre il paese del feudalesimo e del latifondo, quell'Italia – questa la grafia usata in un famoso dipinto di Cimabue e negli incunaboli del Petrarca – raccolta attorno alle antiche glorie, senza neppure il desiderio, prima ancora che la possibilità, della mobilità sociale e dell'avventura individuale.

L'Ottocento italiano è attraversato da figure di valenti americanisti e traduttori dall'inglese, tra cui i più celebri e letterariamente illustri – Eugenio Camerini, Federico Persico, Enrico Nencioni – avrebbero potuto guardare con lieve sufficienza alla frenetica opera di Gustavo Strafforello, poligrafo e geografo, autore, per Hoepli, del primo *Manuale di Letteratura Americana* (1884), e presenza costante di quella *Biblioteca Utile* che popolò con le sue edizioni economiche le biblioteche circolanti e di fabbrica per diversi decenni; una collana tra i cui autori, tutti liberali moderati, si annoveravano molti deputati tra l'VIII e la X legislatura della nuova Italia. Per Strafforello, la conoscenza della letteratura anglosassone era un modo di abbeverarsi alle risorser di entusiasmo attribuite all'America in quanto «civiltà giovane», e a una risorsa inestimabile allora come oggi sconosciuta all'Italia: il *sense of humour* inglese (per capire il divario tra le due civiltà, basta leggere la pur somma traduzione di Cesare Pavese del *David Copperfield*). Partita da una suggestione letteraria, l'operazione di Strafforello e degli altri self-helpisti spera di importare una cultura tramite la pubblicistica e le traduzioni, senza ascoltare il monito di Karl Marx: se non si modificano i mezzi di produzione – nella nuova Italia, con poche eccezioni, basati sulla proprietà fondiaria, grande e piccola, e sulla famiglia patriarcale come custode della proprietà medesima – ogni tentativo di evoluzione sociale tramite l'educazione è vano.

Il filone self-helpista, pur con i limiti e le cautele sottolineate dai curatori nell'introduzione al capitolo, rappresentava infatti gli ideali (scienziasti e liberali, a volte persino laici) di una classe dirigente del nord che guardava ancora più a nord: ai paesi anglosassoni, come si è detto, per la cultura del lavoro e dell'iniziativa individuale, a Belgio e Francia per lo sviluppo tecnologico

nell'industria specialmente tessile, alla Svizzera e agli Stati Uniti d'America (come nell'introduzione a *Volere è potere* di Michele Lessona) per la possibilità offerta alle donne di lavorare e uscire dal cerchio soffocante dell'ignoranza domestica. Battaglie, in gran parte, mutate anche da quell'illuminismo francese che, in pedagogia, a sua volta traeva apertamente ispirazione dal Locke dei *Pensieri sull'educazione*, in un circuito virtuoso tra i suggerimenti innovativi dell'empirismo inglese (che pare accorgersi per primo che sono economia, politica, religione a determinare i modelli educativi, e non viceversa) e la spinta sistematizzante degli ideali francesi: circuito virtuoso percorso però dalla contraddizione irrisolvibile tra individualismo e statalismo.

Partiamo dal primo testo antologizzato, il capitolo iniziale del *Self-help* originale di Smiles nella traduzione di Strafforello. Il titolo tradotto in italiano (*Chi s'aiuta Dio l'aiuta*), ancorché intelligente e arguto nel fare appello a un proverbio popolare, accende immediatamente i riflettori sulla mediazione (forse necessaria) con cui fa i conti fin dall'inizio il self-helpismo italiano. Dio c'è: e Dio ti vede. Si dirà che «Dio ti vede» con altrettanta e forse maggiore insistenza nella narrativa edificante in lingua inglese, ed esemplarmente in quella *Sunday School Literature* americana, della quale ogni prodotto è un vivace esempio di predicazione per esempi e parabole «di vita vissuta», con una «morale della favola» univoca. Quello, però, è un Dio visto dai protestanti, che vuole vederti operare per dimostrare la tua fede in una salvezza che Egli potrebbe anche concederti, o forse no, ma questo non ti autorizza certo a stare in ozio. Anzi, il successo negli affari è buona testimonianza che, forse, Dio ti ha messo dalla parte dei giusti. E il denaro, purché ottenuto onestamente, scorre nelle tasche del giusto, colma le sue casse, può essere esibito come segno di distinzione senza vergogna alcuna.

I self-helpisti italiani si trovano invece a fare i conti con un Dio in prospettiva cattolica, la quale, per antica tradizione culturale, presentava alle classi popolari il denaro come farina del diavolo e, per estensione, l'abilità negli affari come qualcosa di sottilmente immorale, in ogni caso opposta a qualsiasi vera capacità di comprendere l'alta cultura e le forme più nobili di pensiero. Quel Dio «ti vede» e controlla, ma gli errori si possono sanare con la preghiera e la confessione. Nulla è irreversibile, nulla può convincerti di essere stato precipitato nella fossa dei «non salvati». Il miglioramento individuale, pur auspicabile, non risponde a un'urgenza interiore: la povertà (purché «dignitosa», cioè non troppo visibile) è anzi in sé salvifica, rassicurante, autoindulgente.

In questo quadro si spiegano tutte le fragilità del self-helpismo italiano. Impossibile non essere d'accordo con le parole dello Smiles-Strafforello quando scrive: «Le nazioni che sono schiave internamente, non possono essere riscattate da un semplice cambiamento di governo o di istituzioni; e fino a tanto che prevale l'illusione funesta che la libertà dipenda unicamente e consista nel Governo, siffatte rivoluzioni, per quanto possano costare, non produrranno risultati più durevoli che l'apparizione di nuove figure in una fantasmagoria».

E non si può che salutare con entusiasmo – e con il dispiacere di vedere l'ammonimento ignorato – le parole del Lessona nel capitolo iniziale di *Volere è potere*: «Il giornalismo italiano è ignorante: salvo belle e poche eccezioni. [...] Ma egli non ha quelle cognizioni, né può ammaestrare altrui di ciò che non mai seppe imparare. Che cosa fare allora? Polemica, impretebilmente polemica. I giornali detti della opposizione hanno in sifatta palestra la parte più bella: come di là son facili le apostrofi, facile coprire quotidianamente il bianco col nero fulminando gli uomini che siedono al Governo, dimostrando che mandano in rovina il paese, vaticinando, per poco che la durino ancora, il finimondo ogni settimana!» E ancora convincono, nel Lessona, le riflessioni sulla mancanza dell'abito del lavoro in Italia; sulla glorificazione popolare delle rendite avite; sulla ricerca spasmodica di lavori impiegatizi di poca o nulla responsabilità e salario certo. Ciononostante, la traduzione strafforelliana non riuscì ad avere un vero impatto sui costumi nazionali. Così come non ci riuscì il massiccio volume del Lessona, magnificamente stampato con una bordura in ogni pagina contenente quattro proverbi «lavoristi» per i quattro lati, proponendo in tal modo al lettore centinaia di proverbi da memorizzare nella vita quotidiana, sul modello dei *golden texts* della letteratura popolare americana: frasi scelte e a volte sintetizzate dalla Bibbia, ammonimenti e incoraggiamenti direttamente tratti dalla scrittura sacra. E anche la necessità di ricorrere ai proverbi, piuttosto che ai «testi d'oro» resi autorevoli dalla fonte biblica, la dice lunga sulle basse probabilità dell'etica lavorista propugnata dal Lessona di attecchire in un contesto storicamente diverso ed economicamente tutto da riformare.

Ma parte dell'insuccesso a lungo termine del filone culturale self-helpista, misurabile ancor oggi nella refrattarietà della mentalità nazionale a ogni iniziativa di carattere autenticamente liberale, è da individuare nella forma trattatistica scelta dalla maggioranza degli autori e dall'eccessivo volume dei testi, che probabilmente li rendeva indigesti a quegli stessi lettori della classe media a cui idealmente si rivolgevano. Lo Strafforello, pur innamorato dello *humour* inglese, non si accorge che le massicce raccolte di biografie esemplari tipiche della cultura inglese e americana, a partire dall'esempio classico dell'autobiografia di Benjamin Franklin, si reggono proprio sullo *humour*, che rende vive anche le più monocordi storie di *self-made men*. Potenzialmente più efficaci, opere narrative come il *Portafoglio di un operajo* di Cesare Cantù, pur ricche di pagine anche appassionanti, pagano il prezzo della gessosità dei personaggi, della seriosità degli assunti, delle acrobazie fatte per mettere d'accordo l'impossibile, ovvero l'impulso al miglioramento individuale e il sostanziale divieto della mobilità sociale. Gli eroi dei romanzi e dei racconti del Cantù, come degli altri self-helpisti italiani, devono «contemporaneamente» ambire al miglioramento col duro lavoro e non desiderare di cambiare la propria classe sociale, pascendosi della gioia dell'aver compiuto il proprio dovere e di aver soddisfatto le aspettative legate al contesto di appartenenza (ancora, sostanzialmente, il «villaggio» che osserva e giudica, col sindaco e il

curato, nonostante gli entusiasmi industriali e le ambizioni di sviluppo urbano dei nostri autori, legati al triangolo Torino-Milano-Genova). E tutto sommato il senso ultimo della vita per Savino Sabini, l'«operajo» del Cantù, come per gli altri «eroi del lavoro», si riduce alla conquista della rispettabilità nell'ambito di una ristretta cerchia familiare e amicale, all'adempimento dei doveri religiosi e, soprattutto, all'evitare il temuto socialismo, la vera «bestia nera» (non ancora «pericolo rosso») dei self-helpisti: il contagio che avrebbe potuto rivoltare la classe operaia italiana, una volta acquisita la coscienza di classe, contro una monarchia costituzionale recente, incerta nelle proprie scelte e ben consapevole, sotto il manto della fremente retorica risorgimentale, di dovere l'indipendenza nazionale a un accordo delle grandi potenze europee.

Proprio per queste crepe e fragilità interiori l'esperienza self-helpista si caratterizza tra le più storicamente significative e rivelatrici nella letteratura pedagogica dell'Ottocento italiano. E la sua voce più credibile risulta essere quella di Paolo Mantegazza, opportunamente incluso nella raccolta. Il «lavorismo» del Mantegazza svela ad ogni passo la propria radice biologica, organicistica: da medico, egli individua le virtù del lavoro non tanto in una sovrastruttura sociale o morale da rispettare, ma nella natura fisica dell'uomo, come un destino interiore indipendente da ogni considerazione culturale o storica. Il lavoro fa stare bene, agisce come una «droga benefica» opposta all'alcool, priva di effetti collaterali, senza costi e senza conseguenze: allora non si poteva neppure immaginare la patologia del *workaholic*. Come non credere al Mantegazza, sperimentatore leggendario delle foglie di coca e di altri vegetali psicotropi con l'amico Carlo Erba, quando parla di inebrianti? E in questo quadro il suo «lavorismo», frutto dell'operosità di un intellettuale curioso e aperto a molteplici esperienze, finisce per apparire più convincente rispetto a quello di tutti coloro che invocano l'imitazione dei modelli britannici o di oltreoceano senza però mai veramente aprire all'ipotesi di una «terra delle opportunità».

Katarzyna Biernacka-Licznar

La letteratura per l'infanzia e l'editoria per ragazzi nell'Italia unita

Anna Ascenzi e Roberto Sani continuano il loro progetto dedicato alla storia della letteratura per l'infanzia in Italia tra Otto e Novecento. Dopo il primo volume, nel quale gli autori, come spiegano nell'introduzione, intendevano ricostruire le principali tappe e i molteplici fattori e processi di sviluppo della letteratura per l'infanzia pubblicata in Italia e destinata ai giovani lettori, vede

la luce la seconda parte dell'opera che continua a descrivere uno sviluppo dinamico della letteratura per l'infanzia e l'adolescenza in Italia. I due volumi, come sottolinea Luigiaurelio Pomante, sono strettamente correlati¹³.

L'opera tratta in maniera puntuale ed esaustiva non solo la descrizione storiografica dell'importante processo di creazione della letteratura, ma comprende anche una ricca raccolta antologica dei testi, oggi spesso dimenticati e sconosciuti al grande pubblico. Gli autori ci propongono una panoramica «il più possibile ampia e articolata delle forme e caratteristiche assunte dalla letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia del secolo XIX» (p. 8).

Nel terzo capitolo, intitolato *L'Italia di Collodi*, gli autori presentano il circolo culturale letterario di Firenze dell'epoca e soprattutto in modo dettagliato il profilo biografico di Carlo Lorenzini e la sua formazione che gli permise di produrre nell'età matura il capolavoro *Storia di un burattino (Le avventure di Pinocchio)*, 1883). Inoltre, Ascenzi e Sani descrivono la ricezione della famosa opera in Italia e fanno richiamo alle interpretazioni del racconto collodiano da parte degli studiosi di storia della letteratura (Piero Bargellini, Alberto Asor Rosa, Bruno Traversetti). Grazie alla presenza della ricca introduzione alla vita di Collodi, il lettore ha la possibilità non solo di conoscere la storia di vita di un attivo giornalista e scrittore, ma anche la storia delle sue opere letterarie, che hanno preceduto Pinocchio. Un discorso a parte è stato dedicato dagli autori del volume all'opera *Le avventure di Pinocchio*, la quale ha conquistato i cuori di tanti bambini, non solo italiani. Troviamo quindi i frammenti delle interpretazioni degli studiosi, dalle quali emerge il valore dell'opera di Collodi. Le riflessioni sia degli autori del volume sia dei critici vengono rafforzate nella parte antologica, dove troviamo non solo i frammenti delle opere precedenti di Collodi: *Giannettino. Libro per i ragazzi*, *Minuzzolo. Secondo libro di lettura*, ma anche *Le avventure di Pinocchio*. Tale scelta dei testi offre al lettore, in maniera assai efficace, il quadro assai completo della produzione collodiana. L'attenzione del lettore si può focalizzare non solo al famosissimo capolavoro collodiano, ma anche alle opere meno note: *Giannettino* e *Minuzzolo*, le quali danno la possibilità di presentare il modo di scrivere di Collodi, ma anche il suo cambiamento di pensare e scrivere, ben lontano dai modelli proposti in quel momento storico in Italia.

Il quarto capitolo è dedicato alla famosa opera di Edmondo De Amicis, *Cuore* (1886). In quel caso gli autori del volume non hanno presentato i fatti della vita di De Amicis, ma hanno focalizzato la loro attenzione sulla nascita del romanzo *Cuore. Libro per ragazzi*, apparso qualche anno dopo l'opera di Collodi, nel 1886. Nello specifico, il capitolo presenta i fatti della produzione di *Cuore*, ci avviciniamo ai frammenti del ricco carteggio di De Amicis con

¹³ L. Pomante, *Per una storia della letteratura per l'infanzia italiana tra Otto e Novecento: tra nuove prospettive storiografiche e originali approcci metodologici*, «Italica Wratislaviensia», vol. 8, n. 1, 2017, pp. 235-246.

l'editore milanese Emilio Treves. La lettura di quel capitolo offre al lettore la possibilità di rientrare nel clima dello sforzo di Treves e di De Amicis nella nascita del classico della letteratura italiana dell'Italia appena unificata. Edmondo De Amicis viene presentato come un personaggio molto importante nella storia letteraria italiana, ma dal capitolo emerge anche la figura dello scrittore distolto, coinvolto in vari progetti letterari (p.es. l'opera dedicata alla scuola elementare e al mondo magistrale *Il romanzo di un maestro*), e dell'uomo pieno di entusiasmo dopo la stesura «del libro capace di parlare ai ragazzi poveri» (p. 174). La storia di *Cuore* assomiglia un po' a quella di *Le avventure di Pinocchio*, dove i bambini dovevano chiedere la continuazione della storia del burattino, invece in quel caso è stato Emilio Treves ha spingere De Amicis al lavoro.

Ascenzi e Sani hanno presentato in breve la cornice del romanzo e hanno riconosciuto la ricca galleria di personaggi presentati dall'autore nell'opera. Inoltre gli autori del volume hanno dedicato la loro attenzione al successo editoriale di *Cuore* deamicisiano (p. 175), e sottolineato l'importanza dell'opera della quale uno dei scopi più importanti era quello di far nascere e crescere l'amore verso la patria unita e promuovere il sentimento nazionale. È interessante leggere sulla soddisfazione di De Amicis del proprio lavoro (la ricca produzione delle prossime edizioni e traduzioni), ma anche sull'accoglienza del romanzo ricevuta nelle scuole, da parte degli alunni e maestri.

Benché il sentimentalismo e una visione pedagogica antiquata abbiano contribuito all'erosione del fascino del romanzo di De Amicis, va ricordato che esso svolse un ruolo culturale molto importante sia in patria sia all'estero e viene evocato finora con nostalgia da molti lettori delle generazioni più anziane. Nella parte antologica del volume troviamo i tre tipi dei testi compresi nel *Cuore* (il testo del romanzo che costituisce la sua base, le lettere scritte dai famigliari del protagonista Enrico e anche il frammento dei due racconti mensili). Grazie a tale scelta il lettore ha la possibilità di conoscere l'opera dello scrittore di Oneglia in forma autentica, e può riconoscere il suo prezioso valore e ruolo.

Il capitolo successivo, il quinto, è dedicato alla persona di Emilio Salgari e la sua visione esotica e avventurosa del mondo. E come nel caso di Collodi, anche qui gli autori dell'opera ci propongono prima la presentazione della figura di Salgari e il suo prezioso ruolo nella storia della letteratura italiana per l'infanzia. La loro riflessione si concentra sui fatti di vita di Salgari e soprattutto sulla sua produzione letteraria.

Da una parte fu uno scrittore prolifico, dall'altra la fantasia presente in tutta la sua vita, grazie alla quale creò personaggi letterari inimitabili, dominò a tal punto la mente dell'artista da rendere la sua vita familiare e professionale assai caotica. Salgari, come viene sottolineato da Ascenzi e Sani, cambiò più volte gli editori delle proprie opere; collaborò ad esempio con Speirani di Torino, Bemporad di Firenze, Donath di Genova. La sua attività si compone di cicli mai proposti prima nella letteratura italiana per i giovani lettori p.es.: il ciclo dei

pirati della Malesia (che include 11 romanzi), il ciclo dei pirati delle Antille (5 romanzi), il ciclo dei corsari delle Bermude (3 romanzi), il ciclo delle avventure nel Far West (3 romanzi), il ciclo delle avventure in India (3 romanzi).

La vasta opera letteraria di Salgari fu letta con passione da generazioni di ragazzi italiani, anche se gli studiosi della letteratura sono stati abbastanza critici nei riguardi del romanziere veronese. Uno scrittore complesso e sofisticato, come sottolineano Ascenzi e Sani, era capace di suscitare un particolare interesse da parte dei giovani lettori, grazie alla capacità di saper usare la propria fantasia nel creare le storie quasi autentiche e interessanti, prima mai viste nella letteratura italiana per l'infanzia. A completare adeguatamente il capitolo, gli autori del volume propongono interessanti frammenti di cinque testi salgariani, che focalizzano l'attenzione dei lettori sulla ricca produzione dello scrittore, il quale desiderava nei giovani lettori di allargare i propri orizzonti e di avvicinarli alle culture e civiltà diverse.

Il sesto capito del volume è invece dedicato alle letterate e scrittrici per l'infanzia nell'Italia del secondo Ottocento; lo scopo del capitolo è quello di «lumeggiare le vicende biografiche e letterarie di un certo numero di scrittrici per l'infanzia dell'epoca» (p. 257). La scelta delle protagoniste del capitolo non è stata facile, e gli autori ci spiegano di aver preso in esame le donne che «ebbero più ampia notorietà sul piano nazionale e le cui opere riscossero la più larga attenzione dei giovani lettori» (p. 257). Come prima viene presentata la figura di Ida Baccini, coraggiosa autrice fiorentina dei libri di testo per le scuole elementari e per l'educazione femminile e delle opere letterarie per i giovani lettori. Le sue opere precedettero quelle di Collodi e in *Pinocchio* compare un riferimento alla scrittrice, esattamente nel XXVII capitolo del romanzo. Baccini viene ricordata oggi soprattutto al suo celebre racconto *Le memorie di un pulcino* (1875), il libro che offriva al lettore la possibilità di riflettere sui doveri sociali tramite il simpatico protagonista: un pulcino.

Di seguito l'attenzione dei lettori va diretta alla persona di Emma Perodi, giornalista e scrittrice toscana, coinvolta nello sviluppo sia della letteratura per l'infanzia sia nella formazione della nuova generazione degli italiani nell'Italia unita attraverso la letteratura stessa. Dalla sua ricca produzione letteraria gli autori hanno scelto per l'analisi *Cuoricino ben fatto* (1886), l'opera ispirata ai temi deamicisiani e le *Novelle della nonna*, pubblicate tra 1892 e il 1893. A completare il discorso dedicato a Perodi vengono citati i frammenti degli articoli di Mariella Colin e di Sabina Ciminari, i quali permettono al lettore di riconoscere non solo la feconda produzione di Perodi, ma anche il suo coraggio nel proporre una «paraletteratura».

Sulle pagine successive del capitolo Ascenzi e Sani continuano la presentazione delle figure biografiche delle donne giornaliste, scrittrici, le quali hanno creato un vero e proprio movimento letterario che ha portato alla nascita e allo sviluppo della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento. Nel periodo indicato Ester Bezzola Boni, Felicità Pozzoli, Sofia Bisi Albini, Maria Savi Lopez,

Anna Vertua Gentile, Virginia Treves Tedeschi e Eva Cattermole Mancini hanno dedicato una gran parte della propria vita alla scrittura, sono riuscite a esprimere i loro pensieri sulle pagine rivolte all'infanzia. Donne coraggiose, di talento, note nell'Ottocento, oggi spesso dimenticate¹⁴.

Il secondo volume di *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento* costituisce quindi il complemento del quadro proposto nella prima parte della pubblicazione. Le informazioni contenute nell'opera analizzata, ricche di analisi e riflessioni, ci permettono di allargare la nostra visione riguardante l'immaginario della scena letteraria italiana nell'importante momento storico o culturale dell'epoca passata. La forza e la novità del lavoro di Ascenzi e Sani sta nel fatto che non abbiamo tra le mani un nuovo compendio della storia della letteratura per l'infanzia, simile a quelli pubblicati dal 1923, ma un manuale preciso e interessante, nel quale ogni capitolo è diverso e propone un altro schema di presentazione della figura dell'artista e della sua attività letteraria. Estremamente preziose sono le ricche e aggiornate bibliografie contenute alla fine di ogni capitolo. La ricerca e il lavoro dei due scienziati ha portato alla nascita di un importante contributo riguardante la storia della letteratura per l'infanzia e la gioventù. Il volume fornisce una panoramica esaustiva sul rapporto tra letteratura e mondo editoriale per ragazzi nell'Italia unita, mettendo in rilievo le opere importanti che hanno avuto un grande influsso sulla letteratura italiana, e non solo, per i giovani lettori. Il testo è uno strumento essenziale per chi voglia approfondire le informazioni sulla letteratura dell'Ottocento e per comprendere meglio il periodo a cui ruotano i saggi del volume appena descritti.

¹⁴ K. Biernacka-Licznar, *Le traduzioni polacche della letteratura italiana per l'infanzia negli anni 1887-1939*. *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny*, vol. 63, n. 4, 2016, pp. 460-468.

Giuseppe Bottai et l'Université italienne: un projet de réforme de audacieux

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Giuseppe Bottai and the Italian University: a bold reform project

ABSTRACT: Starting from the analysis of a recent work by Luigiaurelio Pomante, the present essay analyzes the role of Giuseppe Bottai at the helm of the Ministry of Education. In particular this debate in two voices focuses on the initiatives that the fascist hierarchy proposed for a radical reform of the Italian University.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of university; Historiography; Fascism; Giuseppe Bottai; Italy; XXth Century.

Michel Ostenc

La Charte de l'Ecole du ministre Giuseppe Bottai fut certainement la plus authentique réforme fasciste du système scolaire italien. L'auteur s'attache dans cet ouvrage à décrire les aspects peu connus de cette réforme. La *Déclaration XIX* de la *Charte* précisait que l'université avait pour but de promouvoir le progrès scientifique et la culture nécessaires pour exercer des emplois hautement qualifiés. Bottai ouvrit en 1940 dans sa revue «Primato» un débat sur l'université. Presque tous les intervenants dénoncèrent son isolement et son ignorance de la vie. Ils la présentèrent comme un monde clos refusant tout dialogue avec une culture non académique capable de saisir les caractères des tendances modernes. Ce décalage entre la culture universitaire et la vie était même rendu responsable du mal être des étudiants. Le problème de la liberté n'était par contre évoqué qu'au niveau de l'indépendance d'esprit et de la didactique des enseignants, sans

remettre en cause l'absence de liberté politique. Les divergences n'apparaissaient qu'au niveau de l'appréciation de la part de la culture intellectuelle et de la technique dans les enseignements universitaires. Bottai s'en prévalait pour affirmer que l'université ne pouvait plus se contenter de la dimension théorique de ses recherches scientifiques sans proposer des techniques profitables aux exigences économiques et sociales de la Nation. Elle pourrait ainsi jouer un rôle éminemment politique qui la placerait dans l'unité morale de l'Etat. Il s'agissait de rapprocher le monde de la culture de la sphère économique et productive du pays en aidant les Facultés techniques des universités à accroître le nombre de leurs licenciés pour rivaliser avec le développement industriel et technologique des autres pays. La *Charte* élargissait le rayon d'action des diplômés des Instituts techniques d'enseignement secondaire en les autorisant à postuler à l'entrée des Facultés des Sciences, d'Ingénieurs, de Commerce, de Chimie industrielle et d'Agronomie. Elle insistait sur une réforme du fonctionnement interne des universités et sur la nécessité pour leurs composantes scientifiques de tenir compte de l'évolution du monde.

Cette ouverture apparente s'inscrivait en réalité dans une politique destinée à renforcer l'emprise du fascisme sur le pays. Il s'agissait de contenir le flux d'étudiants considéré comme le principal responsable de la baisse du niveau des enseignements universitaires en le canalisant vers les emplois techniques réclamés par l'organisation corporative de l'Etat autarcique. La nouvelle orientation était destinée à sélectionner les étudiants sur leurs capacités scientifiques et techniques pour former la future classe dirigeante de l'Etat fasciste. Un débat ouvert en 1938 cherchait le meilleur moyen de réduire le nombre d'étudiants des Facultés de Lettres et Philosophie, de Droit et de Magistère afin d'éviter le chômage des diplômés considéré comme un dangereux facteur de troubles sociaux. Les divergences portaient sur la nature de la sélection à l'entrée ou pendant les études universitaires. Les partisans de la première solution préconisaient une réforme de la «Maturité» (Baccalauréat) en augmentant ses capacités d'orientation; mais ils se heurtaient aux pédagogues qui voyaient dans l'enseignement secondaire un épanouissement des aptitudes intellectuelles de l'élève, le choix professionnel intervenant plus tard. Dès lors, la sélection intervenait en cours d'études supérieures, un étudiant ne pouvant les poursuivre qu'avec un moyenne très élevée.

Bottai comptait sur les petites universités pour relancer le système, tout en oeuvrant à l'éducation politique et morale de la Nation. L'une des principales originalités du livre de Pomante se situe justement dans cette utilisation d'une tradition séculaire et d'un enracinement local pour ouvrir les universités sur le monde moderne. Elles furent invitées à présenter des monographies les concernant au congrès de Bologne d'avril 1940. Le ministre entendait rassembler les forces intellectuelles et économiques en les incitant à participer davantage à la vie culturelle du pays, y compris celles qui relevaient de disciplines scientifiques et techniques traditionnellement considérées comme inférieures. Il s'agissait de

sortir les études supérieures de leur isolement afin qu'elles puissent remplir de nouvelles missions. La volonté réformatrice de Bottai ne faisait aucun doute et il introduisit dans l'université, dans les conservatoires et les Instituts d'art, des écrivains des poètes et des artistes qui n'avaient pas les diplômes requis pour y enseigner afin d'ouvrir ces établissements sur la vie; mais le ministre était persuadé que ce dynamisme ne pouvait que renforcer le fascisme en le sortant des parades et des exercices para militaires où se complaisait le parti. En fait, le nombre d'étudiants ne cessa d'augmenter, notamment dans les Facultés où Bottai aurait voulu le voir diminuer. Les étudiants en Droit passèrent de 13583 en 1938 à 22346 en 1942, ceux de Lettres et Philosophie de 9752 à 18163, ceux de Magistère de 10061 à 13871. Les Facultés scientifiques virent leurs effectifs doubler, mais celles à caractère technique ne purent absorber le flot continu d'étudiants (de 77429 à 145793). Les licenciés affluèrent dans les emplois de l'administration publique dont les effectifs passèrent de 990000 en 1940 à 1430060 en 1943. La stratégie de Bottai visant à doter les nouvelles générations d'une formation scientifique et technique utile à la production nationale avait échoué. De même, la féminisation croissante des universités allait à l'encontre de la politique du régime qui cantonnait la femme dans la maternité et l'éducation de la petite enfance. En 1943, le régime dut recourir au *numerus clausus* y compris dans les études supérieures d'Economie et commerce où les effectifs avaient explosé (de 13115 en 1938 à 22346 en 1942).

Bottai était certainement l'un des ministres les plus intelligents de Mussolini. Il voulait rassembler les courants culturels et les forces économiques de la Nation afin que l'action fasciste s'inspirât d'une réflexion nourrie par les idées nouvelles. Ses conceptions tranchaient sur celles de la plupart des hommes du duce soucieux de prestance physique et d'apparences militaires; mais son originalité se situait à l'intérieur du fascisme et elle visait moins à l'assouplir qu'à le renforcer. La seconde partie de l'excellent ouvrage de Luigiaurelio Pomante comporte des textes particulièrement significatifs, avec des écrits de Bottai et des extraits révélateurs de la *Charte de l'Ecole*.

Gwenola Spataro

En Italie, les recherches consacrées à la politique scolaire du fascisme et les biographies sur Giuseppe Bottai, homme influent du régime, sont sûrement très nombreuses et d'une importance historiographique majeure. En revanche, les recherches historiographiques sur la personnalité de Giuseppe Bottai, fervent défenseur d'une réforme complexe de l'Université italienne, sont incontestablement limitées et rares. En effet, les recherches se sont principalement focalisées sur Giuseppe Bottai en tant que ministre des Corporations (1929-1932) ou bien en

tant «qu'interprète de l'esprit intellectuel du fascisme»¹ en faisant abstraction du fait que Giuseppe Bottai ait été dès 1936 ministre de l'Éducation Nationale et qu'il eut effectivement tenté de mettre en oeuvre une véritable «révolution universitaire». Luigiaurelio Pomante, chercheur reconnu dans le domaine de l'histoire de l'université et de l'instruction supérieure, a insufflé un nouvel élan au sujet à travers la publication de son intéressant et récent ouvrage, *Giuseppe Bottai e il rinnovamento fascista dell'università italiana (1936-1942)*², où il a mis l'accent sur les nombreuses initiatives innovantes proposées par le directeur de la maison d'éditions Minerva dans le but de relancer la culture académique et la «tradition italique» séculaire des études universitaires.

Selon le raisonnement de Bottai, les universités italiennes devaient récupérer leur rapport avec le passé (la tradition) par le biais d'un important renouvellement de la culture et de la science italienne afin de pouvoir redorer le «blason» de l'Instruction en Italie qui rayonnait dans le passé. Parallèlement, les universités italiennes devaient avoir comme fonction de former la nouvelle classe dirigeante fasciste.

L'ouvrage de Luigiaurelio Pomante se compose de deux parties: la première sur la «révolution universitaire» envisagée par Giuseppe Bottai pendant le régime fasciste et la seconde où l'auteur a rassemblé un certain nombre de discours et d'interventions tenus par le Ministre Giuseppe Bottai de 1928 à 1941.

Giuseppe Bottai, intellectuel fasciste, fut ministre des Corporations de 1929 à 1932 et en 1936 il devint ministre de l'Éducation Nationale et il décida de se dévouer à la réorganisation de l'école italienne en émanant la *Carta della Scuola*. La réforme du système universitaire italien par le biais de la mise en oeuvre d'actions précises et ponctuelles figure parmi les principaux objectifs de cette *Charte*.

En premier lieu, il avait l'intention de «relancer la culture académique et la *tradition italique* séculaire des études universitaires»³ et de ce fait en 1939 le ministre promut «une série de monographies historiques sur les origines et l'évolution des universités italiennes»⁴, étant donné que le retour à la glorieuse et pluriséculaire tradition italienne et son respect étaient considérés comme les piliers du régime fasciste.

Le rôle des universités était de sélectionner et de constituer la nouvelle classe dirigeante de l'état totalitaire. Bottai, fonda une revue bimestrielle intitulée «*Gli annali delle Università*», dirigée par son ami Giuseppe Giustini dans l'intention de résoudre les problèmes liés à l'instruction supérieure et universitaire, et décida de répertorier et d'identifier les dysfonctionnements du système universitaire de

¹ M. Galfré, *Giuseppe Bottai. Un intellettuale fascista*, Florence, Giunti, 2000, p. 3.

² L. Pomante, *Giuseppe Bottai e il rinnovamento fascista dell'Università italiana (1936-1942)*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2018.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

la Péninsule en s'entourant d'éminents chercheurs de l'époque dont la volonté commune était celle de revaloriser le monde académique afin de façonner la future classe dirigeante. Comme le souligne Luigiaurelio Pomante dans son ouvrage, Bottai se souciait également de concilier Université et Culture. Pour mener à bien ce projet, en 1941 dans la revue «Primato», fondée par le ministre sous la direction de Giorgio Vecchietti, Bottai promut un vaste débat sur le sujet «Université et Culture» auquel les intellectuels les plus brillants de l'époque participèrent même s'ils ne partageaient pas tous les idées du régime.

Dans la première partie de l'ouvrage, qui de facto comble des lacunes historiographiques existantes sur les politiques universitaires des dernières années du régime, l'auteur retrace, en cinq chapitres, les initiatives de Bottai qui visent à mettre en oeuvre une réforme des universités italiennes, axée sur la triade université-fascisme-culture.

L'auteur consacre avant tout son premier chapitre intitulé *Le università italiane come centri di formazione, di propulsione e di irradiazione della cultura* à la venue de Giuseppe Bottai à Macerata le 11 novembre 1928 à l'occasion de l'inauguration de l'année académique 1928-1929. À cette époque, Giuseppe Bottai, sous-secrétaire d'État au ministère des Corporations était déjà fortement convaincu que les universités italiennes devaient se transformer en lieux de formation par excellence de la nouvelle classe dirigeante, lieux de rayonnement et de diffusion de la culture.

Le deuxième chapitre de cet ouvrage, «*La collezione di monografie sulle università italiane*» se focalise en revanche sur la volonté de Giuseppe Bottai, qui en 1939 était désormais devenu ministre de l'Éducation Nationale, de promouvoir la constitution d'une «série de monographies sur les universités» dans le but de «fournir une connaissance complète de nos universités, de susciter l'intérêt d'un grand nombre de personnes cultivées dans le monde entier sur les conditions de l'instruction supérieure [...] de revaloriser le faste de la tradition glorieuse des universités les plus anciennes, dont la noblesse culturelle est sans pareille et la splendeur actuelle des universités les plus récentes»⁵.

Dans le troisième chapitre centré sur la «Carta della Scuola» et à «Gli annali della Università d'Italia», l'auteur apporte une attention particulière à la volonté de Giuseppe Bottai de développer un lien étroit entre la formation universitaire et le monde du travail qui représente un élément fondamental du régime fasciste. C'est justement dans «Gli annali della Università d'Italia», en 1940, que Giuseppe Volpi di Misurata, ancien ministre des Finances du gouvernement Mussolini et à cette époque président de la Confédération, se mêle au débat en écrivant un article intitulé «*L'università e la vita industriale della Nazione*» et où cet éminent représentant de l'industrie italienne insistait sur l'importance du lien entre l'université et la vie industrielle et productive du Pays, en proposant même d'accorder plus d'importance aux universités

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

techniques (Chimie, Ingénierie, Architecture et Agronomie) pour augmenter ainsi le nombre de diplômés dans le secteur industriel et technologique dans le but de récupérer le retard par rapport aux autres nations.

Le quatrième chapitre de l'ouvrage de Luigiaurelio Pomante consacré au *Primo Convegno nazionale per la storia delle università italiane (Bologna, 5-7 aprile 1940)* est également digne d'intérêt. Le séminaire organisé par l'Institut pour l'histoire de l'université de Bologne avait un triple enjeu: «coordonner les différents comités historiques issus de la circulaire de Giuseppe Bottai au sein des différentes universités; accélérer la réalisation des monographies dont la rédaction avait pris un retard considérable par rapport aux délais octroyés par les dispositions du ministre et commencer à préparer l'organisation d'un important congrès International sur l'histoire des universités, qui aurait dû avoir lieu à Rome en 1942 à l'occasion de l'Exposition universelle et qui aurait permis à l'Italie de retrouver sa première place dans le monde universitaire international»⁶. Le 5 avril 1940, les principaux représentants académiques de Bologne, de toutes les universités italiennes et les élus locaux du Parti National Fasciste participèrent au congrès défendu avec ferveur par Giuseppe Bottai. Lors de son discours d'ouverture, Giuseppe Bottai insista sur l'importance de l'utilité de la rédaction des monographies de chaque université qui permettaient de mettre en valeur l'histoire et la tradition de toutes les universités italiennes. Bottai visait à réaliser un véritable réseau de collaboration entre les universités italiennes afin de créer un lien favorable à la croissance du système universitaire.

Dans le dernier chapitre de la première partie de l'ouvrage intitulé *Primato, lettere e arti d'Italia e il dibattito del 1941 su Le Università e la cultura*, Luigiaurelio Pomante met l'accent sur la volonté de Bottai, en accord avec le codirecteur de la revue Giorgio Vecchiotti, d'interroger la classe intellectuelle de la Péninsule sur le rôle que l'université italienne aurait dû jouer à l'égard de la culture et des nécessités culturelles du Pays. Cette tentative représenta pour Giuseppe Bottai un nouvel élan pour préconiser un profond renouvellement de l'université italienne censé comprendre ses faiblesses et combler ses lacunes. Évidemment, cette démarche n'a pas abouti en raison de l'entrée en guerre.

Enfin dans la deuxième partie de son ouvrage, Luigiaurelio Pomante introduit huit textes en version intégrale qui transcrivent les discours les plus décisifs de Giuseppe Bottai en matière d'instruction supérieure, autant de textes qui aident le lecteur à mieux cerner cet intellectuel fasciste, qui n'est plus seulement considéré comme le signataire des lois raciales mais également comme un pionnier doté de grandes capacités d'interprétation.

⁶ Archivio Storico dell'Università degli Studi di Bologna, posizione 78, congressi, fasc. Convegno italiano per la storia delle Università.

Qualche segnalazione sull'attuale produzione storico-educativa

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Some reports on current historical-educational production

ABSTRACT: The article tracks an interesting bibliographic review of the most recent works of History of Pedagogy and History of Education published in recent years in Italy. The author, analyzing the individual works, presents the topics covered in each volume and puts the focus on some fundamental aspects of the Italian historical-educational culture.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Historiography; Historical research; History of education; Historical method; Italy; XXth-XXIth Centuries.

La ricchezza della produzione storico pedagogica e storico educativa tra il 2017 e il 2018 rende difficile restituire compiutamente la varietà dei lavori volti ad indagare le dinamiche dei processi formativi del passato e dei passaggi generazionali, a seguire le influenze esercitate dai fenomeni sociali e politici sui sistemi scolastici, a ordinare, catalogare e conservare la memoria educativa.

Nelle segnalazioni bibliografiche che seguono mi soffermo su alcuni testi recenti che ho letto con piacere, che mi sono sembrati interessanti e che perciò segnalo volentieri ai lettori. Alcuni sono connotati da un esplicito impianto storico pedagogico ed altri presentano un'impronta più eclettica, alcuni si segnalano per la validità dell'impianto metodologico ed altri meritano attenzione perché documentano aspetti ancora sconosciuti o pochi noti, tutti sono validi e utili.

Accanto a studiosi affermati, si segnalano tra gli autori giovani ricercatori con buona disposizione alla ricerca, solida preparazione culturale e già non comuni capacità di approfondimento critico. Se si confrontano questi risultati con il gravoso carico della didattica che solitamente pesa sui giovani ricercatori, la faticosa presenza degli studi storico pedagogici ed educativi nella vita

accademica e la scarsità delle risorse disponibili occorre riconoscere che siamo di fronte a risultati inaspettatamente degni di nota.

La storia dell'educazione extrascolastica

Giuseppe Zago è da tempo impegnato a far uscire dall'ombra personaggi e tematiche dimenticati o sottovalutati. Nel 2014 ha riproposto la figura di Giovanni Marchesini, filosofo e pedagogista padovano sulla scena educativa dei primi decenni del XX secolo, grande avversario (e, va anche detto, grande sconfitto) di Giovanni Gentile, su cui cadde dopo la morte nel 1931 una ingenerosa lastra tombale. In precedenza (2007) Zago aveva dato voce ai maestri che ambivano a diventare direttori didattici, soltanto in apparenza protagonisti minori dell'Italia scolastica tra gli anni '50 e '60, in realtà silenziose colonne portanti di una pedagogia diffusa su cui è cresciuta una scuola elementare capace di rinnovarsi in varie direzioni (tempo pieno, inclusione dei soggetti portatori di handicap, partecipazione collegiale...).

Nel volume collettaneo *L'educazione extrascolastica nella seconda metà del Novecento. Tra espansione e movimento. 1945-1975*¹ il pedagogista veneto con un folto gruppo di studiosi dalle diverse competenze ricostruisce alcuni luoghi educativi esterni alla scuola che si sono moltiplicati in vario modo e intensità in specie nel secondo dopoguerra.

Già nel Ventennio, invero, il fascismo aveva scoperto la forza educativa dell'extra-scuola – tanto da investire robuste risorse per rendere più solida la formazione dei giovani fascisti nel tempo non scolastico, vista la spesso imperfetta fascistizzazione della scuola –, ma è sicuramente la realtà della società democratica a moltiplicare con intenti educativi le occasioni di assistenza, ricreazione, lettura e approfondimenti culturali (forse un richiamo alla continuità delle strategie di massa perseguite dal regime e poi riprese con gli opportuni adeguamenti nell'immediato dopoguerra sarebbe stato utile).

Gli spazi di formazione extrascolastica tra gli anni '50 e '60 si sono dilatati per quantità e qualità, dalle iniziative messe in campo dall'associazionismo spinto spesso da ragioni militanti (mondo cattolico vs mondo comunista) alla revisione delle istituzioni educativo-assistenziali, dalla presenza sempre più massiccia dei mezzi di comunicazione di massa, in specie cinema e televisione, alle novità proposte dall'editoria in generale e per ragazzi in dettaglio.

Il settore dell'extrascuola così implementato ha visto crescere la sua incidenza nella vita degli italiani, innanzandolo a un ruolo educativo (per quanto informale) inedito, anche se – questo è l'altro lato della medaglia –

¹ G. Zago, *L'educazione extrascolastica nella seconda metà del Novecento. Tra espansione e movimento. 1945-1975*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2017.

percorso e in parte compromesso da una diffusa ideologizzazione spesso pilotata dall'alto, condizionato da forti interessi economici e dalla diffusione di modelli di comportamento purtroppo non di rado giocati sulla futilità e sulla banalità.

Quello che è certo – e bene emerge dai saggi del volume – è la graduale conquista di uno spazio suo proprio non in aperta concorrenza con la scuola, ma in grado di scalfirne, almeno parzialmente, l'influenza formativa, fenomeno contestuale alla coeva riduzione della centralità sociale dell'istituzione scolastica. È difficile stabilire se, di conseguenza, il modello scuola-centrico è entrato in crisi (certamente quello selettivo-meritocratico) oppure se si è soltanto profondamente modificato, raggiungendo strati sociali un tempo estranei alla scuola e dando vita a processi di scolarizzazione diffusa mai conosciuti nella storia italiana.

Il volume curato da Zago è utile per almeno due ragioni. La prima riguarda il proposito di dare voce anche a volti ed esperienze generalmente trascurate dalla storiografia che, come è noto, nel ricostruire la formazione degli italiani ha privilegiato la storia scolastica. Sotto questo profilo il testo concorre alla migliore conoscenza di una stagione ricca di vicende ancora per molti versi da scoprire e valorizzare. La seconda è legata all'approccio metodologico con un forte interscambio tra il livello di analisi pedagogico-educativa e il contesto sociale e culturale nel quale si manifestano i cambiamenti di mentalità, maturano nuove opportunità di conoscenza, si compiono importanti transizioni generazionali.

Le scienze umane tra Otto e Novecento

Un altro testo che si svolge su piste metodologiche per certi aspetti analoghe, anche se su territori storici del tutto diversi, è quello curato da Marco Antonio D'Arcangeli e Alessandro Sanzo, *Le «scienze umane» in Italia tra Otto e Novecento. Pedagogia, psicologia, sociologia e filosofia*². In questo caso studiosi di varia formazione condividono e intrecciano le loro ricerche per esplorare il sorgere delle scienze umane e cioè i diversi sentieri attraverso cui, dapprima in forma aurorale e poi sempre più nitidamente hanno assunto specifica fisionomia nuovi segmenti del sapere sull'uomo emergenti dall'incontro tra il ceppo filosofico e la circolazione della moderna scienza positivista.

Come è noto alle riflessioni filosofiche, alla fede religiosa e all'indagine medica – tradizionali vie esplorative dell'umano – si affiancò tra Otto e primo Novecento una rete di discipline, le scienze umane, con aspirazioni «scientifiche» rivolte a indagare varie dimensioni della vita dell'uomo, da quelle psicologiche,

² M.A. D'Arcangeli, A. Sanzo, *Le «scienze umane» in Italia tra Otto e Novecento. Pedagogia, psicologia, sociologia e filosofia*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2017.

pedagogiche e antropologiche a quelle sociologiche, criminologiche e psicopatologiche. Una rete dalle caratteristiche assai complesse, intricata, segnata da ibridazioni multiple con studiosi impegnati su più fronti come altrettanti esploratori di territori fino ad allora poco o per nulla conosciuti.

Il volume – concepito in stretta connessione con un altro testo con intenti analoghi (G. Cimino, G.P. Lombardo, *La nascita delle «scienze umane» nell’Italia post unitaria*, 2014) – fornisce alcuni tasselli del mosaico appena descritto con una serie di sondaggi che spaziano dalle biografie di alcuni dei protagonisti (Saverio Faustino De Dominicis, Giovanni Marchesini, Paolo Mantegazza, Pasquale Rossi e altri) alla ricostruzione di snodi culturali significativi come l’origine della psicologia scientifica, gli studi sociologici sulla “folla”, la scuola italiana di criminologia e altri.

All’interno di questa ricostruzione i curatori collocano le vicende della pedagogia tardo ottocentesca che, a differenza di quando stava accadendo in ambito psicologico e sociologico, non ebbe tuttavia la forza di imporsi con quella fisionomia “scientifica” (da pedagogia a scienza dell’educazione) che l’avrebbe potuta definitivamente rendere autonoma. Questo auspicio – che trapela come un rammarico storico nelle pagine introduttive – era tuttavia reso impossibile dalla curvatura deterministico-evoluzionista (se non proprio materialistica) dell’educazione concepita come «allevamento umano» che neppure nelle soluzioni meno radicali dei decenni successivi mai riuscì a diventare egemone nella cultura italiana, ben presto contrastata e riassorbita entro una prospettiva prevalentemente filosofica.

L’oratorio salesiano dopo don Bosco

Bisogna essere grati all’Istituto Storico Salesiano per l’iniziativa di pubblicare in forma unitaria la storia dell’oratorio salesiano tra il 1888 e l’età post conciliare redatta da Pietro Braidò tra il 2005 e il 2006 e apparsa a suo tempo sulle pagine della rivista dell’Istituto, «Ricerche Storiche Salesiane», testi non facilmente disponibili e oggi invece resi accessibili dalla raccolta in volume (*Per una storia dell’educazione giovanile nell’oratorio dell’Italia contemporanea*)³.

Le vicende dell’oratorio salesiano che l’autore ricostruisce a partire dalla morte del fondatore può essere considerata – come annota Paolo Alfieri nella sua ampia e puntuale introduzione – come la continuazione della biografia boschiana consegnata da Braidò ai due volumi *Don Bosco prete dei giovani nel secolo delle libertà* (Roma, Las, 2002-2003), non solo perché i saggi furono originariamente dati alle stampe negli anni immediatamente successivi alla

³ P. Braidò, *Per una storia dell’educazione giovanile nell’oratorio dell’Italia contemporanea*, Roma, Las, 2017.

pubblicazione del volume, ma anche perché si concentrano sulla “lunga durata” e sui promettenti frutti della primigenia e più caratteristica istituzione educativa salesiana, «una sorta di terza tappa della vita di don Bosco».

Braido anticipa, in un certo senso, una evoluzione nella storiografia salesiana, documentata dagli studi condotti in occasione del secondo centenario della nascita del sacerdote piemontese, ormai orientata ad indagare ed approfondire gli sviluppi delle molteplici iniziative messe in campo a favore dei giovani dopo la morte di don Bosco e realizzate nei decenni del governo di don Michele Rua e dei successivi rettori maggiori.

Ma oltre che per la storia della “salesianità” i saggi di Braido presentano anche altri motivi di interesse. In primo luogo essi forniscono ulteriori elementi per una visione più complessiva del movimento oratoriano che non fu solo salesiano, anche se ai discepoli di don Bosco va il merito dell’exportazione dell’educazione oratoriana a largo raggio. Un secondo motivo di interesse riguarda un aspetto più interno, per così dire, alla storia della religiosità cattolica. Dalla lettura delle pagine di Braido emerge infatti una significativa rassegna delle pedagogie religiose esplicite ed implicite che hanno accompagnato per circa un secolo l’educazione cristiana dei giovani italiani e non solo.

Più in generale, infine, i contributi raccolti nel volume mettono a disposizione degli storici una ricca documentazione, che fornisce nuove opportunità di lettura dei percorsi di socializzazione giovanile. Purtroppo anche le più informate storie sociali – che spesso hanno riservato ampi spazi alla realtà giovanile – non hanno fin qui posto la giusta attenzione al fenomeno religioso e oratoriano in particolare. La ragione andrebbe individuata, secondo Alfieri, nel pregiudizio che le esperienze religiose giovanili sarebbero «un elemento estraneo a quei processi di modernizzazione della società europea grazie ai quali la giovinezza si andò affermando come specifica e autonoma categoria sociale ed esistenziale».

Resta da chiedersi, infine, perché Braido non faccia cenno all’esperienza oratoriana femminile. La sua storia è tutta al “maschile” per quanto, come è ben noto, fin dall’ultimo scorcio del XIX secolo e con maggior forza all’inizio del secolo scorso, anche le Figlie di Maria Ausiliatrice (e cioè la congregazione “parallela” ai Salesiani di don Bosco) ricorsero all’oratorio come a un efficace strumento educativo (molte indicazioni in tal senso giungono da recenti studi di Grazia Loparco).

È soltanto possibile formulare l’ipotesi che Braido abbia circoscritto il suo interesse sulle vicende dell’oratorio storico per eccellenza e cioè quello stesso immaginato e sperimentato da don Bosco, per cogliere le sfumature e tratteggiare le transizioni e le costanti della messa a punto dell’esperienza educativa salesiana misurata a distanza di tempo, addirittura di decenni. Insomma l’interesse di Braido sarebbe ancora una volta concentrato su don Bosco e sulla capacità generativa della sua pedagogia.

Pedagogisti della tradizione democratica e laica

Con un piccolo e agile libro dal titolo *Pedagogisti e educatori tra scuola e università*⁴, Giacomo Cives prosegue nella sua infaticabile attività di studio e di ricerca centrata, oltre al suo ben noto e ricorrente interesse montessoriano (ved. il recente *Maria Montessori tra scienza, spiritualità e azione sociale*, con Paola Trabalzini, Roma, Anicia, 2017), a proporre biografie di pedagogisti, intellettuali e uomini di scuola che, in vario modo e titolo hanno condiviso gli obiettivi dell'educazione democratica e della pedagogia laica.

L'itinerario iniziato molti anni orsono con il libro *Pedagogia del cuore e della ragione. Da Lombardo Radice a Tina Tomasi* (1994) e proseguito ininterrottamente in varie occasioni fino al volume del 2013, *Verso la scuola di tutti. Pedagogisti italiani del Novecento* (con la collaborazione di Marco Antonio D'Arcangeli, Furio Pesci e Paola Trabalzini) si completa ora con questo stringato, ma prezioso testo che presenta una serie di brevi cammei biografici di personalità in diretti rapporti con l'autore.

Accanto a studiosi ricorrenti nell'esperienza culturale di Cives (Dina Bertoni Jovine, Franco Lombardi, Tina Tomasi), sono riproposti altri studiosi e militanti dell'ideale democratico anch'essi accomunati dal loro impegno per un'Italia più giusta e più civile e per una scuola realmente aperta a tutti. Scorrono così nelle pagine del pedagogista romano personalità sostanzialmente ancora primonovecentesche (come Annibale Tona, direttore per circa 60 anni di una delle più diffuse riviste magistrali, «I Diritti della Scuola», i pedagogisti Raffele Resta, Giovanni Calò, Luigi Volpicelli) ed altre più coeve con la generazione di Cives: Angelo Broccoli, Giustino Broccolini, Antonio Santoni Rugiu, Remo Fornaca e altri.

Nella sua apparente semplicità di testimonianza memorialistica il volume è prezioso. Infatti non solo l'autore ricorda amici e colleghi e il loro impegno intellettuale, ma anche se ne avvale per ripercorrere pagine di storia pedagogica e scolastica molto interessanti e purtroppo oggi ormai quasi del tutto dimenticate. Scorrono così nelle pagine del volume le battaglie associative e sindacali degli anni '50 e '60, i confronti assai serrati tra laici e cattolici sul fronte della politica scolastica, squarci del dibattito pedagogico post gentiliano, il rinnovamento degli studi storici educativi e molto altro ancora.

⁴ G. Cives, *Pedagogisti e educatori tra scuola e università*, Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2018.

Henri Irénée Marrou tra storia e impegno

E a proposito di studi biografici viene a proposito segnalare i saggi raccolti nel volume *Crisi della storia, crisi della verità* a cura di Adolfo Scotto di Luzio⁵ dedicati a Henri Irénée Marrou. Il libro è l'esito di un convegno di un convegno svoltosi nell'Università di Bergamo in occasione della riedizione del capolavoro dello storico francese, *La storia dell'educazione nell'antichità* (Roma Studium, 2016, prefazione di Giuseppe Tognon, postfazione di Paolo Cesaretti e Francesco Lo Monaco). A fianco dell'introduzione e di due notevoli saggi del curatore, sono disposti alcuni scritti sul rapporto tra lo storico francese e le tematiche educative (ne sono autori Evelina Scaglia, Gabriela Seveso e Andrea Potestio), oltre a ulteriori contributi su altri aspetti della sua multiforme personalità.

Interi generazioni di studenti hanno approfittato del grandioso affresco tratteggiato dal Marrou che copre circa 15 secoli di storia culturale, pedagogica ed educativa. Eppure pochi conoscono la biografia dello storico francese, la sua concezione di ricostruzione storica come esito incrociato di sapienza documentaria e sensibilità interpretativa, la sua visione dell'intellettuale che non si chiude nell'erudizione degli studi e del cristiano che vive la condizione religiosa con il suo potente richiamo al bisogno di vivere nell'eterno come forma esplicita di resistenza e di opposizione alle «eternità contemporanee» rappresentate da varie forme di totalitarismo, la sua collaborazione, a fianco di Mounier, alla rivista «Esprit».

In Marrou l'impegno del militante è sempre accompagnato dal dubbio della ricerca, convinto che chi proclama di «non fare politica» finisce per farla comunque e talvolta anche peggio. La storia è una bussola insostituibile: essa non è qualcosa di oggettivo che fotografa gli eventi, come pensavano i positivisti, ma parte ed espressione di un tutto, di un organismo culturale ed in questo organismo essa si regge e dà senso. Conoscere storicamente, in altre parole, significa sostituire a un dato, di per sé stesso incomprensibile, un sistema di concetti elaborati dall'uomo.

Intorno a questa convinzione Marrou modula la sua visione educativa dai tratti mounieriani, immersa nelle radici classiche e impregnata di valori civili, volta a far emergere e coltivare l'«umano» che connota ciascuna persona e, in nome di questo, far credito alle energie positive, le uniche alle quali affidarsi per contrastare le violazioni dei totalitarismi e le sirene dell'indifferenza.

⁵ A. Scotto di Luzio, *Crisi della storia, crisi della verità*, Roma, Studium, 2018.

I maestri «speciali» di padre Gemelli

Negli ultimi decenni la storia dell'educazione e della pedagogia speciale ha compiuto notevoli progressi. Nell'ultimo quindicennio sono apparsi utili contributi sia di carattere generale (Canevaro, Goussot, Gaudreau, Pesci, Bocci, Crispiani) sia significative ricerche su tematiche e realtà più mirate (ad esempio Sani, Morandini e Gecchele sui sordomuti, Polenghi sui rachitici, Zappaterra sui non vedenti, Babini sui minorati psichici e malati mentali, ecc.).

Nonostante la rigogliosa fioritura di queste ricerche, restano ancora scoperte molte aree d'indagine come ha osservato Maria Cristina Morandini in un recente saggio: dall'esame dei programmi scolastici previsti per i soggetti disabili al ruolo svolto dall'associazionismo degli adulti disabili, dalle varie soluzioni metodologiche e didattiche adottate in realtà e tempi diversi alla formazione del personale educativo e docente preposto al funzionamento delle scuole speciali.

Quest'ultima pista di ricerca viene ora in parte colmata da Anna Debè con la ricognizione delle vicende della pionieristica scuola promossa da padre Agostino Gemelli nell'Università Cattolica negli anni '20 del secolo scorso (*Maestri «speciali». La formazione degli insegnanti per fanciulli anormali all'Università Cattolica. 1926-1978*, 2017)⁶.

Il libro si articola in tre parti: la prima è dedicata a ricostruire l'attenzione riservata da Gemelli ai temi dell'educazione degli anormali psichici all'intersezione di psicologia, medicina e pedagogia; la seconda riguarda la nascita e l'evoluzione della scuola fino alla sua chiusura con un accurato esame dei programmi d'insegnamento e delle pratiche didattiche; ed infine viene presentata una serie di profili biografici dei docenti che più hanno lavorato e inciso nelle vicende dei primi tempi della scuola.

Il lavoro di Anna Debè – costruito con impeccabile documentazione – si segnala per varie ragioni. Viene sottolineata innanzi tutto la lucidità manageriale di padre Gemelli pronto ad intuire, fin dall'inizio degli anni '20, gli sviluppi dell'educazione speciale e la capacità di rispondervi con un'iniziativa di avanguardia. Questa scelta corrispondeva a una istanza generale che orientava le iniziative del rettore della Cattolica: i cattolici non solo erano chiamati ad accettare la sfida dei tempi moderni, ma dovevano dimostrare di essere competitivi con le iniziative del mondo laico e, se possibile, essere più bravi.

Molto interessante appare inoltre la ricostruzione della "squadra di lavoro" che affiancò Gemelli nella scuola ortofrenica. In coerenza con l'intento di assicurare all'iniziativa una indiscussa qualità, Gemelli arruolò come docenti i maggiori esperti nel settore della cura dei frenastenici. Accanto a collaboratori fidati (Necchi, Galli, don Restelli) operarono anche personalità idealmente lontane da Gemelli come, ad esempio, Sante De Sanctis, Carlo Foà e Casimiro

⁶ A. Debè, *Maestri «speciali». La formazione degli insegnanti per fanciulli anormali all'Università Cattolica. 1926-1978*, Lecce, PensaMultimedia, 2017.

Doniselli che, così scrive l'autrice, «facevano della scienza il loro credo». Ai primi protagonisti seguì nel secondo dopoguerra una nuova generazione, non meno prestigiosa, di studiosi discipline cliniche e psicologiche come Marcello Cesa-Bianchi, Leonardo Ancona, Assunto Quadrio, Roberto Zavalloni.

Il profilo dei docenti della scuola prima e dopo la guerra è segnato da una costante medico-psicologica che Gemelli coltivò puntualmente in linea con una tendenza largamente diffusa che traeva origine dalla medicalizzazione tardo ottocentesca dell'handicap. Sporadica fu fino a tutti gli anni '50 la presenza della pedagogia. Agli allievi della scuola era richiesta soprattutto una competenza specialistica rispetto alla natura e alla gestione delle diverse patologie. Soltanto a partire dagli anni '60 si cominciò a considerare con maggiore attenzione la disabilità in un'ottica integrativa più attenta alle influenze sociali e alle risorse pedagogiche fino alla svolta del 1977 con la chiusura delle scuole speciali e delle classi differenziali che coincise anche con la conclusione dell'esperienza milanese nella sua versione originale.

L'autrice segue passo passo le vicende della scuola, documentando anche la conversione graduale verso il superamento della psico-medicalizzazione, la tipologia della popolazione studentesca, le trasformazioni successive al 1978.

Sotto il segno di Barbanera

Le ricerche di Elisa Marazzi sulla storia del libro e dell'editoria si sono più volte incrociate in passato con le tematiche educative (ved. in particolare *Libri per diventare italiani. L'editoria per la scuola a Milano nel secondo Ottocento* del 2014), dando luogo a confronti e integrazioni molto proficue. Questa felice convergenza di interessi si manifesta nuovamente in un piccolo, ma interessantissimo libro dedicato alla ricostruzione delle vicende editoriali dell'almanacco popolare Barbanera (*Sotto il segno di Barbanera. Continuità e trasformazioni di un almanacco tra XVIII e XXI secolo*)⁷.

Publicato ininterrottamente dal 1762 ad oggi da stampatori di Foligno (ma con imitazioni diffuse in varie parti d'Italia), il Barbanera costituisce – visto nell'ottica editoriale – uno straordinario *long seller* che ha accompagnato generazioni e generazioni di italiani che hanno avuto i libretti tra le mani. Visto nell'ottica dell'educazione popolare l'almanacco rappresenta nella sua quasi immutabile veste, uno degli strumenti di formazione più duraturi tra Sette e primo Novecento dei ceti estranei all'uso corrente della lettura.

La struttura degli almanacchi e l'ordine di presentazione dei contenuti (non solo nel Barbanera “ufficiale”, anche nelle sue molteplici imitazioni) si sono

⁷ E. Marazzi, *Sotto il segno di Barbanera. Continuità e trasformazioni di un almanacco tra XVIII e XXI secolo*, Milano, Mimesis, 2017.

ripetuti per tantissimo tempo praticamente identici. In apertura era disposto un dialogo di carattere moraleggiante fra l'astronomo e un paesano. Seguivano in genere un pronostico generale per l'anno, un calendario generalmente decorato con xilografie del ciclo dei mesi e sezioni dedicate a ogni mese, ricche di consigli agricoli, notizie geografiche, cabale e consigli igienici. Chiudeva l'almanacco la cosiddetta "protesta", quella che preveniva la censura che avrebbe potuto colpire pratiche astrologiche: «Senza il Divino volere le cose dette mai potranno avverarsi».

In un'età di diffuso analfabetismo l'almanacco – accanto alle immagini sacre corredate da brevi didascalie e ai libretti con le più semplici preghiere – era una delle poche forme di contatto con la scrittura e la lettura tra i ceti popolari, spesso mediato dal racconto di chi sapeva almeno leggere e socializzava le informazioni, i racconti e i consigli dell'almanacco.

Col progredire dell'alfabetismo aumentano i lettori. La semplicità dei toni e lo stile accattivante degli estensori rafforza il Barbanera (e le sue imitazioni) come un'efficace ed economica occasione di conoscenza. Nonostante le riserve espresse dal ceto colto, la fortuna degli almanacchi non viene mai meno, arrivando a contagiare anche la scuola dapprima con modalità informali, poi a inizio del Novecento con il tentativo di Lombardo Radice di affidare agli almanacchi regionali (una inedita tipologia di testi ispirata al Barbanera) il compito di introdurre gli allievi nella cultura regionale. Bastano questi pochi cenni per comprendere l'interesse per la loro evoluzione editoriale, l'ampiezza della diffusione e la tipologia e qualità dei contenuti.

Nel ricostruire le vicende del Barbanera Elisa Marazzi, pur principalmente interessata agli aspetti editoriali, è sensibile alla forza comunicativa dell'almanacco di creare mentalità e conservare le tradizioni (e cioè in pratica agire in forme educative), offrendo in tal modo informazioni preziose anche a chi è soprattutto impegnato nell'approfondimento dei processi di alfabetizzazione.

Una nuova storia (antologica) della letteratura per l'infanzia

Desidero chiudere questa rassegna con la segnalazione di tre testi che, in modo diverso, mirano tuttavia allo stesso obiettivo: mettere a disposizione fonti e documentazioni di non facile reperimento, abbandonate negli scaffali delle biblioteche o ancora del tutto inedite, come nel caso degli archivi scolastici.

La prima segnalazione riguarda l'impresa editoriale di Anna Ascenzi e Roberto Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*⁸, volta a pubblicare una storia antologizzata della letteratura per

⁸ R. Sani, A. Ascenzi, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, 2 vols., Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2017-2018.

l'infanzia tra Otto e primo Novecento. Finora sono usciti due volumi, ma anche il terzo potrebbe già essere in libreria quando usciranno queste note. Mentre rinvio per una presentazione più dettagliata a quanto colleghi più competenti di me ne dicono in altra parte di questo fascicolo, mi limito qui a segnalare la felice intuizione di raccogliere testi e documenti in forma organica così da renderli disponibile ad un largo pubblico (penso soprattutto agli studenti dei corsi universitari, ma non solo) e sottrarli all'inevitabile oblio. In mancanza di riedizioni di testi ancorché importanti – che magari hanno raccolto molti lettori in passato ma non tali oggi da poter competere sul piano commerciale – il rischio è quello di rinchiudere l'offerta di lettura diretta a pochi testi.

Sbiadisce così il senso complessivo del ruolo svolto dagli scrittori per l'infanzia nell'economia culturale del nostro Paese e di quello che le loro opere possono ancora dirci oggi. Le ricerche condotte in questo ambito specialmente negli ultimi due decenni hanno infatti fornito, non solo alla ricerca storico-educativa, ma più ampiamente alla ricostruzione dei processi di costruzione identitaria e di socializzazione, itinerari interpretativi di grande interesse.

Le letture amene insieme ad altri libri di carattere educativo (come quelli scolastici, quelli “premio” e quelli di natura divulgativa) si pongono infatti in un crocevia di propositi privati e pubblici ove si intrecciano le pratiche educative correnti, gli ideali e i valori educativi, i modelli sociali prevalenti, senza dimenticare i condizionamenti del mercato. Questi generi editoriali si prestano perciò a ricostruire fedelmente la mentalità adulta del passato, il rapporto adulti/minori e, più in generale, la penetrazione in forme più o meno ideologiche dei modelli sociali e culturali.

Poter disporre di testi facilmente accessibili – qui sta il merito dell'impresa di Ascenzi e Sani – consente di rendere più agevole quel lavoro di analisi e confronto con gli studenti che diversamente sarebbe molto complesso e in qualche caso (penso di testi settecenteschi) quasi impossibile.

Per gioco e sul serio

In scia a quanto fin qui detto si pone l'elegante volume curato da Pamela Giorgi, Marta Zangheri e Irene Zoppi sui libri di lettura e ricreazione conservati nel Fondo antiquario dell'Indire (Istituto nazionale di documentazione, innovazione e ricerca educativa) di Firenze, *Per gioco e sul serio*⁹. Il libro presenta iconograficamente circa 500 tra testi narrativi e giornali per ragazzi oltre ad alcuni saggi introduttivi sul Fondo antiquario e di contestualizzazione dei testi presentati.

⁹ P. Giorgi, M. Zangheri, I. Zoppi, *Per gioco e sul serio*, Firenze, Indire, 2018.

La consultazione del volume consente di cogliere la graduale trasformazione dell'editoria di lettura amena sia sotto il profilo dei contenuti sia sul piano della presentazione grafica, in linea con quanto è già ben noto e ampiamente documentato da molte ricerche condotte dagli studiosi di letteratura infantile e giovanile e qui invero più sfiorate che approfondite. Il ricorso ai numerosi studi apparsi specialmente negli ultimi 10-15 anni, sia detto incidentalmente, avrebbe potuto consentire maggiore puntualità nella ricostruzione di alcuni passaggi storico editoriali. Positivo lo sforzo di fornire le note biografiche di autori e illustratori.

Le illustrazioni consegnate alle stampe non riservano sorprese e "chicche" per gli specialisti, ma sono di gradevole visione e utili per un eventuale impiego didattico.

Archivi scolastici trentini

Per restare in tema di valorizzazione delle fonti va infine segnalata la pubblicazione di un corposo volume per iniziativa della Provincia Autonoma di Trento e della locale Soprintendenza per i Beni Culturali che raccoglie in modo esemplare la documentazione delle storiche scuole elementari di Trento «F. Crispi» e «R. Sanzio» (*Le scuole elementari «F. Crispi» e «R. Sanzio» di Trento. Inventari degli archivi storici e aggregati*)¹⁰. L'opera, curata da un gruppo di collaudati archivisti (F. Benini, C. Bruni, E. Pandini e I. Parisi) e preceduta da un saggio di Quinto Antonelli sulle vicende storiche della locale istruzione primaria, fornisce non solo informazioni importanti sugli aspetti più specificamente educativi, ma altresì un importante ritratto della vita della città e delle zone vicine.

L'iniziativa trentina costituisce soltanto la punta di un iceberg archivistico che da tempo si è messo in moto in varie parti d'Italia allo scopo di tutelare la memoria degli istituti scolastici. In ogni scuola esiste infatti uno scantinato o un ripostiglio pieni di carte che attendono di essere interpellate e di cui gli istituti sono responsabili anche sotto il profilo formale. Documenti, fotografie, registri scolastici, pagelle, schede anagrafiche, giornali e materiale didattico sono presenze silenziose che conservano tracce ricchissime di tradizioni e storia di donne e uomini che hanno dedicato la loro vita al servizio delle comunità.

Gli archivi scolastici, poi, sono strumenti preziosi non soltanto per gli studiosi specializzati, ma praticabili anche da insegnanti e allievi per le ricerche e i laboratori di storia, da ex allievi interessati a ricostruire gli anni passati su

¹⁰ F. Benini, C. Bruni, E. Pandini, I. Parisi (edd.), *Le scuole elementari «F. Crispi» e «R. Sanzio» di Trento. Inventari degli archivi storici e aggregati*, Trento, Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 2017.

quei banchi, da studiosi della cultura, della lingua, della società civile fino a tutti i biografi di illustri personalità che quelle scuole in passato hanno frequentato.

Non dispongo di informazioni tali da poter esprimere una valutazione di carattere generale, ma per quello che conosco mi sembra che l'interesse della piccola pattuglia degli storici dell'educazione verso la conservazione degli archivi scolastici non sia stato, almeno fino ad ora, pari all'impegno profuso sul versante museale che, invece, ha prodotto varie e utili iniziative. Questo anche, *last but not least*, per responsabilità delle Soprintendenze che, salvo qualche raro caso, agiscono in proprio senza coinvolgere gli studiosi competenti in materia.

La scuola elementare italiana e il Sessantotto. Alcune riflessioni storiografiche

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The Italian primary school and the "1968". Some historiographical reflections

ABSTRACT: Starting from a recent volume, this paper seeks to analyze how the student movements of 1968 have influenced and modified the Italian elementary school, paying particular attention to the testimonies of the schoolmasters of those years, to the school journals and to some important political and cultural movements developed in Italy after World War II.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of school; History of education; Student protest; 1968; Italy, XXth Century.

Nella notevole mole di dibattiti, seminari, conferenze, giornate di studio e iniziative culturali di vario genere e di diverso spessore storiografico con i quali l'accademia italiana o, più in generale, i cultori della materia della Penisola, hanno celebrato più o meno adeguatamente il cinquantesimo anniversario della contestazione studentesca del Sessantotto¹, merita una particolare attenzione il recente volume *Il Sessantotto della scuola elementare*, curato da Marcella

¹ Tra le numerose iniziative promosse nel 2018 per il cinquantenario delle contestazioni studentesche sessantottine si ricordano in particolar modo e senza alcuna pretesa di esaustività i seguenti convegni: *Il Sessantotto: passioni, ragioni, illusioni. Che cosa ha insegnato il '68? Che Cosa abbiamo insegnato dopo il '68?* (Università degli Studi di Padova, 21-23 marzo 2018); *Towards 1968. Catholic students in Europe during the Sixties* (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, 3-4 maggio 2018); *1968-2018. Cinquant'anni dopo. Il Sessantotto nella storia* (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 31 maggio-1° giugno 2018); *Globalizing the student rebellion in the long '68* (Università di Valencia, 3-5 ottobre 2018); *Autorità in crisi: scuola, famiglia, società prima e dopo il '68* (Convegno CIRSE, Università degli Studi di Firenze, 29 novembre-1° dicembre 2018); *1968: Pisa, Italia Immagini e documenti per una storia del Sessantotto* (Università degli Studi di Pisa, 13-14 dicembre 2018).

Bacigalupi, Piero Fossati e Marina Martignone e pubblicato dalla casa editrice Unicopli nella collana «Testi e Studi»². Gli autori, due dei quali peraltro già noti per il sempre attuale lavoro *Da plebe a popolo. L'educazione popolare nei libri di scuola dall'unità d'Italia alla Repubblica*, considerato ormai un classico della storiografia educativa italiana del Novecento³, hanno proposto una ricerca sicuramente originale che pone il proprio *focus* sul mondo della scuola elementare e degli insegnanti «che hanno vissuto l'esperienza politica della contestazione contro un sistema autoritario, classista e fermo a principi reazionari, riuscendo a non cadere nella retorica della memoria e dando un'immagine nitida di quel periodo»⁴. Tra gli innumerevoli studi pubblicati sul Sessantotto, infatti, molti dei quali peraltro coevi e spesso dal taglio fortemente ed eccessivamente ideologizzato o comunque rivolti soprattutto all'analisi dei rapporti tra Università o scuola superiore e le contestazioni studentesche⁵, ben pochi sono stati i lavori che hanno avviato una seria e rigorosa riflessione sulla scuola elementare e su come essa abbia vissuto un particolare momento storico quale quello legato alle vicende sessantottine che, innegabilmente, a cavallo tra gli anni Sessanta e Settanta del Novecento, hanno modificato sensibilmente il volto del sistema formativo nazionale⁶.

² M. Bacigalupi, P. Fossati, M. Martignone (edd.), *Il Sessantotto della scuola elementare*, Milano, Edizioni Unicopli, 2018.

³ M. Bacigalupi, P. Fossati, *Da plebe a popolo. L'educazione popolare nei libri di scuola dall'unità d'Italia alla Repubblica*, Scandicci, La Nuova Italia, 1986.

⁴ Cfr. A. Speroni, *Il Sessantotto alle elementari*, <<https://www.alfabeta2.it/2018/11/25/il-sessantotto-alle-elementari/>> (ultimo accesso: 31 gennaio 2019).

⁵ Per un quadro complessivo sulla contestazione studentesca nelle università italiane e straniere, oltre al valido e rigoroso lavoro di A. Breccia (ed.), *Le istituzioni universitarie e il Sessantotto*, Bologna, Clueb, 2013, si ricordano soprattutto: M. Barone (ed.), *Libro bianco sul movimento studentesco*, Roma, Galileo, 1968; *Università '68: documenti di una crisi*, Firenze, Tip. Giuntina, 1968; Movimento Studentesco (ed.), *Documenti della rivolta universitaria*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1968; G. Chiarante, *La rivolta degli studenti*, Roma, Editori riuniti, 1968; L. Cortese (ed.), *Movimento studentesco: storia e documenti*, Milano, Bompiani, 1973; E. Canettieri, *Il movimento studentesco (1966-1968). Germania, Italia, Francia*, Messina-Firenze, D'Anna, 1975; G. Quazza, *Sessantotto, scuola e politica*, in Id., *Scuola e politica dall'Unità ad oggi*, Torino, Stampatori, 1977, pp. 151-182; P. Ortoleva, *Saggio sui movimenti del 1968 in Europa e in America*, Roma, Editori riuniti, 1988; A. Agosti, L. Passerini, N. Tranfaglia (edd.), *La cultura e i luoghi del '68*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1991; A. Romano, *A trent'anni dal '68. «Questione universitaria» e «riforma universitaria»*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», vol. II, 1998, pp. 9-35; N. Fasano, M. Renosio (edd.), *I giovani e la politica: il lungo '68*, Torino, EGA, 2002; A. De Bernardi, M. Flores, *Il Sessantotto*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2003; G. Orsina, G. Quagliariello (edd.), *La crisi del sistema politico italiano e il Sessantotto*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2005; A. Chiappano (ed.), *Il Sessantotto. Storia, documenti, testimonianze*, Milano, Einaudi, 2005; C. Betti, F. Cambi (edd.), *Il '68: una rivoluzione culturale tra pedagogia e scuola. Itinerari, modelli, frontiere*, Milano, Unicopli, 2011. Sul '68, infine, si segnalano le sempre utili rassegne storiografiche di A. De Bernardi, *Il Sessantotto e la storiografia italiana. Una rassegna*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», vol. II, 1998, pp. 233-238 e di S. Urso, *Un lungo '68? Una rassegna ragionata*, «Storia in Lombardia», vol. XIX, n. 2, 1999, pp. 123-140.

⁶ Si ricordano in particolare: G. Chiosso, *Dalla pedagogia all'antipedagogia fra utopia e nuovi scenari*, in R. Alonge (ed.), *Il sogno di cambiare la vita fra gabbiani ipotetici e uccelli di rapina*.

Come ben noto già nella primavera del 1966 la ripresa delle aggressioni neo fasciste all'Università di Roma e la morte dello studente Paolo Rossi rappresentarono «gli inneschi domestici»⁷ di una prima serie di lotte⁸ che via via si sarebbero collegate sempre più chiaramente ai già “esplosi” movimenti mondiali, che scatenatisi inizialmente negli Stati Uniti (da Berkeley alla Columbia University), avrebbero poi raggiunto buona parte dell'Europa, toccando paesi molto progrediti come la Germania e la Francia, società industriali a regime neo capitalistico come la Gran Bretagna, la Svezia e l'Olanda, ma anche paesi sottosviluppati come la Spagna e la Turchia o addirittura paesi a regime socialista Polonia e Cecoslovacchia – e interessato in maniera molto intensa anche l'Italia nel «biennio caldo» '67-'68.

Proprio nel corso del 1967, infatti, si susseguirono in tutta la Penisola le occupazioni degli atenei e si diffuse sempre più ampiamente la contestazione alla società e al sistema scolastico. L'Università fu il luogo deputato per eccellenza nel quale far sentire la propria voce e inneggiare ad un nuovo sistema formativo che doveva servire principalmente alla promozione della partecipazione popolare e alla democratizzazione delle strutture. Nel mirino della contestazione studentesca entravano il concetto stesso di Università che era ritenuta, a giudizio dei sessantottini, «strumento di manipolazione ideologica e politica teso ad instillare in essi [gli studenti] uno spirito di subordinazione rispetto al potere (qualsiasi esso sia)»⁹. Dopo i primi prodromi della contestazione, in prevalenza legati a problematiche specifiche e peculiari dei singoli atenei, e che agitarono le sedi universitarie italiane durante l'intero anno 1966 e nella primavera del 1967, fu con il nuovo anno accademico 1967-1968 che si registrò nella coscienza contestativa degli studenti quello che Carlo Oliva e Aloisio Rendi hanno definito un vero e proprio «balzo qualitativo»¹⁰, con l'avvio deciso e quanto mai incisivo delle agitazioni.

Pian piano l'agitazione si estese alle scuole superiori, prima ai licei, poi agli istituti tecnici e professionali. La scuola elementare, tuttavia, rimase fuori da questa tornata di contestazioni: non potevano, per ovvi motivi, essere gli alunni ad attivarsi, ma neppure i genitori pensavano di avere motivi validi per scendere in piazza. Quanto agli insegnanti elementari, essi vivevano spesso in condizioni di isolamento senza molte occasioni di incontro, «ognuno chiuso nella propria aula»¹¹. Eppure anche la scuola elementare finì inevitabilmente per risentire di

Modelli sociali, educativi e artistici dal cuore del '68, Roma, Carocci, 2004, pp. 69-82 e F. Alfieri, *Il turbamento nella scuola nuova: tra missione ideologica e qualità didattica*, in *ibid.*, pp. 83-101.

⁷ Cfr. Quazza, *Sessantotto, scuola e politica*, cit., p. 152.

⁸ A. Sensini, *Sciopero in atto nelle università: aule deserte, la polizia sorveglia*, «Corriere d'informazione», 2 e 3 maggio 1966.

⁹ Cfr. *Contro l'Università. I principali documenti della critica radicale alle istituzioni accademiche del Sessantotto*, Milano, Mimemis, 2008, p. 77.

¹⁰ Cfr. C. Oliva, A. Rendi, *Il Movimento studentesco e le sue lotte*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1969, p. 20.

¹¹ Cfr. Bacigalupi, Fossati, Martignone (edd.), *Il Sessantotto della scuola elementare*, cit., p. 19.

riflesso del «nuovo clima» che le agitazioni sessantottine stavano determinando. E se è vero che la grande maggioranza dei maestri non fu toccata direttamente ed immediatamente dal Sessantotto e si accorse che qualcosa fosse cambiato solo tardivamente ed in conseguenza dei provvedimenti legislativi che negli anni Settanta modificarono la vita scolastica, è altrettanto innegabile che vi fu anche una minoranza di insegnanti delle scuole elementari, certamente esigua ma quanto mai vivace e reattiva, che accolse e condivise i temi della contestazione, talvolta consapevoli talvolta ignari, di quanto essi avrebbero inciso sulla futura scuola italiana.

A tali maestri, all'analisi delle loro relazioni sociali, del loro orientamento politico e delle costanti connessioni instaurate con la società del tempo, è dedicato proprio il volume *Il Sessantotto della scuola elementare*, che ben riesce a descrivere ed interpretare criticamente il fermento di quegli anni, anche in un ambiente senza dubbio più statico e meno sovversivo quale fu quello della scuola elementare.

Il testo si presenta distintamente suddiviso in due parti. La prima (*La scuola elementare nel vento del Sessantotto*) risulta composta da otto interessanti saggi che illustrano con dovizia di particolari i caratteri precipui della scuola elementare durante gli anni della contestazione; la seconda (*La parola agli insegnanti*) si configura invece quale vera e propria raccolta di testimonianze e di autobiografie di docenti, per lo più legati alla città di Genova o al territorio ad essa limitrofo, peraltro ben noto ai tre autori dell'opera, che cercano di raccontare «come il risveglio di una coscienza politica abbia influito sul proprio modo di fare scuola e di stare al mondo»¹².

Ciò che spinge gli autori ad avviare una innovativa riflessione storiografica sul rapporto tra la scuola elementare e il Sessantotto è ben chiaro sin dalle prime pagine del volume. Come spiega Piero Fossati nel saggio di apertura del testo (*Dalla scuola del maestro di Vigevano alla scuola del lungo Sessantotto*), che può essere considerato una sorta di introduzione all'intero lavoro, guardando alla scuola elementare degli anni Sessanta

si ha l'impressione che non vi accadesse niente o almeno niente di particolarmente significativo. La routine quotidiana scorreva silenziosamente [...] e il lavoro dei maestri si dipanava lento e ripetitivo. [...] Le stesse autorità politiche e istituzionali avevano questo medesimo sentore e lo mettevano anche per iscritto. Per loro la scuola elementare non aveva bisogno di interventi, andava bene così [...] 'una palude placida, sfiorata da sussulti quasi impercettibili'¹³.

Eppure sin dalla fine degli anni Cinquanta non erano affatto mancate le modifiche in grado di «ritoccare» la tranquilla prassi scolastica del primo grado d'istruzione previsto dal sistema formativo italiano: dalla discussa e non sempre

¹² Cfr. Speroni, *Il Sessantotto alle elementari*, cit.

¹³ Cfr. Bacigalupi, Fossati, Martignone (edd.), *Il Sessantotto della scuola elementare*, cit., p. 11.

condivisa istituzione dei cicli scolastici con la creazione di esami di passaggio in seconda ed in quinta al provvedimento che sanciva ufficialmente la gratuità dei libri di testo fino alla legge istitutiva della scuola media unica del 1962 che, di fatto, inevitabilmente, avrebbe modificato anche la funzione ed il ruolo da assegnare al corso di studi elementare. Se gli anni Sessanta possono tuttavia essere considerati “lenti” nelle modifiche e nei cambiamenti, non altrettanto può dirsi del decennio successivo che conobbe una decisa e sorprendente accelerazione in fatto di innovazioni e trasformazioni radicali, a cominciare ad esempio dalla nuova “visione” del problema dell’handicap che fece finalmente ingresso anche a scuola o dalle significative novità organizzative e didattiche rubricate nella nota legge 4 agosto 1977, n. 517, vera e propria pietra miliare della storia della scuola italiana¹⁴.

Tra la scuola di base quasi immobile degli anni Sessanta e l’accelerazione riformistica del decennio successivo si colloca, non a caso, il «Sessantotto degli studenti» che, tra fasciose suggestioni ed evidenti contraddizioni, avrebbe innegabilmente contribuito, e non poco, a modificare in maniera sostanziale la fisionomia dell’intero sistema scolastico ed educativo italiano, ciclo elementare incluso¹⁵.

Nel diffondere tale «vento sessantottino» anche tra gli insegnanti delle scuole elementari ebbero un peso di non scarsa rilevanza i periodici scolastici, pedagogici e didattici di quegli anni. Proprio per questo motivo nel volume *Il Sessantotto della scuola elementare* ben tre capitoli, a firma rispettivamente di Marcella Bacigalupi (*Il Sessantotto nelle riviste scolastiche. «Scuola Italiana Moderna»*), Carla Ida Salvati (*Il Sessantotto nelle riviste scolastiche. «La Vita Scolastica»*) e Piero Fossati (*Una rivista didattica e una rivista pedagogica intorno al Sessantotto. «I Diritti della Scuola» e «Riforma della scuola»*), sono dedicati a tali pubblicazioni che hanno avuto il merito, seppur con approcci diversi dovuti alle differenti posizioni politiche, ideologiche e culturali sostenute, di mantenere costantemente aggiornato il corpo docente su tutto quanto stesse accadendo dentro e fuori dalla scuola italiana, specialmente nei momenti più caldi e delicati della storia politica e sociale del Paese. Sotto la

¹⁴ Per un profilo storico della scuola italiana tra gli anni Cinquanta e Settanta del Novecento e per un quadro esaustivo dei provvedimenti legislativi adottati in materia scolastica ed educativa si vedano: L. Ambrosoli, *La scuola in Italia dal dopoguerra ad oggi*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1982; D. Ragazzini, *Storia della scuola italiana: linee generali e problemi di ricerca*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1996, pp. 61-104; S. Sani, *La politica scolastica del Centro-Sinistra (1962-1968)*, Perugia, Morlacchi, 2000; L. Pazzaglia, *La politica scolastica del Centro-sinistra*, in L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell’Italia unita. Dalla Legge Casati al Centro-sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001, pp. 481-495; D. Gabusi, *La svolta democratica nell’istruzione italiana. Luigi Gui e la politica scolastica del centro-sinistra*, Brescia La Scuola, 2010; G. Mele, *Per la scuola di tutti. Breve storia della scuola italiana*, Roma, Ediesse, 2014, pp. 51-110; R. Sante Di Pol, *La scuola per tutti gli italiani*, Milano, Mondadori, 2016, pp. 131-165.

¹⁵ Si veda Bacigalupi, Fossati, Martignone (edd.), *Il Sessantotto della scuola elementare*, cit., pp. 17-18.

meticolosa lente d'ingrandimento dei tre studiosi finiscono così riviste come «Scuola Italiana Moderna», «La Vita Scolastica», «I Diritti della Scuola» e «Riforma della scuola» che, a vario titolo e con alterne fortune, si sono battute per il progressivo rinnovamento della scuola italiana e per il miglioramento delle condizioni degli insegnanti¹⁶.

Particolarmente interessante risulta anche il capitolo scritto da Fernando Rotondo (*Editoria per ragazzi e libri di testo*), dedicato ad un'analisi dell'editoria per ragazzi e dei libri di testo maggiormente in uso nelle scuole elementari italiane nel corso degli anni Sessanta. L'autore del saggio sottolinea come soprattutto l'editoria per ragazzi del primo ventennio post bellico, fatte salve poche eccezioni rappresentate ad esempio dalle brillanti e fantasiose opere di Gianni Rodari, si era limitata a riproporre stancamente i modelli degli anni precedenti, senza riuscire ad imboccare strade originali ma preferendo rifugiarsi principalmente nelle riedizioni dei grandi classici, quali *Le avventure di Pinocchio*, *Cuore*, *Piccole Donne* o le avventure salgariane. Solo a partire dagli ultimi scorcii degli anni Sessanta e per l'intero decennio successivo, proprio grazie alla nuova sensibilità creativa stimolata anche dalla «rivoluzione sessantottina», l'editoria iniziò a manifestare «una certa attenzione» e un'apprezzabile vena innovativa che avrebbero prodotto i giusti frutti negli anni seguenti. Cominciarono infatti ad apparire librerie e biblioteche specializzate per ragazzi, furono aperti nelle biblioteche pubbliche specifici settori dedicati esclusivamente alla letteratura per l'infanzia e si affermarono sempre più sul mercato testi nuovi quali il ciclo di avventure di *Tommy River* di Mino Milani, il *Cipi* di Mario Lodi, il *Cion Cion Blu* di Pinin Carpi e le opere di quelli che possono essere considerati gli eredi più autentici di Gianni Rodari, ossia Bianca Pitzorno e Roberto Piumini, nei cui lavori degli anni Settanta fanno finalmente capolino temi tipici della contestazione giovanile, quali l'ecologia, la dissacrazione del razzismo e la scelta di consegnare una spazio di primo piano, o comunque non certamente secondario, ai personaggi femminili.

¹⁶ Sulla stampa periodica pedagogica e scolastica italiana dei secoli XIX e XX si vedano in particolare: G. Chiosso (ed.), *I periodici scolastici nell'Italia del secondo Ottocento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1992; Id. (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997; Id. (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nel Risorgimento. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione prima dell'Unità*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1989; Id. (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1993; R. Sani, «Scuola Italiana Moderna» e il problema dell'educazione popolare negli anni del secondo dopoguerra (1945-1962), in M. Cattaneo, L. Pazzaglia (edd.), *Maestri, educazione popolare e società in «Scuola Italiana Moderna» 1893-1993*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997, pp. pp. 265-319; R. Sani, *La stampa periodica per gli insegnanti nell'Italia dell'Otto e del Novecento (1861-1945)*, in J.M. Hernández Díaz (ed.), *La prensa pedagógica de los profesores*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 2018, pp. 33-64. Sulle battaglie condotte da tali riviste per il miglioramento della condizione degli insegnanti si veda altresì il recente 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.

Una riflessione puntuale e attendibile sugli avvenimenti scolastici italiani del secondo dopoguerra ed in particolare su quanto avvenuto negli anni della contestazione studentesca non può affatto tralasciare di prendere in esame la storia e l'attività del Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa (MCE), al quale è dedicato il saggio di Marina Martignone (*La posizione del Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa*). Sorto nel 1951 col nome di Cooperativa della tipografia a scuola (CTS) per volontà di alcuni insegnanti quali Giuseppe Tamagnini, Adriana Fantini, Aldo Pettini ed Ernesto Codignola, i quali facevano proprie le idee di pedagogia popolare del francese Célestin Freinet, esso rientrava nell'alveo dei movimenti dell'attivismo pedagogico ed aveva quali elementi che lo contraddistinguevano la cooperazione tra alunni e tra docenti, la produzione di testi spontanei da stampare con la tipografia scolastica e la corrispondenza interscolastica¹⁷. Proprio nel periodo delle agitazioni sessantottine il Movimento conobbe quella che la Martignone definisce una vera e propria svolta "politica", «che portò i suoi iscritti ad impegnarsi decisamente oltre lo stretto ambito pedagogico, didattico o metodologico sostenendo rivendicazioni che investivano lo stesso funzionamento e le strutture della scuola»¹⁸, sempre in nome sia di un auspicato progetto di rinnovamento scolastico che di cambiamento globale della società. Il Movimento divenne così, come emerge chiaramente peraltro anche dai racconti autobiografici presenti nella seconda parte del volume *Il Sessantotto della scuola elementare*, il *fil rouge* che lega insieme insegnanti di vario ordine e grado, maestri ovviamente inclusi, che discutevano insieme di politica, di educazione e di didattica, che facevano ricerca e che pubblicavano libri, alcuni dei quali destinati addirittura a riscuotere un notevole successo non solo in ambito scolastico ma anche nel panorama editoriale nazionale. Si pensi, solo per citare un esempio, alla pubblicazione nel 1970 del testo del maestro Mario Lodi¹⁹, *Il paese sbagliato. Diario di un'esperienza didattica*²⁰, nel quale «si accusava apertamente il sistema scolastico tradizionale di formare soggetti asserviti al sistema capitalistico, incapaci di pensare liberamente»²¹. Lo stesso Lodi, che proprio grazie al contatto quotidiano con i bambini e all'osservazione partecipe di essi, cercava di ridisegnare il valore della scuola, tentando di cambiarne aspetti e metodologie, finendo per indicare come modello da seguire la scuola alternativa proposta da Don Milani che egli stesso aveva conosciuto

¹⁷ Sulle origini, lo sviluppo e gli obiettivi del Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa si veda in particolare *Il Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa ieri e oggi*, Mestre-Venezia, Segreteria nazionale MCE, 1977.

¹⁸ Cfr. Bacigalupi, Fossati, Martignone (edd.), *Il Sessantotto della scuola elementare*, cit., p. 74.

¹⁹ Sulla figura di Mario Lodi e sulla sua opera si segnalano in particolare C.I. Salviati, *Mario Lodi maestro*, Firenze, Giunti, 2011; D. Di Masi, A. Surian, S. Boselli (edd.), *Mario Lodi: pratiche di libertà nel paese sbagliato*, Padova, Becco Giallo, 2015.

²⁰ M. Lodi, *Il paese sbagliato. Diario di un'esperienza didattica*, Torino, Einaudi, 1970. Il testo ottenne nel 1971 il prestigioso «Premio Viareggio» per la categoria «Opera prima saggistica».

²¹ Cfr. Bacigalupi, Fossati, Martignone (edd.), *Il Sessantotto della scuola elementare*, cit., p. 76.

nell'agosto del 1963 e che con *Lettera a una professoressa* del 1967 aveva mosso un duro atto di accusa nei confronti della scuola tradizionale borghese italiana²².

Se si parla di scuola – primaria, secondaria o superiore che sia – e di Sessantotto, non si può prescindere altresì di passare in rassegna e analizzare i cambiamenti concreti registrati al suo interno, sia a livello strutturale che didattico, direttamente determinati dalla contestazione studentesca o comunque ad essa riconducibili. Utile in tal senso risulta la lettura dei due contributi che chiudono la parte prima del volume analizzato, ossia quelli curati da Piero Fossati (*Le parole della nuova didattica. «Selezione», «Antiautoritarismo e Rifiuto del ruolo», «Doposcuola e Tempo pieno»*) e da Marina Martignone (*Le parole della nuova didattica. «La ricerca»*) che pongono il proprio focus principalmente sulle innovazioni didattiche ed organizzative introdotte dalla rivoluzione sessantottina.

In particolare nel saggio di Fossati si sottolinea proprio come il rifiuto del ruolo e dell'autorità fosse uno degli aspetti principali che caratterizzò il movimento studentesco a tutti i livelli: dire no al voto e alla bocciatura significava «dissociarsi da meccanismi di selezione, ma [...] anche rifiutare l'investitura di un'autorità che era avvertita come autoritarismo»²³. Proprio la battaglia per l'abolizione del voto o in subordine del voto unico, ad esempio, condotta da una minoranza di maestri, in particolare iscritti al MCE o di esso simpatizzanti, mossi dall'intento comune di «lottare contro la scuola borghese che bocciava i figli dei proletari», diede luce a molti casi di repressione a cui si cercò di sfuggire con espedienti come quelli di compilare la pagella secondo i canoni ufficiali ma di consegnarla ai genitori solo in busta chiusa, al fine di non coinvolgere gli studenti in comparazioni meritocratiche, e di accompagnare il documento con giudizi motivati.

A queste istanze di carattere più prettamente politico (da non dimenticare in tal senso anche le battaglie condotte nel medesimo periodo sul «tempo pieno»), Marina Martignone aggiunge quelle di natura squisitamente didattica dove la proposta più alternativa avanzata negli anni del lungo Sessantotto «fu sicuramente la 'ricerca' che avrebbe dovuto sostituire le tradizionali materie (storia, geografia e scienze) insegnate attraverso il libro di testo e la lezione frontale»²⁴. L'insegnamento della storia, ad esempio, fondato sulla successione cronologica di guerre e grandi personaggi, infatti, apparve privo di senso sul piano storiografico e su quello pedagogico; così come la geografia, distinta

²² Sull'incontro e sul rapporto instauratosi tra Mario Lodi e Don Lorenzo Milani si veda il recente C. Lodi, F. Tonucci (edd.), *L'arte dello scrivere: incontro fra Mario Lodi e don Lorenzo Milani*, Drizzona, Casa delle arti e del gioco-Mario Lodi, 2017. Più in generale sul valore di *Lettera a una professoressa* e per un'interpretazione rigorosa e corretta della figura e dell'opera di Don Lorenzo Milani si segnala in particolare R. Sani, D. Simeone (edd.), *Don Lorenzo Milani e la scuola della parola: analisi storica e prospettive pedagogiche*, Macerata, eum, 2011.

²³ Cfr. Bacigalupi, Fossati, Martignone (edd.), *Il Sessantotto della scuola elementare*, cit., p. 85.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

«dalla storia e dallo studio delle diverse società umane con interagiscono con un territorio», rischiava di rivelarsi un inutile esercizio mnemonico. Anche nella scuola elementare, pertanto, seppur in maniera più lenta e meno tranciante rispetto a quanto sarebbe avvenuto in quegli anni per i livelli d'istruzione più alti, il rifiuto della didattica tradizionale avrebbe portato ad un mutamento dei metodi, dei contenuti e delle finalità educative dell'insegnamento oltre che alla definizione di un diverso ruolo dell'insegnante che diveniva di fatto «'un garante metodologico' di una ricerca di cui lui stesso non conosce i risultati, né le nuove direzioni di lavoro che si apriranno»²⁵.

Tutte le questioni ben sviluppate nella prima parte del libro curato da Bacigalupi, Fossati e Martignone, trovano un ulteriore approfondimento nella già ricordata parte seconda del volume, nella quale sono raccolte le testimonianze dirette di chi gli anni del Sessantotto, seppur nella maggiorparte dei casi con una giovane età anagrafica sulla carta d'identità, li ha vissuti in prima persona, taluni in qualità di studenti delle magistrali o universitari, altri quali maestri alle prime esperienze da insegnanti di scuola primaria. Così, tra chi scrive «di non aver avuto modo o voglia di prestare ascolto a quello che stava accadendo tra gli studenti» o chi, invece, non possedeva ancora la giusta maturità per «rendersene conto perché isolata nel mondo chiuso della scuola»²⁶, gli autori delle biografie, pur consapevoli di aver “respirato” solo in parte e non a pieni polmoni «l'aria della contestazione» di quei giorni, raccontano comunque «il disagio crescente nel riprodurre una scuola sempre uguale a sé stessa, tradizionale e autoritaria». Da qui, pertanto, l'avvio di una stimolante e costante ricerca di esperienze di innovazione ispirate ai classici dell'attivismo pedagogico.

Al volume *Il Sessantotto della scuola elementare*, dunque, il merito di aver fatto luce con coraggio storiografico e brillantezza espositiva su una vicenda, quella del rapporto tra la contestazione studentesca del Sessantotto e la «scuola dei bambini» che in pochi, come ricordato, «hanno avuto l'ardire di studiare e raccontare», ma comunque degna di attenzione e considerazione per le sue innumerevoli e non ancora ben nitide sfaccettature. Anche perché è innegabile che, come spiega bene Marcella Bacigalupi nelle interessanti riflessioni conclusive del testo (*E per finire, qualche domanda*), dieci anni dopo il Sessantotto anche la scuola elementare non fosse più

quella che era stata fino agli ultimi anni Sessanta; la didattica 'alternativa' e le riforme legislative che ne accoglievano – o stravolgevano? – non poche istanze avevano [di fatto] creato un nuovo 'senso comune' e un'immagine nuova del bambino, dell'insegnante, del ruolo stesso dell'istituzione scolastica²⁷.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

Forum / Discussioni

Cultura materiale della scuola e scolarizzazione

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Material School Culture and Schooling

ABSTRACT: This article focus on the material school culture to analyse the process of schooling. The dissemination of a school industry, the strategies mobilized to sell didactic material to schools and governments and the emergency of a school market at the end of Nineteen century are main the aspects discussed. From the circulation of a single artifact, the Museu Escolar Brasileiro (Brazilian School Museum) within three geographical spaces (Brazil, Portugal and France), it emphasis the importance of studying the activities of particular individuals (Joaquim José Menezes Vieira, Etienne Collet and Louis Conseil) and enterprises (*Maison Deyrolle*) to understand the context in which public and private elementary schools implemented new pedagogical trends, such as object lesson teaching methodology.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Material culture; School industry, Cultural translation; History of education; XXth-XXIth Centuries.

Per due decenni, lo scopo della mia ricerca è stato quello di investigare la scuola elementare nella sua materialità, e ciò ha dato origine al Nucleo Interdisciplinare di Studi e Ricerche in Storia della Pubblica Istruzione, che coordino presso l'Università di San Paolo, e ha già offerto risultati di ricerca con tesi di master e di dottorato, tra le quali cito quelle di Wiara Rosa Alcantara¹ sui banchi scolastici e Rachel Abdala² sulla fotografia scolastica.

¹ W. Alcantara, *Por uma história econômica da escola: a carteira escolar como vetor de relações (São Paulo, 1874-1914)*, Tesi, Facoltà di Educazione (USP), São Paulo, 2014.

² R. Abdala, *Fotografias escolares: práticas do olhar e representações sociais nos álbuns fotográficos da Escola Caetano de Campos (1895-1966)*, Tesi, Facoltà di Educazione (USP), São Paulo, 2013.

Durante questo periodo, il focus delle mie analisi si è gradualmente allargato dalle ricerche eseguite in Portogallo, Spagna, Francia e Inghilterra, che mi hanno permesso di stabilire relazioni tra la costituzione della scuola elementare in Brasile, e la circolazione internazionale di soggetti, strumenti, sussidi e modelli pedagogici. In questo percorso, hanno assunto importanza tanto il circuito delle Esposizioni Universali, come la nascita dell'industria scolastica, fiorita grazie al fenomeno della scuola dell'obbligo.

Nel porre la crescente espansione della cultura materiale scolastica nel centro del processo di scolarizzazione, concepisco la scuola come mercato e gli Stati nazionali come acquirenti di materiali scolastici (dai banchi ai quadri parietali, dai libri alle lavagne)³. Vale a dire che, così come Juri Meda⁴, mi dedico attentamente alla dimensione economica della scolarizzazione di massa. Allo stesso tempo, ho interpretato le appropriazioni e le traduzioni culturali come movimenti creativi dei soggetti di fronte ai repertori messi a loro disposizione⁵.

Con particolare interesse, studio la seconda metà dell'Ottocento, esaminando la confluenza tra la crescita di un'industria orientata verso la scuola, la partecipazione alle Esposizioni Universali come strategia per la diffusione dei prodotti e per l'apertura dei mercati internazionali, l'attività di soggetti educativi nella creazione e/o traduzione/appropriazione di materiali per uso scolastico e l'elaborazione di una legislazione scolastica che preveda la scuola dell'obbligo prefigurando ciò che sarebbe poi stato conosciuto, e ben ricorda Simonetta Polenghi⁶, come il secolo della infanzia.

Sfide teoriche e metodologiche

Le sfide di questa ricerca sono state molteplici e vanno dalla ricerca delle fonti alla riflessione teorica. Nel primo caso, in particolare, mi sono impegnata a trovare documenti che testimoniassero le transazioni commerciali tra i paesi. Una parte di questa documentazione è custodita dalle aziende, che in genere non si occupano del valore storico delle loro collezioni e non hanno una pratica sistematica di conservazione e di scarto. Al contrario, nei loro archivi più remoti prevalgono la legge delle urgenze commerciali e un certo numero di

³ D. Vidal, *A invenção da modernidade educativa: circulação internacional de modelos pedagógicos, sujeitos e objetos no Oitocentos*, in C. Cury, S. Mariano (edd.), *Múltiplas visões: cultura histórica no oitocentos*, João Pessoa, Editora Universitária da UFPB, 2009, pp. 39-58.

⁴ J. Meda, *Mezzi di educazione di massa*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2016.

⁵ D. Vidal, *O Museu Escolar Brasileiro: Brasil, Portugal e França no âmbito de uma história conectada (final do século XIX)*, in E. Lopes, L. Faria Filho, R. Fernandes (edd.), *Para a compreensão histórica da infância*, Belo Horizonte, Autêntica, 2007, pp. 199-220.

⁶ M. Gecchele, S. Polenghi, P. dal Toso (edd.), *Il Novecento: il secolo del bambino?*, Parma, Edizioni Junior, 2017.

documenti che sembrano salvati per caso. Spesso le aziende non esistono più, il che significa cercare di rintracciare, quando possibile, la traiettoria dei loro documenti. In quelle che sono ancora attive, la questione è quella di ottenere la fiducia dell'amministratore e riuscire ad avere accesso alla documentazione.

Il più delle volte, questo accesso viene filtrato dall'amministrazione che seleziona "ciò che interessa" al ricercatore, in base alla propria logica di gestione dei documenti e di preservazione dell'immagine aziendale, raggiunta dopo decenni nel mercato.

Un altro archivio importante per le indagini è relativo agli elenchi degli acquisti o dei magazzini degli Ispettorati di Istruzione o delle Scuole. La serie di lettere dei presidi sono di particolare valore per la ricerca. Con un po' di fortuna, riusciamo anche a trovare le fatture con il valore degli acquisti e la provenienza identificata. Nelle liste del materiale acquisito dal Magazzino o inviato alle scuole della pubblica amministrazione e negli inventari scolastici possiamo trovare informazioni sugli oggetti distribuiti.

Le relazioni degli insegnanti incaricati sono un'altra fonte rilevante di ricerca. Per giustificare la spesa pubblica con i viaggi e i soggiorni, gli insegnanti descrivono in dettaglio tutte le spese, offrendo un elenco diversificato e talvolta minuzioso del materiale di interesse per le lezioni osservate in visite a scuole o esposizioni straniere. Anche i cataloghi delle Esposizioni Universali e i cataloghi aziendali forniscono una ricca serie di informazioni per la ricerca. Gli elenchi costituiscono un repertorio di ciò che era disponibile nel periodo. L'intersezione delle varie fonti è spesso un lungo esercizio e non sempre produttivo. Le descrizioni dei sussidi e dei materiali scolastici differiscono nelle varie forme di registrazione.

I sussidi, a loro volta, sono difficilmente reperibili nelle scuole. I cambiamenti amministrativi o di indirizzo, i cambiamenti pedagogici e o il nuovo scopo della scuola promuovono lo scarto di tutto o quasi tutto ciò che è in disuso o che è stato probabilmente distrutto dall'uso frequente. Tuttavia, trovare tracce di questa cultura materiale scolastica può permetterci di capire qualcosa sull'operatività delle pratiche scolastiche precedenti, sul movimento di appropriazione di teorie e modelli pedagogici e sull'attesa efficacia delle riforme educative.

La sfida si estende all'apparato teorico. La problematica qui è ampia tanto quanto quella precedente. Inizialmente, si rivela piena di difficoltà in merito alle questioni metodologiche. In genere, le fonti sono piuttosto aride: liste di oggetti, caratteristiche tecniche, prezzi, tra gli altri elementi. Dare significato a questa documentazione richiede inventiva nell'elaborazione di tabelle e quadri, così come il continuo esercizio dell'interdisciplinarietà, non solo per quanto riguarda una storia economica (in parte ricostruita dagli studiosi), ma anche per un bilancio storico dei paesi (un aspetto ancora poco esplorato nella storiografia); inoltre si deve consultare la storia dell'industria, dei trasporti e delle relazioni diplomatiche e politiche stabilite tra i paesi. Richiede anche un dialogo con altri campi della storia dell'educazione, come la storia delle discipline scolastiche,

i saperi scientifici ed educativi, i soggetti scolastici, i modelli pedagogici e le riforme scolastiche.

Studiare i sussidi didattici nello spettro possibile della materialità, dei concetti pedagogici e scientifici e delle pratiche commerciali presuppone una conoscenza delle tecniche produttive, delle popolazioni scolastiche e della ricchezza delle nazioni (del loro apparato pubblico), delle scelte amministrative e politiche che determinano gli investimenti economici. La spinta teorica, dunque, si espande dal dibattito sulle forme d'internazionalizzazione esistenti ai modi di indagare queste relazioni multilaterali nel loro carattere storico.

Le nazioni europee e gli Stati Uniti d'America, ponendosi come veri e propri modelli, hanno avuto un ruolo rilevante nella diffusione globale delle teorie pedagogiche nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento. Da una parte, hanno favorito l'internazionalizzazione della conoscenza educativa; dall'altra, si sono offerti come «esempio straniero» da prendere a modello⁷. Tuttavia va notato che l'acquisizione di questi riferimenti è avvenuta in modo attivo. Più che un trapianto culturale, le soluzioni portate da altri paesi in terre brasiliane erano oggetto di traduzioni culturali. In questo senso, rivelano ciò che De Certeau⁸ definisce come il carattere produttivo del consumo culturale. Tale consumo soffre non solo i disagi del momento storico in cui opera, ma testimonia anche la capacità creativa dei soggetti storici.

La questione evidenzia una problematica già annunciata dagli antropologi culturali quando discutono sulla descrizione etnografica: la mediazione culturale. Per Clifford Geertz⁹, la cultura è costituita da reti di significato e la sua analisi può essere effettuata soltanto attraverso una scienza interpretativa. Marshall Sahlins¹⁰ afferma che «la cultura è l'ordinamento dei significati di persone e cose». La traduzione come trasposizione oggettiva risulta, nei due versanti, un'impossibilità. C'è sempre bisogno di una mediazione, di un'interpretazione, nel transito tra due culture. Questo aspetto ha fatto Maria Lucia Palhares-Burke concludere che «la ricezione di una cultura da parte di un'altra richiede, quindi, che essa sia tradotta da un intermediario»¹¹. Pensare a quei soggetti sociali, quei viaggiatori della seconda metà dell'Ottocento, non solo come mediatori culturali, ma come le voci dell'industria scolastica, che era a sua volta un mediatore culturale, impone, quindi, una doppia sfida: quella di capire lo sforzo consapevole che hanno fatto per rendere comprensibile «l'altro» e di

⁷ J. Schriewer, *Estados-modelo e sociedades de referência: externalização em processos de modernização*, in A. Novoa, J. Schriewer (edd.), *A difusão mundial da escola*, Lisboa, Educa, 2000, pp. 103-120.

⁸ M. de Certeau, *A invenção do cotidiano*, Petrópolis, Vozes, 1994.

⁹ C. Geertz, *A interpretação das culturas*, Rio de Janeiro, LTC Ed., 1989.

¹⁰ M. Sahlins, *História e Cultura*, Rio de Janeiro, Jorge Zahar Ed, 2006, p. 19.

¹¹ M.L. Palhares-Burke, *Nísia Floresta, O Carapuceiro e outros ensaios de tradução cultural*, São Paulo, Hucitec, 1996, p. 14.

riconoscere l'esistenza di processi inconsapevoli operati attraverso un ibridismo di culture.

La prospettiva sposta il nostro sguardo ai confini, intesi non solo come delle barriere, ma piuttosto come un passaggio tra le società e le culture, un movimento che vede mischiare il punto di partenza a quello di arrivo. E ci fa riconoscere che le pratiche culturali non sono mai pure, ma sono, invece, il risultato del meticciamento, costituito come mezzo che i soggetti hanno di situarsi davanti all'eterogeneità dei beni e dei messaggi che hanno nei loro circuiti culturali e come forma di affermazione delle identità sociali¹². Il procedimento sembra offrire sussidi per lo studio della circolazione di modelli e strumenti pedagogici, e della sua decifrazione e traduzione, da parte dei soggetti nel commercio mondiale. In questa direzione, si può supporre che, oltre al processo di diffusione delle società di riferimento, sia fattibile esaminare quello che ho inteso definire «contromovimenti» di diffusione, ossia la divulgazione effettuata da centri non tradizionalmente concepiti come diffusori, combinando macrostoria dei sistemi scolastici alle microanalisi delle pratiche sociali e scolastiche.

Al centro di questo impegno di ricerca c'è la questione su come la modernità educativa è stata reinventata, a partire da un segno di progresso che associava lo sviluppo scientifico ed educativo all'espansione materiale della scuola. La costruzione architettonica e il crescente acquisto e distribuzione di materiale scolastico hanno contribuito sia alla razionalizzazione dell'insegnamento e alla diffusione di metodi simultanei e intuitivi, sia alla risposta ai dettami dell'igiene, regolando gli spazi collettivi e individuali.

I criteri in base ai quali il concetto di efficienza scolastica è stato costruito, e che era particolarmente evidente alla fine dell'Ottocento, hanno condiviso lo stesso immaginario produttivo della rivoluzione industriale che concepiva la gradazione della scuola come flusso e l'investimento nell'istruzione come fattore regolato dalla logica dei costi-benefici. In questo senso l'industria è stata (e lo è ancora) invitata a partecipare allo sforzo di promozione della scuola, il che ci fa riflettere sugli effetti dello sviluppo industriale nell'invenzione della scuola moderna.

Per dare a queste domande la forma di un programma di ricerca, mi dedicherò a discutere qui su un oggetto specifico: il «Museo della scuola brasiliana». Nazionalizzazione del «Musée Scolaire Deyrolle», a carico di Menezes Vieira, direttore del «Museo del *Pedagogium*» del Brasile. L'analisi intende associare la discussione su un modello pedagogico, che circolava nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento – il metodo intuitivo –, al transito internazionale di individui, tra i quali cito Joaquim Jose Menezes Vieira, Etienne Collet e Louis Conseil, legati alla produzione industriale di una casa commerciale, la *Maison Deyrolle*, a Parigi; e ancora a una problematica specifica, la traduzione culturale¹³.

¹² N. Canclini, *Culturas híbridas*, São Paulo, EdUSP, 2003.

¹³ D. Vidal, *Transnational education in the late nineteenth century: Brazil, France and*

L'era dei musei pedagogici e scolastici

L'Ottocento è noto come l'era dei musei. Le vecchie raccolte, nate per esporre oggetti di varia provenienza, avevano lasciato il posto ai musei etnografici, «istituzioni dedicate alla raccolta, conservazione, esposizione, studio e interpretazione di oggetti materiali», come ci ricorda Lilia Schwarcz¹⁴. L'istituzione cristallizzava i nuovi metodi per lo studio del reale. Da un lato riuniva artefatti e documenti, collezionando frammenti di realtà che assicuravano al passato una memoria. Dall'altro, forniva le materie prime e produceva documenti per le indagini sull'umano e sul naturale.

Metteva così in evidenza la nuova intelligibilità che disegnava i profili dello scienziato. In essa, decifrare la natura avrebbe portato a decifrare l'umano, costruendo una conoscenza positiva del mondo.

Il movimento si è espanso verso l'ambito educativo e si è valso della diffusione delle Esposizioni Universali. Come mezzo per mantenere gli oggetti e i documenti scolastici prodotti o portati per essere esibiti in questi eventi, per offrire modelli di pratiche pedagogiche e risorse didattiche e per servire alla formazione dei maestri della scuola elementare, sono stati creati musei pedagogici nei vari paesi in cui le Esposizioni Universali sono state realizzate, fin dalla sua prima edizione. Così, nel 1857, il «Museo di South Kensington» fu installato a Londra come risultato dell'Esposizione Universale del 1851; e nel 1878, il «Musée Pédagogique» in Francia, per citarne solo due esempi ben noti.

Un'altra modalità di museo ha invaso l'universo educativo: il museo della scuola. Esso consisteva di collezioni di sussidi e quadri murali, offerti come risorse didattiche per l'insegnamento elementare delle scienze naturali, in particolare, ma anche di storia e geografia. La proposta era strettamente legata alla prescrizione di insegnamento per aspetti, che veniva chiamato anche come metodo intuitivo o lezioni di cose. Considerato come manifestazione della modernità educativa e come riferimento fondamentale nel tracciato delle riforme educative e nel dibattito politico, il metodo intuitivo emergeva come prescrizione dalla penna dei più rinomati educatori stranieri. Ferdinand Buisson¹⁵ garantiva che usare questo metodo permetteva di riconoscere il bisogno di spontaneità, di varietà e d'iniziativa intellettuale del bambino. Ripeteva i precetti già enunciati da lui stesso nel 1878, quando impartì una conferenza a Parigi all'Esposizione Universale.

Il metodo intuitivo apriva le porte della scuola per introdurre una grande serie di materiali da essere osservati e toccati dai bambini nel loro processo di acquisizione delle conoscenze, perché predicava che l'apprendimento doveva

Portugal connected by a school museum, «History of Education», vol. 47, 2017, pp. 1-14.

¹⁴ L. Schwarcz, *O Espetáculo das Raças. Cientistas, Instituições e Pensamento Racial No Brasil: 1870-1930*, São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 1993, p. 98.

¹⁵ F. Buisson, *Dictionnaire de pédagogie et d'instruction primaire*, Etablissement du texte, présentation et notes par Pierre Hayat, Paris, Editions Kime, 2000 [1880-1887], p. 159.

partire dai sensi per arrivare all'intelletto e privilegiava la conoscenza di ciò che era vicino per raggiungere quello che è lontano, o del concreto per raggiungere l'astratto. Associando a questo movimento le premesse dell'insegnamento simultaneo, che prevedeva lo stesso ritmo di apprendimento a tutti gli studenti di una classe, a partire dall'uso di materiale comune, e i precetti dell'educazione obbligatoria, che sostenevano l'estensione della scuola all'intera popolazione infantile, così, i difensori delle lezioni di cose invitavano l'industria a partecipare all'importante lavoro di diffusione dell'insegnamento.

Vedendo nella scuola ufficiale un mercato favorevole e nello Stato il principale acquirente affidabile, l'industria scolastica comincia a prosperare nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento. La produzione di libri scolastici forse è il ramo industriale più studiato dall'Accademia. Ma non l'unico. Nei cataloghi dell'epoca c'era la propaganda di banchi di scuola, armadi, tavoli, sedie, scheletri, globi, strumenti ottici, utensili, esemplari di zoologia e di botanica, tra molti altri materiali. Le scuole si offrivano come un potenziale mercato per la produzione di questi articoli.

La *Maison Deyrolle* l'ha subito capito. Creata nel 1831 da Jean-Baptiste Deyrolle, la *Maison* ha cominciato a produrre i suoi quadri per la scuola nel 1861, sotto l'amministrazione del naturalista Emile Deyrolle, e già nel 1870 aveva come principale acquirente il governo francese. Secondo la storia fatta dall'azienda, tra il 1865 e il 1885 in Francia, l'insegnamento e i suoi budget si sono fortemente sviluppati. L'aumento del numero di scuole nelle zone rurali e urbane, come conseguenza delle leggi sulla gratuità e sull'obbligo dell'istruzione elementare, la secolarizzazione e l'espansione dei programmi educativi, incorporando le scienze naturali e la diffusione della pedagogia visiva, che imponevano l'aumento delle risorse materiali disponibili per l'apprendimento sono state le ragioni per la creazione del museo scolastico, con la serie di quadri adattati non solo a tutti i livelli scolastici (prescolare, elementare, secondario e tecnico), ma anche ai vari «budget»¹⁶.

S'inizia, così, una nuova fase in cui la *Maison* diventava «essenzialmente una società che fornisce materiali didattici»¹⁷. Oltre ai sussidi di storia naturale, ha prodotto quadri parietali e modelli anatomici e ha iniziato a distribuire strumenti scientifici come rivenditore. Conquistato il governo francese, la compagnia ha cercato di espandersi, disputando nuovi mercati.

Nel caso del Brasile, il suo investimento è stato timido all'inizio. La compagnia non è venuta all'Esposizione Pedagogica del 1883 a Rio de Janeiro, la quale ha riunito delegati provenienti da Belgio, Stati Uniti, Germania, Olanda, Portogallo e Argentina¹⁸. Ha esposto, invece, il suo museo scolastico alla Casa

¹⁶ L.A. Broglie, *Deyrolle, um cabinet de curiosité parisien*, Paris, Flammarion, 2017.

¹⁷ C.M. Silva, *Museus escolares no estado de São Paulo (1879-1942)*, Mestrado em Educação, PUC-SP, 2015, p. 58.

¹⁸ *ACTAS e pareceres do Congresso da Instrução*, 1882-1883, Rio de Janeiro, Typographia Nacional, 1884.



Fig. 1. Album fotografico della Scuola Normale Caetano de Campos (1895). (Collezione: Centro de Referência em Educação Mário Covas – CRE, Secretaria do Estado de Educação de São Paulo. [Centro di Riferimento della Pubblica Istruzione Mário Covas – CRE Segreteria dello stato di San Paolo].

Walcker¹⁹. Meno di dieci anni dopo, nel 1892, tra i quadri che coprivano tutte le pareti interne dell'edificio, scale, stanze, corridoi della sede del «Museo del *Pedagogium*», c'erano esemplari editi da Emile Deyrolle²⁰. Forse erano ancora delle versioni francesi, tuttavia, nell'album fotografico prodotto per la Scuola Normale di San Paolo nel 1895, i quadri della *Maison* Deyrolle tradotte in portoghese-brasiliano erano appesi alle pareti della sala dell'ispettorato.

Non solo a Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo si sono trovate tracce dell'acquisizione di materiali forniti dalla ditta. Altre province come Maranhão, Santa Catarina e Rio Grande do Sul testimoniano la loro presenza²¹. Per promuovere gli affari,

¹⁹ A.R. Schelbauer, *A constituição do metodo de ensino intuitivo na Província de São Paulo (1870-1889)*, Doutorado, Faculdade de Educação (USP), 2003.

²⁰ «Revista Pedagógica», 1892.

²¹ C. Castro (ed.), *Cultura material escolar: a escola e seus artefatos (MA, SP, PR, SC e RS,*

la *Maison Deyrolle* ha stabilito due strategie che convergevano. La prima è stata quella di stabilire rappresentanze commerciali in Brasile; la seconda la nazionalizzazione del «Musée Scolaire Deyrolle». Ma ne parleremo ancora più avanti.

Mediatori commerciali e culturali

Nel Libro di Corrispondenza del Preside della Scuola Normale di San Paolo si fa riferimento all'acquisto, nel 1893, di pezzi di anatomia umana e anatomia comparata e anche di modelli di fiori e frutti prodotti dalla *Maison Deyrolle*. Se ne fa anche menzione del rappresentante commerciale della Casa nel Libro di Corrispondenza Ufficiale della Direzione della Scuola Normale della Capitale. Le trattative con Etienne Collet, che descrivono in dettaglio gli elementi dell'acquisto e gli iter burocratici per la liberazione dei fondi da parte della Segreteria dello Stato degli Affari Interni e per lo sdoganamento della merce, possono essere consultate dalle copie di diversi documenti registrati nei due libri tra l'ottobre 1893 e il maggio 1894.

Collet, di origine francese, era proprietario di uno stabilimento commerciale a San Paolo, situato a Rua XV de Novembro, in centro, che si occupava della vendita di gioielli, bigiotterie e orologi. Nel 1890 il negozio fu distrutto da un incendio e Etienne Collet, dopo aver ricevuto l'indennizzo, si è trasferito a Rio de Janeiro. Nel 1892, il «Jornal do Commercio», ha pubblicato la notizia del suo ritorno dal viaggio in Europa e ha partecipato all'apertura di un ufficio nella città di Rio de Janeiro, per fungere da rappresentante delle seguenti case: A. Champigny & C; J. Ruch & Fils, Syndicat Commercial Material & Furniture, tutte di Parigi. La *Maison Deyrolle* era una delle aziende consorziate al Syndicat Commercial. Questo è probabilmente il momento iniziale del commercio della *Maison* con il Brasile.

Dalle notizie pubblicate sui giornali di Rio de Janeiro, Collet è rimasto come rappresentante del Syndicat Commercial fino al 1898²². Nel 1899, Louis Conseil si è presentato come agente del Syndicat Commercial degli arredi e dei materiali didattici di Parigi per tutto il Brasile e ha invitato per l'esposizione delle case Delagrave, Deyrolle ecc.²³ Tuttavia, tra una rappresentazione e l'altra, sono emersi altri partner commerciali. Nel 1894, il quotidiano «A Noticia» riportava una pubblicità della libreria F. Briguiet e Cia, la quale si consolidava come casa editrice del «Museo della Scuola Deyrolle» de Menezes Vieira, ed elencava i 20 quadri parietali costitutivi della 1ª serie pubblicata.

1870-1925), São Luis, Cafe & Lapis, 2011.

²² «Almanack Laemmert», 1898 e 1899.

²³ «A Notícia», 1894 e 1899.

Indústrias e Profissões do Brazil 1893

ETIENNE COLLET

ESCRITORIO
78 Rua Primeiro de Março 78
RIO DE JANEIRO
C. DO CORREIO N. 405 — END. TELEGRAPHICO «COLLET-Rio»

REPRESENTAÇÃO E CONSIGNAÇÃO

Unico agente no Rio de Janeiro de:
A. Champigny & C.—Especialidades pharmaceuticas, productos chimicos e hygienicos.
J. Ruch & Fils.—Fabrica especial de côres de anilina.
Dr. Quesneville.—Preparados pharmaceuticos.
Mariaud.—Fabrica de instrumentos de cirurgia

E DO

SYNDICATO DE MOBILIA E MATERIAL ESCOLARES,

Composto das seguintes Notabilidades Comerciaes :

Adnet.—Fabrica de instrumentos para laboratorios.
Bertaux.—Globos, esferas, mappas em relevo, atlas, etc.
Cordierie centrale.—Apparechos gymnasticos, cordões, etc.
Delagrave (Ch.)—Livros, mobilia e material escolares, globos, atlas, mappas geographicos, modelos de desenho e de presso.
Deyrolle (E.)—Collecções de historia natural, zoologia, botânica, mineralogia, anatomia, quadros de technologia.
Foulon et Quantin.—Compassos, esquadrias, material de desenho.
Guillard, Aillaud et C.—Mappas e atlas geographicos em portuguez. Livros classicos e livros para premios em portuguez. Especialidade de impressões em portuguez.
Librairies et Imprimeries réunies (Antiga casa Quantin, Morel, Motteroz e Marinet).—Modelos de desenho, modelos de presso.
Noël.—Fabrica de instrumentos de physica.
Picart.—Fabrica de instrumentos de precisão.
Petit (E.)—Fabrica de saboões e perfumarias.
Pouze, O'Reilly et C.—Fabrica de prumas metallicas, lapis, canetas (marca Stany, Pouze et C.).
Société centrale de produits chimiques (Antiga casa Boussean)—Fabrica de productos chimicos, instrumentos e laboratorios de chimica, etc.
Société générale des Téléphones.—Fabrica de material de telephonia, tecidos de borracha para roupas, etc., etc.
Suzanne et Havez.—Ardozias falsas, telas ardozadas, mappas ardozados e mobilia escolar

Encarrega-se de qualquer fornecimento para as escolas publicas e particulares, laboratorios, hygiene publico, faculdades de medicina, escolas superiores, etc., etc.

Fig. 2

un'intera rete, nella quale il commercio e la rappresentanza consolare erano intrecciati, con lo scopo di promuovere le esportazioni verso le terre brasiliane. L'espedito ha avuto successo, e tra il 1850 e la fine dell'Ottocento, la Francia è diventata il secondo maggior fornitore in Brasile²⁶.

L'associazione tra Emille Deyrolle e Joaquim Jose Menezes Vieira fa parte di questo scenario di ricerca per l'espansione del mercato scolastico. È probabile che si siano messi in contatto nel 1889, quando Menezes Vieira ha partecipato come delegato brasiliano del *Congrès International de l'Enseignement Primaire*,

L'anno seguente, la «Gazeta de noticias» annunciava l'inaugurazione del nuovo edificio del «Museo del *Pedagogium*» e l'arrivo della seconda serie di quadri, undici in tutto, di Menezes Vieira di F. Briguiet e Cia. Tra il 1897 e il 1898, l'«Almanack Laemmert» ha trasmesso la notizia che Charle Vautelet & C era il rappresentante delle case Ch. Delagrave, M. Deyrolle, tra altre.

Come si può vedere, Deyrolle ha cercato diversi partner per la distribuzione dei suoi prodotti e per l'apertura di nuovi mercati. Il catalogo della *Maison* del 1897 ha dedicato due pagine ai quadri «editati appositamente per il Centro America e il Sud America», e suddivisi in tre serie con lo scopo di soddisfare i bisogni educativi di questi paesi²⁴. L'investimento, però, è stato tutt'altro che isolato. Secondo Bivar e Samara²⁵, per competere con l'Inghilterra e la Germania nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento, la Francia ha creato

²⁴ Les Fils d'Emile Deyrolle, *Fabrique du Mobilier et du Matériel Scolaires pour les enseignements maternel, primaire, secondaire et superieur*, Paris, Les Fils d'Emile Deyrolle, 1897, pp. 30-31.

²⁵ V. Bivar, E. Samara, *Do outro lado do Atlântico: imigrantes franceses na São Paulo do seculo XIX*, in L. Vidal, T. De Lucca, *Franceses no Brasil, seculos XIX e XX*, São Paulo, EdUNESP, 2009, pp. 209-230.

²⁶ J.L. Mialhe, *A emigração francesa para o Brasil pelo porto de Bordeaux: seculos XIX e XX*, in Vidal, De Lucca, *Franceses no Brasil, seculos XIX e XX*, cit., pp. 43-66.

tenutosi dall'11 al 16 agosto, nell'ambito delle iniziative legate all'Esposizione Universale di Parigi, in cui la Maison Deyrolle figurava come espositore.

L'anno seguente, l'educatore brasiliano avrebbe assunto la prestigiosa posizione di direttore del recentemente creato «Museo del *Pedagogium*». Lui contava su un'esperienza editoriale nella produzione di materiale didattico, essendo lui stesso l'autore dell'*Album, con otto quadri per l'insegnamento intuitivo della storia del Brasile*. Le due credenziali, quella di direttore e di produttore di materiali didattici, sono state usate dalla *Maison*. Il «Museo della scuola brasiliana» aveva come sottotitolo *Nazionalizzazione del Musée Scolaire Deyrolle* di Menezes Vieira, direttore del «Museo del *Pedagogium*» del Brasile, ed è stato distribuito dalla libreria F. Briguier e Cia.

La pubblicazione dei quadri è cominciata anche prima del 1893, quando la *Maison* era passata sotto il controllo dei figli di Emile Deyrolle e ha assunto la nomenclatura *Maison Emile Deyrolle e Les Fils d'Emile Deyrolle*²⁷. Nel 1894, Menezes Vieira annunciava che avrebbe donato i diritti d'autore ricevuti fino al 31 dicembre 1895 all'Associazione Commemorativa e Beneficiante dell'Istituto dei Ciechi Benjamin Constant. La sua produzione è terminata nel 1897. Con la morte di Menezes Vieira, la collezione è stata sostituita dal «Museo della Scuola Industriale», forse come un modo per prevenire le richieste dei diritti d'autore da parte dei parenti di Vieira²⁸.

La serie originale della *Maison* era composta da 110 quadri, secondo Joana de Faria²⁹. Eppure non è chiaro se tutti siano stati tradotti da Menezes Vieira prima della sua morte. Il registro di due serie corrisponde ad almeno 31 quadri. La distribuzione non era limitata al Brasile. Esempari dei quadri parietali del «Museo della scuola brasiliana» sono stati trovati in Portogallo, al «Museo della scuola Oliveira Lopes», a Valega, Ovar, nel distretto di Aveiro. I quadri fatti per il Brasile sono state venduti a scuole portoghesi, fatto che dimostra la redditività dell'investimento, e allo stesso tempo ci invita a interrogarci sugli effetti di questa circolazione «inaspettata» o, direi, di questo contromovimento di diffusione.

Traduzione e appropriazione culturale

Se è probabile che l'associazione tra la *Maison* e Menezes Vieira fosse una strategia di vendita, la proposta di nazionalizzazione dei quadri, inscritta nel sottotitolo, si riferisce a quella che definisco traduzione culturale. Nelle

²⁷ J.B. Faria, *Os quadros parietais nas escolas do Sudeste Brasileiro (1890-1970)*, Doutorado, Puc-SP, 2017, p. 100.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

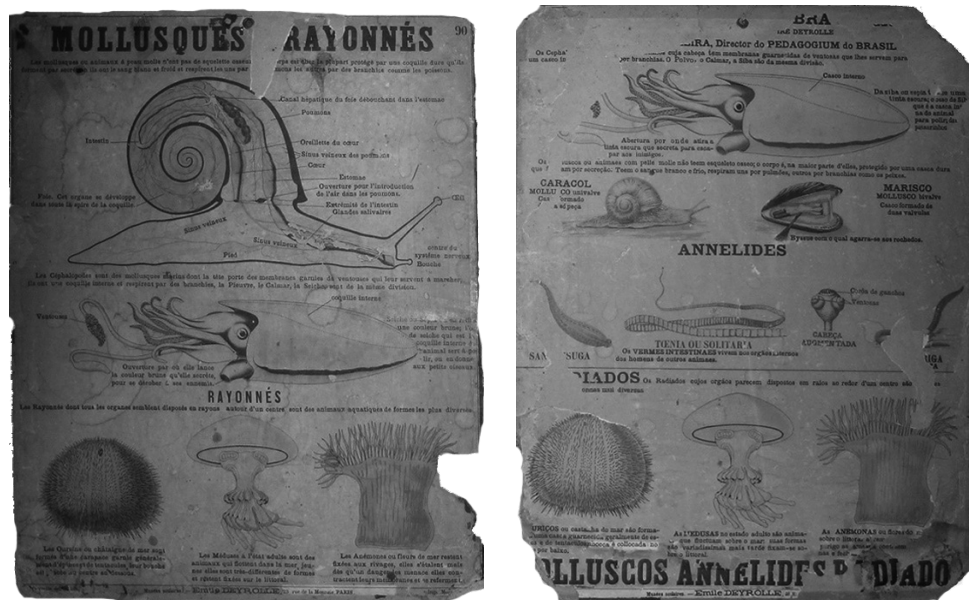


Fig. 3. Quadri parietali della Scuola Normale Caetano de Campos. (Collezione: Centro de Referência em Educação Mário Covas – CRE, Secretaria do Estado de Educação de São Paulo. [Centro de Riferimento della Pubblica Istruzione Mário Covas – CRE Segreteria dello stato di San Paolo]. Fotografia di Pedro Gonçalves Moreira, giugno 2005).

pubblicazioni precedenti³⁰ ho cercato di dimostrare che, nella traduzione, Menezes Vieira ha cambiato i contenuti, oltre a riorganizzare le immagini rendendo il sussidio più adatto a ciò che concepiva più adeguato per l'uso nelle scuole elementari brasiliane. Faccio un breve esempio qui, paragonando due quadri, apparentemente uguali, dell'Archivio della Scuola Caetano de Campos.

I quadri parietali contenevano lo stesso disegno editoriale (dimensione del quadro, organizzazione grafica del materiale, carattere tipografico e disegno degli animali) e lo stesso gruppo di immagini di molluschi (lumaca e calamaro) e di ricci, meduse e anemoni. Tuttavia, mentre il quadro francese enfatizzava la lumaca, identificando i suoi organi interni, quello del «Museo della scuola brasiliana» includeva le immagini di cozze al gruppo di molluschi e aggiungeva il gruppo di anellidi (sanguisuga, tenia – con la sua testa prominente – e ascaride).

³⁰ Vidal, *O Museu Escolar Brasileiro: Brasil, Portugal e França no âmbito de uma história conectada (final do século XIX)*, cit; Ead., *Transnational education in the late nineteenth century: Brazil, France and Portugal connected by a school museum*, cit.

È possibile che i cambiamenti nei quadri indichino aspetti sociali e culturali dell'insegnamento delle Scienze Naturali alla fine dell'Ottocento nelle scuole elementari. La sezione della chiocciola sul quadro francese può significare uno sguardo più attento a un mollusco usato spesso in cucina. Con lo studio dettagliato degli organi interni, l'insegnante avrebbe avuto l'opportunità di fornire raccomandazioni sulla corretta pulizia dell'animale, distinguendo ciò che era commestibile. L'inserimento di sanguisuga, della tenia e dell'ascaride sul quadro brasiliano, a sua volta, può riferirsi a preoccupazioni sulla prevenzione e la cura di malattie comuni in Brasile, nelle comunità che vivono in condizioni sanitarie inadeguate. Così, avrebbe fornito consigli su come evitare, identificare i sintomi e curare tali malattie. La frase «vermi intestinali vivono negli organi interni degli uomini e di altri animali», riportata in calce, rafforza l'ipotesi.

Inoltre, l'inclusione delle cozze nei quadri brasiliani potrebbe avere la stessa funzione della sezione della lumaca nel quadro francese. Sarebbe forse un invito all'insegnante a richiamare l'attenzione sulla cura necessaria per pulire l'animale prima della cottura: una questione particolarmente importante per gli studenti delle regioni di mare, come quella di Rio de Janeiro, dove l'abitudine di mangiare cozze è ancora diffusa tra la popolazione.

La preoccupazione per la salute del bambino era diventato un tema importante alla fine dell'Ottocento in Brasile (così come in Francia) e Menezes Vieira ne era consapevole. Aveva frequentato la Scuola di Medicina di Rio de Janeiro nel 1860. Nell'istituzione, aveva condiviso con quel gruppo intellettuale (e professionale) che credeva che l'igiene offriva argomenti per l'intrusione medica in tutti i campi sociali e politici, per promuovere la prevenzione di malattie, non solo nello spazio pubblico della scuola, ma anche nello spazio privato della casa. Il cambiamento di abitudini ritenute «ignoranti» e la diffusione della «civiltà» emergevano come proposte di questo nuovo ordine. L'inclusione delle cozze, delle sanguisughe, della solitaria e della tenia nei quadri del «Museo della scuola brasiliana» rappresentava quindi la produzione di conoscenze e pratiche scolastiche, fondate sulle conoscenze positive e sulla razionalità della scienza. Simultaneamente traduceva questo nuovo posto assunto dalla medicina nel disciplinamento dei corpi e nell'ordinamento del sociale.

Osservazioni finali

Il fatto di trovare quadri del «Museo della scuola brasiliana» nelle scuole portoghesi suscita interrogativi sulla circolazione dei materiali e sul ruolo dell'industria nella diffusione di modelli culturali. La nazionalizzazione condotta dall'educatore brasiliano presentava delle sfide nella sua incorporazione della parte relativa alla scuola portoghese. Dopotutto, più della lingua, ciò che era

in discussione nelle traduzioni di Menezes Vieira era l'adattamento dei quadri francesi al contesto culturale della scuola brasiliana.

La problematica rimanda alla nozione dei collegamenti su molteplici scale che hanno promosso la circolazioni di modelli, oggetti e persone alla fine dell'Ottocento, come risultato del fenomeno dell'internazionalizzazione delle società e delle culture. Questo ci invita a pensare alla comprensione degli effetti della progressiva standardizzazione dei processi educativi e dell'intrusione dell'industria nella creazione di richieste scolastiche sempre rinnovate. Provoca, infine, la percezione di come i materiali siano stati diversamente adattati dalle pratiche scolastiche come effetto del consumo produttivo di insegnanti e studenti.

Field trips and other teaching resources in natural and social sciences: educational implications from past experiences in Spanish primary schools*

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ABSTRACT: This paper describes the use of Natural and Social Sciences teaching resources in Spanish primary schools during the second half of the 20th century, based on

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quantitative and qualitative analysis of 250 recollections of retired teachers. Differences were identified between groups of teachers determined by gender, previous teaching context (urban vs rural) and higher education qualifications. Our results show that the academic background had a direct impact on the variety and type of teaching resources used and was a determinant factor to promote experiential learning. The study also highlights the comprehensive use of school field trips in the past as teaching resources to motivate students and develop different inquiry skills. Finally, the importance of mastering different educational resources in the teaching profession is discussed.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Natural sciences; Social sciences; Teaching resources; Primary education; School field trips; Spain; XXth Century.

Introduction

Over the last decades, Natural and Social Sciences education has significantly evolved in keeping with society's demands, the education system's requirements and the new educational approaches that have emerged. The latter, alongside the own teachers and the educational resources used within the classroom, play a crucial role in the learning process and in teaching strategies aimed at achieving specific goals. Nowadays, it is widely accepted that student-centred and active learning strategies (e.g., inquiry-based learning, problem- and project-based learning or cooperative learning, among others) are essential to engage students in constructing deep understanding of sciences and developing inquiry skills¹; accordingly, this point of view was included in several curriculum reforms in many European countries². In such active learning communities, teachers need to select and use effectively accurate tools and materials that can support student thinking in a different way from traditional classrooms.

The term teaching and learning resource, in its full range, would encompass all types of materials, equipment, formats and means that, appropriately integrated, reinforce teacher and student performance in the classroom, enhancing and facilitating the teaching and learning processes. A more elaborate definition describes them as «any resource that teachers may envisage to use in the design or development of the curriculum – by them or by the students – to deliver or facilitate contents, mediate in learning experiences, promote meetings or situations, develop cognitive skills, support their methodological strategies or facilitate and enrich assessment»³. Other authors understand teaching resources

¹ R. Arends, *Learning to teach*. New York, McGraw Hill, 2011.

² M. Rocard, P. Csermely, D. Jorde, D. Lenzen, H.Y. Walweg Henriksson, V. Hemmo, *Science Education NOW: A renewed Pedagogy for the Future of Europe*, Brussels: European Commission, <https://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/document_library/pdf_06/report-rocard-on-science-education_en.pdf> (last access: 25.07.2018).

³ E.F. Blázquez, *Los Recursos en el currículo*, in O. Saenz (ed.), *Didáctica General. Un enfoque curricular*, Alcoy, Marfil, 1994, pp. 501-527.

as materials that can play different roles according to how they are used, highlighting, among others, those of guiding learning, providing information and procuring simulations that afford contexts for observation, exploration and experimentation⁴. The purpose of teaching and learning resources not only does it consist of making the educational process more attractive and motivating, but it also encourages some other positive things, such as the evoking of prior knowledge, the development of different skills and creativity, the promotion of desirable values and attitudes of students, and the retention of desirable knowledge⁵. From this perspective, high objective quality is not enough for a resource to be used in the classroom and for it to be an effective means to achieve learning goals, but it is also necessary to consider the extent to which its specific characteristics are consistent with certain curricular aspects of the educational context. In the light of these definitions and characteristics, it seems reasonable to assume that teachers' awareness of the wide range of classroom resources available and how each of them is used, can facilitate students' access to effective and active learning, motivating them and arousing their interest, all of which entails improvement in teaching quality based on multiple situations or experiences.

Teaching and learning resources are varied: some are visual, others are based on listening, and others are entirely hands-on. Although their effective use depends on a number of factors, it is strongly conditioned by the teaching model as a whole, the teacher's knowledge and training in itself, the activities proposed and the teaching strategies used. In this regard, for example, there are certain resources whose nature encourages students to adopt a passive approach (e.g., textbook) and others that are more interactive and foster participation (e.g., school field trips). Focusing on their capacity to provide students with learning experiences, resources could be classified as follows⁶:

- Direct experiential resources: real objects that can be used at any time as part of the teaching-learning activity, within or outside the classroom, to expose students to direct experience. Some examples could be animals, plants, rocks and minerals, household objects, school field trips to visit natural places, agricultural or industrial facilities, etc.
- Structural or school context resources: those that are part of the school's own facilities and whose sole and main purpose is to contribute to the teaching process. For example: libraries, laboratories, sports halls, computer rooms, etc.
- Symbolic resources: resources that, while not presenting the real object, can bring reality to students through symbols or images. Examples are: printed material (texts, textbooks, maps, prints, notebooks, etc.), non-projectable fixed material (terrestrial

⁴ P. Marqués, *Los medios didácticos*, <<http://peremarques.pangea.org/medios.htm>> (last access: 20.07.2018).

⁵ R. Bušljeta, *Effective use of teaching and learning resources*, «Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal», vol. 5, n. 2, 2013, pp. 55-69.

⁶ Blázquez, *Los Recursos en el currículo*, cit.

globes, miniatures, models, blackboards, etc.) and material conveyed using technological means (information technology, videos, projectors, etc.).

Nowadays it is difficult to imagine the educational process without the use of different modern digital and symbolic teaching resources. Despite the wealth of resources available, textbooks have always been the central axis of the educational process since the moment they became implemented in the classroom⁷. Indeed, textbooks in Spain have become the regulatory instrument (either in physical or digital format) for the design and development of the actual teaching curriculum⁸. Although theoretical academicism generally rejects it on the grounds of the excessive – and sometimes exclusive and isolated – use of this resource, a large majority of the Spanish teachers works with textbooks on a daily basis, trying to adapt them to their context so that they may be useful for both teachers and students⁹. Their use, though it can be manifold, tends to foster content memorization, so that students are asked to read science when they are supposed to be experiencing it¹⁰. It should also be noted that «textbooks can hardly be established as the only educational resource or as the only source of information in the classroom»¹¹. Hence, there is a clear need for incorporating additional resources with high teaching potential that may improve the teaching-learning process at school and that may generate situations and experiences where students can actively get involved in their own learning.

There are very few studies focused on measuring the use of direct experiential resources in real classroom contexts in European countries. In Spain are noteworthy those developed from the views of Faculty of Education students doing their trainee period in different schools of Seville¹². This analysis of real science teaching practices in schools is crucial, since it could contribute to bridging the growing gap between the Science Teaching research and classroom

⁷ S.S. Stodolsky. *The subject matters. Classroom Activity in Math and Social Studies*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1988.

⁸ G. B. Braga, J.L.D. Belver, *El análisis de libros de texto: una estrategia metodológica en la formación de los profesionales de la educación*, «Revista Complutense de Educación», vol. 27, n. 1, 2016, pp. 199-218.

⁹ J.M.G. Méndez, *El papel de los materiales curriculares en la intervención educativa*, «Revista de Educación», vol. 3, 2001, pp. 221-229.

¹⁰ A.E. Friedl, *Enseñar ciencias a los niños*, Barcelona, Gedisa, 2000.

¹¹ M. Occelli, N.E. Valeiras, *Los libros de texto de ciencias como objeto de investigación: una revisión bibliográfica*, «Enseñanza de las Ciencias», vol. 31, n. 2, 2013, pp. 133-152.

¹² T. Escobar, J.E. Vílchez, *Percepción de los estudiantes de magisterio durante el prácticum sobre las clases reales de ciencias en Educación Primaria*, in R. Jiménez (ed.), *Actas de los XXIII Encuentros de Didáctica de las Ciencias Experimentales*, Almería, Universidad de Almería, 2008, pp. 583-592; J.E. Vílchez, T. Escobar, *Uso de laboratorio, huerto escolar y visitas a centros de naturaleza en Primaria: Percepción de los futuros maestros durante sus prácticas docentes*, «Revista electrónica de Enseñanza de las Ciencias», vol. 13, n. 2, 2014, pp. 222-241.

practices¹³. Likewise, awareness of the used popular Social and Natural Sciences teaching resources in schools during the last decades can be very helpful to understand and analyse the strengths and weaknesses of these resources, thus favouring teachers' interests and needs, and also the development of tools and materials based in current active pedagogical framework. Furthermore, this direct contact with real educational practice could serve to enhance the use of accurate and effective materials in teachers' early and lifelong training, contributing to a future implementation of active educational methodologies that require greater student engagement.

From this standpoint, this study approaches the use of teaching and learning resources associated with science education in Spanish schools during the last decades, analysing recollections of retired primary teachers. Specifically, the goals of this study are:

- a) To examine the different most used resources in Social and Natural Sciences teaching in Spanish primary schools in the period of 1968-2006.
- b) To analyse which factors could have influenced their use.
- c) To present and discuss the motives that led to their use and how they were employed, elaborating on their educational implications in today's schools and in current student-centred educational framework.

This study is part of a broader research project on the primary teacher profession that is being conducted by the Pedagogical Museum-Centre of the University of Salamanca (CEMUPE) with retired primary teachers. This centre was created in 2010 to protect and study historical-educational heritage and to train future generations of primary teachers.

Historical-educational context

The analysis provided in this study largely covers the period between 1968 and 2006. Hence, there are interviews of teachers who began their career under the Franco dictatorship, following a traditional school model. Such school type included ideological aspects of Francoism that had been established by the Law on Primary Education of 1945 and were rooted in the Moyano Law of 1857. According to this law, teachers embodied the source of knowledge, students were expected to merely memorize mechanically and experimental methodology was very limited.

This situation began to change with the General Education Law (GEL) of 1970 under the impetus of the regime's opening up to the outside world. Since, where the use of teaching resources is concerned, it brought about the decline of

¹³ J. M. Oliva, *Sobre el estado actual de la revista «enseñanza de las ciencias» y algunas propuestas de futuro*, «Enseñanza de las Ciencias», vol. 23, n. 1, 2005, pp. 123-132.

encyclopaedias (mainly the Álvarez encyclopaedia) as the only text that gathered the entire knowledge of each stage, giving way to the gradual implementation of textbooks for each subject matter, with their respective activities designed for customized education¹⁴.

From 1970 onwards, education in Spain undergoes a process of universalization, with the gradual introduction of progressive practices inherited from the Second Republic whose basis was an active teaching model¹⁵. In legal terms, the GEL did not include coeducation among its principles, but neither does it explicitly mention gender segregation in education centres. The methodological paradigm, in turn, also undergoes a change through the gradual implementation of active methodologies that place the child at the centre of the teaching-learning process, an aspect that becomes consolidated with the passing of the Law of General Organization of the Education System (LGOES) of 1990. There is a gradual increase in the availability of resources in the classroom as well as in the building and design of a variety of school facilities, so that, once the period covered in this study comes to its end, Spanish classrooms are already at a level with the rest of the European Union in terms of equipment.

The latter law, the LGOES, definitively imposes coeducation and incorporates the main theoretical approaches used by education academics, fostering the figure of a highly qualified school teacher. Likewise, it should be noted that, with the implementation of this education law, year six became part of Primary Education, while years 7 and 8 were incorporated into the first cycle of Compulsory Secondary Education (CSE).

As for the interviewed teachers' academic qualifications, most of them had taken their teacher training studies in the sixties, when school teachers began a process of transformation and modernization, leaving behind the period described by some authors as «an outmoded approach to teacher training» that went from 1939 to 1967¹⁶. Such period was characterized by a purge of teachers, a noticeable reduction in the scientific contents provided in their training, special emphasis on making them become disseminators of the National Movement's political ideology and a marked difference in training contents according to gender¹⁷. With the 1950 Plan (which remained in force until 1967), the only requirement to access Teacher Training studies was to have completed Basic Secondary Education (*Bachiller elemental*), until 14

¹⁴ B. Martín-Fraile, *Testimonios de maestros: modelos y prácticas*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2017.

¹⁵ Id., *Testimonios de maestros: modelos y prácticas*, cit.

¹⁶ J.M.S Román, R.G. Cano, *La formación de maestros en España (1838-2008): Necesidades sociales, competencias y Planes de estudio*, «Educación XXI», vol. 11, 2008, pp. 73-101.

¹⁷ R. Rodríguez-Iquierdo, *Formación de las maestras desde 1940 a 1970. Un análisis de los Planes de Estudio desde una perspectiva histórico-legislativa y de género*, «Escuela Abierta», vol. 2, 1998, pp. 63-82; J.M.S Román, R.G. Cano, *La formación de maestros en España (1838-2008): Necesidades sociales, competencias y Planes de estudio*, cit.

years old, although some students also took the studies of Higher Secondary Education (*Bachiller superior*). There were Teacher Training Schools for males and for females in each province, as well as private and church-owned Teacher Training Schools¹⁸. Studies in those «Normal Schools» had 3 years of duration and ended with an exam called *Reválida*. The curriculum included a teacher training proposal whose profile was more technical than in previous reforms and where there was a predominance of special didactics¹⁹. Altogether, it could be said that the nature of teacher training was political-doctrinal, culturally poor, lacking in scientific preparation and professionally very weak or non-existent²⁰.

Materials and Methods

This research is based on the analysis of 250 written and oral testimonies of retired primary teachers expressed in a series of booklets that are part of the «School life testimonies» of the Pedagogical Museum-Centre of the University of Salamanca (CEMUPE). They were selected at random from an initial sample of 522 testimonies. 59% of the teachers are women and the average date of birth of the sample is 1944 (n= 236, SD= 7.2), with ages between 65 and 90 years old. They were mainly from provinces belonging to the central-western area of Spain, very close to Portugal; specifically, 39% were from Zamora, 31% from Salamanca, 6% from León and 6% from Cáceres. The mean starting date of their working life is 1968 (n= 105, SD= 6.7) and the mean date of retirement is 2006 (n= 99, SD= 6.9); therefore, the average number of teaching years is 38. Apart from a degree in Education or similar, 10% of the respondent teachers also held other higher education qualifications, such as degrees in Geography and History, Spanish Philology or Pedagogy. Of all of them, 117 pursued most of their professional career in rural settings, while 112 did so in schools located in province capitals.

Accounts were gathered by means of an exhaustive questionnaire whose design, preparation and validation are described in other research papers²¹.

¹⁸ Rodríguez-Iquierdo, *Formación de las maestras desde 1940 a 1970. Un análisis de los Planes de Estudio desde una perspectiva histórico-legislativa y de género*, cit.

¹⁹ M.M. Beas, *Formación del Magisterio y reformas educativas en España: 1960-1970*, «Profesorado: revista de currículum y formación del profesorado», vol. 14, n. 1, 2010, pp. 397-414.

²⁰ Román, Cano, *La formación de maestros en España (1838-2008): Necesidades sociales, competencias y Planes de estudio*, cit.

²¹ B. Martín-Fraile, *Teorías educativas que subyacen en la práctica docente*, «Teoría de la Educación. Revista interuniversitaria», vol. 23, 2011, pp. 45-70; Id., *Testimonios de maestros: modelos y prácticas*, cit.

When the time came to complete the questionnaires, several individual interviews were conducted and the questions were orally explained to each teacher so that they could then collect their answers in booklets that had been given to them. Questionnaire contents are arranged into main sections, which are in turn subdivided into hierarchical and structured questions. To carry out this research, a selection was made of two open-ended questions asking specifically about: a) the teaching resources they regularly used in their everyday practice for Social and Natural Sciences lessons; and b) if any type of activities were conducted outside the classroom for the teaching of the subject. Despite the fact that most of the data gathered are focused on the analysis of such questions, additional information was retrieved after a thorough reading the booklets, collecting interesting data from other parts of the accounts.

The methodology followed was based on the use of quantitative methods, grouping answers into different categories or typologies, and qualitative methods, taking into account the interviewed teachers' individual life accounts and professional profile. In this regard, the special interest of the fact that the information source is the recollections of retired teachers should be noted, since they are professionals who have devoted their entire lives to teaching.

During the first stage of research, 24 resource categories or typologies were established, which were later grouped into 16 final categories or typologies during the second stage (Pic. 1). The "other" category gathers resources that were mentioned by less than 2% of the sample, such as models or miniatures, games, dramatizations, songs, museums and a variety of consumables. Seventeen out of the 250 teachers did not provide an answer to the question on resources in their accounts (non-response rate= 6.8%).

The degree of variety of the resources used by the teachers was calculated by allocating each teacher one point per resource named, bearing in mind that the maximum score they could achieve was 24 (number of initial typologies); such result was weighted with a value between zero and one. Thus, teachers who used a wide range of resources would score close to one, while those who used few resources achieved lower values (near zero). Teachers who failed to answer the questions were excluded from the variety of use analysis.

To find out the factors that influenced the use of resources, these were analysed taking into account teachers' gender, whether their professional career was pursued in rural or urban areas, and whether or not they had any other higher education qualifications apart from their Education degree. After quantifying each resource according to the three variables under study, the conversion to percentages was carried out according to the partial sums of each variable. Based on the characteristics of the sample, Pearson chi-squared (χ^2) statistical tests with a significance level below 0.05 were conducted, with Z-tests ($\alpha = 0.05$) for the analysis of teaching resources according to each variable; this was first conducted globally and, subsequently, partially.

To calculate reliability of the categories designed for each of the items that made up the questionnaire, answers were categorized by external researchers and, after reaching an agreement with the researchers of the study itself, acceptability was established at a Cohen's Kappa above 0.80.

The different accounts were identified using the CEMUPE deposit's classification system, where each teacher is allocated a four-digit numerical code. Besides, to facilitate identification of the teacher's profile, three letters were added to each numerical code: 1st) M= male, F= female; 2nd) R= rural area, U= urban area; y 3rd) T= teacher training, A= additional training. Thus, for example, FUT0000 would be a female teacher who has worked mainly in a province capital, who only studied higher education teacher training and whose numerical identification code in the museum is 0000.

Results

Available resources

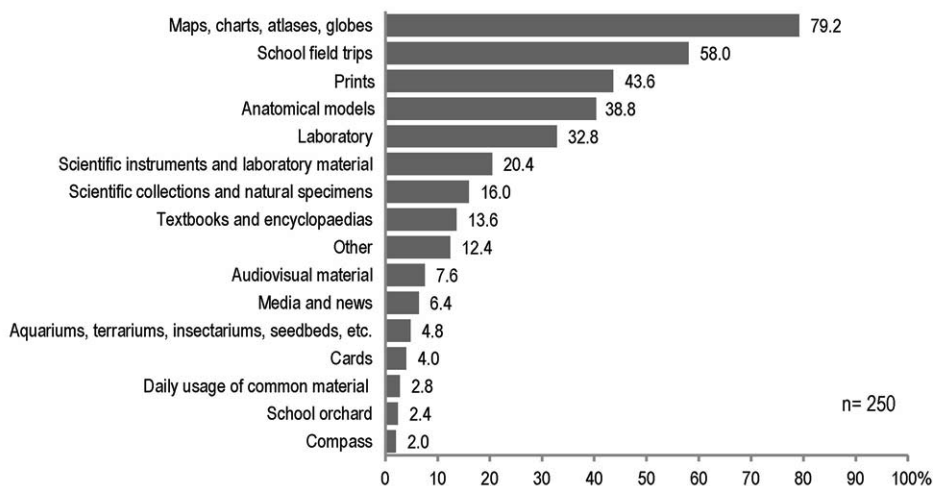
As mentioned above, this study covers a period that ranges roughly from 1968 to 2006, so that the teaching scene during its first years was characterized by a widespread lack of school equipment, which was mostly solved after the gradual implementation of the GEL of 1970²². This situation is clearly apparent in most of the analysed accounts, especially those from school teachers who worked in rural areas. For example, some teachers claim that «classroom material was very poor when I was a child and during my first years working at rural schools – at some of them I had to make blackboards out of walls» (FRT0576) and «in Natural Sciences lessons we would go out into the street to explain nature, since there were no other resources» (FRT1217). In such areas, some teachers even tell how students themselves contributed to increase the teaching materials available at the school by gathering natural collections. For example, teacher FRT0309 mentions that «students added to the material by gathering leaves, flowers and rocks from their surroundings». Thus, quite often, «the rural surroundings would supply the lack of material, since the environment is a good school for the study of nature» (FRT0291). On the other hand, many other teachers whose career developed in province capitals state that they always had the necessary resources. For example, teacher MUT681 claims that «at the centres where I have been, there was a rich and varied collection of teaching material. How and when it was used is a different matter».

²² Martín-Fraile, *Testimonios de maestros: modelos y prácticas*, cit.

Resource types and frequency of use

As illustrated in Picture n. 1, maps were the resource that teachers mentioned the most for Natural and Social Sciences education (referred to by 79% of the respondents, n=250), followed by school field trips (58%), prints (44%) and anatomical models (39%) of the human body (including those of internal organs, the muscular and the skeletal systems). Other resources that should be underlined are scientific instruments and natural collections (leaves, flowers, rocks and minerals, etc.) with percentages of 20.4% and 16%, respectively.

On the other hand, the least used resources (named by less than 5% of the respondent schoolteachers) were aquariums, terrariums and insectariums, cards, compasses, commonly used materials (e.g. lemon, vinegar, baking soda, etc.) and school orchards. Likewise, the category of other encompasses all the resources that were quoted by less than 2%, such as models or miniatures, games, dramatizations, songs, school museums and a variety of consumables (e.g. cut-outs).



Besides commonly used resources of a symbolic nature, such as maps, prints or world globes, there is a considerable number of teachers who used school field trips to explain different aspects of the subjects they taught. For example, some teachers reported that «*when I taught Geography and Natural Sciences, I used a different methodology outside school hours: we'd go on field trips at different times of the year to observe changes in the trees, the landscape*»(FUT0268); «*Real animals, real plants, rocks, soils, one need only know how to go for a walk and we had the shepherd with his dogs, his sheep, his ram and his lambs. Or the shearer cutting off its fleece, which once the spinner went to our school and showed us how she spun it and later knitted it and made a sock*» (MRT0311); «*Contact with nature was used to make children understand what*

I was explaining, for example, we would go on a trip to the countryside so that they could see and understand the different types of rocks and plants there were» (MUA0896).

Within school field trips, the most frequent type is outings to the school's immediate surroundings, which is mentioned by 53% of the teachers (n= 77) who had reported that they regularly organized school trips (n= 145). As a general rule, this practice was far more widespread in rural areas, where several teachers state that «Natural Sciences could be taught outside» (MRT0311); or «in villages they were walks across the countryside, to see nature, its fruits, holm oaks, pines, fruit trees, insects, the sky, climb hills and contemplate what can be seen. Anything could be used to explain stuff to the children» (MRT1342). In this regard, some teachers suggest that the very fact of living in rural areas favoured knowledge acquisition: «in Natural Sciences, there were few resources, but children 'knew a great deal' because they lived in contact with nature» (FRT1352).

School trips were usually aimed at working on different concepts related to: a) Natural Sciences (for example, teacher FRT1005 reports that they would carry out «activities near the school where they could study a river, a mountain or any other natural landscape, farming, animals or sunsets»; or «we would go to the countryside to explain on-site what was in the curriculum, especially about nature, animals and plants» (FUA0467); b) Social Sciences («we would go on trips to learn about the city's monumental reality», FRT0749); and c) on other occasions teachers describe how they approached different processes associated with scientific activity: «we would go to the country, they would watch nature, gather flowers, leaves, minerals, with which they made collections. Older students would learn how to measure trees, and their names» (FUT1219); «they performed calculations using the village's biggest pine tree: estimated height, measure perimeter, calculate the radius, total estimated weight» (MUT0456). Other teachers recall how they would use nature itself to motivate and awaken students' interest «[...] One could begin with an easy experiment, a trip to the countryside, the life and discoveries of a scientist to introduce a new subject. This would spark curiosity» (FUT1019).

Alongside outings to the immediate environment, other very frequently mentioned trips are visits to factories, handicraft centres, agricultural and livestock holdings, museums and municipal facilities. To a lesser extent, teachers mention visits to planetariums, more remote natural "landmarks" (e.g., Sanabria Lake, in Zamora province), farm schools and zoos.

Table n. 1 shows the teaching resources used according to teacher gender, previous teaching context (urban vs rural) provenance and teacher academic background.

Teaching resource	Teacher gender M (n= 88); F (n= 145) MV= 17 [χ^2 (15, 350)= 9.173; p= 0.868 > 0.05]	*Teaching context (urban vs rural) R (n= 117); U (n= 112) MV= 21 [χ^2 (15, 694) = 700.213; p = 0.000 < 0.05]	*Teacher academic training T (n= 203); A (n= 22) MV= 25 [χ^2 (15, 695) = 701.788; p = 0.000 < 0.05]
Maps, atlases, globes	M= 79.8%; F= 78.2%	R= 78.6%; U= 78.6%	T= 79.8%; A= 76.9%
School field trips	M= 58.5%; F= 56.1%	R= 59.8%; U= 54.4%	T= 56.3%; A= 73.1%
Prints	M= 45.7%; F= 41.9%	R= 37.6%; U= 48.2%	T= 44.2%; A= 38.5%
Anatomical models	M= 36.2%; F= 39.2%	R= 35.9%; U= 40.2%	*T= 40.6%; A= 23.1%
Laboratory	M= 40.4%; F= 25.7%	R= 27.1%; U= 37.5%	*T= 34.4%; A= 19.2%
Scientific instruments	M= 26.6%; F= 16.2%	R= 23.1%; U= 20.5%	T= 20.1%; A= 23.1%
Natural collections	M= 16%; F= 15.5%	R= 16.2%; U= 16.1%	T= 14.7%; A= 26.9%
Textbooks and encyclopd.	M= 12.8%; F= 12.8%	R= 12.8%; U= 14.3%	T= 12.9%; A= 11.5%
Others	M= 15.9%; F= 10.8%	R= 11.1%; U= 16.1%	T= 15.6%; A= 7.7%
Audiovisual material	M= 9.6%; F= 6.8%	R= 7.7%; U= 8.0%	T= 8.0%; A= 3.8%
Media and news	M= 7.4%; F= 5.4%	R= 6.0%; U= 7.1%	T= 5.8%; A= 11.5%
Aquariums, terrariums, etc.	M= 5.3%; F= 4.7%	R= 6.0%; U= 3.6%	T= 4.9%; A= 3.8%
Cards	M= 5.3%; F= 2.7%	R= 4.3%; U= 3.6%	*T= 3.1%; A= 11.5%
Daily usage material	M= 2.1%; F= 3.4%	R= 2.6%; U= 3.6%	T= 2.7%; A= 3.8%
School orchard	M= 3.2%; F= 2.0%	R= 2.6%; U= 2.7%	T= 2.2%; A= 3.8%
Compass	M= 5.3%; F= 0.0%	R= 0.9%; U= 3.6%	*T= 1.3%; A= 7.7%

Table 1.

* Differences between the groups are significant ($p < 0.05$). M= male, F= female; R= rural area, U= urban area; T= teacher training, A= additional training, MV= missing-values.

The global statistical analysis indicates that the use of educational resources was unrelated to teacher gender and non-significant difference has been found [χ^2 (15, 350) = 9.173; $p = 0.868 > 0.05$]; further analyses were conducted for each educational resource, but significance was once again non-existent (with significance values between 0.059 and 1.000).

The global statistical analysis, taking into account the place where each teacher had taught the longest (urban vs rural areas), shows that existing differences were significant [$\chi^2(15, 694) = 700.213$; $p = 0.000 < 0.05$]; that is, the analysis shows how the use of different teaching resources did depend on the area where the teacher concerned worked. However, the individual analysis of each educational resource yielded non-significant results (with significance values between 0.172 and 1.000). In such context, as could be expected, the percentage use – and existence – of many of the resources, whether experiential, structural or symbolic, is slightly higher in province capitals. Nevertheless, school field trips were the most used resource in rural areas, surpassing urban areas by six points.

Considering the academic background of the teachers, the statistical analysis yields significant differences between the two teacher groups [$\chi^2(15, 695) = 701.788$; $p = 0.000 < 0.05$]. On the one hand, we have selected teachers whose only qualification was a Degree in Education and on the other and we have selected others who had additional qualifications, such as Degrees in Geography and History, Hispanic Philology or Pedagogy, among others. This means that they had completed supplementary higher education training that was not necessarily scientific. Further analyses of each educational resource were conducted to identify where these differences were more dormant and the results indicated resources such as compasses and cards ([$\chi^2(1, 9) = 5.444$; $p = 0.020 < 0.05$] and [$\chi^2(1, 155) = 5.400$; $p = 0.020 < 0.05$, respectively], in favour of teachers with additional qualifications and such as the use of the laboratory and anatomical models ([$\chi^2(1, 53) = 4.245$; $p = 0.039 < 0.05$] and [$\chi^2(1, 64) = 5.063$; $p = 0.024 < 0.05$, respectively], in favour of teachers with no additional qualifications. Hence, this result indicates that the use of educational resources depends on teachers' additional qualifications. As well as the mentioned statistics, there are other very noticeable percentage differences, such as in the use of school field trips, which were used by 73% of the teachers with additional qualifications ($n = 26$) against only 56% of those whose only had a Degree in Education ($n = 224$). Another resource where there are marked differences is the use of natural collections and samples, used by 27% of the teachers with additional training against 14% of those with no supplementary academic qualifications.

Therefore, it could be concluded that when there are significant or noticeable percentage differences regarding teachers' qualifications, those whose only degree was in Education used more structural resources (such as the school laboratory) and symbolic ones (such as anatomical models), while those with additional qualifications preferred direct experiential resources (such as nature itself or natural collections).

Variety of resources used

Table n. 2 shows the data obtained for the degree of variety of resources used by the respondent teachers. The average rate for all the teachers is only 0.17 (SD= 0.08), which equates to 4 frequently used resource typologies or categories (out of a total of 24). The highest value obtained (teacher MUT0213) is 0.46, which is the equivalent of the regular use of 11 types of resources. The demographic data and academic qualifications data analyses yielded no marked differences. Nevertheless, men scored a slightly higher average, as well as teachers who had worked in province capitals and those with additional qualifications, the mean being in all cases just 0.02 points higher. In fact, teacher MUT0213 (rate= 0.46), was male, had worked during his entire career in a province capital and, apart from a Degree in Education, he held a Degree in Social Sciences.

Variety of resources used in Natural and Social Sciences education			
Total sample= 250	Male (n= 88)	Rural area (n= 117)	Degree in Education (n= 203)
Rate (R)= 0.17 (0.08)	R= 0.17 (0.09)	R= 0.15 (0.08)	R= 0.16 (0.08)
	Female (n= 145)	Urban area (n=112)	Additional qualifications (n= 22)
	R= 0.15 (0.08)	R= 0.17 (0.08)	R= 0.18 (0.09)
Missing-values= 17	Missing-values= 17	Missing-values= 21	Missing-values= 25

Table 2.

Discussion

School field trips

One of the most relevant data yielded by this study is the confirmation of the great prominence of the field itself as a resource for teaching Natural and Social Sciences during the period under research. This is not surprising, since the first school field trip documented in Spain dates back to 1883 and was organized by Francisco Giner de los Ríos and Manuel Bartolomé Cossío with the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Free Educational Institution) through the Sierra de Guadarrama (Madrid)²³. From then on, guided school trips settled gradually into Spanish schools due to their remarkable educational potential as part of the teaching and learning process²⁴.

²³ A. Jiménez-Landi, *Las excursiones de la Institución*, «Estudios turísticos», vol. 83, 1984, pp. 101-108.

²⁴ A. Vilarrasa, *Salir del aula. Reapropiarse del contexto*, «Iber: Didáctica de las ciencias sociales, geografía e historia», vol. 9, n. 36, 2003, pp. 13-25.

The term school field trip refers to the set of activities carried out outside the classroom with the intention of connecting students and reality through experience. The key point is that they may learn from it in an active, participatory and meaningful way, generating educational situations that would be hard to procure in the classroom²⁵ or promoting an extension or improvement of classroom teaching²⁶.

The general consensus suggests that school field trips have a positive impact on learning processes²⁷. The evidence generally suggests that under certain favourable circumstances, cognitive gains from school field trips are very important, but there are also other improvements related with social and affective outcomes, such as, for example, increasing curiosity²⁸.

From the perspective of Social and Natural Sciences, field trips are educational resources that encourage students' understanding of the environment, consolidating concepts and ideas, in a context other than everyday school routine. Field activities favour the acquisition of long-term content knowledge, have positive effect on communicative, inquiry and problem-solving skills, and promote meaningful learning from an holistic and interdisciplinary approach²⁹. Furthermore, fieldwork stimulates high levels of student interest and motivation, leads to significant effects in the affective domain and is a powerful tool for social integration³⁰. As mentioned by teacher MRT0311 «in Social and Natural

²⁵ A. Gómez, D. Corrochano, G. Parra, *Itinerarios didáctico-naturales en educación primaria: el noroeste de Zamora*, «Didáctica Geográfica», vol. 18, 2017, pp. 111-131.

²⁶ N. Orion, A. Hofstein, *Factors that influence learning during a scientific field trip in a natural environment*, «Journal of Research in Science Teaching», vol. 31, 1994, pp. 1097-1119; A. Hofstein, S. Rosenfeld, *Bridging the gap between formal and informal science learning*, «Studies in Science Education», vol. 28, 1996, pp. 87-112; M. Storcksdieck, *Field trips in environmental education*, Berlin, Germany, Berliner-Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2006.

²⁷ J. DeWitt, M. Storcksdieck, *A Short Review of School Field Trips: Key Findings from the Past and Implications for the Future*, «Visitor Studies», vol. 11, n. 2, 2008, pp. 181-197.

²⁸ M. Csikszentmihalyi, K. Hermanson. *Intrinsic motivation in museums: Why does one want to learn?*, in J. H. Falk, L.D. Dierking (edd.), *Public institutions for personal learning*, Washington, DC, American Association of Museum, 1995, pp. 67-77; J. E. Meredith, R.W. Fortner, G.W. Mullins, *Model of affective learning for nonformal science education facilities*, «Journal of Research in Science Teaching», vol. 34, 1997, pp. 805-818; C. Rix, J. McSorley, *An investigation into the role that school-based interactive science centres may play in the education of primary-aged children*, «International Journal of Science Education», vol. 21, 1999, pp. 577-593.

²⁹ N. Lonergan, L. W. Andresen, *Field-Based Education: Some Theoretical Considerations*, «Higher Education Research & Development», vol. 7, n. 1, 1988, pp. 63-77; J.T. Elkins, N. Elkins, *Teaching Geology in the Field: Significant Geoscience Concept Gains in Entirely Field-based Introductory Geology Courses*, «Journal of Geoscience Education», vol. 55, n. 2, 2007, pp. 126-132; J. Farmer, D. Knapp, G. M. Benton, *An Elementary School Environmental Education Field Trip: Long-Term Effects on Ecological and Environmental Knowledge and Attitude Development*, «The Journal of Environmental Education», vol. 38, n. 3, 2007, pp. 33-42; T. L. Fleischner, R. E. Espinoza, G. Harry, G., Robin, W. Kimmerer, E. A. Lacey, S. Pace, S. et al., *Teaching Biology in the Field: Importance, Challenges, and Solutions*, «BioScience», vol. 67, n. 6, 2017, pp. 558-567.

³⁰ A. Boyle, S. Maguire, A. Marti, C. Milsom, R. Nash, S. Rawlinson, A. Turner, S.

Sciences, children got very involved and liked when the lessons took place in the middle of nature, since they became much more motivated. Also visiting factories, going on trips, visiting farms, zoos...»). All of these aspects, together with the high accessibility of nature itself, especially in rural areas, and the little or no expense involved in these outings to the immediate surroundings, probably explain why these educational resources were so widespread during the period under research (around 60% of the respondent teachers used them regularly).

Textbooks and encyclopaedias

Another interesting finding in this study was the scarce prominence acquired by certain symbolic resources such as encyclopaedias and textbooks. Despite this, based on exhaustive reading of the booklets and on the overall analysis of the testimonies, the conclusion reached is that the percentage datum presented here is, to a certain extent, biased. Textbooks were probably much more common in everyday teaching of the socio-natural environment than what the teachers themselves acknowledge. In fact, there is a teacher who admits that «the subjects that I taught during my first year as a teacher, were those of the Álvarez encyclopaedia» (FRT1604). It seems that many others take the use of textbooks and encyclopedias for granted, which would be the reason why they fail to mention them, while many others note in other parts of their recollections that they were widely used, although they do not mention any specific subjects. For example, teacher FRT0950 says that «at the start of my career what we had were encyclopaedias [Álvarez] with which we taught every subject, exploiting and using any other resources available to us»; teacher MRT0315 mentions «the typical and only encyclopaedia that belonged to the centre, and it covered all the subjects». In this context, an example of giving for granted and failing to mention common resources is the blackboard, a resource that was not invoked by any of the teachers, even though most of them, beyond any doubt, used it on a daily basis in their Social and Natural Sciences lessons.

Likewise, after a thorough reading of the booklets, the general trend seems to be that, at first, only teachers had an encyclopaedia that they used for guidance and support, these manuals were gradually acquired by students until the arrival of textbooks with the implementation of the GEL of 1970, when they were finally imposed in the primary education classroom. Thus, certain teachers, like MUT0204, claim that «students have always had their textbook». Hence, it seems that since its implementation, this resource, first in paper format and

nowadays also in digital form, has gradually become the backbone of teaching at our schools. In fact, textbooks are used by almost all the students (99.1%) in Spain³¹. Other studies in the same context have contributed very similar data, concluding that textbooks are the reference material (used by 97.9% and a priority in 91.5% of the cases³²), or that activities associated with the textbook as main information source to work on environmental understanding prevail in primary education lessons³³. In this vein, other authors have revealed a predominance of traditional teaching to deliver science lessons, where reading the textbook and doing its exercises, alongside the teacher's explanation, are the predominant tasks in everyday Spanish school practice³⁴. Therefore, although a same resource can be used in different ways, they sometimes favour or facilitate certain teaching methodologies to the extent of conditioning the type of education that is delivered.

Educational implications

After the pedagogical renewal of the last decades, the science teaching pattern for scientific literacy demands that students be inquisitive and play an active role. In other words, the teaching-learning process is no longer reduced to the straightforward transmission and reception of prepared knowledge, but its aim is to encourage students to construct their own ideas, limiting teachers' role to that of guides in the educational process. Many authors have suggested that inquiry-based learning is one of the strategies that most motivates students and most favours effective training in sciences at school³⁵. In such learning communities, teachers need to select and use accurate tools and materials that can support student thinking in ways qualitatively different from teacher-centered classrooms.

³¹ Instituto de Evaluación del Ministerio de Educación (IEME), *Sistema estatal de indicadores de la educación*, Madrid, Catálogo de Publicaciones del Ministerio, 2009.

³² Escobar, Vilchez, *Percepción de los estudiantes de magisterio durante el prácticum sobre las clases reales de ciencias en Educación Primaria*, cit.

³³ P. Cañal, A.M Criado, A. García-Carmona, G. Muñoz, *La enseñanza relativa al medio en las aulas españolas de educación infantil y primaria: concepciones didácticas y práctica docente*, «Investigación en la escuela», vol. 81, 2013, pp. 21-42.

³⁴ S. García, C. Martínez, *Qué actividades y qué procedimientos utiliza y valora el profesorado de Educación Primaria*, «Enseñanza de las Ciencias», vol. 19, n. 3, 2001, 433-452.

³⁵ J. Osborne, J. Dillon, *Science education in Europe: critical reflexions*, 13. London: The Nuffield Foundation, 2008; R.D. Anderson, *Reforming science teaching: what research says about inquiry?*, «Journal of Science Teacher Education», vol. 13, n. 1, 2002, pp. 1-2; National Research Council, *Inquiry and the National Science Education Standards*, Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 2000.

Despite successive education reforms and according to different national and international reports, new theoretical teaching trends have not brought any effective changes to the expected results in Spanish schools. Furthermore, active learning strategies and student-centred processes are not used by the teachers in many European countries as much as expected by the policymakers³⁶. The reason why remains unclear, although it could be due to the fact that teachers tend to reproduce the form of teaching that they received as students, or because of the extension of current curricula, or because teachers have actually not acquired new knowledge, skills or experiences required to teach sciences following an inquiry-based approach³⁷. Other authors³⁸ even question whether the inquiry-based teaching model is something any teacher can assume or whether it can only be undertaken by exceptional teachers, since teaching science through guided-inquiry requires thorough training and sound scientific knowledge, something that is often not met³⁹.

According to the data yielded by this study, it seems clear that teachers' knowledge and academic qualifications have a direct impact on the variety and type of teaching and learning resources they use. Therefore, they also have a direct impact on their contemplating activities that can increase (or at least, could help to improve) student participation and, in some way, foster their inquisitiveness. In 2007, the European Union drew up the so-called «Rocard report»⁴⁰, where it was made clear that teachers, in their everyday practice, are key players in improving education. This could be achieved by providing teachers with solid training in the subject and in how it should be taught, in how to formulate intriguing problems, activities and questions, all with the use of appropriate teaching resources. Thus, the context of this study gives rise to a series of questions such as whether direct experiential resources to foster students' active role are still being included in regular teaching practice. In fact, has their use increased, as could be expected, with current teaching trends? Are teachers and teacher training students sufficiently qualified to undertake

³⁶ D.K. Capps, B. A. Crawford, *Inquiry-based professional development: What does it take to support teachers in learning about inquiry and nature of science?*, «International Journal of Science Education», vol. 35, n. 12, 2013, pp. 1947-1978.

³⁷ H. Borko, R.T. Putnam, *Learning to teach*, in R.C. Calfee, D.C. Berliner (edd.), *Handbook of educational psychology*, New York, Macmillan Library, 1996, pp. 673-708; B.A. Crawford, *Embracing the essence of inquiry: New roles for science Teachers*, «Journal of Research in Science Teaching», vol. 37, 2000, pp. 916-937; N.G. Lederman, M.L. Niess, *Problem solving and solving problems: Inquiry about inquiry*, «School Science and Mathematics», vol. 100, 2000, pp. 113-116.

³⁸ Anderson, *Reforming science teaching: what research says about inquiry?*, cit.

³⁹ C. Murphy, P. Neil, J. Beggs, *Primary science teacher confidence revisited: ten years on*. «Educational Research», vol. 49, n. 4, 2007, 415-430.

⁴⁰ Rocard, Csermely, Jorde; Lenzen, Walwerg Henriksson, Hemmo, *Science Education NOW: A renewed Pedagogy for the Future of Europe*, cit.

active methodologies and implement, for instance, inquiry-based educational sequences or visits to out-of-school settings?

In today's schools, where Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) seems to impose their presence at all levels, it is essential to defend direct environmental involvement that brings the opportunity for direct hands-on experience. As already noted, school field trips are resources that favour students' active learning and could be excellent tools to foster observation, discussion and inquiry at school⁴¹. However, recent studies reveal that this is currently not commonplace in regular teaching practice in Spain⁴². The reasons for this could be one of the followings: a) some teachers' idea that school trips cause academic schedule delays; b) overcrowded classes; c) higher teacher responsibilities; d) textbooks' prevalence in the classroom; or e) teachers' lack of awareness of – or poor training in – the natural environment⁴³. In the light of this, there are studies that express how many future school teachers show scarce confidence in their natural scientific knowledge and demand more thorough training in these disciplines⁴⁴. Besides, they remarked that the implementation of inquiry-based methodology in the classroom is very difficult, mostly invoking reasons such as precariousness in the context of primary education classrooms or even the lack of resources available. All this, added to the fact that any activity outside the classroom requires greater effort, responsibilities and dedication, and usually involves paperwork and economic aspects, ultimately leads to teachers' reluctance to make this resource part of their regular practice.

Consequently, it seems that over the last 75 years, an active experiential resource such as school trips to the immediate surroundings, has been gradually replaced by a symbolic one, namely, the textbook (either in physical or digital format), that favours a more passive learning model. Textbook-supported teacher explanations therefore become the general rule in the teaching of sciences in Spanish schools⁴⁵. In this regard, certain authors have stated that for a teacher to foster active inquiry at school it is necessary to leave aside «commitment to textbooks», which requires solid scientific training and knowledge to be able

⁴¹ Lonergan, Andresen, *Field-Based Education: Some Theoretical Considerations*, cit.; R. Del Toro, J.G. Morcillo, *Las actividades de campo en educación secundaria. Un estudio comparativo entre Dinamarca y España. «Enseñanza de las Ciencias de la Tierra»*, vol. 19, n. 1, 2011, pp. 39-47.

⁴² E. Pedrinaci, *Trabajo de campo y aprendizaje de las ciencias*, «*Alambique*», vol. 71, 2012, pp. 81-89; D. Aguilera, *Field trip as a didactic resource to teach sciences. A systematic review*, «*Revista Eureka sobre Enseñanza y Divulgación de las Ciencias*», vol. 15, n. 3, 2018, p. 3103.

⁴³ J.A. López, *Las salidas de campo: mucho más que una excursión*, «*Educación en el 2000: revista de formación del profesorado*», vol. 11, 2007, pp. 100-103.

⁴⁴ A. Cortés, M. De la Gándara, J.M. Calvo, M. Gil, B. Martínez, J. Ibarra, *¿Qué opinan los futuros maestros sobre el aprendizaje de las ciencias a través de la indagación y sobre sus necesidades formativas?*, «*Enseñanza de las Ciencias*», num. extr, 2009, pp. 3536-3541.

⁴⁵ Vílchez, Escobar, *Uso de laboratorio, huerto escolar y visitas a centros de naturaleza en Primaria: Percepción de los futuros maestros durante sus prácticas docentes*, cit.

to provide students with adequate guidance⁴⁶. In fact, the data gathered in this study show how those teachers whose qualifications was more comprehensive were the ones who most often used this resource (73% against 56%) or others experiential ones, such as natural collections (27% against 15%) (Table n. 1).

Limitations, future work and concluding remarks

Finally, it should be noted that there are certain limitations to this study with regard to the interpretation of the results obtained. First, the sample used is not representative of the entire Spanish reality, since the bulk of the accounts comes from teachers who worked in the western regions of the country, which prevents the drawing of general conclusions for the entire Spanish territory. Future work should seek to replicate our findings in eastern regions and in other southern European countries. Likewise, it is a study on schoolteachers' assessments of their professional career, and their views on teaching practice, although highly valuable, may vary over time. In this regard, the use of educational resources in the classroom is not attached to a specific date, but refers to extended periods of time that are difficult to mark. It would have been interesting to have accurate chronological information or to know the exact time frames of usage during their teaching life. However, and despite these limitations, this research, together with the available references, provides insight into the understanding of primary education teaching, attempting to contribute an analysis of how Social and Natural Sciences education has been approached over the last seventy-five years.

⁴⁶ Anderson, *Reforming science teaching: what research says about inquiry?*, cit.

School archives: a resource for historical-educational research and schools

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ABSTRACT: This article examines the research potential of school archives in the field of historical-educational research as well as of history teaching in schools. After highlighting the lack of consideration reserved to these cultural institutions today, this paper intends to demonstrate the significant contribution that archives could give to both research and teaching. With this aim, after describing the evolution of legislation on school archives, the article presents a list of relevant projects carried out by Italian schools and local authorities. Finally, it will be discussed the role of archives as a learning resource and “collective memory”, through which it is possible to reconstruct the past and create an intergenerational dialogue.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; School material culture; Educational heritage; Italy; XXth-XXIth Centuries.

Introduction

For many decades school archives have been seen as some sort of historiographic chimera. In many cases they have been referred to as the «lost El Dorado» where a priceless documentary heritage was preserved a heritage able to respond to the new heuristic challenges that the History of Education was going to face, after having ceased to study only the historical evolution of pedagogical ideas and theories. However, only a few scholars have promoted systematic studies about them¹.

¹ For a more general analysis of school archives, see the following studies: P. Tiradritti,

Over the last few years there have been some remarkable initiatives regarding school archives, which however in many cases did not include historical documents because they had been arbitrarily discarded or filed at the State Archives, as required by law. The reason for this to happen was the fact that the national archival administration delayed both the draft of specific guidelines and the execution of a special conservation plan. These instructions should have been submitted to all school directors, who were overloaded with logistical and administrative tasks.

For this reason, the school administrations started to considerably change their attitude towards their archives at the end of the 1990s, after schools were granted organisational and teaching autonomy (cf. Law n. 59 of 15 March 1997 and Presidential Decree n. 275 of 8 March 1999). Bestowing legal personality upon school institutions, this legislation extended the nature of public authority to schools and bound them to comply with the obligations that all public authorities have to comply with, as per the Legislative Decree n. 42 of 22 January 2004. According to this legislation, school archives became proper cultural assets under the supervision of the local Archival Superintendecies.

Preservation of historical school archives² (and also that of current and deposit archives) was now responsibility of schools themselves. Therefore they

L'archivio delle scuole e degli istituti d'istruzione media di ogni ordine e grado, Rome, Stab. Tipografico Oneto, 1972; L. Montevocchi, *Storia dell'istruzione e fonti documentarie*, «Rassegna degli archivi di Stato», n. 1, 1995, pp. 48-57; G. Tatò (ed.), *La lavagna nera. Le fonti per la storia dell'istruzione nel Friuli Venezia Giulia. Atti del convegno (Trieste-Udine, 24-26 novembre 1995)*, Trieste, Associazione Nazionale Archivistica Italiana – Sezione Friuli Venezia Giulia, 1996; S. Soldani, *Andar per scuole: archivi da conoscere, archivi da salvare*, «Passato e Presente», n. 42, 1997, pp. 137-150; F. Cavazzana Romanelli, D. Martino (edd.), *Gli archivi delle scuole. Atti del corso di aggiornamento (Treviso, 7-15 giugno 1995)*, Treviso, Archivio di Stato di Treviso – Provveditorato agli Studi di Treviso, 1997; F. Klein, *Sui consumati banchi... Generazioni cultura e istituzioni educative negli archivi e nelle biblioteche delle scuole fiorentine. Atti del convegno (Firenze, 28 marzo 1996)*, «Archivi per la storia», vol. X, n. 2, 1997; Klein, *La storia dell'educazione e le fonti: gli archivi scolastici*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», n. 5, 1998, pp. 37-44; G. Fioravanti, *Gli archivi delle scuole: aspetti istituzionali, normativa vigente e funzioni di soggetti istituzionali*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», n. 6, 1999, pp. 337-344; M.T. Segà (ed.), *La storia fa la scuola. Gli archivi scolastici per la ricerca e la didattica*, Portogruaro, Nuova Dimensione, 2002; Istituto romano per la storia d'Italia dal fascismo alla Resistenza (ed.), *Memorie di scuola: indagine sul patrimonio archivistico delle scuole di Roma e provincia*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2006; A. Nicosia (ed.), *Dagli archivi delle scuole romane: storia, memoria, identità. Catalogo della mostra presentata al Vittoriano (Roma, 13 maggio-11 giugno 2006)*, Rome, Gangemi, 2006; M. Ferrari, G. Panizza, M. Morandi (edd.), *I beni culturali della scuola: conservazione e valorizzazione*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», n. 15, 2008 (with particular reference to *Gli archivi scolastici tra tutela e valorizzazione*, pp. 51-88, and *Didattica con gli archivi scolastici: riflessioni ed esperienze*, pp. 89-126); G. Simone, F. Targhetta, *Sui banchi di scuola tra fascismo e Resistenza. Gli archivi scolastici padovani (1938-1945)*, Padua, Padova University Press, 2016.

² This denomination refers to the complex of acts and documents relating to matters of over forty years ago and intended – after a disposal operation according to the ministerial guidelines mentioned above – to be conserved for an unlimited period of time for cultural purposes.

had to ensure correct inventory and use, in order to protect their own rights as well as the rights of their staff, of their students and alumni, and of researches too. The obligation to deposit in State Archives, in fact, only occurs if the conditions for a correct documents preservation are missing.

1. *Archives for preservation*

However, the actual situation does not always meet the standards required by the law even if, since the end of the 1990s, school directors have become more and more aware of the historical and cultural importance of archives. In light of this – and in addition to the legislation on school autonomy – a growing number of projects has been promoted for the survey of school archives at a provincial level. Some of the most relevant examples are the following: in 1996, the Archival Superintendence of the Autonomous Province of Trento promoted a descriptive survey of the primary schools archives in Trentino³; in 1998, the State Archives of Piacenza, in collaboration with the local education authority, promoted a descriptive survey of the state school archives of Piacenza; in 2000, Riccardo Marchis in collaboration with the Piedmont Institute for History of the Italian Resistance and Contemporary Society «Giorgio Agosti» gave birth to a project involving the School Archive Network in Turin⁴; in 2003, the City of Venice in collaboration with the Institute for History of Resistance and Contemporary Society of Venice promoted a descriptive survey of the secondary schools archives in Venice; between 2008 and 2009 the interdepartmental research centre for the study and enhancement of the school and educational cultural heritage of the University of Pavia promoted a descriptive survey of the secondary schools archives in Pavia and Cremona. Surveys of school archives at regional level are rarer. However, some good examples exist, such as the HERMES project for the management and enhancement of school archives, and the historical and educational resources of schools in Umbria, which was created thanks to the agreement signed in 2007 between a network of high schools, the Regional School Office of Umbria, the University of Perugia, the Archives Authority of Umbria, the State Archives of Perugia and the Institute for History of Contemporary Umbria. This project resulted in the interesting

³ Cf. R.G. Arcaini, *Gli archivi delle scuole elementari trentine: censimento descrittivo*, Trento, Autonomous Province of Trento – Archival and book heritage department, 2003.

⁴ Cf. M.L. Perna, *Tra vecchie carte. Esperienze didattiche negli archivi di scuole torinesi*, Turin, School Consortium for School Archives – Piedmont Institute for History of the Italian Resistance and Contemporary Society, 2002; D. Marendino, *Poveri ma belli. Gli archivi delle scuole: un vademecum*, Turin, School Archive Network – City of Turin, 2014.

documentary exhibition titled «All in class!!»⁵ that took place in Perugia in 2011.

Unfortunately, the national archival administration has failed to systematically organise not only these surveys, but also the subsequent recovery and rearrangement of school archives at local level. As a result, a national comprehensive catalogue is still missing at the present time, despite the fact that the above-mentioned initiatives have been carried out on the basis of shared descriptive standards. A national catalogue would allow systematic research within the documentary deposits, through the access to a single research interface, with an inevitable reduction in the heuristic potential of historical-educational research, which in the last two decades has increasingly been focusing on the history of real educational practices and the materialities of school life. It is true that often these two aspects can only be properly documented by direct sources coming from the schools.

It is known, for example, that the systematic study of the detailed records kept in class registers from school archives would enormously contribute to the study of the teaching methods that teachers actually applied in class, and their compliance with the ministerial requirements. Moreover, precious information would also emerge about educational habits, disciplinary practices and students' everyday behaviours in their school environment. Today a wide range of studies exists, although it is interesting to notice that these sources have been systematically used only for historical research at local level by non-professional historians⁶, while academic research has hardly ever used this type

⁵ Cf. A. Cavicchi, *Progetto HERMES: gli archivi scolastici per educare alla memoria, al patrimonio e per contribuire al successo formativo*, in M. Ferrari, G. Panizza, M. Morandi (edd.), *I beni culturali della scuola: conservazione e valorizzazione*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», n. 15, 2008, pp. 115-120; M. Locci, S. Maroni (edd.), *Tutti in classe! La scuola in Umbria dall'Unità ad oggi nei documenti degli archivi scolastici. Catalogo della mostra documentaria (Perugia, 23 settembre 2010-8 gennaio 2011)*, Perugia, State Archives of Perugia – Archives Authority of Umbria, 2011.

⁶ On this subject see the following contributions: F. Fusaro, *Maestri e balilla: il ventennio fascista a Mercato San Severino attraverso le cronache scolastiche*, Salerno, ASIR, 1993; N.M. Liverani, *La scuola elementare a Forlimpopoli dalla legge Casati alla legge Credaro (1859-1911): inventario dei registri scolastici*, «Forlimpopoli: documenti e studi», vol. 8, 1997, pp. 177-203; L. D'Ignazi, *Tra i banchi del passato: la storia vissuta dei bambini di ieri. Ricerca storica sui registri scolastici dell'archivio dell'Istituto Scolastico comprensivo di Ripatransone dal 1933 al 1946*, Grottoammare, Media Print 2000, 2009; O. Marrocco (ed.), *La scuola della madia vuota: san Muro Cilento. Cronache scolastiche 1929-1944*, Acciaroli, Centro di promozione culturale per il Cilento, 2002; D. Gasparini (ed.), *I balilla a scuola: cronache, pensiero, dettati di bambini plagiati e contenti (Miane 1928-1943)*, Cison di Valmarino, Circolo culturale «Al Mazarol», 2003; A. Melandri, G. Fugattini, *Scolari, maestri e banchi di scuola: storia, aneddoti, curiosità e rivelazioni: la scuola di Fusignano e frazioni ricostruita attraverso i registri scolastici (1860-1952)*, Fusignano, Morandi, 2003; D. Gasparini (ed.), *Mi piace tanto le erbe cotte...: cronache, pensiero, dettati di bambini poveri e contenti (Miane, 1928-1947)*, Cison di Valmarino, Circolo culturale «Al Mazarol», 2004; A. Castrovilli, N. Del Vento, C. Seminara, *Scuole Gabelli e Pestalozzi: registri degli anni scolastici 1943-1945*, Turin, Tipografia Castello, 2005; G. Sgangero, *Storie*

of source. The following works represent two brilliant examples about what we have just described: the first book is titled *May is a good month for first grade...: readings of old school registers*⁷ (2010), and was written by some school directors from Milan; the second book is called *Primary school teachers and students in Cordenons from the school year 1945-1946 to 1949-1950*⁸ (2016), and was written by a retired old teacher from Pordenone.

There are many reasons why scientific research has rarely used this type of sources. First of all, the above-mentioned undervaluation of school archives and the consequent poor state of conservation, often resulted in a difficult or limited access. In fact, their consultation is often granted on a fiduciary basis to local scholars known to the local school authorities, who worry about possible complaints of negligence and non-compliance with the relevant legislation by external scholars. Secondly, archives have scarcely been used because of a lower interest in archival sources by the historical research, which has often privileged other kinds of sources. This is because archives are very difficult to be found and more difficult to use than any other bibliographic sources. The reasons for this historiographical gap should be questioned thoroughly, because only an extensive and systematic exploitation of these unexplored documentary deposits will consolidate the conditions for their actual accessibility. Furthermore, this also demonstrates how much the academic historical-educational research can produce its effects on schools. In this scenario schools are to be understood not only as places dedicated to education, but as institutions responsible for the preservation of the historical and documentary heritage that they themselves generate during their own activities. A heritage, in sum, that shows the fundamental role played by a school within the community in which it operates.

e memorie: cronache, testimonianze, ricordi dai registri di classe della scuola «Duca d'Aosta» di Monfalcone (1930-1955), Monfalcone, Tip. Savorgnan, 2005; D. Corvino, *Schegge didattiche: memorie d'altri tempi. Cronache scolastiche dal 1939-'40 al 1944-'45 dei maestri di Castel San Giorgio e Siano*, Naples, Guida, 2006; B. Sforza (ed.), *«Me paréa mill'anni...»: appunti e ricordi tratti dalle cronache della scuola di Vivaro Romano*, Subiaco, Ed. Fabreschi, 2007; F. Caggio, R. De Polo, A. Gottardi (edd.), *Maggio, è un bel mese per la prima classe...: prime letture di antichi registri scolastici*, Milan-Udine, Mimesis, 2010; A. Del Zotto, *Insegnanti e alunni delle Scuole elementari di Cordenons dall'anno scolastico 1945-1946 all'anno scolastico 1949-1950. Dati statistici, documenti fotografici e cronache della vita scolastica*, Pordenone, Universalia, 2016.

⁷ Original title: Caggio, De Polo, Gottardi (edd.), *Maggio, è un bel mese per la prima classe... prime letture di antichi registri scolastici*, cit.

⁸ Original title: Del Zotto, *Insegnanti e alunni delle scuole elementari di Cordenons dall'anno scolastico 1945-1946 all'anno scolastico 1949-1950*, cit.

2. Archives for teaching

School archives are not only a source deposit for the history of education, but also an educational resource for teachers and their students, as demonstrated by the growing number of initiatives aimed at increasing the value of the historical documentation kept at school in the context of innovative projects of history teaching. In the first decade of the 2000s, many studies investigated the possible teaching applications of school archives within the schools that preserved them, like demonstrated by a number of works published by the Institutes for the History of the Resistance and Contemporary Society of Turin and Venice⁹. These studies have demonstrated the effective role of history workshops in developing historical awareness and promoting active citizenship in the new generations. These workshops were aimed at students of the last year of middle and high schools, and gave them the opportunity to write the history of their institution by using the documents kept in their own archives.

Dealing with first-hand historical sources extraordinarily enhances the educational value of history teaching at school, because it helps students to develop critical thinking skills – a fundamental quality that any active and conscious citizenship should possess¹⁰.

By using the archives with their students, teachers may find an important resource to refresh their methods to teach history. The archives, in fact, provide a new way of “making” history and give the students the chance to carry

⁹ On this subject see the following contributions: Perna, *Tra vecchie carte. Esperienze didattiche negli archivi di scuole torinesi*, cit.; Sega, *La storia fa la scuola. Gli archivi scolastici per la ricerca e la didattica*, Portogruaro, Nuova Dimensione, 2002. More works on this subject are: A. Santagiustina, R. Vivante, *Fare storia in archivio*, «Cooperazione Educativa», n. 1, 2003, pp. 58-61; E. Cento, L. Di Ruscio, *Didattica della storia dell'800 e del '900. Un modello per la fruizione e la valorizzazione delle fonti documentarie*, Corazzano, Titivillus Edizioni, 2005.

¹⁰ See: P. Angelucci, *Interesse e passione intorno agli archivi scolastici: l'eredità di Cristina Giuntella*, in L. Proietti, *Il mestiere dello storico tra ricerca e impegno civile: studi in memoria di Maria Cristina Giuntella*, Rome, Aracne, 2009, pp. 207-216; P. Angelucci, *Gli archivi scolastici: dall'interesse storiografico all'uso didattico*, in Locci, Maroni, *Tutti in classe! la scuola in Umbria dall'Unità ad oggi nei documenti degli archivi scolastici: catalogo della mostra documentaria del Progetto Hermes per la valorizzazione degli archivi scolastici*, cit., pp. 45-56; P. Angelucci, S. Martella, *Gli archivi scolastici: solo vecchie carte? Alla scoperta di una memoria trascurata*, Perugia, Morlacchi, 2008; L. Lajolo, *Scuola e società: archivi scolastici e ricerca didattica*, Asti, School networks History centre of the province of Asti, Asti educational club, 2005; F. Cavazzana Romanelli, E. Perillo, *Fra scuola e archivi. Storia e prospettive di una lunga complicità*, «Storia e futuro», n. 36, novembre 2014, <<http://storiaefuturo.eu/fra-scuola-e-archivi-storia-e-prospettive-di-una-lunga-complicita>> (last access: 02.02.2019); G. Fogliardi, G. Marcadella, *Gli archivi ispirano la scuola. Fonti d'archivio per la didattica. Terza giornata di studio per la valorizzazione del patrimonio archivistico del Trentino-Alto Adige* (Trento, 21 november 2008), Rome, Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities – Directorate of Archives, 2010; A. Brusa, *Una fonte storica di tutti i giorni: il tema. Proposta per un “Laboratorio del tempo presente”, con l'uso di un archivio scolastico*, <<http://www.historicaludens.it/component/tags/tag/archivi-scolastici.html>> (last access: 02.02.2019).

out practical exercises going beyond the static learning dimension based on traditional history textbooks and lessons.

According to P. Angelucci and L. Nasini, by doing research in the archives, the youngest have «the opportunity to promote the use of cultural heritage as a vehicle for renewing teaching strategies for both content and method. This has prompted several official indications as well as the Recommendation on cultural heritage education promoted by the Council of the European Union, which officially introduces the name ‘heritage education’»¹¹.

In the National Guidelines for primary schools and middle schools (first cycle of education) there are many references about working with first-hand sources; for example, in the Guidelines dated 2012, it is stated that one of the goals to be achieved at the end of the middle school is to: «be able to produce historical information based on different types of sources – including digital sources – and organize them into texts»¹². Similarly, among the learning goals included in the Guidelines the use of sources in order to gain «some knowledge of working procedures and techniques to be used in archaeological sites, libraries and archives»¹³ and to «use sources of different types (documentary, iconographic, narrative, material, oral, digital, etc.) to produce knowledge on specific themes»¹⁴ is explicitly mentioned.

Students’ work in the school archives, under the supervision of a teacher, can surely contribute to the development of methodological skills that are essential to acquire a historical approach and to learn how to read the signs of history in the world around us.

School archives, in fact, offer many advantages: they allow students to work on original documents; they are the product of an institution that students know very well (*history of proximity*); they also promote in the young a sense of belonging and the quest for their own history.

However, dealing with historical sources, first of all, implies that they are freely accessible. Therefore, in order to use school archives as a real deposit of documentary sources it is necessary to correctly preserve and reorganise them¹⁵.

¹¹ P. Angelucci, L. Nasini, *La nuova identità degli archivi oggi: una risorsa educativa e sociale oltreché culturale*, «Archivi in Valle Umbra», vol. VI, n. 1, 2004, pp. 5-36. See also: I. Mattozzi, *Pensare il concetto di fonte per la ricerca storico-didattica*, in A. Menegazzi (ed.), *Fare storia con l’archeologia. Raccolta di testi delle lezioni di aggiornamento per insegnanti, anni 1994-1997*, «Quaderni del Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d’Arte», I, Padua, Imprimeria, 1998, pp. 129-138.

¹² National guidelines for the curriculum of kindergarten and first cycle education in «Annali della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. 88, special issue, 2012, p. 55.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ See the Guidelines for school archives, their preservation and disposal plan: <<http://www.archivi.beniculturali.it/index.php/cosa-facciamo/progetti-di-tutela/progetti-conclusi/item/556-archivi-delle-scuole>> (last access: 02.02.2019).

In order to the properly fulfil the educational potential of school archives, the other essential condition is to avoid any emotional approach and to follow a scrupulous methodological procedure instead. The following list illustrates the steps of a correct procedure: a) reading the documents, giving priority to the ones that are linked by clear thematic and temporal connections; b) indexing the documents; c) producing direct information; d) deducing inferential information, and drawing logical conclusions from the available data; e) formulating interpretative hypotheses; f) verifying the hypotheses by comparing them with other historical sources or with the available historiographical literature; g) assembling the knowledge acquired in a final product.

The final result could be the production of a story of a single school or of specific aspects and/or specific time periods, as demonstrated by several works published over the last few years by some schools – especially high schools – aimed at reconstructing, through the documentation kept within the school archives, the anti-Jewish racial persecution in Italian schools between 1938 and 1945¹⁶.

The interest of the historical researches carried out in the school archives for the fascist period is also confirmed by the other great trend of this particular historiographical production: the study of the massive Fascist propaganda aimed at school children during and after school hours. In this regard, school registers used by teachers and kept in the archives are a very useful resource, even if there are other types of documents whose value is yet to be explored. Among these other documents, it is worth mentioning school photographic collections, students' written tests and essays (which by law can be trashed after one year, but which should be kept as a sample one every ten years), class or school journals and yearbooks¹⁷, confidential files of teachers and students,

¹⁶ Cf. *Via da scuola, sei ebreo! Gli studenti dell'Alfieri ricordano le leggi razziali del '38*, Turin, Liceo classico «V. Alfieri» di Torino, 1994; Valentina Addante et al. (ed.), *Ricerca d'archivio sulle leggi razziali durante il regime fascista nel liceo classico statale C. Beccaria di Milano*, Milan, Liceo classico statale «Cesare Beccaria», 2000; R. Ansani, *I banchi vuoti: il Liceo Ariosto e le leggi razziali del 1938*, Ferrara, Liceo Classico «Ariosto», 2004; Stefano Sodi, *Mio padre ci disse che non saremmo più tornate al Galilei: l'applicazione delle leggi razziali del 1938 al Regio Liceo Galileo Galilei di Pisa*, Pisa, Pacini, 2008; M. Davi, *Alumni di razza ebraica: studenti del Liceo-Ginnasio Tito Livio sotto le leggi razziali*, Padua, Liceo-Ginnasio «Tito Livio», 2010; *L'applicazione delle leggi razziali nel comune di Finale Ligure: 1938-1945*, written by the students of the historical working group of Liceo «A. Issel», coordinated by Prof. Pampararo, Finale Ligure, Biblioteca Mediateca Finalese, 2013; A. Testa, *Il nostro futuro ha radici profonde: 150 anni del Liceo classico Cesare Balbo*, Alessandria, SEA, 2014; *Il rumore del vuoto: assenze e presenze nell'Istituto magistrale «Laura Bassi» durante le leggi razziali*, Bologna, Regione Emilia Romagna Assemblée Legislativa, 2018; M.T. Sega, *Il banco vuoto. Scuola e leggi razziali. Venezia: 1938-1945*, Sommacampagna, Cierre Edizioni, 2018.

¹⁷ For more details on this type of source, see: D. Marchesini, *Gli annuari delle scuole medie superiori di Parma durante il fascismo*, in N. Raponi (ed.), *Scuola e Resistenza*, Parma, La Pilotta, 1978, pp. 125-132; Marchesini, *Una fonte per la storia della scuola fascista: gli annuari di Cremona e Parma*, «Rivista di storia contemporanea», n. 1, 1980, pp. 88-111.

as well as the bio-typological and orthogenetic files conceived by Nicola Pende and adopted in all Italian schools as a way to control the state of physical and mental health of the Italian younger generations¹⁸.

The final products of these researches, however, not only consist of traditional books, but also of websites – often created in collaboration with the students – aiming at reaching a wider audience and becoming virtual places where to share memories and promote collective memory. This is the case of the website named *History of Amelia's primary schools (1920-1940)*, created after years of research by the teacher Vera Barbini¹⁹, as well as the website *Behind the blackboard: generations at school in Venice and Mestre (1866-1977)*²⁰, created by the aforementioned Venetian Institute for the History of the Resistance and Contemporary Society in collaboration with the City of Venice²¹.

This paper highlights the wide heuristic potential of school archives, which have been undervalued and underused so far. It should be remembered that school archives include a wide range of documentary types, such as school statutes, regulations, educational programs, bulletins, photographic collections, personal files, health practices and much more.

Archives are an important tool for investigating the past school life and teaching practices performed in the classroom. Undoubtedly, historians of the historical-educational field should give more attention to these sources since they are a unique and valuable asset for studying how history was taught at school. Through experimental teaching methods based on the use of school archives, students can develop knowledge, methodologies and competencies that are important skills for their future. School archives are therefore an important teaching resource, but at the same time they also represent a *collective memory* thanks to which it is possible to investigate and reconstruct the past, and create an intergenerational dialogue.

¹⁸ See F. Cassata, *Molti, sani e forti, L'eugenetica in Italia*, Turin, Bollati Boringhieri, 2006; Cassata, *La difesa della razza. Politica, ideologia e immagine del razzismo fascista*, Turin, Einaudi, 2008.

¹⁹ <<http://www.dirididatticamelia.it/htm/storiascuo/1920-1940/Web/index.htm>> (last access: 02.02.2019). Original name: *La storia delle scuole elementari di Amelia (1920-1940)*.

²⁰ <<http://www2.comune.venezia.it/tuttoscuola/copertina.htm#>> (last access: 02.02.2019). Original name: *Dietro la lavagna: generazioni a scuola a Venezia e a Mestre (1866-1977)*.

²¹ <<http://www2.comune.venezia.it/tuttoscuola/copertina.htm#>> (last access: 02.02.2019).

Notices / Recensioni

Notices

Recensioni

Mirella D'Ascenzo, *Per una storia delle scuole all'aperto in Italia*, Pisa, ETS, 2018, 291 pp.

Gli studi di storia della scuola negli ultimi vent'anni hanno vissuto una stagione particolarmente feconda, complice il rinnovamento metodologico che ha imposto il ricorso a fonti fino ad allora solo scarsamente utilizzate (libri di testo, quaderni, sussidi didattici, arredi, ecc.) e l'emergere di nuove linee storiografiche, come quella legata alla storia della cultura materiale della scuola. Un cambiamento che ha consentito di aprire nuove strade di ricerca, lumeggiando temi inediti o modificando interpretazioni desuete. Dal fervore di studi sono tuttavia rimasti esclusi, in tutto o in parte, alcuni ambiti tradizionalmente poco indagati, a partire dalla storia della didattica, finora coperta solo per alcune specifiche materie, come l'insegnamento della storia.

Un altro tema che aveva finora riscosso una limitata fortuna in ambito storico

educativo è quello connesso alle scuole all'aperto, di cui mancava una ricostruzione organica che cogliesse le sollecitazioni emerse in alcuni sporadici studi su singoli casi cittadini. Il presente volume intende colmare questa menda, richiamando fin dal titolo la necessità di ricostruire una storia nazionale delle scuole all'aperto. Questo non significa, come ben evidenziato dall'autrice, ignorare le singole realtà scolastiche, spesso molto eterogenee sia per qualità dell'offerta didattica che delle finalità pedagogiche o più prettamente igienico-sanitarie. La stessa necessità di approfondite ricerche presso archivi locali (comunali, di singole istituzioni scolastiche, privati di insegnanti o di medici igienisti, ecc.), stante la carenza di documentazione presso l'archivio centrale dello Stato e presso gli archivi statali, concorre a imporre di riservare uno spazio significativo alla ricostruzione delle vicende più circoscritte. Da queste considerazioni nasce la seconda parte del volume, volta a descrivere nel dettaglio le principali realtà

del paese, ovvero quelle di Padova, Genova, Bergamo, Roma, Milano e Torino. Non mancano, inoltre, i paragrafi dedicati a presentare per cenni essenziali ulteriori esperienze che fiorirono sul territorio nazionale, comprese le principali tra quelle sorte nell'Italia meridionale e insulare.

Un livello di approfondimento decisamente maggiore è riservato all'esperienza bolognese, cui è dedicato il terzo e conclusivo capitolo. Con il supporto di un rilevante corredo fotografico e sulla scorta di una documentazione di prima mano, queste pagine rendono evidente la ricchezza di fonti e informazioni che è in grado di restituire un'indagine calibrata sulle realtà locali, passaggio imprescindibile, come detto, per mappare la consistenza e l'eterogeneità delle scuole all'aperto italiane.

Le questioni metodologiche imposte dal tema non si esauriscono nella scarsità di documentazione a livello centrale. Come sottolinea Mirella D'Ascenzo, un primo problema da risolvere si incrocia nella definizione stessa dell'oggetto della ricerca, dato che le scuole all'aperto, almeno nella fase aurorale, si confondevano spesso con altre esperienze analoghe, ma non necessariamente riconducibili all'ambito scolastico in senso stretto o comunque più vicine a quello assistenziale: colonie, corsi speciali per bambini anormali, sanatori, ecc. nei quali erano avviate sporadiche pratiche didattiche. A complicare il quadro, la doppia gestione da parte del ministero della pubblica istruzione e di quello dell'interno, cui si sommava l'ampio margine di manovra riservato, almeno fino al fascismo, all'iniziativa comunale e privata.

Un'altra doppiezza che non facilita il lavoro di chi intenda ricostruirne le vicende dal punto di vista storico-educativo è la sovrabbondanza di pubblicazioni, datate perché coeve alle esperienze analizzate e di cui l'autrice denuncia la natura spesso agiografica, volte a indagare la dimensio-

ne igienico-sanitaria delle scuole all'aperto, a tutto discapito di quella più propriamente scolastica, per non dire degli aspetti didattici, quasi totalmente ignorati. Del resto le finalità di carattere medico furono preponderanti fin dagli esordi, così come l'impegno di quelle influenti personalità, per rimanere entro i patri confini, quali Achille De Giovanni, Alberto Graziani, Alessandro Randi, Mario Ragazzi, Achille Sclavo, Luigi Pagliani. Alla loro indefessa attività di studiosi, conferenzieri presso i congressi internazionali, autori di libri e saggi dedicati alla lotta contro la tubercolosi, ecc. vanno ricondotti la nascita e il successivo sviluppo delle scuole all'aperto nel nostro paese. Rilevante fu inoltre il contributo di alcune figure femminili particolarmente significative per il ruolo svolto, a partire dall'educatrice inglese Lucy Latter, ma anche di Maria Montessori, Giuseppina Pizzigoni e Pierina Boranga.

Lo scenario dal quale muove Mirella D'Ascenzo per inquadrare meglio l'esperienza italiana è comunque quello internazionale, europeo in primis, ricostruito nel testo assieme ai principali congressi dedicati all'argomento, vere e proprie occasioni per un confronto transnazionale nei quali l'Italia svolse un ruolo maggiore di quanto le ricerche avessero fin qui ipotizzato. L'internazionalizzazione delle scuole all'aperto determinò, inoltre, la connessione col movimento delle scuole nuove e la conseguente maggiore attenzione dedicata alle pratiche didattiche. Fu grazie al determinante apporto dei direttori delle principali scuole all'aperto europee, animatori dei citati congressi, e di Adolphe Ferrière, che si consumò il passaggio da esperienze maggiormente attente agli esiti medici a scuole caratterizzate da precise e rinnovate pratiche didattiche informate all'educazione all'aperto.

Per concludere, il presente volume affronta per la prima volta in modo organi-

co un tema multidisciplinare come quello delle scuole all'aperto, capace di attivare sollecitazioni in ambito scolastico, pedagogico, medico, architettonico, offrendo chiavi interpretative e spunti di ricerca significativi che ci si augura possano venire presto ripresi anche da altri studiosi.

Fabio Targhetta

Sabine Reh, Denise Wilde (Hrsg.), *Die Materialität des Schreiben- und Lesens. Zur Geschichte schulischer Unterweisungspraktiken seit der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Bad Heilbrunn, Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, 2016, 325 pp.

Der zu rezensierende Herausgeberband richtet sich durch die Veröffentlichung in der Reihe «Bildungsgeschichte. Forschung – Akzente – Perspektiven» des Klinkhardt-Verlags vorwiegend an Interessenten mit fachwissenschaftlichen Vorkenntnissen. Er verspricht in seinem Titel die Auseinandersetzung mit «Materialität» im Bereich des Lernens von Lesen und Schreiben, wobei gemäß dem Untertitel schulische Unterweisungspraktiken seit der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts näher beleuchtet werden sollen. Unter dieser Thematik versammelt der Band – unter anderem – Beiträge einer Tagung, die mit bildungshistorischer Ausrichtung im Herbst 2013 in der Bibliothek für Bildungsforschung (BBF) stattfand.

Die breit aufgestellte Autorenschaft des Bandes, deren Expertise in erziehungswissenschaftlichen, kultur- oder literaturwissenschaftlichen, medizingeschichtlichen oder philosophischen Disziplinen liegt, befasst sich in 15 themenbezogenen Beiträgen mit Fragestellungen im Bereich der Materialität sowie der «Praktiken und Medien des schulischen Lernens und auch Lehrens von Lesen und Schreiben» (s. 15).

Dies erfolgt unterteilt in die Zeiträume 1750 bis 1850 und 1850 bis 2000, ohne dass diese Zeitabschnitte mit Blick auf die Themenstellung des Bandes legitimiert werden. Zudem gehen die verschiedenen Beiträge in Teilen über den deutschsprachigen Raum hinaus und beziehen sich auch auf Länder wie Spanien oder den geographischen Raum des heutigen Polens.

Diesen Ausarbeitungen der einzelnen AutorInnen stellen die Herausgeberinnen Sabine Reh und Denise Wilde einen Gesamtüberblick vorweg, der ausschnittweise zeitgeschichtliche Zäsuren im Zeitraum ab 1750 aufgreift wie ebenso Forschungsarbeiten aufführt, die sich im thematischen Umfeld von Materialität und Praktiken des Schreiben- und Lesens in diesem Zeitraum bewegen. Auch werden die Quellenkorpora dargestellt, auf die sich die thematischen Schwerpunkte des Bandes beziehen. In einem weiteren Abschnitt formulieren die Herausgeberinnen zentrale Forschungsfragen, die aus der Grundintention des Bandes resultieren, und liefern ausgewählte Einblicke in eine begriffliche und fachwissenschaftliche Verortung zentraler Schlüsselbegriffe. Dementsprechend erfolgt zwar eine Auseinandersetzung mit den Termini «Materialität», «Schreiben» und «Lesen», die die Breite des Materialitätsdiskurses jedoch nur anreißt und hier an das vorausgesetzte Vorwissen des Lesers anknüpft. Hieran anschließend definieren die Herausgeberinnen dann das für den Band zentrale Verständnis von Materialität und fokussieren dabei gemäß dem Untertitel umfassend die Idee der «Praktiken», vor allem mit der Intention die beiden Termini in ein Verhältnis zueinander zu setzen: So werden durch die Erforschung der «Praxis des Lernens und Lehrens und [...] [der] sich im Unterricht herausbildenden Routinen [d.h. Praktiken]», Dinge, mit denen in Erziehungs-

Lern- und Bildungsprozessen hantiert und umgegangen wurde, die diese präfigurieren oder in ihnen hervorgebracht wurden, zu historischen Quellen [d.h. ‚Materialien‘], die Auskunft geben können über ihren Gebrauch. (s. 7; Anm. d. Verf.) Insgesamt sind Ausführungen im einleitenden Teil zielgruppenadäquat, spannen einen sinnhaften Rahmen für die Einbettung der einzelnen Artikel auf und geben eine informative, wenn auch knappe Einführung in relevante Diskurse. Ergänzungswürdige Einzelaspekte wie die Einbettung in ein dazugehöriges Verständnis von Kultur, wie diese bspw. von Schrage (2006) für ein eigentliches Verständnis von Materialität gefordert wird, bleiben – wahrscheinlich aus Platzgründen – unerwähnt.

Betrachtet man die auf die Einführung folgenden Einzelbeiträge, so befassen sich diese ausgehend von der zugrundeliegenden Thematik des Bandes mit breitgefächerten Fragestellungen und erfüllen damit in der Summe den von den Herausgeberinnen geäußerten Anspruch, mit dem Band «einen Beitrag zur bildungshistorischen Erforschung dessen, was sich im Klassenraum und im Unterricht vollzieht» (s. 15), zu leisten. So widmet sich innerhalb des ersten Zeitabschnitts Alfred Messerli der administrativen Bestrebung zur flächendeckenden Alphabetisierung der Schweizer Bevölkerung ausgehend von u.a. Zeitschriften zwischen 1750 bis 1850. Die Schiefertafel als Untersuchungsgegenstand fokussieren die Artikel von Peter O. Büttner und Tobias Fuchs (jeweils für den europäischen Raum), von Marcelo Caruso (für Spanien) sowie von Heinrich Bosse (vorwiegend für den deutschsprachigen Raum): Hierzu befasst sich Peter O. Büttner für die Zeit um 1800 mit der Profession des Kalligraphen im Kontext des «Schreibunterrichts», während Marcelo Caruso in Anlehnung an kulturwissenschaftliche Analysen das Bedingungsgefü-

ge zwischen dem Material und dem Schüler, der es verwendet, hinsichtlich dessen Subjektivierungsprozessen diskutiert. Der theoriegestützte Beitrag von Tobias Fuchs legt für die Zeit zwischen 1800 und 1850 dem «Schreiben als kulturelle Praktik» (s. 139) ein Materialitätsverständnis zugrunde, das Schreibmaterialien wie ebenso die Schrift als «zwei Phänomenbereiche des Schreibens» (s. 140) beleuchtet. Heinrich Bosse setzt sich mit der Rolle der Schiefertafel als Medium zum selbstbestimmten Handeln des Schülers zwischen 1614 und 1823 auseinander. Neben den Artikeln über die Schiefertafel beschreibt Andrea De Vincenti anhand der Daten aus einer Schweizer Schulumfrage von 1771 die Rolle von Handschriften im zeitgenössischen Lese- und Schreibunterricht. Mit der von Rochow in Brandenburg gegründeten Musterschule und seinen Ansichten zum Erstleseunterricht beschäftigen sich Annedore Prengel und Hanno Schmitt u.a. anhand eines Augenzeugenberichts von Riemann aus dem Jahre 1798. Die Praktik des (Vor-)Lesens analysiert Sabine Reh in einer der «ersten ‚fachdidaktischen‘ Zeitschrift[en] für den deutschen Unterricht» (s. 16) von 1843/44. Nahezu den gesamten Untersuchungszeitraum des Bandes greift Anja Werner in ihrem historischen Abriss über solche Methoden auf, die von 1778 bis 2002 im deutschsprachigen Raum und darüber hinaus zum Spracherwerb gehörloser Menschen herangezogen wurden. Den zweiten Teil des Herausgeberbandes zum Zeitabschnitt von 1850 bis 2000 beginnen Gert Geißler und Wendelin Sroka mit dem Thema der Zweisprachigkeit in Volksschulen der östlichen Provinzen Preußens von Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis 1910. Schreibmaterialien sind in den Artikeln von Bettina Irina Reimers und Denise Wilde zentral, wobei Bettina Irina Reimers für den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts die Vermittlung und das

Lernen von Sütterlins Schrift in den Blick nimmt. Für den Zeitraum nach 1945 analysiert Denise Wilde in ihrem theoretisch fundierten Einzelbeitrag den Füllfederhalter in seiner Funktion für die Vermittlung von Schrift und Schreiben im Zusammenhang mit Individualisierungsprozessen im Kontext der Materialität. Fibeln dienen in den übrigen Artikeln des zweiten Zeitabschnitts als Quellengrundlage: So untersucht Beate Kostermann-Reimers mit Bezug auf die ersten Jahrzehnte des 20. Jahrhunderts unter kunsthistorischer Perspektive die hebräische Fibel «Ner Israel» (1929) und Judith Scherer erhebt auf der Grundlage eines BRD-DDR-Vergleichs Geschlechtsstereotypen und Rollenbilder, die mithilfe der Fibel an SchülerInnen vermittelt wurden. Die «unterrichtspraktische Bedeutung des Mediums ‚Fibel‘ im Erstleseunterricht der DDR» (s. 307) ist Gegenstand des letzten Beitrags von Verena Stürmer.

Betrachtet man die Einzelbeiträge nun dahingehend, ob sie gemäß der Thematik des Herausgeberbandes einen Bezug zur «Materialität des Schreiben- und Lesenlernens» herstellen, können hierzu folgende Schlussfolgerungen gemacht werden: Es zeigt sich, dass es vor allem um das Spannungsfeld zwischen der ‚Materialität‘ im Sinne eines Materials bzw. Mediums und der Praktiken im unterrichtlichen Kontext des Sprach(en)erwerbs geht. Die AutorInnen bearbeiten dieses Zusammenspiel mit variierend starker Berücksichtigung des Lernens und/oder Lehrens sowie Lesens und /oder Schreiben bzw. der Sprache – und binden darüber hinaus ihre Ausführungen in diverser Weise an den Diskurs von Materialität und/oder von Praktiken an. Aufgrund dieser variantenreichen Zugriffe hätten die AutorInnen mit Blick auf die Thematik des Bandes ihr gewähltes Verständnis des Aspektes der Materialität in Teilen klarer offenlegen und theoretisch

anbinden können, um Bezüge deutlicher zu machen. Alternativ hätten diese Anbindungen auch die Herausgeberinnen in einem abschließenden, subsumierenden Kapitel leisten können. Eine weitere Möglichkeit zur Verdeutlichung der Schwerpunktthematik hätte darin bestanden, eine andere Gliederung zu wählen, die sich – statt an Zeitabschnitten mit einer tendenziell diachronen Anordnung – an der primären Orientierung der AutorInnen an Lese- und/ oder Schreibmaterialien einerseits oder an den Praktiken im Bereich der Sprach(en)erwerbs andererseits orientiert. So beschäftigen sich ungeachtet der beiden Zeitabschnitte des Bandes Alfred Messerli, Annedore Prengel und Hanno Schmitt, Denise Wilde, Beate Klostermann-Reimers und Judith Scherer mit einem Medium des Sprach(en)erwerbs, während bei Peter O. Büttner, Sabine Reh, Gert Geißler & Wendelin Sroka sowie bei Bettina Irina Reimers Praktiken des Lehrens von Lesen und/ oder Schreiben im Mittelpunkt stehen, bei Heinrich Bosse sind es solche des Lesen- und Schreibenlernens. Die Verknüpfung zwischen ‚Materialität‘ und ‚Praktiken‘ leisten die Beiträge von Marcelo Caruso (hinsichtlich des Lesen- und Schreibenlernens und -lehrens) und von Tobias Fuchs (bezüglich des Schreibenlernens), Verena Stürmer bearbeitet das spezifische Verhältnis von ‚Medium‘ und ‚Praktiken‘ im Erstleseunterricht. Mit einer solchen Gliederung hätte auch der Anspruch der Herausgeberinnen «an aktuelle erziehungswissenschaftliche sowie sozial- und kulturgeschichtliche Überlegungen zu einem ‚practical turn‘ an[zuschließen]» für den Leser stringenter und eingängiger eingelöst werden können. Die von den Herausgeberinnen gewählte Strukturierung rückt hingegen eher die ausgewählten Quellen und ihren zeithistorischen Kontext in den Fokus, was auch seine Rechtfertigung hat, und den beson-

deren Stellenwert von Quellen als Grundlage für empirische Studien im bildungshistorischen Bereich betont.

Resümierend betrachtet können diese geringfügigen Kritikpunkte den fachwissenschaftlichen Gehalt des Werkes und dessen Beitrag zum Forschungsfeld aber nicht schwächen: Sabine Reh und Denise Wilde eröffnen für die bildungshistorisch ausgerichtete (Primar-) Schulpädagogik bislang vernachlässigte Korridore und zeigen hier in einem komplexen Themenfeld wesentliche Potenziale für die Ausweitung und Synthese bereits bestehender und v.a. für die Entwicklung neuer Forschungsansätze, bspw. anknüpfend an die Schulbuchforschung oder aufbauend auf einen auf kulturelle Phänomene ausgeweiteten Materialitätsdiskurs.

Michaela Vogt, Agneta Floth

Agustín Escolano Benito, *Emociones & Educación. La construcción de la educación emocional*, Berlanga de Duero, Vision Libros-CEINCE, 2018, 246 pp.

Sulla scia delle suggestioni di Lucien Febvre la storiografia ha solo relativamente di recente affrontato la storia delle emozioni, elemento saliente per la comprensione della costruzione storica, sociale e culturale della dimensione umana legata agli affetti, ai sentimenti, ai vissuti, ai ricordi.

Si tratta di un corpo di studi in grande espansione, connesso al coevo sviluppo dell'ermeneutica filosofica e letteraria di Paul Ricoeur e Jorge Luis Borges ma anche alla filosofia e sociologia di Michel Foucault e Pierre Bourdieu sul disciplinamento sociale e soprattutto alla psicologia umanistica legata a Carl Rogers, Thomas Gordon e Daniel Goleman. Sono tutti autori che costituiscono il quadro di sfondo di questo nuovo volume del professor

Agustín Escolano Benito, direttore del Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar (CEINCE), uno dei principali e noti esponenti internazionali della storiografia educativa e scolastica.

L'indagine svolta in questo volume ha come fulcro la comprensione della genealogia e della costruzione sociostorica della cultura scolastica nella parte meno indagata dalla ricerca storico-educativa, cioè le emozioni e i sentimenti, in quello che oramai a livello internazionale è definito *affective turn*. Si tratta di un tema che intreccia diversi settori scientifico-disciplinari. Se da un lato Febvre ha riconosciuto la necessità di una rilettura storica della dimensione affettiva nello sviluppo della cultura, dall'altro l'approccio filosofico e letterario di Ricoeur e Borges hanno accompagnato tale riscoperta sul filo della memoria e del racconto, unitamente a quello sociologico di Foucault e Bourdieu ed ai loro studi sul controllo della società sul Soggetto in termini di disciplinamento sociale che si realizza sul piano educativo nella sapiente gestione dei contenuti di apprendimento e nella strutturazione degli spazi e dei tempi finalizzata al controllo da parte della società degli adulti e del Potere, dall'altro è innegabile e centrale l'apporto della psicologia umanistica e degli studi specifici di Gordon e Goleman sull'importanza dell'educazione emotiva in generale e specialmente nella gestione del rapporto educativo all'interno della scuola e nell'aula scolastica.

Proprio l'intreccio tra questi diversi saperi, sviluppati in ampi studi e ricerche peraltro pressoché contemporaneamente nelle diverse aree tematiche – tra cui si segnala anche l'antropologia culturale e le neuroscienze – appare lo sfondo di questo importante studio di Agustín Escolano, che mostra, ancora una volta, un'incredibile capacità di tenere uniti i diversi piani di lettura e del discorso, nel quadro di una

indagine storico-educativa di grande respiro e con uno sguardo, anche, davvero pedagogico. L'autore lancia così ai lettori e studiosi il proposito di esaminare la presenza delle emozioni all'interno della cultura empirica della scuola non solo nell'attualità, ovviamente, ma nella storia della scuola e dell'educazione stessa, invitando così a scoprire la stessa genealogia e la costruzione storica della cultura scolastica dal punto di vista delle emozioni e sentimenti in essa agite, più o meno consapevolmente, da tutti gli attori coinvolti. Agustín Escolano attinge da un'ampia ricchezza di fonti testuali e iconografiche, la maggior parte raccolte e conservate nel CEINCE da lui stesso diretto, che costituiscono la base per un'indagine che mira a inserire la storia delle emozioni nella storia dell'educazione, elemento che implica la necessità di rivedere la pratica educativa da un punto di vista dialettico: come pratica liberatoria da un lato e come pratica di dominio e controllo dall'altro.

Il percorso appare articolato in quattro capitoli: nel primo si sofferma sulla storia dell'educazione affettiva nei classici del pensiero pedagogico, citando Rousseau, Locke e altri autori, ma anche nei contributi della filosofia, delle neuroscienze, della sociologia e dell'antropologia culturale e dei pochi pionieristici contributi di taglio storico educativo (Sobe, 2012; Mahamud, 2012; Somoza, Mahamud, Pimenta, 2015; Brunelli, Meda, 2018) che ormai definiscono l'*affective turn*. Nel secondo capitolo affronta il tema della rappresentazione delle emozioni a scuola nella manualistica, nella fotografia e nei disegni per poi dedicarsi alla memoria delle emozioni tramite le fonti orali nel terzo capitolo ed infine ricostruire il clima emotivo della scuola attraverso i dispositivi pedagogici utilizzati in classe, dall'organizzazione dello spazio nella disposizione dei banchi e della cultura materiale fino alla scansio-

ne dei tempi delle attività, non tanto quelle tradizionali del leggere-scrivere e far di conto, quanto delle attività centrali nella trasmissione di valori sociali condivisi: la «buona educazione», l'igiene, i rituali, i castighi ecc. tutti connessi ai termini foucaultiani del disciplinamento sociale centrato però qui proprio sul controllo delle emozioni e dei sentimenti. Ecco così che in tutto il volume scorrono belle immagini tratte da libri, fotografie, disegni e quadri raffiguranti scene di vita scolastica in tempi e spazi diversi, dove l'autore gioca sulla contrapposizione delle emozioni e sentimenti agiti nella pratica educativa e didattica: allegria, felicità, speranza, empatia, amore, soddisfazione contrapposte a noia, paura, pudore, vergogna, sofferenza, ira, senza escludere i mezzi utilizzati per imporre la disciplina, come le punizioni corporali. In tal modo si entra ancor di più dentro la «scatola nera» della scuola, nel cuore della «grammatica» della scolarizzazione ed in quell'esercizio sottile e poco noto della costruzione della soggettività del bambino come scolaro nell'istituzione scolastica di ogni tempo e luogo. Si tratta di un tema che si colloca tra i «silenzi» della storia dell'educazione, un filone in Italia ancora poco indagato e che richiama a quella «pedagogia nera» di cui trattava già Alice Miller anni orsono in chiave psicanalitica. Un tema importante è quindi quello attraversato da questo splendido volume, che appare importante non solo in chiave storico-educativa ma anche come strumento utile per la formazione attuale degli educatori nei diversi contesti e degli insegnanti a tutti i livelli scolastici ai quali potrà essere fondamentale riflettere sulla dimensione storico-critica dell'educazione affettiva ed emozionale.

Mirella D'Ascenzo

*Scientific News
and Activities
of Research Centres*



**Cronache scientifiche
e Attività
degli istituti di ricerca**

L'«Archivio Mario Alighiero Manacorda»: una recente acquisizione del Museo della Scuola e dell'Educazione «Mauro Laeng»

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The Mario Alighiero Manacorda Archive. A recent acquisition of the Museum of School and Education, «Mauro Laeng»

ABSTRACT: The contribution aims to describe the Archive «Mario Alighiero Manacorda». It includes a large documentation, both typewritten and printed, donated by the heirs to the Historical Museum of School and Education «Mauro Laeng» of Roma Tre University, in December 2015 and now collected in an inventoried, filed and rearranged fund, freely accessible at the same museum and online on the platform: <https://romatre_museodidattica.archiui.it>. The main objective of the contribution is to highlight the contents of a documentation whose study may, in the future, open new paths of investigation and research in the field of school history, with particular attention to initiatives aimed, in the cultural and political climate of the post-World War II period in Italy, to a radical social and cultural transformation of educational pathways. In the pedagogical and political activity of Manacorda, an innovative idea of school appears with evidence, aimed at building a new educational model based on the unity of education and work, mind and body, theory and practice.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Manacorda Archive; Democratic school; Critical pedagogy; Education and work; Education and politics; Italy.

Mario Alighiero Manacorda. Un profilo biografico di un intellettuale organico e militante

Gran parte del patrimonio documentale e librario appartenuto a Mario Alighiero Manacorda – oggi raccolto in un fondo inventariato, è stato donato

dagli eredi al Museo Storico della Scuola e dell'Educazione (MuSEd), che ha sede presso la facoltà di Scienze della formazione Roma Tre, nel dicembre del 2015¹.

Prima di analizzare il profilo di una documentazione che potrà aprire in futuro nuovi percorsi di studio e di ricerca nel campo della storia della scuola nonché della storia della pedagogia², occorre descrivere l'intensa vicenda biografica di un uomo, un intellettuale e militante politico, che ha attraversato le complesse vicende di buona parte del secolo scorso. Nacque infatti a Roma il 9 dicembre 1914 e si spense all'età di 98 anni, nella medesima città, il 17 febbraio 2013.

Le sue propensioni di studioso, maturate anche grazie ad un clima familiare favorevole, il padre Giuseppe Manacorda fu docente universitario e autore di un importante volume sulla storia della scuola nell'Italia del Medioevo³, la madre, Lina Romagnoli, fu anche lei insegnante, emersero precocemente. Fu alunno della Scuola Normale di Pisa, dove si laureò in Lettere nel 1932. Si orientò giovanissimo verso gli studi letterari perfezionati poi presso l'Università di Francoforte sul Meno (1936-1937). Tra i suoi primi lavori a questo proposito ricordiamo la traduzione e presentazione delle opere di Novalis e Hofmannstahl⁴.

¹ Il Museo della Scuola e dell'Educazione «Mauro Laeng», che oggi afferisce, anche per gli aspetti giuridico-amministrativi, al Dipartimento di Scienze della Formazione dell'Università Roma Tre, è diretto attualmente da Lorenzo Cantatore ed è collocato nell'antico edificio di piazza della Repubblica 10 che, per decenni, ha ospitato la sede della Facoltà di Magistero, ove insegnarono, tra gli altri, Giuseppe Lombardo Radice prima e Luigi Volpicelli poi. Esso ha una storia davvero molto antica risalente ai primi anni di Roma Capitale, e precisamente al 1874 quando venne istituito con il nome di «Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione». In quel frangente storico l'Italia postunitaria si dimostrò particolarmente «sensibile all'individuazione di politiche e strategie culturali utili a rafforzare l'ancora fragile identità nazionale» (F. Borruso, L. Cantatore (edd.), *Una guida per il MuSEd*, in *Speciale MuSEd. Il museo della scuola e dell'educazione «Mauro Laeng»* dell'Università Roma Tre, «Il Pepe Verde. Rivista di letture e letterature per ragazzi», vol. XX, n. 77, 2018, p. 4). Oggi il MuSEd, in aggiunta ad una già ricca dotazione oggettistica, libraria e archivistica relativa alla storia della scuola e dell'educazione, ha implementato nuove acquisizioni e sviluppato, allo stesso tempo, nuovi obiettivi di studio e di ricerca di rilevanza storico-sociale. È stata infatti notevolmente incrementata l'acquisizione di oggetti, arredi, opere d'arte, «documentazione giuridico-legislativa, riviste per bambini e ragazzi, quaderni e manuali, periodici scientifici, carte d'archivio di personalità che, sia dall'alto che dal basso, hanno legato il loro nome alla vita educativa del nostro Paese» (*ibid.*, p. 5). Per una ricostruzione della storia del Museo vedi anche C. Covato, *Il Museo Storico della Didattica dell'Università degli Studi di Roma Tre. Dalle origini all'attualità*, in N. Siciliani De Cumis (edd.), *Antonio Labriola e la sua università. Mostra documentaria per i settecento anni della Sapienza (1383-2003)*, Roma, 2005, pp. 290 ss.

² Un primo resoconto relativo alla descrizione delle carte dell'Archivio si trova in C. Covato, C. Meta (edd.), *Il fondo Mario Alighiero Manacorda*, in *Speciale MuSEd. Il museo della scuola e dell'educazione «Mauro Laeng»* dell'Università Roma Tre, «Il Pepe Verde. Rivista di letture e letterature per ragazzi», cit., pp. 32-34.

³ Cfr. G. Manacorda, *Storia della scuola in Italia. Il Medioevo*, Palermo, Sandron, 1913.

⁴ Cfr. M.A. Manacorda, *Prefazione e Introduzione a Novalis, Cristianità o Europa*, Torino,

Solo in un secondo momento, anche sull'onda della vicenda della guerra civile innescata dalla crisi del fascismo e dalla rovinosa partecipazione dell'Italia alla Seconda Guerra mondiale che, come egli stesso ricorda in una intervista presente all'interno del volume curato da Angelo Semeraro che raccoglie scritti in suo onore⁵, rappresenterà lo spartiacque decisivo della sua vita, anche gli interessi culturali verranno profondamente modificati determinando la “scoperta” dei classici del marxismo (su tutti Marx e Engels), orientando i suoi studi successivi.

Bisognava avviare una «rinascita democratica» del Paese che passasse attraverso una scuola democratica, dopo gli anni bui del fascismo e della guerra. Occorreva per questa ragione dare corso al dettato costituzionale che affidava alle istituzioni scolastiche il ruolo di costruzione di un'uguaglianza nelle «opportunità di accesso». Fu con questa speranza che Manacorda si impegnò con entusiasmo già nel 1946 come direttore del Convitto-scuola romano per i figli dei partigiani. Una istituzione nata dall'esperienza della Resistenza per impulso di un gruppo di partigiani e della loro associazione (ANPI), sostenuta anche dal nuovo Partito Comunista italiano (Pci) di Palmiro Togliatti, allo scopo di alfabetizzare le masse dopo la tragedia della guerra.

Conclusa l'esperienza del Convitto, nel 1948, Manacorda fu promosso dirigente della Sottocommissione scuola del Pci.

La complessità di questo «intellettuale organico» emerge nella già citata intervista che chiude il volume curato da Angelo Semeraro. Si tratta del racconto di come molti intellettuali di estrazione borghese e democratica, nell'immediato dopoguerra, furono attratti dal progetto togliattiano di costruzione del Partito Nuovo che accettava le regole della democrazia in un'ottica “progressiva” e propugnava l'ingresso reale delle masse nella vita dello Stato⁶. Di qui la centralità dell'istruzione e della scuola e il ruolo fondamentale svolto dagli intellettuali intesi, gramscianamente, come «anelli» di congiunzione, nella costruzione del nuovo senso comune democratico e popolare, tra la società civile e lo Stato. Del resto tutte le prime annate della rivista ufficiale del Pci, *Rinascita*, di cui Manacorda, insieme a moltissimi altri intellettuali di spicco

Einaudi, 1942; Id., *Traduzione e prefazione* a H. Von Hofmannsthal, *La donna senz'ombra*, Modena, Guanda, 1946, pp. 295-349.

⁵ A. Semeraro (ed.), *L'educazione dell'uomo completo. Scritti in onore di Mario Alighiero Manacorda*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 2001.

⁶ Sbarcato a Napoli il 27 marzo 1944 dopo diciotto anni d'esilio, Togliatti determinò quel profondo mutamento della politica dei comunisti italiani che va sotto il nome di «Svolta di Salerno». Egli propose, in un'ottica unitaria e di responsabilità nazionale, di mettere da parte la questione istituzionale (se l'Italia dovesse o meno proseguire con la monarchia era questione da affrontare dopo la fine della guerra tramite libere consultazioni democratiche), e di entrare nel governo ufficialmente riconosciuto dagli alleati, quello presieduto dal maresciallo Pietro Badoglio, nella lotta per il ripristino delle libertà civili e della democrazia parlamentare (cfr. A. Natta, *Il Partito comunista italiano negli anni del centrosinistra*, in *Togliatti nella storia d'Italia*, «Critica marxista», 1984, n. 4-5 (fascicolo monografico), pp. 24 ss.; inoltre cfr. L. Gruppi, *Introduzione* a P. Togliatti, *Opere*, vol V: 1944-1955, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1984, pp. XX-XXXIX).

dell'epoca, fu assiduo collaboratore, furono impostate attorno all'idea della funzione "nazionale" che i comunisti avrebbero dovuto svolgere⁷.

Il tentativo togliattiano muoveva nella direzione di costruire, anche attraverso l'eredità di Gramsci e tramite la complessa vicenda dell'edizione "postuma" dei suoi scritti, in primis i *Quaderni del carcere* che uscirono tra il 1948 e il 1951 in edizione tematica, per renderli accessibili a tutti, presso l'editore Einaudi a cura di Felice Platone e dello stesso Togliatti, una tradizione storica alle classi subalterne e di legare a tali classi gli intellettuali antifascisti⁸.

Nel racconto autobiografico, presente nell'intervista precedentemente citata, inoltre, emerge il dolore provato per il passaggio repentino del Paese dal clima resistenziale unitario del 1945 a quello della guerra fredda, iniziata ufficialmente a partire dal 1947⁹.

Alimentavano un clima di insicurezza generale sia le tensioni tutt'altro che superate maturate dallo scontro tra fascismo-antifascismo¹⁰, ma anche la «resa dei conti» con i superstiti del regime, generata più da vendette private che da uno scontro politico¹¹, non in ultimo le polemiche sempre più aspre in seno all'Assemblea costituente, pur all'insegna di un compromesso solido fra mondo cattolico e mondo comunista.

In quel biennio Manacorda colloca lo spegnersi dell'entusiasmo per una reale rinascita democratica del Paese e l'inizio di un clima, a lungo subito, caratterizzato da un anticomunismo viscerale diffuso nella società civile, che

⁷ Per una analisi della strategia di Togliatti verso gli intellettuali vedi A. Vittoria, *Togliatti e gli intellettuali. La politica culturale dei comunisti italiani (1944-1964)*, Roma, Carocci, 2014.

⁸ Sul tema vedi F. Chiarotto, *Operazione Gramsci. Alla conquista degli intellettuali nell'Italia del dopoguerra. Con un saggio introduttivo di Angelo D'Orsi*, Milano, Bruno Mondadori, 2011.

⁹ Nel gennaio del 1947 il presidente del Consiglio democristiano Alcide De Gasperi compì un viaggio negli Stati Uniti, ottenendo un prestito di cento milioni di dollari per la ricostruzione dell'Italia. Tornato in Italia di fatto darà vita al suo quarto mandato di governo con l'estromissione delle sinistre dal governo: il 10 febbraio Pietro Nenni, ministro socialista, viene sostituito agli Esteri dal conte Sforza, contestualmente l'Italia firmava il trattato di pace, premessa all'adesione al Patto atlantico (1949); un mese più tardi il presidente statunitense Harry Truman enunciava la dottrina del *Containment*, l'aggressivo "contenimento" del comunismo nel mondo. A settembre, Stalin, come risposta, costituiva il Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) che ebbe la sua prima sede a Belgrado. Sostanzialmente il ridefinirsi degli equilibri mondiali basati su due blocchi di forze contrapposte spazzarono via, in Italia, lo spirito dell'unità della Resistenza che nella Carta costituzionale entrata in vigore poi nel 1948 aveva trovato la sua più solida espressione (sul tema, in merito agli equilibri internazionali vedi R. Vinen, *A History in Fragment. Europe in the Twentieth Century*, London, Little, Brown and Company, 2000; it. Transl. *L'Europa nel Novecento. Una storia sociale*, Roma, Carocci, 2004; per la politica italiana vedi A. Giovagnoli, *Le premesse della ricostruzione. Tradizione e modernità nella classe dirigente cattolica del dopoguerra*, Milano, Nuovo Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1982; inoltre C. Spagnolo, *La stabilizzazione incompiuta. Il Piano Marshall in Italia, 1947-1952*, Roma, Carocci, 2001).

¹⁰ Cfr. Manacorda, *Intervista*, cit., pp. 315-316.

¹¹ Cfr. Chiarotto, *Operazione Gramsci*, cit., pp. 48-49. Sul difficile equilibrio politico dell'Italia della ricostruzione post-bellica vedi P.G. Zunino, *La Repubblica e il suo passato. Le origini dell'Italia repubblicana*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2003; P. Soddu, *L'Italia del dopoguerra. 1947-1953. Una democrazia precaria*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1998.

costrinse il Pci ad arroccarsi in una posizione difensiva, benché non di isolamento, in un equilibrio sempre precario tra fedeltà alle direttive dell'Unione Sovietica e radicamento nella democrazia italiana¹².

Proprio in quel frangente storico, collocato tra le fine degli anni Quaranta e gli inizi degli anni Cinquanta del secolo scorso, rimane solida la sua collocazione nel campo "comunista", ora veicolata dall'intensificarsi dell'impegno sui temi educativi, concepiti come scelta di militanza politica. L'ideale della formazione dell'uomo completo diviene la lente focale attraverso la quale interpretare il marxismo, inteso come prassi liberatrice dall'oppressione e dallo sfruttamento.

Si spiega così l'interesse dimostrato lungo tutto l'arco della sua attività di studioso verso i classici del pensiero marxista, in primis Marx e Gramsci, i quali, con sfumature diverse, si sono soffermati sulle implicazioni pedagogiche della prospettiva della formazione di un uomo «onnilaterale» (completo)¹³.

Questa suggestione, per Manacorda, fu alla base dell'elaborazione di un «nuovo principio educativo» da contrapporre al modello educativo di scuola classista fondata su una rigida divisione tra istruzione umanistica e tecnico-specialistica. La nuova prospettiva avrebbe dovuto ispirare un progetto di scuola post-gentiliana, democratica e «aperta a tutti» (secondo il dettato costituzionale). Fu questo l'impegno manifestato da Manacorda per il progetto di riforma della scuola media unica, quando, chiamato dal responsabile cultura del Pci, Mario Alicata, tra il 1958 e il 1959, fece parte della commissione che predispose il testo poi presentato dai parlamentari Ambrogio Donini e Cesare Luporini a nome del gruppo del Pci (che diverrà il disegno di legge n. 359 presentato al Senato il 21 gennaio 1959). Su questa vicenda ci soffermeremo più nello specifico in seguito parlando delle carte dell'Archivio le quali mettono in luce tutto il peso avuto da Manacorda in quel momento storico.

La catalogazione del materiale donato, come vedremo, mette inoltre in luce non solo il ruolo di studioso e di intellettuale ma anche la funzione istituzionale rivestita da Manacorda attraverso i molteplici incarichi ricoperti nell'arco della sua lunga vita. Egli infatti fu membro della Commissione cultura del Pci. Ricoprì incarichi a vario titolo presso la Fondazione Gramsci Nazionale. Ebbe un ruolo di primo piano presso l'ADSN (Associazione Difesa Scuola Nazionale) e presso il FISE (Fédération International des Enseignants). Tale impegno internazionale lo portò anche a ricoprire un incarico presso la Commissione nazionale italiana Unesco.

In lui la militanza si coniugava alla partecipazione al dibattito culturale dell'epoca, come testimoniano anche le numerose collaborazioni che egli

¹² Manacorda, *Intervista*, cit., pp. 315-17.

¹³ A questo riguardo ricordiamo due opere tra le più significative di Manacorda, tese ad individuare nella pedagogia il nucleo centrale della riflessione filosofica sul materialismo storico, per quanto riguarda Marx e sulla «filosofia della prassi» per quanto riguarda Gramsci (cfr. M.A. Manacorda, *Marx e la pedagogia moderna*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1966 e Id., *Il principio educativo in Gramsci. Americanismo e conformismo*, Roma, Armando 1970).

intrattenne con diversi periodici, nazionali e internazionali. In particolare le sue collaborazioni assidue furono con: «Rinascita», l'«Unità», «Vie Nuove», «Società», «Il Contemporaneo», «Rassegna Sovietica». Fu molto attivo per la rivista di Pedagogia, «Riforma della scuola» di cui è stato condirettore insieme a Lucio Lombardo Radice, Carlo Bernardini e Franco Zappa, dal 1964 al 1984.

A questa complessa attività di politica culturale, Manacorda affiancò, con convinzione e passione, per larga parte della sua vita, il ruolo di docente. Fu, fra l'altro, professore di storia, latino e geografia presso l'Istituto magistrale «Gelasio Caetani» di Roma, poi dal 1967 divenne docente universitario, ricoprendo l'insegnamento di storia della pedagogia e di storia della scuola, presso diversi atenei: Cagliari, Viterbo, Siena, Firenze e, infine, Roma fino al 1978, quando lasciò, prima del tempo, l'Università e l'insegnamento.

Un altro tratto peculiare della sua personalità di studioso, che emerge chiaramente nell'intervista più volte ricordata, è la passione per l'aspetto formativo del sapere e della cultura. Per questo si impegnò in progetti divulgativi come, ad esempio, una *Storia dell'educazione dall'antichità ad oggi*¹⁴ e una *Storia illustrata dell'educazione*, raccontata attraverso le immagini¹⁵ in cui affida a queste ultime una funzione educativa importantissima. Le immagini educano in modo “consustanziale”, sottolinea, ad indicare la centralità, nei processi formativi, di un apprendimento non solo razionale, ma anche emotivo, sensoriale, ovvero corporeo¹⁶.

Infine maturò, negli ultimi anni della sua vita, un appassionato interesse per lo studio della storia dello Sport. Vale la pena ricordare a questo proposito la pubblicazione postuma della monumentale opera, prevista in quattro volumi, di cui finora è uscito solo il primo, dal titolo *Diana e le muse*, nella quale attraverso l'angolo visuale della storia dello Sport, dall'antichità greco-romana fino alla contemporaneità, Manacorda ricostruisce il rapporto tra corpo e mente considerandolo il tema fondamentale che attraversa tutta la società occidentale¹⁷.

In estrema sintesi, potremmo dire che il tratto caratteristico, forse, più evidente di questo «pedagogista militante», è stato quello di voler essere, gramscianamente, un intellettuale contemporaneo alla propria epoca; di qui l'importanza e la curiosità avvertita per l'utilizzo dei nuovi media considerati fondamentali nella comunicazione con le nuove generazioni. Costante è il

¹⁴ Si tratta della trascrizione di alcune lezioni sulla storia della pedagogia che Manacorda tenne per la Rai confluite nel volume *Storia dell'educazione dall'antichità ad oggi*, Torino, Eri-Edizioni Rai, 1983.

¹⁵ M.A. Manacorda, *Storia illustrata dell'educazione. Dall'antico Egitto ai nostri giorni*, Firenze, Giunti, 1992.

¹⁶ Id., *Intervista*, pp. 346-347.

¹⁷ Cfr. R. Frasca, *Introduzione* a M.A. Manacorda, *Diana e le muse. Tremila anni di Sport nella letteratura. Vol. 1, In Grecia e a Roma*, Roma, Lancillotto e Nausica Editore, pp. XX-XXXII.

richiamo alla responsabilità delle generazioni adulte nei confronti delle nuove generazioni. Contro ogni forma di «spontaneismo» pedagogico Manacorda, richiamandosi sempre a Gramsci, sottolinea come nel processo educativo occorra attuare un equilibrio tra disciplina e libertà, per un conformismo educativo che sia «proposto e non imposto» ed inteso come esercizio di socialità (contro l'atomismo tipico della società capitalista), e quindi garante della convivenza democratica¹⁸.

La composizione dell'archivio

Il corposo Archivio Manacorda composto da 42 scatole di carte, 18 scatole di riviste e materiale a stampa, è stato donato al MuSEd dagli eredi dopo la sua scomparsa, avvenuta nel 2013. Esso è stato schedato e riordinato dalla dott.ssa Nicoletta Valente (Memoria srl) nel 2016. Di recente acquisizione sono anche le carte riguardanti la corrispondenza privata che ancora devono essere sottoposte alla catalogazione.

Tutto il materiale è stato suddiviso in 485 unità archivistiche (in alcuni casi sono stati creati anche sottofascicoli) conservate in 83 faldoni. Gli estremi cronologici vanno dal 1944 al 2013. La catalogazione nelle 5 sezioni di cui si compone ha tentato di mettere in luce i principali filoni di interesse sviluppati da Manacorda lungo l'intero arco della sua vita: da quello linguistico e letterario; a quello storico-politico e di pedagogia e storia della scuola.

Caratteristica principale di questo Archivio è l'essere costituito, per la maggior parte, di fogli di riutilizzo. Manacorda spesso riscrive su dattiloscritti già utilizzati, e questo ha permesso di datare con più precisione i documenti.

La maggior parte delle carte è composta da articoli. Spesso si tratta di più copie dattiloscritte o vergate a mano di uno stesso documento, oppure di semplice "materiale preparatorio" (molti appunti scritti a penna) destinati a diversi periodici, nazionali e internazionali.

È importante ricordare come tutto il materiale finora catalogato è liberamente consultabile presso il MuSEd ed è accessibile anche on-line presso la piattaforma: <https://romatre_museodidattica.archiui.it>.

Fa parte dell'Archivio anche una biblioteca d'autore, inizialmente collocata presso la Biblioteca «Angelo Broccoli» del Dipartimento di Scienze della Formazione dell'Università Roma Tre, ora confluita presso il MuSEd, comprendente numerosi volumi e alcune scatole (n. 18) con prevalenza di riviste. A queste consistenze si aggiungono le 5 scatole con materiale a stampa.

¹⁸ Cfr. Manacorda, *Intervista*, cit., pp. 348-349.

Una prima indagine descrittiva delle carte

Partiamo dalla descrizione della prima sezione dell'Archivio, denominata *Scritti e pubblicazioni*. Essa si compone di 187 fascicoli raccolti in 16 unità archivistiche (buste). Si tratta di testi e appunti (materiale a stampa e dattiloscritti) che raccolgono molti materiali preparatori poi confluiti nelle pubblicazioni. L'arco cronologico degli scritti raccolti in questa sezione va dal 1946 al 2013, ma la parte più consistente riguarda quelli relativi alla fine degli anni Cinquanta e agli anni Sessanta del Novecento che, come abbiamo avuto modo di sottolineare a proposito della ricostruzione della vicenda biografica di Manacorda, furono caratterizzati da un forte impegno sul fronte culturale con una netta scelta di collocazione politica nel campo comunista.

Le molte ricadute sul piano educativo, nel contesto di una precisa scelta di militanza, sono evidenti nei temi affrontati in questi scritti. In un gruppo consistente di buste di questa serie infatti, dalla seconda alla settima, abbiamo dattiloscritti, la maggior parte poi confluiti in articoli per l'«Unità», «Riforma della Scuola» e «Rinascita»¹⁹, focalizzati sul tema della scuola.

Come modello da contrapporre al sistema scolastico occidentale, in molti scritti del periodo, Manacorda guarda con favore alla scuola sovietica. Questo aspetto è particolarmente evidente negli scritti della terza sezione dell'Archivio come vedremo in seguito. In questa sezione però non mancano spunti ed elementi di riflessione. In particolare nella terza busta abbiamo alcuni dattiloscritti e appunti vergati a penna sulla pedagogia russa. In uno di essi, parlando del grande valore storico e pedagogico rivestito dal *Poema pedagogico* del pedagogista russo Anton Makarenko, Manacorda evidenzia l'importanza, nel modello formativo sovietico, dall'«istruzione polifunzionale»²⁰, in grado di connettere in modo adeguato il nesso istruzione/lavoro, non attraverso una canalizzazione precoce dell'individuo verso un'istruzione professionale funzionale alla vecchia divisione della società in classi. L'istruzione polifunzionale in sostanza è l'unica capace di sviluppare al meglio l'uomo onnilaterale che è «l'uomo completo, che lavora non solo con le mani, ma col cervello e che, consapevole del processo che svolge, lo domina e non ne è dominato»²¹.

Sempre nella terza busta, ancora insistendo in questo confronto tra il sistema scolastico occidentale e quello di stampo socialista, segnaliamo una interessante serie di appunti scritti a penna poi utilizzati per alcuni articoli apparsi su l'«Unità» come *Reportage sulla Cina*, relativi ad un resoconto di un viaggio compiuto da Manacorda nella nazione socialista nel 1961. Egli documenta lo straordinario processo di «scolarizzazione di massa» avviatosi in quel paese che

¹⁹ Una ricostruzione della vasta bibliografia di Manacorda relativa a volumi, antologie, prefazioni di volumi, saggi in volumi collettanei e contributi in riviste a cura di P. Cardoni si trova in Semeraro (ed.), *L'educazione dell'uomo completo*, cit., pp. 351-361.

²⁰ Archivio Manacorda, in MuSEd, (d'ora in Avanti AM), busta 3, fasc. 6.

²¹ *Ibid.*

al contrario di quanto pensano alcuni esponenti del pensiero borghese liberale, non coincide con l'imbarbarimento della cultura, «piuttosto esso rappresenta uno straordinario strumento di progresso intellettuale di massa»²².

Molte buste di questa sezione, in particolare una parte della terza, la sesta e la settima, contengono appunti scritti a penna di difficile lettura. Spesso sembra trattarsi di appunti preparatori a lezioni, seminari, convegni. Interessanti le pagine in cui Manacorda compie annotazioni su opere e autori, da Comenio a Locke da Dewey a Gramsci, che ci forniscono, pur nella difficoltà di interpretare la sua scrittura, indicazioni preziose sul suo modo di lavorare, di svolgere l'analisi dei testi studiati. Si segnala un interessante metodo di riutilizzo del materiale cartaceo. Manacorda ricava quaderni di piccole dimensioni, spesso tagliando cartoncini o fogli di riutilizzo che spilla come a farne quaderni singoli, su cui annota appunti su diverse materie: pedagogia, sociologia, psicologia, storia e persino storia sacra. In un gruppo di questi quaderni si sofferma a ricostruire il rapporto tra istruzione e lavoro nel Vangelo²³.

Nella parte centrale di questa sezione, in particolare nell'undicesima e dodicesima busta, abbiamo poi vari dattiloscritti, destinati a diverse testate, specie per l'«Unità», relativi alla metà degli anni Cinquanta e metà Sessanta, incentrati prevalentemente sulla scuola, tema su cui, come abbiamo avuto modo di sottolineare, il Pci aveva assegnato a Manacorda un ruolo di primo piano²⁴.

In molti di essi egli si sofferma sull'inadeguatezza della scuola pubblica italiana, la quale vive una povertà materiale a causa degli scarsi investimenti nell'edilizia scolastica, ma anche «“morale” in quanto gli insegnanti sono sottopagati e svalutati»²⁵. Essa si dimostra nei fatti «incapace di far fronte alle necessità di un paese sviluppato e democratico»²⁶.

Sono questi gli anni, inoltre, in cui la battaglia per una scuola democratica si misura con l'impegno, di molte forze politiche progressiste, per abbattere l'analfabetismo, ancora largamente diffuso nel Paese, soprattutto nel Mezzogiorno²⁷.

²² AM, busta 3, fasc. 2.

²³ AM, vedi in particolare busta 6, fasc. 2-5 e busta 7, fasc. 3-6.

²⁴ Nel Comitato centrale del Pci del 1955, il nuovo responsabile cultura, succeduto a Emilio Sereni, Mario Alicata aveva indicato nella questione della scuola il tema centrale per una rinascita democratica del Paese. La rivista «Riforma della Scuola», diretta in quegli anni da Lucio Lombardo Radice, Mario Spinella e Dina Bertoni Jovine, con il contributo sempre più rilevante di Manacorda, ne diviene il canale di comunicazione, su queste tematiche, privilegiato. Tra i temi più affrontati in questi anni sulla rivista abbiamo quelli dell'elevamento dell'istruzione obbligatoria, della scuola unica, dell'asse culturale, della laicità e del rapporto con la scuola privata, del rispetto e dell'attuazione delle norme costituzionali (cfr. P. Cardoni, «Riforma della Scuola»: appunti per un difficile bilancio, in Semeraro (ed.), *L'educazione dell'uomo completo*, cit., pp. 227-229).

²⁵ AM, busta 11, fasc. 4.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ È del 1954 l'Inchiesta parlamentare sulla miseria e la disoccupazione che documentava lo stretto intreccio fra disoccupazione ed analfabetismo, denunciando così che il 70% dei lavoratori italiani erano sprovvisti di licenza elementare (sul tema vedi Marzio Barbagli, *Disoccupazione*

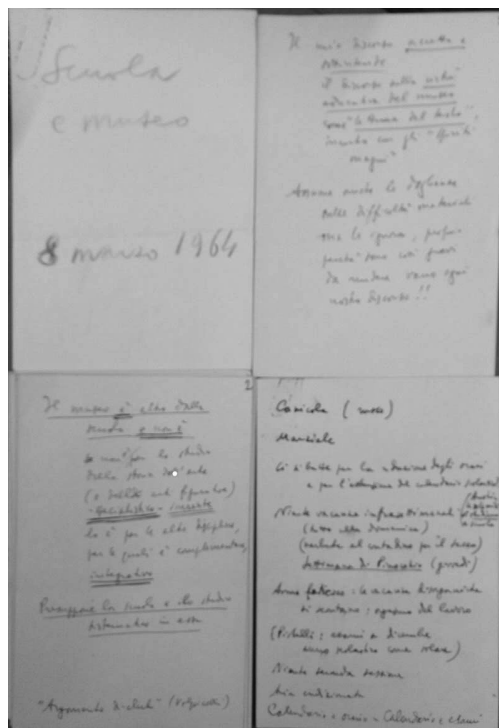


Fig. 1. Appunti su Quadernini, in Serie 1, *Scritti e pubblicazioni*, busta 6, fasc. 2.

Molta parte dell'intellettualità vicina al Pci, Manacorda compreso, assume, infatti, il problema scolastico come campo di battaglia privilegiato per il progresso democratico del Paese. Le ultime buste di questa sezione contengono ancora molto materiale vario, numerosi appunti preparatori destinati ad articoli.

Passando alla descrizione della seconda serie di questo Archivio, denominata *Corrispondenza*, possiamo dire che essa copre un arco di tempo che va dal 1977 al 2001 ed è composta di 5 fascicoli. Quest'ultima rappresenta ad oggi l'unità archivistica meno consistente rispetto alle altre. Come abbiamo sottolineato a proposito della descrizione generale dell'Archivio, il materiale relativo alle carte private di Manacorda rappresenta una recente acquisizione del MuSEd che ancora deve essere sottoposta a catalogazione.

Per quanto riguarda le lettere qui comprese esse hanno, prevalentemente, un carattere istituzionale. Vi sono scambi epistolari con case editrici, specie con gli Editori Riuniti, di cui Manacorda fu assiduo collaboratore, in relazione ad accordi per pubblicazioni. Altre ancora con varie istituzioni, fra cui, in particolare, l'Istituto Gramsci e l'Istituto Didattico Pedagogico della Resistenza, per svolgere seminari e conferenze. Interessanti un gruppo di lettere di corrispondenza con alcuni docenti brasiliani, a testimonianza della vocazione internazionale degli interessi culturali di Manacorda. Rispetto alla seconda, la terza serie, *Sistemi scolastici e pedagogia nei paesi esteri*, la quale comprende testi dal 1944 al 1981, è molto consistente essendo composta di 62 fascicoli, raccolti in 15 buste.

Si tratta di un'unità contenente prevalentemente materiali preparatori di studio, pubblicazioni, fascicoli di riviste, monografie, concepiti in un'ottica che

intellettuale e sistema scolastico in Italia, Bologna, il Mulino, 1974, in particolare pp. 447-452). Solo dopo il varo del Piano Vanoni (1954) prima e con il ministero Fanfani del 1958-59 poi con Aldo Moro al Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione si arrivò ad elaborare un primo piano di programmazione pubblica su scala decennale per lo sviluppo della scuola (1959-1969).

potremmo definire di «pedagogia comparata», poi serviti per la pubblicazione del terzo volume di Manacorda, edito da Armando, *Il Marxismo e l'educazione* nel 1966, dedicato all'analisi dei sistemi scolastici nei paesi del blocco sovietico²⁸.

Poiché, in questa sede, non è possibile ripercorrere l'immensa mole di documentazione raccolta da Manacorda su ogni singola realtà, in un lavoro che ha occupato lo studioso per un lasso di tempo molto lungo, possiamo menzionare alcuni materiali tra i più significativi. La documentazione è stata suddivisa in ordine alfabetico. Partendo dall'Algeria, Manacorda mette in luce lo straordinario tentativo compiuto dal presidente Ben Bella, all'indomani del processo rivoluzionario che portò all'indipendenza del paese dalla Francia, alla metà degli anni Sessanta del Novecento, di scolarizzazione di massa²⁹. In particolare egli si sofferma sull'avvio di una politica di rieducazione infantile la quale fece in modo che larga parte di fanciulli abbandonati fossero accolti in appositi centri di educazione pubblici³⁰.

Ancora nei primi faldoni di questa sezione abbiamo materiale a stampa relativo ai sistemi scolastici dell'Albania, dell'Argentina, della Bulgaria.

Una notazione particolare merita il materiale relativo alla Cina. Manacorda ha provveduto a raccogliere un notevole numero di pubblicazioni relative a questo paese³¹, accanto alle quali stende molti dattiloscritti nei quali descrive, come ad esempio in uno dal titolo *Lo Statuto della Comune del popolo*, la straordinaria opera di alfabetizzazione compiuta nelle campagne, anche attraverso la costituzioni di comunità agricole in cui «la vita sociale rurale veniva riorganizzata sulla base della divisione e assegnazione dei compiti economici, culturali, politici, e anche scolastici»³².

²⁸ M. A. Manacorda (ed.), *Il marxismo e l'educazione. Testi e documenti: Vol. I, I classici: Marx, Engels, Lenin; Vol. II, La scuola sovietica; Vol. III, La scuola nei paesi socialisti*, Roma, Armando, 1964-1966.

²⁹ Particolarmente cruento fu il processo che portò, tra il 1956 e il 1961, all'indipendenza dell'Algeria dalla madrepatria sia per la tenacia della resistenza algerina riunita nel Fronte di Liberazione Nazionale (FLN) sia per l'opposizione dei coloni sostenuti dall'esercito francese (cfr. R. Vivarelli, *Profilo di storia contemporanea*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1999, pp. 180 ss.).

³⁰ Per analizzare questo processo avviato da Ben Bella, Manacorda ha raccolto moltissimo materiale a stampa, interessante un volume, tradotto in italiano, di Robert Merle, *Ahmed Ben Bella parla di sé davanti al magnetofono*, Milano, Mondadori, 1966 (Cfr. AM, busta 17, fasc. 4).

³¹ Tra le moltissime pubblicazioni presenti abbiamo: un libretto con citazioni dalle opere di Mao-Tse Tung, *Culture and Education in New Cine*, 1950; alcuni volumi in russo sempre sulla Cina; il volume Mao Tse Tung, *La rivoluzione fino in fondo*, Milano, Edizioni Oriente, 1963; Un numero di «Monthly Review», agosto-settembre 1969, *La rivoluzione culturale all'università di Pechino*; alcuni estratti, tradotti in italiano, del rapporto del Presidente Ciun En Lai alla sessione del Comitato Centrale del Partito Comunista cinese, del 14 gennaio 1956, sulla questione degli intellettuali; una pubblicazione in tedesco sul Partito Comunista Cinese; alcuni numeri di «La Cina en Construction», del 1966; un numero di «Le vie del Socialismo» (bollettino della sezione esteri del CC del Pci) sull' VIII Congresso del Partito Comunista Cinese (ottobre 1956). (Cfr. AM, busta 19, fasc. 3-4 e busta 20, fasc. 4-5).

³² AM, busta 20, fasc. 6.



Fig. 2. Quaderni di appunti, in Serie 1, *Scritti e pubblicazioni*, busta 7, fasc. 1.



Fig. 3. Cartolina. Lotte operaie fine '800, in Serie 1, *Scritti e pubblicazioni*, busta 1, fasc. 1.

Scorrendo ancora l'ordine cronologico dei materiali, si nota come Manacorda dedichi attenzione alla rivoluzione socialista cubana all'indomani del rovesciamento, nel 1959, del governo del generale Batista da parte di Fidel Castro il quale, come è noto, darà vita al primo modello di stato socialista di un paese dell'area caraibica. Manacorda raccoglie molto materiale a stampa su questo paese, soprattutto in relazione agli anni Sessanta quando si concentrano i primi programmi di istruzione di massa sulla base di un modello scolastico fondato sulla garanzia di accesso per tutti³³.

Va segnalato inoltre la mole notevole di materiale presente sulla Repubblica Democratica Tedesca (RDT), relativo agli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta. Sono presenti molti appunti stesi a penna in cui Manacorda sottolinea come la Germania dell'Est stesse in quegli anni avviando un modello di scuola aperto a tutti, ruotante intorno alla costruzione di una scuola elementare e media generale politecnica di 10 classi, che permetteva una altissima scolarizzazione di massa³⁴.

L'ultima parte di questa sezione dell'Archivio contiene materiale a stampa su diversi paesi, Jugoslavia Messico, Perù, Polonia, Ungheria ed infine Russia.

Al sistema scolastico sovietico Manacorda dedica particolare attenzione, come dimostrano alcuni dattiloscritti presenti e appunti scritti a penna, in relazione soprattutto allo sviluppo del modello di scuola politecnica, e della sua

³³ AM, busta 21 e 22.

³⁴ AM, busta 25, fasc. 1-4.



Fig. 4. Foto. Calcolatore Olivetti, in Serie 4, *Rapporti con Istituzioni e Associazioni*, busta 50, fasc. 2.

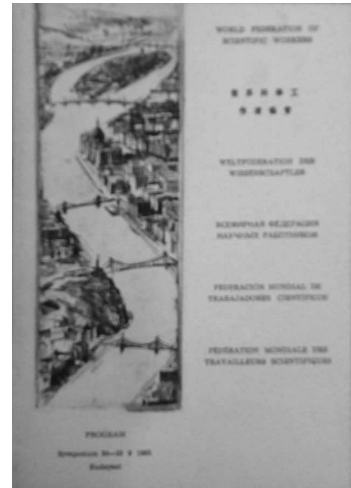


Fig. 5. *World Federation of Scientific Workers-Symposium*, 20-23, settembre, 1965-Budapest, Serie 4, *Rapporti con Istituzioni e Associazioni*, busta 51, fasc. 1.

difficoltà a decollare in Urss, anche dopo le pure lodevoli riforme del 1963-64³⁵. Viene in particolare sottolineata l'importanza di potenziare l'insegnamento delle discipline tecnico-scientifiche, così come la necessità di sviluppare il nesso tra "cultura e vita" e quindi tra scuola e lavoro. Manacorda osserva con favore l'enorme sforzo compiuto per alfabetizzare le masse attraverso l'istruzione serale e per corrispondenza per i lavoratori e tramite la diffusione delle università popolari di cultura.

Passando ora alla descrizione della quarta sezione dell'Archivio, possiamo dire che essa risulta essere la più corposa fra le cinque presenti. Denominata *Rapporti con Istituzioni e Associazioni*, essa copre un arco di tempo che va dal 1950 al 2000 e si compone di 113 fascicoli, compresi in 25 buste.

Si tratta prevalentemente di fascicoli contenenti documenti sulle attività svolte per gli enti e organizzazioni nazionali e internazionali in cui Manacorda ha avuto un ruolo come membro di commissione e comitati.

Al suo interno questa serie è stata suddivisa in nove sotto-serie, relative proprio alle carte riguardanti le singole istituzioni di riferimento con cui Manacorda ha collaborato.

³⁵ AM, busta 27, fasc. 1-3.

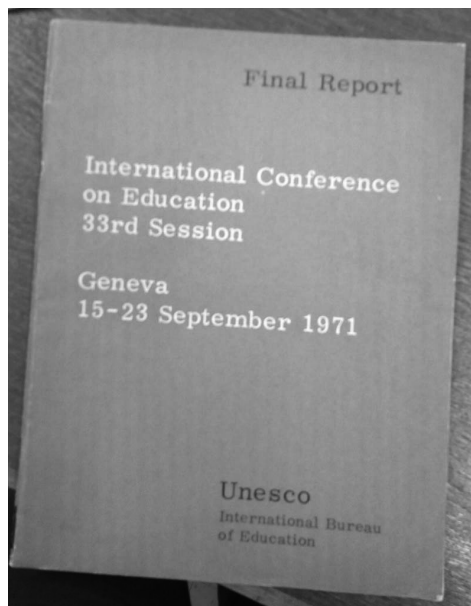


Fig. 6. Pubblicazione Unesco 1971, in Serie 4, *Rapporti con Istituzioni e Associazioni*, busta 51, fasc. 2.

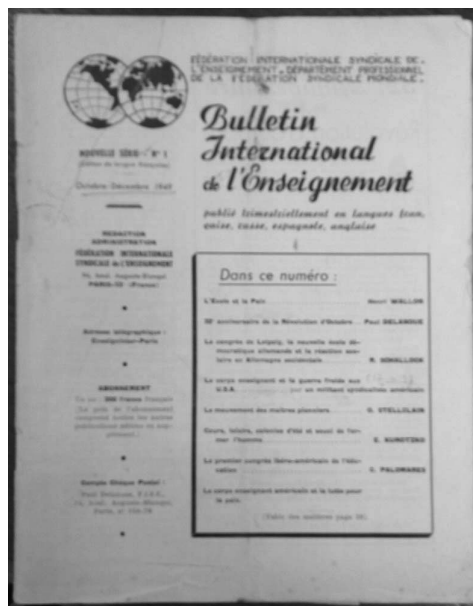


Fig. 7. Bollettino Fise-nuova serie, n. 1, ottobre-dicembre 1949, in Serie 4, *Rapporti con Istituzioni e Associazioni*, busta 56, fasc. 1.

Nella prima sotto-serie sono raccolti materiali riguardanti l'attività svolta da Manacorda presso l'Istituto Gramsci. Possiamo suddividere la collaborazione con la principale istituzione di riferimento culturale del Pci in due fasi ben distinte.

Nella prima che va dalla metà degli anni Cinquanta alla metà degli anni Settanta del secolo scorso, come le carte qui presenti mettono ben in luce, Manacorda prende parte all'organizzazione di convegni e seminari, dirigendo la sezione pedagogica dell'Istituto. Moltissimi i materiali qui raccolti. Essi documentano la vivacità del clima culturale presente al suo interno. L'istituto infatti si caratterizza come luogo privilegiato di analisi e studio, con un'attenzione particolare riservata alle questioni scolastiche, cui Manacorda partecipa sempre come promotore³⁶. A metà degli anni Settanta, ad esempio, si svolgono alcuni incontri tra i più significativi di quella decade: nel febbraio del 1976 si svolse un seminario dedicato alle questione della scuola secondaria e all'estensione

³⁶ Nella Busta 34 (fasc. 4-6) sono presenti alcuni dattiloscritti relativi a schemi di discussione svoltisi presso il Gramsci, tra il 1968 e il 1969, a cui presero parte, tra gli altri, Franco Ferri, Cesare Luporini, Marino Raicich, Bruno Bellerate e relativi ai temi, quali, ad esempio, «spontaneità vs disciplina», «conformismo e educazione», «cultura e formazione», che poi sarebbero confluiti nella monografia di Manacorda, *Il principio educativo in Gramsci*, cit.

dell'obbligo scolastico³⁷; nel marzo del 1977 ci fu in interessante incontro per discutere del rinnovo dei metodi didattici. Manacorda intervenne per evidenziare la necessità dell'inserimento dell'ottica interdisciplinare nelle discipline, attraverso l'estensione del «metodo di lavoro laboratoriale» non solo per le scienze e tecnologie; inoltre si espresse a favore di una formazione permanente degli insegnanti³⁸.

La seconda parte del materiale relativo sempre al rapporto con l'Istituto Gramsci si colloca a partire dagli anni Ottanta. Al di là del fatto significativo che ci troviamo di fronte ad una fase storica molto diversa, i partiti di massa cominciarono ad entrare in crisi e le istituzioni culturali ad essi legate vivono di riflesso questa crisi di egemonia, legata ad una progressiva perdita di capacità, da parte degli intellettuali ivi operanti, di svolgere una funzione di mediazione tra società civile e politica³⁹, la sezione pedagogica del Gramsci, nonostante tutto, non perde la sua capacità di promuovere iniziative. Anche se essa si concentra su una attività più specialistica, meno diretta alla politica, organizza conferenze, cicli di lezioni, a cui Manacorda partecipa assiduamente⁴⁰.

Un discorso a parte merita la questione del rapporto di Manacorda con l'importante associazione di Difesa e Sviluppo della Scuola Pubblica Italiana (ADESSPI), di cui abbiamo i materiali raccolti nella seconda sottosezione di questa parte dell'Archivio⁴¹. Le carte presenti mettono in luce il grande impegno

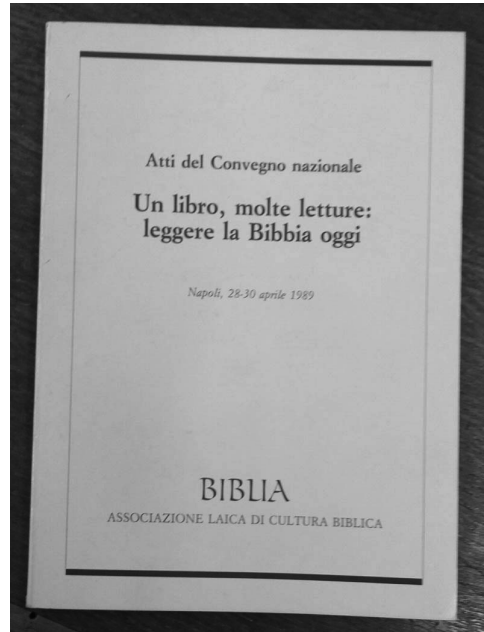


Fig. 8. Atti convegno *Leggere la Bibbia oggi*, Napoli, 28-30, aprile, 1989, in Serie 5, *Altri Dossier*, busta 63, fasc. 4.

³⁷ Cfr. Busta 34, fasc.7, seminario del 24/02/1976.

³⁸ AM, Busta 34, fasc. 7.

³⁹ Su questo aspetto vedi Vittoria, *Togliatti e gli intellettuali*, cit., pp. 200 ss.

⁴⁰ Nelle busta 35 è presente un cospicuo materiale relativo a questa decade, molti appunti stesi a penna da Manacorda relativi a seminari e conferenze che si svolsero in quella sede.

⁴¹ Per prima fu attiva dal 1946 al 1959 l'Associazione di difesa della scuola nazionale (Adsn), mirante a rendere operanti i principi sanciti dalla Carta costituzionale del 1948 e a vincere le resistenze governative per riformare la scuola pubblica. Dopo la fine dell'esperienza dell'Adsn si costituì l'Associazione di difesa e sviluppo della scuola pubblica (Adesspi), attiva dal 1959 al 1966, che proseguì l'impegno in difesa della scuola pubblica. In questa associazione l'impegno di Manacorda fu assiduo. Venne eletto, durante il primo convegno dell'associazione nel febbraio del 1960, nel comitato centrale. Sul mensile dell'associazione, inoltre, «Scuola e Costituzione»,

profuso nelle iniziative dell'associazione. Quest'ultima fu particolarmente attiva nel biennio 1961-1962, quando, durante il decollo del governo di centro sinistra, cominciò a delinarsi, su pressione delle forze sia interne al governo Fanfani, il Psi, sia in forza della iniziativa parlamentare del Pci, la possibilità di dare finalmente corso al dettato costituzionale di una scuola per tutti fino a 14 anni⁴².

Proprio su questo versante di impegno istituzionale, nella terza sottosezione di questa parte abbiamo materiali che mettono in luce l'impegno politico di Manacorda come intellettuale «organico» al Pci.

Molti i materiali inerenti l'analisi sulle cause della dispersione e della precoce mortalità scolastica, concentrati soprattutto nei contesti rurali e nelle regioni del centro-sud, che di fatto rendevano inoperanti le garanzie fornite dalla Carta costituzionale.

Furono del resto quelli gli anni in cui la classe dirigente in generale prese lentamente coscienza dei rapporti che legavano la scuola e la formazione al mercato del lavoro e allo sviluppo economico.

Se infatti dalla fine della guerra fino a larga parte degli anni Cinquanta il dibattito sulla scuola era rimasto scollegato dai problemi dello sviluppo del Paese, ora proprio le esigenze legate al decollo industriale ponevano la questione di manodopera qualificata e scolarizzata. A questa esigenza posta soprattutto dal mondo imprenditoriale e industriale, le forze progressiste risposero alzando la posta delle richieste messe in campo, per una applicazione reale dei principi di eguaglianza sociale sanciti dalla Costituzione.

Dagli appunti emerge che tutto ciò spinse l'area comunista con i senatori Ambrogio Donini e Cesare Luporini, al principio della terza legislatura, nel 1959, a presentare una proposta di legge sulla *Istituzione della scuola obbligatoria statale dai 6 ai 14 anni*, che proprio grazie ad un clima politico favorevole, il decollo del centro-sinistra⁴³, impresso una forte accelerazione al confronto sulla media unica⁴⁴.

prese spesso posizione, divenendo la sua firma «fra le più frequenti nei circa sette anni di vita del periodico» (A. Santoni Rugiu, *Un compagno, un maestro*, in Semeraro (ed.), *L'educazione dell'uomo completo*, cit., p. 272).

⁴² Nella busta 42 (fasc. 1-6), abbiamo numerosi documenti di riunioni svolte dall'associazione in quel biennio, di cui Manacorda riporta notizia nei suoi appunti. In alcuni di essi si sottolinea come l'associazione incalzasse il governo e il «Piano Fanfani» in merito allo stanziamento che era stato ampiamente annunciato, di un piano decennale (1959-1969) di finanziamento dell'edilizia scolastica, per le attrezzature scientifiche e didattiche, per la realizzazione del diritto allo studio, per gli aumenti degli organici degli insegnanti.

⁴³ La «stagione» del centro-sinistra ha inizio formalmente con il primo governo a guida di Amintore Fanfani del 1962, con il sostegno esterno del Psi, e si prolunga fino ai tre governi presieduti da Aldo Moro dal 1963 al 1968 con l'ingresso dei socialisti nella compagine di governo (sulla valutazione della vicenda vedi A. Giovagnoli, *La repubblica degli italiani. 1946-2016*, Roma, Laterza, 2016, pp. 200 ss.).

⁴⁴ Nelle buste 37 e 38 abbiamo numerose copie del DDL presentato in Parlamento. Molte note a penna a margine con appunti di Manacorda.



Fig. 9. Articolo «Unità», 18 febbraio 1985, in Serie 5, *Altri Dossier*, busta 65, fasc. 6.



Fig. 10. Intervista a Norberto Bobbio sulla laicità, «Trimestrale del Comitato torinese per la laicità della cultura», n. 3, giugno 1991, in Serie 5, *Altri Dossier*, busta 65, fasc. 8.

Si arrivò sullo scorcio del 1962 alla legge che istituiva la «Scuola media statale» (legge 31/12/1962 n. 1859). Essa prevedeva, come noto, l'istruzione gratuita e obbligatoria fino ai 14 anni e l'unicità dell'istruzione media inferiore.

Fu una innovazione senza precedenti che scardinava, almeno nelle intenzioni, l'assetto fortemente classista che il sistema scolastico della Repubblica aveva ereditato dal fascismo. In realtà si trattò solo in parte di una vittoria per le forze laiche e di quelle aderenti al cattolicesimo democratico nonché di quelle comuniste che intorno alla questione del latino avevano costruito un fronte per l'istituzione di una scuola finalmente democratica⁴⁵. La legge infatti istituì che

⁴⁵ Nell'immediato dopoguerra la rottura dell'unità politica delle forze antifasciste seguita al clima della guerra fredda instauratosi già all'indomani delle prime elezioni democratiche del 1948, fu particolarmente evidente nell'unità sindacale, producendo specie nel sindacato della scuola lacerazioni profonde nella contrapposizione tra i cattolici aderenti al SINASCEL-CISL, all'AIMC (Associazione italiana maestri cattolici) e all'UCIIM (Unione cattolica italiana insegnanti medi), quelli di orientamento comunista che rimasero nella CGIL scuola e quelli di orientamento laico appartenenti allo SNASE (Sindacato nazionale autonomo della scuola elementare). La vicenda che portò all'approvazione della legge sulla scuola media unica vide un tentativo da parte delle forze democratiche e progressiste aderenti a quelle sigle ora divise di ricostituire una unità trasversale del corpo docente che però si infranse di fronte al prevalere di equilibri legati alla logica dei blocchi ideologici contrapposti (sulla vicenda si veda F. Susi, *Scuola Società Politica Democrazia. Dalla riforma Gentile ai Decreti delegati*, Roma, Armando, 2012, pp. 123-126. In merito alla complessa articolazione delle associazioni cattoliche degli insegnanti si veda R. Sani, *Sub specie*

lo si sarebbe insegnato nel secondo anno come “integrazione” dell’italiano, tornando poi facoltativo nella terza classe, anche se rimase requisito necessario per l’iscrizione al liceo classico (esso fu definitivamente eliminato nella scuola media nel 1979).

Proprio in questa sottosezione dell’Archivio abbiamo molti scritti di Manacorda emblematici della vicenda, su tutti vale la pena citarne uno dal titolo appunto *La questione del latino*⁴⁶.

Prendendo posizione, lo farà anche pubblicamente scrivendo sulle colonne del periodico dell’associazione ADESSPI «Scuola e Costituzione»⁴⁷, Manacorda non intende solamente sottolineare il fatto che dietro la perorazione a favore del mantenimento dell’insegnamento del latino si mascheri un atteggiamento snobbistico e aristocratico della cultura teso a mantenere una separazione di classe. Egli avverte, lo dichiara esplicitamente, «l’urgenza del rinnovamento del principio educativo» dizione dichiaratamente mediata da Gramsci – capace di tradurre ciò che il latino aveva rappresentato – per la cultura umanistico-classica, un esempio di rigore e «abitudine a ragionare, nonché di autonomia morale»⁴⁸.

Di qui la necessità di individuare un nuovo asse culturale e formativo legato alla nascita di una scuola unitaria di base fondata sulla conoscenza storica e scientifica, con uno spazio – come moltissimi studiosi chiedevano – per le scienze, la tecnologia e il lavoro visti come i nodi storici dell’appropriazione umana del mondo⁴⁹.

Gli ultimi materiali delle rimanenti due sottosezioni di questa parte dell’Archivio, mettono chiaramente in luce un aspetto “internazionale” della ricerca e dell’impegno intellettuale di Manacorda. Ebbe ruoli di primo piano presso il FISE (*Fédération internationale des enseignants*), dalla prima metà degli anni Cinquanta fino ai primi anni Ottanta, e presso la Commissione nazionale italiana Unesco, dagli anni Sessanta agli anni Ottanta⁵⁰.

educationis. Studi e ricerche su istruzione, istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formativi nell’Italia contemporanea, Macerata, eum, 2011).

⁴⁶ AM, Busta 37, fasc. 3.

⁴⁷ Vedi soprattutto A. Manacorda, *Discussione sulla scuola media comune*, «Scuola e Costituzione», n. 11, novembre 1962, pp. 20-26.

⁴⁸ AM, Busta 37, fasc. 3.

⁴⁹ Nei rimanenti fascicoli di questa sottosezione abbiamo molti materiali relativi alla fine degli anni Sessanta e primi Settanta che testimoniano come Manacorda, dopo l’entrata in vigore della legge sulla scuola media unica, continua il suo impegno politico-istituzionale per una riforma anche della scuola secondaria. Sono presenti appunti relativi alla «Commissione per la riforma della scuola secondaria superiore» (aprile 1965); ancora materiali relativi al Colloquio internazionale sul tema *Nuovi indirizzi dell’istruzione secondaria superiore. Riunione di esperti convocati dal Governo italiano in collaborazione con L’OCSE* (Frascati, villa Falconieri, 4-8 maggio 1970). Ancora molti appunti stesi a penna, relativi alla «Commissione di studio e di ricerca per la preparazione della riforma degli istituti di istruzione secondaria di secondo grado» (ottobre 1971) (cfr. busta 45, fasc. 1-5).

⁵⁰ Nella Busta 51 abbiamo molto materiale a stampa. Si tratta di pubblicazioni che Manacorda

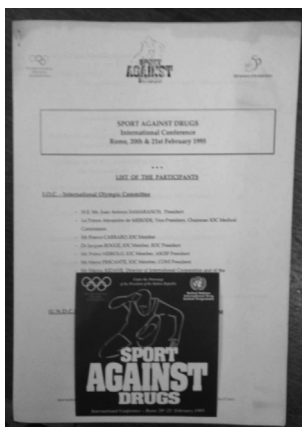
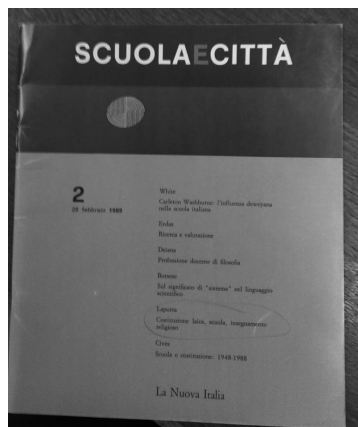


Fig. 11. «Scuola e Città», n. 2, 28 febbraio 1989, in Serie 5, *Altri Dossier*, busta 65, fasc. 8. Fig. 12. *Sport against Drugs- International Conference, Roma, 20-21 febbraio 1985*, Seminario Europeo di storia dello Sport-Coni, 29 novembre-primo dicembre 1986, in Serie 5, *Altri Dossier*, busta 73, fasc. 3. Fig. 13. *La comune eredità dello Sport in Europa. Primo Seminario Europeo di storia dello Sport*, 29 novembre-1 dicembre 1986, in Serie 5, *Altri Dossier*, busta 73, fasc. 8.

Passando a descrivere l'ultima sezione di questo Archivio, denominata *Altri dossier*, essa comprende scritti dal 1957 al 2010 ed è composta di 116 fascicoli, compresi in 17 buste.

La maggior parte del materiale compreso in quest'ultima parte riguarda temi legati alle questioni della laicità e dello Sport che furono i due «campi tematici» di interesse prevalente di Manacorda, in particolare, negli ultimi anni della sua vita.

Per quanto riguarda gli scritti sulla laicità, sono presenti numerosi dattiloscritti, molti dei quali poi confluiti nella monografia da titolo *Scuola pubblica o privata?* del 1999⁵¹, ma anche numerosi interventi polemici, di carattere spesso giornalistico apparsi prevalentemente su l'«Unità» e «Rinascita», relativi agli

raccoglie negli anni Sessanta e Settanta per documentarsi rispetto alla letteratura internazionale sulla scuola. La busta 52 contiene materiali a stampa relativi alle relazioni della conferenza internazionale, cui Manacorda partecipa come delegato italiano, del *Symposium de la Fédération Mondiale des travailleurs scientifiques* svoltasi dal 20 al 23 settembre del 1965 a Budapest; nella stessa busta materiali sulla *Reunion d'experts sur le contenu de l'Enseignement General*, svoltasi a Mosca dal 16 al 23 gennaio 1968 – Rapport Final (Unesco). Infine nelle buste 56 e 57 abbiamo numerosi numeri della rivista ufficiale del Fise, *Revue Internationale des Enseignants. Courier International des enseignant*, relativi agli anni Sessanta e Settanta.

⁵¹ A. Manacorda, *Scuola pubblica o privata? La Questione scolastica tra Stato e Chiesa*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1999.

anni Ottanta, quando all'indomani dell'entrata in vigore del nuovo Concordato, il tema divenne molto caldo e avvertito nell'opinione pubblica⁵².

Molti intellettuali di area comunista, ma anche di ispirazione liberaldemocratica, sentirono l'esigenza di costituire l'associazione denominata *Carta '89* di cui Manacorda fu tra i maggiori promotori⁵³.

Mosse gli ispiratori del movimento, cui aderirono tra i tanti, Norberto Bobbio, Eugenio Garin, Raffaele Laporta e Lamberto Borghi, solo per citarne alcuni, la convinzione che la ricerca di parificazione giuridica e finanziaria richiesta della Chiesa tra scuola privata e scuola pubblica fosse in conflitto con il principio di laicità ispiratore dell'ordine costituzionale. La Costituzione laica, compiutamente liberaldemocratica, correva il rischio di una lesione del principio di uguaglianza fra cittadini⁵⁴.

La posizione di Manacorda, anche su questo fronte, è molto più complessa di quanto la sua battaglia politica potesse far emergere. Senza sfociare in una posizione di radicalismo "giacobino", giacché – scrive in un dattiloscritto qui presente – «l'ateismo di Stato rappresenta l'opposto speculare dell'integralismo religioso», il principio della laicità dello Stato, così come gli stessi liberali, di ispirazione cavouriana artefici dell'unità d'Italia propugnavano, «deve favorire un sistema formativo integrato che poggi sulla garanzia del rispetto del principio di pluralità, anche in campo formativo»⁵⁵. A fronte di questa garanzia del rispetto del pluralismo nella scuola pubblica, Manacorda auspica l'introduzione dell'insegnamento della storia delle religioni come materia non integrativa ma come disciplina autonoma di studio. E allo studio della religioni, in particolare della storia sacra e del Vangelo dedica molti articoli e soprattutto un'importante volume che esce nel 1989 dal titolo *Lettura laica della Bibbia*⁵⁶.

L'ultima parte di quest'ultima sezione dell'Archivio contiene materiale sullo storia dello Sport, tema che come detto, appassionò lo studioso nell'ultima

⁵² L'accordo di Villa Madama, noto anche come «nuovo Concordato», si svolse il 18 febbraio del 1984 tra la Città del Vaticano e la Repubblica italiana quando il governo, presieduto dal socialista Bettino Craxi si era da poco insediato. Esso rivedeva alcuni punti del precedente accordo (i Patti lateranensi del 1929) che già avevano regolato le condizioni e le modalità di espressione della religione cattolica sul suolo italiano (su questi aspetti vedi P. Ginsborg, *Storia d'Italia dal dopoguerra a oggi*, Torino, Einaudi, 1989, pp. 547-555).

⁵³ Nelle buste 61 e 62 abbiamo molti articoli di Manacorda apparsi su diverse testate a difesa della scuola pubblica e contro la parificazione delle scuole private e di indirizzo religioso.

⁵⁴ Cfr. R. Laporta, *Le Regole della Laicità*, in Semeraro (ed.), *L'educazione dell'uomo completo*, cit., pp. 192-193.

⁵⁵ AM, busta 63, fasc. 4. Il titolo del dattiloscritto è *Libertà di coscienza e democrazia reale*; si tratta della relazione presentata al convegno promosso da *Carta '89*, l'1 e il 2 marzo 1991, su *Laicità e democrazia*. Ancora nelle buste 63 e 64 abbiamo molto materiale sul tema della laicità, sull'associazione *Carta '89*. Nella busta 63, fasc 2, è presente un numero speciale di «Scuola e città» del 28 febbraio, n. 2, 1989, con un lungo articolo di Raffaele Laporta su *Costituzione laica, scuola, insegnamento religioso*.

⁵⁶ A. Manacorda, *Lettura laica della Bibbia*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1989.

fase della sua vita⁵⁷. In realtà come è stato anche rilevato, esso rappresenta la naturale congiunzione tra l'ispirazione marxista che ha animato la sua ricerca pedagogica e l'attenzione costante all'impegno civile di intellettuale militante⁵⁸. Il principio dello sviluppo «onnilaterale» delle funzioni umane, attraverso una pedagogia improntata su un principio unitario di teoria e prassi, è ciò che Manacorda riscontra nel valore formativo, etico e civile, dello Sport che dalla Grecia classica arriva fino alla contemporaneità. Lo sviluppo armonico di tutte le facoltà dell'essere umano, sottolinea, è ciò cui deve guardare una pedagogia capace di essere sempre all'altezza delle sfide poste dal tempo presente, per formare uomini e donne capaci di muoversi consapevolmente nella complessità del proprio tempo storico.

⁵⁷ Nella Busta 66 e poi nelle buste 72, 73 e 74, è presente molto materiale sullo Sport. Nella busta 66 abbiamo la relazione presentata al convegno promosso dalla Consulta Nazionale del Partito Democratico della Sinistra. Dipartimento infanzia e adolescenza, il 5 novembre 2004, *Con le ginocchia sbucciate. I diritti dei bambini e dei ragazzi al gioco, allo sport e al movimento*. Nella 73 materiali relativi all'iniziativa dei Ds per istituire l'educazione motoria come materia fondamentale nella scuola primaria. Insistendo in molti articoli sul valore educativo profondo dello sport, partecipa al Convegno del Coni *Sport contro droga*, (20-21 febbraio 1995) e aderisce all'*European Committee for the History of Sport*, Primo seminario Europeo di storia dello Sport-Coni-Scuola dello Sport (29 Novembre - 1 dicembre 1996).

⁵⁸ Cfr. G. Bini, *La lettura pedagogica di Marx*, in Semeraro (ed.), *L'Educazione dell'uomo completo*, cit. pp. 281-295.

Patrimonio storico educativo in vetrina. Appunti su una recente mostra sulle scuole all'aperto tra passato e futuro

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Historical educational heritage in evidence. Notes on a recent exhibition on outdoor schools between past and future

ABSTRACT: Report of the Exhibition *Back to the future? From open air schools to new educational experiences in the nature* (Bologna, 9th November 2018 - 9th December 2019) organized by the Municipality of Bologna (Italy) in collaboration with the Department of Education Studies «Giovanni Maria Bertin» of University of Bologna. The report presents synthetically the context, the reasons, the process and the results of the exhibition staged at the Museum of Modern Art – MAMbo in order to enhance the historical and educational heritage that intertwined the history of open air schools with the more recent educational trend in the outdoor education.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Educational heritage; Open air schools; Outdoor education; Italy; XXth-XXIth Centuries.

1. *Contesti e motivazioni*

L'8 novembre 2019 è stata inaugurata a Bologna, negli spazi del Museo di Arte Moderna di Bologna – MAMbo, una mostra intitolata *Ritorno al futuro? Dalle scuole all'aperto alle nuove esperienze educative nella natura*”, che è rimasta aperta dal 9 novembre al 9 dicembre 2019.



Fig. 1. Locandina dell'invito¹.

L'inaugurazione è stata il punto di arrivo di un complesso lavoro di collaborazione tra tre stakeholder che hanno incrociato formazione ed istanze diverse, ma tesi alla ricerca di una mediazione feconda. L'iniziativa è partita dal Comune di Bologna ed in particolare dall'Istituzione Bologna Musei e dall'Area Educazione, Istruzione e Nuove Generazioni del Comune, che intendevano ricordare la particolare stagione della Giunta comunale socialista che guidò le sorti della città tra 1914 e 1920, guidata dal sindaco Francesco Zanardi al motto di «pane e alfabeto», all'interno della quale nacque la prima scuola all'aperto nel 1917. Il settore della Cultura e dell'Istruzione hanno coinvolto la Fondazione Villa Ghigi che ha colto nell'iniziativa l'occasione per ricostruire il rapporto tra scuola, natura ed educazione scientifica sviluppato nel corso dei suoi quasi quarant'anni di esistenza e ora inserito nel quadro delle iniziative comunali di promozione delle scuole all'aperto a livello di nidi e scuole comunali negli ultimi anni.

I tre enti hanno coinvolto l'Università di Bologna fin dalla fase iniziale del progetto ed in particolare la scrivente sia per la storia scolastica della città di Bologna sia per gli aspetti più generali del rapporto educazione-natura dal punto di vista storico-educativo e delle scuole all'aperto, sulle quali peraltro

¹ La locandina di invito all'inaugurazione della mostra è attualmente visibile al link <http://www.mambo-bologna.org/files/immagini/mostre/scuole_aperto/INVITO_Mostra_WEB_Ritornoalfuturo.pdf> (ultimo accesso: 30-01-2019).

stava completando una monografia specifica poi edita nell'ottobre 2018 (*Per una storia delle scuole all'aperto in Italia*)².

Le diverse istituzioni si sono via via confrontate sulle diverse istanze (celebrativa, pedagogica e storico educativa) per delineare una finalità comune: non una mostra esclusivamente storica ma una esposizione capace di rinvenire nel passato le origini e sviluppi di una relazione feconda e dialettica tra natura ed educazione per giungere all'attualità e rilanciare nella scuola attuale le possibilità che appare interrotta o appesa ad un filo sottile.

Via via il Comune ha assegnato la curatela della Mostra alla scrivente e al dott. Mino Petazzini, direttore della Fondazione Villa Ghigi, che hanno progressivamente affinato le finalità comuni della Mostra anche per esclusione: non la celebrazione della Giunta Zanardi o la sola storia della prima scuola all'aperto di Bologna, né la totalità delle esperienze pedagogiche innovative degli ultimi anni in Italia e all'estero, ma il filo rosso di un rapporto – quello tra educazione, scuola e natura – che nella storia educativa e scolastica italiana si è spesso interrotto per poi riapparire, come un fenomeno carsico.

Molte difficoltà sono sorte dal lontano avvio del 2017, tra cui soprattutto l'individuazione dello spazio adeguato alla Mostra. Dapprima si era ipotizzata la sede della Villa delle Rose – un tempo luogo anche di scuola all'aperto in città – poi si è individuato lo spazio del Museo di Arte Moderna di Bologna – MAMbo. Si tratta di uno spazio in posizione centrale della città, nonché di una sede simbolica perché luogo del panificio comunale fatto erigere dal sindaco Zanardi per garantire il pane a costi modici alla popolazione durante la seconda guerra mondiale. Alcuni spazi al primo piano del MAMbo hanno accolto così la Mostra che via via si veniva delineando in maniera più concreta, anche grazie alla effettiva disponibilità di un'ampia metratura di circa 288 metri quadrati e al supporto dello staff del Museo stesso, tra i più importanti a livello nazionale, anche per la prestigiosa collezione del pittore Giorgio Morandi. Il MAMbo è subentrato poi con funzioni non solo di supporto logistico e organizzativo, ma come partner e ulteriore stakeholder. Infatti il MAMbo ha gestito la realizzazione del progetto dal titolo *I retroscena del museo: realizzare e far vivere una mostra*, in collaborazione con «Officina Impresa Sociale», che è risultato vincitore del bando «Prendi parte! Agire e pensare creativo» ideato dalla Direzione Generale Arte e Architettura contemporanee e Periferie urbane (DGAAP) del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, con la finalità di promuovere l'inclusione culturale dei giovani nelle aree caratterizzate da situazioni di marginalità economica e sociale. Il progetto mirava a fornire conoscenze e competenze in merito all'allestimento di mostre e allo svolgimento di attività didattiche con le scuole. In tal modo gli stakeholder diventavano, con il Ministero, ben quattro. I curatori della Mostra, in tempi non proprio lunghi, hanno via via definito il

² M. D'Ascenzo, *Per una storia delle scuole all'aperto in Italia*, Pisa, ETS, 2018.

percorso espositivo ponendo come obiettivo principale la necessità di recuperare la dimensione storico-educativa della più recente rinascita dell'educazione all'aperto in natura e, quindi, di riscoprire il significato formativo delle scuole all'aperto per rilanciarle come sfida ed opportunità delle nuove generazioni e delle istituzioni educative attuali in termini di scelte coraggiose di rinnovamento dei metodi e dei contenuti dell'insegnamento. La mostra era così articolata in sette sezioni, disposte in ordine in prevalenza cronologico: dalla riscoperta dei classici della storia dell'educazione alla scoperta positivista dell'educazione alla natura tramite il metodo oggettivo e le collezioni di musei didattici, passando dalle prime pionieristiche esperienze di scuole all'aperto in ambito europeo e italiano, tra cui la stagione socialista di Francesco Zanardi e Mario Longhena a Bologna, attraverso il fascismo, il secondo dopoguerra, gli anni della nuova sensibilità ambientale, fino alla più recente riscoperta dell'educazione in natura. I linguaggi usati erano plurimi: immagini, parole scritte, cose e memorie di scuola del passato e del presente.

2. L'articolazione del percorso espositivo

Nello specifico, nella prima sezione sono stati presentati alcuni pannelli con citazioni di classici della storia dell'educazione in merito all'importanza della natura nell'educazione tra cui Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Frobel e Élisée Reclus. Si è cercato però di illustrare complessivamente come la scuola ed i sistemi scolastici sorti in Europa dalla seconda metà del Settecento, abbiano definito una formula didattica centrata sul metodo d'insegnamento simultaneo che permetteva di imparare dalla voce del maestro. Si è chiarito al più vasto pubblico come l'aula scolastica si sia configurata via via con file di banchi disposti di fronte alla cattedra e a una lavagna nera in ardesia in cui comparivano lettere e numeri da imparare e trascrivere sui quaderni e di come la scuola abbia strappato i bambini del popolo dalla strada e dall'analfabetismo per trasformarli in scolari di una Nazione in aule disadorne e in edifici solo col tempo progettati appositamente per le scuole, ma al chiuso. Nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento, tuttavia, con la diffusione del positivismo, nella scuola entrò il metodo oggettivo che offriva la possibilità di mostrare a scuola "le cose" del mondo e della natura, dapprima con immagini e poi nei musei didattici.

A tale proposito un banco di legno biposto di fine Ottocento era collocato in un angolo della sezione ed al centro un'ampia vetrina accoglieva le guide del Museo Didattico avviato da Luigi Bombicci e dalla Società degli Insegnanti di Bologna dal 1883, unitamente ad un esemplare di un cassetto con i modelli di oggetti del mondo vegetale. A metà della stanza, in verticale, campeggiava la lunga citazione dell'intero apologo di Adolphe Ferrière introduttivo al celebre «Trasformiamo la scuola» del 1920 nel quale delineava l'idea della scuola



Fig. 2. Sezione prima.

tradizionale, con l'alunno passivamente soggetto all'istruzione e controllo dell'insegnante, come un'invenzione diabolica, interrotta proprio dagli alunni che finivano per scappare fuori, outdoor, fino a salire sugli alberi. La citazione, e il volume, erano la linea di demarcazione simbolica tra vecchia e nuova scuola dell'attivismo pedagogico contemporaneo, offerto al visitatore tramite alcune citazioni di Maria Montessori, Rudolf Steiner e Giuseppina Pizzigoni. Come noto in sede storico-educativa, proprio all'interno del rinnovamento internazionale dell'attivismo si collocò il movimento delle scuole all'aperto, le quali però erano sorte ai primi del Novecento in Germania e poi nel resto del mondo soprattutto per ragioni medico-igieniche connesse alla lotta alla tubercolosi, che straziava la popolazione, specie infantile. Pertanto un pannello introduceva il visitatore alla visione dei materiali delle scuole all'aperto provenienti dal Museo dell'educazione di Padova: piatti, scodelle, posate, materiali di igiene e due banchi scolastici portatili in legno introducevano al rinnovamento della cultura materiale apportato dalle scuole all'aperto, dovuto alla necessità di fornire banchi-zaino trasportabili agevolmente per fare lezione all'aperto, come illustrato da alcune sequenze fotografiche relative alle scuole all'aperto di Roma illustrate da Gaetano Grilli, ma comuni ad altre realtà italiane, come quella di Francesco Fratus a Bergamo, di cui campeggiava una citazione nella Mostra.

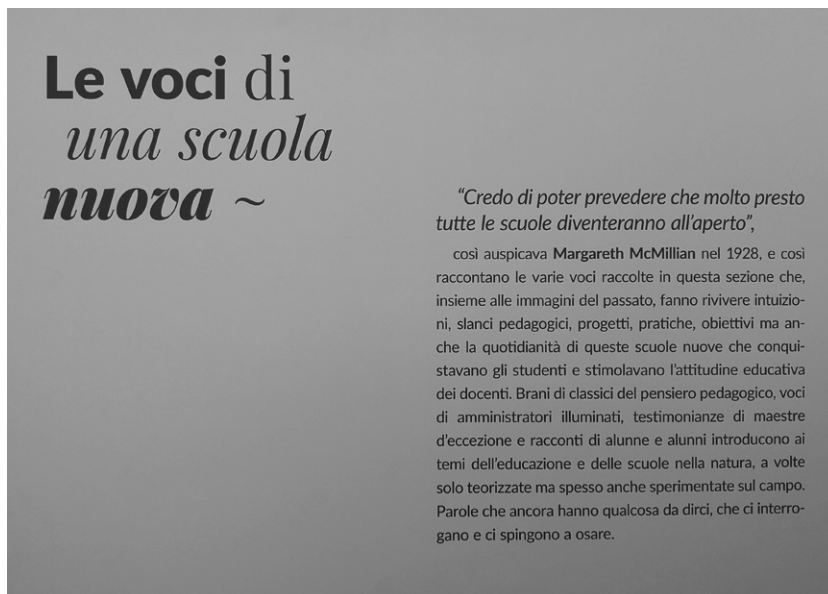


Fig. 3. Sezione seconda.

Nella sezione successiva lo spazio ristretto di un piccolo box chiuso su tre lati ha suggerito la possibilità di far scorrere un video con numerose citazioni di protagonisti dell'educazione all'aperto e delle scuole all'aperto, noti e meno noti, con la celebre citazione di Margareth McMillian del 1928 «I venture to predict that soon nearly all the schools will be open-air institutions»³ posta nel pannello introduttivo della sezione.

Nella terza sezione l'attenzione era focalizzata sulle vicende, i protagonisti e le peculiarità delle scuole all'aperto di Bologna ed in particolare della prima nata in città. Pannelli introduttivi alle diverse sezioni si alternavano a pannelli più piccoli con citazioni per illustrare la genesi della scuola all'aperto di Bologna, nell'intreccio ricchissimo tra medicina, igiene e pedagogia per la battaglia contro la tubercolosi e le malattie dell'infanzia, in una sorta di pedagogia sociale *ante litteram* e nella complessa gestazione che vide la luce però solo durante la Giunta socialista di Francesco Zanardi. Fu in particolare l'assessore all'istruzione Mario Longhena a guidare la nascita della prima scuola all'aperto di Bologna, inaugurata nel 1917 ed intitolata alla memoria di Fernando Fortuzzi, consigliere comunale socialista defunto nella Grande Guerra. Per tale motivo nella Mostra

³ Institut «Jean Jacques Rousseau» dell'Università di Ginevra, Fondo Adolphe Ferrière A 67-2, M. McMillian, *The organization of open air schools from the medical and pedagogic standpoint*, in *Congrès International de Protection de l'Enfance*, Paris, 1928, p. 347, citato in D'Ascenzo, *Per una storia delle scuole all'aperto in Italia*, cit., p. 61.



Fig. 4. Materiali di Mario Longhena (Proprietà di Maria Longhena).

si è enfatizzato il ruolo di questo politico e solerte amministratore comunale, con una teca ricca di materiali relativi alla carriera come docente di scuola secondaria in città. Longhena fu figura di spicco a livello locale e non solo: fu perseguitato dal fascismo, costretto a lasciare l'insegnamento nel 1939 e, dopo la guerra, fece parte del Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale, presiedendo poi la prima seduta del parlamento repubblicano. Durante il suo mandato fu attivo promotore delle istituzioni educative sussidiarie della scuola come educatori, ricreatori, asili infantili e colonie scolastiche, funzionali ad accogliere l'infanzia cittadina particolarmente sofferente per le condizioni di guerra.

Egli fu anche protagonista dell'acquisto di numerosi quadri del pittore anarchico Lorenzo Viani, che rappresentavano alunni di scuola gracili e macilenti ben lontani dall'oleografia scolastica dell'epoca; tali quadri, di proprietà del Comune di Bologna e del Museo MAMbo, sono stati esposti nella Mostra proprio in questa sezione, come visibile a sinistra nella figura 5.

Sulla parete opposta campeggiavano così le fotografie della scuola all'aperto «Fernando Fortuzzi» riprodotte dall'Album fotografico del 1919 di proprietà di Maria Longhena, nipote del celebre assessore. Attraverso le fotografie si è cercato di far entrare nel vivo della cultura scolastica prodotta in classe e delle scelte pedagogiche davvero innovative: l'autonomia, la cooperazione, la coeducazione, la suddivisione degli incarichi in classe, le uscite nel territorio e



Fig. 5. Sullo sfondo i quadri di Lorenzo Viani (Proprietà del MAMbo).

le gite scolastiche di più giorni. Le immagini e i testi mostrano come le attività si svolgessero in prevalenza all'esterno, anche d'inverno: con sedie pieghevoli si usciva e si cercava il posto adatto per apprendere la lettura, scrittura, aritmetica, geometria, scienze naturali, con una metodologia fondata sull'osservazione dal vero e sull'esperienza diretta degli alunni. L'attività scolastica era diretta da tre maestre scelte da Longhena, delle quali in Mostra erano offerti alcuni materiali in teca: libri e opuscoli della caposcuola Argia Mingarelli, una relazione della maestra Maria Margherita Gaspari, resoconti di gite e uscite didattiche nel periodico «Il Giornalino della scuola all'aperto» pubblicato dalla scuola tra 1921 e 1924, aperto sulle pagine della gita di più giorni svolta dagli alunni fuori città ma anche di visite a musei, officine e luoghi naturali. «Il Giornalino della scuola all'aperto» raccoglieva racconti degli alunni, rubriche di corrispondenza interscolastica, resoconti di visite di ospiti italiani e stranieri, componimenti collettivi di viaggi d'istruzione. Ne emerge uno spaccato di “scuola serena” ispirata all'attivismo neoidealistico di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, anche grazie a straordinarie figure di maestre, scelte dallo stesso Longhena per le loro caratteristiche e curriculum e capaci di sviluppare un'efficace organizzazione articolata in pratiche igieniche e pratiche didattiche ispirata ad un'originale ed empirica sintesi di elementi Pizzigoni e della Montessori.



Fig. 6. La scuola Fortuzzi, 1919 (Proprietà di Maria Longhena).



Fig. 7. «Il giornalino delle scuole all'aperto», 1923 (Proprietà della Biblioteca universitaria di Bologna).

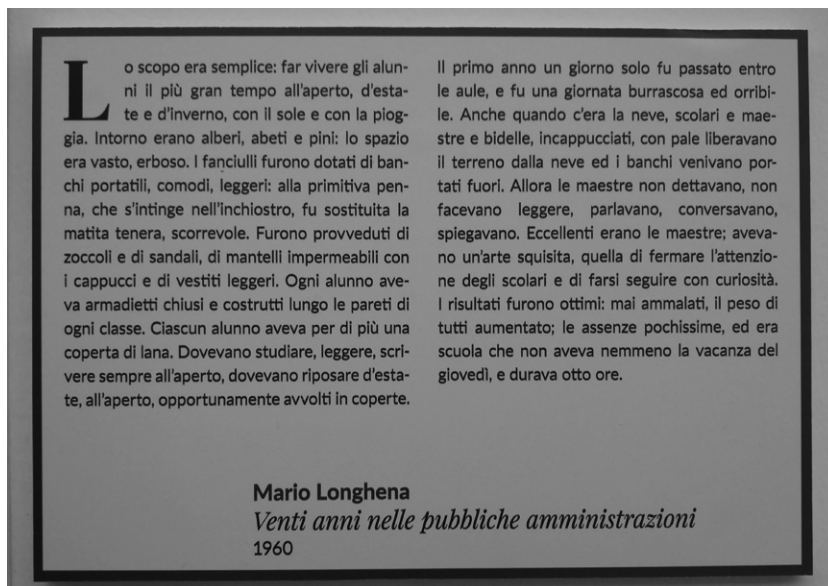


Fig. 8. Citazione di Mario Longhena, 1960.



Fig. 9. Sezione quarta: il fascismo.

Nella quarta sezione era invece tematizzato il periodo del Regime, in termini problematici di continuità/discontinuità. L'avvento del fascismo in Italia non diminuì infatti l'importanza dell'educazione in natura. Le scuole all'aperto erano protette dal Regime – pur con alcuni “distinguo” – che ne intravedeva lo spazio per la formazione di corpi sani e vigorosi per il lavoro nei campi e l'Impero, ma anche per la cura agricola dei campi e della terra. Le pratiche igieniche e didattiche erano consolidate e conservavano l'organizzazione interna e la vita, il più possibile all'aperto, precedente. Colonie marine e scuole all'aperto vecchie e nuove divennero sempre più moderne forme di

assistenza e cura dell'infanzia e della gioventù povera, ovviamente intese come straordinari luoghi per la propaganda del Regime. Nella sezione erano presente un televisore che trasmetteva a ciclo continuo le immagini di quattro filmati tratti dall'Istituto LUCE sulle scuole all'aperto del Governatorato di Roma, un filmato della Settimana INCOM sulla scuola all'aperto di Este e soprattutto il film documentario *La gente non ci guarda* di Glauco Pellegrini del 1948, centrato sulla ricostruzione delle scuole a Bologna dopo la seconda guerra mondiale ed in particolare delle scuole all'aperto e della colonia di Casaglia.

Nella quinta sezione lo scenario si apriva sul secondo dopoguerra in Italia. Alcune scuole all'aperto erano distrutte, altre riaprirono ed altre sorsero come un vento fresco, sempre più come scuole attive che come scuole speciali, come erano state definite dal fascismo. La sezione ha inteso problematizzare il tema della continuità/discontinuità di pratiche pedagogiche e didattiche prima e dopo il fascismo. Alcune conservavano con difficoltà l'entusiasmo delle origini rispolverando pratiche tradizionali, senza aver risolto davvero il legame con l'autoritarismo fascista, altre riscoprivano il valore della natura nel rapporto educativo e nella didattica a scuola richiamandosi all'attivismo pedagogico e alla voglia di cambiamento. Nel percorso espositivo era richiamata la promozione di convegni, corsi di formazione specifici e pubblicazioni di insegnanti di scuole all'aperto che raccontavano di un nuovo fervore pieno di ottimismo. Anche i nuovi programmi didattici nazionali per la scuola elementare del 1955 rilanciavano la centralità dell'ambiente naturale e del territorio come risorsa della scuola elementare per tutti. Tuttavia si è cercato di evidenziare come l'invito al passaggio dalla scuola all'aperto "speciale" all'educazione all'aperto per tutti fosse raccolto con difficoltà dalla stragrande maggioranza degli insegnanti di allora. Restava infatti una dialettica tra scelte didattiche in prevalenza *indoor* e altre *outdoor*, più sperimentali e coraggiose: quella dialettica che sembra, in effetti, costante nella storia della scuola e dell'educazione. Per questo si era collocato un pannello con una significativa citazione di Carmelo Cottone, funzionario ministeriale protagonista della transizione all'Italia repubblicana il quale scriveva che:

durante il regime fascista, anche nelle scuole e specie nelle scuole all'aperto, la preoccupazione della vigoria fisica prevalse [...] su quella del rinvigorimento e dello sviluppo dello spirito. Non si attribuisce tuttavia al fascismo una responsabilità particolare, né gli si crea un alibi, per il fatto che, per vent'anni di seguito, i giovani sono stati portati in massa alle colonie marine e montane, nei campi sportivi e nelle crociere [...]. Il ridestare nei giovani il gusto e il sapore della vita all'aperto fa parte della civiltà del '900 [...]. E come tale ha coinciso col regime fascista, così come avrebbe coinciso con qualunque altro regime politico. Il fascismo ha naturalmente accentuato il carattere spartano della vita all'aperto, per esaltare la forza fisica a scopi particolari e di intimidazione. Comunque, bisogna riconoscerlo, durante il ventennio fascista, l'educazione all'aperto ha avuto un vigoroso e nuovo impulso, sia pure unilaterale, come educazione premilitare e cioè senza preoccupazioni espressamente pedagogiche⁴.

⁴ C. Cottone, *La scuola all'aperto come scuola nuova*, Milano, Garzanti, 1953, pp. 78-79.

I materiali esposti provenivano ancora dalla memoria scolastica della scuola all'aperto di Bologna «Fernando Fortuzzi» ed erano costituiti dalle suppellettili per la refezione scolastica, da numerosi quaderni di scuola di un alunno frequentante durante gli anni Cinquanta e dal corredo essenziale di scrittura (astuccio, matite, pennini et al.). Accanto era esposta al pubblico una parte della collezione de «Il giornalino della scuola» delle Fortuzzi negli anni del secondo dopoguerra, che documentava il rinnovamento delle pratiche didattiche, ma anche la persistenza delle pratiche tradizionali consolidate e non propriamente “alternative”.



Fig. 10. Sezione quinta.



Fig. 11. Refezione (Proprietà di Roberto Camera).



Fig. 12. Quaderni, libri, foto (Proprietà di Roberto Camera).



Fig. 13. Giornalini scolastici (Proprietà di Marzio Govoni).



Fig. 14. Sezione sesta: la riscoperta dell'educazione in natura.

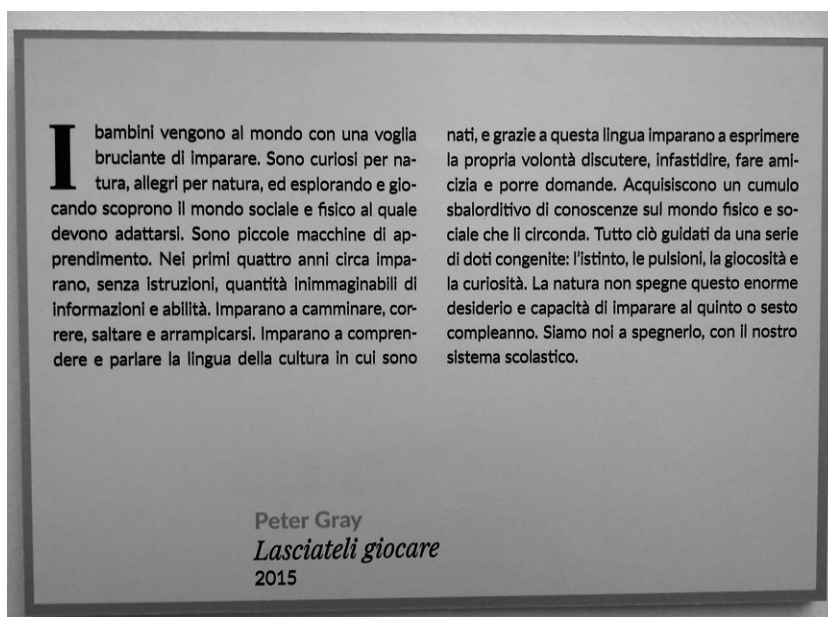


Fig. 15. Citazione di Peter Gray.

Sempre nella medesima sezione del secondo dopoguerra lo spazio successivo è stato dedicato agli anni Settanta e Ottanta in Italia, durante i quali si è sviluppata una nuova sensibilità nei confronti della natura e dei temi della sostenibilità, che ha condotto alla nascita dell'educazione ambientale, promossa in particolare nel Comune di Bologna dalla Fondazione Villa Ghigi.

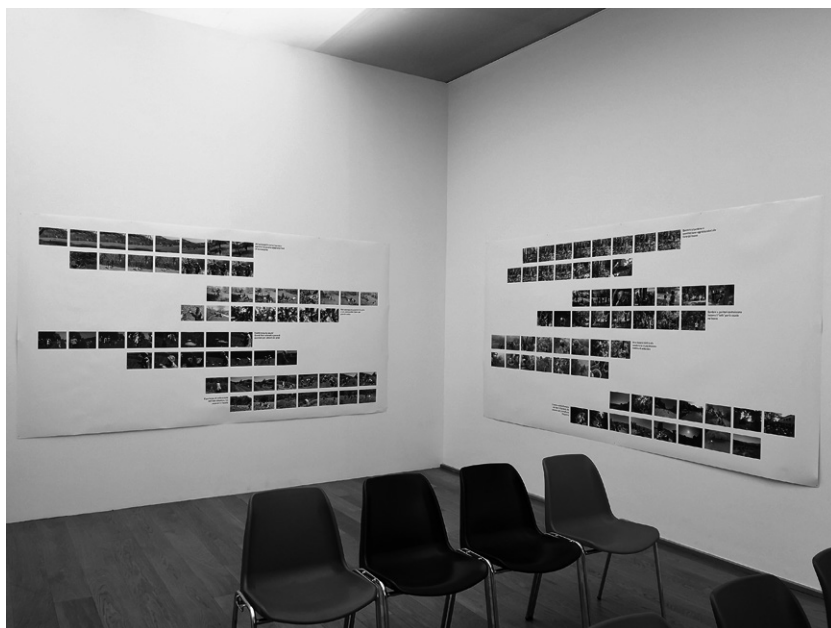


Fig. 16. Settima sezione: l'attualità.

Pannelli introduttivi, citazioni dei programmi didattici della scuola primaria e dell'infanzia italiana, citazioni di autori attuali ormai "classici" sul tema come Thomas Berry, Richard Louv e Peter Gray hanno occupato le pareti, insieme a fotografie di esperienze educative nella natura svolte, in prevalenza, a Bologna, ma non solo. Nelle teche sono stati collocati volumi, opuscoli e riviste prodotti dagli anni Settanta in poi sul tema dell'educazione in/alla natura in Italia.

Sulla parete opposta campeggiava un voluminoso lavoro di ricerca costituito sia da un video del Ri.E.Sco – Centro Servizi Consulenza Risorse Educative Scolastiche del Comune di Bologna sulle attività svolte nei nidi bolognesi sia da alcuni grafici che evidenziavano lo scarso tempo di vita vissuto all'aperto, in natura, rispetto al tempo invece trascorso in attività scolastiche, sportive e di tempo libero – specie il cellulare – tutte *indoor*, segno di un vero e proprio «deficit di natura» delle nuove generazioni.

L'ultima sezione era costituita da un ampio spazio arricchito da numerose fotografie di recenti esperienze educative e scolastiche di educazione in natura nei nidi e scuole dell'infanzia della regione Emilia Romagna e da un televisore che trasmetteva a ciclo continuo un filmato di oltre trenta minuti con la documentazione di esperienze ed interviste ad insegnanti, docenti universitari ed operatori dell'educazione ambientale, legati alla «Rete Nazionale per le scuole all'aperto» sorta in Italia dal 2016, che ha la sua sede presso la Fondazione Villa Ghigi di Bologna ed un sito aggiornato sulle esperienze in corso. In questo

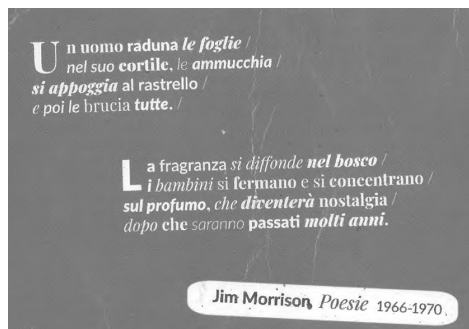
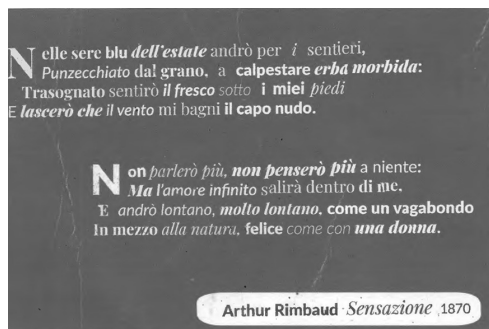


Fig. 17 e Fig. 18. Le citazioni poetiche.

modo, con il lungo documentario finale, si chiudeva una sorta di “cerchio”: dalla storia dell’educazione e della scuola, il tema dell’educazione in natura e delle scuole all’aperto rifulgeva come elemento carsico per rilanciare una nuova sfida alla scuola attuale, una scuola meno *indoor* e più *outdoor*, sia nella versione dell’*outdoor education* più avventurosa, sia nella versione più *soft* dell’utilizzo ragionato e integrato dei giardini scolastici e degli spazi verdi urbani e non.

Nel complesso l’allestimento della Mostra ha visto coinvolte numerose istituzioni e soggetti prestatori pubblici e privati: l’Università di Padova – Museo dell’Educazione, la Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, la Biblioteca comunale dell’Archiginnasio di Bologna, l’Archivio Storico del Comune di Bologna, la Biblioteca «Mario Gattullo» del Dipartimento di Scienze dell’Educazione «G.M. Bertin» di Bologna, il Museo didattico-scientifico ‘Luigi Bombicci’ del Comune di Bologna, la Fondazione Cineteca di Bologna, l’Archivio ARPAE Emilia-Romagna – Area Educazione alla sostenibilità, l’Archivio Fondazione Villa Ghigi (Valentina Bergonzoni, Roberto Calzolari, Paolina Ceccarelli, Paolo Donati, Teresa Guerra, Irene Salvaterra, Gerardo Fulginiti, educatori e insegnanti delle classi in visita al parco), la Scuola dell’Infanzia «Padiglione» di Bologna, il Nido Scuola «MAST», la dott.ssa Maria Longhena, Roberto Camera, Marzio Govoni e la sottoscritta. Sono stati esposti inoltre sei disegni a carboncino e olio su cartone (di una serie di 18) di Lorenzo Viani, acquisiti nel 1920 da Mario Longhena per il Comune di Bologna e che oggi fanno parte della collezione permanente del MAMbo. Oltre a pannelli di varie dimensioni la Mostra è stata completata da una serie di documenti originali, fotografie, filmati e video sull’educazione all’aperto dagli anni Trenta fino alle esperienze attuali degli anni Duemila.

I curatori hanno cercato di salvaguardare il rigore scientifico della Mostra riconoscendo tuttavia la necessità di adeguare il linguaggio ad un pubblico eterogeneo e di non specialisti, quindi utilizzando un tono divulgativo, arricchito da un ulteriore *fil rouge* costituito dalla poesia. Una lunga citazione di Rabindranath Tagore sul ruolo della natura accoglieva il visitatore all’inizio del

percorso e una citazione del poeta bolognese Emanuel Carnevali accompagnava il percorso espositivo bolognese degli anni Venti. Infine due citazioni poetiche di rilievo – una di Arthur Rimbaud e l'altra di Jim Morrison, il celebre artista del gruppo musicale The Doors – erano donate in forma di cartolina al visitatore al termine della Mostra, come regalo/stimolo di riflessione sul ruolo dell'incontro con la natura, sulle ali della poesia.

3. *La diffusione della Mostra e le attività educative*

Complesso e intenso è stato il lavoro di diffusione delle iniziative presso la cittadinanza ed il pubblico. La Mostra è stata introdotta da una Conferenza stampa il 7 novembre 2018 alla presenza dei giornalisti, dei curatori, del direttore delle Istituzioni Museali di Bologna Davide Grandi, del direttore del MAMbo Lorenzo Balbi e del dirigente dell'Istituzione Musei dottor Maurizio Ferretti. Il giorno dopo è stata inaugurata dalle autorità cittadine con i saluti della vicesindaco dott.ssa Marilena Pillati e del professor Maurizio Fabbri, vicedirettore del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Educazione 'G. M. Bertin' di Bologna, che ha dato il patrocinio alla Mostra.

Ecco qualche dato quantitativo, offerto dalla dottoressa Veronica Ceruti, responsabile del Dipartimento dei Servizi Educativi del MAMbo:

- 217 presenze all'inaugurazione della mostra l'8 novembre 2018;
- 3.230 visitatori (incluse le classi);
- 142 presenze in occasione della presentazione del libro *Per una storia delle scuole all'aperto in Italia*.
- 25 classi che hanno effettuato visita e laboratorio con il Dipartimento educativo MAMbo.

Le azioni di comunicazione al pubblico del progetto e della Mostra sono state numerose e capillari. Il MAMbo ha provveduto alla produzione di materiale cartaceo (flyer, brochures, posters) da distribuire nei punti strategici della città cioè i musei afferenti all'Istituzione Bologna Musei, gli Uffici Relazioni con il Pubblico del Comune, le biblioteche comunali, gli esercizi pubblici e altri luoghi di interesse cittadino. MAMbo ha contribuito alla diffusione attraverso il sito internet e newsletter dell'Istituzione Bologna Musei/MAMbo – Museo Museo d'Arte Moderna di Bologna e del Comune di Bologna. Notevole la diffusione sui canali social (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Telegram) da parte dell'Istituzione Bologna Musei/MAMbo – Museo Museo d'Arte Moderna di Bologna e del Comune di Bologna, poi moltiplicati con "effetto domino" dai curatori e dagli enti coinvolti nel progetto, anche in relazione alla presentazione del volume l'8 novembre 2018. Ulteriore promozione è stata realizzata dalla Fondazione Villa Ghigi (Facebook, Instagram) con eventi di formazione per gli operatori ambientali della Regione. La Mostra è stata segnalata anche sul sito dell'Istituto

Nazionale per la Documentazione e Ricerca Educativa – INDIRE che le ha dedicato una pagina del sito internet, sottolineano proprio la dimensione della scuola all'aperto del passato come “avanguardia educativa” ancor oggi da rilanciare, attualizzare e realizzare più compiutamente.

Altro aspetto rilevante è stata l'attività svolta dal MAMbo in collaborazione con «Oficina» per il Progetto «Prendi Parte»: un lavoro di formazione per comprendere i retroscena di una Mostra da un lato e contribuire alla diffusione della Mostra ed alla mediazione didattica presso le scuole dall'altro. Inoltre il MAMbo ha gestito alcuni laboratori rivolti alla fascia 3-6 anni sui temi della natura che hanno coinvolto appunto 25 classi del territorio metropolitano. Il Comune di Bologna ha inoltre inserito la visita guidata alla Mostra e la presentazione del volume sulle scuole all'aperto tra le iniziative formative del Convegno sull'*outdoor education* promosso dall'Area Educazione, Istruzione e Nuove Generazioni per la celebrazione della Giornata internazionale dei diritti dell'infanzia e dell'adolescenza il 20 novembre 2018. Non meno importante è stato il ruolo svolto dal Centro Internazionale per la Didattica della Storia e del Patrimonio – DIPAST che ha inserito la Mostra all'interno delle attività espositive ospitate dalla Festa Internazionale della Storia che si svolge a Bologna ogni anno tra ottobre e novembre: proprio il patrocinio della Festa ha moltiplicato la diffusione della Mostra, tramite tutti i mezzi di comunicazione possibili. Comune di Bologna, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, «Oficina Impresa Sociale», Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Educazione, ma anche il Centro Italiano per la Ricerca Storico Educativa – CIRSE e la Società Italiana per lo Studio del Patrimonio Storico Educativo – SIPSE hanno sostenuto col patrocinio questa Mostra, intesa come percorso scientifico di tipo storico educativo declinato in termini di patrimonio storico-educativo per l'intera cittadinanza nonché lascito per l'innovazione pedagogica e didattica del presente e del futuro. Attualmente la Mostra è in fase di allestimento presso il Museo Civico di Scienze Naturali a Faenza dove sarà inaugurata il 2 marzo e resterà aperta dal 1 al 24 marzo 2019, con attività di visite guidate e di formazione per insegnanti, educatori e scuole.

A parziale conclusione, quindi, si è trattato – e si tratta – di un percorso interessante per almeno due ordini di ragioni. Da un lato per la collaborazione ed apertura della storia dell'educazione e della scuola alla ricerca didattica sull'insegnamento scientifico ed alla questione pedagogica dell'educazione all'aperto per le nuove generazioni; dall'altro per la possibilità di rivelare al vasto pubblico la fecondità della ricerca storico-educativa non solo per gli addetti ai lavori ma anche come patrimonio di fonti, immagini, documenti da esporre in un percorso ragionato e rigoroso per diffonderlo all'intera cittadinanza in termini di memoria educativa e scolastica collettiva. In tal modo è possibile così contribuire a quella che in Italia è definita «terza missione» del lavoro universitario cioè la disseminazione della ricerca sul territorio per promuovere la cittadinanza e, nel caso delle discipline storico-educative, per gettare un ponte tra passato e futuro. La storia allora, come «ritorno al futuro?».

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